1998

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THE RELATIONS OF PARENTING CHARACTERISTICS AND PARENTS' LEVELS OF CARE REASONING TO PRESCHOOLERS' PROSOCIAL REASONING.

by

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Bachelor of Arts, University of Waterloo, 1995

THESIS

Submitted to the Department of Psychology

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for

Master of Arts

Wilfrid Laurier University

1998

Past research examining parenting variables in relation to the development of prosocial reasoning in children has been minimal. Here, 27 two-parent families with a first-born four-and-one-half-year-old child were studied. Children's prosocial reasoning was measured using Eisenberg's Prosocial Reasoning Task. Aspects of a model of socialization proposed by Darling and Steinberg (1991) which includes parenting values, styles, and practices were used here to generate predictions regarding preschoolers' socialization. Parents' authoritativeness of style was measured based on Baumrind's paradigm (1971). Also measured were the values parents chose as being important for their children, and parents' moral orientation (care versus justice) in the stories they told regarding value teaching to children. Finally, parents' sophistication of care reasoning was measured using a dilemma from Skoe's (1991) Ethic of Care Interview (ECI). The correlations of these various parenting variables with children's prosocial reasoning generally were weak and non-significant. The few exceptions to this were that authoritative mothering was positively and significantly correlated with daughters' choice to help the needy other, mothers' sophistication of care reasoning was negatively and significantly correlated with sons' choice to help the needy other, and fathers' sophistication of care reasoning was negatively and significantly correlated with daughters' use of hedonistic reasoning. It was suggested that parental stylistic variations such as those studied here may not have had time to operate extensively enough on the domain of preschoolers' reasoning about moral issues in order to have an observable relationship with children's varying abilities in prosocial reasoning.

I would like to thank my supervisor Michael Pratt for his guidance and support over the past two years. Despite his busy schedule, he always had time for my questions, and to meet with me to work on the details of this project. I also would like to thank him for giving me freedom and trusting me to develop this project in my own directions. All his help and the work he put into this are greatly appreciated.

There were many other people involved whom I would also like to thank. First, thanks to John Beaton, Andrea Dingwall, Sue Hilbers, Jesse Husk, Laura Jackson, Michelle Kalra, Donna Kuntz, Kathleen Mackey, and Valerie Powell for their part in interviewing the families. Thanks to Laura Jackson for all the hours that she spent with me while we worked out the coding and scoring systems. Thanks also to Sue Hilbers for all the coding she did and for her moral support and encouragement. Secondly, a special thanks to Rebecca Filyer who was responsible for the organization of the project; keeping in touch with the families, searching for those who had moved, sending out the payments to the families, replenishing and maintaining all the materials. She was also a great help in filling me in on the background of this longitudinal project and familiarizing me with the computer and the whereabouts of materials. Finally, I would like to thank my committee members, Bruce Hunsberger, Eileen Wood, and Nick Coady for their helpful advice.

Several other people assisted me, as well, but in a personal, rather than academic, manner. Thank you to Rhonda Boudreau and Romina Coppa for statistical assistance, and, more importantly, for keeping me in good spirits. I greatly acknowledge my parents, Sam and Sheryl Bakewell, for their endless support and love through my entire life. Thank you, also, to my husband, George Tzavelas, who has helped me day in and day out

would have had to have been hand written). Even more helpful and appreciated, though, was his patience, sense of humour, and just generally taking care of my well-being when I was too busy to do it myself.

And, finally, thank you very much to all the families who allowed us into their homes to share their personal experiences with us. Without them, this project would have been impossible.

The study of prosocial reasoning is important because it is a type of moral reasoning that involves caring for others. As human beings, our lives are fundamentally social. Most of us interact with dozens of other people every day. With some of these people, we have only brief, practical interactions, while with others we have close, enduring relationships. Regardless of the type of interaction or relationship we have with someone else, it is, probably without exception, always more pleasurable and gratifying when both parties have an understanding and a respect for the needs of the other. However, it seems that not everyone has the skills or the motivation to consider the needs of those around them fully. If children could learn to think or reason in ways that made them want to be considerate of others, this should improve their relationships with others, and in turn, might help foster a more caring society. Therefore, it becomes important to study the development of prosocial reasoning. A better understanding of how prosocial moral reasoning develops and what factors may influence this, could help our society raise children who have more respect for the needs of others. As, according to Grusec (1991), parents are the primary socializing agents of children, it would seem reasonable to look to the family for possible influences on young children's developing prosocial reasoning. It was some of these potential parental influences on young children that were examined in this study.

To reason prosocially is to consider the needs of others, when faced with a conflict between one's own needs and those of another (Eisenberg-Berg & Hand, 1979).

rules and regulations about what is appropriate are minimized in these prosocial conflicts. For example, there are no laws to help one decide whether or not to donate money to a charity, or, in the case of children, to share one's cookies with a hungry peer at recess. These are decisions we make for ourselves without the guidance of strict rules or firm obligations. However, some people appear to be more likely to reason prosocially than are others. People also reach different solutions in response to such prosocial dilemmas.

One of the primary researchers of the development of children's prosocial reasoning and behaviour is Nancy Eisenberg-Berg (e.g., 1979). As she explains, most earlier research on moral judgment focused on intentionality and prohibition-oriented issues. This has been based on Kohlberg's or Piaget's schemas which have emphasized rules and matters of justice (Durkin, 1995). Very little attention has been paid to reasoning about prosocial moral conflicts. In order to study this, Eisenberg-Berg and Hand (1979) developed a measure that consists of four prosocial moral dilemmas. In each story or dilemma, the needs of the main character are in conflict with the needs of another. The conflict, however, is one in which explicit laws, rules, authorities, punishment, and formal obligations are minimal (Eisenberg-Berg & Hand, 1979). In two of the stories, the main characters are children. The main characters of the other two stories are adults. In each, the child is asked what he/she thinks the main character should do and why. In order to measure the child's sophistication of prosocial reasoning, his or her answer to the why question is most important. The reasons given by the child are coded into a range of reasoning categories.

dilemmas are "needs-oriented" reasoning and "hedonistic" reasoning (Eisenberg-Berg & Hand, 1979). Needs-oriented reasoning involves considering the needs of others, either as well as, or instead of, one's own needs. This is considered to be a more mature type of reasoning in young children. The following is an example of needs-oriented reasoning from the present sample of preschoolers. When asked why the child had answered that the character from the story (see Appendix A, 'The Accident') should go get help for the injured child on the sidewalk rather than continue on her way to a birthday party, the child replied, "so the someone could get better. " This child expressed concern for the needs of the injured child. Hedonistic reasoning is considered to be a less mature type of reasoning. It involves thinking primarily of the self and of one's own gain. A hedonistic response to the same story mentioned above came from a child who said the character should continue on her way to the birthday party rather than helping the injured child. The child's reason was that the character, "doesn't want to miss the ice cream and the cake and the games." This child's main concern, then, is the self rather than the injured other. To use needs-oriented reasoning, then, is to reason prosocially. Hedonistic reasoning, in contrast, is not a type of prosocial reasoning, but rather represents a more egoistic perspective, believed to be more typical of the youngest children.

Much of the research on moral judgment has focused on childhood, adolescence, and adulthood. Research on preschoolers has been more limited. The prosocial moral dilemmas developed by Eisenberg-Berg and Hand (1979) can be used with preschoolers, and several studies have done this (e.g., Eisenberg, Lennon, & Roth, 1983; Eisenberg-Berg & Hand, 1979; Eisenberg-Berg & Neal, 1981). Two pictures are used with each

for use with older children and adolescents, as well (e.g., Eisenberg, Carlo, Murphy, & Van Court, 1995).

As expected, there are developmental trends in the usage of the various elements of prosocial reasoning. In a longitudinal study that examined the same children from age four to age twenty, Eisenberg et al. (1995) found that the use of hedonistic reasoning decreased and the use of needs-oriented reasoning increased, albeit not completely linearly, as the children grew older. However, not all children of the same age used the same type of reasoning to solve prosocial dilemmas; there were considerable individual differences at each age level. Therefore, there are likely to be other variables that relate to prosocial reasoning besides simply age itself.

This study proposes to examine factors within the family that may be related to children's development of prosocial reasoning. It would seem reasonable to expect that parental influences might be predictive of child outcomes in many areas, including moral reasoning. Darling and Steinberg (1993) have proposed a model of adolescent socialization that includes a number of parenting characteristics as being important to adolescent outcomes. They explain that the goals or values that parents have for their children, will affect their parenting styles and parenting behaviours accordingly. Parents will attempt to behave in a manner that coincides with the values they have for their child. Adolescents' willingness to be socialized, and in turn, their behavioural outcomes, depend partly on these styles and behaviours that the parents use in interacting with them.

Some aspects of this general model of socialization are of interest, although the focus here is on preschoolers rather than adolescents. Of particular interest in this study

associated moral orientations of parents, as well as parents' own levels of moral reasoning in relation to preschoolers' sophistication of prosocial reasoning. Below, each of these constructs is reviewed.

Parenting Style

An extremely influential model of parenting style was developed by Baumrind (Baumrind, 1971). The styles she described are based on two components, emotional responsiveness (whether the parents are warm and affectionate and concerned with the child's needs versus cold and rejecting, or somewhere in between) and demandingness (which can range from high maturity expectations to neglect, Durkin, 1995). Authoritative parents are characterized as being high in responsiveness and high in demandingness. Permissive parents are high in responsiveness and low in demandingness. Authoritarian parents are low in responsiveness and high in demandingness. Finally, neglecting/rejecting parents are low in both responsiveness and demandingness (Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

Parenting style can be defined as a general emotional climate towards the child whereas parenting practices are actual behaviours engaged in by the parent in specific situations (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). There tends to be some overlap between parenting styles and parenting practices, as certain practices are more commonly associated with specific styles. For example, when disciplining, authoritative parents tend to use reasoning and induction (the use of explanations or reasons, including the implications of the child's behaviour on others, Maccoby & Martin, 1983), whereas authoritarian parents tend to use power assertion (Damon, 1995). To date, the literature

styles (Boyes & Allen, 1993). In the present study, only parenting style will be measured, but it is important to recognize that some parenting practices tend to be more characteristic of one style than the others. This is especially important since in some of the literature, the terms style and practice are used interchangeably.

Darling and Steinberg (1993), as mentioned earlier, proposed a model of adolescent socialization that included parenting style as being important. Parenting styles, along with parenting practices, are ways in which parents interact with their children. The specific styles and practices that parents use, affect their adolescents' willingness to be socialized and therefore, the behavioural outcomes of the adolescents. This is a simplified account of the more complex model.

Eisenberg, Lennon, and Roth (1983) discussed several theories that would predict that parenting style is associated with prosocial reasoning in younger children, as well. First, according to cognitive-developmental theory, parent socialization practices that emphasize role-taking and the autonomous construction of rules, should enhance the child's moral judgment. This type of practice is termed inductive, as noted above. Such practices, which tend to be associated with authoritativeness, help the child to understand the views of others. This model focuses on prohibition-oriented moral judgment, but Eisenberg et al. (1983) felt it might also apply to the development of prosocial moral judgment.

Another theory these authors discussed is social learning. This theory suggests that nurturant, non-punitive parents may model nurturing behaviours to the child, or help the child to attend to others and develop internal standards rather than relying on external

generally typical of an authoritative parenting style, defined by Baumrind (1971) as parenting that is high in demands for the child, but is also highly responsive to the child's individual needs.

Eisenberg, Lennon, and Roth (1983) studied young children's prosocial reasoning and the parenting behaviours of the mothers of these children. Two groups of different-aged children (4 to 5 years and 5 to 6 years) were studied longitudinally over a one year period. A third group of children (aged 6-and-one-half-years to 8-and-one half-years) were studied at only one time. The performance of this third group on the prosocial reasoning measure was compared with the performance of the other two groups, to examine whether practice effects were related to any possible advancement of reasoning in the first two groups. Evidence for practice effects was not found, as performance of the three groups, when at the same age, was comparable. Children were read the dilemmas from Eisenberg's (1979) Prosocial Reasoning Task (see Appendix A) and responded to the questions to assess their level of prosocial reasoning. Mothers were administered the Block (1965) Child-Rearing Q-sort task. This consists of 91 cards that each describe a child-rearing technique. Mothers sorted these cards according to parenting techniques that were descriptive of themselves. Overall, as expected, children's hedonistic reasoning declined with age, while needs-oriented reasoning increased. For the youngest children ($\underline{M}$=56 months), more prosocial reasoning was positively correlated with non-punitive, non-authoritarian, empathic, and supportive mothering. Somewhat older children ($\underline{M}$=91 months) were more likely to reason prosocially if they had mothers who were non-restrictive (notably for affect), and non-punitive. These mothers were also non-

mothers' responses to the Child-Rearing Q-sort task. For this second age group, however, higher levels of prosocial reasoning were not associated with maternal nurturance.

Eisenberg and Murphy (1995) discussed parenting styles in relation to children's prosocial development. They explain that warm, nurturant parenting would seem to be important in raising prosocial children. Research, though, tends to show only a modest relation between parental warmth and prosocial development, and sometimes no relation has been found at all (Eisenberg & Murphy, 1995). Eisenberg and Murphy (1995) go on to explain that perhaps warmth, or responsiveness, is not enough. They refer to Baumrind's (1971) work, which suggests that parental warmth, when not accompanied by appropriate parental disciplinary practices, may be associated with negative child outcomes. It seems, then, that both responsiveness and demandingness in combination, specifically an authoritative parenting style, may be important in facilitating children's prosocial development. However, little research to date has been done that focuses directly on this parenting style and prosocial development. It is expected that in this study, more authoritative parenting, as assessed using Baumrind's (1971) framework, will be associated with a more advanced level of prosocial reasoning in the children.

Parent Values

Parents' values and goals for their child are also stated as being important to adolescent outcomes in Darling and Steinberg's (1993) model of adolescent socialization. Based on this model, Pratt, Tzavelas, Skoe, and Arnold (1998) examined the relationship between parents' values of caring behaviour for their children, and the level of their

three values, from a list of ten presented to them, that they felt were most important in terms of what sort of person they wanted their child to become.

Skoe (1991) has designed a developmental measure to assess levels of care reasoning, called the Ethic of Care Interview (ECI). Responses to the hypothetical and real-life dilemmas used in this measure are coded into levels of sophistication of care reasoning, from self-concern (lowest), through other concern, to a balance of self and other concern (highest).

The adolescents' level of care reasoning on this index was measured using a dilemma from Skoe and Marcia's (1991) Ethic of Care Interview, as well as two real-life dilemmas of family experience. Parents' endorsement of 'kind and caring' as an important value for their child was positively and significantly related to the adolescents' developmental level of care reasoning. Specifically, those adolescents with parents who strongly valued kindness scored higher on Skoe's Ethic of Care measure than did others. The parents' selection of any of the other nine values presented in this study was not related to levels of care reasoning in the adolescents, however. Thus, the values which parents had for their children did seem to be related to their adolescents' outcomes in a coherent way. An emphasis in the family on kindness was linked to a climate that may have fostered greater development in prosocial reasoning among teenagers. Will this same pattern be true for the values that parents have for their preschoolers, obviously much earlier in the socialization process? It would seem that parents should have more of an influence on their children when they are preschoolers, as at this young age children have much less contact with other influences (teachers, peers, etc.) than they do as adolescents.

value for their child will be positively related to children's prosocial reasoning, since prosocial reasoning, like Skoe's measure of care reasoning, emphasizes consideration of other people's needs.

Parent Moral Orientation

Moral reasoning has been most commonly defined in terms of justice, equality, and fairness (Kohlberg, 1976) and is often assessed using Kohlberg's Moral Judgment Interview (MJI). However, Gilligan (1982) has argued that this emphasis on justice is not fully representative of everyday moral thinking, especially of women's reasoning. Based on interviews with women, she found that they often discussed issues of caring and the importance of relationships when reasoning about moral issues (Gilligan, 1982). Gilligan also proposed that this care reasoning might have, like justice reasoning, a developmental trend. As mentioned earlier, Skoe (1991) has developed a measure of care reasoning called the Ethic of Care Interview (ECI) that assesses such development.

Moral orientation is the term used to describe the tendency to focus on one of these aspects (justice versus care) of morality over the other in a person's moral reasoning, i.e., justice versus care concerns. One can presumably have a moral orientation that emphasizes justice issues more predominantly, or a moral orientation that emphasizes care issues. However, one may have a moral orientation that balances justice and care considerations more equitably, also.

Much research has been done on issues of possible gender differences in justice versus care moral orientations (e.g., Gilligan & Attanucci, 1988; Pratt, Golding, Hunter, & Sampson, 1988; Walker, 1984). The evidence on gender differentiations in moral

women use both justice and care reasoning in response to moral dilemmas, but which one is used often depends on the context (Pratt, Arnold, & Hilbers, 1998; Walker, 1995). For example, when asked to discuss a real-life moral dilemma, women have been found in some studies to be more likely to choose a personal relationship dilemma, while men have been more likely to discuss an impersonal one (Skoe & Diessner, 1994). Such impersonal dilemmas are then less likely to elicit the use of care reasoning (Wark & Krebs, 1996). Even when both men and women were asked to describe personal rather than impersonal dilemmas, women and men still differed in the types of dilemma they discussed (Wark & Krebs, 1996). It seems, then, that moral reasoning for most people encompasses at least two aspects, justice and care, which may be differentially elicited, depending on the context and type of dilemma considered.

Justice reasoning and care reasoning development have been found to be positively related to each other. Specifically, scores on Skoe's ECI have been found to be positively related to scores on Kohlberg's MJI. Skoe and Diessner (1994) found significant positive correlations between the ECI and MJI for young adult women ($\underline{r} = .25$, $\underline{p} < .02$) and for men ($\underline{r} = .34$, $\underline{p} < .01$). Pratt, Tzavelas, Skoe, and Arnold (1998) found a similar correlation ($\underline{r} = .39$, $\underline{p} < .05$) between the two measures in a sample of adolescents at age 16. However, scores on the MJI and the ECI have been found to be differentially related to other variables, suggesting that, although these two types of reasoning may be associated, they are not identical. For example, Pratt et al. (1998) found that adolescents' selection of 'kind and caring' as being important for them, from a list of ten possible values presented, was correlated with higher scores on the ECI ($\underline{r} = .40$, $\underline{p} < .05$) but was

suggest that justice reasoning, as measured by the MJI, and care reasoning, as measured by the ECI, may be two aspects of a larger developmental process in moral reasoning. The ability to reason about justice and equality, as well as about the individual needs of others, may both be relevant to mature moral reasoning.

The relationship between parental moral orientation and adolescents' care reasoning was also examined by Bakewell-Tzavelas and Pratt (1997). Parents were asked to tell a narrative about an incident in which they remembered teaching their adolescent about the value that the parent had chosen as most important for their child. These parent narratives were coded for an emphasis on justice, an emphasis on care, or a combination of the two, regardless of which specific value the parent had chosen to discuss. This coding followed the earlier work of Gilligan and Lyons (1983). Parents with a narrative strongly emphasizing care issues were significantly more likely to have adolescents who scored higher in reasoning levels on the Ethic of Care Interview. One of the purposes in the present study was to examine if a stronger emphasis on care in parental moral orientation to teaching values relates positively to the development of care reasoning in younger children, specifically the sophistication of prosocial reasoning of preschoolers.

It is expected that parents with a stronger teaching focus on care will be more likely to have children who are advanced in prosocial reasoning than will those with less of a focus on care. This is because care reasoning is more directly applicable to the domain of prosocial conflicts. Both prosocial and care reasoning share a similar focus, that of consideration of the needs of others. This is less true of a moral orientation which

rather than on the importance of considering the individual needs of each person.

Parental Moral Reasoning

A further purpose of the present study is to examine parents' level of sophistication of care reasoning in relation to young children's prosocial reasoning development. The studies examining family relationships in moral reasoning have mostly focused on adolescents or young adults and their parents (e.g., Speicher, 1992, 1994). Also, these studies have mostly focused on justice reasoning (e.g. Boyes & Allen, 1993; Buck et al., 1981; Speicher, 1994). Some studies have focused on both justice and care reasoning or only on care reasoning in older children (Pratt, Arnold, & Hilbers, 1998; Pratt, Tzavelas, Skoe, and Arnold, 1998), but none to date have focused on young children's prosocial reasoning development and parents' own level of prosocial or care-oriented reasoning.

According to Powers (1988), there are two principal theories that suggest why parents' level of moral reasoning should be related to children's level of moral reasoning. These theories are focused on moral reasoning in terms of issues of justice, but they are general enough that they could likely apply to the domain of prosocial moral reasoning, as well.

First, research suggests that moral reasoning can be stimulated to develop when the individual is exposed to higher levels of moral judgment (Powers, 1988). If this is true, then parents who reason at high levels can expose their children to more complex ways of viewing moral issues and this may stimulate the child's moral growth. If a parent reasons at lower levels, then the parent has less to offer the child in terms of new ways of

be challenged.

According to Kohlberg (1976), moral development is enhanced through the cognitive conflict that arises when one's existing judgment is challenged by more advanced levels of judgment. Kohlberg minimized the importance of parents' influence on children's moral development, regarding schools and peers as more important in this process (Powers, 1988). More recently, however, parents have been considered to be very important in children's socialization, including moral socialization (Maccoby, 1992; Powers, 1988). It seems reasonable that interactions with parents can cause the cognitive conflict necessary for enhancing moral judgment (Walker & Taylor, 1991). Parents who reason at higher moral levels should be more likely to be reasoning at a higher stage than their children and, therefore, to challenge the reasoning of the child. There may be less cognitive conflict for a child whose parents reason at lower levels. From this, it could be expected that children with parents who reason at higher moral levels would themselves reason at higher moral levels.

Walker and Taylor (1991) conducted a study that explored these issues. They examined parents' and children's (from grades 1, 4, 7, and 10) moral reasoning on the standard Kohlberg Moral Judgment Interview (the MJI). Mothers, fathers, and children all completed the MJI separately. Then, the family was asked to discuss together, and attempt to reach consensus on, one of the dilemmas from the MJI. For each family, the experimenter chose the dilemma where the family had disagreements as to its resolution, determined by their responses in the individual interview. After this, the family discussed a real-life dilemma that the child had earlier told to the experimenter and agreed to discuss

dilemma, as well. After two years, this procedure was repeated with the same families.

The level of parents' reasoning was not related to the level of children's reasoning at Time 1. However, parents' level of moral reasoning was predictive of children's moral reasoning development over the two years between the first and second time of testing. A relatively large disparity between parents and children in reasoning level in discussions at Time 1 (about one stage in the standard Kohlberg system) was predictive of moral reasoning development in the child.

Since in the present study children are very young, it is likely that all children will be considerably lower than their parents in sophistication of moral judgment. Therefore, even given Walker and Taylor's (1991) findings, it is uncertain how variations in parents' and children's moral reasoning may be related in this study. It is important to note, also, that Walker and Taylor (1991) examined justice reasoning as assessed by the MJI. In the present study, it is the parents' care reasoning on Skoe's instrument that is being assessed, and for children, it is prosocial reasoning that is being measured. Thus, it is difficult to make a firm prediction on the basis of this earlier research and theory.

The second theory suggesting a relation between parents and children in regard to moral judgment discusses the possibility that the parents' stage of moral development may influence their parenting behaviours, which may, in turn, influence the child's own moral development. This theory seems more applicable to variations in the development of moral reasoning in very young children. Powers (1988) explains that parents with higher levels of moral judgment may be better able to discuss moral issues with their child, as they are better able to understand a variety of aspects of moral issues. Also, those with

with this ability may be better able to understand their child's points of view and the child's needs in terms of moral development. This possibility was also investigated by Walker and Taylor (1991). They found that parents' level of moral reasoning did not have any relation to their specific interactive styles in the family discussions. Their level of reasoning in relation to more general parenting characteristics and behaviours, however, was not examined.

Interestingly, Walker and Taylor (1991) also found that parents did lower their level of reasoning when discussing the dilemma with their child compared with when they were responding to the dilemmas by themselves. Furthermore, the lower the level of the child's thinking, the more the parents lowered their own reasoning in these discussions. These kinds of adaptive "scaffolding" processes may be more effectively used by parents who themselves are reasoning at higher levels (Walker & Taylor, 1991).

A study by Buck, Walsh, and Rothman (1981) provided some support for the theory that level of parental reasoning may relate to differing patterns of parenting behaviours, though the study focused only on families of boys. Parents of 10- to13-year-old boys completed the MJI, and also completed a number of child-rearing measures. This included answering open-ended questions about how the parent handled such areas as the child's food habits, the child's truthfulness, and the child's aggression toward the parent. Parents were also asked to choose their preferred method, from a list of five prepared solutions, of handling several hypothetical child-rearing situations. Finally, parents had a discussion with their child about a moral issue to assess parent-child interaction.

socialization methods than did parents at lower levels. Specifically, in terms of issues around the child's truthfulness, parents reasoning at higher stages on the MJI reported significantly more use of reasoning with children than did lower-stage parents. Parental encouragement of their sons in expressing negative feelings varied by social class, but all higher stage parents, regardless of social class, used more encouragement than did lower stage parents. Higher stage level parents had longer discussions with their sons and listened to their sons' views more. Interestingly, lower stage parents preferred reasoning as a socialization method, but used less of it in most areas than did higher stage parents. Higher stage parents preferred compromise and non-intervention as socialization methods. It was also found that fathers' level of moral reasoning was positively and significantly related to the children's level of moral reasoning. This provides some further support for Power's (1988) theory, specifically, with regard to Kohlberg's justice reasoning.

Other evidence, however, on whether or not parental level of moral reasoning relates to the child's level of moral reasoning, has been mixed (Speicher, 1994). Powers (1988) claims that when significant positive correlations have been found, they have often been rather modest. Evidence has suggested that the relations between parent and child in moral reasoning often depend on the child's age and the gender of both the child and the parents (Speicher, 1994). For example, the Buck et al. (1981) study, mentioned earlier, examined mothers, fathers, and sons only. While parents' moral judgment stage on the MJI was significantly and positively related to the son's stage on the MJI, this relationship was primarily accounted for by the father's level of moral judgment.

reasoning have been widely examined (e.g. Buck et al., 1981; Speicher, 1994; Walker & Taylor, 1991), yielding generally mixed results (Walker & Taylor, 1991). These patterns appear to depend both on the ages and gender of the children (Speicher, 1994). However, there does not appear to have been any research that has examined parents' level of care reasoning and its relation to children's moral reasoning, prosocial or otherwise. One purpose of the present study, then, was to examine young children's sophistication of prosocial reasoning and how parents' own level of moral reasoning may be predictive of this.

Gender differences, typically, have not been found in preschoolers' level or use of prosocial reasoning as assessed by the Eisenberg Prosocial Reasoning Task (Eisenberg, Lennon, & Roth, 1983; Eisenberg-Berg & Hand, 1979). Therefore, gender differences are not expected in this sample of preschool children. However, these differences will be examined, particularly since our sample was relatively gender imbalanced, as described below.

Mothers and fathers will be examined separately in relation to their children. Many of the theories about parenting and socialization use the term 'parents' or 'the family' and tend not to differentiate between mothers and fathers (e.g., Baumrind, 1971; Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Powers, 1988). Studies about parental socialization often look at mothers only (e.g., Eisenberg, Fabes, Carlo, Speer, Switzer, Karbon, & Troyer, 1993; Eisenberg, Lennon, & Roth, 1983). Of the studies that examine both parents in relation to children's socialization, some find differences between mothers and fathers, while others do not.

level of fathers' moral reasoning was more strongly correlated with sons' level than was mothers'. Speicher (1994) also examined relations between parents' and adolescents' moral judgment. However, she found that, after controlling for age and IQ, both parents' moral judgment predicted that of daughters but neither parents' judgment predicted the judgment of sons. Hart, DeWolf, Wozniak, and Burts (1992) found that mothers' disciplinary style related to daughters', but not sons', prosocial behaviour. Fathers' disciplinary style did not relate to the prosocial outcomes of daughters or sons.

It seems then that differences or similarities between mothers and fathers in child socialization are unclear. Therefore, in this study, mothers and fathers will be examined separately. Since the past research has yielded such mixed results, no actual hypotheses about differences between parents were made. Rather, parents were examined separately for exploratory purposes.

Mediating Variables

The values that parents rate as being important for their children were also expected to be important mediating variables between the parents' own level of sophistication of care reasoning and children's levels of prosocial reasoning. Parents who reason at higher levels on the Ethic of Care measure of Skoe were expected to be more likely to choose 'kind and caring' as an important value for their child. As discussed earlier, parental choice of 'kind and caring' as a value was, in turn, expected to be positively related to children's level of prosocial reasoning.

It was further expected that moral orientation would be a mediating variable between parents' level of care reasoning and children's prosocial reasoning. Whether or

orientation. It was again expected that parents who scored high on the care reasoning measure would be more likely to have a moral orientation emphasizing care as, according to their score on the ECI, care issues are more likely salient for these parents. Parents with a moral orientation that emphasizes care were also expected to have children who use more needs-oriented prosocial reasoning, as was discussed earlier. Thus, the influence of parental levels of care reasoning on children's development was expected to be mediated both by parent child-rearing values and by parental moral orientation.

To summarize, then, children's use of needs-oriented reasoning in solving prosocial dilemmas was examined in relation to several characteristics of the children's parents. Parenting style and parental values for the children were measured. The parents' sophistication of care reasoning, as well as their moral orientation to value teaching were also assessed. Under investigation was whether any of these parenting variables predicted more advanced prosocial reasoning (particularly more use of needs-oriented reasoning and/or less use of hedonistic reasoning) in preschoolers. The specific hypotheses, which will be examined separately for mothers and fathers, are as follows:

Hypotheses:

1. Authoritative mothering will be associated with the use of more needs-oriented prosocial reasoning in children, with less hedonistic reasoning, and with more prosocial solutions to dilemmas. The associations between fathers' authoritativeness and children's prosocial reasoning are unclear, and therefore, no specific hypothesis is offered for fathers.

with the use of more needs-oriented reasoning in children, with less hedonistic reasoning, and with more prosocial solutions to dilemmas.

3. Mothers and fathers with a moral orientation emphasizing care in teaching children will be more likely to have children who use more needs-oriented prosocial reasoning, less hedonistic reasoning, and more prosocial solutions to dilemmas.
4. Higher scores for mothers and fathers on the Ethic of Care measure of Skoe (1991) will be associated with the use of more needs-oriented reasoning in children, with less hedonistic reasoning, and with more prosocial solutions to dilemmas.
5. Parental values for their children will be a mediating variable between the parents' level of care reasoning and the children's sophistication of prosocial reasoning.
6. Parental moral orientation will be a mediating variable between parents' level of care reasoning and the children's sophistication of prosocial reasoning.

These hypotheses are illustrated in Figures 1 and 2.

Figure 1. **Model of Hypothesized Relationships Between Parents' Variables and Children's Reasoning**

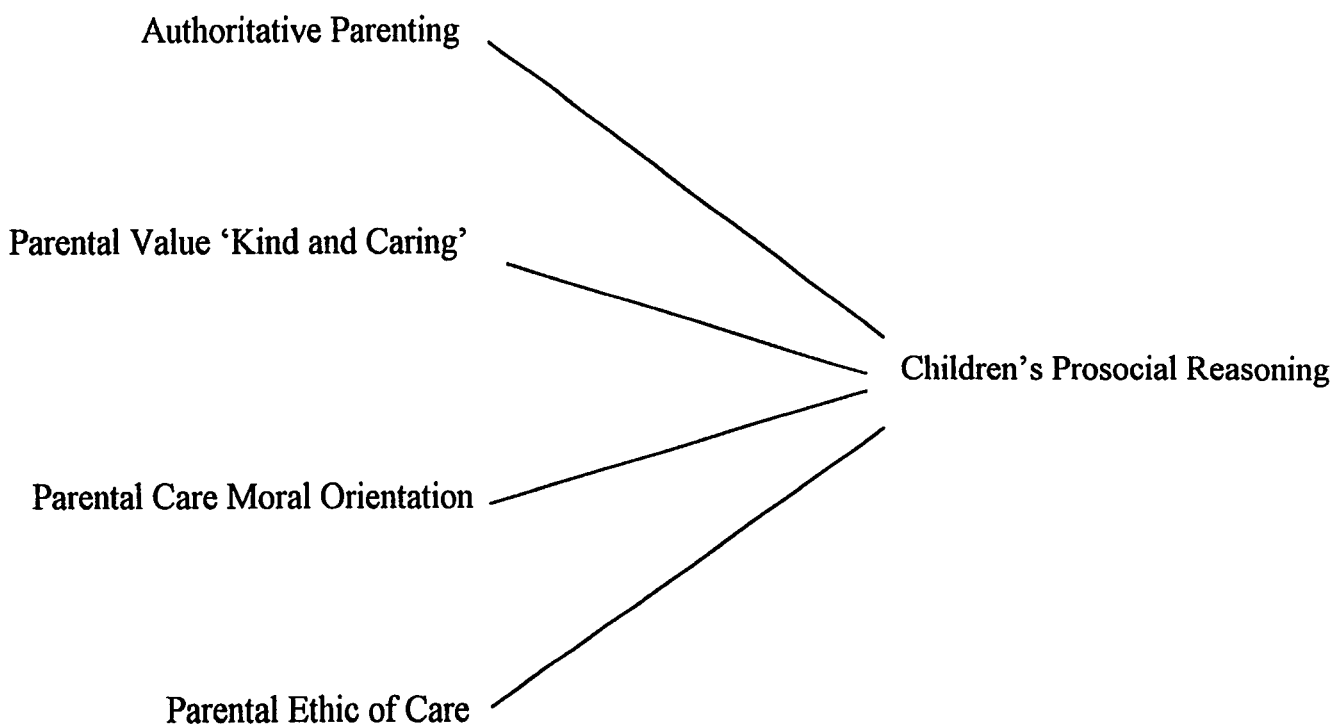
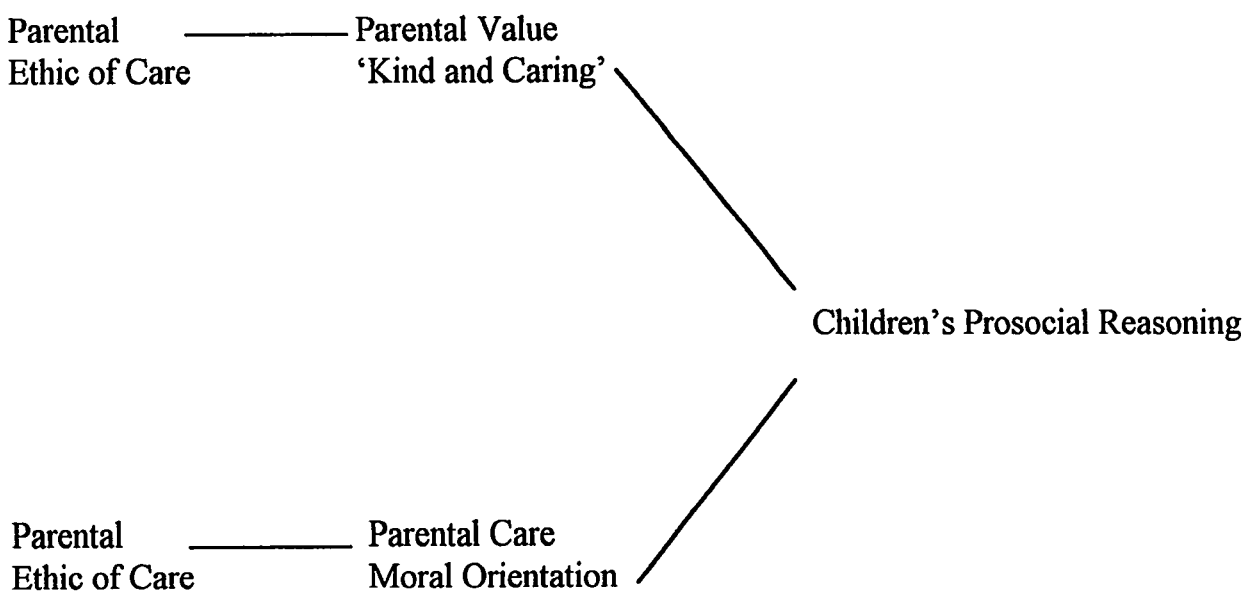


Figure 2. **Model of Hypothesized Mediational Relationships Between Parents' Variables and Children's Reasoning**



Participants

Twenty-seven families with four-and-one-half-year-old firstborns participated as part of a larger study. Children's ages ranged from 50 months to 59 months, with a mean of 55 months. Girls had a mean age of 55.2 months and boys had a mean age of 55.2 months. The number of younger siblings varied among the families from 0 to 2. The mothers' mean age was 32.8 years, and for fathers it was 34.5 years. In this predominantly middle class sample, mothers' and fathers' educational level ranged from some secondary school to having one or more university degrees. Parental employment varied, though the majority of mothers as well as fathers were employed at least part-time. Daycare arrangements for children also varied widely.

Families from the Kitchener-Waterloo area were first recruited five years ago while they were expecting their first child. At that time, they were participants in a study about the transition to parenthood until children reached 18 months of age. This original sample consisted of 73 families. By the time of the start of this study (about five years after the original sample was recruited), 54 of these families remained. Six of these families could not be contacted, and had apparently relocated. The remaining families that could be contacted were called and asked if they would be interested in participating in the current phase of the research; of these, 54% agreed. Of the original 54 families, 34 had daughters and the remaining 20 had boys. Of the six families that could not be located, three had daughters. The refusal rate of the 48 contacted families was higher for families with sons than for families with daughters; 63% of the families with girls agreed to participate, while only 33% of the families with sons participated.

most were families with daughters, an attempt was made to recruit more families with sons. Posters were made which briefly explained the study, and which asked for families with first born sons of approximately four and one half years of age to participate. These were posted at five local daycare centers, in the children's department of the public library, and at a local doctor's office. A poster was also posted at a research preschool affiliated with the University of Guelph. An advertisement with similar information was placed in a local paper. These efforts increased the number of families with sons by three. Therefore, the final sample of 27 children consisted of 19 girls and 8 boys.

Child Measures

Children's Prosocial Reasoning

The Eisenberg Prosocial Reasoning Task (see Appendix A) consists of four stories. In each, the main character is faced with a conflict between his/her own needs and the needs of another character. In two stories, the main character is a child, and in the other two, the main character is an adult. The stories were read to the child, one at a time. At the same time, the child was shown two pictures for each story. All children were presented with female characters. After hearing each story, the child was asked what the character should do and why. Further probing was used if the child's responses were unclear.

The children's responses to these dilemmas were coded into categories according to the type of reasoning the child used to solve the dilemma, following Eisenberg-Berg and Hand (1979). The two categories of major interest in this study were needs-oriented reasoning and hedonistic reasoning, as the former is most clearly prosocial, while the latter

meeting the physical or psychological needs of the other. Responses were categorized as hedonistic if the focus was primarily on serving the self. Some of the children's responses were not needs-oriented or hedonistic. Children received no score for these other responses. An inter-rater reliability between two independent raters of .79 for a sample of 15 transcripts, each containing four stories, was obtained.

Each child received a score for needs-oriented reasoning and a separate score for hedonistic reasoning. Children were given a score of 1 for each of the 4 dilemmas that they used needs-oriented reasoning to solve, based on the procedures of Eisenberg-Berg and Hand (1979). Thus, scores for needs-oriented usage could range from 0 (no use of this reasoning in any of the stories) to 4 (use of this reasoning in all of the stories). The usage of hedonistic reasoning was scored in the same manner.

Children also received a score for their responses on whether or not the character should help the person(s) in need, regardless of the reasoning for this choice. Scores could range from 0 (no help given in any of the 4 stories) to 4 (help given in all stories). Exact agreement on this measure between two independent raters was 88% for 15 transcripts, each containing four stories.

Children's Verbal Ability

Children's verbal ability was measured as a control factor. The childcare provider played a brief game focused on verbal fluency with the child. This task was adapted from the McCarthy Scale of Child Development (McCarthy, 1972). In this game, the child was asked to list as many items as possible about a certain topic in 20 seconds. The child was given four topics from which to create lists (see Appendix B). The child was tape recorded

produced within the time limits was scored.

Parenting Measures

Authoritative Parenting

Parents individually completed a shortened, 20-item revision of the Parenting Authority Questionnaire (Buri, 1991, see Appendix C). Parents indicated to what extent the statements were true of themselves, using a 5-point Likert scale, that ranged from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). The responses to the 10 questions pertaining to authoritative parenting were summed to give the parent a score on level of authoritative beliefs. An example statement from this inventory was "My children know what I expect of them in the family, but are free to discuss those expectations with me when they feel they are unreasonable."

During their interview, parents were asked open-ended questions about their parenting and discipline styles, as well as their behavioural expectations for their child. Sample questions were, "What rules do you have around mealtimes?" and "What do you do if your child disobeys these rules?" (see Appendix D). Demandingness of the parent was assessed on a score sheet (see Appendix E) based on some of the answers to these questions following Baumrind (1971). A list of instructions or criteria accompanied the score sheet to make scoring consistent (see Appendix F). Parents were also videotaped telling a story about their own childhoods to their child. This story-telling video was used to measure demandingness by rating how much the parent required the child to pay attention during the story, on a 1 (low) to 5 (high) scale. Parental responsiveness to the child was primarily assessed using the story-telling video by watching how the parent

responsiveness section of the authoritative scoring sheet (Appendix E), along with the criteria for the authoritative measures (see Appendix F), was used to score this story-telling video. A few questions from the interview, though, were also used to assess responsiveness. A sample question was, "How do you feel about your child expressing his/her opinions about these issues when you discipline him/her?" Z-scores were calculated for each parent's scores on demandingness and responsiveness, and then these were summed to obtain an overall score for level of authoritativeness. This was based on standard definitions of authoritative parents as being high in both demandingness and responsiveness (e.g., Maccoby & Martin, 1983), following procedures used previously (Pratt et al., 1992). The reliabilities between two independent raters on the segregated scores for level of parental authoritativeness were .98 for mothers and .80 for fathers, on a sample of 10 transcripts.

Parents' Selection of Values for their Child

Each mother and father were separately given a list on sticker paper of ten values which many people would consider as being important for their children. The list consisted of the items "kind and caring," "fair and just," "honest," "ambitious and hard-working," "trustworthy," "independent," "open and communicative," "polite and courteous", "sharing," and "careful and cautious". Each value had a brief definition included with it (see Appendix G). Parents were also given a sheet with a sketch drawing of a child which was to represent their child. Beside this sketch were three lines. Parents were asked to choose the three most important values of the 10 in terms of whom they wanted their child to become. The most important value was to be stuck on the first line,

Of interest in this study particularly was the value 'kind and caring.' Parents' emphasis on this value was scored, ranging from 0 - 3. If the parent did not choose 'kind and caring' at all, they received a 0. If 'kind and caring' was chosen as most important, then a score of 3 was given. A score of 2 was given to parents who rated the value as the second most important. Those who rated it as third most important received a score of 1.

Moral Orientation Narratives

Mothers and fathers were separately asked to tell a narrative about an incident where they could remember teaching their child about the most important socialization value that the parent had earlier chosen (see Appendix H). Each story was coded for a predominant emphasis on justice (1), a combination of both justice and care (3), or a predominant emphasis on care (5), following Gilligan (1982) and Lyons (1983). A score of 2 was given for a narrative that emphasized justice somewhat. A score of 4 was given for a narrative emphasizing care, but not as strongly as a narrative receiving a score of 5. Reliability between two independent scorers for a sample of 15 transcripts was .89.

Parental Care Reasoning

The Chris/Kristine dilemma (see Appendix I) from the Ethic of Care Interview (Skoe & Marcia, 1991) was read to parents by the interviewers. Mothers heard the female version (Kristine) and fathers heard the male version (Chris). Parents were asked what they thought Chris/Kristine should do and why. Responses were coded into the appropriate Ethic of Care levels: 1 (caring for self primarily); 2 (self-sacrificing care for others); and 3 (caring for both self and others). Levels 1.5 and 2.5 represent transitions between the other levels. Skoe and Marcia (1991) reported correlations between scores

two trained raters were .78 or higher. In the present study, the correlation between two independent raters on a sample of 16 transcripts was $r(14) = .89$. Exact agreement on level was 81%.

Procedure

Families were interviewed in their own homes. Two researchers (from a group of five female and one male graduate students, and a female undergraduate student) and a childcare provider visited each family at a previously arranged time. The childcare provider was one of three female high school students.

After introductions were made, the information letter provided to parents was read, and the consent form was signed (see Appendices J to M). Then, each parent was videotaped telling a story to the child about an incident from the parent's own childhood where a lesson could be learned. This interaction between parent and child was used to assess parental responsiveness to the child. Each parent was then interviewed separately by one of the interviewers. Questions were asked on various parenting issues to assess authoritativeness of parenting. The interviews also included one dilemma from Skoe's ECI. This dilemma was used to assess parents' levels of care reasoning. Next, parents were asked to choose the three most important values for their child from a list of ten presented to them. Finally, they were asked to tell about an incident where they taught their child about this most important value. This narrative was used as an assessment of parents' moral orientation in teaching. The interviews were tape recorded. While these interviews were happening separately with each parent, the childcare provider played with the child and any siblings, using toys that were brought for this purpose. When the child

also tape recorded. This short interview included the Eisenberg Prosocial Reasoning Task and the verbal fluency tasks. Any younger siblings of the child remained in the same room while the child interview took place, unless the younger child left to be with the parents. This, however, was discouraged to prevent interruptions to the parents' interviews.

The interviewers spent approximately two and one half hours with each family. The interviewers left a package of questionnaires for each parent to complete separately. Included in this package was Buri's (1991) Parenting Authority Questionnaire, as well as several other questionnaires that were not relevant here, but were used for the larger study. The families were provided with a stamped, addressed envelope with which to return the questionnaires. After the questionnaires were received by the researchers, a cheque for twenty-five dollars was sent to the families. Some of the later families were sent fifty dollars. As this study was part of a larger one, a feedback form will be sent to families once all the data collection has been completed.

Results

For the overall means and standard deviations of the children's measures, see Table 1. The means for boys and girls separately are displayed in Table 2. Means for boys and girls did not differ significantly on any of these measures according to the non-significant correlations between children's gender with the children's reasoning measures, though the sample of boys here was very modest in size (N=8), compared to that with girls (N=19). The means and standard deviations for parents' variables, broken down by mothers and fathers, are displayed in Table 3. Mothers and fathers also did not differ significantly on any of these means, according to T-tests. Correlations between mothers

correlated significantly (positively) on the interview measure of authoritativeness. Correlations between parents' measures with other parent measures can be seen in Table 5.

Generally, child outcome variables were inter-related appropriately based on previous work (Eisenberg-Berg & Hand, 1979). As expected, the children's use of needs-oriented reasoning was negatively, though not significantly, correlated with their use of hedonistic reasoning, $r(25) = -.25$, n.s.[1] Children's responses that the character in the story should help those in need were positively correlated with their use of needs-oriented reasoning, $r(25) = .59$, $p < .01$. The choice to help was also correlated with the use of hedonistic reasoning, but in the negative direction, $r(25) = -.55$, $p < .01$, as would be expected. These correlations are presented in Table 6. These correlations separated for gender can be seen in Table 7. For the correlations between children's prosocial measures, and child age and verbal fluency, see Table 8 . None of these correlations was significant.

Specifically, children's verbal fluency was not significantly correlated with any of the child variables, although the correlation between verbal fluency and use of hedonistic reasoning approached significance in the positive direction, $r(25) = .34$, $p < .10$, two-tailed. Therefore, an analysis of the hypotheses was performed with verbal fluency partialled out. Overall, this did not change the relationships between parenting variables and children's prosocial variables substantially, and will therefore not be addressed any

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[1] n.s. indicates $p > .10$.

variables are reported below in the text, and also can be seen in Tables 9 and 10.

Fathers' choice of 'kind and caring' was positively, but not significantly, correlated with child gender, $r(25) = .32$, n.s., such that fathers of daughters tended to be somewhat more likely to choose 'kind and caring' as being important for their child, though this was not significant. No relationship existed for mothers' choice of 'kind and caring' with gender, $r(25) = -.11$, n.s.

A few of the parent variables were also intercorrelated. As could be expected, for both parents, their ranking of 'kind and caring' as an important child-rearing value was positively and significantly correlated with their use of a caring moral orientation as determined by the value teaching story they told. For mothers, the correlation was $r(24) = .66$, $p < .01$. For fathers, this correlation was $r(24) = .45$, $p < .05$. The correlation for mothers' and fathers' care reasoning scores on the Skoe ECI with their choice of 'kind and caring' as being an important value for their child was $r(25) = .05$, n.s., and $r(24) = .22$, n.s., respectively. Neither parents' moral orientation scores correlated with their ECI reasoning scores, $r(23) = .12$, n.s. for fathers, and $r(24) = .00$, n.s., for mothers. All these correlations can be seen in Table 5. In general, then, these parent variables tended to be unrelated.

Surprisingly, parents' authoritativeness scores, as assessed by the interview and observation procedures of Baumrind (1971) did not correlate with their authoritative beliefs as measured by the Buri (1991) Parenting Authority Questionnaire, $r(23) = -.11$, n.s., for mothers, and $r(22) = .07$, n.s., for fathers. Since the Parenting Authority Questionnaire, which did not correlate with any of the children's measures, is not typically

and concentrate on the Baumrind measure, which was designed for use with preschoolers, for analyses.

Testing the Hypotheses

The correlations for the hypotheses are presented in Table 9 for mothers' variables and Table 10 for fathers' variables. Tables 11 and 12 present these correlations for boys and girls separately with each parent.

Hypothesis one predicted that authoritative mothering, as rated from the interviews and observations, would be positively correlated with children's prosocial reasoning variables. This was not supported when examining the entire sample of sons and daughters. For fathers, this hypothesis was exploratory. The correlation of fathers' authoritativeness with children's needs-oriented reasoning was $r(24) = -.07$, n.s.; with children's hedonistic reasoning, it was $r(24) = -.01$, n.s.; and with children's choice to help, it was $r(24) = .10$. n.s. For mothers, these correlations were $r(25) = .07$, n.s. with needs-oriented reasoning, $r(25) = .03$, n.s. with hedonistic reasoning, and $r(25) = -.02$, n.s. with children's choice to help. However, when examining mothers' authoritativeness in relation to daughters only, authoritativeness was positively and significantly correlated with children's choice to help, $r(17) = .46$, $p < .05$, as predicted. With this one exception, then, there was little support for Hypothesis 1.

There were several weak trends that were consistent with hypothesis two, which stated that parents' choice of 'kind and caring' as an important value for their child would be positively correlated with children's prosocial variables. Disappointingly, however, none of these correlations was significant. For fathers, the choice of 'kind and caring' as

children's use of needs-oriented reasoning, r(25) = .28, n.s. This value was negatively, but not significantly, correlated with hedonistic reasoning, r(25) = -.15, n.s., and was positively, but not significantly, correlated with child's choice to help, r(25) = .16, n.s. For mothers, choice of 'kind and caring' was r(25) = .04, n.s. with needs-oriented reasoning, was negatively but not significantly correlated with hedonistic reasoning, r(25) = -.23, n.s., and was positively but not significantly correlated with choice to help, r(25) = .25, n.s. Overall, then, there was no evidence to support hypothesis 2 in these data. None of these correlations was significant within the subgroups of girls and boys either (see Tables 11 and 12).

Hypothesis three predicted that parents with a moral orientation that emphasized care, as assessed by the parents' value teaching story, would be positively correlated with children's prosocial variables. This hypothesis was also not supported. The correlations for fathers were r(24) = .31, n.s. with child's needs-oriented reasoning, r(24) = .07, n.s. with child's hedonistic reasoning, and r(24) = .07, n.s. with child's choice to help. The correlations for mothers were r(24) = -.07, n.s. with child's needs-oriented reasoning, r(24) = .11, n.s. with hedonistic reasoning, and r(24) = .07, n.s. with child's choice to help. Again, there was no clear support for hypothesis 3 in the present data, and there were no significant relations when examining families separately with girls or boys either (see Tables 11 and 12).

Hypothesis four predicted a positive relationship between parents' sophistication of care reasoning and children's prosocial reasoning variables. Again, there was little support for this. Fathers' variables were correlated in the expected direction, but these

correlations (though generally not reaching significance) were not in the direction predicted.

The correlations for fathers' scores on the ECI with the child outcome variables were $r(24) = .15$, n.s. with needs-oriented reasoning, $r(24) = -.25$, n.s. with hedonistic reasoning, and $r(24) = .19$, n.s. with child's choice to help. Fathers' ECI scores correlated negatively and significantly with hedonism, as predicted, but only for families with daughters, $r(17) = .-47$, $p < .05$. None of the other correlations between fathers' ECI and children's variables separated by gender were significant (see Table 12).

Mothers' correlations for ECI scores for the entire sample were: $r(25) = -.03$, n.s. with needs-oriented reasoning, $r(25) = .35$, $p < .08$ with hedonistic reasoning, and $r(25) = -.25$, n.s. with child's choice to help. When examining families with sons, the correlation between mothers' ECI score and sons' choice to help was significantly negative, contrary to prediction, $r(6) = -.78$, $p < .05$. For the other correlations between mothers' level of care reasoning and children's variables separated by gender, none was significant (see Table 11). Again, there is only very weak evidence for hypothesis 4, and that was only for fathers' variables with girls. Mothers' variables were not at all as predicted.

As the relationships between the parenting variables and children's prosocial reasoning were not generally significant, the mediational analyses could not be completed to test hypotheses 5 and 6.

Discussion

The purpose of the study was to examine parenting variables that might relate to the development of prosocial reasoning in young children. The results here suggested that

prosocial reasoning in the anticipated direction. However, the relationships were generally weak and non-significant in this sample. Below, each of the hypotheses and the results are reviewed.

The first hypothesis was that more authoritative parenting would correlate positively with children's use of needs-oriented reasoning, and prosocial solutions to dilemmas, but negatively with the use of hedonistic reasoning. There were no significant results with respect to this hypothesis when the sample was examined as a whole. When broken down by sons versus daughters, however, authoritative mothering was significantly positively correlated with daughters' (but not sons') choices to help the needy individual in each story (see Table 11). This was consistent with the hypothesis, but held only for girls. For boys, mothers' authoritativeness was negatively, but not significantly, correlated with children's choice to help. Generally, fathers' level of authoritativeness did not relate at all to children's prosocial outcomes.

Somewhat similar results were found in a study by Hart, DeWolf, Wozniak, and Burts (1992). Parental disciplinary styles were examined in relation to the actual prosocial behaviour on the playground of preschoolers with other preschoolers. Parents were classified as having either inductive styles or power assertive styles of discipline, based on answers to open-ended questions about several hypothetical child-rearing situations. Though parenting style was not actually measured by Hart et al., as it was in the present study, inductive discipline tends to be associated with authoritative parenting, while power assertion tends to associate with authoritarian parenting (Damon, 1995). Children of these

where prosocial behaviours (social conversation and cooperative play) were noted.

Fathers' disciplinary style, in the Hart et al. study (1992), did not relate to the prosocial behaviours of sons or daughters. Daughters of inductive mothers, though, engaged in more prosocial behaviour than did daughters of power assertive mothers. Mothers' disciplinary styles were not related to their sons' prosocial behaviour. So, although actual prosocial behaviour, rather than reasoning, was studied by Hart et al. (1992), and parent disciplinary styles rather than more global parenting styles were assessed, the results paralleled those found here. That is, authoritative mothering in the present study was positively correlated with daughters' choice to help and similarly, inductive mothering was related to more prosocial behaviour in daughters in the Hart et al. study (1992). In both studies, authoritative type mothering did not relate to prosocial choices or behaviour of sons. Also, fathering styles did not relate to child prosocial outcomes in either study.

Perhaps gender issues are involved in these parenting influences on young children. Mothers' parenting styles may have a stronger relation with daughters' outcomes because they are of the same gender. For example, modeling influences that are gender-linked may be important. Perhaps fathers' parenting is more important for sons, but because children usually spend less time with fathers than mothers, the relations between fathers and sons may be more subtle or may take more time to develop.

The small sample size of this study could partially explain why hypothesis one, as well as the other hypotheses, was not well supported. Many of the correlations for both fathers and mothers with children's prosocial reasoning were in the predicted direction,

tests of the relations between parents' characteristics (styles, values, moral orientations, and moral reasoning) and children's prosocial variables would have had more power. This increase in power might have meant that some of these predicted results would have reached significance.

The second and third hypotheses predicted that parents who chose the value of 'kind and caring' as being important for their child, and parents with a care moral orientation would be more likely to have children who used more needs-oriented reasoning in thinking about prosocial conflicts. Although some of the correlations for parents' valuing of 'kind and caring' were in the predicted direction, none was significant. There was a positive, but non-significant, correlation ($r = .31$) between fathers' use of a care moral orientation and children's needs-oriented reasoning. Again, however, there were no significant relations observed for fathers. For mothers, there were non-significant correlations in the opposite direction to what was predicted (see Table 9).

Hypothesis four predicted that parents' sophistication of care reasoning would be positively correlated with children's use of needs-oriented reasoning. Parents' care reasoning was measured using a standard dilemma from Skoe's (1991) ECI. Overall, fathers' care reasoning again seemed somewhat more related to the children's prosocial variables than did mothers' reasoning. However, fathers' correlations with children's variables were non-significant, with the one exception of the significant negative correlation with daughters' hedonistic reasoning. For mothers, scores on this ECI dilemma correlated with children's variables in the opposite direction to that predicted, though only one (with sons' choice to help) was significant (see Tables 9 and 11).

might have been found with parents' values and moral orientations, since the ECI and the Prosocial Reasoning Task are similar in their emphasis. However, the children in that study were adolescents. The children in the present study may still be too young to have been influenced strongly in their reasoning by their parents' values and moral orientations. Perhaps 4.5 years is not enough time with a parent to be greatly influenced by them in terms of moral reasoning development, especially when there are countless other cognitive and social tasks to master such as walking and talking. The relationships between parents' and children's care moral reasoning found by Pratt et al. (1998) may become clearer after the preschool years. It is possible that the processes in the family that foster the development of these relationships occur when children are older, or possibly these processes are more cumulative in nature. The effects on the child may be only gradually noticeable over the course of development.

As mentioned in the introduction, Kohlberg de-emphasized the role of parents in children's moral development. According to cognitive developmental theory, moral development requires both cognitive and social stimulation. Such stimulation can come from social interaction, moral dialogue, and role-taking opportunities (Kohlberg, 1976). Kohlberg (1976) describes role-taking as, "taking the attitude of others, becoming aware of their thoughts and feelings, putting oneself in their place"(p. 49). Perhaps particularly in young children, role-taking is more important amongst peers. Preschool children may not be able to adequately experiment with role-taking with adults, due to an extreme difference in cognitive abilities, or to an imbalance in power within the parent-child relationship (e.g., Kohlberg, 1976).

It is unlikely that parents would engage in many moral discussions with their four-year-old children, but it is much more likely that they may discuss moral issues with their adolescents. A "moral discussion" between a parent and a preschooler may consist of the parent telling the child that "it's not nice to hit." However, parents with adolescents may actually discuss issues such as capital punishment, abortion, and racism. It would seem that a conversation between two people about the latter subjects would do more for the development of moral judgment and reasoning than would hearing a statement such as in the former case. So, these opportunities with parents that promote moral development may not occur until children are older. It could be that for such young children as those in the present study, individual differences in parenting are less important for moral development than is an environment generally rich in opportunities for cognitive and social stimulation (Kohlberg, 1969).

Speicher (1992) indicates that her 1985 longitudinal study of preadolescents and their parents, and adults and their parents, found that correlations between children's and parents' reasoning increased as the children grew older. Based on Speicher's research, then, it is not particularly surprising that stronger correlations between parents' and children's levels of care reasoning were not obtained in this sample of very young children. Perhaps if these families were revisited in several years, or possibly even when these children become adults, stronger relationships between parent's care reasoning and children's prosocial reasoning would become evident.

Further studies need to be done with children between the ages of preschoolers and adolescents. This could help determine at what point any potential relationships

be longitudinal research to follow these same particular families over time. Longitudinal research allows us to see differences in the same individuals as they develop. Cross-sectional research, where different people of different ages are examined, makes it impossible to investigate developmental change directly. It is not known whether maturity may have been responsible for changes between the different age groups, or whether different social issues were more salient for the different cohorts. Also, when we examine, for example, three-year-olds and notice certain behaviours, and then examine twenty-year-olds and notice the absence of these behaviours, we do not know if these differences are due to development, because we cannot be sure that the group of twenty-year-olds exhibited the same behaviours at the age of three as our group of three-year-olds are exhibiting. However, if we examine the same children over time, we know what they are like and how they are changing over time. We still cannot say that these changes are solely due to development, but we have more evidence for that possibility.

It was not the case that an overly demanding test for the children was responsible for the lack of support for the hypotheses. Children's responses on the Prosocial Reasoning Task were quite varied, and did not show either floor or ceiling effects. All possible scores, from 0 (no help given in any of the stories) to 4 (help given in all of the stories), were represented. The full range of scores possible for use of hedonistic reasoning, and almost the full range for use of needs-oriented reasoning, were represented also. As well, children did not tend to necessarily respond to each story the same as had other children. Responses to each of the four stories or dilemmas varied amongst the children. Some of the children's responses were quite clever and articulate, suggesting that

simplistic answers and seemed to experience more difficulty in resolving the dilemmas. An example of one child who gave particular thought to solving the dilemma in The Flood Story (see Appendix A) is as follows (with interviewer's remarks in parentheses):

> [Should they give food to the town?] No, go to the grocery store...Like Zellers, but they couldn't go to Zellers 'cause that's too crowded. [But what if they're out in the country and there's no grocery stores for some reason....?] I know. How about just harvest all over again? [But it's almost winter so they can't harvest again.]...If they had a river, they could fish for fish ...If they only had a fishing rod. [...Let's say for some strange reason, there's no fish in that river. Do you think these people should share their food...or should they keep it to themselves?] Keep it to themselves ...But our Bible words at Sunday school is share with others. [So, what do you think they should do then?] Go somewhere where they're still harvesting and bring it back. [Just what if they can't...Do you think they should share?] No. [Why don't you think so?] Because then they'll go hungry.

An example from a child who gave a less articulate response to Ann's Story (see Appendix A) is as follows:

> [What should Ann do?] She could just go away. [She should just go away?] Yep. [Why should she just go away?] Because. [Because?] Umm, because.

varied; for the most part, however, the task was not too difficult.

Furthermore, despite the lack of evidence for many of the hypothesized relationships between parent and child variables, child variables on the Eisenberg task intercorrelated in a way that made sense. For example, children's use of needs-oriented reasoning was positively and significantly correlated (r = .59) with children's choice to help the needy other in the story. Children's use of hedonistic reasoning was negatively and significantly correlated (r = -.55) with children's choice to help. These expected findings suggest reasonable construct validity for our child measures.

Some of the parents' care measures were also intercorrelated (see Table 5 for actual correlations). For example, fathers' care moral orientation was positively and significantly correlated (r = .45) with fathers' choice of 'kind and caring' as an important value. These care-focused measures seemed to relate quite well together for fathers. Interestingly, mothers' care measures did not correlate as well together, except that mothers' care moral orientation was positively and significantly correlated (r = .66) with mothers' choice of 'kind and caring.' Overall, then, some of the measures that would be expected to correlate together, did. Many of the non-significant correlations between parents' measures were at least in the direction that could be expected. This suggests that the lack of support for hypotheses may be due less to measurement error, as the measures generally relate together coherently, and more to other unknown factors.

It was not expected that the interview and observational measure of authoritativeness would be so poorly correlated with the Parenting Authority Questionnaire of Buri (1991). It would seem that both measures assess broadly similar

that parenting beliefs may be quite different from actual parenting behaviours. It could be that the questionnaire measured the parents' ideals rather than how parents actually interact with their children. Due to stress, frustration, or a variety of other circumstances, a parent may not behave toward their child according to the ways in which he or she feels he/she ideally should behave. A parent may, for example, believe that a child should be presented with several choices in small, daily issues, such as which of three shirts he/she would like to wear. When asked if children should be allowed to make such choices, this parent would likely indicate that yes, children should. However, when this parent is late for work and the dawdling child needs to be dropped off at daycare, the parent may choose a shirt and insist the child put it on without giving any choices. So, when asked about what actually happens in his/her family, this parent may discuss such an incident where, due to lack of time, the child was not given any choices. This parent's beliefs then do not correspond closely to his/her parenting behaviour. This may be a common scenario in families.

There is research which does indeed suggest that parenting attitudes do not necessarily predict parenting behaviours (e.g., Gfellner, 1990; Holden & Edwards, 1989). For example, Gfellner (1990) administered questionnaires about ideal and actual parenting to White and Canadian Indian families. Significant differences were found between the actual and ideal ratings of the White parents on several parenting behaviours. However, even if parenting beliefs and behaviours are not identical as research seems to suggest, it could be expected that there should be at least a modest positive relationship, but,

two measures were not more strongly intercorrelated.

It was interesting that fathers tended to be more likely to choose 'kind and caring' as being important if they had daughters. This highlights the possible gender issues involved in care reasoning. Many researchers have noted that fathers are more likely to emphasize gender differentiation in young children than are mothers (e.g., Huston, 1983). This is an issue that cannot be fully investigated here due to the uneven number of boys and girls, and to the small sample size, but certainly deserves more attention in future studies on value emphasis.

More boys have been lost from the original sample than have girls. The reasons for this are unclear. Interestingly, there is some evidence that parents are more protective of boys and are less likely to divorce if they have boys (Cowan & Cowan, 1992). Perhaps they are also more resistant to intrusions from researchers.

It is important to note that this was a correlational study. Relationships between variables were examined, rather than experimental tests of causes and effects. Parental effects on children or children's effects on parents cannot be ascertained directly from such an observational design. This research, instead, examined which parenting variables either tend to occur or tend not to occur with certain child variables. Also, this sample was comprised of first-born children from predominantly white, middle-class North American families. This research, therefore, is not indicative of potential relationships which might exist in families which differ from the families in this study.

Due to the lack of support for the hypotheses, many questions are left to be examined in future research. This study should be replicated with a much larger sample of

utilize the entire Ethic of Care Interview instead of just one dilemma, as was done here. The ECI scores tended not to correlate as expected with children's prosocial reasoning, especially for mothers, nor did it particularly correlate positively with other parenting variables. The problem could be, at least partly, that the ECI was not used as intended, in that only one of the three hypothetical dilemmas was used. It would also be interesting to compare parents' care reasoning, using the ECI, with parents' justice reasoning, using Kohlberg's MJI, in regards to the prediction of children's reasoning outcomes.

Of particular importance would be to have girls and boys equally represented in any future research of this nature. Possible gender differences in interacting with children, as well as in parental values for children, should be examined, as some possible evidence for these was found here. The discrepancy between the results here with very young children, and the results of Pratt et al. (1998) with adolescents, reveals the importance of studying family relationships with the development of care reasoning in children of other ages. Ideally, these same preschoolers could be studied every few years until adolescence.

The study of care issues as they pertain to moral reasoning is relatively new (Gilligan, 1982) and certainly controversial (Walker, 1995). This is one of few studies so far to focus on parenting correlates with young children's development of prosocial reasoning, which is a specific aspect of care moral reasoning. Obviously, this is an area deserving of much further study. Responses from some of the children in this study demonstrated that young children are able to reason to some degree about prosocial issues and that children do not necessarily solve these dilemmas hedonistically. According to Piaget, children under the age of 5 years are generally egocentric and amoral (Durkin,

to these prosocial moral dilemmas, but there was evidence of some concern for the needs of others, even when this meant a sacrifice to the self. For example, in response to Ann's Story (see Appendix A) where a child witnesses another child being bullied, one child from this sample responded that the witness, despite the risk of also becoming a victim of the bully, should, "Go and try and help...because it could make her feel better." Encouragingly, some of these children appeared to reason prosocially. The results here do not indicate that the parenting characteristics examined play a large role in such development in young children. These preschoolers, however, certainly are developing prosocially. More research is needed to highlight the factors that are most likely to foster such development.

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Descriptive Statistics for Children's Variables for the Entire Sample

	Mean	SD	Possible Range	Actual Range
Needs-oriented Reasoning	1.26	1.10	0 - 4	0 - 3
Hedonistic Reasoning	0.78	0.89	0 - 4	0 - 4
Choice to Help	2.19	1.18	0 - 4	0 - 4
Fluency	14.0	6.28	0 - N/A	1 - 24

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics for Children's Variables for Girls and Boys

	Mean		SD		Actual Range	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Needs-oriented Reasoning	1.42	0.87	1.12	0.99	0 - 3	0 - 2
Hedonistic Reasoning	0.68	1.0	0.67	1.31	0 -2	0 - 4
Choice to Help	2.21	2.13	1.08	1.46	0 - 4	0 - 4
Fluency	14.84	12.00	5.71	7.5	1 - 24	2 - 21

Note: There were 19 girls and 8 boys for these means. Girls and boys did not differ significantly on any of these variables.

Descriptive Statistics for Parent Variables

	Authoritative Parenting (Interview)		Authoritative Beliefs (Inventory)		Choice of 'Kind and Caring'		Care Moral Orientation		Ethic of Care	
Scale Range	14 - 70		10 - 50		0 - 3		1 - 5		1 - 3	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Mothers	49.33	5.06	39.16	4.30	0.93	1.21	2.50	1.48	2.22	0.59
Fathers	48.85	5.81	37.56	3.90	1.11	1.28	2.04	1.37	2.15	0.54

Note. None of the differences between mothers and fathers is statistically significant.

Correlations of Mothers' Variables with Fathers' Variables

Parenting Variables:

	r	df
Authoritative Parenting	.40*	24
Authoritative Beliefs	-.11	23
Choice of 'Kind and Caring'	-.09	25
Care Moral Orientation	-.27	24
Ethic of Care	-.26	24

* $p < .05$

Correlations Between Parents' Variables

	Valuing 'Kind and Caring'		Care Moral Orientation		Ethic of Care	
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
Authoritativeness	-.21	-.15	.13	-.13	-.04	.14
Valuing 'Kind and Caring'			.66*	.45*	.05	.22
Care Moral Orientation					.00	.12

* $p<.05$

Note. Df for mothers' variables =25, except with moral orientation, where df = 24. Df for fathers' variables =24, except with moral orientation, where df =23.

Correlations Between Children's Variables

	Needs-Oriented Reasoning	Hedonistic Reasoning
Choice to Help	.59*	-.55*
Needs-Oriented Reasoning		-.25

* P < .05

Note. Df = 25.

Table 7

Correlations Between Children's Variables Separately for Girls and Boys

	Needs-Oriented Reasoning		Hedonistic Reasoning	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Choice to Help	.70*	.41	-.36	-.75*
Needs-Oriented Reasoning			-.18	-.33

* P < .05

Note. Df for girls =17 and df for boys =6.

Correlations Between Children's Prosocial Variables and Children's Age and Fluency

	Child Age df=24	Child Fluency df=25
Needs-oriented Reasoning	.04	-.01
Hedonistic Reasoning	.22	.34
Choice to Help	.04	.02

Note. None of the correlations are significant at $p<.05$.

Correlations Between Mothers' Variables and Children's Variables

Mothers' Measures	Choice to Help	Needs-Oriented Reasoning	Hedonistic Reasoning
Authoritative Parenting	-.02	.07	.03
Choice of 'Kind and Caring'	.25	.04	-.23
Care Moral Orientation	.07	-.07	.11
Ethic of Care	-.25	-.03	.35

Note. All correlations are non-significant. Df = 25, except with moral orientation, where df=24.

Correlations Between Fathers' Variables and Children's Variables

Fathers' Measures	Choice to Help	Needs-Oriented Reasoning	Hedonistic Reasoning
Authoritative Parenting	.10	-.07	-.005
Choice of 'Kind and Caring'	.16	.28	-.15
Care Moral Orientation	.07	.31	.07
Ethic of Care	.19	.15	-.25

Note. All correlations are non-significant. Df = 24, except with moral orientation, where df=23.

Correlations Between Mothers' Variables and Girls' and Boys' Variables

Mothers' Measures	Choice to Help		Needs-Oriented Reasoning		Hedonistic Reasoning	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Authoritative Parenting	.46*	-.35	.10	.07	.02	.03
Choice of 'Kind and Caring'	.12	.50	.27	-.41	-.14	-.40
Care Moral Orientation	.07	.15[a]	.17	-.56[a]	.09	-.01[a]
Ethic of Care	-.03	-.78*	.06	-.34	.23	.61

* $p<.05$, one-tailed

Note. Df for girls = 17, and for boys = 6, unless otherwise stated.

[a] df in these cases = 5

Correlations Between Fathers' Variables and Girls' and Boys' Variables

Fathers' Measures	Choice to Help		Needs-Oriented Reasoning		Hedonistic Reasoning	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Authoritative Parenting	.03	.22	-.26	.49	.07	-.11
Choice of 'Kind and Caring'	.14	.23	.23	.20	.01	-.31
Care Moral Orientation	.07	.00 [a]	.27	.25 [a]	.18	.07 [a]
Ethic of Care	.28	.06	.15	.12	-.48*	.00

* - $p<.05$, one-tailed

Note. Df for girls = 17, and for boys = 6, unless otherwise stated.

[a] df in these cases = 5

Eisenberg Prosocial Reasoning Tasks

The Flood

Do you know what a flood is? [It's when the water in a river comes up over the sides of the river and goes all over everything. It gets into the houses, yards, and goes all over everything.]

A poor farming village named Highlands grew just enough food to feed the village people with no extra food left over. Just at that time, a nearby town named Lowlands was flooded and all the town's food was ruined leaving them nothing to eat. People in the flooded town of Lowlands asked the poor farmers of Highlands to give them some food. If the farmers in Highlands did give the food to the people in lowlands, the farmers would go hungry after working so hard at growing their food. They would not die but would be very hungry and in pain. Their tummies would hurt.

What do you think the farmers of Highlands should do? Should they give the food to the town or not? Why?

The Accident

One day a girl named Mary was going to a friend's birthday party. On her way she saw a girl who had fallen down and hurt her leg. The girl asked Mary to go to her house and get her parents so the parents could come and take her to a doctor. But if Mary did run and get the child's parents, she would be late to the birthday party and miss the ice cream, cake, and all the games.

Swimming Story

Do you know what a crippled child is? [A crippled child is a child whose legs aren't well and they can't walk very well.]

Sue was a young woman who was very good at swimming. She was asked to help young crippled children, who could not walk, learn to swim so that they could make their legs strong for walking. Sue was the only one in town who could do the job because she was a good swimmer and a teacher. But helping the crippled children would take much of Sue's free time left after work and Sue wanted to practice swimming very hard for an important swimming contest coming up. If Sue could not practice swimming in all her free time, she would probably lose the swimming contest and not receive the prize for winning which was money.

What should Sue do? Why?

Ann's Story

One day while Ann was playing in her yard, she saw a bully push and tease another child whom she did not know. There weren't any grownups around. As Ann watched, the one girl kept pushing the other girl down every time she tried to get back up. Ann was having a good time playing in her yard, and the bully might pick on her too if she tried to help.

What should Ann do? Why?

Appendix B

McCarthy Scales of Children's Abilities

Verbal Fluency

"Let's play a word game. Let's see how many different things to eat you can think of before I say stop. You know, like bread and potatoes. Ready, go!"

"Good for you. Now let's see how many different animals you can think of before I say stop. You know, like cat and bear. Ready, go!"

"Now tell me all the things to wear that you can think of before I say stop. You know, like shoes. Ready, go!"

Now tell me all the things to ride on that you can think of before I say stop. You know, like a bus. Ready, go!"

Questions pertaining to Authoritativeness from the Parenting Authority

Questionnaire (Buri, 1991)

For each of the following statements choose the number on the 5-point scale that best describes how that statement applies to you. We are looking for your overall impression regarding each statement. Don't spend a lot of time on any one item.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree Slightly	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

Once family policy has been established, I discuss the reasoning behind the policy with the children in the family.

I always encourage verbal give-and-take whenever my children feel that family rules and restrictions are unreasonable.

I direct the activities and decisions of the children in the family through reasoning and discipline.

My children know what I expect of them in the family, but are free to discuss those expectations with me when they feel they are unreasonable.

I consistently give the children direction and guidance in rational and objective ways.

I take my children's opinions into consideration when making family decisions, but I do not decide for something simply because the children want it.

I have clear standards of behaviour for the children in my home, but I am willing to adjust those standards to the needs of each of the individual children in the family.

I give my children direction for their behaviour and I expect them to follow my direction, but I am always willing to listen to my children's concerns and to discuss that direction with them.

I give my children clear directions for their behaviours and activities, but I am also understanding when they disagree with me.

If I make a decision in the family that hurts my children, I am willing to discuss that decision with them and admit if I have made a mistake.

Questions from the Parent Interview to Assess Authoritativeness

At what age will you or did you expect Child to

a) dress him/herself?
b) to pick up his/her toys?
c) to tidy his/her bedroom?
d) to feed him/herself?

What sorts of rules do you have about

a) bedtime? Is there any flexibility in these rules?
b) TV watching, computer games, or video games? Is there any flexibility?
c) mealtimes? Is there any flexibility?
d) picking up toys? Is there any flexibility?
e) Are there any other important rules in your family?

How do you handle it when Child disobeys these rules?

How do you feel about Child expressing his/her opinions about these issues when you discipline him/her?

How do you feel about expressing your anger at Child?

What do you do if child defies you?

What do you think is the central role of a parent in children's development?

What would you say are the purposes or philosophy for your using the discipline methods that you do?

How do you feel about yourself as a parent?

How do you and your spouse differ in disciplining the children?

How do you divide up the responsibility for discipline?

Scoring Sheet for Demandingness and Responsiveness,

adapted from Baumrind (1971)

ID# M F

Demandingness

1.	Cannot be coerced by child	1	2	3	4	5
2.	Enforcement after initial noncompliance	1	2	3	4	5
3.	Firm enforcement	1	2	3	4	5
4.	Forces confrontation when child disobeys	1	2	3	4	5
5.	Willingly exercises power to obtain obedience	1	2	3	4	5
6.	Disapproves of defiant stance	1	2	3	4	5
7.	Promotes own code of behaviour	1	2	3	4	5
8.	Requires child to pay attention (V)	1	2	3	4	5

Total Score:

Responsiveness

1.	Gives reasons with directives	1	2	3	4	5
2.	Solicits child's opinions	1	2	3	4	5
3.	Encourages intimate verbal contact	1	2	3	4	5
4.	Lacks empathetic understanding (V) *	1	2	3	4	5
5.	Encourages verbal give and take (V)	1	2	3	4	5
6.	Meaningful verbal interaction (V)	1	2	3	4	5

Total Score:

Authoritative Score:

V - scored from story-telling video

*- reverse scored

Criteria for Authoritative Scoring Sheet

(adapted from Baumrind, 1971)

Demandingness

Cannot be coerced by child - parent describes responding strongly or with irritation when child disobeys/defies vs. giving in/compromising

Enforcement after initial non-compliance - parent describes firm, consistent policy after disobedience vs. not consistent or firm

Firm enforcement - parent describes several clear rules for child vs. has few or none
-parent sees self as strict in policies vs. sees self as not strict

Forces confrontation - parent accept expression of own anger or displeasure with child vs. avoids this or feels guilty about it

Willingly exercises power to obtain obedience - parent reports using power techniques (physical, etc.) vs. reasoning or persuasion
-parent sees obedience as important value for child vs. not mentioned

Disapproves of defiant stance - parent describes firm, consistent policy against defiance vs. none

Promotes own code of behaviour - parent has relatively early expectations of child for mature behaviour vs. relatively late ones
-parent reports many expectations of child vs. reports few

Expects child to pay attention - parent expects that child listen to story vs. doesn't (videotape)

Responsiveness

Gives reasons with directives - frequently discusses use of reasoning as policy vs. does not discuss

Solicits child's opinions - tries to get or values child's expression of opinion vs. does not value child's ideas

Encourages intimate verbal contact - asks child about feelings, speaks warmly, vs. does not do so (videotape)

story vs. seems attentive to these (videotape)

Encourages verbal give and take - frequently seems to try to stimulate discussion with child about story or task vs. does not do so at all (videotape)

Meaningful verbal interaction - parent and child engage in lots of discussion about task vs. little (videotape)
-parent describes family as open, democratic, much discussion, etc.

List of Values and Definitions for Parents to Choose

(in the same order they were given to parents)

Polite and Courteous - remember my manners wherever I am

Honest/Truthful - tell the truth; don't cheat or steal from others

Careful/Cautious - don't put myself in danger so I don't get hurt

Fair and Just - treat all people equally; don't put people down

Trust-Worthy - do the things I say I'll do; keep promises

Ambitious/Hard-working - try to do my best in the things I do

Independent - stand on my own two feet; have my own opinions even if others disagree

Sharing - share things with others; don't be selfish or greedy

Kind and Caring - respond to the needs of others; listen to their problems and help when I can

Be Open and Communicate - talk to others about how I feel; discuss problems openly and ask for advice when needed

Moral Orientation Narrative

'Now I want you to do another thing with this page [parent's list of three most important values for their child]. Can you think about a time or situation when you tried to teach your child about the most important value you listed for her/him?

Could you tell me what led up to this situation and what happened?

How do you feel about the experience now?

The Kristine/Chris Dilemma from Skoe's Ethic of Care Interview

Kristine/Chris is a 26 year old woman/man, who has decided to live on her/his own after having shared an apartment with a friend for the last three years. She/he finds that she/he is much happier living alone as she/he now has much more privacy and independence and gets more work and studying done. One day her mother/his father, whom she/he has not seen for a while, as they do not get along too well, arrives at the doorstep with two large suitcases, saying that she/he is lonely and wants to live with Kristine/Chris.

What do you think Kristine/Chris should do?
Why would that be best?
What are the issues she/he needs to consider?

Information Letter for the Original Sample

New Families Research Project 4.5 Year Follow-Up

As you know, the New Families Research Project was designed to examine some of the ways in which individuals change when they become parents, and how they adjust to parenthood. The major focus of the research is on how people's thinking about things such as family life and relationships changes through this transition. The current phase of the research is particularly aimed at examining relationships with grandparents and the teaching of values to your children.

If you agree to participate in this phase of the New Families project, we would be asking to videotape you telling a story to your eldest child and to ask your child questions about the story. We will also ask you to take part in an audiotaped interview lasting approximately sixty minutes, in which we would ask you about your expectations for your child's behaviour, about values you want your child to learn, about the role of your child's grandparents in their lives, and about how you deal with conflicts that might arise between you and the grandparents from time to time. We would also like to videotape a 20 minute couple discussion about getting along with parents and in-laws and about your future hopes for your child. Finally, we would give you a questionnaire to complete, which would include questions concerning your feelings about yourself, your relationship with your partner, your child, and your parents and parents-in-law. We would also like to get to know your first child a little better, so we would ask to audiotape him or her playing some word games and to have him or her draw us some pictures and answer questions about some short stories. As a token of our appreciation for your participation, we will be paying you $25 once we receive your completed questionnaire.

Everything you say will be held in the strictest confidence, and your identity as a provider of information will remain anonymous. The transcript of your interviews and your questionnaire responses will be identified only by a code number, and all the information that you provide will be kept in a secure location. Only specifically authorized members of our research staff will have access to these records.

If there are any questions in the interviews that you would rather not answer, or feel that you cannot answer, please feel free to decline to answer and we will move on to the next question. If at any point you wish to end your participation in the interview, please tell us and we will conclude the interview. Also, if there are any questions on the questionnaire that you would rather not answer, just leave them blank.

We hope that the information about the purposes of this research and the guarantees of confidentiality will enable you to feel free to share your opinions and experiences with us. We ask you to sign the next page to indicate that you understand the purposes and conditions of participation in the research, and agree to participate.
For further information please phone Rebecca Filyer: at work: 884-1970 (ext. 3265)
: or at home: 747-9575

Consent Form for the Original Sample

I understand the purpose of this research, as outlined in the document entitled "New Families Research Project 4.5 Year Follow-up". I also understand that my records will be kept confidential and that I will not be personally identified on the interview transcripts or questionnaires. I also understand that I may refuse to participate in this study without penalty, and that I may choose not to answer any part of the interviews or questionnaires.

I acknowledge receiving a copy of the accompanying information page.

I give permission to have my child interviewed.

I give permission to have the interviews tape recorded.

I give permission to have the story-telling and the couple discussions video-taped.

Date: _____

Signed: _____
participant

_____
participant

_____
interviewer

The New Families Research Project
Department of Psychology
Wilfrid Laurier University

Principal Investigators:
Michael Pratt, Ed.D.
Joan Norris, Ph.D.
Mary Louise Arnold, Ed.D.

Information Letter for the Newly Recruited Sample

Families Research Project

Professor Michael Pratt, a member of the Psychology Department at Wilfrid Laurier University, studies moral and value development through the lifespan. He is particularly interested in how families try to teach children about values and in the roles that grandparents may play in this. The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada has provided funds to allow him to undertake studies in this area, in cooperation with professors Joan E. Norris (of the Family Studies Department, University of Guelph) and Mary Louise Arnold (of the University of Toronto). A comparative study on these issues is also being conducted in Beijing, China.

If you agree to participate in this research, we would be asking to videotape you telling a story to your eldest child and to ask your child questions about the story. We will also ask you to take part in an audiotaped interview lasting about sixty minutes, in which we would ask you about your expectations for your child's behaviour, about values you want your child to learn, about the role of your child's grandparents in their lives, and about how you deal with conflicts that might arise between you and the grandparents from time to time. We would also like to videotape a 10 minute couple discussion about getting along with parents and in-laws and about your future hopes for your child. We would also like to get to know your first child a little better, so we would ask to audiotape him or her playing some word games and to have him or her draw us some pictures and answer questions about some short stories. Finally, we would give you a questionnaire to complete, which would include questions concerning your feelings about yourself, your relationship with your partner, your child, and your parents and parents-in-law. The entire interview should take about 2 and a half hours.

As a token of our appreciation for your participation, we will be paying you $50 once we receive your completed questionnaire.

All information provided to us will be kept strictly confidential. Your family will be assigned a number for identification purposes, and your names will not appear in any reports or documents. All the information that you provide will be kept in a secure location. Only specifically authorized members of our research staff will have access to these records.

If there are any questions in the interviews that you would rather not answer, or feel that you cannot answer, please feel free to decline to answer and we will move on to the next question. If at any point you wish to end your participation in the interview, please tell us and we will conclude the interview. Also, if there are any questions on the questionnaires that you would rather not answer, just leave them blank.

We hope that the information about the purposes of this research and the guarantees of confidentiality will enable you to feel free to share your opinions and experiences with us. For further information please phone Stacey Tzavelas (886-3334)or Dr. Pratt (884-1970 x2824).

Consent Form for the Newly Recruited Sample

Consent Form

I understand the purpose of this research, as outlined in the document entitled "Families Research Project" . I also understand that my records will be kept confidential and that I will not be personally identified on the interview transcripts or questionnaires. I also understand that I may refuse to participate in this study without penalty, and that I may choose not to answer any part of the interviews or questionnaires.

I acknowledge receiving a copy of the accompanying information page.

I give permission to have my child interviewed.

I give permission to have the interviews tape recorded.

I give permission to have the story-telling and the couple discussion video-taped.

Date: _____

Signed: _____
participant

_____
participant

_____
interviewer

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Department of Psychology
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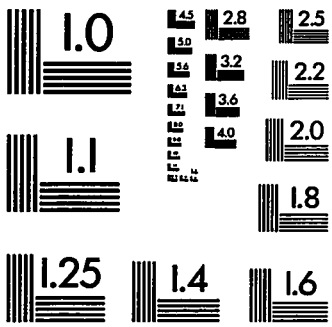

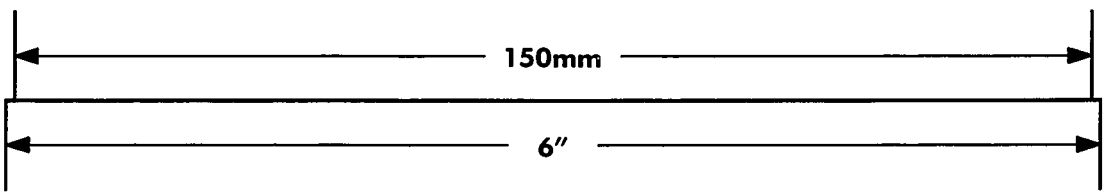

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