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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE MORAL JUDGEMENT OF FATHER ABSENT BOYS

by



Mohamed Bekkari

A THESIS

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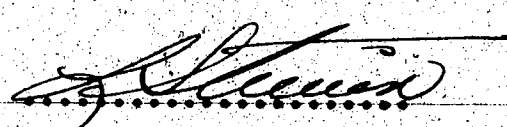
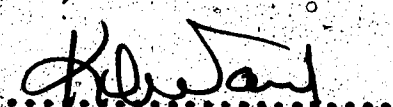
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Date: December 17, 1982
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To
Faeza
my wife
and to
my son
Zaki Isma'il
for
their
help,
encouragement
and
patience

ABSTRACT

The primary intent of this study was to see if father-absent boys differ from two-parent family boys in terms of moral judgement; in particular, critical variables like education were considered of central importance since they relate most directly to recent conceptualizations of father absence and moral development. Herzog and Sudia's 1970 review of research on father-absence, and Piaget's 1932 two-stage formulation of moral judgement were chosen as the basic frameworks for this study. Two groups of Ss were selected to take part in this study, a group of father-absent boys and a group of two-parent family boys. A multiple regression analysis and analyses of variance of the data from Medinnus Moral Development Questionnaire revealed lack of significant differences due to father-absence per se. However, when educational level is combined with family status, father-absent boys with below grade level education achieved significantly lower moral stage development than two-parent family boys with above grade level education. In addition, when particular moral judgement indexes are considered, intention discriminated significantly between the two groups of boys. Interpretation of these findings and recommendations for future research on father-absence were made.

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CHAPTER I

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

Over one million children in Canada live in one parent families headed in most cases by the mother (One Parent Families Association of Canada - (1981)). Of the assumed deleterious effects associated with father absence, moral development received relatively little attention. Therefore the picture remains unclear. The primary intent of this study is to reveal the effects the absence of a father has on the moral development of boys, specifically to compare the moral development of father present (FP) and father absent (FA) boys on the Medinnus Moral Development Questionnaire MDQ (Appendix A).

The review of the literature on the nature of moral judgement will be presented first, followed by a discussion of the issue of father's absence.

NATURE OF MORALITY

Philosophical Views

Morality (from mores, Latin for customs) refers to particular rules of conduct or ideals of the "right" human

conduct. Morality consists of presumed universal principles of conduct which distinguish between proper and improper actions.

In the past, religion has been the traditional agent in promoting morality. A close relationship between morality and theology existed until the end of the XIXth century when Durkheim and other proponents of the French sociological school attacked it vehemently. Moral systems were considered to be pre-scientific because they are closely tied to such theological concepts as paradise, hellfire and hereafter, concepts which are outside the realm of daily life. However this accusation was easily refuted because both in the case of rationalists like Kant (†1804) and the proponents of the school of the moral sense like Shaftesbury (†1713) and Hutcheson (†1747) this relationship was irrelevant to their moral theories.

Philosophy has also been an important agent in promoting morality. Basically, two major conceptions of morality could be identified. The position of idealists is normative in nature and specifies two basic conditions of moral responsibility (i) understanding of moral principles, and (ii) freedom of action. The position of positivists looks at human conduct as it exists and not as it ought to be, and accepts the theory of moral relativity.

These two positions of philosophers represent extreme views of morality. Taking into account both positions is necessary for a realistic view of morality. The approach of morality should be both theoretical and practical. However, it seems that moral philosophy cannot reach its goals in everyday life unless conduct is guided by theoretical principles which clarify man's ultimate goals in life so that he can act accordingly.

Morality in Psychology

Psychology also concerned itself with morality like philosophy. Apart from short periods of time when morality was not in fashion, most of the time morality was an important field of psychological investigation. Today, the interest in morality is best attested to in the 1972 bibliography of the Association for Values Education of the University of British Columbia which contained over one thousand books and articles. According to Jeffreys (1968):

(..The social issues) "...are fundamentally moral problems - and moral problems of which we can for the most part see no clear solution. (pp. 40)".

Morality in Developmental Psychology

The question of morality occupies a central position in the field of developmental psychology. Considerable interest has been shown by psychologists in morality

considered as a critical factor in socialization. For Piaget (1932), all morality consists in a system of rules, and the essence of morality is to be sought in the respect which the individual acquires for these rules. Prior to Piaget, McDougall (1908) believed that the fundamental problem of social psychology is the moralisation of the individual by society. Freud (1936) portrays the individual's superego or conscience, as an autonomous internalized representation of prohibitions and punishments formerly present in the parent's behavior. Allport (1955) postulates the insights of moral maturity as growing from the rudimentary ethical attitudes of the child in three stages. The first, through identification, external sanctions give way to internal ones. The second occurs when experiences of prohibition, fear and "must" give way to experiences of self-respect and "ought". Lastly, specific habits of obedience give way to generic self guidance. With the advent of the social learning theories, Eysenck (1961) postulates that moral judgement is based upon "conscience" which he describes as a conditioned response built up during the child's formative years by the pairing of conditioned stimuli (for example, aggressive actions) and unconditioned stimuli (such as, punishment), or more explicitly a conditioned avoidance reaction to certain classes of acts or situations.

Moral Judgement as Conceived by Piaget - Antecedents

Moral judgement represents the cognitive component of morality. This study is concerned primarily with this aspect of morality as expounded by Piaget in his 1932 seminal work "The Moral Judgement of the Child".

Piaget establishes his views on morality at the conjunction of Durkheim (1924). He believes that this conjunction is as important one because it is at the cross-road of two basic approaches to moral thought: the sociological approach and the psychological approach.

Durkheim (1883, 1924) considers morality imposed by the group upon the individual and by the adult upon the child. Morality is born of religion and more precisely elementary religion:

Just as the sacred is what inspires both a respectful fear and a feeling of attraction, so do moral conceptions present two irreducible but inseparable aspects - obligation and duty on the one hand, and on the other the sense of the good or of a desirable ideal. (In Piaget, 1977, pp. 330).

However, Durkheim reduces everything to society and according to him, society itself, like the sacred, is also at once imperative and desirable. Society is raised to an absolute and the sacred is only a reflection of society.

For Piaget, the fundamental difficulty of Durkheimism is:

..its illegitimate identification of constraint and cooperation. This means, in the moral sphere that the identification of good and duty is pushed too far and, what is worse, morality is made subservient to social conformity. (Piaget, 1977, pp. 340).

The other theory, which appears to exert a great influence on Piaget's thinking is that of Bovet (1912). Where Durkheim speaks of society as a thing which exercises pressure upon the individual, Bovet is thinking only of the relations existing between individuals:

In Durkheim's view as in Kant's there is no respect for individuals; it is in so far as the individual obeys the rule that he is respected... To this Bovet answers that, if in adult society respect for the man and respect for the rule are in fact indissoluble, in the child the former can be seen to precede the latter. (In Piaget, 1977, pp. 362).

It is this genetic perspective which makes Piaget say that Bovet's method is indispensable to anyone who wishes to formulate a problem of moral psychology in experimental terms. However, again Bovet presents a stumbling block to Piaget when he considers mutual respect deriving from unilateral respect and in a sense remaining identical with it or at any rate still based upon it. Piaget, on the other hand thinks that mutual respect is being involved in a

different system of equilibria, and deserves to be distinguished from the unilateral variety.

Piaget's conception of morality follows the same pattern as his model of cognitive development. According to Piaget, the thrust of development is the movement away from egocentrism or from centering to decentering. The ultimate in decentering is achieved at the operational level of cognitive development. Cultural and socio-economical factors are by large irrelevant to this process. It is the casting off of one's egocentrism which is the determining factor in both cognitive and moral developments.

According to Piaget, moral feelings and judgements are the results of the affective relationship between the child and his parents. Prior to Freud, Baldwin described this affective rapport in terms of imitation and showed that with age there is a development of the "ideal self" which is the source of moral conscience.

This sense of duty or moral obligation arises from the first unilateral respect for the parents. This feeling of unilateral respect is the source of the sense of duty. It leads the young child to "heteronomy" or the morality of obedience. According to Bovet:

..two conditions are necessary and their union sufficient for the fact of obligation to take place: that on the one hand the individual should receive commands, and on the other, that he should respect the person who gives him these commands. No commands, no rules and consequently no duties; but without respect, rules would have no power to compel the mind. (Piaget, 1977, pp. 361).

The child does not accept orders just from anyone. The order has to be from a parent or a significant adult or authority figure. Respect consists of both love and fear of the parent, which both arise from the child's inferior position vis-a-vis the superior position of the parent. The power of heteronomy is dependent on the presence of the adult. When he is absent, the sense of duty loses its force. Also through heteronomy, identification with the parents takes place through the process of "assimilation". Gradually, moral obligations become interiorized and less dependent on the presence of the parental image.

Piaget's Two-Stage Moral Development

In the moral sphere proper, heteronomy begets moral realism, Piaget's first stage of moral development. The genetic structure of moral realism is "preperatory" in nature. In terms of affective relationships and the process of socialization, it remains blind to intentions. Thus, moral realism leads to objective responsibility.

Thus, the typical child of this stage of moral development considers (a child telling - after being frightened by a dog - that he saw a dog as big as a horse) very naughty because nobody ever saw a dog that big, while (the child telling his family that he got a good mark in school when in fact he did not) is not wrong morally because in reality it often happens that children get good marks.

However, this morality of constraint is always the ally of childish egocentrism. It is because the child cannot establish a genuinely mutual contact with the adult that he remains shut up in his own ego. Whenever the mind feels no actual need to accommodate itself to reality, its natural tendency will be to distort the objects which surround it in accordance with its desires or its fantasy, in short, to use them for its satisfaction. Such is the intellectual egocentrism that characterizes the earliest forms of child thought.

Therefore, the whole problem is how to take the child out of his egocentrism and lead him in the direction of cooperation, the condition sine qua non of the appearance of Piaget's second stage of moral development called "autonomy". The way to do this, says Piaget, is by the practice of cooperation. It is this egocentrism which explains why, although he is so absorbed in others that he

conforms to their examples and commands, the child yet introduces into every behavior an irreducible element of individual interpretation and unconscious deformation.

According to Piaget, the knowledge of our individual nature, and its limitations as well as its resources gives the ability to come out of ourselves and to collaborate with other individuals. Therefore, consciousness of self is both a product and a condition of cooperation.

Thus, moral autonomy develops following "operatory" progress and a shift in social focus away from parents to peers. New moral relationships emerge, based on "mutual respect". This new morality appears on the average around seven or eight. Children of this stage start to regard moral rules as the outcome of mutual agreement, and like adults, believe in the democratic change of laws through mutual consultation.

This qualitative change from the stage of moral realism is marked by the supremacy of intention. Ethically intention is everything. It appears roughly at the same time as the first "why" of age three. But, the fundamental fact is that the child up to seven or eight always regards the notion of law as simultaneously moral and physical. According to Piaget, it is always cooperation which gives intention precedence over literalism, just as it was unilateral respect that inevitably provoked moral realism.

In the moral sphere, the translation of this "moral decentering" is the development of the sense of justice. Increasingly after seven or eight, justice prevails over obedience and becomes the central criterion or norm. The ethics of mutual respect, which are those of the good (as opposed to duty) and of autonomy, lead in the domain of justice, to the development of equality, which is the idea at the bottom of distributive justice and reciprocity. Solidarity between equals appears once more as the source of a whole set of complementary and coherent moral ideas which characterize the rational mentality.

Summary of Piaget's Position on Moral Development

In summary, Piaget distinguishes two kinds of morality: one built on adult constraint and leading to moral realism and the other the outcome of mutual cooperation which results in moral autonomy. The child begins by attributing moral perfection to his parents and does not, until the age of five at the earliest, discover or face the fact of their possible imperfections. Thus, Piaget ventures to submit that even if the objective and subjective conceptions of responsibility are not properly speaking features of two successive stages, they do at least define two distinct processes, one of which, on the average, precedes the other in the moral development of the child, although the two partially synchronize:

The question may, of course, be raised whether such realities could ever develop without a preliminary stage, during which the child's conscience is moulded by his unilateral respect for the adult. But what is certain is that the moral equilibrium achieved by the complementary conceptions of heteronomous duty and of punishment properly so called is an unstable equilibrium, owing to the fact that it does not allow the personality to grow and expand to its full extent. As the child grows up, the subjection of his conscience to the mind of the adult seems to him less legitimate, and.. unilateral respect tends of itself to grow into mutual respect and to the state of cooperation which constitutes the moral equilibrium. (Piaget, 1977, pp. 313).

Critique of Piaget's Position on Moral Development

Recently Piaget's theoretical position was challenged. Bull (1970) found that Piaget stressed natural maturation over external influences. In other terms, moral development is seen from within and adult constraint merely retards it, because it reinforces the child's egocentricity. Cooperation on the other hand is developed by inner growth away from adult constraint and its by-product egocentrism.

In his overwhelming emphasis upon age, Piaget ignores those variable factors in the individual that may advance them or retard them. Thus he fails to see the roots of moral concepts in adult's percepts, rejects heteronomy.. It would not seem an adequate answer to reply that the adult-child relationships should be more democratic. Much has to be learned that is alien and antipathetic, much has to be learned

that cannot be reasoned. Hence the necessity for constraint. (Bull, 1970, pp. 14).

According to Bull, the pattern of moral development indicates that at about age eleven, we see the dawning of the final stage of autonomy - self rule. It is marked by the progressive interiorization of the rules learned under the sway of heteronomy and therefore by the development of inner moral attitudes which are strongly toned by emotion. At age seven, when the child is overwhelmingly dominated by heteronomy, the characteristic emotion is fear of offence and of consequent punishment. At age nine, his fear is merging into an inner discomfort which is typically expressed as guilt. At age eleven, the term conscience is becoming familiar and at age thirteen it is common. Thus heteronomy is never an end in itself. It is rather a means to an end, i.e., the fuller moral development of the child.

The importance of emotion in moral development is also stressed by social learning theories. Essentially, moral values are acquired by a learning process of conditioned responses and punishment following upon moral offences; hence, the immense power of anxiety. The range would be from the hyper-morality of the extremely conditionable neurotic to the amorality of the extremely unconditionable

psychopath. The self-directive individual was found to possess both a strong conscience and a strong ego. The adaptive individual has a strong sense of self, but a conscience which was more permissive. The submissive type of personality has a poor sense of self but a severe conscience. The defiant individual had both a weak conscience and a weak sense of self. Within this development there are four types conscience. The first was the punitive and repressive superego, typical of the amoral and expedient types, that was the echoing voice of the punitive adult. The second was the more passive and less strongly interiorized conscience which conformed to expected behavior and has its own measure of emotional overtone. The third was the irrational and tyrannical superego of the neurotic, rigid in both its dominance and its behavioral expression. The fourth, typical of the rational altruistic type was the autonomy that integrated the ego and the superego in a conscience which was firm and strong, but yet open to reasoned moral ends.

What the pattern does reveal according to Bull is the progressive interiorization of originally heteronomous percepts - not Piaget's theory of reciprocity producing autonomy - and the progressive realization that conscience is the moral potential of the infant, shaped and developed by society. In the subjects of seven years we find no

evidence of interiorization, only strong fear of detection and consequent punishment and the hope of reward all giving a clear picture of heteronomy. In the nine years age-group fear of external sanctions now merges into inner discomfort expressed typically as shame or guilt (shame having a stronger social connotation). Concepts of conscience at first are punitive, personified and pictorial. Typically these children give the analogy of "a little man" or "something inside". By age fifteen, heteronomy is for the majority of children totally irrelevant in that even if wrongdoing is not detected and punished, they still worry and feel guilty.

Piaget also gave little consideration to the importance of variables influencing moral development. Even intelligence which constitutes the basic ingredient of Piaget's cognitive theories was discounted when he studied moral development in 1932. The socioeconomic background has also been found to be a powerful influence upon moral development. The broad distinction is between the working class tendency to punitiveness and the typical middle class moderation with the use of reasoning and the effort to generate guilt-feelings. A third vital factor is the emotional variable because it is the key to motivation. Actually, many authors think that motivation, not intelligence, is the key factor in moral action.

Intelligence per se does not guarantee higher levels of moral insight and action.

Bronfenbrenner (1962) thinks that Piaget's classical two-stage sequence could be a reflection of the European education of the 30's which tended to deal with children in a rather authoritarian fashion through the early years and exposed them to rationalistic equalitarian treatment only at later ages. Sullivan (1977) questions even the basic assumptions of Piaget's and Kohlberg's theories. He argues that abstract formalism as the organizing principle structuring social relations of production within Western capitalism was a universality which masked a middle class ideology. Moreover the favouring of reflection (i.e., moral judgement) over action (moral acts) undermines an essentially dynamic process, producing a thought-action dichotomy and thus the collapse of an inherently dialectical process.

The key features of a liberal concept of justice places a high value on the mastery of a restrictive intellectuality of a cognitive, analytical, measuring and technical nature. This rationality can be seen as destructive of a deeper kind of philosophical reason which could deal with ends, goals, purpose and ultimate meanings. (Sullivan, 1977, pp. 362-363).

Conclusion

Thus, the philosophical underpinnings of Piaget's theory of moral judgement, in spite of some weaknesses remains the classical theory. Recent theories, such as Kohlberg's are basically elaborations of Piaget's two-stage theory with basically the same assumptions. According to Piaget, maturation and interaction with peers are sufficient for mature moral judgement. The rule of justice is an immanent condition of social relationships, a law governing their equilibrium. Moral judgement does not truly become autonomous or fully interiorized until the phase of mutual respect and cooperation is reached. Here the child realizes the necessity of rules for the sake of others who in return have agreed to regulate their behavior for his sake. However, while one recognizes the importance of maturational growth, seen in broad stages of development, it is also imperative to accept that attainment of such stages is increasingly seen to be profoundly influenced by those factors which vary from one individual to another. This is particularly important in the case of the father-absent child.

In summary, Piaget's conception of moral development remains cognitivist in nature. Its basic assumptions are those of an idealistic epistemology which views objective reality as less important than one's representation of that

reality. Therefore Piaget's conception of morality is an abstraction which ultimately leads to the denial of objective reality.

FATHER ABSENCE

As a human historical phenomenon, family dissolution is pervasive and persistent. Yet in virtually every society, divorce is subject to social disapproval partly because of the children involved. Voluntary break-up of the family through divorce or similar procedures appears to be natural and inevitable. Modern society, particularly in the West, is recognizing this fact. It is also trying to adjust to this new freedom.

Instability is probably the mark of today's family life. Family break-ups in the form of separation, divorce, and desertion are so common that they no longer meet with strong social disapproval. An ever increasing number of children are growing up in families without a father.

This study will consider the effect of father absence due to separation and divorce on the moral development of boys.

Importance of Father Absence Today

Almost one million children in Canada today are growing up without a father (One Parent Families Association of

Canada - (1981)). According to the 1976 Canada Census, 83% of the single parent families were headed by the female parent (In Alberta the percentage is slightly higher). The five year period from 1971 to 1976 saw a 25.4% increase in this trend against only a 1.5% increase in male headed one parent families. Therefore, the female headed, father absent family is a significant and rapidly growing family pattern within the Canadian context.

Basic Assumptions

Until recently, the basic assumption underlying the literature has been that the absence of the father is the determining variable in differences reported between children from father present (FP) and father absent (FA) families. Consequently, father-presence, father-absence has been conceptualized as a unidimensional and dichotomous variable. Therefore father-presence, father-absence was viewed as a unitary factor without any consideration to the many elements which determine this factor. In addition father-presence and father-absence were viewed as the two poles of a continuum as if the absence of the father is not a matter of degree. Recently, however, the phenomenon has been recognized to be in reality multidimensional and continuous (Herzog and Sudia, 1973; Radin, 1976; Shinn, 1978). The age of the child at the time of separation, the child's sex, the siblings distribution, the socioeconomic

status and the race of the family have all been found to moderate the effects of father absence. In this study, father absence is conceived as a multidimensional and continuous variable.

The Role of the Father in Child Development

The role of the father has been emphasized by all the major schools of psychology. Most of Freud's theory that pertains to the father centers around the resolution of the Oedipus conflict. Freud argued that, when the boy is faced with the danger of castration, he identifies with his father and represses the desire for his mother until the desire becomes deeply unconscious and the conflict ceases to disturb him. Along with the incorporation of his father's prohibition of incest, he also adopts many of his father's ideals and the value his father places on adherence to them. In addition, Freud clearly regarded the father as the parent who incites children (particularly boys) to incorporate the prohibitions, rules, principles and values of society. He thought of the father as the parent who symbolizes the authority of society for all of us.

Freud's theory of the identification with the father following the resolution of the Oedipal conflict remains controversial. Although the central idea of the

identification of the child (particularly the boy) with his father is quite acceptable, its psycho-sexual context is largely ignored today. Freud's conception of family relationships is an overgeneralization from abnormal cases. Therefore, once the controversial elements in Freud's theory is taken away, Freud's contribution to a theory of the role of the father in child development amounts to very little. Moreover, Freud's conception of the father as the representative of society is becoming irrelevant today because the role and the status of the father are not so overwhelming as they were in the XIXth century.

Social learning theorists initially translated Freud into learning theory language and later deemed it necessary to part with him. Formulating castration fear in terms of defensive identification, Mowrer (1950) suggested an analogy between the talking birds which start repeating the rewarding words of a nurturing trainer to reward themselves, and the case of the boy who can provide himself a substitute for the father when he is not there by imitating him. Mowrer hypothesized that character formation is enhanced by the crisis-like nature of defensive identification. In other terms, if the child was cared for but never disciplined, he presumably would develop skills but no character. Working in the same context, Sears (1957) stressed dependency, but in conjunction with the occasional

withholding of love, as a mechanism that brings about identification. The motive to identify will be stronger when the child is given affection and nurturance which are periodically withdrawn in order to create a situation in which the child will be rewarded by reproducing his parents' behavior. Bandura and Walters (1963) thought that essentially all of the development that was explained by identification theory could be accounted for by the principles of imitation theory. For example, they found that it is not essential that the observer be directly reinforced for imitating an order to bring about changes in his behavior. It follows that the extent to which the father is observed to be the recipient of special deference and privileges within the family will enhance his strength as a model for imitation.

Social learning theories translated the theories of identification and imitation into behavioristic terms. Although the behaviorist paradigm achieved relatively more clarity because of its better definition of basic concepts, its theory remained fragmented. In the area of the role of the father in child development one sees numerous studies but little progress in the clarification of basic issues.

Cognitive theorists, particularly Piaget conceived the role of the father in the same way as Freud. According to

Piaget (1969), Freud's conception of the superego or the internalization of the affective image of the father is older than Freud, and can be found remarkably developed in the work of Baldwin. This writer explained the formation of the self in terms of imitation. Further, Baldwin showed that beyond a certain point, which is reached because of conflicts of will and the superior general powers of the adult, the self of parents can no longer be imitated immediately and thus becomes an ideal self which is a source of coercive models and of moral conscience. Bovet (1912) furnishes a more detailed and accurate analysis of this process. According to him, the formation of the sense of obligation is subject to two conditions: (1) the intervention of orders given from the outside; and (2) the acceptance of these orders which presupposes the existence of a sentiment sui-generis on the part of the child who receives the order toward the parent who gives it. Thus, moral obligation appears within the context of family relationships. Unlike adults the child cannot deal with formal abstract laws before first incorporating moral feelings. This sentiment leads to unilateral respect and is translated in the moral sphere in terms of heteronomy or the morality of obedience. Later, this power of orders becomes permanent in the form of what psychoanalysts call identification. However this submission cannot be complete and parental or authority figures give rise to ambivalence.

This process will lead ultimately to larger social relationships, particularly cooperation with peers and subsequently to the new morality of autonomy based on motive (For a more detailed discussion of the above, see the section - "Moral Judgement as Conceived by Piaget").

Piaget's conception of the role of the father in child development and particularly in moral development is relevant to this study. Piaget views family relationships in terms of affective ties and power relationships. In this sense, his conception is dynamic in nature. However, Piaget undermines the role of the father by considering him to be responsible for his child's egocentrism. According to Piaget the ideal equilibrium is achieved when the child liberates himself from his parents and enters in cooperative relationships with his peers. This conception considers the role of the father to be secondary or even a hindrance for the development of the child.

To summarize, the above three conceptions of the role of the father in child development correspond closely to the history of psychology. All the three theories dealt only indirectly with the issue of father absence. Now we turn to the more recent theories of father absence.

Father Absence in Developmental Psychology

One of the earliest reviews of the literature of FA children is the one done by Herzog and Sudia (1970). According to these two researchers, the need for such a review is intensified by the nature and the frequency of adverse generalizations about the consequences of father absence. The focus of the review is to inquire whether growing up in a father-absent home is likely to interfere with the child achieving his full potential. Three questions were asked:

1) Are the alleged adverse characteristics more often associated with father absent homes than with two-parent homes?

2) If so, why?

3) What clues can be drawn from answers to the first two questions concerning ways of diminishing such adverse effects as are shown to be associated with growing up in a absent home?

According to Herzog and Sudia, the classical view relating father absence to detrimental effects is a historical stage of research which always starts in a global and categorical fashion, then gradually, the principal cause is itself considered as part of a greater

configuration. Thus they did not expect adequate evidence to indicate dramatic differences stemming from father absence per se, if all the confounding factors such as socioeconomic status, race, age of the child at the time of separation, could be controlled.

Herzog and Sudia identified many weaknesses of past studies. Most of these weaknesses were due to methodological considerations. For example, control groups comparable to the father-absent children sample, especially from the socioeconomic and cultural points of view were rare. Even the basic variable, father-absence was not specified. However, even after the elimination of studies found unsound from the experimental point of view, Herzog and Sudia found adequate studies supporting the so-called classical view. The most noticeable amongst these is a study by McCord (1962) which found that father-absence is significantly related to delinquency. McCord's research specifies that the older the child at the time of separation, the more the possibility of delinquency. It adds that in any case, the father-absent child has always a negative self-concept, especially in matters relating to masculinity, probably because of the lack of a significant male model and the excessive interaction with the maternal figure.

Immediate and Long Term Effects of Father Absence

The effects of the father's absence on his child are both of an immediate and a long term nature. This study while focusing primarily on the long term consequences will however provide a glimpse of the immediate consequences of the transition from a two-parent family to a one-parent family.

Separation often assumes the proportions of a crisis situation for all members of the dissolving family. Parents and children alike have to face severe personal and social problems. It is imperative, however, to keep in mind a developmental perspective when one talks about the effects of separation. For example, the greatest danger during the pre-school age comes from the child's increased awareness of the absence of his father. This awareness could develop into a state of anxiety and interfere with the newly acquired abilities and learning. The predominant feeling is anger with associated irritability and aggression. Many parents notice a considerable increase in revolt, insults, unreasonable demands and dictatorial attitudes. One explanation is that the child feels now free to express impulses which were repressed when the father was present. Another explanation is provided by Bornstein (1951):

in their initial responses, these youngsters are actively struggling to

master a host of intense conflicting feelings and fears and trying to give coherence and continuity to the baffling disorder which they now experienced in their lives. (Burnstein, 1951, pp. 279).

Nothing could be more damaging than when intrapsychic conflicts are mobilized by forcing the child to take sides in the conflict between parents. Many children resist taking sides even at the cost of losing closeness to both parents. These children become solitary and withdrawn. Choosing to side with either parent on the other hand presents the danger of being rejected by the other parent. This decision presents the added danger of over-generalization of this black and white type of discrimination in later interpersonal relationships.

In any case, many of these children finish by accepting the sad finality of divorce. Some consolidate their hurt in modes of neurotic behavior, both oppositional or depressive. Another significant configuration is a precocious interest in sexuality as a means of self-aggrandizement.

In the final analysis, it appears that the severity of the immediate effects of separation and the crisis nature of the rupture of family life are only a degree above the long range consequences. Certain investigators think that

separation is such that many children will not recover from its trauma. Looking at the experiential pains and stresses of separation, one wonders if deleterious effects associated with the classical view are inevitable.

Considering the long range effects, it is important to pay attention to the characteristics of the separating parents. The adjustment of the children depends largely on their parents' maturity, discipline and social life, particularly support systems available to the family. Hoffman (1971) stresses the pressures met by the mother after separation. She generally aims at the immediate submission of her children rather than building up attitudes and character. Consequently she expresses affection less often and makes the affirmation of her authority the central focus. Her child management approach lacks induction and explanation as means of achieving good behavior. In such atmosphere, normal internalization becomes difficult. According to Aronfreed (1961), love withdrawal falls short of induction in effectiveness by not including the cognitive material needed to heighten the child's awareness of wrongdoing and facilitating his learning to generalize accurately to other relevant situations and by failing to capitalize on his capacity for empathy.

Lynn (1974) thinks that when the father is absent from the home, the mother has ample opportunity to colour the

child's ideas about his father. This fact was demonstrated in 1951 when Sears found that boys who preferred a feminine role in a play situation had mothers who were critical of their ex-husbands. This influence is due to the fact that such mothers are now the sole source of nurturance and authority. However, any negative comments about the ex-husband both distantiate the child from his father and in turn lower his self-esteem.

The long range consequences of separation appear again to be detrimental especially when the single parent (usually the mother) presents a critical and negative view of the father. Even in rare cases where the separation process is relatively calm, the mother is faced with parenting and child management difficulties which make the mother-child relationship tense.

The Role of the Father in the Moral Development of his Son

Many studies indicate that the father who combines discipline with affection may engender guilt in his child, a necessary ingredient of moral development. The father's positive approach and the child's identification with him were related to high-level moral development, while the father's use of power was associated with more superficial moral behavior (Hoffman and Saltzstein, 1966). Even highly masculine boys were rated higher on moral development than boys low in masculinity (Biller and Meredith, 1975).

In another study, Santrock (1975) did not find any significant differences in the area of moral development, but teachers often reported delayed moral development in father absent children. Factor analysis of the teachers evaluation gave the following: "lack of social conscience" a compound of guilt feelings, consideration for others, acceptance of blame, self discipline and trust in others; "social deviation" composed of turbulent behavior at school and outside school, theft, lying and cheating; and "lack of sociability" determined by inability to adapt to new situations, lack of self-esteem and poor social participation. Santrock explained this difference between the behavioral measures and the teachers reports by the fact that teachers' evaluations are more global and made on long periods of time, thus less susceptible to situational variability.

The kind of moral decisions that the father makes may be different from those made by the mother. To be a successful moral person, a child needs a sense of time and schedules. He must develop the patience to delay gratification and be able to resist the temptation of the moment in order to gain a reward later. Father absent children tend to choose the smaller, more immediate rewards (Santrock and Wohlford, 1970). Child psychotherapists have observed that their father-absent clients have a lack of

accurate time perceptions (Lynn, 1974). Lynn emphasizes that the father is most concerned with the timetables and intervals of time imposed by society. In the moral sphere, if the father is close to his child, he will be able to show him the ramifications of his actions, discuss what he has done while keeping in mind the level of moral development of his child, so that he would not be talking to him on a moral plane too high for him to understand, or too low to stimulate his moral judgement.

Moreover and probably more damaging, the father-absent child has none of the rationalizations of the child living in a two-parent family. His reasoning is: "dad is alive, capable of seeing me and being around, but he does not care". Frequently, these children accurately perceive that they represent an unwelcome burden in the life of their parents. Many consolidate into troubled and conflicted behavior patterns involving low self-esteem, with frequent school and peer difficulties. The most significant outcome is a negative view of life in general with a detrimental effect on moral development.

General Considerations in the Study of Father Absence

Although there is no shortage of studies on father absence, outcomes are frequently conflicting and difficult to interpret because of the undefined and uncontrolled

variables. Herzog and Sudia (1970) identified many weaknesses of past studies. Most of these weaknesses were due to experimental considerations. For example, control groups comparable to the father-absent children sample, especially from the socioeconomic and cultural points of view were rare.

One of the most important aspects of father absence is the social milieu of the family and particularly the support systems available to the one-parent family. Herzog and Sudia (1973) claim that the socioeconomic status (SES) poses the greatest difficulty in interpreting father absence literature. Some researchers like Wasserman (1969) attempted to solve this problem by drawing FA and FP samples from low income housing areas or similarly homogeneously grouped populations. Perhaps, the most noticeable consequence in terms of (SES) measures is the well documented effect of financial hardship of the FA family (Ferri and Robinson, 1976). In 1971, Census Canada listed the average female family heads income at \$4,841. compared to \$10,000. for the two-parent family. Race is also an important family variable that the literature suggests influences the effects of FA. For instance, it is evident that amongst low class white American children, FA subjects perform significantly less well in terms of academic achievement than FP subjects (Biller, 1971).

However, this does not seem to be so for lower class black American children (Wesserman, 1969; Solomon, Hirsch, Scheinfeld and Stein, 1972). Possible explanations could come from the different structure of the black families as well as the present social, economical and political reality of black Americans.

Summary and Hypotheses

Review of the literature indicates that there is equal support for and against that so-called classical view linking father-absence to detrimental effects. Considering father-absence in the light of moral development will hopefully clarify the evidence. The writer sought to find answers to a number of specific questions about the moral development of FA boys. In this section, two major hypotheses will be presented as well as their theoretical background and rationale.

Hypothesis 1 - There is no significant difference in the moral judgement of FP and FA boys.

Hypothesis 1 is borne out of Herzog and Sudia's review of research on father-absence. Although the evidence given by these authors was rather mixed, they reasoned that deleterious effects will not be determined by being fatherless but by a host of negative variables which might or might not necessarily accompany father-absence.

Hypothesis 2 - There are significant differences in the moral judgement of FP boys with above grade level (AGL) education and FA boys with below grade level (BGL) education.

Hypothesis 2 stresses the importance of education, operationally defined in this study as above or below grade level expectations as determined by age compared to grade. The importance of education in moral judgement was stressed by practically all the authors quoted in this study. Even Piaget who was criticized for not giving any importance to intellectual development in his 1932 study of moral judgement is defended by Lickona (1969) who thinks that those who criticized him really misunderstood his intention. In his view, once we understand that Piaget defined intelligence as "the development an assimilatory activity whose functional laws are laid down as early as organic life and whose successive structures are elaborated by interaction between itself (i.e., intelligence) and the external environment" (Piaget, 1953, pp. 359) we realize at the same time that intelligence as Piaget conceives it not only has a role in the development of moral judgement, but is responsible for it. Therefore hypothesis 2 appears to be logical. Education is assumed to be a good estimate of intelligence, and also an excellent indicator of social adjustment.

Three additional secondary hypotheses pertain to the significance of particular moral judgement indexes. Although this investigator did not intend to study moral judgement in all its complexity, the significance of moral indexes will be considered in some detail. The following hypotheses were formulated.

Hypothesis 3 - There are significant differences on Intention between FP and FA boys.

Hypothesis 4 - There are significant differences on Justice between FP and FA boys.

Hypothesis 5 - There are significant differences on Autonomy between FP and FA boys.

Contrary to hypothesis 1, one would expect differences on particular moral judgement indexes. Piaget's assumption that age plays an important role in the appearance of moral indexes like justice and autonomy has been confirmed by many studies (Boehm and Nass, 1962; Kohlberg, 1963; Porteus and Johnson, 1965).

Definition of the Variables.

Moral Judgement

Level or stage of development of moral judgement as determined by a score on The Medinnus Moral Development Questionnaire (MDQ).

Father-absent boys (FA)

Boys living in a family without a father, as a result of separation or divorce.

Father-present boys (FP)

Boys living in a family where both parents are present and are not living a pre-separation crisis.

Above grade level (AGL)

Appropriate or above grade level expectation from chronological age.

Below grade level (BGL)

Below appropriate grade level expectation from chronological age.

CHAPTER II

METHOD AND DESIGN

Overview

The primary purpose of this study is an attempt to test the premise that father absent (FA) boys differ from father present (FP) boys on moral judgement and that these differences can be empirically determined and expressed statistically.

The first step in accomplishing the objectives of this study is to select two samples of boys. One group is composed of operationally defined FA boys and a second group is made up of FP boys. Those two groups will then be administered the Medinnus Moral Development Questionnaire, MDQ (Appendix A). On the basis of the boys' responses to this test instrument, the moral judgement dimensions which differentiate the two groups of subjects will be identified using a two-way ANOVA.

The following is a description of the methodology followed in the study.

Subjects

Fifty nine boys ranging in age from 8 to 14 years participated in this study. Twenty nine boys belonged to the FA group and thirty boys to the FP group.

The F.A. group was defined by the following criteria:

- (i) The absence of the father was due to separation or divorce.
- (ii) The father was absent for at least one year prior to data collection.
- (iii) There was no stepfather, common law father or other male adult living with the family at the time of data collection.
- (iv) The frequency of contact between the biological father and his son should not exceed 10 hours per week in the case of the father living in Ottawa or 4 weeks per year in the case of the father living outside Ottawa.

The F.P. group was defined by the following criteria:

- (i) Family life is reasonably stable. Specifically FP boys should not be living in a dysfunctional family or a family going through a pre-separation crisis.

(ii) In a typical week, the father spent no more than 24 hours away from his family.

(iii) In a typical week a father spent a minimum of 10 hours per week interacting with his children.

This study did not specify the intensity of the interaction between the father and his son. The 10 hours specified in (iv) for FA boys, and in (iii) for FP boys are only rough quantitative measures. Therefore, this variable might moderate the effect of father-absence and make it look like a matter of degree between the FP father who although present interacts superficially with his child and the FA father who although absent interacts in a meaningful fashion with his child whenever possible.

In addition, two general criteria were specified for both groups:

- (i) The boys should be between 8 and 14 years of age.
- (ii) There is no evidence of serious psychological or learning problems.

Subjects came from an Anglo-Canadian background. All subjects were attending Hilson Public School, an Ottawa West-end primary school of the Ottawa Board of Education. Being a public school, religious education and practices

are not stressed. Therefore, no significant religious influence is brought to bear on the moral development of the subjects.

One very important difference between the FA and FP groups is the distribution of family income. The FA family's income was under \$10,000, while the FP family's income was typically above \$20,000. Thus the FP group has an income at least twice greater than that of the FA group.

Another important difference between the FA and FP sample was that twenty one of the twenty five FA boys lived in highrise apartments or row-houses compared to only eight boys from the FP group. Twenty two of the thirty FP boys lived in single or semi-detached houses. This difference in housing is likely to be very significant.

For comparison purposes, Table I and Table 2 provide the age and grade classifications respectively of the FP and FA boys as well as that of the total research sample. It is noticeable that the averages are similar in the three cases.

In summary, FA and FP samples appear to be representative of their respective populations. FA boys have less

Table 1

Age Distribution of FA, FP and FA + FP Samples

<u>FA</u>	<u>Average Age</u>	<u>Age Classification</u>		
		<u>Classes</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
N = 29	10.55	8 - 9	7	23
		10 - 11	13	45
		12 - 13	8	28
		14 - 15	1	4

<u>FP</u>	<u>Average Age</u>	<u>Age Classification</u>		
		<u>Classes</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
N = 30	10.17	8 - 9	7	23
		10 - 11	23	77
		12 - 13	0	0
		14 - 15	0	0

<u>FA + FP</u>	<u>Average Age</u>	<u>Age Classification</u>		
		<u>Classes</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
N = 59	10.36	8 - 9	14	23
		10 - 11	36	66
		12 - 13	8	14
		14 - 15	1	2

Table 2

Grade Distribution of FA, FP and FA + FP Samples

<u>FA</u>	<u>Average Grade</u>	<u>Grade Classification</u>		
		<u>Classes</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
N = 29	4.97	AGL	12	41
		BGL	17	59

<u>FP</u>	<u>Average Grade</u>	<u>Grade Classification</u>		
		<u>Classes</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
N = 30	4.77	AGL	15	50
		BGL	15	50

<u>FA + FP</u>	<u>Average Grade</u>	<u>Grade Classification</u>		
		<u>Classes</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
N = 59	4.87	AGL	27	45.5
		BGL	32	54.5

contact with their biological fathers, are likely to experience a very reduced family income and to live in multiple housing situations. These are the factors that researchers (e.g., Herzog and Sudia, 1973; Ferri and Robinson, 1976) have found to be associated with FA families. However, in spite of these typical differences, the two samples of subjects shared in common their belonging to the same cultural background, age group, and both lacked serious psychological and learning problems.

Instrument

As stated, the fifty nine subjects in both groups were administered an abridged version of the Medinnus MDQ. The writer opted for an abridged version to keep the group testing sessions within one hour period and also because some of the relevant moral judgement issues were covered by similar items. The administration of an abridged version of the Medinnus MDQ is a legitimate procedure because it is a common practice in moral judgement research. For example, Kohlberg (1976) advises that three of his ten moral dilemmas stories provide an adequate assessment of the individual's level of moral reasoning. The same is expected to apply to the Medinnus MDQ because of the great similarity between both test instruments.

The Medinnus MDQ was selected as the instrument for this study primarily because it contains similar moral dilemmas situations to those used by Piaget in 1932. An added advantage is that Medinnus has also developed a practical scoring key for his questionnaire, again closely within the framework of Piaget's two-stage formulation of moral development.

Regarding the validity and reliability of the Medinnus MDQ, it is assumed that they are comparable to those of Piaget's and Kohlberg's moral dilemmas. An indication of their psychometric value in their wide use in moral development research.

The work of Piaget provided both a developmental framework and an impetus to conceptualise moral development. As a genetic epistemologist, concerned primarily with the thought structure underlying the content of moral responses, he looked for an understanding of cognitive mechanisms accountable for moral development. Subsequent research designed to test Piaget's theory had consistently confirmed many of his views and refuted others. Findings on the existence of a general increase with age in moral concepts of justice, have substantiated Piaget's assertion that a genuine development progression exists (Boehm and Nass, 1962; Durkin, 1959; Johnson, 1962; Kohlberg, 1958; Lerner, 1937; McRae, 1954; Medinnus, 1957).

Research also supports one of the central assumptions of Piaget's theory concerning the positive relationship between maturity of cognitive capacities and maturity in concepts of justice, rules and reciprocity (Damon, 1975; Langford and George, 1975; Lee, 1971; Rubin and Schneider, 1973; Tolison-Keasey and Keasey, 1974).

However little empirical support was given to the idea that equalitarian child rearing techniques are superior to authoritarian parental control in the promotion of mature concepts of justice (Johnson, 1962; McRae, 1954). Similarly no systematic evidence has accrued supporting Piaget's relationship between peer orientation and reciprocity and mature concepts of justice (Boehm and Nass, 1962; Kohlberg, 1963; Porteus and Johnson, 1965).

To summarize, Piaget's theory had been validated only in its description of the young child's morality as oriented to obedience and punishment, ignoring subjective ends and values and its assumption that these features decline with age and development in various cultural settings (Kohlberg, 1963). However the value of Piaget should not be assessed solely on the basis of empirical validation. His 1932 work offered much of heuristic import in defining the domain of morality, disclosing differences in the moral conceptualizations of younger and older children, illustrating techniques of gathering data

about the thought structure underlying children's moral behavior and in demonstrating the relevance of cognitive developmental theory to research in the area of morality.

Procedure

Group testing took place in the school library. The Medinnus MDQ was introduced as a series of stories which the examiner read aloud to the group. After he finished reading the stories, the subjects were expected to answer in writing a number of questions related to each story. The average time for completion of the test was one hour. As far as could be ascertained by observation, the subjects were relaxed and well motivated. Feedback from the teachers indicated that their pupils liked the experience.

Scoring

Scoring the responses on the Medinnus MDQ was done according to the "Medinnus Scoring Key for Moral Development Questionnaire" (Appendix B). These criteria cover Piaget's basic components of moral judgement such as intention, justice and autonomy. Scores above the mean were considered belonging to the level of moral autonomy, while the scores under the mean belonged to the moral realism category. Table 3 gives the moral judgement scores for FA and FP subjects and their respective

Table 3

Distribution of the Moral Judgement Scores of
FA and FP Boys and corresponding Percentages

Classes	FA	FA	FP	FP
Scores	N	%	%	%
1 - 6 (1)	9	31	2	7
5 - 12 (2)	20	69	28	93
N	29	100	30	100

(1) This class corresponds closely to the
level of moral realism

(2) This class corresponds closely to the
level of moral autonomy

percentages.

Two trained coders scored independently the protocols and achieved an 87% ratio of agreement on the fifty nine protocols.

Statistical Procedures

For the purpose of the analysis of the data of this study, a two-way ANOVA will make it possible to determine the between groups significant differences on moral judgment. In addition, procedures will be called for multiple comparisons of pairs of groups. For these analyses, the statistical significance will be defined at the .05 level.

Significance of the Findings and the Study

The results, with respect to family status, by confirming hypothesis 1, will strengthen Herzog, Sudia and Ferri's position that fatherlessness is not the critical variable. As stressed by these researchers, fatherlessness is at best a concomittant variable. In addition, the statistical significance of education will strongly confirm their position on fatherlessness.

The strongest support for Herzog and Sudia and other researchers negating the so called classical view will be seen in the significant interaction between family status

and education. When the effect of father absence is added to the effect of lower academic achievement, the evidence should indicate that FA boys with BGL education achieved significantly lower moral judgement than FP boys with AGL education.

Lynn (1974) reported many studies showing that FA boys achieved consistently lower scholastic performance. Deutsch (1960) reported also that education is a critical variable for the moral development of FA boys.

Interpreting these findings along the lines of Piaget's formulations of cognitive and moral development, delayed moral development of FA boys is linked to poor social skills. According to Piaget, cooperation with peers is a critical factor for the appearance of mature moral judgement. Thus both the cognitive and social factors of education play a leading role in the moral development of FA boys.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS AND ANALYSES OF DATA

The results of this study will be presented in two sections. The first section will be concerned primarily with the empirical data related to moral judgement comparisons between FP and FA boys. The second section will be concerned with the results of the comparisons between the two groups on moral indexes.

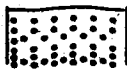
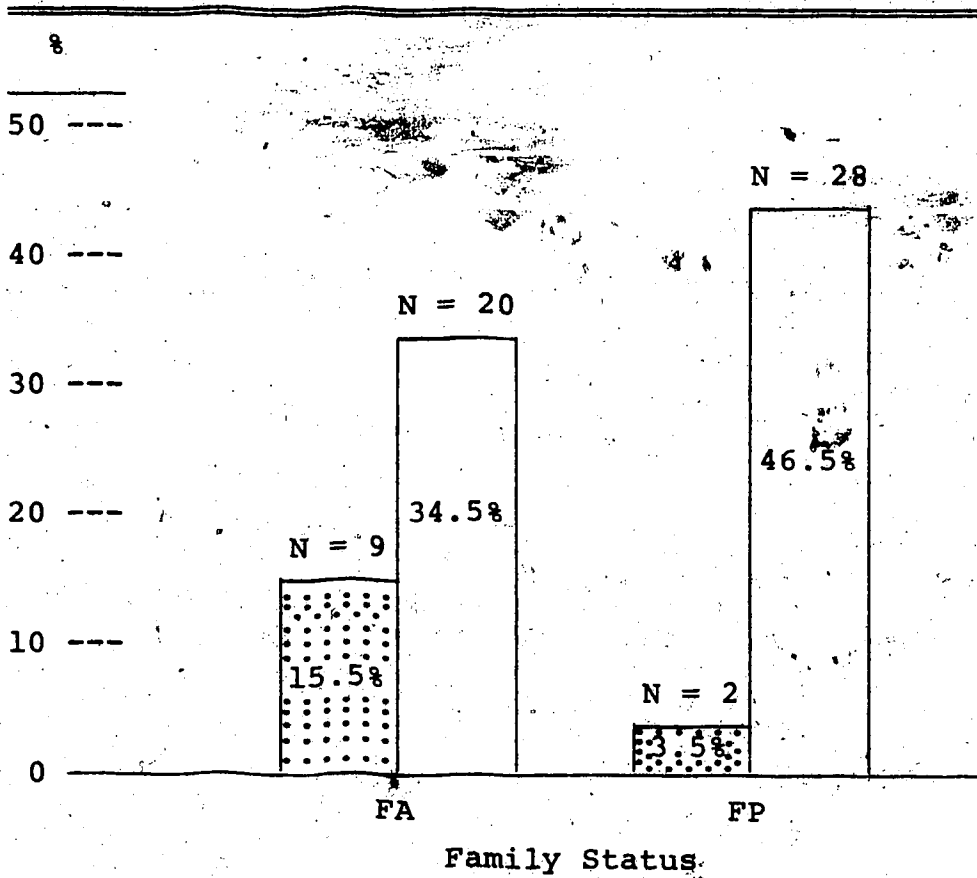
SECTION ONE

The Relationship Between Moral Judgement and Family Status: Results of the Assessment of Moral Development

This section consists of the measurement of moral development by Medinnus MDQ so that the subjects could be compared. The results of scores achieved on this test are summarized in Table 4. As can be seen, only two FP boys scored in the moral realism level or 3.5% of the total sample. By comparison, 15.5% of the FA boys sample scored in the moral realism level. Moral autonomy responses reflected 81% of the total sample. Of these, 46.5% came from the FP sample and 34.5% came from the FA sample.

Table 4

Results on Medinnus MDQ



Moral realism



Moral autonomy

Thus, this distribution provides maximum distinction between FA and FP groups to permit comparisons. Actually it could be said that FP boys scored practically all in the moral autonomy level, while almost one third of FA boys continued to score in the moral realism level. These results are rather surprising when one considers the importance in moral development of such variables as education and socioeconomic status.

Moral Judgement: Differences Between FA and FP Boys

Hypothesis 1 - There is no significant difference in the moral judgement of FP and FA boys.

Results in Table 5 indicate that the highest correlations occurred between Moral Judgement and Education and not between Moral Judgement and Family Status.

A multiple regression and its analysis of variance, reported in Table 6 revealed that the only existing significant comparison is between Moral Judgement and Education ($P = 0.01$).

An ANOVA reported in Table 7 confirmed also that the only significant difference is between Moral Judgement and Education. In addition it indicated the presence of an interaction factor. Although this interaction could be

Table 5

Correlation Matrix of Moral Judgement by
Family Status and Education

	MORJUDGT	FAMSTAT	EDU
MORJUDGT	1.00000	0.26599	0.35357
FAMSTAT	0.26599	1.00000	0.08651
EDU	0.35357	0.08651	1.00000

Table 6

Multiple Regression Analysis:

Moral Judgement by Education and Family Status

		ANOVA	DF	Sum of Square	M Square	F
Multiple R	0.425					
R Square		REGRESSION	2	21.234	10.617	6.181
Adj. R Square	0.152	RESIDUAL	56	96.182	1.718	
Std. Error	1.311					

Variable			Std. Error	F
EDUCATION	0.943	0.333	0.344	7.526
FAMILY STATUS	0.669	0.237	0.343	
(Constant)	5.593			

Table 7

Results of Analysis of Variance:
Differences on Moral Judgement According
to Family Status and Education

Source	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Main Effects	21.234	2	10.617	6.086	0.004
FAMSTAT	6.556	1	6.556	3.758	0.058
EDU	12.926	1	12.926	7.410	0.009*
Two Way Interaction	0.237	1	0.237	0.136	0.714
FAMSTAT EDU	0.237	1	0.237	0.136	0.714
Explained	21.470	3	7.157	4.103	0.011
Residual	92.945	55	1.744		
Total	117.415	58	2.024		

*P \leq 0.05

due to the factorial design being of unequal cells, a real statistical interaction is possible. Therefore, a ONEWAY analysis of variance was indicated. As a result of these analyses, hypothesis 1 is confirmed. It was concluded that there is no significant difference in moral judgement between FA and FP boys.

Hypothesis 2 - There are significant differences in the moral judgement of FP boys with AGL education and FA boys with BGL education.

Table 8 reports the results of the comparisons of groups relative to moral judgement. Mean scores increased in the predicted direction. A ONEWAY analysis of variance reported in Table 9, revealed that these differences were significant. The Tukey HSD test (Table 10) and the SNK test (Table 11) for the multiple comparisons of means both confirmed this finding and indicated that there is a significant difference on moral judgement between the FP - AGL and the FA - BGL groups. As a result, hypothesis 2 was confirmed. It was concluded that there are significant differences in the moral judgement of FA boys with BGL education and FP boys with AGL education.

Table 8

Summary of Data on Moral Judgement

Group	N	\bar{X}	S.D.
FA - BGL	17	5.65	1.49
FA - AGL	12	6.46	1.57
FP - BGL	15	6.20	1.37
FP - AGL	15	7.27	0.70

Table 9
Results of Analysis of Variance
of Data on Moral Judgement

Source	S.S.	DF	M.S.	F	P
Between Groups	21.47	3	7.16	4.10	0.01*
Within Groups	95.94	55	1.47		
Total	117.41	58			

*P \leq 0.05

Table 10

Tukey's HSD Multiple Comparisons of Means Among
FA and FP Boys with BGL and AGL on Medinnus MDQ

FA-BGL	FA-AGL	FP-BGL	FP-AGL
= 5.65	= 6.20	= 6.46	= 7.27

FA-BGL

FA-AGL

FP-BGL

FP-AGL *

* Denotes pairs of groups significantly different
at the $P \leq 0.05$ level

Table 11

SNK Multiple Comparisons of Means Among
FA and FP Boys with BGL and AGL on Medinnus MDQ

	FA-BGL = 5.65	FA-AGL = 6.20	FP-BGL = 6.46	FP-AGL = 7.26
FA-BGL	-	.55	.81	1.61*
FA-AGL		-	.26	1.06
FP-BGL			-	.80
FP-AGL				-

Ranges = 2.84 3.40 3.70

Critical values \leq 1 1.3 1.3

*Denotes pairs of groups significantly different

at $P \leq 0.05$ level

SECTION TWO

The Significance of Moral Judgement Indexes

This section considered the relationships between family status and particular moral indexes. Although the present study was meant to deal primarily with the relationships between family status and moral judgement, it will be helpful to know which one of the following moral judgement indexes achieved statistical significance.

Hypothesis 3 - There are significant differences on Intention between FP and FA boys.

Hypothesis 4 - There are significant differences on Justice between FP and FA boys.

Hypothesis 5 - There are significant differences on Autonomy between FP and FA boys.

Table 12 shows the results of the comparison of groups relative to moral judgement indexes. The mean scores on Intention and Autonomy are higher for FP boys, while the mean on Justice is higher for FA boys. As predicted, FP boys scored significantly higher than FA boys on Intention. None of the other differences are significant. Therefore only hypothesis 3 was confirmed.

Table 12

Mean Differences Between FA and FP Boys
on Piaget's Moral Indexes

Moral Index	FA	FP
Intention	4.00	4.80*
Justice	2.67	2.34
Autonomy	1.70	1.79

* $P \leq 0.05$

It was concluded that there is a significant difference between FA and FP boys on Intention.

Summary of Findings

The following is a summary of the findings of this study:

Analysis of the Relationship Between Moral Judgement and Family Status

Hypothesis 1 - There is no significant difference in the moral judgement of FP and FA boys - Confirmed.

Hypothesis 2 - There are significant differences in the moral judgement of FP boys with AGL education and FA boys with BGL education - Confirmed.

Analysis of the Significance of Moral Judgement Indexes

Hypothesis 3 - There are significant differences on Intention between FP and FA boys - Confirmed.

Hypothesis 4 - There are significant differences on Justice between FP and FA boys - Not confirmed.

Hypothesis 5 - There are significant differences on Autonomy between FP and FA boys - Non confirmed.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

Sampling from a population of boys from an Ottawa elementary school, this investigation was undertaken in an attempt to answer the general research question: Is there a significant difference in the moral judgement of FP and FA boys? Furthermore, if there is a significant difference, which particular moral indexes account for it? Three aspects of these questions were studied: the relationship of father-absence to Piaget's stages of moral judgement; the interrelationship between father-absence, education and Piaget's stages of moral judgement; and the relationship between father-absence and particular moral judgement indexes such as intention, justice and autonomy.

Father-absence and Moral Judgement

The purpose of this portion of the study was to examine the relationship between father-absence and moral judgement. It had been expected that father-absence alone would not be sufficient to determine a lower level of moral judgement. The analyses of the relationship between father-absence and Piaget's stages indicate that father-absence was not the critical factor in moral judgement. It was concluded that father-absence was not related significantly

to achieving a lower level of moral judgement, namely in the moral heteronomy or moral realism stage. It was further concluded that father-absence did not prevent boys from achieving the higher stage of moral judgement called moral autonomy.

At first, this portion of the study yielded results contrary to the expectations. Table 4 indicated clearly that almost all FP boys scored in the moral autonomy stage, while more than 15% of FA boys continued to score in the moral realism stage. However, more refined statistical procedures (Tables 5, 6 and 7), all failed to show significant differences. One obvious explanation is the existence of a statistical artifact resulting from the treatment of the data in rather simplistic terms and lack of consideration of the problem of father-absence in multi-variate terms. This fact is borne out by the existence of an interaction factor (Table 7).

Therefore, in the final analysis, there is no direct one to one relationship between father-absence and lower moral judgement. FA boys, at least in this study, achieved similar levels of moral judgement than FP boys.

At present, it is hypothesized along with Herzog and Sudia (1970) that father absence per se is not the critical factor accounting for the negative effects of the so-called

classical view. What may be implied is that moral stage development depends on the same critical variables which foster moral judgement in FP boys. For instance, this study found that FA boys differed significantly from FP boys in terms of intention. Although the implications of this finding will be discussed in a later section, one possible explanation is the nature of FA boys' identification and interiorization of moral norms. Suggested in a study to determine the importance of particular deficits in similar critical variables for the moral development of FA boys.

In conclusion, family status alone does not describe an essential aspects of stage development in moral judgement of FA boys. Concomitant critical variables to family status appear to exert as great an influence as family status on the moral judgement of FA boys. Thus, there is great value in viewing father absence as a continuous and multidimensional variable, that cannot be considered in isolation from its contextual framework.

Father-absence, Education and Moral Judgement

The purpose of this part of the study was to assess the interrelationships of father absence combined with education and stages of moral judgement. The combination of father-absence and BGL education emerged as important.

It significantly differentiated FA boys with BGL education from FP boys with AGL education. Whether other combinations of family status with other important variables like socioeconomic status or age of onset of father absence differentiate FA boys from FP boys on moral judgement remains to be investigated.

How does this combination of father-absence and education operate and what exactly are its implications? Lynn (1974) reported many studies showing that FA boys achieved consistently lower scholastic performance. He also reported lower achievement in mathematical and analytic skills. These lower academic and cognitive achievements translate into lower grades. They appear to exist in all father-absent children regardless of their ages or their age at separation..

Studies which control for reasons for father-absence (e.g., Santrock, 1972; Ferry, 1976) found significant differences in terms of school achievement. In her recent review of the literature, Shinn (1978) concludes that the majority of studies accept the notion that the one-parent-family life has detrimental effects on the children's school achievement and general cognitive development. In addition there is evidence that these achievement difference between FP and FA boys increase in higher grades. For example, Ferry (1976) found that FP

boys compared to FA boys showed significantly greater progress in reading and arithmetic attainment between 7 and 11 years.

Studies which control for onset of father absence have yielded equivocal results. Blanchard and Biller (1971) who controlled in addition for IQ, found significant differences in achievement between third grade FA subjects who experienced father-absence before 5 years and FP subjects. Later onset of father absence did not result in significantly lower achievement. Santrock (1972) found also significant differences between FA and FP boys and girls when the FA children experienced paternal separation in the first two years of their lives. However, in spite of the fact that these two studies were methodologically sound, Shinn (1978) concludes that no definitive conclusions about the relationship between onset of father absence and school achievement can be drawn at this stage, because other methodologically sound studies have yielded contrary evidence. Santrock's results were interpreted both in terms of a critical period hypothesis around two years of age and/or in terms of length of father absence. This second interpretation emphasizes the longer duration of conditions typically experienced by the female-headed family, i.e., financial hardship, frequent residential changes, poor housing conditions, lack of societal support, loneliness, tension and the like and the likelihood that

the FA child will not have the necessary school readiness behaviors and consequently will be behind academically.

At present, it is hypothesized along with Deutsch (1960), Blanchard and Biller (1971), Santrock (1972), Ferry (1976) and Shinn (1978) that education is a significant concomittant variable of father absence. What may be implied is that moral development depends to a certain extent on the educational opportunities available to FA boys. As such, education may describe an essential aspect of moral development of FA boys.

One area of research which looked at the education of FA children is the area of teachers perceptions. Typically, teachers have lower expectations for FA boys and expect them to portray significantly fewer achievement-related classroom behavior than FP boys. Moreover, teachers tend to represent the more conservative values of society and may make the FA boys believe the validity of such presumed limitations. Consequently, the FA boy is caught in a vicious circle of low expectations - low achievement. Brophy and Good (1974); Solomon and Kendall (1977) believe that inaccurate teacher expectancies are capable of altering the student performance. Luce and Hoge (1978), found a highly significant relationship between classroom and standardized achievement scores and

teachers perceptions of student behaviors. In other terms, the teachers influenced by social stereotypes, might unfairly expect fewer achievement related classroom behaviors from FA than FP children. The FA child is likely to perceive these judgements, become convinced of their validity and consequently in a self-fulfilling prophecy fashion achieves lower academic status.

Behaviorally, FA boys have been observed (Santrock, 1975) by their teachers to display characteristics which are both indicative of delayed moral development and poor social skills. They lacked in consideration for others, acceptance of blame, self discipline and trust in others; they showed more turbulent behavior, more theft, lying and cheating; they also suffered from lack of self-esteem and poor social participation. These behavioral deficits are highly related to behaviors necessary for cooperation with peers, a critical factor, for the appearance of the stage of autonomy, according to Piaget. What might be suggested is that FA boys may need to develop interpersonal skills if they are to be able to get involved in mature social interaction with their peers and achieve high moral stage development.

Thus, education was found to be the critical factor in the moral development of FA boys. Both cognitive and non-cognitive factors of education appear to play a leading

role. However, since the present study did not investigate the other critical variables, a more accurate conclusion is that education is one of the most critical variables in the moral development of FA boys. This is hardly surprising, particularly if we go beyond a purely cognitivist stance and consider cognition to be closely related to its socio-cultural, economical and political substrata.

Father-Absence and Moral Indexes

The purpose of this element of the study was to assess the significance of particular moral indexes for FA boys. As predicted, Intention was found to discriminate significantly between FA and FP boys. Intention or motive (Appendix B) is a basic component of moral judgement. For Piaget, intention is everything in morality. Without it there is no real moral development. Hoffman (1970) also found that FA boys obtained lower scores for "internal moral judgement".

The FA boy's disregard for the motive underlying a certain action, or their judgement in terms of material results rather than in terms of motives again points to a difficulty of empathy towards peers. Interpersonal relationships are found again to be a critical factor for FA boys' moral development.

Autonomy, a factor made of disregard for adult command, more concern with reciprocity between children and little support for punishment (Appendix B) did not differentiate significantly between FA and FP boys. However, a positive trend in scores did suggest that further study, perhaps with a large sample, may be warranted.

Justice, a factor made of such characteristics as disbelief in immanent justice and retribution and a feeling of equality between children (Appendix B) did not also differentiate between FA and FP boys. The existence of an opposite trend indicating a higher mean for FA boys is perhaps due to a higher sensitivity for justice in FA boys. Bull (1970) found that socioeconomic status was most significant in the cheating and stealing situations. It is hypothesized that FA boys, because they have lived under detrimental social conditions and probably have themselves suffered injustices from society, have become attuned to social justice.

Recommendations: Directions for Future Research

The author suggests that father absence is a complex issue which will prove ultimately, to involve many complex interactions between environmental and individual variables. The new perspective on father-absence, by adopting a multidimensional approach, helps shed light on

the concrete reality of father absence as lived by the FA boy. On the other hand, the classical view, by adopting a unidimensional perspective, looks only at one aspect of the issue. That the two views reach diametrically opposed conclusions is only logical. However the problem lies in careful consideration of the assumptions of each position. Today, the assumptions of the classical view - namely that father absence is unidimensional, dichotomous in nature and belonging to a specific social context - are difficult to support. As Herzog and Sudia (1970) concluded:

..The impact of father's absence on a boy is conditioned and to a large extent mediated by a complex of interacting variables and probably cannot be explored fruitfully as a discrete, critical variable in itself. More specifically, ..family functioning is determined not only by the individual characteristics and the interactions of its members but also by the circumstances and environment of the family unit. (Herzog and Sudia, 1970, pp. 214).

Father absence is not only a complex variable but also an extremely important social issue affecting thousands of children in Canada today. To do justice to such an issue, future research considering moral development ought to go beyond a purely cognitivist model of moral development be it à la Piaget or à la Kohlberg. The usual fallacy of cognitivist models in psychology is their nature-nurture dualism. Translated into socio-cultural, economical and

and political terms, the subject is blamed for his limitations. Thus the cognitivist models end up supporting the status-quo. This can be quite damaging in the case of father absence if the basic assumptions of the cognitivist model of man are not kept in mind. As Sullivan (1977) had accurately stated concerning Piaget's and Kohlberg's theories of moral development, the end result of such theory is a distortion of reality.

One way to remedy such a misrepresentation of moral development is to consider morality in its basic unit: Moral judgement and moral acts. This perspective will open up morality to motivational aspects and will make the interpretation of moral development meaningful. Another way to improve the study of morality, probably in a significant fashion, is to adopt or devise a different methodological approach to the problem under investigation. The usual experimental approach of psychological research rooted in a natural science model is increasingly under attack particularly from existential phenomenological psychologists (Valle and King, 1978) and does little justice to the study of complex social issues like father absence. An exploratory type of research design is more suitable to the study of father absence. As a participant observer, the researcher dealing with a smaller sample of FA boys should have ample opportunity to assess moral development using a variety of techniques in different contexts. The

data collected would be better in quality and consequently its interpretation less equivocal and more meaningful for psychological research.

In summary, a meaningful study of the moral development of FA boys, should consider both the general assumptions of the theories advanced for father absence and moral judgement and also the appropriate methodology to deal with such a sensitive social issue. This study was admittedly limited, but an attempt was made to look critically at the assumptions of the theories of father absence and also the experimental research design within psychology's present natural science orientation. A fundamental conclusion of this study is the need to go beyond the simplistic approaches of both the so called classical view of father absence, the cogitivist approach to morality and the traditional so called experimental approach in psychology.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE UTILIZED FOR MEASURE OF MORAL DEVELOPMENT

NAME _____ GRADE _____

PRESENT DATE _____ AGE _____

BIRTH DATE _____

ITEM 1

There was once a little boy who didn't mind his mother. He took the scissors one day when he had been told not to. While he was trying to cut up some paper, he cut his finger.

Why did his finger get cut? _____

If his mother had said it was all right if he used the scissors, would his finger have been cut just the same? _____

How? _____

Now tell me what you really believe. Why did the boy get a cut on his finger? _____

ITEM 2

(A) A boy didn't know the names of the streets in a

city very well. He was not quite sure where Federal Street was. One day a man stopped him and asked him where Federal Street was. The boy answered, "I'm not sure, but I think it's over there." But it wasn't there, so the man completely lost his way and could not find the house he was looking for.

(B) Here's another story: A boy who knew the names of streets in a city very well was asked by a man where Federal Street was. The boy wanted to play a trick on the man and so he said to him, "It's over there," and he pointed to the wrong street. But the man didn't get lost and managed to find his way again.

Comparing this story with the first one, which one of the two boys do you think did the worst thing? _____

Why? _____

ITEM 3

One day Tommy and Peter were playing together. Tommy had a new electric train and Peter had a boat which could be wound up and it would sail in the water. Now Peter was a naughty little boy, and suddenly he kicked Tommy's electric train and broke it so it wouldn't run any more. What do you think should be done to the naughty Peter?

Should he be spanked? _____

Should his boat be broken? _____

Should he be made to save up his own money until he can buy Tommy another electric train? _____

Which one? _____

Why? _____

ITEM 4

One Saturday morning a mother asked her two little boys to help her clean the house; one of the little boys was to empty the waste paper, and the other was to empty the tin cans. But the little boy who was supposed to empty the waste paper went out and played instead, so the mother asked the second boy to do all the work.

Did the second boy do what he was told to do? _____

Why? _____

Would it be all right if the boy who had to do all the work told his mother that he wouldn't do it? _____

ITEM 5

(A) One day a little boy was walking home and he saw a dog that scared him. When he got home, he told his mother that he had seen a dog that was as big as an elephant.

(B) One day another little boy came home from school and told his mother that the teacher had given him a good mark in school. But this wasn't true because the teacher had not given him any mark at all that day in school. The mother was very pleased and gave the little boy a reward.

Which one of the boys told the worse lie? _____

Why? _____

ITEM 6

A mother had two little girls, one was a good little girl and did what her mother told her, but the other one did not mind her mother. One day the mother baked a cake, and since she liked the good little girl best, she gave her the biggest piece of cake.

What do you think of that? _____

Was that all right? _____

ITEM 7

(A) A boy was playing in his room while his father was at work. After a little while the boy thought he would like to draw. But he had no paper. So he went and took some lovely sheets of white paper from one of the drawers of his father's desk. When the father came home he found that his desk was all messed up and he found that someone had taken his paper. He went straight into the boy's room and there he saw the floor covered with the sheets of paper. They were scribbled all over with colored chalk. The father was very angry and he gave the boy a good spanking.

(B) Now I shall tell you a story that is nearly the same but not quite. Another little boy was playing at home

while his father was gone. He wanted to draw so he went to his father's desk and took some of his white paper. When his father came home, he found that the paper had been taken, so he went right into his son's room. There he saw the white paper on the floor, scribbled all over with colored chalk. This father was angry too, but he did not spank his son. He explained to him that it wasn't right of him. He said, "When you're not at home, when you've gone to school, if I were to go and take your toys, you wouldn't like it. So, when I'm not home, you mustn't go and take my paper either. It isn't right to do that".

Now a few days later these two boys were playing in their own yards. The boy who had been spanked was in his yard, and the one who had not been spanked was playing in his yard. And then each of them found a pencil. It was their father's pencil. Then each of them remembered that his father had said that he had lost his pencil and that it was too bad because he wouldn't be able to find it again. So then they thought that if they were to steal the pencil, no one would ever know and there would be no punishment.

Well now, one of the boys kept the pencil for himself and the other one took it back to his father. Guess which one took it back -- the one who had been spanked before for taking the paper or the one who had been talked to for having taken the paper.

Why did the other one not give it back? _____

Which does the most good, -- a talking to or a spanking? _____

Which would you rather have? _____

Why? _____

ITEM 8

There was once a big boy in a school who beat up on a smaller boy. The little boy couldn't hit back because he wasn't strong enough. So one day during recess, he hid the big boy's lunch so he couldn't find it.

What do you think of that? _____

Was it fair for the little boy to hide the older boy's lunch? _____

Why? _____

What should the little boy have done instead of hiding the big boy's lunch? _____

ITEM 9

A father had two boys. One of them always grumbled when he was sent on errands. The other one didn't like being sent either, but he always went without saying a word. So the father always used to send the boy who didn't grumble on errands more often than the other one.

Was this fair? _____

Why? _____

Did the boy who got sent all the time go on the errands? _____

ITEM 10

(A) A little boy named John was in his room. He was called to dinner. He went into the dining room. But behind the door there was a chair, and on the chair there was a tray with fifteen cups on it. But John didn't know the cups were behind the door. He went in, the door knocked against the tray and bang went the fifteen cups and they were all broken.

(B) Once there was a little boy whose name was Henry. One day when his mother was out he tried to get some jam out of the cupboard. He climbed up onto a chair and stretched out his arm. But the jam was too high up and he couldn't reach it. But while he was trying to get it he knocked over one cup. The cup fell down and broke.

Which one of the boys do you think is the naughtiest one? _____

Why? _____

ITEM 11

One afternoon a mother took her children for a walk along the river. In the middle of the afternoon she gave each of them a piece of cake which she had brought along. They all began to eat their cake except the youngest one who was careless and let his piece fall into the water.

What should be done? _____

What should the mother do? _____

Should the careless child have nothing to eat or should each of the others give him a little piece of their cake? _____

Why? _____

ITEM 12

(A) Alfred met a little friend of his who was very poor. This friend told him that he had had no dinner that day because there was nothing to eat in his house. Then Alfred went into a bakery. Since he had no money, he waited until the baker's back was turned and he took a loaf of bread. Then he ran out of the bakery and gave the loaf of bread to his friend who was hungry.

(B) Frank went into a candy store. He saw some candy that he liked. He didn't have any money. So he waited until the store-owner's back was turned and he stole one

piece of candy. Then he ran out of the store and ate the candy.

What do you think of what the two boys did? _____

Which little boy do you think was the naughtiest one? _____

ITEM 13

Once there were two children who were walking by a house in the country. There were some apple trees out in the yard in front of the house. No one was around so they went into the yard and stole some apples. Suddenly a man came out of the house and ran after them. He caught one of the boys but the other one got away. This one crossed a river on a rotten bridge and fell into the water.

Why do you think the boy fell into the water? _____

If he had not stolen the apples but he had crossed the river on that rotten bridge, would he have fallen into the water anyway? _____

Why? _____

Did the bridge know he had stolen the apples? _____

Now tell me, what do you really believe? Why did the boy fall into the water? _____

ITEM 14

Once there was a father who had two sons. One was very good and obedient. The other one was all right, but often he did things he shouldn't. One day when the father went to work, he said to the first son, "You must watch carefully to see what your brother does and when I come back I want you to tell me." Well, the father went away and the brother went and did something he shouldn't. When the father came home, he asked the first boy to tell him everything.

What ought the boy to do? _____

Why? _____

ITEM 15

(A) There was once a little girl who was called Marie. She wanted to give her mother a nice surprise, so she cut out a red valentine for her. But she didn't know how to use the scissors and she cut a big hole in her dress.

(B) Another little girl named Margaret went and took her mother's scissors one day when her mother was out. She played with the scissios for a while, but since she didn't know how to use them, she cut a little hole in her dress.

Was one or both girls naughty? _____

Which one of the little girls do you think is the

naughtiest? _____

Why? _____

ITEM 16

A child is looking at a picture book belonging to his mother. Instead of being careful, he gets many of the pages dirty. What should the mother do to him? Should she not let him watch television that evening? Or, should she not let him look at any of her picture books anymore? Or, should she go and get one of his books dirty? Which one?

Why is that the best punishment for him? _____

Which do you think is the hardest punishment? _____

Why? _____

ITEM 17

There was once a family with a lot of boys. They all had holes in their shoes, so one day their father told them to take their shoes to the shoemaker to be fixed. But one of the boys had been naughty several days before, so the father said to him: "You can't go to the shoemaker. You will have to wear your shoes with holes in them since you have been disobedient."

Was this right? _____

Why? _____

ITEM 18

(A) Why is it naughty (wrong) to tell lies? _____

(B) Would it be all right to tell a lie if you didn't
get caught and no one punished you for it? _____

APPENDIX B

SCORING KEY FOR MORAL DEVELOPMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

The responses to the moral development questionnaire were scored plus or minus following Medinnus' technique.¹ A minus score indicates that the items were answered in the direction of moral realism, while a plus score denotes a "mature," relativistic response. Each item is scored as follows: a minus score was given to the response if the

- ITEM 1 - indicated a belief in immanent justice by stating that the boy cut his finger as a punishment for not minding his mother.
- ITEM 2 - chose the actions of the first boy as worse than those of the second because the man got lost, indicating a disregard for the motive underlying the act of lying and a concern only with the consequences only with the lie.
- ITEM 3 - selected spanking as the best punishment; this, in contrast to the other two punishments, indicates a belief in the necessity of arbitrary, expiatory punishment as opposed to punishment by reciprocity.

1. G.R. Medinnus, An Investigation of Piaget's Concept of the Development of Moral Judgement in Six to Twelve Year Olds, unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1957.

- ITEM 4 - felt that the adult command was fair and if any reserve feels that he should do what the parent wants just to please him.
- ITEM 5 - judged the first lie to be worse than the second; thus, the more unlikely the lie, the more its contents mark a departure from reality, the worse it is.
- ITEM 6 - concurred with the mother's actions, indicating a belief in the necessity for punishment to the exclusion of a consideration of equality between things.
- ITEM 7 - declared in favor of the infliction of punishment rather than verbal explanation.
- ITEM 8 - condemned reciprocity between children involving taking revenge because it is forbidden by adults.
- ITEM 9 - felt that the adult command was fair and if any doubt, they agreed with the parent to please him.
- ITEM 10 - judged in terms of material result rather than in terms of motive; this was indicated if the subject stated that the first boy was the naughtier one because he broke the most cups.
- ITEM 11 - required that the careless child be punished by nothing more to eat
- ITEM 12 - judged on the basis of value of the object stolen rather than on the basis of the intention underlying the theft.

- ITEM 13 - indicated a belief in immanent justice by stating that the boy fell into the water because he had stolen the apples.
- ITEM 14 - revealed a preference for submission to adult authority as opposed to solidarity between children, indicated by the boy's refusal to tell on his brother.
- ITEM 15 - evaluated the stories in terms of material damage rather than in terms of motive.
- ITEM 16 - chose the punishment, forbidding the child to watch television, which bears no relation to the content of the guilty act and is therefore arbitrary in nature.
- ITEM 17 - approved of the punishment imposed by the father; this points to a belief in the need for retribution rather than a feeling of equality between children.
- ITEM 18 - state that a lie is wrong because it is an object of punishment; if the punishment were removed, it would be allowed.