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The relation between empathic listening styles and moral reasoning development in adolescents

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The Relation Between Empathic Listening Styles and Moral Reasoning Development in Adolescents

By

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Abstract

The focus of this study was to investigate developmental changes in thinking about relationships and the listening attitudes of males and females from middle to late adolescence. Gilligan's (1982) analysis of the distinctions between care and justice moral orientations was presented as a possible explanation for the development of a gender difference in listening behaviour. Thirty-two middle (15-16 year old) and 30 late (18-20 year old) adolescents were interviewed concerning a disagreement they had experienced with a friend. Two additional standard scenarios were also presented to students which involved a conflict between a parent and child. Responses were scored for care-based moral reasoning using Skoe's (1993) Ethic of Care Interview (ECI) and for justice-based moral reasoning using Colby and Kohlberg's (1987) Moral Judgement Interview (MJI). Further, measures of active listening where taken by assessing the number of people that students listened to over the last two weeks, how much they liked listening to others, and how important they thought listening to and understanding others was. It was proposed that care-based moral thought may be more relevant than justice-based moral thought to the development of the listener role. Furthermore, the relationship between listening and care orientation was predicted to be stronger for females than for males. Results confirmed that females, on average, indicated listening to more people's feelings and concerns, and scored significantly higher in level of care moral development than their male counter-parts. No gender differences were found in level of justice moral development. As predicted, level of care scores correlated with listening behaviour more positively than did justice stage scores. That is, the higher the level of ECI moral

reasoning, the greater the number of people that students reported listening to. However, when examined separately by gender, this relationship is only significant for males. The findings lend support to the contention that care-based moral thought may be more intimately involved in the development of listening behaviour than justice-based thought. Further research should investigate differing perceptions of power within relationships and their effects on interpersonal sensitivity.

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Introduction

According to Weiss (1969), one important component of an intimate relationship is the need to have someone with whom we can freely express our feelings, concerns, and worries. A review of the literature suggests gender differences in the process by which intimacy develops within close relationships. Both males and females tend to develop their closest friendships with those of the same sex. However, male-male friendships appear to emphasize shared experiences and activities, whereas female-female friendships emphasize the sharing of deep feelings and confidences (Aries & Johnson, 1983).

In general, women tend to be more intimate and emotionally expressive with same-sex friends (Aukett, Ritchie, & Mill, 1988; Caldwell & Peplau, 1982), and they are more likely to emphasize talking, emotional sharing, and disclosure of personal problems in their relations with others than are males (Aukett, Ritchie, & Mill, 1988). Men have been found to disclose less personal information about themselves (Cozby, 1978) and to receive less personal information from others (Komarovsky, 1976). When men do disclose, unlike women, they are more likely to find "emotional support" and "therapeutic value" in their opposite-sex friendships (Aukett, Ritchie, & Mill, 1988). In short, this means women are more likely to receive intimate disclosures from both women and men (Chafetz, 1978; Komarovsky, 1974; Olstad, 1975).

The purpose of this research is to examine the process by which females come to be the primary recipients of intimate, personal information from others in adolescence. Specifically, this study will investigate whether this gender difference in active listening

can be explained in terms of gender differences in thinking about relationships. Do males and females approach relationships differently, and do such differences influence the degree to which males and females actively listen to others' concerns?

This introduction will be divided into three main sections. The first section will review various explanations of gender differences in interpersonal sensitivity. The second section will address how such differences can be understood in terms of gender differences in approaches to relationships, as outlined by Gilligan's (1982) description of two moral orientations. The third section will return to a developmental focus, and empirical literature on adolescent relationships will be presented.

A. Explanations of Gender Differences in Interpersonal Sensitivity

The following literature on gender differences is derived from research in a number of different areas, such as self-disclosure, intimacy, and interpersonal sensitivity. Explanations for gender differences in self-disclosure and intimacy generally fall into two categories. Some propose gender role socialization explanations; that is, females are taught to be more nurturant and relationship-oriented than males. Others propose that differences in disclosure are a function of differential power between men and women. These two explanations will be summarized below, followed by a third explanation which encompasses the above two positions. This third view is developed from Gilligan's (1982) description of two orientations for moral reasoning - that of justice (the prototypic masculine orientation) and that of care (the prototypic feminine orientation).

Gender Role Socialization

Gender differences in intimacy frequently have been explained in terms of gender

roles. As a process, gender role socialization can be understood to involve the internalization of cultural norms and values regarding appropriate male and female behaviour (Thompson, 1981). Researchers have proposed that men and women are socialized to assume different roles when it comes to intimate relatio .s. Men are taught to be less emotionally expressive than women and, as a result, have greater difficulty with emotional intimacy (Lewis, 1978; Pleck, 1976). Some researchers further propose that the male sex role itself limits emotional expression in male friendships (David & Brannon, 1976; Pleck, 1976).

Expressive traits are considered "feminine" in our society (Bem, 1974; Broverman, Broverman, Clarkson, Rosenkrantz, & Vogal, 1968; Lombardo, Cretser, Lombardo, & Mathis, 1983), and while most men do appear capable of intimacy, such expressive traits are not encouraged in males (Basow, 1980). Instead, the male role emphasizes competition and emotional independence, and discourages personal self-disclosure (Basow, 1980).

It is proposed that intimate relations amongst men are uncommon (O'Neil, 1982). Males who are emotionally expressive have been found to suffer a loss of prestige, are liked less, and tend to have greater difficulty with the competitive male role than other men (Basow, 1980). Comparatively, males who fail to disclose are rated as better adjusted than those who disclose a personal problem (Derlega & Chaikin, 1976). By expressing feelings, males make themselves vulnerable, and in competitive environments, they risk being taken advantage of. Other researchers have proposed that males lack role models for expression of emotional intimacy between men (Lewis, 1978). Still others

cite homophobia as a barrier to intimacy between men (Ganong & Coleman, 1984).

While the male role holds many barriers to intimacy, the female role encourages expressive traits and social responsiveness (Basow, 1980). In terms of socialization, girls are rewarded for their success in relationships with others, and they are encouraged to express feelings and emotions at an early age (Derlega & Chaikin, 1976). Some theorists propose that the feminine role itself directs women to operate in a communal sphere where relations with others are a central focus (Basow, 1982). The skills required for this role include the ability to empathize and express interpersonal sensitivity. Females are also expected to be emotionally expressive and nurturant (Basow, 1982). Contrary to the male role, the feminine role does not encourage females to be assertive or to demonstrate independence (Basow, 1982). Some research has suggested that non-self-disclosing females are viewed as significantly more maladjusted than other women (Derlega & Chaikin, 1976).

This socialization explanation has been met with criticism, however, for the extreme 'polarization' of males and females it depicts. That is, socialization theories propose that the male role will influence males to dominate social interactions, concerning themselves with personal gain. In contrast, the feminine role will encourage women to facilitate others' participation in social interactions and to maintain harmonious relations with others despite situational circumstances such as holding a position of power (Thompson, 1981). Snodgrass (1985), in a review of literature concerning women's greater interpersonal sensitivity, writes,

> if it were primarily a personality trait or a skill, there would be more consistency in this ability. However, because there seems to

> be great variability, even within individuals, this ability must be affected by the social context (p.146).

Following this reasoning, if socialization is the basis for gender differences in interpersonal sensitivity, then such "trait-like" differences between males and females should emerge regardless of similarities in power or position. In order to understand better how females come to demonstrate greater interpersonal sensitivity, some scientists have moved away from socialization explanations and instead have placed importance on one's situational position of power as an explanation in interpreting interpersonal communication.

Power Differences Between Men and Women

Gender differences in interpersonal sensitivity have also been explained in terms of power or status differences between males and females. One theory which addresses the role of power in social interaction is the social exchange theory (Thibaut & Kelly, 1959). To some degree, all individuals are dependent upon others in order to fulfil their needs. The greater the dependency on others, the greater the likelihood that behaviour and experience will be shaped by others (Emerson, 1962).

In terms of interpersonal sensitivity, it is postulated that because males have greater control of societal resources than women, males hold greater power over females within interpersonal relationships. Females must rely on males for access to resources. Similarly, some theorists would argue that different patterns of communication are best explained in terms of males' greater power and status within our society rather than as a reflection of gender (Derlega, Durham, Gockel, & Sholis, 1981). In a study by Snodgrass (1985), undergraduate students were assigned to same-sex or mixed-sex dyads

in order to determine the effects of sex and leader/subordinate role on interpersonal sensitivity. Participants were randomly assigned to either the position of teacher or student. The teacher was required to teach students the signed alphabet letters, test the students on what they had learned, and finally, to grade the student. Interpersonal sensitivity was measured by asking participants to fill out questionnaires on which they indicated the thoughts and feelings they had concerning themselves and the other participant. They were also asked to indicate how they thought the other person felt about these same items. The results indicated that students were more sensitive to the feelings of teachers than vice-versa. However, no main effect for gender in interpersonal sensitivity was found. Thus, one's power position appeared to hold a greater influence on the expression of interpersonal sensitivity than one's sex.

Some examples that researchers have found for males' greater status include the tendency of males to dominate verbally, while females tend to listen more (Basow, 1986). Specifically, males have been found to talk more and for greater periods of time in mixed-sex groups. They interrupt others in conversation more, take control of the topic more, make more jokes, and use more slang (less standard English). Females, on the other hand, talk in higher pitch, phrase opinions in the form of tag questions rather than direct statements, allow themselves to be interrupted more, listen more, and disclose more personal information about themselves (Basow, 1986).

These differences in communication are believed to reflect differences in power between men and women. To the extent that females are in a subordinate position to that of men, gender differences are expected to be found in interpersonal sensitivity which

reflect the associated status differences.

Criticism of the power perspective can be understood as follows. The focus on oppression as an explanation for greater female interpersonal sensitivity reduces such caring behaviour to an involuntary act. According to Chodorow (1978), caring, to be adequate, must contain a voluntary component.

Kimball (1992) addresses the political concerns surrounding the power versus socialization debate when discussing the morality of care. Kimball states,

> it follows that if the only reason women value care is because we are oppressed, then we are in the very awkward political position of needing to keep women oppressed so we will care, and of glorifying women's oppression if we value caring (p.16).

In other words, caring becomes, by definition, the force of oppression. If, however, the causal relationship between oppression and care is to be broken - if women are to care for others of their own free will - then it is necessary to recognize and avoid such an essentialist view of caring. That is, it is important to resist defining care without specifying the context under which it occurs. For example, according to Kimball (1992), "care is a very different moral act for a woman who cares for an abusive man, or even one who does not return her care, than it is for the same woman who cares for her child" (p. 17). In both instances the relationships are unequal, but in different ways. While it could be argued that the woman who cares for a man does so because he holds greater power over her, it is more difficult to argue that the woman cares for a child because the child also holds greater power over her. Thus, parallel to the importance placed on context by theorists who propose the power explanation, context can also be used to dismiss this power argument as a general principle.

While the effect of power positions on the display of interpersonal sensitivity may be relevant under certain conditions, it is not a meaningful explanation under others. Snodgrass (1985) notes the importance of subjective experience when discussing power relations in interpersonal sensitivity. She states, "the greater sensitivity of subordinates seems to be related to one's self-perception of dominance within the dyad" (p.153). She further explains that it is "the extent to which one assumes dominance, or perceives oneself to be dominant, that influences interpersonal sensitivity" (p. 153). It seems reasonable to assume, then, that individual differences in perception of power, or the degree to which an individual understands relationships in terms of power, will affect the degree to which the power position explains communication within relationships. For individuals who do not view interpersonal situations in terms of power relations (reflective of a hierarchical view), the expression of interpersonal sensitivity apparently might well be based on other factors, concerns, or viewpoints.

Snodgrass (1985) suggests that when interacting with strangers, as might primarily be the case for research participants in studies in this area, superiors are not so much interested in how subordinates are feeling as they are with the impression they make on subordinates. This suggests that under certain circumstances, influencing others is of greater importance than understanding others. However, under other circumstances, understanding others and how they feel about themselves is of more importance than influencing them, as might be the case for therapists, parents, or close friends (Snodgrass, 1985). Again, the subjective attitude towards relations with others may influence communication. More recent research concerning the impact of power on

interpersonal sensitivity has lent some support for gender differences in use of power when in a superior position (Snodgrass, 1992). Females, in a supervisor position, may be more concerned with social facilitation (Eagly & Karau, 1991) and with how others are feeling about themselves than are males. In a study by Peng and Markus (1993), females in a dominant position (judge) over two females subordinates (jurors) were found to be more accurate in their assessments of how others were feeling about themselves than female jurors, or than male judges and jurors. Male judges were in fact less accurate in how others perceive themselves than were males jurors or females overall.

In summary, power position explanations attribute greater female interpersonal sensitivity to circumstances of greater male power and status within our society. However, while recognizing that the role of power may be relevant in certain circumstances, it is not a meaningful explanation for true caring behaviour. When the situation warrants understanding the feelings and needs of others, the application of lower status or less power as an explanation for such caring behaviour appears inappropriate.

In order to fully understand why greater expression of interpersonal sensitivity is found in women, and why women listen to others' personal concerns more than do men, explanations must take into account differing subjective views on hierarchical relations and differing circumstances which may or may not warrant interpersonal sensitivity.

B. Gilligan's View of Male and Female Moral Development

I believe that a more flexible explanation, and thus a more satisfactory one, for gender differences in interpersonal sensitivity can be found in Gilligan's (1982) work on gender differences in moral development. Gilligan proposes that females differ from

males in how they understand social interaction. She outlines this difference in thinking by describing two distinct moral orientations - males' moral thinking can be described in terms of a "justice voice"; females' thinking can be described in terms of a "care voice". Gilligan argues that these two moral orientations hold different implications for how males and females understand and relate to others.

Justice Orientation. Males, as a group, are believed to view the world in hierarchical terms and to relate to others in more competitive ways. Gilligan proposes that those holding a justice orientation desire to compete and win positions of high prestige within a hierarchy. Thus, males see others in terms of competition and as a measure of their own abilities; they make efforts to view others and their behaviour along the same standards through which they examine themselves. Further, maturity for those ascribing to this orientation can be understood in terms of reaching autonomy. According to Gilligan, male development follows a course towards greater individualization.

Care Orientation. Females, as a group, are thought to view the world in terms of connection, and relate to others in "responsive" ways. Gilligan suggests that those holding a care orientation desire to connect with others and to maintain harmonious relations. Thus, females make efforts to understand others and their circumstances in order to maintain connection to them (Gilligan, 1982). Maturity, according to the care orientation, involves reaching a higher understanding of connectedness to others. Gilligan proposes female development follows a course towards greater connectedness.

The perspective of different voices, as outlined above, can be applied to explain

the process by which females come to be the primary recipients of personal disclosure from others. It is proposed that different moral orientations, which emphasize different approaches to relating with others, are linked to the role of listener.

According to a care orientation, when individuals make moral decisions, they will evaluate themselves as morally correct when they have acted in a responsive way. This means that they have examined the situation from the perspective of all those involved in the conflict, and have taken into account each person's position on the situation, including their thoughts and needs, during the process of deciding. Understanding the perspective of others in this framework is more properly viewed as an abstract cognitive exercise of imagining the self in others' circumstances (Gilligan, 1982). Perspective-takers will then evaluate their choices according to the consequences of the action for all involved. The right thing to do is that thing which results in sustaining connections amongst all parties. Relations, ideally, are to remain (or to develop or become) harmonious. The good or correct action is one which meets the needs of everyone. Compromise enters into this process, and is seen as an acceptable position to take in order to establish harmonious relations in negotiation with others.

According to a justice orientation, when individuals make moral decisions they evaluate themselves as moral when they have acted according to the rules or principles of justice. The process of coming to the right choice when making a moral decision involves determining what is the correct thing to do, given the circumstance. In order to make such a decision, individuals seek a position of autonomy so that they remain fair and unbiased; importance is placed on viewing the situation from an objective standpoint.

To summarize, while the care orientation emphasizes understanding others' points of view in their own terms in the process of decision making, the justice orientation emphasizes remaining in an autonomous position with respect to others in order to remain unbiased (Gilligan, 1982). Perspective-taking here remains more idealized and abstract.

Within the care framework, good decision makers have to understand those with whom they interact in order to relate successfully. Remaining on good terms with others is not done because of "powerlessness." Rather, listening is valued by individuals holding a care orientation. Those who do not listen to and understand others can not, in the care way of thinking, make appropriate moral decisions. Relationships with others risk being severed or worsened because of misunderstandings. In contrast, the importance of listening to and understanding others is not described by Gilligan (1982) as characteristic of the justice orientation. It therefore seems reasonable to expect that higher development of care thinking, according to Gilligan's description, will correlate with subjective evaluations of self as listener within intimate relations.

Gilligan acknowledges overlap between the sexes in moral discussion (e.g., Gilligan & Attanucci, 1988). She proposes that the two orientations are better understood as gender-related as opposed to gender-specific, meaning that both males and females use both "voices" in their moral discussions. Thus, the relationship between listener behaviours and values and care orientation could be found in both males' and females' discussions of moral dilemmas. However, Gilligan proposes that while males tend to base moral decisions primarily upon justice concepts, females tend to base them

primarily upon conceptions of care (Gilligan, 1982). Therefore, one might expect females, as a group, to display greater care thinking and to say that they value listening to others, and actually do so, more than do males.

Kohlberg's Model of Moral Development

Gilligan criticized Kohlberg's original description of moral development because it was based on an exclusively male sample. Consequently, she claimed that females, when scored using Kohlberg's measure of development, tended to score lower than did males (Gilligan, 1982). In response to this apparent gender difference in moral reasoning, Gilligan claimed that Kohlberg's description of morality was gender-biased. Instead, she proposed that while males' moral development may indeed follow a course of individualization which emphasizes separation and autonomy, females' development is different. Gilligan believed female development could best be described in terms of attachment. That is, concerns about care, connection, and relating to others are of central importance in women's lives.

Proponents of Kohlberg's stages of moral development might argue that the justice-based morality is not gender-biased, but rather, care concerns are a component of this developmental sequence. Walker (1984) conducted a meta-analysis of the literature on moral development employing Kohlberg's measure. Overall, he failed to find support for a gender difference in stage levels in the moral reasoning literature. According to Skoe (1992), this result does not negate the existence of an ethic of care, however. She contends that "the ethic of care may operate differentially in females and males in important, but more subtle or complex ways than simple main effects" (p.4).

Thus, the ethic of care, she would claim, warrants further investigation.

As an example of a more subtle gender difference, research by Skoe and Diessner (in press) found a stronger relationship between Marcia's (1966, 1980) stages of identity development (ego identity status) and a care-based measure of morality (ECI) for women than was true for men. Further, the ECI was more strongly related to identity than was Kohlberg's MJI for women, but not for men. The researchers suggested that the care ethic may be more important in terms of identity for women than it is for men.

Gender Differences in Interpersonal Communication Amongst Adults

Deborah Tannen (1990) writes about the difficulties men and women have communicating with one another. She proposes that males and females have different ways of communicating - and refers to these as "genderlects". These genderlects create difficulties for cross-sex communication because males and females use the same words to mean different things. The result is that males and females often fail to understand what the other is trying to say. In terms of listening behaviour, Tannen writes,

> The act of giving information by definition frames one in a position of higher status, while the act of listening frames one as lower. Children instinctively sense this - as do most men. But when women listen to men, they are not thinking in terms of status. Unfortunately, their attempts to reinforce connections and establish rapport, when interpreted through the lens of status, can be misinterpreted as casting them in a subordinate position - and are likely to be taken that way by many men (p. 139).

In other words, Tannen, sharing a similar view to that held by Gilligan, proposes that women concern themselves with issues of connection, whereas men concern themselves with issues of status. When men evaluate women's listening behaviour, they do it in light of their own orientation - listening is seen as lowering one's self. Thus, there

seems reason to believe that there may be differing levels of motivation to engage in listening behaviour. Males, as a group, may avoid listening behaviour because it is associated with lower status, but females may actively engage in listening behaviour because it is indicative of the desire to connect with others and establish rapport.

Much of Tannen's writing focuses on how the differences between 'male' communication and 'female' communication result in a reduction of 'satisfactory' communication between the two genders. However, she does acknowledge that when males desire to disclose personal concerns or worries to others, they prefer to talk to women. Women, on the other hand, tend to find the responses of males to their personal concerns 'insensitive' and 'frustrating'. It is of interest to note that, despite all the difficulty men and women appear to have communicating with one another, men would rather disclose personal concerns or worries to women than to men. There are two possible explanations for this finding.

First, according to research by Berryman-Fink and Wilcox (1983), individuals who use more "feminine" language styles are seen by others as being more credible. Sharing of feelings, smiling and greater eye contact can be seen as linked to greater openness. In contrast, "masculine" language styles contribute to a perception of the communicator as "extroverted". They suggest that this may be due to frequent vocalizations which are interpreted as an attempt to influence others. Thus, the female "genderlect" may be more conducive to listening responses than the male "genderlect".

Second, competitiveness may work to hinder open sharing of emotional, personal concerns. If individuals see the world in hierarchical terms, then others are seen as

competitors. Tannen makes reference to a 'competitive' conversational style which is typical of North American men. She argues that this competitive style inhibits men from disclosing to other men, and as a result, they are more likely to turn to women. Because women's conversation style is less competitive, many individuals prefer to disclose to women (Tannen, 1990).

The negative impact of status on interpersonal sensitivity has also been proposed by Swap and Rubin (1983). They argue that those who typically demonstrate communication skills reflecting a strong, interpersonal orientation, develop such skills in order to adapt to a "chronic position of relative powerlessness" (p. 218). In this line of thought, it is advantageous for low-power individuals to pay close attention to others because, compared to high-powered individuals, they are more likely to be affected by the actions of others. Thus, listening to others is something that those who are lower within the hierarchy do in order to survive. Because of this link between listening and lower placement within the hierarchy, individuals holding a justice view are likely to find listening unpleasant and something to be avoided when possible, as it would be associated with lower status.

C. The Role of Adolescence

Gilligan focuses on the period of adolescence as a critical time for the development of gender differences in self-concept and moral orientation (Gilligan, 1982). According to Paul and White (1990), adolescence is a period of development in which individuals "'learn' friendship and the nuances of intimate relating" (p.388). The various changes in adolescent lives such as "heightened social consciousness" and "changing

family relations", according to these two researchers, "drive the adolescent to peer relationships as a significant arena for securing support, approval, security, communion, feedback, and guidance" (p. 388). Below, literature concerning the structure of relationships, social cognition, gender roles, and intimacy will be reviewed in light of an adolescent developmental perspective, focusing on age and gender differences in these areas.

Structure of Relationships. Past literature on the role of parents and peers in the lives of adolescents has either stressed dissimilarity between these two groups or addressed their "inevitably competitive quality" (Cooper & Ayers, 1985). However, more recent research suggests that the parent-child relationship is not severed during adolescence, but instead is transformed. Some research reports that peers appear to fulfil a new and unique role in the lives of adolescents that does not replace the parental role (Palmonari & Pombeni, 1990; Furnham & Gunter, 1983). Rather, parents remain stable and important influences on adolescents' lives (Valiant, 1983; Protinsky, 1988; Raffaelli & Duckett, 1989). Thus, the relationship between parent and child is transformed during adolescence, while peer relationships emerge to fill a new place in the adolescent's life.

In a study by Raffaelli and Duckett (1989), information concerning communication with family and friends was derived from 401, 5th to 9th grade students who were randomly selected from two suburban Chicago communities (one community was middle class, the other was working class). Subjects were asked to carry electronic pagers for a week and, when signalled, to fill out reports on how their time was spent, whom they were with, and how they were feeling. More specifically, this study

investigated when adolescents talked over the phone, whom they talked with (parents, siblings, family groups, friends, other), and lastly, how they felt at the time.

The findings showed that girls spent more time socializing than boys. While for females, time spent socializing increased markedly with age in early adolescence, the time that males spent with others increased only moderately with age. Overall, girls talked more with family than did boys. According to these researchers, time spent talking with friends appeared to represent a new aspect of adolescents' experience which did not diminish the time spent talking with family members. With age, both sexes increased the amount of time spent conversing with friends, but maintained the same amount of talk with family members. Girls talked more with friends than did boys at all age levels, however.

Participants increased in the tendency to discuss family concerns with family members, and peer and self concerns with friends. The findings also indicated that 9th grade girls discussed personal concerns and people (peers, family, and self) 3/4 of the time when conversing with friends. Boys of this same age, on the other hand, discussed these topics 1/3 of the time, and included in their discussions more talk of sports and leisure activities.

In short, females tended to increase the time spent talking with friends about personal concerns and people across adolescence. For males, talk with friends did increase with age. However, it did not do so to the same level as for females. As well, males tended to talk more about sports and leisure activities. This research lends support to both age and gender differences in the pattern of peer communication during

adolescence.

In a paper by Larson and Richards (1991), the authors reanalysed the same time-sampling data. The purpose of Larson and Richards' analyses was to focus on companionship. Specifically, they investigated whether early adolescence was associated with a decrease in time spent with family and an increase in time spent with friends, and whether there were qualitative differences in conversations with family and friends.

Positive affect in interactions with friends increased for both males and females across 5th to 9th grade. Larson and Richards believe this suggests "that interactions with friends have become more rewarding" (p. 295). However, contrary to 'common belief', males did not report spending more time with friends across adolescence. For girls a net increase in time spent with friends was reported after 7th grade. Girls' increase in time showed up in terms of talking over the phone to friends and time spent outside the home (e.g., they went shopping with friends rather than family members).

Rather than time spent with friends replacing time spent with family, it was discovered that time spent alone increased for youths from 5th to 9th grade, especially for boys, accounting for some of the decrease in time with family members. Participants were likely to spend their time alone in their bedrooms or in some unoccupied part of the house. Compared to girls, boys also reported spending more time outside of the home alone, according to Larson and Richards, perhaps "reflecting greater independence" (p.295). The authors add, "the absence of this trend in girls, we speculate, might be attributable to their greater vulnerability to sexual harassment" (p. 295).

Taken together, the above two reports support Gilligan's view that males and

females follow somewhat different developmental pathways. Across adolescence, girls increased time spent with friends and allocated more time for talking about people and personal concerns than did males. Males did not report spending more time with family and friends across adolescence, but instead tended to spend more time alone than did females.

Much of what is known about gender differences in intimate friendships during adolescence comes from same-sex friendships (Paul & White, 1990). Unfortunately, little research has been collected on adolescent opposite-sex friendships (Paul & White, 1990). There is some research to suggest that with age there is an increase in the formation of opposite-sex friendships (Blyth, Hill, & Theil, 1982) and that the level of intimacy in these relationships also increases with age (Sharabany, Gershoni, & Hofman, 1981). These relationships may be particularly important for males. In one study by Komarovsky (1974), sixty-two college males were asked to identify their major confidant. For most males, the closest female friend was indicated as the recipient of personal self-disclosure in all topics with the exception of money. Only seventeen of the subjects reported confiding more to a male friend.

In summary, a number of changes occur during adolescence concerning the formation of new relations with others. Again, this may indicate that adolescence is an important time in development for examining the process by which females come to be the primary recipients of intimate disclosure from others, both males and females.

Social Cognition. Adolescence is also marked by development in social cognition. Cognitive changes can be found in how individuals think about others and

conceive of relations with them during this period. According to Selman (1980), adolescents progress from understanding friendship in concrete terms, to beginning to recognize and accept internal psychological characteristics in their conception of relations with others.

Selman (1980) outlined five developmental stages through which individuals progress in their understanding of friendship. Specifically, he uses the resolution of conflict which occurs between friends (relationship maintenance under difficult situations) to conceptualize and investigate the stages. These stages range from Level 0 to Level 4. Level 0 is described as momentary friendships and physical solutions to conflicts between friends (e.g., if I want the toy that another child is playing with, I might resolve this conflict by punching the other child and taking the toy). At this stage individuals are unable to distinguish between the psychological/inner experience and the outer/external experience. Level 1 is a stage in which friendship is understood in terms of unilateral relationships. Individuals are able to distinguish between psychological experience and physical behaviour, and recognition of intentional versus unintentional behaviour emerges. Others are still understood in terms of surface actions, however. Level 2 is characterized by bilateral friendships and cooperative solutions to conflict. At this level, individuals are able to comprehend the perspective of another on one's own actions. Level 3 can be characterized by stability of friendships and mutual solutions to conflict. At this level, individuals understand that certain conflicts reside within the relationship itself; conflict is a product of the interaction between two parties rather than a result of external annoyances which influence each party separately. Level 4 is

characterized autonomous interdependence and symbolic action as a resolution to conflicts. At this level, individuals partially reject mutuality (as it exists in earlier levels) when it interferes with personal growth and development. While there is a move towards independence at this level, the individual also sees total independence as undesirable.

Selman et al. (1986) have investigated the link between social cognition and the way individuals interact with others. More specifically, the researchers addressed "the repertoire of interpersonal strategies used by adolescents in dyadic interactions with peers and adults" (p.450). Their conception of interpersonal negotiation strategies was used to interview ninety middle-class adolescents aged 11 to 19. Participants responded to eight hypothetical dilemmas which addressed a specific problem faced by a same-sex protagonist. Responses were scored according to an Interpersonal Negotiation Scale (INS) based on the cognitive developmental stages outlined above.

Results indicated that with increased age, INS level also increased. Further, females, as a group, were found to demonstrate higher INS development than boys as a group, though this varied somewhat with I.Q. level. Thus, there was some support for the hypothesis of more advanced sociocognitive skills among females in adolescence.

Intimacy Development. There exists some evidence to support that adolescents view intimacy as more important in friendships than do younger children (Berndt, 1982). In fact, adolescents tend to describe their friendships as more intimate than do younger children (Sharabany et al., 1981).

In a study by Berndt and Perry (1986), students in grades two, four, six and eight were interviewed, in an effort to determine the frequency of supportive behaviours

provided by a particular friend. The researchers looked at a number of supportive behaviours. Of specific interest were those findings concerning emotional support or intimacy. Intimacy was assessed by asking subjects to answer the following question, "when you have a problem at home or at school, do you talk to [name of friend indicated by subject] about it?" If students indicated yes, the researchers then asked how often they did so on a scale of one to four (one, meaning "once in a while" to four, meaning "all of the time"). The results indicated a trend - as grade increased, students reported greater intimacy in their friendships.

Other research has found gender differences in adolescents' understanding of intimacy. Girls have been found to rate intimacy as more important, and to describe their friendships as more intimate, than boys do (Berndt, 1982). Further, development of intimacy has been found to occur differently for males and females during adolescence. In a study by Camarena, Sanigiani, and Peterson (1990), 148 girls and 130 boys in 8th grade were questioned about a close friendship. Issues of shared experience (such as playing soccer on the same team), self-disclosure (revealing personal information about the self), and intimacy (feelings of closeness) were derived from a series of questions presented by the researchers, and examined in order to determine whether gender differences exist in the way intimacy is achieved between close friends.

The results indicated, first, that females reported greater levels of intimacy than males. Second, while self-disclosure led to emotional closeness for both sexes, when self-disclosure levels were controlled, no relationship existed between levels of shared experience and intimacy for girls. Shared experience was related to feelings of closeness

for boys. In short, it appears that females primarily use self-disclosure as an avenue for intimacy, while males primarily employ shared experience. Along this same line, some theorists propose that males and females differ in how they approach the task of intimacy and identity development based on Erikson's (1950) conception of social development. According to Hodgson and Fischer (1979), "males and females follow identity development pathways discriminably different from each other, choosing to seek the nature of self by confronting very different questions" (p. 46). Males concern themselves with occupational identity and females with "establishment and maintenance of interpersonal relationships" (Paul & White, 1990).

Roscoe, Kennedy, and Pope (1987) asked late adolescents (mean age 19 years) "what they thought made a relationship one of intimacy" (p.513). Participants tended to list the following four categories most frequently: sharing, physical/sexual interaction, trust/faith, and openness. Interestingly, males more often cited physical/sexual interaction, whereas females more often rated openness as a component of intimacy. Once again this supports a gender difference in relationship focus during adolescence.

Communication. Youniss and Smollar (1985) conducted a number of interviews with adolescents in order to investigate their relations with parents and peers. One component of these interviews focused on activities and communications in close friendships. In one study, 94% of adolescents indicated they "have at least one close friend who means a lot to me" (p. 94). The authors propose that this supports the importance of peer relationships for social development during adolescence.

Youniss and Smollar specifically addressed the kinds of activities that close

friends engage in, the topics that friends discuss, and the quality of these discussions. Close friend was defined as "a person of the same sex as you who is not a brother or sister" (p.95). Activities that friends enjoyed together were identified by youths. Most females indicated that they "most enjoyed" the following: "going out together", 64%, "talking together", 28%, "recreational activities", 2%, and "drug or alcohol use", 1%. For males, activities were rated as follows: "going out together", 36%, "recreational or sport activities", 24%, "drug or alcohol use", 20%, "talking together", 10%, "idiosyncratic answers", 4%, and no response, 6%. Use of these categories significantly differed between males and females.

Addressing this same topic, Youniss and Smollar found similar results when they asked youths to identify "typical" activities that friends engage in. They write, "for the most part, the activities offered by males and females are the same, but their frequencies differ" (p.97). Of interest are gender differences in the rating of activities involving "intimate discussions." Sixty percent of females rated "intimate discussions" as typical of friends, while only 30% of males did so. Comparatively, for activities involving "nonintimate discussion", 7% of females rated this as typical, while 27% of males did so.

Youniss and Smollar concluded that adolescents favour activities that they can engage in away from home. It appeared as though the nature of the activity was not as important as just being together. However, when friends did spend time together, males and females spent time differently with friends. Male friends appeared to engage in sports or 'illicit' activities more than did females. Female friends indicated that they

most enjoyed just talking together. In addition, in discussions between close friends, the topic more typically involved personal issues and problems if the close friends were female. Thus, again, support is found for gender differences in the frequency of personal talk between friends and the importance placed upon such conversations. Girls spend more time talking with friends and seem to place greater priority on doing so than do boys.

In summary, adolescence appears to be an important period of social development for a number of reasons. In terms of the changing structures of relationships, friendships appear to take on greater importance during this time and increased contact with opposite sex friends also is believed to occur. During adolescence, social cognition also appears to show developmental progression. Adolescents progress from understanding friendship in concrete terms to begin to recognize and accept internal psychological characteristics in their friendships (Selman, 1979). Adherence to adult gender roles has been found to increase with age across adolescence, especially for females (Archer, 1984). If interpersonal sensitivity, or more specifically, listening behaviour, is gender-linked, then it is possible that development of listening behaviour and skills should emerge with increasing age across adolescence, especially among females.

Given that many aspects of social development occur over this period, it seems reasonable to expect that such developmental changes warrant investigation in the development of the listening role. If, as Gilligan (1982) contends, males and females follow different developmental pathways, and if such developmental pathways are linked to gender differences in listening behaviour in adulthood, it also seems reasonable to

expect that these gender differences may begin to appear across adolescence. The proposed study addresses gender differences in thinking about relationships in middle to late adolescence in order to determine whether, in fact, such differences influence listening attitudes and behaviour.

Orientation and Hypotheses

The proposed study is aimed at better understanding how differences in the way that individuals conceive of relationships relate to their listening behaviour. Given that adult females are more likely to be recipients of personal self-disclosure from both men and women, the proposed research attempts to investigate developmental changes in relationship thinking and listening attitudes in adolescence. Gender differences are expected to appear in adolescence, paralleling previous research on adult listening behaviour.

The proposed study will investigate the relationship between listening and aspects of moral reasoning in both males and females. Based on Gilligan's (1982) depiction of care-oriented moral thinking, Skoe (1993) has developed an empirical tool to measure care thinking. She has defined five stages of care development and explains that development progresses from "an initial position of self-concern", towards thinking in terms of "exclusive other-concern", to finally arrive at thinking in terms of a "balanced self and other concern" (p.8). Skoe's ethic of care will be compared with Kohlberg's stages of justice thinking in order to determine whether those holding a care orientation, in the process of making moral decisions, are more disposed to hold positive attitudes about listening and are more likely to engage in listening behaviour. That is to say, care-

based moral thought may be more relevant than justice-based moral thought to the development of the listener role. Furthermore, the relationship between listening and care orientation may differ by gender. The proposed study will investigate whether care - based moral thought is more relevant to females' development than it is to males' development.

Hypotheses

1. Females are predicted to rate themselves as listening to others more, and as valuing listening behaviour more than do males. Level of care development is also expected to be higher in females than in males, as measured by Skoe's (1991) stages of care development.

2. Levels of care reasoning and justice reasoning are expected to differ by age. Older adolescents are expected to display more sophisticated care-type thinking about relationships than younger adolescents as measured by Skoe's developmental stages, and more advanced justice thinking as measured by Kohlberg's developmental stages.

3. The third hypothesis concerns whether listening to others' self-disclosures is related to the development of care thinking. It is hypothesized that the higher the level of care development, the more participants will indicate that they engage in listening to others' feelings and concerns, and value doing so. This is predicted to be the case for both males and females. However, it is expected that the relationship between care development and listening will be stronger for females than for males.

4. The final hypothesis concerns the relationship between listening and the two moral developmental measures - Skoe's care development and Kohlberg's moral development.

It is predicted that Skoe's care development index will correlate more positively with listening behaviours in adolescence than will Kohlberg's justice development index.

Method

Sample

Sixteen male and 16 female participants (ages 15 to 16) were recruited as volunteers from the Waterloo separate school system. Another 12 males and 18 females (aged 18 to 20) were recruited from Wilfrid Laurier University and received course credit for participating. Participants made up two age groups which represented middle and late adolescent categories. There were 32 from ages 15-16, and 30 from ages 18 to 20. Participants were mostly white, and predominantly from a middle class background.

Measures

In order to investigate gender differences in relationship thinking, interviews were scored using Skoe's (1993) levels of care reasoning and Kohlberg's levels of justice reasoning (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987). Each of these systems is briefly described here.

Skoe's Care-Oriented Moral Development Stages. As previously stated, Skoe's stages of care development are based on Gilligan's (1982) depiction of care-orientated moral thinking. Skoe outlines the progression of development from an exclusive self-concern towards an exclusive other-concern. The final stage is one in which a balance between both other and self concerns is made. The five stages of development are outlined as follows:

Level 1: Survival (Caring for Self). This first level is characterized by thinking in terms of "survival" or concern for one's own needs only. According to Skoe, at this level individuals believe what they want to do is the same as what they should do. She further adds, "questions of 'rightness' emerge mainly if one's own needs are in conflict, then

s/he would have to decide which needs should take precedence" (p.4). In short, individuals' thinking at this level can be characterized as an interest in ensuring that their own needs are satisfied while avoiding hurt or suffering to themselves. "There is little if any evidence of caring for other people (their lives or feelings)" (p. 4). Individuals at this stage are unable to conceive of abstract ethical principles of morality.

Level 1.5: Transition from Survival to Responsibility. Skoe describes this stage as when individuals begin to consider their "attachment or connection to others" (p. 12). At this stage individuals first begin to label caring for self as "selfish" or "unrealistic". According to Skoe, "this criticism signals a new understanding of the connection between self and others. There is a shift from selfishness to responsibility, a move toward social participation" (p.12). However, concern for self remains the primary concern for the individual at this level. When other's needs are in conflict with their own, individuals at this stage will favour fulfilling their own.

Level 2: Conventions of Goodness (Caring for Others). Individuals at this level equate what is good "with self-sacrificing care for others" (p.19). The right or correct moral judgement is determined by "societal values", "shared norms and expectations" (p.19). According to Skoe, thinking at this stage is conventional in nature, "defining the self and proclaiming its worth on the basis of the ability to care for and protect others" (p. 19). Conflicting issues focus on others' hurt. "Others are helped or protected often at the expense of self-assertion" (p.19).

Level 2.5: Transition from Conventional to Reflective Care Perspective (From Goodness to Truth About Relationships). Again a transition stage, Skoe describes individuals at

this stage as beginning to "question the 'goodness' of protecting others at her/his own expense" (p.27). When concern for self is overlooked, the relationship between self and other becomes unequal. According to Skoe, this leads "to a reconsideration of the relationship in an effort to sort out the confusion between self-sacrifice and care inherent in the conventions of goodness" (p. 27). While concern for only one's own needs is seen as selfish, individuals at this stage are no longer willing to protect others at their own expense.

Level 3: Ethic of Care (Caring for Both Self and Other). Relations with others are now based on "truth and honesty" and moral behaviour rests upon "the realities of its intention and consequence" (p.37) rather than on "goodness" as defined by others. According to Skoe,

> This perspective focuses on the dynamics of the relationships and dissipates the tension between selfishness and responsibility through a new understanding of the interconnection between others and self. Care becomes the self-chosen principle of a judgment that remains particular in its concern with relationships and response but becomes universal in its condemnation of exploitation and hurt (p.37).

Participants' responses were classified into one of five discrete levels: 1, 1.5, 2, 2.5, or 3. Reliability has been established in previous research by Skoe (1992) using four standard scenarios from the Ethic of Care Interview presented to 40 subjects. Skoe cites inter-rater reliability using Pearson correlations as .91, $p < .0001$. For female participants, percentage agreement on the four scenarios was 90% in each case. For male participants, percentage agreement ranged from 95 - 100%. Further, Skoe lists inter-correlations between the four ECI dilemmas as ranging from .86 to .92, $p < .0001$.

Correlations between total score and each dilemma score ranged from .94 to .97, $p < .0001$. Skoe concludes that the above findings are "consistent with previous reliability and internal consistency findings for the ECI (Skoe & Marcia, 1991)" (p.8).

Skoe's standard dilemma, as well as the personal peer conflict (see below), were each scored using Skoe's stages of care reasoning (Skoe, 1993). In the present study, two independent co ers scored for level of care reasoning on twelve protocols. Using Pearson correlations, reliability was established for the personal disagreement scores, $r(10) = .84$, $p < .001$, and for the standard dilemmas, $r(10) = .89$, $p < .001$.

Kohlberg's Moral Judgement Development. Kohlberg outlines six developmental stages which fall into three moral levels. As individuals mature, they progress from the preconventional to conventional to postconventional levels. The first two stages fall at the preconventional level.

Stage 1: According to Kohlberg (1985), individuals at this level are characterized as oriented to "punishment, obedience, and physical and material power. Rules are obeyed to avoid punishment" (p. 88).

Stage 2: At this level, individuals are described as thinking in a "naive instrumental hedonistic orientation" (p. 88). In order to obtain rewards, the individual conforms.

Stages 3 and 4 fall at the conventional level.

Stage 3: At this level individuals conform to avoid disapproval. By "being nice", individuals seek to win approval by their immediate group.

Stage 4: Individuals at this level concern themselves with maintaining a "fixed order, whether social or religious. Right behaviour consists of doing one's duty and abiding by

the social order" (p. 88).

Finally, stages 5 and 6 fall at the postconventional level:

Stage 5: Individuals at this stage understand morality in terms of contractual arrangements with others and respect for others' rights. According to Kohlberg, "emphasis is on equality and mutual obligation within a democratic order. There is a relativism of personal values and the use of procedural rules in reaching consensus" (p.88).

Stage 6: At this stage, the individual thinks in terms of "ethical principles" which hold "logical comprehensiveness and universality" (p.88). According to Kohlberg, these ethical principles are general and abstract rather than concrete.

Kohlberg's standard dilemma, as well as the personal peer conflict (see below), were each scored using Kohlberg's stages of moral judgement (Colby et al., 1983). Reasoning on the dilemmas was scored using the 9-point, standardized stage score (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987), by an independent coder trained in the Kohlberg scoring workshops, who had established good reliabilities (over 90% agreement) with other trained scorers.

The present research compared these two measures of moral development and their relation to listening behaviour and attitudes in adolescence. In order to obtain a measure of Skoe's care development and Kohlberg's moral development, participants were given a questionnaire containing the following:

1. Personal Instance of Peer Conflict. In order to assess adolescent's understanding of a personal instance of a conflict between friends, a series of open-ended questions were developed based on Selman's (1986) interviews and Wood's (1986)

categorizations of relationship crises between men and women. While past research has mainly focused on personal dilemmas, the dilemmas may or may not have involved conflict between other individuals (e.g., "should I take a job that pays more money or remain in the job I have now which pays less, but does not require me to put in as many hours?"). The use of a disagreement allows for an investigation of attitudes regarding conflict between at least two individuals. Thus, material can be scored for how individuals deal with conflicting interests and concerns (self versus other).

Participants in the present study were asked to select and discuss an instance when they themselves and a friend had a disagreement. They were further asked to describe their own thoughts about the disagreement during that time, how they decided to handle the situation, what they felt good about in terms of how they managed the situation and themselves, and in what ways they were not satisfied with how they managed (See Appendix A for questions). All interviews were audiotaped and later transcribed for scoring.

2. Justice - Care Questions on Conflict Resolution. In order to determine the predominance of care versus justice thinking, a series of questions was developed based on Gilligan's distinction between care and justice moral orientations which focused on issues of conflict resolution between friends. Issues of care were measured by asking participants to indicate the degree to which they agreed with the following statements using a seven-point response format, ranging from strongly agree (which is assigned a 1 for scoring purposes) to strongly disagree (which is assigned a 7):

1. Being concerned with remaining on "good terms" with others was important to me.

I wanted to make sure the relationship didn't become worse because of the disagreement.

2. What the right thing is depends on the situation you're in. The best thing to do is to figure out how things could turn out in the end, and then do the thing that will make the situation turn out the best.

3. I try to figure out why each person thinks about the disagreement the way they do. I use the information I know about them (for example, what their life is like) to understand how they get their point of view.

Using the same 7-point response format (as indicated above), issues of justice were measured by asking participants to indicate the degree to which they agreed or disagreed with the following statements:

1. Being concerned with acting fairly to others was important to me. I wanted to make sure everyone was treated equally and everyone was treated according to what's right.

2. The right thing to do depends on following general rules. The best thing to do is to figure out the proper way to handle such a situation based on the correct rules or principles, and then follow that.

3. I try to separate myself from others. I try to think about them and their situation the way someone who's not involved in the disagreement would. (In other words, from the position of an outside observer).

Participants were asked to indicate along a Likert continuum the degree to which they thought of these relationship issues in terms of the care and justice frameworks by marking each scale with an X (See Appendix B for questions).

The first three questions were designed to represent care thinking when resolving

disagreements. However, responses to these questions were limited with respect to analysis. Appendix F lists descriptive statistics, as well as correlations, between these care measures. Responses to the three questions were strongly, positively skewed, although they displayed a moderate range. Most important, these questions, which were expected to form a cohesive group, did not consistently correlate with one another. Further, responses did not consistently correlate with the main measure of care thinking that of Skoe's ethic of care, and thus, the three care questions were dropped from the final analysis.

The remaining three questions, developed to represent justice-type thinking when resolving disagreements, were also dropped from the final analysis. Appendix F lists the descriptive statistics and correlations for these three justice measures. Although responses appear to approximate a normal distribution and show a moderate range, they did not appear to form a cohesive measure of justice thinking. Correlations between the questions were inconsistent, and most importantly, did not appear with the main measure of justice thinking - Kohlberg's moral judgement stage scores.

3. Listening Attitudes and Behaviour Questions. Each subject responded to the following questions about his or her own listening behaviour and attitudes towards listening to others' concerns or worries:

1. Do others ever talk to you about their feelings (e.g., such as feeling upset, worried, guilty, etc.) in these circumstances? Yes_____ No_____

2. If so, how many people can you think of that talked to you about their feelings/concerns in the last two weeks? The response format ranged from 1 to "over

10".

3. Who are the people you listen to? Participants were asked to check off the following categories: friends, family, acquaintances, strangers, other.

4. How do you feel about hearing other people's feelings, worries, and concerns when they are having difficulties? The response format ranged from strongly like it (which was assigned a 1) to strongly dislike it (which was assigned a 7).

5. For yourself, how important do you think it is to listen to other people's feelings, worries, and concerns when they are having difficulties? The response format ranged from extremely important (assigned a 1) to extremely unimportant (assigned a 7).

6. How important do you think it is to understand other people's difficulties? The response format again ranged from extremely important (assigned a 1) to extremely unimportant (assigned a 7).

These questions were designed to measure breadth of, and motivation for, listening (See Appendix C for listening questions). It seemed reasonable, given Gilligan's (1982) description, that individuals holding a care orientation would value listening to and understanding others because of the importance of these activities within the care process of decision-making. It also seemed reasonable to assume that individuals who like listening to others would report being more willing to do so.

4. Skoe's Ethic of Care Interview. The study presented one of the four dilemmas developed by Skoe (1993). The Kristine dilemma (or Chris dilemma) was used to assess care development in adolescents. In this dilemma, a 26 year old, Kristine, moves into her own apartment. She values her independence and finds that she is able

to get more studying done. One day Kristine's mother arrives at the door and informs her daughter that she is feeling lonely and that she wants to move in with Kristine. Kristine and her mother haven't gotten along in the past. Participants are asked what Kristine should do.

In this study the age of the protagonist was altered from 26 to 21 years in order that these younger subjects might more closely relate to her or him. Half of the participants received the dilemma concerning Chris and his father (males) and the other half received the dilemma concerning Kristine and her mother (females). (See Appendix D for Skoe's dilemma and questions).

5. Kohlberg's Moral Judgment Interview. One of the hypothetical moral dilemmas from Form B (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987), the Judy dilemma, was presented to participants. In this dilemma, Judy's mother promises her she can go to a rock concert if she saves up the money to buy the ticket. Judy saves the money, but then her mother informs her that she must now spend the money on school clothes. Judy lies to her mother and goes to the concert without her mother's permission. This dilemma was used to assess moral development emphasizing the justice orientation (according to Gilligan, 1982). Half of the participants were presented with Judy and her mother (females) and the remaining participants read about John and his father (males). (See Appendix E for Kohlberg's dilemma and questions).

Procedure

Potential participants were asked to take part in a study concerning friendship. More specifically, adolescents were told that the study concerned how individuals think

about disagreements between friends across adolescence. Each participant was asked to think of a situation in which he or she had a disagreement with a friend for discussion, during an interview which was tape recorded. Furthermore, they were told that participants would also be asked to answer some questions concerning conflict between people in two made-up scenarios, and some short questions on how they think about resolving disagreements. The total participation time was approximately 30 minutes on average.

Participants were interviewed separately and informed that there were no right or wrong responses to the interview questions. All adolescents were informed that their responses were completely confidential and that they had the right to omit any of the questions presented to them. Further, they were told they have the right to withdraw from the study at any time.

The first part of the interview asked participants to "describe a situation in which you and your friend disagreed". Following this initial question, a number of probes were presented (see Appendix A), encouraging the participants to elaborate about the instance.

The next section of the interview presented adolescents with a set of 3 questions based on Gilligan's justice-care distinction and relationship thinking. Participants received the following instructions:

> Below are a number of statements concerning how people might think about disagreements. Please answer the following three questions with the situation you have just described in mind. Please answer all questions by marking the most appropriate answer with an X.

The third component of the interview focused on attitudes and behaviour

concerning listening to others' personal concerns (see Appendix C). Participants were presented with the following instructions:

> Sometimes people have disagreements with their parents or friends, or sometimes they are faced with a situation where they have to make a decision but aren't sure what to do. Please answer the following questions:

The fourth component of the interview was the Skoe dilemma. Sex of protagonist (Kristine/Chris) was randomly assigned. Half of participants heard about a same sex protagonist, the other half about an opposite sex one. Participants first read the dilemma and then responded to the following question: What do you think Kristine/Chris should do? Why do you think that is the right thing to do? (See Appendix D).

The final component consisted of Kohlberg's Judy dilemma. Again, half of participants heard about a same-sex protagonist, the other half about an opposite-sex one. After reading the dilemma, participants were asked to answer a number of questions (see Appendix E).

Thus, participants who read the Chris dilemma for Skoe's measure, also read the Judy dilemma for Kohlberg's interview, and those who read about Kristine also read about John.

Design

The proposed research followed a 2 X 2 X 2 factorial design (See Table 1). The three between-subject factors were sex of protagonist (Chris/Judy or Kristine/John), sex of participant (male or female), and age group (15/16 or 18-20).

Table 1

Factorial Design Used in Study

Gender:	Age of Participant: 15-16	Age of Participant: 18 - 20
Males N=14	Kristine/John Dilemmas N=8	Kristine/John Dilemmas N=6
Males N=14	Chris/Judy Dilemmas N=8	Chris/Judy Dilemmas N=6
Females N=18	Kristine/John Dilemmas N=9	Kristine/John Dilemmas N=9
Females N=16	Chris/Judy Dilemmas N=7	Chris/Judy Dilemmas N=9

Results

Gender and Age Differences in Listening Patterns

It was proposed that females would indicate listening to others more, and value listening behaviour more than would males. However, responses to the four listening questions: 1. Number of people that participants listened to over the last two weeks, 2. How much participants liked listening to others, 3. How important they believed it was to listen, and 4. How important they believed it was to understand other's concerns, were limited with respect to analysis for a number of reasons. These listening questions did not correlate consistently with one another, and did not appear to form a cohesive group. Some part of this problem may have been due to range restriction. Appendix E lists descriptive statistics, as well as correlations run between these four listening questions. The ranges for the importance of understanding and of listening to others appeared limited (1 to 3 on 7-point scales) and the data were thus strongly, positively skewed. Data on how much participants liked listening also appeared somewhat positively skewed, but displayed a greater range (1 to 5 on a 7-point scale). The number of people that participants reported listening to showed the greatest range in scores (from 0 to 10 in this sample). Further, this was the only listening measure on which systematic gender and age effects were found, as well as the only measure of listening which showed any relation to the measure of care moral development (see Appendix E). Thus, this index of the number of people listened to is used to represent the listening construct in the remainder of the analysis below. Results concerning how much students liked

listening to others are presented only in this section.

Number of People. An analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on the number of people that students reported listening to, revealing a significant main effect for gender, $F(1, 60) = 11.31$, $p < .001$. As predicted, on average over the last two weeks, females reported listening to more people ($M = 6.24$) than did males ($M = 4.36$). The means, standard deviations, and ranges for listening are provided in Table 2.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics for Number of People Listened To

Gender/Age	Mean	Std Dev	Min - Max
Males N=28	4.36	2.45	0 - 10
Females N=34	6.24	2.54	2 - 10
18 - 20 yr olds N=30	4.97	2.55	0 - 10
15 - 16 yr olds N=32	5.78	2.72	2 - 10

The main effect for age did not reach significance, $F(1,60) = 3.38$, n.s. and the age by gender interaction was also found to be non-significant in this analysis, $F(1,60) = 1.43$, n.s.

Liking Listening. There was no main effect for either gender, $F = 1.71$, n.s., or age, $F = .84$, n.s., in the degree to which students reported that they liked listening to others' concerns and worries. The means, standard deviations, and ranges for the ratings of level of liking of listening are provided in Table 3.

Table 3

Descriptive Statistics For Liking to Listen to Others[1]

Gender/Age	Mean	Std Dev	Min - Max
Males N=28	2.18	1.16	1 - 5
Females N=32	1.69	.90	1 - 4
18-20 yr olds N=29	1.97	1.15	1 - 5
15-16 yr olds N=31	1.87	.96	1 - 4

The number of people that students reported listening to, and ratings of how much they liked listening were significantly correlated[2], $r(62) = -.28$, $p < .05$ across the entire sample. This reflects the finding that the more participants liked listening, the greater the number of people they indicated that they listened to overall.

Whom Participants Listen To. As part of the section on listening, participants were asked to check off whom they listen to. Students were able to check more than one category. The results indicated that students most frequently checked off listening to friends, 96.8%. Following this was family - 77.5%, acquaintances - 35.5%, other - 16.2%, and strangers - 9.7%.

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[1]Scales on the attitudes towards listening questions ran in a negative direction from 1 (high) to 7 (low). The lower the score, the greater the degree of liking.

[2]Correlations calculated between the number of people listened to and the value placed on listening are negatively correlated when positively related.

Gender and Age Differences in Care Moral Reasoning

Age and gender differences were predicted in level of care development, as measured by Skoe's (1991) stage of care development. It was proposed that care development would be higher in girls than in boys, and that older adolescents would d olay more sophisticated care-type thinking about relationships than younger adolescents. An initial three-way, repeated measures ANOVA was performed, which investigated the overall effects of dilemma-type (personal disagreement versus standard dilemma), gender and age as factors on ECI scores as the dependent measure. The between-subject test revealed a significant main effect for gender in ECI scores, $F(1,57) = 8.53$, $p < .01$. On average, females ($M = 2.23$) scored significantly higher than males ($M = 1.93$) per dilemma. No further between-subject effects were found. The within-subject analyses, which evaluated the impact of dilemma-type on ECI scores, were non-significant, and did not interact with any other factors.

Past research has typically asked participants to describe a dilemma that had occurred in their own life. No restrictions are made as to the content other than that the dilemma must be a moral one (Skoe & Gooden, 1993; Skoe & Diessner, in press). The current study specifically asked participants to describe a personal disagreement they had experienced with a friend. Due to this slight variation in methodology, ECI scores will be analyzed separately by dilemma type (personal disagreement versus the standard dilemma) for the remainder of the analyses below.

An ANOVA conducted on the ECI scores for personal, self-reported

disagreements revealed a significant main effect for gender, $F(1,61) = 10.88$, $p < .01$. As hypothesized, females scored higher ($M = 2.26$) than did males ($M = 1.87$) in their level of care reasoning when discussing a personal disagreement. The means, standard deviations, and ranges for these ECI scores are provided in Table 4.

Table 4

Descriptive Statistics for ECI Scores

Gender/Age	Mean	Std Dev	Min - Max
Males N=27*			
Personal	1.87	.51	1 - 3
Standard	1.98	.46	2 - 3
Females N=34			
Personal	2.26	.39	2 - 3
Standard	2.19	.66	1 - 3
18-20 yr olds N=30			
Personal	2.15	.51	1 - 3
Standard	2.12	.54	2 - 3
15-16 yr olds			
Personal N= 31*	2.03	.46	1 - 3
Standard N=32	2.08	.64	1 - 3

*One high school male's personal disagreement was not scorable.

No significant differences were found between males and females for ECI scores on the standard dilemma, $F(1,61) = 1.92$, n.s. Furthermore, no significant differences were found between university and high school students on the care scores for either the

personal, $F(1,61) = .54$, n.s., or the standard dilemma, $F(1,61) = .01$, n.s. Thus, age predictions were not confirmed for care development. No age by gender interactions were found, either for the personal scores, $F(1,61) = .34$, n.s., or for the standard scores $F(1,61) = 1.54$, n.s.

Gender and Age Differences in Justice Moral Reasoning

Levels of justice reasoning were expected to differ by age. Older adolescents were expected to display more advanced justice thinking as measured by Kohlberg's developmental stages. An initial three-way, repeated measures ANOVA was performed, which investigated the overall effects of dilemma-type (personal disagreement versus standard dilemma), gender and age on the 9-point MJI scores. A significant main effect for age in MJI stage scores was found, $F(1,57) = 34.12$, $p < .001$. Older students ($M = 5.09$) tended to score higher than younger students ($M = 4.42$) per dilemma. A significant two-way interaction was also found for gender by age, $F(1,57) = 4.53$, $p < .05$. High school females ($M = 4.60$) scored significantly higher than high school males ($M = 4.25$) on MJI stage scores per dilemma, Dunn's $t(30) = 2.48$, $p < .05$. However, university females ($M = 5.03$) and university males ($M = 5.18$) did not significantly differ from one another, adjusted Dunn's $t(23.51) = .82$, n.s. No further significant, between-subject effects were found. The within-subject analyses evaluated the impact of dilemma-type on MJI scores. All effects and interactions were non-significant.

As mentioned previously, the methodology used in the current research differs

somewhat from past research (e.g., Walker, 1984). Due to the use of a personal disagreement rather than a personal dilemma, MJI scores will be analyzed separately by dilemma type for the remainder of the analyses below.

An ANOVA conducted on the 9-point moral stage scores for the personal disagreement revealed significant main effects for both gender, $F(1,61) = 4.06$, $p < .05$, and age, $F(1,61) = 33.63$, $p < .001$. Females ($M = 4.82$) scored higher than males ($M = 4.48$); and older students ($M = 5.07$) higher than younger ($M = 4.31$), when describing their personal disagreements.

Table 5

Descriptive Statistics for MJI Scores

Gender/Age	Mean	Std Dev	Min - Max
University Males			
Personal N=11*	5.18	.60	4 - 6
Standard N=12	5.00	.95	3 - 6
University Females N=18			
Personal	5.00	.34	4 - 6
Standard	5.06	.94	3 - 6
High School Males N=16			
Personal	4.00	.52	3 - 5
Standard	4.50	.73	3 - 6
High School Females N=16			
Personal	4.63	.50	4 - 5
Standard	4.56	.63	4 - 6

*One male's standard MJI score was removed as an outlier in the analysis.

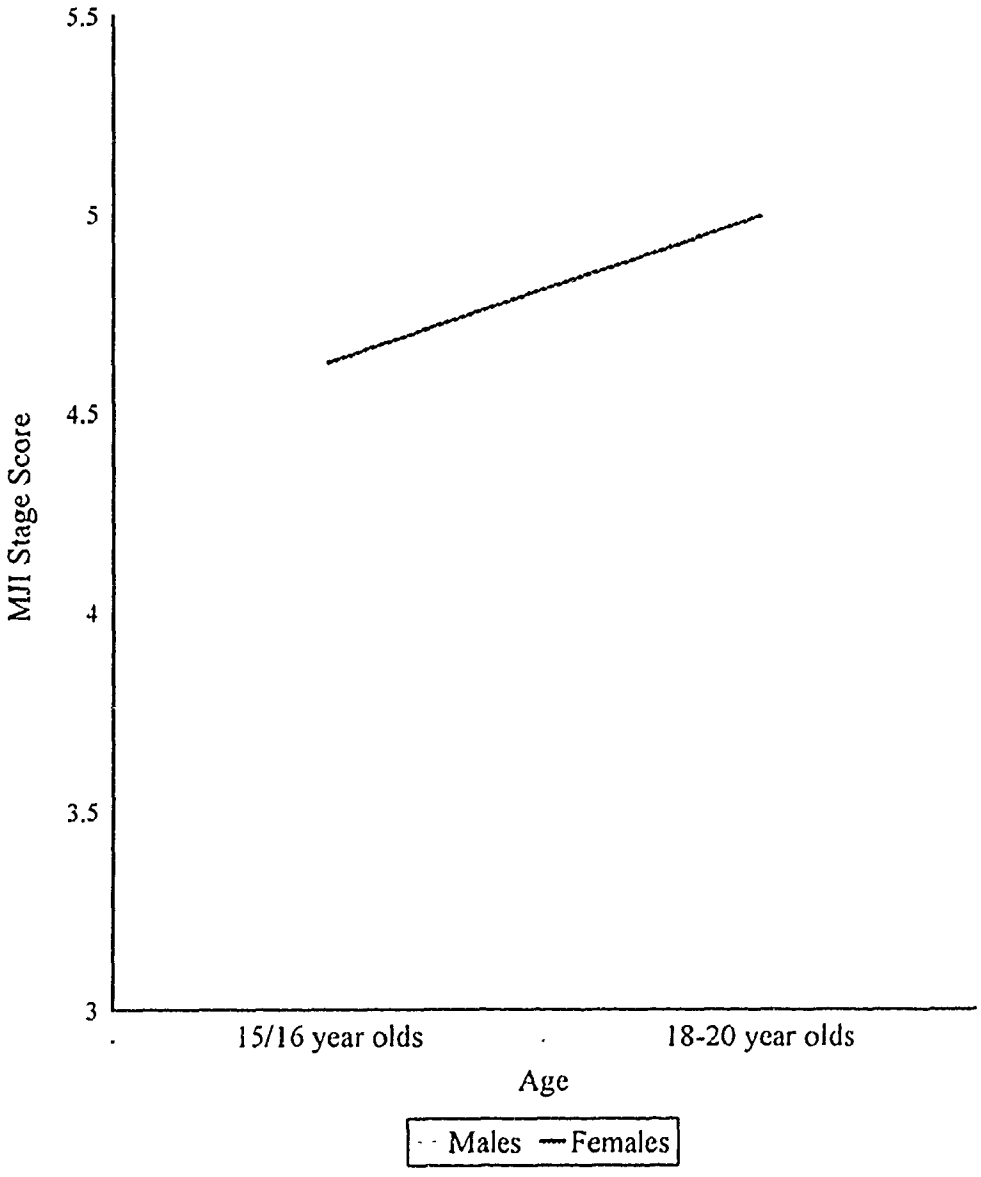
These effects for age and gender were qualified by a significant two-way interaction (shown in Figure 1) for gender by age, $F(1,61) = 10.21$, $p<.01$. Gender comparisons were made at each age level to follow up this interaction. University males ($M = 5.18$) did not score significantly higher than females ($M = 5.00$) of the same age, adjusted Dunn's $t(14.02) = .91$, n.s. However, high school females ($M = 4.63$) scored higher than high school males ($M = 4.00$), Dunn's $t(30) = 3.48$, $p < .01$. The means, standard deviations and ranges for MJI scores as a function of gender and age are displayed in Table 5.

A three-way ANOVA (gender by age by sex of protagonist) conducted on the standard 9-point MJI stage scores revealed a significant main effect for age, $F(1,61) = 5.86$, $p < .05$. University students ($M = 5.03$) scored significantly higher than high school students ($M = 4.53$). No significant main effect for gender was found for stage scores on the standard dilemma, $F(1,61) = .07$, n.s. Further, both the age by sex of protagonist, $F(1,61) = .38$, n.s., and gender by age, $F(1,61) = .05$, n.s., interactions were found to be non-significant.

There was a significant two-way interaction for gender by sex of dilemma protagonist (John or Judy), $F(1,61) = 4.22$, $p < .05$. Comparisons between scores on the John versus Judy dilemmas by gender were evaluated using independent Dunn's t-tests to follow up this interaction. Neither differences between males' MJI stage scores for the John ($M = 5.00$) versus Judy dilemma ($M = 4.43$), $t(26) = 1.85$, n.s., nor differences between females' MJI stage scores for Judy ($M = 5.00$) versus John ($M =$

Figure 1.

MJI Stage Scores as a Function of Age and Gender



4.67), $t(32) = 1.17$, n.s., reached significance.

Relations Between Justice and Care Moral Reasoning

Pearson correlations were run between ECI and MJI scores across the entire sample. MJI scores for the personal disagreement were positively correlated with ECI personal disagreement scores, $r(60) = .28$, $p < .05$. The higher participants scored on the MJI, the higher they tended to score on the ECI. Table 6 lists the correlations and significance levels for the moral reasoning scores. A positive correlation was also found between ECI scores for the personal disagreement and those for the standard dilemma, $r(61) = .23$, $p < .05$. The higher that participants scored on the personal ECI, the higher they tended to score on the standard ECI, as expected. No further significant correlations were found.

Controlling for the effects of age, males' MJI and ECI scores for the personal disagreement were found to be significantly correlated, partial $r(27) = .48$, $p < .05$, but for females these scores were unrelated to one another, partial $r(34) = -.08$, n.s. No further significant correlations were found between moral reasoning scores within gender groups.

Table 6

Correlations Between Moral Reasoning Scores Across the Entire Sample

Moral Scores:	Correlations:
MJI and ECI Personal Disagreement Scores	$r(60) = .28$, $p < .02$
MJI and ECI Standard Dilemma Scores	$r(62) = -.12$, n.s.
MJI Standard and Personal Scores	$r(61) = .19$, n.s.
ECI Standard and Personal Scores	$r(61) = .23$, $p < .05$

Care Versus Justice Moral Reasoning and Listening

It was hypothesized that the relationship between listening behaviour and care reasoning would be stronger than the relationship between listening behaviour and justice moral reasoning. In order to test this, Pearson correlations were run between listening scores and the moral reasoning scores. First, these correlations are reported across the entire sample, and then by gender controlling for age, since it was hypothesized that the care-listening relationship would be stronger for females.

Overall Sample. A significant, positive correlation was found between personal care scores and breadth of listening, $r(61) = .42$, $p < .001$. The higher the level of care, the more participants reported listening to others. A similar trend was also found for the relationship between listening and the standard ECI scores, $r(62) = .20$, $p = .062$. For the MJI scores, a significant negative correlation was found between listening and the

standard scores, $r(62) = -.23$, $p < .05$. In this case, the higher the level of justice-based moral reasoning, the fewer people that participants reported listening to over the past two weeks. The relationship between breadth of listening and the personal MJI scores was found to be non-significant, $r(61) = .06$, n.s.

In order to determine whether these correlations significantly differed, Hotelling's T-tests were calculated. First, the significance of differences in the relationship between listening and care scores versus listening and justice scores for the personal disagreements was calculated, $t(58) = 2.51$, $p < .01$. This finding indicated that the correlation between care and listening for personal dilemmas was significantly more positive than that between justice and listening, as hypothesized. Next, the relationship between listening and care scores versus the relationship between listening and justice scores on the standard dilemmas was compared, $t(58) = 2.30$, $p < .05$. As was hypothesized, for scores from the standard dilemmas, the relationship between care scores and listening was significantly more positive than was the relationship between justice scores and listening.

By Gender. For females, MJI scores on the standard dilemma with number of people listened to revealed a trend, $r(34) = -.32$, $p = .055$. The higher the MJI scores, the fewer people that females tended to report listening to. Correlations between listening behaviour and the personal MJI scores, $r(34) = -.09$, n.s.; the personal ECI scores, $r(34) = .16$, n.s.; and the standard ECI scores, $r(34) = -.01$, n.s. were all non-significant.

Hotelling's T-tests were calculated in order to investigate differences between pairs of these correlations. The correlational differences in the relationship between listening and care versus justice scores for the personal disagreement were found to be non-significant for females, $t(31) = 1.01$, n.s. Also contrary to the proposed hypothesis, differences between the relations between listening and care and listening and justice for the standard scores for females were also non-significant, $t(31) = 1.23$, n.s.

For males, listening and the ECI scores for both the personal disagreement, $r(27) = .57$, $p < .01$, and the standard dilemma, $r(28) = .50$, $p < .01$, were positively correlated. In both cases, the higher the level of care development, the more people these participants tended to indicate they had listened to regarding personal concerns and worries. Neither the relationship between listening and the MJI scores for the personal disagreement, $r(27) = .22$, n.s., nor for listening and the MJI scores for the standard dilemma, $r(28) = -.11$, n.s. was significant.

Hotelling's t-tests revealed a significant difference between the correlations for listening and care versus justice scores for males on the personal disagreement, $t(23) = 2.49$, $p < .01$, and on the standard dilemmas, $t(23) = 2.08$, $p < .05$. In both cases, the relationships between listening and care were significantly stronger than those between listening and justice, as hypothesized.

Gender Differences in the Relationship Between Listening and Moral Reasoning.

It was hypothesized that the relationship between care and listening would be stronger for females than it was for males. In order to examine the differences between

males' and females' correlations, Hotelling's t-tests were again conducted. Contrary to what was predicted, the correlation between listening and care scores on the personal disagreement was marginally stronger for males than for females, $t(27) = 1.78$, $p < .08$. Similarly, for care scores on the standard dilemma, males' correlations were again stronger than females', $t(27) = 2.04$, $p < .05$. Gender differences in correlations between listening and MJI scores on the personal disagreement, $t(27) = 1.42$, n.s., and between listening and MJI scores on the standard dilemma, $t(27) = .07$, n.s., were non-significant.

Discussion

Gender Differences in Listening Patterns

It was hypothesized that females would rate themselves as listening to others more and would value listening more than would males. Previous research in self-disclosure suggests that women are chosen as confidants more frequently than are men (Chafetz, 1978; Komarovsky, 1974; Olstad, 1975). The present study differed from past research in two respects. First, past findings on self-disclosure have tended to focus on an adult population of listeners (Aukett et al., 1988; Argyle & Henderson, 1985), whereas the participants from this sample represented middle and late adolescents. Second, past research observed gender differences in the role of listener by focusing on whom individuals report that they disclose personal concerns to. The present study measured images of self as listener by presenting students with the question - "whom do you listen to?" Despite these differences in procedures, the results supported the proposed gender difference in extent of listening amongst adolescents. Females, on average, indicated listening more to individuals' feelings and concerns than did males. Consistent gender differences were not found in the value placed on listening, as measured by a series of valuing questions (Appendix E).

It seems reasonable to suppose that a positive relationship exists between rate of empathetic listening and the importance placed on listening. That is, the more individuals believe it is important to listen and understand others, the more they will listen to others. However, the results here were ambiguous. Students rated listening to

and understanding others as quite important even if they actually reported listening to few others over the past two weeks. Thus, the correlations between the listening measures were generally quite low (see Appendix E).

Social desirability may account for this finding. It may be the case that students were concerned with representing themselves as holding positive attitudes towards listening. In support of this, all of the questions concerning the degree to which students valued listening showed positively skewed distributions (Appendix E). On the other hand, it is also plausible that while both males and females believe that listening is important, males may avoid listening to others because, to them, it represents a lower position of power (Tannen, 1990; Swap & Rubin, 1983). It may also be that students only listen to others when they believe it is important to do so and that females feel it is important to listen to others more frequently than do males.

One further explanation may be that males and females equally like and value listening to others' concerns, but that disclosers choose to talk to females rather than to males. In other words, what determines this gender difference in the role of listener is expectations on behalf of the discloser rather than the attitudes of the listener. For example, as previously cited, research conducted by Barryman-Fink and Wilcox (1983) found that a 'feminine' language style conveyed greater openness, whereas a 'masculine' style appeared as an attempt to influence others. It may be, for example, that males who value listening are not approached, due to the way in which they use language. Their apparent attempts to influence others may inhibit individuals from disclosing to them.

Further investigation of these possible interpretations is needed.

Gender Differences in Moral Reasoning

Care Reasoning. Mean ECI levels of males and females in this sample are quite consistent with those found in previous research by Skoe and Diessner (in press). Males in their study averaged a mean stage level of approximately 2.30, and females averaged a mean stage level of approximately 2.37. Skoe and Gooden (1993) found somewhat lower ECI scores amongst eleven and twelve year olds, as might be expected. Males in their sample averaged approximately 1.56 per dilemma, and females averaged approximately 1.79 per dilemma. In the present study, males and females, aged 15 to 20, averaged 1.93 and 2.23, respectively.

Gender differences were proposed in level of care development as measured by Skoe's ECI (1993). It was hypothesized that females would score higher in care development than males, and that care development would be higher in older adolescents than in younger ones. The results indicated that females did score higher than males. When analyzed separately by dilemma type, however, gender differences in ECI scores were significant only for the personal disagreement. There was no difference in scores for the standard dilemma. This partially supports research by Skoe and Gooden (1993), who found gender differences in early adolescents' ECI scores. The current research differs from that by Skoe and Gooden, in that the present study obtained two ECI scores - one for a personal disagreement and one from a standard dilemma. Prior research on ECI development typically calculates an average based on four dilemmas - three standard

and one personal (Skoe & Gooden, 1993; Skoe & Diessner, in press). Unlike findings by Skoe and Diessner (in press), who reported age differences in ECI levels, the current findings do not support a difference in ECI scores between 15-16 and 18-20 year olds. It may be that age differences will appear only across a larger age span. Further research is required which includes younger adolescents, in order to determine the developmental progression across all of adolescence, not just the age range 15 to 20.

Justice Reasoning. Consistent with past findings, age differences were revealed in MJI stage scores (Walker, 1982). However, unlike some past research (e.g., Walker, 1984), gender differences were found as well for the personal disagreement scores. Collapsed across age, females scored higher than males. Upon closer inspection, it was discovered that males and females, aged 18-20, did not differ in MJI stage score, but that females aged 15-16 scored significantly higher than males of the same age. As a developmental trend, it appears as though by the end of adolescence, males catch up to females in moral reasoning level when discussing a personal disagreement involving a peer, but may score somewhat less maturely in mid-adolescence on this type of problem.

For scores on the standard Kohlberg dilemma, the data revealed no effect for gender, though a significant interaction was found between gender and sex of protagonist (Judy/John). However, follow-up tests, conducted separately by gender, were non-significant. The effects for sex-of-protagonist variations in past research on moral reasoning have been generally inconsistent (Walker, 1984). It would seem prudent to reserve judgement on this rather modest finding of differences.

Care Reasoning and Listening Behaviour

The second hypothesis proposed that the higher the level of care development, the more participants would indicate listening to others and the more they would value listening. This prediction was partially confirmed. Examining the sample as a whole, as the level of care development increased, so too did the number of people whom participants reported listening to. This relationship was clearest for levels of care development scored on the personal disagreement. Care scores for the standard dilemma were only marginally positively correlated with listening behaviour in this sample ($r=.20$, $p = .06$).

Thus, although there were no significant differences between average scores on the personal and standard ECI measures, the personal and the standard care scores did tend to differ with respect to their relationships with listening behaviour. The ECI scores for the personal disagreement may have been more positively correlated with listening for a number of reasons. First, the personal dilemma involved describing a disagreement which students had experienced with a friend. Moral reasoning used when thinking about a situation with a peer may differ from reasoning used when involved in a situation with a non-peer, such as a parent (as was the case in Skoe's Chris/Kristine dilemma). Research on adolescent social cognition has found support for differences in levels of social reasoning with respect to adult versus peer relationships (Selman et al., 1986). The Chris/Kristine dilemma presented a situation in which a son/daughter was to decide whether or not to take in a lonely parent. Responses might have differed if the standard

dilemma had instead involved a sibling or a peer and standard ECI scores might have been a better predictor of listening behaviour in this case.

Perhaps a further reason why personal ECI scores were more predictive of listening than standard scores is that the listening reported by students most often occurred with peers. If behaviour between parent and adolescent were to be measured (e.g., help with household tasks), the standard ECI score from the Chris/Kristine dilemma might have been a better predictor of behaviour. In short, due to the context of this standard dilemma, scores may not represent students' care development across all situations. In fact, the correlation between ECI personal disagreement stage and the ECI standard score, though significantly positive, was quite low ($r = .23$).

This low relation between personal and standard care scores may of course be attributed somewhat to measurement problems. For example, only one dilemma score was obtained for each index. However, the results certainly raise the question of whether care reasoning differs by social context. Gilligan (1982) and Kimball (1992) both argue that relationships are not always reciprocal in terms of who cares for whom. A difficulty which may arise when scoring for care reasoning is that there are circumstances in which self-sacrificing care is expected and appropriate, and situations where it is not. Reasoning may reflect these contextual differences. For example, it seems appropriate and "expected" for a parent to give up an afternoon's plans with a friend to stay at home caring for a sick child. On the other hand, there may be instances where caring for others and acknowledging their needs or concerns with the same weight as one's own is

a supererogatory act. Such is the case, for instance, when a child is in the position of needing to consider the perspective of an abusive parent. In short, care reasoning, as it is linked to the role of care-giving, is likely to be governed to some degree by role expectations and situational considerations, which limit its generalizability across different social contexts.

Participants were also asked how they feel about hearing other people's feelings, worries, and concerns when they are having difficulties, and how important they think it is to listen to and understand other people's feelings, worries, and concerns when they are having difficulties. The results from these three questions did not support the second hypothesis, that care development would predict the degree to which students valued listening to others overall. Though the modest correlations observed were typically in the predicted direction, they were not significant (Appendix E). This lack of support seems largely interpretable as resulting from social desirability biases and measurement problems for these three listening measures, as noted above in the results section.

It was also hypothesized that the relationship between care development and listening would be stronger for females than for males. Contrary to this, the results indicated that this relationship was generally strong (rs in the 50s) and quite linear for males. For females, however, ECI scores were not substantially correlated with reported listening behaviour. The lack of relationship between listening and care scores for females suggests the likelihood that the there may be other important factors which influence female listening behaviour, such as that discussed below.

One possible explanation for this apparent gender difference in the relationship between care reasoning and listening behaviour is that, at least for females, the motivation to listen to others' concerns and worries may not be as restricted to the moral realm of thinking. Research conducted by Youniss and Smollar (1985) suggests that females more often identify "intimate discussions" as a typical activity of friends than do males. Thus, it may be that females define socializing as talking and listening with friends; that is, females may listen simply as a component of social activity. Such listening may be more restricted to a moral "duty" in males.

Care Versus Justice Reasoning and Listening Behaviour

The third hypothesis concerned the relationship between the two moral reasoning measures and listening. It was predicted that Skoe's care development measure would correlate more positively with listening behaviour than would Kohlberg's moral development index. This hypothesis was confirmed for the correlations with the breadth of listening index. The results indicated that for the personal disagreement scores, care development was significantly more positively correlated with such listening than were Kohlberg's MJI stages. For scores on the standard dilemmas, the relationship between care and listening was again more positive than that between listening and justice (which was in fact, modestly negative). These results lend support to the contention that at least some aspects of supportive listening may be explained as a component of thinking and decision-making within the care framework.

It is interesting that Kohlberg stage scores on the standard dilemma were

significantly negatively correlated with greater listening behaviour. This correlation means that as students' level of moral reasoning increased, they were less likely to have listened to the concerns of others over a two week period. When this relationship was examined by gender, the negative relationship between listening and justice reasoning was significant only for females (r = -.32). For males, this relationship was non-significant (r = -.11). The justice framework may warrant further investigation in explaining listening behaviour. According to Gilligan (1982), compared to the care orientation, the justice framework outlines a developmental course defining maturity in terms of autonomy. That is, thinking becomes more individualistic with such development. When using this orientation, an individual strives to remain objective in moral situations (taking the third person perspective as an ideal). He or she makes an effort to follow predetermined rules or principles of justice in order to arrive at a correct moral decision. It may be that the emphasis on personal communication becomes less important, as the use of information about others and one's actual connection to them becomes less focal in the moral decision-making process.

The Relationship Between Justice and Care Moral Reasoning

As in previous research by Skoe and Diessner (in press), some ECI and MJI scores were found to be significantly positively correlated. For scores across the entire sample, MJI and ECI scores on the personal disagreement were significantly positively related, but standard MJI and ECI scores were not. Moreover, when examining this relationship by gender, only for males were ECI and MJI personal scores significantly

correlated. This finding may have differed from the more general association reported by Skoe and Diessner due to the nature of the material analyzed - describing a disagreement may have differed from describing a more general, personal dilemma (the Skoe and Diessner procedure) for female students. Furthermore, the use of fewer dilemmas to assess standard reasoning must be noted here as a limitation. It meant that the reliabilities of the indexes of care and justice reasoning used here were likely lower than these used by Skoe and Diessner (in press).

Limitations of the Current Study and Suggestions for Future Research

An important limitation in this questionnaire concerned the way in which listening behaviour and attitudes were measured. Because the number of people that students listened to was the primary measure, this leaves the possibility that there may exist qualitative differences in listening behaviour not captured in this study. For example, one student may actively engage in listening to the concerns of a friend, while another student may be aware of a friend's concerns, but not discuss them. It is also possible that the number of people listened to may not represent an accurate measure of how much students listen to the feelings and concerns of others. For example, one student may have listened to the concerns of four people each once, whereas another student may have listened to the concerns of four people several times each. An improved measure of listening behaviour might include questions concerning how active students are in listening to others, or peer ratings of listening skills (qualitative measure), and a measure of how much time they spend listening to others' feelings and concerns.

Questions concerning the value placed on listening were also limited, as previously mentioned. Responses tended to be positively skewed and the range of scores appeared narrow. It is possible that beliefs about the importance of listening and understanding others may be better accessed in other ways. For example, it might be interesting to have participants describe a situation in which they listened to the feelings and concerns of a friend, and then have them indicate how important they felt listening to and understanding that friend were. Another possibility would be to have participants rate the importance of listening after observing a standard script involving two individuals who engage in a conversation in which one friend discloses to another.

As previously mentioned, the care-justice questions concerning the process of decision-making were limited. It may be that issues of process are better addressed via other forms of questioning or coding. The use of an interview format is probably desirable. These questions may have exceeded what can reasonably be expected of students when filling out a pencil and paper questionnaire. Because of their technical limitations, especially a lack of consistency across items, they were not considered in the main analyses of the thesis.

Another limitation concerning the measurement of care versus justice moral reasoning occurred with the use of dilemmas from Skoe's (1993) ECI development and Kohlberg's (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987) MJI development. Only one standard dilemma from each moral reasoning index was presented to participants, and thus, the observed relationship between listening and moral reasoning may be restricted. Future research

in this area requires examining a range of dilemma contexts in order to establish greater confidence in the findings.

Future research in the area of moral reasoning might also include an examination of transition processes within the care stages. It was observed that at the level of 2.5 in Skoe's (1993) ECI, three patterns emerged when scoring adolescents' personal disagreements. In the first, individuals' behaviour was described as self-sacrificing, but they expressed discomfort with it and regretted putting the needs of others before their own needs. Second, some individuals made a clear reference to having reasoned at a level 2 (e.g., "I've always just done what she wanted to do because I don't like to fight over things like that. I didn't want to hurt her feelings"), but then described various forms of rejecting their friend's concerns (e.g., "so finally I just had enough and I told her I didn't want to do anything with her. I think she was really upset about it, but at that point I couldn't care less"). The third pattern was one in which individuals tended to describe feelings of guilt concerning not acting in a self-sacrificing manner. Although they were no longer willing to sacrifice their own needs, they expressed an uneasiness about their friend's position. It may be that these three patterns represent sub-stages within level 2.5. On the other hand, perhaps care development warrants further examination in terms of its developmental processes. Initially, an individual may express reasoning similar to either of the first or second patterns described above. With more experience, however, reasoning may more closely resemble the third pattern. This developmental process may continue as the individual learns to better balance both the

needs of self and others, as characteristic of reasoning at level 3.

The correlational nature of this study also presents limitations with respect to the conclusions that can be drawn. The underlying assumption is that the development of care-type reasoning will lead to an increase in active listening. However, it may be the case that active listening leads to greater care development, or that there may be no direct causal relationship between these two variables. Longitudinal research is needed which investigates the development of care reasoning and its influence on empathic listening. One possibility is to instruct individuals in care reasoning and then measure any subsequent impact on listening behaviour.

Finally, the current findings were limited with respect to sampling. In order to understand the development of moral reasoning and how it relates to interpersonal sensitivity, it is necessary to investigate a larger and broader age range, as well as a variety of ethnic groups. The current study investigated a small sample of middle to late adolescence, and thus findings are restricted to the latter half of adolescence. Research on a larger sample which includes participants from early to middle adolescence (e.g., 11 to 14 year olds), will contribute towards a more complete investigation of the development of listening behaviour and care moral reasoning during this important developmental period. Similarly, research on other age groups, both prior to and after adolescence, is also necessary for studying the developmental changes in this area.

The sample used in the current study was mainly comprised of white adolescents. Expression of feelings and concerns, however, may be governed to some degree by

cultural expectations regarding emotional expression and self-disclosure. In Chinese culture, for example, self-disclosure may have a negative impact on relations with others. Wong (1981) states that the "Chinese are taught to be reserved about their thoughts towards others and that messages of personal feelings are taught to be communicated in a subtle manner" (p.439). Thus, such cultural differences may influence gender differences in listening behaviour, as well as the validity of care-based thinking as a potential explanation for greater listening behaviour.

Conclusions

Gender differences in interpersonal sensitivity have typically been explained in terms of either gender role socialization or interpersonal power. The present study attempted to cut across these two camps and explain differences in listening behaviour in adolescence as a product of differential socialization with respect to power in social interaction. Specifically, based on Gilligan's two moral orientations, females and males were proposed to hold different attitudes towards power and hierarchical relations. The care orientation was proposed to explain females' greater role as active listeners in terms of its emphasis on connection and the importance placed on understanding others within the context of their own lives. Research on interpersonal sensitivity has thus far failed to take account of these possibly differing views of power.

The purpose of this study was to explain why women tend to be the recipients of personal self-disclosure from others, more than are men. Gilligan's (1982) care orientation was presented as a possible explanation for this gender difference in listening

behaviour. The care orientation emphasizes understanding others in their own contexts as a means of maintaining connection and establishing rapport. Thus, it was proposed that empathic listening could well be explained as an important component of the decision-making process within the care framework. In order to investigate the relationship between listening to others and moral orientation, a number of hypotheses were tested.

The predicted gender difference in listening behaviour was confirmed. Females, on average, indicated listening more to others' feelings and concerns, than did males. It was also confirmed that adolescent females scored higher in Skoe's (1993) stages of care development than males did on average. There were no differences found between males and females on level of Kohlberg's justice reasoning. The results lend partial support for the proposed relationship between care development and listening behaviour. Across the entire sample, the higher the level of care development, the more students tended to report listening to others' feelings/concerns over a two week period. However, the relationship between listening behaviour and ECI levels was stronger for males than for females. In fact, for females alone, ECI levels and listening behaviour were not significantly correlated. Thus, it seems that care development, as measured by Skoe's ECI, is limited with respect to explaining females' greater listening behaviour. However, it may be the case, according to these data, that quite low levels of such empathic listening in adolescent males may be attributed to their significantly lower levels of care development.

It was also predicted that ECI development would correlate more positively with listening behaviour than would MJI justice development. This hypothesis was supported for both the personal disagreement scores and the standard dilemma scores. ECI scores on the personal disagreement appeared to be the strongest predictor of listening behaviour, followed by MJI scores on the standard dilemma. The MJI levels displayed a negative relationship to listening - the higher the MJI scores, the less students tended to report listening to others' concerns. When examining the relationship between listening and justice reasoning by gender, it was revealed that this relationship was found only for females. For males, MJI levels were not predictive of listening. In short, it appears that the care framework may serve as a better explanation for why males listen to others' feelings and concerns than for why females listen. Conversely, but unexpectedly, the justice framework may provide a clue to understanding females' motivation to listen, though the results here are only marginal, and the reasons for this pattern are difficult to interpret.

Perhaps Miller's (1976) explanation of power within relationships might be a key to better understanding interpersonal sensitivity. Miller distinguishes between the use of power which empowers others, and the use of power which maintains power differences. There may be situational or gender differences in the degree to which individuals are concerned with each type of power in their social interactions. Gilligan's care-justice analysis provided an example of gender-differing views of power and how these views might impact upon the expression of interpersonal sensitivity. Although in the present

study the relationship between care thinking and listening behaviour was only significant amongst males, this finding warrants further investigation of gender differences in the use of different types of power across a variety of domains.

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Appendix A

Probes for Teenager - Peer Interview

1. Could you describe for me a situation in which you and your friend disagreed?

(a). What was the problem?

(b). Why was it a problem?

2. What were your own thoughts about the disagreement during this time?

3. How did you go about deciding what to do about this disagreement?

(a). In thinking about what to do or how to handle the situation, what things did you consider?

(b). What did you decide to do and why?

4. Looking back on the situation now, what did you feel good about in terms of how you managed yourself and how you handled the situation? Why?

5. In which ways are you not satisfied with how you handled yourself and the situation? Why?

6. How do you think your friend felt?

Appendix B

Age:_____ Sex:_____ ID #:_____

Below are a number of statements concerning how people might think about disagreements. Please answer the following four questions with the situation you have just described in mind.

Please answer all questions by circling the most appropriate answer.

1. From whose point of view did you think about the situation when you were deciding what to do?_____

2. When thinking about the situation you've just described, how would you rate the following two statements:

A/ Being concerned with remaining on "good terms" with others was important to me. I wanted to make sure the relationship didn't become worse because of the disagreement.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Mildly Agree	Neutral	Mildly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree

B/ Being concerned with acting fairly to others was important to me. I wanted to make sure everyone was treated equally and everyone was treated according to what's right.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Mildly Agree	Neutral	Mildly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree

3. When deciding what would be the best thing to do, how would you rate the following two statements:

A/ What the right thing is depends on the situation you're in. The best thing to do is to figure out how things could turn out in the end, and then do the thing that will make the situation turn out the best.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Mildly Agree	Neutral	Mildly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree

B/ The right thing to do depends on following general rules. The best thing to do is to figure out the proper way to handle such a situation based on the correct rules or principles, and then follow that.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Mildly Agree	Neutral	Mildly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree

4. When thinking about each person you've talked about in the situation, how would you rate the following two statements:

A/ I try to figure out <u>why</u> each person thinks about the disagreement the way they do. I use the information I know about them (for example, what their life is like) to understand how they get their point of view.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Mildly Agree	Neutral	Mildly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree

B/ I try to separate myself from others. I try to think about them and their situation the way someone who's not involved in the disagreement would. (In other words, from the position of an outside observer).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Mildly Agree	Neutral	Mildly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree

Appendix C

Sometimes people have disagreements with their parents or friends, or sometimes they are faced with a situation where they have to make a decision but aren't sure what to do. Please answer the following questions:

1. Do others ever talk to you about their feelings (e.g., such as feeling upset, worried, guilty, etc.) in these circumstances? Yes_____ No_____

2. If so, how many people can you think of that talked to you about their feelings/concerns in the last two weeks?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Over 10

3. Who are the people you listen to?

Friends _____

Family _____

Acquaintances _____

Strangers _____

Other _____

Who?_____

_____

4. How do you feel about hearing other people's feelings, worries, and concerns when they are having difficulties?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Like It	Moderately Like It	Mildly Like It	Neutral	Mildly Dislike It	Moderately Dislike It	Strongly Dislike It

5. For yourself, how important do you think it is <u>to listen</u> to other people's feelings, worries, and concerns when they are having difficulties?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Important	Moderately Important	Mildly Important	Neutral	Mildly Unimportant	Moderately Unimportant	Extremely Unimportant

6. How important do you think it is <u>to understand</u> other people's difficulties?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Important	Moderately Important	Mildly Important	Neutral	Mildly Unimportant	Moderately Unimportant	Extremely Unimportant

Appendix D

The Kristine Dilemma

Kristine, a 21 year old woman, has decided to live on her own after having shared an apartment with a friend for the last three years. She finds that she is much happier living alone as she now has more privacy and independence and gets more work and studying done. One day her mother, whom she has not seen for a long while as they do not get along too well, arrives at the doorstep with two large suitcases, saying she is lonely and wants to live with Kristine.

What do you think Kristine should do?

Why do you think that is the right thing to do?

The Chris Dilemma

Chris, a 21 year old man, has decided to live on his own after having shared an apartment with a friend for the last three years. He finds that he is much happier living alone as he now has more privacy and independence and gets more work and studying done. One day his father, whom he has not seen for a long while as they do not get along too well, arrives at the doorstep with two large suitcases, saying he is lonely and wants to live with Chris.

What do you think Chris should do?

Why do you think that is the right thing to do?

The Judy Dilemma

Judy was a 12-year-old girl. Her mother promised her that she could go to a special rock concert coming to their town if she saved her money to buy a ticket to the concert. She managed to save up the $15 the ticket cost plus another $3. But then her mother changed her mind and told Judy that she had to spend the money on new clothes for school. Judy was disappointed and decided to go to the concert anyway. She bought a ticket and told her mother that she had only been able to save $3. That Saturday she went to the performance and told her mother that she was spending the day with a friend. A week passed without her mother finding out. Judy then told her older sister, Louise, that she had gone to the performance and had lied to her mother about it.

Questions:

1. Should Louise, the older sister, tell their mother that Judy had lied about the money or should she keep quiet?

1a. Why or why not?

2. The mother promised Judy she could go to the concert if she earned the money. Is the fact that the mother promised the most important thing in the situation?

2a. Why or why not?

3. Why in general should a promise be kept?

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

4a. Why or why not?

5. What do you think is the most important thing a mother should be concerned about in her relationship to her daughter?

5a. Why is that the most important thing?

6. In general, what should be the authority of a mother over her daughter?

6a. Why?

7. What do you think is the most important thing a daughter should be concerned about in her relationship to her mother?

7a. Why is that the most important thing?

The John Dilemma

John was a 12-year-old boy. His father promised him that he could go to a special rock concert coming to their town if he saved his money to buy a ticket to the concert. He managed to save up the $15 the ticket cost plus another $3. But then his father changed his mind and told John that he had to spend the money on new clothes for school. John was disappointed and decided to go to the concert anyway. He bought a ticket and told his father that he had only been able to save $3. That Saturday he went to the performance and told his father that he was spending the day with a friend. A week passed without his father finding out. John then told his older brother, Larry, that he had gone to the performance and had lied to his father about it.

Questions:

1. Should Larry, the older brother, tell their father that John had lied about the money or should he keep quiet?

1a. Why or why not?

2. The father promised John he could go to the concert if he earned the money. Is the fact that the father promised the most important thing in the situation?

2a. Why or why not?

3. Why in general should a promise be kept?

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

4a. Why or why not?

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

5a. Why is that the most important thing?

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

6a. Why?

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

7a. Why is that the most important thing?

Appendix E

Descriptive Statistics for the Listening Questions

Listening Questions	Mean	S.D.	Range
Question 1: How many people can you think of that talked to you about their feelings/concerns in the last two weeks?	5.39	2.65	0-10
Question 2: How do you feel about hearing other people's feelings, worries, and concerns when they are having difficulties? Possible range: 1 (strongly like it) to 7 (strongly dislike it)	1.93	1.05	1-5
Question 3: For yourself, how important do you think it is to listen to other people's feelings, worries, and concerns when they are having difficulties? Possible range: 1 (extremely important) to 7 (extremely unimportant)	1.26	.55	1-3
Question 4: How important do you think it is to understand other people's difficulties? Possible range: 1 (extremely important) to 7 (extremely unimportant)	1.38	.62	1-3

Correlations Between Listening Questions:

Question Number:

Question 1: How many people can you think of that talked to you about their feelings/concerns in the last two weeks?

Question 2: How do you feel about hearing other people's feelings, worries, and concerns when they are having difficulties?

Question 3: For yourself, how important do you think it is to listen to other people's feelings, worries, and concerns when they are having difficulties?

Question 4: How important do you think it is to understand other people's difficulties?

Question:	Correlations:
Questions One and Two	$r(60) = -.28$, $p < .05$
Questions One and Three	$r(60) = -.24$, $p < .05$
Questions One and Four	$r(59) = -.14$, n.s.
Questions Two and Three	$r(59) = .22$, $p < .05$
Questions Two and Four	$r(58) = .13$, n.s.
Questions Three and Four	$r(59) = .54$, $p < .001$
Question One and ECI Personal	$r(61) = .42$, $p < .001$
Question One and ECI Standard	$r(62) = .20$, n.s.
Question Two and ECI Personal	$r(59) = -.19$, n.s.
Question Two and ECI Standard	$r(60) = -.02$, n.s.
Question Three and ECI Personal	$r(59) = -.21$, n.s.
Question Three and ECI Standard	$r(60) = -.06$, n.s.
Question Four and ECI Personal	$r(58) = -.06$, n.s.
Question Four and ECI Standard	$r(59) = -.16$, n.s.

Appendix F

Descriptive Statistics for the Care Questions*

Care Questions	Mean	S.D.	Range
Care 2: Being concerned with remaining on "good terms" with others was important to me. I wanted to make sure the relationship didn't become worse because of the disagreement.	2.07	1.67	1-7
Care 3: What the right thing is depends on the situation you're in. The best thing to do is to figure out how things could turn out in the end, and then do the thing that will make the situation turn out the best.	1.94	1.08	1-5
Care 4: I try to figure out why each person thinks about the disagreement the way they do. I use the information I know about them (for example, what their life is like) to understand how they get their point of view.	2.26	1.33	1-6

* Scores ranged from 1 (strongly agree) to 7 (strongly disagree).

Correlations Between Care Measures:

Care 2 and Care 3	$r(61) = .25, p < .05$
Care 2 and Care 4	$r(61) = .29, p < .05$
Care 3 and Care 4	$r(62) = .15$, n.s.
Care 2 and ECI Personal	$r(60) = -.03$, n.s.
Care 2 and ECI Standard	$r(61) = .05$, n.s.
Care 3 and ECI Personal	$r(61) = -.01$, n.s.
Care 3 and ECI Standard	$r(62) = -.12$, n.s.
Care 4 and ECI Personal	$r(61) = -.17$, n.s.
Care 4 and ECI Standard	$r(62) = -.29, p < .05$

Descriptive Statistics for Justice Questions*

Justice Questions	Mean	S.D.	Range
Justice 2: Being concerned with acting fairly to others was important to me. I wanted to make sure everyone was treated equally and everyone was treated according to what's right.	2.29	1.29	1-5
Justice 3: The right thing to do depends on following general rules. The best thing to do is to figure out the proper way to handle such a situation based on the correct rules or principles, and then follow that.	3.42	1.64	1-6
Justice 4: I try to separate myself from others. I try to think about them and their situation the way someone who's not involved in the disagreement would. (In other words, from the position of an outside observer).	3.29	1.67	1-7

* Scores ranged from 1 (strongly agree) to 7 (strongly disagree).

Correlations Between Justice Measures:

Justice 2 and Justice 3	$r(62) = .17$, n.s.
Justice 2 and Justice 4	$r(62) = .21$, $p < .05$
Justice 3 and Justice 4	$r(62) = .10$, n.s.
Justice 2 and MJI Personal	$r(61) = .02$, n.s.
Justice 2 and MJI Standard	$r(62) = -.15$, n.s.
Justice 3 and MJI Personal	$r(61) = .15$, n.s.
Justice 3 and MJI Standard	$r(62) = -.05$, n.s.
Justice 4 and MJI Personal	$r(61) = .05$, n.s.
Justice 4 and MJI Standard	$r(62) = -.08$, n.s.