

MORAL REASONING, FAMILY DYNAMICS, AND REAL-LIFE VERSUS  
HYPOTHETICAL CONFLICTS

by

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## ABSTRACT

This study examined four main issues: (1) the structural consistency of moral judgment across dilemmas with varying content, (2) the relationship between the level of moral development of parents and their daughters, (3) the relationship between the amount of encouragement shown by parents in moral discussions, their level of moral development, and the level of moral development of their daughters, and (4) the relationship between type of parental discipline, parental moral development, and moral development in daughters. Sixty-three subjects (21 mothers, 21 fathers and 21 daughters) were given two dilemmas from Kohlberg's test in questionnaire format and another questionnaire probing an actual family moral conflict. In a second session, held in the family home, parents and their daughters discussed two moral dilemmas, one from Kohlberg's test and one orienting around an actual family conflict. These discussions were tape recorded and scored for level of parental encouragement. During the second session subjects also completed a measure of parental discipline. Results revealed that mean weighted average moral maturity score (WAS) obtained by subjects was significantly lower on the family conflict dilemma than on the Kohlberg dilemmas. Parents had significantly higher WAS on both the Kohlberg dilemmas and the family conflict dilemma than the daughters. Daughter's and parents' mean WAS were found to be unrelated. There was no difference between the WAS of the two parents on either the Kohlberg or the family conflict. The

results also supported the hypothesis that parents would demonstrate significantly less encouragement on the family discussion than on the Kohlberg discussion. However, contrary to predictions, parental encouragement was unrelated to the WAS of the daughters. Further, there was no significant relationship between parental moral development and amount of encouragement employed by parents. The use of induction was not found to be related to the daughters' moral development. Parents' reports of parental discipline were unrelated to both their level of moral judgment and their daughter's moral development.

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**DEDICATION**

This Thesis is Dedicated to the Memory of My Father  
Roger N. C. Vermeulen

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CHAPTER I  
INTRODUCTION

The central aim of this thesis is to assess the relationship between the role-taking opportunities that parents provide for their daughters and level of moral maturity, in both parents and daughters. Role-taking opportunities have been defined as social inputs that enhance role-taking, or the restructuring of role-taking modes (Kohlberg, 1969). Role-taking opportunities are assessed in the present study in two forms: the use of induction as a disciplinary technique and the extent of parental encouragement and democratic decision-making during family moral discussions.

Cognitive-Developmental Theory and Moral Development

In his pioneering work on moral development, Piaget ([1932] 1965) suggests children pass through two general stages or phases of moral development. During the first phase, morality is defined in terms of obedience to authorities and the letter of law. This externally-controlled or heteronomous morality, is based on adult constraint. Eventually, the heteronomous conception of morality gives way to a more autonomous moral orientation based on cooperation and fairness. Autonomous morality develops through mutual role-taking and cooperative decision-making during peer play. The autonomous moral orientation typically emerges at about 11 years of age. Crucial

to moral development, in Piaget's theory, is the interplay between cognitive development and peer interaction, which moves the child out of an egocentric world into a world of cooperative relations.

Kohlberg (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987) reformulated Piaget's stage theory of moral judgment. Kohlberg postulates six hierarchical developmental stages. Kohlberg's stages pertain to moral development in adolescents and adults as well as in children. Kohlberg's moral stages are outlined in Table 1, accompanied by a description of the social perspective associated with each stage. The six stages are divided into three moral levels.

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Insert Table 1 about here

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The preconventional level, the level of operation for most children under age nine and for some adolescents, consists of Stages 1 and 2. At this level, moral rules are external to the self. The second level, the conventional level, is the level characteristic of most Western society adolescents and adults. As the name suggests, individuals operating at this level have internalized the rules and norms of their social system. The conventional level consists of Stages 3 and 4. At the final level of moral judgment, the postconventional level, the expectations of others and societal rules are differentiated from the self: what is morally right is interpreted through

self-chosen principles and standards. This level consists of Stages 5 and 6, and is reached only by a minority of adults. Lacking empirical validation, Colby and Kohlberg exclude Stage 6 from their scoring manual.

### Kohlberg's Theory and Role-Taking Opportunities

The sociomoral perspectives outlined in Table 1 are based on levels of perspective-taking (Selman, 1980). Kohlberg believes the development or restructuring of perspective-taking is necessary, but not sufficient, for moral development (Kohlberg, 1976). Because the development of perspective-taking is critical to moral reasoning, it should not be surprising that Kohlberg believes role-taking opportunities are an important factor in stimulating moral growth. According to Kohlberg (1969) participation in the family, peer groups and institutions of law, government and work supply role-taking opportunities. Role-taking is enhanced when individuals are responsible for decisions in their groups. To be a part of the decision-making process, one must take the role of the other members of the group. Although Kohlberg considers families as one source of role-taking, "...family participation is not unique or critically necessary for moral development, and ...the dimensions on which it [the family] stimulates moral development are primarily general dimensions by which other primary groups stimulate moral development, that is, the dimensions of creation of role-taking opportunities." (Kohlberg, 1969, p. 399).

The disciplinary technique induction should foster role-taking by encouraging the child to take the view of others (Staub, 1980). Induction involves revealing to the transgressor the consequences of their actions. In addition, parenting practices that encourage the child to participate in decision-making in the family should be a source of role-taking opportunities.

Past research, which will be examined in detail below, indicates that parents who score at relatively high levels of moral maturity are more likely than parents who score at lower levels to employ parenting practices that provide role-taking opportunities (Buck, 1978; Holstein, 1972; Parikh, 1980; Speicher-Dubin, 1982). Past research also points to a positive relationship between parental practices that provide role-taking opportunities and advanced moral reasoning in children (Buck, 1978; Hoffman & Saltzstein, 1967; Holstein, 1969; Shoffeitt, 1971; Parikh, 1980; Peck & Havinghurst, 1960; Speicher-Dubin, 1982). It follows from these two lines of research that there should be a positive relationship between parents' and children's level of moral reasoning. However, previous research examining the relationship between parents' and child's level of reasoning, has yielded inconsistent findings (Buck, 1978; Haan, Langer & Kohlberg, 1976; Holstein, 1969; Holstein, 1976; Parikh, 1980; Speicher-Dubin, 1982; Walker, 1989).

Table 2 summarizes the measures and findings of past research on the relationship between induction and encouragement

and moral development.

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Insert Table 2 about here

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### Supporting Research

#### *Parental Moral Maturity and the Extent of Induction*

Past research exploring the relationship between parental moral maturity and the use of induction has yielded inconsistent findings (Holstein, 1969; Parikh, 1980; Shoffeit, 1971). All the above studies employed Kohlberg's test to measure parental moral maturity, although different studies employed different scoring schemes (see Table 2). Holstein (1969) used an early Kohlberg scoring system and an adaptation of Hoffman and Saltzstein's (1971) childrearing questionnaire. The childrearing questionnaire listed several potential conflict situations each followed by a list of actions a parent might take in these situations. These actions were categorized as love withdrawal, power assertion, and induction. Subjects were asked to check which actions would take place between parent and child in their family. Both parents and child completed similar questionnaires. Holstein failed to find any significant differences between principled and conventional parents in their use of induction with their eighth grade children. In contrast, Shoffeit (1971) found a positive relationship between parents' and son's reports of parental induction, measured by his adaptation of Hoffman and



Saltzstein's questionnaire, and parental moral maturity. Shoffeit assessed parental moral maturity by having parents report the moral judgments they present to their sons.

Parikh (1980) investigated the relationship between induction and moral maturity in parents from an Indian sample. Parikh assigned mothers to either a low or high induction group, depending on the extent of induction used in disciplinary situations, measured by Shoffeit's adaptation of Hoffman and Saltzstein's questionnaire. Parikh found that conventional mothers of 13- and 16-year-old adolescents used induction to a greater extent than preconventional mothers. In fact, the results showed that all preconventional mothers used low induction in their childrearing practices. The relationship between father's use of induction and moral maturity was not reported.

It is difficult to draw conclusions from the above studies, considering that the researchers relied on different scoring systems of Kohlberg's test and different subject samples in terms of age, sex and culture (see Table 2). Parikh used the Structural Issues Scoring System, which has better reliability and validity than the scoring system used by Holstein. Further, she employed a more valid and representative measure of parental moral maturity than Shoffeit. Considering the above points, more emphasis should be put on the Parikh study which found a significant relationship between maternal, but not paternal, use of induction and moral maturity based on parents' and children's

reports.

*Parental Moral Maturity and Extent of Encouragement*

Past research has found a relationship between parental moral maturity and the extent of encouragement parents give their children to participate in moral discussions and decision-making (Buck, 1978; Holstein, 1969; Parikh, 1980; Speicher-Dubin, 1982). In Holstein's study, referred to earlier, the parents were interviewed separately on Kohlberg's dilemmas, with their 13-year-old offspring responding to the dilemmas in a questionnaire format. The family triad was then asked to discuss a moral dilemma from Kohlberg's test on which they differed in their moral choices. These conversations were recorded and parents were jointly rated on encouragement. According to Holstein, "low encouragement was based on cases in which the child was expected to agree with his parents but was given some reasons why their position was right, and cases in which the child's expression of his own opinion was tolerated but not related to decision-making. High encouragement was based on those cases in which the child's opinion was taken seriously and related to decision-making.". Holstein's results indicated that principled parents were more likely than conventional parents to encourage their eighth-grade children to participate in moral discussions and to be involved in decision-making. This finding was replicated by Buck (1978), who found a significant difference between principled and conventional parents of 10-to 13-year-old sons in extent of encouragement.

Parikh also examined the relationship between parental moral maturity and parental encouragement. Parents and their child, who was either a tenth grade (15-16 year old) or eighth grade (12-13 year old) student, responded to Kohlberg dilemmas in written form. Like Holstein, Parikh had the family triads discuss differences in their responses to one of Kohlberg's dilemmas. These discussions were tape recorded and coded for extent of parental encouragement according to Holstein's categories, with modifications to her criteria for the high and low encouragement categories. Parikh found that high stage parents were more likely to be high encouragers than low stage parents; parents who were classified as high encouragers reasoned at a conventional stage or higher. Speicher-Dubin (1982) reported similar results. Parental reports of role-taking opportunities, as measured by extent of democratic decision-making, were positively related to parents' level of moral judgment.

Although these studies had methodological differences, the conclusions were all the same: parental moral maturity is related to parental encouragement and democratic decision-making. Higher stage parents are more likely than lower stage parents to encourage their children.

## *Parental Induction and Children's Moral Maturity*

Hoffman (1963) found that different disciplinary styles lead to different moral orientations. Children who exhibit a moral orientation based on fear of detection and subsequent punishment tend to have parents who rely on physical punishment and other power assertive techniques as disciplinary measures. In contrast, the children of parents who use nonpower assertive (psychological) techniques have an internal moral orientation. An internal orientation is characterized by guilt following transgressions and minimal concern with external punishment.

Hoffman and Saltzstein (1967) explored the possibility that an important difference between power assertive and nonpower assertive techniques is the use of induction. Many parents who rely on nonpower assertive disciplinary methods employ induction. Hoffman and Saltzstein compared the relationship between induction, love withdrawal, and power assertive techniques and various indices of moral development. Among the moral indices was a measure of the child's moral orientation based on the child's reasoning about resisting temptation. An internal orientation was considered a characteristic of advanced moral development. For the middle class sample, the results indicated that power assertion was negatively related to moral development, whereas induction was positively related. The relationship between love withdrawal and indices of moral development were either negative or neutral. However, these findings only significantly related to mother's, not father's,

discipline techniques.

The above studies focussed on the relationship between childrearing practices and various measures of moral development. In addition, three studies have examined the relationship between induction and Kohlberg's measure of moral reasoning. As noted in Table 2, Holstein (1969) found that parental use of induction was not related to child's moral maturity; however, two other studies have found a positive relationship between parental use of induction and moral maturity in children (Parikh, 1980; Shoffeitt, 1971).

Shoffeitt (1971) found that children's level of moral reasoning, as measured by Kohlberg's test, was positively related to the use of induction, and negatively associated with the use of power assertion and love withdrawal. Childrearing practices were assessed from both mother's and child's self reports. The positive association between induction and moral reasoning was replicated by Parikh (1980), who found that extent of induction used by mother related to child's moral reasoning. However, this relationship was observed only in 15- to 16-year-old subjects, and not in 12- to 13-year-old subjects.

Although the findings are somewhat inconsistent, use of induction, especially by mothers, tends to be positively related to moral maturity in children.

## *Extent of Encouragement and Children's Moral Maturity*

Studies have examined the relationship between (a) active family participation in decision making and (b) encouragement to participate in family moral discussions and moral development in children. Peck and Havinghurst (1960) found that opportunities to participate in family discussion and democratic decision-making were related to children's moral maturity. Moral maturity was not measured by Kohlberg's test. Holstein (1969) found a significant positive relationship between parental encouragement to participate in moral discussions and moral maturity in children. Parikh (1980) used Holstein's encouragement ratings to assess encouragement in Indian families, and found that 15- and 16-year-old adolescents were most likely to function at relatively high Kohlbergian moral stages if their parents encouraged participation in moral discussions. However, the relationship between high encouragement and advanced moral reasoning was insignificant for 12- to 13-year-old children. Buck (1978) replicated the findings of Holstein and Parikh in her sample of 13-year-old boys. Finally, Speicher-Dubin (1982) found that parental and child reports of democratic decision-making were unrelated to adolescents' moral judgment level. To summarize, parental encouragement and democratic decision-making during moral discussion appears to be positively related to moral maturity in children. The only nonsignificant relationships reported were for 12- to 13-year-olds in Parikh's study and for

Speicher-Dubin's subject sample. However, Speicher-Dubin used reports of encouragement as opposed to the other studies which rated family discussions.

*Relationship Between Parents' and Children's Moral Maturity*

The evidence reviewed suggests that parents' level of moral reasoning is positively related to the role-taking opportunities they provide for their children. Further, the evidence suggests induction and role-taking opportunities, provided by participation in family discussion, are related to children's moral development. Therefore, it seems logical to expect that a positive relationship between parents' and children's moral maturity. However, as stated earlier, Kohlberg believes that parents are only one of many influences in their child's moral development. Kohlberg (1969) argues that "children and young adults are no more like their parents in level of morality ... than they are like a random parental individual of the same social class." (p. 469).

Several studies have examined the relationship between parents' and child's level of moral judgment, as defined by Kohlberg's scheme. The results are inconsistent. The studies cited below all employed Kohlberg's test, but used different scoring systems to measure moral maturity. Using the Aspect Scoring System, Holstein (1969) found a modest relationship between parents' and eighth-grade children's level of moral reasoning, although it did not reach an acceptable level of

statistical significance. More detailed analyses revealed a significant positive relationship between the mother's and child's level of reasoning, with the father-child relationship failing to reach an acceptable level of statistical significance. Additional analyses revealed that the relationship between father's and child's level of reasoning was significant among fathers exhibiting high levels of warmth and involvement.

Holstein (1976) followed up the sample described above in a longitudinal study. She rescored the original data and all follow-up tests with the Structural Issues Scoring System, and found a significant relationship between mothers' and sons' level of moral reasoning at 13 years of age. At age 16, both mothers' and fathers' moral levels were related to their sons' level of moral reasoning. In contrast, Holstein failed to find a significant relationship between moral maturity in either mothers or fathers and their daughters at age 13 or 16.

These findings were replicated with cross-sectional data in a sample of offspring 10 years of age or older (Haan, Langer, & Kohlberg, 1976). The cross-sectional data revealed neither mothers' nor fathers' levels of moral judgment were related to daughters' levels in any age group. However, both mothers' and fathers' moral reasoning was related to sons' level in all age groups below the age of 21. Interestingly, of those who employed principled moral reasoning in the 21+ group (male and female), only 10% had two principled parents (48% had two conventional parents). These findings suggest that principled parents are not



a necessary condition for principled offspring.

The findings of Haan et al. were supported in Speicher-Dubin's (1982) cross-sectional study, which utilized Colby and Kohlberg's (1987) standardized scoring system. Speicher-Dubin concluded that a parent's level of moral reasoning does not limit offspring's potential moral level. Speicher-Dubin found that mothers' level of moral judgment is a strong predictor of children's level of moral judgment in early adolescence, and that fathers' moral judgment is a strong predictor in late adolescence.

Buck (1978) found a weak positive relationship between moral judgment stage in parents and their 10- to 13-year-old sons. Parikh (1980) found that children at both 13 and 16 years of age who had mothers who reasoned at preconventional stages also reasoned at these stages, and mothers who reasoned at conventional stages tended to have children who reasoned at conventional stages as well. There were no postconventional children or preconventional fathers in the sample, so no conclusions about postconventional children and postconventional parents could be drawn. Similarly, conclusions regarding the relationship between fathers' and offspring's levels of moral development were unattainable. Results concerning sex differences were not reported. Buck and Parikh relied on the Structural Issues Scoring System to measure moral maturity. Walker (1989) found sons' and daughters' (grades 1, 4, 7 and 10) level of moral reasoning was unrelated to both mothers' and

fathers' level of moral reasoning.

To summarize the above findings, research examining the relationship between parents' and children's level of moral reasoning suggest that parental moral judgment is positively related to moral judgment in sons, but not in daughters.

## Past Research and the Present Study

### *Problems With Past Research*

Most past research on role-taking opportunities, parental moral judgment, and moral judgment in offspring is limited in several respects. First, it is difficult to compare results because they are frequently based on different subject samples, and different measures of encouragement and moral maturity. Particularly problematic are results based on out-dated versions of Kohlberg's test and scoring system. Secondly, virtually all studies assess moral judgment on the hypothetical dilemmas of Kohlberg's test, but relate it to real-life family dynamics. This practice makes sense only if Kohlberg's test supplies a measure of moral judgment that is representative of the actual moral judgments made in families. Finally, measures of parental encouragement in most past studies have been based on discussions of hypothetical dilemmas from Kohlberg's test, not on discussions of actual family conflicts. Positive relationships between moral maturity on Kohlberg's test and encouragement on hypothetical dilemmas are not necessary

representative of the relationship between parental encouragement and moral judgment in real-life. Each of these problems is addressed in more detail below.

### *Scoring Systems of Kohlberg's Test*

One of the most serious problems with past research stems from the measurement of moral maturity. Summarized below is the history of the evolution of Kohlberg's scoring systems, as described by Colby and Kohlberg (1987). In 1958, Kohlberg introduced his first scoring scheme, the Aspect Scoring System. This system included the Sentence Scoring and Story Rating methods. In Sentence Scoring, scorers consult a manual listing prototypical sentences. Statements made by subjects are scored by stage, and scored statements are converted into percentages. From these percentages of stage use, a profile for each subject is produced. The second method, Story Rating, involves assigning a stage to a subject based on his or her overall response to a dilemma. If the overall definition of a stage "fits" the subject's total responses, that stage is assigned to the subject. The Aspect Scoring System had acceptable interrater agreement, but there were problems with test-retest reliability (Kohlberg, 1976). The problems with the Aspect Scoring System stem from its failure to distinguish between content and structure. Structure refers to the underlying general principles or patterns of thought of moral judgments, and content refers to what a person says.

In an attempt to correct the problems with the earlier system, Kohlberg and his colleagues created the Structural Issues Scoring System. This scoring system coincided with Kohlberg's redefinition of moral stages emphasizing sociomoral perspectives. As the name implies, the Structural Issues Scoring System was intended to measure the structure of moral judgments. However, problems with subjectivity and unreliability of scoring arose.

The Standard Issue Scoring System was developed "to achieve objectivity and reliability in scoring" (Colby and Kohlberg, 1987, p. 40). The scoring manual for this system consists of criterion judgments derived from interview judgments of seven cases from Kohlberg's longitudinal sample. Criterion judgments reflect a particular stage structure, and are organized in the manual according to issue, norm, element, and stage. In this system, each dilemma consists of two conflicting issues. In the Heinz dilemma (Dilemma III) a subject must decide between the Law and Life Issue--stealing a drug to save a life, or obeying the law.

The scoring system yields high test-retest and interrater reliability. Colby and Kohlberg (1987) argue that the appropriate measure of validity for the scoring system is construct validity. To satisfy construct validity, this system must support the theoretical assumptions of Kohlberg's theory, especially invariant stage sequence and structural "wholeness".

## *Structural "Wholeness"*

Kohlberg (1984) proposes that moral judgment is organized in terms of a structural whole, that is, each structure or stage represents an underlying thought organization that is qualitatively different from each of the others. The structure of the whole assumption predicts considerable stage consistency across situations and content. Colby and Kohlberg (1987) do, however, allow some stage inconsistency during transitional periods. For example, an individual in transition from Stage 2 to Stage 3 would make moral judgments scorable at both Stages 2 and 3. The assumption of structural homogeneity of moral judgment has become a contentious issue among researchers in the area (Damon, 1977; Fischer, 1983; Levine, 1979).

According to Kohlberg, his test measures competence--a subject's highest level of moral judgment. But Kohlberg allows that certain factors may constrain a subject's performance in making a moral judgment on nonKohlberg dilemmas or real-life dilemmas. In the study of parent-child interactions it is the moral performance of parents and children that counts, not their ideal competence. Thus, it is important to determine the extent to which Kohlberg's test assesses the level of everyday moral exchanges between parents and children.

Critics of Kohlberg's theory have charged that his moral judgment test does not supply a valid assessment of moral judgments on other types of dilemma (Eisenberg, 1982; Gilligan,

1982; Haan, 1978). Other critics have criticized his test for being inappropriate for or invalid for testing moral decisions or judgments involving the self (Baumrind, 1978). These criticisms have spawned research comparing moral judgment on Kohlberg's test with moral judgment on nonKohlbergian dilemmas. Researchers comparing Kohlberg's dilemmas to other types of moral dilemma have obtained mixed results. Several studies have found no difference in stage usage between Kohlberg's dilemmas and nonKohlberg dilemmas, supporting Kohlberg's assumption of structural consistency (Lockwood, 1975; Smetena, 1981; Walker, de Vries & Trevehan, 1987). However, other studies have found that subjects' reasoning declines on nonKohlberg dilemmas (Gilligan, Kohlberg, Lerner & Belenky, 1971; Higgins, Power & Kohlberg, 1984; Kohlberg, Scharf & Hickey, 1972; Leming, 1978; Krebs, Denton, Carpendale, Vermeulen, Bartek & Bush, 1989; Krebs, Denton, Vermeulen, Carpendale & Bush, 1989; Linn, 1984; Linn, 1987). Still other studies have found that subjects score higher on nonKohlberg dilemmas than on Kohlberg dilemmas (Gilligan & Belenky, 1980; Haan, 1975). Most of the studies cited above employed earlier scoring systems for Kohlberg's test. There has been a paucity of research employing the Standard Issue Scoring System investigating structural homogeneity. Among studies that have employed the new scoring system, the results are mixed (Gilligan & Belenky, 1980; Higgins et al., 1984; Krebs, Denton, Carpendale, Vermeulen, Bartek & Bush, 1989; Krebs, Denton, Vermeulen, Carpendale & Bush, 1989; Linn, 1984; Linn, 1987; Walker et al., 1987).

Past research comparing Kohlberg dilemmas to nonKohlberg dilemmas suggests that subjects usually score lower on nonKohlberg dilemmas than on Kohlberg dilemmas. One question this study addressed is whether or not there are differences in parents' and daughters' judgments on Kohlberg dilemmas and actual moral dilemmas experienced in families as conflicts between parents and daughters. Secondly, if there are differences, are role-taking opportunities more likely to be related to moral judgment on the Family dilemmas ("actual judgments") or to judgments on Kohlberg's hypothetical dilemmas.

*Parental Encouragement On Hypothetical Versus Real-life Conflict Discussions*

Parental encouragement has been measured both by reports from parents and children of family atmosphere and by measuring actual encouragement during hypothetical dilemma discussions. It could be argued that the latter method of measuring encouragement is more valid than the former, because self-reports may be idealized. However, there are at least four problems in measuring encouragement through hypothetical discussions. Firstly, hypothetical dilemmas often differ from real-life conflicts in that they involve uncommon and/or extreme situations. Many of these dilemmas are different from those encountered by most children and adolescents. A 14-year-old is more likely to face a moral conflict concerning whether or not to lie to her parents about what she did the night before than one concerning whether or not to commit euthanasia. Although

most past studies assessed encouragement on discussions of unrealistic hypothetical dilemmas, Buck (1978) employed more realistic hypothetical situations for the family discussions.

Secondly, many of the conflicts described in hypothetical dilemmas are unlikely to surface in the everyday encounters between parent and child. Since these dilemmas are unlike those encountered in everyday life, it is possible parents may not view the hypothetical dilemma as an issue that is of concern to or of importance to the child. Hence, the parents may not attempt to discuss the issue with the child or to involve the child in the same way as they would in an everyday conflict.

Thirdly, a parent-child discussion regarding a real-life conflict involving the child may reflect different family dynamics than those observed during hypothetical moral discussions. For example, real-life conflicts would be expected to elicit more emotion than hypothetical conflicts, and heightened emotion might interfere with constructive interactions. Parents may be less likely to encourage participation and decision-making in their children when discussing an emotionally-laden real-life issue than when discussing a hypothetical dilemma.

Finally, in contrast to hypothetical conflicts, real-life conflicts have real consequences. Parents may feel that the consequences of a particular real-life issue are of such importance that the child's point of view cannot be tolerated.



Considering the points above, discussions of real-life dilemmas may produce different effects from hypothetical dilemmas.

### *The Present Study*

The present study attempted to resolve some of the problems associated with earlier attempts to assess the relationship between role-taking opportunities and moral maturity in parents and children. This study used Colby and Kohlberg's (1987) Standardized Scoring System which has demonstrated good reliability and validity in measuring moral maturity. Further, this study explored the representativeness of moral judgment on Kohlberg's test and his associated assumption of structural "wholeness", by assessing moral maturity on both real-life family conflict dilemmas and hypothetical dilemmas. Finally, this study measured parental encouragement by having families discuss and attempt to resolve an actual conflict between parents and daughters as well as a hypothetical conflict from Kohlberg's test.

This study examined the relationship between role-taking opportunities and moral maturity in families in which one member was a 14- or 15-year-old daughter. Daughters were the focus of this study because past findings are inconsistent with regard to the relationship between daughter's moral maturity and parental moral maturity. The following questions were examined in the present study: (1) Is moral judgment structurally consistent across Kohlberg dilemmas and actual family dilemmas? (2) Is

parental moral maturity on Kohlberg's dilemmas related to role-taking opportunities (induction and parental encouragement)? (3) Is parental moral maturity on family dilemmas related to role-taking opportunities? (4) Are the role-taking opportunities that parents provide their daughters related to daughters' moral maturity on Kohlberg's dilemmas? (5) Are the role-taking opportunities that parents provide their daughters related to daughters' moral maturity on the Family dilemmas?

It was hypothesized that: (1) Moral judgment will not be consistent across dilemmas, and subjects will obtain lower weighted average moral maturity scores (WAS) on the family dilemmas than the Kohlberg dilemmas. (2) Parental moral maturity will relate positively to use of induction. (3) There will be a significant difference between extent of parental encouragement on the Kohlberg and family dilemmas. Parents will have lower encouragement ratings on the family dilemma. (4) Parental moral maturity will relate positively to the extent of parental encouragement. (5) Parental use of induction will relate positively to daughter's moral maturity scores. (6) Parental encouragement will relate positively to daughter's moral maturity scores. (7) Parents' and daughter's moral maturity scores will be positively correlated.

## CHAPTER II

### METHODS

#### Subjects

Twenty-one family triads participated in this study. Subjects were 21 mothers ( $\underline{M}$  age=42.5,  $\underline{SD}$ =3.34), 21 fathers ( $\underline{M}$  age=43.9,  $\underline{SD}$ =3.99), and 21 daughters ( $\underline{M}$  age=14.4,  $\underline{SD}$ =.59). Families were recruited through the Burnaby School District and through advertisements in the campus newspaper. Families were paid \$25 for their participation. Overall, the parents had a high level of education. Seventy-four per cent of the parents had pursued post secondary education, and 36% of the parents had graduated from university.

#### Measures

##### *Moral Judgment Questionnaire*

Two of Kohlberg's moral dilemmas (III and I) were presented to subjects in a questionnaire format (Appendix A). Dilemma III involves a decision about whether or not a husband should steal an overpriced drug to save his dying wife, and Dilemma I involves a decision about whether or not a son should obey his father, who has reneged on a promise. Both dilemmas were followed by 10 standard probes.

## *Family Conflict Questionnaire*

Each subject independently responded to a questionnaire consisting of 14 items probing an actual moral conflict that had occurred between the daughter and her parents. The questionnaire contained items such as: (1) Please describe the conflict, stating your point of view, your daughter's (parent's) point of view, and the aspects of each that are (were) in conflict. (2) What do (did) you see to be the issues involved; what makes (made) it a conflict; what makes (made) it a moral conflict? (Appendix B).

## *Induction*

A childrearing practice questionnaire was administered to all subjects to assess the amount of induction used by parents (Appendix C). Each parent reported the amount of induction he or she used, and daughters reported the amount of induction used by each parent. The questionnaire was an adaptation of one developed by Hoffman and Saltzstein (1967). The questionnaire describes five hypothetical conflicts between a parent and daughter. Following each situation, there are nine courses of action, evenly represented by three types of parenting practices (induction, love withdrawal, and power assertion), as described by Hoffman and Saltzstein. Subjects are asked to check all practices employed in their family, then to go back and rank order their first three choices in terms of the frequency with which they were used. The conflict situations used in this

questionnaire were chosen because they were considered to be representative of conflicts experienced in the present subject sample.

### *Extent of Encouragement*

The extent of encouragement provided by the parents was assessed through an analysis of tape-recorded discussions. The family triads discussed a family conflict and Dilemma I from Kohlberg's test. The recorded discussions were transcribed and coded for level of encouragement. Encouragement was scored according to Holstein's (1969) criteria. The amount of encouragement parents provided their daughters was rated on a four-point scale as follows: (1) The daughter is silent or is simply expected to agree with her parents. (2) The daughter is expected to agree with her parents, but given some reasons why her position is right. (3) The daughter's opinion is tolerated but not related to decision-making. (4) The daughter's opinion is taken seriously and related to decision-making. Whereas Holstein classified the first three categories as low encouragement and the the fourth as high encouragement, the 1 to 4 scale was applied with no "cutoff points" in the present study. Each parent was assigned two scores: one on the Kohlberg dilemma and one on the family conflict.

## *Post test of Representativeness of Family Interaction*

Family members individually completed a questionnaire asking them to rate the representativeness of the family dynamics which took place during the taped discussions.

### Procedure

The study was conducted in the homes of the subjects. The subjects were contacted on two separate occasions. The experimenter explained the study to family members during the first contact, and left the Kohlberg and family conflict questionnaires for parents and daughters to complete. After the questionnaires were completed, the subjects were visited again by the researcher. The questionnaires were collected, and the material for the second part of the study was delivered. In the second part of the study, the family triad discussed and attempted to resolve a family conflict and Kohlberg's Dilemma I. The family conflict chosen for the discussion was the central one identified by family members in their questionnaires. When family members identified different conflicts, the conflict identified by the daughter was selected, with her permission.<sup>1</sup> Subjects were instructed to discuss the family conflict and the Kohlberg dilemma for a maximum of 15 minutes each. The

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<sup>1</sup>In all family triads the daughter's conflict was the issue for the family conflict.

discussions were recorded on audio tape.

Following the discussion, the subjects completed the discipline questionnaire. The investigator was not present during the discussions. All questionnaires and tapes were number coded to guarantee anonymity.

### Scoring and Interrater Reliability

The Kohlberg and family dilemmas were scored by the author. The procedure for scoring the Kohlberg dilemmas is described in detail in the Colby and Kohlberg (1987) scoring manual. To score the family dilemmas, matches for interview judgments were sought among criterion judgments in the Colby et al. scoring manual. This was facilitated by matching norms and elements to prescriptive judgments (should statements) made by the subjects. Weighted Average Scores (WAS) and Global Stage Scores (GSS) were computed for both the Kohlberg and family dilemmas. The weighted average score for the Kohlberg dilemmas is a composite score of Dilemmas I and III. The procedure for calculating global stage scores and weighted average scores is summarized in Appendix D, as described in detail in Colby and Kohlberg's 1987 scoring manual. In scoring the family dilemmas, the scorer was blind to the subjects' scores on the Kohlberg dilemma. Twenty-five percent of the Kohlberg dilemmas and 25% of the family dilemmas were chosen at random for interrater reliability. The interrater

reliability was 87% for both the family and combined Kohlberg dilemmas. The correlations between the two scorers were highly significant on both the Kohlberg ( $\underline{r} = .85, p < .000001$ ) and the family dilemma ( $\underline{r} = .91, p < .0001$ ). Interrater reliability was based on a 13-point scale which is more precise than the 9-point scale.

The author also rated the family discussions for encouragement. Twenty-five per cent of the family discussions were randomly selected and rated by a second rater. The second rater was blind to the hypotheses. Interrater agreement for encouragement was 78% exact matches on the four point rating scale. All discrepancies in ratings were off by a maximum of one point. Discrepancies in scoring were resolved by a third party.

Each situation on the induction questionnaire was scored in the following manner: The highest ranked discipline technique, to which subjects assigned a "1", was given a weight of four. The second ranked discipline practice was assigned a weight of two. The third most frequent action was assigned a weight of one. If the discipline practice involved induction, these weights were positive; if the practice involved love withdrawal or power assertion, the weights were negative. For example, if an induction item was the subject's first choice, a power assertion item the second choice, and another induction item the third choice the respective weights for these items would be +4, -2 and +1 yielding a score of 3 for that conflict situation ( $4-2+1=3$ ). This scoring system was devised as it is applicable



to situations in which subjects endorse only one or two actions. It is different from, but related conceptually to, other adaptations of Hoffman and Saltzstein's questionnaire.

One of the five situations (item 4) on the induction questionnaire was excluded from analyses due to the number of parents (13) and daughters (6) who either stated the situation was not a conflict or that the disciplinary choices outlined were not applicable in that particular situation. The induction scores were averaged across the remaining four situations to provide a global induction score. Two global scores, one from the daughter's report and the other from the parent's self report, were obtained for each parent.

## CHAPTER III

### RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results bearing on seven issues are presented and discussed in the following order: (1) the structural consistency between Kohlberg and family conflict dilemmas, (2) the relationship between induction and parental moral development, (3) the relationship between the amount of encouragement shown by parents in moral discussions and their level of moral development, (4) the relationship between induction and daughter's moral development, (5) the relationship between parental encouragement and daughter's moral development, (6) the relationship between parental induction and encouragement, (7) the relationship between the level of moral development of parents and daughters.

#### Family Conflicts

The types of conflict experienced by the families are categorized in Table 3. These conflicts are presented in the order of frequency.

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Insert Table 3 about here

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## The Structural Consistency Between the Kohlberg and Family Conflict Dilemmas

A 3 X 2 (Group X Dilemma) analysis of variance (ANOVA) with repeated measures on the last factor revealed a significant main effect for dilemma ( $F(1, 60) = 19.90, p < .0001$ ). Overall, the mean weighted average score (WAS) on the family dilemma was lower than the mean WAS on the Kohlberg dilemmas. There was a positive correlation between subjects weighted average scores on the two types of dilemmas ( $r = .62, p < .0001$ ). The range and mean WAS for mothers, fathers, and daughters on the Kohlberg and family dilemmas are shown in Table 4.

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Insert Table 4 about here

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A detailed analysis of the correspondence between global scores, on a nine point scale, on the family and Kohlberg dilemmas also was conducted. As shown in Figure 1, all but 16% of the subjects met Colby and Kohlberg's criterion of "adjacent substage" homogeneity. Of the 84% who met the criterion of homogeneity, 41% scored at the same substage across dilemmas, and 43% scored at adjacent substages. Within the (59% of the) subjects whose scores were a substage or more discrepant, the majority (80%) scored lower on the family dilemma.

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Insert Figure 1 about here

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Subjects tend to use at least adjacent structures on Kohlberg and family dilemmas. Therefore, it appears that Kohlbergian structures are not just relevant to hypothetical philosophical dilemmas. Kohlberg's test does supply a fairly general and valid measure of "everyday" moral judgment in the family. Further, it is impressive that the types of structures subjects use on family conflicts can be scored by Kohlberg's scheme.

Although the findings on structural consistency are consistent with Kohlberg's structure of the whole assumption, fathers and daughters, as shown in Figure 2, tended to employ lower substages or stages on the real-life family dilemma than on the Kohlberg dilemmas. A possible explanation for the lower stage usage is that family dilemmas are more personal than Kohlberg dilemmas. Subjects may have identified more closely with the family dilemmas than with Kohlberg's hypothetical dilemmas. This may have narrowed their social perspective and restricted their moral reasoning, in effect making them less impartial and less objective. This possibility seems most plausible for the daughters because they were in a subordinate position in the family and may have experienced constraints on their perspective-taking akin to (but not as severe as) the constraints experienced by convicts on prison dilemmas

(Kohlberg, Scharf & Hickey, 1972).

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Insert Figure 2 about here

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Another possible explanation relates to the types of issue raised in the family dilemmas. The family dilemmas involved issues that may have pulled for relatively lower stage reasoning. de Vries and Walker (1986) found that subjects used higher stage reasoning to oppose than to support capital punishment, regardless of their stand on the issue. This suggests content may "pull" for structures. The content of the family dilemmas may have oriented subjects to an interpersonal perspective, which tends to define Stage 3 reasoning. For example, parents' conflicts with their daughter often centered around concerns about her reputation. Colby and Kohlberg (1987), in their scoring manual, associate noninstrumental concerns with reputation with the Stage 3 structure (see Form A, Criterion Judgement #15, page 78).

Mothers tended to be more consistent in their stage usage across the two types of dilemmas. Perhaps the mothers' consistency stems from their experience with family conflicts. Kohlberg claims his test assesses the highest level of moral development in an individual (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987). Mothers' experience with family conflicts may have elevated their performance to the upper limit assessed by Kohlberg's test. As documented by Blatt and Kohlberg (1975), discussing moral issues

may induce stage change. Research suggests that the majority of mothers still play a major role in the caretaking of their children (Pleck, 1979). We would expect mothers to have had more experience with and to have spent more time than fathers resolving conflicts with their daughters. Further, Walker et al. (1987) found that women were more likely to choose family-related issues than were men when asked to discuss a real-life moral conflict.

### The Relationship Between Parental Moral Reasoning and Induction

#### *Parents' and Daughters' Reports*

Mothers' self-reports of induction were not significantly correlated with daughters' reports of induction ( $r = .24$ ). Insignificant correlations also were found between fathers' and daughters' reports ( $r = .30$ ). However, there was a significant correlation ( $r = .41$ ,  $p < .05$ ) between the composite or "family" score for both parents and the daughters' composite score.<sup>1</sup> The relationship between fathers' and mothers' reports was marginally significant ( $r = .37$ ,  $p < .08$ ).

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<sup>1</sup> The parents' composite report was obtained by averaging the induction scores of both parents. The daughter's composite score was obtained by averaging the induction scores she assigned to each parent.

## *Parental Moral Reasoning and Induction*

As shown in Table 5, neither mothers' nor fathers' use of induction, assessed by the respective parent, was significantly correlated with parents' WAS on either measure of moral maturity. The daughters' ratings of fathers' induction also were not correlated with fathers' moral maturity. Although the daughters' ratings of maternal induction yielded somewhat higher correlations, they were rendered insignificant by a Bonferonni correction.

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Insert Table 5 about here

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The conclusion that induction and parental moral maturity are unrelated parallels Holstein's (1969) findings (see Table 2). Holstein failed to find a difference between principled (postconventional) and conventional parents in their use of induction. Although there were no postconventional parents in the present study, in part due to revisions in Kohlberg's scoring system, the results are analogous in failing to find a relationship between moral maturity and induction.

Parikh (1980) found a positive relationship between induction and moral maturity for mothers but not for fathers. The trend in this study was consistent with this direction, but it was not statistically significant. Differences in the age range of the children in the two studies, the gender

constitution of the subject sample, cultural differences, and differences in the scoring systems used to measure moral maturity may have produced the discrepancies between her findings and the findings of this study. Further, Parikh's subject sample contained a large percentage of preconventional mothers (40.5%) and the present study had only one (4%) preconventional mother. Also, the mothers in Parikh's study had comparatively lower mean WAS (279) than the mothers of this study (340). Therefore, moral maturity in this study may not relate to induction in the same way as it did in Parikh's study.

The results of this study also are inconsistent with those of Shoffeit (1971) (see Table 2). The induction in Shoffeit's study was directed at boys, not girls; he used a less reliable scoring system than the one used in this study; and parental moral judgment was based on judgments parents reportedly presented to their sons.

It also is possible that methodological problems in this study masked the relationship between induction and moral maturity. First, the childrearing questionnaire may not have supplied a valid measure of induction, especially in view of the inconsistency between parents' and daughters' ratings. This inconsistency may be due to parents reporting idealized discipline techniques, compared to their daughters; or the daughters may have exaggerated the use of the noninductive techniques. If a parent normally employs induction, but occasionally suspends privileges (power assertion), the latter



action may be more salient than the former to the daughter. Table 6 shows the mean induction scores reported by mothers, fathers and daughters (possible scores range from -7.0 to to 7.0). As might be expected, parents rated themselves higher on induction than their daughters, but the differences were not statistically significant. Note that the mean induction scores were all very close to the middle of the rating scale.

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Insert Table 6 about here

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Another possible problem with measuring induction is that parents tend to use escalating disciplinary practices with their children (Grusec & Kuczynski, 1980). Parents may first employ induction and if this is not successful they may resort to power assertion or love withdrawal. It is possible that some parents may have endorsed items to indicate this escalating practice and this may have resulted in the nonsignificant findings.

The major drawback in obtaining statistically significant relationships between induction and parental moral maturity may have been the relatively small sample size. The correlations between maternal induction and moral maturity were in the predicted direction.

## Relationship Between Parental Moral Reasoning and Encouragement

Parents and daughters were asked to rate how similar the discussions in this study were to other conflict discussions in their family. On a 9-point rating scale, 9 being very similar, the mean rating was 5.95 for daughters, 6.48 for mothers and 7.28 for fathers.

### *Kohlberg versus Family Conflict Discussions*

As hypothesized, there was a significant difference between the amount of encouragement on the two types of dilemma discussed. A 2 X 2 (Parent X Dilemma) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last factor revealed a significant main effect for dilemma ( $F(1, 40) = 16.13, p < .0003$ ). Parents offered more encouragement to their daughters during discussion of the Kohlberg dilemma than during discussions of the family conflict dilemma. However, as shown in Table 7, there were significant positive correlations between the encouragement scores on the two dilemmas. Parents tended to retain their rank ordering for encouragement across dilemmas.

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Insert Table 7 about here

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As outlined in Table 8, the correlations between parental moral reasoning and parental encouragement were weak and statistically insignificant. At first glance these results do

not seem consistent with the results of past research. Parikh (1980) found that conventional mothers were more likely to use encouragement than preconventional mothers. Holstein (1969), applying the aspect scoring system, reported principled parents were more likely to be high on encouragement than conventional parents. Buck's (1978) findings, applying the Structural Issue Scoring System, were similar to Holstein's findings. However, the majority of parents in the present study were operating at the conventional level; perhaps extent of encouragement is unrelated to differences in parents' moral maturity within the conventional level.

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Insert Table 8 about here

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The present study examined only daughters whereas past research examined only boys, or boys and girls. Further, Holstein's, Buck's, and Parikh's subject samples differed in age range from this study. These researchers also used more unreliable methods of scoring their data than the present study. Although Speicher-Dubin (1982) used the Standard Scoring System, the results of her study are not comparable because of the different method of measuring parental encouragement. Speicher-Dubin relied on parents' and children's reports of parental encouragement and democratic decision-making. Rating encouragement during family discussions is a more valid method of assessment. However, rating encouragement in this manner is

also problematic because families are aware of being recorded on tape. The ratings of similarity between the discussions in this study and other family discussions were not particularly high, and this may reflect the families' awareness of being tape recorded.

#### Parental Use of Induction and Daughter's Moral Maturity

As shown in Table 9, weak insignificant positive relationships were found between parental induction and daughter's moral maturity. These negative results are consistent with Holstein's (1969) findings. Holstein claimed that her subject sample was small and homogeneous, and this may have accounted for her negative findings. The small sample size in this study and possible problems with the induction measure may also have been responsible for the insignificant relationships. Further, Parikh failed to find a significant relationship between parental induction and moral maturity in 12- and 13-year-old children, despite finding a positive relationship for the 15 and 16 year old children. Age may be a factor in the relationship between induction and moral maturity.

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Insert Table 9 about here

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## Parental Encouragement and Daughter's Moral Maturity

As shown in Table 10, the correlations between daughter's moral maturity and parental encouragement were consistently negative. However, with the Bonferroni correction, the only relationship to reach an acceptable level of statistical significance was between daughter's WAS on the family conflict dilemma and paternal encouragement on the Kohlberg dilemma ( $r = -.59, p < .05$ ).

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Insert Table 10 about here

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Although the correlations were mainly insignificant, it is worth speculating why they were all in the negative direction. Perhaps the encouragement rating was actually measuring how accommodating parents are to their daughter's viewpoint. It is possible that parents who are overly accepting do not challenge their daughter's existing reasoning, and therefore do not stimulate moral growth.

Although these results seem inconsistent with the results of past research, past research focussed on the relationship of parental encouragement to sons only or to sons and daughters combined. Parental encouragement may relate differently to daughters' than to sons' moral maturity. Considering that past research examining the relationship between parents' and children's moral judgment has yielded different results for

daughters and sons, one might conclude that parents play a different role in stimulating moral growth in daughters and sons. As mentioned earlier, past researchers (Buck, 1978; Holstein, 1969; Parikh, 1980) who have examined the relationship between parental encouragement and moral development have employed unreliable scoring systems to measure moral maturity. Speicher-Dubin (1982) employed the Standard Scoring System, but her measure of parental encouragement was problematic. The present study had parents and daughter discuss an actual family conflict. In several families the family discussion created conflict and heightened emotion. This may have invoked less than ideal interactions between parents and daughter. The conflict and emotion elicited by the family conflict was often still evident during the Kohlberg dilemma discussion that followed.

It is also possible that higher stage daughters may experience more conflict with their parents and are more willing to challenge their parents reasoning. This may result in less parental encouragement.

#### The Relationship Between Induction and Encouragement

Correlations between parental encouragement and parents' or daughters' ratings of parental induction failed to reach significance. This casts doubt on whether or not these variables are related conceptually. Perhaps only one of these measures, if either, is measuring role-taking opportunities.

## The Relationship Between Parents' and Daughters' Weighted Average Scores

The 3 X 2 (Group X Dilemma) ANOVA reported earlier also revealed a significant main effect for Group ( $F(2, 60) = 29.97, p < .00001$ ). Planned between-group comparisons, corrected for experimentwise error, revealed that mothers' and fathers' mean WAS (see Table 3) were not significantly different on either the Kohlberg or the family dilemmas. These findings are consistent with past research that has failed to find sex differences in moral reasoning (Walker, 1986).

As expected, daughters' mean WAS on the Kohlberg dilemmas were significantly lower than both those of their fathers ( $t(40) = 7.28, p < .0001$ ) and mothers ( $t(36) = 5.37, p < .0001$ ). Similarly, daughters' mean WAS on the family dilemma were significantly lower than their fathers' ( $t(39) = 4.81, p < .0001$ ) and mothers' ( $t(39) = 5.93, p < .0001$ ).

Mothers' and fathers' WAS did not correlate significantly with their daughter's WAS on either the Kohlberg or the family dilemmas ( $r = -.23$  to  $.16$ ). These nonsignificant findings are consistent with the results of Haan et al. (1976), Holstein (1976), and Walker (1989), who failed to find a positive correlation between daughters' and parents' level of moral reasoning. Speicher-Dubin (1982) found mothers' and fathers' moral maturity scores to be significantly correlated with the moral maturity scores of their 13- to 15-year-old daughters.

However, it would appear that she performed a total of 48 correlations without controlling for experimentwise error. After corrections, these correlations would not have reached conventional levels of significance. The results of this study are consistent with past research in supporting Kohlberg's (1969) claim that children's and parents' level of moral maturity are unrelated, at least for daughters.



## CHAPTER IV

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

By way of conclusion, this study suggests that induction and parental encouragement are unrelated to parent's and daughter's moral maturity. Further, parental moral maturity and daughter's moral maturity seem to be unrelated. Given the lack of significance between role-taking opportunities and moral maturity this is not surprising. The insignificant relationship between daughter's and parents' moral judgment is consistent with the findings of several past studies (Haan et al., 1976; Holstein, 1976; Walker, 1989).

Past research has yielded inconsistent results in relating induction to moral development. The present study supports the nonsignificant findings yielded in the Holstein study (1969). However, the results of the present study are inconsistent with the results of Parikh (1980) and Shoffeit (1971). These studies employed earlier and relatively unreliable versions of scoring systems to Kohlberg's test. Finally, the subject sample of both the above studies and the present study were different in several ways, as mentioned earlier. Further, it is important to recall that parents and daughters did not agree on the induction questionnaire, therefore the validity of this measure is questionable.

Contrary to past research, the present study revealed insignificant relationships between parental encouragement and

moral reasoning. All past research, which rated encouragement in a similar manner, employed either the Structural Issues Scoring System or the Aspect Scoring System. This study used the Standard Scoring System, which is the most recent and most reliable scoring system of Kohlberg's test. Discrepancies in the findings between this study and past research may have been caused by the emotion elicited in the family discussions.

There were, however, some interesting findings. The fact that parents' and daughters' ratings of discipline did not relate to one another may indicate that each party perceives the same events quite differently. Further research might obtain an objective measure to determine whose rating is more valid. Second, the significant positive correlation between the extent of encouragement on the Kohlberg and family conflict dilemmas bodes well for the validity of the measure and the consistency of parents. Perhaps the most provocative finding of the study was the negative correlations between parental encouragement and daughters' moral maturity.

The general thrust of the results was to suggest that, contrary to the results of past research, parental induction and encouragement do not relate to moral development in daughters. This study used a more valid measure of moral development than most other studies, and at least as good a measure of induction and encouragement. So, perhaps, the relationship reported by other researchers is artifactual. On the other hand, the N in the present study was small, and respondents did not agree on

the ratings of parental discipline, so no conclusions could be drawn with conviction.

Considering the findings of this study future research should focus on social factors as well as other cognitive factors that relate to moral growth. For example, past research has examined the relationship of parental warmth and affection to moral development (Buck, 1978). Further it would be interesting to pursue studying the relationship between role-taking opportunities in peer groups as well as in the classroom. This is important considering many children, and adolescents in particular, spend the majority of their social interactions in peer and school settings. Finally, Haan (1980) believes social conflict is as important as cognitive conflict in stimulating moral development. Further Haan feels that interpersonal conflicts involve dynamics unique to other conflict situations. Considering the above points perhaps social factors in adolescents moral development should be examined in both the context of the family and in other social groups.

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## APPENDIX A

### INSTRUCTIONS

Please read the following dilemmas and answer the questions as fully as possible. You may find that you have already answered some questions before you come to them. Whenever possible elaborate on your answers, but feel free to say "see above". If you need more space, please write on the back of the page.

In Europe, a woman was near death from a special kind of cancer. There was one drug that the doctors thought might save her. It was a form of radium, that a druggist in the same town had recently discovered. The drug was expensive to make, but the druggist was charging ten times what the drug cost him to make. He paid \$400 for the radium and charged \$4000 for a small dose of the drug. The sick woman's husband, Heinz, went to everyone he knew to borrow the money and tried every legal means, but he could only get together about \$2000, which is half of what it cost. He told the druggist that his wife was dying, and asked him to sell it cheaper or let him pay later. But druggist said, "No, I discovered the drug and I'm going to make money from it.". So, having tried every legal means, Heinz gets desperate and considers breaking into the man's store to steal the drug for his wife.

1. Should Heinz steal the drug?

Why or Why not?

2. Is it actually right or wrong for him to steal the drug?



Why or why not?

3. Does Heinz have a duty or obligation to steal the drug? Why or why not?

4. Does it make any difference whether or not Heinz loves his wife?

Why or why not?

5. Suppose the person dying is not his wife but a stranger. Should Heinz steal the drug for the stranger?

6. Suppose it's a pet animal he loves. Should Heinz steal to save a pet animal?

Why or why not?

7. Is it important for people to do everything they can to save another's life?

Why or why not?

8. It is against the law for Heinz to steal. Does that make it morally wrong?

9. In general, should people try to do everything they can to obey the law?

Why or why not?

10. How does this apply to what Heinz should do?

11. In thinking back over the dilemma, what would you say is the most responsible thing for Heinz to do?

Why is that the most responsible?

Dilemma II: Joe is a fourteen-year-old boy who wanted very much to go to camp. His father promised him he could go if he saved up the the money for it himself. So Joe worked hard at his paper route and saved up the \$100 it cost to go to camp and a little more besides. But just before camp was going to start, his father changed his mind. Some of his friends decided to go on a special fishing trip, and Joe's father was short of the money it would cost. He told Joe to give him the money he had saved from the paper route. Joe didn't want to give up going to camp, so he thinks of refusing to give his father the money.

1. Should Joe refuse to give his father the money?

Why or why not?

2. Does the father have the right to tell Joe to give him the money?

Why or why not?

3. Does giving the money have anything to do with being a good son?

Why or why not?

4. Is the fact that Joe earned the money himself important in this situation?

Why or why not?

5. The father promised Joe he could go to camp if he earned the money. Is the fact that the father promised the most important thing in the situation?

Why or why not?

6. Why in general should a promise be kept?

7. Is it important to keep a promise to someone you don't know well and probably won't see again?

Why or why not?

8. What do you think is the most important thing a father should be concerned about in his relationship to his son?

Why is this important?

9. In general, what should be the authority of a father over his son?

10. What do you think is the most important thing a son should be concerned about in his relationship to his father?

Why is that the most important thing?

## APPENDIX B

### INSTRUCTIONS

The word moral means different things to different people. In general it refers to something you consider right or wrong and to people's rights and duties. Are you presently experiencing a moral conflict with your parents? Please describe the last (most recent) moral conflict you experienced with your parents that was not resolved to the satisfaction of all concerned parties. You may find you have answered some questions before you come to them. Whenever possible, elaborate on your answers, but feel free to say "see above". If you need more space, please write on the back of the page.

1. Please describe the conflict, stating your point of view, your parent's point of view and the ways which the points of view were in conflict.
2. What do (did) you see to be the issues involved; what makes (made) it a conflict; what makes (made) it a moral conflict?
3. Are (were) both parents involved in the conflict? Please state their points of view.
4. What action are you considering (did you consider)? Please list all the options you see or you feel you have (had) on the situation and say what you think (thought) about each. Which seem (seemed) right, and why; and which seem (seemed) wrong, and why?
5. What courses of action are your parents considering (did your

parents consider)?

6. Considering your position and your parents' position--which points in each are right and which points are wrong. (If the conflict was in the past, please say how you viewed it then and how you view it now.)

7. How long have you been (did you spend) discussing and thinking about the issue? Have you made a decision? If so describe it.

8. Have you discussed the conflict with anyone other than your parents; if so what did the other person say, and what did you think about his or her opinion?

9. If you haven't solved the conflict, what do you think would be the best (most moral) solution, and why? If you did solve the conflict, how was it solved, and do you think the resolution was the most moral; why?

10. Do you think you are doing (did) the right thing? Why?

10a. What about your parents?

11. What would most people do (have done) in your place?

12. If you already solved the conflict or reacted to it, would you do the same thing if you had it to do all over?

13. How much is (was) this conflict like other conflicts you have had with your parents? Do you experience conflicts like this often?

## INSTRUCTIONS

The word moral means different things to different people. In general it refers to something you consider right or wrong and to people's rights and duties. Are you presently experiencing a moral conflict with your daughter? Please describe the last (most recent) moral conflict you experienced with your daughter that was not resolved to the satisfaction of all concerned parties. You may find you have answered some questions before you come to them. Whenever possible, elaborate on your answers, but feel free to say "see above". If you need more space, please write on the back of the page.

1. Please describe the conflict, stating your point of view, your daughter's point of view and the ways which the points of view were in conflict.
2. What do (did) you see to be the issues involved; what makes (made) it a conflict; what makes (made) it a moral conflict?
3. Is (was) your spouse involved in the conflict? If so, please state his or her point of view.
4. What action are you considering (did you consider)? Please list all the options you see or you feel you have (had) on the situation and say what you think (thought) about each. Which seem (seemed) right, and why; and which seem (seemed) wrong, and why?
5. What courses of action is your spouse considering (did your spouse consider)?
6. Considering your position and your daughter's position--which

points in each are right and which points are wrong. (If the conflict was in the past, please say how you viewed it then and how you view it now.)

7. How long have you been (did you spend) discussing and thinking about the issue? Have you made a decision? If so describe it.

8. Have you discussed the conflict with anyone other than your daughter; if so what did the other person say, and what did you think about his or her opinion?

9. If you haven't solved the conflict, what do you think would be the best (most moral) solution, and why? If you did solve the conflict, how was it solved, and do you think the resolution was the most moral; why?

10. Do you think you are doing (did) the right thing? Why?

10a. What about your daughter?

11. What would most people do (have done) in your place?

12. If you already solved the conflict or reacted to it, would you do the same thing if you had it to do all over?

13. How much is (was) this conflict like other conflicts you have had with your daughter? Do you experience conflicts like this often?

## APPENDIX C

code \_\_\_\_\_

age \_\_\_\_\_

### Daughter's

Below are examples of possible conflict situations. For each conflict situation put a check beside the actions you think your **mother** would take in that particular situation. (You may check more than one)

1. You promise your mother that you will come directly home after a movie but are two hours late on a school night.

- My mother would not say anything but her hurt or disappointment would be evident.
- My mother would ground me or she would take away something I value for a period of time.
- My mother would tell me I should be ashamed of myself.
- My mother would use verbal threats.
- My mother would use physical punishment.
- My mother would sit down and explain the wrongdoing of my actions and the consequences of my actions.
- My mother would tell me how disappointed she is in me.
- My mother would explain how my actions have affected or harmed her.
- My mother would ignore me.

PLEASE GO BACK AND

Put a 1 right next to the checkmark you made for the action your mother would take most often in the situation above.

Put a 2 right next to the checkmark you made for the action your mother would take second most often in the situation above.

Put a 3 right next to the checkmark you made for the action your mother would take third most often in the situation above.

2. You go out with your friends after supper without doing some chores you are supposed to do.

- My mother would not say anything but her hurt or disappointment would be evident.
- My mother would ground me or she would take away something I value for a period of time.
- My mother would tell me I should be ashamed of myself.
- My mother would use verbal threats.
- My mother would use physical punishment.
- My mother would sit down and explain the wrongdoing of my actions and the consequences of my actions.
- My mother would tell me how disappointed she is in me.
- My mother would explain how my actions have affected or harmed her.
- My mother would ignore me.

PLEASE GO BACK AND

Put a 1 right next to the checkmark you made for the action your mother would take most often in the situation above.

Put a 2 right next to the checkmark you made for the action your mother would take second most often in the situation above.



Put a 3 right next to the checkmark you made for the action your mother would take third most often in the situation above.

3. You get a bad report card and your mother knows you have not been doing your homework on a regular basis.

- My mother would not say anything but her hurt or disappointment would be evident.
- My mother would ground me or she would take away something I value for a period of time.
- My mother would tell me I should be ashamed of myself.
- My mother would use verbal threats.
- My mother would use physical punishment.
- My mother would sit down and explain the wrongdoing of my actions and the consequences of my actions.
- My mother would tell me how disappointed she is in me.
- My mother would explain how my actions have affected or harmed her.
- My mother would ignore me.

PLEASE GO BACK AND

Put a 1 right next to the checkmark you made for the action your mother would take most often in the situation above.

Put a 2 right next to the checkmark you made for the action your mother would take second most often in the situation above.

Put a 3 right next to the checkmark you made for the action your mother would take third most often in the situation above.

4. Your mother wants you to go out with the family on Friday night, but you refuse to go because you want to go out with your friends.

- My mother would not say anything but her hurt or disappointment would be evident.
- My mother would ground me or she would take away something I value for a period of time.
- My mother would tell me I should be ashamed of myself
- My mother would use verbal threats.
- My mother would use physical punishment.
- My mother would sit down and explain the wrongdoing of my actions and the consequences of my actions.
- My mother would tell me how disappointed she is in me.
- My mother would explain how my actions have affected or harmed her.
- My mother would ignore me.

PLEASE GO BACK AND

Put a 1 right next to the checkmark you made for the action your mother would take most often in the situation above.

Put a 2 right next to the checkmark you made for the action your mother would take second most often in the situation above.

Put a 3 right next to the checkmark you made for the action your mother would take third most often in the situation above.

5. You are angry with your mother and talk back or swear at her.

- My mother would not say anything but her hurt or disappointment would be evident.
- My mother would ground me or she would take away something I value for a period of time.
- My mother would tell me I should be ashamed of myself.
- My mother would use verbal threats.
- My mother would use physical punishment.
- My mother would sit down and explain the wrongdoing of my actions and the consequences of my actions.
- My mother would tell me how disappointed she is in me.
- My mother would explain how my actions have affected or harmed her.
- My mother would ignore me.

PLEASE GO BACK AND

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Put a 3 right next to the checkmark you made for the action your mother would take third most often in the situation above.

## Daughter's

Below are examples of possible conflict situations. For each conflict situation put a check beside the actions you think your **father** would take in that particular situation.(You may check more than one.)

1. You promise your father that you will come directly home after a movie but you are two hours late on a school night.

- My father would not say anything but his hurt or disappointment would be evident.
- My father would ground me or he would take away something I value for a period of time.
- My father would tell me I should be ashamed of myself.
- My father would use verbal threats.
- My father would use physical punishment.
- My father would sit down and explain the wrongdoing of my actions and the consequences of my actions.
- My father would tell me how disappointed he is in me.
- My father would explain how my actions have affected or harmed him.
- My father would ignore me.

PLEASE GO BACK AND

Put a 1 right next to the checkmark you made for the action your father would take most often in the situation above.

Put a 2 right next to the checkmark you made for the action your father would take second most often in the situation above.

Put a 3 right next to the checkmark you made for the action your father would take third most often in the situation above.

2. You got out with your friends after supper without doing some chores you are supposed to do.

- My father would not say anything but his hurt or disappointment would be evident.
- My father would ground me or he would take away something I value for a period of time.
- My father would tell me I should be ashamed of myself.
- My father would use verbal threats.
- My father would use physical punishment.
- My father would sit down and explain the wrongdoing of my actions and the consequences of my actions.
- My father would tell me how disappointed he is in me.
- My father would explain how my actions have affected or harmed him.
- My father would ignore me.

PLEASE GO BACK AND

Put a 1 right next to the checkmark you made for the actions your father would take most often in the situation above.

Put a 2 right next to the checkmark you made for the actions your father would take second most often in the situation above.

Put a 3 right next to the checkmark you made for the actions your father would take third most often in the situation above.

3. You get a bad report card and your father knows you have not been doing your homework on a regular basis.

- My father would not say anything but his hurt or disappointment would be evident.
- My father would ground me or he would take away something I value for a period of time.
- My father would tell me I should be ashamed of myself.
- My father would use verbal threats.
- My father would use physical punishment.
- My father would sit down and explain the wrongdoing of my actions and the consequences of my actions.
- My father would tell me how disappointed he is in me.
- My father would explain how my actions have affected or harmed him.
- My father would ignore me.

PLEASE GO BACK AND

Put a 1 right next to the checkmark you made for the action your father would take most often in the situation above.

Put a 2 right next to the checkmark you made for the action your father would take second most often in the situation above.

Put a 3 right next to the checkmark you made for the action your father would take third most often in the situation above.

4. Your father wants you to go out with the family on Friday night, but you refuse to go because you want to go out with your friends.

- My father would not say anything but his hurt or disappointment would be evident.
- My father would ground me or he would take away something I value for a period of time.
- My father would tell me I should be ashamed of myself.
- My father would use verbal threats.
- My father would use physical punishment.
- My father would sit down and explain the wrongdoing of my actions and the consequences of my actions.
- My father would tell me how disappointed he is in me.
- My father would explain how my actions have affected or harmed him.
- My father would ignore me.

PLEASE GO BACK AND

Put a 1 right next to the checkmark you made for the action your father would take most often in the situation above.

Put a 2 right next to the checkmark you made for the action your father would take second most often in the situation above.

Put a 3 right next to the checkmark you made for the action your father would take third most often in the situation above.

5. You are angry with your father and talk back or swear at him.

- My father would not say anything but his hurt or disappointment would be evident.
- My father would ground me or he would take away something I value for a period of time.
- My father would tell me I should be ashamed of myself.
- My father would use verbal threats.
- My father would use physical punishment.
- My father would sit down and explain the wrongdoing of my actions and the consequences of my actions.
- My father would tell me how disappointed he is in me.
- My father would explain how my actions have affected or harmed him.
- My father would ignore me.

PLEASE GO BACK AND

Put a 1 right next to the checkmark you made for the action your father would take most often in the situation above.

Put a 2 right next to the checkmark you made for the action your father would take second most often in the situation above.

Put a 3 right next to the checkmark you made for the action your father would take third most often in the situation above.

code \_\_\_\_\_

age \_\_\_\_\_

sex \_\_\_\_\_

Parent's

Below are examples of possible conflict situations. For each conflict situation put a check beside the actions you think you would take in that particular situation.(You may check more than one.)

1. Your daughter promises you she will come directly home after a movie but she is two hours late on a school night.

- I would not say anything but my hurt or disappointment would be evident.
- I would ground her or I would take away something she values for a period of time.
- I would tell her she should be ashamed of herself.
- I would use verbal threats.
- I would use physical punishment.
- I would sit down and explain the wrongdoing of her actions and the consequences of her actions.
- I would tell her how disappointed I am in her.
- I would explain how her actions have affected or harmed me.
- I would ignore her.

PLEASE GO BACK AND

Put a 1 right next to the checkmark you made for the action you would take most often in the situation above.

Put a 2 right next to the checkmark you made for the action you would take second most often in the situation above.

Put a 3 right next to the checkmark you made for the action you would take third most often in the situation above.

2. Your daughter goes out with her friends after supper without doing some chores she was supposed to do.

- I would not say anything but my hurt or disappointment would be evident.
- I would ground her or I would take away something she values for a period of time.
- I would tell her she should be ashamed of herself.
- I would use verbal threats.
- I would use physical punishment.
- I would sit down and explain the wrongdoing of her actions and the consequences of her actions.
- I would tell her how disappointed I am in her.
- I would explain how her actions have affected or harmed me.
- I would ignore her.

PLEASE GO BACK AND

Put a 1 right next to the checkmark you made for the action you would take most often in the situation above.

Put a 2 right next to the checkmark you made for the action you would take second most often in the situation above.

Put a 3 right next to the checkmark you made for the action you would take third most often in the situation above.

3. Your daughter gets a bad report card and you know she has not been doing her homework on a regular basis.

- I would not say anything but my hurt or disappointment would be evident.
- I would ground her or I would take away something she values for a period of time.
- I would tell her she should be ashamed of herself.
- I would use verbal threats.
- I would use physical punishment.
- I would sit down and explain the wrongdoing of her actions and the consequences of her actions.
- I would tell her how disappointed I am in her.
- I would explain how her actions have affected or harmed me.
- I would ignore her.

PLEASE GO BACK AND

Put a 1 right next to the checkmark you made for the action you would take most often in the situation above.

Put a 2 right next to the checkmark you made for the action you would take second most often in the situation above.

Put a 3 right next to the checkmark you made for the action you would take third most often in the situation above.

4. You want your daughter to go out with the family on Friday night, but she refuses to go because she wants to go out with her friends.

- I would not say anything but my hurt or disappointment would be evident.
- I would ground her or I would take away something she values for a period of time.
- I would tell her she should be ashamed of herself.
- I would use verbal threats.
- I would use physical punishment.
- I would sit down and explain the wrongdoing of her actions and the consequences of her actions.
- I would tell her how disappointed I am in her.
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Put a 3 right next to the checkmark you made for the action you would take third most often in the situation above.

5. Your daughter is angry with you and she talks back or swears at you.

- I would not say anything but my hurt or disappointment would be evident.
- I would ground her or I would take away something she values for a period of time.
- I would tell her she should be ashamed of herself.
- I would use verbal threats.
- I would use physical punishment.
- I would sit down and explain the wrongdoing of her actions and the consequences of her actions.
- I would tell her how disappointed I am in her.
- I would explain how her actions have affected or harmed me.
- I would ignore her.

PLEASE GO BACK AND

- Put a 1 right next to the checkmark you made for the action you would take most often in the situation above.
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## APPENDIX D

### Global Stage Scores and Weighted Average Scores

The Kohlberg and family dilemmas were each assigned a Global Stage Score (GSS) and a Weighted Average Score (WAS). The method for calculating the global stage scores and weighted average scores is described in detail by Colby and Kohlberg (1987, p. 186-188). All scoreable interview judgments are assigned a stage score. These scores are weighted and summed to produce the GSS and the WAS. To calculate the GSS a stage score is derived for each issue on Kohlberg's test and these are assigned weights (Chosen Issues weighted x 3, Nonchosen Issues x 2, Guess Score x 1). These weighted scores are summed and the percent of weighted points assigned to each stage is calculated. If a stage reaches 25% of the total weighted points assigned it is included in the global stage score. If only one stage reaches 25% of the total weights a pure stage score is assigned. If two or more stages are represented by 25% or more of the total points a mixed stage score is assigned. These global stage scores were calculated on a 9-point scale (Stage 1 followed by Stage 1/2 and Stage 2, etc.) Weighted average scores are calculated by summing weighted Issue stage scores, dividing by the sum of the weights and multiplying by 100. Weighted average scores range from 100 to 500.

Table 1: The Six Moral Stages

Level and stage	Content of stage	Reasons for doing right	Sociomoral perspective of stage
Level 1: Preconventional: Stage 1. Heteronomous morality	To avoid breaking rules backed by punishment, obedience for its own sake, and avoiding physical damage to persons and property.	Avoidance of punishment and the superior power of authorities.	Egocentric point of view. Doesn't consider the interests of others or recognize that they differ from the actor's, doesn't relate two points of view. Actions are considered physically rather than in terms of psychological interests of others. Confusion of authority's perspective with one's own.
Stage 2: Individualism, instrumental purpose, and exchange	Following rules only when it is to someone's immediate interest; acting to meet one's own interests and needs and letting others do the same. Right is also what's fair, what's an equal exchange, a deal, an agreement.	To serve one's own needs or interests in a world where you have to recognize that other people have their interests, too.	Concrete individualistic perspective. Aware that everybody has his own interests to pursue and these conflict, so that right is relative (in the concrete individualistic sense).
Level 2: Conventional: Stage 3. Mutual interpersonal expectations, relationships, and interpersonal conformity	Living up to what is expected by people close to you or what people generally expect of people in your role as son, brother, friend, etc. "Being good" is important and means having good motives, showing concern about others. It also means keeping mutual relationships, such as trust, loyalty, respect, and gratitude.	The need to be a good person in your own eyes and those of others. Your caring for others. Belief in the Golden Rule: Desire to maintain rules and authority which support stereotypical good behavior.	Perspective of the individual in relationships with other individuals. Aware of shared feelings, agreements, and expectations which take primacy over individual interests. Relates points of view through the concrete Golden Rule, putting yourself in the other guy's shoes. Does not yet consider generalized system perspective.
Stage 4: Social system and conscience	Fulfilling the actual duties to which you have agreed. Laws are to be upheld except in extreme cases where they conflict with other fixed social duties. Right is also contributing to society, the group, or institution.	To keep the institution going as a whole, to avoid the breakdown in the system "if everyone did it," or the imperative of conscience to meet one's defined obligations.	Differentiates societal point of view from interpersonal agreement or motives. Takes the point of view of the system that defines roles and rules. Considers individual relations in terms of place in the system.

<p><b>Level 3: Postconventional or principled: Stage 5. Social contract or utility and individual rights</b></p>	<p>Being aware that people hold a variety of values and opinions, that most values and rules are relative to your group. These relative rules should usually be upheld, however, in the interest of impartiality and because they are the social contract. Some nonrelative values and rights like life and liberty, however, must be upheld in any society and regardless of majority opinion.</p>	<p>A sense of obligation to law because of one's social contract to make and abide by laws for the welfare of all and for the protection of all people's rights. A feeling of contractual commitment, freely entered upon, to family, friendship, trust and work obligations. Concern that laws and duties be based on rational calculation of overall utility, "the greatest good for the greatest number."</p>	<p>Prior-to-society perspective. Perspective of a rational individual aware of values and rights prior to social attachments and contracts. Integrates perspectives by formal mechanisms of agreement, contract, objective impartiality, and due process. Considers moral and legal points of view; recognizes that they sometimes conflict and finds it difficult to integrate them.</p>
<p><b>Stage 6. Universal ethical principles</b></p>	<p>Following self-chosen ethical principles. Particular laws or social agreements are usually valid because they rest on such principles. When laws violate these principles, one acts in accordance with the principle. Principles are universal principles of justice: the equality of human rights and respect for the dignity of human beings as individual persons.</p>	<p>The belief as a rational person in the validity of universal moral principles, and a sense of personal commitment to them.</p>	<p>Perspective of a moral point of view from which social arrangements derive. Perspective is that of any rational individual recognizing the nature of morality or the fact that persons are ends in themselves and must be treated as such.</p>

Source: Reprinted from Kohlberg (1976).

Table 2: Past Research on The Relationship Between Parental Factors and Moral Development

Study	Sample	Moral Maturity Measure and Scoring System	Parental MMS and Induction	Parental MMS and Encouragement	Children's MMS and Induction	Children's MMS and Encouragement	Parental MMS and Children's MMS
Hoffman & Saltzstein (1967)	Gr. 7 boys & girls N=444	Various Measures (not Kohlberg's test)	positive relationship	positive relationship	positive relationship		positive relationship
Holstein (1969)	Gr. 8 boys & girls N=53	Kohlberg's test Aspect Scoring System	insignificant relationship	positive relationship	insignificant relationship	positive relationship	positive relationship (mothers)
Shoffstet (1971)	Age 11-16 Boys N=60	Kohlberg's test Scoring system not specified	positive relationship		positive relationship		
Haan et al. (1976)	Ages 10-21+ N=213	Kohlberg's test Structural Issues Scoring System					positive relationship for sons only
Holstein (1976)	Longitudinal Age 13 & 16	Kohlberg's test Structural Issues Scoring System					positive relationship for sons only
Buck (1978)	Age 10-13 boys	Kohlberg's test Structural Issues Scoring System		positive relationship		positive relationship	insignificant positive relationship
Parikh (1980)	Ages 12-16 boys & girls N=40	Kohlberg's test Structural Issues Scoring System	positive relationship (mothers)	positive relationship	positive relationship (Ages 15-16)	positive relationship (Ages 15-16)	positive relationship (mothers & 15-16)
Speicher-Dubin (1982)	Ages 13-15 N=38 boys & girls	Kohlberg's test Standard Scoring System		positive relationship		positive relationship	positive relationship
Walker	Gr. 1	Kohlberg's test					insignificant relationship

TABLE 3

## Frequency of Conflict Issues

Conflict	Frequency of Subjects Reporting Conflict			
	Mothers n=21	Fathers n=21	Daughters n=21	Total n=63
Chores	4	3	4	11
Inconsideration	2	3	2	7
Daughter's Friends	2	2	2	6
Curfew	3	1	2	6
Dishonesty	2	2	1	5
Alcohol/Smoking	1	2	1	4
Obedience to Rules	1	1	1	3
Swearing	1	1	1	3
Daughter's Shyness	1	1	1	3
Daughter's Agression	0	1	2	3
Censorship	1	1	0	2
School Performance	0	1	1	2
Telephone Usage	1	0	1	2
Sexual Conduct	1	0	1	2
Church Attendance	1	0	1	2
Other	0	2	1	3

TABLE 4

## Mean WAS on Kohlberg and Family Conflict Dilemmas

Dilemma	Mean WAS		
	Mother	Father	Daughter
Kohlberg	340 (244-425)	347 (300-400)	278 (233-346)
Family Conflict	347 (250-400)	313 (200-400)	251 (200-300)

Note: Range of scores are in brackets.

TABLE 5

## Correlations Between Parental WAS and Induction

Induction Rater	Mother		Father	
	Kohlberg WAS	Family WAS	Kohlberg WAS	Family WAS
Daughter	.40	.28	.15	.22
Mother	.11	.23	--	--
Father	--	--	-.08	.22
Daughter/Parent Mean	.34	.33	.04	.27

TABLE 6

## Mean Induction Scores

Maternal Induction Score		Paternal Induction Score	
Daughter's Report	Mother's Self Report	Daughter's Report	Father's Self Report
-.43	.93	-.43	1.21



TABLE 7

## Mean Encouragement Scores

Dilemma	Source of Encouragement	
	Mother	Father
Kohlberg	3.57	3.24
	$r = .40 *$	$r = .69 **$
Family Conflict	2.86	2.86

\*  $p = .0518$

\*\*  $p < .001$

TABLE 8

## Correlations Between Parental WAS and Encouragement

Source of Encouragement Rating	Moral Maturity in Parent			
	Mother		Father	
	Kohlberg WAS	Family WAS	Kohlberg WAS	Family WAS
Kohlberg Dilemma	.12	.22	-.18	-.18
Family Conflict Dilemma	.05	.10	-.07	.26

TABLE 9

## Correlations Between Daughter's WAS and Parental Induction

Source of Induction	Moral Maturity in Daughter	
	Kohlberg	Family Conflict
Mother		
Mother's Self Rating	.03	.21
Daughter's Rating	.11	.06
Combined Rating	.05	.15
Father		
Father's Self Rating	.20	.11
Daughter's Rating	.08	.15
Combined Rating	.17	.16

TABLE 10

Correlation Between Daughter's WAS and Parental Encouragement

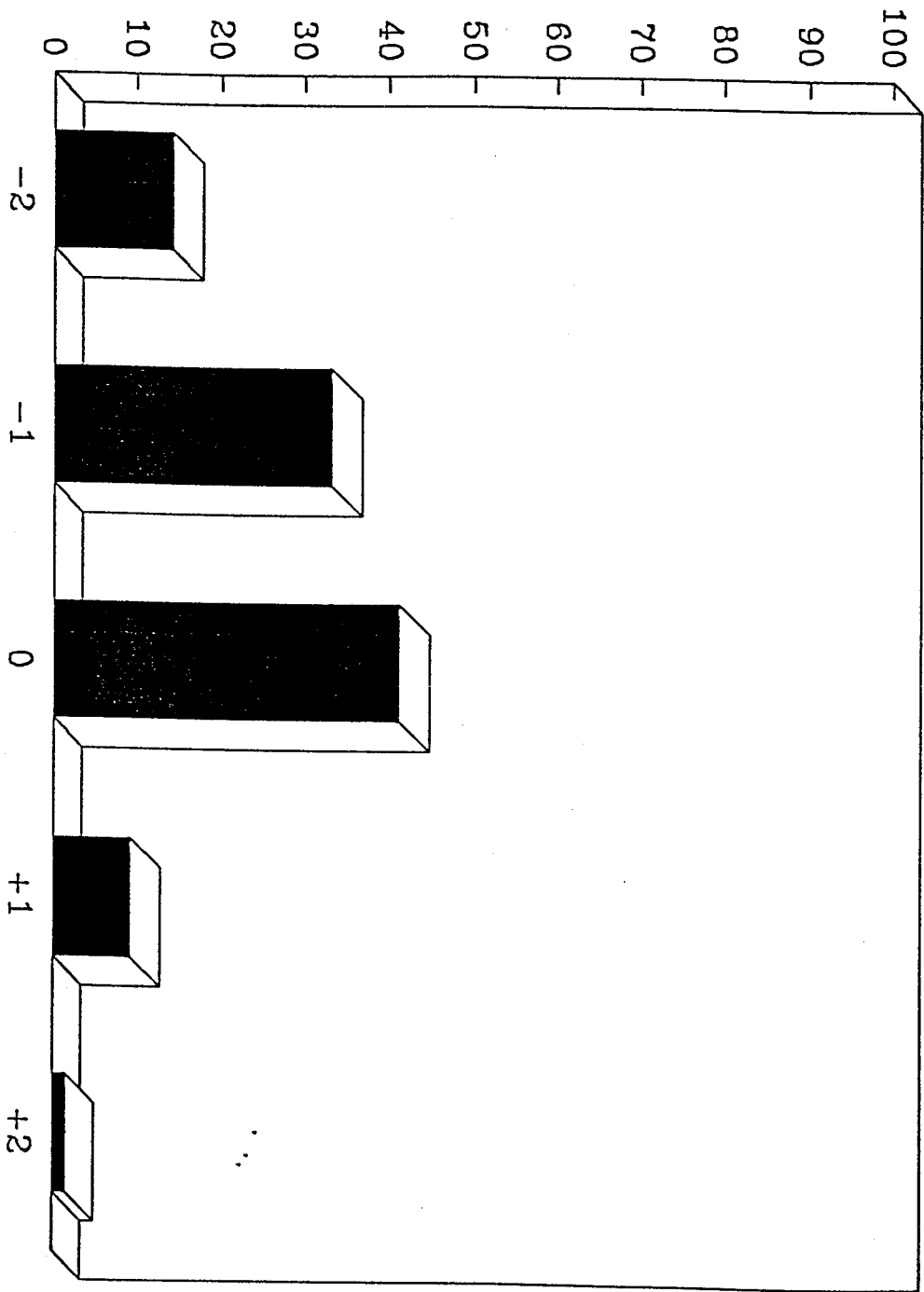
Source of Encouragement	Moral Maturity in Daughter	
	Kohlberg WAS	Family WAS
Mother		
Kohlberg Dilemma	-.38	-.47
Family Dilemma	-.20	-.27
Father		
Kohlberg Dilemma	-.49	-.59*
Family Dilemma	-.37	-.41
Both Parents		
Kohlberg Dilemma	-.49	-.49
Family Dilemma	-.34	-.40

\* p < .05

## Figure Caption

Figure 1: Percentage of subjects scoring at the same and different substages on the Kohlberg and family dilemmas. For example, -1 indicates that these subjects scored 1/2 stage lower, on a 9-point scale, on the family dilemma than on the Kohlberg dilemma.

Percentage of Subjects

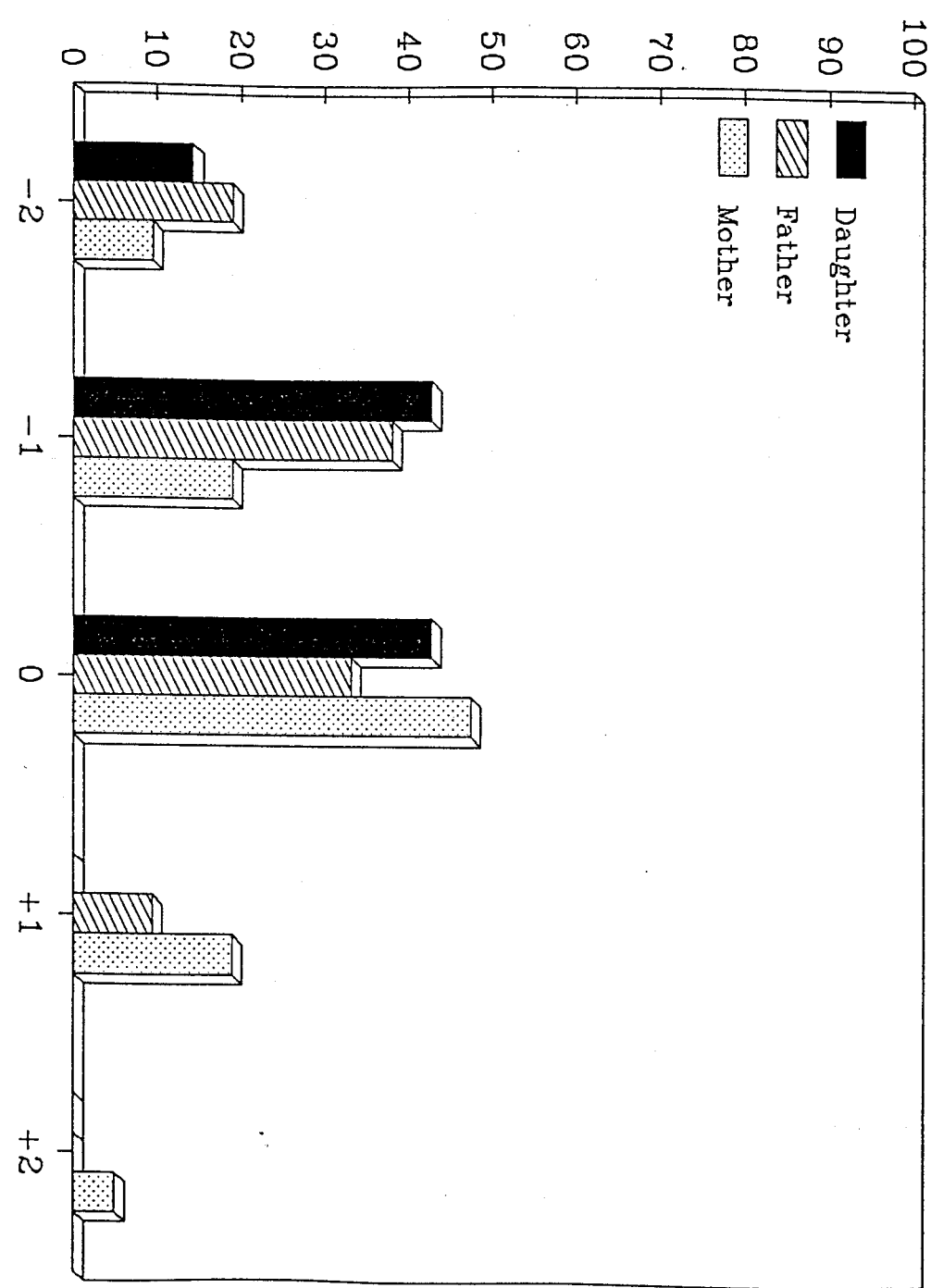


Difference Between Global Stage Scores

### Figure Caption

Figure 2: Percentage of mothers, fathers and daughters scoring at the same and different substages on the family and Kohlberg dilemmas. For example, -1 indicates that these subjects scored 1/2 stage lower, on a 9-point scale, on the family dilemma than on the Kohlberg dilemma.

Percentage of Subjects



Differences Between Global Stage Scores