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Project

A Proposal for the Revision of the Method of
Teaching Moral Values in the Reform Religious School

by

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Introduction

Reform Judaism views religion and morality as inseparable parts of the whole.¹ The teaching of moral values is an important part of the religious school curriculum.² The most objectionable approach to teaching values is that of teaching rules. The Ten Commandments is a perfect example. Memorization is essential. Even while studying situations dealing with moral problems, the students know the correct answers to moral dilemmas because they are either provided at the end or they are aware of the values prized by the religion. But are they really operating as ethically aware persons? Or are they pleasing the teacher and getting good grades? The problem plagues all religious and educational institutions. We are constantly transmitting moral biases. Students receive the message. But is that fulfilling our obligation to educate them? Do the values become internalized with this type of approach?

Lawrence Kohlberg, a social psychologist at Harvard, has done a great deal of research on this problem. His work has resulted in some startling conclusions and a specific program for dealing with moral education. It is the purpose of this project to examine Kohlberg's theory

of the moral development in children and its implications for the Reform religious school curriculum.

The first part will deal with Kohlberg's theory and how it differs from past approaches. It will examine the cognitive-developmental approach. It will also examine the stages of moral development in children and how these stages operate.

The next section will deal specifically with the Reform religious school curriculum. It will examine the goals and aims of the curriculum in terms of the moral education of the child. A critique of two textbooks from different age levels will also be included. Who Knows Ten, a third grade text by Molly Cone, and The Right Way by Lillian Freehof for the seventh grade will be reviewed in terms of the psychology of the child and the materials' approach to moral education, as opposed to Kohlberg's.

The second phase of the project will be a creative proposal for moral education in the Reform religious school. The focus for the proposal will be the third and the seventh grade. The material will be an attempt to integrate Kohlberg's work and at the same time remaining aware of the goals of Reform Judaism and the criticism of the Board of Jewish Education-Chicago material which deals with Kohlberg's stages.

It is hoped that the work of this project will stimulate a rethinking of our goals and methods in the area of moral education.

Lawrence Kohlberg's Theory Defined

Lawrence Kohlberg has spent over fifteen years studying the moral development of children. His work raises many questions about our traditional approaches to moral education.³

Kohlberg traces the three streams of educational psychology and shows where his theory fits in.⁴ The first is the maturationist, presently represented by the Freudian theory.⁵ Its major thrust is that the development of the child comes from within him and it is the school's responsibility to help the child liberate himself and work through those aspects of his emotional development that are stifled at home.⁶ The second stream belongs to the environmentalist, education must directly instruct the child about the rules of the culture and immediate repetition and elaboration will produce the correct response.⁷ Finally the third type is the cognitive-developmental approach represented by Dewey and Piaget.⁸ In this approach cognitive processes emerge through a process of development that is a reorganization of psychological structures rather than direct biological maturation or direct learning.⁹ Cognitive means relating events, putting things together.¹⁰ Experience causes changes in these structures. This is not conceived of as learning in the sense of

instruction or training.¹¹ The basic mental structure results from the interaction between certain organismic-structuring tendencies and the external structure of the outside world and this interaction leads to cognitive stages.¹²

The concept of stages implies that children have a different way of solving problems at different ages.¹³ These stages always succeed in an invariant order in the individual.¹⁴ The individual may move through these stages at different speeds, but does not change sequence.¹⁵ How does this concept relate to moral education of the child? And by what premises has moral education operated before this developmental approach?

Moral education, in the past, has been based on the concept of the bag of virtues.¹⁶ Each group decides which virtues they think are important and tries to teach them to their children.¹⁷ In exhorting them to practice these virtues, all good things will come their way.¹⁸

The landmark study about children in moral education was done by Hartshorne and May in 1928. In their research they found that moral education classes, based on the bag of virtues concept, did not make a difference in the performance of children on experimental tests.¹⁹ Hartshorne and May

found that, (1) everyone cheats; (2) if a person cheats in one situation it doesn't mean that he will or won't cheat in another; (3) what people say about morality doesn't necessarily correlate with what they do.²⁰ Perhaps then, we have been approaching the problem of moral education in the wrong way. We have been treating moral education as a part of socialization. That is, learning the rules of acceptable behavior and the highly prized virtues of a culture. Since we have generally treated moral reasoning as learning moral virtues, certain factors relating to how the child becomes a socialized individual became important to understand the difference in conscience strength.²¹ These factors were:

(1) the relation between gratification and restraint of the oral, anal and sex drives; (2) the type and amount of moral discipline; (3) and parental attitudes and the effect of power structures in certain theories of identification.²² In most instances no correlation was found between the parental handling of early drives and the later moral behavior of the individual.²³ Psychological punishment, however, that induced guilt did correlate.²⁴ No test results related any difference from the findings of Hartshorne and May as to resistance to temptation.²⁵ Kohlberg shows that once the concept of moral development is understood the action that results will be more predictable.²⁶

At one time or another the stimulus from various groups was thought to have a unique or overriding effect on moral development. These groups or institutions include the family, peer group, and participation in the society at large.

The family is not unique in its contribution to stimulating moral development.²⁷ Kibbutz children are normal in terms of moral development even though the amount of parental interaction is greatly reduced.²⁸ The family helps with moral development by providing opportunities for role-taking.²⁹

The second group that is thought of as important is the peer group.³⁰ Participating in this group, while providing general role-taking opportunities, is also not a unique influence on moral development.

The third element that is presumed important in moral development is participation in government, law and work.³² They are perceived differently by children according to the sense of potential participation in them.³³

Kohlberg's view is that none of these three elements is significant in and of itself as an influence on moral development.³⁴ The child lives in a total social world in which all of these elements influence each other.³⁵ Experience is essential to the stages and the more experience, the faster the child advances through each stage.³⁶ Stimulation to help the

child reach the next stage is essential to prevent the child from getting locked into the last stage.³⁷

We will now examine in detail Kohlberg's stages of moral development and how they are related to Piaget's theory of universal developmental stages.

Kohlberg delineates six major stages of moral thought in the life of the individual. There are three levels within which these stages are contained. An outline of the terms used in these levels and stages will be given first. A detailed examination of the stages will follow.

The pre-conventional level is generally reached by children age four to ten.³⁸ This child is in Piaget's Era III--concrete operational thought. In this Era the child can classify things in terms of relation and quantities in referring to concrete objects.³⁹ Piaget sees two substages in this Era. These are Substage 1--Formation of stable categorical classes; and Substage 2--Formation of quantitative and numerical relations of invariance.⁴⁰ Kohlberg's stages of moral thought in the pre-conventional level are as follows: Stage 1--Punishment-Obedience Orientation, and Stage 2--Instrumental-Relativistic Orientation. Kohlberg's Stage 1 relates to Piaget's Substage 2 and Stage 2 of Moral thought relates to Substage 2 of concrete operations. The difference being in the way truth and

reality are perceived. Stage 1 and Substage 1 can only classify, whereas Stage 2 and Substage 2 can reverse operations and see the inversions of relations.⁴¹

Kohlberg's conventional level is usually dominant in pre-adolescence.⁴² This level is concerned with maintaining the expectations of family, group and nation.⁴³ Stage 3 on this level is concerned with good behavior in order to please others. Stage 4 is called law and order and is concerned with the maintenance of the social order.⁴⁴ The children in this level are in Piaget's Era IV--Formal Operational Thought. The child can infer through operations upon operations.⁴⁵ He can construct systems of all possible implications and can test hypotheses.⁴⁶ There are three substages to this Era of Piaget's. Substage 1 can understand relations involving the inverse of the reciprocal.⁴⁷ This corresponds to Kohlberg's Stage 3. Piaget's Substage 2 child can order triads of propositions or relations.⁴⁸ This corresponds to Kohlberg's Stage 4 child.⁴⁹ -----

The post-conventional level of Kohlberg's theory is called the autonomous or principled level.⁵⁰ At this level there is a clear effort to define ethical values in an individual sense apart from authority.⁵¹ The last Substage in Piaget's Era IV is related here. Substage 3 is called true

formal operational thought.⁵² This individual can construct all possible combinations of relations.⁵³ This Substage 3 relates to Kohlberg's Stage 5A. This stage will be explained in detail later. Stage 5 is called the Social Contract-Legalistic Orientation.⁵⁴ Stage 6 is called the Universal Ethical Principle Orientation.⁵⁵

According to Kohlberg, these are universal developmental stages, in terms of form not content. In his studies of different cultures with different value systems, he found that the same categories of moral reasoning ability existed.⁵⁶

Before going on to an expanded explanation of these stages it is helpful to note that an individual is not entirely in any one stage.⁵⁷ By studying the responses of children in experimental tests it was noted that the individual is about 50% in the major stage, partly in the stage that he is leaving, and partly in the one he is going into.⁵⁸ An individual who is more than one stage removed from his major stage is very rare.⁵⁹

Children in Stage 1, punishment-obedience orientation, are sure that punishment will follow bad acts.⁶⁰ The child in this stage sees the order of things defined in terms of strong and weak.⁶¹ As previously mentioned this child, according to Piaget, is able to see stable classifications of concrete

objects so therefore he classifies people as to weak and strong. Maintenance of the social order is defined in terms of obedience of the weak to the strong and punishment of deviation by the strong of the weak.⁶²

The individual in Stage 2, instrumental relativism or hedonism, has a sense of fairness and reciprocity.⁶³ In the positive aspects, this reciprocity is conceived of as an equal exchange of favors with a goal clearly in mind which would be of equal benefit.⁶⁴ However, on the negative side the individual does not usually interfere in the affairs of others.⁶⁵ Those situations usually would not benefit him directly and therefore do not concern him. This Stage 2 child corresponds to Piaget's Substage 2. He is able to see the reverse implications of classification of concrete objects. Therefore he can not only see what will be to his benefit but what will not.

Stage 3 is the good boy/good girl orientation.⁶⁶ A child at this stage can interpret the meaning of the Golden Rule.⁶⁷ They have gotten to the point where they can imagine themselves simultaneously in two different roles in relation to each other.⁶⁸ The concept of justice for Stage 3 is tied to the concept of good interpersonal relationships.⁶⁹ The order of things is concerned with role-taking, mutual affection, gratitude, and concern for approval.⁷⁰ The child takes those

roles of those with whom he has ties.⁷¹ He also tends to see people in terms of stereotypes of nice and mean.⁷² This child is in Piaget's Substage 1 of formal operational thought. He can begin to construct systems of possibilities. Characteristic of this stage is the ability to understand the relations involving the inverse of the reciprocal. Since he can form negative classes of things he can determine what is not socially acceptable behavior. Stage 3 is trying to please and therefore is concerned with what is not pleasing.

When the individual moves from Stage 3 to Stage 4, law and order, he defines justice as a social order system with roles and rules.⁷³ The roles and rules are accepted by the entire community.⁷⁴ Role-taking involves orienting to the other's orientation as part of the system.⁷⁵ Everyone is expected to contribute to the society and merit is awarded by the system.⁷⁶ In this, reciprocity is between society and the individual, not interpersonal.⁷⁷ Negative reciprocity is also centered on the society in terms of the right of society to vengeance for not paying your debt to society.⁷⁸ In Stage 4, justice is primarily for the maintenance of the social order rather than for personal moral choice.⁷⁹ Social inequality is allowed and tolerated if it is reciprocal to effort, moral conformity and talent.⁸⁰ But favoring the idle, immoral, or

poor student is strongly rejected.⁸¹ Stage 4 is concerned with the uniform and regular administration of the law.⁸² Kohlberg makes a distinction between Stage 1 authority orientation and Stage 4 law and order. Kohlberg agrees with Durkheim in describing Stage 4 as a rule-maintaining and the normal adult society.⁸³ In every society which was studied, Stage 4 was the most frequent type of moral judgment.⁸⁴ Kohlberg does not agree with social scientists who say we must be satisfied with Stage 4.⁸⁵ Their reasons are that (1) all values are relative; there is no reason to think that there is a better morality than our own culture's; (2) and moral beliefs that are not collectively shared are unsatisfying.⁸⁶ Kohlberg's research shows that stages above 4 represent 25% of the society.⁸⁷ It is important for Jewish educators to recognize this point. Stage 4 is not high enough in terms of a Jewish value system. Although Judaism requires certain conforming institutions for the maintenance of its community, it believes that ultimately its ideas are based on Stage 6 type values (universal moral principles). As previously mentioned Stage 4 corresponds to Piaget's Substage 2 of formal operational thought. This child can order triads of propositions. He can begin to see the consequences of many operations in relation to each other. This relates to the moral realm in that

he is aware of what will happen to the delicate social structure if all its rules are not maintained. He can see the balance inherent in the structure and is bound to uphold it.

Stage 5 is divided into two substages.⁸⁸ Stage 5A is called the social-contract stage with utilitarian and legalistic implications.⁸⁹ Although there is an emphasis on the legal point of view, there is an awareness of the relativism of personal values and a corresponding emphasis on the correct way to reach consenses.⁹⁰ There is a recognition that the law can be changed taking into consideration rational social utility.⁹¹ Beyond this legal realm all free contracts are the binding elements of obligation.⁹² According to Kohlberg, this type of thinking finds its ground in that of the authors of the Constitution.⁹³ Stage 5B is different from 5A in that it is concerned with the internal decisions of conscience but without any real sense of rational or universal moral principles.⁹⁴

Kohlberg sees limits to Stage 4 in that it defines no real, clear obligations to persons outside of the social order or those who do not recognize the rules.⁹⁵ It also provides no rational way to change the society.⁹⁶ The important developmental aspect of Stage 5 is that it is the ability to make laws as distinguishable from merely maintaining law as in

Stage 4.⁹⁷ The value of society is taken for granted by Stage 4.⁹⁸ This distinction between law maintaining and law creating perspective is explained by Kohlberg as having several aspects.⁹⁹ To Stage 4 the purpose for law and order is to protect the individual against a common enemy.¹⁰⁰ This enemy is seen as someone who does not respect the law and order of the society.¹⁰¹ But to Stage 5 the law serves to adjudicate between the property rights and interests of one group and another, rather than just protecting everyone equally.¹⁰²

Stage 4 sees majority rule as sacred, whereas Stage 5 sees democracy as a tool to insure representation of the individual.¹⁰³ Stage 4 is more interested in securing conviction for criminals whereas Stage 5 is concerned with the procedures of due process and the rights of the criminal.¹⁰⁴

How is Stage 5 related to Piaget's formal operational thought? This is the level of true formal operations and since formal operations are logical operations upon operations with the ability to see all possibilities, Laws are seen as exemplifying universal logical possibilities.¹⁰⁵ It also enables the individual to think about thought and moral judgment rather than just about people or events.¹⁰⁶ Why should I be moral? is raised for the first time.¹⁰⁷

Kohlberg has concluded that Stage 5 is the first of two modes of moral judgment.¹⁰⁸ The other is Stage 6--universal ethical orientation. This stage consists of abstract ethical principles such as the Golden Rule.¹⁰⁹

Given these stages of moral development, what can be done in an educational situation to help the child move from one stage to another? Conventional moral education has had little impact because first it tries to transmit abstract moral cliches which are far above the child's level.¹¹⁰ Then they are taught to the child in concrete terms often below his level disregarding the problem of developmental match.¹¹¹ In Kohlberg's studies he has found that in order to be effective, the discussion must be one level above the child's.¹¹² Education below his level is not likely to be educative.¹¹³ Although the teacher's authority in the class is important it is the reasoning contained in the communications between teacher and student that determine whether his development will be furthered.¹¹⁴ The teacher helps him clarify his meaning and makes him think about what he is trying to say. Ultimately, then, the teacher should be concerned with the adjustment of the child, not just whether he remembers his lessons.¹¹⁵ It is the teacher's job to help the student's development in moral reasoning. The teacher must help the

student understand a higher stage, then facilitate that type of reasoning as his own with the ability to use it in a new situation.¹¹⁶ The way in which he can reorganize his thinking is by the use of conflict situations.¹¹⁷ The teacher helps him (1) focus on a genuine moral conflict; (2) think about his reasoning in how he solves it; (3) see the inconsistencies and inadequacies in it; (4) and then find a means of resolving such inconsistencies.¹¹⁸

A good method to provoke conflict is using a set of statements relevant to a certain stage supporting opposite alternatives.¹¹⁹ Generally the stage above the child's produces the greatest conflict.¹²⁰ By seeing the contradictions in his own thinking he will be challenged to try new solutions.¹²¹ In a study by Turiel it was found that higher stage reasoning is assimilated only if it arouses cognitive conflict.¹²²

An example of how children may respond to a situation at different stages follows.

Kohlberg uses this conflict situation as an example. Note the differences in each stage's reaction.

"In Europe, a woman was near death from cancer. One drug might save her, a form of radium that a druggist in the same town had recently discovered. The druggist was charging \$2000, ten times what the drug cost him to make. The sick

woman's husband Heinz, went to everyone he knew to borrow the money, but he could only get together about 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.' The husband got desperate and broke into the man's store to steal the drug for his wife. Should the husband have done that? Why?"

Stage 1--Action is motivated by avoidance of punishment and

"conscience" is irrational fear of punishment.

Pro--'If you let your wife die you will get in trouble. You'll be blamed for not spending the money to save her and there'll be an investigation of you and the druggist for your wife's death.'

Con--'You shouldn't steal the drug because you'll be caught and sent to jail if you do. If you do get away your conscience would bother you thinking how the police would catch up with you at any minute.'

Stage 2--Action motivated by desire for reward or benefit.

Possible guilt reactions are ignored and punishment is viewed in a pragmatic manner. (Differentiates own fear, pleasure or pain from punishment-consequences)

Pro--'If you do happen to get caught you could give the drug back and you wouldn't get much of a sentence. It wouldn't bother you much to serve a little jail term, if you have your wife when you get out.'

Con--'You may not get much of a jail term if you steal the drug, but your wife will probably die before you get out so it won't do you much good. If your wife dies you shouldn't blame yourself, it wasn't your fault she has cancer.'

Stage 3--Action motivated by anticipation of disapproval of others, actual or imagined (e.g. guilt). (Differentiation of disapproval from punishment, fear and pain.)

Pro--'No one will think you're bad if you steal the drug, but your family will think you're an inhuman husband if you don't. If you let your wife die you'll never be able to look anyone in the face again.'

Con--'It isn't just the druggist who'll think you're a criminal, everyone else will too. After you steal it you'll feel bad thinking about

how you brought dishonor to your family and yourself; you won't be able to face anyone again.'

Stage 4--Action motivated by anticipation of dishonor, i.e.

institutionalized blame for failure of duty, and by guilt over concrete harm done to others.

(Differentiates formal dishonor from informal disapproval. Differentiates guilt for bad consequences from disapproval.)

Pro--'If you had any sense of honor, you wouldn't let your wife die because you're afraid to do the one thing that will save her. You'll always feel guilty that you caused her death if you don't do your duty to her.'

Con--'You're desperate and you may not know you're doing wrong when you steal the drug. But you'll know you did wrong after you're punished and put in jail. You'll always feel guilty for your dishonesty and lawbreaking.'

Stage 5--Concern about maintaining respect of equals and of

a community (assuming their respect is based on reason rather than emotion). Concern about own self respect, i.e. to avoid judging self as

irrational, inconsistent, nonpurposive. (Discriminates between institutionalized blame and community disrespect or self-disrespect.)

Pro--'You'd lose other people's respect, not gain it, if you don't steal. If you let your wife die, it would be out of fear, not out of reasoning it out. So you'd just lose self-respect and probably the respect of others too.'

Con--'You would lose your standing and respect in the community and violate the law. You'd lose respect for yourself if you're carried away by emotion and forget the long-range point of view.'

Stage 6--Concern about self-condemnation for violating one's own principles. (Differentiates between community respect and self-respect. Differentiates between self-respect for general achieving rationality and self-respect for maintaining moral principles.)

Pro--'If you don't steal the drug and let your wife die, you'd always condemn yourself for it afterward. You wouldn't be blamed and you would have to live up to the outside rule of

the law but you wouldn't have lived up to your own standards of conscience.'

Con--'If you stole the drug you wouldn't be blamed by other people but you'd condemn yourself because you wouldn't have lived up to your own conscience and standards of honesty.'¹²³

An experiment conducted by Kohlberg in a Reform religious school pointed to some interesting conclusions. The experiment was designed to create a change in the stages, but also to maximize the long-term effect.¹²⁴ Previously, Kohlberg had found that the moral judgment maturity in junior high and high school is a good predictor of adult moral maturity.¹²⁵ He chose the pre-adolescent stage for the experiment because it is considered a critical period for intervention into moral judgment.¹²⁶ During the ages from ten to fourteen the individual is usually moving from the pre-conventional level (Stages 1 & 2) to the conventional level (Stages 3 & 4).¹²⁷ The intervention at this point could help those who are moving ahead more slowly, and alleviate the danger of stabilizing at the pre-conventional level.¹²⁸

Moshe M. Blatt and Lawrence Kohlberg conducted this experiment using a class of thirty children ages 11 and 12.¹²⁹ They were pre-tested to determine their stages.¹³⁰ The course

lasted twelve weeks with a total of twelve hours.¹³¹ The children were given moral conflict situations and asked to supply the alternative ways of solving the problem.¹³² They were then asked to explain exactly what the different consequences would be for each alternative.¹³³ The examiner tried to point out the psychological and social ramifications of each alternative.¹³⁴ The students were then asked to delineate the moral values they saw inherent in their solutions.¹³⁵ They would then be discussed.¹³⁶ While maintaining the atmosphere of free expression, the examiner would then point out the controversial questions that would have to be dealt with.¹³⁷ He also serves to clarify the disagreements.¹³⁸ As time went on the examiner isolated the solution that was one stage higher than the majority of the children and dwelt on it until he felt it was clear and everyone agreed it was reasonable and fair.¹³⁹ Kohlberg and Blatt assumed in this experiment that higher stage children would influence lower stage children.¹⁴⁰

Kohlberg and Blatt found that under these conditions this formal program for moral education had a substantial and enduring effect.¹⁴¹ It proved enduring in a follow-up test one year later.¹⁴² They have repeated this type of test in many different classrooms of varying age, socioeconomic and ethnic status.¹⁴³ They are encouraged to note that the change

was primarily stimulation of development rather than the learning of moral principles.¹⁴⁴

Kohlberg's studies and his theory must call our whole approach to moral education into question. We have been too concerned with teaching children the values of Judaism and helping them to apply them to situations. No matter how contemporary an approach such as Albert Vorspan's book Jewish Values and Social Crisis, it is basically concerned with applying answers already known. Kohlberg opens a new avenue. He suggests that it is more important to be concerned with how a child reasons about a situation. Once we are clued into his stage of development it is possible to help him reach the next stage. To see morality from the child's viewpoint and not to expect him to understand it from ours would be a step in the direction of creating a new type of moral education.

What does the Reform religious school curriculum have to say about the moral education of the Jewish child? And what does it do about it? An examination of the curriculum, its aims and its material will follow.

Reform Religious School Curriculum Reviewed

Reform Judaism attempts to teach the children in the religious school the ethics of Judaism in several ways and on many levels. The curriculum states that there is a need for the study of ethics because it is not enough to love God without an accompanying love of one's fellow man.¹⁴⁵ Judaism, as a religion, sanctifies human life and the kinship of all members of the human race.¹⁴⁶ It also holds that each person has a right to the freedom to choose his own lifestyle.¹⁴⁷ The curriculum delineates a special area of importance to Reform Judaism. This area is termed social justice. The curriculum seeks to apply the teaching of Judaism to all areas of life including economics, commerce, national and international affairs.¹⁴⁸ The teaching of ethics looks toward a sense of responsibility on the part of the learned Jew to try to eliminate man-made suffering and to promote harmonious relations between people and groups.¹⁴⁹ This responsibility also includes outright charity.¹⁵⁰

Another goal of the curriculum is the ideal of universal peace and spiritual and physical disarmament.¹⁵¹ The stated aim is to infuse the student with the universal ideals of the prophets and sages.¹⁵² It is hoped that by this

infusion the student will eventually develop a dynamic commitment to the ideals of freedom, brotherhood and peace.¹⁵³ It is further hoped that the student will be able to apply the ethical standards he has learned to problems that develop in his personal life.¹⁵⁴

In the section that deals specifically with the aims of education it states that with the knowledge of Jewish ideals and heritage it is hoped that the student will learn how they function to develop character and solve ethical problems.¹⁵⁵ Through this knowledge the problems and issues of personal living in a complex world will be more understandable.¹⁵⁶ It is also hoped that eventually an understanding of the problems and issues of social living in the world will be clearer.¹⁵⁷ The ultimate aim is to develop a sense of responsibility in searching for solutions to these problems.¹⁵⁸ By learning about the Jewish heritage and ideals it is hoped that the Jewish student will develop attitudes and habits which will reflect these values.¹⁵⁹

The curriculum hopes to accomplish all of these aims by introducing appropriate material at specific age levels. From kindergarten through the third grade ethics is taught through the concept of tzedakah.¹⁶⁰ Charitable contributions and their use are stressed. In addition, the second grade

has a recommended text for ethics. It is Let's Talk About Right and Wrong by Dorothy Kripke. This book uses simple conversational stories to try to show why people behave in a certain way.¹⁶¹ Its viewpoint is that we find happiness when we do the right thing.¹⁶² It tries to give the second grader a well-rounded picture of the good life.¹⁶³ It is geared to stressing right behavior. However, it is not concerned with the reasoning process in arriving at the ethical solutions. Unfortunately, it also makes the child think that the ethical solution is always easily discerned.

The text recommended for the third grade is Who Knows Ten by Molly Cone. This book consists of stories which illustrate the Ten Commandments.¹⁶⁴ It blends the religious history of the giving of the Law at Sinai with the explanation of the meaning of the commandments. This book consists of stories which illustrate the Ten Commandments. This book will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

The intermediate department, which consists of grades four through six, is concerned with Jewish ethical living.¹⁶⁵ Contemporary social issues are viewed in terms of Jewish ethical values.¹⁶⁶ The curriculum makes the point that children are relatively emotionally stable at this age and are beginning to reach for standards of social and personal behavior.¹⁶⁷

Grade four is the time for consolidating the student's growth of the previous years.¹⁶⁸ According to the curriculum the child is now ready for a more integrated outlook on life and is therefore ready for a more formal study of Jewish ethics.¹⁶⁹ The stated aim is that the teaching of ethics should not be done by learning rules.¹⁷⁰ Rather an attempt is made to help the child come to his own decisions by his own insight, using Jewish tradition as a guide.¹⁷¹ The text At Camp Kee Toy by Helen Fine is an attempt to introduce ethical problems within the context of the children's lives. These are the types of situations in which children have to choose the correct ethical action. Many suggestions are given with each chapter to stimulate thought and action.¹⁷² The behavior expected of course must reflect Jewish morals learned previously or taught by the teacher. Although a good start, the curriculum does not suggest a text for the fifth grade to try to continue this approach.

In the sixth grade ethics becomes an important part of the curriculum. It examines how the ethical values of the Jewish heritage are applicable to solving today's social problems.¹⁷³ The curriculum assumes that the child is both aware and concerned with what is going on in the world. The curriculum assumes that the student has the ability to comprehend

social issues and to be highly motivated to solve them.¹⁷⁴

In order to stimulate their concerns, To Do Justly--A Junior Casebook for Social Action by Albert Vorspan is recommended.

This book explores the enduring Jewish values and how they apply to today's problems.¹⁷⁵ Its aim is to make the student aware and responsible about doing his part in changing the world.¹⁷⁶

Grade seven offers a unique opportunity to study personal Jewish ethics. The curriculum makes the point that the twelve-year-old is striving for independence and therefore this is the perfect time to show how Judaism can illumine the directions in which the solutions lie.¹⁷⁷ The text The Right Way by Lillian S. Freehof is used to stimulate serious discussions. The stories are meant to involve the student personally in the situations while drawing on Jewish source material.¹⁷⁸ This book will be discussed more fully in the next chapter.

In eighth grade, personal ethics are to be reinforced.¹⁷⁹ The concern is with the responsibility of a Jew, as a Jew, toward the society in which he lives and is a part.¹⁸⁰ The curriculum wants the student to ask the question as to what are the problems which a righteous man sees and must act upon as he faces the country and the world.¹⁸¹ Ethics are studied through the study of prophecy. The text The Story of Prophecy

by Hannah Grade Goodman is recommended. This book is concerned with both the poetry and the ethics of the prophets.¹⁸² Contemporary social issues are discussed using "Keeping Posted," a monthly magazine designed for the Jewish teenager.¹⁸³ A different subject is discussed in each issue. An additional book on ethics is listed under 'Additional Teacher Resources.' It is Justice and Judaism by Albert Vorspan and Eugene Lipman.¹⁸⁴ In the ninth grade there is no recommended text for the study of ethics. The student must rely on "Keeping Posted" for the discussion of relevant moral issues. The ninth grade ends the junior high school program.¹⁸⁵

The High School division begins with grade ten which is recommended as the Confirmation year.⁴² It is unfortunate that this is the first opportunity since grade seven to confront moral questions and try to reason them out. "Keeping Posted" is again recommended.¹⁸⁷

In grade eleven the sixteen-year-old is helped to come to terms with the basic moral crises of our time by the use of the book Jewish Values and Social Crisis by Albert Vorspan. It examines many issues.¹⁸⁸

Grade twelve is supposed to contain a re-examination of Jewish beliefs and an emphasis on the importance of ethical living.¹⁸⁹ The text recommended for the study of ethics is

Justice, Justice, A Jewish View of the Black Revolution by Henry Cohen.¹⁹⁰ Several other books are recommended for the teacher in the field of social ethics. "Keeping Posted" is also suggested.¹⁹¹

The curriculum, as a whole, does not provide a coordinated developmental course for the development of moral reasoning and ethical judgment. It is an uneven program which has many well intentioned proposals but lacks adequate materials and a complete understanding of how moral reasoning takes place. When viewed in terms of Kohlberg's research it is deficient in that it does not take into account the differences in the way children approach problems at different stages. It seems that what they are doing is explaining the ethics of Judaism in language appropriate to each age. It also changes its methods in order to interest each group in learning about ethics. It is not suggested that Judaism abandon trying to teach ethics; however, a more coherent approach which takes cognizance of new research in the field of teaching ethics should be tried.

Third Grade Critique

In order to examine the Reform religious school curriculum's proposal for teaching morals in the third grade from a Kohlbergian perspective, the general psychological outlook of the eight-year-old will have to be taken into account.

Third graders, according to Freudian theory, are in the latency period. It starts at about six and lasts until pre-adolescence at ten.¹⁹² A repression of erotic activity characterizes this stage.¹⁹³ The child is interested in establishing relationships with peer groups and sublimates his sexuality into expression of affection, tenderness, devotion and respect.¹⁹⁴

This latency period is related to Erikson's stage called Industry vs. Inferiority. The child is being tamed by the school atmosphere.¹⁹⁵ The child wins recognition by making things.¹⁹⁶ Technology is important now because the child is learning to use the tools of the adult world to prepare himself for eventual entry into that world.¹⁹⁷ According to Erikson, school becomes a culture in itself with the child's self-esteem tied to his performance there.¹⁹⁸ The child can become very discouraged if he does not learn to use the tools well and loses face with his school friends.¹⁹⁹ This discouragement

could be critical because it might prevent the child's identification with them and part of the world.²⁰⁰ This is a very important social stage because making things usually involves working with other people.²⁰¹ The child begins to understand the concept of the division of labor and learning to accommodate to others.²⁰² He also learns that others sometimes will not accept him for reasons he cannot change (skin color, background).²⁰³ Another danger in this stage is that the child will accept work as the only criterion of worthiness.²⁰⁴ It will become difficult for him to be playful and imaginative.²⁰⁵ Erikson sees this stage of Industry vs. Inferiority as a real problem, since a majority of people never go beyond this stage and only view their identity in terms of their technology.²⁰⁶

In discussing the psycho-social development in later childhood Robert Watson sees the child in latency as seeking greater independence from parents.²⁰⁷ As he moves into his peer group he must move away from being identified only with his parents.²⁰⁸ The child now sees the peer group members as his model and a source of reward, identity and support.²⁰⁹ This is a two-edged sword since nonacceptance by a peer group can be devastating to the child's development and stability. In a study done by Lipitt, it was found that the most socially compliant children were the most popular.²¹⁰ Social

compliance was defined as the capacity to adapt quickly to difficult situations within the group.²¹¹

Friendship is another important element of this stage. In a study done by Green it was noted that girls are more advanced in their social development in terms of friendship than boys.²¹² They reach their peak in terms of quarrels and number of friends before boys.²¹³ Fluctuating friendships begin to stabilize as children grow older.²¹⁴

Competition and cooperation both play an important role in the peer-age group.²¹⁵ In a study by Maller, it was found that the efficiency of work under competition was sufficiently and consistently higher.²¹⁶ He concluded that although competition was often favored by the children over cooperation, results were mixed.²¹⁷

Havighurst sees the school as a place to learn developmental tasks.²¹⁸ These tasks are closely related and failure of one is related to another.²¹⁹ However, one failure may show up in school while being related to the failure of another task which is not visible in school.²²⁰

The teacher in the third grade serves as a socialization agent for the child. She sets standards of conduct and determines rewards and punishments.²²¹ Since the teacher is so important to the development of the child, her own adjustment

should be of concern.²²² Gladstone analyzed data pertaining to this problem. His conclusions were that both well-adjusted and maladjusted teachers can bring about bad effects on pupils.²²³ Sometimes teachers with their own problems are more empathetic towards children than outwardly well-adjusted teachers who take out their pent-up aggressions on the class.²²⁴

For Piaget, the eight-year-old is in the era of concrete operational thought.²²⁵ He can transform reality by means of internalized actions that can be grouped, joined and separated.²²⁶ He can reverse transformations including inversion and reciprocity.²²⁷ With this stage comes a new sense of autonomy.²²⁸ He is willing to change the rules of the games, previously thought of as sacred, in consensus with the peer group.²²⁹ He is capable of cooperation and has self-awareness.²³⁰

Kohlberg puts the eight-year-old in the pre-conventional level (ages 4-10).²³¹ The third grader usually sees good and bad in terms of the hedonistic or physical consequences.²³² The first stage of this level is the punishment-obedience and the second is the instrumental-relativistic. In Stage 1 the child is sure that punishment will follow a bad act.²³³ The strong are the ones to rule the weak.²³⁴ The Stage 2 child has a strong sense of reciprocity. But this reciprocity is seen as an equal exchange of favors.²³⁵ The child also never

interferes with the affairs of others unless it is of direct benefit to him.²³⁶

In the third grade class the dominant stage would be Stage 2 with some aspects of Stage 1. The Stage 3 orientation of good girl/good boy is the next highest stage. This stage is concerned with good personal relations.²³⁷ The child wants to please. He also tends to see people in terms of stereotypes.²³⁸ According to Kohlberg's method we should be stimulating the child to move to the next higher stage. This is the purpose of confronting the child with moral conflicts.

Erikson's stage of Industry vs. Inferiority is closely related to Stage 3. If the child successfully learns to use tools and make things he begins to work with other people.²³⁹ The Stage 3 child is concerned with good interpersonal relations. He wants to be a good boy and show how well he gets along with others.²⁸⁰

Havighurst's developmental stages are closely dependent on the successful completion of the previous stage.²⁴¹ Movement to Stage 3 is dependent upon the child's wanting to please others.²⁴² If he is failing in tasks at school and with his relations with others, he may feel that the odds are overwhelming and will stop trying to please because he fears he will fail. It is important to the teacher to be aware of the whole

child and the various tasks and stages he is trying to complete. It would be helpful now to examine the type of text used in this grade.

According to the Reform religious school curriculum the recommended text for the third grade in moral education is Who Knows Ten by Molly Cone.²⁴³ In the editor's preface, Rabbi Alexander Schindler notes Jerome Bruner's argument that it is possible to teach any subject at an early age if it is explained well.²⁴⁴ Following this thought, Rabbi Schindler feels that Molly Cone has proved this by creating this book.²⁴⁵ He feels it serves to transmit the important ideas of Judaism to young children.²⁴⁶ A teacher's guide was also written for Who Knows Ten by Florence Gross and Dulcy Wilets.

After an introductory chapter that sets the scene at Sinai for the giving of the Law, each chapter deals with one commandment and what the Israelites think it means. After the meaning is explained, there is a short story which illustrates the meaning of the commandment. The teacher's guide outlines the theme and goals of each chapter. It suggests different ways to develop and explain the story and the concepts. It then lists projects geared to the chapter along with questions that would lead to discussion. The authors of the guide assert that the concepts of the Ten Commandments are very

difficult for the eight-year-old to understand so it is important to involve the student in a physical way.²⁴⁷ This is the purpose of the projects. The book is very pleasing to the eye and the stories are well written.

An example of the type of lesson in this book is chapter eight on stealing. The title of the chapter is "You Shall Not Steal!"²⁴⁸ The story depicts the Israelites pondering the meaning of the commandment. They first think of it in terms of being punished by a slave master if you had stolen something.²⁴⁹ They then realize that they are no longer slaves and have to consider their new freedom and the responsibility that goes with it.²⁵⁰ At the end of the chapter the meaning of the commandment is given. It is that free men must respect one another and respect what belongs to one another.²⁵¹

How does this explanation relate to Kohlberg's stages? First of all, it is the concept of learning morality by the bag of virtues method. They are trying to teach about the virtues that they deem important. In this case the Ten Commandments. There is no conflict to reason about. The meaning is given and the child is supposed to learn it. As previously stated the majority of the class would be Stage 2--instrumental hedonism. On the positive side, the child might not steal if he thought the other child would not steal from him. On

the other hand he would not condemn stealing if the act had no bearing on his situation.²⁵² At one point the author explains to the child that if he does the right thing (i.e. obeys the commandment) he will please himself and God.²⁵³ At first glance it would appear that this was exhorting him to Stage 3; however, the virtue has been decided already. He has not come to it by reasoning. Hartshorne and May's study must be recalled at this point. Even if the children did learn the commandment and its meaning by heart, this does not mean it would alter their performance in the least.²⁵⁴

The story which follows the explanation is about an artist's apprentice who cheats in order to receive a reward.²⁵⁵ This story is supposed to illustrate that if you steal you will not be rewarded.²⁵⁶ This, again, goes back to the bag of virtues concept. One of the elements of that approach is that if you practice the virtues good will come your way and vice versa.²⁵⁷ This is also not related to life. Many people cheat and steal and never get punished for it or feel badly. The child knows of children within his group who have taken things that don't belong to them and don't feel the slightest tinge of remorse.

The goals of the unit, outlined in the teacher's guide, include: (1) to understand that stealing is taking what belongs

to another; (2) to recognize that possessions other than material goods can be stolen (another's talent or time); (3) to realize that a person steals from himself when he steals from another (his good name); (4) to recognize that freedom imposes the responsibility of respect for what belongs to another.²⁵⁸ The hedonistic reciprocity element of Stage 2 can wipe out any effect these exhortations might have.

Inherent in this whole concept is the belief that moral truth can be transmitted at any age as long as it is explained in clear terms. It then becomes a socialization process with the children learning the correct verbal responses to be given in certain situations without the accompanying commitment to action.

The projects delineated are concerned with acting out social situations which include stealing and the social consequences of such an act.²⁵⁹ A series of questions is then given with the answers already picked up by the children from the teacher. The last question which asks if the students agree with the philosophy of Hillel's Golden Rule. Inevitably the student in this type of program of moral education would give an answer to please the teacher whether or not these are internalized values.

Chapter five deals with the commandment about honoring

mother and father. It would be hard to find a child who would not agree in class to love and respect parents; however, at the same time the eight-year-old is trying to establish an identity apart from his parents.²⁶⁰ The third grader might find a conflict here because if he is to move into Stage 3 he will want to please his parents as a good-boy.

The story that follows is about a man who showed how he honored his parents by visiting them often. He and his wife wanted to adopt a child and in an interview with another prospective parent, he impressed the social worker with his gift of a big red tomato to his mother rather than the gift of the other man to his mother of a television set. The other man visited his mother infrequently. The eight-year-old would probably think that the television set was a better present. If he was in Stage 2 he would probably be concerned with what he might get in return for such a good gift. If he was starting to see things from Stage 3 he would want to please his parents and would probably think that the bigger the gift, the better he would please. Therefore this story misses the mark.

Chapter seven deals with adultery, always a difficult commandment to explain to children. Molly Cone does it by making God appear stern and judgmental.²⁶¹ While explaining that the act of marriage shows the world that these people

made a promise to belong to each other, sharing joy and sorrow, she then interprets a warning in His words.²⁶² It is that if anyone separates or keeps married people apart God will be very angry.²⁶³ Unfortunately divorce is a common feature of life in the middle and upper middle class America. Children caught in a situation like that frequently feel they are to blame in some way and this may refer to them. Since they do not understand the concept of an adulterous relationship it is extremely difficult to understand what causes people to separate. Stage 2 reciprocity is not concerned with loyalty or gratitude,²⁶⁴ so the concept of promising to stay together in marriage probably would have utilitarian overtones to the child. Stage 3 would want to please but since he is not really in a position to do anything about anybody's marriage in a direct way it is really meaningless. The story which follows is very silly and not really a very good example.

Who Knows Ten is an attempt to educate a third grader about the virtues of Judaism. It explains these difficult ideas in simple terms they believe the child will understand. By games and projects they try to make the commandments of immediate value. Lawrence Kohlberg's work makes these premises for moral education obsolete. If moral education is seen only as a socialization process then this type of approach

(learning the rules) is valid. However, if moral education is viewed as the development of moral reasoning then this approach cannot be used.

Seventh Grade Critique

In order to examine the Reform religious school curriculum's proposal for moral education in the seventh grade from the perspective of Kohlberg's work, it is necessary to take into account the general psychological climate of the pre-adolescent.

The twelve-year-old in the seventh grade is beginning to see himself and his world very differently. According to Freudian theory, the pre-pubertal stage begins approximately at ten at the end of latency.²⁶⁵ There is a sharp increase in libido energy and the Oedipal fantasies reappear.²⁶⁶ The relative calm of the latency period is replaced by the aggressive behavior of the ID.²⁶⁷ Because of this activity by the ID, the EGO has an increase in anxiety.²⁶⁸ As the SUPEREGO develops the child is developing standards which he accepts as his own.²⁶⁹ he is frequently influenced more by his peers rather than his parents.²⁷⁰ This SUPEREGO is the agent that makes the child feel guilty when he violates social norms.²⁷¹ According to Freudian theory this internalized agent takes the place of relying on parental approval for correct action. During the childhood years the ID is controlled by the EGO which fears the reality of punishment.²⁷² During pubescence the SUPEREGO

frustrates the ID by its internal inhibitions.²⁷³ The Oedipal conflicts are fulfilled in fantasies.²⁷⁴ The SUPEREGO interferes causing fears and anxiety.²⁷⁵

Two typical defense mechanisms of the adolescent are asceticism and intellectualism.²⁷⁶ The first is due to his mistrust of his instinctual wishes.²⁷⁷ These not only include sex, but eating and sleeping.²⁷⁸ Intellectualization is a defense against the libido. Anna Freud asserts that the EGO's ability to cope with the ID depends on the SUPEREGO's development and character training in latency.²⁷⁹

It is hard to classify the twelve-year-old as either pre-adolescent or adolescent. According to Arnold Gesell, biology is the determining factor. It not only controls growth but also abilities and attitudes.²⁸⁰ He feels it is not necessarily a turbulent and violent period.²⁸¹ He feels it is a ripening process.²⁸² He is a maturationist and feels growth cannot be helped along.²⁸³ A school curriculum should take the psychological knowledge of the nature and sequence of these stages into account.²⁸⁴

Gesell gives us a picture of the twelve year old as an individual less naively self-centered than as a child.²⁸⁵ He can look at himself and others more objectively and has a greater awareness of complications.²⁸⁶ The twelfth year is

normally one of personality integration.²⁸⁷ He has enthusiasm, initiative, empathy and self-insight.²⁸⁸ He shows a marked increase in conceptual thinking.²⁸⁹ He tends to be realistic in his ethical approach rather than idealistic.²⁹⁰ He seems to want to keep things in balance in his life and he begins to find himself.²⁹¹ Because he is very aware of his body he is aware of the similarity of humans and begins to feel less isolated and closer to his group.²⁹²

Erik Erikson sees adolescence as involving the stage of identity vs. role diffusion. It is not only a physiological revolution but an uncertainty of the adult roles which are ahead.²⁹³ The adolescence constantly looks to ideas and people to have faith in.²⁹⁴ He is so conscious as being able to choose for himself, that he would make a fool of himself in front of adults as long as he chose it himself.²⁹⁵ However, he would not want to be forced into activities that would shame him in front of his peers.²⁹⁶ He trusts his friends and adults who feed his illusions and aspirations.²⁹⁷ Erikson believes that young people become clannish as a defense mechanism against the loss of individual identity.²⁹⁸ This loss is feared because of the change that is taking place within their bodies. This is a negative view of group closeness whereas Gesell's is more positive (realizing similarities).

Erikson's and Kohlberg's philosophy of the developmental task is closely allied to Havighurst's concept of stages. In order to reach the next task and be able to complete it, you must complete the preceding one, successfully.²⁹⁹ The sequence always remains the same.³⁰⁰ Failure to complete the task causes anxiety, lack of adjustment and social disappointment.³⁰¹ Some of these tasks are: (1) accepting one's physique and sexual role; (2) new relations with agemates of both sexes; (3) emotional independence of parents.³⁰² The early period of adolescence (ages 10-13) is seen as crucial by Havighurst because changes in the level of performance of the tasks were seen before thirteen but were absent in the later teens.³⁰³

These views of psychology of the early adolescent all take into account the biological consequences of development and the sexual role identification. There is also an awareness of the importance of the transitional early stage to later development. According to Kohlberg, the conventional level usually dominates in pre-adolescence.³⁰⁴ They are generally concerned with maintaining the expectations of family, group and nation.³⁰⁵ Stage 3 is concerned with good behavior. He can interpret the Golden Rule by being able to imagine himself simultaneously in two different roles in relation to each other.³⁰⁶ He also tends to see people in terms of stereotypes.³⁰⁷

The concern for approval ranks very high.³⁰⁸ To move from Stage 3 to Stage 4 the child must see justice in terms of a social system with roles and rules.³⁰⁹ Everyone is expected to contribute to the society and the society in turn has the right to punish those who don't.³¹⁰ To Stage 4 justice is primarily for the maintenance of the social order rather than for personal moral choice.³¹¹ The seventh grader is well into Stage 3 and partly into Stage 4. If we follow Kohlberg's model then the situation with which it is possible to stimulate the child to examine his thinking has to be written in Stage 4 language.

Kohlberg's theory that intervention is desirable to help students to move from one stage to another is supported by Anna Freud's contention that the EGO's ability to cope with the ID is dependent on the SUPEREGO's development by character training in latency.³¹² The form of training may be conceived differently by Kohlberg as moral reasoning but nevertheless the SUPEREGO's development is dependent on making the child aware of the alternatives of behavior.

Gesell contends that the twelve-year-old shows a marked increase in conceptual thinking.³¹³ This relates well to the way Kohlberg connects his levels of moral thought with the universal developmental stages of Piaget. The pre-adolescent

is in Piaget's Era IV of formal operational thought. This means he can infer through operations upon operations.³¹⁴ He can also construct systems of all possible relations or implications.³¹⁵ Since he has learned to conceptualize he can see the consequences of his actions. With these factors in mind, we will now examine the text for this grade.

Lillian S. Freehof has written a text for moral education that is to be used in the seventh grade according to the Reform religious school curriculum.³¹⁶ In the editor's note, Emanuel Gamoran cites Hartshorne and May's study on moral education.³¹⁷ He points out that they found that there was no such thing as justice or honesty in general, only in specific situations.³¹⁸ He then cites the Behaviorist school's philosophy of seeing moral action as the only viable test of morality.³¹⁹ The editor notes that the educational posture of the book demands that it not dismiss the importance of the formation of attitudes and the inclination to do right.³²⁰ He feels the student will be interested in the stories and the ethical questions they raise.³²¹ He also sees peer group pressure as a significant factor in molding character.³²²

Each of the sixteen stories sets up a conflict situation for the characters which is resolved at the end. Each story is followed by the moral exhortation from Ethics of the Fathers.

It is then explained.³²³ This is followed by questions about the story. They are thought questions about the conflict presented by the story.³²⁴ The next section deals with several problems that set up a conflict. The student is asked to think about the problem and comment on alternative solutions.³²⁵ There are also suggestions as to a visit or an interview that could be conducted or extra readings.³²⁶ It would seem that this is a good attempt to create the kind of situation that Kohlberg sees as desirable.

Some situations such as 'The Midget Gadget' resolve the conflict in the story. Others such as 'The Fortune Smiles' leave the situation in doubt but predictable. 'The Midget Gadget' is about an inventor who had just completed an important invention. It was to carry the name of the company rather than his name. He was aware of this and felt slightly disappointed, but at the same time grateful to the company for believing in him during the years when he didn't produce anything. His family was disappointed about not having his name on the gadget. Later an important executive from a rival company offers him a position with his company with much more prestige, responsibility and a raise in salary. He also offers that any invention would have his name on it. The man struggles with his conscience. He finally decides to stay with his company

out of loyalty. At the end of the story his company raises his salary and decides that every invention from now on should have his name on it.

First of all, this is not a typical situation. It projects an erroneous picture of corporate America. It tries to show that if one operates by the correct moral principles everything will work out. This goes back to the bag of virtues concept. It's not fair to the student to present him with a situation which would probably turn out differently in a real life situation. In all probability, the first company had been taking advantage of the inventor's talent. Since he had never complained about getting a just reward, why should the company pay more than it has to? Because someone is 'good', in this case, turning down a job offer does not necessarily mean he will be rewarded for being loyal. And to be satisfied with not being rewarded for accomplishment in business is unnatural. This is a poor choice for a situation and one a twelve-year-old would have a hard time identifying with.

The selection from Ethics of the Fathers deals with not thinking of reward for services rendered.³²⁷ It is explained that we should be concerned with the good deed itself and not with the benefit. It then, categorically, states that there is benefit in doing good.³²⁸ The questions on the chapter ask the

student to think about why the inventor made his choice.

A Stage 3 child would be very concerned with pleasing his family. In this case, the family was disappointed. In the story he states he did not want to discuss the offer with his wife or his friends.³²⁹ If this story is to be one stage higher, that is Stage 4, he might be concerned with what is a just reward for services to the society. Stage 4 would be very concerned that the inventor did not get his name on the gadget. Stage 5B is concerned with the decisions of personal conscience.³³⁰ Stage 5 is generally concerned about moral thought and judgment. If this is what Lillian Freehof is trying to convey then this book is of little use according to Kohlberg's theory. Children cannot comprehend a stage which is more than one stage above their own.³³¹ The mistake made here is that the author thinks that writing an interesting and pleasant story with the outcome already decided, will educate the pre-adolescent to be a moral person. The significant thing about this book is that it is an attempt to help the student reason about moral decisions. In this sense it is a more valuable tool than Who Knows Ten in moral education.

In the section dealing with other problems, the students are confronted with conflict situations. A typical example of this is about Mr. A., a lawyer who is called upon to defend a

poor client. He takes on the burden even though it means neglecting clients who could have paid him big fees. The questions asked are whether the lawyer should have done this and what he will get out of it.³³² The objectionable part of this type of situation is that it is already decided. The student is clued into the correct response. Although he is asked his opinion he does not really reason about the situation himself. In a typical classroom situation the student is aware of the fact he is being graded on how well he learns the material. Therefore if the correct answer is presented to him he will undoubtedly show the teacher he agrees.

Several of the stories are about adolescents. This is good because the students can relate well to the situations about their own life style. The other stories are about adults and not really related to his life as with the 'Midget Gadget'. Two of the stories do not contain a resolution. This is the type of situation preferred by Kohlberg; however, they are written in such a way that if the student knows the value system he will know the answer. An example of this is the story 'Fortune Smiles'. It is about two airline stewardesses and how they treat other people. One is obviously sweet, good and kind and the other is obviously selfish and out for her own advantage, rather than the passengers' welfare. An important job

is available and the story ends without telling who got the job.³³³ The students are asked their opinion as to who should get the job.³³⁴ There is no moral reasoning involved because the story is written in such a way as to present no conflict. The story is resolved at the end of the book. It is resolved in a predictable way: the nice stewardess gets the job.³³⁵

The Right Way makes a good try at presenting the student with moral situations to discuss. The stories are generally interesting and well written and the questions and situations at the end of each chapter point up some moral questions. However, the book takes on the responsibility of providing the correct answers to the problems. The moral judgments are not arrived at by reasoning by the student, only discussed after the solution has been presented. The solutions usually represent thinking that is above the stage of moral development of the twelve-year-old.

Proposal for the Revision of the Method of Teaching
Moral Values in the Reform Religious School

Judaism was often described as ethical monotheism. In our religious schools we try to teach our children about the concept of One God. We also try to teach them why Judaism is an ethical religion. At the same time we attempt to socialize our children as Jews by teaching them what those ethics are and when to apply them. Studies have shown that children have a distinct way of thinking about problems. These distinct forms of moral reasoning outlined by Lawrence Kohlberg have revolutionized our view of the traditional methods of moral education. We have tried to teach difficult moral concepts to children thinking that if we explain it in simple terms they will understand. Kohlberg's research has shown that we have not understood the process of moral development. If Kohlberg's work and findings are to be accepted as valid, then it is incumbent upon the religious school to change its method of moral education. It is suggested that books like Who Knows Ten by Molly Cone and Let's Talk About Right and Wrong by Dorothy Kripke and similar approaches be abandoned. In their place a course made up of real life moral situations followed by questions be used. The teacher would be guided by a general teacher's guide but more importantly by several sessions with

an instructor in this method. The success of this program depends on the ability of the teacher to recognize what stage the child is in and to help him advance.

Each situation would reflect the student's life situation and be designed to create a conflict in his thinking. This will cause re-evaluation of his values and learning will take place (see examples at the end).

What is the place of the teacher in this system? The teacher is vitally important to this program because it is he who determines the stages of the children and how to direct the discussion. By clarifying the higher stage solution given in class the teacher can help the student move up from his own stage. However, we are not dealing with a public school situation, which shies away from standing for specific moral values. Jewish values should enter into the program but not until the very end of each session. It is important that the students work out their own reasons. In grades one through five it is difficult to introduce abstract moral concepts to children. It should not be done in the context of these sessions because they will begin to look for the 'correct Jewish answers' and defeat the whole purpose of the program which is to develop moral reasoning ability. They will hear of Jewish values in the history of great Jewish personalities and through holiday

celebrations, but they mustn't be put in the situations where they have to learn them in the traditional sense. Beginning in the sixth grade Jewish values could be brought up at the end of the discussion. It is not wrong for the teacher to stand for Jewish values or to let the students know it. At this point a word must be said about Jewish values and Kohlberg's system.

How do Kohlberg's stages relate to what Judaism teaches? Is all of Judaism Stage 6 or does it have elements of other stages? Judaism operates on several stages. Every religion, in order to survive, must have its adherents see certain values in terms of Stages 3 and 4.

Stage 3 orientation of good boy/good girl approval is important because the social pressure of the group to adhere to its rules and structure. Stage 4 maintenance of the social order is important because of the inherent value seen in preserving the structure. Worship is a good example. Attendance at services is often motivated by the need for approval. Children want it from their parents and parents want it from their friends. Often the religious significant of worshipping God is secondary to the Stage 3 need to be seen as good. A person who reasoned with this type of thinking would view those who did not show up at services as bad Jews and those who did as

good Jews. The Stage 3 Jew would want to be a good Jew and want the approval of other Jews.

The Stage 4 Jew would not question the validity of the system he operates within. His main concern is maintaining the system intact. His argument with his teenage son about dating and possibly marrying a Christian girl centers around the concept of maintaining the group. The father would not usually think that personal choice is more important than the responsibility to the group.

Stage 5 thinking would characterize many Reform Jews. They would be cognizant of the covenant relationship and its binding obligations. However, the possibility of changing or creating law is always possible. This is not to deny Stage 5 thinking for Conservative or Orthodox Jews. However, even in its very name Reform denotes a sense of being able to move from just maintaining the law to a more creative response.

Stage 6, the universal principle orientation, is of course present. It is thought of as the basis of all Judaism. However, Stage 6 often comes into conflict with Stage 4 as in the case with mixed marriage. The concept that each human being has equal value and must be treated as such comes into conflict with the idea that it is important not to marry outside of your group. Stage 6 often conflicts with other values

and the teacher must be aware of this problem. Hopefully as the student reaches the higher stages of reasoning he can discern these different forms and try to deal with them, in his own relation to Jewish living.

In the sample teacher's guide that follows is an explanation of Kohlberg's stages and examples of how a classroom situation would develop. It also includes suggestions for bringing Jewish values into the discussion where appropriate.

Sample Teacher's Guide

One of the most important goals of Reform Jewish education is the moral education of the child. Our traditional methods have been less than effective. According to the work of Lawrence Kohlberg we have been attacking the problem with the wrong method. Kohlberg believes in the developmental theory of moral reasoning. He believes that children move through these stages in a set pattern. The teacher plays an important role in this process because he can help the child move from one stage to a higher one at a faster rate. This type of approach is more difficult than having children memorize the Ten Commandments, but it has a more lasting effect. There are no grades or exams in this course. It is important that the children understand this. It makes the atmosphere more free and expressive.

In order for this method to be effective the teacher must be well versed in Kohlberg's stages and be able to recognize which stage each child is in. The following is an explanation of these stages and the significant elements of a child's reasoning in each stage.

Pre-Conventional Level (ages 4-10)

1. Interprets good and bad in terms of the physical or hedonistic consequences.
2. Aware of the physical power of those who make the rules.

Stage 1--Punishment-Obedience orientation

1. Driven by avoidance of punishment, regardless of value.
2. Deference to power but not respect for authority.

Stage 2--Instrumental-Relativist orientation

1. Right action consists of what satisfies own needs and sometimes others'.
2. Reciprocity is matter of equal favors, not loyalty or justice.

Conventional Level (begins in pre-adolescence)

1. Concerned with maintaining expectations of family, group or nation regardless of immediate consequences.
2. Not only conformity but loyalty to the group.

Stage 3--Good boy/nice girl orientation

1. Good behavior is what pleases others.
2. Stereotypes of mean and nice people.
3. Behavior judged by intention--'He means well'.

Stage 4--Law and Order orientation

1. Authority, rules, maintenance of social order.
2. Right behavior is doing one's duty.
3. Maintaining social order for its own sake.

Post-Conventional Level (autonomous, principled)

1. Effort to define moral values which have validity apart from authority of groups or persons.

Stage 5--Social Contract-Legalistic orientation

1. Right action is determined in terms of general individual rights and critically examined standards of society.
2. Awareness of relativism of personal values and an emphasis on means to reach consensus.
3. Emphasis on legal point of view but with the possibility of changing law.
4. Free agreement and contract are binding obligations.

Stage 6--Universal Ethical Principle orientation

1. Right is defined as a decision of conscience in accord with ethical principles consistently chosen.
2. Abstract and ethical principles such as the Golden Rule, not like Ten Commandments.
3. Universal principles such as justice and equality of human rights and respect for dignity of human being.

Teacher's Goals

1. To become aware of the level that the child is operating on.
2. To present the child with conflict situations to discuss.
3. To isolate the solution which is one stage higher than the majority of the class and make it clear to them until they can understand the reasoning.³³⁶

Pre-test

This is to determine the stage of each child and what the range is in the class. Each child is 50% in his major stage, 25% in the stage he has just left and 25% in the stage he is going into.

Read the situation over in class. Ask the questions and write the answers on the board. Since this is a course that will cover the whole year you might want to keep a record of the session's comments. In this way you will be able to chart their progress. It is also a good way for you to become familiar with the stages and begin to recognize them more quickly. You may find that you will have to use several situations as a pre-test before you learn to spot your class's stages. The following is an example of possible responses in a classroom situation.

Example of Moral Conflict

Situation--Third Grade

(Geared to Stage 2--Trying to Move Them to Stage 3)

Debbie liked her teacher's red pencil. She always kept the pencil on her desk. Debbie would stare at it and wish it were hers. One day at recess, her hands started to get cold and she realized that she had forgotten to take her gloves out to recess with her. She asked her teacher if she could go back up to the room and get them.

Debbie found her gloves on the floor near the coat rack. She looked around and realized she was all alone and then something caught her eye. It was the red pencil! She walked over to the desk on her tiptoes and looked at the pencil. She had never seen one just like it. Oh! how much she wanted it. She had looked in every store to find one just like it but she couldn't find one as nice and big as the teacher's. No one would see her just now if she grabbed it and hid it in her desk. What should she do?

(This story is to help the child move from the Stage 2 hedonistic orientation (having the pencil) to Stage 3 with the anticipation of the disapproval of others.)

1. What would you do if you were Debbie?
2. What would happen if children saw the red pencil in Debbie's desk?
3. What if the teacher saw it?
4. Would it be all right to take the pencil if it belonged to another student?
5. What if your mother asked you where you got the red pencil. What would you say?

The following is a set of possible student and teacher responses.

Teacher's question: "What would you do if you were Debbie?"

Student's answer: "It doesn't matter if Debbie takes the pencil because the teacher can always get another one."
(Shows hedonistic desire for pencil outweighs anything else.)

Teacher's question: "How do you think the teacher would feel about the class if she knew someone had taken her pencil?"
(The teacher should try to evoke a sense of disapproval the teacher might feel towards the class in general. The children in the class who are already thinking in terms of Stage 3 terms, will pick up this theme and elaborate it for the rest of the class.)

Another possible answer to the question: "Since no one would catch her the teacher wouldn't know." (Shows consciousness of avoiding physical punishment--partly Stage 1 fear.)

Teacher's response: "If the teacher did see you do you think that getting punished like staying in from recess or sitting by yourself is the worst thing that could happen?"
(The teacher, again, tries to evoke the possibility of disapproval both by teacher and classmates. The physical discomfort of both punishments are put down because they are lower stage responses (Stage 1), thereby making the children think of the social consequences. They would not be a good boy or a good

girl (Stage 3) if they were punished.)

Another possible student response: "Even if your friend saw it in your desk she wouldn't tell on you because you would tell on her about something." (Shows reciprocity, not out of loyalty but just an equal exchange of favors.)

Teacher's response: "But what if the teacher caught your friend doing something bad and you were watching your friend all the time and never tried to stop her or tell the teacher?" (The teacher would try to move the child from Stage 2 reciprocity to Stage 3 approval. The higher stage children in the class would elaborate on this. The teacher would then isolate one or two of these comments and make it understandable to all the children.)

A Stage 3 student comment: "You wouldn't want the teacher to think you were bad like your friend. If the teacher thinks you are bad she will never let you help her pass out paper or anything. She will not think you are nice like the good children in the class."

Teacher isolating comment: "Think about what Lisa said. How would you feel if the teacher did not think you were the type of student she would want as a special helper or a leader?"

"What would your mother think if she knew that you had taken the teacher's pencil?"

"How would you feel if your mother thought you were bad?"

Example of Moral Conflict
Situation--Seventh Grade
From Stage 3 to Stage 4

Two great things had happened to Jonathan this week: he had been accepted as a swimming instructor at Camp Peququot and Michael had become his friend. Michael was such a great guy, so sharp and popular, and now he was Jonathan's friend.

Jonathan was proud he was teaching at the camp this summer. He had worked hard for his senior life saving certificate and he really knew how to teach swimming. There was one more position open at the camp. Michael liked to swim too. He became friendly with Jonathan at the pool at the "Y" and had asked about the jobs at the camp. The problem was Michael told Jonathan in confidence that he really didn't have his senior life-saving certificate. But Michael said he was a great swimmer anyway. When Jonathan told Michael about the extra position available he explained that when they asked the question about being a senior life-saver Michael wouldn't get the job. Michael was very upset. Then he calmed down. He asked Jonathan as his friend not to say he knew about his not having his certificate. He would lie. He was popular and some of the people at the camp knew him. They would never doubt his word. He was a good swimmer anyway. So what if the rules said you had to be a senior life-saver!

(This story is to help the child move from Stage 3-- approval to Stage 4--maintaining social order-law.)

1. What would you do if you were Jonathan?
2. What would be more important to you, Michael's friendship or being honest about the rules?
3. Do you think Michael was a real friend?
4. Why do you think the camp has rules?
5. What if everybody disobeyed?

Teacher's question: "What would you do if you were Jonathan?"

Student's response: "Well if I wanted to still be friends with Michael I would do what he wants. Then we could work together all summer."

Teacher's response: "But what if everyone lied about their applications when they applied for jobs? What if you were the person hiring life guards next year; would you hire Michael because he was your friend or would you think about the rules that were made to protect the campers' safety?"

Student's response: "But Michael is my best friend, what would he think of me?"

Teacher's response: "But are you willing to break rules every time a friend could be helped? What if everyone acted like that, what would happen to all the rules of our society?"

Stage 4 students in the class would elaborate on the ideas of maintaining the structure and law of society. The teacher would then try to make those views clear.

In grades six through twelve Jewish values can be discussed at the end of the sessions. The teacher can ask probing questions so that the students can recall from their other Jewish studies what values would fit. And then discuss them.

Sample questions: What does the Bible say about this type of problem? What would Rabbi _____, from our last lesson, say about this situation? What would a Reform, Conservative, Orthodox Jew say about a situation like this? Let's think about our discussion last week from Ethics of the Fathers, and see if we think this applies.

The teacher can then relate those aspects of the other lessons that he deems important or pertinent. The important thing to remember is that this must be done at the end of the Kohlberg session and that the non-graded atmosphere be emphasized even in this part of the discussion. The students may not agree with certain Jewish values and must feel free to express themselves and be able to discuss their views with others who feel differently. The teacher can stand for his own values and should take part in the discussions, but not as

someone who dictates which answer is correct. He is there to clarify the arguments and is free to explain Judaism's stand on issues. It is important to note that the study of the moral choices preferred by others such as Jewish figures should be included in the curriculum, however they should not be taught from the point of view of trying to internalize the values. As pointed out earlier, they are usually too far above the child's stage. But by helping the student develop his moral reasoning as a separate part of his Jewish education, he will not have to recite values that he does not really believe.

Since the teacher is the person that must clarify the arguments in the class, it is helpful if he has some questions that are applicable to many situations to help the student make his meaning clear.

Statements for all grades:

1. What do you mean by _____: can you tell me what that means?

2. Is that very important to you?

3. How do you know that that is right?

Statements for older grades:

1. Did you consider the alternatives?

2. Can you give me some examples of that idea?

3. Where would that idea lead, what would be its consequences?

4. Is that a personal preference or do you think most people believe that?

5. Do you think that people will always believe that? Do you think long ago people believed that?

The question of how much time should be devoted to this type of course will depend on the balance of the material in the curriculum, the number of hours in the sessions and the age of the children. The older grades will probably use them more frequently than the lower grades. Pre-adolescence is an important time for this time of intervention.

The Board of Jewish Education of Chicago assisted Lawrence Kohlberg with his experiments. Sara Shapiro and Shelly Schacter wrote a set of instructions for teachers to use. They explain the thinking behind this type of approach and the fact that by asking 'why' of the child is our way of determining his moral level.³³⁸ However, in their approach, the teacher must not allow his feelings or personal judgments to show.³³⁹ They also recommend using Bible stories in relation to the curriculum as the setting for the conflict situations.³⁴⁰ However, Bible stories may not be the best method to make this course Jewish. Most children do not relate

personally to Biblical characters. They feel that they operate in another realm far removed from real life. It is the contention of this project that children will respond better to real life situations that they can immediately relate to their own experience. The teacher in the Chicago Material does not serve any function other than in a technical sense of making the technique work. The teacher does not stand for any moral values because that might upset the system. Since children need opportunities for role-taking the teacher should represent more than just a discussion leader.

The success of this system depends on the teacher and his understanding of the way it works. The teacher must not only be aware of what the students say, but what he says himself and the subtle implications of his words. We are trying to help the student to develop his ability to reason about problems and to think about the alternatives presented.

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