

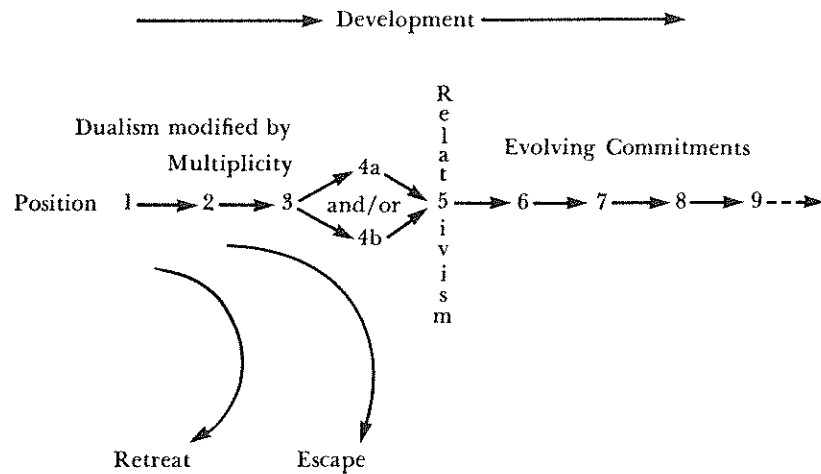
Figure 1. Scheme of Cognitive and Ethical Development

Dualism modified ↓	Position 1	Authorities know, and if we work hard, read every word, and learn Right Answers, all will be well.
	Transition	But what about those Others I hear about? And different opinions? And Uncertainties? Some of our own Authorities disagree with each other or don't seem to know, and some give us problems instead of Answers.
	Position 2	True Authorities must be Right, the others are frauds. We remain Right. Others must be different and Wrong. Good Authorities give us problems so we can learn to find the Right Answer by our own independent thought.
	Transition	But even Good Authorities admit they don't know all the answers yet!
	Position 3	Then some uncertainties and different opinions are real and legitimate <i>temporarily</i> , even for Authorities. They're working on them to get to the Truth.
	Transition	But there are <i>so many</i> things they don't know the Answers to! And they won't for a long time.
Relativism discovered ↓	Position 4a	Where Authorities don't know the Right Answers, everyone has a right to his own opinion; no one is wrong!
	Transition (and/or)	But some of my friends ask me to support my opinions with facts and reasons.
	Transition	Then what right have They to grade us? About what?
	Position 4b	In certain courses Authorities are not asking for the Right Answer; They want us to <i>think</i> about things in a certain way, <i>supporting</i> opinion with data. That's what they grade us on.
	Transition	But this "way" seems to <i>work</i> in most courses, and even outside them.
	Position 5	Then <i>all</i> thinking must be like this, even for Them. Everything is relative but not equally valid. You have to understand how each context works. Theories are not Truth but metaphors to interpret data with. You have to think about your thinking.
Commitments in Relativism developed in ↓	Transition	But if everything is relative, am I relative too? How can I know I'm making the Right Choice?
	Position 6	I see I'm going to have to make my own decisions in an uncertain world with no one to tell me I'm Right.
	Transition	I'm lost if I don't. When I decide on my career (or marriage or values) everything will straighten out.
	Position 7	Well, I've made my first Commitment!
	Transition	Why didn't that settle everything?
	Position 8	I've made several commitments. I've got to balance them—how many, how deep? How certain, how tentative?
	Transition	Things are getting contradictory. I can't make logical sense out of life's dilemmas.
	Position 9	This is how life will be. I must be wholehearted while tentative, fight for my values yet respect others, believe my deepest values right yet be ready to learn. I see that I shall be retracing this whole journey over and over—but, I hope, more wisely.

**Dualism.** Division of meaning into two realms—Good versus Bad, Right versus Wrong, We versus They, All that is not Success is Failure, and the like. Right Answers exist *somewhere* for every problem, and authorities know them. Right Answers are to be memorized by hard work. Knowledge is quantitative. Agency is experienced as "out there" in Authority, test scores, the Right job.

**Multiplicity.** Diversity of opinion and values is recognized as legitimate in areas where right answers are not yet known. Opinions remain atomistic without pattern or

Figure 2. A Map of Development



system. No judgments can be made among them so "everyone has a right to his own opinion; none can be called wrong."

**Relativism.** Diversity of opinion, values, and judgment derived from coherent sources, evidence, logics, systems, and patterns allowing for analysis and comparison. Some opinions may be found worthless, while there will remain matters about which reasonable people will reasonably disagree. Knowledge is qualitative, dependent on contexts.

**Commitment** (uppercase C). An affirmation, choice, or decision (career, values, politics, personal relationship) made in the awareness of Relativism (distinct from lower-case *c* of commitments never questioned). Agency is experienced as within the individual.

**Temporizing.** Postponement of movement for a year or more.

**Escape.** Alienation, abandonment of responsibility. Exploitation of Multiplicity and Relativism for avoidance of Commitment.

**Retreat.** Avoidance of complexity and ambivalence by regression to Dualism colored by hatred of otherness.

I shall now let the students speak for themselves as they spoke in interviews in which we asked unstructured questions (such as "what stands out for you as you review the year?") in order to allow the students freedom to structure their own meanings. I shall report our sense of the import of their words for the development we trace, and I shall digress on occasion to consider implications for teaching and educational policy.

#### Positions 1 Through 5

**Position 1: Basic Duality.** This is the Garden of Eden, with the same rules. Here the student is embedded in a world of We-Right-Good (Other-Wrong-Bad is "out there"). We called this Basic Duality. Right Answers for everything exist in the Absolute, and these are known to Authorities, whose role is to mediate (teach) them. Knowledge and goodness are perceived as quantitative accretions of discrete rightnesses to be collected by hard work and *obedience* (including the requirement to read *all* assigned books word by