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Single-parent family interaction and adolescent moral development.

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SINGLE-PARENT FAMILY INTERACTION
AND ADOLESCENT MORAL DEVELOPMENT

A Thesis Presented

by

MARGARET STEPHENSON-LOIODICE

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

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Department of Psychology

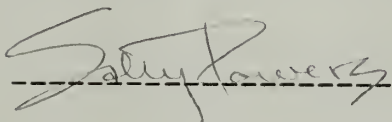
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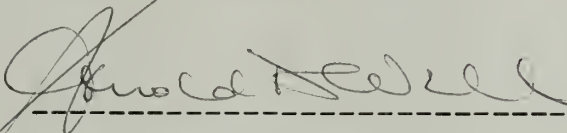
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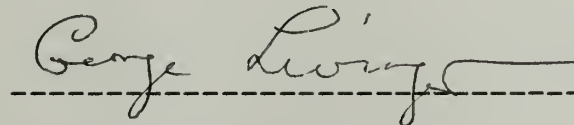
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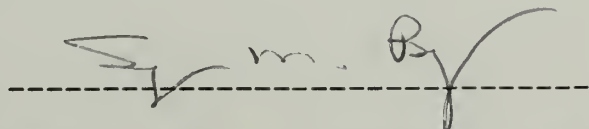
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ABSTRACT

SINGLE-PARENT FAMILY INTERACTION
AND ADOLESCENT MORAL DEVELOPMENT

SEPTEMBER 1991

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This study was conducted to examine the effects of family interaction on adolescents in single-parent families. The aim of the study was to identify, through direct observation of these families, the interaction patterns that either facilitate or hinder adolescent moral development. Participants were 22 white middle-class adolescents and their parent. The mean age of these adolescents was 14.5 years. Adolescent moral judgment was assessed according to Kohlberg's categories of moral stages, and family discussions of revealed differences on hypothetical moral dilemmas were observed. Powers' Developmental Environments Coding System was revised and used to code observed interactions. The results indicate that there may be a facilitating effect on moral judgment when parents or adolescents initiate challenging interactions with one another. The findings also suggest that adolescents at different moral stages require different types of family interaction. Adolescents at the conventional stage benefit most from supportive behaviors, such as praising,

encouragement, and non-competitive humor, and focusing behaviors such as paraphrasing and comprehension checks. Adolescents at the pre-conventional stage are hindered most by attacks on their personalities, sarcastic remarks, hostility and threats of punishment. Implications of these findings and future research are discussed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
LIST OF TABLES.....	vii
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
Piaget's Account of Moral Development.....	7
Kohlberg's Account of Moral Development.....	11
Family and Moral Development.....	13
Gender Differences.....	20
Proposed Single-Family Types.....	22
II. METHOD.....	29
Subjects.....	29
Measures.....	30
Analyses.....	42
III. RESULTS.....	44
Adolescent Moral Judgement Score and Interaction Categories.....	44
Relationship Among Interaction Categories.....	45
Relationship Between Family Type and Adolescent Moral Development.....	47
Group Differences.....	54
Gender Differences.....	56
IV. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS.....	65
Adolescent Moral Score and Interaction Categories.....	65
Family Types.....	67
Group Differences.....	68
Gender Differences.....	73
APPENDIX: MORAL JUDGMENT INTERVIEWS.....	75
REFERENCES.....	81

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Piaget's Two Moral Stages.....	9
2. Classification of Moral Judgment into Levels and Stages of Development.....	14
3. Variables Which Reflect Role Taking Opportunities.....	18
4. Developmental Environment Coding System (DECS).....	33
5. Developmental Environment Coding System (DECS) Revised.....	35
6. Walker Revised Developmental Environments Coding (DECS) System.....	39
7. Correlations Between Adolescent Moral Judgment Score and Interaction Categories.....	46
8. Correlations Between Interaction Categories.....	48
9. Correlations Between Adolescent Moral Judgment Score and Interaction Categories in Family Type 1...	52
10. Correlations between Adolescent Moral Judgment Score and Interaction Categories In Family Type 2...	52
11. Correlations Between Adolescent Moral Judgment Score and Interaction Categories In Family Type 3...	53
12. Correlations between Focusing-R and Interaction Categories in Family Type 3.....	53
13. Stage and Coded Stage Scores.....	55
14. Category Means for Group 1 and Group 2 and Differences Between Groups.....	57
15. Correlations Between Adolescent Moral Judgment Score and Interaction Categories in Higher Group (Stage 3 to 3-4).....	58
16. Correlations Between Adolescent Moral Judgment Score and Interaction Categories in Lower Group (Stage 2 to 2-3).....	60
17. Category Means for Females and All Males.....	61
18. Category Means for Females and Males with Mothers as Parents.....	63

19. Correlations Between Adolescent Moral Judgment Score and the Interaction Categories in Female and in Mother/Daughter Interaction.....	64
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Half of the children born during the 1980's are likely to spend part of their childhood living in a single-parent family, the fastest growing family form in the United States (Heath & Mackinnon, 1988). Part of the increase in number of single-parent families is due to an increase in never-married mothers, but most of the increase is from a rise in the number of marital separations and divorces.

In view of the social impact the single-parent family will make, it is surprising that there are few studies that have described the nature of the single-parent family, or that have examined it as a family form in its own right. Most research on family structures has used the two-parent family as the normative model, often portraying other family types, the single-parent, divorced family in particular, as deviant or pathological. This research for the most part, using the deviance perspective, has investigated individuals living in single-parent families, but not the family unit as a whole. For example, most studies have compared children from two-parent families with children from single-parent families; the differences between them were attributed to the type of family from which the child came. Single-parent families have most often been viewed as a homogeneous group and the complexities of such families or the differences among them have rarely been explored (Gongla, 1982). More recently, demographics, such as race, gender, age,

education, child-rearing practices, family socioeconomic status and amount of time since marital separation have become important factors in the single-family literature.

Equally important are variables referring to the family environment, such as the amount of warmth, conflict or rejection a child experiences in the family and parental styles. When these variables are controlled, the family deficit model, which suggests that children from single-parent or father-absent families are necessarily disadvantaged, is not supported. The literature supports the family environment model which suggests that family process may be more important than family structure in producing a positive outcome in children. A single-parent family that is warm, supportive, and conflict-free is believed to provide a more positive environment for a child than a two-parent family filled with conflict and rejection (Kurdek & Sinclair, 1988; Enos & Handal, 1986; Hetherington, Stanley-Hagan, & Anderson, 1989). An authoritative parenting style, where the parent responds to the arguments and needs of the child, is associated with more positive outcomes in children and adolescents regardless of family structure.

Although the above research has not described the unique processes that occur in single-parent families, they have shown that single-parent families are not homogeneous. Some single-parent families may be more similar to two-parent families than they are to other single-parent families.

Some structural characteristics of the single-parent family have also been proposed. Weiss (1979) interviewed single-parents and their adolescent children and proposed a theory of the structure and functioning of single-parent families. He proposed that because there are so many tasks that must be performed within a household and only one parent to perform them, adolescents in single-parent families would begin to share these tasks with the parent. As a consequence, the adolescent is more likely to display an earlier maturity, an ability to understand adult perspectives and also to participate in deciding what is done in the household. Such adolescents move faster from the role of a subordinate member of the family to that of a junior partner. Weiss posits that there is often a greater closeness between the single-parent and the child and the child easily become, a confidant. Weiss suggests that when the parent has not been accessible the child may become precocious and oddly self-reliant. These children learn to suppress their need for the parent, interchanges between parent and child degenerate and the child may withdraw or act out. Weiss states that as long as there has been no earlier deprivation of nurturance, and as long as some degree of parental support and investment remains available, adolescents can (more easily than younger children), in general, assume additional responsibility for their households and themselves without sustaining harm to their

development. Wallerstein and Kelly (1980) found that in single-parent, divorced families where the mother has no adult to help her assert authority that there may be a blurring of boundaries between the adult level and the child level. This leads to more negotiating of rules and standards between the mother and child which usually ends in more authority and power being granted to the child. They also suggest that adolescents may become companions to the parent and provide supportive outlets.

On the other hand, Hetherington, Cox, and Cox (1979) suggest that fewer demands for mature behavior may be made ~~+~~ on children in single-parent families and that children may become more aggressive and less compliant to parental demands as a consequence. Dornbusch and colleagues (1985) found that the single-parents in their study practiced permissive parenting where there was less joint decision making than the two-parent households. There were more decisions made by the adolescent alone and more decisions made by the mother alone. He found the single-parent ~~+~~ families to be more deviant on measures such as contact with the law, arrests, runaway, smoking regularly, truancy, school discipline than the two-parent group. Abelson (1983) theorizes that parental separation and divorce can be associated with (1) increased enmeshment with the parent leading to the adolescent's inability to separate age appropriately from the parent, (2) involvement in an

inappropriately close relationship with a needy parent in order to protect and strengthen him or her, (3) regression and the assumption of an infantile or "sick" position in order to maintain parental involvement and togetherness, or (4) the adolescent may distance and disengage himself or herself from the parent resulting in an unsupervised adolescent.

Single-parenting skills have been viewed as important determinants of children's enhanced functioning (Stolberg, Camplair, Currier, & Wells, 1987). Dornbusch and colleagues (1985) add that not only parenting styles but also decision-making patterns are important determinants of child and adolescent functioning. Research on the effects of parenting skills on parent-child interaction has been influenced by Baumrind's typology of parental styles associated with cognitive and social characteristics in the child. Dornbusch (1985) describes Baumrind's parenting styles emphasizing the decision making aspect of each:

(1) The permissive parenting style, where the child is allowed to make his or her own decisions as much as possible, with few demands for impulse control or for maturity. This style of parenting is proposed to lead to impulsive, aggressive children who lack social responsibility and interdependence.

(2) The authoritative style requires a more complex

pattern of family functioning. The parent is responsive not only to the needs of the child but also to the persuasiveness of the child's arguments. There is reciprocity in the relationship between the parent and the child and there is also a high level of demand by the parent and a high level of responsiveness from the parent. This type of parenting is proposed to lead to social responsibility and self-assertion in the child. The authoritative style of parenting is associated with facilitating moral judgment in the child (Hoffman 1970).

- (3) The authoritarian parenting style is characterized by decisions being made by the parents alone, without participation from the child until late in adolescence.

With the exception of the Weiss study, the above research has not studied the unique qualities of the single-parent family nor has the family interaction process been described. There is clearly a gap in this body of literature which necessitates further research. This present work focused on the single-parent family and attempted to describe the processes which occur within these families in relation to family interaction and moral development.

Recent research indicates that the family and the interaction patterns within the family also play a major

role in enhancing or hindering moral development in the adolescent. The various types of family interaction patterns which facilitate or hinder moral development, and the effect of parental discipline practices on moral development have most recently been the focus of a large part of this research. Because of its relevance to this study, I will first summarize the theoretical background of the cognitive developmental approach to moral development and then progress to the most recent research on moral development and family interaction.

Piaget's Account of Moral Development

The cognitive developmental approach to moral development was first elaborated by Jean Piaget who posited that moral judgment is developmental, changing with age and experience. Individuals move through a series of qualitatively different stages which are constructed by that individual's own experiences. The sequence of this pattern is the same for all persons in all cultures. For Piaget, the core of morality was based on respect for the rules of social order, and a sense of justice; a concept of the rights of people. Piaget used interviews and questioned five to 13 year-old children about issues, such as where they thought rules came from, whether rules can be changed, what a fair punishment is, what defines a lie, how rewards should be distributed, why it's wrong to cheat and whether it is ever right to disobey an adult in order to identify the nature of change in these two core aspects of morality.

From these interviews Piaget formulated two major changes, heteronomous morality or morality of constraint and morality of co-operation. Heteronomous morality, the earlier stage, is characterized by moral realism, duty, submission to authority and unilateral emotional respect for adults and lasts until about age eight. The obligation not to cheat or lie, for instance, is felt very deeply by the child even though it doesn't originate from his or her own mind. At this stage objective responsibility and not intentionality is considered when making moral judgments. Morality of co-operation is characterized by mutual respect and autonomy of conscience as the child moves in a position of equality with adults. Personal motives and subjective responsibility are taken into account when making moral judgments. Both types of moralities co-exist in the child as overlapping thought processes at a given point with the more mature gradually dominating the less mature (Lickona, 1976). These two stages differ on nine developmental dimensions shown in Table 1 on page 9.

For Piaget, the notion of justice and solidarity as well as the desire for equality is a function of the mental age of the child. This notion and desire increase with age. Piaget identifies three great periods in the development of the sense of justice. During the first period, which lasts to age 7-8, the child sees justice as subordinate to adult

Table 1
Piaget's Two Moral Stages

Morality of Constraint	Morality of Co-operation
1. Absolutism of moral perspective	Awareness of differing views
2. Rules are unchangeable	Rules are flexible
3. Belief in immanent justice	Naturalistic conception of punishment
4. Objective responsibility	Consideration of intentions
5. Definition of wrongness in terms of what is forbidden	Definition in terms of what violates the spirit of co-operation
6. Belief in arbitrary or expiatory punishment	Belief in restitution or reciprocity-based punishment
7. Approval of authority's punishment of peer aggression	Approval of eye to eye retaliation by the victim
8. Approval of arbitrary, unequal distribution of goods by authority	Insistence on equal distribution
9. Definition of duty as obedience to authority	Allegiance to equality and concern for the welfare of others

(Adapted from Lickona, 1976)

authority. There is no differentiation between what is just and unjust. Just is what conforms to adult authority. Any punishment given by an adult is accepted and seen as necessary. Expiatory punishment takes precedence over punishment by reciprocity and the majority of children at this stage believe in immanent justice which comes from nature or inanimate objects. Although there is already a sense of equality between children, equality yields to authority. The second period between ages 8-11 is one of progressive equalitarianism, where there is a developing sense of autonomy and a yielding of authority to equality. The only acceptable punishment at this stage is based on reciprocity. There is a decrease in the belief in immanent justice and moral action is sought regardless of reward or punishment. The third period between the ages of 11-12 is one characterized by consideration of equity. Equal rights is considered in relation to a specific situation. Justice is distributed in relation to the personal circumstances of each person, the attenuating circumstances and the same punishment is not given to everyone (Piaget, 1932, 1965).

For Piaget, three factors account for moral development: general intellectual growth, social equality with peers, and the cessation of the constraints of adult authority. Piaget believed that a sense of justice is largely independent of practical examples from adults and that it is only through co-operation that a sense of justice develops. "Thus adult

authority, although perhaps it constitutes a necessary moment in the moral evolution of the child, is not in itself sufficient to create a sense of justice. This can develop only through the progress made by co-operation between children to begin with, and then between child and adult as the child approaches adolescence and comes, secretly at least, to consider himself as the adult's equal" (Piaget, 1932, 1965).

Kohlberg's Account of Moral Development

Kohlberg's work is an extension and refinement of Piaget's work on moral development. Like Piaget, Kohlberg defined his stages by the following characteristics: (1) Stages occur in invariant sequence where development occurs in the same order for all individuals. (2) Each stage represents a unified structural whole where there is consistency across tasks and content area in the way an individual performs tasks. Differences in children's responses represent differences in the structure of reasoning rather than the quantity of knowledge the child possess. (3) There is hierarchical integration where earlier stages become integrated into the more advanced stages as the individual develops. For Kohlberg, the cognitive structure of the child is the result of the interaction between the child and the structure of the environment, such as family and school which promote role-taking activities, and is not the result of learning or maturation.

Maturation is a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition to promote moral growth. The direction of development of this cognitive structure is toward a balance of interaction between the individual and his or her environment. There is an interaction between the existing mental structure and the structural features of the environment (Kohlberg, 1984).

Kohlberg postulated three major levels of development which were divided into six developmental stages. He arrived at these stages from data obtained from a cross-sectional study of 72 Chicago-area males ages 10, 13, 16 from upper middle, lower middle and lower class and latter through extensive cross-sectional and longitudinal research (Kohlberg, 1984). Kohlberg presented moral dilemmas to his subjects and asked them to discuss how they would solve these dilemmas. The responses were scored and moral judgment scores were obtained. Kohlberg emphasizes the mode of reasoning exercised in arriving at a position rather than the content involved. Level 1 is made up of stages 1 and 2 and is called pre-conventional or pre-moral. This level is characterized by the understanding of morality as obeying the law with the emphasis on obedience and punishment. Moral judgments are based on pleasurable and unpleasurable consequences. The majority of the children under the age of nine are at the pre-conventional level. Level 2, made up of stages 3 and 4, is the conventional level where there is conformity to authority, and identification with prevailing

law. At this level, maintenance of the law is emphasized. Consequences become secondary to meeting the expectations of family and society. Role-taking abilities emerge at this level. Level 3, made up of stages 5 and 6, is the post-conventional or principled level. This level is based on a principled morality or universal application which transcends the individual and the general culture. Most adults are at level 2 and a small number are at level 3. It is not usually until age 20 that an individual may arrive at the principled stage. See Table 2 on page 14.

Family and Moral Development

Kohlberg claimed that the fundamental social input which stimulates moral development is role-taking opportunities and the prerequisite of role-taking is participation in a group. Role-taking stimulates growth from stage to stage because it creates disequilibrium when the individual takes the perspective of someone who reasons differently than he or she does. Unlike the psychoanalytic and the social learning view of moral development which consider the family and child rearing practices as central to moral development, Kohlberg believed that although the family is one of the first social groups which provide the child with role-taking opportunities, the family is not a uniquely necessary setting for moral development (Kohlberg, 1987, 1984). He points out that there is evidence that bad families are associated with moral arrest and moral pathology but that

Table 2

Classification of Moral Judgment into Levels
and Stages of Development

Source: Kohlberg, 1984

Levels	Basis of Moral Judgment	Stages of Development
1	Moral value resides in external, quasiphysical happenings, in bad acts or in quasiphysical needs rather than in persons and standards	<p>1 Obedience and punishment orientation. Egocentric deference to superior power or prestige. Objective responsibility.</p> <p>2 Naively egoistic orientation. Right action is that instrumentally satisfying the self's needs and occasionally others'. Awareness of relativism of value to each actor's needs and perspective. Naive egalitarianism and orientation to exchange and reciprocity.</p>
2	Moral value resides in performing good or right roles, in maintaining the conventional order and expectancies of others.	<p>3 Good-boy orientation. Orientation to approval and to pleasing others. Conformity to stereotypical images of majority or natural role behavior, and judgement by intention.</p> <p>4 Authority and social order maintaining orientation. Orientation to doing duty and showing respect for authority and maintaining the given social order.</p>

Continued Next Page

Table 2 Continued

Levels	Basis of Moral Judgment	Stages of Development
3	Moral value resides in conformity by the self to shared or sharable standards, rights or duties.	<p>5 Contractual legalistic orientation of an arbitrary element or starting point in rules or expectations for the sake of agreement. Duty defined in terms of contract, general avoidance of violation of the will or rights of others and majority will and welfare.</p> <p>6 Conscience or principle orientation. Orientation not only to actually ordained social rules but to principles of choice involving appeal to logical universality and consistency. Orientation to conscience as a directing agent and to mutual respect and trust.</p>

there is no such evidence which shows that good families are associated with moral facilitation.

There is most recently, however, a body of literature which finds that the family may be very influential in moral development. Holstein (1968) found that parents who encourage their children to participate in family discussions (induction) had children who were at a higher moral stage than those who did not. Her sample consisted of 53 upper middle and middle class two-parent families. Kohlberg's moral interviews were given to both parents and their 13 year-old child. The amount of parental interaction with the child was also associated with moral development.

Parikh (1975) studied 39, 12-13 and 15-16 year-old, upper middle class Indian adolescents and their families to investigate the relationship between parental discipline and the child's moral judgment. The Hoffman and Saltzstein Parental Discipline Scale and four Kohlberg dilemmas were administered to two-parent families. Parikh found a positive relationship between the mother's use of induction and the child's moral development in the 15-16 age group but not in the 12-13 group. No gender differences were found. Using questionnaires, Leahy (1981) examined the effects of child-rearing practices and moral development in a study with 104 white, middle class adolescents in the 10th grade. He found that for boys, a more advanced moral stage was related to less use of punitive and controlling practices by the mother

and with girls advanced stages were related to less ambivalence about autonomy and less protectiveness by the father. Acceptance and encouragement by the mother were related to both the son's and daughter's use of a higher stage (5A, where the individual attempts to maintain the respect of the community as opposed to 5B where the individual is concerned with avoiding self-condemnation). These studies support the cognitive developmental view that moral development is facilitated by role-taking opportunities and the importance of the family as a provider of these opportunities.

Speicher-Dubin (1982) examined additional family interaction variables and the child's moral development in subjects between the ages of 12-18 in the Oakland and Berkeley Growth Study sample. Kohlberg's moral judgment interviews and family questionnaires were administered to families. Speicher-Dubin generated 15 family interaction variables from Kohlberg's theoretical statement about the role of family in facilitating moral development. See Table 3 on page 18. She found that the adolescent's advanced moral development was associated with the child's report of more family communication, more maternal warmth, more positive feelings of satisfaction with the mother, and more parental support for their activities. She concluded that families who are high on affectional warmth, understanding and communication do facilitate moral development in adolescents.

Table 3

Variables Which Reflect Role-Taking Opportunities

1. Freedom to discuss politics and controversial issues at home
2. Extent of political discussion in the home.
3. The child's view of each parent as easy to talk to.
4. Resolution of family disagreements by argument, discussion and negotiated compromise.
5. Resolution of family disagreements by formal meetings and mutual acceptable decisions.
6. Resolution of family disagreements by agreement and discussion, but no consensus.
7. The extent the family as a whole talks together.
8. Deliberateness of child's communication with each parent.
9. Openness of Child's relationship with each parent.
10. Family moral transmission by drawing out of the child thoughts about wrong doings.
11. Family moral transmission by encouraging the child to analyze moral position.
12. Family moral transmission by exposure to philosophical, humanitarian and moral thoughts.
13. Method of arriving at rules which include the child in rule making.
14. Extent that the child questions parent's moral position.
15. Extent that the child challenges parent's moral position.

Powers (1988, 1982) evaluated family interaction and moral development with observed family discussions using Kohlberg's moral judgment interviews. Like Speicher-Dubin, she also maintained that additional factors need to be taken into account when evaluating how the family stimulates moral development. She studied a psychiatric and a non-psychiatric group of adolescents ages 14-18 and their families over a period of four years. She hypothesized that the family relationship requires a broader range of interaction variables that may be possible stimulators or inhibitors of growth and generated the Developmental Environments Coding System (DECS) which consists of 26 codes, grouped into eight conceptual categories: (1) Focusing behaviors; (2) Challenging others; (3) Sharing perspectives; (4) Support; (5) Avoidance; (6) Distortion; (7) Rejection; (8) Affective Conflict. Powers posited that cognitively stimulating behaviors must occur within a context of positive affect and support allowing each family member to feel safe enough to challenge another's ideas without fear of criticism and defensive reaction. Powers adds that the affective conditions required for stimulating cognitive conflict and encouraging role-taking may be unique in the family environment. She found that adolescent moral development was most advanced when there was a high amount of non-competitive sharing of perspectives in the context of a high

number of supportive behaviors or a low instance of affectively conflictual and cognitively inhibiting behaviors. Further, family conflict, particularly conflictual behaviors of the mother and the adolescent, such as avoiding controversy by distorting the nature of the task or distracting the conversation from the task at hand, refusal to do the task, devaluing or undermining the task or another and threats directed at another are negatively associated with advanced moral development in adolescents. Powers adds that the family also influences the adolescent's willingness to intellectually confront moral issues because of the family's influence on the value the adolescent places on engaging the moral world.

Gender Differences

The literature on gender differences in single-parent families is comprised of studies comparing children from one-parent and two-parent families. Santrock & Warshak (1979) compared the effects of father-custody, mother custody, and two-parent families on the social development of children between the ages of six to 11. This study suggests that children living with the opposite sex parent, (i.e. father-custody girls and mother-custody boys), are less well adjusted than children living with the same sex parent. These researchers found that boys in father-custody families showed more competent social development than girls in father-custody. Boys in these families were less demanding,

showed more maturity, sociability and independence than the girls in this type of family. Girls in mother-custody families showed more competent social development than boys in mother-custody families. Boys in mother-custody families were more demanding and less mature than girls in these families. Anderson, Hetherington & Clingempeel (1989) in a study of transformations in family relations during puberty concluded that the transformations described in previous research apply only to non-divorced biological families. They suggest that the increased tension found in non-divorced families between mothers and their children, especially between mothers and sons, was not observed in divorced families. They found a more positive relationship between divorced mothers and their sons as the sons matured. For girls, there was a resurgence of conflict during adolescence between mothers and daughters, especially in early maturing daughters. These researchers posit that these surprising results may be due to the fact that the transformations associated with puberty may have already occurred. These children may have experienced parental divorce prior to entering puberty and as a part of the divorce adjustment have already engaged in conflict with their mother.

Welch and Powers (in press) reviewed the literature on gender differences in dyadic, two-parent family interactions. The research suggests that fathers interact

differently with their sons than with their daughters in early and middle adolescence. No significant differences were suggested in the way mothers interact with their sons and daughters in early and middle adolescence. Mothers experience temporary conflict with both sons and daughters in early adolescence. Fathers and sons display "dominance-submission" behavior, where the father increases interruptions of the sons as sons mature beyond the apex of pubertal growth. Fathers and daughters on the other hand display "passive-assertive" behavior, where fathers increase interruptions of the daughters but the daughters do not yield to the fathers. They, unlike boys, show passive resistance to the fathers. In middle adolescence fathers exhibit more support for daughters and more competitive interactions toward their sons.

Proposed Single-Family Types

On the basis of the single-family literature, the literature on parenting and decision making styles, and the family interaction and moral development literature, a classification of family interaction styles that either facilitate or hinder moral development of adolescents in single-parent families is proposed.

In Type I, the adolescent is given much family responsibility and thus participates on a fairly equal level with the parent in the negotiations of family rules and family decisions. In this type, the adolescent has some

authority and power within the family. Value is placed on the development of autonomy and self-direction. There is more equality, reciprocity and mutual respect than in the following two types. This interaction style would, according to Piaget, be conducive to moral growth as he posited that moral growth can only occur with social equality and cessation of constraint from adult authority. Kohlberg posited that moral growth is stimulated by role-taking opportunities. It would follow that this style would provide role-taking opportunities for the adolescent. As the adolescent is given more responsibility, he or she is pushed to take the perspective of the parent or his or her siblings. This perspective taking will create the necessary disequilibrium which will stimulate growth. With this interactional pattern there would be exchange of perspectives, an atmosphere of support and the freedom to express one's ideas without fear of criticism or defensive reaction.

Type II is one where the parent may be overly strict or restrictive but makes few demands for mature behavior on the adolescent. The parent assumes all responsibility and as a consequence, the adolescent may display less mature behavior and even regression. The adolescent may have difficulty becoming autonomous and separating age appropriately from the parent. There is less reciprocity, less equality than in Type I, and there is unilateral respect. In this model the

parent makes all the decisions, excluding the adolescent. Value is placed on obedience and conformity. This style of interaction according to both Piaget and Kohlberg would not be conducive to moral growth as the adolescent is under the constraint of adult authority. There is no equality but rather unilateral respect for the parent on the part of the adolescent. The role-taking opportunities in this style of interaction may be few as the adolescent is not challenged or given responsibility or opportunity to take the perspective of others. Here autonomy is discouraged. According to Piaget, autonomy is a prerequisite to moral growth. Because there is unilateral and not mutual respect, the adolescent in this situation may not feel free to express his or her ideas or challenge those of the parent without fear of criticism and repercussions.

Type III is one where the parent is permissive and lax. The adolescent is not given more responsibility and few demands are made for mature behavior. The adolescent makes his or her own decisions without consulting the parent and likewise the parent makes his or her own decision without consulting the adolescent. The adolescent disengages and distances himself or herself from the parent resulting in an unsupervised adolescent who may engage in aggressive behaviors and decreased compliance with parental demands. Both Piaget and Kohlberg claimed that in order for moral growth to occur there must exist equality, mutual respect

and role-taking, and that the prerequisite for these conditions is participation in a group. The interaction patterns between the adolescent and the parent in this type are those where the family is not participating as a group but is disengaged. This interaction pattern cannot provide the necessary environment to facilitate moral growth. It is likely that as the adolescent refuses to comply with parental demands that there will follow little support, and much affective conflict which is negatively associated with moral development.

✓ Baumrind (1978) has theorized three different types of parenting styles; authoritarian, permissive and authoritative. Although her typology of parenting styles has influenced this proposed classification on single-parent family styles, there are fundamental differences between the two typologies. The proposed classification expands and modifies Baumrind's typology to emphasize the characteristic processes particular to single-parent families and also to incorporate cognitive developmental theory of moral development. Here, a major emphasis is on responsibility, which involves more than the extent to which a parent expects mature and responsible behavior from the adolescent. Responsibility here is referred to as the adolescent being held responsible in a type of partnership for the continued functioning of the household. He or she is not only responsible to and for himself or herself but to the family

and for the continued functioning of the family. Closely linked to this dimension of responsibility is Kohlberg's notion of perspective taking and role-taking opportunities. Because of this added responsibility, the adolescent is provided with role-taking opportunities and thus develops the ability to take another's perspective. The issue of responsibility is very pertinent and central in single-parent families.

Emphasis is also placed on support and the freedom to express one's ideas; behavior patterns that Powers (1982) posits stimulate moral development in adolescents. Here also, the issue of support goes beyond the degree to which a parent responds to the child's needs in an accepting and supportive manner. It expands to incorporate a sense of mutual respect, a sense that what is said by the adolescent and by the parent is respected as a valuable contribution. The consequence of this dimension is equity and reciprocity, necessary conditions for moral growth according to Piaget. He posited that it is only through increased social equality, mutual respect and cessation of constraint from adult authority that the child can grow morally.

This proposed classification further differs from Baumrind's typology on the basic assumption that these dimensions or behaviors, unlike Baumrind's, are not parental behaviors which have an effect upon the child but are recursive interaction patterns and family processes which occur between the adolescent and the parent.

The effects of family interaction on adolescent moral development has never been examined in single-parent families. The purpose of this study was to examine the patterns of interaction between the adolescent and his and her parent in single-parent families through direct observation of these families. These observations were used to identify the interaction patterns that facilitate or hinder moral development of adolescents in these families.

The present study investigated the following:

Hypothesis 1: Challenging, sharing and supportive family behaviors are positively related to moral development in adolescents in single-parent families. Cognitive developmental theory stresses the importance of role-taking opportunities in moral development. It is thought that the discussant's struggle to coordinate with another's reasoning with his or her own reasoning provides role-taking opportunities that facilitate moral growth. Challenging behaviors where the discussant critiques and explores differences in reasoning without causing undue defensiveness, are thought to be facilitative to moral development as they would allow the adolescent to function and interact on a more equal footing with the parent. Sharing behaviors allow the family members to clarify and voice different opinions and supportive behaviors have consistently been shown to facilitate moral development.

Hypothesis 2: Directive, informative, conflictual and affectively conflictual behaviors are negatively related to moral development in adolescents in single-parent families. It is thought that these behaviors which do not actively engage the participation of the other discussant do not facilitate moral development. Informative behaviors which consist, for the most part, of giving ones' opinion or giving orders may be perceived as lecturing, particularly as it is used by the parent. Directive behaviors organize and highlight issues in the discussion. This type of behavior may be useful with younger children but may be interpreted as too directive and controlling with adolescents. Conflictual and affectively conflictual behaviors have consistently been shown to hinder moral development.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Subjects

Subjects consisted of single parents and their adolescent child. These 44 subjects (22 families) were taken from a sample of 207 subjects from the Adolescent and Family Development Study of Harvard Medical School. The Adolescent and Family Development Study sample was composed of three groups: (1) psychiatrically hospitalized adolescents and their parents, (2) diabetic adolescents and their parents, (3) adolescents not diagnosed as patients of any kind and their parents. Only the non-patient adolescents and their parents were used for this present study. This sample consisted of 22 white parents and their 22 white children who were in the ninth grade of a suburban public high school at the time of the study. The mean age of the adolescents was 14.5 years. The length of time since the onset of separation or divorce averaged six years, and ranged from less than one year to 15 years. Forty-two percent of the families were Jewish, 29% Protestant, 14% Catholic and 14% had no religious affiliation. When the moral judgment scores of boys were compared to those of girls in the larger sample, no significant differences were found in the sample of 59 two-parent families (Powers 1982).

This sample was made up of 20 single-mother and two single-father families. I elected to retain these two father families in the sample because research comparing children

living in single-mother and single-father families found that children in single-father families did not differ significantly from children from single-mother families with respect to their self-perceptions regarding self-esteem, social competencies, and the frequency and severity of their reported behavior problems (Schnayer & Orr, 1989). Ambert (1982) and Lowenstein & Koopman (1978) suggest that the important and distinguishing factor may not be the sex of the parent but rather the psychological adjustment and the SES of the custodial parent.

The economic status of the sample was assessed according to the Hollingshead-Redlich scale, looking at level of education as well as occupation. Fifty percent of the fathers were in Class 1 and 50% were in Class 2. Of the mothers, 11% were in Class 1, 47% in Class 2 and 42% in Class 3.

Measures

The data consisted of Kohlberg's moral judgment interviews and family interaction sessions. Each subject was individually administered Kohlberg's moral judgment interview and was asked how best to solve three hypothetical moral dilemmas. The interviews were scored according to the Standard Form Manual (Colby, 1986) by two persons trained at the Center for Moral Education, Harvard University, and the individual's stage of moral reasoning was obtained. The mean moral judgment score was 4.36. Nine of the adolescents were

at the conventional stage and 13 were at the pre-conventional stage. These interviews were audiotaped and then transcribed. The dilemmas used in the moral judgment interviews can be found in the appendix.

Data for the family interaction sessions were obtained by bringing family members together after the administration of Kohlberg's interviews. The differences to their individual solutions to these dilemmas were revealed to the family and they were then asked to explain their individual positions and to come to a consensus that would represent the entire family. This was a version of Strodtbeck's (1951) Revealed Differences Procedure. These discussions were audiotaped, and transcribed. Four trained graduate students coded these data using the Developmental Environment Coding System (DECS) (Powers, 1982). At least one code was given to every speech, defined as all the words of a speaker from the time he or she started to the time he or she stopped speaking. Each speech was coded according to the eight categories of the DECS which designated the functional definition or the intended purpose of the speech. Each speech was also coded for its content. The three content categories are: (1) reasoning about a solution to the dilemma, (2) commenting about the nature of the task and, (3) the interpersonal process and individual behaviors. Finally, each speech was coded to indicate who spoke, to whom the speech was directed and to whom the speech

referred. The average number of speeches in a family session was 127 speeches.

The DECS assesses 24 different family behaviors, grouped into eight major categories, which reflect cognitively stimulating behaviors, cognitively inhibiting behaviors and affective support and conflict. See Table 4 on page 33. The eight major categories are: (1) focusing behaviors, (2) challenging others, (3) sharing perspectives, (4) distracting, (5) rejecting, (6) distortion, (7) support, and (8) affective conflict.

For this study, the DECS codes and their original descriptions were retained, but 23 of the 24 codes were regrouped into seven categories. Number 24, unclear /incomplete sentence was excluded. Conceptually, the original grouping did not capture the dynamics which I hypothesized occur in single-parent families. These groupings were formed conceptually and it was not expected that the codes within these groupings would necessarily correlate with one another. The category groupings were formed under the assumption that the behaviors or the codes within the categories may not occur together, as they perform the same function. Each family need not use more than one code within a category in order to perform that behavior. When correlations were done on all of the codes, with few exceptions, it was found that they were negatively though not significantly correlated with one another. See Table 5 on page 35. Interrater reliability was $r=.86$.

Table 4

Developmental Environment Coding System (DECS)

1. Focusing
 - Paraphrase
 - Comprehension Check
 - Intent for Closure
2. Challenging
 - Competitive Clarification
 - Critique
 - Competitive Request
 - Counter Consideration
 - Refinement/Concession
 - Competitive opinion/Information
 - Request for Change
 - Simple Disagreement
3. Sharing Perspectives
 - Opinion/Giving information
 - Clarification
 - Request
 - Simple agreement
4. Distracting
 - Distracting
5. Rejecting
 - Refusal to do request or task
 - Devalue/Quit task
6. Distortion
 - Distortion
7. Support
 - Encouragement/Listening
 - Non-Competitive Humor
8. Affective Conflict
 - Resist/Threaten
 - Hostility
9. No Category
 - Unclear/incomplete Sentence

Focusing-R behaviors include (1) drawing the attention of a participant to agreements or disagreements between the group, (2) paraphrasing or summing up a discussant's previously stated position (paraphrase), or (3) checking if one has been correctly understood by another speaker (comprehension check). These focusing speeches are non-competitive and are transactive. By transactive is meant that the discussant struggles with another's reasoning in coordination with his or her reasoning.

Challenging-R behaviors include (1) defining or refining one's own position against another's criticism (competitive clarification), (2) critiquing another's reasoning (critique), (3) requesting a change in another's reasoning or behavior (competitive request), or (4) highlighting a weakness in another's position (counter consideration). These speeches are competitive. By competitive is meant that the speaker rationally critiques or explores differences in reasoning without necessarily causing undue defensiveness. These codes are transactive.

Sharing-R behaviors include (1) stating, elaborating upon, clarifying one's own position, and justifying the psychological process which led to the solution to the dilemma (clarification), (2) requesting another's opinion or clarifying another's reasoning (request), (3) refining or changing one's opinion in response to another's position

Table 5

Developmental Environment Coding System (DECS) Revised

1. Focusing-R
 - Paraphrase
 - Comprehension Check
2. Challenging-R
 - Competitive Clarification
 - Critique
 - Competitive Request
 - Counter Consideration
3. Sharing-R
 - Refinement/Concession
 - Competitive Opinion/Information
 - Clarification
 - Request
 - Intent for Closure
4. Informative
 - Request for Change
 - Simple Disagreement
 - Simple Agreement
 - Opinion/Giving Information
5. Conflictual
 - Distracting
 - Refusal to do the Request or Task
6. Support-R
 - Encouragement/Listening
 - Non-Competitive Humor
7. Affective Conflict-R
 - Resist/Threaten
 - Hostility

(refinement/concession), (4) giving information or stating one's opinion that does not agree with the opinion of another (competitive opinion/information), or (5) appropriately attempting to bring the discussion to a close. These codes are thought to increase constructive controversy by clear expression of differences, and the synthesis of these differences. These codes are all transactive.

Informative behaviors include (1) requesting or ordering a change in another's behavior (request for change), (2) registering a simple disagreement with another (simple disagreement), (3) expressing simple agreement (simple agreement), or (4) giving information pertinent to the task (opinion/information giving). These codes are not transactive; the other's reasoning is not necessarily taken into account.

Support-R behaviors include (1) praising another's reasoning or behavior and encouraging another by indication that they are listening to the other's statement (encouragement/listening) or (2) non-competitive humor (non-competitive humor). All of these codes are non-competitive and non-transactive and all serve to support the participation of the other member.

Conflictual behaviors include (1) avoiding controversy by distracting the conversation from the task at hand (distracting), (2) showing a refusal to do the task (refusal to do the request or the task), (3) Undermining or devaluing

of the task or attempting to close the discussion before the different perspectives have been explored (devalue/quit task), or (4) inaccurately representing what another has said or inaccurately perceiving the nature of the task (distortion). These codes are conflictual and non-transactive. Conflictual codes are given to speeches which indicate a destructive level of defensiveness, hostility, attack or rejection.

Affective Conflict-R behaviors include (1) attempting to attack another's personality or reasoning, sarcastic remarks, hostile attempts at self-defense, undermining or devaluing another (hostility), or (2) threatening to punish, attempting to resist the participation of another (resist/threaten). All the codes are conflictual and non-transactive.

In looking at the relationship between adolescent moral judgment and family interaction in the larger psychiatric and non-psychiatric sample, Powers (1982) found that the originally defined categories challenging, sharing of perspectives and support were positively correlated with adolescent moral judgement. Only the category support reached significance ($r=.44$, $p<.0005$). The categories focusing, avoidance, rejection, distortion and affective conflict were negatively related to adolescent moral judgment. Only rejection reached significance ($r=.48$, $p<.0001$).

Using the revised version of the DECS Walker & Taylor (1991) found that the behaviors that were the best predictors of a child's moral judgment were the representational and supportive behaviors. See Table 6 on page 39.

Walker posits that the representational categories include behaviors which elicit the child's opinion, elaborates a view point by clarifying, paraphrasing and checking understanding.

Operational and informative behaviors predicted less moral development and cognitively interfering and conflictual behaviors predicted the least amount of moral development. In the informative style, the parent provides their own opinion. None of the informative codes are transactive. In the operational style, the child is directly challenged.

These findings using the same measure but different organization of the code categories yielded results that were similar and conflicting with one another. Powers' and Walker's studies found that moral development is facilitated by supportive behaviors such as, encouragement, listening responses and non-competitive humor, and hindered by affective conflict, distracting, rejecting and distorting behaviors. Excluding the support codes, Walker found that moral development was positively associated with transactive codes and less with non-transactive and challenging codes.

Table 6

Walker Revised Developmental Environments Coding
(DECS) System

1. Representational
 - Paraphrase
 - Comprehension Check
2. Support
 - Encouragement/Listening
3. Operational
 - Critique
 - Competitive Clarification
 - Competitive request
 - Refinement/Concession
 - Clarification
4. Informative
 - Opinion/Giving Information
 - Competitive opinion/Information
 - Simple Agreement
 - Simple Disagreement
 - Request for Change
 - Intent for Closure
5. Cognitive Interfering
 - Distracting
 - Refusal to do Request or Task
 - Devalue/Quit Task
 - Distortion
6. Conflictual
 - Resist/Threaten
 - Hostility

Powers, on the other hand, found a positive relationship with moral development and the challenging codes and the sharing codes which are non-transactive. She also found a negative correlation with codes in the focusing category. It may be that the differences found in these studies are due to the fact that Walker's sample was composed of children in four different grades, one, four, seven and ten and Powers' sample was composed of adolescents in the ninth grade. The interactions and family behaviors which facilitate or hinder moral development in adolescents aged 14 may be different from those that facilitate or hinder development in younger children. For instance, Walker found a less positive relationship with challenging codes while Powers found that challenging codes were positively related to moral development. It may be that younger children are more easily threatened by challenging behaviors from their parents and are affected adversely while older adolescents are less fearful of challenging and of being challenged.

This study investigated the following:

Hypothesis 1: The family interaction categories of Challenging-R, Sharing-R and Support-R will be positively related to moral development in adolescents in single-parent families.

Hypothesis 2: The family interaction categories Focusing-R, Informative, Conflictual and Affective Conflict-R will be negatively related to moral development in adolescents in single-parent families.

In addition to the hypotheses stated above, the relationship of moral development to family type was examined. Families were divided into types by the following criteria: (1) Type I families will exhibit high challenging behaviors in conjunction with high supportive behaviors, and high sharing behaviors. These adolescents will interact with their parent on a more equal level than adolescents in Type II, and will be less threatened by challenging behaviors. There will be high supportive behaviors as the adolescent in this family type may be expected to provide support and nurturance for the parent as well as receive support and nurturance from the parent. As a great deal of emphasis is placed on autonomy, there will be low focusing behaviors that direct the adolescent. There will be low informative behaviors that the adolescent may interpret as lecturing and low affective conflict and conflictual behaviors. It is expected that this family type will be positively correlated with adolescent moral development.

Type II families will exhibit high informative and high focusing behaviors. Parents in this type will tend to lecture more often and direct the adolescent, and the adolescent may pull for this behavior from the parent. There will be low challenging behaviors and those that do occur may be interpreted negatively by parents, as the emphasis in this family type is on obedience and conformity. There may

be very little or a great deal of support, sharing, conflictual behaviors and affective conflict. It is expected that this family type will be negatively related to adolescent moral development because autonomy and role-taking opportunities may not be provided.

Type III families will exhibit high challenging behaviors and low support. There will be low informative and low sharing behaviors, as the family members are disengaged and distant from one another. There may be high conflictual and high affective conflict behaviors as these adolescents may engage in aggressive behavior and may be less compliant to parental demands. It is expected that this family type will be negatively related to adolescent moral development.

Analyses

1. Preliminary analyses were done to ascertain the frequency and proportion of each category for each family and for each family member. The proportions were calculated by dividing the number of speeches in a category by the total number of speeches in the transcript. The total mean, of all of the families, for each category was found.
2. Cross-sectional, correlational analyses were done to summarize the relationship between the adolescent's moral judgment score and the total family interaction scores, parent scores and adolescent scores in the individual interaction categories and to identify the interaction categories most useful for predicting adolescent moral judgment score in the whole sample.

3. The families were categorized into one of three types if they were above or below the mean of the interaction categories most or least frequently used by that family type. There are five families in Type I, six in Type II, ten in Type III and one family did not fit into any of the three types.

4. A one-way Anova was done to examine the differences between the groups (family types). The adolescent's moral judgment score was the dependent variable and the family types was the independent variable.

5. Additional correlations were done to summarize the relationship between total family scores in the seven interaction categories and adolescent moral judgment within each family type.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Adolescent Moral Judgment Score and Interaction Categories

Hypothesis 1 stated that challenging, sharing and supportive behaviors are positively related to moral judgment scores in adolescents in single-parent families. Challenging behaviors are defined as behaviors in which one defends or refines his or her position against another's criticism, criticizes another's reasoning, requests that the other change his or her reasoning or highlights the weakness in another's position. Sharing behaviors are defined as behaviors in which one states, elaborates or clarifies his or her own position, requests another's opinion, refines or changes one's own opinion in response to another's position, gives information or an opinion that is not in agreement with the opinion of the other or appropriately attempts to bring the discussion to a close. Supportive behaviors are defined as behaviors in which one praises another's reasoning or behavior, encourages another or makes non-competitive jokes. In this study there were no significant correlations between these interaction categories and adolescent moral judgment scores. There was however, a strong trend for parental challenging behaviors and family challenging behaviors to be positively related to the adolescent moral judgment score. Family behaviors are the sum of adolescent and parental behaviors.

Hypothesis 2 stated that focusing, informative, conflictual and affective conflict behaviors are negatively related to adolescent moral judgment score in single parent families. Focusing behaviors are defined as behaviors in which one draws the attention of the other participant to agreements or disagreements between them, sums up previously stated positions or checks to see if one has clearly understood the other's position. Informative behaviors are defined as behaviors in which one orders a change in the other's behavior, expresses simple agreement or disagreement or gives information pertaining to the task. Conflictual behaviors are defined as behaviors in which one avoids controversy by distracting the other from the conversation at hand, shows refusal to do the task, devalues the task, attempts to inappropriately close the discussion or inaccurately represents what the other said. Affective conflict behaviors include behaviors in which one attacks the other's personality or reasoning, uses sarcastic remarks, or threatens to punish the other. In this study, however, there were no significant correlations between these categories and adolescent moral judgment score. See table 7 on page 46.

Relationship Among Interaction Categories

Since it was expected that supportive behaviors would modulate the challenging behaviors, it was surprising that there was a significant negative correlation between Support-

Table 7
Correlations Between Adolescent Moral Judgement and
Interaction Categories

	Adolescent Moral Score
Adolescent Focusing-R	-.09
Parental Focusing-R	-.24
Family Focusing-R	-.26
Adolescent Challenging-R	.34
Parental Challenging-R	.39 *
Family Challenging-R	.41 *
Adolescent Sharing-R	-.13
Parental Sharing-R	.04
Family Sharing-R	-.23
Adolescent Support-R	-.08
Parental Support-R	-.16
Family Support-R	-.16
Adolescent Informative	-.12
Parental Informative	-.20
Family Informative	-.18
Adolescent Conflictual	-.30
Parental Conflictual	.12
Family Conflictual	-.18
Adolescent Affect.Conflict-R	.08
Parental Affect.Conflict-R	-.28
Family Affect.Conflict-R	-.12

* $P < .10$

R and Challenging-R codes ((parental Challenging-R and family Support-R ($r = -.51, p < .05$), family Challenging-R and parental Support-R ($r = -.44, p < .05$), family Challenging-R and family Support-R ($r = -.48, p < .05$)). There was a strong positive trend between adolescent Support-R and Focusing-R codes. As expected, there was a significant negative correlation between the categories of Challenging-R and Informative ($r = -.60, p < .001$). (See Table 8). The categories of Sharing-R and Informative were also significantly negatively correlated ($r = -.57, p < .001$) ($r = -.54, p < .001$). Families engaged either in behaviors in which the parent told the adolescent what to do and the adolescent told the parent what to do (Informative) or engaged in more interactive behaviors in which both adolescent and parent discussed issues (Challenge-R). See table 8 on page 48.

Relationship Between Family Type and Adolescent Moral Development

Three single parent family types were proposed. It was hypothesized that family type 1 would exhibit high Challenging-R behaviors in conjunction with high Support-R and high Sharing-R behaviors. Family type 2 would exhibit high Informative behaviors, high Focusing-R and few Challenging-R behaviors. In family type 2 there may be high or low Sharing-R, Support-R, Conflictual or Affective Conflict-R. Family type 3 would exhibit high Challenge-R behaviors, few Support-R, few Informative, few Sharing-R and high Conflictual and Affective Conflict-R.

Table 8
Correlations Between Interaction Categories

	F O C U S			C H A L L		
	A	P	F	A	P	F
Focus A						
Focus P	.35					
Focus F	.66***	.93****				
Chall A	.11	-.05	-.06			
Chall P	-.26	-.07	-.20	.70****		
Chall F	-.16	-.05	-.11	.61***	.81****	
Share A	-.20	.14	.06	-.29	.01	-.16
Share P	.23	-.20	-.10	-.37	-.09	-.27
Share F	.02	.05	.11	-.42*	-.02	-.25
Supp A	.40	.01	.18	-.17	-.17	-.27
Supp P	-.28	.42	.22	.33	-.35	-.44**
Supp F	.19	.24	.28	-.33	-.49**	-.48**
Info A	.08	.12	.10	-.25	-.29	-.60***
Info P	.22	-.08	.04	-.23	-.57***	-.37
Info F	.17	.06	.10	-.31	-.52**	-.60***
Conf A	-.29	-.23	-.27	-.13	-.03	.03
Conf P	.08	-.00	.04	.18	.14	.31
Conf F	-.21	-.20	-.22	.02	.08	.25
Aconf A	-.02	-.17	-.12	.19	.02	.31
Aconf P	-.22	-.24	-.27	.07	-.09	.05
Aconf F	-.15	-.27	-.25	.19	-.04	.27

* Trend ** $p < .05$ *** $p < .01$ **** $p < .001$

Focus=Focusing-R

Chall=Challenging-R

Share=Sharing-R

Supp=Support-R

Info=Informative

Conf=Conflictual

AConf=Affective Conflict-R

A=Adolescent

P=Parental

F=Family

Continued Next Page

Table 8 Continued
Correlations Between Interaction Categories

	S H A R E			S U P P		
	A	P	F	A	P	F
Share A						
Share P	.05					
Share F	.64***	.10				
Supp A	-.15	.15	.14			
Supp P	-.20	-.41	-.21	-.03		
Supp F	-.24	-.10	.00	.83****	.53***	
Info A	-.57***	-.21	-.58***	-.11	.40	.13
Info P	-.32	-.32	-.07	-.14	-.09	-.17
Info F	-.54***	-.35	-.41	-.16	.21	-.02
Conf A	-.06	.17	.20	-.11	.02	-.09
Conf P	-.09	-.27	-.12	-.10	-.19	-.19
Conf F	-.12	-.05	.09	-.18	-.12	-.22
AConf A	.16	-.21	.11	.14	-.17	.03
AConf P	.06	.04	.09	-.18	-.02	-.17
AConf F	.16	-.18	.14	-.02	-.14	-.09
	I N F O			C O N F		
	A	P	F	A	P	F
Info A						
Info P	.30					
Info F	.83****	.78****				
Conf A	-.06	.10	-.01			
Conf P	-.10	.08	-.03	-.26		
Conf F	-.13	.14	-.03	.71****	.50**	
AConf A	-.31	-.03	-.21	.09	.03	.34
AConf P	-.31	-.01	-.22	.07	.00	.07
AConf F	-.42	-.04	-.31	.10	.27	.29
* Trend	** P < .05		*** P < .01	**** P < .001		

The relationship between family type and adolescent moral judgment score was examined. The mean moral stage score for the family types were: family type 1= 4.8, family type 2= 4.3 and family type 3= 4.2. A one-way Anova was done to examine the difference between the three family types. There were no significant differences in adolescent moral judgment score between the family types [$F(2,18)=.847$, $P=.45$]

It was hypothesized that family type 1 would exhibit high Challenging-R behaviors in conjunction with high Support-R and high Sharing-R behaviors. However, in the total group, Sharing-R and Challenging-R were positively correlated, but Support-R and Challenging-R were significantly negatively correlated. Support-R was more strongly related to the categories hypothesized to be the primary mode of interacting in family type 2; Informative and Focusing-R.

Additional correlations were done to summarize the relationship between total family scores in the seven categories and adolescent moral judgment score within each family type. In family type I there was a significant negative correlation between adolescent moral judgment score and the category family Informative ($r=-.88$, $p<.05$) and there was a negative trend between adolescent moral judgment score and the category Conflictual ($r=-.86$, $p=.06$). See tables 9 and 10 on page 52.

In family type 2 there was a positive trend between the category Challenging-R and adolescent moral judgment score ($r=.77$, $p<.10$)

In family type 3 there was a strong trend between the interaction category Challenging-R and adolescent moral judgment score ($r=.57$, $p<.10$). Contrary to expectations and contrary to the results in the total group which showed a significant positive correlation between the categories Sharing-R and Challenging-R, in family type 3, there was a significant positive relationship between categories Challenging-R and Focusing-R ($r=.69$, $p<.05$). There was a significant negative correlation between categories Sharing-R and Focusing-R ($r=-.65$, $p<.05$). See tables 11 and 12 on page 53.

While the Anova suggests that there are no significant differences between the three family types, the family type correlations suggest that Challenging-R behaviors, the predominant characteristic mode of interaction in family type 1, is positively related to adolescent moral judgement scores in family type 2 and that Informative behaviors, the predominant characteristic mode of interaction in family type 2, is negatively related to adolescent moral judgement scores in family type 1. It may be that an N of 21 was not large enough to detect the differences between these groups.

Table 9

Correlations Between Adolescent Moral Judgement Score
and Family Interaction Categories in Family Type 1

Adolescent Moral Score	
Fam.Focusing-R	-.35
Fam.Challenging-R	.25
Fam.Sharing-R	.14
Fam.Support-R	-.14
Fam.Informative	-.88**
Fam.Conflictual	-.86*
Fam.A.Conflict-R	.0

Table 10

Correlations Between Adolescent Moral Judgement
Score and Family Interaction Categories in Family Type 2

Adolescent Moral Score	
Fam.Focusing-R	-.21
Fam.Challenging-R	.77*
Fam.Sharing-R	-.38
Fam.Support-R	-.36
Fam.Informative	-.20
Fam.Conflictual	-.57
Fam.A.Conflict-R	-.35
* P < .10 ** P < .05 Fam=Family	

Table 11

Correlations Between Adolescent Moral Judgement Score
and Family Interaction Categories In Family Type 3

	Adolescent Moral Score
Fam.Focusing-R	.09
Fam.Challenging-R	.57*
Fam.Sharing-R	-.08
Fam.Support-R	-.16
Fam.Informative	-.27
Fam.Conflictual	.30
Fam.A.Conflict-R	-.14

Table 12

Correlations Between Focusing-R and Family Interaction
Categories in Family Type 3

	Focusing-R
Fam.Challenging-R	.69**
Fam.Sharing-R	-.65**
Fam.Support-R	.54
Fam.Informative	.14
Fam.Conflictual	-.22
Fam.A.Conflict-R	.06
* P < .10 ** P < .05 Fam=Family	

Group Differences

Because some of the categories did not correlate as was expected and there were few significant correlations and strong trends when examining the conceptually derived family types, the sample was divided into two groups in order to get a clearer indication of the characteristic mode of interaction in families with adolescents with higher moral scores and those with lower moral scores. Group 1 was composed of subjects with moral stage scores 3 and 3-4 and Group 2 was composed of subjects with moral stage scores 2 and 2-3. The mean coded stage score in Group 1 was 5.2 and the mean score for Group 2 was 3.692. See table 13 for stage and coded stage scores. See table 13 on page 55. There were nine subjects in group 1 and 13 subjects in group 2. Category means were calculated. See table 14 on page 57.

Anovas were done to determine the difference between the two groups within each category. There was a significant difference between the two groups in Challenging-R behaviors [$F(1,20)=6.546, p=.02$]. Group 1, the higher score group, engaged in significantly more Challenging-R behaviors than did Group 2, the lower score group. The category Informative approached significance [$F(1,20)=3.659, p=.07$]. The families in Group 2 engaged in more Informative behaviors than did the families in Group 1. The other categories did not reach significance. See table 15 on page 58.

Because different behaviors and interactions may facilitate or hinder moral development at different moral

Table 13
Stage and Coded Stage Scores

Stage	Coded Stage
5	9
4-5	8
4	7
3-4	6
3	5
2-3	4
2	3
1-2	2
1	1

levels correlational analyses were done to examine the relationship between adolescent moral judgment score and the categories within each group. For the higher group there was a significant positive correlation between parental Support-R and adolescent moral judgment score ($r=.76$, $p<.05$). There was a strong positive trend between parental Focusing-R and adolescent moral judgment score ($r=.64$, $p=.065$). This was surprising because it was hypothesized that Focusing-R behaviors would be negatively related to moral development. Also in the total group Challenging-R, a behavior which was positively related to adolescent moral judgment scores, was negatively related to Support-R.

For the lower group there were no significant correlations between any category and adolescent moral judgment score. There was a strong negative trend between adolescent moral judgment score and parental Affective Conflict-R ($r=-.53$, $p=.066$). See table 16 on page 60.

Gender Differences

In order to determine the relationship of gender to adolescent moral judgment score and the relationship of mother/daughter interaction to mother/son interaction the sample was divided by gender. There were 12 adolescent female subjects and 10 adolescent male subjects. The mean moral score for females was 4.5 and the mean moral score for males was 4.1. The category means for each group were calculated. See table 17 on page 61.

Table 14
 Category Means for Group 1 and Group 2
 and Differences Between Groups

	Higher	Lower	
	Group 1	Group 2	F-Ratio
Focusing-R	.0336	.0453	0.812
Challenging-R	.1820	.1212	6.546**
Sharing-R	.3318	.3387	0.049
Support-R	.0792	.1023	0.663
Informative	.3895	.4601	3.659*
Conflictual	.0061	.0116	1.567
Affective Conf.-R	.0256	.0236	0.023

* $P < .10$

** $P < .05$

Table 15
Correlations Between Adolescent Moral
Judgement Score and Interaction Categories
in Higher Group (Stage 3 to 3-4)

	Adolescent Moral Score
Focus A	.15
Focus P	.64*
Focus F	.52
Chall A	.08
Chall P	-.42
Chall F	-.34
Share A	-.21
Share P	-.21
Share F	-.37
Supp A	.10
Supp P	.76**
Supp F	.51
Info A	.06
Info P	.25
Info F	.21
Conf A	-.32
Conf P	-.10
Conf F	-.27
AConf A	-.35
AConf P	-.12
AConf F	-.33

* $P < .10$

** $P < .05$

Focus=Focusing-R

Chall=Challenging-R

Share=Sharing-R

Supp=Support-R

Info=Informative

Conf=Conflictual

AConf=Affective Conflict-R

An Anova was done which suggested no significant differences in adolescent moral judgment score between the female and male group, $[F(1,20)=1.098, p=.31]$.

Anovas were done, using the adolescent interaction scores, to determine the difference between the female and male groups within each category. There were no significant differences.

In order to compare mother/daughter interaction to mother/son interaction two subjects in the male group were removed because they had fathers as parents. The mean female score remained 4.5 and the mean male score was 3.875. Category means were calculated. See table 18 on page 63.

An anova was done and the results suggest no significant differences in moral judgment score between the groups mother/daughter and mother/son, $[F(1,19)=2.842, p=0.109]$. Anovas were done using family interaction scores to determine the differences between the mother/daughter group and the mother/son group within each category. The results suggest no significant differences between the two groups. However, the category Informative approached significance; $[F(1,19)=3.987, p=.061]$. Mothers and sons engaged in more Informative interactions than did mothers and daughters. The mean number of mother/daughter Informative interactions was .4127 and the mean number of mother/son Informative interactions was .4862. This trend was not seen when the female and entire male group were compared.

Table 16
Correlations Between Adolescent Moral Judgment Score
and Interaction Categories in Lower Group
(Stage 2 to 2-3)

	Adolescent Moral Score
Focus A	.15
Focus P	-.37
Focus F	-.22
Chall A	.12
Chall P	-.03
Chall F	.05
Share A	-.29
Share P	.23
Share F	-.05
Supp A	.21
Supp P	-.29
Supp F	.03
Info A	.08
Info P	.21
Info F	.19
Conf A	.11
Conf P	.19
Conf F	.23
AConf A	.05
AConf P	-.53*
AConf F	-.37

* $P < .10$

Focus=Focusing-R

Chall=Challenging-R

Share=Sharing-R

Supp=Support-R

Info=Informative

Conf=Conflictual

AConf=Affective Conflict-R

Table 17
Category Means for Females and All Males

	Females	Males
Focusing-R	.0355	.0466
Challenging-R	.1616	.1275
Sharing-R	.3387	.3325
Support-R	.0780	.1106
Informative	.4127	.4534
Conflictual	.0075	.0093
Affective Conf.-R	.0224	.0257

Correlational analyses were done to examine the relationship between these categories and adolescent moral scores in each group. In the female group there was a positive trend between Challenging-R and adolescent moral judgement score ($r=.52$, $p=.09$) and a negative trend between conflictual and adolescent moral judgment score ($r=-.57$, $p=.053$). See table 19 on page 64.

There were no significant correlations between adolescent moral judgment score and the interaction categories in the male group and the mother/son group.

Table 18
 Category Means for Females and Males with
 Mothers as Parents

	Females	Males
Focusing-R	.0355	.0413
Challenging-R	.1616	.1301
Sharing-R	.3387	.3144
Support-R	.0780	.0829
Informative	.4127	.4862
Conflictual	.0075	.0110
Affective Conf.R	.0224	.0310

Table 19
Correlations Between Adolescent Moral
Judgment Score and the Interaction Categories in
Female and in Mother/Daughter Interaction

Adolescent Moral Score	
<hr/>	
Focusing-R	-.48
Challenging-R	.52*
Sharing-R	-.39
Support-R	-.41
Informative-R	-.07
Conflictual	-.57*
Affective Conf.-R	.09

* $P < .10$

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Adolescent Moral Score and Interaction Categories

This present study found no significant associations between moral judgment scores and family interaction in the total group. There was however a positive trend between challenging behaviors and adolescent moral judgment scores, which was seen when the total group was examined, when the group was divided by gender and in family type 2, . There may be a facilitating effect on moral development when parents characteristically initiate challenging interactions with their adolescents. Or it may be that when adolescents reach a particular level of moral development, they pull such interactions from their parent. Such interactions include defending or refining one's own position against another's criticism, critiquing another's reasoning, requesting a change in another's reasoning or behavior, and highlighting a weakness in another's position.

Contrary to expectations, supportive behaviors (e.g. praising another, or encouraging another by listening or non-competitive humor) were negatively correlated with challenging behaviors in the total group. It was hypothesized that type 1 families would engage in more Challenging-R interactions in conjunction with Support-R interactions. It has been hypothesized that the supportive behaviors would serve to encourage and to modulate the competitive aspects of challenging behaviors,

but in this sample, families who engaged in challenging behaviors tended not to engage in supportive behaviors. It may be that the supportive behaviors discouraged transactive and competitive interactions between family members because they suggested that the parent or adolescent was unable to tolerate differences in opinion or they may have suggested appeasement, denial, or disinterest. Interaction research suggests that supportive behaviors are important in moral development in two-parent families (Powers 1982). Support-R interactions however, may have a different function in single-parent families than in two-parent families. In two-parent families, one parent can challenge the adolescent, while the other supports the adolescent; in one-parent families, the single-parent can hardly play both roles at once.

In this study, Support-R was consistently positively correlated with Focusing-R which includes behaviors such as drawing the attention of a participant to agreements or disagreements between group members, paraphrasing or summing up a discussant's previously stated position or checking to see if one has been correctly understood by another speaker. Like challenging behaviors, focusing behaviors are transactive because the discussant struggles with another's reasoning in coordination with his or her reasoning, and unlike challenging, they are non-competitive because there is no critiquing or exploration of differences in reasoning.

In this sample, adolescents and parents who engaged in directing behaviors (Focusing-R) also engaged in supportive behaviors (Support-R).

When the sample was divided into family types there was a significant negative relationship between Informative interactions and adolescent moral judgment score and a strong negative relationship between conflictual interactions and adolescent moral judgment score in family type 1.

Family Types

No significant differences were found among the three family types. This finding may be due to the small N and also to the fact that the interaction categories did not correlate.

Interestingly and contrary to the findings in the total group, Challenging-R and Focusing-R were positively correlated in family type 3. It may be that while the process, Challenging-R behaviors, is the same for all the families, the content or subject of these interactions may be different in different family types. While some family types engage in Challenging-R behaviors, such as critique, to clarify and justify their own positions or to give information and express and synthesize differences, family type 3 may have use Challenging-R behaviors to focus or redirect attention to the task at hand. Parents may have had to constantly redirect the adolescent back to the task by

perhaps criticizing them. There may have been interactions or sharing as regards the task but not as regards ones' reasoning.

Group Differences

When the sample was divided into two groups, Group 1, the higher moral score group and Group 2, the lower moral score group, it was found that Group 1 engaged in significantly more challenging behaviors than did Group 2. Although Group 1 engaged in more challenging interactions, the category Challenging-R did not correlate significantly with adolescent moral judgment score. Within group 1 parental Support-R and parental Focusing-R were significantly positively correlated with adolescent moral judgment score. Group 2, however, engaged in more focusing and supportive behaviors than did Group 1. There was a strong negative trend between the category parental Affective Conflict-R and adolescent moral judgment score in group 2. Only the behaviors initiated by the parents correlated strongly with adolescent moral judgment scores. These results suggest that different kinds of family interactions may be important at different moral stages.

The conventional level is characterized by conformity to authority and identification and maintenance of prevailing law. Adolescents in Group 1, who are at the conventional stage, may benefit more from paraphrasing, comprehension checks, praising and encouragement and non-competitive humor

from their parent. At this level consequences become secondary to meeting the expectations of family and society.

Adolescents in Group 2, at the pre-conventional stage, may be hindered most from attacks on their personalities, sarcastic remarks, hostility and threats of punishment from their parent. The pre-conventional level is characterized by the understanding of morality as obeying the law with the emphasis on obedience and punishment.

Speicher-Dubin (1982) has pointed out that parental support may facilitate the transition from pre-conventional to conventional reasoning because support from a parent may strengthen the value of being a member of the group and also strengthen family relationships. A possible explanation for more supportive behaviors in the pre-conventional group, in this study, may be, as Speicher-Dubin suggests, that families engage in more supportive behaviors in order to facilitate the adolescent's transition from the pre-conventional stage into the conventional stage. It may be that while supportive behaviors remain very important in moral development, once the adolescent is at the conventional stage, supportive interactions can decrease and other interactions such as challenging interactions can begin in order that new abilities such as role taking and the new found "equality" with the parent can be exercised. This shift was seen in this study. Families of adolescents in the conventional stage engaged in more challenging

behaviors but supportive behaviors were, significantly related to adolescent moral development scores.

Informative behaviors approached significance and the pre-conventional group engaged in more of these behaviors than did the conventional group. Informational behaviors are not transactive or competitive and include behaviors such as ordering a change in someone's behavior, registering simple agreement or disagreement and giving information pertinent to the task. While families in Group 2 also engaged in more supportive and focusing behaviors than did the conventional group there was no significant relationship between these two categories and adolescent moral judgment scores within Group 2. It may be that although the parent may have engaged in these behaviors, they had limited usefulness to the adolescent at the pre-conventional level in comparison to informative behaviors which may have been more useful. Pre-conventional adolescents are not trying to conform to authority, and are better able to understand the world in terms of reward and punishment. They have not yet developed an equality of sorts with the parent or the ability to take on the perspective of others.

Because patterns of communication are recursive, it may be that parents initiate interactions in response to their adolescent's cues, which are dictated by the level of the adolescent's development. Parents of adolescents at the conventional stage need not use threats of punishment or

hostility (Affective Conflict-R) with their adolescent, as the adolescent is oriented toward approval and the pleasing of others and pulls, with the right behaviors, for praise and encouragement from the parent (Support-R). Instead of giving orders (Informative) or issuing threats of punishment parents are able to "control" such adolescents with directive behaviors (Focusing-R). The adolescent also pulls for more challenging interactions in order to exercise new abilities. The same may be true of the adolescent at the pre-conventional stage who pulls for a certain amount of support (Support-R) to facilitate his or her transition but also pulls for interactions that will accommodate his or her present stage of development (Informative).

As adolescents move from one level to another, do family interactions change to accommodate that level or do parental behaviors precipitate or precede the changes in the adolescent? Further research using longitudinal studies may allow us to test this notion.

The results of the present study parallel in some respects those of Powers (1982), whose sample was composed of adolescents from two-parent families. Powers found that the categories Challenging, Sharing of Perspectives and Support were positively correlated with adolescent's moral scores and Focusing was negatively correlated with adolescent moral score. The revised DECS categories Challenging-R and Sharing-R correspond with Powers'

Challenging category with the exceptions of the codes of simple disagreement, clarification, and intent for closure.

However unlike Powers, Focusing was strongly positively related to adolescent moral judgment scores in Group 1, the higher moral score group. The present findings are more consistent with those of Walker and Taylor (1991) whose sample was composed of children from two-parent families from ages 6 to 16. They found that the categories that best predicted moral development was Representational (which corresponds with the category Focusing-R) and Support (which corresponds with the category Support-R). The majority of the children in Walker's sample were younger than those in Powers' and this present sample.

The majority of the children in Walker's sample may have been at the pre-conventional stage given their ages. The adolescents in this present study and that of Powers' were in grade 9 (age 14-15). Fifty-nine percent of the subjects in this present sample were at the pre-conventional stage while only 31% of the adolescents in Powers' non-psychiatric sample were at the pre-conventional stage. As suggested previously, it may be that different kinds of family interactions are important at different levels of moral development. It is not clear at this time why these present findings corresponded more closely with those of Walker than with those of Powers. One would expect that these findings

would be more consistent with those of Powers since the subjects were of the same age and Powers' sample was mainly composed of conventional level adolescents like the adolescents in Group 1 of this study.

It is interesting that moral score differs to this extent between adolescents from two parent and single-parent families even when sex, religion, race and parental education have been controlled. Further research is necessary in order to understand the impact of the single parent environment on social cognitive development. We need to examine the factors that may contribute to the differences between these two groups and perhaps shed some light on the possible significance of these results.

Gender Differences

No significant gender differences in moral judgment scores were found, consistent with the findings of Holstein (1969), Parikh (1975), Powers (1982) and Speicher-Dubin (1982).

Powers (1982) found that mothers used significantly more rejection (Conflictual) and Sharing (Informative) with boys than with girls. In this study, no significant differences were found between mother/daughter and mother/son interactions, but mothers did engage in more Informative interactions with sons than with daughters.

This study was the first attempt to examine the effects of family interaction on adolescent moral development in

single-parent families. It was hoped that through direct observations of these families, we could identify the interaction patterns that either facilitate or hinder moral development in single-parent families. Although this study was limited because of its small sample of 22 and the study of family types was inconclusive because the categories did not correlate, the study did point out that adolescents at different stages of moral development may require different types of family interactions. These findings also point out the need for further longitudinal research to determine if and how these interactions change over time.

These findings also indicate the importance of continued exploration of the social environment in single parent families and its effect on social cognitive development in adolescents. Why do 59% of adolescents from single-parent families (taken from a larger sample which included adolescents from single and two parent families) score at a pre-conventional level while only 31% of adolescents from two parent families score at the pre-conventional level?

APPENDIX

MORAL JUDGMENT INTERVIEWS

Form A

Dilemma III: 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 10 times what the drug cost him to make. He paid \$200 for the radium and charged \$2,000 for a small dose of the drug. The sick woman's husband, Heinz, went to everyone he knew to borrow money and tried every legal means, but he could only get together about \$1,000, which was half of what it cost. He told the druggist that his wife was dying, and asked him to sell it cheaper or to let him pay later. But the 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?

1a. Why or why not?

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

2a. Why is it right or wrong?

3. Does Heinz have a duty or obligation to steal the drug?

3a. Why or why not?

4. If Heinz doesn't love his wife, should he steal the drug for her?

(If the subject favors not stealing, ask: Does it make a difference in what Heinz should do whether or not he loves his wife?)

4a. Why or why not?

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

5a. Why or why not?

6. (If the subject favors stealing the drug for a stranger)

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

6a. Why or why not?

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

7a. Why or why not?

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

8a. Why or why not?

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

9a. Why or why not?

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

10a. Why?

Continued Next Page

Dilemma III: Heinz did break into the store. He stole the drug and gave it to his wife. In the newspaper the next day, there was an account of the robbery. Mr. Brown, a police officer who knew Heinz, read the account. He remembered seeing Heinz running away from the store and realized that it was Heinz who stole the drug. Mr. Brown wonders whether he should report that it was Heinz who stole the drug.

1. Should officer Brown report Heinz for stealing?
- 1a. Why or why not?
2. Suppose officer Brown was a close friend of Heinz, should he then report him?
- 2a. Why or why not?
3. Should the judge give Heinz some sentence, or should he suspend the sentence and let Heinz go free?
- 3a. Why is that best?
4. Thinking in terms of society, should people who break the law be punished?
- 4a. Why or why not?
5. Heinz was doing what his conscience told him when he stole the drug. Should a law breaker be punished if he is acting out of conscience?
- 5a. Why or why not?
6. Thinking back over the dilemma, what would you say is the most responsible thing for the judge to do?
- 6a. Why?

Dilemma 1: Joe is a 14 year-old boy who wanted to go to camp very much. His father promised him he could go if he saved up the money for it himself. So Joe worked hard at his paper route and saved up the \$40.00 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 to a special fishing trip, and Joe's father was short of the money that it would cost. So 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?
- 1a. Why or why not?
2. Does the father have the right to tell Joe to give him the money?
- 2a. Why or why not?
3. Does giving the money have anything to do with being a good son?
- 3a. Why or why not?
4. Is the fact that Joe earned the money himself important in this situation?
- 4a. 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 this situation?

Continued Next Page

Appendix Continued

- 5a. Why or why not?
- 6. In general, why 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?
- 7a. 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?
- 8a. Why is that the most important thing?
- 9. In general, what should be the authority of a father over his son?
- 9a. Why?
- 10. What do you think is the most important thing a son should be concerned about in his relationship to his father?
- 10a. Why is that the most important thing?
- 11. In thinking back over the dilemma, what would you say is the most responsible thing for Joe to do in this situation?
- 11a. Why?

Form B

Dilemma II: Judy was a 12 year-old girl. Her mother promised her that she could go to a special rock concert coming to their home town if she saved up from her babysitting and lunch money to buy a ticket to the concert. She managed to save up the \$15.00 the ticket cost plus another \$5.00. But her mother changed her mind and told Judy that she had to spend the money on new clothes for school. Judy was disappointed and decided to go to the concert anyway. She bought a ticket and told her mother that she had only been able to save \$5.00. That Saturday she went to the performance and told her mother that she was spending the day with a friend. A week passed without her mother finding out. Judy then told her older sister, Louise, that she has gone to the performance and had lied to her mother about it. Louise wonders whether to tell her mother what Judy did.

- 1. Should Louise, the older sister, tell the mother that Judy lied about the money or should she keep quiet?
- 1a. Why?
- 2. In wondering whether to tell, Louise thinks of the fact that Judy is her sister. Should that make a difference in Louise's decision?
- 2a. Why or why not?
- 3. Does telling have anything to do with being a good daughter?
- 3a. Why or why not?
- 4. Is the fact that Judy earned the money herself important in this situation?
- 4a. Why or why not?
- 5. The mother promised Judy she could go to the concert if she earned the money. Is the fact that the mother promised the most important thing in the situation?
- 5a. Why or why not?

Continue Next Page

Appendix Continued

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?
- 7a. Why or why not?
8. What do you think is the most important thing a mother should be concerned about in relationship to her daughter?
- 8a. Why is that the most important thing?
9. In general, what would be the authority of a mother over her daughter?
- 9a. Why?
10. What do you think is the most important thing a daughter should be concerned about in her relationship to her mother?
- 10a. Why is that the most important thing?
11. In thinking back over the dilemma, what would you say is the most responsible thing for Louise to do in this situation?
- 11a. Why?

Form C

Dilemma V: In Korea, a company of marines was way outnumbered and was retreating before the enemy. The company had crossed a bridge over a river, but the enemy was mostly still on the other side. If someone went back to the bridge and blew it up, with the head start the rest of the men in the company would have, they could probably then escape. But the man who stayed back to blow up the bridge would not be able to escape alive. The captain himself is the man who knows best how to lead the retreat. He asks for volunteers, but no one will volunteer. If he goes himself, the men will probably not get back safely and he is the only one who knows how to lead the retreat.

1. Should the captain order a man to go on the mission or should he go himself?
- 1a. Why?
2. Should the captain send a man (or even use a lottery) when it means sending him to his death?
- 2a. Why or why not?
3. Should the captain go himself when it means that the men will probably not make it back safely?
- 3a. Why or why not?
4. Does the captain have the right to order a man if he thinks it's best?
- 4a. Why or why not?
5. Does the man who is selected have a duty or obligation to go?
- 5a. Why or why not?
6. What's so important about human life that makes it important to save or protect?
- 6a. Why is that important?
- 6b. How does that apply to what the captain should do?
7. In thinking back over the dilemma, what would you say is the most responsible thing for the captain to do?

Continue Next Page

Appendix Continued

7a. Why?

Dilemma VIII: In a country in Europe, a poor man named Valjean could find no work, nor could his sister and brother. Without money, he stole food and medicine that they needed. He was captured and sentenced to prison for six years. After a couple of years, he escaped from the prison and went to live in another part of the country under a new name. He saved money and slowly built a factory. He gave his workers the highest wages and used most of his profits to build a hospital for people who couldn't afford good medical care. Twenty years had passed when a tailor recognized the factory owner as being Valjean, the escaped convict whom the police had been looking for back in his home town.

1. Should the tailor report Valjean to the police?

1a. Why or why not?

2. Does a citizen have a duty or obligation to report an escaped convict?

2a. Why or why not?

3. Suppose Valjean was a close friend of the tailor. Should he then report Valjean?

3a. Why or why not?

4. If Valjean was reported and brought before the judge, should the judge send him back to jail or let him go free?

4a. Why?

5. Thinking in terms of society, should people who break the law be punished?

5a. Why or why not?

6. Valjean was doing what his conscience told him to do when he stole the food and medicine. Should a law breaker be punished if he is acting out of conscience?

6a. Why or why not?

7. In thinking over the dilemma, what would you say is the most responsible thing for the tailor to do?

7a. Why?

Dilemma VII: Two young men, brothers, had got into serious trouble. They were secretly leaving town in a hurry and needed money. Karl, the older one, broke into a store and stole \$1,000. Bob, the younger one, went to a retired old man who was known to help people in town. He told the man that he was very sick and that he needed \$1,000 to pay for an operation. Bob asked the old man to lend him the money and promised that he would pay him back when he recovered. Really, Bob wasn't sick at all, and had no intention of paying the man back. Although the old man didn't know Bob well, he lent him the money. So Bob and Karl skipped town, each with \$1,000.

1. Which is worst, stealing like Karl or cheating like Bob?

1a. Why is that worst?

2. What do you think is the worst thing about cheating the old man?

2a. Why is that the worst thing?

3. In general, why should a promise be kept?

Continued Next Page

Appendix Continued

4. Is it important to keep a promise to someone you don't know well or will never see again?
- 4a. Why or why not?
5. Why shouldn't someone steal from a store?
6. What is the value or importance of property rights?
7. Should people do everything they can to obey the law?
- 7a. Why or why not?
8. Was the old man being irresponsible by lending Bob the money?
- 8a. Why or why not?

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