ABSTRACT

KEM, JACKIE DAVID. Ethics in Times of Transition: Public Ethics and Moral Reasoning in Russia, Poland and the United States. (Under the direction of Dr. G. David Garson, chair and Dr. Debra W. Stewart, co-chair.)

The existence of responsible and democratic public administration rests on the presumption that administrators are capable of exercising moral judgment. Is there a difference in moral reasoning among public administrators in different countries? What is the basis for ethical decision-making? Has the democratization process in former communist countries impacted moral reasoning? Does the "rule of law" have a universal meaning, is culture a determinant of moral reasoning, does religion and spirituality have a role? Is there a relationship between moral reasoning and the actual moral choices made? Can moral reasoning and ethics really be taught, or are these characteristics independent of external factors?

This research study investigated hypotheses concerning the relationship of moral reasoning and moral development with: 1) historical and traditional societal factors; 2) connections to existing social institutions; 3) individual factors; and 4) the relationship between moral decision-making and stages of moral reasoning by presenting and analyzing results from research conducted in the United States, Poland, and Russia.

The findings of this study suggested the following:

- If historical and traditional factors within society have weakened support for the “rule of law,” then public officials will “skip” law and order reasoning for principled reasoning as a primary orientation.

- If the connections to social institutions, such as the church, trade unions, and the family as independent “society-maintaining” factors are weakened within a society, then the regard for “law and order” reasoning will be weakened.

- Regardless of historical/traditional factors and social institutions, individual factors that reinforce the regard for the “rule of law” will result in a stronger orientation towards law and order reasoning.

- When contextual historical and traditional factors, social institutions, and individual factors weaken support for “law and order” moral reasoning, they also weaken the relationship between moral reasoning and the actual choices made in moral decision-making.

ETHICS IN TIMES OF TRANSITION: PUBLIC ETHICS AND MORAL REASONING IN RUSSIA, POLAND AND THE UNITED STATES

By

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BIOGRAPHY

Jackie (Jack) David Kem was born in Sikeston, Missouri on June 28, 1956, the son of Joseph H. Kem and Ann D. Kem. He graduated from Bowling Green High School, Bowling Green, Kentucky in 1974 and completed a Bachelor of Arts Degree in Psychology from Western Kentucky University in 1979.

Jack enlisted in the United States Army from 1974-1977 and was commissioned 1979 after completing his undergraduate degree. He retired as a Colonel of Military Intelligence in 1998. In 1993, he earned a Master of Public Administration Degree from Auburn University at Montgomery. His formal military education includes completion of the Air Command and Staff College in 1993, the Armed Forces Staff College in 1994, and the U.S. Army War College in 1998.

During his military career, Jack served in a variety of command and staff assignments in the United States, Germany, and Turkey. His operational deployments include Saudi Arabia during Operation Desert Shield and Bosnia-Herzegovina during Operations Joint Endeavor and Joint Guard.

Jack is currently an Associate Professor of Strategy and Operations at the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

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FOREWORD

As an Army officer in 1995, I had the opportunity to travel to Taszar, Hungary to help set up logistical support for operations in Bosnia. To get to Taszar (in the southern portion of Hungary), I had to take a van and travel from Northern Italy, through Austria, and into Hungary. The trip was interesting, because it was the first time I had traveled into Eastern Europe – behind the former "Iron Curtain." The sights of Hungary were not at all as I expected; as a former Communist country, I expected things to be dark and drab and totally different from Western Europe. Surprisingly, the scenery in Hungary was quite similar to Bavaria in Germany – tidy forests, churches in the middles of the cities, families out for walks, and everything in order. There were still some signs of decay from the years of Communist rule, but the country was "cleaning up" and vibrant. My impression at the time was that Hungary looked just like Germany.

In 1999, I was sitting in a classroom in Moscow, Russia at the Russian Academy of Civil Service, taking notes from research focus groups conducted by an American college dean. I was struck by the openness of the students in the focus groups, particularly when their Russian professor, the department chair, was in the room. The Russian students appeared to say exactly what they thought, even when their opinions directly contradicted those of the Russian professor. I told the dean that this kind of openness didn't exist at her school – the students in the United States were less willing to express their disagreement so openly, particularly in front of a couple of "outsiders."

When the American dean and I traveled around Moscow, it was also surprising to see numerous advertisements on billboards and buses for “Gazprom,” Russia's largest firm which controlled the production, distribution, sale and export of natural gas in the country. At the time, the former Prime Minister of Russia was the Chairman of the Board for the company and it was obvious that Gazprom was a major player in Russian Society.

In fact, that Prime Minister (Chernomyrdin) had failed to be confirmed by the Russian Duma as Prime Minister one year prior; at the time of our visit in November 1999, Russia was on its third prime minister that year (Primakov, Stepashin, and Putin). The Duma, threatened earlier with dissolution and nearing elections, had attempted to impeach Yeltsin on five counts in 1999 but had failed.

In addition to this, there had been a number of bombings, including an apartment building, in Moscow in September, 1999. Tight security was evident throughout the capital. The deteriorating situation in Chechnya was having an impact in Moscow. Nonetheless, driving in Moscow was an experience, with the police merely observers of the chaos on the roads.

Our travels took us to St. Peter’s Basilica, with its beautiful onion domes, in Red Square. Our interpreter told me the story of how she had joined the church and had been baptized. She was very excited about the entire experience, but it struck me as odd that she only described her actions and what she had done – not what she believed or felt. There was no discussion of faith or

conviction, but instead she described the processes and actions that were necessary to “become a Christian.”

In retrospect, the situations in Russia and Hungary were drastically different from one another. In Hungary, societal factors, such as the family, the church, and safety, appeared to be stable even though the government had changed dramatically. In Russia, the fabric of society seemed to be unraveling. Even though both countries were in the transition to democracy, there were some major differences in the societies that were noticeable even to a tourist.

The research presented in this study concerns three countries – the United States, Poland, and Russia. Obviously Poland is not Hungary, but there are similarities in these two Eastern European countries and their transition to democracy. The general focus of the study will be in three general areas: the underlying moral reasoning for decision-making; historical, societal, and individual factors for moral decision-making; and the actual choices that are made in moral decision-making.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose of the Study

Most research conducted in moral reasoning and ethics has been conducted analyzing the stages of moral development that are associated with the underlying decision-making process based on an ethical dilemma. These ethical dilemmas have been presented using a variety of instruments. The most notable tests used for this purpose have been the Defining Issues Test (DIT) developed by Dr. James Rest and the Stewart-Sprinthall Management Survey (SSMS) developed by Dr. Debra Stewart and Dr. Norman Sprinthall. The focus for the research in this area has been centered on the mental processes and moral reasoning during the decision-making process.

This study expands on the previous research to investigate the context of moral reasoning. The thesis of this research is that moral reasoning is a complex construct that is affected by the context of societal factors, such as the history and tradition in society, institutions within a society, and personal factors such as age, gender, and educational background. When these factors are weakened, the relationship between moral reasoning and moral decision making is also weakened.

The purpose of this study is to investigate hypotheses concerning the relationship of moral reasoning and moral development with: 1) historical and traditional societal factors; 2) connections to existing social institutions; 3) individual factors; and 4) the relationship between moral decision-making and

stages of moral reasoning by presenting and analyzing results from research conducted in the United States, Poland, and Russia.

1.2 Key Terms used in the Study

The following are the key terms that are used in this study of public ethics and moral reasoning in Russia, Poland, and the United States.

Morality: Morality is the aspect of human judgment that is concerned with the overriding evaluation of actions, values, and character. Morality is reason-based, prescriptive, objective, and autonomous. Morality is concerned with the issue of "what should be" (Wenker 1985, 3).

Ethics: The term *ethics* is from the Greek word *ethos*, which means character. Ethics is the study of morality – what is good, bad, right or wrong in a moral sense (Thiroux 2001, 2-3).

Moral Dilemma: A moral dilemma is a situation that requires a decision that has more than one possible solution that can be justified by moral reasoning. A moral dilemma creates "right versus right" options for decision-making (Kidder 1995, 14-29).

Moral Reasoning: Moral reasoning is the cognitive process of having moral sensitivity to a situation (interpretation of the situation, being aware of how

various actions would affect parties concerned, imagining cause-effect relationships, and being aware of a moral problem) and having moral judgment to a situation (judging which action would be most justifiable in a moral sense) (Rest, Narvaez, Bebeau, and Thoma 1999, 101). Moral reasoning is the cognitive process for an individual to determine "the right thing to do" in the context of a particular moral decision or action.

Moral Development: Moral development involves the acquisition of norms and values as part of the process of growth and maturation. Lawrence Kohlberg developed a theory of moral development characterized by an invariant sequence of the cognitive process of moral reasoning (Kohlberg 1983, 5). Differences in moral development are qualitative (not quantitative), display a "structured wholeness" or consistency in reasoning, and occur one step at a time, without reversals or stage skipping (an invariant sequence) (Rest, Narvaez, Bebeau, and Thoma 1999, 18-19). Kohlberg's model of moral development uses six distinct stages of moral development; the focus for moral development is not on the content or outcome of moral decisions, but rather on the underlying reasons for the decisions made (Wittmer 2000, 183). Moral development describes "structures and forms of moral thought which are defined independently of the specific content of particular moral decisions or actions" (Kohlberg 1968, 25). Moral development is the long-term process as part of growth and maturation; moral reasoning is the application of moral development to a specific situation.

Rule of Law: The "Rule of Law" is a concept in a democratic society where a citizen has basic rights and can insist on his or her rights against both the state and against his or her fellow citizens (Fikentscher 1993, 27.). A democratic society under the "rule of law" has an appropriate legal culture and developed institutions of law, such as an independent judiciary, a democratically-elected law making body, and professional law enforcement agencies.

Religiosity: Religiosity is defined as an individual's demonstrated, measurable behaviors associated with organized religion, such as church attendance and church membership. Measures of religiosity include the components of trust in institutions of organized religion and participation in organized religious activities (Pollack and Pickel 1999). Religiosity is measured in terms of demonstrated actions by individuals.

Spirituality: Spirituality is defined as individual beliefs in a transcendent, spiritual wisdom that goes beyond a simple belief in God – but is manifested in everyday thinking and actions. Spirituality provides the motivation and inspiration in life, based upon a belief in a higher being (Lynch and Lynch 1999). Spirituality is measured in terms of internalized beliefs and attitudes and may or may not be manifested in terms of church attendance and other measures of religiosity. Spirituality is measured in terms of beliefs and attitudes.

1.3 Research Questions

This study is based upon the conceptual model that moral reasoning (the cognitive process for an individual to determine “the right thing to do” in the context of a particular moral decision or action) is affected by development and contextual factors, both short-term and long-term in nature, and that under certain circumstances, context can overcome the normal stages of moral development. The research seeks to determine whether moral reasoning develops in different ways and has different impacts on behavior depending on context. Findings supporting this conclusion would have important implications for the conceptualization of moral development.

The relationship of moral reasoning with three factors will be studied in detail: historical and traditional societal context; institutional societal context; and individual characteristics. The research also examines whether the linkage between moral reasoning and moral decision-making differs along with contextual variation. Having a better understanding of the interaction between context and moral reasoning will provide insight into moral development among individuals within a society.

The standard model of moral development drawing on Kohlberg stresses that norms and values are acquired as part of the process of growth and maturation. Just as one can describe typical stages of physical development, Kohlberg expected that moral development would occur in a standard way among most individuals regardless of their context. Furthermore, the majority of adults will achieve a level of conventional moral thinking based on respect for

basic laws and rules of behavior. The basis for choosing an action is that it is legally right. This study of moral reasoning among public officials in three countries – the United States, Poland, and Russia – finds variation that is not expected based on the standard model of moral development and seeks to determine whether differences in contextual factors can account for these variations. Potential explanations appropriate to these countries and the kinds of variations that have been observed form the basis for the hypotheses to be tested.

The hypotheses that will be investigated in this research are:

Hypothesis 1:

For public officials, the weaker the support of contextual factors for the legal process, the higher the level of principled reasoning and the lower the level of "law and order" moral reasoning.

This hypothesis focuses on historical and traditional societal factors. The implication is that if historical and traditional factors within society have weakened support for the "rule of law," then public officials will "skip" law and order reasoning for principled reasoning as a primary orientation. The context of the "baggage" of history and tradition in society will affect the levels of moral reasoning.

Hypothesis 2:

For public officials, the weaker the connections to social institutions, the lower the level of "law and order" reasoning.

This hypothesis focuses on social institutions, such as the church, trade unions, and the family. These institutions of the civil society can be independent "society-maintaining" factors within a society. If the connections to these institutions are weak or the institutions themselves are poorly developed, then the regard for the "rule of law" will be weak.

Hypothesis 3:

For public officials, whatever the contextual support for law and order, the greater the individual factors that reinforce conventional moral thinking, the stronger the support for "law and order" reasoning.

This hypothesis focuses on individual factors, such as age and gender and personal history. Regardless of historical/traditional factors and social institutions, individual factors that reinforce the regard for the "rule of law" will result in a stronger orientation towards law and order reasoning.

Hypothesis 4:

For public officials, the weaker contextual historical and traditional factors, social institutions, and individual factors support "law and order" moral reasoning, the weaker the relationship between moral decision-making and stages of moral reasoning.

This hypothesis examines the relationship between the contextual historical and traditional factors, social institutions, and individual factors on the one hand, and decision-making on the other. When these contextual factors weaken support for "law and order" moral reasoning, they also weaken the relationship between moral reasoning and the actual choices made in moral decision-making.

In sum, moral development may be far more variable than commonly assumed because it is shaped both by individual growth and contextual factors. Furthermore, moral development may have not provided the same foundation for moral decision-making in all societies if the social reinforcement of moral reasoning is weak. In view of the importance of the issues being considered, this research is exploratory because it examines only three countries. Still, finding evidence that is consistent with these hypotheses would indicate that future research should explicitly incorporate contextual factors and examine decision-making as well as reasoning.

1.4 Moral Reasoning among Public Officials in U.S., Poland, and Russia

Moral reasoning among public officials has been a topic of increased attention in the past twenty years. This research has included studies using convenience samples of public administrators in the United States (Stewart and Sprinthall 1991), Poland (Stewart, Sprinthall, and Siemienska 1997; Stewart, Siemienska, Sprinthall, 1999) and Russia (Stewart, Sprinthall, Kem 2002). These studies were been based upon a standard survey instrument, the Stewart Sprinthall Management Survey (SSMS), which has been used for a variety of studies on the moral reasoning in public officials (Stewart and Sprinthall 1991; Stewart and Sprinthall 1994). The survey examines the extent to which respondents use types of moral reasoning that are consistent with standard stages of moral development. These studies have received favorable review and are considered some of the leading empirical research efforts in public administration ethics (Menzel and Carson 1999).

The earlier research in the United States (Stewart and Sprinthall 1991) provided a baseline for the SSMS using sample data from public administrators in Florida and North Carolina. These baseline data were used in subsequent research for comparison with other public administrators in Poland and Russia.

Stewart, Sprinthall, and Siemienska (1997) presented results from research on public officials in Poland that examined the assumed effects of democratization three years following the end of Communist rule. The hypothesis of this study was that the democratization process in Poland would have an effect on the level of moral reasoning for public administrators, expecting

officials “to be strongly motivated by ethical principles as a basis for decision making” (Stewart, Sprinthall and Siemienska 1997, 445). In focus group research in Poland in the fall of 1990, Stewart, Sprinthall and Siemienska found that “principled reasoning strongly outranked deference to law or rules” as the preferred basis for decision-making among Polish administrators. Previous research conducted by Jasinska-Kania of students and adults in 1984 also indicated a preference for principled reasoning in Poland (Jasinska-Kania 1988). Surprisingly, the findings of the Polish study in 1993-94 indicated that the preferred basis for decision-making for Polish officials was the law and order orientation – roughly at the same level as public officials in local governments in the United States (Stewart, Sprinthall and Siemienska 1997, 445).

The reasons for the difference in the results in Poland in 1984-90 (preference for principled reasoning) and 1993-94 and the shift to similarity with the United States (preference for law and order reasoning) remain to be explained. Stewart, Sprinthall and Siemienska (1997, 451) write:

> As a result of the congruity between the two countries, a series of interesting questions emerges. Local officials in a very new democracy in Eastern Europe emerging after some 45 years of communism are almost exactly like their counterparts in one of the world's oldest democracies; namely, law and duty reasoning is their primary mode. This finding becomes more surprising when we realize that during the previous regime, a large sample of students studied by Jasinska (1989) indicated almost an absence of Stage 4, law and duty reasoning. Does this indicate that Stage 4 is the mode of reasoning in a democracy regardless of history? Or does it indicate that Poland's early experience with forms of local democracy in the 19th century and between World Wars I and II provided enough context for current administrators to move quickly into modes of choice similar to those utilized in the U.S.? Only continued monitoring of ethical orientation will provide answers.

Their findings indicate the importance carefully examining how context – recent or historical – affects moral reasoning. The context in Poland during the transition to democracy suggest an interpretation that public officials temporarily "skipped" law and order reasoning to principled reasoning as their primary orientation in 1984-90 and then regressed "backward" to prefer a law and order orientation in 1993-94. The arbitrary use of the "law" by the communist regime in Poland possibly made law and order reasoning unacceptable as the basis for moral reasoning in 1984-90. By 1993, the replacement of the regime in Poland with democratic institutions enabled historical and traditional societal factors and the connections to existing social institutions to reemerge, influencing the propensity to prefer law and order reasoning.

Based on the previous research in the United States and Poland, Stewart conducted further research on a sample of Russian officials in 1998. In 1999, this research was followed up by a series of focus groups in Russia (Stewart, Sprinthall, and Kem 2002). This research provides some interesting data particularly when compared with earlier research in the United States and the studies in Poland in 1984-90 and 1993-94.

When compared to public officials in the United States and post-communist Poland, Russian officials were remarkably dissimilar by preferring principled reasoning over a law and order orientation (Stewart, Sprinthall, and Kem 2002). Stewart, Sprinthall and Kem (2002) note key differences between Poland and Russia. They note that "the transition from communism to democracy has been much more uneven and controversial in Russia than in

countries such as Poland" and that "communism was a twentieth-century, not a post–World War II phenomenon." They conclude "given the burdens of the pre-Soviet legacy of despotism, the Soviet experience, and Russia's transition history, there may be little hope for evolution of a professional public service in the near future" (Stewart, Sprinthall and Kem 2002, 282-288).

In Russia, the situation appears to be dramatically different from the situation in Poland for several reasons, and these differences provide the basis for the hypotheses to be examined in this study. The arbitrary use of the "law" by the communist regime was preceded by the arbitrary use of the "law" by pre-Soviet despots. Historical and traditional factors weakened respect for the law, while societal institutions reinforced the state instead of providing an independent "society-maintaining" influence.

The historical and traditional factor of the "rule of law" is discussed within this context, as well as the implications of the "action choice" for moral decision-making.

1.5 The "Rule of Law" in Russia

Respect for the law underlies Kohlberg's Stage Four of moral development – the highest level of *conventional* moral reasoning. Presumably, this stage reflects a widespread acceptance of the legal order in a society. If so, this poses great problems for the Russian Federation as it continues to chart a course to develop into a mature democracy. It may well be that the questionable legitimacy of the "rule of law" in Russia has greatly impacted the level of moral

reasoning to diminish the level of stage four reasoning which is the most common level in the United States and Poland.

Historically, Russian society has not had a developed system of the "rule of law." Communism under the USSR was based upon a "unity and hierarchy of powers, with an institutional structure ultimately ruled by a single party" with a monopoly of power (Fikentscherr 1993, 27). The transition for the Russian Federation to a democracy has inherent difficulties in establishing a system of governance based upon the "rule of law." These difficulties include the lack of an appropriate legal structure, restricted freedoms, and the lack of an independent judiciary (Vlasihin 1993, 46-52).

In Russia, the transition to "democratization, marketization, and cooperation" has not created a sense of order, but has rather created an anarchical void with a longing for many citizens to return to the ordered society of the past (Nation 1997, 14). Broad respect for the "rule of law" within Russia does not exist because of a tendency by the central government to rule by edict and the relative impotence of the court system. Problems in the formation and development of a new Russian system based on the "rule of law" have included a gap between democratic principles and real policy, in addition to well publicized instances of corruption and lack of coordination within government agencies (Barishpoletz, Manilov and Piumov 1998, 124). These "growing pains" and the historical legacy of a lack of the "rule of law" in Russian society have an impact on moral reasoning and moral decision-making.

1.6 The Action Choice – From Moral Reasoning to Moral Decisions

The focus for previous research has been on moral reasoning, rather than on moral decision-making. The underlying assumption has been that moral reasoning precedes action and should therefore be the focus of research. A researcher cannot determine the "correct" choice for ethical dilemmas, but should focus on the underlying moral reasoning for the choices actually made. As such, "action choices" have been generally ignored in previous research. The actual moral choices made by public administrators should, however, provide additional insight into the reasons for the differences in moral reasoning. This research will review the differences in moral reasoning among public officials in the three countries – and then analyze the differences in moral decision-making, which are provided as the "action choice."

Because of the potential differences in ethical decision-making, it is critical to understand the philosophical basis of administrative ethics and underlying value constructs for ethical decision-making. The conceptual links between philosophical bases of ethics and stages of moral development are examined in detail in this next chapter in section 2.2.

1.7 Organization of the Study

Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the constructs of moral development theory and the background for the study. A brief discussion of two of the key areas in the study – the "Rule of Law" and the "Action Choice" are included. Research questions and hypotheses for the study are introduced in this chapter.

Chapter 2 provides a broad overview of the current literature in moral development theory. Three alternative bases for ethics are reviewed as the underpinning for moral development theory. Specific models for explaining moral reasoning and moral decision-making are discussed. These different models each provide a measure of explanation for the moral decision-making processes. Included are the general theories of Piaget, Maslow, Kohlberg, and James Rest. These theories represent a range of developmental theories that cover how people develop, how people are motivated, and the underlying moral reasoning for their actions. The Stewart Sprinthall Management Survey is reviewed as a specific instrument to measure moral reasoning in public officials, again designed to measure moral reasoning. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the Four Component Theory by Rest and Narvaez which applies Moral Development Theory to moral actions – what people do.

Chapter 3 provides a review of the existing literature as it applies to the three general areas of this study – how decisions are made (moral reasoning), underlying reasons in terms of societal factors for these decisions (historical and traditional factors, social institutions, and personal history) and actual decision-making (the "action choice"). The review is focused to provide a review of the existing literature as it applies to these in the context of the three countries studied – the United States, Poland, and Russia.

Chapter 4 describes the purpose of the study and addresses the methodology to investigate the hypotheses of the research. Data sets, sampling,

variables, research design and hypotheses, statistical analysis, and validity and reliability issues will be discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 5 investigates the first three hypotheses of the study by presenting and discussing the survey data from the Stewart Sprinthall Management Survey (SSMS) results from the United States, Poland, and Russia and the World Values Surveys of 1990-93 and 1995-1997. This chapter includes an analysis (using analysis of variance, or ANOVA) of the differences in the SSMS stages of moral reasoning in the three groups, as well as differences in demographics. This chapter also includes an analysis of the differences between the Polish and Russian groups, an area not previously analyzed. This chapter will also present qualitative data from Russian focus groups.

Chapter 6 investigates the fourth hypothesis of the study by presenting and discussing the survey data from the Stewart Sprinthall Management Survey (SSMS) results from the United States, Poland, and Russia in terms of the "action choices" among the three groups. This chapter will also present qualitative data from Russian focus groups.

Chapter 7 discusses the implications of these results for moral development theory with recommendations for future research.

1.8 Chapter Summary

Previous research has indicated that there are significant differences in the level of moral reasoning for Russian public officials and public officials of Poland and the United States. Public officials in Poland and the United States

have been shown to be remarkably similar, even though Poland went through the political transition from communism to democracy at the same time Russia underwent a similar change. Understanding the dramatic differences among public officials in Russia and public officials in Poland and the United States are the purpose for this research. Four major areas will be investigated: the impact of historical and traditional societal factors; the impact of institutional societal factors; the impact of individual factors; and the implementation of moral reasoning (moral decision-making).

Moral reasoning and moral development theory has a rich history for research. Chapter 2 contains an overview of the moral development theories relating to this study.

CHAPTER 2
OVERVIEW OF MORAL DEVELOPMENT THEORY

2.1 Chapter Introduction

Much of the study of public ethics focuses on the philosophical basis for ethics and moral decision-making. Publications in the areas of public ethics, moral development, and moral reasoning have all gained a certain level of prominence and respectability in Public Administration and other academic fields of study in the past few years. The initial literature review will address what is defined as "ethical behavior" within the administrative context, with much of the existing research addressing such questions as: Can organizations "teach ethics?" Do codes of conduct and ethical codes have an impact on ethical behavior? Can ethics be taught? What is the relationship between moral reasoning and moral decision-making? The initial review of the existing literature will attempt to provide some insight into the basis of ethics and how ethical behavior is developed.

The hypotheses in this study relate moral development theory to the specific context of public officials in their professional life. The judgments that public officials make on a daily basis imply a necessary level of discretion in determining the "right thing to do" in administrative decision making (Goodnow 1900, 61; Wilson 1887, 213). Public administrators are more than passive managers and implementers of policy, but are instead charged with "support for the realization of democratic principles" and commitment to obeying the law (Svara 1999, 694-695). To understand how public administrators exercise

discretion and make judgments in support of democratic principles and the rule of law, it is important to identify and understand the ethical orientations on which those judgments are made (Stewart, Sprinthall and Kem 2002, 283).

This chapter provides a broad overview of the current literature in moral development theory. Three alternative bases for ethics are reviewed as the underpinning for moral development theory. Specific models for explaining moral reasoning and moral decision-making are discussed. These different models each provide a measure of explanation for the moral decision-making processes. Included are the general theories of Piaget, Maslow, Kohlberg, and James Rest. These theories represent an evolution of developmental theories that cover how people develop, how people are motivated, and the underlying moral reasoning for their actions. The Stewart Sprinthall Management Survey is reviewed as a specific instrument to measure moral reasoning in public officials, which is the primary instrument used in this study of moral reasoning in public officials. The first three hypotheses of this study relate the level of moral reasoning to specific contextual factors for public officials.

The fourth hypothesis of this study relate the “action choice” – actual moral decisions made – to moral reasoning. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the “Four Component Theory” by Rest and Narvaez which applies Moral Development Theory to moral actions – what people do.

2.2 Three Alternative Bases for Ethics

Svara (1995) provides a general framework of analyzing the bases of administrative ethics under three different labels. These are virtue and intuition, principles or deontology, and the consequences or utilitarian approach.

Virtue-based ethics: Plato and Aristotle provided the first ethics theory, virtue – or in today's political language, "character matters." The focus in virtue ethics is not on "what one should do" but rather "what kind of person should one be?" Good character, or virtues, is central to virtue theory (Ellin 1995). According to Plato, men must be given the right instruction on what is good: "…given the right instruction, it must grow to the full flower of excellence; but if a plant is sown and reared in the wrong soil, it will develop every contrary defect" (Plato 1941). Morality and virtue are skills learned from others – not theoretical knowledge, but knowledge put into practice (Ellin 1995).

Aristotle emphasized virtue as desirable for society so that all may become good citizens and law-abiding people. This human goodness is not goodness of body, but of the soul. Aristotle describes virtues in two categories: intellectual and moral. For example, Wisdom and Understanding are considered intellectual virtues, while Liberality and Temperance are moral virtues. All of these virtues are gained through knowledge and application of the virtues – by exercising and actually doing virtuous acts (Aristotle 1976).

Principle-based ethics: Deontology, or ethics based on principles, has one primary philosopher that rises as the strongest voice – Immanuel Kant. Principle-based ethics is defined in many ways, but one general definition is that one should not act according to the consequences of an action, but instead according to agreed-upon or settled values and principles (Svara 1995). Kant states that "the moral worth of an action does not lie in the effect in which is expected from it or in any principle of action which has to borrow its motive from this expected effect." (Kant 1959, 17). From this emphasis on moral worth regardless of the consequences Kant derives one categorical imperative: "Act only according to that maxim by which you can at the same time will that it should become a universal law." (Kant 1959). Morality is found in following rules that are absolute with no exceptions, come what may – and by following this imperative, society and individuals will be better off (Rachels 1999). In fact, man's "intelligent freedom" is to recognize those moral and natural imperatives – they are "written in the stars and in man's genes" (Lind et al 1985). Man knows, in Kant's view, what is right and moral and merely has to choose to do what is right – just as he would have others do in the same situation.

Thomas Hobbes and John Locke may well "fit" into this deontological theory. Both believed in social contract theory; both went beyond virtues to a principle- based approach for ethics. Neither, however, went as far as Kant did in their philosophies.

Hobbes' view was that people have a common knowledge of natural laws – of the principles that all should understand. His writings described the theory

that there is a “natural law” in which man’s nature is determined by the sum of all his experiences and abilities – yet as a result of these experiences there is a common understanding of what is right and wrong. Hobbes defines natural law, or a law of nature, as “a precept or general rule, found out by reason, by which a man is forbidden to do what is destructive of his life or takes away of preserving the same…” (Hobbes 1958). Because of this common understanding, written laws and agreements in society should be based upon a rational self-interest to benefit all for a peaceful society. A common knowledge of natural laws, coupled with mutual trust, provides the incentive for all to cooperate rationally (Bok 1995).

Locke’s theory of freedom of thought is based upon the concept that there are no innate, natural principles – that men gain all of their virtues and knowledge purely by the use of their natural faculties. All ideas are thus acquired, and not innate (Locke 1964). This theory applies to all moral principles, including faith and justice – for men demand a proof for each moral principle: “there cannot be any one moral rule proposed whereof a man may not justly demand a reason.” (Locke 1964).

Consequence-based ethics: The third general basis for administrative ethics is utilitarianism, which is closely aligned with John Stuart Mill. Ethical decisions determined under this basis are made on the likely consequences or results of the actions. “Decisions are judged by their consequences depending on the results to be maximized – security, happiness, pleasure, dignity, and the like.” (Frederickson 1997, 167-168). The utility of an action, or how that action

produces happiness, is “the ultimate appeal on all ethical questions” according to Mill (Mill 1978).

Both Georg W.F. Hegel and David Hume generally fit into the utilitarian school. Hume is considered to be an ethical subjectivist, which holds that right and wrong are relative to the attitudes of each individual (Rachels 1989). Hume is also considered the first ethical philosopher to advance the theory of utilitarianism, influenced by the political environment of an imperial and economically expansionist England of the 18th Century (Lind et al 1985).

Hegel emphasizes the consequences of actions as a part of the actions themselves. He states the principle “Judge an act by its consequences, and make them the standard of what is right and good,” which provides the basis for law (Hegel 1996). Hegel elaborates on consequences as a justification for acts:

> … by the theft of a bread a property is no doubt injured. Still, if the act was the means of prolonging life, it would be wrong to consider it as ordinary theft. If the man whose life is in danger were not allowed to preserve himself, he would be without rights; and since his life is refused him, his whole freedom is denied to him also… Hence only the need of the immediate present can justify a wrong act. Yet the act is justified, because the agent, abstaining from it, would commit the highest wrong, namely, the total negation of his realized freedom. (Hegel 1996)

Friedrich Nietzsche may also be considered a utilitarian, but a flawed utilitarian – a hedonistic, selfish utilitarian. Nietzsche provides perhaps the most disturbing theory of ethics – not only because of its implications for society, but because of its apparent appeal to many. Nietzsche did not believe that there is a universal definition of a “good man,” but instead each man should be different with different traits (Rachels 1999).

Nietzsche defines “good” not in terms of a person’s relationship with others, but rather to the person themselves. He writes that ethical philosophers look for good in the wrong place: “the judgment good does not originate with those to whom the good has been done. Rather it was the “good” themselves, that is to say the noble, mighty, highly placed, and high-minded who decreed themselves and their actions to be good…” (Nietzsche 1956).

2.3 The Ethical “Triangle”

Which of the ethical philosophies are the most useful – virtue-based ethics, principle-based ethics, or consequence-based ethics? Which one of the philosophies is the best fit for human behavior? All three appear to have some merit; Svara (1995) recommends using all three for decision-making as “distinct filters that reveal different aspects of a situation requiring an ethical choice.” To only consider one of the different theoretical bases for administrative ethics runs the risk of being one-sided in analysis – in perhaps even disembodying feelings and personality traits from actions (Stewart and Sprinthall, 1994).

Whether virtue, principles, or consequences are the true reasons for ethical decision-making, all three of the theories and their lineage are useful for gaining insight into the complexity of ethical decision-making. But, perhaps there is a better way to determine the basis for ethical decisions from a broad, developmental standpoint. Motivation and developmental stage may have greater impact on the actual decisions made on a daily basis.

2.4 Stages of Moral Reasoning

Various researchers have developed the model of moral development stages. Abraham Maslow, 1908-1970, developed his famous “hierarchy of needs” as a result of studying “wonderful human beings” whom had a positive outlook on life. His studies enabled him to develop a stage model theory of motivation that indicated the focus for each person for behavior. This was considered to be surprising original thinking, since most research in psychology had been focused on abnormal and ill subjects (A Science Odyssey 2000). Maslow’s theories closely aligned with the theories of Jean Piaget for child development, but were adapted for adults based on his observations. Both Maslow and Piaget moved beyond the Freudian notion of behavior and the ‘stimulus-response’ research of behaviorists psychologists (such as B.F. Skinner) to look at the actual development of humans. For both Piaget and Maslow, their theories were based upon stages with invariant sequences; once a “lower stage” was met, a “higher stage” became predominant.

Rest et al prefer the term “schema” to stages to define moral development. They define schema theory as “the application of organized generic prior knowledge to the understanding of new information” (Rest et al 1999, 136). Anne Colby defined moral development in term of habit with “attention to the habitual frames of reference that guide perception and interpretation” (Colby 2000, 164).

2.5 Piaget's Moral Feelings and Judgments Model

Piaget believed that children grow developmentally, with different "transitional phases" that discern the stages of development (Piaget and Inhelder 1969, vii). A child learns by observation and imitation of adults to the point where the child begins to emerge with a moral conscience and free will. Piaget identifies four general stages for moral feelings in a child. The first stage is "the genesis of duty," where the child formulates a sense of obligation to others to follow orders (primarily parents); the second stage is "heteronomy," whereby the child begins to gain and display reactions to authority figures. The third stage is "moral realism," where obligations and values are determined not only by relationships, but also by the law or order itself. At this stage children begin to judge whether an order is right or not. The final stage is "autonomy" where the child has moral judgments based on mutual respect and cooperation rather than mere obedience (Piaget and Inhelder 1969, 122-127).

The field of neuroscience has made some remarkable discoveries in the last five years concerning moral development, where feelings and emotions have been identified as essential components of moral reasoning and moral decision making. Recent research with brain damaged patients has indicated the relationship between emotions and moral reasoning, with patients suffering from a damaged prefrontal neocortex demonstrating limited consideration of the social and emotional implications of moral decisions (Anderson et al 1999, 1033). The implication is that reason and emotion are not separate; the brain structures that

process emotions and feelings underlie the processes of thinking (Damasio 2000, 74).

2.6 Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

Abraham Maslow developed the hierarchy of needs based on his studies of adults. The model is based upon going through varying stages for humans to arrive at a "state of affairs" he entitles "self-actualization" (Maslow 1959). Maslow theory was similar to Piaget's theory, based upon stages with an invariant sequence; once a "lower stage" was met, a "higher stage" became predominant. Maslow, however, did allow that individuals may go "up" or "down" the stages in his hierarchy of needs based upon specific situations.

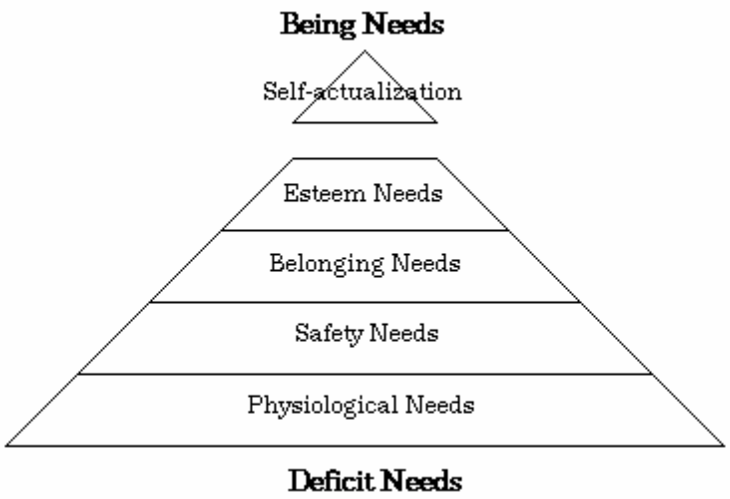


Figure 2.1 Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

As Figure 2.1 above shows, there are two different general categories of needs for each individual. The first needs are the deficit needs – those needs

that must be fulfilled before you can rise to the higher needs. The higher needs are entitled “being needs” which pertain to the general nature of what the individual hopes to achieve – to strive for.

The four layers of the deficit needs must be met, in order from bottom to top, before a person can truly be self-actualized. If these needs are not met, there is a “deficit” that must be made up before one can go up the hierarchy. The deficit needs are: the physiological needs, the needs for safety and security, the needs for love and belonging, and the needs for esteem in that order (Maslow 1943). Boeree (2000) provides a synopsis of these four deficit needs:

The physiological needs. These include the needs we have for oxygen, water, protein, salt, sugar, calcium, and other minerals and vitamins. There’s also the needs to be active, to rest, to sleep, to get rid of wastes (CO2, sweat, urine, and feces), to avoid pain, and to have sex.

The safety and security needs. When the physiological needs are largely taken care of, this second layer of needs comes into play. You will become increasingly interested in finding safe circumstances, stability, and protection. You might develop a need for structure, for order, some limits. This set of needs manifest themselves in the form of our urges to have a home in a safe neighborhood, a little job security and a nest egg, a good retirement plan and a bit of insurance, and so on.

The love and belonging needs. When physiological needs and safety needs are, by and large, taken care of, a third layer starts to show up. You begin to feel the need for friends, a sweetheart, children, affectionate relationships in

general, even a sense of community. Looked at negatively, you become increasing susceptible to loneliness and social anxieties. We exhibit these needs in our desires to marry, have a family, be a part of a community, a member of a church, a brother in the fraternity, a part of a gang or a bowling club. It is also a part of what we look for in a career.

The esteem needs. Next, we begin to look for a little self-esteem. Maslow noted two versions of esteem needs, a lower one and a higher one. The lower one is the need for the respect of others, the need for status, fame, glory, recognition, attention, reputation, appreciation, dignity, even dominance. The higher form involves the need for self-respect, including such feelings as confidence, competence, achievement, mastery, independence, and freedom. The negative version of these needs is low self-esteem and inferiority complexes.

Maslow later developed his stage of self-actualization to a broader category of being needs and broke the stages of his hierarchy even further down for self-actualization. Maslow's initial conceptualization included only one growth need--self-actualization. Self-actualized people are characterized by: 1) being problem-focused; 2) incorporating an ongoing freshness of appreciation of life; 3) a concern about personal growth; and 4) the ability to have peak experiences. Maslow later differentiated the growth need of self-actualization, adding two growth needs prior to self-actualization and one beyond that level. They are: Cognitive: to know, to understand, and explore; Aesthetic: symmetry, order, and beauty (Huitt 1998; Maslow 1968).

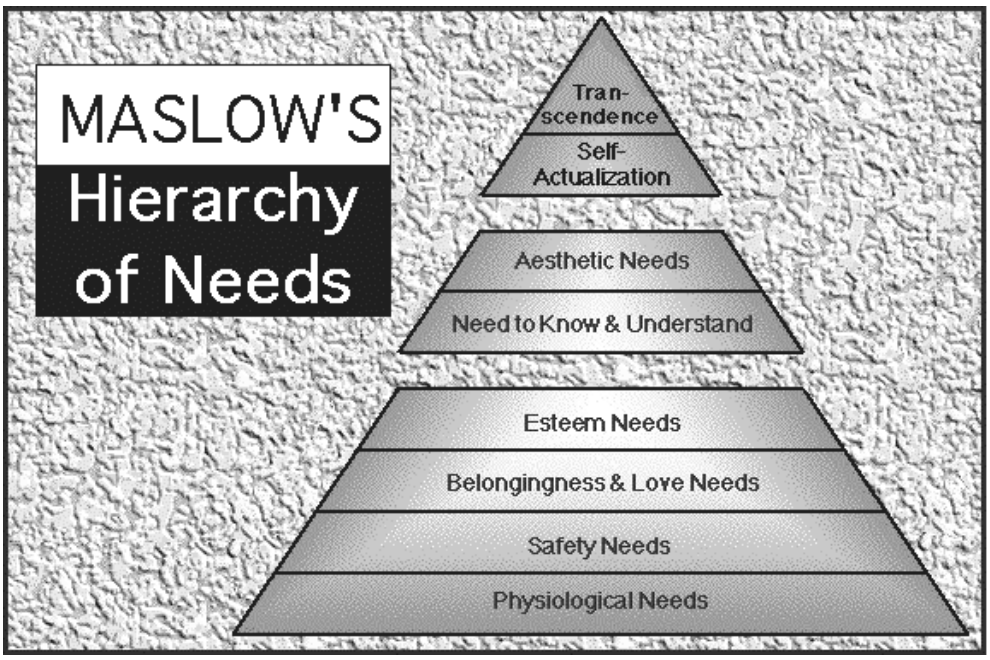


Figure 2.2 Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (Expanded)

Maslow also developed rather extensive lists in his writings to further explain his concepts. For example, the following list describes the needs that self-actualizers need in life to be happy (Huitt 1998):

Truth, rather than dishonesty.
Goodness, rather than evil.
Beauty, not ugliness or vulgarity.
Unity, wholeness, and transcendence of opposites, not arbitrariness or forced choices.
Aliveness, not deadness or the mechanization of life.
Uniqueness, not bland uniformity.
Perfection and necessity, not sloppiness, inconsistency, or accident.
Completion, rather than incompleteness.
Justice and order, not injustice and lawlessness.
Simplicity, not unnecessary complexity.
Richness, not environmental impoverishment.
Effortlessness, not strain.
Playfulness, not grim, humorless, drudgery.
Self-sufficiency, not dependency.
Meaningfulness, rather than senselessness.

Maslow felt that the only true path to self actualization was “hard work and total commitment to doing well the job that fate or personal destiny calls you to do, or any important job that ‘call for’ doing” and that “salvation is a by-product of self-actualizing work and self-actualizing duty” (Maslow 1965).

2.7 Kohlberg’s Model

Lawrence Kohlberg developed a model of moral reasoning that captures the ethical basis of decision-making in terms of virtue – and captures the invariant stage modeling of Piaget and Maslow’s hierarchy of needs. Kohlberg (1981) adopted many of the concepts of “virtue” by Socrates and Aristotle and summarized them as he developed his own stages of moral development:

> *First, virtue is ultimately one, not many, and it is always the same ideal form regardless of climate or culture.*
>
> *Second, the name of this ideal form is justice.*
>
> *Third, not only is the good one, but virtue is knowledge of the good. He who knows the good chooses the good.*
>
> *Fourth, the kind of knowledge of the good that is virtue is philosophical knowledge or intuition of the ideal form of the good, not correct opinion or acceptance of conventional beliefs.*
>
> *Fifth, the good can be taught, but its teachers must in a sense be philosopher-kings.*
>
> *Sixth, the reason the good can be taught is because we know it all along dimly or at a low level and its teaching is more a calling out than an instruction.*

Seventh, the reason we think the good cannot be taught is because the same good is known differently at different levels and direct instruction cannot take place across levels.

Eighth, then the teaching of virtue is the asking of questions and the pointing of the way, not the giving of answers. Moral education is the leading of people upward, not the putting into the mind of knowledge that was not there before.

Kohlberg developed six stages that he felt were developed in three different levels. The levels are preconventional (where the child is responsive to rules but values reside in quasi-physical needs); conventional (where moral values are in doing good or right and in meeting other's expectations; and postconventional or principles levels (where moral values can be applied universally) (Stewart and Sprinthall 1984; Kohlberg, 1981). The levels and stages of Kohlberg's Stages of Moral Development are depicted in Figure 2.3.

LEVEL	STAGE	SOCIAL ORIENTATION
Pre-conventional	**1**	**Punishment and Obedience**
	2	**Instrumental Relativist**
Conventional	**3**	**"Good Boy – Nice Girl"**
	4	**Society Maintaining/Law and Order**
Post-conventional	**5**	**Social Contract**
	6	**Universal Ethical Principle**

Figure 2.3 Kohlberg's Stages of Moral Development

The invariant stages of Kohlberg's theory were based on moral development moving through the three stages of pre-conventional moral reasoning to conventional moral thinking to post-conventional moral reasoning as a single construct. The hypotheses in this study focus on the latter two levels of

his construct of moral development – the shift from conventional reasoning (Stage 4 or law and order reasoning) to post-conventional reasoning (principled reasoning, or Stage 5 and Stage 6 reasoning).

The definition of conventional and post-conventional moral reasoning is based upon a distinction between "society-maintaining" reasoning (conventional reasoning) and "society-creating" reasoning (post-conventional moral reasoning). The following are the definitions of the specific levels of moral reasoning (Colby and Kohlberg 1987, 28-29):

> At Stage 4 the individual takes the perspective of a generalized member of society. This perspective is based upon a conception of the social system as a consistent set of codes and procedures that apply impartially to all members. The pursuit of individual interests is considered legitimate only when it is consistent with maintenance of the sociomoral system as a whole. The informally shared norms of Stage 3 are systematized at Stage 4 in order to maintain impartiality and consistency. A social structure that includes formal institutions and social roles serves to mediate conflicting claims and promote the common good. That is, there is an awareness that there can be conflicts even between good role occupants. This makes it necessary to maintain a system of rules for resolving such conflicts. The perspective taken is generally that of societal, legal, or religious system that has been codified into institutionalized laws and practices…
>
> The Stage 5 prior-to-society perspective is that of a rational moral agent aware of universalizable values and rights that anyone would choose to build into a moral society. The validity of actual laws and social systems can be evaluated in terms of the degree to which they preserve and protect these fundamental human rights and values. The social system is seen ideally as a contract freely entered into by each individual in order to preserve the rights and promote the welfare of all members. This is a "society-creating" rather than a "society-maintaining" perspective. Society is conceived as based on social cooperation and agreement.

A key component of the definitions above that relate directly to the hypotheses tested in this study is the perspective for Stage 4 reasoning – that "societal, legal, or religious system…has been codified into institutionalized laws and practices." In Kohlberg's theory, if this codification has not been completed, individuals will remain at Stage 3 ("Good Boy-Nice Girl") and will not "skip" stages to principled reasoning. The implications of this will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

Kohlberg provided "word pictures" for different contexts of moral development. One such definition of each stage of development is depicted in Figure 2.4. This figure provides a "word picture" for each stage of development for the "motive given for rule obedience or moral action" (Kohlberg 1981).

1 - <u>Punishment and Obedience</u>
Obey rules to avoid punishment

2 - <u>Instrumental Relativist</u>
Conform to obtain rewards, have favors returned, etc.

3 - <u>"Good Boy – Nice Girl"</u>
Conform to avoid disapproval and dislike by others

4 - <u>Society Maintaining / Law and Order</u>
Conform to avoid censure by authorities/guilt

5 - <u>Social Contract</u>
Conform to maintain respect of the impartial

6 - <u>Universal Ethical Principle</u>
Conform to avoid self-condemnation

"Motive given for rule obedience or moral action"

Figure 2.4 Kohlberg's Stages of Moral Development (Rule Obedience)

Figure 2.5 provides an additional "word picture" for each stage of development for another specific area of moral development – the individual determination and view on the value of human life (Kohlberg 1981).

1 – <u>Punishment and Obedience</u>
The value of human life is confused with the value of physical objects and is based on the social status or physical attributes of the possessor.

2 – <u>Instrumental Relativist</u>
The value of human life is seen as instrumental to the satisfaction of the needs of its possessor or of other people.

3 – <u>"Good Boy – Nice Girl"</u>
The value of human life is based on the empathy and affection of family members and others towards its possessor.

4 – <u>Society Maintaining / Law and Order</u>
Life is conceived as sacred in terms of its place in a categorical moral or religious order of rights and duties.

5 – <u>Social Contract</u>
Life is valued both in terms of its relation to community welfare and in terms of life being a universal human right.

6 – <u>Universal Ethical Principle</u>
Human life is sacred – a universal human value of respect for the individual.

"The Value of Human Life"

Figure 2.5 Kohlberg's Stages of Moral Development (Value of Human Life)

Kohlberg held that this model of moral development is applicable under the three different models of ethics – virtues, principles, and consequences. He draws from literature to show consistency in the understanding of moral development from Socrates and Aristotle, from Kant, and from Hegel and

Nietzsche. Kohlberg's assertion is that his model applies to all three philosophical views.

2.8 Moral Development Theory Tested

The application of Kohlberg's model has primarily been completed with a series of tests using moral dilemmas. The test with the widest usage has been the Defining Issues Test (DIT), developed by James Rest. The DIT has a series of moral dilemmas that are used to determine the moral development of subjects. Rest felt that moral thinking was based on the distribution of benefits and sharing of society's burdens – moral rules and practices dictate how one reacts to certain dilemmas, which provide insight into a person's level of moral development (Rest 1979). Based on his research, Rest developed the DIT with moral dilemmas and a series of statements to describe how one reacted to the dilemma. An example of the dilemma that Rest used (as well as Kohlberg in earlier research) is the "Heinz and the drug" dilemma:

> *In Europe a woman was near death from a special kind of cancer. There was one drug that 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 $2,000 for a small dose of the drug.*
>
> *The sick woman's husband, Heinz, went to everyone he knew to borrow the money, but he could only get together about $1,000, which is half of what it cost. He told the druggist that his wife was dying, and asked him to sell it cheaper or let him pay later. But the druggist said, "No, I discovered the drug and I'm going to make money on 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?*

After the respondent selects a choice on whether Heinz should steal the drug or not, they are given a series of twelve statements that were important in coming to the decision to steal or not steal the drug. These twelve statements for the Heinz scenario are:

1. *Whether a community's laws are going to be upheld.*
2. *Isn't it only natural for a loving husband to care so much for his wife that he'd steal?*
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. *Whether Heinz is a professional wrestler, or had considerable influence with professional wrestlers.*
5. *Whether Heinz is stealing for himself or doing this solely to help someone else.*
6. *Whether the druggist's rights to his invention have to be respected.*
7. *Whether the essence of living is more encompassing than the termination of dying, socially and individually.*
8. *What values are going to be the basis for governing how people act towards each other.*
9. *Whether the druggist is going to be allowed to hide behind a worthless law which only protects the rich anyhow.*
10. *Whether the law in the case is getting in the way of the most basic claim of any member of society.*
11. *Whether the druggist deserves to be robbed for being so greedy and cruel.*
12. *Would stealing in such a case bring about more total good for the whole society or not.*

Each of these statements relate to a specific stage of moral development; based upon the top four statements chosen by the respondent, a score is derived that indicates the primary stage of moral development for the respondent. One

of the primary indices used in this process is the “P” score, or the total score for the respondent for stage 5 and stage 6 (principled reasoning) scores.

It is interesting to note that the actual choice taken (such as to steal or not steal the drug) is not scored; only the underlying moral reasoning is scored. So, moral reasoning is measured, but not moral decision-making. The assumption is that the two are related; but that there is no one “right choice” from which to take. For example, is stealing the drug the right answer or wrong answer? The scored response (moral reasoning) allows either choice – but just scores the reason behind the choice. Some researchers have even asserted that high-principled reasoning can be used for any moral judgment and action or values (Rest 1979). There has been relatively little done in this research to support a relationship between the levels of moral reasoning and the actual choices made in the scenarios – the distinction between moral reasoning moral decision-making (Rest 1986).

2.9 The Stewart-Sprinthall Management Survey

The Stewart-Sprinthall Management Survey (SSMS) is an instrument based on the same design as the DIT – but contextually designed primarily for public administrators. This instrument has been developed over the last 15 years and used for research with administrators in the United States, as well as in Poland and Russia. The SSMS is based on research by Lawrence Kohlberg (1984) and James Rest (1979; 1986). The SSMS is a questionnaire based on three different scenarios, similar in test construction to the Defining Issues Test

developed by James Rest (1979; 1986). Each of the scenarios in the SSMS provide ethical dilemmas that a public official might encounter and present a number of considerations that could be appropriate for choosing the course of action for each scenario. The survey instrument provides a number of forced responses for each of the scenarios. The survey instrument differs from the Defining Issues Test (DIT) in that each scenario in the SSMS is based upon the context of public administrators in their jobs. The content of the three dilemmas in the instrument was created by Stewart based on her experience in problem-solving discussions with executives in a public-sector executive development program. The three scenarios used for the SSMS are friendship in promotion, accepting favors in return for favorable treatment of a contract proposal and manipulating a data set to cover up the loss of data. Like the DIT, the SSMS only measures the underlying moral reasoning for decisions – not the decisions themselves. For Stewart and Sprinthall's research of public officials in the three countries (Stewart and Sprinthall 1991; Stewart, Sprinthall, and Siemienska 1997; Stewart, Siemienska, and Sprinthall, 1999; Stewart, Sprinthall, and Kem 2002), the names used in the stories were adapted for contextual reasons. The three stories, adapted for the Russian situation are:

1. Promotion

Ivan Pavlovich was hired to revitalize a somewhat inefficient division in a city office. Soon after becoming department head, he held a meeting with all division personnel and announced that all future promotions would be based on demonstrated merit. The former director's practice of promoting based on friendship would be discontinued. Ivan Pavlovich issued a written statement to confirm this new policy.

About a month later, his boss told him that he expected Sergey, an individual on Ivan Pavlovich's staff, to be promoted. Sergey was a marginally effective worker and there were several other employees in the division much more deserving of promotion. Ivan Pavlovich pointed out to his boss several of the reasons for not wanting to promote Sergey at that time. But the boss responded that he really would like to see Sergey promoted. Ivan Pavlovich's ability to create more promotional opportunities for his staff depended on his cooperation in this situation.

2. Friends in the Government

In this ministry, like in many other agencies, private businesses are contracted to provide goods and services. Alexandre Semenovich deals directly with these representatives and has become good friends with one of them, Pavel Petrovich. Their wives have become friends as well and their families enjoy one another. Alexandre Semenovich occasionally joins Pavel Petrovich for lunch, and Pavel's company pays for it. This has always been a common practice in the country.

However, a dilemma arose recently when Pavel Petrovich invited Alexandre Semenovich and his family to join them in a cruise around Europe, which has been organized by his private company. Alexandre Semenovich knew it would be a great trip and his wife really wanted to go. He also knew that it could be seen by the public as a favor for a large contract that the ministry had just awarded to Pavel Petrovich's company.

3. Data Recreation

Yuri Ivanovich is the head of the Retirement Benefits Department in a city government. He was appointed to this position recently and has soon discovered that some payment data were accidentally deleted from the department computer file. There was no way to retrieve these data within the system. Yuri Ivanovich contacted regional branches of the retirement benefits charged with inputting these data originally and asked them to recreate the data. However, soon regional branches started to complain bitterly about the burden of this task.

The central administration of the Ministry of Social Defense that supervises the work of the department wanted to keep the recent data loss quiet, and the ministry's representative advised Yuri Ivanovich to devise a scheme to recreate data based on the assumption that certain relationships existed between the data elements. But Yuri Ivanovich argued that this would result in some people receiving more retirement benefits than they should and others receiving fewer. The ministry's representative felt that to meet payment deadlines of regional branches, there was no choice. Yuri Ivanovich was told to recreate the file as best he could.

Respondents are asked to read the stories and decide what plan of action (the “action choice”) they would follow. Then they review a list of alternate considerations and indicate which they consider most important under the circumstances. This list of considerations comprises a set of alternatives that present a forced choice between different conceptions of justice and moral reasoning. Similar to the Defining Issues Test, the choices are weighted according to the prioritization by the respondents and then scored.

If a respondent consistently selects Stage 4 (Law and Duty) items across the three dilemmas, we infer this concept of justice is preeminent in the person’s thinking. If, on the other hand, Stages 5 or 6, usually labeled “P,” is consistently selected, we assume that principled morality is the dominant factor in a person’s thinking. The score is expressed typically as a percentage, and is used as the dependent variable in the ANOVA design. The higher the stage, the higher the level of moral development as the basis for ethical decision-making.

The SSMS uses a similar scoring technique as the DIT. The stages of moral development are similar to those used in the DIT and based upon Kohlberg’s model. The stages used in the SSMS however, have collapsed stages 5 and 6 into a single stage “P” (Stewart, Sprinthall, and Siemienska 1997). The SSMS stage definitions and their explanations follow.

STAGE SCORE DEFINITIONS

1. Concern for Obedience and Punishment

To avoid punishment one must be obedient - Fear of punishment is a major motivator.

2. Concern for Cooperation and Reciprocity in a Single Instance

Cooperative interactions are entered into because each party has something to gain. "Let's make a deal." It is the exchange that makes it fair. Bargains are struck to achieve self-interest.

3. Concern for Enduring Personal Relationship

Maintaining good relationships over time is valued; approval of others is important. Be kind and considerate and you will get along with others -- reciprocal role taking; inner disposition is important.

4. Concern for Law and Duty

Authority maintains morality; everyone in society is obligated and protected by the law; respect for the authority of law is part of one's obligation to society.

P. (5/6) Concern for Abstract Principles of Societal Cooperation

This mode of reasoning envisions the mind of a hypothetical rational person - what agreement would a hypothetical group of rational people accept? -- Impartiality is central.

2.10 Moral Behavior – The Four Component Model

Rest's latest research indicated a greater movement towards a broader theory of moral behavior. His "four component" model identifies four different answers to the question "what must happen psychologically for moral behavior to take place?" From this question four different components for the theory of moral behavior were developed (Rest in Rest and Narvaez 1999):

Moral Sensitivity (interpreting the situation)
Moral Judgment (judging which action is morally right/wrong)
Moral Motivation (prioritizing moral values relative to other values)
Moral character (having courage, persisting, overcoming distractions, implementing skills)

Stephen Thoma has conducted further research using the DIT to conduct second-generation research using the four component model. Specific areas that Thoma has investigated include the relationship between moral reasoning and moral choices made (Rest et al 1999, 104).

The four-component model by Rest and his colleagues provides a model for the application of moral development theory to promote ethical behavior in organizations (Rest et al 1999) The first area in the model is "Moral Sensitivity," or interpreting the situation. An awareness of the different ethical bases can help to understand human nature. Regardless of which basis you accept, each provides "distinct filters that reveal different aspects of a situation requiring an ethical choice" (Svara 1995).

The second area is "Moral Judgment," or judging which action is morally right or wrong. The DIT and the SSMS provide easy to administer instruments

for employees to look at moral judgment. The ethics literature is abundant with ethical dilemmas for discussion – each of these provides a methodology to actually examine attitudes and to apply judgment. The DIT and SSMS provide a measure of how an organization or group differs from other groups. Development and discussion of appropriate codes of ethics and standards of conduct can also become useful vehicles for this process.

The third area is "Moral Motivation," or prioritizing moral values relative to other values. What conditions must exist for public officials to be motivated to principled behavior? Some of Maslow's preconditions are (Maslow 1965):

Assume everyone is to be trusted.

Assume everyone is to be informed as completely as possible of as many facts and truths as possible.

Assume in all your people the impulse to achieve.

Assume that everyone will have the same ultimate managerial objectives and will identify with them no matter where they are in the organization of in the hierarchy.

Assume good will among all the members of the organization rather than rivalry or jealousy.

Assume that everyone can enjoy good teamwork, friendship, good group spirit, good group homonomy, good belongingness, and group love.

Assume that everyone prefers to feel important, needed, useful, successful, proud, respected, rather than unimportant, interchangeable, anonymous, wasted, unused, expendable, disrespected.

Assume that everyone likes to be justly and fairly appreciated, preferably in public.

These assumptions and conditions pertain to establishing a proper environment to encourage moral and ethical behavior. Protection of whistleblowers is an excellent example of how to encourage and motivate morally correct behavior.

The Fourth area is “Moral Character,” having courage and persistence, overcoming distractions, and implementing skills. This, in a nutshell, is doing the right thing. The first three are to be sensitive to moral issues, to know how to respond to a situation in a moral and ethically proper manner, and then to be motivated to do what is right. This final step is to put it all into action.

2.11 Chapter Summary

The theory of moral reasoning is based upon the foundation of ethics – to determine what is “right” in a given situation. A review of the different bases of ethics (virtue and intuition, principles or deontology, and the consequences or utilitarian approach) is the starting point for moral reasoning. The developmental work of Piaget and Maslow provided insight into the motivation for moral reasoning and the development of invariant “stages” of development and motivation. Lawrence Kohlberg provided the key theoretical framework for measuring moral reasoning. This theoretical framework was further developed and expanded by Stewart and Sprinthall for measuring the moral reasoning of public officials. Rest and others further refined the linkage between moral reasoning and moral decision-making with the four-component model. This body of research provides the foundation for the current study.

Chapter 3 will provide a review of the existing literature as it applies to the three general areas of this study – how decisions are made (moral reasoning), underlying reasons in terms of societal factors for these decisions (historical and traditional factors, social institutions, and personal history) and actual decision-making (the “action choice”). The review is focused to provide a review of the existing literature as it applies to these in the context of the three countries studied – the United States, Poland, and Russia.

CHAPTER 3
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

3.1 Chapter Introduction

The purpose of this study is to investigate hypotheses concerning the relationship of moral reasoning and moral development with: 1) historical and traditional societal factors; 2) connections to existing social institutions; 3) individual factors; and 4) the relationship between moral decision-making and stages of moral reasoning by presenting and analyzing results from research conducted in the United States, Poland, and Russia.

This study is based upon the conceptual model that moral reasoning (the cognitive process for an individual to determine "the right thing to do" in the context of a particular moral decision or action) is affected by development and contextual factors, both short-term and long-term in nature, and that under certain circumstances, context can overcome the normal stages of moral development. The potential implication is that moral reasoning develops in different ways and has different impacts on behavior depending on context.

The context of the three countries studied – the United States, Poland, and Russia is a critical factor in developing the framework for the presentation and discussion of the data in this study. For this reason, research related directly to the specific societal factors considered in the hypotheses is also presented in this chapter.

3.2 Review of Moral Reasoning Literature

The literature in moral reasoning, particularly as it applies to Kohlberg's model of the stages of moral development, has been wide and varied in the last 35 years. Most of the literature centers around three of the characteristics of Kohlberg's theory (Kohlberg 1975, 48):

> *1. Stages are "structured wholes," or organized systems of thought. This means individuals are consistent in level of moral judgment.*
>
> *2. Stages form an invariant sequence. Under all conditions except extreme trauma, movement is always forward, never backward. Individuals never skip stages, movement is always to the next stage up. This is true in all cultures.*
>
> *3. Stages are "hierarchical integrations." Thinking at a higher stage includes or comprehends within it lower stage thinking. There is a tendency to function at or prefer the highest stage available.*

Kohlberg based his theory upon the principles-based approach to ethics, following the progression of ethical theories from "Kant through Mill and Dewey to John Rawls" (Kohlberg 1975, 50). His two highest stages of post-conventional moral reasoning integrated concepts that were representative of all three primary ethical theories – Mill's "utilitarian" theory, Kant's "categorical imperative," and the virtue-based ethics concept of the "golden rule" (Stewart, Sprinthall, and Kem 2002, 284). In Kohlberg's moral development theory, the actual decision made it not important – the key is on the underlying moral reason for the decisions made, based on the principles of justice that include liberty, equality, and reciprocity (Rawls 1971, 7-11). Kohlberg also felt that post-conventional or principled reasoning was held by the minority of the population; the majority of adults

operate at the fourth stage of moral reasoning, or the law and order orientation (Kohlberg 1975, 51).

Kohlberg conducted research on his theory in a number of different countries. As early as 1968, he had studied moral development in the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Taiwan, Mexico, and Turkey (Kohlberg 1968, 25). By 1996 his theory had been tested in at least 27 cultures (Czyzowska and Niemczynski 1996, 441). Generally, Kohlberg's theory of cross-culture applicability has been held true (Kohlberg 1968; Stewart and Sprinthall 1991; Walker and Moran 1991; Czyzowska and Niemczynski 1996; Stewart, Sprinthall, and Siemienska 1997).

In 1994 Stewart and Sprinthall presented six propositions of the framework of the sequence of stages of value and ethical development. These were (Stewart and Sprinthall 1994, 326):

1. *Stages are qualitatively distinct systems of value choices.*
2. *The stages form a hierarchy.*
3. *The sequence is invariant.*
4. *The system transcends cultures in urban societies.*
5. *The system is gender neutral.*
6. *There is a consistent relationship between stage and moral behavior.*

There have, however, been a number of criticisms of Kohlberg's model, including specific criticisms of several of the propositions listed above. Criticisms of Kohlberg's model have included the lack of correlation of the value of equality with moral reasoning because of the importance of a justice orientation

(Diessner, Mayton and Dolen, 1993). A prominent critic of Kohlberg's Theory was Carol Gilligan, who felt that gender differences were not fully accounted for due to Kohlberg's research that was primarily conducted with males using male-dominated stories (Gilligan 1982; Woods 1996; Gilligan 1998; Linn 2001). Gilligan shifted the focus of moral reasoning from a justice orientation to a cares orientation from the perspective of how an individual develops a moral "voice" (Linn 2001). Gilligan theorized that women develop morally through a process of caring rather than an orientation of justice and fairness – and in Kohlberg's theory and research, this difference was wrongly measured as inferior (Woods 1996). Recent research has consistently indicated that gender differences do make a difference – with women having higher scores in principled reasoning (Stewart, Siemienska and Sprinthall 1999; Stewart, Sprinthall and Kem 2002).

James Rest and his colleagues provided a number of criticisms of Kohlberg's theory as they developed a "Neo-Kohlbergian" approach to moral reasoning. Their criticisms included the problem of a "foundational principle," a need to use one primary principle (such as the Categorical Imperative) as the underpinning for moral development (Rest et al 2000, 383). They also felt that the theory needed intermediate constructs, that there was an overemphasis of justice, and that Kohlberg only addressed one process in the psychology of morality – moral judgment (Rest et al 1999, 10-13). Rest also felt that there were not "hard" stages, but rather "soft" stages of development, which his colleagues further developed into a mixed model of "schemas" of development (Rest et al 2000, 385). The principle of universality in the stages of moral development in

the Neo-Kohlbergian approach was also taken into question, where “morality is a social construction, evolving from the community’s experiences, particular institutional arrangements, deliberations, and the aspirations that are voiced at the time and which win the support of the community” (Rest et al 2000, 385).

The basic characteristics of Kohlberg’s theory of the stages of moral development have remained relatively intact in the literature. There is an acknowledgement of the differences in gender and adaptations of the stages in the literature, but the concept of an invariant sequence from conventional moral thinking to post-conventional moral thinking remains generally constant. The concept of the universality of the theory in all cultures also remains generally constant, with several exceptions in the literature.

The notable exceptions to the concept of the universality of Kohlberg’s moral development theory is the research in Poland by Jasinska-Kania (1988) and Stewart, Sprinthall and Siemienska (1997), and the research in Russia by Stewart, Sprinthall, and Kem (2002), which relates directly to this study. Two other prominent researchers have also questioned Kohlberg’s concept of universality – Paulo Freire and Richard Shweder.

Paulo Friere’s studies in Brazil in 1973 reported an absence of stage four reasoning, similar to the results in Stewart, Sprinthall and Siemienska’s results in Poland (Paulo Freire 1973; Stewart, Sprinthall, and Kem 2002, 291). These results present a challenge to the universality of Kohlberg’s model and a possible challenge to the invariant sequence of development:

> Freire reports the absence of stage four reasoning in his level of critical consciousness in his levels of critical consciousness – for instance, intransitive and semi-intransitive parallel Kohlberg's stages one and two, naïve transitive is similar to Kohlberg's level of principled reasoning. Thus, research in Brazil under an authoritarian regime yielded similar results as research from Poland during communism, that is, the relative absence of stage four reasoning.

Richard Shweder's disagreement with the concept of the universality of moral reasoning is based upon his belief that "available research data do not support the idea that principled or Stage 5 and 6 reasoning is to be found in non-Western cultures" (Kohlberg, Levine, and Hewer 1983, 106). Shweder's research of Brahman and "untouchable" families in India suggested the presence of culture-specific moral codes with "a portrait of the development of the understanding of obligations that differs from Kohlberg's" (Shweder, Mahapatra and Miller 1990, 194).

The research in Poland by Stewart, Sprinthall and Siemienska (1997) suggested a challenge to the "invariant sequence" of Kohlberg's theory. Stewart, Sprinthall and Siemienska found that "principled reasoning strongly outranked deference to law or rules" as the preferred basis for decision-making among Polish administrators in the fall of 1990; the finding of their research conducted in 1993-94 was that the preferred basis for decision-making was the law and order orientation (Stewart, Sprinthall and Siemienska 1997, 445). The second characteristic of Kohlberg's theory states (Kohlberg 1975, 48):

> *2. "Stages form an invariant sequence. Under all conditions except extreme trauma, movement is always forward, never backward. Individuals never skip stages, movement is always to the next stage up. This is true in all cultures."*

The findings from the 1993-94 research in Poland compared to the 1990 survey suggests that public officials did not conform to the theory by “skipping” law and order reasoning in 1990 and then regressing “backward” to law and order as their primary moral reasoning orientation in 1993-94. The research in Russia suggests the same results as the Polish results in 1990. The primary orientation for Russian public officials in 1998-99 was principled reasoning rather than the law and order orientation (Stewart, Sprinthall and Kem 2002, 293).

These findings provide the background for the development of the hypotheses for this study. Even though the transition from communism to democracy may have been traumatic for some, it was a transition, not a revolution – and certainly not the “extreme trauma” that Kohlberg refers to in his second characteristic. The three characteristics of Kohlberg’s model – refined into six propositions by Stewart and Sprinthall – are hypothesized in this study as not being universal in all circumstances; context can overcome the normal stages of moral reasoning. A review of the literature suggests that the context of history and tradition in a society, the context of social institutions, and personal history affect moral reasoning. These factors provide an explanation for the differences in moral reasoning among public officials in Russia and public officials in the United States and Poland. In turn, these contextual factors affect the linkage between the levels of moral reasoning and the “action choice” selected by public officials.

3.3 Review of the Literature on the Context of History and Tradition

The first hypothesis of this study focuses on historical and traditional societal factors. The implication is that if historical and traditional factors within society have weakened support for the "rule of law," then public officials will "skip" law and order reasoning for principled reasoning as a primary orientation. The context of the "baggage" of history and tradition in society will affect the levels of moral reasoning. This hypothesis is stated:

Hypothesis 1:

For public officials, the weaker the support of contextual factors for the legal process, the higher the level of principled reasoning and the lower the level of "law and order" moral reasoning.

Contextual factors for the "rule of law" are particularly important in terms of the orientation on Kohlberg's stage 4 of development – concern for law and duty. Kohlberg (1975, 51) felt that the majority of adults operate at the fourth stage of moral reasoning, or the law and order orientation – and that his theory of moral reasoning was universal, applying to all cultures (Kohlberg 1983, 71-75).

A review of the literature on historical and traditional factors in Russian society indicate a completely different view of "democracy" and the "rule of law" than what is normatively understood in the United States. Historically, Russian society has not had a developed system of the "rule of law." Communism under the USSR was based upon a "unity and hierarchy of powers, with an institutional

structure ultimately ruled by a single party" with a monopoly of power (Fikentscherr 1993, 27). The transition for the Russian Federation to a democracy has inherent difficulties in establishing a system of governance based upon the "rule of law." These difficulties include the lack of an appropriate legal structure, restricted freedoms, and the lack of an independent judiciary (Vlasihin 1993, 46-52).

Alexander Kotchegura of the World Bank has provided a unique perspective on the issue of the "rule of law" in Russia. He provides the following comments (Kotchegura 1997):

> Limited accountability of the apparatus, power vacuum, weakness of law enforcing agencies, upsurge of crime provide wider opportunities for pursuing vested interests.
>
> ---
>
> Since the 16th Century state bureaucracy has been one of the main actors in the Russian history irrespective of the political regime in the country. To a considerable extent bureaucracy is responsible for the existing widespread alienation of citizens to the state and their cynical attitude towards the law.
>
> ---
>
> So the traditions of "authoritarian, Byzantine type" rule and of disregard of the law are strong and those of defending own rights and making own demands known are not yet developed.
>
> ---
>
> It would be incorrect to conclude that most civil servants in Russia are not dutiful and law abiding employees. However, prevailing in the Russian Civil Service instability and uncertainty, complemented by highly unattractive remuneration conditions, seriously distorts civil servants' traditional incentives - patriotism, loyalty, and sense of duty and devaluates such merits as responsibility, honesty and respect for the law.
>
> ---

Stephen F. Cohen (1999, 43) describes the Russian transition from communism to democracy in the following way:

> Presiding over all this has been a barely disguised form of Russian authoritarianism called political reform. A monarch-like President ruling mostly by executive decrees in defiance of a Parliament living anxiously in the shadow of its recently destroyed predecessor, but himself fearful of nearly mutinous armed forces, has been called constitutional democracy. He has been supported or not depending on their oligarchical interests by a largely bought national media sometimes called a free press. Beyond the capital, relations with feudal-like baronies that ignore the constitution, refuse to pay taxes, forbid essential products from leaving their territories, and even threaten to print their own currencies and take over local nuclear missile installations have been called federalism.

In Russia, the transition to "democratization, marketization, and cooperation" has not created a sense of order, but has rather created an anarchical void with a longing for many citizens to return to the ordered society of the past (Nation 1997, 14). Broad respect for the "rule of law" within Russia does not exist because of a tendency by the central government to rule by edict and the relative impotence of the court system. Russia's historical tradition has been that the interests of the state have primacy over the interests of private citizens (Nagaev and Wörgötter 1995, 11). Problems in the formation and development of a new Russian system based on the "rule of law" have included a gap between democratic principles and real policy, in addition to well publicized instances of corruption and lack of coordination within government agencies (Barishpoletz, Manilov and Piumov 1998, 124). Bank Austria reported that "the number of felonies in Russia has paralyzed the population with fear and created widespread mistrust in government leaders" (Nagaev and Wörgötter 1995, 11). As the OECD reported in 1998 concerning the "rule of law" in the Russian Federation (OECD 1998):

> Rule of law is at the heart of a democratic system of government, ensuring fairness and equality of individual citizens. These cannot be guaranteed in the absence of clearly defined rights in the constitution and laws of a country and in the absence of adequate provisions for their enforcement.

There have been a number of research studies that have looked at cross-cultural contextual factors and their relationship to moral reasoning. Rest and others have studied the correlation of political attitudes and political choice with the DIT "P" score in over 20 research studies. The measures of political attitudes and political choice have included "law and order" in six of these studies. Their findings were that measures of political attitudes and political choice were "strongly and consistently associated" with the DIT "P" score over the years (Rest et al 1999, 86-89).

In the initial research by Stewart and Sprinthall in the United States, they found that all public managers in their research in the United States were pulled towards the law and order orientation, or Stage 4. This suggested a tendency towards adhering to agency rules exclusively, rather than using other reasoning options (Stewart and Sprinthall 1994, 342).

Priem et al (1998) studied business students from the United States and Belize in resolving context related moral dilemmas. Their findings were that Belizeans, as citizens of a less developed country, resolved the dilemmas with higher stages of moral reasoning than the students from the United States.

Three interesting studies of moral development in the People's Republic of China indicated differences in moral reasoning due to context of culture. Walker

and Moran (1991) conducted a study in the People's Republic of China to examine the cross-cultural universality of Kohlberg's theory of moral reasoning. The findings from this research were consistent with finding in other societies, with the exception of a greater desire on the part of Chinese participants to insist upon "concrete analyses in actual contexts and a resistance to abstract justifications" (Walker and Moran 1991, 153). Walker and Moran findings also suggested that the Chinese society was more collectivist.

Chang (1996) conducted a qualitative study of moral development in mainland Chinese men and women studying in the United States. The primary findings in this study underscored the situational nature of moral conflict and suggest that power – rooted in gender or culture – was the "critical dimension of human relationships for the interpretation of moral voice."

Tsui and Windsor (2001, 148) studied the moral reasoning of auditors in China and Australia using the Defining Issues Test (DIT). There findings were that the Australian auditors had higher levels of principled reasoning than the auditors from China. They report that their finding were consistent with cultural values held by auditors from the two countries – Australians had less secure cultural values, were more individualistic, display personal steadiness, and have more equal relationships among people, while auditors from Mainland China and Hong Kong lived in a culture with greater security, were more collectivist, less equal in relationships, and displayed thrift and perseverance.

Czyzowska and Niemczynski (1996) conducted a study in 1985-87 in Poland. Even though they state that the results "generally support Kohlberg's

claim of cross-cultural universality," the findings indicated "a small number of Stage 4 and post-conventional judgements (sic) were found" (Czyzowska and Niemczynski 1996, 441). Previous research in Poland by Jasinska (1989) had also indicated almost an absence of stage four reasoning. By 1993-94, research by Stewart, Sprinthall, and Siemienska indicated that the level of stage four reasoning for public administrators in Poland was similar the level of stage four reasoning in American public administrators: "Polish local officials looked much like their U.S. colleagues in selecting law and duty as their primary system of moral reasoning." These results surprised even the Polish officials, of whom one questioned the results, stating, "We were taught that the law is not realistic and does not bring justice" (Stewart, Sprinthall, and Siemienska 1997, 451). This was not the view shared by all in the Polish sample, however. One respondent explained the attraction to law and order reasoning in the following way: "[We have] bad memories of the Communist regime, when a small group of people had access to government, made decisions, and divided the goods without any social control. Because of that history, we now need to establish transparent and controlled decision making." (Stewart, Sprinthall, and Siemienska 1997, 451)

The review of the literature suggests that the context of society does affect the level of principled reasoning and "law and order" reasoning. These findings and the historical and traditional context of Russian society provide the background for the first hypothesis in this study. The expected relationship for the first hypothesis is for public officials the weaker the support of contextual

factors for the legal process, the higher the level of principled reasoning and the lower the level of “law and order” moral reasoning.

3.4 Review of the Literature on the Context of Social Institutions

The second hypothesis of this study focuses on social institutions, such as the church, trade unions, and the family. These institutions of the civil society can be independent “society-maintaining” factors within a society. If the connections to these institutions are weak or the institutions themselves are poorly developed, then the regard for the “rule of law” will be weak. This hypothesis is stated:

Hypothesis 2:

For public officials, the weaker the connections to social institutions, the lower the level of “law and order” reasoning.

The concept of social institutions used in this study is similar to the institutional view of Social Capital Theory, which argues that “the vitality of community networks and civil society is largely the product of the political, legal, and institutional environment. The concept does differ, however, since research in the institutional view of Social Capital Theory views social capital as a dependent variable (Woolcock and Narayan 2000, 234). Social Capital Theory research has also been generally restricted to study in the United States, with

“deep roots in theorists who have emphasized the relation between pluralistic associational life and American democracy” (Garson 2003).

A review of the literature indicates that the factor that has received the greatest attention as an independent “society maintaining” institution in previous research has been the institution of the church.

The institution of the church considered two distinct but related concepts – “religiosity” and “spirituality.” Religiosity relates directly to specific measurable behaviors, such as attendance at religious services and membership in a church. Spirituality relates directly to the internalization of beliefs about religious matters, such as belief in God and belief in sin. Neither terms are directly tied to any particular faith group; however, in each country there are primary religions that have had a societal impact. In Russia, the primary faith group is the Russian Orthodox Church; in Poland, the Roman Catholic Church; and in the United States, both the Roman Catholic Church and Protestant denominations. The two constructs of religiosity and spirituality are often used in an interchangeable manner, even though they are not always interrelated. Spirituality can be seen as an individual attribute while religiosity can be as related to an organized social entity (Harris et al 1999, 414).

Moral reasoning and the underlying values for ethical decision-making in all three countries are reflective of societal values in the respective countries. The strong influence of the Catholic Church in Poland also played a role in maintaining certain underlying values in Polish society, which was not replicated in the Russian Orthodox Church.

The history of the church in Russia is indeed unique. Introduced by force in 988 by Vladimir (Kotchegura 1997, 4; Rambaud 1902, 59) the church has traditionally held a position of apparent importance, but without an impact on the daily lives of Russians (Dark and Essex 1938, 94). Historically, the impact of the church in Russia has a unique nature when compared to the United States and the predominantly Catholic society of Poland. In 1852 Belinsky wrote:

> In your opinion, the Russian people are the most religious in the world. This is a lie! The basis of religiousness is pietism, reverence, fear of God. But the Russian pronounces the name of God while scratching . . . Look closer, and you will see that it is by nature a profoundly atheist people. It is still possessed of many superstitions, but there is no trace of religiousness. [For the Russian,] mystic exaltation is not part of his nature; for this he possesses too much common sense, clearness, and definiteness of mind, and this is perhaps the immensity of his future historic destiny." (Dark and Essex 1938, 94)

The approach for the Communist regime in the Soviet Union was to emphasize practical atheism, with attacks against visible and explicit manifestations of religious beliefs (Bryan 1992, 147). As a weak institution of civic society in Russia, the church has never realized an independent "society-maintaining" influence with its own internal law and principles of justice in the larger context of societal support for the rule of law.

The close ties that reportedly existed between the KGB and the Russian Orthodox Church during the fall of the Soviet Union and the establishment of the Russian Federation contributed to a cynical attitude within Russian society towards institutions of religion (Pospielovsky 1995, 48; Dunlop 1995, 17). The

factor of the church as an institution has the potential for providing an explanation for differences in moral reasoning in Russian society.

Kohlberg (1975, 30) felt that moral development was not related to religion or spirituality. He stated that

> "This sequence is not dependent upon a particular religion or any religion at all in the usual sense. I found no important differences in the development of moral thinking among Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Buddhists, Moslems, and atheists. Religious values seem to go through the same stages as all other values.

Kohlberg did, however, acknowledge that religious beliefs may influence moral thinking, and that religious thinking changes with development (Rest et al 1999, 173). Strongly influenced by James W. Fowler (1981), Kohlberg developed descriptions of different levels of religious thinking. For example, for monotheistic religions Stage Three is described as, "God is a friend and benefactor who is interested in you and knows your every thought and deed; therefore you want to be your best so you don't disappoint God" (Rest et al, 173).

Rest and his colleagues reviewed 22 DIT studies concerning religion and found that "The most striking finding from the literature relating religious measures to moral judgment development is the consistent relationship between DIT P scores and religious beliefs" (Rest et al, 1999, 117). Further research by Rest and others indicated differences between members of an orthodox/ fundamentalist denomination (using a Baptist congregation) and members of a progressive denomination (using a United Church of Christ congregation). In this research, the members of the progressive denomination had significantly higher P scores than the members of the orthodox/fundamentalist congregation. As a

result of this research, Rest and others felt that orthodoxy in religion may relate directly to a rule of law orientation (Rest et al, 117-124).

> If orthodox religious teachings emphasize that moral authority that is transcendent, supernatural, and beyond attempts at human understanding – and that it is sinful to question, critique, or scrutinize its authority – then orthodoxy may reinforce itself, making difficult movement out of orthodoxy. Over time, the orthodox person may become increasingly oriented to Stage 4, rejecting both developmentally lower forms and developmentally higher forms of moral thinking. The lower forms of thinking (personal interests) are rejected because they are seen as selfish; the higher forms (Postconventional) are rejected because the person is blocked from formulating newer, more critical ideas, because logical reflection and rational scrutiny are viewed as heretical and sinful. Empirical evidence for this interpretation is the significant positive correlation for maintaining norms (Stage4) with religious fundamentalism.

Day and Naedts (1995) conducted research in Belgium to compare religious judgment and moral judgment. An interesting observation of this research was the language that subjects used in describing their religious beliefs. They generally found that those respondents who described God in terms such as harsh, severe, judgmental, and distant had completely different scores than those who described God in terms such as loving, kind, and merciful. Factors having to do with the image of God, the nature of religious institutions, and hierarchical structure were felt to be important variables in understanding moral and religious judgment (Day and Naedts 1995, 16). Sapp (1986) and Peatling (1977) additionally found evidence of “a ceiling effect in religious thought on the part of some highly fundamentalist religious groups” (Stewart, Sprinthall and Kem 2002, 292).

Robert Audi presents another view – the view that moral decision-making need not be related to religion at all (Audi 1989, 291).

> My view is that a person can be moral without being religious and that there could be moral truths even if there should be no religious truths that support them. This is not to deny that religious commitments often motivate people to be moral; indeed, it is not to deny that there might be religious truths sufficient to guarantee moral ones or that, other things being equal, people who are religious – in some traditions – have a stronger tendency to be moral than those who are not. My point is simply that moral truths need not derive from religious ones, or, even if they should so derive, need not be knowable only through the latter; and whatever causal connections there may be between commitment to one or another religion and being moral, a moral agent need not necessarily be religious.

One factor that was considered with the Stewart-Sprinthall Study on Poland (1997) was the factor of religiosity, measured by church attendance. Even though religion is not generally associated with heightened moral reasoning, Stewart and Sprinthall did hypothesize that this would play a role in Poland because of the active role the Catholic Church played in democratic reform in Poland. The results were that religiosity appeared unrelated to the SSMS "P" score among public officials in Poland (Stewart, Sprinthall, and Siemienska 1997, 450).

Interestingly, research by Pollack and Pickel (1999) indicated that the strong position of the church in Poland has become problematic. In their research, they found that 60% of the Polish people think that religion has too much power and that "religious leaders should not influence the government." In Russia, they found a very low connection between the state and church in 1999,

with no major conflicts existing between church and state (Pollack and Pickel 1999, 11).

The role of the family as an institution was addressed in two of the studies in mainland China as having an impact on moral reasoning. Tsui and Windsor (2001) addressed the contextual factors of individualism, while Walker and Moran (1991) found specific instances of referring to filial piety in a dilemma that presented options of whether or not to obey a father who had broken a promise.

In an initial presentation of his stage theory, Kohlberg (1969) identified an authoritarian family structure, which diminishes the role-taking opportunities for children, as a factor that stalled moral development (Puka 2002, 340-341).

The review of the literature suggests that the context of social institutions, particularly the institution of the church, does affect the level of "law and order" reasoning. These findings and the context of Russian society provide the background for the second hypothesis in this study. The expected relationship for the second hypothesis is for public officials the weaker the connections to social institutions, the lower the level of "law and order" reasoning.

3.5 Review of the Literature on the Context of Personal History

The third hypothesis of this study focuses on individual factors, such as age and gender and personal history. Regardless of historical/traditional factors and social institutions, individual factors that reinforce the regard for the "rule of law" will result in a stronger orientation towards law and order reasoning. This hypothesis is stated:

Hypothesis 3:

For public officials, whatever the contextual support for law and order, the greater the individual factors that reinforce conventional moral thinking, the stronger the support for "law and order" reasoning.

A review of the literature suggests that individual factors such as gender, education, age, and personal history can affect the stages of moral reasoning. These factors are hypothesized to affect moral reasoning in spite of the societal factors of history and tradition and the institutions in society.

Carol Gilligan was perhaps one of the most vocal challengers to Kohlberg's theory of moral development. Even though she is most closely associated with criticisms of Kohlberg's bias in terms of gender, she also addressed other individual factors as having an impact on the stages of moral reasoning. In 1998 she wrote (Gilligan 1998, 133):

> The disassociation from relationship and specifically from relationship with women and from vast reaches of the inner world hid the experiences, the thoughts and feeling of all people who were considered to be lesser, less human…Education, social class, culture and civilization were not necessarily associated with higher stages of moral reasoning…Education might lead into disassociation, into profound kinds of not knowing…."

Gender differences in moral reasoning have received a great deal of attention as the subject of research. Rest and his colleagues report on 56 different studies using the Defining Issues Test (DIT) for gender differences. Even though their meta-analysis of gender differences found that generally

women had higher principled reasoning in the research, they also conclude that "gender is a trivial variable in accounting for DIT variance" and conclude that education was a more powerful factor in determining differences in moral reasoning. (Rest et al 119, 116-117).

The conclusion regarding gender as a significant is factor in moral reasoning in not shared in much of the literature. Stewart and Sprinthall's study of U.S. public administrators using the SSMS did not find gender as a differentiating factor (Stewart & Sprinthall, 1994). Their studies in Poland found gender as a significant factor; in Poland, the finding of the study was that gender makes a difference in modes of ethical reasoning. In their study, women scored at a significantly higher level than males in principles reasoning, and women scored slightly lower on "law and duty" reasoning than their male counterparts (Stewart, Sprinthall and Siemienska 1999, 229-230).

Stewart, Siemienska, and Sprinthall (1997) looked at a number of factors that were expected to influence moral reasoning in Poland. These included organizational role, demographics (age and gender), personal history (educational level, party affiliation and religion), organizational context, and attitudes toward decommunization. The only factors that were significant for principled reasoning were educational backgrounds (those trained in law and administration compared to those trained in economics) and gender (Stewart, Sprinthall and Siemienska 1997, 449-451). The findings on gender differences in Poland indicated that gender did have an impact on principled reasoning, with females having higher principled scores and significantly lower law and order

(Stage 4) scores than men (Stewart, Sprinthall and Siemienska 1997, 450; Stewart, Siemienska and Sprinthall 1999, 230).

The findings on educational background and gender differences in Poland are consistent with previous findings by Kohlberg and others (Kohlberg 1986; Rest et al 1999). Stewart, Sprinthall and Siemienska reported that "as in the United States, most of the organizational, demographic, personal, and context factors that might have influenced the propensity to move to a principled mode of reasoning in fact did not produce this result" (Stewart, Sprinthall and Siemienska 1997, 451).

Stewart and Sprinthall's study in Russia had similar results for gender differences. Although the results were not statistically significant, women were more likely to select principled reasoning than their male counterparts in Russia. They note, "in light of this finding, future research should probe statistically significant differences that might be revealed in a larger sample size" (Stewart, Sprinthall and Kem 2002, 287).

In addressing gender differences in moral development, Woods (1996) notes "That there may be valid socialization explanations, specifically in the manifestation of gender roles." She further states "...context as well as situational factors and gender appear to have an impact on how a moral problem is resolved" (Woods 1996, 381). Linn (2001, 598) adds to this argument:

> The crucial point is that the difference between men and women reflects the different epistemological assumptions between Kohlberg and Gilligan. In Kohlberg's morality of justice, the moral realm is constituted by abstract principles and disembodied autonomous moral thinkers who view themselves as subjects…
>
> Statistics are only tangentially relevant to this discussion, if relevant at all. Her (Gilligan's) research has resonated strongly with women, because she is describing a moral self-representation that many women hold.

Many studies have suggested that education is a critical factor in moral reasoning. Rest and his colleagues reported that education as a factor in moral reasoning was 250 times more powerful than gender (Rest et al 1999, 116). Gilligan noted that "education might lead into disassociation, into profound kinds of not knowing" (Gilligan 1998, 133). Bergman reports that education is a key characteristic that was "consistently positively related to level of moral education" (Bergman 2002, 117).

The field of study in education is also suggested as a factor in the levels of moral reasoning. Students in seminary studies, moral philosophy and political science score the highest in principled reasoning (Bergman 2002, 117; Rest et al 1999, 69). Stewart, Sprinthall and Kem (2002, 288) found that respondents with technical educations were more likely to prefer law and order reasoning than non-technically oriented educated colleagues. Studies of accountants (considered a technical field by Stewart, Sprinthall and Kem) revealed a primary orientation towards law and order reasoning (Priem et al 1998, 498; Swisher, Rizzo and Marley 2001, 60).

Age is also suggested as an important factor in the level of moral reasoning. Weber and Wasieleski (2001) report contradictory findings concerning this factor for moral reasoning. Age was reported to account for 30% to 50% of the variance in moral reasoning, with respondents 40 years and older having higher reasoning scores than those younger than 40 (Rest 1986, 176; Weber and Wasieleski 2001, 84-85). Weber and Wasieleski suggest the reason for this finding is that "younger managers may be more concerned about personal success or caring for a new, growing family" while the focus for older managers may be more concerned about "leaving society better off than she or he found it or an attention to her or his legacy" (Weber and Wasieleski 2001, 84). Weber and Wasieleski also report findings in other research (Elm and Nichols 1993) that suggests "younger managers exhibited higher moral reasoning stages than older managers, contrary to predominate findings" (Weber and Wasieleski 2001, 85).

The review of the literature suggests that whatever the context of historical/traditional factors and social institutions, individual factors that reinforce the regard for the "rule of law" affect orientation towards "law and order" reasoning. These findings provide the background for the third hypothesis in this study. The expected relationship for the third hypothesis is for public officials, whatever the contextual support for law and order, the greater the individual factors that reinforce conventional moral thinking, the stronger the support for "law and order" reasoning.

3.6 Review of the Literature on the "Action Choice"

The fourth hypothesis of this study focuses on the relationship between the contextual historical and traditional factors, social institutions, and individual factors. When these contextual factors affect moral reasoning, they also affect the relationship between moral reasoning and the actual choices made in moral decision-making. This hypothesis is stated:

Hypothesis 4:

For public officials, the weaker contextual historical and traditional factors, social institutions, and individual factors support "law and order" moral reasoning, the weaker the relationship between moral decision-making and stages of moral reasoning.

Kohlberg's focus was on the underlying reasons for moral decisions rather than the actual decisions moral actors make. Kohlberg felt that the underlying moral reasoning was more important because of two reasons: first, that the choices people make may not be the clearly "right" choice; and secondly, some may make the "right choice" for the wrong reasons (Carlson 2002, 309). For example, in the "Hans and the Drug" dilemma in the DIT and in Kohlberg's original instrument, the "right choice" could be to steal the drug to save the life of your wife as a sacrificial choice, knowing you may go to jail but willing to pay the price. On the other hand, you may not steal the drug because of the long-term impact of lost profits, etc., for the druggist, which in the long run could also cost

lives. Both choices are based upon principled reasoning; even a "can't decide" choice could be based upon weighing those two choices and not being able to know the second and third order effects of your actions.

Kohlberg acknowledged that much theoretical and empirical work remained to be done in the matter of the relationship between moral reasoning and moral action (Kohlberg, Levine, and Hewer 1983, 166). This was particularly true for individuals with high scores in postconventional reasoning. Limited research had indicated a relationship between subject who reasoned at Stage 5 and specific action choices that the subject made in the scenarios (Kohlberg, Levine, and Hewer 1983, 44). Drawing conclusions from these relationships, however, was viewed with caution. Kohlberg felt that those who looked for relationships between moral reasoning and moral actions should closely look at the reasoning levels of those who had determined what the “right” choices were (Kohlberg, Levine, and Hewer 1983, 51). Kohlberg’s focus throughout his research remained to focus on what “ought” to be rather than what “is,” which became a major area of debate between Kohlberg and Gilligan (Gilligan 1998). The “ought” area focused on underlying moral reasoning, while “is” indicates an emphasis on behavior and conduct. In 1983 Kohlberg wrote:

> Moral conduct is conduct governed by moral judgments; while moral judgment is not always translated into moral action, the assessment of an action as moral depends upon the imputation of judgment to the action. Our point here is not to develop a theory of moral conduct, but to point to the fact that the study of moral conduct and moral development per se must consider the motives and the constructions of moral reasoning that are expressed in behaviors.

James Rest conducted a longitudinal study for over 10 years to study whether moral reasoning scores on the Defining Issues Test (DIT) had links to specific behavior. Pro-social behaviors such as community involvement, civic responsibility, and the perceived social values of one's occupation were compared with DIT scores. In all three areas, there was a significant relationship with the DIT, although they provide the caveat that "we think the relations of moral judgment with behavior are complex and determined by many variables" (Rest et al 1999, 81).

Research by James Rest and his colleagues developed a four component model to look at other aspects of moral development to show the linkage between moral reasoning and moral decision-making. The four components of Moral Sensitivity (awareness of moral issue), Moral Judgment (deciding which action is morally justifiable), Moral Motivation (the level of commitment to moral actions), and Moral Character (implementing the moral decision) provided a broader basis for moral development (Rest et al 1999, 100-104). In developing the Defining Issues Test (DIT) recognition of the relationship of moral judgment to moral behavior was established by the "utilizer" score, a measure of the degree in which the concepts of moral judgment were put into action (Rest et al 1999, 104). The index of utilization on the DIT was designed to measure "the extent to which a subject uses justice/Kohlbergian concepts in moral decision making" (Rest et al 1999, 105). The "utilizer" variable was also designed as a moderator variable between DIT scores and behavioral measures as a test of construct validity for the DIT (Thoma, Rest and Davison 1991; Thoma et al 1999,

109). Although the “utilizer” variable appears to show promise for researching the relationship between moral reasoning and moral decision-making, it has only been used in the initial research by Thoma (Lind 2002, 27).

The relationship between moral reasoning and moral decisions made is not automatic, however. It is possible that individuals can operate at one stage in moral reasoning while making decisions at another stage. Carlson (2002, 312) describes the American legal system as a system designed to operate at different stages: legal and political decisions made at Stage 5, with a system of checks and balances to counter Stage 2 egoism, and Stage 4 adherence by the public. In this example, American society morally reasons at Stage 5, while morally acting at Stage 4 – with an eye to avoiding Stage 2 behavior.

Additional research has been conducted in the last five years concerning the consolidation and transition between stages. The consolidation/transition model argues that moral stages development entails “alternating periods of equilibrium and disequilibrium (or of consolidation and transition)” (Walker, Gustafson, and Hennig 2001, 187). Thomas and Rest (1999, 324) indicate that the interest in this area is related to “the context of how individuals use moral structures in social problem solving.” They state:

> It may be, for instance, that during transitional phases in moral judgment development, the interpretability of social situations in terms of Kohlbergian stages will be reduced. Thus, there may be more confusion and indecision during transitions than during the consolidation phases that follow.

A person is in a “consolidation phase” when moral reasoning is centered on one primary orientation, such as Stage 4, or law and order reasoning. A “transition

phase" occurs when a person has a greater mixture of stage preferences, or a skew of stage responses, such as a pattern marked by subdominant stage responses above the modal stage (Thomas and Rest 1999, 323). The implication for this study is that the research indicates that a person in stage transition is likely to have less consistent responses or action choices in moral decision making.

Stewart, Sprinthall, and Kem (2002, 289-290) briefly addressed the issue of the "action choice" relationship to stage scores. Their conclusions were that the discrepancy between the ideal (what you should do) and the real (what you would do) for public administrators led to disparate results based upon the specific context of the scenario. Focus group research indicated that there were two choices that the administrators had to choose between: the choice based on principles of fairness and equity and the choice based on the realities in Russia (Stewart, Sprinthall, and Kem 2002, 289).

The results from the focus group research in Russia suggest that the ambiguity between the choices (the ideal and the real) were not based upon moral reasoning, but were instead based upon the realities of administrative life in Russia. For the respondents in Russia, the choice did not appear to be based upon a value conflict between "right versus right" responses, but instead upon a "right versus reality" conflict. The possible explanation for this ambiguity is the context of historical factors, societal factors, and personal history of public administrators in Russia, which is the rationale for the fourth hypothesis.

The review of the literature suggests that when the context of historical and traditional factors, social institutions, and individual factors affect “law and order” moral reasoning, they also affect the relationship between moral reasoning and the actual choices made in moral decision-making. These findings provide the background for the development of the fourth hypothesis of this study. The expected relationship for the fourth hypothesis of this study is for public officials, the weaker contextual historical and traditional factors, social institutions, and individual factors support “law and order” moral reasoning, the weaker the relationship between moral decision-making and stages of moral reasoning.

3.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter provided a review of the literature that is directly related to the purpose of this study: to investigate hypotheses concerning the relationship of moral reasoning and moral development with: 1) historical and traditional societal factors; 2) connections to existing social institutions; 3) individual factors; and 4) the relationship between moral decision-making and stages of moral reasoning by presenting and analyzing results from research conducted in the United States, Poland, and Russia.

Research related directly to the specific societal factors in the three countries studied – the United States, Poland, and Russia – was also presented in this chapter.

Chapter 4 will describe the purpose of the study and addresses the methodology to investigate the hypotheses of the research. Data sets, sampling,

variables, research design and hypotheses, statistical analysis, and validity and reliability issues will be discussed in this chapter.

CHAPTER 4
METHODOLOGY

4.1 Chapter Introduction: Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to investigate hypotheses concerning the relationship of moral reasoning and moral development with: 1) historical and traditional societal factors; 2) connections to existing social institutions; 3) individual factors; and 4) the relationship between moral decision-making and stages of moral reasoning by presenting and analyzing results from research conducted in the United States, Poland, and Russia.

This chapter describes the methodology used to investigate the hypotheses of the research. Data sets, sampling, variables, research design and hypotheses, statistical analysis, and validity and reliability issues will be discussed in this chapter.

4.2 Data Sets

Three different series of data sets were used for this research. The first series of data sets were results from three different studies using the Stewart Sprinthall Management Survey (SSMS). The second series consisted of focus group research by Dr. Debra Stewart in Russia as a follow up to an SSMS study. The third series was the World Values Surveys of 1990-1993 and 1995-1997.

***Stewart Sprinthall Management Survey*.** The Stewart-Sprinthall Management Survey (SSMS) is patterned after more general measures of moral

judgment from the original work of Lawrence Kohlberg and James Rest. In the SSMS, administrators were asked to respond to three actual ethical quandaries that individuals encounter in U.S. public administration (see Appendix A). The content of the three dilemmas in the instrument was created by Stewart, based on her lengthy experience in problem-solving discussions with executives in a public-sector executive development program. The initial test of the instrument and a discussion of its potential applications appear in a chapter published in 1991 (Stewart and Sprinthall 1991). Subsequently, city and county managers were studied in North Carolina and Florida. That work and the methodology involved are summarized in the Handbook of Administrative Ethics (Stewart and Sprinthall 1994). These studies provide theoretical/construct validity and empirical support for the instrument as a measure of ethical reasoning in public administrative decision-making (Stewart and Sprinthall 1991; 1993; 1994; Stewart, Sprinthall and Kem 2002, 295).

The Stewart Sprinthall Management Survey was developed based on several years of problem-solving discussions with executives in a public sector executive development program by Dr. Debra Stewart. The dilemmas developed for the SSMS were developed as professionally relevant dilemmas that are specific to the public administration context. Alternative choices for the dilemmas (the action choices) were developed by Dr. Norman Sprinthall, and were supported by ratings of professional colleagues and advanced graduate students skilled in comprehending Kohlberg theory for content validity (Stewart and Sprinthall 1994, 336).

Concurrent validity of the SSMS was based on a comparison of the SSMS instrument with the Defining Issues Test (DIT), a more mature instrument for the measurement of moral reasoning and the most widely used general measure of moral judgment. The SSMS was patterned after the SSMS, but with context-specific dilemmas and alternative action choices relevant to the public administration context. A comparison of scores between two samples of graduate students in public administration who completed both the SSMS and the DIT indicated similar differences between principled reasoning (Stage "P") and non-principled reasoning (Stage 4) with a highly similar range of scores. Public Administration graduate students did, however, have a greater tendency to use Stage 4 (law and order) more frequently on the SSMS than on the DIT, the only point of difference between the two instruments. The intercorrelation matrix of specific dilemmas stories on the SSMS and DIT indicated a moderately positive overall correlation between the SSMS total score and the DIT total score, with a positive intercorrelation of all three individual SSMS dilemmas with the DIT total score (Stewart and Sprinthall 1994, 336-338).

For this study, three SSMS studies were analyzed. These included a study in North Carolina in 1990, a study in Poland in 1994-95, and a study in Russia in 1998.

The first data set used was the SSMS data from a sample of 190 public administrators in North Carolina. The primary researchers for this data set were Dr. Debra Stewart and Dr. Norman Sprinthall. The initial findings from this research were published by Stewart and Sprinthall (1991 and 1994). This

research provided baseline data for moral reasoning stage scores and “action choices” for U.S. public officials.

The second date set was the SSMS data from a sample of 479 public officials in Poland. This data set was collected in 1993-94; the primary researchers for this data set were Dr. Debra Stewart and Dr. Norman Sprinthall, assisted by Renata Siemienska. This study was conducted under a grant from the Division of International Programs—USSR/Eastern European Cooperative Science Program of the National Science Foundation. The initial findings from this research were published by Stewart, Sprinthall and Siemienska (1997) and Stewart, Siemienska and Sprinthall (1999). This research provided baseline data for moral reasoning stage scores and “action choices” for Polish public officials.

The third data set was the SSMS data set from a sample of 111 public officials in Russia. This data set was collected in 1998; the primary researchers for this data set were Dr. Debra Stewart and Dr. Norman Sprinthall, assisted by Elena Bashkirova. This study was conducted under a grant from the Directorate of Social, Behavioral and Economic Sciences/Division of Social and Economic Sciences of the National Science Foundation. Initial findings from this research were published by Stewart, Sprinthall and Kem (2002). This research provided the baseline data for moral reasoning stage scores and “action choices” for Russian public officials.

For comparison purposes, the three SSMS data sets were analyzed as seven distinct data sets – the three data sets (U.S., Poland, and Russia) as

separate data sets, combined two-country data sets (U.S.-Poland, U.S.-Russia, and Poland-Russia), and a merged SSMS data set (U.S., Poland, and Russia).

***Russian Focus Group Study*.** This data set consists of qualitative data from focus groups conducted in Russia in 1999. Seven focus groups were conducted with a total of 39 respondents. The primary researcher for this data set was Dr. Debra Stewart, assisted by this researcher. This study was conducted under a grant from the Directorate of Social, Behavioral and Economic Sciences/Division of Social and Economic Sciences of the National Science Foundation. The focus groups were selected from the same population as the survey sample of the SSMS in 1998, students at the Russian Academy of Public Service. The researchers did attempt to secure a higher proportion of women than appeared in the survey sample so they could construct some predominately female and predominantly male groups. This helped the researchers to explore gender issues raised in the data analysis. Demographic data on the participants were not collected because the purpose of the research was to gain insights rather than confirm findings (Stewart, Sprinthall and Kem 2002, 295). This data set provided qualitative data for analysis of the moral reasoning scores and "action choices" as well as attitudinal variables for the Russian SSMS findings (see Appendix B and Appendix C). The initial findings from this research were published by Stewart, Sprinthall and Kem (2002).

World Values Surveys, 1990-1993, and 1995-1997. The World Values Survey series is designed to enable cross-national comparison of values and norms in a wide variety of topics and to monitor changes in values and attitudes across the globe. Broad topics covered of interest in this study were the meaning and purpose of life and the importance of religion in their lives. They were also asked how satisfied they were with their present lives, whether they tended to persuade others close to them, whether they discussed political matters, and how they viewed society. Respondents were asked about the groups and associations they belonged to and which ones they worked for voluntarily, the level of trust they had in most people, and whether they felt they had free choice and control over their lives. A wide range of items was included on the meaning and purpose of life, such as respondents' views on the value of scientific advances, the demarcation of good and evil, and religious behavior and beliefs. Respondents were queried about whether they shared the same attitudes toward religion, morality, and politics. Questions regarding political issues probed for respondents' opinions of various forms of political action and the likelihood of their taking an action, and confidence in various civil and governmental institutions. Additional information was gathered on size of locality, region of residence, the respondent's age, sex, religion, religiosity, political party and union membership (Inglehart et al 2000, 5).

The World Values Surveys (WVS) were conducted in “three waves”: 1981-1984; 1990-1993; and 1995-1997. Data sets from 1990-1993 and 1995-1997 were selected for this study because of the time frames of the Stewart Sprinthall

Management Survey research – 1991 for the United States SSMS study, 1993-94 for the Poland SSMS study, and 1998-99 for Russian SSMS study and focus group research (see Appendix D and Appendix E).

The first WVS data set consists of data from the World Values Survey of 1990, available from the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) at the University of Michigan. The sample sizes for the 1990 World Values Survey were 1,839 in the United States, 938 in Poland, and 1,961 in Russia, for a total of 4,738 respondents in the three countries.

- *In the United States, the principal investigators were George Gallup, Alec Gallup and Max Larsen of the Gallup Organization and Ronald Inglehart of the University of Michigan. The survey organization was The Gallup Organization, Princeton. This research was conducted in May-June, 1990.*

- *In Poland, the Principal investigator was Renata Siemienska of the University of Warsaw. The survey organization for the 1990 Polish World Values Survey was Osrodek Badania Opinii Publicznej, survey unit of Polish Radio-Television in Warsaw. The research was conducted in November-December, 1989.*

- *In Russia, the principal investigator was Vladimir Andreyenkov, of the Institute for Social and Political Research, Soviet Academy of Sciences, Moscow. This research was conducted in January, 1991.*

The second WVS data set consists of data from the World Values Survey of 1995-1997, available from the Inter-University Consortium for Political and

Social Research (ICPSR) at the University of Michigan. For the 1995-1997 World Values Survey, the sample sizes were 1,542 in the United States, 1,153 in Poland, and 2,040 in Russia, for a total of 4,735 respondents in the three countries.

- *In the United States, the principal investigators were George Gallup, Alec Gallup and Max Larsen of the Gallup Organization and Ronald Inglehart, University of Michigan. The survey organization was The Gallup Organization, Princeton. This research was conducted in Fall, 1995.*

- *In Poland, the principal investigator was Renata Siemienska of the Institute of Sociology, Warsaw. The survey organization was Centrum Badania Opinii Spolecznej, Warsaw. This research was conducted in January-February, 1997.*

- *In Russia, the principal investigators were Elena Bashkirova (ROMIR) and Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Berlin Science Center for Social Research. The survey organization was the Russian Public Opinion and Market Research (ROMIR), Moscow. This research was conducted in November-December, 1995.*

The principal investigator for the World Values Surveys of 1990 and 1995 in Poland was Renata Siemienska; Dr. Siemienska also assisted Dr. Stewart with the SSMS surveys in Poland in 1993-4. The principal investigator for the World Values Surveys of 1995 in Russia was Elena Bashkirova; Dr. Bashkirova also assisted Dr. Stewart with the SSMS surveys in Russia in 1998 and the focus groups in Russia in 1999.

As in the SSMS data sets, the 1990 World Values Surveys and the 1995 World Values Surveys were analyzed as individual data sets, paired data sets, and combined data sets. For each of the two World Values Surveys, this created a total of seven data distinct data sets for analysis (U.S., Poland, Russia, U.S.-Poland, U.S.-Russia, Poland-Russia, and a merged U.S.-Poland-Russia data set).

Summary of Data Sets. For analysis in this study, a total of 22 distinct data sets were developed. The following is a summary of the data sets used for analysis (WVS is used for World Values Surveys):

Table 4.1 Data Sets

SSMS Data Sets
1991 U.S. SSMS Data Set (N = 190)
1993-4 Polish SSMS Data Set (N = 479)
1998 Russian SSMS Data Set (N=111)
U.S.–Polish SSMS Paired Set (N = 669)
U.S.–Russian SSMS Paired Set (N = 301)
Polish–Russian SSMS Paired Set (N = 590)
U.S.–Polish–Russian SSMS Merged Set (N = 780)
Russian Focus Groups
1999 Russian Focus Groups (N = 39)
1990 World Values Survey
1990 U.S. WVS Data Set (N = 1839)
1990 Polish WVS Data Set (N = 938)
1990 Russian WVS Data Set (N = 1961)
1990 U.S.–Polish WVS Paired Set (N = 2777)
1990 U.S.–Russian WVS Paired Set (N = 3800)
1990 Polish–Russian WVS Paired Set (N = 2899)
1990 U.S.–Polish–Russian WVS Merged Set (N = 4738)
1995-1997 World Values Survey
1995 U.S. WVS Data Set (N = 1542)
1995 Polish WVS Data Set (N = 1153)
1995 Russian WVS Data Set (N = 2040)
1995 U.S.–Polish WVS Paired Set (N = 2695)
1995 U.S.–Russian WVS Paired Set (N = 3582)
1995 Polish–Russian WVS Paired Set (N = 3193)
1995 U.S.–Polish–Russian WVS Merged Set (N = 4735)

4.3 Sampling

SSMS Data Series. The SSMS data series analyzed in the research included three SSMS data sets: a sample of 190 public administrators in North Carolina from 1991; a sample of 479 Polish administrators from 1993-94; and a sample of 111 Russian administrators in 1998, for a total of 780 respondents from these three SSMS samples. Since the data collection is complete for all three data sets (United States, Poland, and Russia), sampling is already complete. The sampling used in the research for these data was availability sampling, which is non-random. As described by Garson (2003), "non-random sampling is widely used as a case selection method in qualitative research, or for quantitative studies of a preliminary and exploratory nature… *Availability sampling* is where the researcher selects subjects on the basis of availability. Also called *haphazard sampling*, examples include interviewing people who emerge from an event or location, interviewing a captive audience such as one's students, and mail-in surveys printed in magazines and newspapers."

For the 1990 surveys in the United States, surveys were mailed to city and county managers and assistant managers in North Carolina (Stewart and Sprinthall 1994, 338). These included public officials from the spectrum of sizes of cities in North Carolina. For this survey, 190 public officials returned surveys which are used for analysis in this study.

For the 1993-94 surveys in Poland, interviews were conducted with 289 public administrators and 196 elected officials in 12 towns in two provinces. Public administrators included department heads, division heads, their deputes,

as well as key professional staff such as accountants and chief administrative officers. Elected officials included mayors, deputy mayors, and councilors in special leadership positions. The interviews were conducted by a research firm established by the Polish government, the Center for the Study of Social Opinion. The interviews, which took up to 90 minutes but averaged 45 minutes, were conducted in the interviewees' place of work, though not always in the actual office (Stewart, Sprinthall, and Siemienska 1997).

For the 1998 SSMS research in Russia, the survey was administered to 113 public officials at the Russian Academy of Public Service. The Russian Academy of Public Service only admits students who hold university degrees. They enroll in PhD programs, second degrees, or short-course certificate programs. Students who come to the Academy are typically civil servants, ministers, or elected officials. Their employers recommend them, and the cost of their attendance is covered by state subsidy. For a full year, the cost of attendance was about $3,000 in 1999. About 15 percent of the students were self-paying in 1999 and admitted directly by the Academy. Most of these were working for non-government officials or were in business.

Of the 113 surveys that were compiled, 111 of the surveys were considered for data analysis. Of the two surveys not used for analysis, one survey did not provide any responses used for the SSMS scaling; the other survey provided only one response to the twelve questions used for scaling the SSMS. Since the scaling of the SSMS provides the dependent variable used in the analysis, these two surveys were deemed unusable. Two other

questionnaires were scaled on the SSMS using two of the scenarios rather than three scenarios due to blank responses in one of the scenarios. These two surveys were used in the analysis with adjusted SSMS scores. As a result, a total of 111 surveys were used in the data analysis.

Russian Focus Group Research. The Russian focus groups were conducted in the Fall of 1999 as the second phase of research in Russia by Stewart, Sprinthall and Kem (2002). The focus groups included 39 individuals (24 female and 15 male) in seven different groups. The focus groups were selected from the same population as the survey sample, students at the Russian Academy of Public Service. Most of the participants in the focus groups had not participated in the 1998 SSMS research. A higher proportion of women than appeared in the survey sample were included in the focus groups so that some predominately female and predominantly male groups could be formed in order to explore the gender issues raised in the data analysis from the Russian SSMS study in 1998 (Stewart, Sprinthall and Kem 2002, 295).

WVS Data Sets. The World Values Survey sets used in this research were conducted in 1990-1993 and 1995-1997. For the 1990-1993 set, research was conducted from adults 18 and over in the mass publics of 45 societies around the world; for the 1995-1997 set, research was conducted from adults 18 and over in the mass publics of 60 societies representing more than 50 different

countries around the world. For this study, analysis was limited to the research conducted in the United States, Poland, and Russia in these two survey sets.

All of these surveys were carried out through face to face interviews, with a sampling universe consisting of all adult citizens, ages 18 and older. National samples were used except for the 1990 United States survey which was stratified by race, over-representing minority races. Fieldwork was carried out by professional survey research organizations (World Values Study Group 1994; Inglehart et al 2000). Survey organizations and principal investigators for each of the surveys used in this study are included in Appendix E.

In most cases, stratified multi-stage random sampling was used, with the samples being selected in two stages. First, a random selection of sampling locations was made ensuring that all types of location were represented in proportion to their population. Next, a random selection of individuals was drawn up. The U.S. and Canada used stratified random samples, with three call backs. In Poland and Russia, selection was made by quota sampling with quotas assigned on the basis of sex, age, occupation and region, using census data as a guide to the distribution of each group in the population (World Values Study Group 1994; Inglehart et al 2000).

The data sets were obtained from the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) at the University of Michigan. The sample sizes for the 1990 World Values Survey were 1,839 in the United States, 938 in Poland, and 1,961 in Russia, for a total of 4,738 respondents in the three countries. For the 1995-1997 World Values Survey, the sample sizes were 1,542

in the United States, 1,153 in Poland, and 2,040 in Russia, for a total of 4,735 respondents in the three countries. A “modified codebook” of the variables used in this study is included in Appendix F.

4.4 Research Design and Hypotheses

The study employed both quantitative and qualitative components with descriptive and statistical research designs using a quasi-experimental design. For development of hypotheses, the research assumed, based on previous research, that there are statistically significant differences in moral reasoning among the samples from U.S., Polish, and Russian public officials, with the Russian sample having higher Stage “P” (principled reasoning) scores and lower Stage 4 (law and order) scores than the U.S. and Polish samples. Prior to hypotheses testing for this study, the initial presentation of data will review the basis for this assumption.

The first step in the research design is the initial presentation and analysis of data for the differences in means of the moral stages among public officials in the three countries. A comparison of the differences in means of moral development stage scores between the Polish SSMS sample and the Russian SSMS will be presented and analyzed, an area not previously presented in published research. This step in the research design establishes the baseline for the group means of moral stage scores, the dependent variable for the first three hypotheses.

The second step in the research design is an analysis of the historical and traditional context of the three countries. This step will include a presentation and analysis of data from the World Values Surveys of 1990-1993 and 1995-1997. Variables presented will include results from respondents in the United States, Poland, and Russia concerning attitudes for the "rule of law." This analysis investigates the first hypothesis of this study:

> **Hypothesis 1:**
> *For public officials, the weaker the support of contextual factors for the legal process, the higher the level of principled reasoning and the lower the level of "law and order" moral reasoning.*

This hypothesis focuses on historical and traditional societal factors. The implication is that if historical and traditional factors within society have weakened support for the "rule of law," then public officials will "skip" law and order reasoning for principled reasoning as a primary orientation. The context of the "baggage" of history and tradition in society is hypothesized to affect the levels of moral reasoning.

The third step in the research design is an analysis of the social institutions of the three countries. This step will include a presentation and analysis of data from the World Values Surveys of 1990-1993 and 1995-1997. Variables presented will include results from respondents in the United States, Poland, and

Russia concerning attitudes for social institutions. This analysis investigates the second hypothesis of this study:

Hypothesis 2:
For public officials, the weaker the connections to social institutions, the lower the level of "law and order" reasoning.

This hypothesis focuses on social institutions, such as the church, trade unions, and the family. These institutions of the civil society can be independent "society-maintaining" factors within a society. If the connections to these institutions are weak or the institutions themselves are poorly developed, it is hypothesized that the regard for the "rule of law" will be weak.

The fourth step in the research design is an analysis of demographic variables for the three samples. Specific attention will be paid to the results in Russia, due to the findings of the differences in moral development stages. This analysis investigates the third hypothesis of the study:

Hypothesis 3:
For public officials, whatever the contextual support for law and order, the greater the individual factors that reinforce conventional moral thinking, the stronger the support for "law and order" reasoning.

This hypothesis focuses on individual factors, such as age and gender and personal history. Regardless of historical/traditional factors and social

institutions, individual factors that reinforce the regard for the "rule of law" are hypothesized to result in a stronger orientation towards law and order reasoning.

The fifth step in the research design is the presentation and analysis of data for the differences in means among survey respondents in the United States, Poland and Russia for the "action choice," the dependent variable for the fourth hypothesis. This step investigates the fourth hypothesis of the study:

> **Hypothesis 4:**
> *For public officials, the weaker contextual historical and traditional factors, social institutions, and individual factors support "law and order" moral reasoning, the weaker the relationship between moral decision-making and stages of moral reasoning.*

This hypothesis examines the relationship between the contextual historical and traditional factors, social institutions, and individual factors on the one hand, and decision-making on the other. When these contextual factors weaken support for "law and order" moral reasoning, it is hypothesized they will also weaken the relationship between moral reasoning and the actual choices made in moral decision-making.

4.5 Dependent Variables

The Stewart Sprinthall Management Survey (SSMS) provided the dependent variable in this research for the first three hypotheses – the stage

score for moral development. A comprehensive description of the SSMS is provided in section 2.9 of chapter 2 in this study and Appendix A provides a copy of the SSMS with scoring instructions. Modeled after the Defining Issues Test (DIT), the SSMS provides an index of the moral reasoning stages by respondents based upon their responses to three moral dilemmas. The contexts of the dilemmas in the SSMS are based upon professionally relevant real-world issues that public administrators actually experience (Stewart and Sprinthall 1994, 336).

Respondents are asked to read the stories and decide what plan of action, or “action choice,” they would follow. Then they are asked to review a list of alternative considerations and indicate which they would consider most important under the circumstances. This list of considerations comprises a set of alternatives that present a forced choice between different conceptions of justice. If a respondent selects Stage 4, law and duty items, across the three dilemmas, this concept of justice is inferred as preeminent in the person's thinking. If, on the other hand, Stages 5 or 6, usually labeled P, are selected across the three dilemmas, principled morality is assumed as the dominant factor in a person's thinking. Scores are typically expressed as a percentage of the cumulative scores for the three dilemmas (Stewart, Sprinthall and Siemienska 1998, 447-448). Consistent and cross-category scores are not computed for the percentage score, but are computed as an aggregate score across the three dilemmas. The percentage score for the stages of moral reasoning is used as an interval level dependent variable in this research.

For the fourth hypothesis of this study, the dependent variable is the "action choice" selected in the Stewart Sprinthall Management Surveys (SSMS). This variable is a categorical variable selected by the respondents in each of the three dilemmas presented in the SSMS. After the respondents read the stories in the SSMS, they are asked to decide on a plan of action, or "action choice," they would follow. For each of the three stories, there are three possible "action choices": 1) to do the action presented in the story (promote an individual, take a cruise, or recreate lost data); 2) an undecided action (don't know); or 3) to not do the action presented in the story (not promote an individual, not take a cruise, or not recreate lost data). None of the actions are necessarily the "right" response, but instead present a moral dilemma for the respondents.

4.6 Independent Variables

For the baseline establishment of the differences among public officials in the United States, Poland, and Russia, a number of categorical independent variables were used to test for differences between means among the samples. The questionnaires used in the SSMS research were rather lengthy – ranging up to 20 pages long. The questionnaires provided a large number of attitudinal and demographic variables to be used as independent variables. The demographic variables included gender, age, nationality, educational levels, size of city lived in, region, organizational rank, and a number of other related variables. Attitudinal variables included a number of questions concerning attitudes towards democratization for the Polish and Russian surveys. Variables that were not

available were those that concern levels of religious involvement ("religiosity") for the Russian survey.

For the Polish survey in 1993-94, five different factors were developed by Stewart, Sprinthall, and Siemienska (1997, 446-447). These factors were organizational role, demographics, personal history (including educational level), organizational context, and attitude toward de-communization. For the Russian study in 1998, the factors of gender, attitude toward de-communization, tenure in organizational position, education, and "action choices" were presented in the findings (Stewart, Sprinthall and Kem 2002, 287-289).

The independent variables or factors used in this study were directly related to the hypotheses. These factors were 1) historical and traditional societal factors; 2) connections to existing social institutions; 3) individual factors; and 4) the stage scores of moral reasoning.

The "cluster" of independent variables from the World Values Surveys used to test hypothesis one was based upon a distinct construct in society. The variables in this cluster, historical and traditional societal factors, were selected due to the direct relationship to the rule of law. The variables were selected based upon those factors that directly influence law – the authority to develop law, the authority to enforce law, and the authority to interpret law. Both the 1990 and 1995 World Values Surveys asked numerous questions concerning the "rule of law" and trust in society. Appendix F of this study presents a modified codebook of the World Values Survey with the specific questions and possible responses for these variables. The historical and traditional variables were

derived from five different variables collected in the World Values Surveys, primarily centering on attitudes of the "rule of law." These variables pertained to attitudes that directly related to respect for law and the establishment of an environment of trust in society. Three variables were considered in this analysis – Respect for Authority, Confidence in the Legal System, and Confidence in the Police.

Table 4.2 WVS Historical/Traditional Variables

Historical/Traditional Variables (3 Variables)	
V114	*Respect for authority*
V137	*Confidence in the legal system*
V141	*Confidence in the police*

The "cluster" of independent variables from the World Values Surveys used to test hypothesis two was based upon a distinct construct in society. The variables in this cluster, societal institutions, were selected due to the direct relationship to institutions that provide support for the rule of law, but are not directly related to the authority to develop law, the authority to enforce law, and the authority to interpret law. The institutions included in this construct – the family, trust in people, the press, trade unions, and the church – provide a society-maintaining influence apart from the formal legal processes in society. Two different sets of variables were selected for this category – institution variables and variables relating to the institution of the church and religiosity. Four different institution factors (other than the church) were used in this analysis:

Table 4.3 WVS Institution Variables

Institution Variables (4 Variables)	
V4	*Importance of Family*
V27	*Trust in people*
V138	*Confidence in the press*
V140	*Confidence in Trade unions*

The institution of the church and religiosity was derived from seven different variables collected in the World Values Surveys. Religiosity variables related specifically to demonstrated religious behaviors, measuring what individuals "do" in terms of religion, rather than in specific beliefs. Four variables were considered in this analysis – The Importance of Religion, Confidence in the Church, Membership in a Religious Denomination, and Religious Service Attendance.

Table 4.4 WVS Religiosity Variables

Religiosity (behavioral) Variables (4 Variables)	
V9	*Importance of religion*
V135	*Confidence in the church*
V179	*Membership in a religious denomination*
V181	*Religious service attendance*

Spirituality, or religious beliefs, were initially considered in the analysis for the second hypothesis, but were not used in the final analysis. Spirituality variables related specifically to beliefs in matters of religion, the meaning and purpose of life, and beliefs about the existence of God and other related

concepts. These variables measure what individuals "believe" rather than in demonstrated behaviors. Ten variables were initially considered in this analysis – Thinking about the Meaning and Purpose of Life, Belief on the Nature of Good and Evil, Belief in God, Belief in Life after Death, Belief in a Soul, Belief in the Devil, Belief in Hell, Belief in Heaven, Belief in Sin, and the Importance of God in Life. The analysis of these variables is included in Appendix H.

Table 4.5 WVS Spirituality Variables

Spirituality (beliefs) Variables (10 variables)	
V177	*Think about the meaning and purpose of life?*
V178	*Belief on nature of good and evil*
V183	*Belief in God*
V184	*Belief in life after death*
V185	*Belief in a soul*
V186	*Belief in the devil*
V187	*Belief in hell*
V188	*Belief in heaven*
V189	*Belief in sin*
V190	*Importance of God in life*

The independent variables used for the third hypothesis are related to personal history. These variables were derived from the Stewart Sprinthall Management Surveys and include gender, age, and educational background, relationship with the military, and tenure in office.

The independent variables for the fourth hypothesis are the stage scores from the Stewart Sprinthall Management Surveys. In the first three hypotheses,

this variable is the dependent variable; for the fourth hypothesis, this variable becomes the factor for the dependent variable of the “action choices” selected.

For all of the hypotheses, the focus group research in Russia will provide qualitative data for the analysis of the context of the independent variables. A summary of the focus group comments is provided in Appendix D.

4.7 Control Variables

Control will be primarily statistical. The primary control variable for the analysis in all four hypotheses will be country affiliation – Poland, the United States, and Russia.

Demographic variables such as gender, age, and region will be used for establishing equivalence among the samples of the SSMS studies and the samples of the World Values Studies. Univariate analyses of the demographic variables for the SSMS studies are included in Appendix B; univariate analyses of the demographic variables for the World Values Studies are included in Appendix G.

4.8 Statistical Analysis

The statistical analysis for this study will include univariate analyses and analysis of variance (ANOVA). This is similar to the statistical analyses from the previously published research from the SSMS data sets. The sampling used in the research for these data was availability sampling, which is non-random, and violates a normal assumption of ANOVA. As described by Garson (2003), “non-

random sampling is widely used as a case selection method in qualitative research, or for quantitative studies of a preliminary and exploratory nature… *Availability sampling* is where the researcher selects subjects on the basis of availability."

For the presentation and analysis of the SSMS data sets to establish the level of the stages of moral reasoning (the dependent variable), one-way ANOVA will be used as the statistical design. This analysis will present the differences in means in moral reasoning stages among public officials in the three countries. Univariate descriptive analyses will be presented for demographic variables to examine the equivalence of the data samples.

For the presentation and analysis of the SSMS data sets to test hypothesis three, two-way ANOVA will be used as the statistical design. In this case, the dependent variable remains the stages of moral reasoning; the independent variables are the demographic variables, with the second independent variable (country) used as a control variable. Garson (2002) provides the following description for describes two-way ANOVA: "Two-way ANOVA analyzes one interval dependent in terms of the categories (groups) formed by two independents, one of which may be conceived as a control variable. Two-way ANOVA tests whether the groups formed by the categories of the independent variables have similar centroids."

The primary statistical analysis method used for the history and institutional variables – which relate directly to hypotheses one and two – will be descriptive univariate analyses. For hypotheses four (action choice), a series of

univariate and bivariate analyses, including correlation, will be conducted to present the relationship between the action choice (the dependent variable) and the stages of moral reasoning.

Data sets were analyzed using the Statistical Packages for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 11.5. Effect sizes were manually computed using SPSS outputs and Cortina and Nouri's computational model 1.1 for a pooled standard deviation to derive Cohen's *d* (Cortina and Nouri 2000, 5). Effect size computations are included in Appendix J.

4.9 Validity Issues

The following are threats to the validity of the research design:

Hawthorne Effect (experimenter expectation). The expectations of the investigator pose an internal validity threat to the outcomes. This is particularly true considering the nature of the study and the expectation of differences in moral development due to democratization. Due to expectations, respondents in the Stewart Sprinthall Management Surveys and the Russian Focus Groups may provide responses that are perceived as "socially desirable" rather than true responses, causing the results to be overestimated or underestimated.

Mortality Bias. There is an internal validity threat of attrition bias, particularly with the Russian focus groups since many of the participants in the focus groups were not participants in the focus group research.

Selection Bias. None of the SSMS samples were pure random samples, but were primarily "convenience samples," or non-random availability samples. Because of this limitation, there is a threat to internal validity.

Unintended Treatments. An additional threat to internal validity concerns both the SSMS studies and the World Values Study. Research from the United States in former communist countries such as Poland and Russia may attract a "Hawthorne effect" due to researcher attention. For the World Values Surveys, researchers acknowledged "While hundreds or thousands of surveys are carried out each year in advanced industrial societies, in some of these societies only a handful of nation-wide surveys had ever been carried out prior to this one" (World Values Study Group 1994).

History (intervening events). The period during the surveys in this study (1989-98) had a multitude of historical events that impacts all three countries, which poses a threat to internal validity. One or more of these events could have affected the results.

Type I Errors and Statistical Significance. A threat to statistical validity is a Type I error, when the researcher thinks there is a relationship, but one doesn't exist. Because the nature of this study includes multiple post hoc tests of significance, the nominal alpha level of .05 is misleading and subject to Type I

errors. Although the tests of significance are applied to *a priori* hypotheses for this study, the researcher's familiarity with the data has created a dilemma where he previously examined large numbers of relationships within the data, looking *a posteriori* for significant ones.

Type II Errors and Statistical Power. An additional threat to statistical validity is a Type II error, where the researcher has concluded there is no relationship while one really exists. The small sample in the Russian SSMS study (n=111) is problematic – if the alpha level is adjusted to .01 (using the Bonferroni adjustment, for example) it could correct possible Type I errors while overlooking Type II errors.

Discriminant Validity. The constructs of "religiosity" and "spirituality" pose a threat to the construct validity of this study. The variables and indicators for these two different constructs are highly correlated, which could lead one to conclude that they measure the same thing.

Construct Validity of Moral Development. A major threat to validity of the research design is the construct of moral development. This construct is difficult to describe – and even more difficult to measure. The SSMS has not been reviewed in a validity study, but was based on the DIT – which does have a detailed history of validity studies. The DIT is not a perfect instrument, but has been used widely throughout the United States and Western Europe. The

Mental Measurements Yearbook (1992) provides two reviews of the DIT: one review states that the DIT "manual contains extensive information on the reliability, validity, and norms for the test. These data appear to have been collected carefully, and are appropriate for the stated purpose" (Sutton 1992). The other review is highly critical of the reliability and validity of the DIT, stating "Future revision of the DIT should include a revised technical manual that includes detailed technical data to support the reliability and validity of the DIT" (Westbrook and Bane 1986).

In response to many of the critics of moral development theory, both Kohlberg and Rest have published extensive clarifications of the construct of moral development and moral reasoning. One interesting revision to Kohlberg's stages of moral reasoning is that Kohlberg admitted that his empirical work has not succeeded in defining the nature his Stage 6 reasoning (Kohlberg, Levine, and Hewer 1983, 8). For this reason, research for the SSMS and DIT have combined the construct of principled reasoning (Kohlberg's Stage 5 and 6) into a single construct – Stage "P" for the SSMS and a Post-conventional "schema" for the DIT.

Rest et al provided an extensive review of construct validity for moral judgment in 1999. The Defining Issues Test (DIT) developed by James Rest and his associates has remained the instrument used most often in research concerning moral reasoning and moral development. Rest and his colleagues provide the following seven considerations for construct validity for a test of moral development (Rest et al 1999, 60-61):

1. *A test of moral judgment should differentiate groups assumed to be of greater or lesser expertise in moral reasoning.*

2. *A test of moral judgment should show upward change in a longitudinal study.*

3. *A test of moral judgment should be sensitive to interventions designed to improve moral reasoning (e.g., show pre-/post test gains on moral education programs).*

4. *A test of moral judgment should show evidence of a developmental hierarchy (i.e., that higher is better or more advanced).*

5. *A test of moral judgment should significant predict to real-life moral behavior.*

6. *A test of moral judgment should predict to political attitudes, political choices, and the way in which a person participates in a larger society.*

7. *A test of moral judgment should have adequate reliability.*

Rest and his colleagues conducted a study of a "mega sample" of over 800 DIT studies (with 45,856 tests) to analyze the construct of post-conventional moral reasoning. In this analysis, they tested each of the seven considerations they proposed above, with favorable results for the construct validity of the DIT. For this "mega sample," the mean P scores were 39.1 with a standard deviation of 14.84, similar to the results in this study of public officials (mean of 36.5 with a standard deviation of 14.0 for the total of the three SSMS samples). Rest et al state in their extensive analysis, "in short, unlike the large body of Kohlbergian research, something we call postconventional thinking is plentiful in DIT research." (Rest et al 1999, 63-96).

The SSMS was based upon the dilemmas in the DIT and cross-validated with measures from the DIT. Nonetheless, a major threat to validity of the research design continues to be the construct of moral development.

Concurrent Validity. Cross-translations of the SSMS instrument pose a threat to concurrent validity. The following provides the actions taken to counter this threat with the Russian survey (Stewart, Sprinthall and Kem 2002, 295):

> During a visit to the Russian Academy of Public Service in fall of 1996, Stewart conducted a preliminary review of the English version of the Polish questionnaire, with Russian colleagues to assess the appropriateness of its wording and content in the Russian context. In this review, Russian colleagues judged the instrument appropriate. Some minor changes were made in the SSMS stories to fit the Russian situation; however, the basic tensions in the story and the story line remained unchanged. Colleagues at RACS translated the questionnaire into Russian. The Russian version was back-translated into English and, after adjustments for accuracy, re-translated into Russian.
>
> Next, a team of faculty from the Academy analyzed the retranslated version in October 1998. The objective was to assure that a broader group of individuals who both knew the respondent population and understood survey research could assess the effectiveness of the instrument. In these discussions, one individual believed the questionnaire might require the respondents to be high-level experts on the civil service; the others believed it would be understandable to respondents. The consensus of this group was that most respondents would not answer the questions on party affiliation. Finally, the revised questionnaire was administered to a focus group of eight respondents who were then students in the Academy. In this session, participants were asked to raise their hands if they did not understand the questions they were being asked, and they were told the researcher would talk with them individually in each case. A group discussion followed the completion of the questionnaire. These officials indicated that they had no problems answering the questionnaire; they indicated that the "stories" fit the Russian context and that all of the other questions made sense to them. They indicated there was nothing offensive in the questionnaire, and they did not mind answering the demographic questions.

> However, they thought they would be more convinced that anonymity would be assured if we asked for "rank" and "profession" rather than position. The group also thought that geographic region would be an important factor in determining variation in responses and suggested it be added. Beyond these items, the students simply wanted to discuss the stories in the SSMS component of the questionnaire. We accepted all of the suggestions of the focus group as clarifying improvements on the instrument.

External Validity. Because the SSMS samples were non-random and because of the nature of this study, there is possible bias in the process of generalizing conclusions from this study to a population, to other subject populations, to other settings, and/or to other time periods.

4.10 Reliability Issues

The SSMS instrument has tested for reliability using the Cronbach alpha reliability coefficient. Cronbach's Alpha, "the reliability coefficient," is the most common estimate of internal consistency of items in a scale. Alpha measures the extent to which item responses obtained at the same time correlate highly with each other. In addition to estimating internal consistency (a.k.a. "reliability") from the average correlation, the formula for Alpha also takes into account the number of items on the theory that the more items, the more reliable a scale will be. That is, when the number of items in a scale is higher, alpha will be higher even when the estimated average correlations are equal. Also, the more consistent within-subject responses are, and the greater the variability between subjects in the sample, the higher will be Cronbach's Alpha. Finally, alpha will be higher when there is homogeneity of variances among items than when there is

not. The widely-accepted social science cut-off is that Alpha should be .70 or higher for a set of items to be considered a scale, but some use .75 or .80. That .70 is as low as one should go is reflected in the fact that when Alpha is .70, the standard error of measurement will be over half (0.55) a standard deviation (Garson 2003).

The Stewart Sprinthall Management Survey, and other surveys used for the construct of moral reasoning such as the Defining Issues Test (DIT), do not meet the widely accepted social science standard for Cronbach's Alpha. In the initial development of the SSMS, the reliability of three samples using the Cronbach Alpha technique was estimated between r = +.53 and r = +.67. This is comparable to other more established measures of this type of instrument (Rest 1986; Stewart, Sprinthall and Kem 2002, 286).

4.11 Chapter Summary

This study uses both quantitative and qualitative components with descriptive and quasi-experimental statistical designs. The primary dependent variable for the study is the level of moral reasoning, as measured by the SSMS stage score. Analysis will be conducted using demographic and attitudinal variables from the SSMS and the World Values Surveys of 1990 and 1995-1997, as well as qualitative data from focus groups for contextual data.

Chapter 5 investigates the first three hypotheses of the study by presenting and discussing the survey data from the Stewart Sprinthall Management Survey (SSMS) results from the United States, Poland, and Russia

and the World Values Surveys of 1990-93 and 1995-1997. This chapter includes an analysis (using analysis of variance, or ANOVA) of the differences in the SSMS stages of moral reasoning in the three groups, as well as differences in demographics. This chapter also includes an analysis of the differences between the Polish and Russian groups, an area not previously analyzed. This chapter will also present qualitative data from Russian focus groups.

Chapter 6 investigates the fourth hypothesis of the study by presenting and discussing the survey data from the Stewart Sprinthall Management Survey (SSMS) results from the United States, Poland, and Russia in terms of the "action choices" among the three groups. This chapter will also present qualitative data from Russian focus groups.

CHAPTER 5
PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF DATA: CONTEXTUAL FACTORS

5.1 Chapter Introduction

This chapter investigates the first three hypotheses of the study by presenting and discussing the data from the Stewart Sprinthall Management Surveys from the United States, Poland, and Russia, Russian Focus Group Comments, and results from the World Values Surveys of 1990-1993 and 1995-1997. This chapter includes four different sections for the testing of hypotheses through the presentation and analysis of data.

The first section consists of the initial presentation and analysis of data for the differences in means of the moral stages among public officials in the three countries. A comparison of the differences in means of moral development stage scores between the Polish SSMS sample and the Russian SSMS will be presented and analyzed, an area not previously presented in published research. This section establishes the baseline for the group means of moral stage scores, the dependent variable used for the investigation of the first three hypotheses.

The second section investigates the first hypothesis of this study by conducting an analysis of the historical and traditional context of the three countries. This section will include a presentation and analysis of data from the World Values Surveys of 1990-1993 and 1995-1997, as well as qualitative comments from the Russian focus groups. Variables presented will include

results from respondents in the United States, Poland, and Russia concerning attitudes for the "rule of law."

The third section investigates the second hypothesis of this study by conducting an analysis of the social institutions of the three countries. This section will include a presentation and analysis of data from the World Values Surveys of 1990-1993 and 1995-1997, as well as qualitative comments from the Russian focus groups. Variables presented will include results from respondents in the United States, Poland, and Russia concerning attitudes for social institutions.

The fourth section investigates the third hypothesis of the study by conducting an analysis of demographic variables for the three samples, as well as qualitative comments from the Russian focus groups. Specific attention will be paid to the results in Russia, due to the findings of the differences in moral development stages.

Section One – Baseline Data

5.2 Stage Scores for the Three Samples

Previously reported results from the Stewart Sprinthall Management Survey research in Poland, the United States, and Russia focused on the differences in stages of moral development. The findings of this research were that the primary stage for moral reasoning in public officials in both the United States and Poland was Stage 4, or "law and order reasoning" (Stewart and Sprinthall 1991; Stewart 1994; Stewart, Sprinthall, and Siemienska 1997). For

the Russian sample, the preferred stage was Stage “P,” principled reasoning (see Stewart, Sprinthall, and Kem 2002).

The first three hypotheses of this study are based upon the dependent variable, the level of moral reasoning. This section establishes the baseline for the level of moral reasoning, with an emphasis on two specific levels of moral reasoning – Stage “P,” or principled reasoning, and Stage 4, or law and order reasoning. This section will first show graphically the levels of moral reasoning, indicating that the level of principled reasoning is higher in Russia than in Poland and the United States, whereas the level of law and order reasoning is lower in Russia than in Poland and the United States. An analysis of variance (ANOVA) among public officials in the three countries will indicate the significance of the differences in group means at all stages of moral reasoning, followed by effect size comparisons between the pairs of countries. Post hoc statistical data will be presented in support of the data and the assumptions of ANOVA.

This section lays the foundation for the dependent variable of moral reasoning. The following sections will test hypotheses to explain the underlying reasons for the differences in moral reasoning.

Table 5.1 Overall SSMS Stage Scores by Country

OVERALL STAGE SCORES

Mean

Country coding	Stage "P" SSMS	Stage "4" SSMS	Stage "3" SSMS	Stage "1-2" SSMS
Polish (n = 479)	34.857	47.042	4.134	5.386
U.S. (n = 190)	37.984	42.416	9.911	7.089
Russian (n = 111)	41.431	29.926	12.405	12.780
Total (n = 780)	36.554	43.480	6.718	6.853

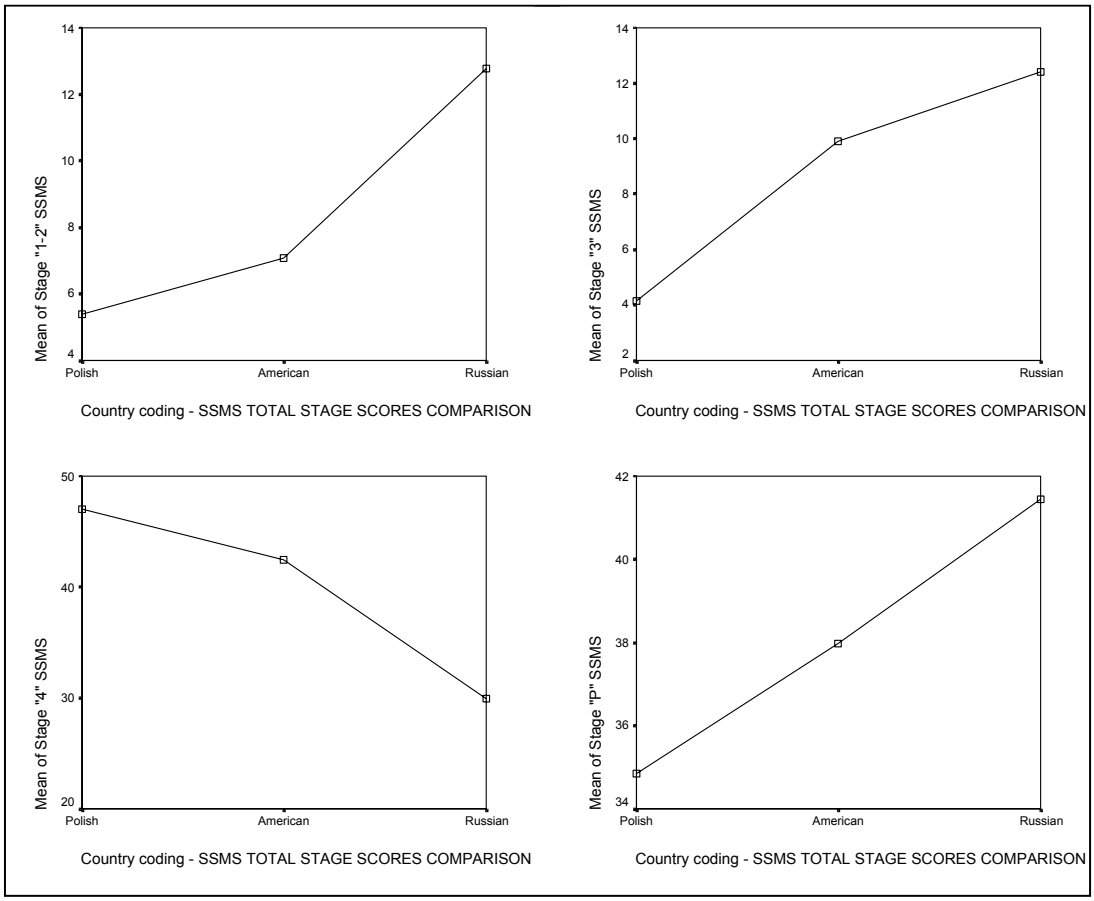


Figure 5.1 SSMS Stage Scores Comparisons

When the Russian respondents are compared with the Polish respondents, the differences in stage scores become more apparent. In all stages of moral development the Russians are significantly different than their Polish counterparts. The Russian respondents also had a greater range of stages – the Russian sample had much larger Stage 3 results and Stage 1&2 results. Using the stage scores as the dependent variable, the results from ANOVA indicate that all three groups of public officials (Polish, American, and Russian) are significantly different at all stages of moral development.

Table 5.2 ANOVA Table Overall SSMS Stage Scores by Country

ANOVA Table

			Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Stage "P" SSMS * Country coding	Between Groups	(Combined)	4407.560	2	2203.780	11.545	.000
	Within Groups		148312.1	777	190.878		
	Total		152719.7	779			
Stage "4" SSMS * Country coding	Between Groups	(Combined)	26687.353	2	13343.677	68.850	.000
	Within Groups		150588.6	777	193.808		
	Total		177275.9	779			
Stage "3" SSMS * Country coding	Between Groups	(Combined)	8725.809	2	4362.905	64.685	.000
	Within Groups		52407.240	777	67.448		
	Total		61133.049	779			
Stage "1-2" SSMS * Country coding	Between Groups	(Combined)	4941.461	2	2470.731	37.264	.000
	Within Groups		51517.123	777	66.303		
	Total		56458.584	779			

Table 5.3 Effect Size SSMS Stage Scores by Country

	Stage "P"	Stage "4"	Stage "3"	Stage "1-2"
Polish-American	-0.22992	0.33408	-0.74485	-0.21098
American-Russian	-0.24252	0.85423	-0.24243	-0.57923
Russian-Polish	0.47446	-1.25532	1.10355	1.02376

The effect sizes among the three pairs of countries indicate the effect of the differences in stage scores. Cohen's *d* reflects the standardized difference between group means to assess the degree of association between an independent variable (countries) and the dependent variable (SSMS stage scores). There is a large difference (>.80) in group means between the American and Russian samples and the Russian and Polish samples in law and order, or Stage 4 reasoning. The difference between the Polish and American samples in Stage 4 reasoning is considered small (>.20 and <.50). In addition, there is a large difference (>.80) between the Russian and Polish samples in both Stage 3 ("Good Boy – Nice Girl") and Stage 1 and 2 ("Punishment & Obedience" & "Instrumental Relativist") reasoning.

The following tables provide statistical analysis for the differences in means among public officials in the three countries. The first table describes the measures of association, or the power of the relationship as described by Eta. Eta is a measure of strength of relationship based on sums of squares computed in analysis of variance. Eta^2 is interpreted as the percent of variance in the dependent variable explained by the independent variable (Garson 2003).

Table 5.4 ANOVA Table Overall SSMS Stage Scores by Country R and Eta Measures of Association

Measures of Association

	R	R Squared	Eta	Eta Squared
Stage "P" SSMS * Country coding	.170	.029	.170	.029
Stage "4" SSMS * Country coding	-.374	.140	.388	.151
Stage "3" SSMS * Country coding	.370	.137	.378	.143
Stage "1-2" SSMS * Country coding	.281	.079	.296	.088

The test of the homogeneity of variances, or the Levene statistic, was computed for the differences in means of moral reasoning among public officials within the three countries. Levene's test of homogeneity of variance is computed to test the ANOVA assumption that each group of the independent variable (countries) has the same variance. If the Levene statistic is significant at the .05 level or better, the researcher rejects the null hypothesis that the groups have equal variances. The Levene test is robust in the face of departures from normality; however, that failure to meet the assumption of homogeneity of variances is not fatal to ANOVA, which is relatively robust, particularly when groups are of equal sample size (Garson 2003).

Table 5.5 ANOVA Table Test of Homogeneity of Variances

Test of Homogeneity of Variances

	Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
Stage "P" SSMS	2.436	2	777	.088
Stage "4" SSMS	.885	2	777	.413
Stage "3" SSMS	19.859	2	777	.000
Stage "1-2" SSMS	5.285	2	777	.005

An additional statistical post-hoc test was conducted to compute the differences in means among public officials in the three countries for moral reasoning. The Tukey HSD (honestly significant difference) test is recommended when pairwise comparisons are being tested. The Tukey HSD table lists all the groups (the categories on the independent variable) and their means. Then for the .05 level of significance, additional columns will be printed, one for each subset where group means do not differ significantly. When the significance level of mean differences is worse than .05, we fail to accept the null hypothesis that the means do not differ. Thus the "Sig." values in the bottom row below are all above .05. In each subset column only the means of the variables in that subset will be printed. An examination of the different subset columns reveals for which groups (independent variable categories) the mean on the dependent do or do not differ.

Table 5.6 Tukey HSD Stage "P" ("Principled Reasoning")

Stage "P" SSMS

	Country coding	N	Subset for alpha = .05	
			1	2
Tukey HSD[a,b]	Polish	479	34.857	
	American	190	37.984	
	Russian	111		41.431
	Sig.		.078	1.000

Means for groups in homogeneous subsets are displayed.

a. Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 183.376.

b. The group sizes are unequal. The harmonic mean of the group sizes is used. Type I error levels are not guaranteed.

Table 5.7 Tukey HSD Stage 4 (“Law and Order”)

Stage "4" SSMS

	Country coding	N	Subset for alpha = .05		
			1	2	3
Tukey HSD[a,b]	Russian	111	29.926		
	American	190		42.416	
	Polish	479			47.042
	Sig.		1.000	1.000	1.000

Means for groups in homogeneous subsets are displayed.

a. Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 183.376.

b. The group sizes are unequal. The harmonic mean of the group sizes is used. Type I error levels are not guaranteed.

Table 5.8 Tukey HSD Stage 3 (“Good Boy – Nice Girl”)

Stage "3" SSMS

	Country coding	N	Subset for alpha = .05		
			1	2	3
Tukey HSD[a,b]	Polish	479	4.134		
	American	190		9.911	
	Russian	111			12.405
	Sig.		1.000	1.000	1.000

Means for groups in homogeneous subsets are displayed.

a. Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 183.376.

b. The group sizes are unequal. The harmonic mean of the group sizes is used. Type I error levels are not guaranteed.

Table 5.9 Tukey HSD Stage 1-2 (“Punishment & Obedience” & “Instrumental Relativist”)

Stage "1-2" SSMS

	Country coding	N	Subset for alpha = .05	
			1	2
Tukey HSD[a,b]	Polish	479	5.386	
	American	190	7.089	
	Russian	111		12.780
	Sig.		.112	1.000

Means for groups in homogeneous subsets are displayed.

a. Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 183.376.

b. The group sizes are unequal. The harmonic mean of the group sizes is used. Type I error levels are not guaranteed.

5.3 Comparison Between Russian and Polish Results

Are there differences between the Polish respondents and the Russian respondents? Previous research has indicated that there is no dramatic difference between the Polish respondents and the United States respondents (Stewart, Sprinthall, and Siemienska 1997). Recent research has also indicated there is a difference between the Russian respondents and those of both Poland and the United States (Stewart, Sprinthall, and Kem 2002), but there has not been a detailed analysis between the Russian and Polish results. The primary stage for moral reasoning in public officials in both the United States and Poland is Stage 4 (Stewart and Sprinthall 1991; Stewart 1994; Stewart, Sprinthall, and Siemienska 1997). This is not the story in the Russian Federation. The primary stage in Russia is Stage P, principled reasoning (see Stewart, Sprinthall, and Kem 2002).

When the Russian respondents are compared with the Polish respondents, the differences in stage scores become more apparent. In all stages of moral development the Russians are significantly different than their Polish counterparts. The following charts will address the differences between the Russian respondents and the Polish respondents.

Table 5.10 Effect Size SSMS Stage Scores – Russian-Polish Comparison

	Stage "P"	Stage "4"	Stage "3"	Stage "1-2"
Russian-Polish	0.47446	-1.25532	1.10355	1.02376

Table 5.11 SSMS Stage "P" ("Principled Reasoning") Score ANOVA – Polish-Russian

ANOVA

SSMS STAGE P

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	3894.105	1	3894.105	20.286	.000
Within Groups	112871.2	588	191.958		
Total	116765.3	589			

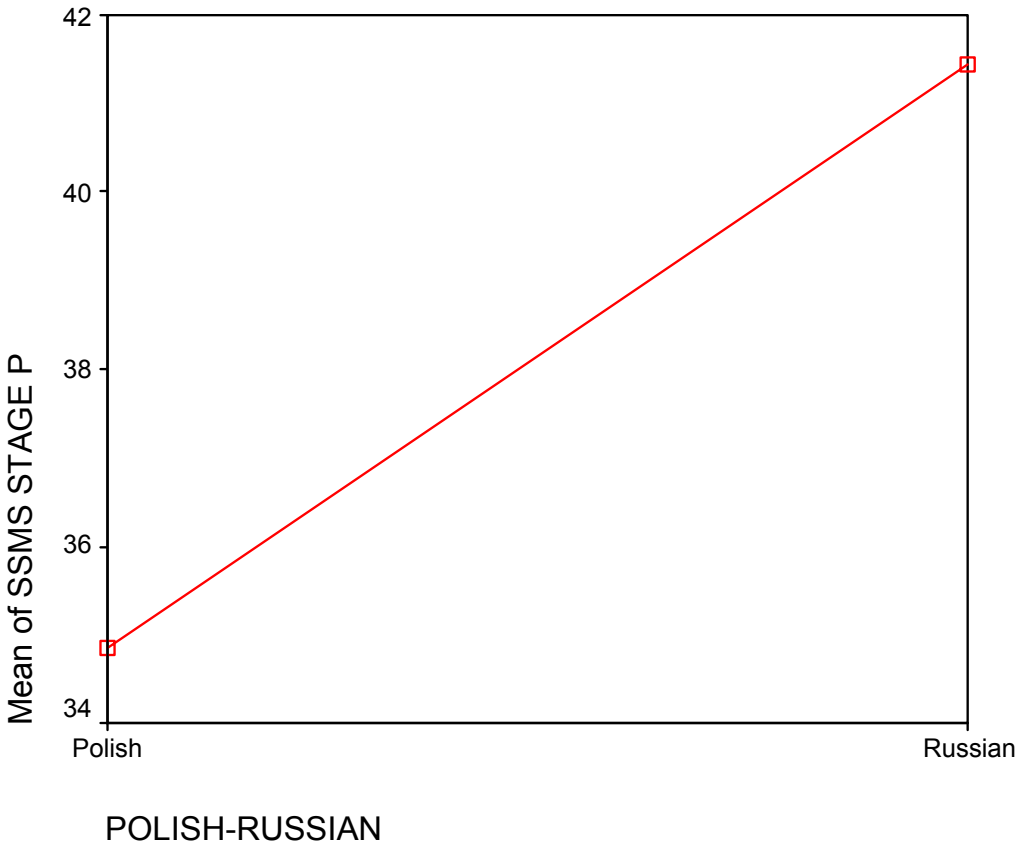


Figure 5.2 SSMS Stage "P" ("Principled Reasoning") Scores Comparison – Polish-Russian

Table 5.12 SSMS Stage 4 ("Law and Order") Score ANOVA – Polish-Russian

ANOVA

SSMS STAGE 4

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	26403.097	1	26403.097	142.009	.000
Within Groups	109324.4	588	185.926		
Total	135727.5	589			

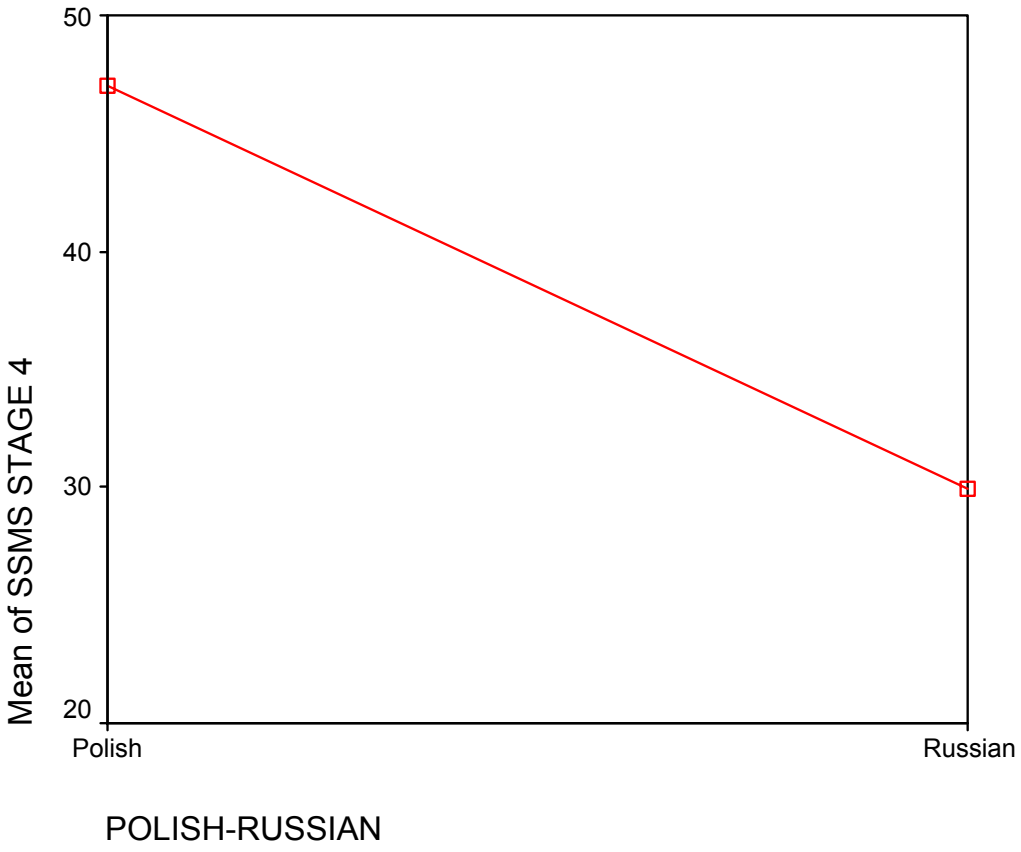


Figure 5.3 SSMS Stage 4 ("Law and Order") Scores Comparison – Polish-Russian

Table 5.13 SSMS Stage 3 ("Good Boy – Nice Girl") Score ANOVA – Polish-Russian

ANOVA

SSMS STAGE 3

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	6165.496	1	6165.496	109.746	.000
Within Groups	33033.761	588	56.180		
Total	39199.257	589			

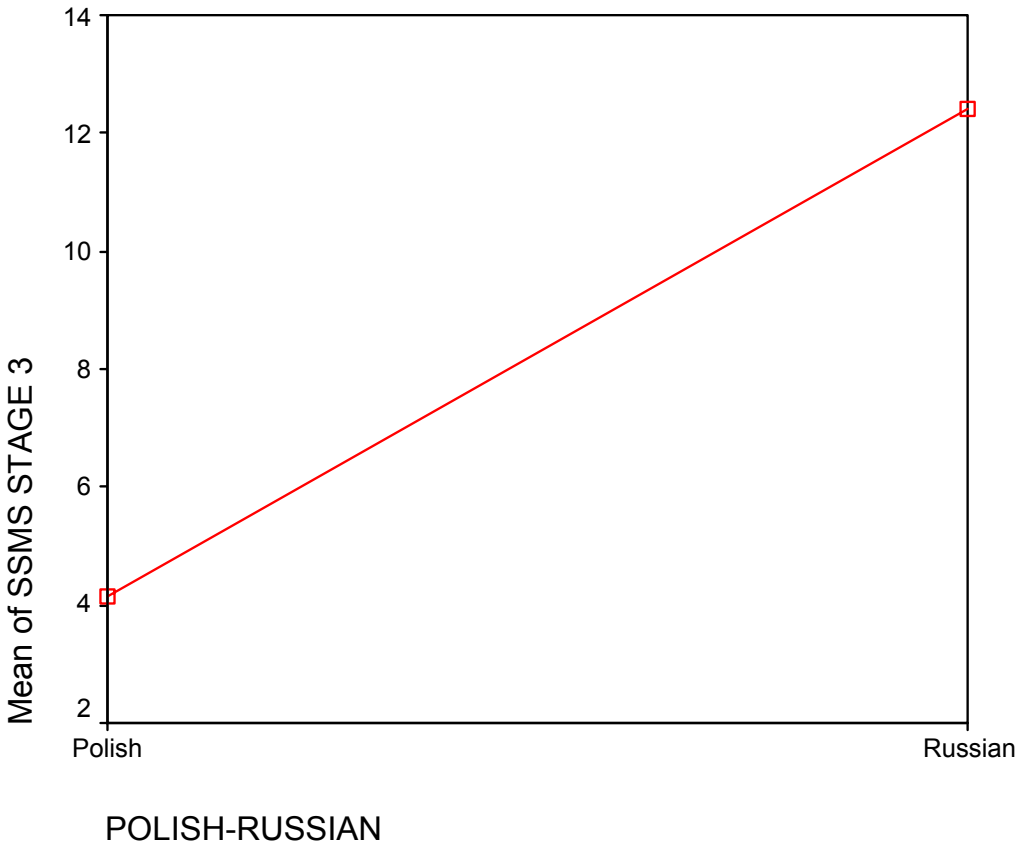


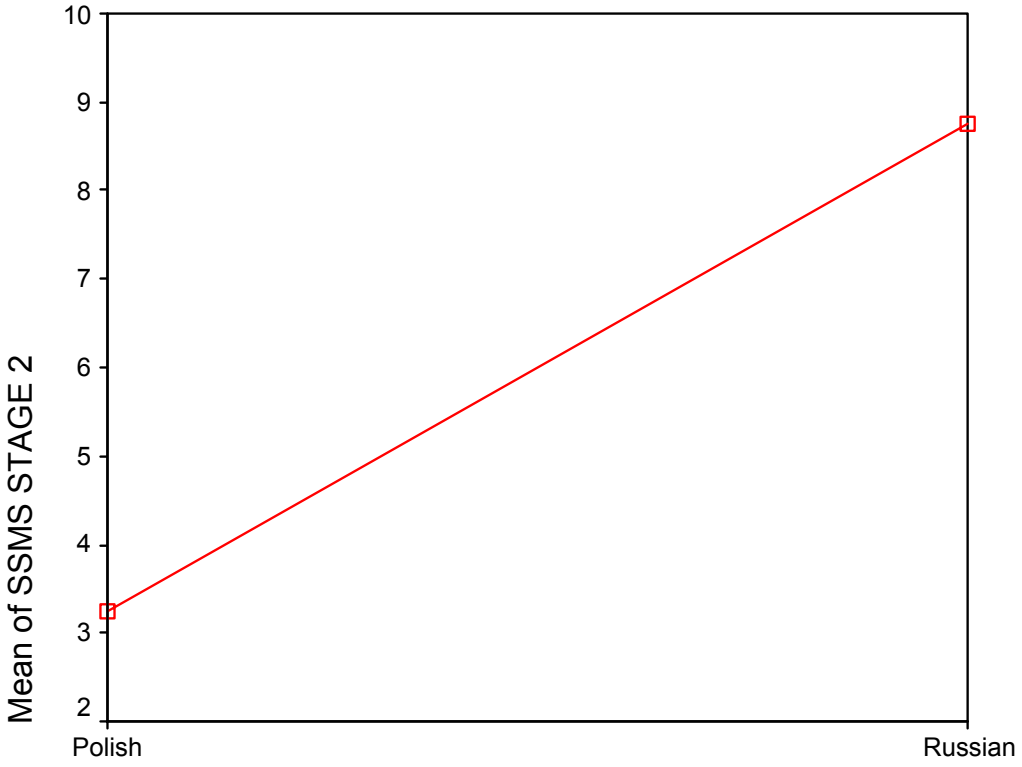
Figure 5.4 SSMS Stage 3 ("Good Boy – Nice Girl") Scores Comparison – Polish-Russian

Table 5.14 SSMS Stage 2 ("Instrumental Relativist") Score ANOVA – Polish-Russian

ANOVA

SSMS STAGE 2

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	2729.404	1	2729.404	77.758	.000
Within Groups	20639.561	588	35.101		
Total	23368.966	589			



POLISH-RUSSIAN

Figure 5.5 SSMS Stage 2 ("Instrumental Relativist") Scores Comparison – Polish-Russian

Table 5.15 SSMS Stage 1 ("Punishment and Obedience") Score ANOVA – Polish-Russian

ANOVA

SSMS STAGE 1

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	322.099	1	322.099	19.677	.000
Within Groups	9625.153	588	16.369		
Total	9947.252	589			

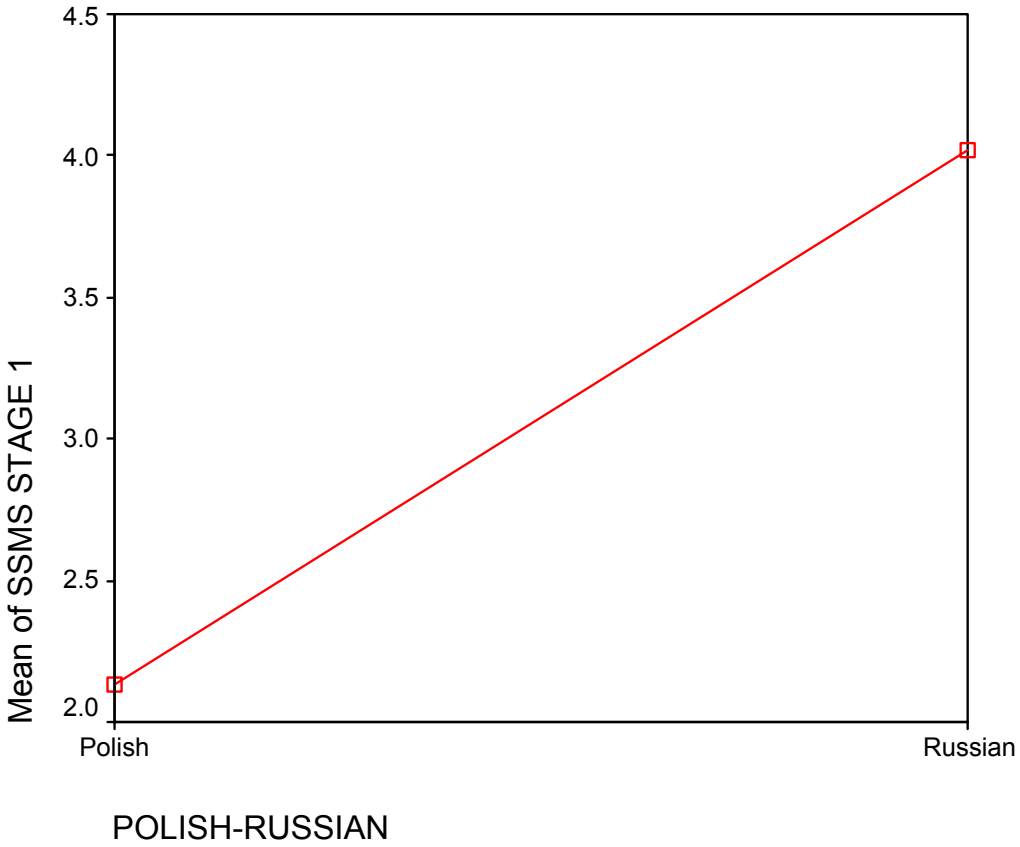


Figure 5.6 SSMS Stage 1 ("Punishment and Obedience") Scores Comparison – Polish-Russian

Section Two – Historical and Traditional Context

5.4 Rule of Law/Trust Variables

This second section presents an analysis of the historical and traditional context of the three countries. This step includes a presentation and analysis of data from the World Values Surveys of 1990-1993 and 1995-1997. Variables presented will include results from respondents in the United States, Poland, and Russia concerning attitudes for the "rule of law." This analysis investigates the first hypothesis of this study:

Hypothesis 1:
For public officials, the weaker the support of contextual factors for the legal process, the higher the level of principled reasoning and the lower the level of "law and order" moral reasoning.

This hypothesis focuses on historical and traditional societal factors. The implication is that if historical and traditional factors within society have weakened support for the "rule of law," then public officials will "skip" law and order reasoning for principled reasoning as a primary orientation. The context of the "baggage" of history and tradition in society is hypothesized to affect the levels of moral reasoning.

5.5 Focus Group Comments: History and Tradition

The first section of this chapter presented support for the dependent variable of the first hypothesis in the context of Russia for public officials – a

higher level of principled reasoning and a lower level of “law and order” moral reasoning when compared to public officials in the United States and Poland. Comments from the focus groups conducted in Russia provide insight into the hypothesized reason for this difference – the context of the “baggage” of history and tradition in Russian society for public officials. The following are some of the representative comments from the focus groups:

Ideas such as justice, etc., mean a lot to us. Laws were not always just in Russia; the laws are democraticized in the US. People in Russia do not see law as something that is something that should be observed here in Russia. People criticize law in Russia more than anywhere else. We have a saying: “Restrictions of the law are compensated by the possibility to avoid them.”

Maybe I will not appear as a patriot in your eyes, but we have eternal changes – especially these last years, and people who follow some laws or procedures – they understood that it was not practical – that life changes, and the rules are immutable. It is not practical to follow these rules. Our state doesn’t formulate the necessary rules and the guilt is not on a person, but on our state. That is why they answer like that. It is a tradition.

It seems to me, you can take our history because it is our ideology, the ideology of ideals, and the real problem was lost by this official ideology… ideology was related to idols, but real life was forgotten… “Disconnection between real life and ideals.”

Maybe we can explain it by our history – during all our history we had several types or rules and laws – which were changed by the rule of some high person, some leader. Procedures may have changed. The laws existed but the demands were different from the rules.

Seems to me that it concerns our mentality – this mentality is implanted in Russian history – the result is that we are inclined towards final results. We have procedures, we have them, but they are not well formulated – this is why we invent some different resolutions of one problem. Perhaps it depends on our system of education – we are brought up like this. Now we elaborate some standards, standards for different administrative structures – including public administration. It is only a project for the future. We don't know if these will be effective in Russia.

The evidence is that Russian public administrators don't trust law themselves. Why? Because the laws don't defend, don't protect them. If, for instance, some situations, some critical situations happens, to them, in their office, and if they are right in this situation, in case of firing, he must leave his office – even if he was right – even if his job is restored, he would have to go somewhere else – and his career would be completely destroyed. The rules of law are not perceived as rule to defend – in critical case, law is not considered a defense – so he should observe the actual rules of behavior from his superiors, but not the norms and rules of law.

These comments from the focus groups provide insight into the context for history and tradition in Russia and the former Soviet Union. The law is not seen

as something to be observed or followed, primarily as a response to the history of Russia and its leaders. These comments support the hypothesis that "the weaker the support of contextual factors for the legal process, the higher the level of principled reasoning and the lower the level of "law and order" moral reasoning." These comments do not, however, provide a comparison of contextual factors relating to history and tradition among Russia, the United States, and Poland.

5.6 World Values Survey: History and Tradition

Rule of Law/Trust variables from the World Values Surveys were those variables that directly related to respect for law and the establishment of an environment of trust in society. These included respect for authority, confidence in the legal system, and confidence in police. Three variables were considered in this analysis – Respect for Authority, Confidence in the Legal System, and Confidence in the Police.

For "Respect for Authority," having a greater respect for authority in the future was considered a "good thing" by most of the respondents in all three countries for the two surveys. The results from the United States surveys were generally higher, with the Polish and Russian results having similarity in responses.

For "Confidence in the Legal System," the results were mixed because of differences in the United States surveys from 1990 to 1995, where confidence in the legal system dropped considerably, which may be an anomaly or due to

intervening events in the United States during the period. For Poland and Russia, confidence in the legal system remained relatively constant, with slightly less than 50% of the Polish respondents having “a great deal” or “quite a lot” of confidence in the legal system, and slightly less than 40% of the Russian respondents having “a great deal” or “quite a lot” of confidence in the legal system.

For “Confidence in the Police,” there was an increase in confidence in the Polish survey from 1990 to 1997, where “a great deal” or “quite a lot” of confidence increased from approximately 30% to 50%. The respondents from the United States remained relatively constant at around 70% confidence in the police. The Russian respondents also remained relatively constant at a much lower rate of confidence at the ”great deal” and “quite a lot” level around 30%.

The survey questions from the World Values Surveys used in this section were the following:

> *If greater respect for authority were to happen do you think it would be a good thing, a bad thing, or don't you mind?*
>
> *How much confidence do you have in the legal system – a great deal, white a lot, not very much or none at all?*
>
> *How much confidence do you have in the police – a great deal, quite a lot, not very much or none at all?*

Tables 5.16 and 5.17 provide a summary of the results from the World Values Surveys for Rule of Law/Trust variables.

Table 5.16 WVS 1990-93 Rule of Law/Trust Results

		NATION - WVS 1990-93		
		USA	Poland	Russia
RESPECT FOR AUTHORITY	Good	77.2%	72.9%	68.2%
	Don't mind	15.4%	23.9%	26.1%
	Bad	7.4%	3.2%	5.7%
CONFIDENCE IN LEGAL SYSTEM	Great deal	11.6%	13.0%	10.9%
	Quite a lot	45.2%	35.4%	27.3%
	Not very	34.6%	38.4%	44.5%
	None	8.6%	13.2%	17.3%
CONFIDENCE IN THE POLICE	Great deal	21.2%	7.2%	7.5%
	Quite a lot	53.5%	23.2%	27.7%
	Not very	21.9%	40.3%	44.4%
	None	3.5%	29.3%	20.5%

Table 5.17 WVS 1995-97 Rule of Law/Trust Results

		NATION - WVS 1995-97		
		USA	Poland	Russia
RESPECT FOR AUTHORITY	Good	77.0%	51.6%	54.2%
	Don't mind	18.5%	30.1%	27.2%
	Bad	4.4%	6.9%	4.9%
	Don't know, N/A		11.4%	13.7%
CONFIDENCE IN LEGAL SYSTEM	Great deal	6.3%	10.9%	8.3%
	Quite a lot	30.4%	37.4%	29.7%
	Not very	50.2%	33.7%	40.3%
	None	13.1%	9.8%	18.6%
	Don't know		8.2%	3.0%
CONFIDENCE IN THE POLICE	Great deal	17.1%	9.8%	5.5%
	Quite a lot	54.2%	41.5%	24.3%
	Not very	24.1%	35.4%	41.6%
	None	4.6%	9.7%	26.8%
	Don't know		3.6%	1.8%

The findings from the World Values Surveys from history and tradition variables were that the Russian respondents saw less of a need for greater respect for authority, had lower confidence in the legal system and indicated lower confidence in the police. In the areas of confidence in the legal system and confidence in the police, the Russian respondents indicated a downward trend in confidence, as opposed to an upward trend in the Polish samples. These findings are consistent with the literature review, which indicated a tendency of the central government to rule by edict and a gap between democratic principles and real policy, with well publicized instances of corruption within government agencies.

The results from the World Values Survey support the first hypothesis, "the weaker the support of contextual factors for the legal process, the higher the level of principled reasoning and the lower the level of "law and order" moral reasoning." Support of contextual factors for the legal process is lower in Russia than in the United States and Poland, especially for the courts and the police. The impact of history and tradition in Russia has led to a lower respect for the "rule of law" as demonstrated through the review of the literature, the focus group comments, and the world values survey. The contextual factors for the legal process provides support for the hypothesized relationship to the lower level of "law and order" moral reasoning in Russia.

Section Three – Social Institutions Context

5.7 Institutional Variables

This third section presents an analysis of the context of social institutions in the three countries. This step includes a presentation and analysis of data from the World Values Surveys of 1990-1993 and 1995-1997. Variables presented will include results from respondents in the United States, Poland, and Russia concerning attitudes of specific institutions within a society. These include the family, trust in people, the press, and trade unions. The institution of the church was considered as a specific social institution and will be presented separately at the end of this section. This analysis investigates the second hypothesis of this study:

Hypothesis 2:
For public officials, the weaker the connections to social institutions, the lower the level of "law and order" reasoning.

This hypothesis focuses on social institutions, such as the family, trust in people, the press, trade unions, and the institutional church. These institutions of the civil society can be independent "society-maintaining" factors within a society. If the connections to these institutions are weak or the institutions themselves are poorly developed, it is hypothesized that the regard for the "rule of law" will be weak.

5.8 Focus Group Comments: Social Institutions

The first section of this chapter presented support for the dependent variable of the first hypothesis in the context of Russia for public officials – a lower level of "law and order" moral reasoning when compared to public officials in the United States and Poland. Comments from the focus groups conducted in Russia provide insight into the hypothesized reason for this difference – the context of social institutions in Russian society for public officials. The following are some of the representative comments from the focus groups:

What about the press?

It can be bought, can be paid. You can buy and sell the press!

We want a certain tendency, but in real Russia we have crises after crises. We don't have time to teach, we need professionals now! The situation is very unusual and very dynamic. Requirements to the professionals are very high. The requirements are: 1) The ability of making decisions; 2) Knowledge; 3) Great (wide) working experience; 4) Level of responsibility; 5) Human intuition; 6) Analytical capabilities.

In Muslim communities the relationships are vertical and very strong – and therefore easier to control the behavior of subordinates.

A personal example – I'm a Muslim – so I am the head of a dept; I try to have 40% of my employees as Muslims; why? Because I can influence them, exploit, use them due to national and religious features so that every nation can advance itself to a higher level. So I can resolve some problems with them using our national and religious community. And every head of our department prefers to have some percentage of employees as his own nationality or religious community in order to make work easier and more stable as a management tool. If a person of a certain nationality is holding a high position he will advance people of the same nationality.

Do you believe there are differences in moral reasoning because of religious and national differences?

Yes… I came from the Krasnodar region – as in other different regions, perhaps people respect more rules and procedures because they have not so much bureaucracy, and if you don't follow rules and procedures – it's more visible – tightness of community.

These comments from the focus groups provide insight into the context for social institutions in Russia. The press, as an institution, is not trusted and "can be bought." Religion is a factor to maintain control is a parochial way – not to reinforce rules, but to circumvent them. These comments support the hypothesis that "the weaker the connections to social institutions, the lower the level of 'law and order' reasoning." These comments do not, however, provide a comparison of contextual factors relating to societal institutions among Russia, the United States, and Poland.

5.9 World Values Surveys: Social Institutions

Institution variables pertained to attitudes concerning specific institutions within a society. Four variables will be initially considered in this analysis – the Importance of Family, Trust in People, Confidence in the Press, and Confidence in Trade Unions. The institution of the church will be considered separately at the end of this section.

For "Importance of Family," the results appear to be dramatic in terms of the similarity of the United States and Poland in contrast to the results in Russia. The combined results of "very important" and "quite important" for all three countries, however, is above 95% for respondents in all three countries.

For "Trust in People," the results are mixed. For all three countries in the 1995-97 World Values Surveys, over 60% of the respondents felt that "you can't be too careful" in dealing with other people.

For "Confidence in the Press," the results are also mixed. There is no apparent pattern for this particular variable among the three countries. For the 1995-97 World Values Surveys, high confidence in the press was noted by less than 50% of the respondents in all three countries.

For "Confidence in Trade Unions," the results are also mixed. The combined levels of "a great deal of confidence" and "quite a lot of confidence" in trade unions do not reach the 50% level in any of the three countries during the two time frames of the World Values Surveys.

The survey questions from the World Values Surveys used in this section were the following:

> *How important is your family in your life? Very important, rather important, not very important, not at all important?*
>
> *Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? Can most people be trusted, you can't be too careful, or don't know?*
>
> *How much confidence do you have in the press – a great deal, quite a lot, not very much or none at all?*
>
> *How much confidence do you have in trade unions – a great deal, quite a lot, not very much or none at all?*

Tables 5.18 and 5.19 provide a summary of the results from the World Values Surveys for Social Institutions variables.

Table 5.18 WVS 1990-93 Social Institution Results

		NATION - WVS 1990-93		
		USA	Poland	Russia
IMPORTANCE OF FAMILY	Very	92.6%	90.6%	78.9%
	Rather	6.0%	7.9%	17.7%
	Not very	1.0%	1.3%	2.5%
	Not at all	.4%	.2%	.8%
TRUST IN PEOPLE	Trusted	51.1%	34.5%	37.5%
	Careful	48.9%	65.5%	62.5%
CONFIDENCE IN THE PRESS	Great deal	7.3%	9.3%	7.5%
	Quite a lot	48.6%	37.5%	36.1%
	Not very	34.0%	46.6%	45.8%
	None	10.1%	6.6%	10.5%
CONFIDENCE IN TRADE UNIONS	Great deal	7.3%	4.5%	9.4%
	Quite a lot	25.3%	18.7%	37.8%
	Not very	53.6%	39.7%	34.3%
	None	13.8%	37.1%	18.5%

Table 5.19 WVS 1995-97 Social Institutions Results

		NATION - WVS 1995-97		
		USA	Poland	Russia
IMPORTANCE OF FAMILY	Very	95.2%	89.7%	83.7%
	Rather	4.0%	9.5%	12.6%
	Not very	.8%	.2%	2.6%
	Not at all	.1%	.2%	.7%
	Don't know		.5%	.4%
TRUST IN PEOPLE	Trusted	35.9%	16.9%	23.2%
	Careful	64.1%	77.5%	73.8%
	Don't know		5.6%	2.9%
CONFIDENCE IN THE PRESS	Great deal	4.1%	6.3%	4.9%
	Quite a lot	24.4%	36.8%	33.7%
	Not very	55.0%	42.2%	44.9%
	None	16.5%	7.8%	13.8%
	Don't know		6.9%	2.7%
CONFIDENCE IN TRADE UNIONS	Great deal	8.1%	6.2%	6.8%
	Quite a lot	27.5%	20.2%	31.3%
	Not very	49.5%	34.3%	29.4%
	None	14.9%	27.6%	20.4%
	Don't know		11.6%	12.1%

5.10 World Values Surveys: The Institution of the Church

Religiosity variables related specifically to demonstrated religious behaviors, measuring what individuals "do" in terms of religion, rather than in specific beliefs. These variables are presented as an extension of the analysis for the second hypothesis, with an emphasis on the strength of the social institution of the church in society. Four variables were considered in this analysis – The Importance of Religion, Confidence in the Church, Membership in a Religious Denomination, and Religious Service Attendance.

For "Importance of Religion," the results are striking. Respondents from the United States and Poland consistently rated religion as "very important" or "quite important" for both of the surveys at the 80% and higher levels. The respondents from Russia were below 40% during both surveys.

The "Confidence in the Church" variable was included in "religiosity" or behavioral variables because of its relationship to the institution of the church rather than internalized beliefs. The results for the variable were mixed among the three countries in both surveys, although over 60% of the respondents indicated a "great deal" or "quite a lot" of confidence in the church in all surveys.

The "Membership in a Religious Denomination" variable also presented some striking results. For both surveys, the Polish respondents indicated over 90% membership in a religious denomination, of which the vast majority indicated the Catholic Church. In the United States, 80% of the respondents indicated church membership in both surveys. The Russian surveys indicated that over 60% of the respondents in 1990 did <u>not</u> have church membership, while

that number dropped to 45% in the 1995 World Values Survey. Interestingly, for the 1990 Russian survey the Orthodox Church was not listed in the follow-up question for specific church membership. Not surprisingly, in the 1995 survey in Russia, the largest single group for church membership was the Orthodox Church.

For "Religious Service Attendance," the results were also dramatic. The United States and Polish respondents attended religious services at least once a month in the 60-80% range, with Polish attendance the highest in both surveys. Less than 10% of the Russian respondents in both surveys indicated they attended religious services at least once a month.

The results from the religiosity variables indicate a dramatic difference among the three countries. Both Poland and the United States have high percentages of respondents who are active religiously, with a much smaller number in Russia. Russian participation in religious activities is increasing, but still well below those of the United States and Poland. Of course, the impact of the Catholic Church in Poland is strongly felt in church attendance and membership.

The survey questions from the World Values Surveys used in this section were the following:

> *How important is religion in your life? Very important, rather important, not very important, not at all important?*
>
> *How much confidence do you have in the church – a great deal, quite a lot, not very much or none at all?*
>
> *Do you belong to a religious denomination? If so, which one?*

Apart from weddings, funerals and christenings, about how often do you attend religious services these days? More than once a week, once a week, once a month, specific holy days, once a year, less often, or never, practically never?

Tables 5.20 and 5.21 provide a summary of the results from the World Values Surveys for Social Institutions variables.

Table 5.20 WVS 1990-93 Religiosity Results

		NATION - WVS 1990-93		
		USA	Poland	Russia
IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION	Very	53.5%	52.5%	11.8%
	Rather	25.7%	36.2%	21.8%
	Not very	16.0%	8.6%	32.5%
	Not at all	4.8%	2.7%	33.9%
CONFIDENCE IN THE CHURCH	Great deal	45.9%	51.4%	23.2%
	Quite a lot	21.1%	32.4%	42.0%
	Not very	28.4%	14.2%	22.3%
	None	4.6%	2.0%	12.5%
RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION	None	20.6%	.1%	65.8%
	Catholic	28.2%	93.7%	27.9%
	Protestant	31.3%	.9%	.3%
	Orthodox	8.0%	1.3%	
	Jew	1.8%		.1%
	Muslim	.1%		3.2%
	Hindu	.4%	.1%	
	Buddhist	.3%	.1%	.2%
	Other	7.4%	1.0%	2.6%
	N/A	1.7%	2.9%	
RELIGIOUS SERVICE ATTENDANCE	More than once a week	14.8%	9.7%	.8%
	Once a week	29.3%	55.5%	1.0%
	Once a month	14.5%	19.6%	4.1%
	Specific Holy days	8.8%	8.1%	7.9%
	Once a year	6.9%	1.9%	10.0%
	Less often	7.3%	1.3%	17.1%
	Never, practically never	18.5%	3.8%	59.1%

Table 5.21 WVS 1995-97 Religiosity Results

		NATION - WVS 1995-97		
		USA	Poland	Russia
IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION	Very	58.4%	46.9%	14.4%
	Rather	24.9%	36.7%	26.6%
	Not very	11.8%	13.1%	35.8%
	Not at all	4.9%	3.2%	23.2%
CONFIDENCE IN THE CHURCH	Great deal	41.2%	29.3%	22.2%
	Quite a lot	36.3%	36.6%	39.8%
	Not very	18.9%	24.5%	22.0%
	None	3.6%	7.4%	10.0%
	Don't know		2.3%	6.1%
RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION	None	19.0%	3.1%	44.9%
	Catholic	24.8%	93.5%	.1%
	Protestant	35.3%	1.6%	.1%
	Orthodox	.5%	.9%	47.9%
	Jew	1.9%		.0%
	Muslim	.5%		5.1%
	Hindu	.1%		.0%
	Buddhist	.3%		.0%
	Other	15.4%	1.0%	.5%
	N/A	2.2%		1.2%
RELIGIOUS SERVICE ATTENDANCE	More than once a week	12.7%	7.1%	.7%
	Once a week	31.2%	49.0%	1.3%
	Once a month	13.1%	17.7%	5.9%
	Specific Holy days	11.9%	13.6%	15.7%
	Once a year	4.4%	3.7%	13.3%
	Less often	9.7%	3.0%	12.5%
	Never, practically never	16.9%	5.9%	50.5%

The findings from the World Values Surveys from social institution variables were that the results for “Trust in People,” “Confidence in the Press,” and “Confidence in Trade Unions,” were mixed, with no clear differences among the three countries. The results for “Importance of Family” appear to be different, but not dramatically so.

One social institution – the church – did indicate dramatic differences among the three countries. Poland and the United States have high percentages of respondents who are active religiously, with a much smaller number in Russia. Russian participation in religious activities is increasing, but still well below those of the United States and Poland.

The results from the World Values Survey, particularly in terms of religiosity, support the second hypothesis, “the weaker the connections to social institutions, the lower the level of ‘law and order’ reasoning.” The connection to social institutions is lower in Russia than in the United States and Poland, especially for the church and religious organizations. The impact of this weaker connection to social institutions appear to be related to a lower respect for the “rule of law” as demonstrated through the review of the literature and the focus group comments. The contextual factors for social institutions provide support for the hypothesized relationship to the lower level of “law and order” moral reasoning in Russia.

Section Four – Personal History

5.11 Demographics and Personal History

This fourth section provides an analysis of demographic variables and personal history for the three samples. Specific attention will be paid to the results in Russia, due to the findings of the differences in moral development stages. This analysis investigates the third hypothesis of the study:

Hypothesis 3:
For public officials, whatever the contextual support for law and order, the greater the individual factors that reinforce conventional moral thinking, the stronger the support for "law and order" reasoning.

This hypothesis focuses on individual factors, such as age and gender and personal history. Regardless of historical/traditional factors and social institutions, individual factors that reinforce the regard for the "rule of law" are hypothesized to result in a stronger orientation towards law and order reasoning.

5.12 Focus Group Comments: Personal History

The first section of this chapter presented support for the dependent variable of the first hypothesis in the context of Russia for public officials – a stronger level of "law and order" moral reasoning for public officials in the United States and Poland when compared to public officials in Russia. Comments from the focus groups conducted in Russia provide insight into the hypothesized reason for this difference – the context of demographics in Russian society for

public officials, particularly attitudes concerning gender differences. The following are some of the representative comments from the focus groups:

Seems to me that it concerns our mentality – this mentality is implanted in Russian history – the result is that we are inclined towards final results. We have procedures, we have them, but they are not well formulated – this is why we invent some different resolutions of one problem. Perhaps it depends on our system of education – we are brought up like this.

Women's side is more humanistic, more emotional, and more moral. This is just one of the divisions of Russian society. The main conclusion is that it is impossible to understand Russia with one's head. It is difficult to read Russia. You have to feel Russia with your heart.

It is because of American feminism – perhaps the American findings can be explained by American feminism – American women try to be like men. In America, there are no special female characteristics; not only the feminization of American males, but also the masculinization of American females.

In Russia, women only begin their professional lives as public administrators – this is why they have high principles – men are more political and more oriented to their career, and the principle of their careers.

In America women hide their women's nature inside, when they are at work. They go by the administrative rules and leave their women's subjectivity outside their jobs. In Russia we don't break ourselves. We do, but not much. I forgot the name of the writer, but he says: "Men have to be smart, but women have to be logical." To be logical means to be smart multiplied by kindness and wisdom. That is why we act differently and we are subjective.

Men are more cynical. Conditions make Russian women more pragmatic, realistic, practical – that is why Russian women follow principles. Russian women go not by the moral, but by principles.

One of the factors of women for discrimination – the traditional capacity of drinking for administrators – girls who can drink much can do well – many things are solved in the bars. You must be able to drink much with the boys. Liter and a half of vodka per party. For such parties I get prepared as for the Olympic games!

These comments from the focus groups provide insight into the factors of personal history in Russia. The majority of the comments in this area related to the differences between men and women, with opinions that reinforced the concept that men have their own "rules of the game" and are more "subjective" while women are regarded as more principled, "more humanistic, more emotional, and more moral." These comments support the hypothesis that "whatever the contextual support for law and order, the greater the individual factors that reinforce conventional moral thinking, the stronger the support for

‘law and order’ reasoning.” These comments do not, however, provide a comparison of contextual factors relating to societal institutions among Russia, the United States, and Poland.

5.13 SSMS Demographic Variables

Two different variables were considered for the Stewart Sprinthall Management Surveys in the United States, Poland, and Russia – age and gender. Age was considered using a derived variable from the combined survey results from the three SSMS surveys for the decade of birth of the respondents (1920s, 1930s, etc.). The results of this analysis were surprising. There were significant differences for “birth decade” for Stage 4 (“law and order”) reasoning and for Stage 1-2 (“Punishment and Obedience” & “Instrumental Relativist”) moral reasoning. The ANOVA table and an analysis using Tukey’s HSD follows for this finding. The ANOVA graphs also indicate interesting trends in moral development for each of the decades, particularly for Stage 4 (“law and order”) reasoning for those born in the 1970s.

The effect sizes among the fifteen pairs of groups for birth decade indicate the effect of the differences in stage scores. Cohen’s *d* reflects the standardized difference between paired group means to assess the degree of association between an independent variable (decade of birth) and the dependent variable (SSMS stage scores). It is interesting to note that almost all of the comparisons made with the group born in the 1970s had large differences (>.80) in group means for Stage 4 (“law and order”) and Stage 1&2 (“Punishment and

Obedience" & "Instrumental Relativist") scores, the two stages with significant ANOVA results. The younger group (born in the 1970s) had lower Stage 4 ("law and order") scores and higher Stage 1&2 ("Punishment and Obedience" & "Instrumental Relativist") scores than all the other groups – those born before them. Table 5.23 indicates the pairing of the different groups formed by birth decade for effect size.

The analysis for gender from the combined survey results from the three SSMS samples indicated significant differences with a small effect size for Stage 3 ("Good Boy – Nice Girl") moral reasoning, but the Levene statistic for homogeneity of variances was also significant. Because the Levene statistic is significant in this case, the groups are not considered to be homogenous in variances, violating an assumption of ANOVA. Because of the Levene statistic, which indicates the groups are not equivalent, the result for Stage 3 differences for gender cannot be considered significant. Even though the differences in gender cannot be considered significant, the plots indicate that females in the combined samples had slightly higher levels of Stage "P" (Principled Reasoning), the same level of Stage 4 ("Law and Order") reasoning, and slightly lower levels of Stage 3 ("Good Boy – Nice Girl") and Stage 1-2 ("Punishment and Obedience" & "Instrumental Relativist") reasoning than males.

Table 5.22 SSMS Stages ANOVA by Birth Decade – Total

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Stage "P" SSMS	Between Groups	841.784	5	168.357	.862	.506
	Within Groups	148767.9	762	195.234		
	Total	149609.7	767			
Stage "4" SSMS	Between Groups	3553.124	5	710.625	3.176	.008
	Within Groups	170480.2	762	223.727		
	Total	174033.3	767			
Stage "3" SSMS	Between Groups	694.262	5	138.852	1.805	.109
	Within Groups	58611.562	762	76.918		
	Total	59305.824	767			
Stage "1-2" SSMS	Between Groups	3825.414	5	765.083	11.440	.000
	Within Groups	50961.834	762	66.879		
	Total	54787.249	767			

Table 5.23 Effect Size SSMS Stage Scores by Birth Decade – Total

Birth Decade	Stage "P"	Stage "4"	Stage "3"	Stage "1-2"
1920s*1930s	-0.07580	-0.17746	-0.28273	0.88809
1920s*1940s	-0.05447	-0.27620	-0.11865	0.89224
1920s*1950s	-0.12609	-0.24482	-0.15281	1.07395
1920s*1960s	-0.27217	-0.06804	-0.33575	0.69588
1920s*1970s	-0.05395	0.79422	-0.72559	-0.25822
1930s*1940s	0.02797	-0.08983	0.13907	-0.09125
1930s*1950s	-0.04294	-0.05866	0.13489	-0.02271
1930s*1960s	-0.19131	0.10508	-0.07301	-0.24774
1930s*1970s	0.02061	0.99244	-0.44090	-2.25397
1940s*1950s	-0.07236	0.03150	-0.01772	0.07138
1940s*1960s	-0.22711	0.19749	-0.20820	-0.13520
1940s*1970s	-0.00643	1.12001	-0.57143	-1.62461
1950s*1960s	-0.15509	0.16752	-0.21000	-0.22213
1950s*1970s	0.06594	1.08459	-0.62884	-1.92776
1960s*1970s	0.21982	0.84105	-0.35289	-1.51913

Table 5.24 SSMS Stage “P” (“Principled Reasoning”) Tukey HSD ANOVA by Birth Decade – Total

Stage "P" SSMS

	Birth Decade	N	Subset for alpha = .05
			1
Tukey HSD[a,b]	1920s	22	34.879
	1940s	233	35.642
	1970s	11	35.730
	1930s	85	36.035
	1950s	304	36.636
	1960s	113	38.770
	Sig.		.842

Means for groups in homogeneous subsets are displayed.

a. Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 36.461.

b. The group sizes are unequal. The harmonic mean of the group sizes is used. Type I error levels are not guaranteed.

Table 5.25 SSMS Stage 4 (“Law and Order”) Tukey HSD ANOVA by Birth Decade – Total

Stage "4" SSMS

	Birth Decade	N	Subset for alpha = .05	
			1	2
Tukey HSD[a,b]	1970s	11	28.468	
	1920s	22		40.712
	1960s	113		41.806
	1930s	85		43.459
	1950s	304		44.327
	1940s	233		44.788
	Sig.		1.000	.854

Means for groups in homogeneous subsets are displayed.

a. Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 36.461.

b. The group sizes are unequal. The harmonic mean of the group sizes is used. Type I error levels are not guaranteed.

Table 5.26 SSMS Stage 3 (“Good Boy – Nice Girl”) Tukey HSD ANOVA by Birth Decade – Total

Stage "3" SSMS

	Birth Decade	N	Subset for alpha = .05	
			1	2
Tukey HSD[a,b]	1920s	22	5.045	
	1940s	233	6.113	6.113
	1950s	304	6.266	6.266
	1930s	85	7.380	7.380
	1960s	113	8.048	8.048
	1970s	11		11.505
	Sig.		.689	.093

Means for groups in homogeneous subsets are displayed.

a. Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 36.461.

b. The group sizes are unequal. The harmonic mean of the group sizes is used. Type I error levels are not guaranteed.

Table 5.27 SSMS Stage 1-2 (“Punishment and Obedience” & “Instrumental Relativist”) Tukey HSD ANOVA by Birth Decade – Total

Stage "1-2" SSMS

	Birth Decade	N	Subset for alpha = .05	
			1	2
Tukey HSD[a,b]	1930s	85	5.717	
	1950s	304	5.875	
	1940s	233	6.420	
	1960s	113	7.524	
	1920s	22		15.197
	1970s	11		19.682
	Sig.		.935	.179

Means for groups in homogeneous subsets are displayed.

a. Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 36.461.

b. The group sizes are unequal. The harmonic mean of the group sizes is used. Type I error levels are not guaranteed.

Figure 5.7 SSMS Stage P ("Principled Reasoning") ANOVA Graph by Birth Decade – Total

Figure 5.8 SSMS Stage 4 ("Law and Order") ANOVA Graph by Birth Decade – Total

Figure 5.9 SSMS Stage 3 ("Good Boy – Nice Girl") ANOVA Graph by Birth Decade – Total

Figure 5.10 SSMS Stage 1-2 ("Punishment and Obedience" & "Instrumental Relativist") ANOVA Graph by Birth Decade – Total

Table 5.28 SSMS Stages ANOVA by Gender – Total

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Stage "P" SSMS	Between Groups	574.483	1	574.483	2.942	.087
	Within Groups	151742.5	777	195.293		
	Total	152317.0	778			
Stage "4" SSMS	Between Groups	2.707	1	2.707	.012	.913
	Within Groups	176989.3	777	227.785		
	Total	176992.0	778			
Stage "3" SSMS	Between Groups	1017.500	1	1017.500	13.161	.000
	Within Groups	60070.361	777	77.311		
	Total	61087.861	778			
Stage "1-2" SSMS	Between Groups	142.830	1	142.830	1.972	.161
	Within Groups	56273.879	777	72.425		
	Total	56416.708	778			

Table 5.29 Effect Size SSMS Stage Scores by Gender – Total

	Stage "P"	Stage "4"	Stage "3"	Stage "1-2"
M-F (Gender)	-0.13933	0.00886	0.29472	0.11408

Table 5.30 SSMS Levene Statistic ANOVA by Gender – Total

Test of Homogeneity of Variances

	Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
Stage "P" SSMS	.020	1	777	.887
Stage "4" SSMS	.514	1	777	.474
Stage "3" SSMS	6.079	1	777	.014
Stage "1-2" SSMS	2.514	1	777	.113

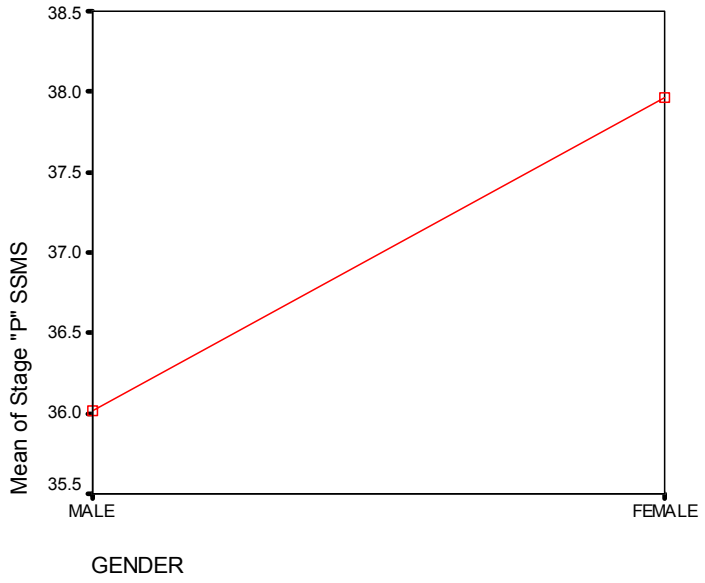


Figure 5.11 SSMS Stage "P" ("Principled Reasoning") ANOVA Mean Graph by Gender – Total

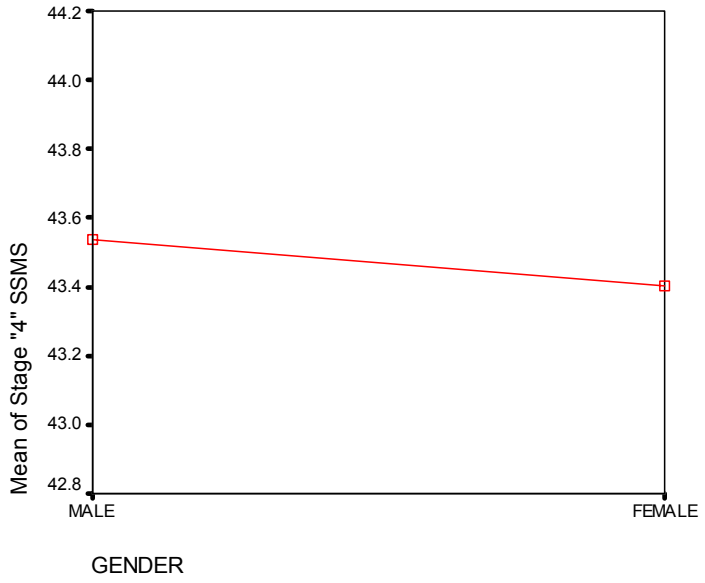


Figure 5.12 SSMS Stage 4 ("Law and Order") ANOVA Mean Graph by Gender – Total

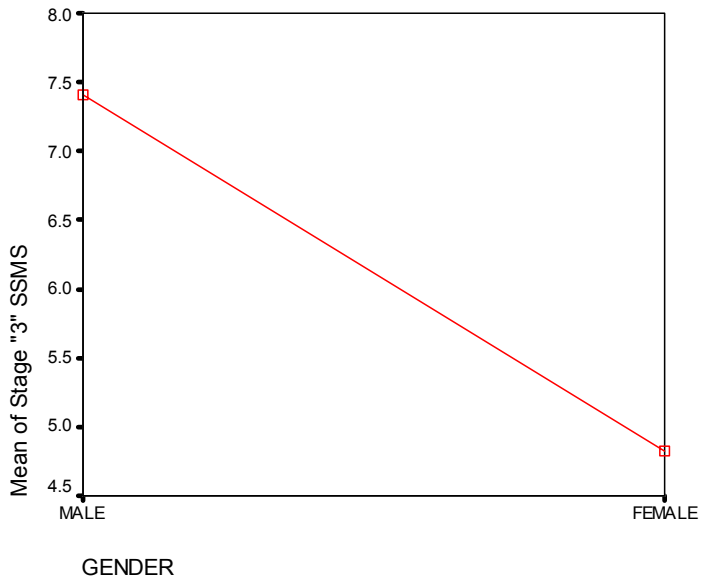


Figure 5.13 SSMS Stage 3 ("Good Boy – Nice Girl") ANOVA Mean Graph by Gender – Total

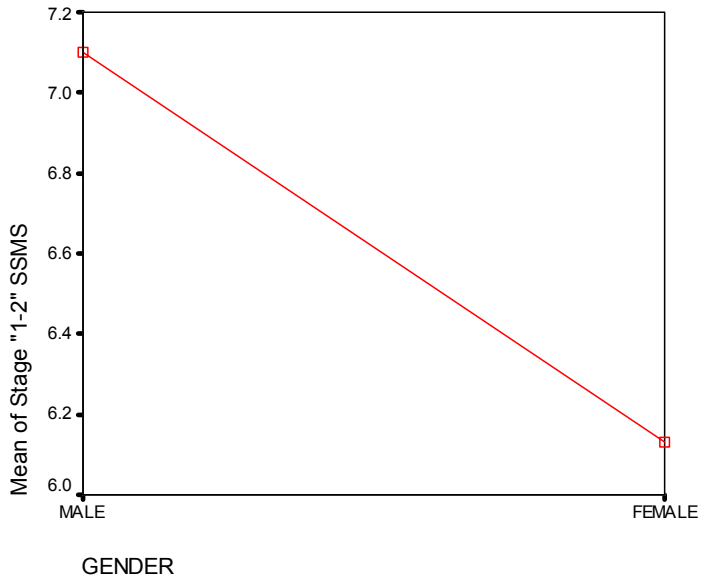


Figure 5.14 SSMS Stage 1-2 ("Punishment and Obedience" & "Instrumental Relativist") ANOVA Mean Graph by Gender – Total

5.14 SSMS Russian Demographic Variables

The Russian survey was administered to 113 public officials enrolled as students at the Russian Academy of Public Service. There were significant relationships found among several of the demographic variables and the stages of moral development. These variables included education, population, region, professional status and rank, and connection to the military. There were no significant relationships found among gender or age with stages of moral development. The purpose of this section is to describe the additional variables with significant relationships in the Russian sample. The following provides a description of these results:

Education: Education did have a significant relationship with the stage of moral reasoning in the Russian sample at stage 4 (law and order) with a medium effect size (-0.62). Respondents were coded based on the field of study for their degree (all respondents had at least an undergraduate degree – a requirement for admission to the Russian Academy of Public Service). Degrees in technical fields, such as engineering, physics, and mathematics, were coded as "technical degrees" and all others were coded as non-technical. A total of 35 respondents were coded as having a technical degree and 76 respondents were coded as non-technical. Those respondents who used law and order (stage 4) reasoning were much more likely to have technical degrees at p=.003.

Military Relationship: An analysis was performed based on the indications of any close relationship to the military by the respondents. A coding of a military relationship was made if the respondent was serving in the military (5

respondents) or if their parents were military or retired military. Of the 111 valid responses, 18 were coded as having a military relationship. The “military” group had lower Stage 3 scores (“good boy-nice girl” or concern for enduring personal relationship) with p=.073 and statistically significant higher Stage 4 scores (law and order, or society maintaining orientation) with p=.006 and medium effect size (0.72).

***Professional Status**:* An analysis was conducted based on professional status of the respondents. In the Russian Federation, there are five general classifications of state rank. These are from lowest to highest level, junior, senior, leading, chief, and highest rank. The survey respondents represented all five classifications. An analysis of the state rank classifications did not reveal any significant differences among groups. State rank did not have a high correlation with age or with tenure in office. All of the respondents were fairly new in position, with well over half of the respondents in their current position less than three years. An analysis was performed based on grouping the respondents into three groups: those having assumed their positions in the two years prior to the survey, those having assumed their positions in the two years prior to that, and those assuming positions prior to the remainder.

This analysis revealed some interesting findings. Those who had been in position the shortest time, or the newest employees, had higher P scores and lower Stage 4 scores, indicating an initial preference for principled reasoning over law and order reasoning, suggesting a socialization process towards law and order reasoning over time. This finding was statistically significant for both

stages: p=.027 for Stage 4 and p=.015 for P scores with the greatest effect size when compared with those in tenure the shortest time (1997-98).

Gender: Although gender was not found to have a statistically significant relationship with the level of moral reasoning in Russia, the general trends of moral reasoning were consistent with the findings in Poland and in some U.S. studies. The Russian sample size included 78 males and 32 females. Interestingly, the mean Stage 1&2 and Stage 3 scores were higher for men, while Stage 4 and P scores were higher for women – the same pattern as seen in Poland with significant results by Stewart, Siemienska, and Sprinthall (1999, 230).

Age: The Russian sample was surprising in the relative youth found at the Russian Academy of Public Service. The mean age of respondents was 39; this is in contrast to the mean age of respondents in the United States survey of 43 and the mean age of respondents in the Polish survey of 45, with a combined mean for all respondents in the three surveys of 44. The median age for the total survey was 43; for the Polish group, 44; for the United States group, 42; and for the Russian group, 40. Age, however, was not found to have any significance when analyzed for any stage of moral development in the Russian sample. At Stage P, age had a significance of p=.951 – in essence, no difference.

Table 5.31 SSMS Stage 4 ("Law and Order")
ANOVA by Education – Russia

ANOVA

Stage "4" SSMS

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1748.281	1	1748.281	9.113	.003
Within Groups	20910.446	109	191.839		
Total	22658.727	110			

Table 5.32 Effect Size SSMS Stage Scores by Education – Russia

	Stage "P"	Stage "4"	Stage "3"	Stage "1-2"
Degrees	0.23526	-0.61668	0.25553	0.03769

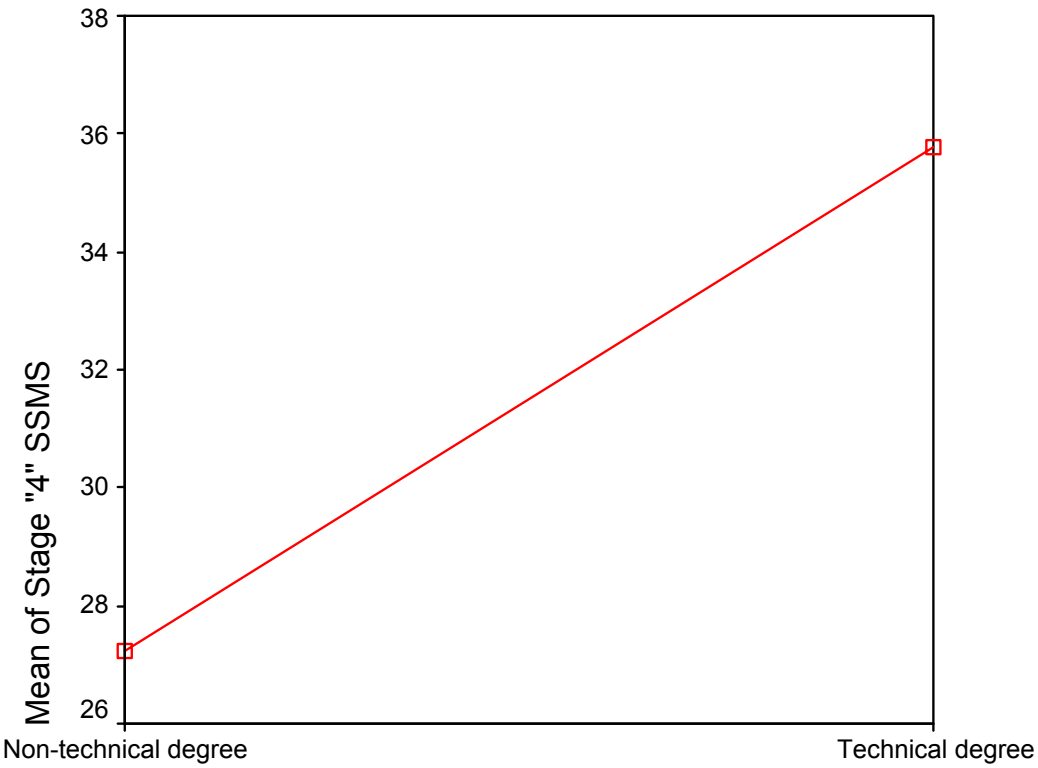


Figure 5.15 SSMS Stage 4 ("Law and Order")
ANOVA Graph by Education – Russia

Table 5.33 Stage 4 ("Law and Order")
ANOVA by Military Relationship – Russia

ANOVA

Stage "4" SSMS

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1505.882	1	1505.882	7.760	.006
Within Groups	21152.845	109	194.063		
Total	22658.727	110			

Table 5.34 Effect Size SSMS Stage Scores by Military Ties – Russia

	Stage "P"	Stage "4"	Stage "3"	Stage "1-2"
Mil Ties	-0.24085	0.71731	-0.46553	-0.20869

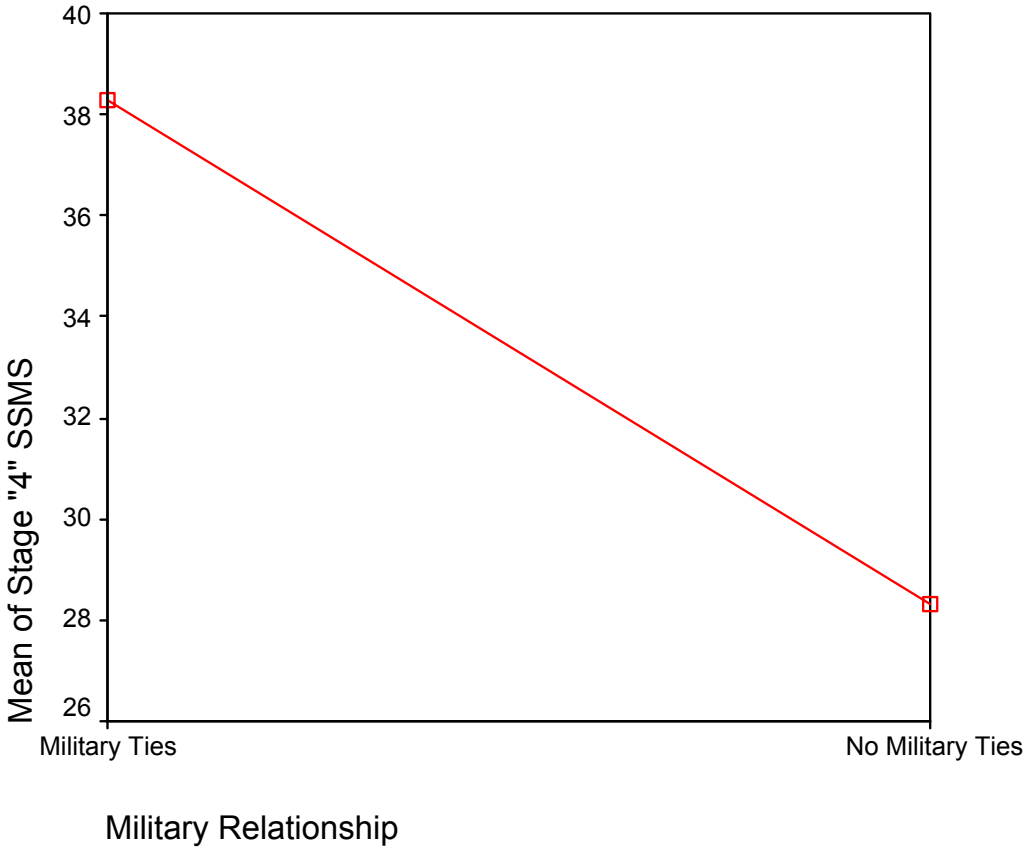


Figure 5.16 SSMS Stage 4 ("Law and Order")
ANOVA Mean Graph by Military Relationship – Russia

Table 5.35 Stage 3 ("Good Boy – Nice Girl")
ANOVA by Military Relationship – Russia

ANOVA

Stage "3" SSMS

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	357.637	1	357.637	3.268	.073
Within Groups	11927.342	109	109.425		
Total	12284.979	110			

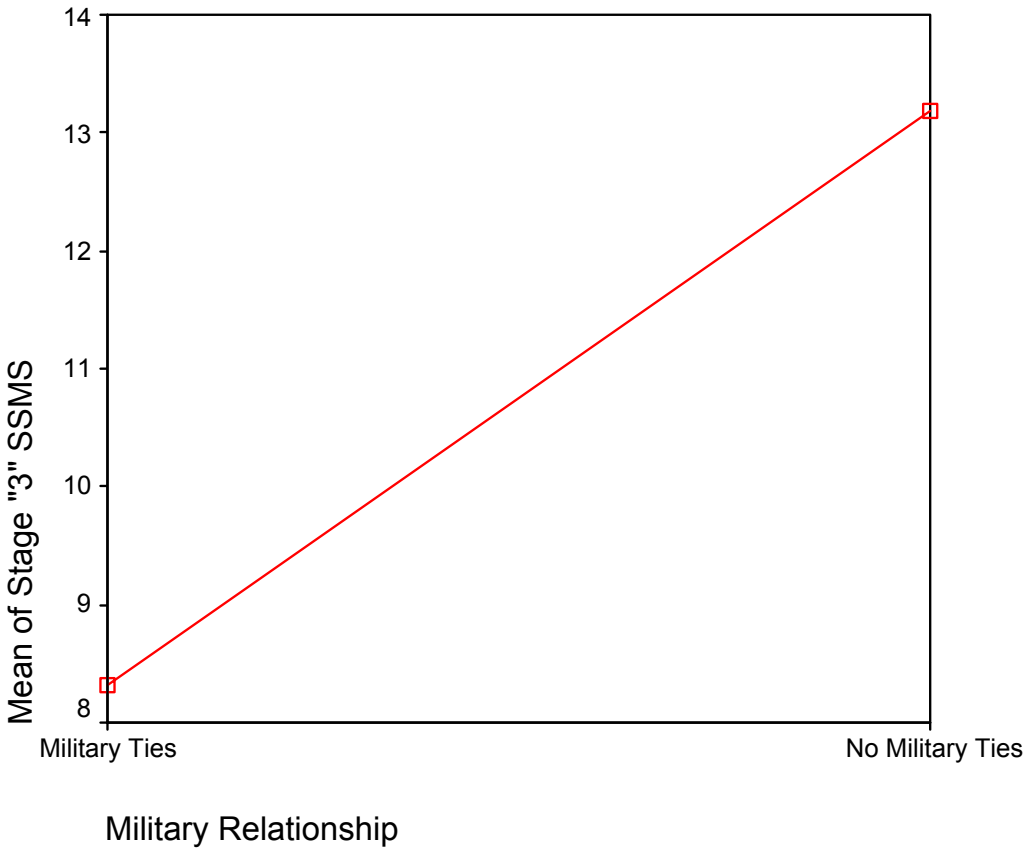


Figure 5.17 SSMS Stage 3 ("Good Boy – Nice Girl")
ANOVA Mean Graph by Military Relationship – Russia

Table 5.36 Stage "P" ("Principled Reasoning") ANOVA by Tenure in Office – Russia

ANOVA

Stage "P" SSMS

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1910.893	2	955.446	4.407	.015
Within Groups	21897.443	101	216.806		
Total	23808.335	103			

Table 5.37 Effect Size SSMS Stage Scores by Tenure in Office – Russia

	Stage "P"	Stage "4"	Stage "3"	Stage "1-2"
1985-94/95-96	-0.19911	-0.04353	0.51916	-0.27278
1985-94/97-98	-0.76058	0.57819	0.43320	-0.05593
1995-96/97-98	-0.49190	0.60392	-0.11419	0.20579

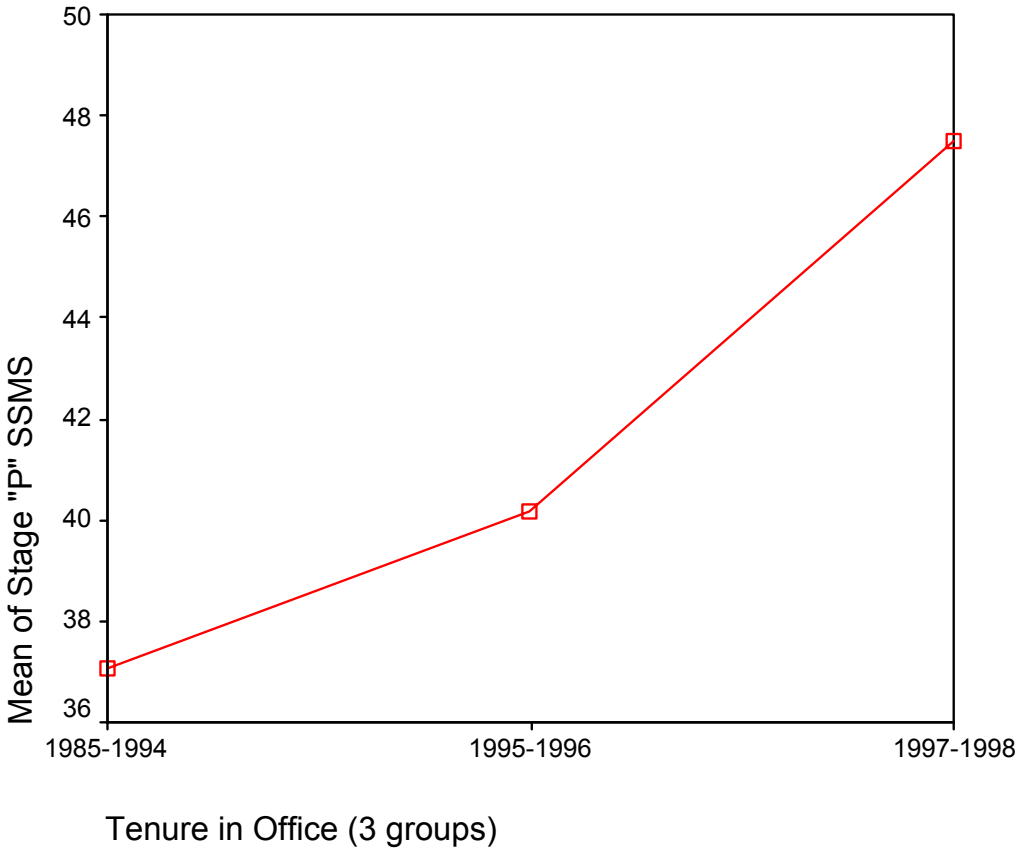


Figure 5.18 SSMS Stage "P" ("Principled Reasoning") ANOVA Mean Graph by Tenure in Office – Russia

Table 5.38 Stage 4 ("Law and Order")
ANOVA by Tenure in Office – Russia

ANOVA

Stage "4" SSMS

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1438.387	2	719.193	3.742	.027
Within Groups	19409.766	101	192.176		
Total	20848.153	103			

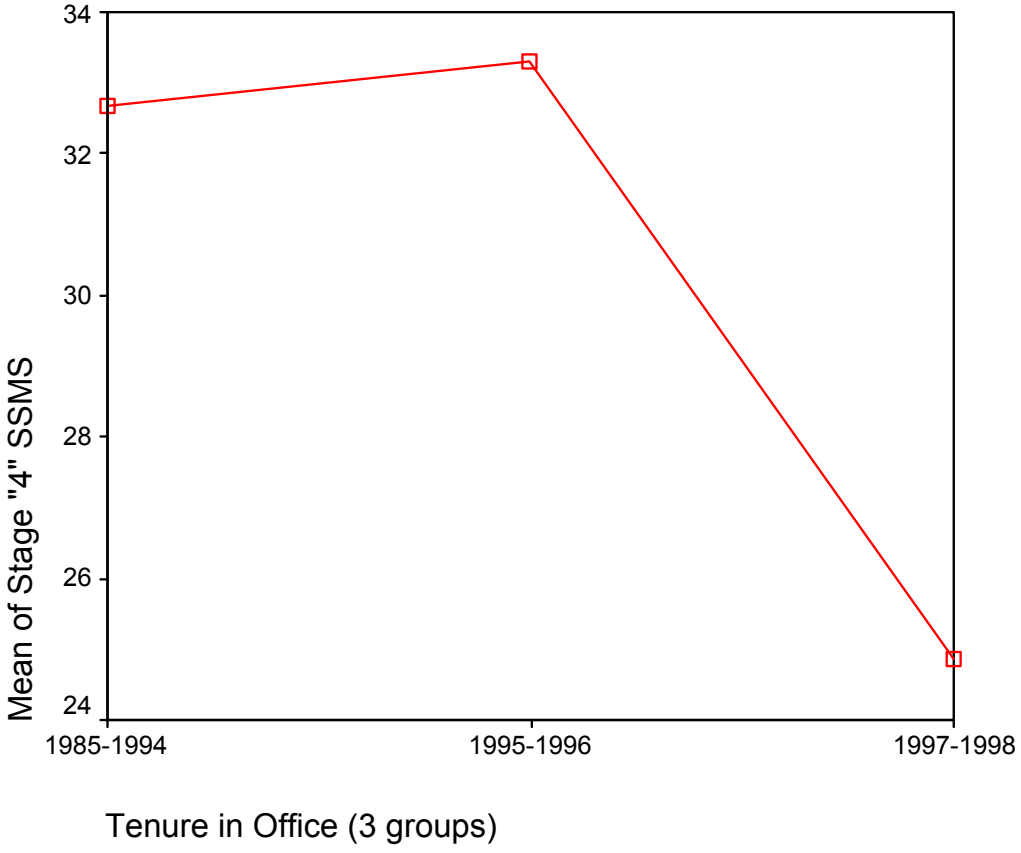


Figure 5.19 SSMS Stage 4 ("Law and Order")
ANOVA Mean Graph by Tenure in Office – Russia

Table 5.39 SSMS Stages ANOVA by Gender – Russia

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Stage "P" SSMS	Between Groups	112.778	1	112.778	.495	.483
	Within Groups	24605.108	108	227.825		
	Total	24717.886	109			
Stage "4" SSMS	Between Groups	97.706	1	97.706	.468	.495
	Within Groups	22550.128	108	208.797		
	Total	22647.834	109			
Stage "3" SSMS	Between Groups	265.110	1	265.110	2.413	.123
	Within Groups	11864.585	108	109.857		
	Total	12129.694	109			
Stage "1-2" SSMS	Between Groups	46.603	1	46.603	.631	.429
	Within Groups	7971.565	108	73.811		
	Total	8018.168	109			

Table 5.40 Effect Size SSMS Stage Scores by Gender – Russia

	Stage "P"	Stage "4"	Stage "3"	Stage "1-2"
Gender (RU)	-0.14770	-0.14361	0.32612	0.16681

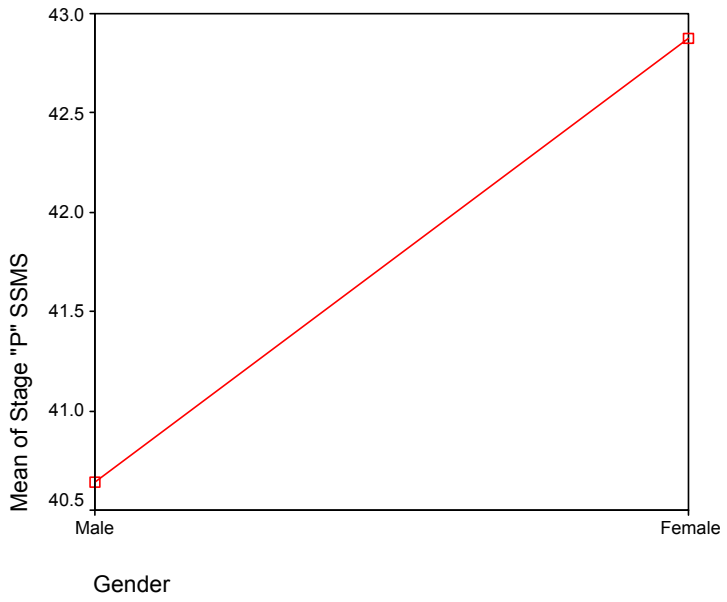


Figure 5.20 SSMS Stage "P" ("Principled Reasoning") ANOVA Mean Graph by Gender – Russia

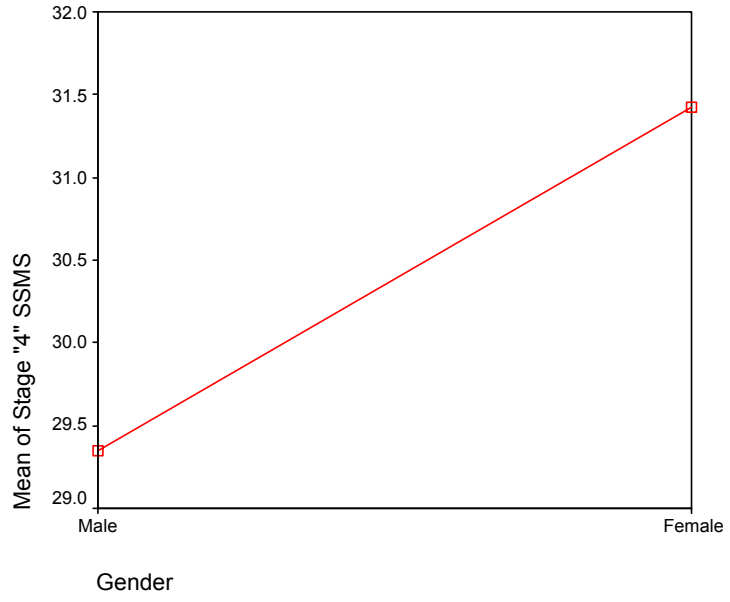


Figure 5.21 SSMS Stage 4 ("Law and Order") ANOVA Mean Graph by Gender – Russia

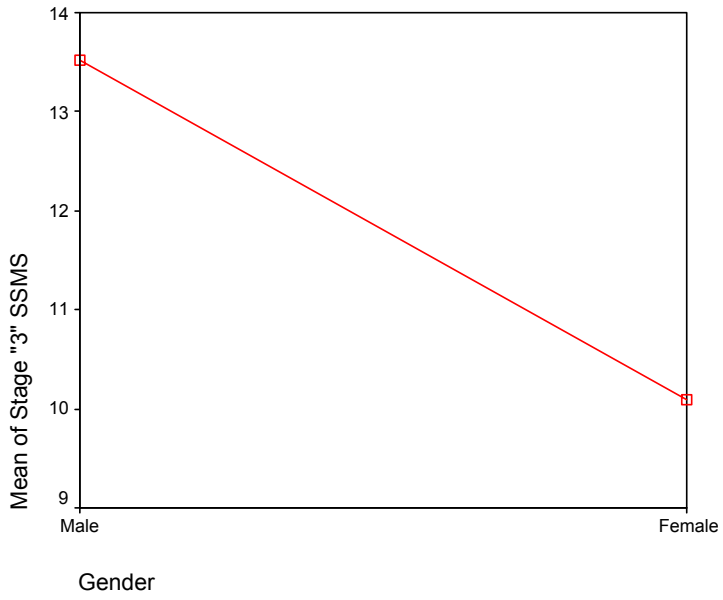


Figure 5.22 SSMS Stage "3" ("Good Boy – Nice Girl") ANOVA Mean Graph by Gender – Russia

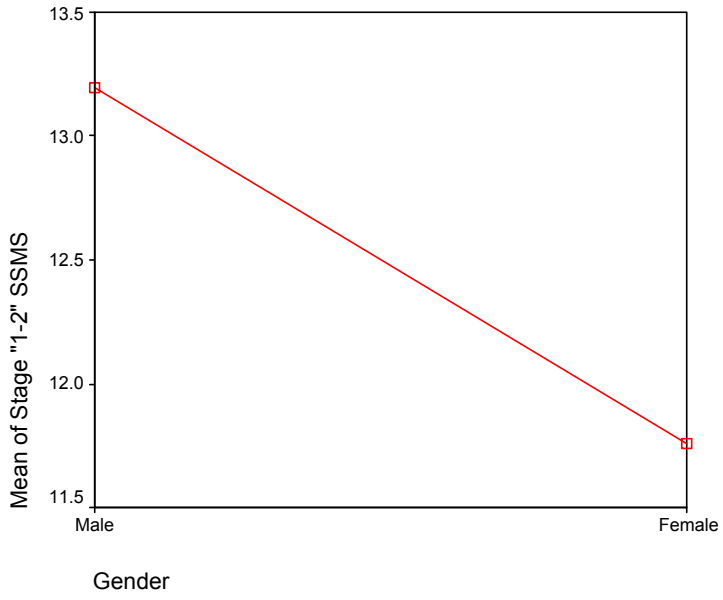


Figure 5.23 SSMS Stage 1&2 ("Punishment and Obedience" & "Instrumental Relativist") ANOVA Mean Graph by Gender – Russia

The findings from the personal history variables support the third hypothesis, “whatever the contextual support for law and order, the greater the individual factors that reinforce conventional moral thinking, the stronger the support for ‘law and order’ reasoning.” Even when contextual factors such as history and social institutions affect moral reasoning, personal history factors make a difference. Decade of birth, education, and job history (such as tenure in office) and possibly gender affect the level of moral reasoning for public officials.

Personal history factors that reinforce conventional moral thinking – such as technical education, date of birth, and ties to the military also reinforce “law and order” reasoning, as demonstrated through the review of the literature, the focus group comments, and an analysis of the SSMS demographic variables. The factors for personal history provide support for the hypothesized relationship to personal history and support for “law and order” moral reasoning.

5.15 Chapter Summary

This chapter investigated the first three hypotheses of the study by presenting and discussing the survey data from the Stewart Sprinthall Management Survey (SSMS) results from the United States, Poland, and Russia, the Russian Focus Groups, and selected results from the World Values Surveys of 1990 and 1995-1997. This chapter included four different sections for the presentation and analysis of data for the testing of hypotheses:

The first section consisted of the initial presentation and analysis of data for the differences in means of the moral stages among public officials in the

three countries. A comparison of the differences in means of moral development stage scores between the Polish SSMS sample and the Russian SSMS was presented and analyzed. This section established the baseline for the group means of moral stage scores, the dependent variable for the first three hypotheses.

The second section consisted of an analysis of the historical and traditional context of the three countries. This section included a presentation and analysis of data from the World Values Surveys of 1990-1993 and 1995-1997, as well as qualitative comments from the Russian focus groups. Variables presented included results from respondents in the United States, Poland, and Russia concerning attitudes for the "rule of law." This analysis provided supportive evidence for the first hypothesis of this study.

The third section consisted of an analysis of the social institutions of the three countries. This section included a presentation and analysis of data from the World Values Surveys of 1990-1993 and 1995-1997, as well as qualitative comments from the Russian focus groups. Variables presented included results from respondents in the United States, Poland, and Russia concerning attitudes for social institutions. This analysis tended to support the second hypothesis of this study although support for institutions was mixed in the World Values Surveys. The greatest differences are found in support for the institution of the church with the strongest social linkages found in the United States and Poland.

The fourth section consisted of an analysis of demographic variables for the three samples, as well as qualitative comments from the Russian focus

groups. Special attention was paid to the results in Russia due to the findings of the differences in moral development stages. This analysis provided support for the third hypothesis of the study.

The following chapter, chapter 6, investigates the fourth hypothesis of the study by presenting and discussing the survey data from the Stewart Sprinthall Management Survey (SSMS) results from the United States, Poland, and Russia in terms of the “action choices” among the three groups. This chapter will investigate the differences among public officials in each of the three countries for the “action choice” – moral decision-making.

CHAPTER 6
PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF DATA: THE ACTION CHOICE

6.1 Chapter Introduction

This chapter investigates the fourth hypothesis of the study by presenting and discussing the survey data from the Stewart Sprinthall Management Survey (SSMS) results from the United States, Poland, and Russia in terms of the action choice taken by respondents, as well as comments from the Russian focus groups to provide context for the choices made.

The Stewart-Sprinthall research indicated that there were no significant differences in stages of moral development between Polish officials and American officials; analysis of the Russian data indicates that there are some differences between Russian public officials and officials in the United States and Poland (Stewart, Sprinthall and Kem 2002). In the next section I will present selected findings that are then subject to further data collection and analysis to explain these differences. This chapter is designed to investigate the differences among public officials in each of the three countries for the “action choice” – moral decision-making. The discussion and analysis of the data will be presented in the following manner: first, I will present the “action choice” dilemma for each of the three dilemmas in the SSMS; second, I will provide the results from each of the three SSMS studies; and third, I will provide selected comments from the Russian focus groups to illuminate the differences in the

action choice. Finally, I will explore stage and action choice using correlation analysis. This chapter investigates the fourth hypothesis of the study:

Hypothesis 4:

For public officials, the weaker contextual historical and traditional factors, social institutions, and individual factors support "law and order" moral reasoning, the weaker the relationship between moral decision-making and stages of moral reasoning.

This hypothesis examines the relationship between the contextual historical and traditional factors, social institutions, and individual factors on the one hand, and decision-making on the other. When these contextual factors weaken support for "law and order" moral reasoning, it is hypothesized they will also weaken the relationship between moral reasoning and the actual choices made in moral decision-making.

6.2 The Action Choice

For the Stewart Sprinthall Management Survey, respondents are asked to read three different dilemma stories and then make a choice for the plan of action they would follow. These choices are known as the "action choice." For each dilemma, respondents have a forced response to the three choices given – to do the proposed action (promote the individual, take the cruise, or recreate the data), "can't decide" or "don't know" what to do, or to not do the proposed action.

The SSMS and the DIT both measure moral development based upon the reasons given for the action choice. The focus has been on the reason for the choices, rather than the actual choice made. Relatively little effort has been directed the relationship between the action choice decision and the stages of moral development (Rest 1986). The Russian survey results suggested that there were relationships between the action choices and the stages of moral development (Stewart, Sprinthall and Kem 2002, 289-290). Although there were relationships found between the level of moral reasoning and the action choices, these relationships were not consistent across stories. This is particularly interesting considering the context-relevant nature of the SSMS. Previously, these relationships have been examined in depth.

6.3 Ethical Clarity and Action Choice in the Three Dilemmas

The first of the three dilemmas in the SSMS is the Promotion Choice Dilemma. The nature of the ethical choice in this dilemma is whether or not a supervisor should promote an undeserving individual in a department. The established rules in this dilemma are relatively clear; promotions should be based upon merit, and not based on pressure "from above." There is a cost in following the established rules, however – the ability of the supervisor to create more promotion opportunities for his subordinates in the future is based upon cooperating and promoting an undeserving individual. In this dilemma, the "right thing" would generally be very clear – not promoting the individual.

Ivan Pavlovich was hired to revitalize a somewhat inefficient division in a city office. Soon after becoming department head, he held a meeting with all division personnel and announced that all future promotions would be based on demonstrated merit. The former director's practice of promoting based on friendship would be discontinued. Ivan Pavlovich issued a written statement to confirm this new policy.

About a month later, his boss told him that he expected Sergey, an individual on Ivan Pavlovich's staff, to be promoted. Sergey was a marginally effective worker and there were several other employees in the division much more deserving of promotion. Ivan Pavlovich pointed out to his boss several of the reasons for not wanting to promote Sergey at that time. But the boss responded that he really would like to see Sergey promoted. Ivan Pavlovich's ability to create more promotional opportunities for his staff depended on his cooperation in this situation.

Should Ivan promote Sergey?

The "action choice" for the Promotion Choice dilemma that was selected by most respondents was to <u>not promote</u>. This choice had the greatest frequency among all three samples:

Table 6.1 Promotion Choice Frequency – Total

	Promotion Choice					
	Should Promote		Can't Decide		Should Not Promote	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Polish	39	8.2%	57	11.9%	381	79.9%
American	23	12.2%	13	6.9%	153	81.0%
Russian	33	30.0%	7	6.4%	70	63.6%
Total	95	12.2%	77	9.9%	604	77.8%

The "P" stages scores and the Stage 4 scores represented by the groups within each country that selected each action choice are somewhat similar for the promotion story. Generally, the respondents who selected "should not promote" had higher "P" and higher Stage 4 scores than those that selected "can't decide"

or “should promote.” The respondents who selected “should promote” had generally higher Stage 3 and Stage 1 and 2 scores.

Table 6.2 Promotion Choice SSMS Scores by Action Choice by Countries

Case Summaries

Mean

Country coding	Promotion Choice	Stage "P" SSMS	Stage "4" SSMS	Stage "3" SSMS	Stage "1-2" SSMS
Polish	Should Promote	24.530	45.556	11.111	10.085
	Can't Decide	32.164	44.678	5.380	7.075
	Should Not Promote	36.343	47.585	3.220	4.680
	Total	34.878	47.072	4.123	5.408
American	Should Promote	27.826	41.435	18.522	9.435
	Can't Decide	40.077	41.308	10.308	5.846
	Should Not Promote	39.255	42.673	8.582	6.889
	Total	37.921	42.429	9.910	7.127
Russian	Should Promote	36.731	25.732	19.274	14.026
	Can't Decide	40.436	29.970	10.466	16.174
	Should Not Promote	43.910	31.660	9.491	11.750
	Total	41.535	29.774	12.488	12.715
Total	Should Promote	29.566	37.672	15.741	11.297
	Can't Decide	34.252	42.772	6.674	7.695
	Should Not Promote	37.958	44.495	5.305	6.059
	Total	36.563	43.489	6.718	6.863

The figures for Stage “P” (“Principled Reasoning”) scores indicate the same general trend – those who selected “should not promote” had generally higher “P” scores than those who selected “can’t decide” or “should not promote.”

The figures for Stage 4 (“law and order”) reasoning indicate a difference in the trend among the Russian sample and the samples from Poland and the United States, with higher law and order scores for the “can’t decide” choice than the “”should promote” choice within the Russian sample. The results from Poland and the United States for law and order reasoning in the promotion story are remarkably similar.

The trends for Stage 3 "("good boy – nice girl") reasoning are similar among all three samples. Respondents from the United States and Russia are remarkably similar in stage 3 scores as well.

The trends for Stage 1 and 2 ("punishment and obedience" and "instrumental-relativist") indicate differences among all three groups for the promotion story, with no clear trend at the lower levels of moral reasoning for the action choice in this story.

The second of the three dilemmas in the SSMS is the Friends Choice Dilemma. The nature of the ethical choice in this dilemma is whether or not a public administrator should accept a cruise around Europe from a private businessman, which would be viewed as a bribe, especially since the firm the businessman represents was recently awarded a large contract. The established rules in this dilemma are relatively clear; accepting the cruise would give the appearance of favoritism, even though the dilemma does not state that accepting the cruise is specifically against the rules. There is a cost in following the established rules, however – the cruise sounds like a great trip and the administrator's wife also wants to go. In this dilemma, the "right thing" would generally be fairly clear – not accepting the cruise.

In this ministry, like in many other agencies, private businesses are contracted to provide goods and services. Alexandre Semenovich deals directly with these representatives and has become good friends with one of them, Pavel Petrovich. Their wives have become friends as well and their families enjoy one another. Alexandre Semenovich occasionally joins Pavel Petrovich for lunch, and Pavel's company pays for it. This has always been a common practice in the country.

However, a dilemma arose recently when Pavel Petrovich invited Alexandre Semenovich and his family to join them in a cruise around Europe, which has been organized by his private company. Alexandre Semenovich knew it would be a great trip and his wife really wanted to go. He also knew that it could be seen by the public as a favor for a large contract that the ministry had just awarded to Pavel Petrovich's company.

Should Alexandre go on the cruise?

The "action choice" for the Friends in Government dilemma that was selected by most respondents was to <u>not take the cruise</u>, or supposed bribe. This choice had the greatest frequency among all three samples:

Table 6.3 Friends Choice Frequency -- Total

	Friends Choice					
	Should Cruise		Can't Decide		Should Not Cruise	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Polish	96	20.1%	75	15.7%	307	64.2%
American	4	2.1%	7	3.7%	179	94.2%
Russian	18	16.5%	9	8.3%	82	75.2%
Total	118	15.2%	91	11.7%	568	73.1%

The "P" stages scores and the Stage 4 scores represented by the groups within each country that selected each action choice are somewhat similar for the friends in government story. For the Polish and American sample, respondents

that selected “should not cruise” had higher P scores. For the Russian sample, those who selected “can’t decide” had higher P scores.

Table 6.4 Friends Choice SSMS Stage Scores by Action Choice by Countries

Case Summaries

Mean

Country coding	Friends Choice	Stage "P" SSMS	Stage "4" SSMS	Stage "3" SSMS	Stage "1-2" SSMS
Polish	Should Cruise	33.264	45.868	4.965	6.978
	Can't Decide	32.711	49.378	3.422	6.222
	Should Not Cruise	35.874	46.873	4.061	4.701
	Total	34.854	47.064	4.142	5.397
American	Should Cruise	35.750	39.000	2.500	7.500
	Can't Decide	36.000	52.000	4.286	7.000
	Should Not Cruise	38.112	42.117	10.296	7.084
	Total	37.984	42.416	9.911	7.089
Russian	Should Cruise	38.295	27.195	13.320	17.945
	Can't Decide	54.020	20.720	7.770	10.730
	Should Not Cruise	40.976	31.291	12.528	12.102
	Total	41.611	29.741	12.266	12.954
Total	Should Cruise	34.116	42.787	6.156	8.669
	Can't Decide	35.072	46.745	3.919	6.728
	Should Not Cruise	37.316	43.125	7.248	6.520
	Total	36.567	43.497	6.692	6.871

The figures for Stage “P” (“Principled Reasoning”) scores indicate a similar trend for the respondents from Poland and the United States, with “should not cruise” as the choice selected by the most respondents and representing those with the higher P scores. Even though most of the Russian respondents selected “should not cruise” as well, the “P” scores for “should not cruise” and “take the cruise” are similar.

The figures for Stage 4 ("law and order") reasoning indicate a difference in the trend among the Russian sample and the samples from Poland and the United States, with the highest law and order scores for the "can't decide" choice, whereas in Russia the "can't decide" respondents had the lowest law and order scores within the Russian respondents.

The trends for Stage 3 "("good boy – nice girl") reasoning indicate no clear trend among the three samples. The trends for Stage 1 and 2 ("punishment and obedience" and "instrumental-relativist") in the Friends story also do not indicate a clear trend among the three samples.

For the friend's story, the difference among the three samples is clearest in those who selected the "can't decide" action choice. For the Russian sample, the principled reasoning and law and order reasoning scores for those who selected this action choice are different from the Polish and American samples.

The third of the three dilemmas in the SSMS is the Data Recreation Dilemma. The nature of the ethical choice in this dilemma is whether or not a public administrator in a retirement benefits department should recreate data files that have been deleted from a computer file. Recreating the data would mean that some people would receive more benefits than they deserve, while others would receive less benefits than they deserve. Not recreating the data files could mean that payment deadlines could be missed – meaning that all retirees would not get benefits on time. The established rules in this dilemma are unclear; both of the choices have the effect of not paying retirees on time. There is a cost in

recreating the files, because the data would not be accurate and truthful. The cost in not recreating the files would be embarrassment of the department and loss of benefits in the near term for retirees. In this dilemma, the "right thing" would generally be somewhat clear – not recreating the data.

> *Yuri Ivanovich is the head of the Retirement Benefits Department in a city government. He was appointed to this position recently and has soon discovered that some payment data were accidentally deleted from the department computer file. There was no way to retrieve these data within the system. Yuri Ivanovich contacted regional branches of the retirement benefits charged with inputting these data originally and asked them to recreate the data. However, soon regional branches started to complain bitterly about the burden of this task.*
>
> *The central administration of the Ministry of Social Defense that supervises the work of the department wanted to keep the recent data loss quiet, and the ministry's representative advised Yuri Ivanovich to devise a scheme to recreate data based on the assumption that certain relationships existed between the data elements. But Yuri Ivanovich argued that this would result in some people receiving more retirement benefits than they should and others receiving fewer. The ministry's representative felt that to meet payment deadlines of regional branches, there was no choice. Yuri Ivanovich was told to recreate the file as best he could.*
>
> *Should Yuri recreate the data file?*

The "action choice" for the Data Recreation dilemma that was selected by most respondents was to <u>not recreate the data</u> – except for the Russian sample, with recreating the data as the most common response.

Table 6.5 Data Recreation Choice Frequency -- Total

	Data Recreation Choice					
	Should Recreate		Can't Decide		Should Not Recreate	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Polish	168	35.2%	95	19.9%	214	44.9%
American	47	25.7%	25	13.7%	111	60.7%
Russian	61	55.5%	9	8.2%	40	36.4%
Total	276	35.8%	129	16.8%	365	47.4%

The “P” stages scores and the Stage 4 scores represented by the groups within each country that selected each action choice are mixed results. The overall total has approximately the same P score and stage 4 results for each of the three responses of recreating the file, can’t decide, and not recreating the file.

Table 6.6 Data Recreation SSMS Stage Scores by Action Choice by Countries

Case Summaries

Mean

Country coding	Data Recreation Choice	Stage "P" SSMS	Stage "4" SSMS	Stage "3" SSMS	Stage "1-2" SSMS
Polish	Should Recreate	36.190	44.881	4.147	6.348
	Can't Decide	34.842	44.807	3.754	6.070
	Should Not Recreate	33.925	49.798	4.330	4.377
	Total	34.906	47.072	4.151	5.408
American	Should Recreate	38.383	39.277	11.213	7.830
	Can't Decide	39.560	41.760	11.600	9.160
	Should Not Recreate	37.459	43.378	9.180	6.550
	Total	37.984	42.104	10.033	7.235
Russian	Should Recreate	44.191	26.641	14.030	12.064
	Can't Decide	31.820	34.780	13.690	14.800
	Should Not Recreate	39.504	33.342	9.699	13.737
	Total	41.475	29.744	12.427	12.896
Total	Should Recreate	38.332	39.895	7.534	7.864
	Can't Decide	35.546	43.517	5.968	7.278
	Should Not Recreate	35.611	46.042	6.393	6.063
	Total	36.576	43.416	6.731	6.912

The figures for Stage “P” (“Principled Reasoning”) scores indicate no clear trend among the three samples. In this story, the action choice that was selected with the greatest frequency in the United States and Poland was to “not recreate the data.” In Russia, the most frequently selected choice was to “create the data.” In all three samples, those who decided to recreate the data had higher Stage “P” scores than those who decided they should not recreate the data. This appears to be counterintuitive, since the scenario calls for the respondent to “devise a scheme to recreate data based on the assumption that certain relationships existed between the data elements.” The concept of “devising a scheme” does not appear to be a principled response, but those who decided on this choice had the higher principled reasoning than those who decided against this choice.

The response to “devise a scheme” to create the data may be explained as a principled response due to a respondent operating on the “greatest good for the greatest number” principle, or a consequentialist approach to ethics – an explanation which is supported by the focus group comments. The response to “not create the data” may be explained as a principled response due to a respondent operating on a virtue-based approach to ethics, wanting to do a virtuous act of “doing what is right.” The response to “not create the data” may also be explained as a principled response due to respondent operating on a deontological, or principles based approach to ethics, doing what you “would always want others to do in the same circumstances, regardless of the

consequences." The disparity of action choices with a Stage "P" principled response indicates the difficulty in identifying principled reasoning in particular situations.

The figures for Stage 4 ("law and order") reasoning also do not indicate a clear trend among the three samples. The Russian sample does indicate a difference in those respondents who selected "can't decide" as an action choice. These respondents had lower Stage "P" scores, but higher Stage 4 scores – a possible indicator of the lack of clearly defined rules in the context of this scenario for the Russian respondents.

The trends for Stage 3 "("good boy – nice girl") reasoning indicate no clear trend among the three samples. The Polish sample did indicate a lower Stage 3 score for those who selected "can't decide." The trends for Stage 1 and 2 ("punishment and obedience" and "instrumental-relativist") in the Friends story also do not indicate a clear trend among the three samples.

For the three dilemmas, the greatest ethical clarity is found in the Promotion Choice Dilemma. In this dilemma, the "right thing" would generally be very clear – not promoting the individual. In the Friends Choice Dilemma, the "right thing" would generally be fairly clear – not accepting the cruise. In the third dilemma, the Recreating Data Dilemma, the action choice is more ambiguous. In this dilemma, the "right thing" would generally be somewhat clear – not recreating the data. Because of these differences in ethical clarity, it is expected that the greatest disparities across the three countries will be observed in

Promotion Choice Dilemma, less in the Friends Choice Dilemma, and least in the Recreating Data Dilemma.

The concept of ethical clarity for moral decision making goes beyond what has been previously considered in the literature. Ethical clarity considers not only what would be considered as "the right choice" in terms of the specific content of a dilemma, but also considers the impact of the context of society. Societies that have less regard and support for the rule of law, such as Russia, would also be expected to have greater disparities in moral decision making across the three dilemmas than societies with greater respect and support for the rule of law.

6.4 Russian Differences in the Three Dilemmas

For the Russian sample, the "action choice" for the Promotion Choice dilemma that was selected by most respondents was to <u>not promote</u> – the same as most of the respondents in the United States and Poland.

For the Russian sample, those that selected the action choice to "not promote" had the highest P score. In Russia, those respondents that selected the action choice of "to promote" had the highest Stage 3 score, or the "good boy – nice girl" stage. This is particularly interesting considering the relatively low Stage 4 scores for the Russian sample when compared with the Polish and American samples.

Selected focus group comments provide additional context for these results:

The psychology is the great background behind that kind of response – this response may be a double response. In real life you have one response, and in the school situation you have another response.

Our theory and our practice are going apart, they don't match. We want it very much to happen, but it doesn't.

Theory and practice are not the same. There is also the fact there are no established rules here on how to conduct an interview, and the rules are so that we have to break them and find an exception to them somehow.

It does happen, but unfortunately in our professional life we meet situations like this and discuss them – in general we call it the "law of telephone call" or "the law of the telephone."

The "press of the head to those below them" is a typical situation in Russia. We have a specific word to characterize people and employees who were appointed after the telephone call – they are called "telephone appointed" – appointed by telephone.

If you want, your department, you must have on your team professionals – if you follow another person on promoted, you have now hurt your team – to make your team work, you have to promote on merit.

We are greatly afraid that we will lose our job – we are not sure that we can find another job in public administration. Our job depends on our relations with our bosses – even in public administration – not only the job, but also additional payments, which are decided by our heads – not less than 30% of the employers are this Sergie. They are useless. We will not be able to get rid of this ballast in a nearest future. This phenomenon is considered as absolutely normal.

My heart knows the right reason is #3 (not promote), but my head will take the rational choice – double minded.

In the Russian sample, the Friends Dilemma provides the most interesting action choice data. The majority of respondents selected to <u>not take the cruise</u> – and this group had the highest Stage 4 reasoning. Those who selected to take the cruise (and arguably to accept a bribe) were primarily at the stage 1&2 levels. Those who couldn't decide what to do had the highest P level, or principled reasoning.

Selected focus group comments provide additional context for these results:

People take bribes unconsciously. Let's say when you play in somebody's garden as a child and you pick up an apple from the tree or something else, you don't think that you are stealing. The same situation is here! People don't think they are doing something wrong or that they are breaking the law. It is a normal situation to take a bribe.

They were not honest. It was an official answer. Let us say Russian police caught you taking bribes and proved it, you will receive punishment.

Is this (scenario) realistic?

It is fantasy, not real. One may be sent to jail, not because he is guilty, but because it is the result of some underground gang in the power structure. Not because of the law – but because of corruption. Don't think someone could really be sent to jail because of a bribe.

Some administrators may get some proposal from a private firm – but he would make the decision on his own. He would not discuss it in his work with others. People understand that the criminal elements involved in such actions; that is why nobody would discuss such situations at work.

They can not give an answer based on a real life; they just repeated the ideal answer like in the 1st situation. They gave you an answer how it's supposed to be. Bribery is bad, in principle, that is how it is supposed to be, but not in the real life.

One contract may differ from another. If the cruise cost $2,000 and the contract costs $500,000, then he is out of reach. It makes sense, then. He cannot be touched; he belongs to a "high caste of immunity."

For the Russian sample, the “action choice” for the Data Recreation dilemma that was selected by most respondents was “should recreate” the file.

Those that selected the action choice to create the file had the highest P scores. Interestingly, although very few respondents (n=9) selected “can’t decide” as an action choice in this dilemma, this group represented the highest group with law and order (stage 4) reasoning.

Selected focus group comments provide additional context for these results:

> *In this case, perhaps people don’t think about some abstract idea and principles, they want to think about their interests of society; that is, their pensioners for this example – the example of the pensioners is more important than the rules. The most important is to pay – perhaps not just, but the most important – because their situation is very critical; there is a very small pension, they have a lot of problems, it’s not about laws and principles applied, in this case, it’s just about survival.*
>
> ---
>
> *Every document we prepare we make three copies: a law for us – if you lose one, you always have a backup even for paper. Nobody believes in the computers as much as a piece of paper. We send one copy out by mail, keep on to ourselves, and send on to the office.*
>
> ---
>
> *They don’t deal with this kind of system, we do. They didn’t know what they were talking about.*

We still have personal retirement files in our archives that we keep for 75 years. They are on the computer files and on the hard paper, too.

In Russia we have no detailed rules and procedures for all situations – we have instructions for different levels. We only have purposes and general guidelines – not concrete, detailed rules.

For this situation, the rules do not exist. What you need in this situation is experience and knowledge, and not some rules. Rules are just not important in these situations. And if it is a freshman, he can get confused and go by the principle.

6.5 Analysis of Stage and Choice

An analysis of the correlations between action choices and stages of moral reasoning for the combined three samples supports the characterization of the three dilemmas in terms of ethical clarity. The Promotion Choice Dilemma was considered to have the greatest ethical clarity, with a very clear "right" response to <u>not promote</u>, the choice selected by the majority of the respondents in all three samples. The correlation of the action choice for the Promotion Choice Dilemma with all four levels of moral reasoning was significant at $p<.01$.

The Friends Choice Dilemma was less clear, with a fairly clear "right" response to <u>not accept the cruise</u>, the choice also selected by the majority of respondents in all three samples. For the Friends Choice there were significant

correlations at Stage P, Stage 3, and Stages 1&2 at p<.05. There was not a significant correlation at Stage 4 (Law and Order reasoning), which could possibly be explained by the lack of clearly defined rules of conduct in terms of the definition of a bribe within this scenario

The Recreating Data Dilemmas was the least clear, with a somewhat clear "right" response to not recreate the data, a response that was selected by 47% of the total respondents. This choice was selected by the majority of American respondents (61%), was the most frequent response by the Polish respondents (45%), and was selected as the second most frequent response (37%) of the Russian respondents, of whom a majority (56%) selected to recreate the data. For the Recreating Data Dilemma, there were significant correlations Stage 4 and Stage 1&2 at p<.05, and for Stage P at p<.01 for the total sample.

Table 6.7 Action Choice Correlations -- Total

Correlations - Total

		Stage "P" SSMS	Stage "4" SSMS	Stage "3" SSMS	Stage "1-2" SSMS
Promotion Choice	Pearson Correlation	.202**	.144**	-.362**	-.200**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	776	776	776	776
Friends Choice	Pearson Correlation	.089*	-.015	.075*	-.084*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.013	.682	.038	.019
	N	777	777	777	777
Data Recreation Choice	Pearson Correlation	-.086*	.184**	-.056	-.096**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.017	.000	.123	.008
	N	770	770	770	770

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

For the Friends Choice and the Data Recreation choice, the direction of the correlation is opposite between Stage P and Stage 4, as shown in Table 6.7. Although this relationship is not always significant, it may suggest that Stage 4 offers no basis for “breaking” the rules – especially when the rules themselves are not specifically stated – whereas Stage P may. This pattern is also seen, to a lesser extent, in the action choice correlations for each of the three countries.

Table 6.8 Action Choice Correlations – United States

Correlations - American

		Stage "P" SSMS	Stage "4" SSMS	Stage "3" SSMS	Stage "1-2" SSMS
Promotion Choice	Pearson Correlation	.250**	.032	-.310**	-.067
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.663	.000	.362
	N	189	189	189	189
Friends Choice	Pearson Correlation	.036	-.042	.152*	-.004
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.621	.566	.037	.957
	N	190	190	190	190
Data Recreation Choice	Pearson Correlation	-.037	.120	-.093	-.062
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.623	.106	.210	.403
	N	183	183	183	183

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.9 Action Choice Correlations -- Poland

Correlations - Polish

		Stage "P" SSMS	Stage "4" SSMS	Stage "3" SSMS	Stage "1-2" SSMS
Promotion Choice	Pearson Correlation	.245**	.066	-.325**	-.231**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.153	.000	.000
	N	477	477	477	477
Friends Choice	Pearson Correlation	.089	.011	-.041	-.138**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.051	.813	.371	.002
	N	478	478	478	478
Data Recreation Choice	Pearson Correlation	-.074	.166**	.014	-.130**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.106	.000	.761	.005
	N	477	477	477	477

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.10 Action Choice Correlations -- Russia

Correlations - Russian

		Stage "P" SSMS	Stage "4" SSMS	Stage "3" SSMS	Stage "1-2" SSMS
Promotion Choice	Pearson Correlation	.217*	.186	-.413**	-.130
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.023	.051	.000	.174
	N	110	110	110	110
Friends Choice	Pearson Correlation	.006	.147	.003	-.228*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.949	.127	.976	.017
	N	109	109	109	109
Data Recreation Choice	Pearson Correlation	-.157	.227*	-.190*	.097
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.101	.017	.047	.315
	N	110	110	110	110

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Correlation analyses for the three countries (Tables 6.8, 6.9, and 6.10) indicate that Stage P and Stage 3 reasoning for all three countries is significant for the Promotion Choice Dilemma at $p<.01$, except for Stage P for Russia, which is $p<.05$ and Stage 4 in Russia, which is $p<.051$. The Friends Choice dilemma does not have significant correlations at Stage P or Stage 4, but has significant correlations at Stage 3 ($p<.05$) for the United States and Stage 1&2 for the Poland and Russia ($p<.05$ for Poland, and $p<.01$ for Russia). For the Data Recreation Dilemma, there are no significant correlations for the American sample; the Polish sample has significant correlations at Stage 4 and Stage 1&2 (both at $p<.01$); the Russian sample has significant correlations at Stage 4 and Stage 3 (both at $p<.05$).

6.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter investigated the fourth hypothesis of the study by presenting and discussing the survey data from the Stewart Sprinthall Management Survey (SSMS) results from the United States, Poland, and Russia in terms of the action choice taken by respondents, as well as comments from the Russian focus groups to provide context for the choices made.

The hypothesis that was investigated in this chapter was based on the relationship between the contextual historical and traditional factors, social institutions, and individual factors. When these contextual factors affect moral reasoning, it was hypothesized they will also affect the relationship between moral reasoning and the actual choices made in moral decision-making.

Although correlation analysis did not establish a clear finding, the relationship between moral reasoning and moral decision-making appeared to be lower among public officials in Russia than among public officials in Poland and the United States, particularly in situations where the rules are poorly defined (such as in the Data Recreation Dilemma). This finding is based upon the qualitative data from the Russian focus groups, who consistently indicated that "theory and practice were not the same" in moral decision-making. The underlying stage of moral reasoning does not appear to have as much predictive value in determining actual moral decisions made as far as public officials in Russia are concerned. There are two possible explanations for this finding: first, that the determination of a "right response" is dependent upon societal factors such as respect for the rule of law; second, that societal factors such as social

institutions may impact whether or not a person acts upon what they think is right – indeed, they may have a “double response” in feeling the right answer is one thing, but actions are a different thing. With a weaker support for law as the basis for reasoning, more respondents in Russian than in the other countries are relying on personal beliefs. When personal beliefs conflict with social reality, many in Russia choose the safer action of complying with social reality. From an ethical theory standpoint, moral reasoning may be based upon a “principles” approach, while moral decision-making may be based upon a “consequences” approach. In the other countries, Stage 4 reasoning is reinforced by the legal system and social institutions, and Stage P thinking goes beyond a legal justification but can count on the established rule of law to support a principled decision.

The next chapter, Chapter 7, will discuss the implications of the findings of the study for moral development theory with recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 7
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Chapter Introduction

The purpose of this study was to investigate hypotheses concerning the relationship of moral reasoning and moral development with: 1) historical and traditional societal factors; 2) connections to existing social institutions; 3) individual factors; and 4) the relationship between moral decision-making and stages of moral reasoning by presenting and analyzing results from research conducted in the United States, Poland, and Russia.

The specific intent of this study was to look at public officials in the three countries – the United States, Poland, and Russia – and to present and analyze the differences in moral reasoning. The study then tested hypotheses for these differences based on three specific factors -- historical and traditional societal factors, existing social institutions, and individual factors. Finally, the research tested a hypothesis concerning the relationship between moral decision-making and stages of moral reasoning among public officials in the three countries.

This study was based upon the conceptual model that moral reasoning (the cognitive process for an individual to determine “the right thing to do” in the context of a particular moral decision or action) is affected by development and contextual factors, both short-term and long-term in nature, and that under certain circumstances, context can overcome the normal stages of moral development. The potential implication is that moral reasoning develops in different ways and has different impacts on behavior depending on context.

Four particular areas relating to moral reasoning were studied in detail: the context of historical and traditional societal factors; the context of institutional societal factors; individual factors; and the implementation of moral reasoning (moral decision-making). These areas relating to context-related moral reasoning provide insight into moral development among individuals within a society.

7.2 Summary of the Research

Stewart Sprinthall Management Survey (SSMS) Stage Scores: Previous research had already initially established the differences in moral reasoning among public officials in the three countries. A review of this research outlined the basis for further investigation. The levels of moral reasoning between public administrators in Poland and the United States were very similar, with the primary stage at Stage 4, a law and order orientation. The levels of moral reasoning for public administrators in Russia were different than those in both the United States and Poland, with Russian officials having a primary orientation of principled reasoning. The differences among public officials in Russia and public officials in the United States for Stage 4 ("law and order") reasoning were significant at p=.000 with large effect sizes (.85 for differences among American and Russian officials and 1.25 for differences among Polish and Russian officials).

Initial results from the analysis of the Russian public officials were consistent with moral development theory. Women generally had higher principled reasoning, which was consistent with previous studies in moral development. Those with non-technical degrees had generally higher principled reasoning scores than those with technical degrees, another finding which is consistent with moral development research. Newer public officials (those who had been in public office the least amount of time) also had higher principled reasoning scores, another expected finding.

Previous research in Poland had also indicated that Polish officials had a primary orientation of principled reasoning. Research shortly after this finding indicated that Polish officials had a primary orientation of law and order – a dramatic shift in orientation. The research suggested that for a period of time Polish officials disregarded law and order reasoning and instead "skipped" to principled reasoning – a time that coincided with the fall of communism and the establishment of democracy in Poland. This finding further suggested that the arbitrary use of the "law" by the communist regime, "when a small group of people had access to government, made decisions, and divided the goods without any social control" made the "rule of law" an unacceptable basis for moral reasoning but the existence of a history of democratic institutions allowed Polish officials to "revert" to "law and order" reasoning to "act accordingly to very transparent and clearly stated rules" (Stewart, Sprinthall, and Siemienska 1997, 451). Three factors were hypothesized as affecting the level of moral reasoning

for public officials: history and tradition, social institutions, and personal history (such as gender and education).

World Values Surveys and European Values Surveys, 1990-93, and 1995-97: In order to "peel the onion back," the research looked at another data series to investigate differences in history and tradition and institutional factors in the three societies. Results from the Stewart Sprinthall Management Surveys indicated that the Russian public officials had an orientation on principled reasoning rather than the law and order orientation found in Poland and the United States – a higher level of stage "P" reasoning (principled reasoning) and a lower level of stage 4 ("law and order") reasoning. This study explored the impact of history and tradition as well as institutional factors as possible reasons for these differences in the three countries.

Stewart Sprinthall Management Survey (SSMS) Action Choice: The study investigated the actual choices made for the moral dilemmas in the research. The findings in the study were that those respondents with a primary orientation of principled reasoning in the United States and Poland generally agreed on the selected action choice in the three dilemmas. The respondents in Russia with a primary orientation of principled reason, however, chose a different response than the respondents from the United States and Poland. This finding was also true among respondents with a primary orientation of law and order reasoning. The results were that Russian officials did select different "action"

choices than their similarly staged colleagues in the United States and Poland. Some of the reasons for these differences appear to be contextual, such as in the Data Recreation dilemma, which didn't "ring true" with the Russian officials. This, however, does not appear to explain the dramatic differences in all of the stories. The focus group research indicated clearly that the public administrators in Russia practice a "double response." They know what they should do in terms of doing what is "right," but what they actually do in terms of decision-making is a different response. It is interesting that this was not the response of the public administrators in Poland – a country under similar circumstances of transitioning from communism to a democracy.

7.3 Conclusions and Implications

Four hypotheses were tested in this study:

Hypothesis 1:
For public officials, the weaker the support of contextual factors for the legal process, the higher the level of principled reasoning and the lower the level of "law and order" moral reasoning.

This hypothesis focuses on historical and traditional societal factors. The implication is that if historical and traditional factors within society have weakened support for the "rule of law," then public officials will "skip" law and order reasoning for principled reasoning as a primary orientation. The context of

the “baggage” of history and tradition in society is hypothesized to affect the levels of moral reasoning.

Regard for the “rule of law” was indeed much lower among the Russian population when compared with the population of Poland and the United States. The history of Russia for many years (preceding the USSR) has been one of ruling by edict with a strong central power. Even though it is apparent that the rulers of the Russian Federation are elected in free democratic elections, this has not changed the nature of society to embrace the “rule of law” in everyday life. The supporting institutions of the “rule of law” – the legislature (indicated by the low regard for politics), the courts, and the police – are all kept in low regard in Russia when compared to the United States and Poland. In Russia, the confidence in police is relatively low, where over 70% of the respondents indicated “not very much” or “none” when asked if they had confidence in the police. This finding, coupled with low regard for the courts and politics, suggests that even when laws exist, Russians are not inclined to have great respect for them.

The implication for public administrators is that the emphasis on establishing a clear rule of law is critical to create an environment of principled reasoning in a society. It is critical to strengthen not only the law making mechanisms of society, but also those institutions that enforce the law. This is particularly true in transitioning societies, who must rebuild the police forces and court systems.

The implication for moral development theory is that without a strong societal system of the "rule of law," it is difficult to expect an "invariant sequence" of moral development that has a law and order orientation as the primary stage for adults. Kohlberg's theory of moral development may only apply to individuals in societies with an established and accepted rule of law.

Hypothesis 2:

For public officials, the weaker the connections to social institutions, the lower the level of "law and order" reasoning.

This hypothesis focuses on social institutions, such as the church, trade unions, and the family. These institutions of the civil society can be independent "society-maintaining" factors within a society. If the connections to these institutions are weak or the institutions themselves are poorly developed, it is hypothesized that the regard for the "rule of law" will be weak.

The key societal institution that differed among the three countries was the institution of the church. The behaviors concerning religiosity were much lower in Russia than in Poland and the United States. Much like the concept of the "rule of law," the church as an institution provides a "society-maintaining" influence in Poland and the United States, but not in Russia. When the transition from communism to democracy was taking place in Poland there were other institutions, such as the Catholic Church and the trade unions, which provided a measure of stability in the lives of people – which, in turn, enabled the Polish

society to return quickly to a primary orientation to law and order reasoning. In Russia, the situation is different because the Orthodox Church did not play an everyday important role in the lives of Russians – and the institutional church was considered to be closely tied in with the KGB. The history of the church in Russia is also a factor; the church was "selected" for the people, rather than by the people. The institution of the church and religious behaviors were discouraged for years under the USSR – and it continues to play a greatly diminished role in the lives of Russians. The church as an institution appears to be more ornamental, like the onion domes of St. Peter's Basilica, than a real factor in maintaining norms of behavior in everyday life.

Religiosity and the institution of the church was expected to have an impact on law and order reasoning – the stage that was significantly lower in public administrators in Russia. The church provides a structure of rules and behaviors that can establish societal norms for behavior, which are critically important when other institutions are transitioning. It is not surprising that the orientation on law and order (Stage 4) was much lower in Russia since two of the key institutions – the government and the church – did not provide the society-maintaining influence that is critically necessary.

The implication for this finding is that it is necessary to review all of the key institutions of a society in transition. Most people in society look for structure and stability. The danger is that without these key institutions to provide stability, people will look elsewhere for the maintenance of society – which could include a return to non-democratic governments, to ultra-nationalism, or to radical

fundamentalism. In Russia, this was seen with the widespread appeal of Zhirinovskiy in the early 1990s (Morrison 1994). The implication of this finding, however, is not to arbitrarily strengthen the role of the church in a transitioning society, but rather to be aware of the impact of religiosity in society and other society-maintaining institutions such as trade unions, the family, and the press.

The Grand Inquisitor in Dostoevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov* provides some great insight into Russian thought in terms of religiosity and spirituality, where the conclusion is to not emphasize freedom of thought and belief, but adherence to religious rituals (Dostoevsky 1927, 257-258):

> …it is not the free choice of the heart that matters, and not love, but the mystery, which they must blindly obey, even setting aside their own conscience. And so we did. We corrected your deed and based it on miracle, mystery, and authority. And mankind rejoiced that they were once more led like sheep, and that at last such a terrible gift, which had brought them so much suffering, had been taken from their hearts…Oh, we shall convince them that they will only become free when they resign their freedom to us, and submit to us….

The danger is that institutions, such as the church and the press, can be used to provide another measure of control – rather than be society-maintaining, these institutions can become "regime-maintaining."

Hypothesis 3:

For public officials, whatever the contextual support for law and order, the greater the individual factors that reinforce conventional moral thinking, the stronger the support for "law and order" reasoning.

This hypothesis focuses on individual factors, such as age and gender and personal history. Regardless of historical/traditional factors and social institutions, individual factors that reinforce the regard for the "rule of law" are hypothesized to result in a stronger orientation towards law and order reasoning.

There are personal factors that also affect moral reasoning. The literature suggests that gender makes a difference – the data from this study support the hypothesis that women have higher principled reasoning than men. Age makes a difference, but it is less clear if age is an indicator of history and tradition or a "maturing process" that leads to higher moral reasoning. The literature suggests that academic discipline is an important factor for moral reasoning; this study supports this conclusion. Those with non-technical degrees (such as political science) tend to have higher principled reasoning than those in technical disciplines, such as engineering.

Hypothesis 4:

For public officials, the weaker contextual historical and traditional factors, social institutions, and individual factors support "law and order" moral reasoning, the weaker the relationship between moral decision-making and stages of moral reasoning.

This hypothesis examined the relationship between the contextual historical and traditional factors, social institutions, and individual factors. When these contextual factors affect "law and order" moral reasoning, it was

hypothesized they will also affect the relationship between moral reasoning and the actual choices made in moral decision-making.

The relationship between moral reasoning and moral decision-making appeared to be lower among public officials in Russia than among public officials in Poland and the United States, particularly in situations where the rules are poorly defined (such as in the Data Recreation Dilemma). The underlying stage of moral reasoning does not appear to have as much predictive value in determining actual moral decisions made as far as public officials in Russia are concerned. There are two possible explanations for this finding: first, that the determination of a "right response" is dependent upon societal factors such as respect for the rule of law; second, that societal factors such as social institutions may impact whether or not a person acts upon what they think is right – indeed, they may have a "double response" in feeling the right answer is one thing, but actions are a different thing. With a weaker support for law as the basis for reasoning, more respondents in Russian than in the other countries are relying on personal beliefs. When personal beliefs conflict with social reality, many in Russia choose the safer action of complying with social reality. From an ethical theory standpoint, moral reasoning may be based upon a "principles" approach, while moral decision-making may be based upon a "consequences" approach. In the other countries, Stage 4 reasoning is reinforced by the legal system and social institutions, and Stage P thinking goes beyond a legal justification but can count on the established rule of law to support a principled decision.

The implications for moral education are that it may be futile to conduct moral training without at the same time acknowledging that the society doesn't reward or encourage moral behavior. If the workplace does not have a "safety net" for those who act according to principles, then "business as usual" will win out. This appears to be particularly true in Russian public administration, where the rules are less well-defined than those in Poland and the United States. The exercise of administrative discretion by public administrators is in question when the definition of a "right decision" is based upon the whims of supervisors, rather than upon a basis of laws and principles.

7.4 Recommendations

Moral reasoning, or the cognitive process for an individual to determine "the right thing to do" in the context of a particular moral decision or action, is affected by development and contextual factors, both short-term and long-term in nature. The study concluded that under certain circumstances, context can overcome the normal stages of moral development. Moral reasoning develops in different ways and has different impacts on behavior depending on context.

This study only addressed four particular areas relating to the context of moral reasoning: historical and traditional societal factors; institutional societal factors; individual factors; and moral decision-making, or the implementation of moral reasoning. These areas provided insight into moral development among individuals within a society.

There are, however, a number of areas that this study has indicated need additional research and effort. This study raises more questions than it answers. There are a number of topics for further research and investigation. These include:

Kohlberg's Invariant Sequence: Kohlberg's Theory of Moral Development was based upon an invariant sequence of moral reasoning stages, but previous research in Poland and the results in Russia indicate that "skipping" of stages is possible. Further research in different societies is indicated, particularly longitudinal studies of moral development in transitioning societies.

Kohlberg's Societal Differences: Kohlberg's Theory of Moral Development presumes consistency in all societies, but the results in Russia indicate societal factors can produce different patterns. Further research is needed in Russia and in additional countries with varying historical and social characteristics. Of particular interest is research in societies undergoing transition, such as Iraq.

Moral Reasoning–Action Choice Linkage: The linkage between moral reasoning and moral decision-making is a rich area for further investigation, although variation in the linkage may call into question the value of moral reasoning as an explanation for the basis of ethical behavior. Investigation into the "double response" of what one "should do" vice what one "would do" in an

ethical situation is an area indicated for further research. The use of moderating variables such as Thoma's "utilizer" scale and other similar measures may provide support for investigating predictive value in moral reasoning instruments.

Kohlberg's Law and Order Orientation: The "rule of law" concept is necessary for Kohlberg's Stage 4, but is this concept based upon Western, democratic ideas? The Weberian concept of "rational structures of law and administration" which underpin law and order reasoning may only apply to the developed West (Weber 1930, 40). If Stage 4 is the primary orientation of moral reasoning for adults, then the basis for this stage – a mature legal system – is a necessary prerequisite. Further research in societies where the legal system has not fully developed (such as Bosnia) or has collapsed (such as Liberia) would shed greater light in this topic.

Religiosity: The research presented here provides some interesting results, but the primary religious institutions in the United States, Poland, and Russia are monotheistic. Further moral development research, with religious variables, is indicated in this area.

Religiosity and Spirituality: The interrelated concepts of religiosity and spirituality in moral reasoning provide an interesting area to pursue. Further operationalization of the concepts is necessary to discern the true impact of religiosity on stage 4 reasoning and spirituality on principled reasoning.

AFTERWORD

Principled reasoning may indeed be an elusive concept that is held by the very few – and perhaps that is a good thing. The results in Russia indicated higher principled reasoning, but did the results indicate a floundering society that did not have appropriate institutions in which behavior could be grounded and which also serve to constrain individual behavior? If everyone practiced principled reasoning – particularly if they were not able to work through a stage of moral reasoning based on the law – would we have a better society, or would we have many people who know what they should do but cannot stand up against an arbitrary and capricious system?

Much of the research in moral reasoning has approached Stage P reasoning as the "Holy Grail" of moral reasoning, even though even Kohlberg had difficulty identifying individuals who had demonstrated his highest level of moral reasoning. The best examples in the literature are Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, men who took stands and fought the system – but were also grounded in a "democratic" movement as principled, transformational leaders focused on the intrinsic needs of followers (Avolio 1999, 124; Bass 1998, 24; Vasu, Stewart and Garson 1998, 111). These men – and the other few examples of principled reasoning – were grounded not only in "democratic" movements, but also developed principled reasoning as a result of their grounding in law and order reasoning. Solid social institutions and a clearly

established “rule of law” are critical enablers to the development of not only principled reasoning, but of an orderly and just society.

In the Federalist Paper Number 51, James Madison writes of the necessity for government to control the governed – and for government itself to be under control (Madison 1961, 356):

> It may be a reflection on human nature, that such devices should be necessary to control the abuses of government. But what is government itself, but the greatest of all reflections on human nature. If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable to government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself.

As public officials, perhaps our goal should be to establish societal boundaries that are predictable and just in order to provide true liberty for the governed. Knowing the time to take a stand with “passionate intensity” when the system is truly unjust is the challenge.

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APPENDIX A

STEWART SPRINTHALL MANAGEMENT SURVEY

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

1. Last 4 digits of Social Security No.

2. Year of Birth

3. Sex
    1. Male
    2. Female

4. Racial Background (check only one):
    0. American Indian
    1. Asian
    2. Black
    3. White

5. Education (check all applicable):
    0. Graduated High School
    1. Completed 2 years College
    2. Graduated 4 years College
    3. Completed Some Graduate School
    4. Graduated Masters Degree
    5. Graduated Doctoral Degree

6. Position Title

7. Position Location
    0. City
    1. County

8. Population of City or county (where job is located):
    0. Less than 10,000
    1. 10,000 to 25,000
    2. Greater than 25,000 to 50,000
    3. Greater than 50,000 to 100,000
    4. Greater than 100,000 to 200,000
    5. Over 200,000

Section 1: SSMS Instrument

OPINIONS ABOUT PROBLEMATIC SITUATIONS IN MANAGEMENT

This questionnaire is aimed at helping you understand how you reason about problematic situations in management. Different people often have different opinions about right and wrong. There are no "right" answers in the way that there are right answers to math problems. In the stories below we would like to know simply what you think. The papers will be machine scored and no one will link your answer with you.

In this questionnaire you will be asked to give your opinion on 3 stories. You are asked to read each story, decide what plan of action you would follow and indicate the considerations most important in the situation described. We begin with one story as an example. Read it and follow the instructions on the next page.

Mary Smith is thinking of looking for a new job. She has a husband and two teenage children. Her husband is older and is nearing retirement. In trying to decide whether to look for a new job, Mary Smith knows that there are many factors to consider. On the next page, some of these factors are listed.

If you were Mary Smith, how important would each of these factors be in deciding whether to seek a new job?

PART A (Sample)

On the left side of the page, check one of the spaces by each question that should be considered. Rate each consideration from Great to No importance.

IMPORTANCE					
Great	Much	Some	Little	No	
					1. Whether Mary feels her current job pays a good salary.
					2. Whether a new job might be more interesting and personally rewarding.
					3. Whether Mary's family supports the idea of a job change.
					4. Whether the job factors were compatible with merit.
					5. Whether a job might be closer to home.

PART B (Sample)
From the list of questions above, select the most important one of the whole group. Put the number of the most important question in the top line below. Do the same for your second, third and fourth most important choices.

_____ most important
_____ second most important
_____ third most important
_____ fourth most important

Opinion on Problematic Situations

Read the story below and decide what plan of action you would follow. Then turn the page and review the considerations you would identify as most important in this situation.

PROMOTION

Jan was hired to revitalize a somewhat inefficient division in a city office. Soon after becoming department head, he held a meeting with all division personnel and announced that all future promotions would be based on demonstrated merit. The friendship practice of the former director would be discontinued. Bob issued a written statement to confirm this new policy.

About a month later Jan's boss told him that he expected Paul Kowalski, an individual on Jan's staff, to be promoted. Paul was a marginally effective worker and there were several other employees in the division much more deserving of promotion. Jan pointed out to his boss all of the reasons for not wanting to promote Paul Kowalski at that time. But the boss responded that he really would like to see Paul promoted. Jan's ability to create more promotional opportunities for his staff depended on his cooperation in this situation.

Should Jan promote Paul Kowalski? (Check one)

_____ should promote Paul Kowalski

_____ can't decide

_____ should not promote Paul Kowalski

(Turn to the next page for list of considerations.)

Review each of the 12 considerations given below. Rate each consideration from Great to No Importance, then rank order your top four choices.

IMPORTANCE					
Great	Much	Some	Little	No	
					1. Doesn't Jan have to give on this one to get favorable personnel actions in the future?
					2. Does the law permit promotion of Paul in this case?
					3. Doesn't Jan need to consider how to pay for his daughter's furniture when she is to be married if he is fired?
					4. Would Jan be breaking a commitment to his staff and other applicants by promoting Paul at this time?
					5. It would depend on whether Jan feels that the physical issues are of equal distance.
					6. Jan has not become good friends with Paul so there is not a good basis for disobeying the rules.
					7. If patronage is more important that the new personnel procedures in this case, won't that make it harder to stick to new procedures in the future?
					8. Patronage is a way of life: everyone accepts it and there is no penalty for using patronage system.
					9. Isn't it important to be a good colleague in that situation?
					10. Does Jan's sense of justice require that he resist this patronage whatever the costs to his future opportunities as boss?
					11. Doesn't a personnel selection decision have to be consistent with the idea of merit and equity?
					12. Doesn't Jan need to follow to his announced procedures whatever the circumstances?

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

_____ most important
_____ second most important
_____ third most important
_____ fourth most important

Opinions on Problematic Situations

Read the story below and decide what plan of action you would follow. Then turn the page and review the considerations you would identify as most important in this situation.

FRIENDS IN GOVERNMENT

In an agency, as in many others, private businesses are contracted to provide goods and services. Peter deals directly with these representatives and has become good friends with one. Their wives have become friends and their families enjoy one another. Peter occasionally joins the representative for lunch and his company pays for it. This has always been acceptable in the organization.

However, a dilemma arose recently when the representative invited Peter and his family to join the representative's family for a two week vacation at his summer house. The representative was going to pay for the food and drink. Peter knew it would be a great trip and really wanted to go. Peter also knew that it could be seen by the public opinion as a favor for a large contract that the agency had just awarded to the representative's company.

Should Peter go on the trip to the summer house?:

_____ Should go to the summer house

_____ Can't decide

_____ Should not go to the summer house

(Turn to the next page for list of considerations.)

Review each of the 12 considerations given below. Rate each consideration from Great to No Importance, then rank order your top four choices.

IMPORTANCE					
Great	Much	Some	Little	No	
					1. Isn't Peter's main duty to find out just what the regulations state in regard to this matter and to follow them?
					2. Isn't such a favor clearly illegal?
					3. Peter needs to consider how likely it is that the public will find out about this particular trip.
					4. There is always a problem when we allow too much discretion to administrators in deciding conflict of interest.
					5. Whether the business representative stayed within the limits of his authority or should have invited other business representatives as well.
					6. The question really is: does Peter believe that the business representative got the contract because of their friendship or because the agency gets the best value for the services?
					7. Isn't the appearance of an impropriety most important?
					8. If Peter loses his job over something like this he'll not be able to take his family on any vacation.
					9. How important is it to avoid not only conflict of interest but also the appearance of conflict in the public sector in order to maintain public trust?
					10. Isn't it a problem of receiving gifts in conflict with the interest of public responsibility and ethics?
					11. What does Peter's professional code required in situations like this?
					12. Public officials charged with taking bribes can be sent to jail in this country.

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

_____ most important
_____ second most important
_____ third most important
_____ fourth most important

Opinions on Problematic Situations

Read the story below and decide what plan of action you would follow. Then turn the page and review the considerations you would identify as most important in this situation.

DATA RECREATION

Jack is the head of the Central Information Department of a government insurance company. Through no fault of Jack's some payment data were accidentally deleted from the department computer file. There was no way to retrieve these data within the system. The provincial branch of the insurance company charged with inputting these data originally complained bitterly about the burden of this task. Therefore the central management of the company wanted to keep the recent data loss quiet. Jack's supervisor told him to devise a scheme to recreate data based on the assumption that certain relationships existed between the data elements. But Jack argued that this would result in some people receiving more benefits than they should and others receiving less. The supervisor of the company felt that to meet payment deadlines of provincial branches, there was no choice. Jack was told to recreate the file as best he could.

Should Jack recreate the data file?

_____ Should recreate the data file

_____ Can't decide

_____ Should not recreate the data file

(Turn to the next page for list of considerations.)

Review each of the 12 considerations given below. Rate each consideration from Great to No Importance, then rank order your top four choices.

IMPORTANCE					
Great	Much	Some	Little	No	
					1. Is there a specific law which prohibits the recreation of such a file?
					2. It really depends on whether or not Jack and his boss are close friends and this is a favor.
					3. Shouldn't Jack make sure he is covered in case the mistake is discovered later on by a controller?
					4. Isn't a problem like this really a question of generic validity and how comprehensive the question is?
					5. Doesn't Jack need to seriously consider the request made of him because he may need help some time?
					6. Isn't the main duty of Jack to follow established procedures regardless of circumstances such as these?
					7. Simulations are on only paradigms calling for successive approximations.
					8. Would there be a real loss to society as a whole from the recreated file?
					9. As a professional, isn't it one of Jack's major obligations to abide by the code of behavior of his particular professional organization?
					10. How important is it to maintain - despite how it is done - a system that is designed to improve the conditions of life of individuals?
					11. Aren't there always circumstances such as this where a person simply has to realize that to get along in a job you have to go along?
					12. Isn't the question really: Would recreating the file actually benefit more people in the long run?

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

_____ most important
_____ second most important
_____ third most important
_____ fourth most important

Section 2: Scoring the SSMS

1. Prepare a data sheet for each subject as follows:

	Reasoning Styles Stages					
Story	1	2	3	4	P	M
Promotion						
Friends in Government						
Data Recreation						
Raw Stage Scores						
Stage Percentages						

2. Only look for the first four rankings at the bottom of the survey page.

3. For the item marked "most important" consult the chart below to find out what stage the item exemplifies. For instance, if a subject's first rank on the Promotion Story was Item 4, this would be a "P" choice, Item 6 would be a Stage 3 choice, Item 7 would be a Stage 4 choice, and so on. Each choice is described in Section 3.

	Item											
Story	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Promotion	3	4	2	P	M	3	4	2	3	P	P	4
Friends in Government	4	4	2	4	M	P	3	2	P	P	4	1
Data Recreation	4	3	2	M	3	4	M	P	4	P	2	P

An Example: A subject ranks the items as follows:

ITEM - RANK

Story	Most Important (4)	Second Most (3)	Third Most (2)	Fourth Most (1)
Promotion	10	7	4	12
Friends in Government	4	6	10	7
Data Recreation	1	2	6	5

The stage sheet for these data would then look as follows:

Story	Stages 1	2	3	4	P	M
Promotion	0	0	0	3+1	4+2	0
Friends in Government	0	0	1	4	3+2	0
Data Recreation	0	0	3+1	4+2	0	0
Raw Stage Scores	0	0	5	14	11	0
Stage Percentages (Raw Stage Score/.30)	0	0	16.6	46.6	36.6	0

In the above case on the "Promotion" story, the subject ranked Item 10 as most important. The scoring key chart identified that item as a principled level response (p). Therefore, 4 points were entered under the P column. The subject ranked Item 7 as second most important so 3 points were entered under the Stage 4 column. Each item, then is classified by stage score and entered on the stage sheet according to the value of the rank order 4, 3, 2, or 1.

Each stage column can then be added to derive a total raw score for each level. On the raw score line the totals equal 5 for Stage 3, 14 for Stage 4 and 11 for Stage P. Since there are no rankings for any of the other stages and no meaningless (M) scores, all of the subject's responses are grouped in Stages 3, 4 and P.

To convert the raw scores to a percentage index, divide each raw stage score total by .30. In the example, this computation indicates that the subject reasons at Stage 3, 16.6%, Stage 4, 46.6%, and P at 36.6%.

Generally the most useful overall index is the P score. There are more P items (9 in all) than any other stage and therefore the reliability of that index is greater than that of the other stages. Also this P index can be compared to the score distributions on the most general objective test of value judgment, *The Defining Test* (Rest 1979, 1986).

The *Stewart Sprinthall Management Survey* is modeled after the DIT. The context of the stories are different as well as the content of the item choices. The scoring procedures are similar and the theoretical constructs for both measures were derived from the general theory of moral development based on the work of Kohlberg (1984). This permits comparisons to be made between the scores on the SSMS, particularly the "P" index with other measures of value judgment.

For further information on the SSMS see Stewart, D. & Sprinthall, N.A. Does Gender Make a Difference: Moral Reasoning in a Public Administration Context. Paper prepared for presentation at the *Conference on Women's Participation in Politics: Its Main Forms, Determinants and Consequences*, the Section of Political Culture of the Institute of Sociology, Warsaw University, December 7-11, 1987 or write to Box 7102, NCSU, Raleigh, NC 27695-7102.

For further information on the general issues of objective measurement of value judgment see Rest, J. (1979) *Development in Judging Moral Issues*. Minneapolis MN: University of Minnesota and Rest, J. (1986) *Moral Development: Advances in Research & Theory*. New York: Praeger.

For the most recent information on the general theory of value development, see Kohlberg, L. (1984) *The Psychology of Moral Development*. San Francisco: Harper & Row.

THIS SURVEY IS TO BE USED FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES ONLY.

Section 3: Stage Score Definitions

MANAGEMENT STAGE SCORES

1. Concern for Obedience and Punishment:
To avoid punishment one must be obedient - Fear of punishment is a major motivator.

2. Concern for Cooperation and Reciprocity in a Single Instance:
Cooperative interactions are entered into because each party has something to gain. "Let's make a deal" It is the exchange that makes it fair. Bargains are struck to achieve self-interest.

3. Concern for Enduring Personal Relationships:
Maintaining good relationships over time is valued; approval of others is important. Be kind and considerate and you will get along with others - reciprocal role taking; inner disposition is important.

4. Concern for Law and Duty:
Authority maintains morality; everyone in society is obligated and protected by the law; respect for the authority of law is part of one's obligation to society.

P. Concern for Abstract Principles of Societal Cooperation:
(5 & 6)
This mode of reasoning envisions the mind of a hypothetical rational person - what agreement would a hypothetical group of rational people accept? - Impartiality is central.

M. Meaningless Statement:
This statement sounds impressive, but makes no sense in the context of the story.

APPENDIX B
STEWART SPRINTHALL MANAGEMENT SURVEY DEMOGRAPHICS

Two primary variables were used to analyze the respondents in the three surveys – gender and age. These variables were used to conduct a descriptive comparison among the three groups. In terms of the gender variable, most of the respondents in all three surveys were male, especially the U.S. survey. For the overall survey results, males represented 73.6% of the respondents and females represented the remaining 26.4% of the respondents.

Because the three surveys were not completed in the same year, the age variable was considered in two different ways. The first way is to determine the age of the respondents at the time of the survey – for the United States survey, 1991; for the Polish survey, 1993-94, and for the Russian survey, 1998. The median age for the total survey was 43; for the Polish group, 44; for the United States group, 42; and for the Russian group, 40. This variable was determined by using the date of birth from the survey results and determining the age at the time of the survey. This variable was aggregated into “decades” for comparison (20s, 30s, etc.). This first method of determining the age variable was used in recognition of the moral development that takes place throughout a respondent’s life span.

The second method to compare the age variable was determined by the date of birth and aggregating into the “birth decade” for the respondents (1930s, 1940s, etc.). This second method was used in recognition of the differences that could occur due to societal factors and “growing up” at different times in history.

All three of these variables (gender, age by decade, and birth decade) were used to conduct a descriptive comparison among the three groups for equivalence.

Two additional demographic variables were considered for the Russian sample. These are professional status and tenure in office.

Professional Status: In the Russian Federation, there are five general classifications of state rank. These are from lowest to highest level, junior, senior, leading, chief, and highest rank. The survey respondents in Russia represented all five classifications.

Tenure in Office: An analysis of the state rank classifications did not reveal any significant differences among groups. State rank did not have a high correlation with age or with tenure in office. All of the respondents were fairly new in position, with well over half of the respondents in their current position less than three years. The analysis for tenure in office was based on grouping the respondents into three groups: those having assumed their positions in the two years prior to the survey, those having assumed their positions in the two years prior to that, and those assuming positions prior to the remainder.

The following pages provide the group demographics by country and the total demographics by each of the three variables, followed by the two additional demographic variables considered in the Russian sample.

Table B.1 SSMS Frequency by Gender – Three Countries

Report - SSMS Total

Count

		GENDER		
		MALE	FEMALE	Total
COUNTRY	Polish	321	158	479
	American	174	16	190
	Russian	78	32	110
Total		573	206	779

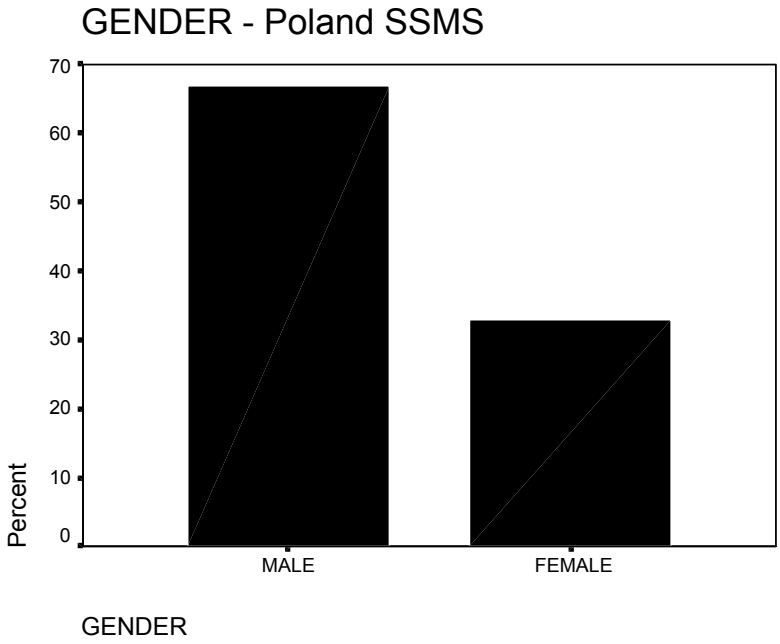


Figure B.1 SSMS Frequency Graph by Gender -- Poland

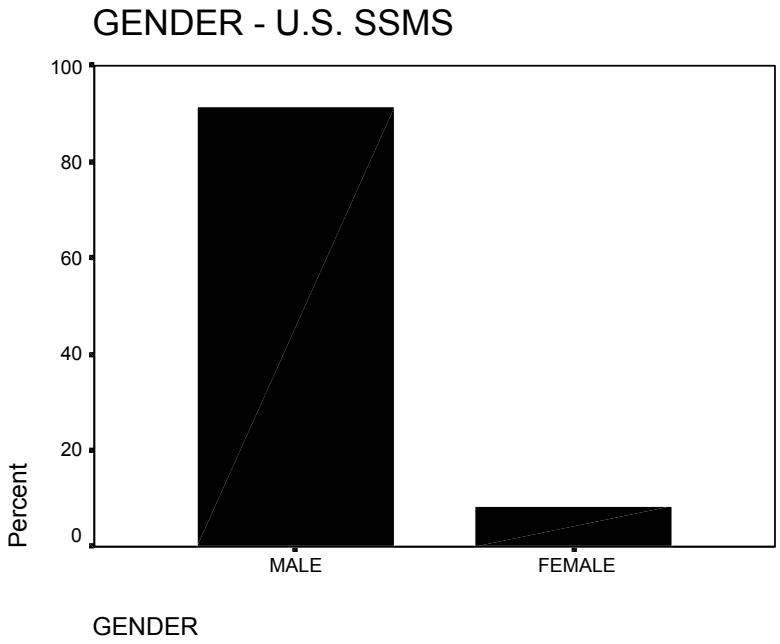


Figure B.2 SSMS Frequency Graph by Gender – United States

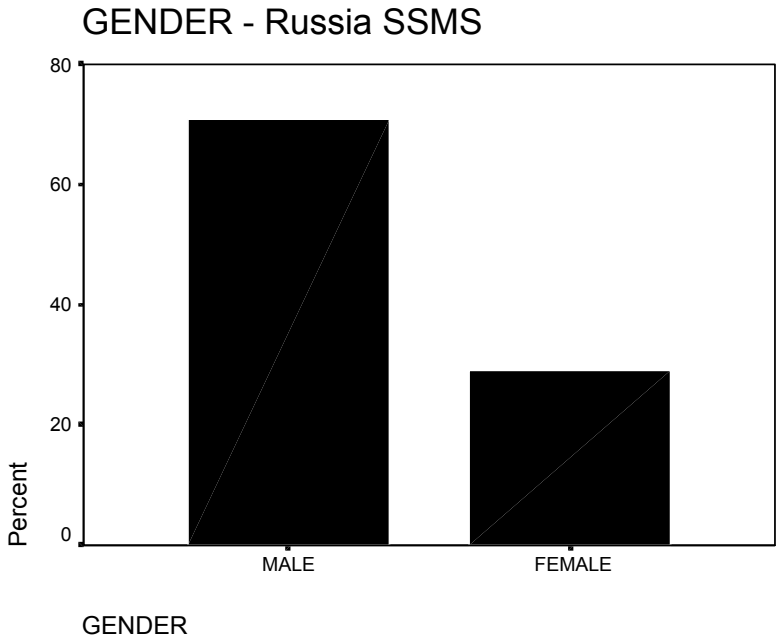


Figure B.3 SSMS Frequency Graph by Gender – Russia

Table B.2 SSMS Frequency by Gender – Total

GENDER - SSMS Total

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	MALE	573	73.5	73.6	73.6
	FEMALE	206	26.4	26.4	100.0
	Total	779	99.9	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.1		
Total		780	100.0		

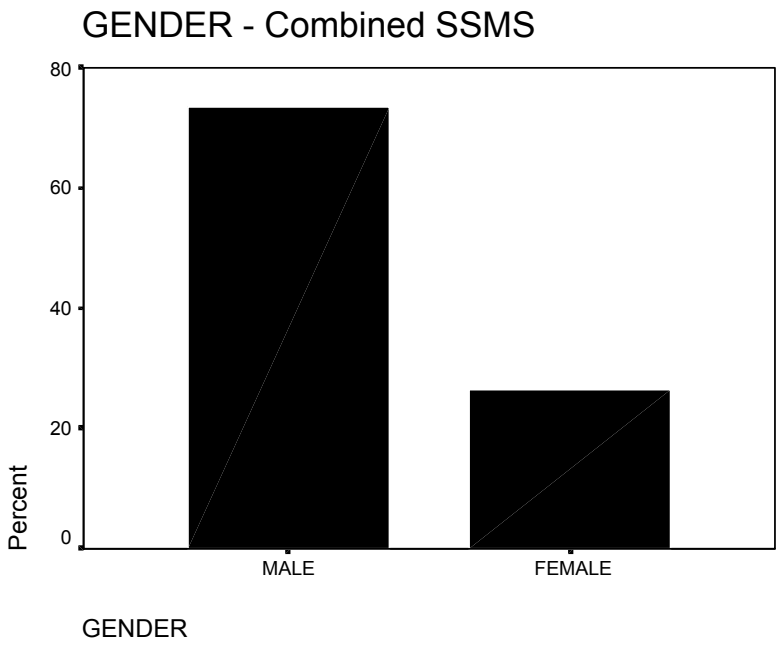


Figure B.4 SSMS Frequency Graph by Gender -- Total

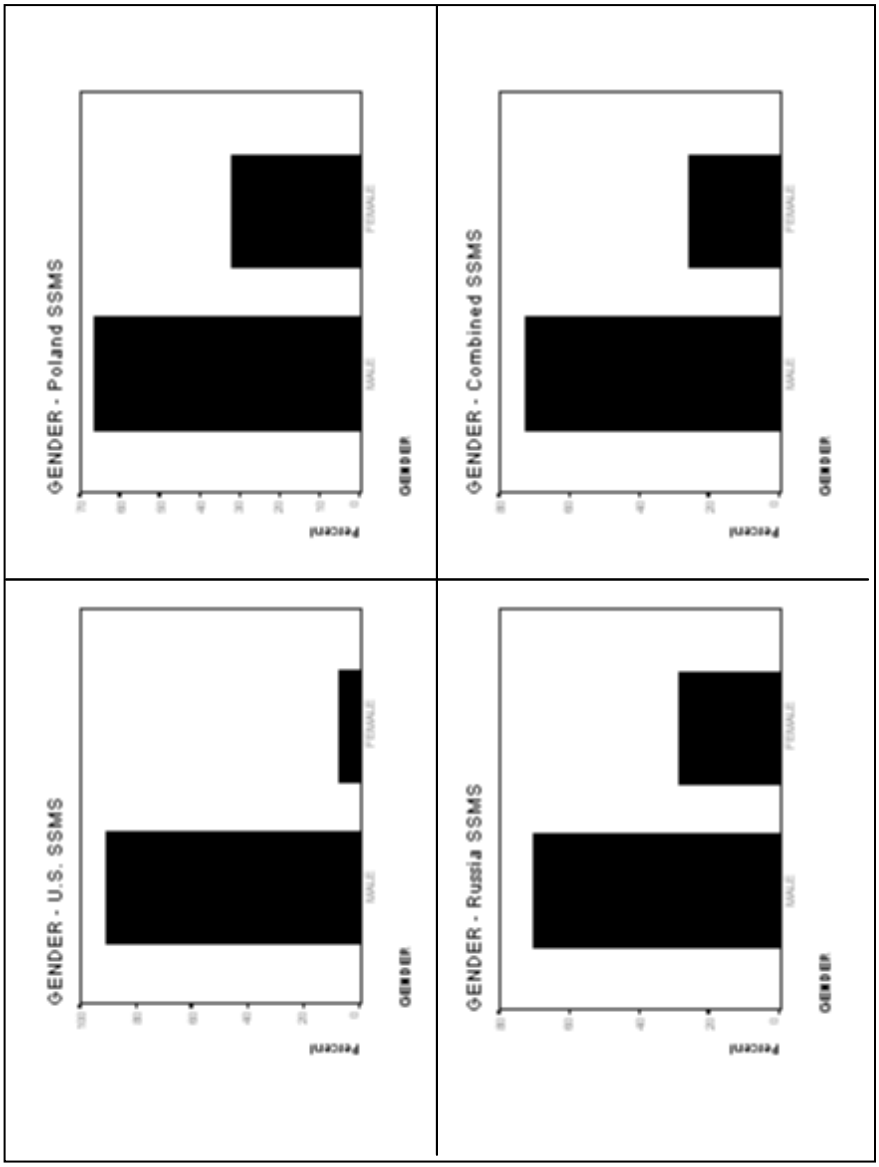


Figure B.5 SSMS Frequency Summary Graph by Gender

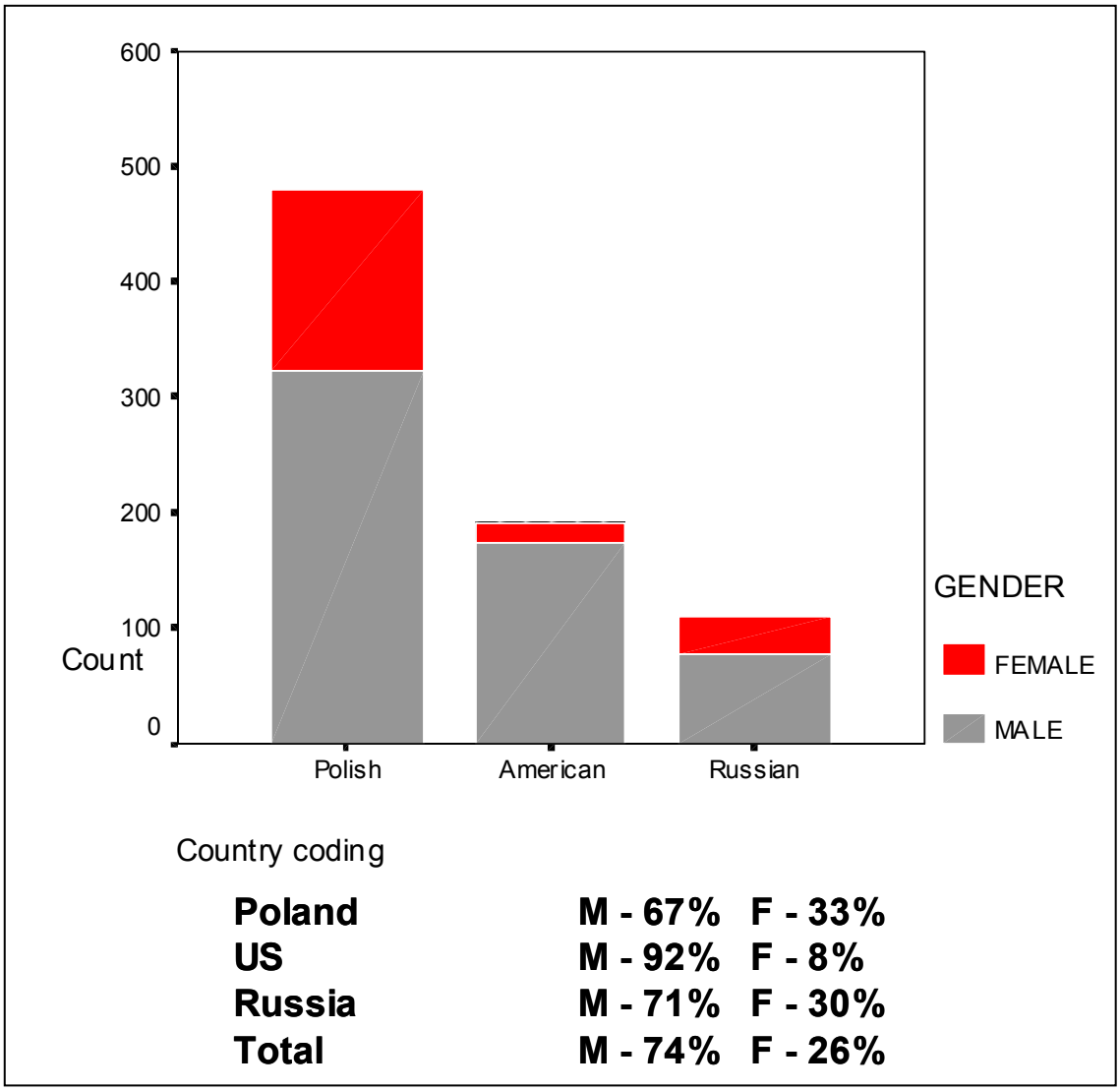


Figure B.6 SSMS Frequency Comparison Summary Graph by Gender

Table B.3 SSMS Frequency by Survey Age – Poland

SURVAGDC Survey age by decades - Poland SSMS

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	20s	14	2.9	2.9	2.9
	30s	115	24.0	24.0	26.9
	40s	220	45.9	45.9	72.9
	50s	94	19.6	19.6	92.5
	60s	32	6.7	6.7	99.2
	70s	4	.8	.8	100.0
	Total	479	100.0	100.0	

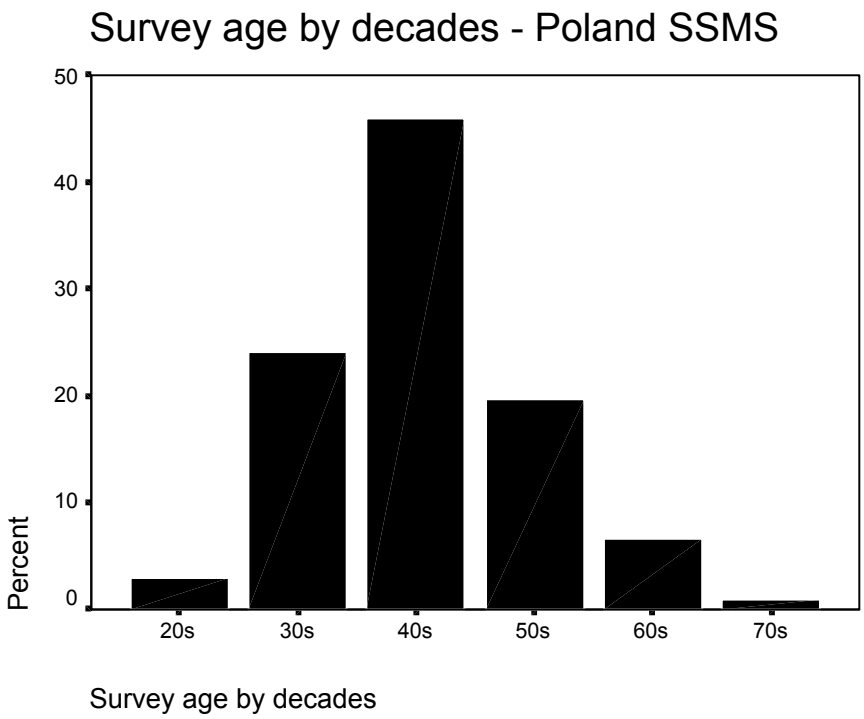


Figure B.7 SSMS Frequency Graph by Survey Age -- Poland

Table B.4 SSMS Frequency by Survey Age – United States

SURVAGDC Survey age by decades - U.S. SSMS

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	20s	14	7.4	7.4	7.4
	30s	56	29.5	29.5	36.8
	40s	74	38.9	38.9	75.8
	50s	34	17.9	17.9	93.7
	60s	11	5.8	5.8	99.5
	70s	1	.5	.5	100.0
	Total	190	100.0	100.0	

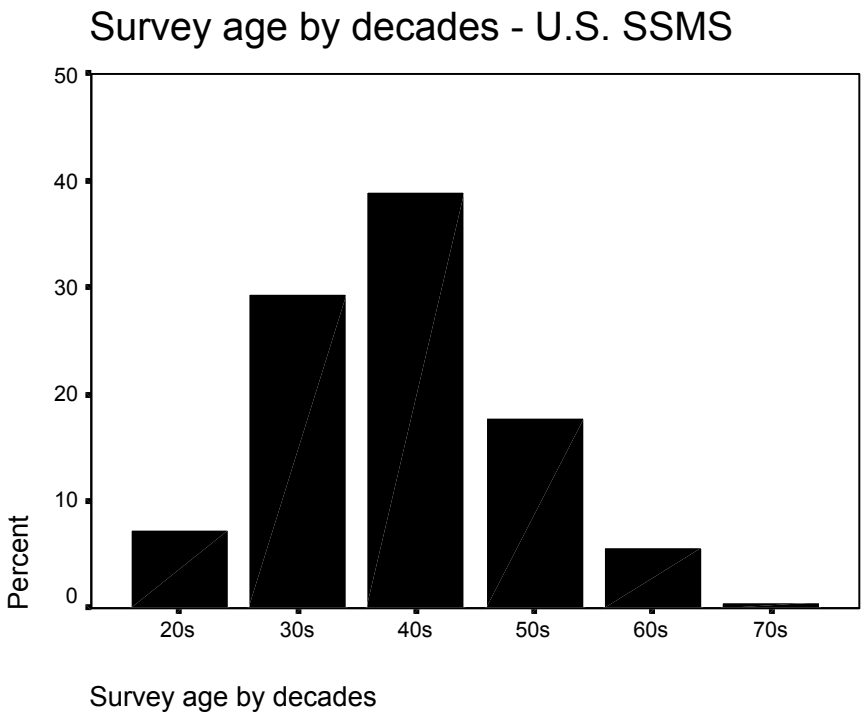


Figure B.8 SSMS Frequency Graph by Survey Age – United States

Table B.5 SSMS Frequency by Survey Age – Russia

SURVAGDC Survey age by decades - Russia SSMS

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	20s	8	7.2	8.1	8.1
	30s	41	36.9	41.4	49.5
	40s	47	42.3	47.5	97.0
	50s	3	2.7	3.0	100.0
	Total	99	89.2	100.0	
Missing	System	12	10.8		
Total		111	100.0		

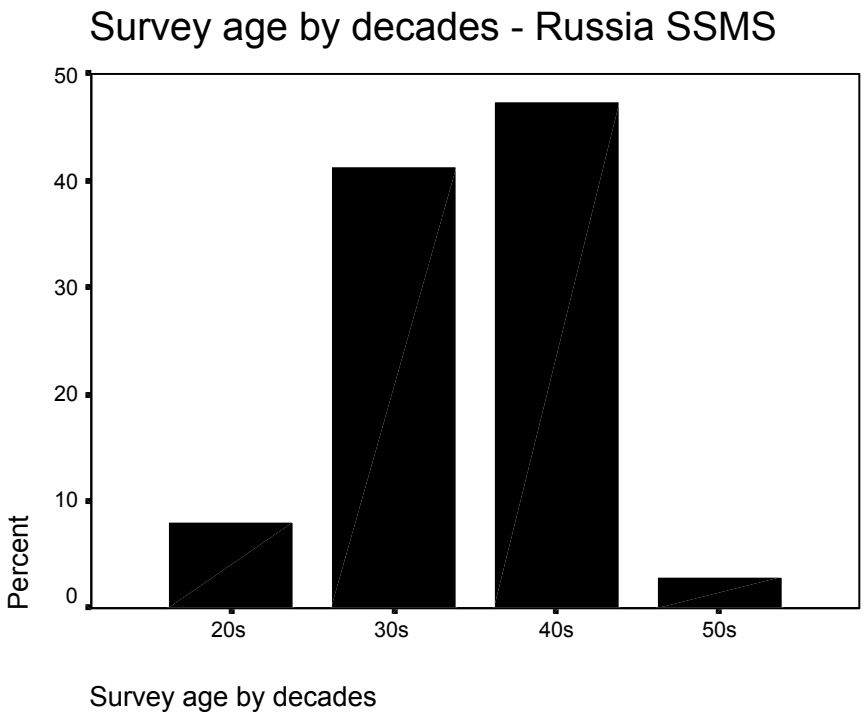


Figure B.9 SSMS Frequency Graph by Survey Age -- Russia

Table B.6 SSMS Frequency by Survey Age – Total

SURVAGDC Survey age by decades - Combined SSMS

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	20s	36	4.6	4.7	4.7
	30s	212	27.2	27.6	32.3
	40s	341	43.7	44.4	76.7
	50s	131	16.8	17.1	93.8
	60s	43	5.5	5.6	99.3
	70s	5	.6	.7	100.0
	Total	768	98.5	100.0	
Missing	System	12	1.5		
Total		780	100.0		

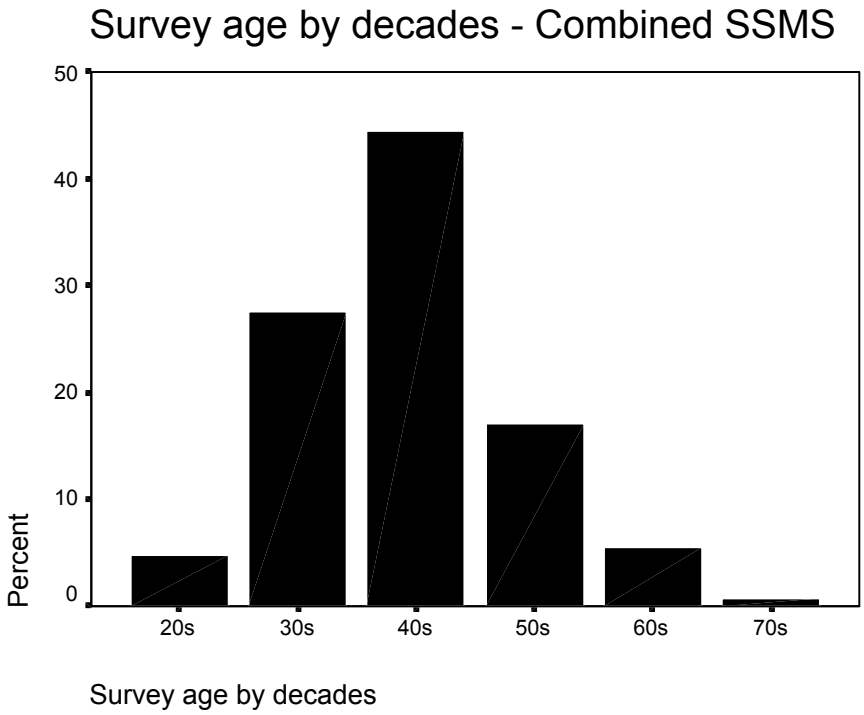


Figure B.10 SSMS Frequency Graph by Survey Age -- Total

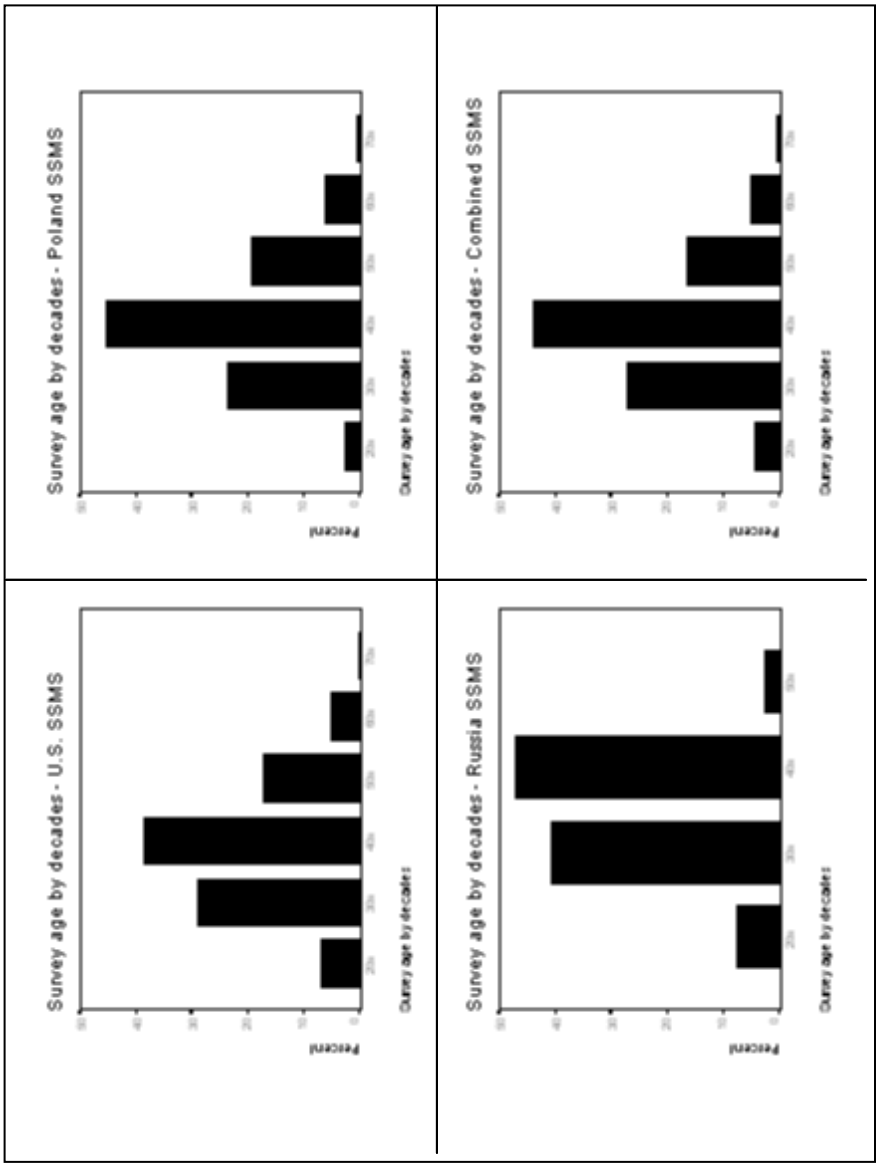


Figure B.11 SSMS Frequency Summary Graph by Survey Age

Table B.7 SSMS Frequency by Birth Decade – Poland

Birth Decade -- Poland

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	1920s	16	3.3	3.3
	1930s	52	10.9	10.9
	1940s	169	35.3	35.3
	1950s	195	40.7	40.7
	1960s	44	9.2	9.2
	1970s	3	.6	.6
	Total	479	100.0	100.0

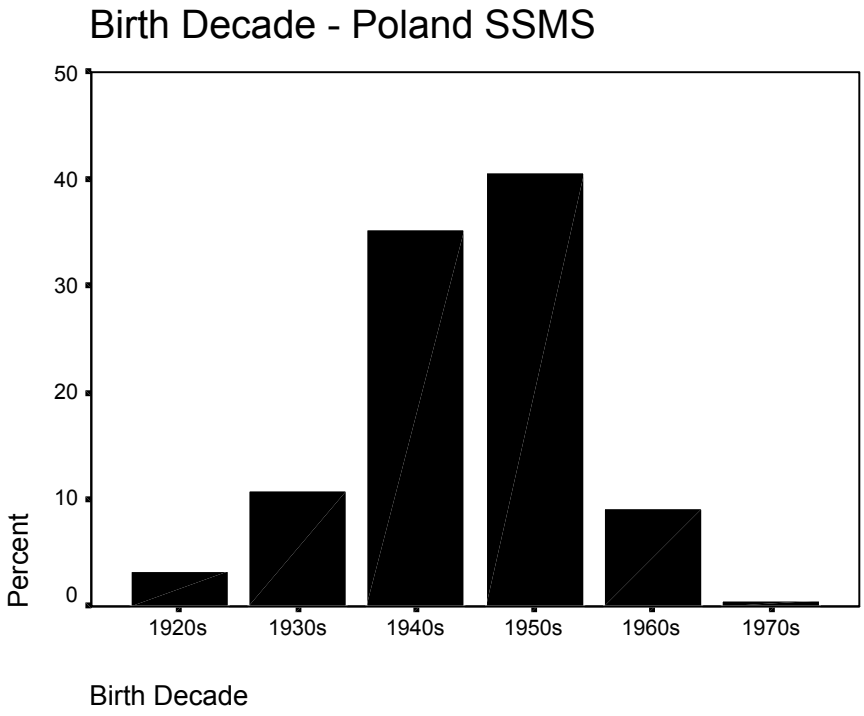


Figure B.12 SSMS Frequency Graph by Birth Decade -- Poland

Table B.8 SSMS Frequency by Birth Decade – United States

Birth Decade -- United States

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	1920s	6	3.2	3.2
	1930s	33	17.4	17.4
	1940s	61	32.1	32.1
	1950s	62	32.6	32.6
	1960s	28	14.7	14.7
	Total	190	100.0	100.0

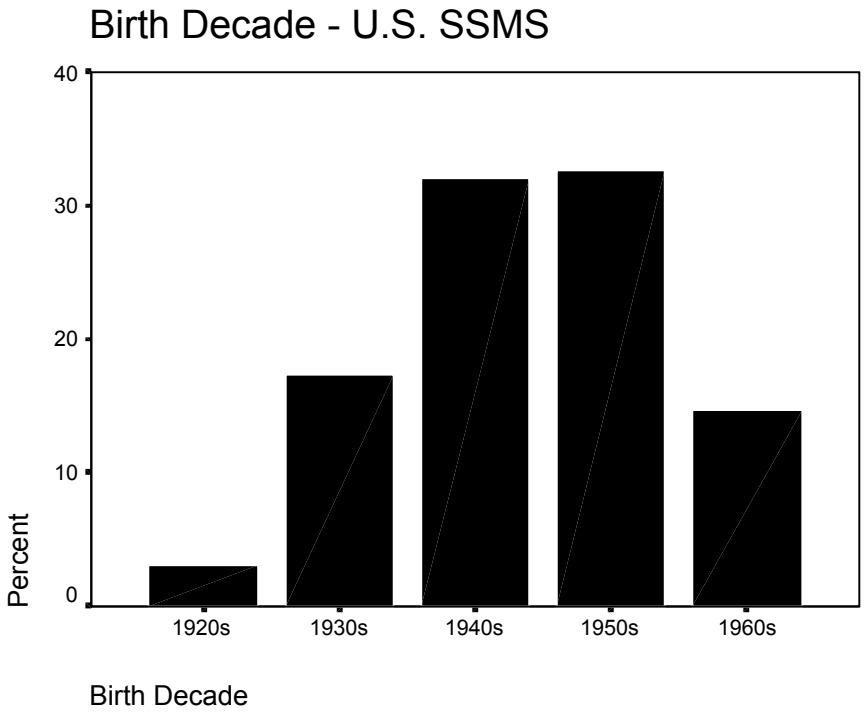


Figure B.13 SSMS Frequency Graph by Birth Decade – United States

Table B.9 SSMS Frequency by Birth Decade – Russia

Birth Decade -- Russia

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	1940s	3	2.7	3.0
	1950s	47	42.3	47.5
	1960s	41	36.9	41.4
	1970s	8	7.2	8.1
	Total	99	89.2	100.0
Missing	System	12	10.8	
Total		111	100.0	

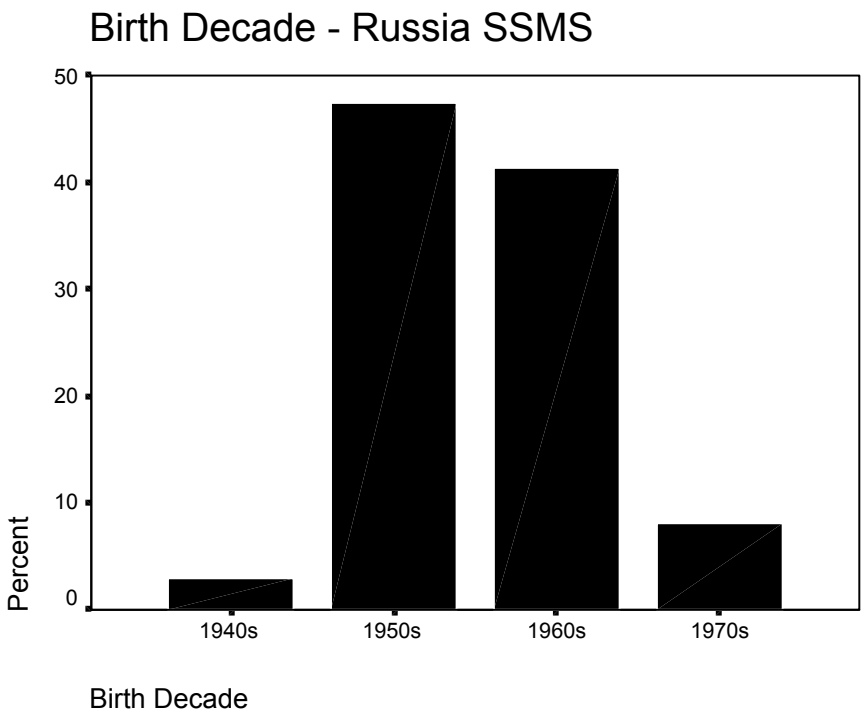


Figure B.14 SSMS Frequency Graph by Birth Decade -- Russia

Table B.10 SSMS Frequency by Birth Decade – Total

Birth Decade -- Total

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	1920s	22	2.8	2.9
	1930s	85	10.9	11.1
	1940s	233	29.9	30.3
	1950s	304	39.0	39.6
	1960s	113	14.5	14.7
	1970s	11	1.4	1.4
	Total	768	98.5	100.0
Missing	System	12	1.5	
Total		780	100.0	

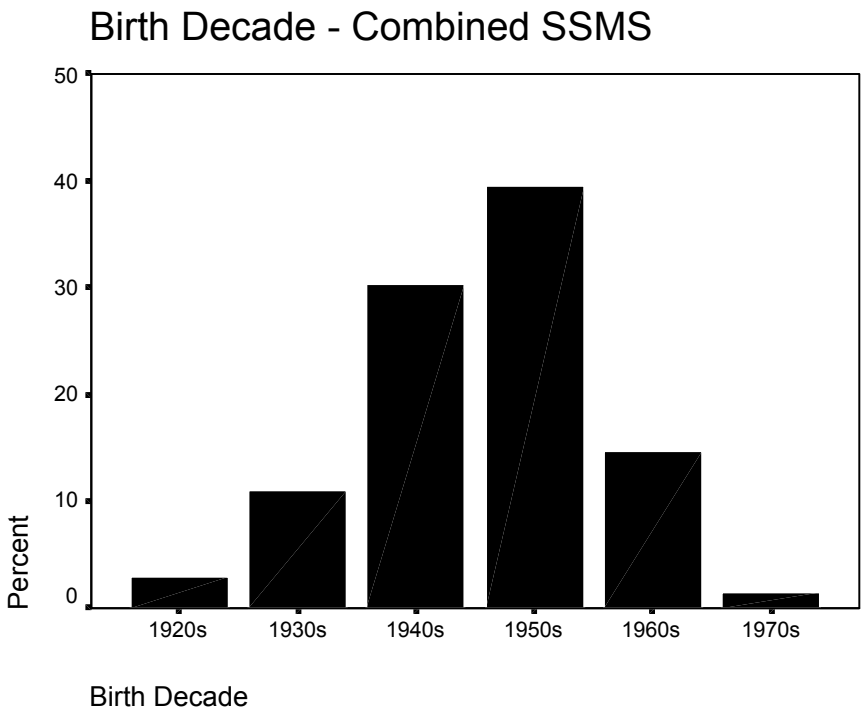


Figure B.15 SSMS Frequency Graph by Birth Decade -- Total

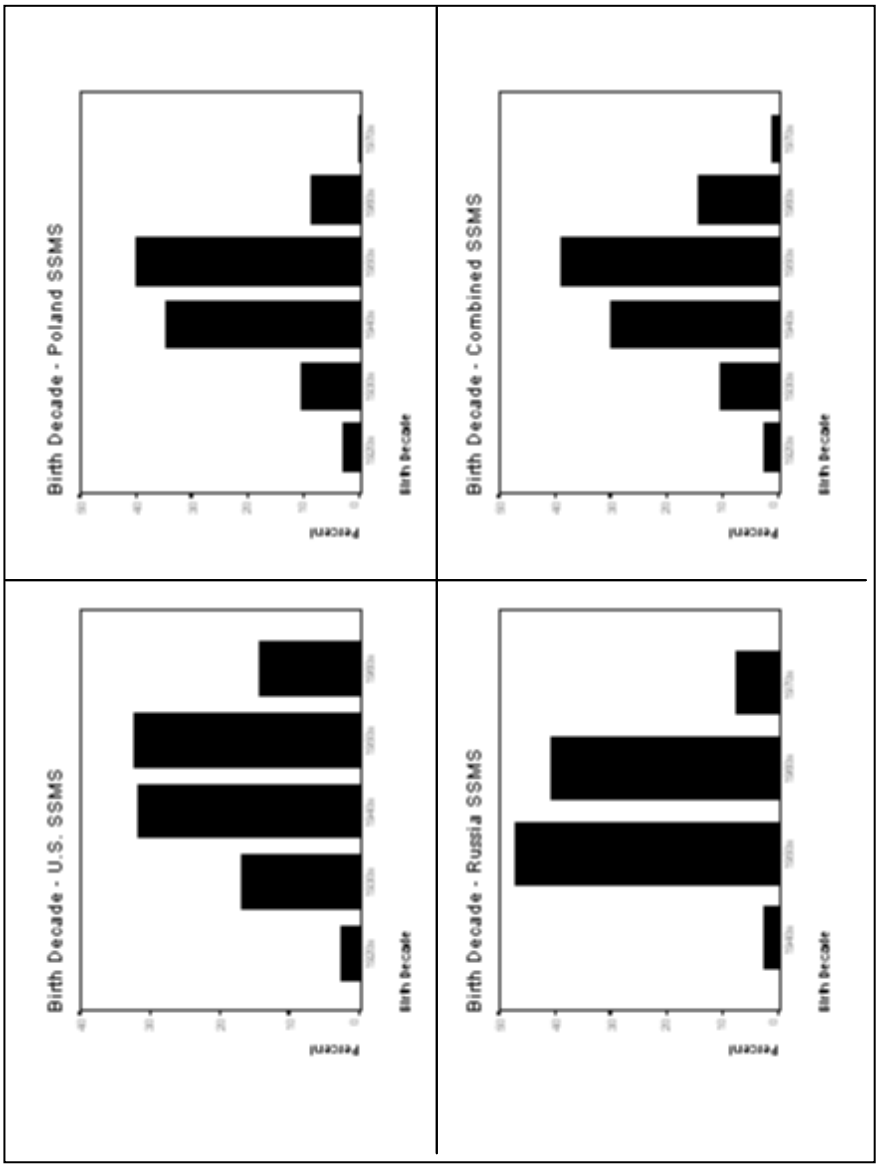


Figure B.16 SSMS Frequency Summary Graph by Birth Decade

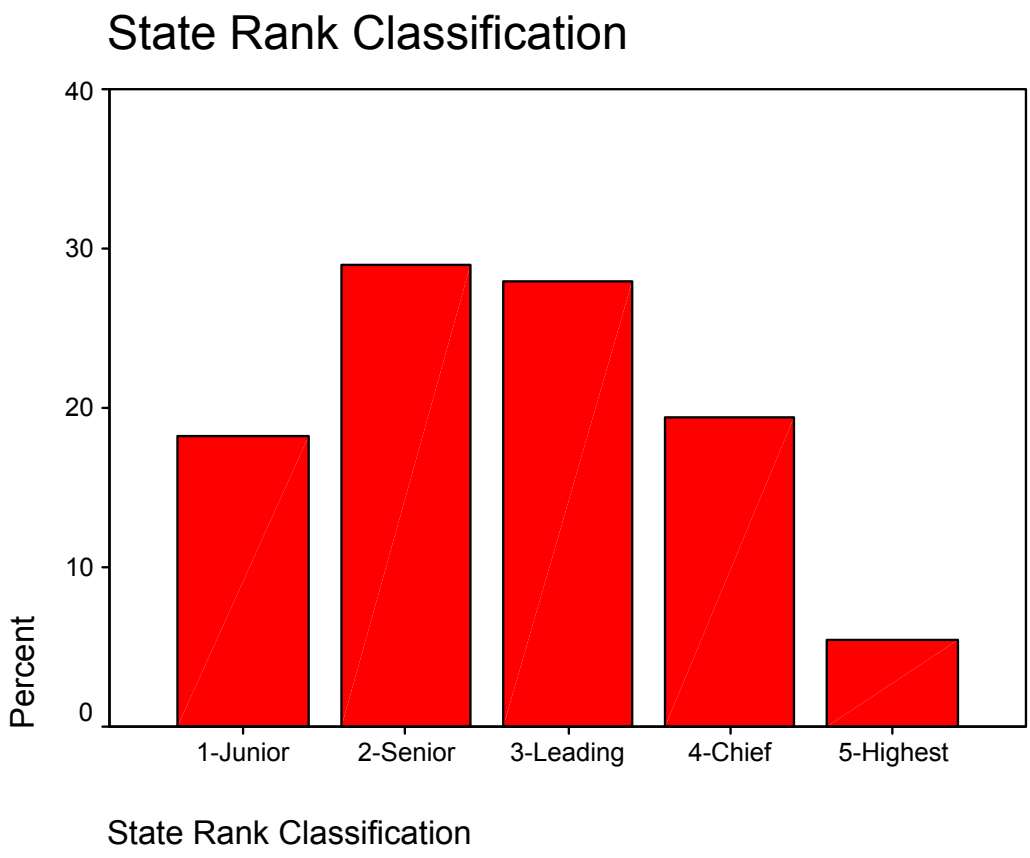


Figure B.17 State Rank Classification Frequency Graph – Russia

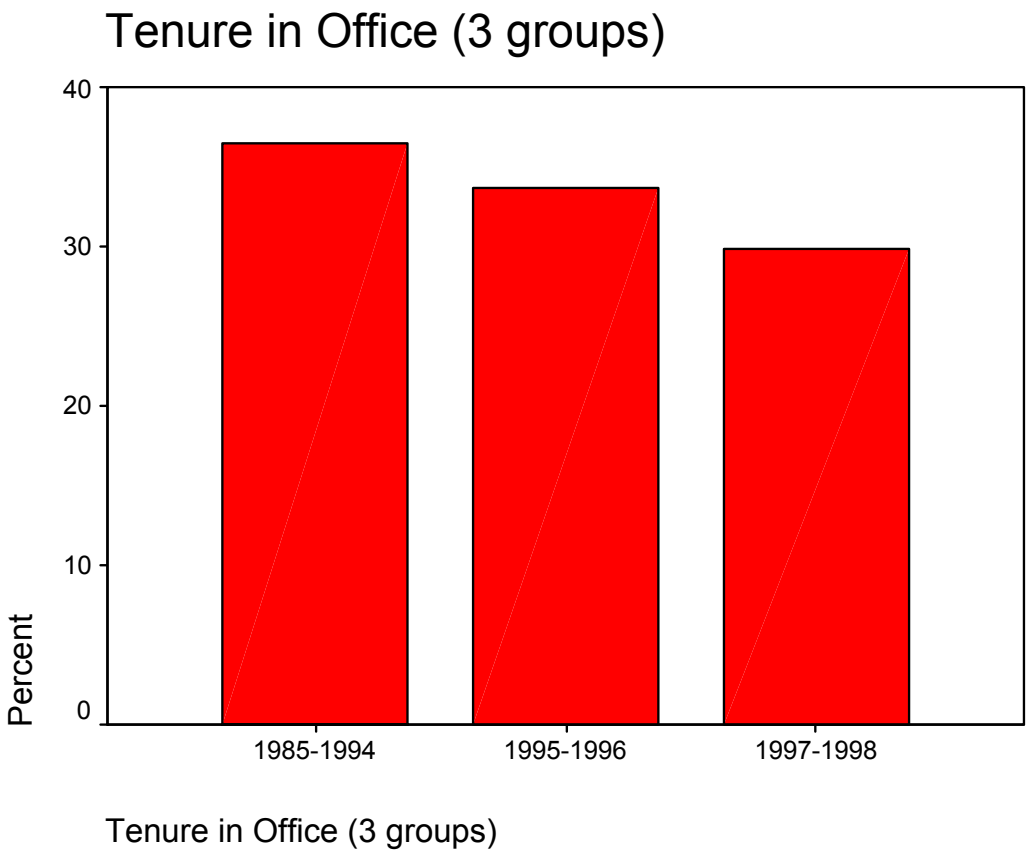


Figure B.18 Tenure in Office (3 Groups) Frequency Graph – Russia

APPENDIX C
RUSSIAN FOCUS GROUP CARDS

ПРОДВИЖЕНИЕ ПО СЛУЖБЕ

Иван Павлович пришел на работу в отдел мэрии с намерением сделать его деятельность более эффективной. Вскоре после того как он возглавил отдел, он собрал всех сотрудников отдела и объявил, что впредь продвижение по службе будет зависеть только от профессиональных качеств работника. «Приятельская» практика прежнего начальника должна быть прекращена. Иван Павлович даже издал соотвествующее указание, подтверждающее эту политику.

Спустя месяц руководитель департамента, в состав которого входит отдел Ивана Павловича, попросил его продвинуть по службе Сергея. Сергей – далеко не самый эффективный работник, несколько сотрудников отдела заслужили продвижение в гораздо большей степени. Иван Павлович изложил своему начальнику причины, по которым он не хочет назначать Сергея на более высокую должность. Однако начальник настаивал на своем. Возможности Ивана Павловича создать больше перспектив продвижения для своих сотрудников зависели от его поведения в этой ситуации.

PROMOTION

Ivan Pavlovich was hired to revitalize a somewhat inefficient division in a city office. Soon after becoming department head, he held a meeting with all division personnel and announced that all future promotions would be based on demonstrated merit. The friendship practice of the former director would be discontinued. Ivan Pavlovich issued a written statement to confirm this new policy.

About a month later his boss told him that he expected Sergey, an individual on Ivan Pavlovich's staff, to be promoted. Sergey was a marginally effective worker and there were several other employees in the division much more deserving of promotion. Ivan Pavlovich pointed out to his chief the reasons for not wanting to promote Sergey at that time. But the boss responded that he really would like to see Sergey promoted. Ivan Pavlovich's ability to create more promotional opportunities for his staff depended on his cooperation in this situation.

1. Важно остаться в хороших отношениях с коллегами. It's important to be a good colleague in that situation.

2. Иван Павлович должен следовать правилам при любых обстоятельствах. Ivan Pavlovich needs to follow to his announced procedures whatever the circumstances.

3. Кадровые решения должны зависеть от профессиональных качеств и быть справедливыми. Personnel selection decisions have to be consistent with the idea of merit and equity.

ДРУЗЬЯ В ПРАВИТЕЛЬСТВЕ

Министерство, где работает Александр Семенович, как и многие другие ведомства заключает контракты с частными фирмами на поставку товаров и услуг. Александр Семенович непосредственно работает с представителями частного бизнеса и подружился с одним из них, Павлом Петровичем. Их жены также подружились, возникли семейные контакты. Александр Семенович периодически обедает с Павлом Петровичем, как правило за счет фирмы.

Однако, недавно возникла дилемма: Павел Петрович пригласил Александра Семеновича и его семью в круиз вокруг Европы, который был организован его фирмой. Александр Семенович понимает, что это великолепная поездка и его жена очень хочет поехать. Однако он понимает и то, что в глазах многих это будет рассматриваться как благодарность за контракт, который его министерство недавно заключило с фирмой Павла Петровича.

FRIENDS IN THE GOVERNMENT

In a ministry, like in many other agencies, private businesses are contracted to provide goods and services. Alexandre Semenovich deals directly with these representatives and has become good friends with one of them, Pavel Petrovich. Their wives have become friends as well and their families enjoy one another. Alexandre Semenovich occasionally joins Pavel Petrovich for lunch, whose company pays for it. This has always been a common practice in the country.

However, a dilemma arose recently when Pavel Petrovich invited Alexandre Semenovich and his family to join the cruise around the Europe, which has been organized by his private company. Alexandre Semenovich knew it would be a great trip and his wife really wanted to go. He also knew that it could be seen by the public opinion as a favor for a large contract that the ministry had just awarded to the Pavel Petrovich's company.

1. Государственные служащие, замешанные во взяточничестве, могут попасть в тюрьму. Public officials charged with taking bribes can be sent to jail.

2. Важно что диктует кодекс профессионального поведения. It is important to consider what the professional code requires in situations like this.

3. Насколько важно избежать не только конфликта интересов, но и того, что может выглядеть как таковой в общественном мнении для того чтобы поддерживать общественное доверие? How important is it to avoid not only conflict of interest but also the appearance of conflict in the public sector in order to maintain public trust?

ВОССОЗДАНИЕ ДАННЫХ

Юрий Иванович заведует Отделом пенсий в городской мэрии. Он был назначен на этот пост недавно и вскоре обнаружил, что ряд данных о пенсионных платежах, хранящийся в компьютере, был случайно уничтожен. Юрий Иванович связался с районными отделениями собеса, которые изначально представляли эти данные, и попросил воссоздать эти данные. Однако вскоре районные собесы стали жаловаться на непосильность задачи.

Руководство Минсоцзащиты, которое контролирует работу Отдела, не хотело разглашения информации о потере файлов. Представитель Министерства посоветовал Юрию Ивановичу воссоздать потерянную базу приблизительно, опираясь на имеющиеся данные и их тенденции. Юрий Иванович, однако, считал, что в результате этого некоторые пенсионеры получат больше чем надо, а другие меньше. Представитель Министерства настаивал, что для того чтобы выплатить пенсии вовремя, другого выхода нет. Юрию Ивановичу было сказано скорее воссоздать базу данных насколько это возможно в сложившейся ситуации.

DATA RECREATION

Yuri Ivanovich is the head of the Retirement Benefits Department in a city government. He was appointed to this position recently and has soon discovered that some payment data were accidentally deleted from the department computer file. There was no way to retrieve these data within the system. Yuri Ivanovich contacted regional branches of the retirement benefits charged with inputting these data originally and asked them to recreate the data. However, soon regional branches started to complain bitterly about the burden of this task.

The central administration of the Ministry of Social Defense that supervises the work of the Department wanted to keep the recent data loss quiet and the ministry's representative advised Yuri Ivanovich to devise a scheme to recreate data based on the assumption that certain relationships existed between the data elements. But Yuri Ivanovich argued that this would result in some people receiving more retirement benefits than they should and others receiving less. The Ministry's representative felt that to meet payment deadlines of regional branches, there was no choice. Yuri Ivanovich was told to recreate the file as best he could.

1. Насколько важно сохранить (вне зависимости от методов) систему, созданную для улучшения условий жизни людей? How important is it to maintain - despite how it is done - a system that is designed to improve the conditions of life of individuals?

2. Не является ли главной обязанностью Юрия Ивановича следовать установленным правилам, вне зависимости от обстоятельств. Isn't the main duty of Yuri Ivanovich to follow established procedures regardless of circumstance such as these?

3. Будет ли нанесен обществу в целом урон в случае подделки данных. Would there be a real loss to society as a whole from the recreated file?

Согласны ли Вы с точкой зрения, что мужчины лучше приспособлены к политике чем женщины? Do you agree or disagree with the opinion that men are better suited to politics than women?

Согласен (согласна) - 54%
Agree

Не согласен (не согласна) - 22%
Disagree

Согласны ли Вы с точкой зрения, что мужчины лучше приспособлены к политике чем женщины? Do you agree or disagree with the opinion that men are better suited to politics than women?

ужской
Male

Согласен (согласна) - 63%
Agree

Не согласен (не согласна) - 12%
Disagree

Женский
Female

Согласен (согласна) - 34%
Agree

Не согласен (не согласна) - 44%
Disagree

APPENDIX D
RUSSIAN FOCUS GROUP SELECTED COMMENTS

PROMOTION STORY COMMENTS

Preferred three (merit and equity response) as first choice on promotion - why?

Not because it is right. It is just an ideal answer, not because it is right to do it.

They decided it to be like this. Because they like where it is like this, it does not normally appear like this, responded this is what they want. This is an ideal answer.

The psychology is the great background behind that kind of response – this response may be a double response. In real life you have one response, and in the school situation you have another response.

Theory and practice are not the same. There is also the fact there are no established rules here on how to conduct an interview, and the rules are so that we have to break them and find an exception to them somehow.

Another response – sometimes the rules are bad rules – need to find some exception because of the rules which are given to us from above – we must make some exclusivity resolution some decision – because the rules are bad.

It is difficult especially now during the time of "perestroika." Everything is changing and the rules are, too. It is hard to follow them sometimes.

In the past we never discussed anything with anyone; if the boss said so, you have to do it.

I don't think this is a good response because this response exposes the general principles of public administrators –every public administrator must act like this, with the moral and ethics – those things that are good, the first and the second responses, contradict moral principles of public administrators – I think Public administrators can't act according to the first or to the second – so that the third response is mine in my mind.

Is this kind of issue discussed in work setting?

It does happen, but unfortunately in our professional life we meet situations like this and discuss them – in general we call it the "law of telephone call" or "the law of the telephone."

The “press of the head to those below them” is a typical situation in Russia. We have a specific word to characterize people and employees who were appointed after the telephone call – they are called “telephone appointed” – appointed by telephone.

Reflection of good democratic future… our dream of democracy, our bright future – is the reason number three was selected more than the others. All of our life is in regard to some ideology – Russian idolatry. It is the ideal. A specific feature of our Russian life is a dream about the bright future.

I think that USA is a country who loves laws most, and they follow laws. In Russia, many laws don’t work well. We can also add that this part of civil code is not adopted by the Duma yet. The current civil code is from 1964.

Our theory and our practice are going apart, they don’t match. We want it very much to happen, but it doesn’t.

Perhaps in the USA laws and instructions are always implemented and people always do those things – law is realistic; in Russia, law and instruction have their independent life – the rules are another thing. For Russia, what is important is ideology – to follow some abstract principles. This applies just for Russia, and not for Western countries.

Russia has the basic law and different instructions and additions are followed. And, they change the law and it exists on its own.

Ideas such as justice, etc., mean a lot to us. Laws were not always just in Russia; the laws are democraticized in the US. People in Russia do not see law as something that is something that should be observed here in Russia. People criticize law in Russia more than anywhere else. We have a saying: “Restrictions of the law are compensated by the possibility to avoid them.”

It seems to me, you can take our history because it is our ideology, the ideology of ideals, and the real problem was lost by this official ideology… ideology was related to idols, but real life was forgotten… “Disconnection between real life and ideals.”

Why would you choose ideals – if there is a disconnect between ideals and real life?

It was the right answer to pick the right ideal, I will choose an ideal, I am a good person, the second aspect of the problem; and this leads to the second aspect of the problem, this situation, this political culture, when you do a survey, you are doing an official research, and people know that this will be recorded as the official results, and according to or tradition, I suppose, it is better to say one thing than to do the other, this is the reason a lot of people in Russian pick some principlistic solution, although they know in real life they would choose another solution.

In Russia, the "rule of law" responses were very unpopular. Why is this?

Maybe it is explained by actual situation in Russia, because our laws, our actual laws, sometimes contradict each other (and the government worker experienced it more than anyone else). Public administrators, they see this situation which can't be solved with laws, they choose the third because they want to perfect the laws, they want to have them.

Why was number three (merit and equity) selected more commonly over number one (good colleague) or number two (rules)?

I think that the person appointed by the telephone call – would be fired after a couple of years – it is just a question of time. He is marginally qualified, and not able to do this week. In any case, you will need to replace him.

It seems to me that the situation is (painfully familiar) for Russia. The respondent of this answer had this kind of situation many times in their lives. The sponsor had this typical situation when a marginal person occupies a position. They know many cases when the persons are not good for their work, for their organization – even at high levels. Professionalism is very important.

Those who chose number three were not very sincere because of the presence of an American for the survey. The students at the academy came for the advance course and wanted to be seen in the best light – but really, in every day life, I will appoint a person to lose for now but to win in advance. This is a reality for Moscow now, you can say that people are appointed just by telephone calls – but the heads of departments can have some gains in the future with this – he loses some now, but tomorrow he may have gain.

People answer as professionals, how it is supposed to be and not how it is in real life. They gave ideal answers.

When my assistant is appointed by telephone call, I should work much more – work for him if he is not professional. And for myself, I will work more than I have to. I will do his job and mine at the same time.

Maybe I will not appear as a patriot in your eyes, but we have eternal changes – especially these last years, and people who follow some laws or procedures – they understood that it was not practical – that life changes, and the rules are immutable. It is not practical to follow these rules. Our state doesn't formulate the necessary rules and the guilt is not on a person, but on our state. That is why they answer like that. It is a tradition.

Maybe we can explain it by our history – during all our history we had several types or rules and laws – which were changed by the rule of some high person, some leader. Procedures may have changed. The laws existed but the demands were different from the rules.

People are educated to not follow the rules.

From my point of view, Americans like their laws, they are good citizens… that's why they prefer to implement strictly and vigorously the rules. People in Russia prefer the framework more expanded for their lives. We need large distances for our thinking, our acting, etc. Flexibility? Yes – that is what is meant by distances.

Americans are law-abiding… they are exposed to strict and vigorous rules and accept them. We need large space for our thinking… Yes, that is what it means by space. We can be flexible.

If you want, your department, you must have on your team professionals – if you follow another person on promoted, you have now hurt your team – to make your team work, you have to promote on merit.

When the clerk thinks how to solve the situation, he thinks about the final result. I think so. We have some tools that can help us to act right but they are not as coordinated as in America. That is why we are trying to invent a wheel again. In solving one problem 10 people go by 10 different directions. I think this is our system of education. They teach us so.

Seems to me that it concerns our mentality – this mentality is implanted in Russian history – the result is that we are inclined towards final results. We have procedures, we have them, but they are not well formulated – this is why we invent some different resolutions of one problem. Perhaps it depends on our system of education – we are brought up like this. Now we elaborate some standards, standards for different administrative structures – including public administration. It is only a project for the future. We don't know if these will be effective in Russia.

Professionalism is wanted now – people are tired of the carryover from the Soviet times – and now they want to have professionalism. We need this type of professionalism. Our state is in a very difficult situation – these are not ordinary situations!

Why is it more important now than ten years ago?

I want to say that traditional Soviet personnel politics still have a great impact on our society. It is based on a vertical power. During the Soviet era for you to become a great clerk you have to keep a great amount of knowledge in your head. Vertical power considers more responsibilities at work. Government workers during the Soviet period should grow up from the "collective."

To manage people in the USSR you should already had to be advanced in your profession. A freshman after finishing the university couldn't become a manager. You have to start working at the factory first and then advance your career from there. This tradition still exists now.

We don't have time to teach people now. While we are teaching – the situation is changing rapidly!

We want a certain tendency, but in real Russia we have crises after crises. We don't have time to teach, we need professionals now! The situation is very unusual and very dynamic. Requirements to the professionals are very high. The requirements are: 1) The ability of making decisions; 2) Knowledge; 3) Great (wide) working experience; 4) Level of responsibility; 5) Human intuition; 6) Analytical capabilities.

What do you mean by level of responsibility?

I think this is the ability by using the law to make the optimal decision in any situation. None of the laws can solve a situation.

Our paychecks, even if you have a government job, greatly depend on your relations with your boss.

We are greatly afraid that we will lose our job – we are not sure that we can find another job in public administration. Our job depends on our relations with our bosses – even in public administration – not only the job, but also additional payments, which are decided by our heads – not less than 30% of the employers are this Sergie. They are useless. We will not be able to get rid of this ballast in a nearest future. This phenomenon is considered as absolutely normal.

My heart knows the right reason is #3, but my head will take the rational choice – double minded.

Our society doesn't understand the primacy of law in any situation, not only among the government workers.

The evidence is that Russian public administrators don't trust law themselves. Why? Because the laws don't defend, don't protect them. If, for instance, some situations, some critical situations happens, to them, in their office, and if they are right in this situation, in case of firing, he must leave his office – even if he was right – even if his job is restored, he would have to go somewhere else – and his career would be completely destroyed. The rules of law are not perceived as rule to defend – in critical case, law is not considered a defense – so he should observe the actual rules of behavior from his superiors, but not the norms and rules of law.

For their own survival, at this level, is the lack of culture of public administrators – this is only forming now. We don't respect law, not yet… and this happens in many situations, not only in public administration.

DATA RECREATION STORY COMMENTS

They don't deal with this kind of system, we do. They didn't know what they were talking about.

They will not know the details how the system works. That is why it is not real, it is somebody's imagination. It is a normal situation for Russia. People get used to it.

I think that one is connected with social policy; those occupied in this area (social policy) would prefer a more humanistic approach – number two is more precise because the rules are not very suitable for making decisions in the social sphere. Some human (humanistic approach) would be more suitable.

Every document we prepare we make three copies: a law for us – if you lose one, you always have a backup even for paper. Nobody believes in the computers as much as a piece of paper. We send one copy out by mail, keep on to ourselves, and send on to the office.

For this situation, the rules do not exist. What you need in this situation is experience and knowledge, and not some rules. Rules are just not important in these situations. And if it is a freshman, he can get confused and go by the principle.

In this case, perhaps people don't think about some abstract idea and principles, they want to think about their interests of society; that is, their pensioners for this example – the example of the pensioners is more important than the rules. The most important is to pay – perhaps not just, but the most important – because their situation is very critical; there is a very small pension, they have a lot of problems, it's not about laws and principles applied, in this case, it's just about survival.

We still have personal retirement files in our archives that we keep for 75 years. They are on the computer files and on the hard paper, too.

We can suppose, it seems to me that American public administrators take decisions and when they take decisions they think their bosses are more experienced, have more knowledge – and knows better the situation. That's why the Americans choose number two. That's why Russian life is more difficult – we tend to take more individual decisions, not to only trust our bosses. In all cases we have never enough rules to resolve all the cases of our Russian public administration. So, in America we have enough rules to resolve all cases. They are more detailed and stable. In Russia, we have no detailed rules for all cases that can happen, and our rules and our laws can unfortunately change according to the change of bosses.

I think that American public administrators think that their bosses know more than they do. That is why answer #2 was so popular.

In Russia we have no detailed rules and procedures for all situations – we have instructions for different levels. We only have purposes and general guidelines – not concrete, detailed rules.

FRIENDS IN GOVERNMENT STORY COMMENTS

Bribery question… realistic response… this situation is unreal, because payment would not be in the form of a cruise, or something so open – it would be a quiet type of bribe, no one would know. A cruise is not the normal type of bribe.

Is this a bribe?

The beach would not be a bribe in Russia; it would be just a courtesy. But a large trip would be considered a bribe – a weekend on the beach is just a sign of good relations. If there were a large bribe, like a cruise, then it would be quieter.

One reason more is that in Russia a civil servant and a businessmen are real good friends – so a common cruise wouldn't be seen by public opinion as a bribe because of the actual friendship. This is important for us.

Different cultural differences – good friends make all things OK –

I think, people were not honest, answering that question. They were cunning! They did it because they didn't want to answer question #3. They decided to give an answer according to the rules: if you got caught, take punishment for it. They didn't want to say the truth.

The answer is not real in Russia now.

They were not honest. It was an official answer. Let us say Russian police caught you taking bribes and proved it, you will receive punishment.

People take bribes unconsciously. Let's say when you play in somebody's garden as a child and you pick up an apple from the tree or something else, you don't think that you are stealing. The same situation is here! People don't think they are doing something wrong or that they are breaking the law. It is a normal situation to take a bribe.

It is interesting to remember who was the President in December – Prime Minister Primakov or Putin – but Stepashin declared that we have no corruption in the government and couldn't have any and it became a motto for the government employees. We can say at that time this issue was not a problem or concern. This response could be explained by the ideology of the government at the time – by the official position of the head of the government at the time to the administrators who see this approach. Our administrators are always politicized to the actual head of the government. This provides some guide to actions. This is why Russian administrators have no choice – they must act and do according

to the ideology of the government. If this barter situation has to exists, nobody knows about it.

What about the press?

It can be bought, can be paid. You can buy and sell the press!

Is this (scenario) realistic?

It is fantasy, not real. One may be sent to jail, not because he is guilty, but because it is the result of some underground gang in the power structure. Not because of the law – but because of corruption. Don't think someone could really be sent to jail because of a bribe.

Are these (bribes) done?

Some administrators may get some proposal from a private firm – but he would make the decision on his own. He would not discuss it in his work with others. People understand that the criminal elements involved in such actions; that is why nobody would discuss such situations at work.

People want to respect the laws; they follow the laws. Not a fear before the law, but the moral fear, to cross the line.

They can not give an answer based on a real life; they just repeated the ideal answer like in the 1st situation. They gave you an answer how it's supposed to be. Bribery is bad, in principle, that is how it is supposed to be, but not in the real life. This is my personal opinion.

If you were to encounter a problem like these, where would you go for guidance?

An older colleague of mine with more experience, a non-formal leader in our team. Everybody respects him. People go to him for advice. The head is not always the informal leader – go to someone with more experience, older. Perhaps a person you can trust.

One contract may differ from another. If the cruise cost $2,000 and the contract costs $500,000, then he is out of reach. It makes sense, then. He cannot be touched; he belongs to a "high caste of immunity."

WOMEN AND MEN COMMENTS

Russian women are different from American women because they are just starting their careers in public administration.

In Russia, women only begin their professional lives as public administrators – this is why they have high principles – men are more political and more oriented to their career, and the principle of their careers.

Men can sacrifice principles – let's say take bribes -- to get a higher position and to advance in their career.

How about morals?

No – it is only a principle. Morals don't have anything to do with it.

Women still continue to believe in some ideals – because they are only beginners, but men are not just beginners and are perhaps more hardened and pragmatic.

Men are more cynical. Conditions make Russian women more pragmatic, realistic, practical – that is why Russian women follow principles. Russian women go not by the moral, but by principles.

So, why did the majority of respondents say this?

The personal problem – women are more occupied with their lives – work, children, etc.

Politics in Russia is considered like a dirty thing which is why women are not in a hurry to become involved in politics.

Why are women higher in principled reasoning?

Women are more emotional than men. Women's intuition is better than men's. People's mentality is different. Women are considered weaker and more spiritual than men. Men are stronger, less spiritual. That's why they are not that much responsible for the moral situation.

Men play by the rules of the society and by the rules of the game. They are less spiritual and they escape responsibilities for moral situations.

Women's side is more humanistic, more emotional, and more moral. This is just one of the divisions of Russian society. The main conclusion is that it is impossible to understand Russia with one's head. It is difficult to read Russia. You have to feel Russia with your heart.

Our society doesn't accept women as politicians. Politics takes too much time. Politics is a dirty deal and women have morals.

It's interesting, you find something new for yourself and your research shows that the corporate consciousness is not steady yet. I can tell you why all the answers are almost the same as the answers of the regular workers. Differences have to exist. Answers prove to us that this profession still doesn't exist in Russia, like in America. We still talk about male and female. And we have to talk about just an associate. That is why we still don't have this profession.

It is because of American feminism – perhaps the American findings can be explained by American feminism – American women try to be like men. In America, there are no special female characteristics; not only the feminization of American males, but also the masculinization of American females.

The Russian political culture…real power in Russia is from men… women have to think about ideas. Thinking and talking about life – when you just think and talk and are not actually doing, then you can be idealistic. If you are not responsible for what you do, then you can be idealistic.

In America women hide their women's nature inside, when they are at work. They go by the administrative rules and leave their women's subjectivity outside their jobs. In Russia we don't break ourselves. We do, but not much. I forgot the name of the writer, but he says: "Men have to be smart, but women have to be logical." To be logical means to be smart multiplied by kindness and wisdom. That is why we act differently and we are subjective.

Politics is a game without any rules in our society. When a woman becomes a leader, she is looking for some stable rules that will never be changed. They will be the same today, tomorrow, and after tomorrow.

Why is there this difference in Russia? What do you think?

In Poland, women are more emancipated – they are more considered as administrators. Here in Russia, we consider women first of all as women, and then as public administrators. The root of women's behavior is in their upbringing.

One of the factors of women for discrimination – the traditional capacity of drinking for administrators – girls who can drink much can do well – many things are solved in the bars. You must be able to drink much with the boys. Liter and a half of vodka per party. For such parties I get prepared as for the Olympic games!

The party-drinking limit is a kg of vodka for 1 person or 1.5 for one till 10 p.m.! Then I take people home. To step in this circle means to step in a circle of untouchable. It means if you did something wrong at work you will be forgiven or untouchable. We can tell you a lot about it!

OTHER COMMENTS

A personal example – I'm a Muslim – so I am the head of a dept; I try to have 40% of my employees as Muslims; why? Because I can influence them, exploit, use them due to national and religious features so that every nation can advance itself to a higher level. So I can resolve some problems with them using our national and religious community. And every head of our department prefers to have some percentage of employees as his own nationality or religious community in order to make work easier and more stable as a management tool.

If a person of a certain nationality is holding a high position he will advance people of the same nationality.

In Muslim communities the relationships are vertical and very strong – and therefore easier to control the behavior of subordinates.

Do you believe there are differences in moral reasoning because of religious and national differences?

Yes… I came from the Krasnodar region – as in other different regions, perhaps people respect more rules and procedures because they have not so much bureaucracy, and if you don't follow rules and procedures – it's more visible – tightness of community.

In addition, this point of view can be explained by the fact that the penetration, the entry in regional elite is easier in regions than in Moscow. Chauvinism in Moscow takes over. So it seems to me that rules and procedures are more important in regions in general. You can advance regional elite faster than the elite in Moscow. The Moscow elite is more close than the elite in any regions.

Perhaps we can find here the rest of Soviet procedures – in Soviet time for entry into PA, party structures – you can be graduated from the institute, then you work at some position, then you do some party work, etc., then go up the organization. People still recruit other people using old Soviet connections.

So rules were important in Soviet time?

Yes – there were more visible… and they remained intact more in the regions than in Moscow.

Lately people talk a lot about the discredit of the power and it affects our elite, especially the last several months.

APPENDIX E
WORLD VALUES SURVEYS AND EUROPEAN VALUES SURVEYS, 1990-93, AND 1995-97

Year	*11*	*25*	*50*	**Total**
	USA	*Poland*	*Russia*	
1990-93	1839	938	1961	**4738**
1995-97	1542	1153	2040	**4735**

Survey organizations, sample sizes, fieldwork period and the principal investigators for each country are shown below. If not otherwise noted, the investigator is affiliated with the institution that carried out fieldwork:

1990-1993 Surveys

POLAND -- Osrodek Badania Opinii Publicznej [survey unit of Polish Radio-Television] (Warsaw) N= 938; November-December, 1989. Principal investigator, Renata Siemienska, University of Warsaw.

RUSSIA--Institute for Social and Political Research, Soviet Academy of Sciences (Moscow) N=1961; January, 1991. Principal investigator Vladimir Andreyenkov.

U.S.A.-- The Gallup Organization (Princeton) N=1,839; May-June, 1990. Principal investigators, George Gallup, Alec Gallup and Max Larsen, The Gallup Organization and Ronald Inglehart, University of Michigan.

1995-1997 Surveys

POLAND--Centrum Badania Opinii Spolecznej (Warsaw); January-February, 1997. N=1,153. Principal investigator, Renata Siemienska, Institute of Sociology.

RUSSIA—Russian Public Opinion and Market Research [ROMIR] (Moscow); November-December, 1995. N=2,040. Principal investigators, Elena Bashkirova (ROMIR) and Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Berlin Science Center for Social Research.

U.S.A.-- The Gallup Organization (Princeton) Fall, 1995. N=1,542. Principal investigators, George Gallup, Alec Gallup and Max Larsen, The Gallup Organization and Ronald Inglehart, University of Michigan.

APPENDIX F
WORLD VALUES SURVEY MODIFIED CODEBOOK (ICPSR 6160)

Country Codes and Number of Interviews in 1990-93 and 1995-97

	Country	**1990-93**	**1995-1997**
11	U.S.A.	1839	1542
25	Poland	938	1153
50	Russia	1961	2040
	TOTAL	***4738***	***4735***

Please say, for each of the following, how important it is in your life.

	Very Important	Quite Important	Not Very Important	Not at all Important	DK
V4 Family	1	2	3	4	9
V5 Friends, acquaintances	1	2	3	4	9
V6 Leisure time	1	2	3	4	9
V7 Politics	1	2	3	4	9
V8 Work	1	2	3	4	9
V9 Religion	1	2	3	4	9

V27 Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

1 Most people can be trusted
2 Can't be too careful
9 Don't know

Here is a list of various changes in our way of life that might take place in the near future. Please tell me for each one, if it were to happen whether you think it would be a good thing, a bad thing, or don't you mind?

	Good	Don't mind	Bad
V111 Less emphasis on money and material possessions	1	2	3
V112 Decrease in the importance of work in our lives	1	2	3
V113 More emphasis on the development of technology	1	2	3
V114 Greater respect for authority	1	2	3
V115 More emphasis on family life	1	2	3

Please look at this card and tell me, for each item listed, how much confidence you have in them, is it a great deal, quite a lot, not very much or none at all?

	A Great Deal	Quite A Lot	Not Very Much	None At All
V135 The church	1	2	3	4
V136 The armed forces	1	2	3	4
V137 The legal system	1	2	3	4
V138 The press	1	2	3	4
V140 Trade unions	1	2	3	4
V141 The police	1	2	3	4

How often, if at all, do you think about the meaning and purpose of life?

V177
1 Often
2 Sometimes
3 Rarely
4 Never
9 Don't know

Here are two statements which people sometimes make when discussing good and evil. Which one comes closest to your own point of view?

V178 A. There are absolutely clear guidelines about what is good and evil. These always apply to everyone, whatever the circumstances.

B. There can never be absolutely clear guidelines about what is good and evil. What is good and evil depends entirely upon the circumstances at the time.

1 Agree with statement A
2 Disagree with both
3 Agree with statement B
9 Don't know

V179 Do you belong to a religious denomination?

	Religious Denomination
NO, not a member	0
Roman Catholic	1
Protestant	2
Orthodox (Russian/Greek/etc.)	3
Jew	4
Muslim	5
Hindu	6
Buddhist	7
Other (WRITE IN)….....	8
No answer	9

V180 Were you brought up religiously at home?

1 Yes
2 No

V181 Apart from weddings, funerals and christenings, about how often do you attend religious services these days?

1 More than once a week
2 Once a week
3 Once a month
4 Specific holy days
5 Once a year
6 Less often
7 Never, practically never

Independently of whether you go to church or not, would you say you are...

V182 1 A religious person
2 Not a religious person
3 A convinced atheist
9 Don't know

Which, if any, of the following do you believe in?

	YES	NO	DK
V183 God	1	2	9
V184 Life after death	1	2	9
V185 A soul	1	2	9
V186 The Devil	1	2	9
V187 Hell	1	2	9
V188 Heaven	1	2	9
V189 Sin	1	2	9

And how important is God in your life? Please use this card to indicate - 10 means very important and 1 means not at all important.

V190	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	Not at all									Very
										DK=99

Do you find that you get comfort and strength from religion?

V191 1 Yes
2 No
9 Don't know

DEMOGRAPHICS

V214 Sex of respondent:
1 Male
2 Female

V216 This means you are _____ years old.

V232 Size of town:

1	Under 2,000	5	20 - 50,000
2	2,000 - 5,000	6	50 - 100,000
3	5 - 10,000	7	100 - 500,000
4	10 - 20,000	8	500,000 and more

APPENDIX G
WORLD VALUES SURVEYS DEMOGRAPHICS

WVS Data Sets. The World Values Survey sets used in this research were conducted in 1990-1993 and 1995-1997. For the 1990-1993 set, research was conducted from adults 18 and over in the mass publics of 45 societies around the world; for the 1995-1997 set, research was conducted from adults 18 and over in the mass publics of 60 societies representing more than 50 different countries around the world. For this study, analysis was limited to the research conducted in the United States, Poland, and Russia in these two survey sets.

The following areas were analyzed as demographic variables from the World Values Surveys. The data for these variables will be presented in sequence by country, first from World Values Survey 1990 and then from the World Values Survey 1995-1997.

Gender. The first variable to be presented is gender. Generally, the World Values Survey respondents were evenly split between male and female respondents, with the lowest percentage represented being 42% on one of the surveys. The combined results for gender was 47% male and 53% female for 1990 World Values Survey and 45% male and 55% female for the 1995-97 World Values Survey.

Age. The second variable from the World Values Surveys to be presented is age. Generally, the World Values Survey respondents were across the adult populations of the three countries, with the youngest respondents at

age 17 and the oldest respondents at age 91. This range was generally consistent in all three countries.

The mean age for respondents in the combined survey of the three countries for the 1990 World Values Survey was 45; the mean age of respondents for the United States sample was 47; for the Polish sample, 44; and for the Russian sample, 43. The median age of respondents in the 1990 World Values Surveys were 42 for the combined sample, 44 for the United States sample, 43 for the Polish sample, and 40 for the Russian sample.

For the 1995-1997 World Values Survey the mean age of the combined survey was 47; for the United States sample, 48, for the Polish sample 47; and for the Russian sample, 47. The median age of respondents in the 1995-97 World Values Surveys were 45 for the combined sample, 45 for the Untied States sample, 45 for the Polish sample, and 44 for the Russian sample.

The World Values Surveys also provided a derivative variable for six "classes" of age: 18-24; 25-34; 35-44; 45-54; 55-64; and 65 and older. These represent the age of the respondents at the time they took the surveys.

Size of town. The final demographic variable considered was the size of town that the survey respondents resided in. This variable was not collected on the World Values Survey 1990 for Poland, but was available for the remainder of the surveys from 1990 and 1990-1995.

There are some major differences in the size of town from the respondents for the surveys. Generally, the town size for respondents from Poland (using only the 1997 data) was from smaller cities – over 50% of the

respondents in the Polish WVS 1997 survey were from cities with a population of under 20,000, and 35% of the total respondents from Poland were from cities of under 2,000 population.

The survey respondents from the Russian World Values Surveys tended to be from larger cities. In the 1990 survey, 57% of the Russian respondents were from cities of over 100,000, with over 30% of the total respondents from Russia from cities of over 500,000. In the 1995 World Values Survey in Russia, 50% of the respondents were from cities of over 100,000, with 27% from cities of over 500,000.

The survey respondents from both of the World Values Surveys in the United States were more balanced, with a wide range of respondents from both small and larger cities.

Table G.1 WVS 1990 Gender Frequency – United States

V214 Gender - U.S. WVS 1990

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 male	900	48.9	50.0	50.0
	2 female	899	48.9	50.0	100.0
	Total	1799	97.8	100.0	
Missing	System	40	2.2		
Total		1839	100.0		

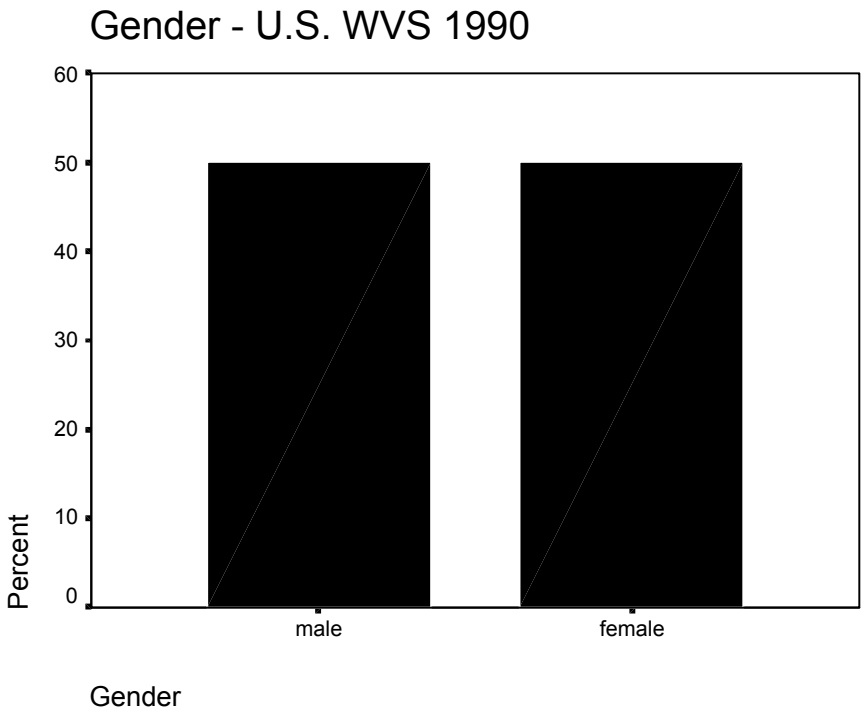


Figure G.1 WVS 1990 Gender Frequency Graph – United States

Table G.2 WVS 1995-97 Gender Frequency – United States

V214 Gender - U.S. WVS 1995

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 male	766	49.7	49.7	49.7
	2 female	776	50.3	50.3	100.0
	Total	1542	100.0	100.0	

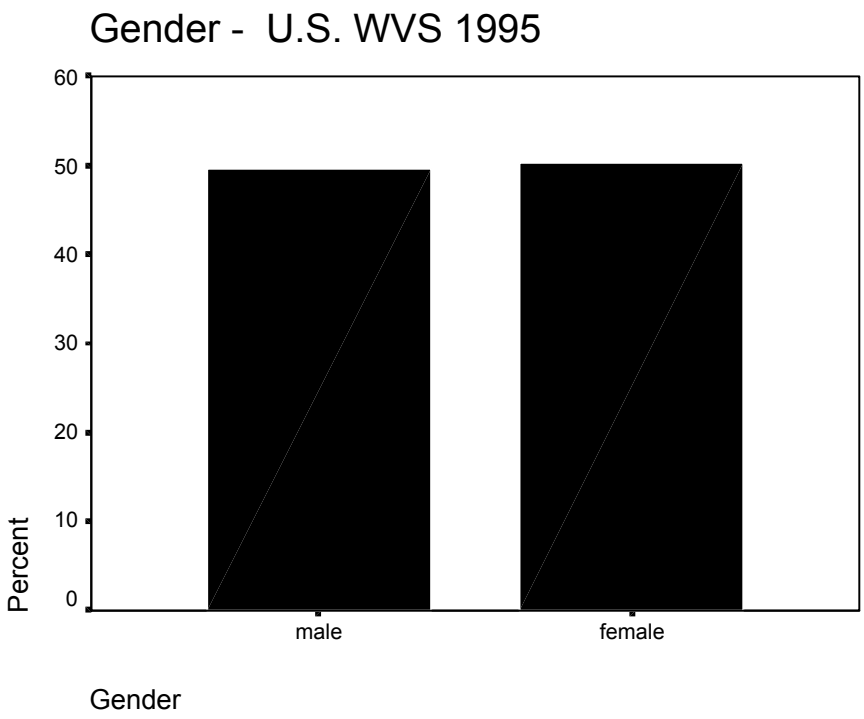


Figure G.2 WVS 1995-97 Gender Frequency Graph – United States

Table G.3 WVS 1990 Gender Frequency – Poland

V214 Gender - Poland WVS 1990

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 male	454	48.4	48.5	48.5
	2 female	482	51.4	51.5	100.0
	Total	936	99.8	100.0	
Missing	System	2	.2		
Total		938	100.0		

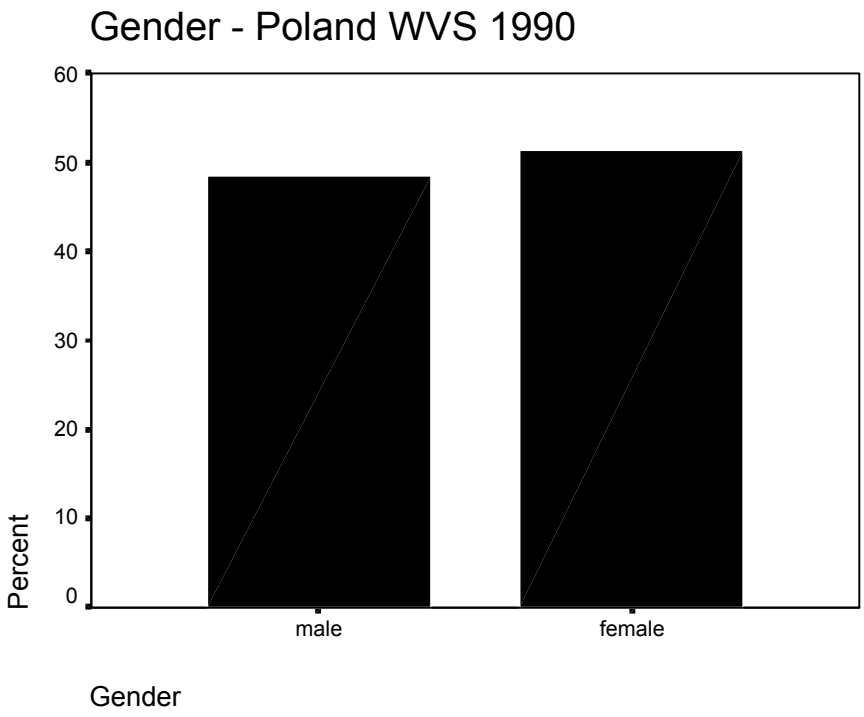


Figure G.3 WVS 1990 Gender Frequency Graph – Poland

Table G.4 WVS 1995-97 Gender Frequency – Poland

V214 Gender - Poland WVS 1997

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 male	527	45.7	45.7	45.7
	2 female	626	54.3	54.3	100.0
	Total	1153	100.0	100.0	

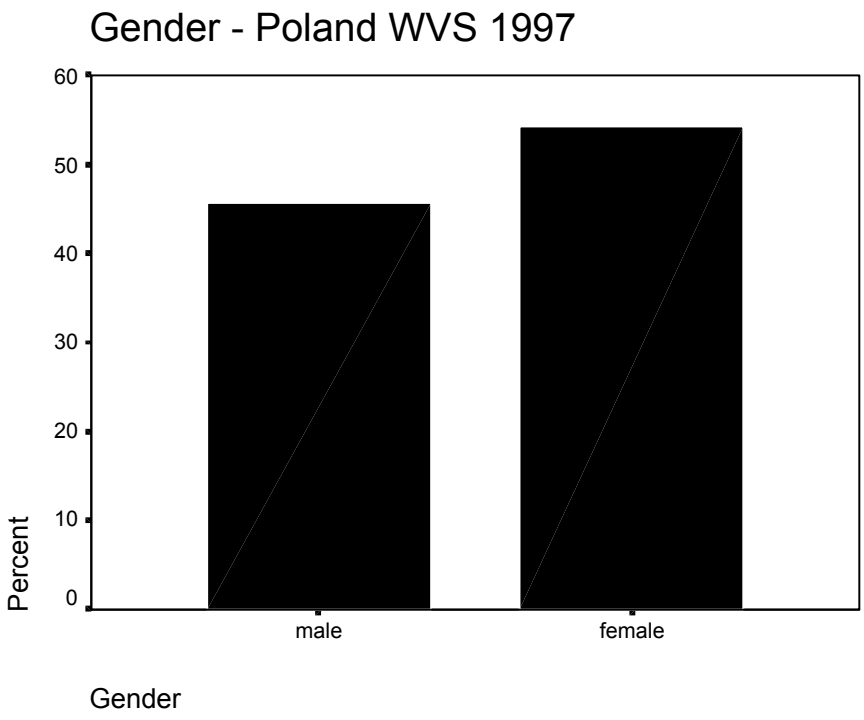


Figure G.4 WVS 1999-97 Gender Frequency Graph – Poland

Table G.5 WVS 1990 Gender Frequency – Russia

V214 Gender - Russia WVS 1990

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 male	837	42.7	42.7	42.7
	2 female	1124	57.3	57.3	100.0
	Total	1961	100.0	100.0	

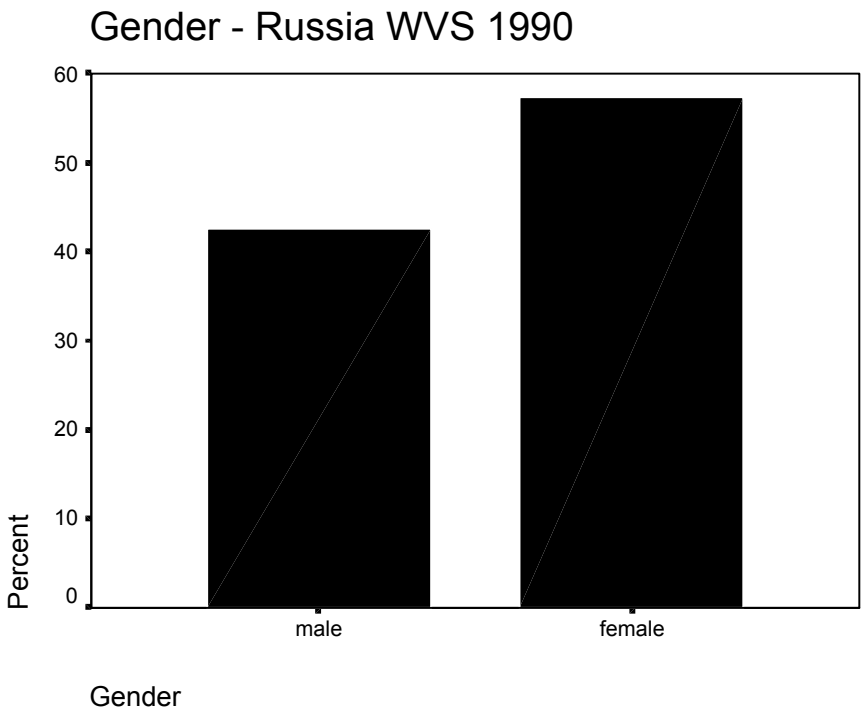


Figure G.5 WVS 1990 Gender Frequency Graph – Russia

Table G.6 WVS 1995-97 Gender Frequency – Russia

V214 Gender - Russia WVS 1995

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 male	840	41.2	41.2	41.2
	2 female	1200	58.8	58.8	100.0
	Total	2040	100.0	100.0	

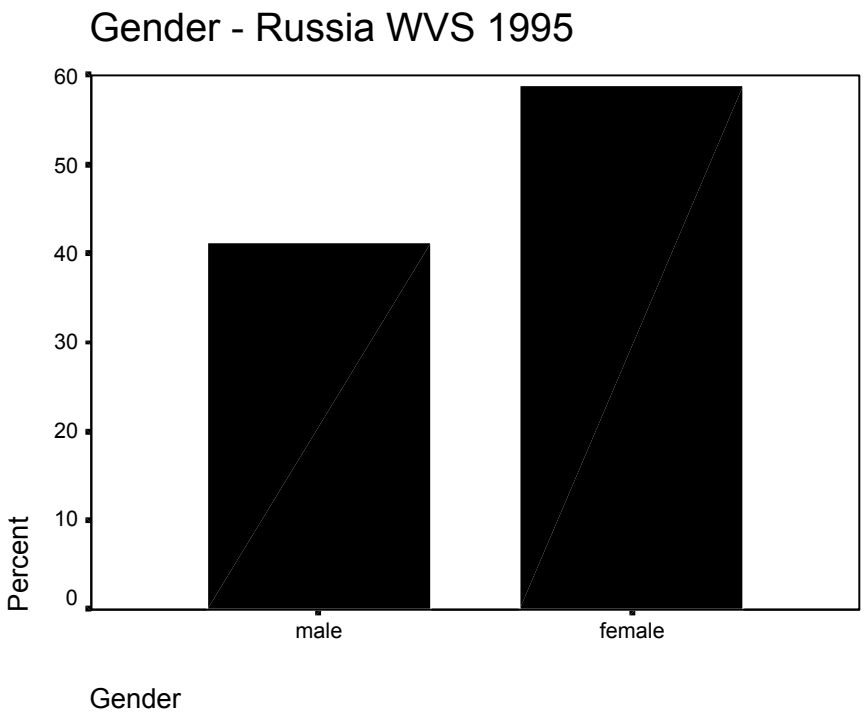


Figure G.6 WVS 1995-97 Gender Frequency Graph – Russia

Table G.7 WVS 1990 Gender Frequency – Combined

V214 Gender - Combined WVS 1990

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 male	2191	46.2	46.7	46.7
	2 female	2505	52.9	53.3	100.0
	Total	4696	99.1	100.0	
Missing	System	42	.9		
Total		4738	100.0		

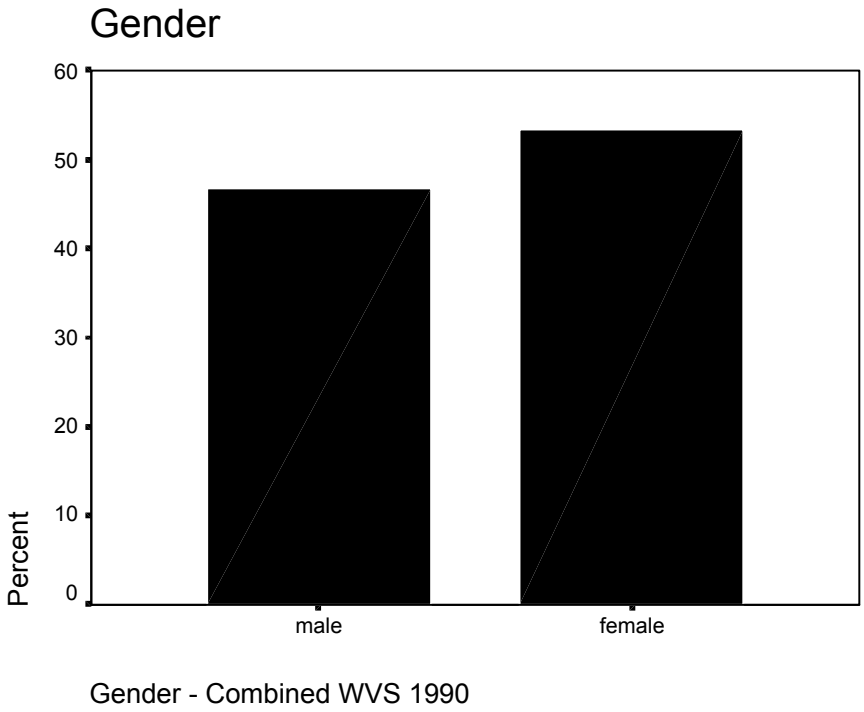


Figure G.7 WVS 1990 Gender Frequency Graph – Combined

Table G.8 WVS 1995-97 Gender Frequency – Combined

V214 Gender - Combined WVS 1995-97

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 male	2133	45.0	45.0	45.0
	2 female	2602	55.0	55.0	100.0
	Total	4735	100.0	100.0	

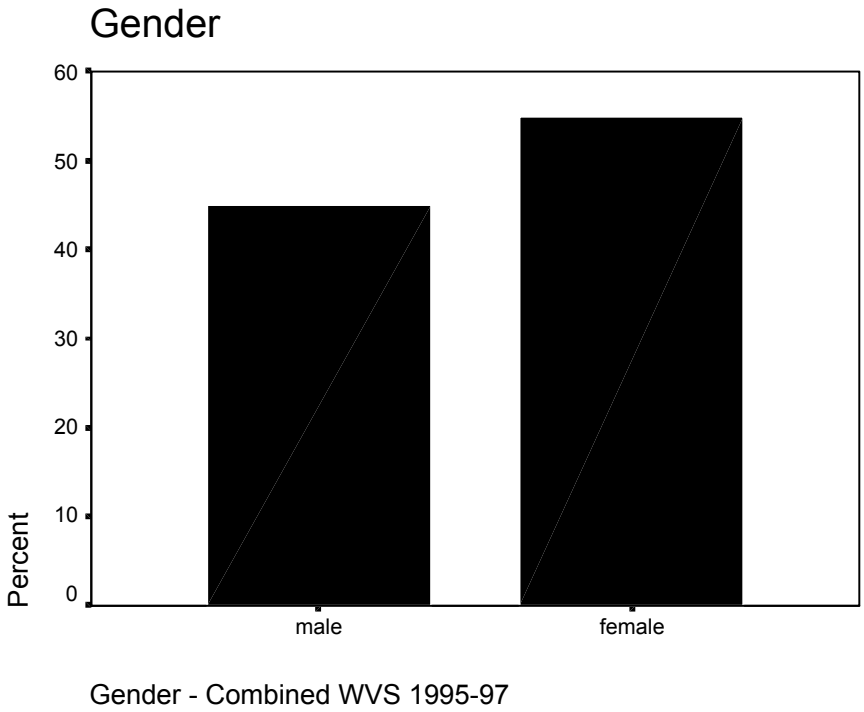


Figure G.8 WVS 1995-97 Gender Frequency Graph – Combined

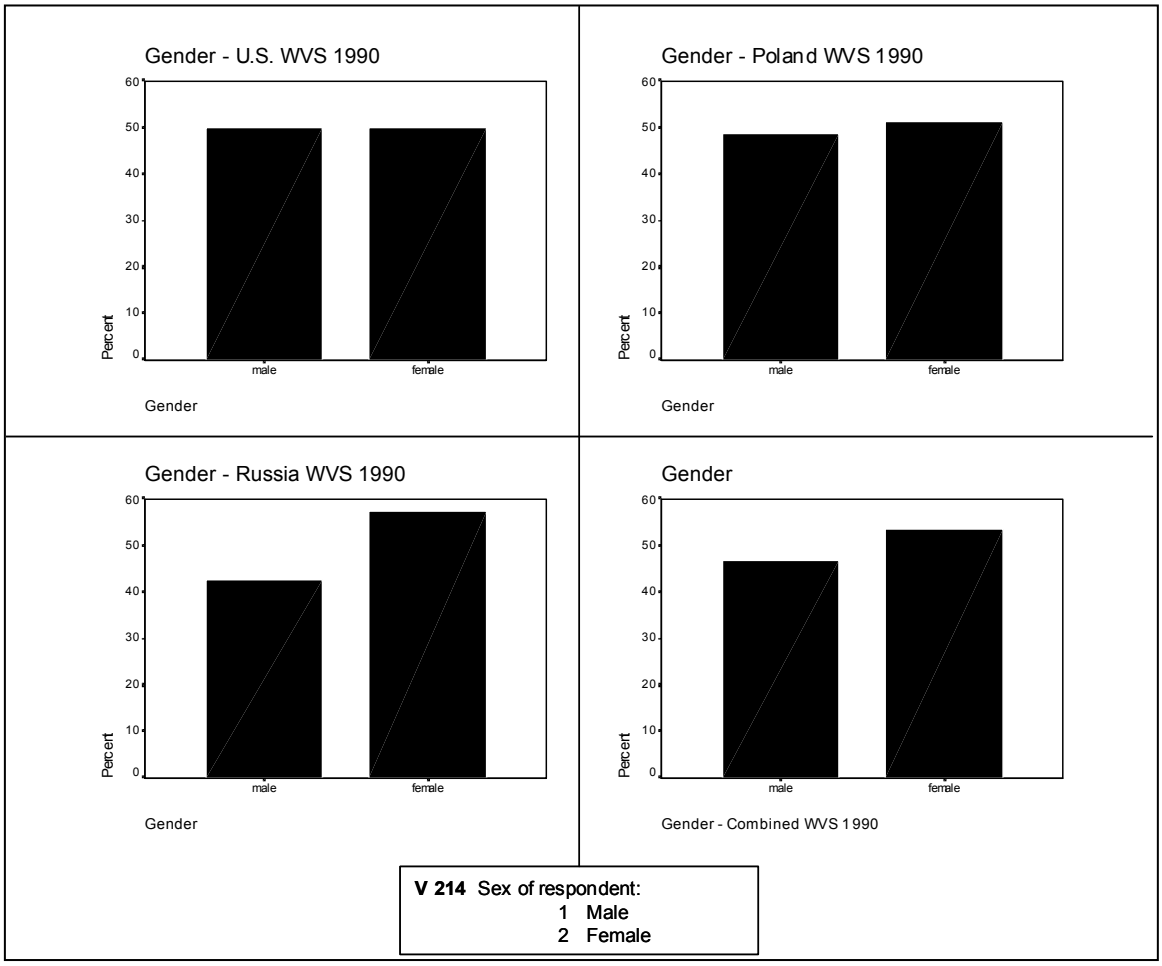


Figure G.9 WVS 1990 Gender Frequency Comparison Graph

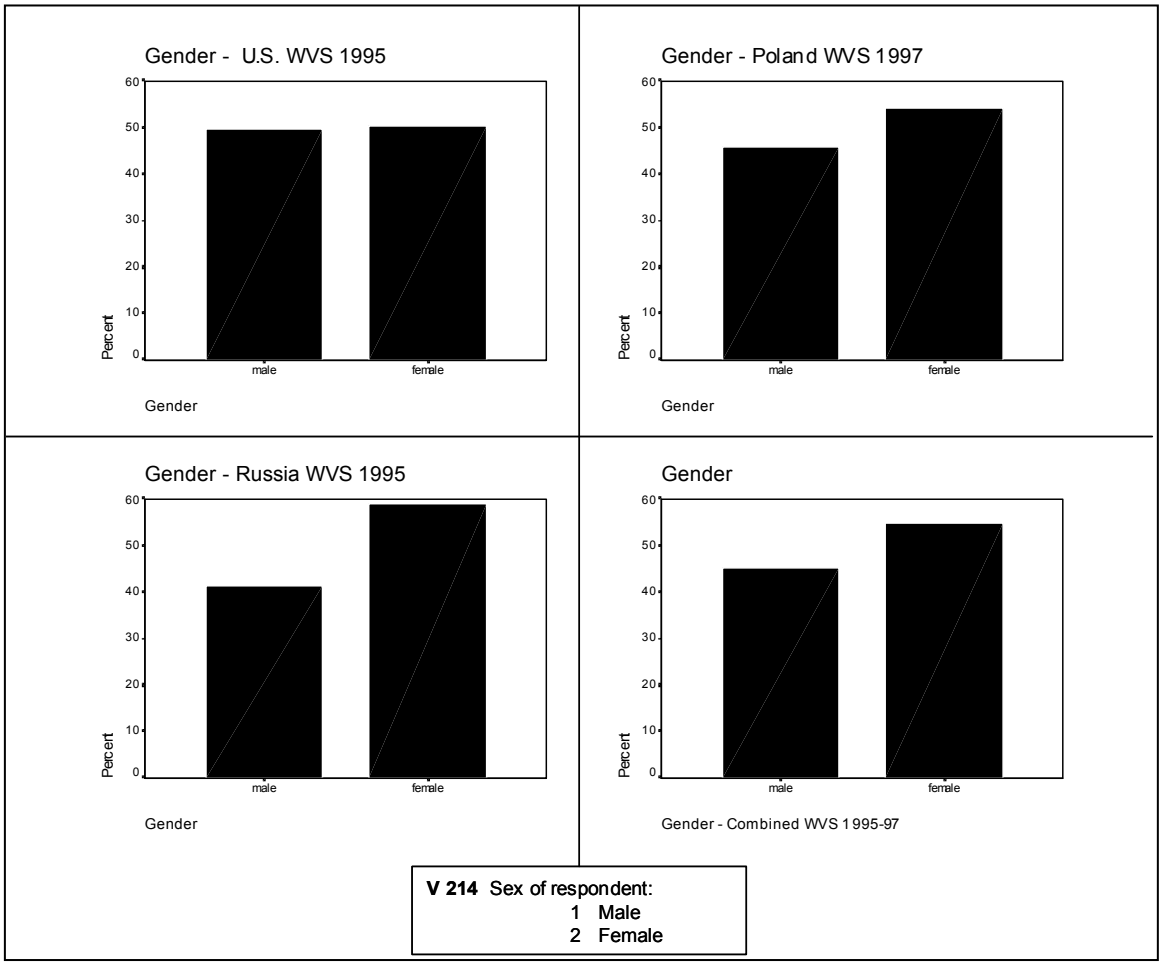


Figure G.10 WVS 1995-97 Gender Frequency Comparison Graph

Table G.9 WVS 1990-Age Distribution – United States

V216B age (classes) - U.S. WVS 1990

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 18-24 years	171	9.3	9.5	9.5
	2 25-34 years	370	20.1	20.5	30.0
	3 35-44 years	368	20.0	20.4	50.4
	4 45-54 years	271	14.7	15.0	65.4
	5 55-64 years	267	14.5	14.8	80.2
	6 65 or older	357	19.4	19.8	100.0
	Total	1804	98.1	100.0	
Missing	System	35	1.9		
Total		1839	100.0		

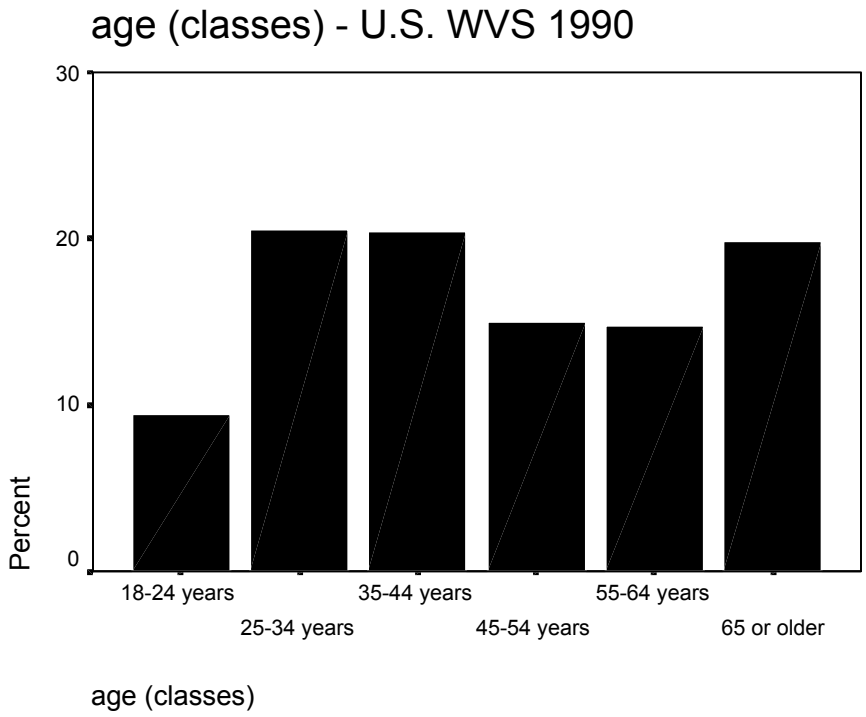


Figure G.11 WVS 1990 Age Distribution Graph – United States

Table G.10 WVS 1995-97-Age Distribution – United States

V216B age (classes) - U.S. WVS 1995

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 18-24 years	121	7.8	8.0	8.0
	2 25-34 years	281	18.2	18.5	26.5
	3 35-44 years	328	21.3	21.6	48.1
	4 45-54 years	223	14.5	14.7	62.8
	5 55-64 years	191	12.4	12.6	75.4
	6 65 or older	374	24.3	24.6	100.0
	Total	1518	98.4	100.0	
Missing	System	24	1.6		
Total		1542	100.0		

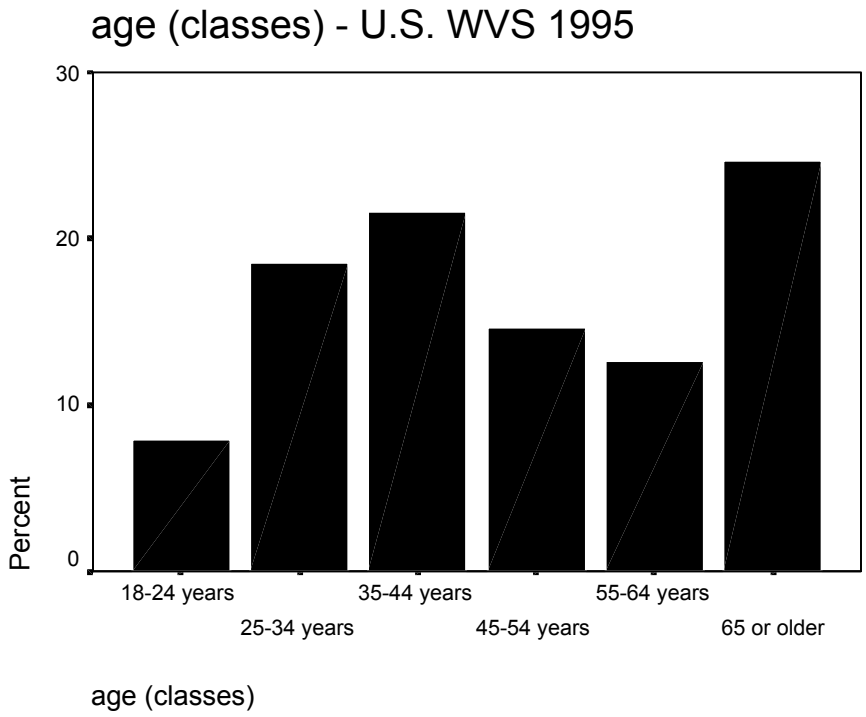


Figure G.12 WVS 1995-97 Age Distribution Graph – United States

Table G.11 WVS 1990-Age Distribution – Poland

V216B age (classes) - Poland WVS 1990

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0 < 18 years	37	3.9	4.0	4.0
	1 18-24 years	86	9.2	9.2	13.2
	2 25-34 years	181	19.3	19.4	32.6
	3 35-44 years	192	20.5	20.6	53.2
	4 45-54 years	173	18.4	18.5	71.7
	5 55-64 years	165	17.6	17.7	89.4
	6 65 or older	99	10.6	10.6	100.0
	Total	933	99.5	100.0	
Missing	System	5	.5		
Total		938	100.0		

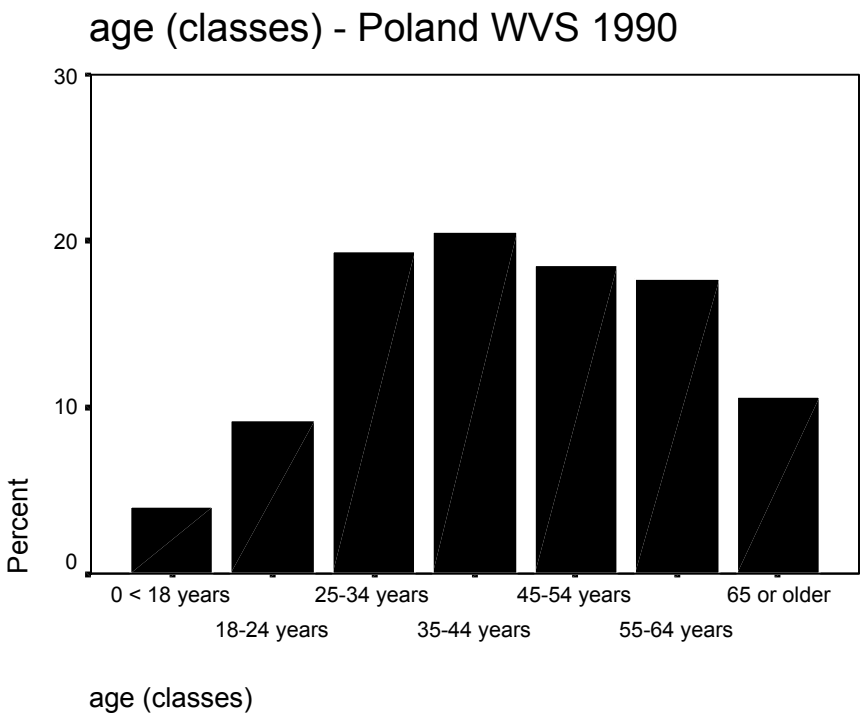


Figure G.13 WVS 1990 Age Distribution Graph – Poland

Table G.12 WVS 1995-97-Age Distribution – Poland

V216B age (classes) - Poland WVS 1997

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 18-24 years	129	11.2	11.2	11.2
	2 25-34 years	190	16.5	16.5	27.7
	3 35-44 years	243	21.1	21.1	48.7
	4 45-54 years	182	15.8	15.8	64.5
	5 55-64 years	182	15.8	15.8	80.3
	6 65 or older	227	19.7	19.7	100.0
	Total	1153	100.0	100.0	

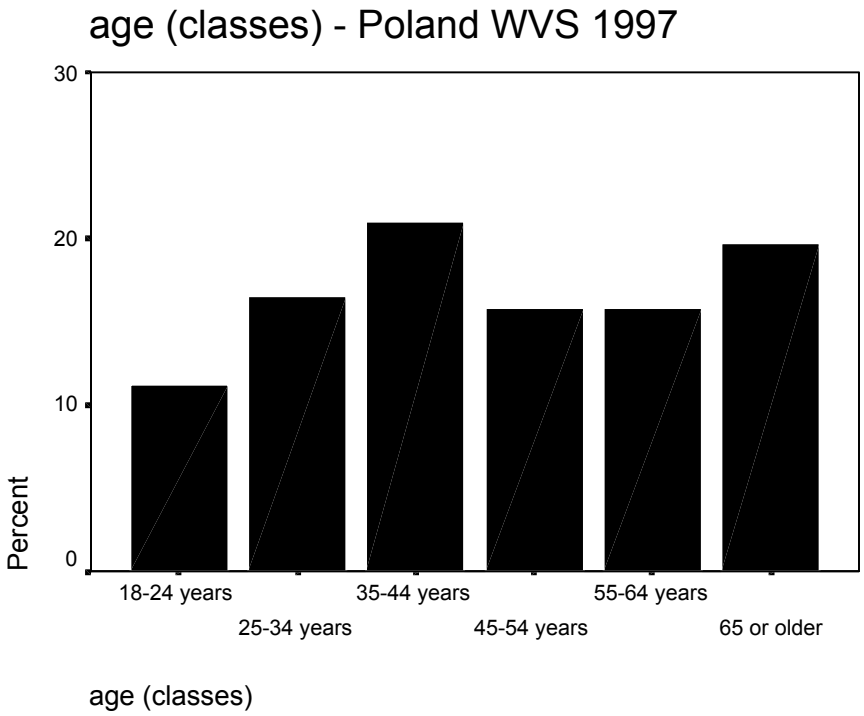


Figure G.14 WVS 1995-97 Age Distribution Graph – Poland

Table G.13 WVS 1990-Age Distribution – Russia

V216B age (classes) - Russia WVS 1990

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 18-24 years	256	13.1	13.1	13.1
	2 25-34 years	446	22.7	22.7	35.8
	3 35-44 years	473	24.1	24.1	59.9
	4 45-54 years	285	14.5	14.5	74.5
	5 55-64 years	299	15.2	15.2	89.7
	6 65 or older	202	10.3	10.3	100.0
	Total	1961	100.0	100.0	

Figure G.15 WVS 1990 Age Distribution Graph – Russia

Table G.14 WVS 1995-97-Age Distribution – Russia

V216B age (classes) - Russia WVS 1995

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 18-24 years	185	9.1	9.1	9.1
	2 25-34 years	370	18.1	18.2	27.2
	3 35-44 years	473	23.2	23.2	50.4
	4 45-54 years	284	13.9	13.9	64.4
	5 55-64 years	356	17.5	17.5	81.8
	6 65 or older	370	18.1	18.2	100.0
	Total	2038	99.9	100.0	
Missing	System	2	.1		
Total		2040	100.0		

Figure G.16 WVS 1995-97 Age Distribution Graph – Russia

Table G.15 WVS 1990-Age Distribution – Combined

V216B age (classes) - Combined WVS 1990

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0 < 18 years	37	.8	.8	.8
	1 18-24 years	513	10.8	10.9	11.7
	2 25-34 years	997	21.0	21.2	32.9
	3 35-44 years	1033	21.8	22.0	54.9
	4 45-54 years	729	15.4	15.5	70.4
	5 55-64 years	731	15.4	15.6	86.0
	6 65 or older	658	13.9	14.0	100.0
	Total	4698	99.2	100.0	
Missing	System	40	.8		
Total		4738	100.0		

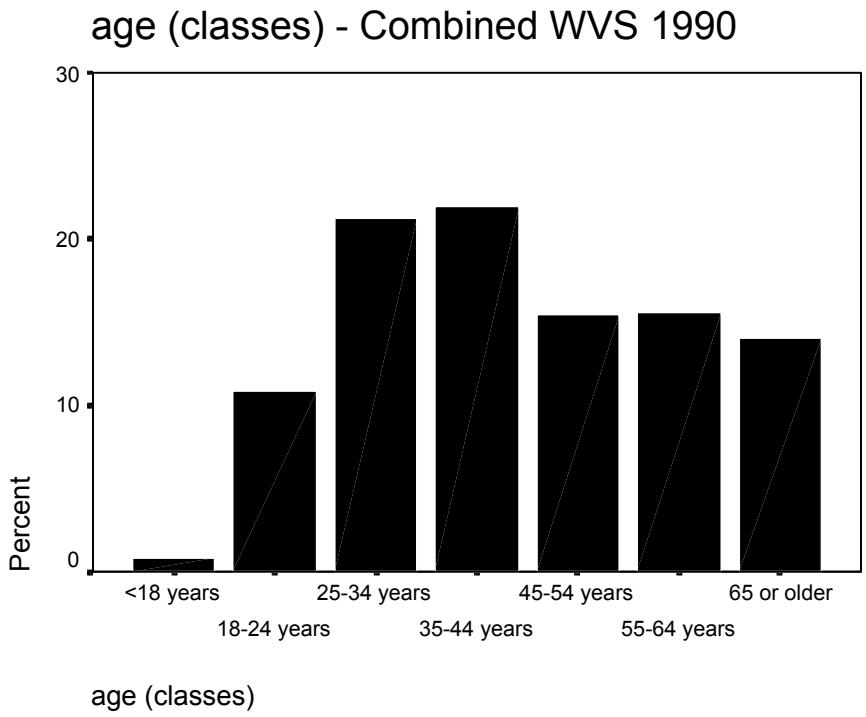


Figure G.17 WVS 1990 Age Distribution Graph – Combined

Table G.16 WVS 1995-97-Age Distribution – Combined

V216B age (classes) - Combined WVS 1995-97

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 18-24 years	435	9.2	9.2	9.2
	2 25-34 years	841	17.8	17.9	27.1
	3 35-44 years	1044	22.0	22.2	49.3
	4 45-54 years	689	14.6	14.6	63.9
	5 55-64 years	729	15.4	15.5	79.4
	6 65 or older	971	20.5	20.6	100.0
	Total	4709	99.5	100.0	
Missing	System	26	.5		
Total		4735	100.0		

Figure G.18 WVS 1995-97 Age Distribution Graph – Combined

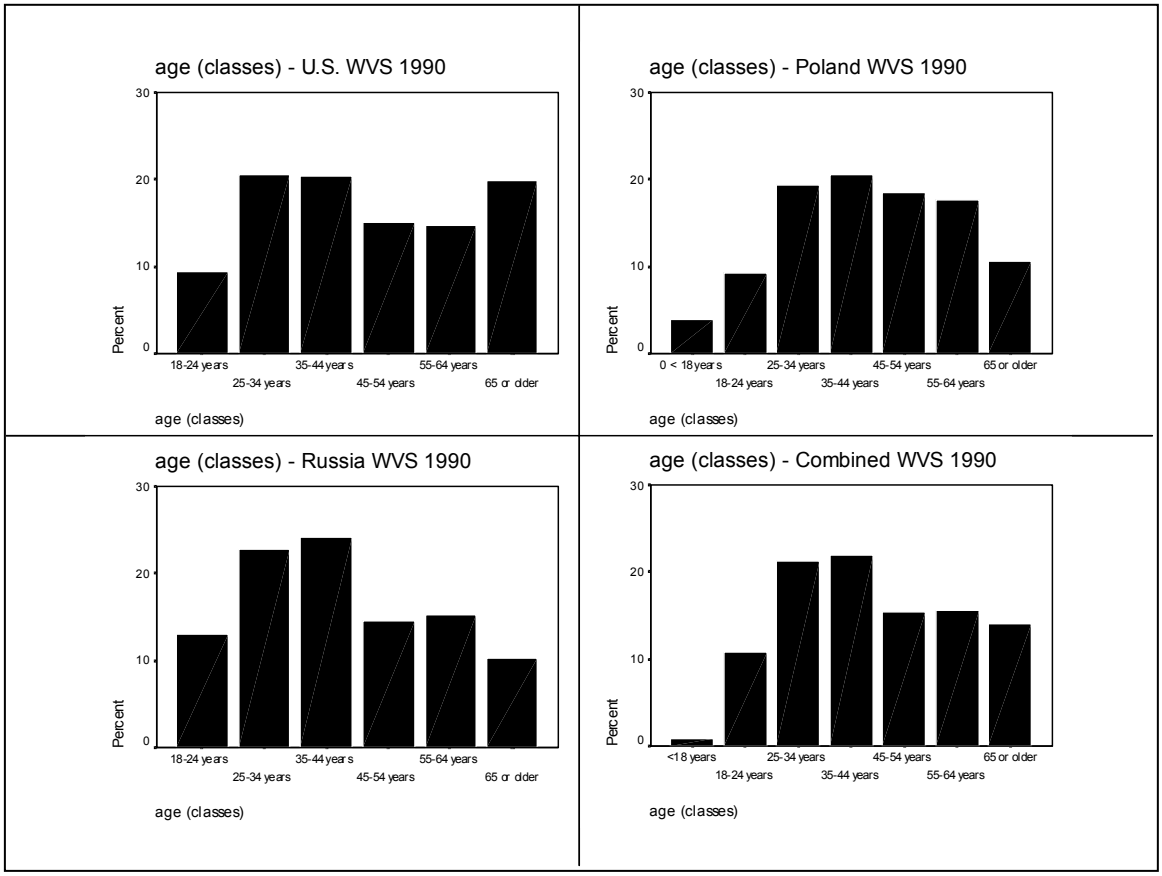


Figure G.19 WVS 1990 Age Distribution Comparison Graph

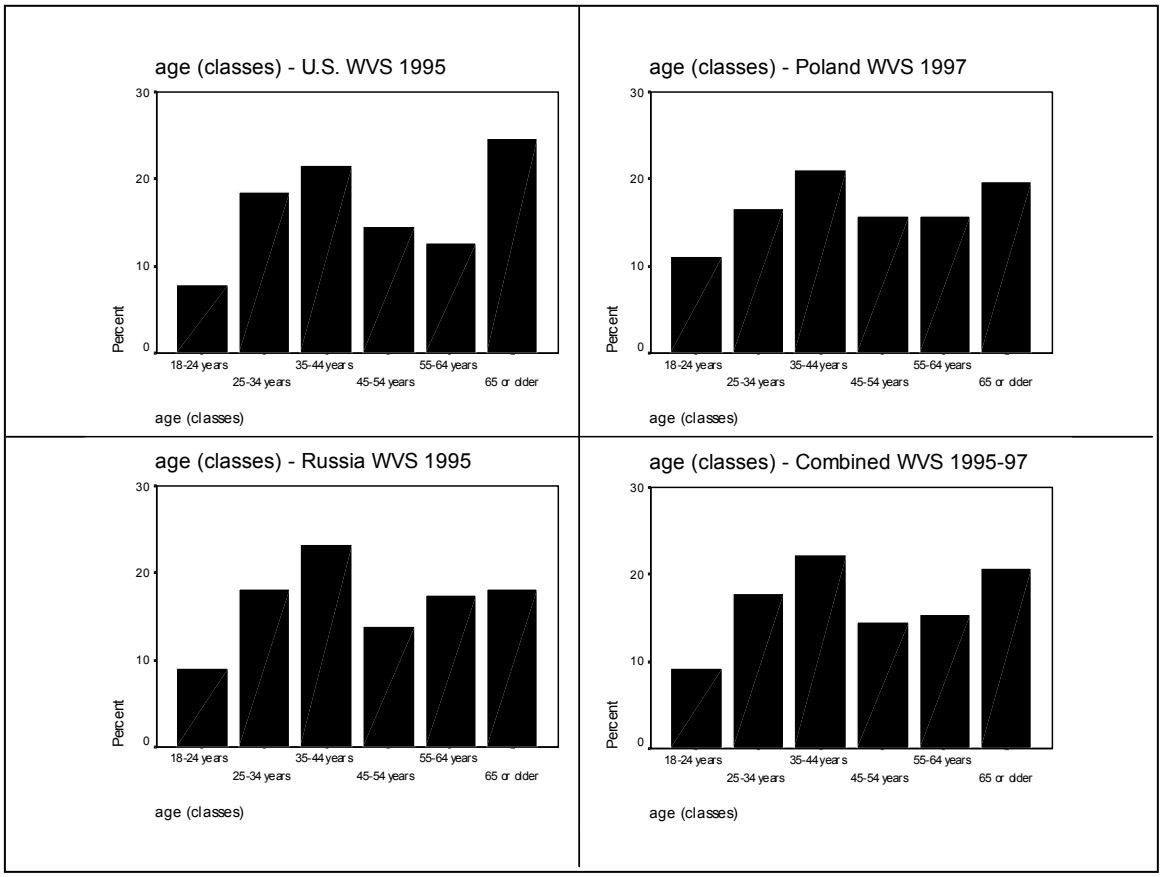


Figure G.20 WVS 1995-97 Age Distribution Comparison Graph

Table G.17 WVS 1990-Town Size Distribution – United States

V232 size of town - U.S. WVS 1990

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 <2000	200	10.9	11.2	11.2
	2 2-5000	118	6.4	6.6	17.8
	3 5-10k	119	6.5	6.7	24.5
	4 10-20k	194	10.5	10.9	35.4
	5 20-50k	290	15.8	16.3	51.7
	6 50-100k	288	15.7	16.2	67.8
	7 100-500k	285	15.5	16.0	83.8
	8 500k+	288	15.7	16.2	100.0
	Total	1782	96.9	100.0	
Missing	System	57	3.1		
Total		1839	100.0		

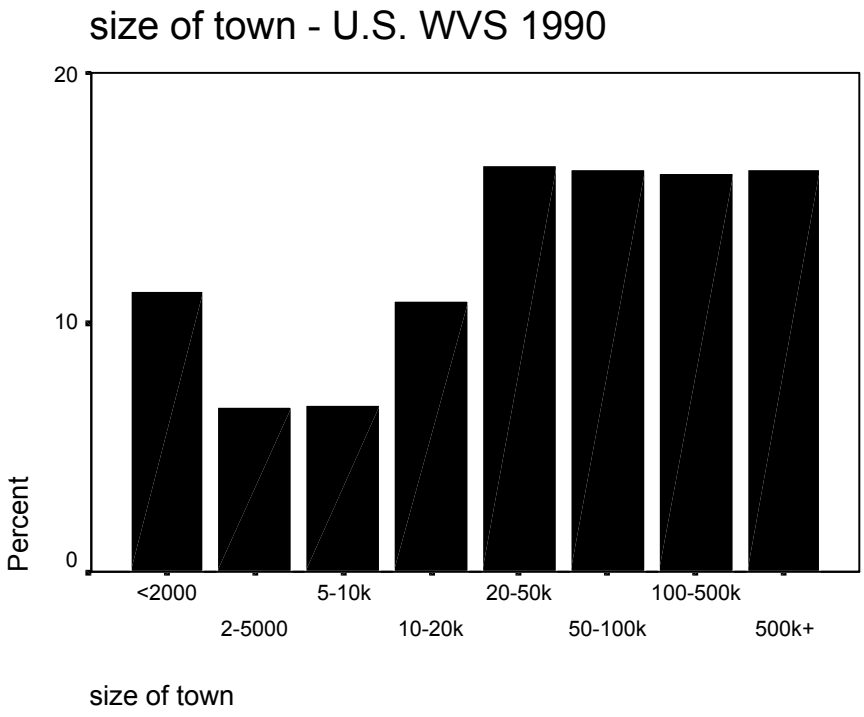


Figure G.21 WVS 1990 Town Size Distribution Graph – United States

Table G.18 WVS 1995-97-Town Size Distribution – United States

V232 size of town - U.S. WVS 1995

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 <2000	108	7.0	7.5	7.5
	2 2-5000	93	6.0	6.5	13.9
	3 5-10k	78	5.1	5.4	19.4
	4 10-20k	184	11.9	12.8	32.1
	5 20-50k	289	18.7	20.1	52.2
	6 50-100k	168	10.9	11.7	63.8
	7 100-500k	194	12.6	13.5	77.3
	8 500k+	327	21.2	22.7	100.0
	Total	1441	93.5	100.0	
Missing	System	101	6.5		
Total		1542	100.0		

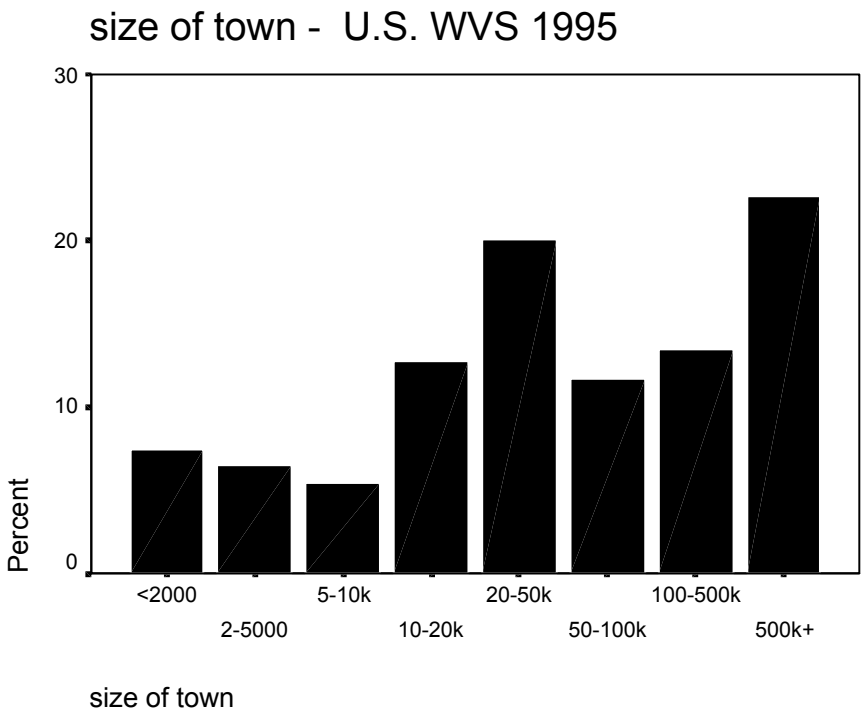


Figure G.22 WVS 1995 Town Size Distribution Graph – United States

Table G.19 WVS 1995-97-Town Size Distribution – Poland

V232 size of town - Poland WVS 1997

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 <2000	407	35.3	35.3	35.3
	2 2-5000	63	5.5	5.5	40.8
	3 5-10k	38	3.3	3.3	44.1
	4 10-20k	85	7.4	7.4	51.4
	5 20-50k	114	9.9	9.9	61.3
	6 50-100k	110	9.5	9.5	70.9
	7 100-500k	233	20.2	20.2	91.1
	8 500k+	103	8.9	8.9	100.0
	Total	1153	100.0	100.0	

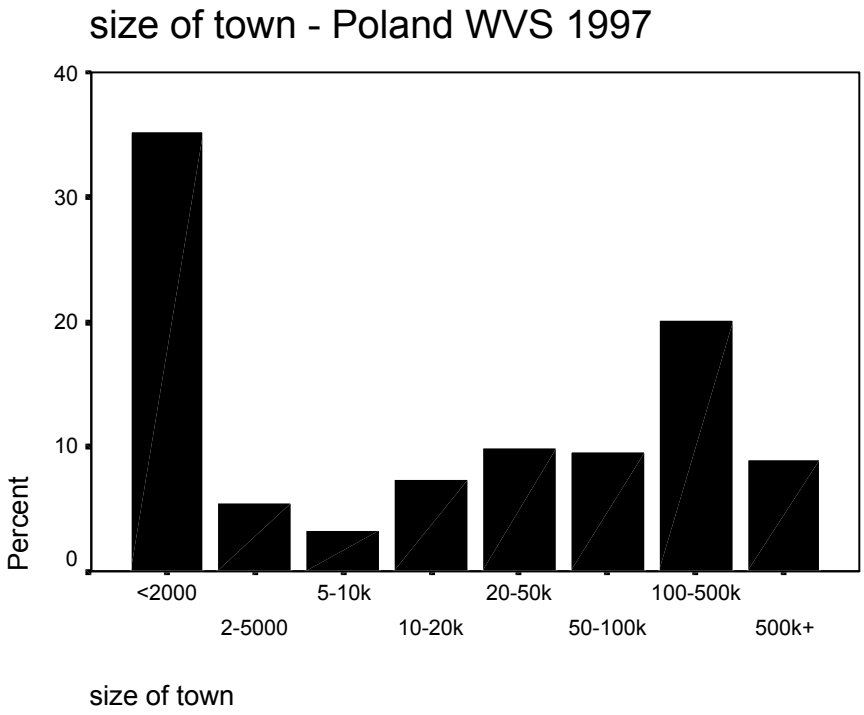


Figure G.23 WVS 1995-7 Town Size Distribution Graph – Poland

Table G.20 WVS 1990-Town Size Distribution – Russia

V232 size of town - Russia WVS 1990

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 <2000	196	10.0	10.0	10.0
	2 2-5000	131	6.7	6.7	16.7
	3 5-10k	134	6.8	6.8	23.5
	4 10-20k	79	4.0	4.0	27.5
	5 20-50k	189	9.6	9.6	37.2
	6 50-100k	106	5.4	5.4	42.6
	7 100-500k	524	26.7	26.7	69.3
	8 500k+	602	30.7	30.7	100.0
	Total	1961	100.0	100.0	

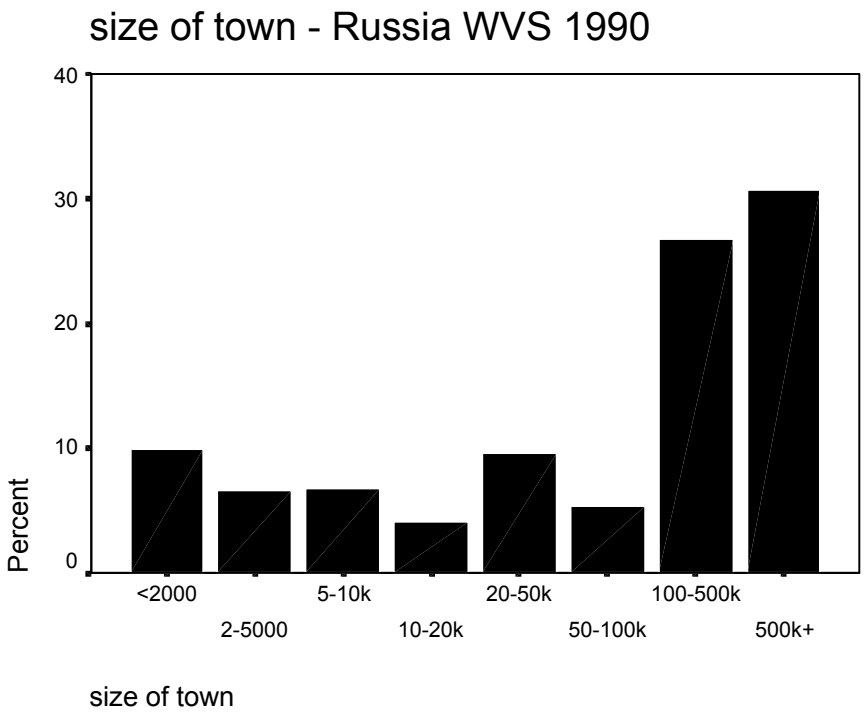


Figure G.24 WVS 1990 Town Size Distribution Graph – Russia

Table G.21 WVS 1995-97 Town Size Distribution – Russia

V232 size of town - Russia WVS 1995

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 <2000	194	9.5	9.5	9.5
	2 2-5000	223	10.9	10.9	20.4
	3 5-10k	159	7.8	7.8	28.2
	4 10-20k	76	3.7	3.7	32.0
	5 20-50k	255	12.5	12.5	44.5
	6 50-100k	112	5.5	5.5	50.0
	7 100-500k	476	23.3	23.3	73.3
	8 500k+	545	26.7	26.7	100.0
	Total	2040	100.0	100.0	

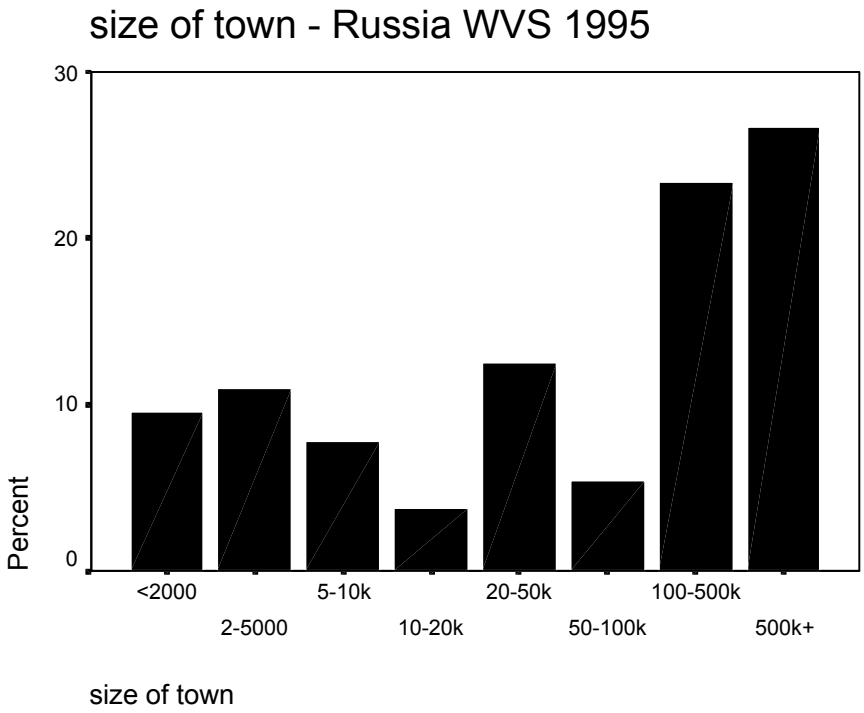


Figure G.25 WVS 1995-97 Town Size Distribution Graph – Russia

Table G.22 WVS 1990-Town Size Distribution – Combined

V232 size of town - Combined WVS 1990

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 <2000	396	8.4	10.6	10.6
	2 2-5000	249	5.3	6.7	17.2
	3 5-10k	253	5.3	6.8	24.0
	4 10-20k	273	5.8	7.3	31.3
	5 20-50k	479	10.1	12.8	44.1
	6 50-100k	394	8.3	10.5	54.6
	7 100-500k	809	17.1	21.6	76.2
	8 500k+	890	18.8	23.8	100.0
	Total	3743	79.0	100.0	
Missing	System	995	21.0		
Total		4738	100.0		

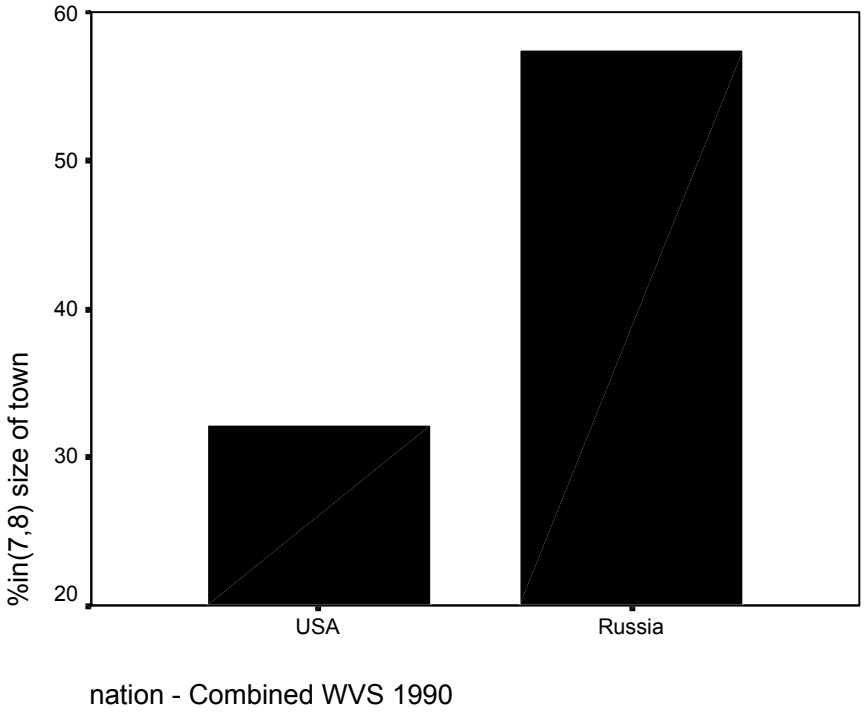


Figure G.26 WVS 1990 Town Size Distribution Graph – Combined

Table G.23 WVS 1995-97-Town Size Distribution – Combined

V232 size of town - Combined WVS 1995-97

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 <2000	709	15.0	15.3	15.3
	2 2-5000	379	8.0	8.2	23.5
	3 5-10k	275	5.8	5.9	29.4
	4 10-20k	345	7.3	7.4	36.9
	5 20-50k	658	13.9	14.2	51.1
	6 50-100k	390	8.2	8.4	59.5
	7 100-500k	903	19.1	19.5	79.0
	8 500k+	975	20.6	21.0	100.0
	Total	4634	97.9	100.0	
Missing	System	101	2.1		
Total		4735	100.0		

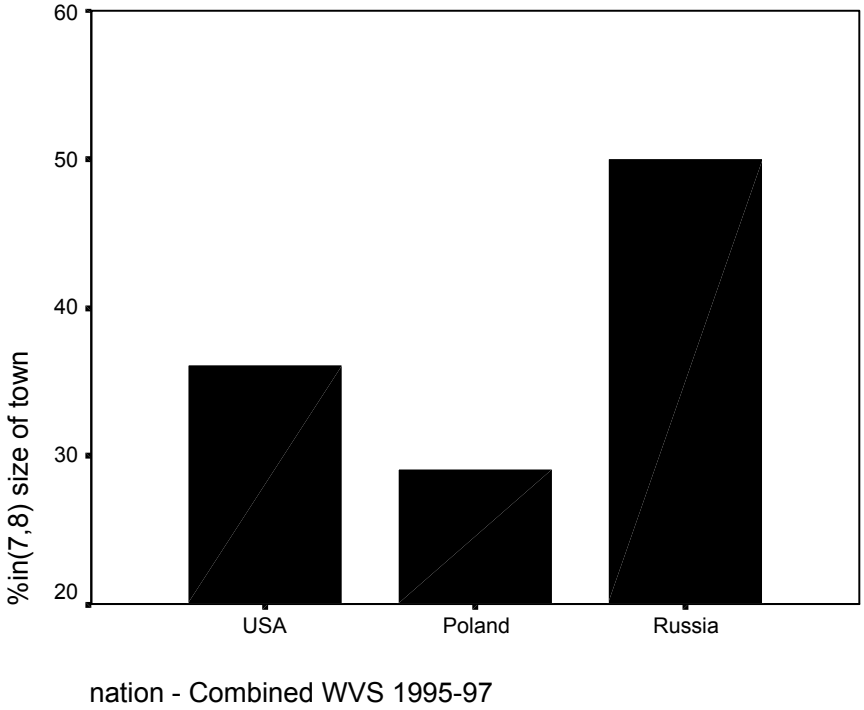


Figure G.27 WVS 1995-97 Town Size Distribution Graph – Combined

APPENDIX H
WORLD VALUES SURVEYS SPIRITUALITY VARIABLES

Spirituality variables related specifically to beliefs in matters of religion, the meaning and purpose of life, and beliefs about the existence of God and other related concepts. These variables measure what individuals "believe" rather than in demonstrated behaviors. Ten variables were considered in this analysis – Thinking about the Meaning and Purpose of Life, Belief on the Nature of Good and Evil, Belief in God, Belief in Life after Death, Belief in a Soul, Belief in the Devil, Belief in Hell, Belief in Heaven, Belief in Sin, and the Importance of God in Life.

In the 1997 Polish World Values Survey, a number of these variables were not collected. These variables were, however, collected in the 1990 survey, and will be used in the analysis.

For "Thinking about the Meaning and Purpose of Life," the results show no particular trend. In all three countries over 70% of the respondents thought about the meaning and purpose of life "often" or "sometimes." This variable was not collected in the 1997 Polish World Values Survey.

For "Belief on the Nature of Good and Evil," the results were mixed. Interestingly, in all three countries in both surveys less than 10% of the respondents agreed with the statement "What is good and evil depends entirely upon the circumstances at the time."

For "Belief in God," well over 90% of the respondents from the United States and Poland responded that they believed in God. In the 1995-97 surveys,

the results from the United States were similar, with well over 90% believing in God. In the 1990 survey, only 44% of the Russian respondents stated a belief in God, but this number increased to 60% in the Russian survey in 1995. This variable was not collected in the 1997 Polish World Values Survey.

For “Belief in Life after Death,” the results are striking. In the 1990 World Values Survey, approximately 80% of the United States respondents and 80% of the Polish respondents indicated a belief in life after death. In the 1990 survey, 20% of the Russian respondents indicated a belief in life after death. This variable was not collected in the 1997 Polish World Values Survey, but the results in the 1995-97 surveys were similar for the United States (~80%) and Russia (~25%) for belief in life after death.

For “Belief in a Soul,” the results were also interesting. In the 1990 World Values Survey, 92% of the United States respondents and 85% of the Polish respondents indicated a belief in a soul. In the 1990 survey, 54% of the Russian respondents indicated a belief in a soul. This variable was not collected in the 1997 Polish World Values Survey, but the results were similar for the United States (94%) and Russia (55%) for belief in life after death.

For “Belief in the Devil,” the results were interesting. In the 1990 World Values Survey, 70% of United States respondents, 50% of the Polish respondents, and 14% of the Russian respondents believed in the devil. In the 1995-97 World Value Survey, 75% of the United States respondents and 30% of the Russian respondents indicated a belief in the devil. This variable was not collected in the 1997 Polish World Values Survey.

The results for “Belief in Hell” were similar to the results for belief in the devil. In the 1990 World Values Survey, 70% of United States respondents, 54% of the Polish respondents, and 16% of the Russian respondents believed in Hell. In the 1995-97 World Value Survey, 75% of the United States respondents and 23% of the Russian respondents indicated a belief in Hell. This variable was not collected in the 1997 Polish World Values Survey.

For “Belief in Heaven,” the results were also similar to belief in Hell and the devil, but stronger for the United States and Polish surveys. In the 1990 World Values Survey, 87% of United States respondents, 80% of the Polish respondents, and 18% of the Russian respondents believed in Heaven. In the 1995-97 World Value Survey, 87% of the United States respondents and 23% of the Russian respondents indicated a belief in Heaven. This variable was not collected in the 1997 Polish World Values Survey.

For “Belief in Sin,” the results were interesting. The trend for the United States and Poland continued to indicate widespread belief in spiritual concepts, with 89% of the United States respondents and 91% of the Polish respondents indicating a belief in sin in the 1990 surveys. In the 1995 survey, the United States survey 90% of the respondents indicated a belief in sin. This variable was not collected in the 1997 Polish World Values Survey. The Russian results were interesting; in the 1990 survey, 47% of the respondents indicated a belief in sin, and this number increased to 61% in the 1995 survey.

For “The Importance of God in Life,” the results were also very interesting. This question used a scale of 10 points to for the respondents to note the

importance of God in their life, with “1” being “not at all” and “10” being “very important.” In the 1990 survey, 49% of the United States respondents and 62% of the Polish respondents noted that God was “very important,” or a “10” on the scale. Only 10% of the Russian respondents in the 1990 survey indicated that God was “very important” in their lives. In the 1995 survey, the number of Russian respondents who noted God as “very important” in their lives increased to 18%. The United States respondents remained constant with 52% indicating God was “very important” in their lives in the 1995 survey. This variable was not collected in the 1997 Polish World Values Survey.

The overall results for the spirituality variables indicate that there is a greatly reduced level of spirituality in the Russian surveys, although the trend from the 1990 survey to the 1995 survey in Russia is increasing for belief in spiritual concepts.

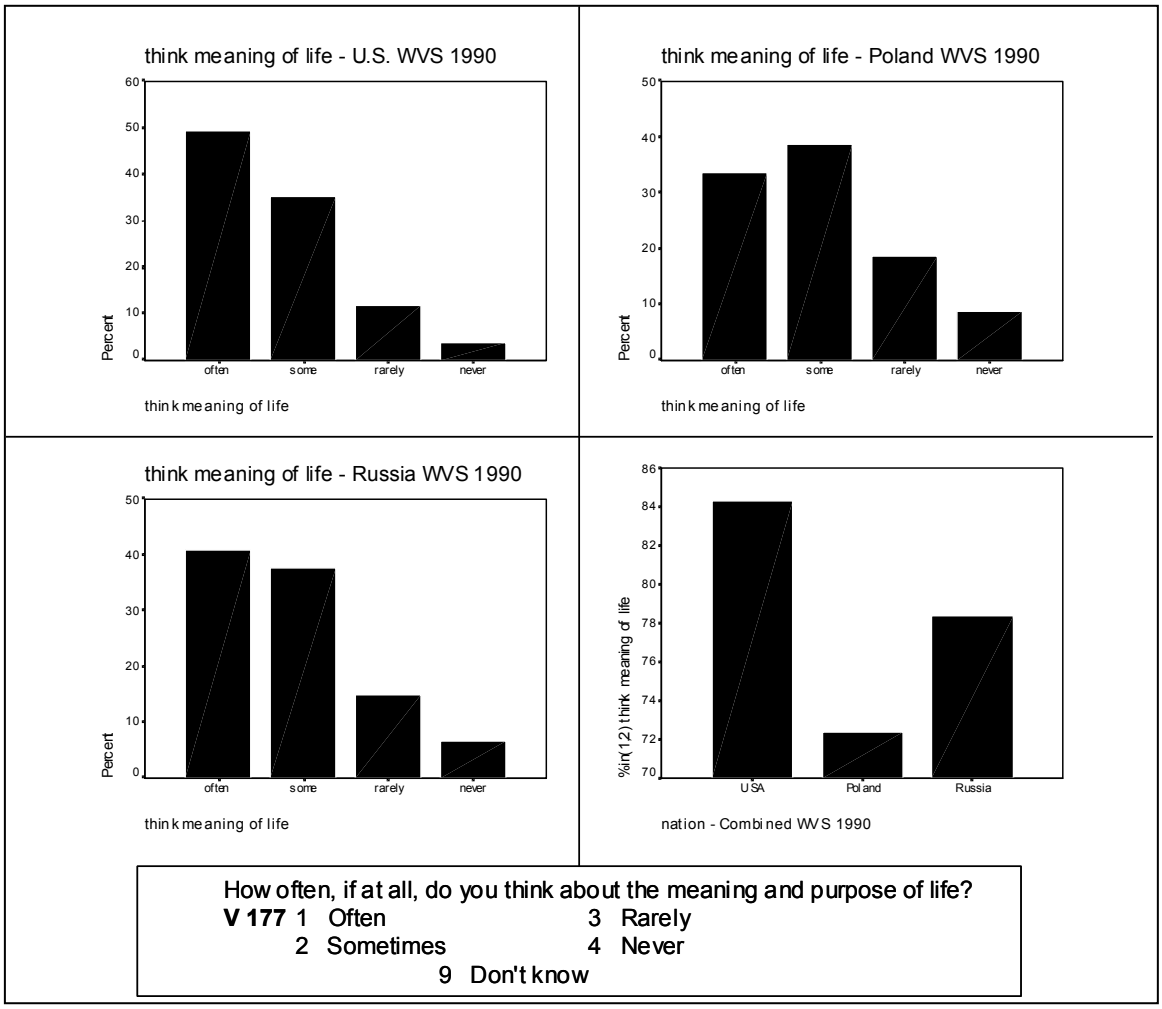
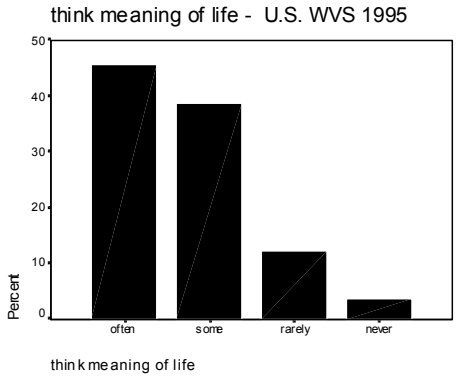
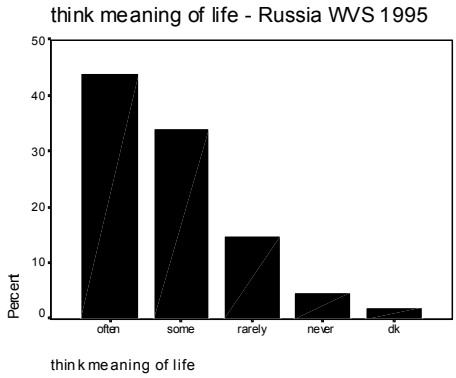
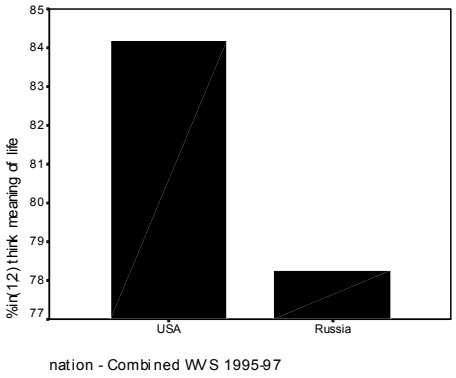


Figure H.1 WVS 1990 V177 (Meaning of Life) Results



V177 not collected in Poland WVS 1997

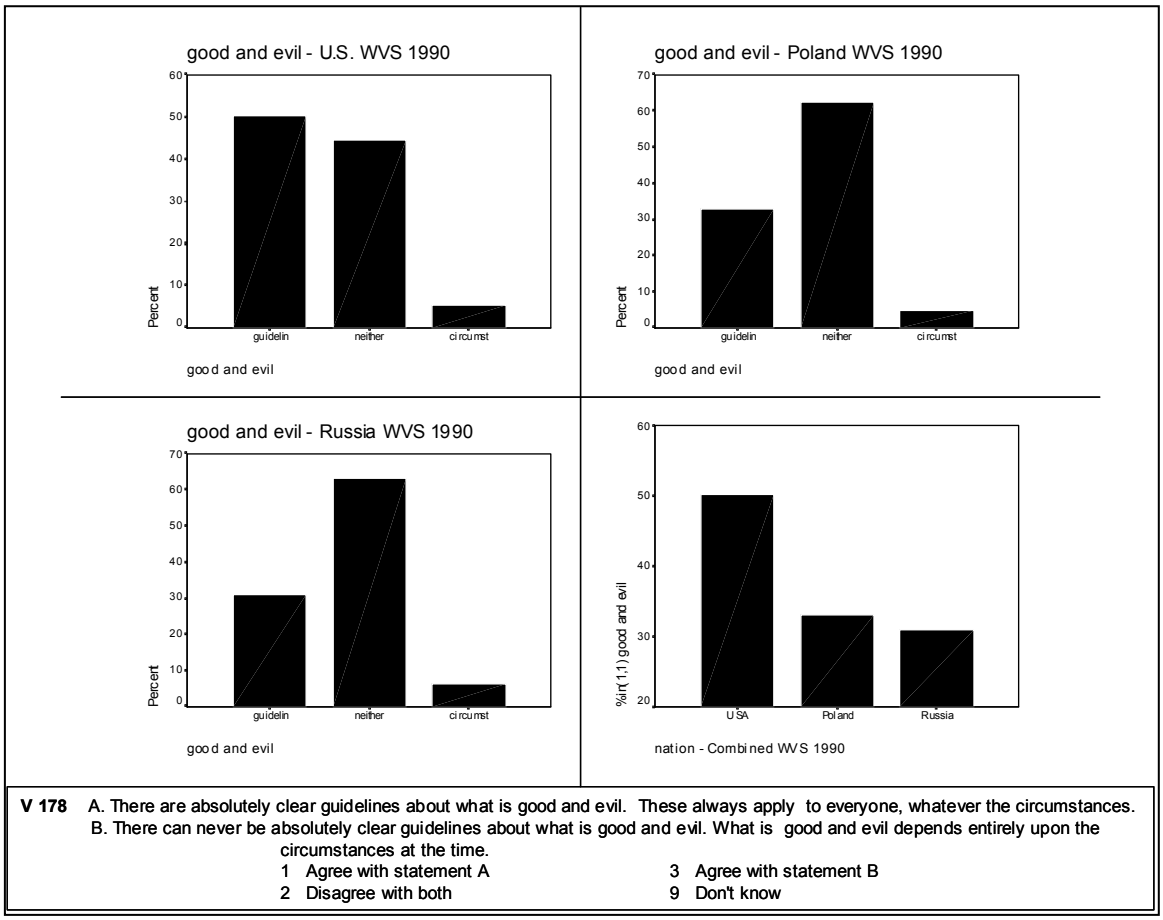




How often, if at all, do you think about the meaning and purpose of life?

V 177 1 Often 3 Rarely
2 Sometimes 4 Never
9 Don't know

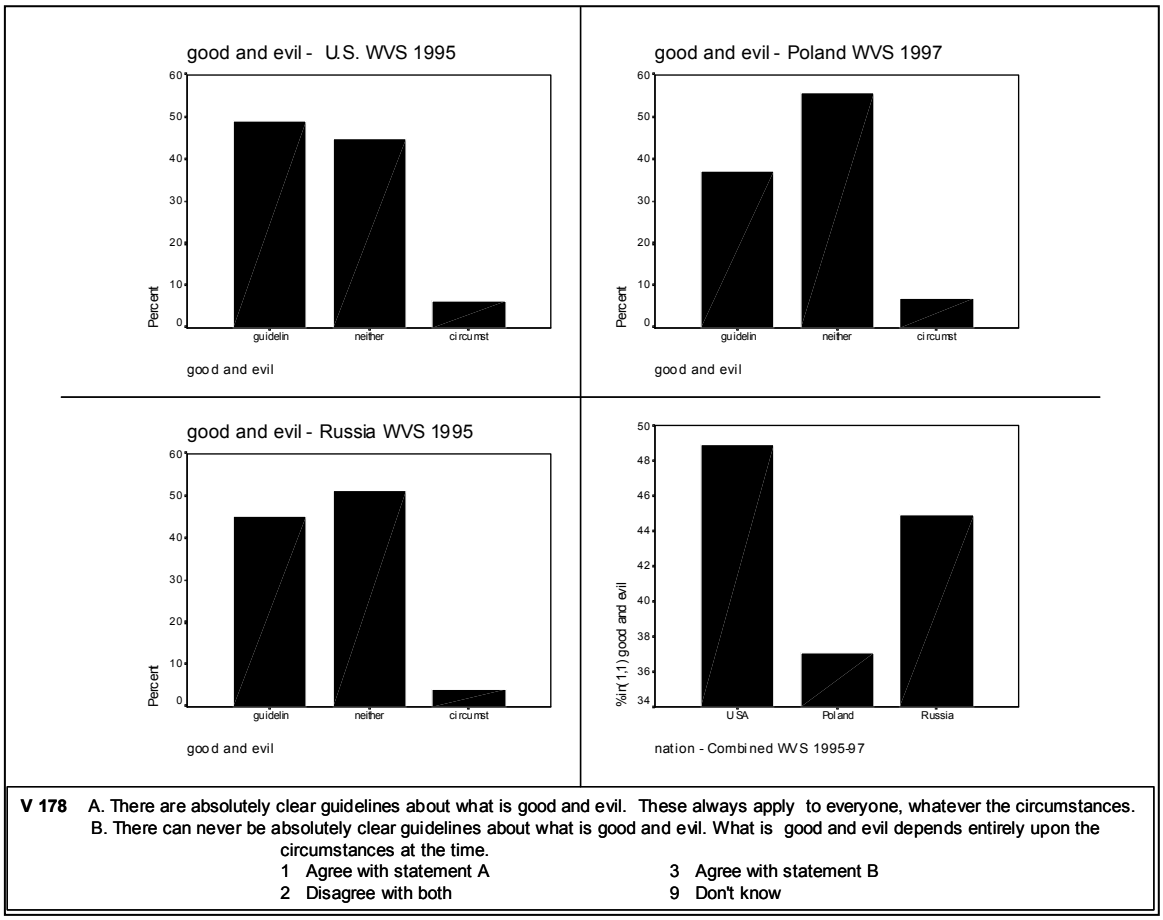
Figure H.2 WVS 1995-97 V177 (Meaning of Life) Results



V 178 A. There are absolutely clear guidelines about what is good and evil. These always apply to everyone, whatever the circumstances.
B. There can never be absolutely clear guidelines about what is good and evil. What is good and evil depends entirely upon the circumstances at the time.

1 Agree with statement A
2 Disagree with both
3 Agree with statement B
9 Don't know

Figure H.3 WVS 1990 V178 (Good and Evil) Results



V 178 A. There are absolutely clear guidelines about what is good and evil. These always apply to everyone, whatever the circumstances.
B. There can never be absolutely clear guidelines about what is good and evil. What is good and evil depends entirely upon the circumstances at the time.

1 Agree with statement A
2 Disagree with both
3 Agree with statement B
9 Don't know

Figure H.4 WVS 1995-97 V178 (Good and Evil) Results

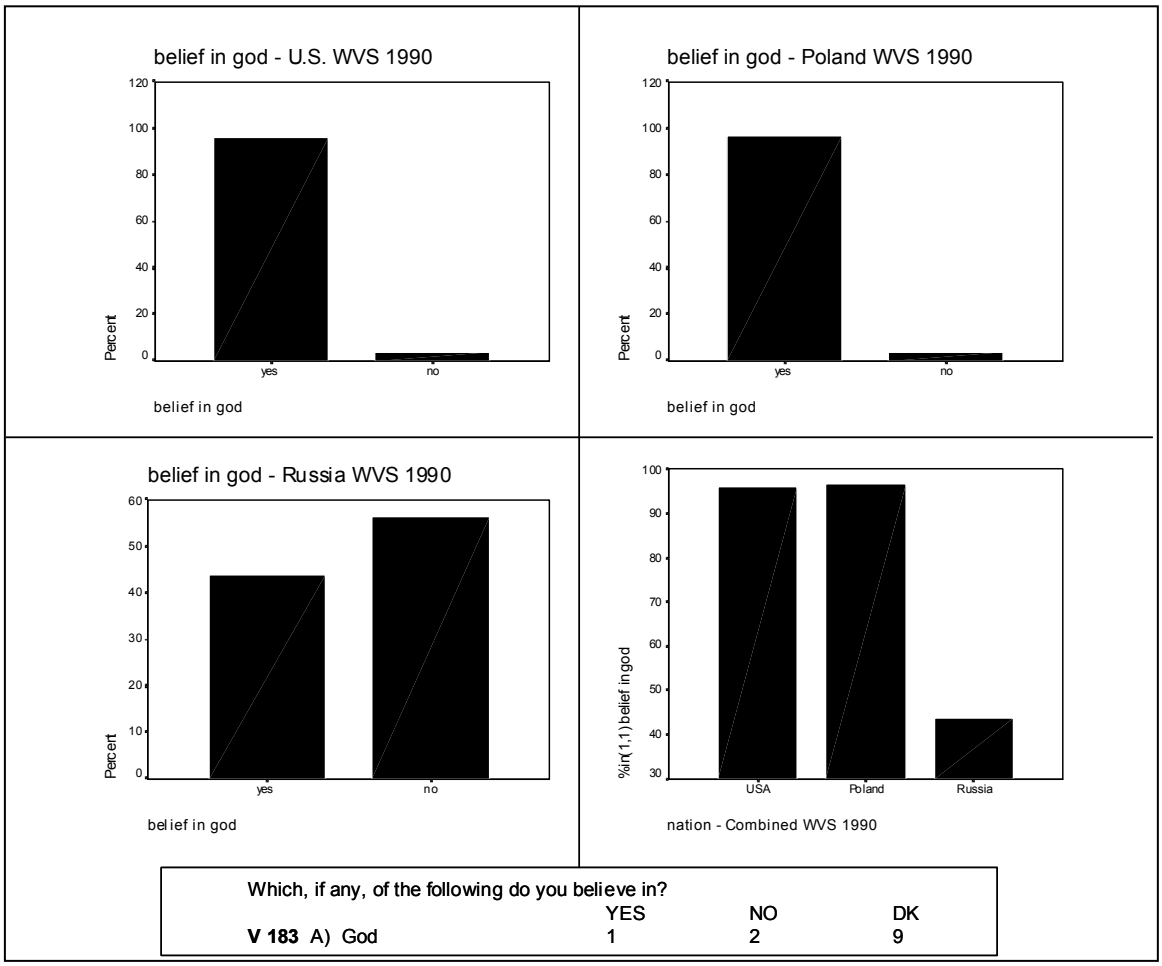


Figure H.5 WVS 1990 V183 (Belief in God) Results

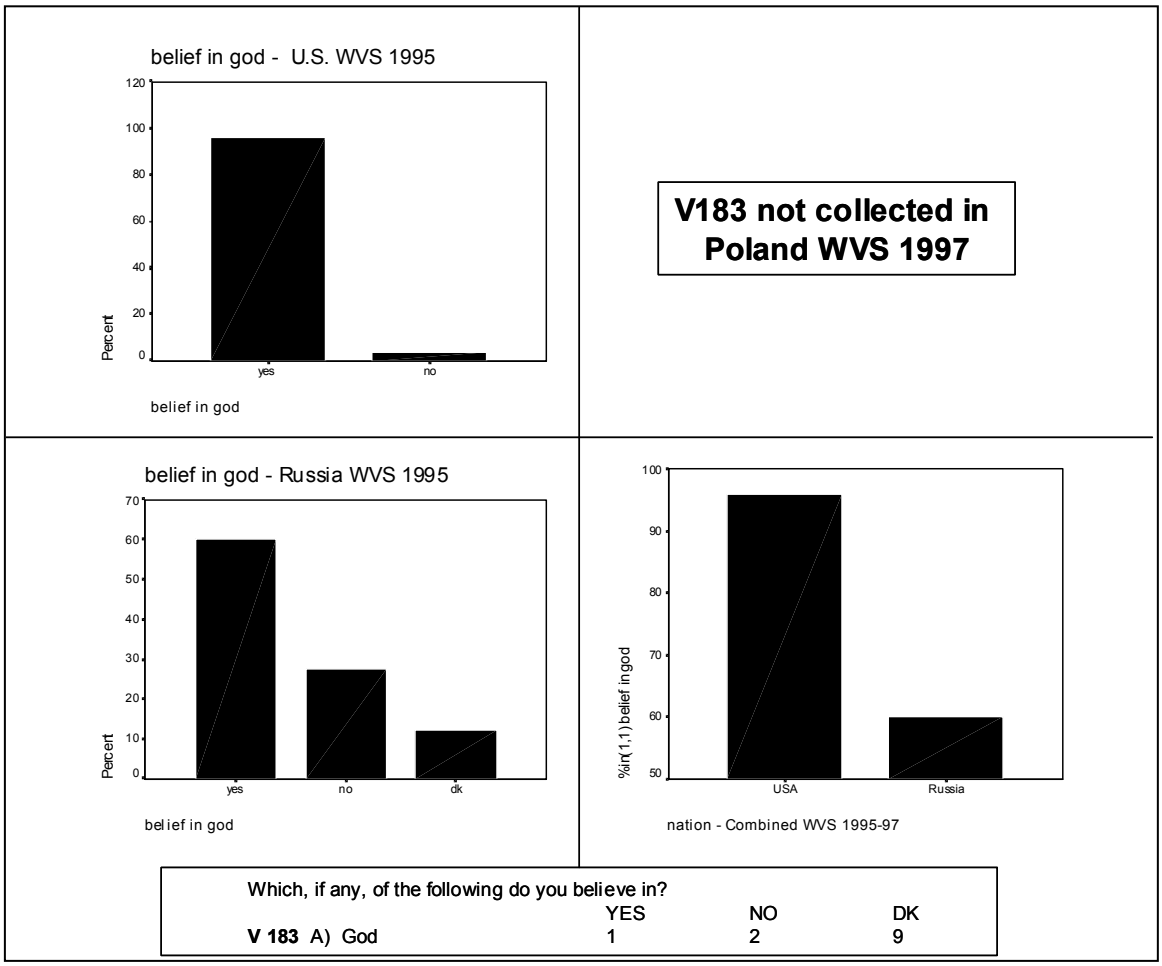


Figure H.6 WVS 1995-97 V183 (Belief in God) Results

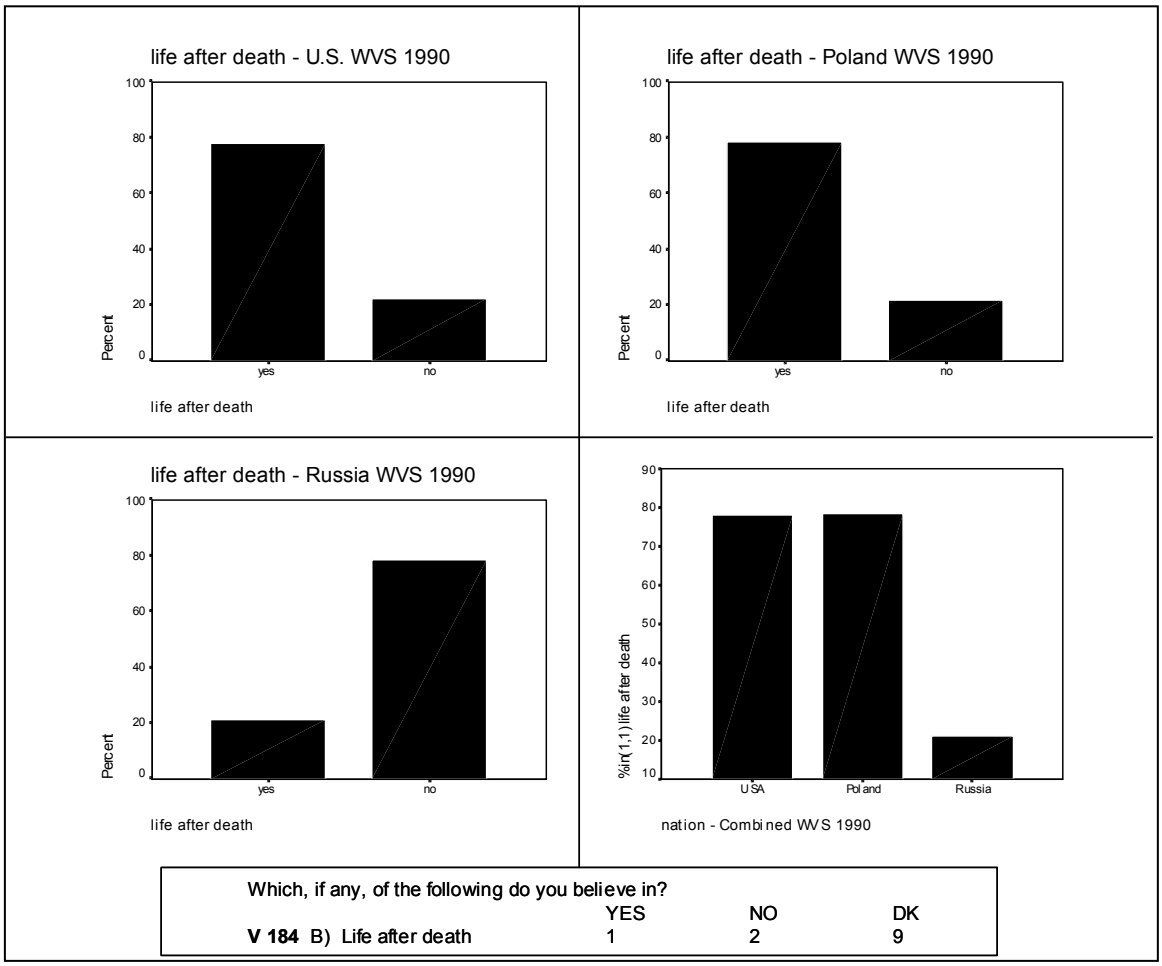


Figure H.7 WVS 1990 V184 (Life After Death) Results

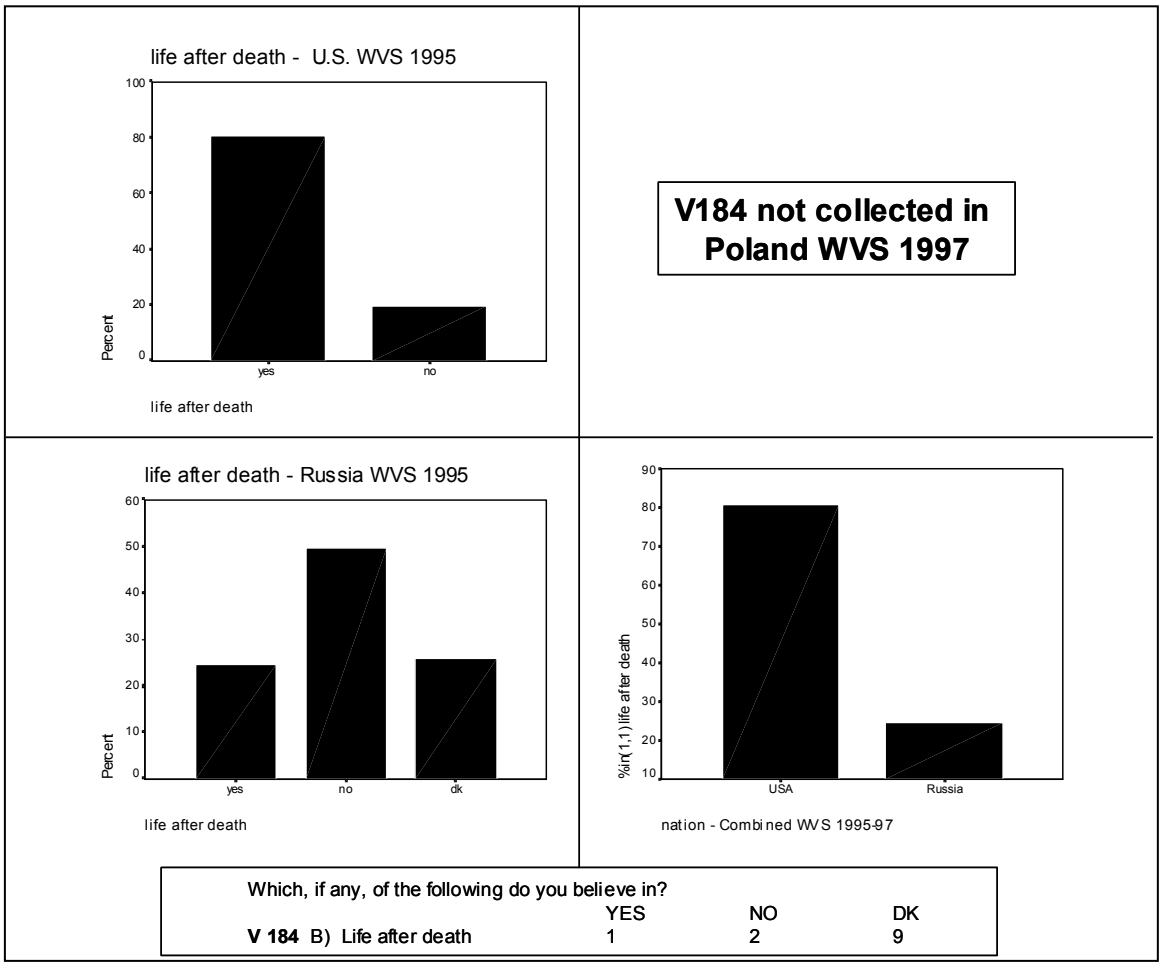


Figure H.8 WVS 1995-97 V184 (Life After Death) Results

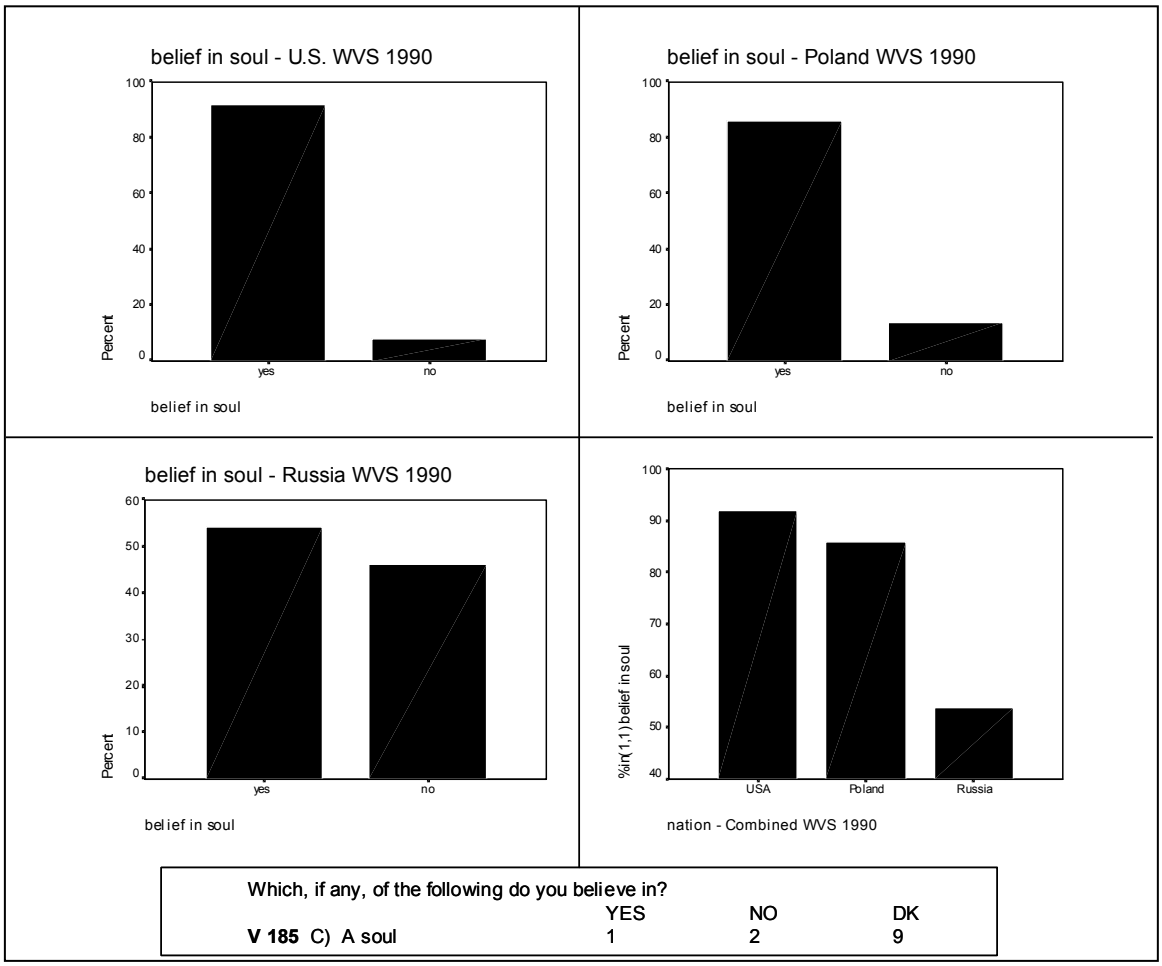


Figure H.9 WVS 1990 V185 (Belief in Soul) Results

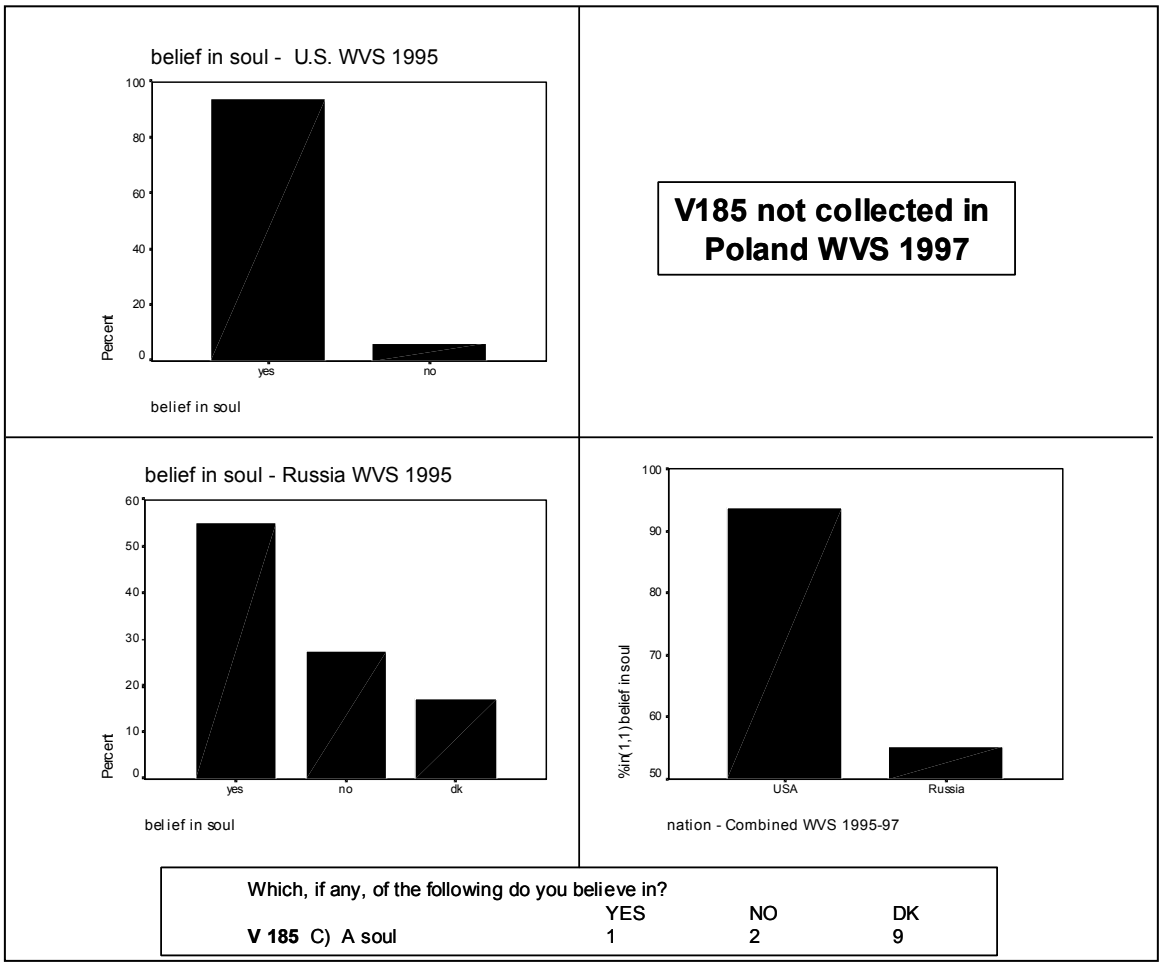


Figure H.10 WVS 1995-97 V185 (Belief in Soul) Results

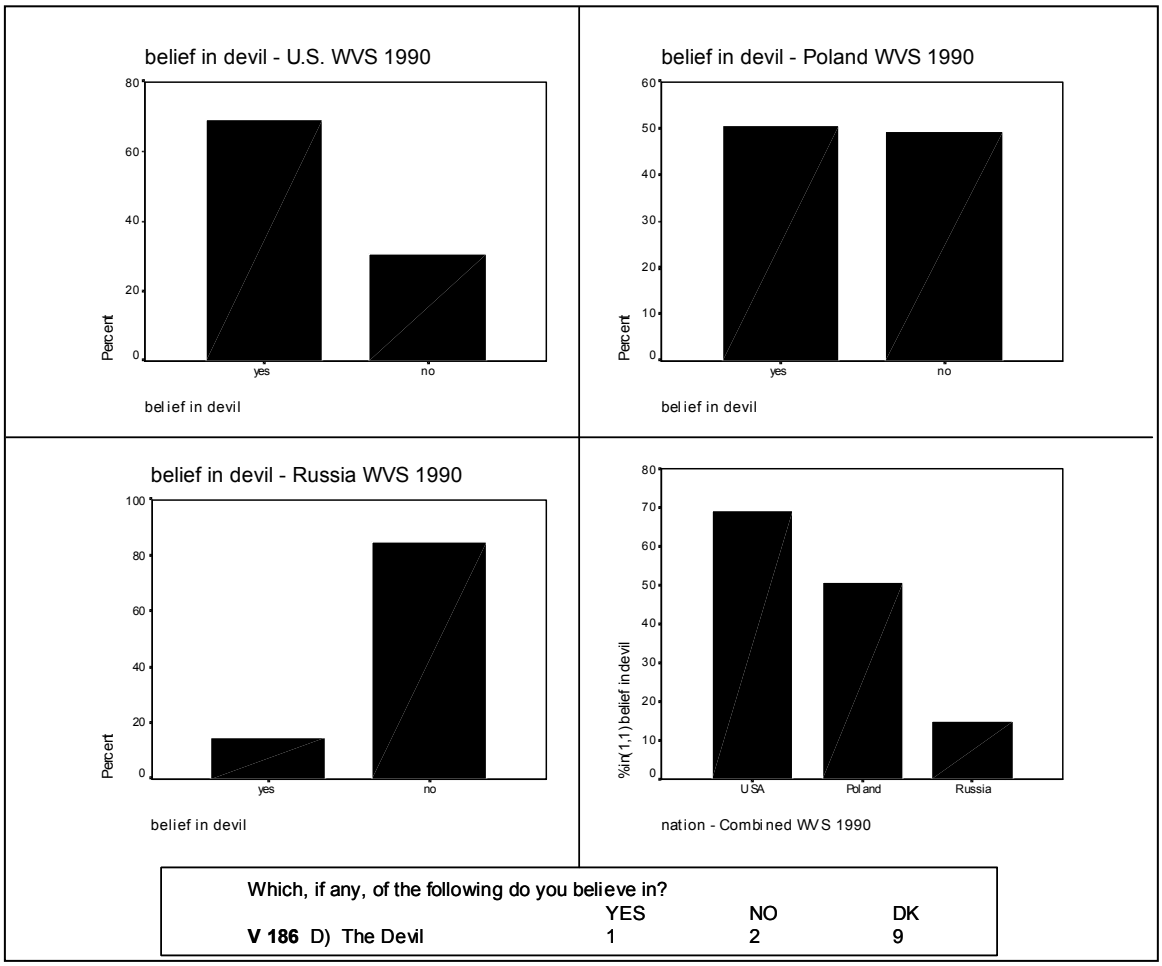
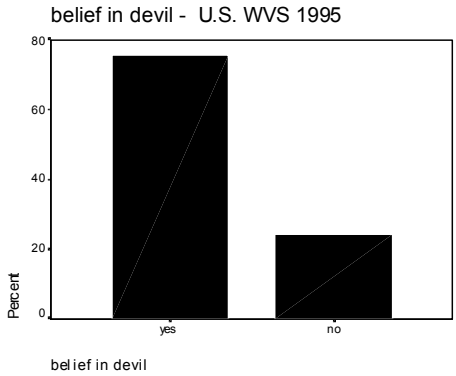
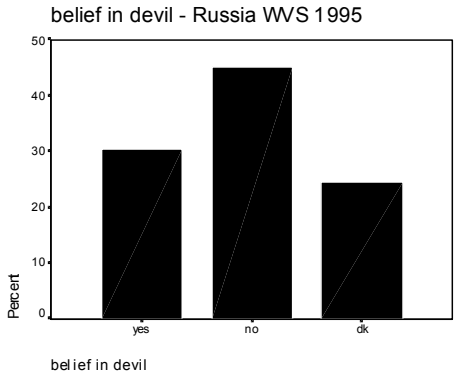
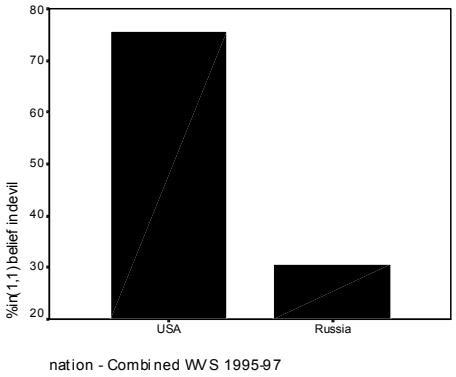


Figure H.11 WVS 1990 V186 (Belief in Devil) Results



V186 not collected in Poland WVS 1997





Which, if any, of the following do you believe in?	YES	NO	DK
V 186 D) The Devil	1	2	9

Figure H.12 WVS 1995-97 V186 (Belief in Devil) Results

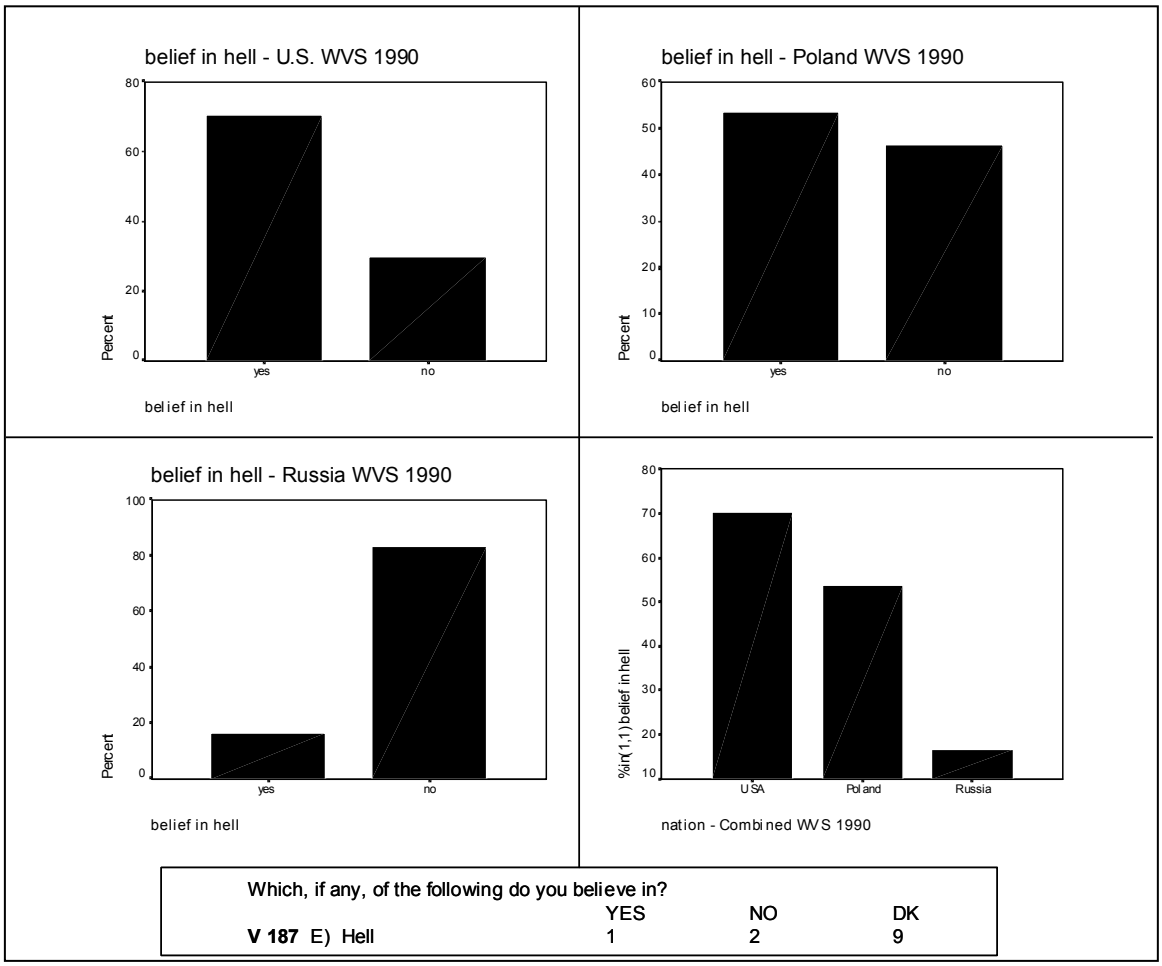
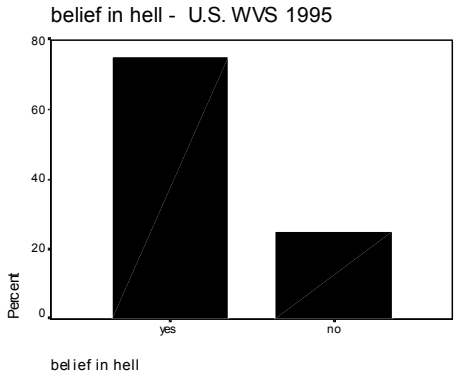
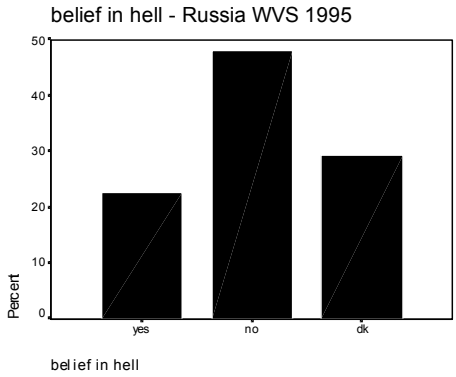
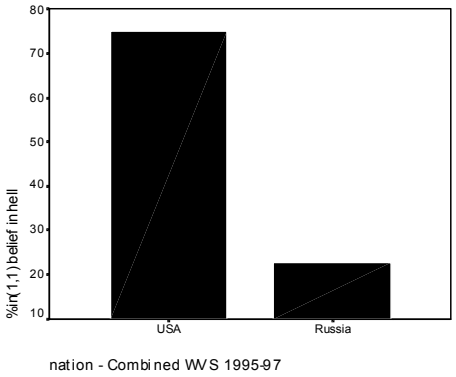


Figure H.13 WVS 1990 V187 (Belief in Hell) Results



V187 not collected in Poland WVS 1997





Which, if any, of the following do you believe in?	YES	NO	DK
V 187 E) Hell	1	2	9

Figure H.14 WVS 1995-97 V187 (Belief in Hell) Results

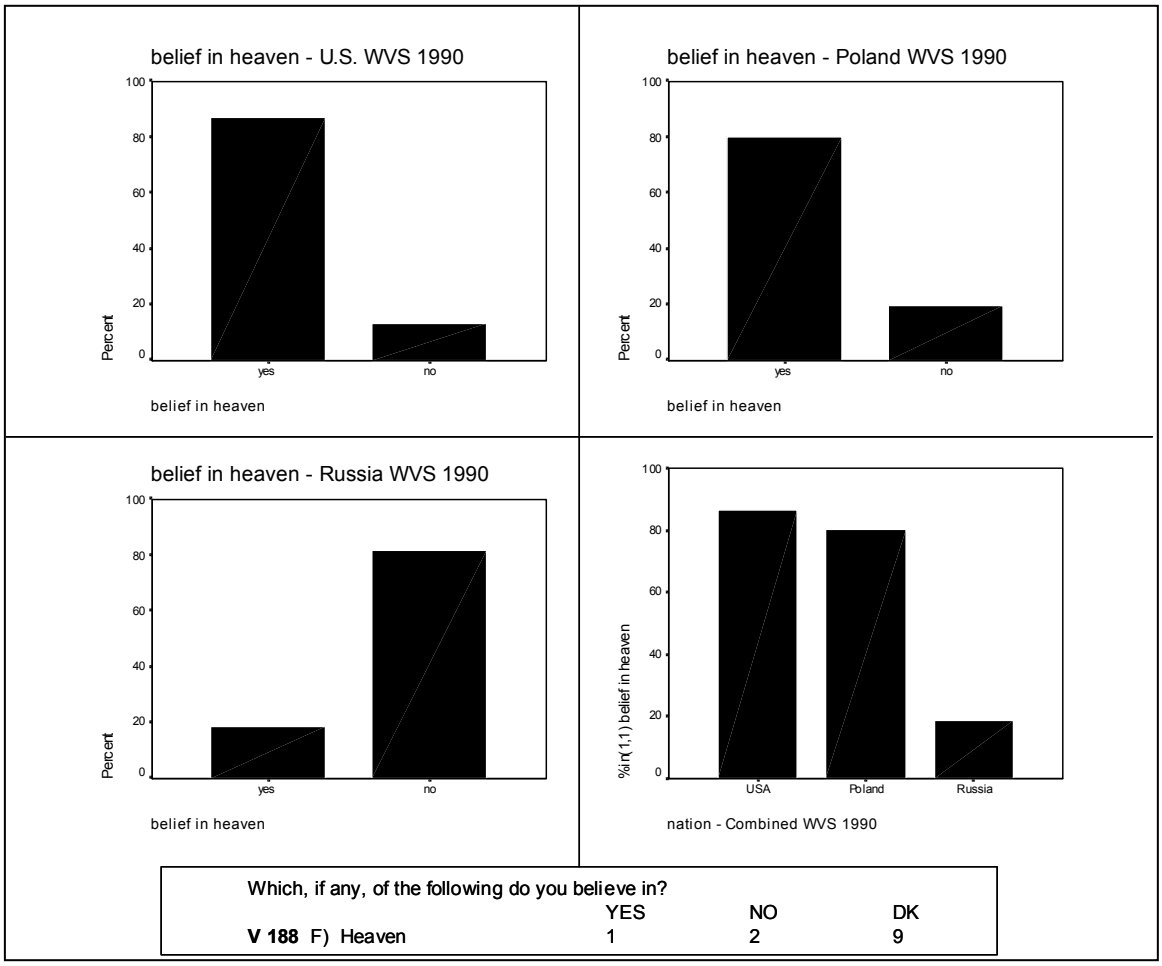
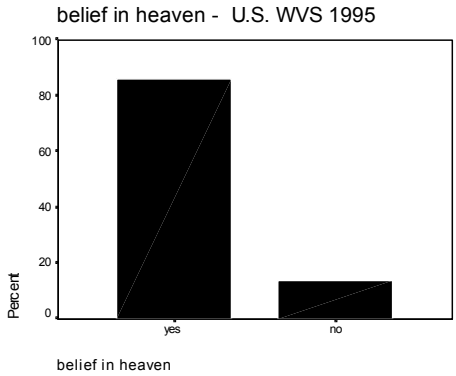
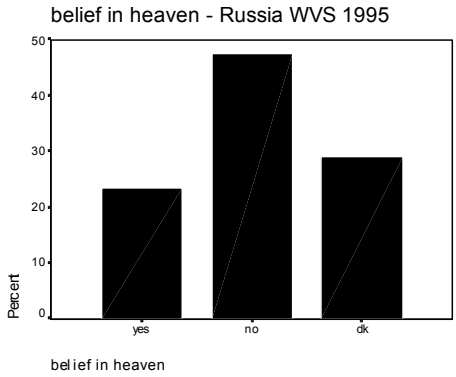
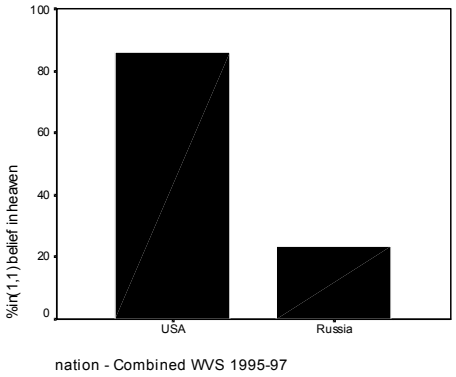


Figure H.15 WVS 1990 V188 (Belief in Heaven) Results



V188 not collected in Poland WVS 1997





Which, if any, of the following do you believe in?	YES	NO	DK
V 188 F) Heaven	1	2	9

Figure H.16 WVS 1995-97 V188 (Belief in Heaven) Results

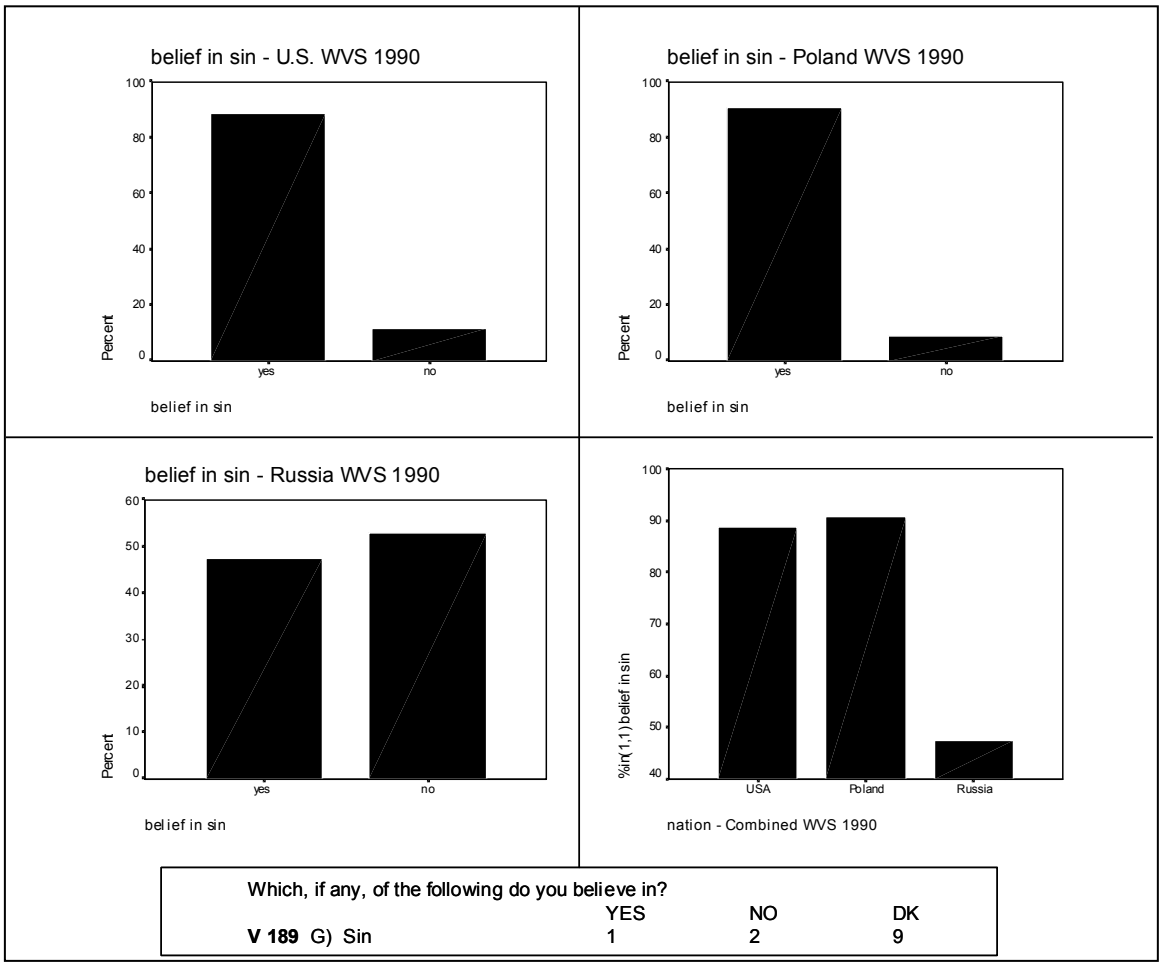


Figure H.17 WVS 1990 V189 (Belief in Sin) Results

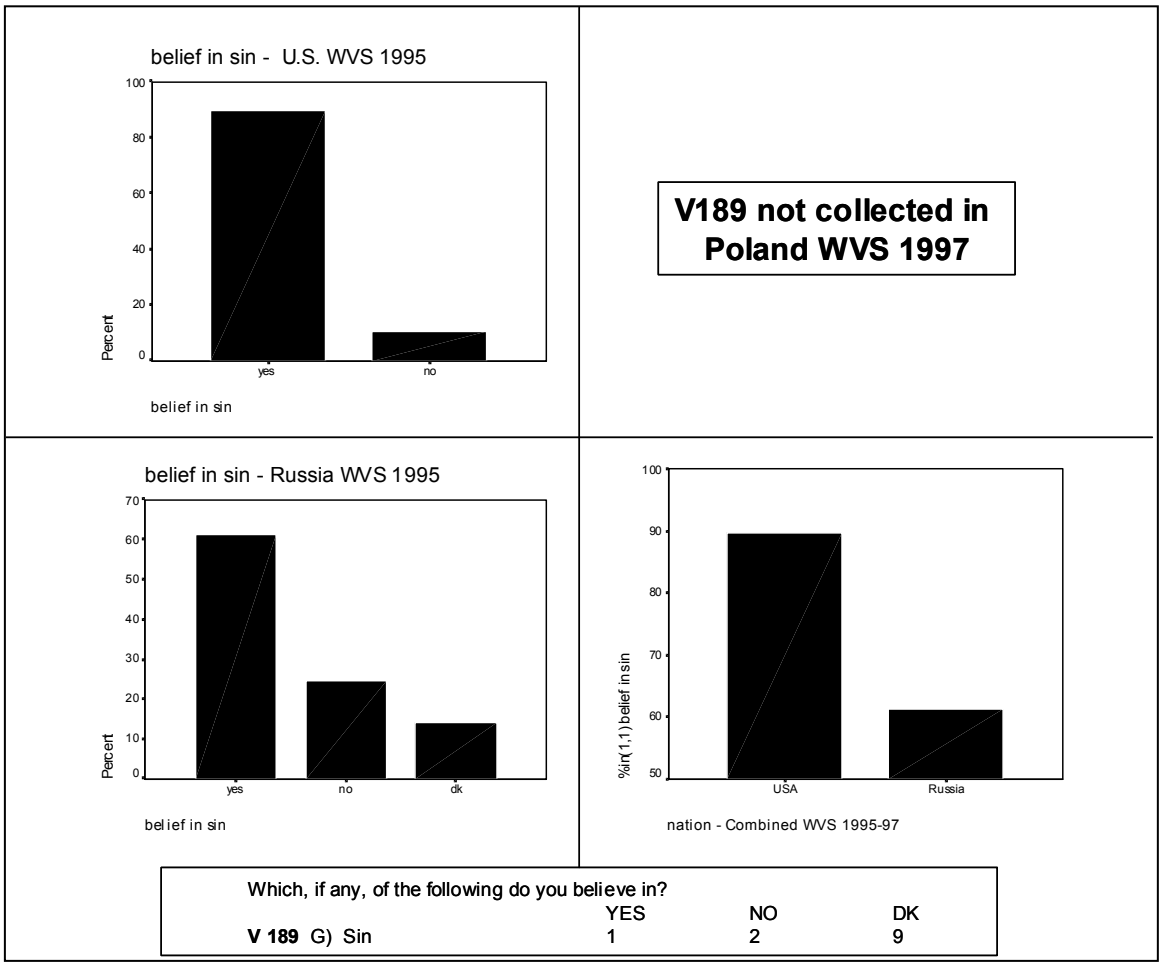


Figure H.18 WVS 1995-97 V189 (Belief in Sin) Results

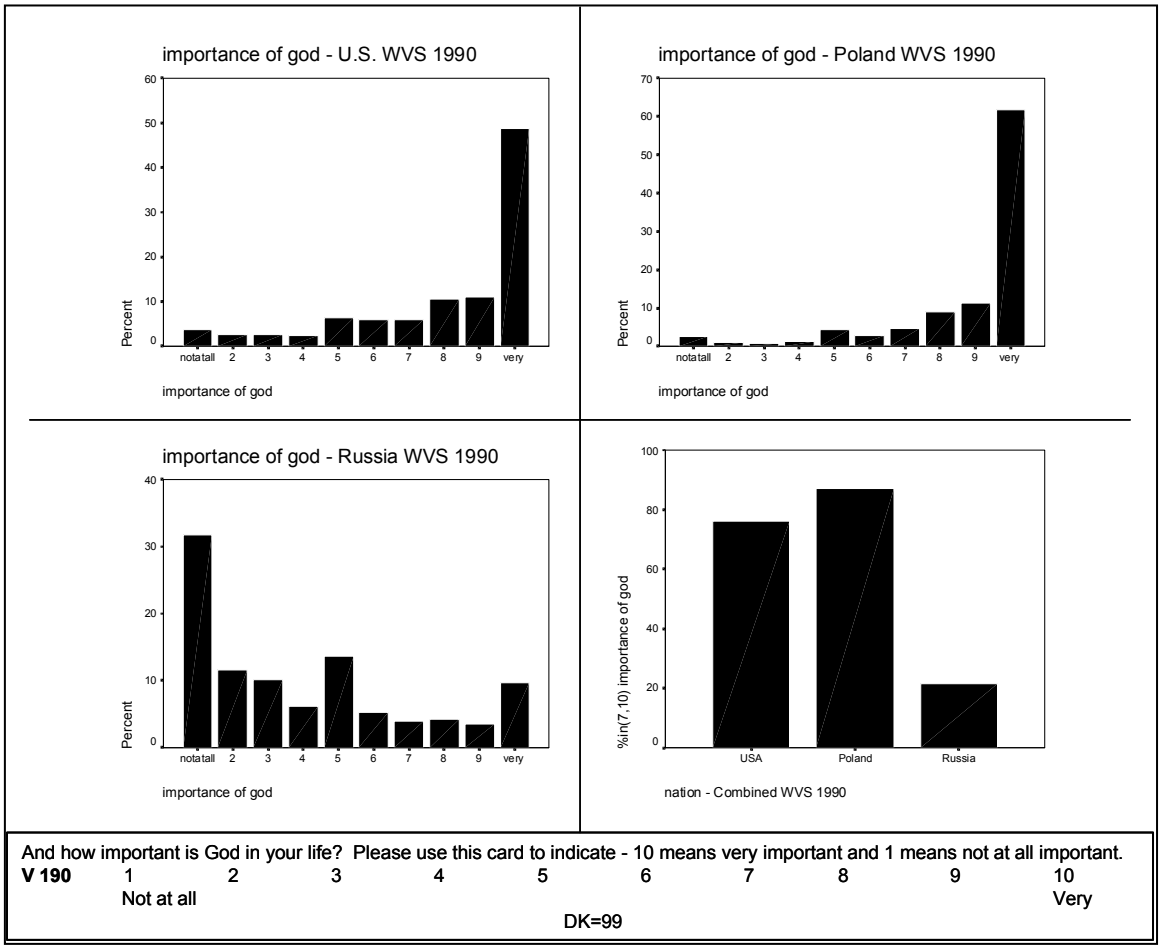
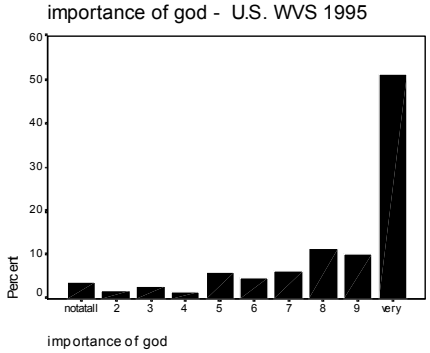
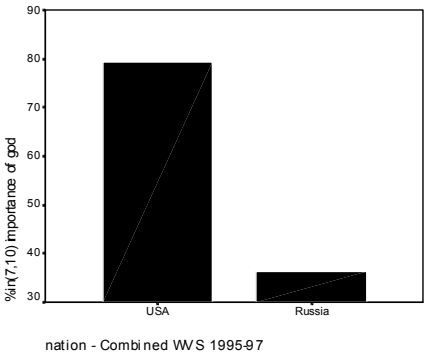


Figure H.19 WVS 1990 V190 (Importance of God) Results



V190 not collected in Poland WVS 1997



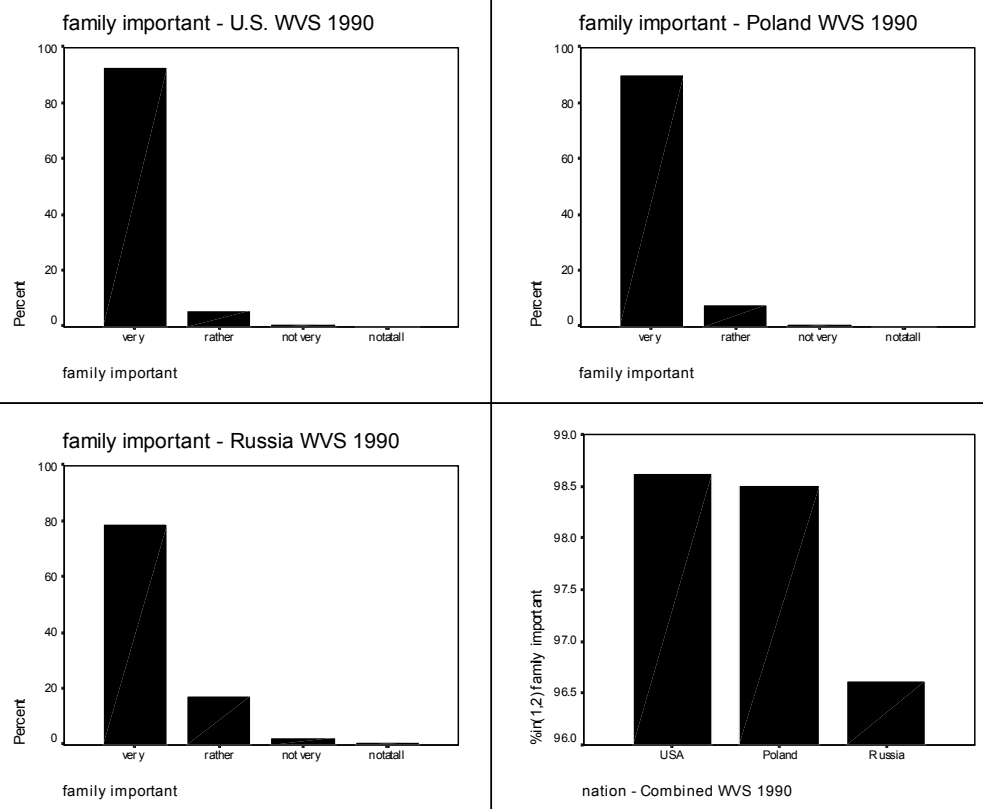
And how important is God in your life? Please use this card to indicate - 10 means very important and 1 means not at all important.

V 190	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	Not at all									Very

DK=99

Figure H.20 WVS 1995-97 V190 (Importance of God) Results

APPENDIX I
WORLD VALUES SURVEYS CONTEXTUAL FACTORS VARIABLES



Please say, for each of the following, how important it is in your life.

	Very Important	Quite Important	Not Very Important	Not at all Important	DK
V 4 B) Family	1	2	3	4	9

Figure I.1 WVS 1990 V4 (Family Important) Results

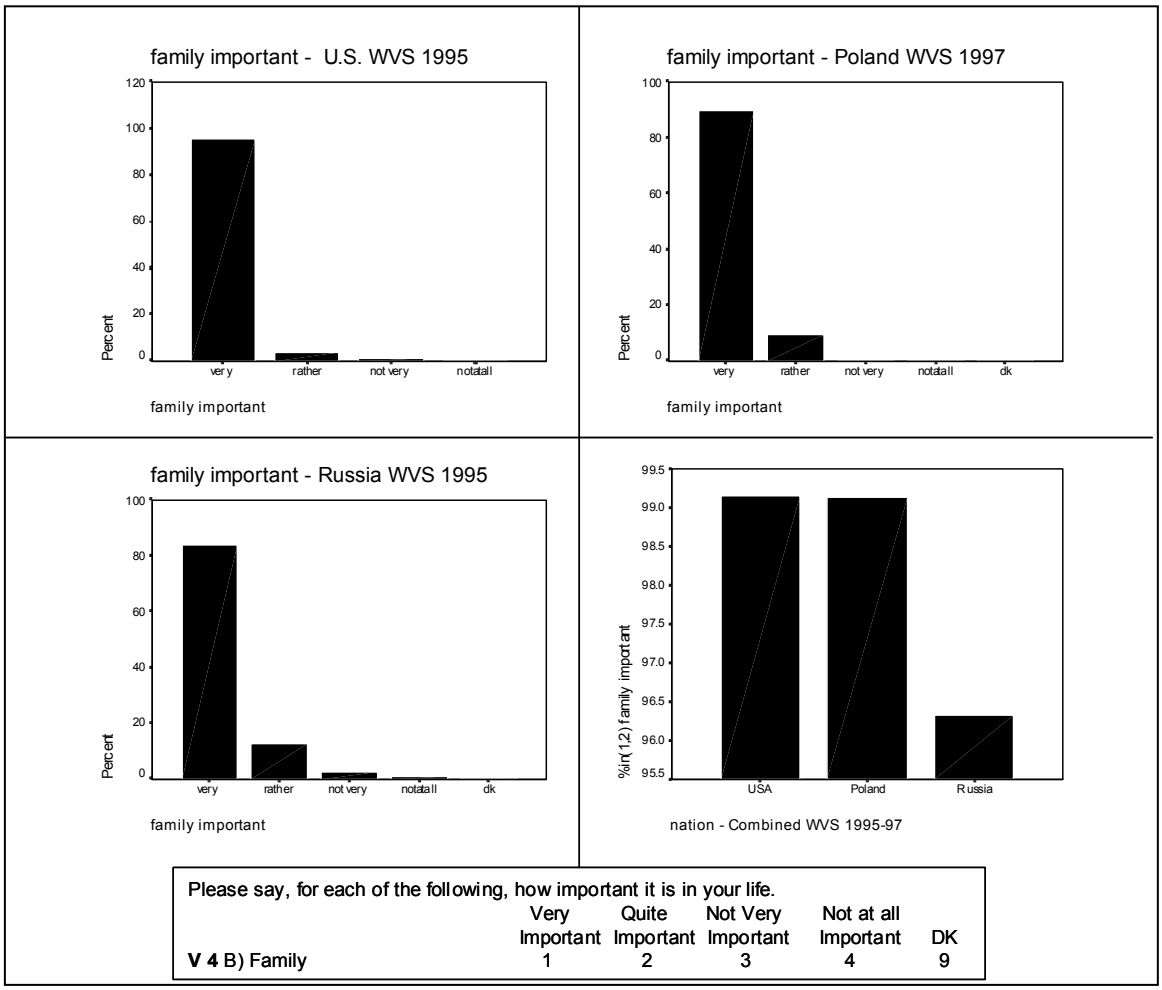
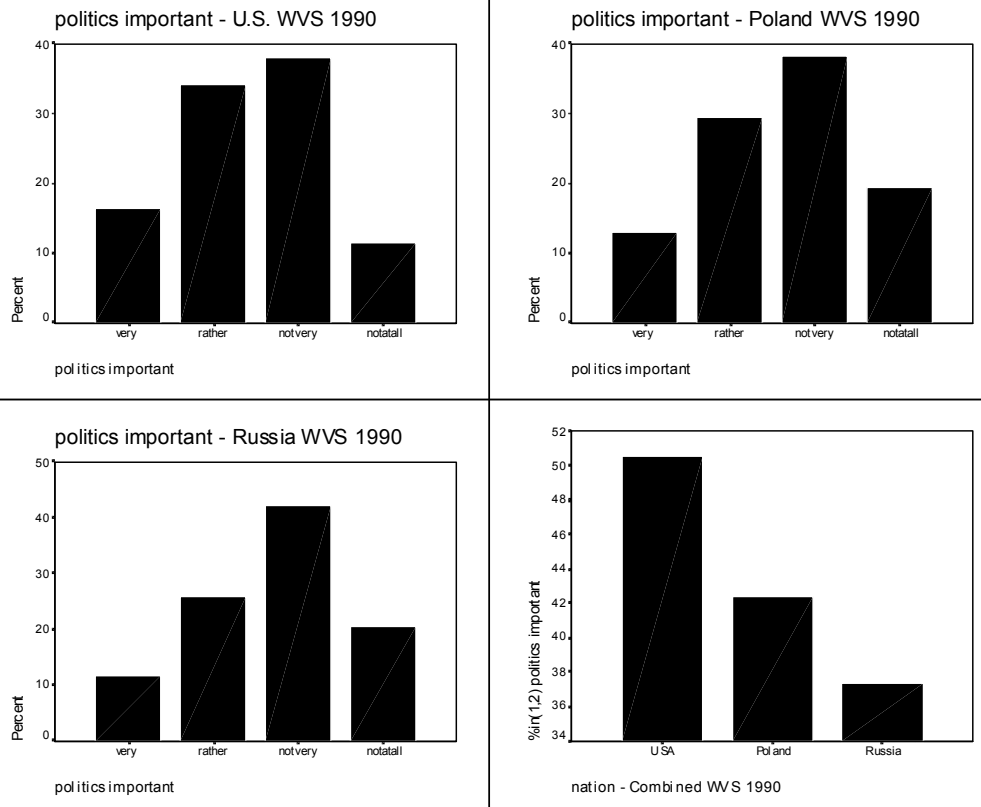


Figure I.2 WVS 1995-97 V4 (Family Important) Results



Please say, for each of the following, how important it is in your life.

	Very Important	Quite Important	Not Very Important	Not at all Important	DK
V 7 E) Politics	1	2	3	4	9

Figure I.3 WVS 1990 V7 (Importance of Politics) Results

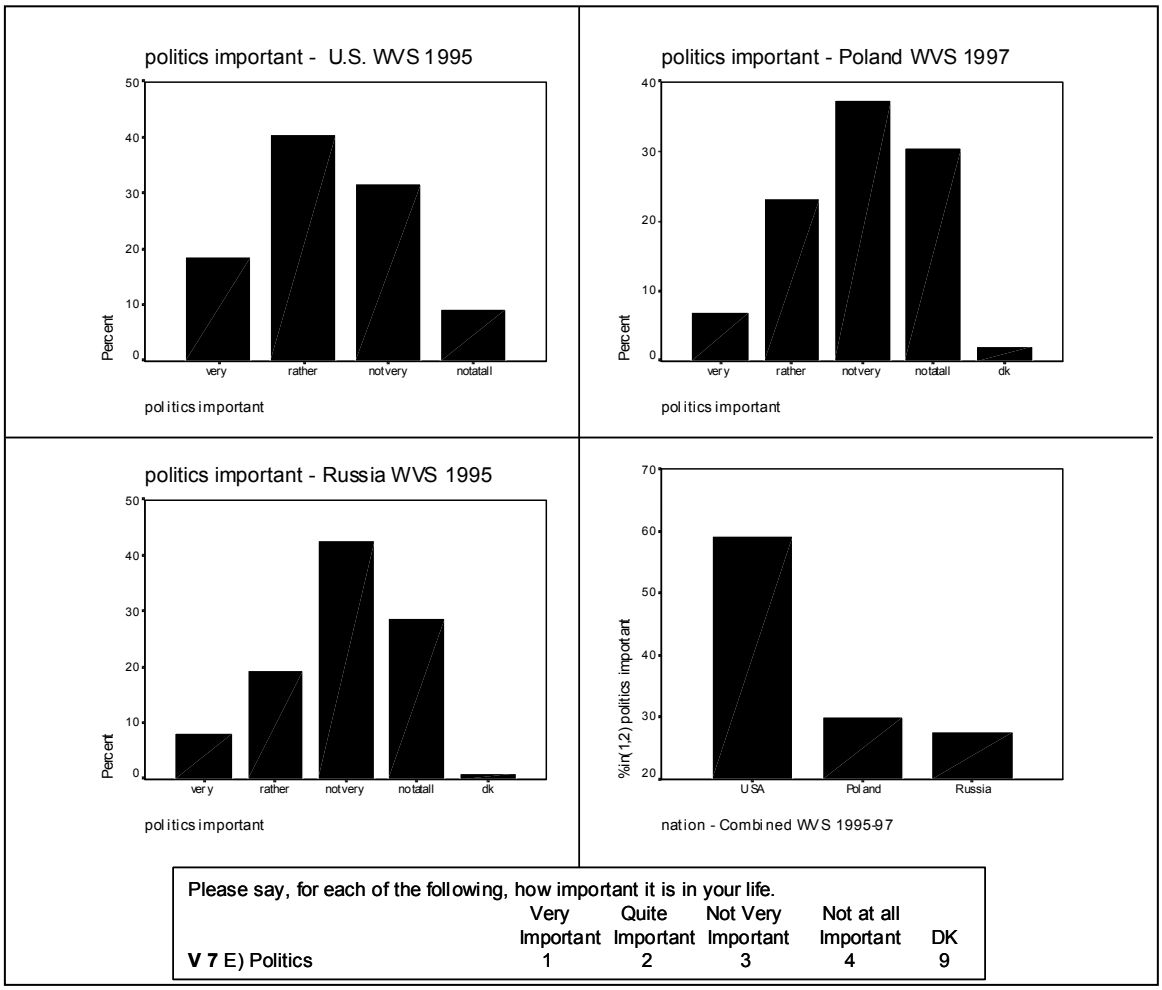


Figure I.4 WVS 1995-97 V7 (Importance of Politics) Results

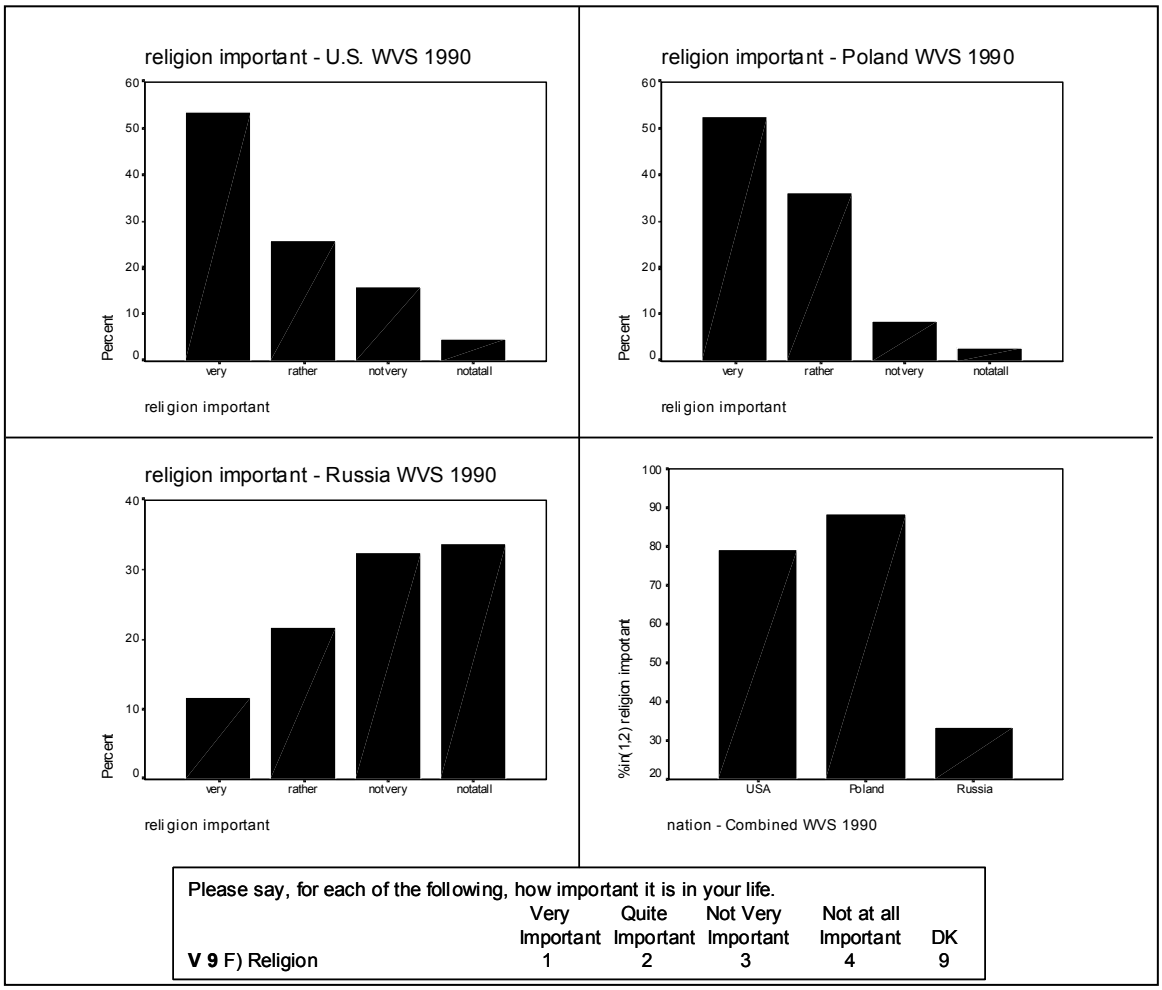
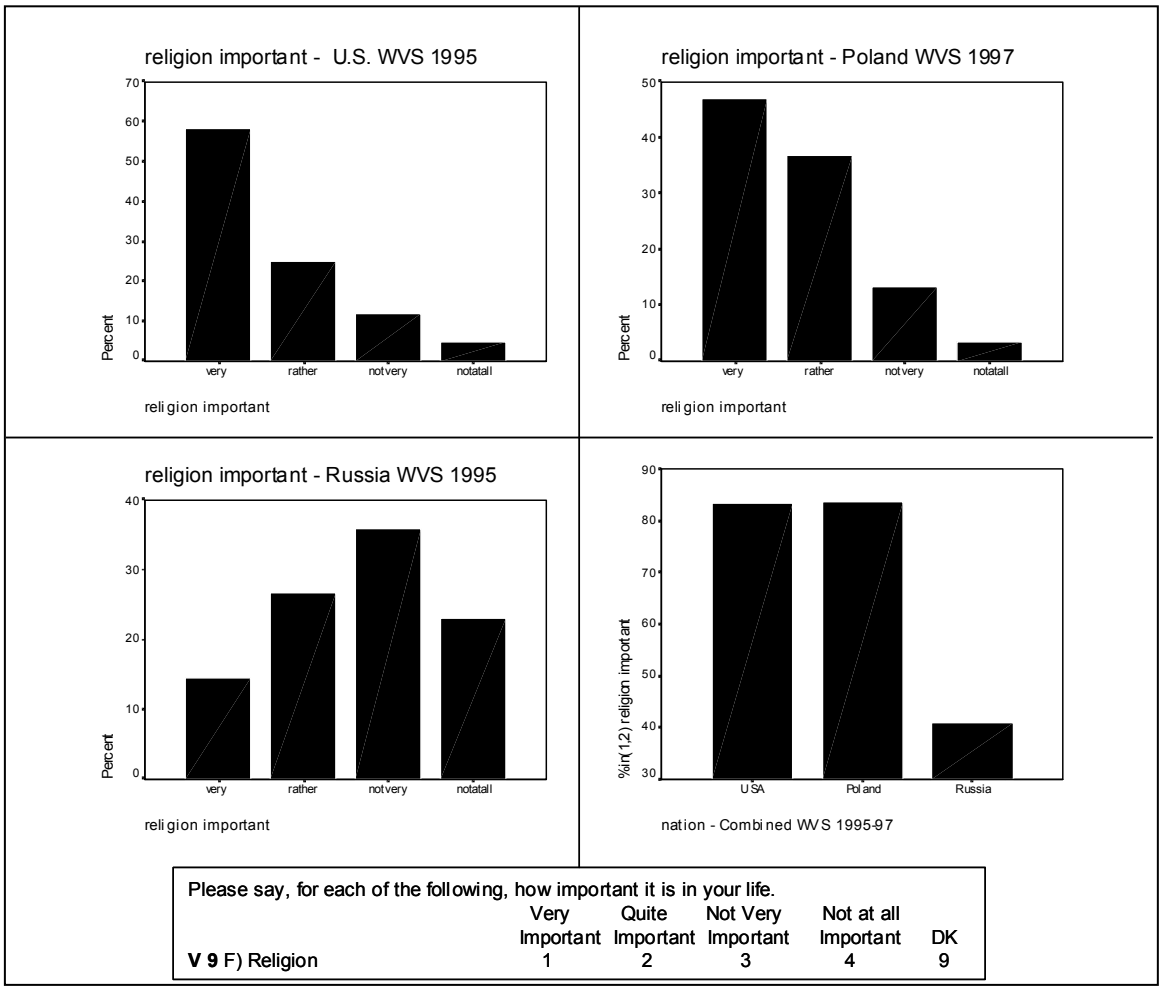


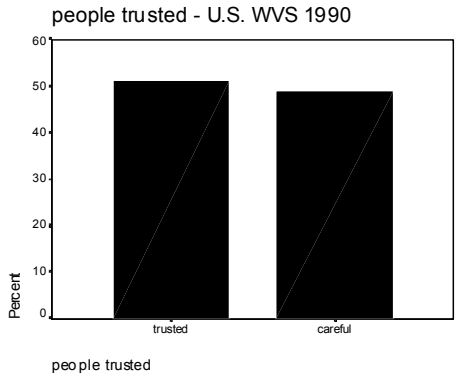
Figure I.5 WVS 1990 V9 (Importance of Religion) Results

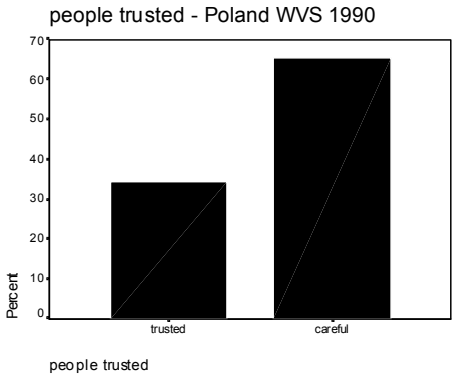


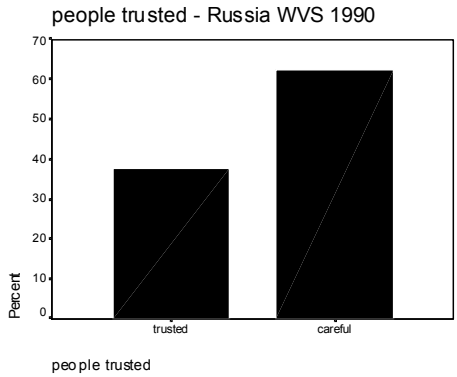
Please say, for each of the following, how important it is in your life.

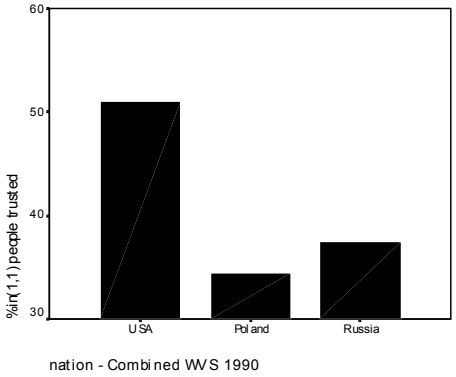
	Very Important	Quite Important	Not Very Important	Not at all Important	DK
V 9 F) Religion	1	2	3	4	9

Figure I.6 WVS 1995-97 V9 (Importance of Religion) Results





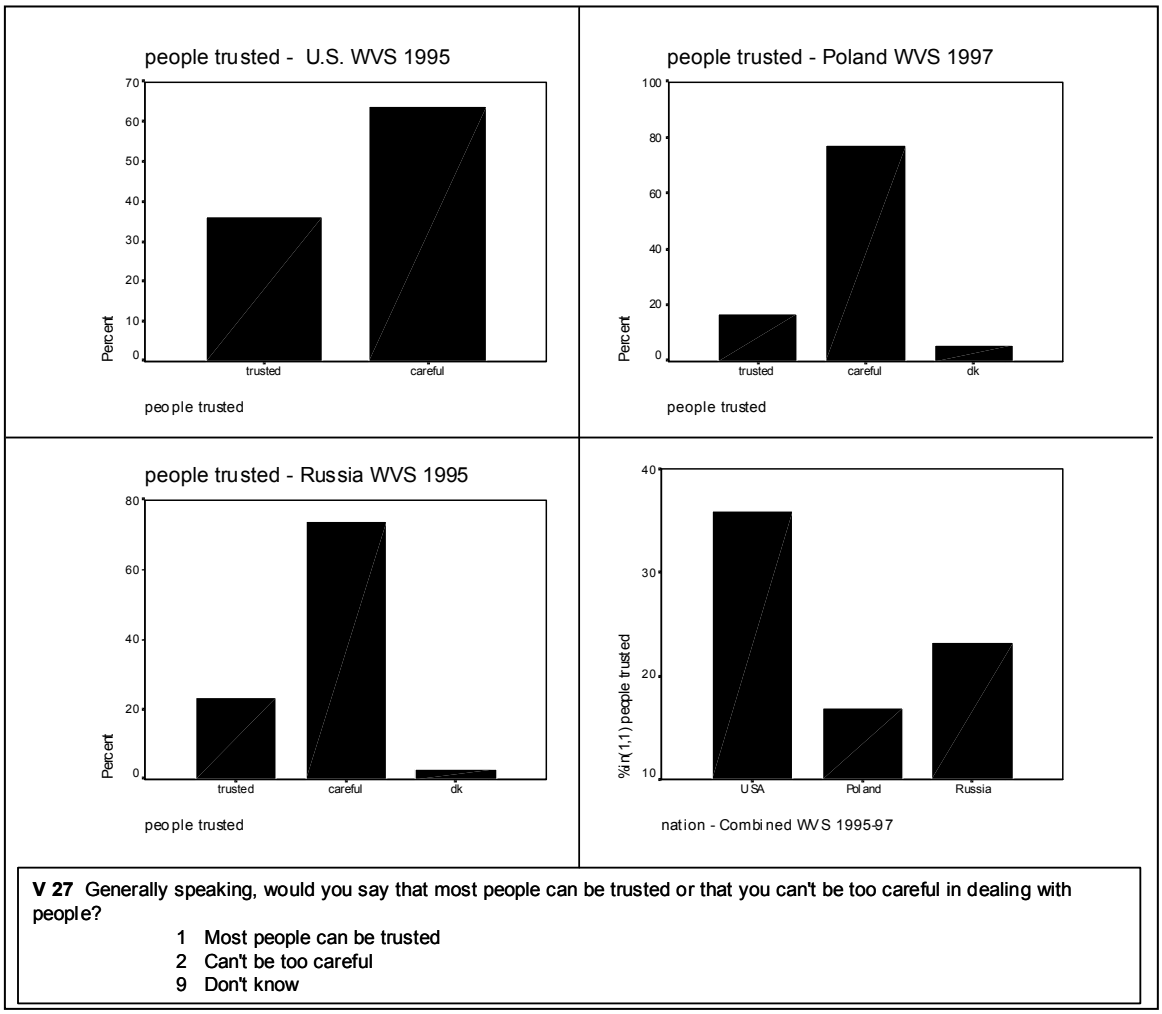




V 27 Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

1 Most people can be trusted
2 Can't be too careful
9 Don't know

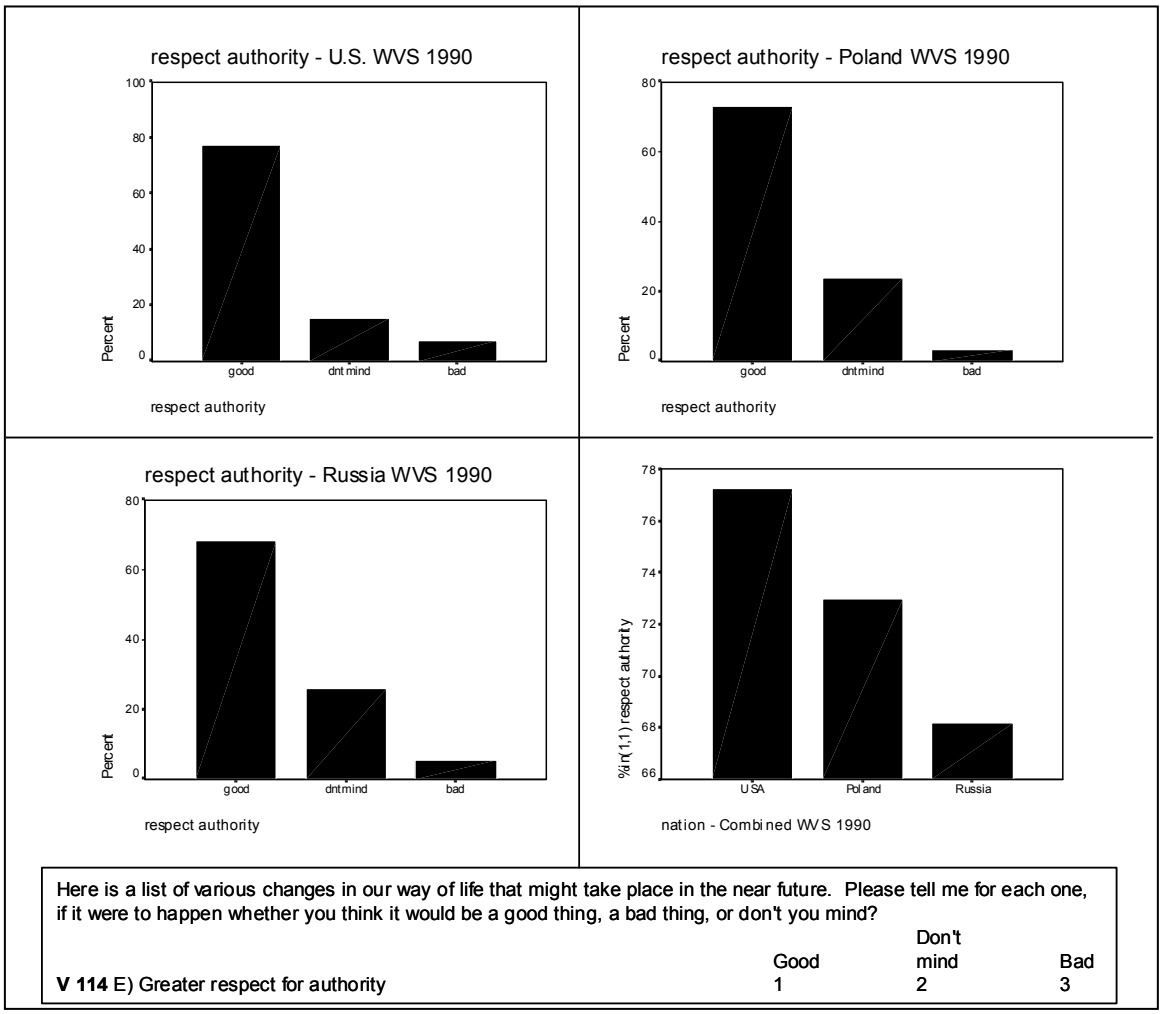
Figure I.7 WVS 1990 V27 (Trust in People) Results



V 27 Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

1 Most people can be trusted
2 Can't be too careful
9 Don't know

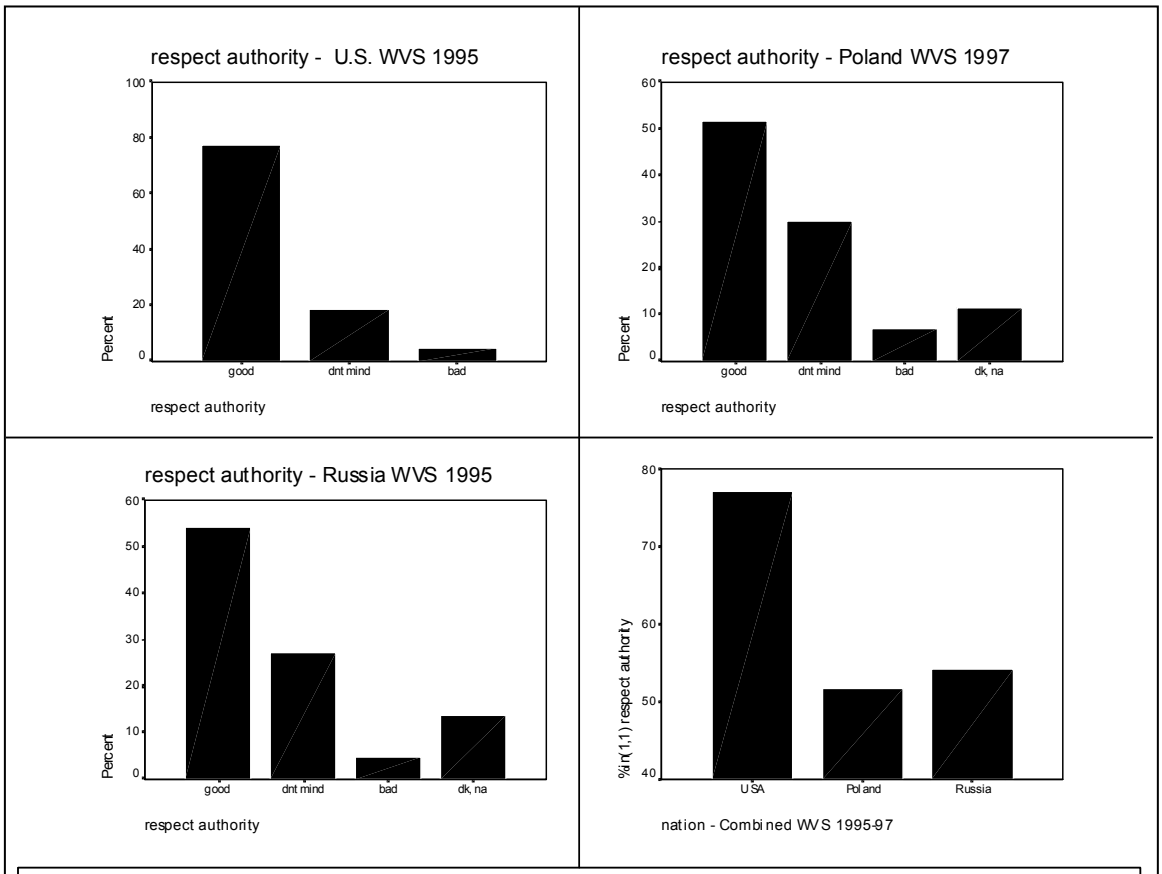
Figure I.8 WVS 1995-97 V27 (Trust in People) Results



Here is a list of various changes in our way of life that might take place in the near future. Please tell me for each one, if it were to happen whether you think it would be a good thing, a bad thing, or don't you mind?

	Good	Don't mind	Bad
V 114 E) Greater respect for authority	1	2	3

Figure I.9 WVS 1990 V114 (Respect for Authority) Results



Here is a list of various changes in our way of life that might take place in the near future. Please tell me for each one, if it were to happen whether you think it would be a good thing, a bad thing, or don't you mind?

	Good	Don't mind	Bad
V 114 E) Greater respect for authority	1	2	3

Figure I.10 WVS 1995-97 V114 (Respect for Authority) Results

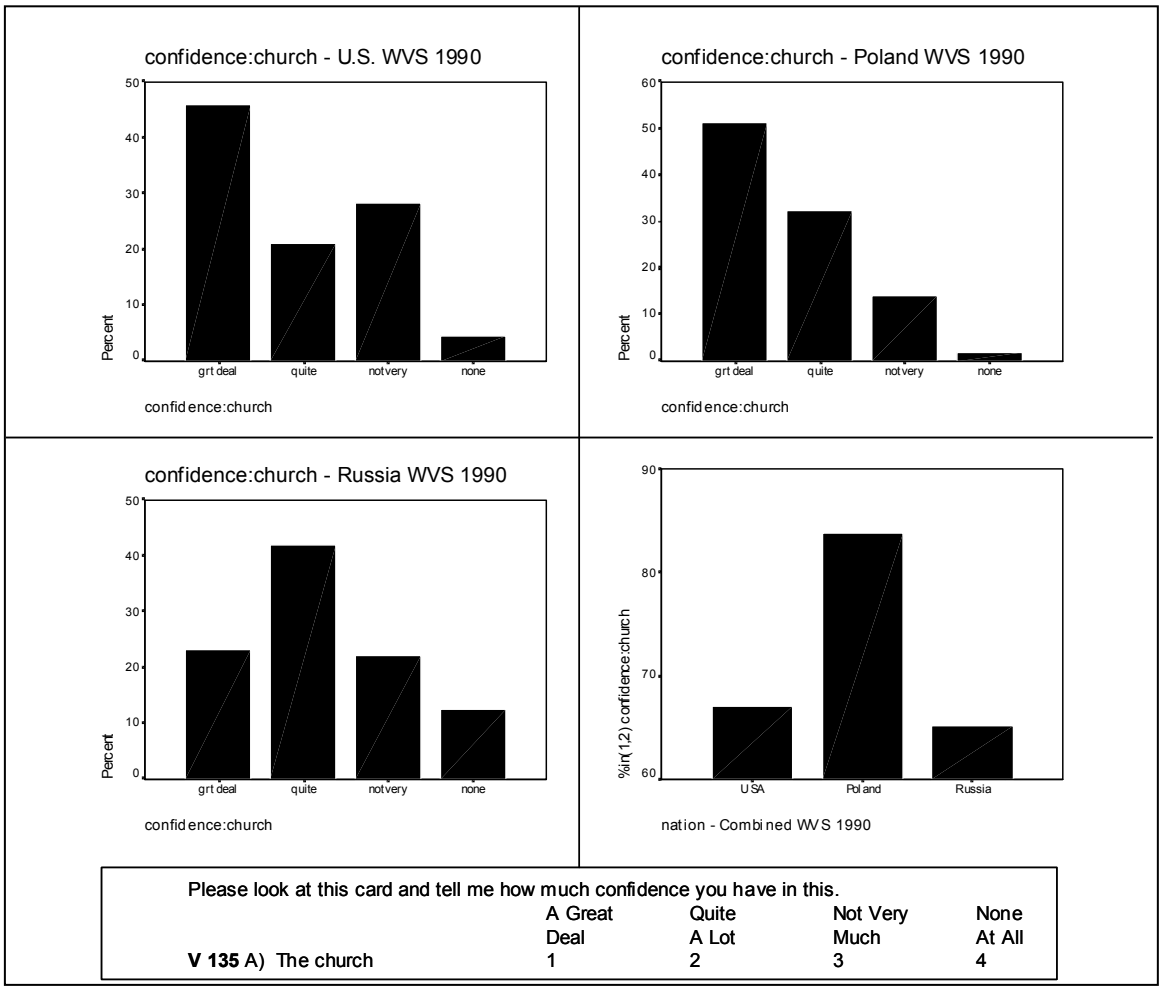


Figure I.11 WVS 1990 V135 (Confidence in Church) Results

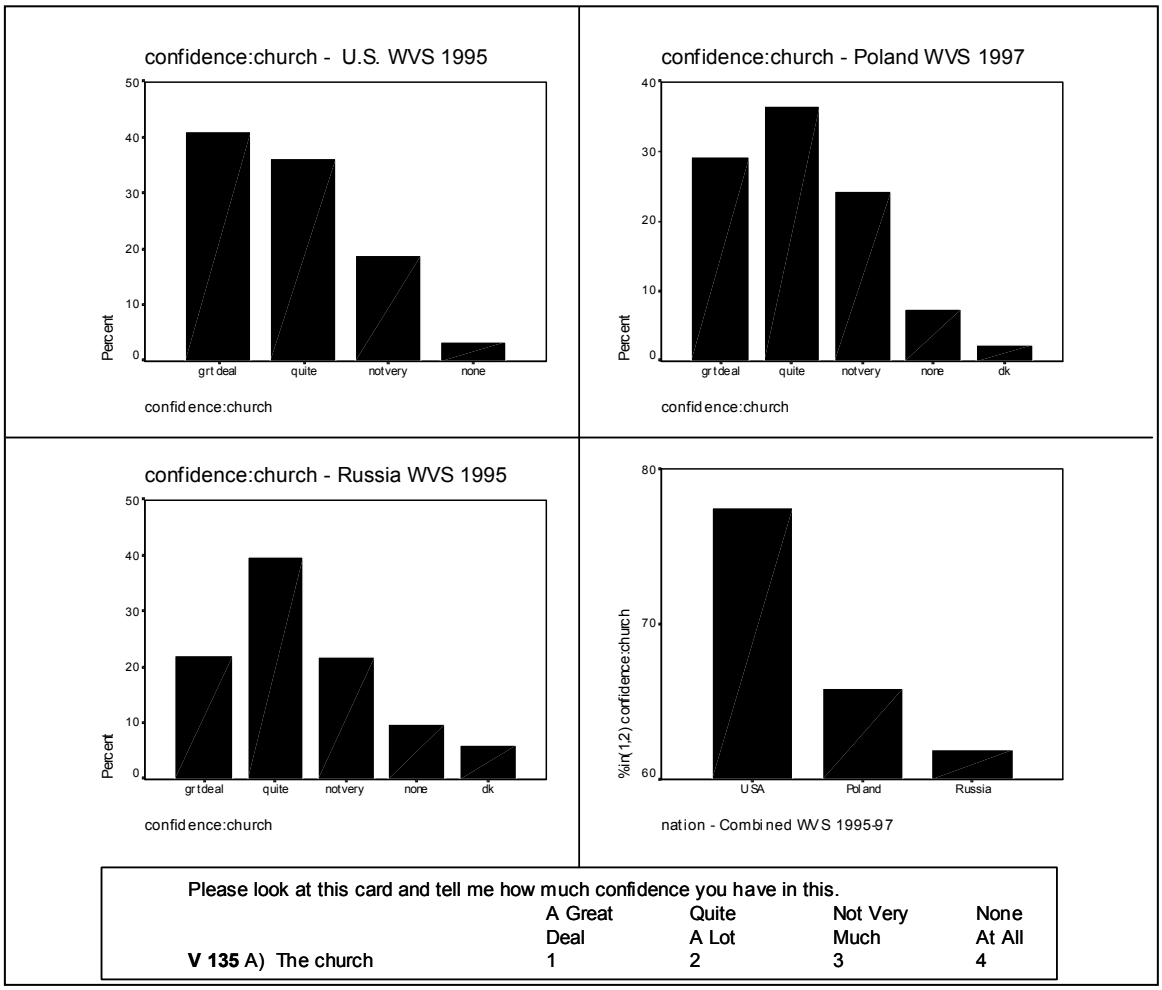
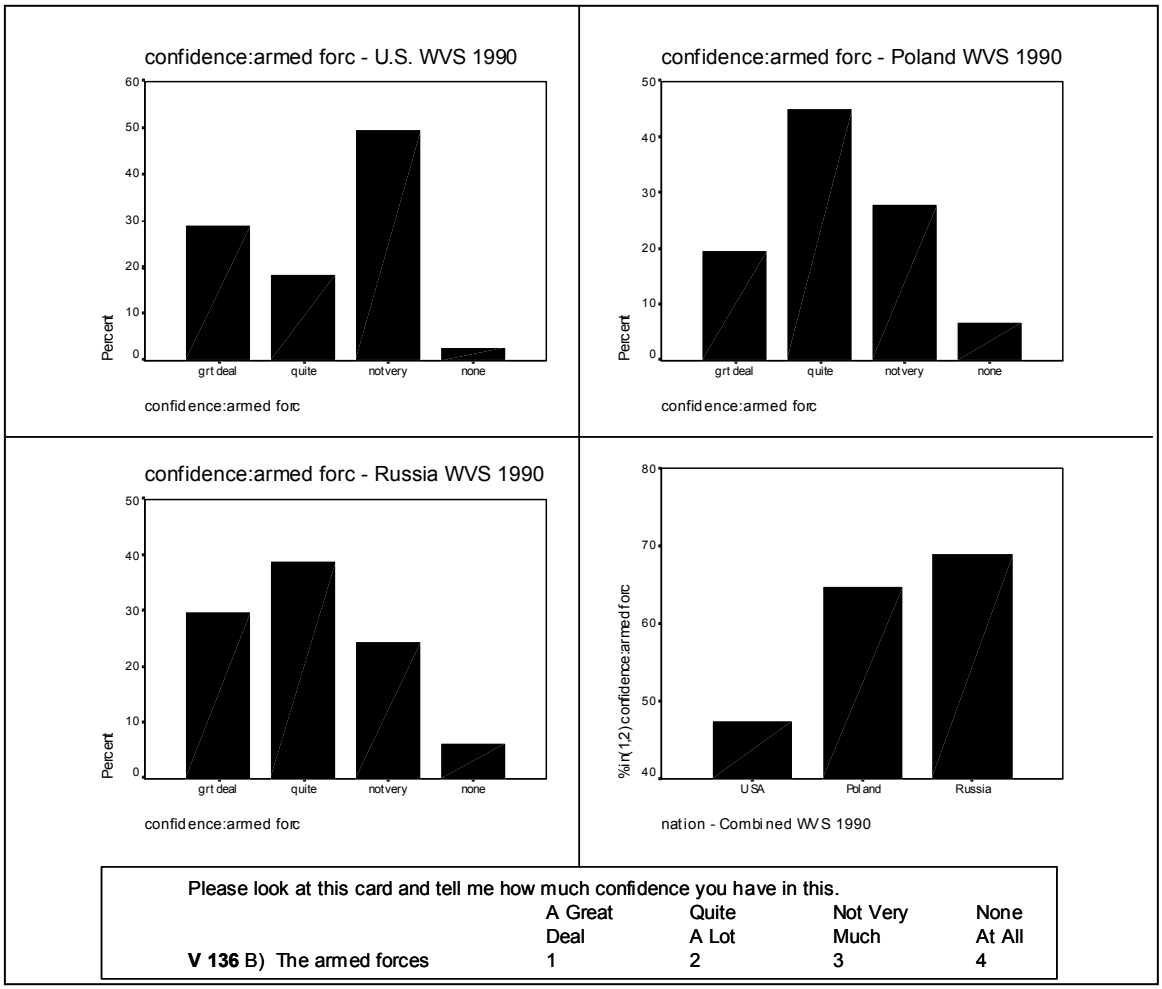


Figure I.12 WVS 1995-97 V135 (Confidence in Church) Results



Please look at this card and tell me how much confidence you have in this.

	A Great Deal	Quite A Lot	Not Very Much	None At All
V 136 B) The armed forces	1	2	3	4

Figure I.13 WVS 1990 V136 (Confidence Armed Forces) Results

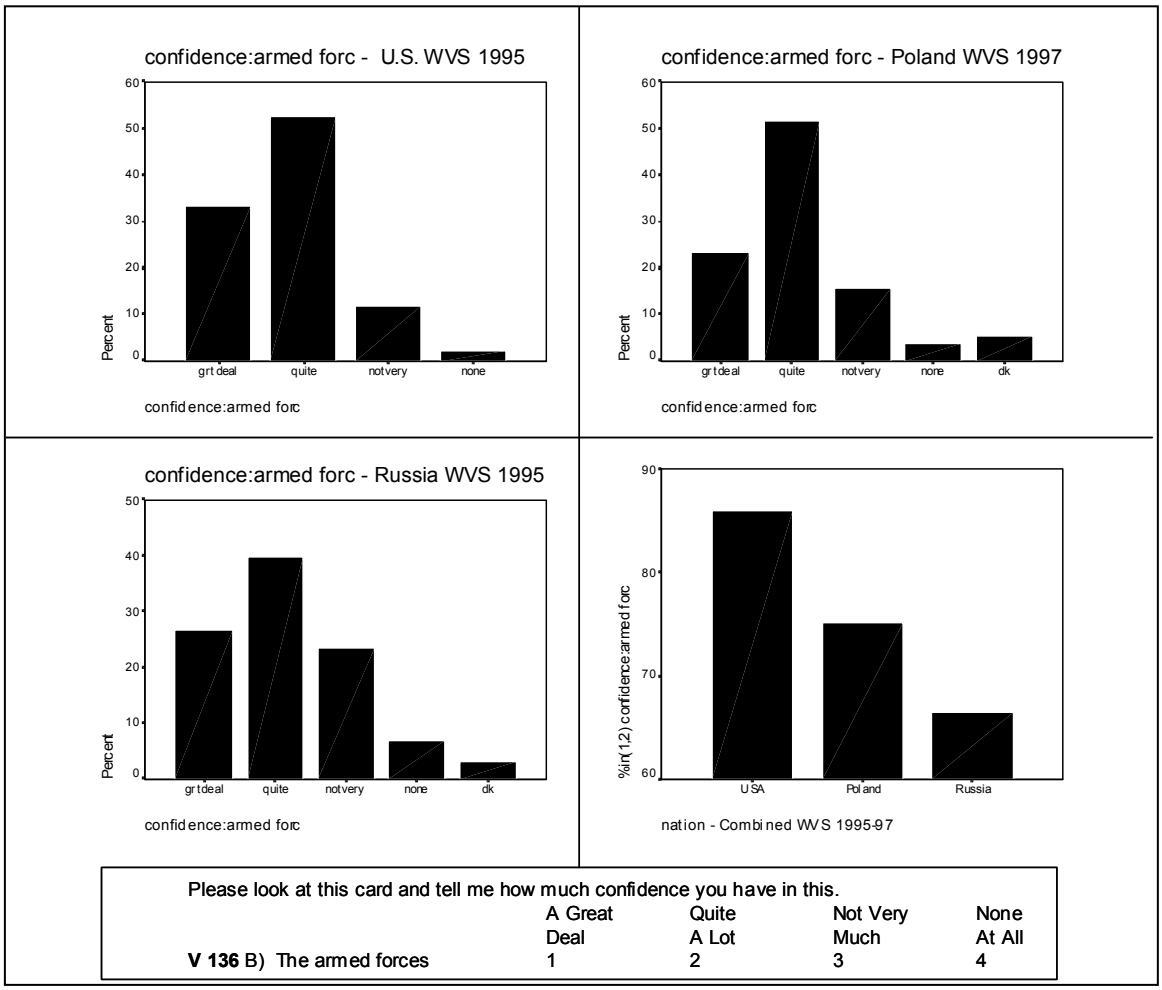


Figure I.14 WVS 1995-97 V136 (Confidence Armed Forces) Results

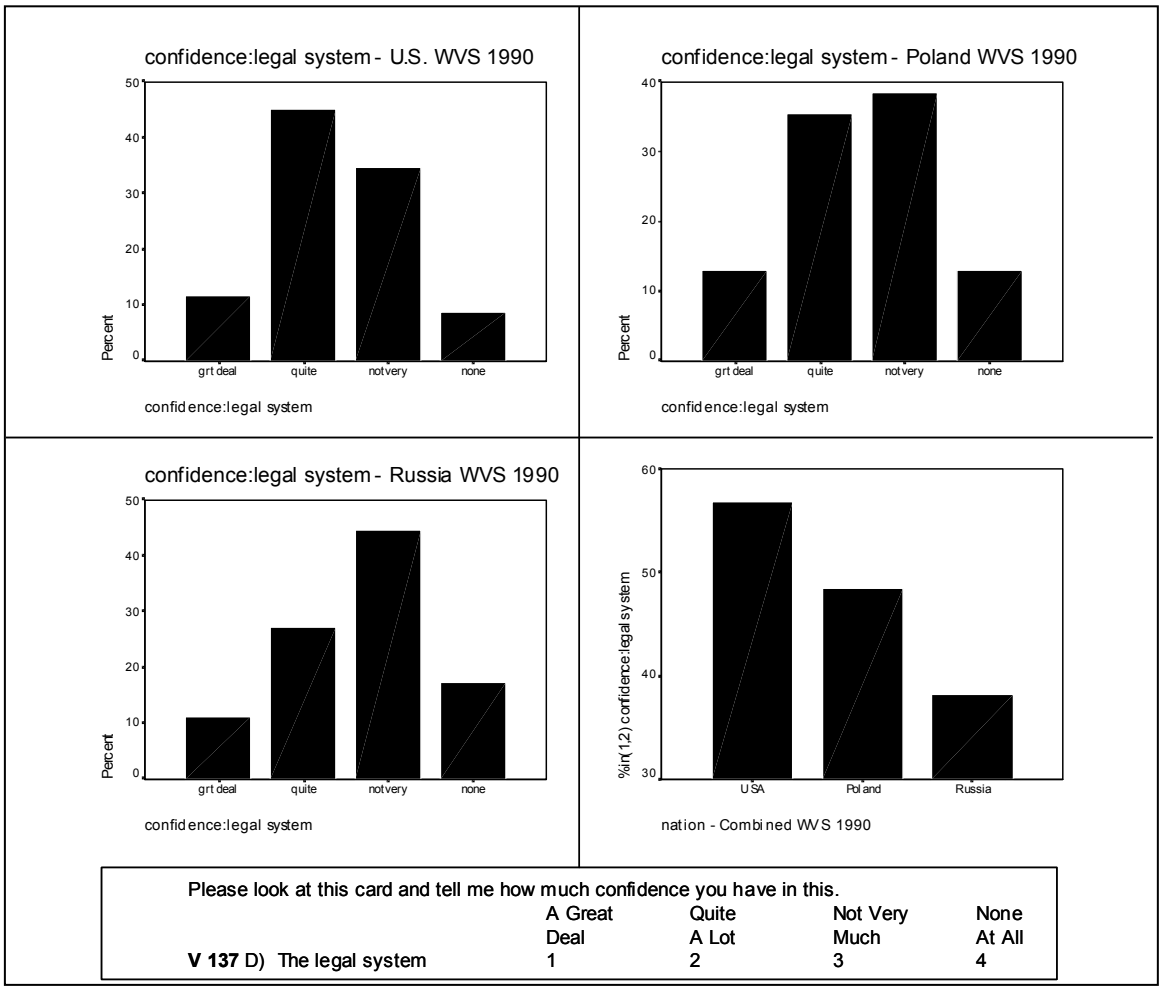


Figure I.15 WVS 1990 V137 (Confidence Legal System) Results

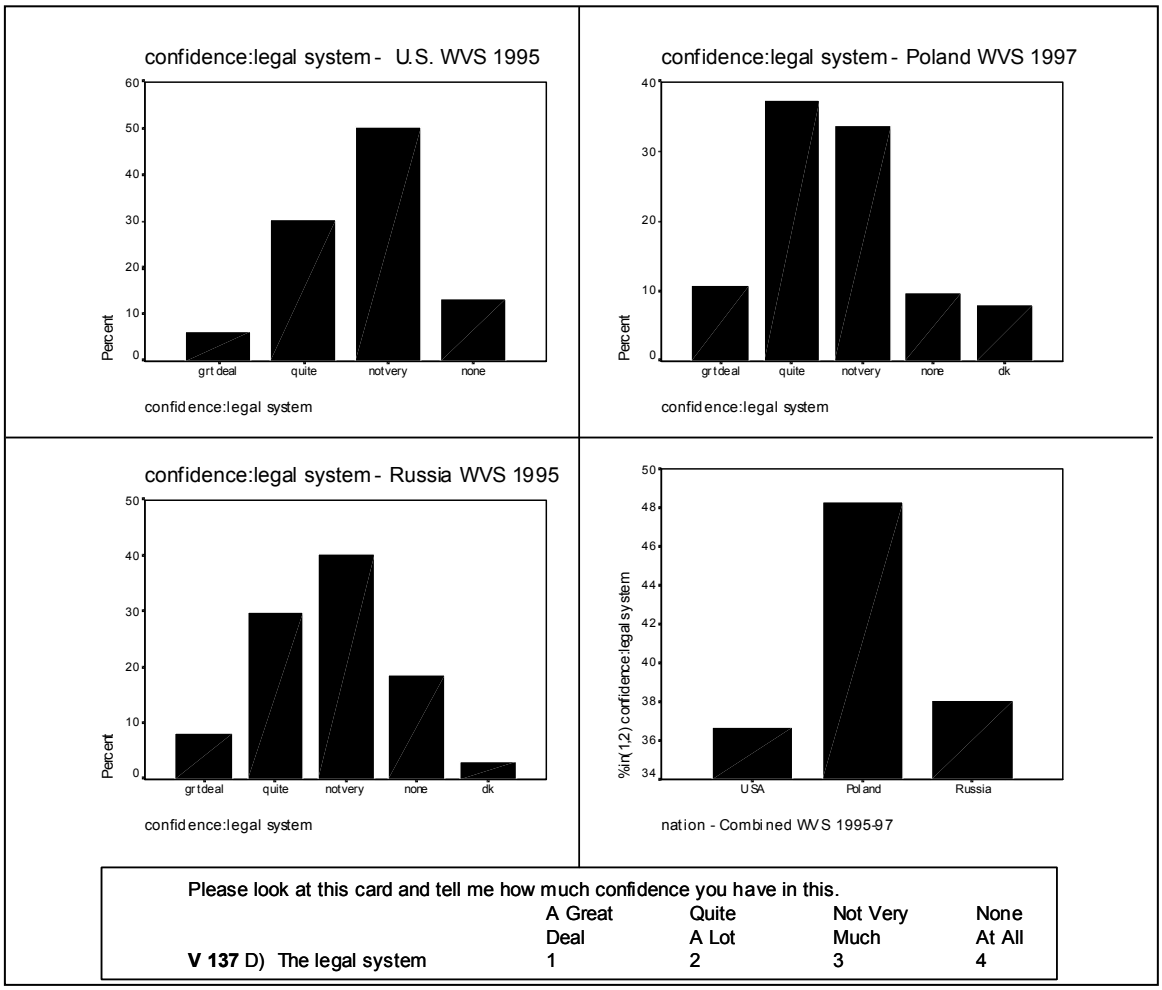


Figure I.16 WVS 1995-97 V137 (Confidence Legal System) Results

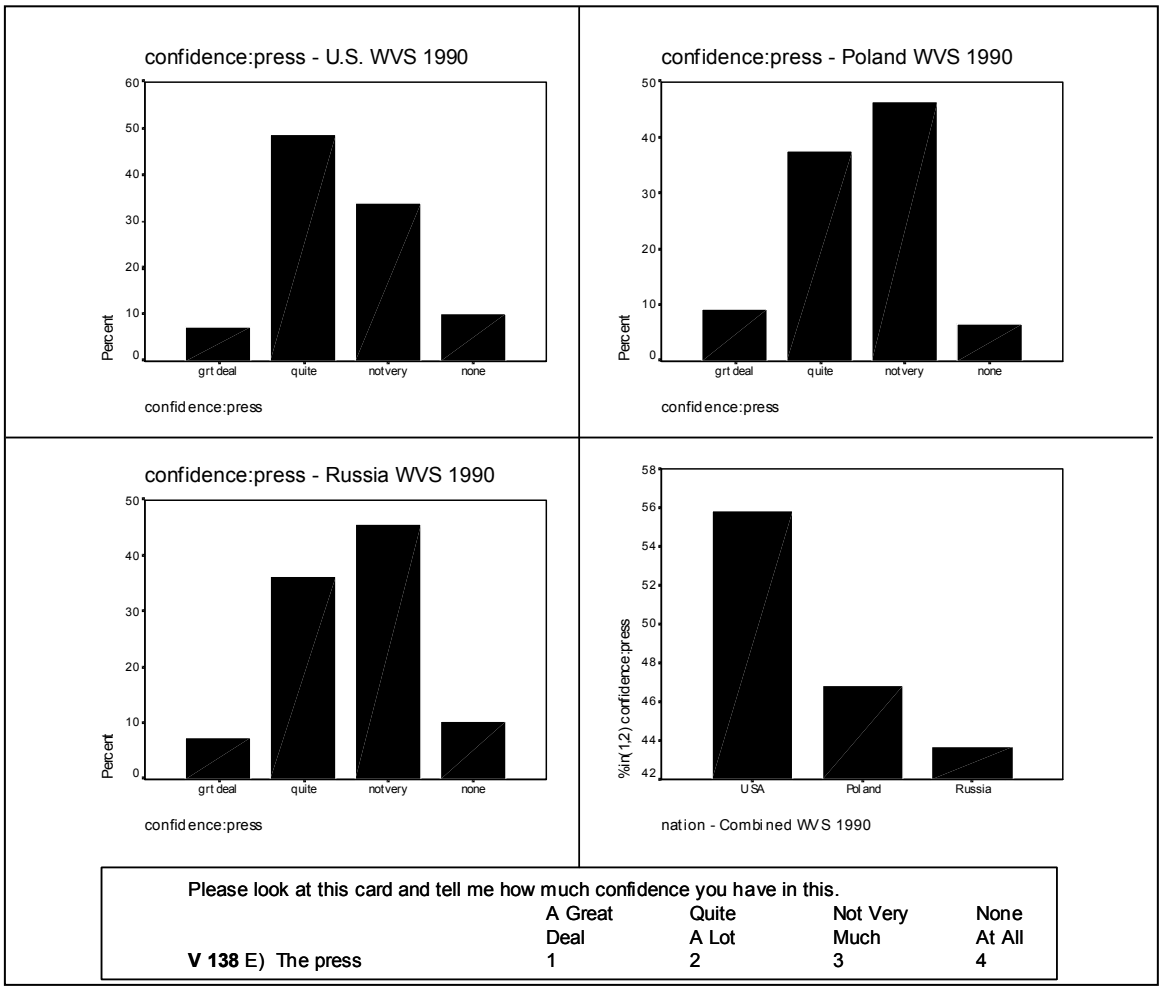


Figure I.17 WVS 1990 V138 (Confidence Press) Results

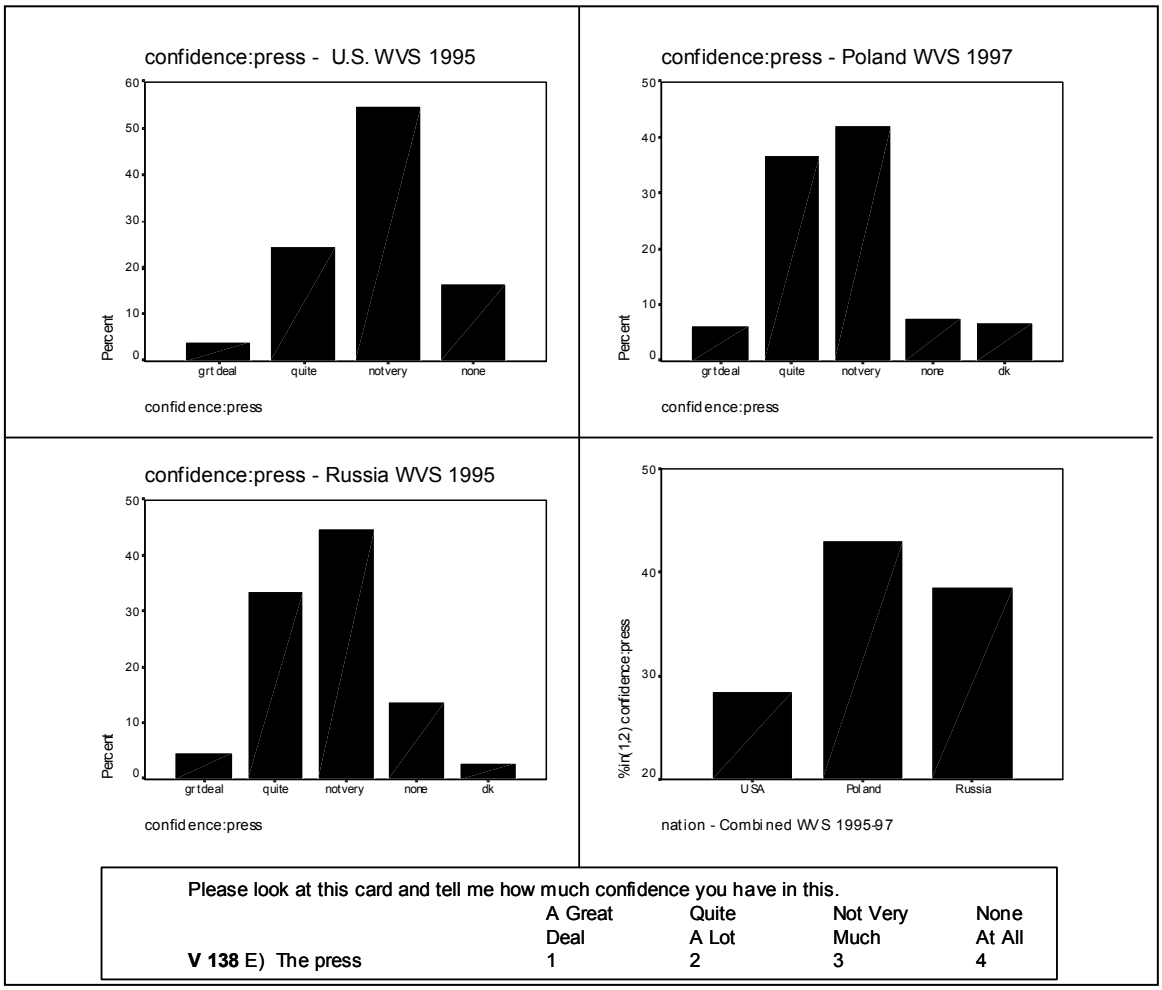


Figure I.18 WVS 1995-97 V138 (Confidence Press) Results

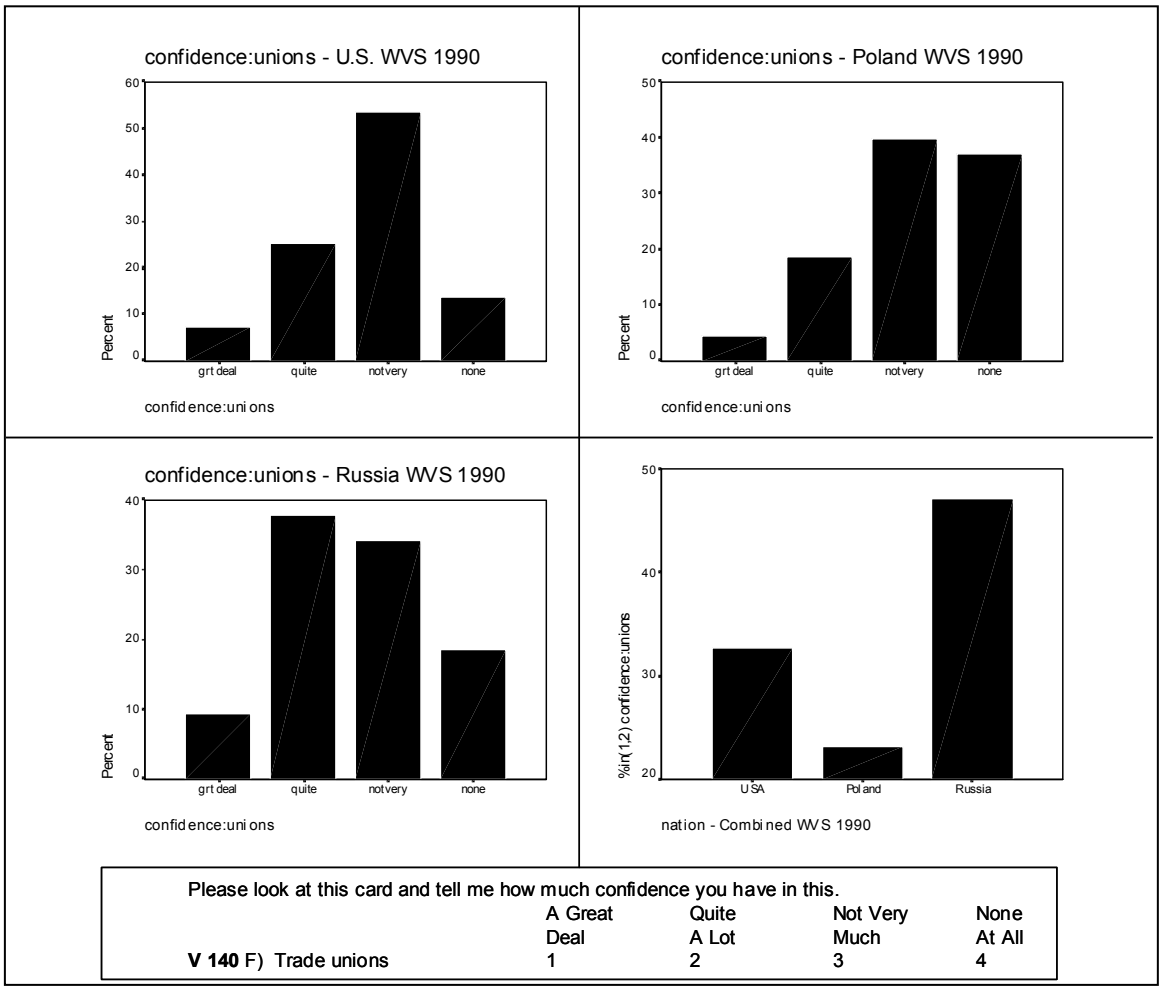


Figure I.19 WVS 1990 V140 (Confidence Trade Unions) Results

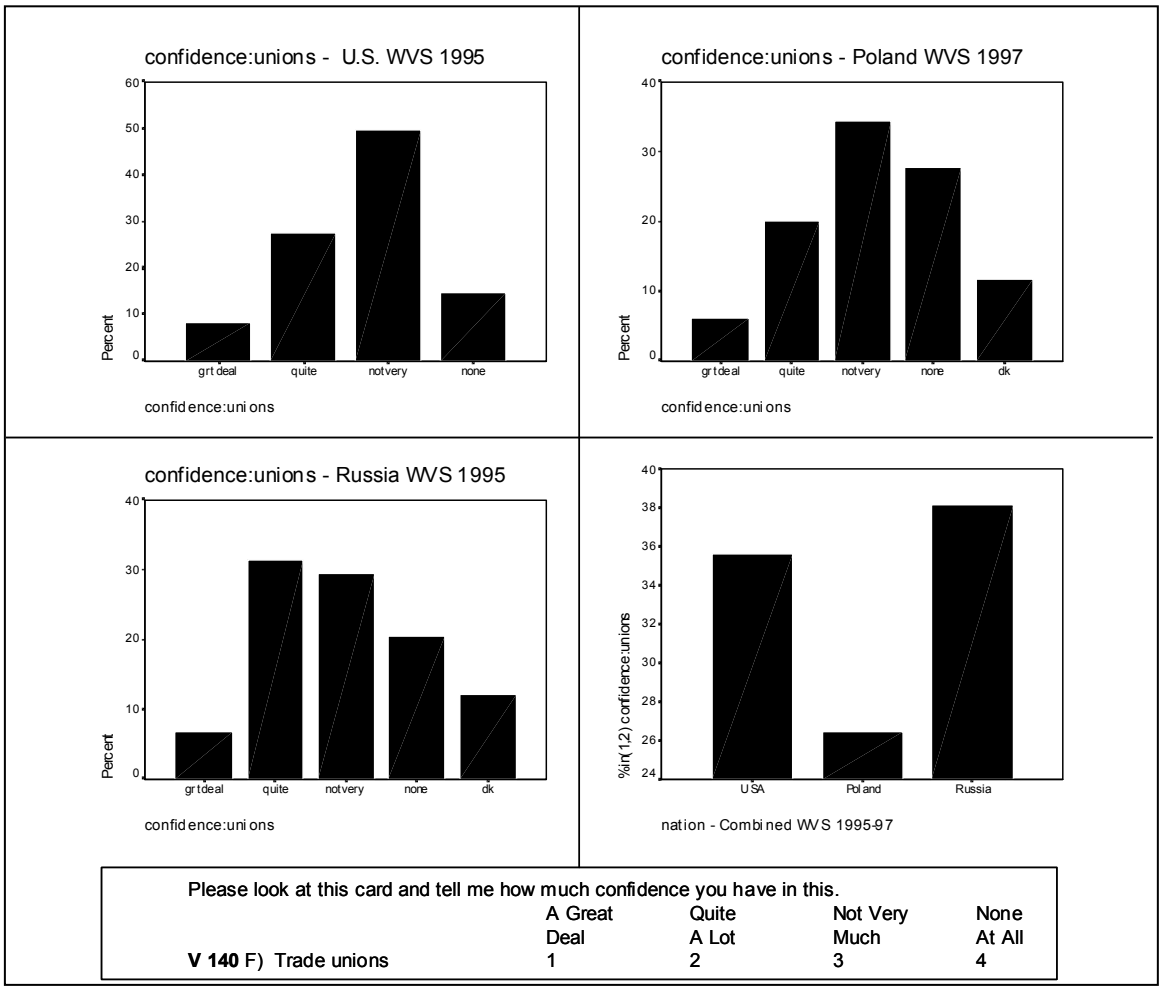
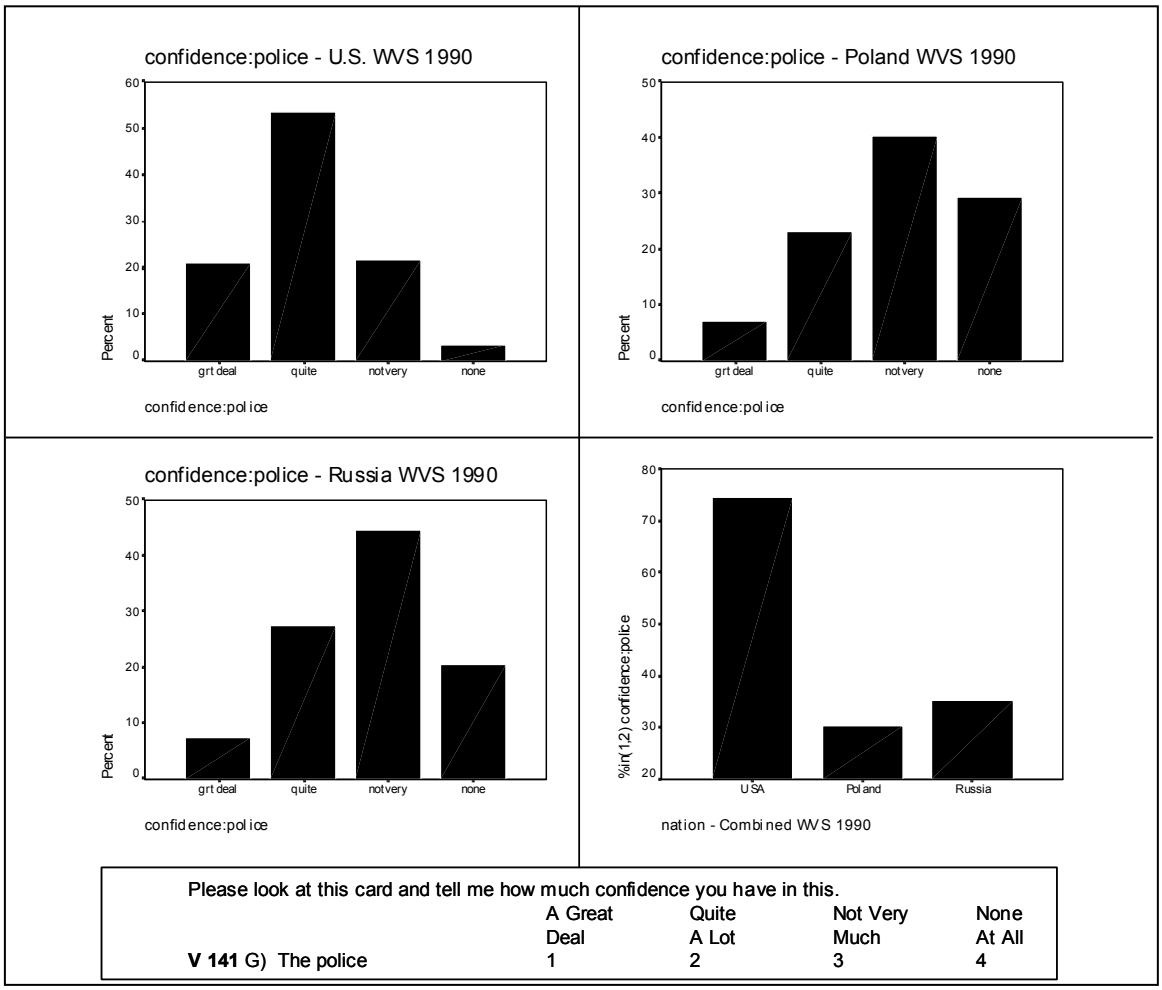


Figure I.20 WVS 1995-97 V140 (Confidence Trade Unions) Results



Please look at this card and tell me how much confidence you have in this.

	A Great Deal	Quite A Lot	Not Very Much	None At All
V 141 G) The police	1	2	3	4

Figure I.21 WVS 1990 V141 (Confidence Police) Results

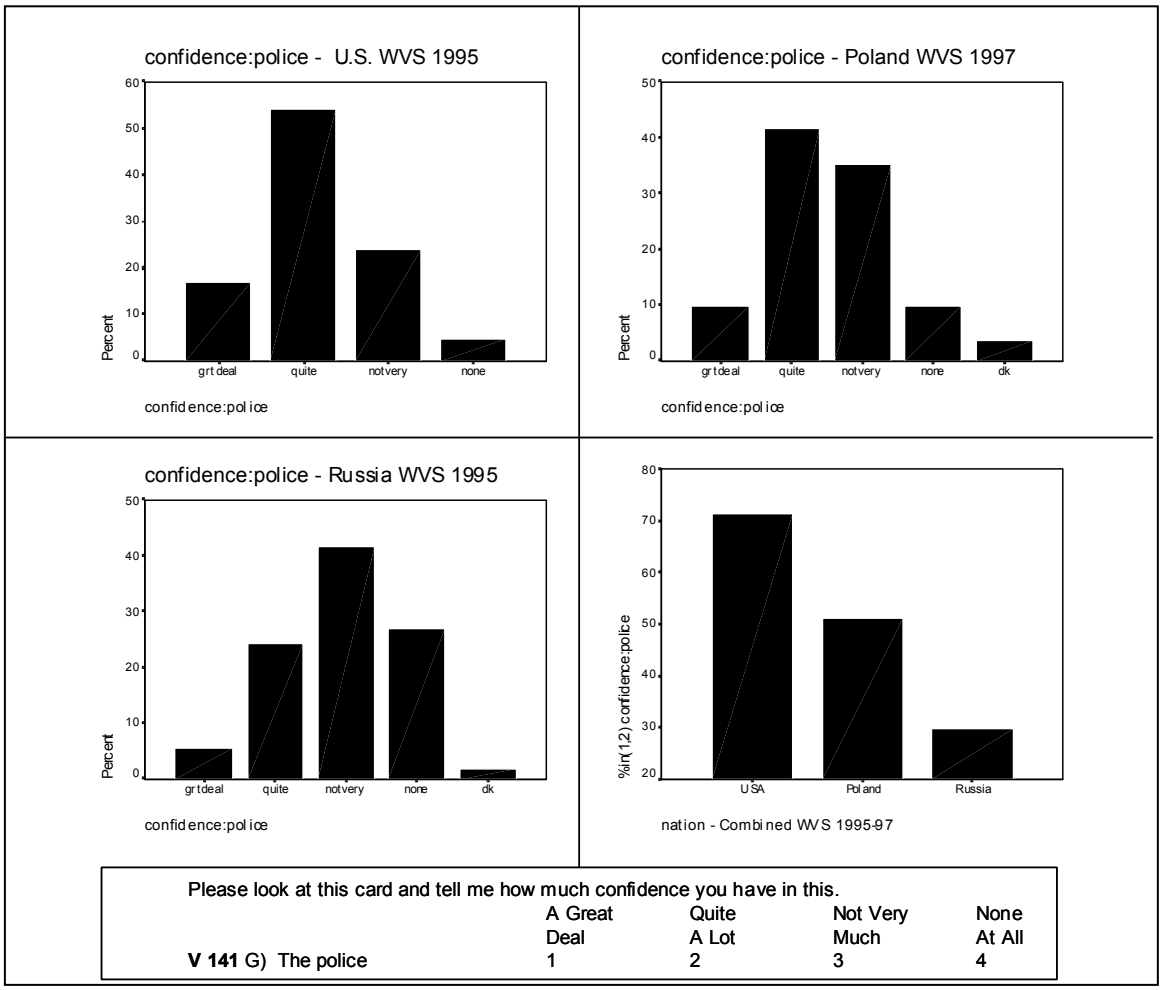
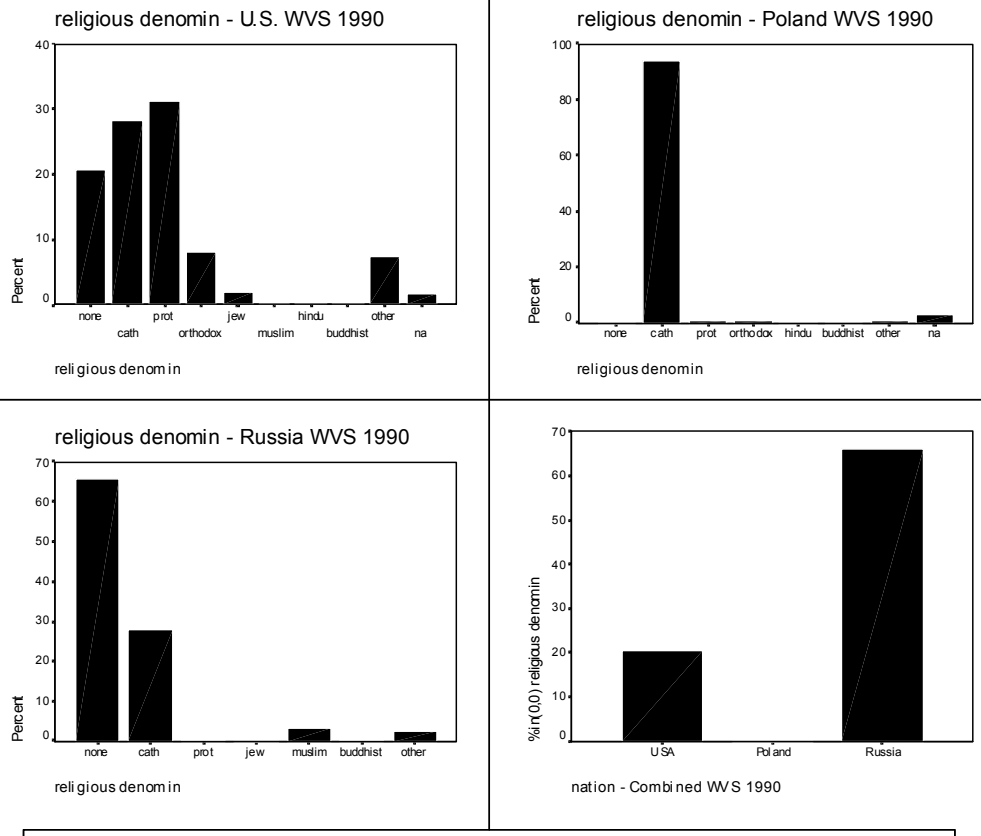


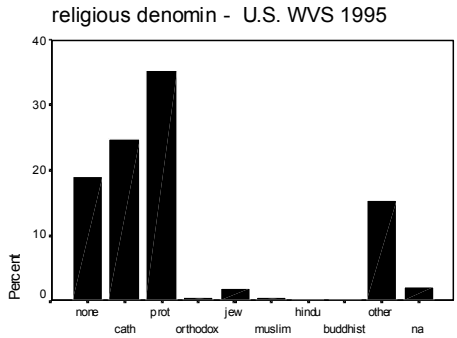
Figure I.22 WVS 1995-97 V141 (Confidence Police) Results

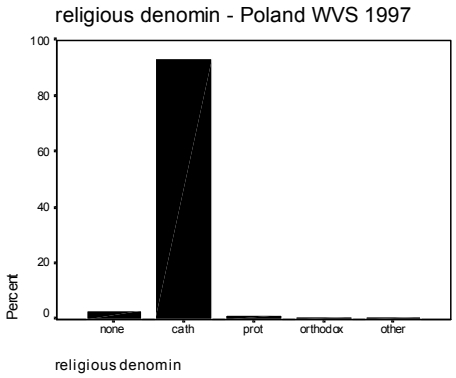


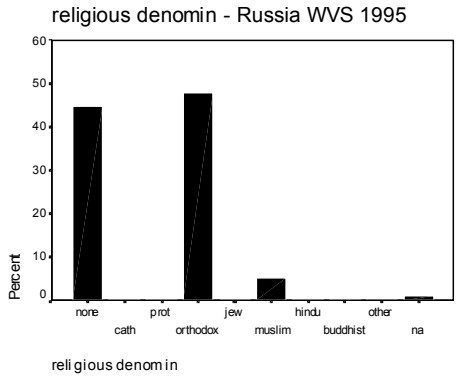
V179. Do you belong to a religious denomination?

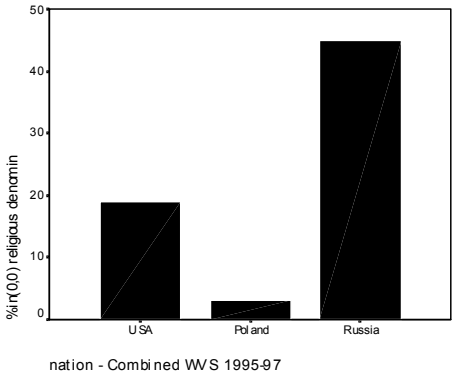
NO, not a member	0	Muslim	5
Roman Catholic	1	Hindu	6
Protestant	2	Buddhist	7
Orthodox (Russian/Greek/etc.)	3	Other	8
Jew	4	No answer	9

Figure I.23 WVS 1990 V179 (Membership) Results









V179. Do you belong to a religious denomination?

NO, not a member	0	Muslim	5
Roman Catholic	1	Hindu	6
Protestant	2	Buddhist	7
Orthodox (Russian/Greek/etc.)	3	Other	8
Jew	4	No answer	9

Figure I.24 WVS 1995-97 V179 (Membership) Results

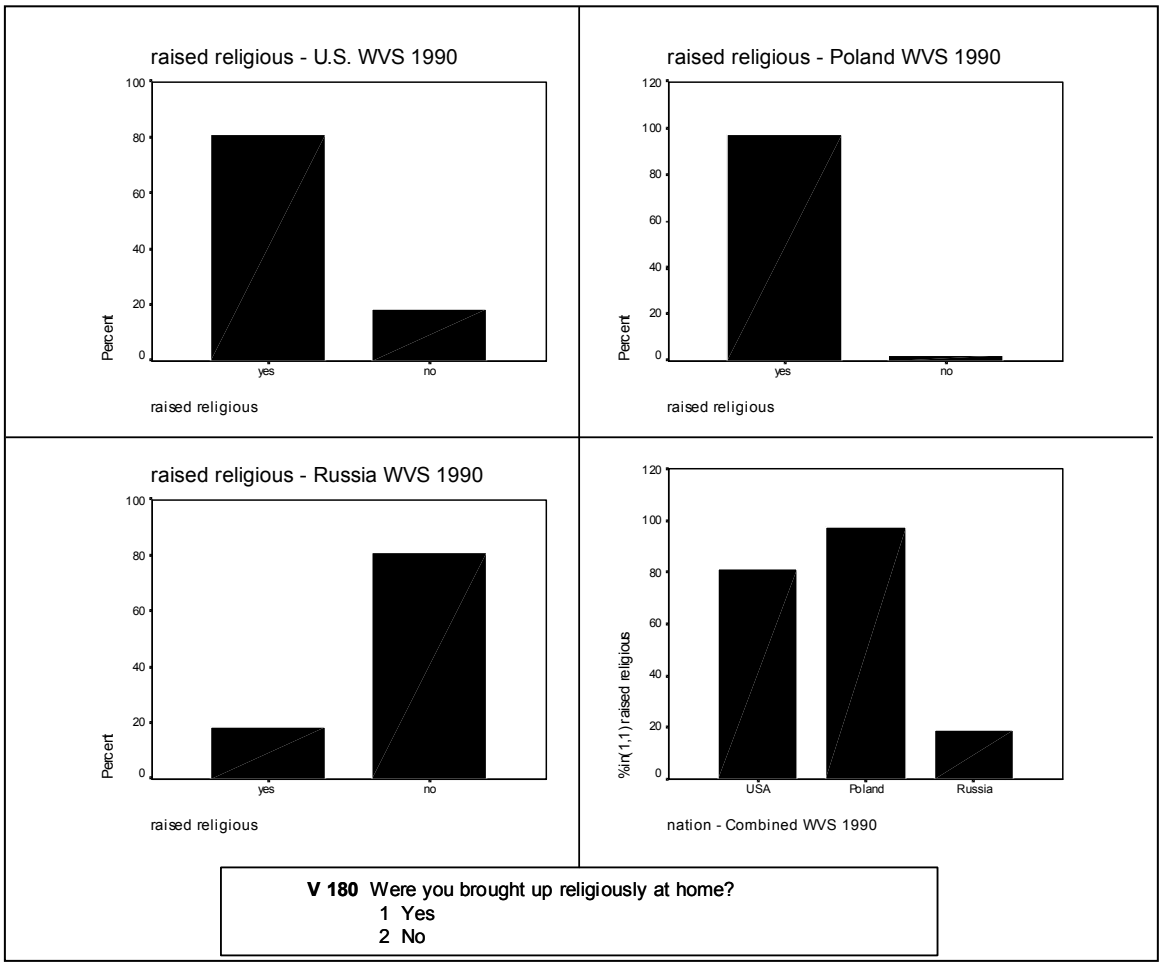


Figure I.25 WVS 1990 V180 (Raised Religious) Results

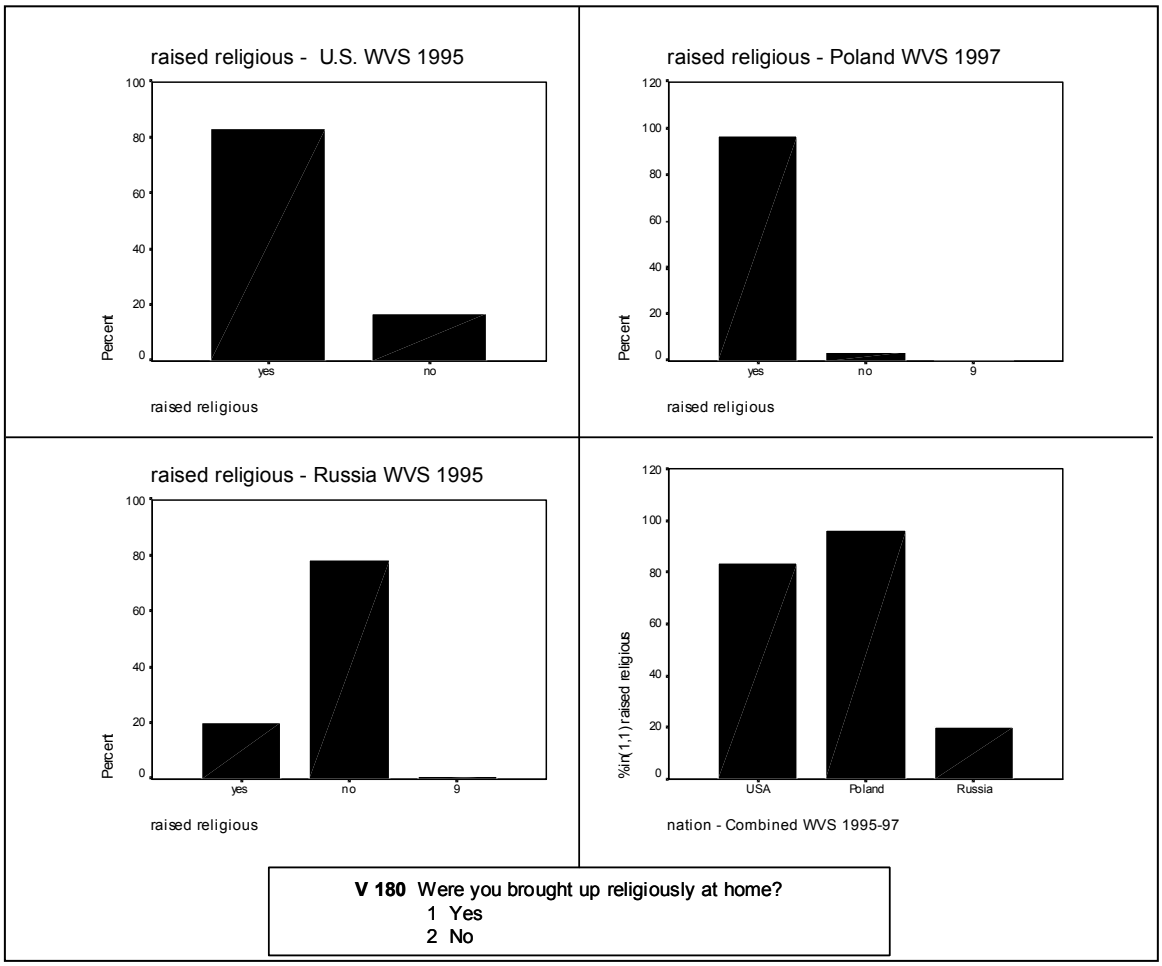
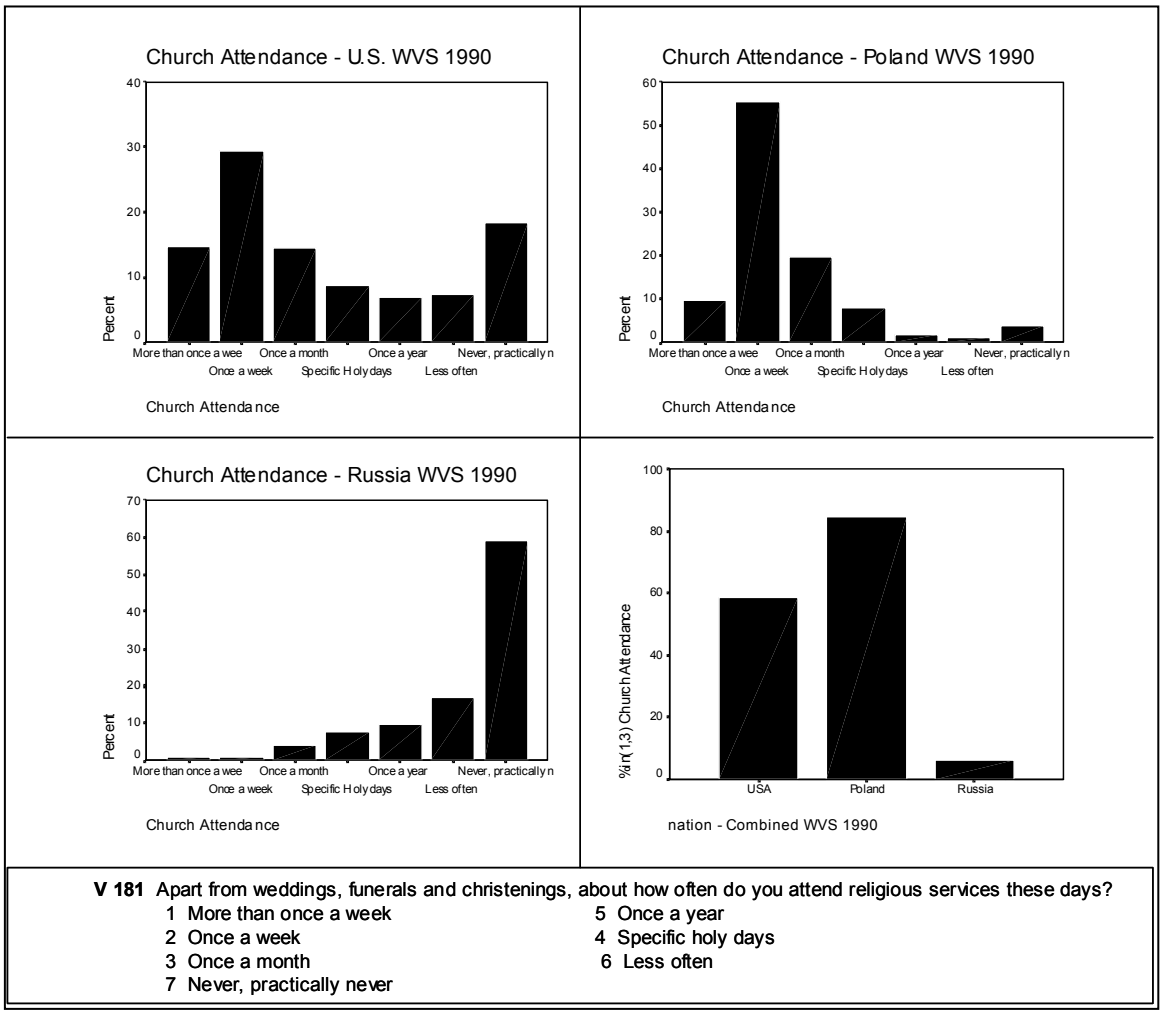


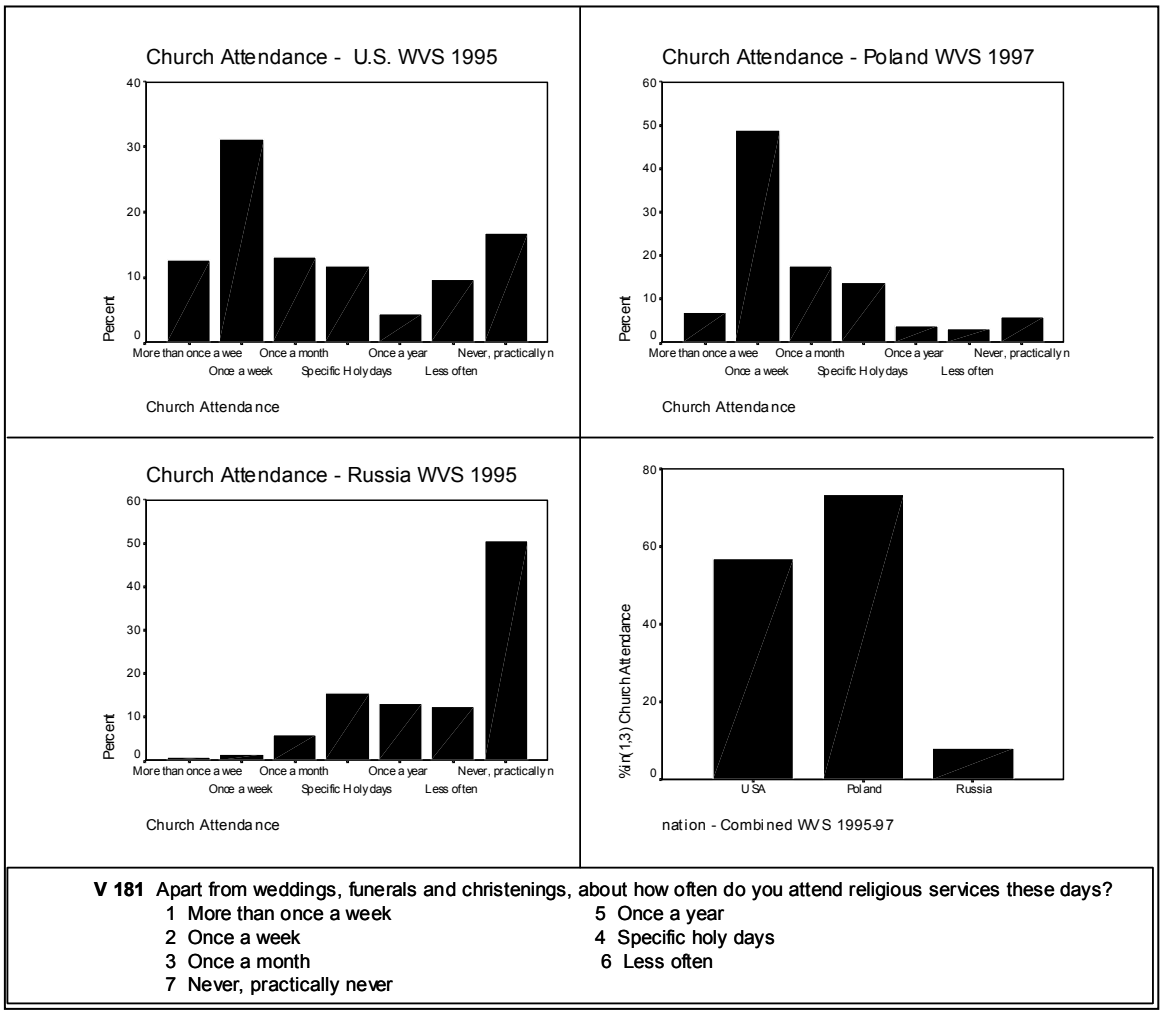
Figure I.26 WVS 1995-97 V180 (Raised Religious) Results



V 181 Apart from weddings, funerals and christenings, about how often do you attend religious services these days?

1 More than once a week
2 Once a week
3 Once a month
7 Never, practically never
5 Once a year
4 Specific holy days
6 Less often

Figure I.27 WVS 1990 V181 (Attendance) Results



V 181 Apart from weddings, funerals and christenings, about how often do you attend religious services these days?

1 More than once a week
2 Once a week
3 Once a month
7 Never, practically never
5 Once a year
4 Specific holy days
6 Less often

Figure I.28 WVS 1995-97 V181 (Attendance) Results

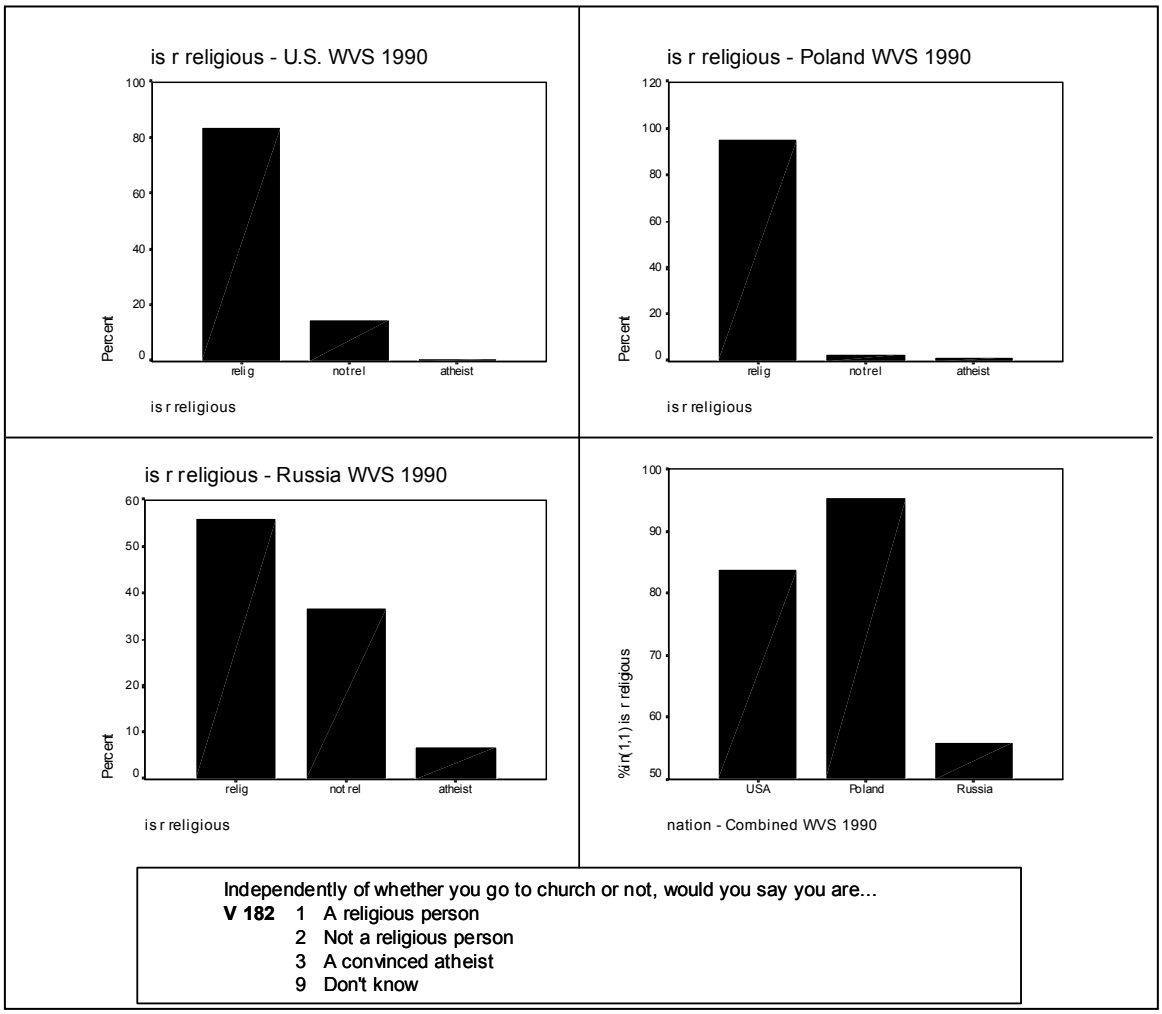


Figure I.29 WVS 1990 V182 (Self-Description) Results

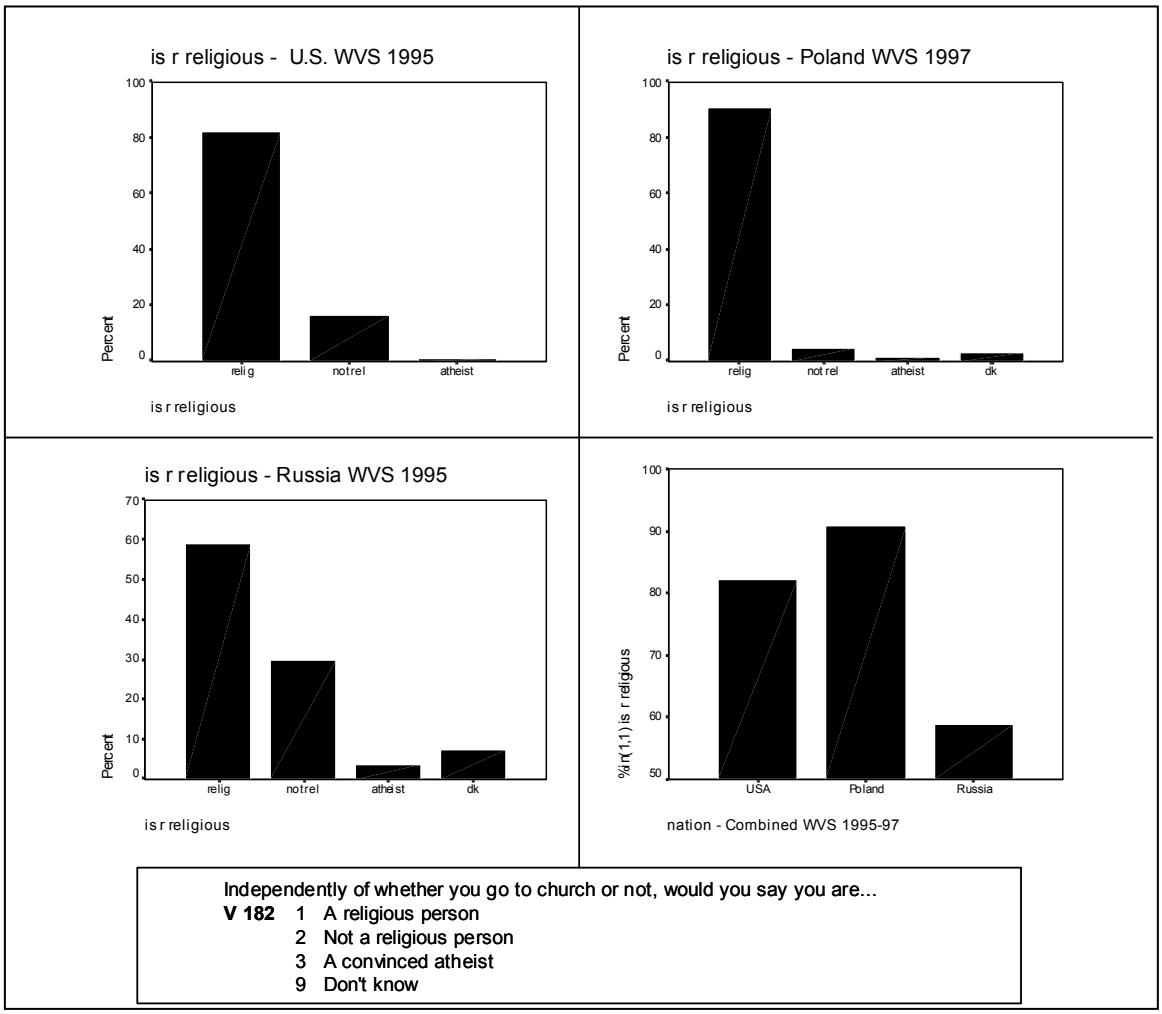


Figure I.30 WVS 1995-97 V182 (Self-Description) Results

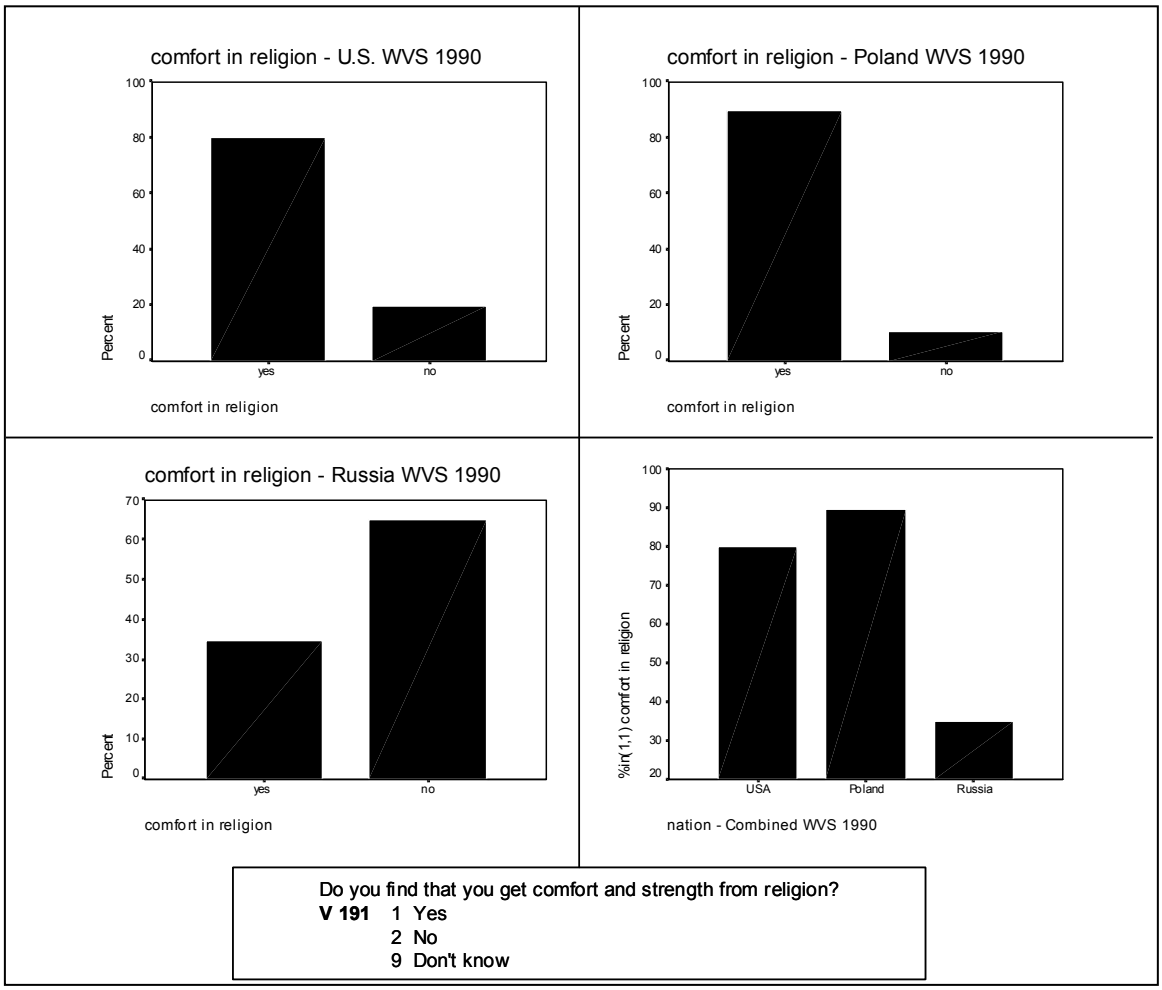


Figure I.31 WVS 1990 V191 (Comfort/Strength) Results

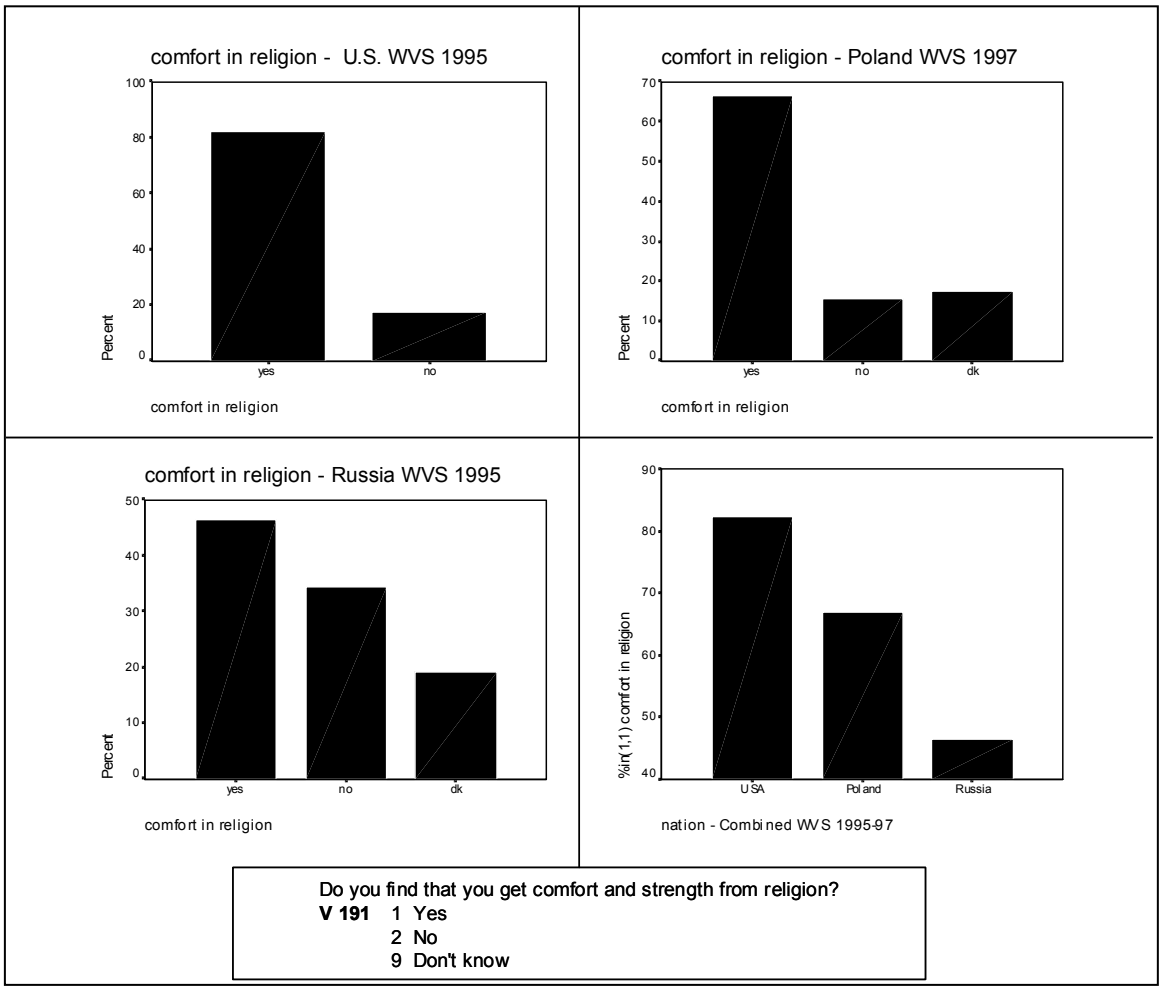


Figure I.32 WVS 1995-97 V191 (Comfort/Strength) Results

APPENDIX J
EFFECT SIZE COMPUTATIONS

Data sets were analyzed using the Statistical Packages for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 11.5. Effect sizes were manually computed using SPSS outputs and Cortina and Nouri's computational model 1.1 for a pooled standard deviation to derive Cohen's *d* (Cortina and Nouri 2000, 5).

Pooled standard deviations were determined by the following computation (Cortina and Nouri 2000, 5):

$$S_p = \left\{[(N_1 - 1)S^2{}_1 + (N_2 - 1)S^2{}_2] \,/\, [N_1 + N_2 - 2]\right\}^{.5}$$

Cohen's *d* was determined by the following computation (Cortina and Nouri 2000, 6):

$$d = (\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2) \,/\, S_p$$

Tables I.1 through I.8 provide the computational data for Cohen's *d* used in the analyses in Chapter 5. The following tables are provided:

Effect Sizes: SSMS Stages by Country – Total

Effect Sizes: SSMS by Birth Decades – Total

Effect Sizes: SSMS Stages by Birth Decades – Total (Cont)

Effect Sizes: SSMS Stages by Gender – Total

Effect Sizes: SSMS Stages by Degrees – Russia

Effect Sizes: SSMS Stages by Military Relationship – Russia

Effect Sizes: SSMS Stages by Tenure in Office – Russia

Effect Sizes: SSMS Stages by Gender – Russia

Table J.1 Effect Sizes: SSMS Stages by Country – Total

Country		Stage "P"	Stage "4"	Stage "3"	Stage "1-2"
Polish	Mean	34.85734	47.04245	4.13361	5.38572
	N	479	479	479	479
	Std. Deviation	13.56225	13.46510	6.58844	6.88476
	Variance	183.93474	181.30898	43.40749	47.39996
American	Mean	37.98421	42.41579	9.91053	7.08947
	N	190	190	190	190
	Std. Deviation	13.69373	14.77596	10.12448	10.50107
	Variance	187.51827	218.32885	102.50518	110.27238
Russian	Mean	41.43090	29.92559	12.40505	12.78018
	N	111	111	111	111
	Std. Deviation	15.06060	14.35230	10.56795	8.53786
	Variance	226.82168	205.98843	111.68162	72.89511
Total	Mean	36.55448	43.47958	6.71790	6.85303
	N	780	780	780	780
	Std. Deviation	14.00164	15.08538	8.85869	8.51327
	Variance	196.04584	227.56858	78.47631	72.47572
ANOVA		**Stage "P"**	**Stage "4"**	**Stage "3"**	**Stage "1-2"**
	Between Groups	4407.56033	26687.35330	8725.80918	4941.46119
SS	Within Groups	148312.14518	150588.57218	52407.23971	51517.12267
	Total	152719.70551	177275.92549	61133.04888	56458.58386
	Between Groups	2	2	2	2
df	Within Groups	777	777	777	777
	Total	779	779	779	779
MS	Between Groups	2203.78017	13343.67665	4362.90459	2470.73059
	Within Groups	190.87792	193.80769	67.44818	66.30260
F	Between Groups	11.54550	68.85009	64.68528	37.26446
Sig.	Between Groups	0.00001	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000
Po-Am	Diff Means	-3.12687	4.62666	-5.77691	-1.70375
	Pooled Variance	13.59964	13.84915	7.75586	8.07560
	Cohen's *d*	-0.22992	0.33408	-0.74485	-0.21098
Am-Ru	Diff Means	-3.44669	12.49020	-2.49452	-5.69071
	Pooled Variance	14.21189	14.62152	10.28986	9.82454
	Cohen's *d*	-0.24252	0.85423	-0.24243	-0.57923
Ru-Po	Diff Means	6.57356	-17.11686	8.27143	7.39446
	Pooled Variance	13.85488	13.63546	7.49532	7.22284
	Cohen's *d*	0.47446	-1.25532	1.10355	1.02376

Table J.2 Effect Sizes: SSMS by Birth Decades – Total

Birth Decade		Stage "P"	Stage "4"	Stage "3"	Stage "1-2"
1920s	Mean	34.87879	40.71212	5.04545	15.19682
	N	22	22	22	22
	Std. Deviation	16.60482	16.23873	5.75909	20.53296
	Variance	275.72006	263.69625	33.16715	421.60228
1930s	Mean	36.03529	43.45882	7.38039	5.71729
	N	85	85	85	85
	Std. Deviation	14.90029	15.28192	8.77273	6.08432
	Variance	222.01858	233.53697	76.96072	37.01892
1940s	Mean	35.64187	44.78778	6.11295	6.41996
	N	233	233	233	233
	Std. Deviation	13.74945	14.61449	9.23446	8.20730
	Variance	189.04740	213.58324	85.27522	67.35976
1950s	Mean	36.63616	44.32667	6.26568	5.87500
	N	304	304	304	304
	Std. Deviation	13.73319	14.65658	8.11712	7.16543
	Variance	188.60046	214.81540	65.88756	51.34344
1960s	Mean	38.76973	41.80628	8.04835	7.52407
	N	113	113	113	113
	Std. Deviation	13.82003	16.05091	9.42194	8.08190
	Variance	190.99312	257.63185	88.77302	65.31709
1970s	Mean	35.73030	28.46788	11.50455	19.68182
	N	11	11	11	11
	Std. Deviation	13.90000	13.52892	13.26647	7.06085
	Variance	193.21011	183.03173	175.99918	49.85566
Total	Mean	36.51862	43.66899	6.64509	6.73030
	N	768	768	768	768
	Std. Deviation	13.96633	15.06324	8.79328	8.45166
	Variance	195.05832	226.90132	77.32180	71.43057
ANOVA		**Stage "P"**	**Stage "4"**	**Stage "3"**	**Stage "1-2"**
	Between Groups	841.78401	3553.12420	694.26213	3825.41449
SS	Within Groups	148767.94950	170480.18907	58611.56220	50961.83415
	Total	149609.73352	174033.31327	59305.82433	54787.24863
df	Between Groups	5	5	5	5
	Within Groups	762	762	762	762
	Total	767	767	767	767
MS	Between Groups	168.35680	710.62484	138.85243	765.08290
	Within Groups	195.23353	223.72728	76.91806	66.87905
F	Between Groups	0.86234	3.17630	1.80520	11.43980
Sig.	Between Groups	0.50598	0.00760	0.10944	0.00000

Table J.3 Effect Sizes: SSMS Stages by Birth Decades – Total (Cont)

		Stage "P"	Stage "4"	Stage "3"	Stage "1-2"
20s-30s	Diff Means	-1.15651	-2.74670	-2.33494	9.47952
	Pooled Variance	15.25644	15.47801	8.25845	10.67406
	Cohen's *d*	-0.07580	-0.17746	-0.28273	0.88809
20s-40s	Diff Means	-0.76309	-4.07566	-1.06749	8.77686
	Pooled Variance	14.00862	14.75611	8.99722	9.83683
	Cohen's *d*	-0.05447	-0.27620	-0.11865	0.89224
20s-50s	Diff Means	-1.75737	-3.61455	-1.22023	9.32182
	Pooled Variance	13.93726	14.76427	7.98541	8.67996
	Cohen's *d*	-0.12609	-0.24482	-0.15281	1.07395
20s-60s	Diff Means	-3.89095	-1.09416	-3.00289	7.67275
	Pooled Variance	14.29584	16.08071	8.94389	11.02600
	Cohen's *d*	-0.27217	-0.06804	-0.33575	0.69588
20s-70s	Diff Means	-0.85152	12.24424	-6.45909	-4.48500
	Pooled Variance	15.78303	15.41673	8.90180	17.36905
	Cohen's *d*	-0.05395	0.79422	-0.72559	-0.25822
30s-40s	Diff Means	0.39342	-1.32896	1.26745	-0.70266
	Pooled Variance	14.06456	14.79484	9.11400	7.70029
	Cohen's *d*	0.02797	-0.08983	0.13907	-0.09125
30s-50s	Diff Means	-0.60087	-0.86784	1.11471	-0.15771
	Pooled Variance	13.99479	14.79456	8.26384	6.94509
	Cohen's *d*	-0.04294	-0.05866	0.13489	-0.02271
30s-60s	Diff Means	-2.73444	1.65254	-0.66796	-1.80678
	Pooled Variance	14.29300	15.72595	9.14935	7.29310
	Cohen's *d*	-0.19131	0.10508	-0.07301	-0.24774
30s-70s	Diff Means	0.30499	14.99094	-4.12415	-13.96452
	Pooled Variance	14.79709	15.10510	9.35397	6.19552
	Cohen's *d*	0.02061	0.99244	-0.44090	-2.25397
40s-50s	Diff Means	-0.99429	0.46112	-0.15273	0.54496
	Pooled Variance	13.74024	14.63834	8.61945	7.63471
	Cohen's *d*	-0.07236	0.03150	-0.01772	0.07138
40s-60s	Diff Means	-3.12786	2.98150	-1.93540	-1.10411
	Pooled Variance	13.77247	15.09717	9.29591	8.16668
	Cohen's *d*	-0.22711	0.19749	-0.20820	-0.13520
40s-70s	Diff Means	-0.08843	16.31990	-5.39160	-13.26186
	Pooled Variance	13.75570	14.57123	9.43526	8.16312
	Cohen's *d*	-0.00643	1.12001	-0.57143	-1.62461
50s-60s	Diff Means	-2.13357	2.52038	-1.78267	-1.64907
	Pooled Variance	13.75668	15.04562	8.48904	7.42392
	Cohen's *d*	-0.15509	0.16752	-0.21000	-0.22213
50s-70s	Diff Means	0.90586	15.85879	-5.23887	-13.80682
	Pooled Variance	13.73855	14.62190	8.33100	7.16212
	Cohen's *d*	0.06594	1.08459	-0.62884	-1.92776
60s-70s	Diff Means	3.03943	13.33840	-3.45620	-12.15775
	Pooled Variance	13.82660	15.85929	9.79401	8.00311
	Cohen's *d*	0.21982	0.84105	-0.35289	-1.51913

Table J.4 Effect Sizes: SSMS Stages by Gender – Total

GENDER		Stage "P"	Stage "4"	Stage "3"	Stage "1-2"
MALE	Mean	36.01383	43.53654	7.41178	7.10147
	N	573	573	573	573
	Std. Deviation	13.93807	15.30420	9.08570	8.99138
	Variance	194.26985	234.21845	82.54990	80.84492
FEMALE	Mean	37.96097	43.40288	4.82044	6.13058
	N	206	206	206	206
	Std. Deviation	14.07647	14.48571	7.91782	6.99498
	Variance	198.14696	209.83576	62.69181	48.92968
Total	Mean	36.52874	43.50120	6.72652	6.84472
	N	779	779	779	779
	Std. Deviation	13.99215	15.08297	8.86110	8.51558
	Variance	195.78016	227.49613	78.51910	72.51505
ANOVA		**Stage "P"**	**Stage "4"**	**Stage "3"**	**Stage "1-2"**
	Between Groups	574.48344	2.70717	1017.49963	142.82972
SS	Within Groups	151742.48197	176989.28280	60070.36118	56273.87870
	Total	152316.96541	176991.98997	61087.86081	56416.70842
	Between Groups	1	1	1	1
df	Within Groups	777	777	777	777
	Total	778	778	778	778
MS	Between Groups	574.48344	2.70717	1017.49963	142.82972
	Within Groups	195.29277	227.78543	77.31063	72.42455
F	Between Groups	2.94165	0.01188	13.16119	1.97212
Sig.	Between Groups	0.08672	0.91322	0.00030	0.00030
M-F (Gender)	Diff Means	-1.94714	0.13366	2.59134	0.97088
	Pooled Variance	13.97472	15.09256	8.79265	8.51026
	Cohen's *d*	-0.13933	0.00886	0.29472	0.11408

Table J.5 Effect Sizes: SSMS Stages by Degrees – Russia

RUSSIA ONLY

Degrees		**Stage "P"**	**Stage "4"**	**Stage "3"**	**Stage "1-2"**
Non-technical	Mean	42.54645	27.23237	13.25434	12.88211
	N	76	76	76	76
	Std. Deviation	15.05926	13.79453	11.13909	9.31377
	Variance	226.78137	190.28907	124.07931	86.74622
Technical	Mean	39.00857	35.77371	10.56086	12.55886
	N	35	35	35	35
	Std. Deviation	14.99199	13.97347	9.08323	6.66420
	Variance	224.75989	195.25782	82.50514	44.41151
Total	Mean	41.43090	29.92559	12.40505	12.78018
	N	111	111	111	111
	Std. Deviation	15.06060	14.35230	10.56795	8.53786
	Variance	226.82168	205.98843	111.68162	72.89511

ANOVA		**Stage "P"**	**Stage "4"**	**Stage "3"**	**Stage "1-2"**
	Between Groups	299.94654	1748.28115	173.85523	2.50398
SS	Within Groups	24650.43877	20910.44599	12111.12334	8015.95822
	Total	24950.38531	22658.72714	12284.97857	8018.46220
	Between Groups	1	1	1	1
df	Within Groups	109	109	109	109
	Total	110	110	110	110
MS	Between Groups	299.94654	1748.28115	173.85523	2.50398
	Within Groups	226.15081	191.83895	111.11122	73.54090
F	Between Groups	1.32631	9.11328	1.56470	0.03405
Sig.	Between Groups	0.25198	0.00316	0.21366	0.85395
Degrees	Diff Means	3.53788	-8.54135	2.69348	0.32325
	Pooled Variance	15.03831	13.85059	10.54093	8.57560
	Cohen's *d*	0.23526	-0.61668	0.25553	0.03769

Table J.6 Effect Sizes: SSMS Stages by Military Relationship -- Russia

RUSSIA ONLY

Military Relationship		Stage "P"	Stage "4"	Stage "3"	Stage "1-2"
Military Ties	Mean	38.39000	38.29778	8.32500	11.28500
	N	18	18	18	18
	Std. Deviation	19.18540	15.71495	10.60753	9.49721
	Variance	368.07946	246.95979	112.51972	90.19697
No Ties	Mean	42.01946	28.30516	13.19473	13.06957
	N	93	93	93	93
	Std. Deviation	14.17836	13.57528	10.43328	8.36471
	Variance	201.02578	184.28836	108.85333	69.96832
Total	Mean	41.43090	29.92559	12.40505	12.78018
	N	111	111	111	111
	Std. Deviation	15.06060	14.35230	10.56795	8.53786
	Variance	226.82168	205.98843	111.68162	72.89511
ANOVA		**Stage "P"**	**Stage "4"**	**Stage "3"**	**Stage "1-2"**
	Between Groups	198.66304	1505.88190	357.63701	48.02856
SS	Within Groups	24751.72227	21152.84523	11927.34157	7970.43363
	Total	24950.38531	22658.72714	12284.97857	8018.46220
	Between Groups	1	1	1	1
df	Within Groups	109	109	109	109
	Total	110	110	110	110
MS	Between Groups	198.66304	1505.88190	357.63701	48.02856
	Within Groups	227.08002	194.06280	109.42515	73.12324
F	Between Groups	0.87486	7.75977	3.26833	0.65682
Sig.	Between Groups	0.35168	0.00630	0.07339	0.41945
Mil Ties	Diff Means	-3.62946	9.99262	-4.86973	-1.78457
	Pooled Variance	15.06917	13.93064	10.46065	8.55121
	Cohen's *d*	-0.24085	0.71731	-0.46553	-0.20869

Table J.7 Effect Sizes: SSMS Stages by Tenure in Office -- Russia

RUSSIA ONLY

Tenure in Office		Stage "P"	Stage "4"	Stage "3"	Stage "1-2"
1985-1994	Mean	37.06816	32.68658	15.07263	11.74263
	N	38	38	38	38
	Std. Deviation	14.40468	13.69399	10.05688	8.75017
	Variance	207.49493	187.52544	101.14086	76.56546
1995-1996	Mean	40.15029	33.30000	9.60943	13.98600
	N	35	35	35	35
	Std. Deviation	16.57034	14.51513	11.00802	7.61073
	Variance	274.57607	210.68910	121.17652	57.92320
1997-1998	Mean	47.48258	24.86968	10.79581	12.24645
	N	31	31	31	31
	Std. Deviation	12.76002	13.30150	9.64034	9.31611
	Variance	162.81813	176.92984	92.93617	86.78991
Total	Mean	41.20971	30.56298	11.95923	12.64779
	N	104	104	104	104
	Std. Deviation	15.20358	14.22706	10.45279	8.53594
	Variance	231.14889	202.40925	109.26075	72.86227
ANOVA		**Stage "P"**	**Stage "4"**	**Stage "3"**	**Stage "1-2"**
	Between Groups	1910.89263	1438.38682	603.55926	98.80530
SS	Within Groups	21897.44266	19409.76615	10650.29848	7406.00809
	Total	23808.33529	20848.15298	11253.85774	7504.81339
	Between Groups	2	2	2	2
df	Within Groups	101	101	101	101
	Total	103	103	103	103
MS	Between Groups	955.44631	719.19341	301.77963	49.40265
	Within Groups	216.80636	192.17590	105.44850	73.32681
F	Between Groups	4.40691	3.74237	2.86187	0.67373
Sig.	Between Groups	0.01462	0.02705	0.06181	0.51208
85-94/95-96	Diff Means	-3.08213	-0.61342	5.46320	-2.24337
	Pooled Variance	15.47961	14.09319	10.52309	8.22424
	Cohen's *d*	-0.19911	-0.04353	0.51916	-0.27278
85-94/97-98	Diff Means	-10.41442	7.81690	4.27683	-0.50382
	Pooled Variance	13.69271	13.51966	9.87254	9.00797
	Cohen's *d*	-0.76058	0.57819	0.43320	-0.05593
95-96/97-98	Diff Means	-7.33229	8.43032	-1.18638	1.73955
	Pooled Variance	14.90602	13.95939	10.38936	8.45307
	Cohen's *d*	-0.49190	0.60392	-0.11419	0.20579

Table J.8 Effect Sizes: SSMS Stages by Gender – Russia

RUSSIA ONLY

Gender		Stage "P"	Stage "4"	Stage "3"	Stage "1-2"
Male	Mean	40.64436	29.35179	13.51218	13.19218
	N	78	78	78	78
	Std. Deviation	14.51709	14.62732	10.52343	8.67785
	Variance	210.74602	213.95840	110.74250	75.30503
Female	Mean	42.87375	31.42688	10.09406	11.75906
	N	32	32	32	32
	Std. Deviation	16.43920	13.99923	10.37586	8.37253
	Variance	270.24722	195.97842	107.65846	70.09929
Total	Mean	41.29291	29.95545	12.51782	12.77527
	N	110	110	110	110
	Std. Deviation	15.05887	14.41452	10.54901	8.57678
	Variance	226.76959	207.77829	111.28160	73.56118
ANOVA		**Stage "P"**	**Stage "4"**	**Stage "3"**	**Stage "1-2"**
	Between Groups	112.77800	97.70609	265.10978	46.60314
SS	Within Groups	24605.10767	22550.12784	11864.58470	7971.56500
	Total	24717.88567	22647.83393	12129.69448	8018.16814
	Between Groups	1	1	1	1
df	Within Groups	108	108	108	108
	Total	109	109	109	109
MS	Between Groups	112.77800	97.70609	265.10978	46.60314
	Within Groups	227.82507	208.79748	109.85727	73.81079
F	Between Groups	0.49502	0.46795	2.41322	0.63139
Sig.	Between Groups	0.48321	0.49540	0.12324	0.42859
Gender (RU)	Diff Means	-2.22939	-2.07508	3.41812	1.43312
	Pooled Variance	15.09388	14.44983	10.48128	8.59132
	Cohen's *d*	-0.14770	-0.14361	0.32612	0.16681