

(Putnam, 1995; Uslaner, 1996). But there are key differences in education levels across the three countries. Forty three percent of British respondents only went to grade school, compared to 14 percent of Americans and 18 percent of Canadians. Only 13 percent in the U.K. have gone to college, compared to 30 percent in Canada and 37 percent in the United States. I thus expect education levels to matter most in Great Britain, reflecting the class polarization there.

If the primary conflict in Britain is along class lines, the key fault line in America is race. In Canada, the big struggle is linguistic. Quebec Francophones now seek to be *maitres chez nous*, to separate from the rest of Canada. There are also racial tensions in Canada and Britain. For Britain, I classify non-Europeans (blacks, Asians, and a lone Arab) as the out-group. For Canada, I consider both the French (who in this sample live exclusively in Quebec) and a category coded as "other ethnics" (presumably dominated by blacks and Asians).

When there is a dominant race or class, people who endure discrimination may come to reject the values of the larger culture. They may reject attempts at socialization into "white" or "upper class" values. Those at the very bottom, the "underclass," has little to lose--and might even feel good--by flouting the standards set by the ruling culture. Because there are few non-Europeans in the British sample, I don't expect strong effects for ethnicity there. The non-Europeans in Britain may be less likely to sympathize with norm-busters for a different reason. Unlike African-Americans or Quebecois, they have a more tenuous status within the UK. Are they "true Brits" or outsiders who maintain their own culture (cf. Conover *et al.*, 1991, 823)? You can't be alienated from a culture that you aren't part of. There are far sharper cleavages in social capital in the United States (where 17 percent of blacks say that "most people can be trusted" compared to 49 percent of whites) and in Canada (where 32 percent of Francophones are trusting compared to 54 percent of Anglophones) than in Britain (where 36 percent of non-Europeans are trusting compared to 43 percent of Europeans).

People also become more concerned with morality as they get older. Young people with few stakes in the community feel less tied down by moral codes. Age also brings marriage and children. As we grow older, we are more concerned with passing traditional values, even ones that we might not have always accepted, to the next generation. Younger people will thus be less tied to standards of ethical behavior.

### Morality in Three Cultures

How do the balance of forces stack up on the eight measures of moral behavior? I estimate identical regression models for each in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada. Aside from the different ethnicities, the remaining variables are the same across the nations. Since the predictors are the same and the questions linked, it is hazardous to estimate each equation separately. Instead, I use the method of seemingly unrelated regressions (SUR) developed by Zellner (1963) to adjust for correlations among the residuals across equations. I present the results of the SUR regressions. I present the results for the United States in Table 2, for the United Kingdom in Table 3, and for Canada in Table 4.