

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF
MORAL RESPONSES OF 12 YEAR OLD BOYS AND
MORAL RESPONSES OF THEIR FATHERS AND
MOTHERS

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ABSTRACT

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF MORAL RESPONSES OF 12 YEAR OLD BOYS AND MORAL RESPONSES OF THEIR FATHERS AND MOTHERS

by Jo Anne H. Lifshin

Investigations of children's moral responses explicitly or implicitly recognize the acquisition of moral standards through incorporation of parents' standards. This modeling is assumed to assure continuation of the parent's love and may be directly reinforced. This research was designed to investigate the relationship between moral responses of twelve year old boys and their parents' moral responses. The investigation focused on relationships between the boys' responses and their mothers' and fathers' reports of their own responses at age twelve, the average of these responses, perceptions of the child's responses by the father and mother, and the average of these perceptions. In addition to a total guilt score and scores for three areas of transgression, the following forms of moral responses were assessed: direct acknowledgment, indirect manifestations, defense mechanisms, and externalization.

It was hypothesized that significant relationships would be found between boys' moral response scores and

were more consistently interrelated than children's or mothers' scores.

Patterns of significant relationships were found for forms of moral response. Fathers' indirect manifestations were generally related to children's scores, and mothers' defense mechanisms were highly related to children's responses. Resistance to temptation data showed a significant relationship only between children's responses and mothers' perceptions of children's responses to disobedience. Generally greater similarity was found between children's responses and parents' reports of their own responses at 12 than between children's responses and parents' perceptions of their responses.

The anaclitic model of identification, as postulated by social learning theory, was more directly supported by the data than was defensive identification, particularly in reference to death wishes and disobedience. It was concluded that the mother may provide a more nurturant object, whose continued love is dependent on conformity to her standard, and the child may respond more to this reinforcement than to motivation for global incorporation of the father's standards. The research findings suggested that the father may present a less situationally dependent model for moral standards than the mother and may be more influential in culturally determined situations. It was also suggested that the child may model his superego on the parent's superego as indicated by

their parents' corresponding scores. Greater similarity was predicted between boys' responses and fathers' responses than between boys' responses and mothers' responses.

Twenty-six 12 year old, seventh grade boys from Traverse City Junior High School and their fathers and mothers participated in the research. Story completion items from Allinsmith (2), concerning death wishes, theft and disobedience, with related forced choice questions derived from possible responses to stories, were administered to the boys at school. The same items were responded to by parents for self at twelve years and perceptions of child's responses. Pearson product moment correlation coefficients and phi coefficients, where appropriate, were computed for guilt and resistance to temptation data.

Findings showed limited support for hypotheses of significant relationships between children's and parents' responses for moral areas and forms of moral response. No relationship was found between total guilt of boys and total guilt scores of parents.

Major findings included greater mother-child similarity than father-child similarity; this finding was non-supportive of the hypothesized relationship, which was derived from the psychoanalytic theory of identification. Greater mother-child similarity appeared for death wishes and disobedience than for theft. Fathers' scores

greater similarity between parents' and children's indirectly manifested responses than between their directly acknowledged responses.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The psychoanalytic model of superego development posits an intimate relationship between standards and prohibitions of parents and standards represented in the child's internalized superego. Global incorporation of the same sex parent's standards is purported to arise from motivation stemming from the Oedipus situation (27). Social learning theory brings together psychoanalytic concepts, learning principles and social science postulates to describe the development of self-control in a manner conducive to the formulation of testable hypotheses (23). Theoretical statements regarding observational learning and child-rearing antecedents which facilitate the development of moral standards provide for application of learning theory principles to the process, retaining the general emphasis of psychoanalysis with (23) or without (10) utilization of concepts such as the superego. Recent investigations (39) emphasize the importance of developmental changes in the acquisition of moral responses. Child-rearing antecedents, responses to temptation situations and various contingencies of reaction to transgression have been the predominant emphases of recent investigations of moral responses.

This research is designed to investigate the relationship of moral responses of twelve year old boys and their fathers and mothers as manifested in story completion items and related objective questions eliciting responses to situations involving death wishes, theft and disobedience. It is proposed that a significant relationship exists between children's moral responses in three moral areas and the moral responses of their parents at twelve in these areas, and that the relationship is higher for the same moral area than between areas. It is also proposed that a significant relationship exists between children's forms of moral response, defined as resistance to temptation, direct acknowledgement, indirect manifestations, defensive distortion, and externalization, and parents' forms of moral response, and that the relationship is higher for the same form of moral response than between forms of moral response. These predictions are also made for the comparison of children's moral responses and parents' perceptions of children's responses. Based upon the psychoanalytic theory of superego development, it is proposed that the moral responses to be investigated will show greater father-child similarity than mother-child similarity.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Theoretical Considerations

The present investigation concerns a comparison of moral responses of twelve year old boys and their parents. Differing theoretical explanations of the acquisition of internalized standards postulate variations in the relative influence on this process of psychodynamic factors, maturation, cultural expectations, and family interaction. These theoretical differences provide differing predictions for the relative similarity of boys' responses to those of their mothers and fathers and for consistency of responses across moral areas. The psychoanalytic and social learning theories emphasize early incorporation or acquisition through reinforcement and propose that these standards, once acquired, remain operative. Psychoanalytic theory emphasizes anaclitic identification as important in early development of moral standards and as continuing to influence the superego of the girl but places primary emphasis on identification with the aggressor as an explanation of global incorporation of the same sex parent's standards (27, 35, 39). The importance of reinforcement and the relevance of the situation appear in social learning theory (10). Developmental

theory proposes that changes in moral judgment occur as a function of the development of cognitive processes with age and would predict differences in responses to transgression situations as the child achieves greater cognitive maturity (39).

In the psychoanalytic theory the early stages of the superego consist of introjection of the parent's prohibitions (27). These forerunners of the superego threaten the child with punishment but are weak and may be circumvented easily. The prohibitions do not yet possess a unified organized character. Object choice develops initially, according to psychoanalytic theory, when the libido attaches to a person, probably to the opposite sex parent. Libidinal wishes toward the opposite sex parent are accompanied by frustration and hostility toward the same sex parent. The actual introjection of parental values into the superego develops, following the resolution of the Oedipal situation, by incorporation of the values of the model. Fenichel (27) notes that the superego serves as a protective source as well as a punitive source.

The psychoanalytic approach thus proposes a global incorporation of parental standards; and by implication, adoption of the standards of the parent would be expected to be unified across the moral areas assessed in this research. Bronfenbrenner (16) found this global or gestalt concept neglected in learning theories. Theorists

concerned with secondary reinforcement (51) and observational learning (10) in the development of self-control emphasize aspects of the child's interaction with the environment which facilitate acquisition of responses like those of the identification model. These theorists provide for the possibility of situational differences in similarity of responses. Prominence is given to observable phenomena and explanations of phenomena based on learning principles rather than hypothesized constructs of personality. Bandura and Walters (10) consider concepts such as the "superego" superfluous in the light of laboratory studies in which an animal may be trained to inhibit behavior the experimenter arbitrarily selects as deviant. A further difference arises in the social learning theorists' proposition that identification is not the sole means of acquisition of self-control.

Bandura and his associates (7, 8, 9, 10) find the development of self-control describable in terms of imitation of models, direct reinforcement and presentation of prosocial alternatives. Investigation of differential patterns of reinforcement and modeling cues provide an adequate framework for explanation of maintenance of external and internal sanctions, according to Bandura and Walters (10). Within the social learning framework, similarity of children's responses to those of either

parent may be explained as acquisition through reinforcement and imitation, and the similarity need not be global in nature.

Anaclitic identification is considered to provide greater explanatory potential than identification with the aggressor by social learning theorists. In general (59), the mother, who is assumed to be the preliminary identification object for both sexes, gradually withdraws herself and the secondary rewards to which the child is accustomed and the child begins to imitate the mother. Sears (58) finds a nurturant interaction between the caretaking adult and the child necessary for identification. Bronfenbrenner (16) suggests that anaclitic identification may lead to emulation of standards while identification with the aggressor leads to adoption of parental motives or acts. Kohlberg (39) reports greater support for the importance of anaclitic identification as the more basic in development of standards than identification with the aggressor, particularly for girls. The implication of the psychoanalytic theory of identification is that the twelve year old boy would be expected to have identified with the father through identification with the aggressor, excluding complicating factors. The social learning theorists would suggest that factors concerning characteristics of the model and reinforcement influence identification, and the controller of resources rather than the

competitor for resources may be the dominant identification model. Social learning theory provides for the possibility that the mother may exert greater influence on the boy's internal standards than the father, depending on reinforcement contingencies and the family interaction.

Differences appear within learning theory explanations of identification in regard to the importance of direct reinforcement. Mowrer (51) postulates two kinds of identification, developmental and defensive. His developmental identification is considered similar to anacletic identification and includes much that is called imitation. The observer, according to Mowrer, must be directly or vicariously rewarded by sensory consequences to the self of the model's instrumental response. Dollard and Miller (23) emphasize habit generalization as a basis for development of "conscience." The importance of a motivated subject and positive reinforcement for matching correct responses through trial and error in the identification process are stressed (48). Certain conditions of parental punishment create anxiety which is carried into future situations and inhibits deviation, regardless of the current situational punishments and rewards. Bandura (7, 10) proposes that the child may learn to inhibit, to aggress or to punish himself through observational learning without direct mediation of instrumental learning. The child's responses, therefore,

need not be directly reinforced in the temptation situation for learned responses to occur, providing the response has been rewarded previously or learned through observation. This would suggest that the responses which the child manifests in transgression situations may not correspond directly to the parent's expectations or awareness of those of the child's responses which he reinforces. Psychoanalytic theory, utilizing subconscious manifestations, would concur that responses that the child incorporates from the parent may be outside the parent's conscious awareness. The parents' predictions of children's responses might be independent of the children's actual responses.

The issue of identification with the controller or consumer of resources appears in consideration of identification with the same sex or opposite sex parent. Psychoanalytic theory predicts that the consumer of rewards is the identification object following resolution of the Oedipus situation. Most social learning theory discussions emphasize the controller of resources or a combination. Variations from learning theory include Whiting's (69) status envy theory which postulates that the child substitutes self-love when love of another is withheld. The child imitates evaluative behavior of consumer adults as in defensive identification. Power theory (16, 45, 52) stresses the use of role playing in fantasy to gain reward. Threat develops avoidance behavior, and

decreases attractiveness; reward increases attractiveness and the child gains secondary rewards through association with reward. Parson's role theory (16) suggests that the child identifies with the reciprocal role relation functional for the child at a particular time rather than with the parent as a total person. The power theories and role theory emphasize identification with the controller of resources.

Leavitt (40) provides a framework for inclusion of conditioning and psychodynamic factors in the development of the superego. According to Leavitt, anxieties due to the repressed constitute the earliest manifestations of unconscious components of the superego. Conditioned fears early in life result in subsequent anxiety reactions and increased vigilance; feelings of unworthiness and inferiority may be repressed, but only shame remains conscious.

Developmental theory addresses its investigations to changes in moral judgment with increasing age. Developmental theory would predict that twelve year old boys would have attained reciprocal or "reversible" thought and would evaluate moral situations in a manner more similar to adults than to young children. This approach also accords importance to the influence of interaction with peers in the development of moral judgment. Maturational changes in moral learning have been investigated by increasing numbers of psychologists but the approach is based primarily on

the theory and observations of Piaget. Piaget, according to Kohlberg (39) specifies a changing concept of morality consequent with increasing age and cognitive development. Twelve year old boys would be expected to have passed the stage at which moral judgment is dependent solely on the possibility of punishment by an adult. The egocentrism of the child and confusion of subjective phenomena with objective things leads to a view of moral rules as fixed external things.

The child later moves toward mutual respect, a sense of justice as reciprocity between individuals (39). Peer group interaction is extremely important in the development of moral judgment; interaction with the peer group and the logical capacity for nonegocentric, reciprocal or "reversible" thought provide the basis for development through chronological age of the child.

Review of Relevant Research: Identification

Several investigators of psychological phenomena have focused recently upon the similarity of children's responses to those of parents and other adults in observed laboratory situations and through various objective and projective measures. A broad range of specific phenomena have been selected for assessment of identification. Although little empirical research has focused on similarity of moral responses, several studies are relevant to this research in terms of acquisition of identification and characteristics of identification in early adolescence.

Brodbeck (15) investigated the similarity of children's moral values to those of their parents through administration of a Parent Description Test and a Values Test. Ten to fourteen year old subjects made positive or negative moral evaluations about items for themselves and to describe their parents. Brodbeck found a reversal in relative influence of parents for boys as they progress into adolescence, which was interpreted as partly due to anxiety over separation between the mother and the adolescent boy. Mothers seemed to have equal influence on boys and girls; Brodbeck did not obtain consistent findings that mothers influence standards of conduct of girls more than boys. It was concluded that the major way in which conscience is sex typed is through greater influence of the father on boys' moral views than on girls' moral views. The absolute amount of identification with the father, defined as conscience learning as influenced by the father, is sex typed. This study partially confirmed the notion of the superego and suggested that some factor comes to the fore in adolescence for continued parental influence through adolescence.

The current investigation was limited to boys in view of research findings which indicate relevant differences in identification and moral development for boys and girls. Theoretically anticipated differences in the acquisition of identification by boys and girls find support in Brodbeck's study and in other research. Sears,

Rau and Alpert (59) found support for a constellation of behavior in girls representing a product of a process such as anaclitic identification. High parental demands and the use of models and labels were found relevant to the process and supported the developmental aspect of the theory. No support was obtained for the influence of warmth and nurturance. Fairly strong evidence was found that love-oriented discipline was negatively related to the constellation. This evidence was not supported for boys, suggesting identifiable differences in the identification process for boys and girls.

Boys were found to make more sex appropriate choices than girls on a toy preference test, especially in later years (20) when kindergarten to fourth grade subjects were tested. An orderly increase in the number of sex appropriate choices was found for both sexes from kindergarten through third grade with fourth graders making fewer appropriate choices than third graders, suggesting developmental changes consistent with Brodbeck's findings. Emmerich (25) found that children tended to identify more with the same sex parent in doll play, but this finding was significant only for boys. Sex typing also was found significant for boys, but both sexes saw the mother as more nurturant and less controlling than the father. Mussen and Distler (52) report that highly identified boys perceive fathers as more highly rewarding and punitive in kindergarten, but as adolescence (37) highly identified boys perceive fathers

as non-punitive and non-restrictive. Thus, perceptions of the parent change, which may correspond to differences in relative strength of father identification as reported by Brodbeck and DeLucia. The implication of the previously cited research is that the research sample, gained from a relatively heterogeneous, non-clinic population, would be expected to be more highly identified with the father than with the mother, especially in areas which are culturally sex typed, although there is some indication that cross-sex identification may increase in early adolescence.

Cultural expectations appear to be highly relevant to the identification process, and research findings indicate that cross-sex identification yields greater penalties for boys than for girls (36). Differential identification may show that girls identify with characteristics of the mother which differentiate her from the girl as an adult, and the boy may identify on the basis of appropriate sex typing (25). Lynn (43) found research findings generally in agreement with this hypothesis.

Differential reactions of boys and girls were found under conditions of normal tension, social stress and survival (14). Boys are expected to be more active, decisive and calm; girls can be less decisive and more dependent.

Kagan (36) stressed the pervasive influence of sex role identity and the importance of congruence of one's perceived identification and the cultural standard. The importance of this phenomenon is reflected in considerable investigation of the relationship of identification and various measures of adjustment. It is not the intent of this research to assess the adjustment of the subjects. They were selected from a non-clinic population, and variations would be expected to correspond to the distribution within a normal population. Significant differences have been found between normal and disturbed subjects in strength of identification and characteristics of interaction with the identification model. Beitner (12) found generally poor identification with both parents among paranoid schizophrenics and anxiety neurotics. Expected confusion in sex role identification was found among anxiety neurotics but not paranoid schizophrenics.

High father identification was found by Heilbrun (32, 33, 34) to be related to high adjustment for males, but high mother identification was related to maladjustment for females. Cross-sex similarity is more disruptive for males. Stronger mother identification existed for oldest girls and higher identification was found among only children. The more boys were identified with fathers in Lockwood and Guernsey's (42) study, the better their total, emotional and home adjustment, but the difference was not significant for females.

Among conditions which correspond to differences in identification, ordinal position effects have been found to be reflected in greater anxiety in first borns at age ten with inappropriate sex role characteristics, and at twenty for males with high M.M.P.I. femininity scores when only two child families were investigated (65). High father identified upper class subjects showed higher dominance scores than high father identified lower class subjects (13).

A substantial body of research shows the family interaction and particularly parental agreement to be important in the identification process. Differences in the relative amount of similarity of children's and parents' responses could be related to variation in parental agreement. Carlson (19) found data which contradicted the supposition that high parent-child congruence contributes to the child's self-concept and social adjustment. The type of identification object, however, was related to adjustment; children identified with a supporting parent were more self-accepting, less dependent on current social relationships and more accepted by peers. This finding is consistent with findings of parental discipline studies.

Underachievers tend to have lower identification than achievers (60). Self-perception of underachieving males also differed from mothers' self-perceptions, and parents of achievers agreed more than parents of underachievers.

Smith (62) found identification related to self-esteem. He suggested a high relationship of acquiescence to conformity and identification to be an artifact of data. Boys low in manifest anxiety (64) were satisfied with selves, met perceptions of mothers' ideals for them and perceived themselves as the kind of person their mothers wanted them to be. This research investigated only mothers' perceptions although several findings indicate that both parents play an integral role in the identification process.

Among the conditions which influence identification, father absence (6, 44, 57) appears to affect masculine identification in boys detrimentally. Boys from two parent families were chosen for the sample to avoid confounding of results from this effect. Lynn and Sawrey (44) found that more father-absent boys showed immaturity, strong strivings toward father identification, being insecure in identification, and poorer peer adjustment. Girls were more dependent on mothers. Bach (6) found father-fantasies of father-absent boys more similar to those of girls than fantasies of father-present boys. Sears (57) found some evidence that children identify with the adult who gives gratification and a trend toward passive homosexuality among boys reared among women. He found some contradictory evidence which appears related

to Bach's (6) finding that father-typing by the mother may be a significant influence on the boy's masculine identification.

Identification phenomena have stimulated laboratory studies utilizing live and vicarious modeling. Bandura and his associates (7, 8, 9, 10) have identified variables which contribute to acquisition of responses through modeling. The results of these studies would indicate that responses can be acquired which are similar to adults other than the parent and that other factors than motivation arising out of the Oedipus complex contribute to acquisition of responses. These findings suggest that variations may arise in similarity of responses of boys and their parents in differing moral areas and forms of guilt response. Differences in the original learning situations would be expected to contribute to resultant variations in self-control at adolescence, as for example between theft and disobedience.

Live and symbolic models are reported by Bandura and his associates (7, 8, 9, 10) to be effective influences on the acquisition of novel behaviors (modeling effect), to have an eliciting effect and an inhibitory effect (10). Preschool children (8) imitated the controller of resources more than a consumer model, regardless of the sex of the child. In this case the implication would arise that the child need not imitate the same sex parent

exclusively. Secondary reinforcement seemed the best explanatory principle since the controller of resources was imitated, non-supportive of status envy theory, and behavior was an amalgam of both models, not supportive of role theory. Children exposed to an aggressive model (9) reproduced much aggression and inhibition resembling the model. Junior high school children (17) accepted preferences for a novel subject, deep sea diving, more often when told a speaker's background was similar to theirs.

Weinstein and Deutschberger (67) found that when confronted with negative and attacking responses, subjects identified another with their own goals. They evaluate the other as superior at the task at hand and place responsibility on his shoulders.

Identification is more likely to occur with an object of high familiarity and differential empathy (38) as measured by the child's response to his parent and a stranger of the same sex in a perceptual recognition task.

The effects of modeling can occur vicariously, supporting the theoretical statement that observational learning can occur without direct reinforcement of instrumental acts. Vicarious aggressive activity (28) resulted in reduction of subsequent behavior if subjects were emotionally aroused at the time they engaged in the activity. Self-esteem differential was found in subjects' residual hostility (54). Direct and vicarious

communication with an aggressor reduced hostility for low self-esteem subjects but high self-esteem subjects did not seem to be instigated to aggression.

Maccoby (45) emphasizes early childhood learning through role playing, assuming the role of the resource controlling parents. Bandura (8) found the controller was imitated more than the consumer adult.

Others than the parent may be imitated. Differences in the sex of experimenters and the amount of nurturance given by the experimenter have influenced modeling behavior (7, 26, 55). A leader who gave attention all the time (55) was more effective in eliciting modeling behavior when he withdrew attention one-half of the time, except for boys with a male leader. Bandura and Huston (7) confirmed the predicted facilitating effect of social reward. Although the rate of imitative discrimination was not influenced by nurturance or nurturance withdrawal conditions, more predecision conflict occurred in the non-nurturant group. The absence of influence of nurturance conditions on discrimination generally supports the findings of Sears, Rau and Alpert (59). Investigations of differential reinforcement values (26) found both high masculine and low masculine boys conditioned more easily to father content than mother content but there was a strong relationship between strong masculine identification and the reinforcing value of a male experimenter.

These research findings suggest that several factors contribute to the identification process and that differences in relative strength of identification parallel variations in family interaction. The characteristics of the model, in this case, the moral responses of the parent, reinforcement contingencies and/or opportunities for modeling and cultural expectations would be expected to influence resultant moral responses of the child. The preceding research results indicate that these several factors interact with complexity, and thus, while the general expectation of greater father-son similarity than mother-son similarity would be supported by research, the studies show no clear-cut expectations of exclusive identification with the father. The research findings might be interpreted as resulting from the presence of conditions not conducive to the resolution of the Oedipus situation, but the extent of evidence for the influence of other factors minimizes this possibility.

Review of Relevant Research: Moral Responses Sex Differences in Moral Responses

The majority of research results reported in the previous section generally supports theoretically anticipated sex differences in identification. Identifiable sex differences also appear in levels of guilt and types of responses following transgression. In view of the

sizeable body of research findings which support consistent differences, restriction of the sample to boys should eliminate variations in responses attributable to this variable. Boys' and fathers' responses would be expected to reflect similarity arising from this variable and to be differentiated from the mothers' responses in accordance with the following findings of relevant research.

Brodbeck (15) notes that it is not clear in psychoanalytic thinking whether motivation coming out of the Oedipus conflict of the child is solely or decisively the same motivation as the motivation for conscience acquisition. Brodbeck reasons that if internalized values rose solely through Oedipal motivation, values would be expected to be strongly sex typed. His research findings, as reported previously, did not definitely support this expectation.

Sex differences in conscience development may be attributed to a tendency of parents to treat girls more nurturantly than boys and to use more love-withdrawal discipline with girls (58). Sears, et al. (58) and Miller and Swanson (47) have reported higher guilt levels for girls than boys, and they discuss the relevance of these findings to the possibility of more frequent use of love-withdrawal discipline with girls. Bronfenbrenner (16) stresses the psychoanalytic postulation that the girl's superego is never so punitive, never so independent of emotional ties as the man's. Castration has already

had its effect, and the girl's superego develops out of anaclitic identification rather than identification with the aggressor. Brodbeck (15) found that girls show less disposition to parental influence than boys; this finding prompted the suggestion that perhaps parents are less ego involved with girls.

Wright, et al. (70) found significant sex differences for physical punishment and confinement only as disciplinary techniques. Verbal punishment appeared significantly more often in girls' stories; girls tended to apologize more often, and boys gave fixing responses more often.

Sex differences have appeared in investigations of resistance to temptation and parental practices as systematic differences have appeared in levels of guilt and forms of response to transgression. Burton, Maccoby and Allinsmith (18) found that severity of weaning and explanations of the origins of babies were related positively to resistance to temptation for boys only, but greater concern for cleanliness by mothers showed a positive relationship to cheating in a bean bag game for boys. Delayed long-term bowel training was positively related to conformity with rules. Theoretical emphasis on reinforcement contingencies led to the hypothesis that administration of reward and punishment before and after the act might influence guilt. There

were more cheaters of both sexes with high guilt. Activity level of the child, up to age two, predicted resistance to temptation.

Kohlberg (39) reports four generalizations from investigations of sex differences. Girls are more conforming to rules and authority than boys. There are no substantial general differences between boys and girls in conformity to internalized moral standards or in strength of tendencies to feel guilt after deviation. There are no clear cut, consistent differences between boys and girls in measures of total identification with the same sex parent or with both parents. Although several systematic differences have been reported with some consistency, these generalizations provoke the question of whether these differences are relatively specific manifestations of the experience of guilt or are as extensive as some authors suggest.

Parental Antecedents of Moral Responses

As noted in the theoretical discussion, the child is assumed by most theorists to emulate parental standards through incorporation or reinforcement. Several investigations have related specific parental practices to guilt and resistance to temptation phenomena. Specific parental practices would be expected to reflect cultural expectations, parent-child interaction and the parent's personality characteristics. Several of these

studies have approached antecedents of externalization versus internalization of guilt and direct expression of guilt through confession, etc., versus indirect expression of guilt. These investigations consider variables which may influence the preferred use of varying forms of moral responses and the similarity of children's responses to parents' reported self-responses as differentiated from parents' expectations of their sons' moral responses. Those research studies which conclude that models are important in the acquisition of forms of moral responses provide a bridge between identification investigations and those of development of conscience.

Hoffman (35) reports evidence of some common core of findings that the relatively frequent use of discipline which encourages induced internal judgment directed toward compliance, including a broad spectrum of psychological techniques, seems to foster development of an internalized moral orientation. Coercive measures more frequently contribute to a moral orientation based on fear of authority. Allinsmith (2) hypothesized that the parent provides a model of inhibition of aggression when psychological techniques are used, and of condonement of aggression when physical punishment is used. Bandura and his associates' (7, 8, 9, 10) investigations would also suggest the importance of models in development of forms of moral response.

Bronfenbrenner (16) suggests that the superego of the child is built on the superego of the parent. Support for Bronfenbrenner's position appears in Helper's findings in which high school pupils self-descriptions as compared with parents' descriptions of self and ideal for the child showed the child's self-description as similar to the parent's ideal for the child as the parent's self-description. The implication from this postulation and from support for modeling of inhibition or aggression is that the child may acquire characteristics of the parental model which the parent does not actively seek to encourage in the child's behavioral repertoire.

Futher investigation of the internalization versus externalization of moral responses by Aronfreed (4) showed the use of induction, psychological discipline, techniques positively related to a high degree of internally motivated self-corrective action with the absence of punishment from external forces. Aronfreed (4), with sixth grade subjects, varied the object and type of aggression expressed in a projective story completion technique. He concluded that moral orientations do not emerge with age and experience but are stable end results of different patterns of social reinforcement. Aronfreed (5) also suggests that a moral response may acquire instrumental value for reducing anxiety aroused by a transgression through more than one pattern of reinforcement. Hoffman and

Saltzstein, as reported by Hoffman (35), using seventh grade subjects, found that internalized boys had parents both of whom were more permissive than externalized boys' parents. Parents of internalized boys used less assertion of direct authority, and mothers of these boys were affectionate. For girls, only the finding that those who internalized guilt less often had mothers who threatened to have fathers punish them achieved significance. These studies were conducted with subjects of similar age as the sample and thus would be applicable to variations in externalization and internalization.

Stein (63) assumed that guilt is composed of anxiety and self-directed anger. Anxiety has an external referent and self-directed anger an internal referent. High coerciveness in socialization and physical discipline were hypothesized to be associated with external referent reactions and low coerciveness and psychological discipline with internal referent reactions. Story completion data from hospitalized male psychotics and interview data from their mothers showed seven of ten childrearing measures and maternal discipline significantly related to three measures of superego response. Coerciveness of oral socialization was significantly related to internal referents and external referents were found to be related to an experimental infraction of stealing in a male

adolescent sample. Anal coerciveness and violation of trust were negatively correlated. Superego control was related to hostile thoughts.

Support for the contribution of psychological discipline to guilt severity especially around aggression appeared in Allinsmith's finding (2) with a middle class college sample, but he did not find this for a junior high school sample. In a study included in a series relating child rearing experiences to subjects' internalized moral needs, Allinsmith and Greening (3) reported that high guilt was associated with psychological discipline by the mother. Risk of getting caught was eliminated in measurement of the amount of guilt shown in connection with violation of moral norms by a story completion technique. A questionnaire concerning parental practices at ten and twelve years provided data for parental practices for the young adult subjects. The relationships found were consistent with the authors' previous work.

Greening (29) found turning aggression against the self to be positively related to harsh physical punishment. Turning against the self was negatively related to general punishment but positively related to extensity or the number of actions, objects and affects which were defined as immoral. Greening asserts that conflict about aggression arises when an aggressive impulse arousing event occurs but the individual is not free to express it because of moral standards or fear of retaliation.

Lefowitz, et al. (41) reported that peer ratings and parent interviews indicated that a mean confession score, a measure of identification, decreased as the number of physical punishment items increased, supporting Greening's results. Punishment, however, enhanced aggression, a finding which is consistent with other research in the area.

Moral responses show a relationship to parental practices at varying chronological ages. Sears, Maccoby and Levin (58) found that the extent to which kindergarten children characteristically confess, hide or lie is positively related to mothers' reported use of love-oriented techniques and negatively related to object-oriented techniques. Their study emphasizes the dependence of the effectiveness of love-withdrawal techniques on the amount of love there to be taken away.

Sears, Rau and Alpert (59) failed to replicate the Sears, et al. findings, the latter based on a larger sample, that high conscience is associated with love-oriented discipline only with a warm mother. They did find strong support for the love-oriented discipline hypothesis with an interview measure such as that used by Sears, et al.

Parent interviews and an analysis of story completion items provided data concerning the effect of early infant experience on later guilt severity in Allinsmith's

(2) study. He hypothesized that harsh treatment in infancy creates excessive aggression later turned inward in identifying with the parent, which leads to excessive guilt in violation of prohibitions. Findings included a curvilinear relationship between stealing and disobedience and guilt severity. Late bowel training and weaning may be related to high fear, rather than guilt, again introducing the issue of internalization versus externalization. Heinicke, as reported by Hoffman (35), however, found severe weaning related to high guilt severity for five year old boys when data was obtained from lengthy free interviews.

Futher support for the relationship between guilt severity and parental practices appeared in delinquency studies by Bandura and Walters and Glueck and Glueck, as reported by Kohlberg (39). These studies indicated that the use of more punitive, inconsistent and unreasoning modes of discipline is more characteristic of parents of delinquents than parents of non-delinquents.

These studies indicate that the strength of guilt and the particular forms of responses to transgression may be influenced by parental practices. Hoffman (35) reports that Hoffman and Mussen and Kagan have found that parental antecedents are related to pressures to deviate but not where these pressures are opposed to the child's standards and values.

Additional story completion stems, constructed by Allinsmith to elicit resistance or non-resistance to temptation responses, provided data showing that boys whose parents explained requests were more inclined to write stories in which heroes resisted temptation; subjects' responses were related to the use of explained requests as opposed to arbitrary demands by parents. MacKinnon, as reported by Hoffman (35), using college age subjects, found a positive relationship between cheating observed through a one-way screen and physical punishment by parents. The relationship between non-cheating and psychological discipline was also positive.

Hoffman (35) indicates that little consistency can be found among results of studies relating resistance to temptation and parental practices. None of the studies reported, according to Hoffman, controlled a need for achievement. This is an important variable in the comparison of parents' and children's responses to the same story stems. Hoffman reports that Burton and Grinder, using eleven and twelve year old children in an experimental test situation, found severity of weaning positively related to resistance to temptation, but Sears, Rau and Alpert found the relationship to be negative. Grinder and Sears found resistance to temptation related to verbal rather than physical means of control, but Burton found the opposite. None of these

studies replicated MacKinnon's findings that psychological discipline was related to non-cheating, although discipline scores were roughly similar.

The overall implication of these studies is that there are important relationships between parental practices and guilt and resistance to temptation. These studies emphasize parental antecedents which give rise to differing forms of moral response and the complex array of factors which differentiate resistance to temptation from guilt following transgression. Speculations regarding need for achievement and the importance of children's values and standards in regard to resistance to temptation suggest the need for further investigation and control of variables which may influence results other than those under empirical consideration. These studies suggest the importance of modeling parental behavior which may or may not be directly reinforced by the parent and of which the parent may not be aware. Therefore, differences may be expected between the parent's expectations for the child and the child's actual behavior.

Influences of Maturation and Peer Factors on Moral Development

Psychoanalytic and social learning theory approaches stress the early development of relatively stable forms of expression of self-control, and the majority of previously cited research explicitly or implicitly

derives from this theoretical view. The developmental approach, however, has been concerned primarily with the process of moral development and has sought to identify and integrate stages of moral judgment. These investigations have emphasized the cognitive aspects of social control (39). Differing forms of response to transgression and differing rationales for resistance to temptation would be expected, according to developmental theory, for twelve year olds than would be expected for a younger group such as Heinicke's or Sears' samples of five year olds.

There is some evidence, as reported by Kohlberg (39) from Kohlberg and Brener, that the internalization of conscience may be completed later in childhood than is assumed in psychoanalytic and learning theories. Wright, Hill and Alpert (70) found regular and significant increases in all of the following categories in response to cartoon-story completion items: fixing, apology, spontaneous confession, moralizing, not being caught, being caught but not punished, and being forgiven. "The first four of these," according to Wright, et al. (70, p. 7), "are presumed to be indicators of strong conscience." The investigation, therefore, might find these categories highly developed in high internalized guilt subjects, but all of the categories reported by Wright, et al. as increasing with age would be expected

to be more highly developed in the present sample than among younger children. These findings may be important in reference to differential results of resistance to temptation and guilt studies which utilized differing age subjects.

Kohlberg (39) states that age trends for several of the Piaget dimensions are consistent enough to warrant the conclusion that they are genuine developmental trends. The consistent dimensions are: objective responsibility, fixity of rules, absolutism of value, definition of wrong by punishment, expiative rather than restitutive justice and immanent justice. For these dimensions, responses increase with age regardless of particular cultural rules or situations.

Kohlberg (39) defined six "stages" of moral thinking on the basis of length free interviews concerning ten hypothetical moral conflict situations with boys aged seven to seventeen. Kohlberg (39, p. 321) concluded that "moral internalization relates closely to the cognitive development of moral concepts."

Kohlberg and Brener, as reported by Kohlberg (39), presented children from four through preadolescence with moral judgment situations in which reinforcements were the reverse of those ordinarily anticipated. They found changing bases for evaluation with increasing age, i.e., four year olds evaluated on the basis of reward and punishment while five to seven year olds evaluated acts

in terms of their moral labels. By preadolescence, many children made disinterested moral judgments and formulated some concept of a "morally good self."

Developmental investigations have attempted to ascertain age trends in children's self-reports of what they consider "good" and "bad." Gump and Kounin (31) asked first and third grade children to report the worst thing a child could do at school and at home and why that would be so bad. Situational and developmental differences appeared. First grade girls placed breaking rules high and boys rated assaults first and breaking property second. Third grade girls tended toward judgment of heightened nonconformity to home authority as worst. Older children were concerned with harm to others. Assault to children, talking and inconvenient misbehavior were rated worst at school, while at home, breaking objects, fire play and nonconformance were rated worst. At school, reflexive justification, children suffering and noncorporal punishment were emphasized, while at home adult suffering and corporal punishment were most frequently mentioned. These findings suggest that certain age relevant differences may affect the responses which would be expected when moral areas are compared.

Dembo (21) reported Beatrice Wright's findings from research in which five and eight year old children were given toys of variable desirability. Children were

instructed to distribute toys to a friend and a stranger, and later to keep one and give one away. Five year olds favored the friend; eight year olds favored the stranger. Five year olds were selfish; eight year olds were generous and judged other children as themselves.

Findings of systematic differences in moral judgment at different chronological ages support the assertion that the internalization of conscience may be completed later in childhood than is assumed in psychoanalytic and learning theories. Some disagreement, however, has appeared among the results of studies which have attempted to confirm age trends postulated by Piaget. Data from MacRae's (46) investigation of the relationship between moral judgments of five to fourteen year old boys, using Piaget and Lerner type questions, and parental practices were inconclusive. MacRae suggested that the Piaget-Lerner questions may be more concerned with cognitive development, while violation of norms is concerned with emotional moral development.

Durkin (24) substantiated Piaget's thesis of chronological age and justice, using second, fifth and eighth grade subjects. Although findings supported the relationship of chronological age and justice, the relationship of reciprocity and chronological age was not substantiated. Acceptance of reciprocity as a justice principle appears to first increase and then

decrease with chronological age, but no relationship of reciprocity to intelligence quotient was found. Children who accepted reciprocity did not accept other aggression, and older children showed a concern with mitigating factors. Durkin also found that a concept of property rights was negatively related to a concept of character rights.

Durkin acknowledged a lack of definition of the role of intelligence in moral judgment. Kohlberg (39) found that intelligence and social class did not relate in a regular way to consistently obtained developmental dimensions. Kohlberg (39) also reported a reverse of Piaget's theoretical expectation that a positive relationship exists between peer-group participation and an orientation toward reciprocity. In Kohlberg's investigation, conformity to peers, as opposed to authority, failed to increase with age.

One of the factors which may account for differential findings in guilt research is maturation. There appear to be fairly consistent changes in moral judgment with age. Children at twelve would be expected, according to this theory, to have reached a stage of reciprocity, and thus to view moral situations in a manner more differentiated from a young child than from an adult. Less variation would be expected in the responses of the subjects in this research among twelve year old boys only as compared to adults than would be expected if greater variation in age were present.

Global Versus Specific Acquisition
of Moral Standards

One of the major concerns of the current investigation involves the relative consistency of parent-child similarity among situations involving hostile impulses, theft and disobedience. The theoretical approaches reviewed would suggest different predictions; psycho-analytic theory would predict uniform similarity as explained by global incorporation while results of research based on social learning theory and developmental theory suggest greater variation.

Kohlberg (39) reports that Rau found little consistency between the tendency to confess after deviation at home and at school. Sears, et al. suggested that parental punishment may lead to inhibition in situations of possible punishment but not in permissive situations. The evidence does not indicate any simple, consistent relationship between parental standards, reinforcement and amount of conformity outside the home. Kohlberg (39) reports that consistency is related to rated confession as are reasoning, the use of positive reinforcement and the avoidance of physical punishment. This research finding suggests that a consistency variable may interact with other manifestations of moral standards.

Gump and Kounin (31), as reported previously, found that children reported different deviations to be more severe at home than at school and vice versa.

Hartshorne and May and Rau, according to Kohlberg (39), found low situational consistency in moral obedience situations. It is possible that situational differences are more distinct in resistance to temptation assessment than in guilt indices. Hoffman (35) suggests that situational controls and high motivation for all subjects are needed in studies of resistance to temptation. Studies of resistance to temptation, in the form of pressure from peers, according to Hoffman, might control for needs for affiliation and a fear of rejection.

Situations which occur at home might be expected to elicit different moral responses from those in the community, i.e., theft versus disobedience at home, and the research findings indicate that the relationship among the situation, acquired standards and personal needs may be complex. Individual differences in consistency may affect the relevance of situational pressures.

Relationship Between Resistance to Temptation and Guilt

Comparisons of guilt severity and resistance to temptation have yielded contradictory findings. The present investigation utilizes story completion items, two of which provide resistance to temptation data. An hypothesized temptation which is resisted would not be expected to invoke guilt but the awareness of anticipated superego pressure or external punishment. Thus, similarity of parents' and children's resistance

to temptation responses would be expected to affect the comparableness of responses indicating guilt severity. The predominant findings of previous research indicate that two somewhat different phenomena may be operative in guilt and resistance to temptation. This research will assess whether resistance does correspond to minimal guilt as would be expected, or whether the possibility of deviation may arouse guilt severity concomitant with that following deviation, making comparisons of parents' and children's responses less dependent on resistance to temptation.

Allinsmith (2, p. 174) writes, "Resistance to temptation thus appears to us to be a function both of the tendency to be aware of one's standards before transgression and of the propensity not to defend against guilt following misconduct. People who are accustomed to disowning their moral needs, or to deceiving themselves about remorse after violation, are most likely to yield." Allinsmith notes that Solomon and Whiting have suggested that the inclination to resist temptation may not be learned concomitantly with guilt. Bandura and Walters (10) propose that different learning principles are involved in the development of these modes of response.

Allinsmith (2) did not find a direct relationship between guilt severity and resistance to temptation. The findings did indicate that resistance to temptation was

related to internalization of guilt; externalizers were more impulsive. Grinder and McMichael's (30) findings also failed to support a direct relationship between resistance to temptation and reaction to transgression, but suggested that different modes of guilt reaction may be related to resistance with varying strengths. They found resistance related only to remorse with restitution and confession in the predicted direction.

Reports of the relationship between resistance to temptation and guilt have been contradictory. Hoffman reports (35) that MacKinnon, Grinder and Sears reported low positive relationships between resistance to temptation and guilt, Allinsmith and Maccoby reported no relationship and Burton a negative one. Rau found a high negative relationship between aggressive fantasy doll play and resistance in an experimental situation. Two explanations may account for the differential findings, according to Hoffman (35). The child may become highly involved and fail to anticipate guilt, and the young child may be too cognitively immature to discriminate relevant cues and anticipate consequences. He may lack the ego control necessary, or he may violate norms due to an unconscious wish for punishment.

Kohlberg (39) concluded that the occurrence of guilt reactions after real or fantasied transgression may be a better criterion for internalized moral judgments than resistance to temptation. Data from investigations

of behavioral conformity suggest that the specific situational factors in resistance to temptation may be more important than internalized moral conformity as a "conditioned anxiety response." Hoffman (35), however, considers resistance to pressure to deviate a better test of the strength and integrity of the personality than the expression of guilt after transgression.

Kohlberg (39), suggesting that guilt after transgression may be a better criterion for internalized moral judgments than resistance to temptation, writes (39, p. 286),

This approach, however, depends on the assumption that some observable responses to transgression are expressive of guilt or remorse, i.e., that self-blame reactions genuinely inflict psychic pain upon the self rather than being instrumental responses to a situation.

Aronfreed, according to Kohlberg (39), considers reactions to transgression, such as self-blaming responses, confession, restitution, etc., to be anxiety-reducing instrumental responses rather than pain-inducing "expressions of guilt." Aronfreed also indicates the importance of factors of cognitive and evaluative precursors in the development of moral judgment.

Mosher (50) found, among eighty male college students who completed Imcomplete Sentence Tests scored for sex guilt, that inhibitory behavior of subjects who score low on sex guilt is more influenced by situational cues relevant to the probability of external punishment for sex

related behavior than is inhibitory behavior of a high sex guilt group. High sex guilt subjects were relatively insensitive to situational cues concerning the probability of external punishment when shown pin-ups of nude and semi-nude females and asked to rate them on several characteristics. Mosher's results suggest that guilt severity may be related to resistance but the relationship may not be a direct one. This research supports Kohlberg's (39) assertion that specific situational factors in resistance to temptation may be more important than internalized moral conformity for low sex guilt subjects and supports the relationship between externalization and nonresistance reported by Allinsmith. High guilt subjects, however, showed a greater relationship between internal standards and resistance.

Experimental manipulation of deviation situation conditions by Mills (49), using a cognitive dissonance theoretical framework, showed differential severity of attitudes toward cheating under high and low motivation and high and low restraint conditions. Sixth graders completed a number circling task for different monetary rewards and under conditions in which the tasks were self-scored and scored by the experimenter. Honest persons increased attitude scores more in high motivation-low restraint groups than under low motivation-low restraint conditions. High motivation-low restraint

subjects increased attitude scores more than controls. The greater the motivation, the more severe honest subjects became. With low motivation, cheaters became more lenient. This study also provides support for the influence of the situation on resistance to temptation behavior, but suggests, as does Mosher's, that internal standards may be more highly related to resistance to temptation than some research would indicate. Subjects tended to increase the intensity of apparent internal standards as experimental conditions facilitated greater temptation.

Several factors may be found to affect the relationship between resistance to temptation and expressions of guilt. As noted in a previous section, resistance to temptation may be affected by various situational cues and needs of the subject, and Mosher's findings suggest that these cues may have differential influence with differing levels of guilt. Most of the resistance to temptation data which has been compared with guilt has been based on observable situations, and the use of reported resistance on story completion items may introduce an additional situational variable.

Cultural Influences

Recent cross-cultural comparisons and comparisons of sub-cultural membership groups regarding guilt variables provide a general consensus of findings that

the culture plays an important role in determining the predominance of guilt or shame and in influencing the differences in motivation and anticipation of guilt reactions. Certain fairly specific predictions can be made as a function of the homogeneous cultural background of the subjects in this investigation.

Peck and Havighurst (53, p. 1) state,

There is perhaps no study of human behavior more fraught with risk of subjective bias and culture bound prejudice than is the study of moral character. Yet in no aspect of life is objective knowledge and understanding more essential to human happiness, perhaps even racial survival.

Miller and Swanson (47) investigated the relationship of social class to self-control and found that inner control is more characteristic of the middle class. The influence of the sub-cultural peer group is noted in developmental investigations by Kohlberg (39) and Wright, et. al. (70).

Whiting (68) found a sense of guilt and readiness to accept blame deriving from a sense of personal responsibility for one's actions characteristic of the United States. This type of motivation is considered to be produced by early socialization in a monogamous family which accentuates rivalry between the child and the father. This would also be the type of family which facilitates the development of a strong Oedipus situation and thus identification with the aggressor (27). This sample would be a product of this category more than an

exaggerated and paranoid fear of retaliation from other humans, produced by early seduction and severe punishment for sex, or a sense of sin deriving from the projected dread of punishment from God or ghosts, produced by early neglect followed by severe punishment for aggression. The best predictors of cross-cultural measures of guilt, according to Whiting and Child (69) were early weaning, early toilet training and early independence training.

The sample would be predicted to reflect a guilt culture rather than a shame culture in reference to Grinder and McMichael's (30) research. This prediction would have implications for greater expected internalization than externalization. The authors investigated socialization effects of two cultures, American and Samoan, on conscience development. Children from the American Caucasian or guilt culture and the Samoan or shame culture evidenced significantly different reactions to a real life temptation situation and a projective story completion technique. Significantly fewer Samoan children resisted the temptation to cheat in a "shooting gallery" game, and significantly more mainland children showed susceptibility to remorse, confession and restitution after transgression. The authors proposed that shame cultures stress coercive external agents while guilt cultures stress self-control in the face of temptation. If guilt is defined as internalized conscience, weaker guilt intensity would be

expected in shame cultures than in guilt cultures. Grinder and McMichael's and Whiting's results have implications for generally anticipated forms of moral response within a particular culture and suggest that more internalized guilt would be expected within the sample than externalization. These findings are relevant to studies of parental antecedents of moral responses which showed that similar variations occur within a culture although perhaps less extreme than between cultures.

A Methodological Note and Conclusion

Several methodological approaches have been utilized in investigations of moral responses. Laboratory studies and the use of projective techniques to investigate guilt and resistance to temptation provide some provocative suggestions concerning motivation and discrepancies between self-report data, observed situations and projective data, although at least one comparison showed self-report and projective guilt directly related. Hoffman (35) advised the use of a battery of tests to assess moral standards to minimize methodological bias. The nature of information sought and the possibility of inducing excessive guilt in some subjects through choice of temptation situations has limited the extent of direct observation which has been made of resistance to temptation.

Saltz and Epstein's (56) investigation of thematic hostility and guilt responses as a function of hostile cues and self-reported drive provided support for consistency between self-report guilt and Thematic Apperception Test guilt but found that guilt level influenced the relationship between self-report and thematic hostility. The authors selected extreme groups on self-report measures. Thematic guilt was found related directly to self-reported guilt across pictures, but self-report guilt was inversely related to thematic hostility. Thematic hostility was related to self-report hostility with low guilt but inversely related with high guilt, and self-reported hostility was related to thematic hostility for low relevance pictures only. Interactions showed that guilt can be conditioned to cues that produce drive, so drive cannot be varied independent of guilt. Increased drive can produce guilt resulting in avoidance.

Shore, et al. (61) suggests that the quality of guilt has been overlooked; studies have been concerned with severity of punishment. Shore, et al., found that increases in level and quality of guilt expressed in TAT stories was significantly associated with reduction in unsocialized behavior of twenty boys, matched on relevant variables, ten of whom received psychotherapy. Differences between psychotherapy and nonpsychotherapy groups were significant. Shore, et al., suggest the

superiority of analysis of guilt along dimensions of internalization, concern for others and desire for change over previous methods, when viewed in comparison to clinical observation and understanding. Analysis along these dimensions would reduce the existing differential between results of clinical observation and results of empirical research according to Shore, et al.

The research in the areas of moral responses and identification suggests that some fairly definite predictions can be made about the relationship between children's moral responses and the moral responses of their parents. Some contradictions appear in the literature, and the evidence suggests that perhaps no direct, regular relationships exist but that the comparison may be a complex one, involving several variables including the methodology used, the situations sampled, the subcultural group in which the subjects live and the factors which affect intensity of guilt and resistance to temptation at certain maturational levels. A substantial amount of evidence from direct observation of children in experimental situations and from self-report and projective data emphasizes the conditions which surround the acquisition of moral responses, including opportunities for modeling and motivation for continued expression of the response. The evidence

suggests that motivation arising from the Oedipus situation may not completely define the development of internalized standards.

CHAPTER III

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND HYPOTHESES

This study is designed to investigate the relationship between moral responses of twelve year old boys in the areas of death wishes, theft and disobedience and moral responses of their parents in these areas. The major purpose of the research is to investigate the manner in which children's responses in these areas are related to parents' retrospective reports of their responses at the age of their children and to their perceptions of their sons' responses.

Results of previous research suggest that fairly specific relationships exist between children's moral responses of their parents. The following hypotheses state predictions which are based upon the implication from previous research that the relationship between moral responses of children and moral responses of their parents may be to some degree determined by the particular form of response being considered and the specific nature of the anticipated transgression.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis I: There is a significant relationship between moral responses of twelve year old boys in moral areas of death wishes, theft and disobedience and moral

responses of their parents in these areas. It is predicted that the relationship will be higher for the same moral area than between areas.

Hypothesis II: There is a significant relationship between twelve year old boys' forms of moral response, defined as resistance to temptation, direct acknowledgment, indirect manifestations, defense mechanisms, and externalization and parents' forms of moral response. It is predicted that the relationship for the same form of moral response will be higher than the relationships between forms of moral response.

Hypothesis III: There is a significant relationship between total moral response of twelve year old boys and total moral response of parents.

Hypothesis IV: It is hypothesized that similarity between child and father will be greater than similarity between child and mother.

Detailed hypotheses could be derived from the more general hypotheses stated above. The writer considered the general statements to provide greater flexibility and potential for concise discussion. The measures of parents' moral responses used will be: father at 12, mother at 12, father's perception of child's response, mother's perception of child's response, combined parent at 12, and combined parents' perception of child's response.

CHAPTER IV

METHODS

Sampling

In an effort to obtain an extensive, heterogeneous sample, letters were sent to parents of all seventh grade boys at Traverse City Junior High School; this group included 175 families. The constitution of this group was heterogeneous socioeconomically and intellectually and subjects were relatively unsophisticated in research involvement. The original design included control for sex, intelligence and socioeconomic class through sampling only boys within the normal range of intelligence and middle socioeconomic class. Only 44 of these families, however, agreed to cooperate in the research. Of these families, only 26 completed sets of responses (child, mother and father) were collected. Eleven additional mothers completed responses, but these were not included in data analysis. Thus, the final sample was comprised of 26 fathers, mothers and twelve year old seventh grade boys.

Intelligence of boys tended to be almost equally divided between the average and above average ranges of intelligence quotients obtained from scores from the California Test of Mental Maturity, Short Form. The distribution of intelligence quotients may be noted in Appendix A, Table 1.

Socioeconomic status of families tended to be skewed toward the upper-middle class. Appendix A, Tables 2 through 5, describe age of parents and the social background characteristics of the families in the sample.

The number of siblings of subjects tended toward a modal figure of 2 or 3 siblings, with a range from 0 to 6. Most of the subjects were the oldest child in their families, but the ordinal position range extended from first to seventh. The distribution of number of siblings and ordinal position may be observed in Appendix A, Tables 6 and 7.

Instrument

Three story completion items, concerning death wishes toward a male authority figure, theft and disobedience, were derived from a previous investigation by Allinsmith (2). For criteria for stories consult Allinsmith (2). Forced response questions including possible responses to the three situations were developed in accordance with Allinsmith's differential ratings of guilt severity, ratings of guilt severity by Adams (1) and additional items to provide an adequate number of questions to measure four forms of moral response. These were direct acknowledgment, indirect manifestations, defenses against guilt and externalization. Total guilt summed over forms of response equalled summation over moral areas. Questions provided for severity of guilt

ratings of from 1 to 3 with one neutral item (rating of 0) for each moral area. Choices were forced to "yes" or "no" responses. (Refer to Appendix B for scale, annotated for ratings of guilt severity and forms of moral response). Objective questions were developed to avert the relationship between length of stories and severity of guilt (1), to provide a broader scope of possible responses and to eliminate the need for rating projective story completion responses and obtaining rater agreement.

Instructional conditions elicited standard responses, perception of mother's responses at twelve and perception of father's responses at twelve from children. The data from the latter two conditions were not analyzed because less than half the boys completed these items. Adequate provision of time for completion was underestimated from pretesting. Parents responded as they would have responded at twelve and as they would predict their sons' would respond. Identified defense mechanisms and items were matched by three advanced graduate students in psychology who also checked guilt severity ratings. The scale was also checked by Dr. Lucy Ferguson. The limitations of self-report data are recognized.

Pretesting

Three administrations of story completion items and objective questions to pretest subjects were completed before administration to the sample. These permitted revisions of objective questions and evaluation of ease of completion by subjects. The original scale had two parallel sets of questions for theft and disobedience, corresponding to resistance to temptation and deviation, but the scale proved to be so lengthy that subjects became fatigued and disinterested. Questions were added and deleted on following revisions, with modification to one set of questions for all subjects. The total number of pretest families was 13; the final pretest group consisted of four families. Two pretest groups were obtained from Spartan Village; the last group, from Charlotte, Michigan, was similar in composition to the Traverse City sample. The final pretest results showed agreement of questions with story completions and effective discrimination of items.

Collection of Data

The investigator contacted the principal and counselors of the Traverse City Public School and obtained agreement to administer items to seventh grade boys. School personnel were extremely cooperative and helpful in providing facilities for collection of data.

Test booklets were coded by number to control for concern about identification of responses. Group administration of the scale to boys in the school lunchroom was conducted during a home room period by the investigator. Those boys who had not completed at least the first instruction completed this the following home room period under the direction of the school counselor. For instructions read to subjects, refer to Appendix B.

Test booklets were delivered individually to parents who agree to cooperate and who lived near or within the Traverse City limits. Those who lived in outlying towns were called and forms were mailed to them. The scales were self-administered by parents and were returned by boys in the sample to their home rooms.

Analysis of Data

The preparation of the data for correlational analysis included determination of separate scores for each of the previously indicated moral areas, i.e., death wishes, theft and disobedience, forms of moral response, i.e., direct acknowledgment, indirect manifestations, defense mechanisms and externalization, and a total across all areas. The scores represent the summation of the subject's responses, weighted according to established criteria, within the above categories

of response. The scores were converted to percentages of the total possible score for particular categories of response. This conversion equalized the number of items in response categories. The data submitted for correlation, thus, represented scores obtained by the subjects, in percentage form, for several categories of response and a total score.

Some scattergrams were plotted as a preliminary examination of the data. Pearson product moment correlations were computed by Michigan State University computer, programming package of simple correlations, for all categories of response and total score compared with each other for child, father at twelve, mother at twelve, father's perception of child's response, mother's perception of child's response, average of parents at twelve, and average of parents' perception of child's response. Correlations relevant to theoretical hypotheses were extracted from all possible correlations. The dichotomous nature of the resistance to temptation data required analysis with a non-parametric statistical technique. Phi coefficients, which provided a non-parametric correlation, therefore, were computed for comparisons of resistance to temptation and comparisons of resistance to temptation and guilt.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

Internal Consistency

Intercorrelations of guilt scores show high internal consistency for boys and for both parents as they would have responded at twelve and for prediction of their sons' responses. Pearson product moment correlations for comparison of areas of death wishes, theft and disobedience and four forms of moral response are shown in Table 1. Resistance to temptation comparisons analyzed by phi coefficients are shown in Table 2. Comparison of categories of response with total scores showed all three moral areas and four forms of moral response to be related to total scores for children and for parents at or above $p = .05$. These correlations show the scores for the individual response categories as represented by the percentage of the total possible score for that category to be highly related to the separately derived overall total score.

Interrelations of moral area scores were less consistent for child and mother at 12 than comparisons between subtest scores and total scores. Significant intercorrelations were found without exception for father at 12, father's prediction of child's response, mother's prediction of child's response, and average mother-father prediction of child's response. Only guilt for theft and guilt for

Table 1A. Internal Consistency of Guilt Scores of Child.

Variable	Variable							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Death Wishes (1) r =	X							
Theft (2) r =	.20	X						
Disobedience (3) r =	.37	.70**	X					
Direct Acknowledgment (4) r =	.46*	.64**	.50**	X				
Indirect Manifestations (5) r =	.60**	.48*	.65**	.27	X			
Defense Mechanisms (6) r =	.46*	.58**	.58**	.38	.27	X		
Externalization (7) r =	.00	.67**	.62**	.06	.40*	.23	X	
Total (8) r =	.52**	.89**	.90**	.68**	.69**	.68**	.62**	X

*p ≤ .05 **p ≤ .01 N = 26

Table 1B.--Internal Consistency of Guilt Scores of Father at Twelve.

Variable	Variable							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Death Wishes (1) r =	X							
Theft (2) r =	.51**	X						
Disobedience (3) r =	.65**	.66**	X					
Direct Acknowledgment (4) r =	.73**	.77**	.79**	X				
Indirect Manifestations (5) r =	.77**	.85**	.70**	.78**	X			
Defense Mechanisms (6) r =	.73**	.59**	.81**	.60**	.58**	X		
Externalization (7) r =	.63**	.78**	.83**	.66**	.80**	.67**	X	
Total (8) r =	.82**	.86**	.89**	.89**	.90**	.82**	.87**	X

*p ≤ .05 **p ≤ .01 N = 26

Table 1C.--Internal Consistency of Guilt Scores of Mother at Twelve.

Variable	Variable							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Death Wishes (1) r =	X							
Theft (2) r =	.13	X						
Disobedience (3) r =	.29	.33	X					
Direct Acknowledgment (4) r =	.40*	.71**	.65**	X				
Indirect Manifestations (5) r =	.75**	.50**	.42*	.52**	X			
Defense Mechanisms (6) r =	.55**	.03	.48*	.25	.21	X		
Externalization (7) r =	.23	.72**	.45*	.46*	.44*	.00	X	
Total (8) r =	.70**	.72**	.69**	.82**	.81**	.48*	.66**	X

*p ≤ .05 **p ≤ .01 N = 26

Table 1D.--Internal Consistency of Guilt Scores of Average Parent at Twelve.

Variable	Variable							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Death Wishes (1) r =	X							
Theft (2) r =	.31	X						
Disobedience (3) r =	.43*	.63**	X					
Direct Acknowledgment (4) r =	.33	.89**	.78**	X				
Indirect Manifestations (5) r =	.61**	.78**	.64**	.75**	X			
Defense Mechanisms (6) r =	.59**	.52**	.78**	.62**	.63**	X		
Externalization (7) r =	.52**	.73**	.76**	.68**	.70**	.53**	X	
Total (8) r =	.58**	.87**	.85**	.91**	.89**	.80**	.83**	X

*p ≤ .05 **p ≤ .01 N = 26

Table 1E.--Internal Consistency of Father's Predictions of
Child's Guilt Scores.

Variable	Variable							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Death Wishes (1) r =	X							
Theft (2) r =	.62**	X						
Disobedience (3) r =	.65**	.74**	X					
Direct Acknowledgment (4) r =	.56**	.73**	.70**	X				
Indirect Manifestations (5) r =	.87**	.76**	.71**	.49*	X			
Defense Mechanisms (6) r =	.80**	.78**	.68**	.40*	.80**	X		
Externalization (7) r =	.61**	.82**	.87**	.60**	.69**	.72**	X	
Total (8) r =	.84**	.92**	.88**	.76**	.88**	.86**	.87**	X

*p ≤ .05 **p ≤ .01 N = 24

Table 1F.--Internal Consistency of Mother's Predictions of
Child's Guilt Scores.

Variable	Variable							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Death Wishes (1) r =	X							
Theft (2) r =	.53**	X						
Disobedience (3) r =	.57**	.65**	X					
Direct Acknowledgment (4) r =	.52**	.62**	.78**	X				
Indirect Manifestations (5) r =	.83**	.75**	.60**	.40*	X			
Defense Mechanisms (6) r =	.66**	.58**	.45*	.24	.66**	X		
Externalization (7) r =	.42*	.77**	.67**	.49*	.58**	.21	X	
Total (8) r =	.82**	.89**	.84**	.74**	.87**	.67**	.73**	X

*p ≤ .05 **p ≤ .01 N = 26

Table 1G.---Internal Consistency of Average Parent's Predictions
of Child's Guilt Scores.

Variable	Variable							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Death Wishes (1) r =	X							
Theft (2) r =	.67**	X						
Disobedience (3) r =	.70**	.73**	X					
Direct Acknowledgment (4) r =	.63**	.63**	.65**	X				
Indirect Manifestations (5) r =	.90**	.83**	.78**	.52**	X			
Defense Mechanisms (6) r =	.75**	.78**	.63**	.33	.80**	X		
Externalization (7) r =	.54**	.83**	.80**	.50*	.72**	.58**	X	
Total (8) r =	.85**	.94**	.88**	.71**	.93**	.81**	.83**	X

*p ≤ .05 **p ≤ .01 N = 24

Table 2.--Internal Consistency of Resistance to Temptation Versus Guilt for Theft and Disobedience.

	N	<u>Theft</u>		<u>Disobedience</u>	
		Phi	Chi Square	Phi	Chi Square
Child	26	.46*	5.44	.33	2.76
Father at 12	26	.25	1.59	.09	0.82
Mother at 12	26	-.06	0.78	.00	0.00
Father's Prediction of Child	24	.26	1.61	.05	0.07
Mother's Prediction of Child	26	.28	2.00	.29	2.13

*p \leq .05

Table 2A.--Extended Internal Comparisons of Child's Resistance to Temptation and Guilt.

Guilt	<u>Resistance to Temptation</u>			
	<u>Theft</u>		<u>Disobedience</u>	
	Phi	Chi Square	Phi	Chi Square
Theft	.46*	5.44	.24	1.51
Disobedience	.22	1.22	.33	2.76
Total	.32	2.66	.32	2.58

*p \leq .05 N = 26

disobedience was significantly related for children. No significant interrelations prevailed for mother at 12, and only the disobedience score was significantly related to death wishes and theft for average parent at 12. Parents' predictions of child's responses were more consistent than parents' responses at 12.

Scores for forms of moral response were consistently significantly related to total guilt, but few significant interrelations were found. Only indirect manifestations and externalization covaried consistently for children. All were consistently significant for father at 12, father's prediction of child's response, average parent at 12 and average parent prediction of child's response. Mother at 12 showed significant interrelations of all forms of response except defenses as related to direct acknowledgment, indirect manifestations and externalization. The same pattern prevailed for mother's prediction of child's response with the exception that defenses were significantly related to indirect manifestations.

Comparison of forms of moral response to moral areas showed significant interrelations for children, except for comparison of death wishes and externalization. This same pattern plus absence of significance for defenses compared with theft resulted for the mother at 12.

The highest predictive power of total guilt for children existed in theft and disobedience situations. All contributed approximately equally for fathers at 12 (all above $r = .80$). Direct acknowledgment and indirect manifestations were less related for mother at 12; death wishes less predictive for average parent at 12; direct acknowledgment less predictive for father prediction; direct acknowledgment, defenses and externalization less predictive for mother prediction; and direct acknowledgment

provided poor prediction for combined parent's prediction of child's response.

The only significant relationship of resistance to temptation and guilt, as may be noted from reference to Table 2, resulted from comparison of child's guilt and resistance to temptation for theft. Comparison of resistance to temptation for theft and disobedience as compared with total guilt for children tended toward significance ($p \leq .10$), and guilt versus resistance to temptation for disobedience resulted in phi of .33 ($p \leq .10$). Relation of resistance to temptation and guilt for parents was not significant in any case.

Resistance to Temptation

Data from phi coefficient analysis of resistance to temptation was generally non-supportive of Hypothesis II, as is indicated in Table 3. A significant relationship between 12 year old boys' moral responses and moral responses of parents was predicted. Child resistance to temptation in the disobedience situation was significantly related to mother's perception of child's resistance to temptation for disobedience. This finding is contrary to Hypothesis IV, that relationships hypothesized for 12 year old boys' moral responses and fathers' predictions of their moral responses would be higher than the relationships between boys' responses and mothers' predictions of their responses. Prediction of child resistance to temptation by mothers and by fathers for theft was significant.

Table 3.--Comparison of Child's Resistance to Temptation Versus Parents' Resistance to Temptation.

Parents' Resistance to Temptation	N	Child's Resistance to Temptation			
		Theft		Disobedience	
		Phi	Chi Square	Phi	Chi Square
Father at 12					
Theft	26	-.04	0.03	-.02	0.00
Disobedience	26	-.04	0.03	-.10	0.29
Mother at 12					
Theft	26	.37	3.48	-.12	0.36
Disobedience	26	.10	0.26	.22	1.25
Father's Prediction of Child					
Theft	24	-.12	0.31	-.16	0.60
Disobedience	24	.04	0.05	-.30	2.14
Mother's Prediction of Child					
Theft	26	.32	2.68	-.18	0.83
Disobedience	26	.16	0.65	.39*	3.90

*p \leq .05

Those relationships tending toward significance ($p \leq .10$) were mother at 12 and child for theft, mother's perception of child's response and child for theft, mother at 12 and father at 12 for theft, mother at 12 and father at 12 for disobedience, and mother's perception of child and father's perception of child for disobedience.

Comparison of parent resistance to temptation and child guilt yielded no significant relationships. Child guilt for theft and mother at 12 resistance to temptation for theft tended toward significance ($p \leq .10$).

Table 3A.--Comparison of Father's Resistance to Temptation Versus Mother's Resistance to Temptation.

	N	Theft		Disobedience	
		Phi	Chi Square	Phi	Chi Square
Father at 12 Versus Mother at 12	26	.35	3.15	.32	2.73
Father's Prediction of Child Versus Mother's Predic- tion of Child	24	.51*	6.17	.34	2.74

* $p \leq .05$

Table 4.--Comparison of Child's Guilt Scores and Parents' Resistance to Temptation.

	N	Child's Guilt Scores			
		Theft		Disobedience	
		Phi	Chi Square	Phi	Chi Square
Parents' Resistance to Temptation					
Father at 12					
Theft	26	.25	1.59	.13	0.47
Disobedience	26	.18	0.83	-.22	1.27
Mother at 12					
Theft	26	.35	3.15	.23	1.32
Disobedience	26	.09	0.23	.06	0.10
Father's Prediction of Child					
Theft	24	.17	0.70	.05	0.05
Disobedience	24	.19	0.89	.22	1.22
Mother's Prediciton of Child					
Theft	26	.18	0.83	.06	0.10
Disobedience	26	.12	0.36	.10	0.26

Child resistance to temptation for theft was significantly related to father guilt for theft (Refer to Table 5). This is the only case in resistance to temptation data that Hypothesis IV of higher relationship of child-father responses than child-mother responses was supported. Those relationships which tended toward significance ($p \leq .10$) were father at 12 total guilt and child resistance to temptation for theft and average parent at 12 guilt for disobedience and child resistance to temptation for theft. Child resistance to temptation was not related to parent prediction of child's guilt in any case. The relationship of child response to parents at 12 appears greater than that of child response to parents' prediction of child's response. The above statements represent possible trends only, however, as the number of significant relationships is no greater than would be expected by chance.

Comparison of Child Guilt Versus Parent Guilt Moral Areas

Pearson product moment correlation coefficients for child guilt as compared to parent guilt at 12 are shown in Table 6 and comparison of child guilt to parents' prediction of child's guilt are shown in Table 7. Correlation coefficients indicate little support for Hypothesis I that there is a significant relationship between 12 year old boys' moral responses to death wishes, theft and disobedience and fathers' and mothers' moral responses in these areas. Support for this hypothesis and for the

Table 5.--Comparison of Child's Resistance to Temptation and Parents' Guilt Scores.

Parents' Guilt Scores	N	Child's Resistance to Temptation			
		Theft		Disobedience	
		Phi	Chi Square	Phi	Chi Square
Father at 12					
Theft	26	.46*	5.43	.24	1.51
Disobedience	26	.13	0.44	-.02	0.02
Total	26	.37	3.48	.19	0.96
Mother at 12					
Theft	26	-.08	0.16	.13	0.44
Disobedience	26	.00	0.00	.00	0.00
Total	26	.00	0.00	.00	0.00
Average Parent at 12					
Theft	26	.00	0.00	.00	0.00
Disobedience	26	.37	3.48	.19	0.96
Total	26	.25	1.67	.13	0.44
Father's Prediction of Child					
Theft	24	-.05	0.05	.00	0.00
Disobedience	24	.08	0.14	-.11	0.26
Total	24	.03	0.02	-.07	0.12
Mother's Prediction of Child					
Theft	26	.09	0.21	.19	0.96
Disobedience	26	-.23	1.35	.19	1.22
Total	26	-.08	0.16	.13	0.44
Average Parents' Prediction of Child					
Theft	24	-.18	0.82	-.07	0.14
Disobedience	24	-.16	0.62	-.29	2.07
Total	24	-.03	0.02	.00	0.00

*p \leq .05

Table 6.--Comparison of Child's Guilt Scores for Moral Areas and Parents' Guilt Scores at 12 for Moral Areas.

Parents' Guilt Scores	Child's Guilt Scores			
	Death Wishes	Theft	Disobedience	Total
Father at 12				
Death Wishes	.22	.26	.24	.29
Theft	-.13	.29	.25	.22
Disobedience	-.06	.12	.13	.10
Total	.00	.26	.24	.24
Mother at 12				
Death Wishes	.42*	.09	.25	.26
Theft	.05	-.15	.04	-.05
Disobedience	.40*	.18	.22	.30
Total	.39*	.04	.23	.22
Average Parent at 12				
Death Wishes	.52**	.19	.18	.31
Theft	-.07	.11	.18	.12
Disobedience	.12	.16	.18	.19
Total	.16	.19	.26	.25

*p \leq .05 **p \leq .01 N = 26

Data expressed as correlation coefficients.

Table 7.--Comparison of Child's Guilt Scores for Moral Areas and Parents' Predictions of Child's Guilt Scores for Moral Areas.

Parents' Predictions of Child's Guilt Scores	N	<u>Child's Guilt Scores</u>			
		Death Wishes	Theft	Disobedience	Total
<hr/>					
Father's Prediction of Child's Guilt					
Death Wishes	24	.00	.04	.10	.06
Theft	24	-.15	.01	-.01	-.04
Disobedience	24	-.14	-.05	-.12	-.12
Total	24	-.11	.00	-.01	-.04
Mother's Prediction of Child's Guilt					
Death Wishes	26	.30	-.06	-.05	.03
Theft	26	.13	.05	.04	.08
Disobedience	26	.40*	-.11	-.05	.03
Total	26	.31	-.03	-.01	.06
Average Parent's Prediction of Child's Guilt					
Death Wishes	24	.10	-.09	-.05	-.05
Theft	24	-.06	-.01	-.02	-.03
Disobedience	24	.11	-.13	-.14	-.11
Total	24	.03	-.08	-.07	-.07

*p \leq .05

Data expressed as correlation coefficients.

collateral hypothesis that the relationship would be higher for the same moral area than between moral areas appeared only in the finding that child guilt for death wishes was significantly related to mother at 12's guilt for death wishes, for disobedience and total guilt. Some support was obtained from the relationship between child guilt for death wishes and average parent guilt for death wishes. The data were non-supportive of the hypothesis of greater father-child similarity than mother-child similarity.

Less support for similarity of child and parents' predictions was found for comparison of guilt in three moral areas than similarity of parents at 12 and child (Table 7). Only mother's prediction for disobedience and child's guilt for death wishes were significantly related for this condition. Although only a few correlations were significant, some suggestion of greater similarity between child and parent at 12 than between child and parents' perception of child appears in the data. This finding tended to be supported by resistance to temptation data and guilt in three moral areas.

Forms of Moral Response

Resistance to temptation comparison to guilt was reported in a previous section. Pearson product moment correlation coefficients for child guilt as compared to parent guilt at 12 are shown in Table 8 and comparisons

Table 8.--Comparison of Child's Guilt Scores for Forms of Moral Response and Parents' Guilt Scores at Twelve for Forms of Moral Response.

Parents' Guilt Scores	Child's Guilt Scores				
	D.A. (1)	I.M. (2)	D.M. (3)	Ext. (4)	Tot. (5)
Father at 12					
Direct					
Acknowledgment (1)	-.11	.16	.05	.09	.08
Indirect					
Manifestations (2)	.15	.35	.20	.39*	.41*
Defense					
Mechanisms (3)	-.07	.41*	.02	.09	.14
Externalization (4)	.10	.27	-.03	.07	.16
Total (5)	.01	.34	.09	.18	.24
Mother at 12					
Direct					
Acknowledgment (1)	-.02	.24	-.10	-.08	.01
Indirect					
Manifestations (2)	.01	.28	-.07	-.4	.04
Defense					
Mechanisms (3)	.20	.64**	.44*	.62**	.67**
Externalization	.12	.19	-.22	-.01	.04
Total (5)	.08	.45*	-.01	.09	.22
Average Parent at 12					
Direct					
Acknowledgment (1)	-.10	.23	-.02	.02	.05
Indirect					
Manifestations (2)	.09	.36	.07	.13	.25
Defense					
Mechanisms (3)	-.04	.62**	.24	.39*	.44*
Externalization (4)	-.14	.29	-.13	.05	.13
Total (5)	.04	.42*	.06	.17	.25

*p ≤ .05 **p ≤ .01 N = 26

Data expressed as correlation coefficients.

of child guilt to parents' predictions of child's guilt are shown in Table 9. Comparison of father's guilt at 12 to child guilt showed only father's indirect manifestations related to child externalization and total guilt and father's defense mechanisms related to child's indirect manifestations. Mother's defense mechanisms at 12 were significantly related to child's indirect manifestations, defense mechanisms, externalization and total guilt. Mother at 12 total guilt was related to child's indirect manifestations. The combined score for parent defense mechanisms at 12 was related to child's indirect manifestations, externalization and total guilt. Parent total guilt at 12 was related to child's indirect manifestations.

The above findings show some support for Hypothesis II that there is a significant relationship between the child's forms of moral response and parents' forms of moral response. Direct acknowledgment was not in any case significantly related to other forms of moral response nor in comparisons between child and parents. The collateral hypothesis that the relationship would be higher for each form of response than between forms was supported only for defense mechanisms for mother at 12 and child.

The pattern of greater mother-child similarity than father-child similarity obtained in comparison of moral areas appeared in analysis of forms of moral response. Correlations were generally lower for child guilt and

Table 9.--Comparison of Child's Guilt Scores for Forms of Moral Response and Parents' Predictions of Child's Guilt Scores for Forms of Moral Response.

Parent's Predictions of Child's Guilt Scores		N	Child's Guilt Scores				
			D.A. (1)	I.M. (2)	D.M. (3)	Ext. (4)	Tot. (5)
Father's Prediction of Child's Guilt							
Direct							
Acknowledgment (1)	24	-.09	.02	.05	-.21	-.06	
Indirect							
Manifestations (2)	24	-.20	.22	-.15	.16	.00	
Defense							
Mechanisms (3)	24	-.17	.23	.00	.05	.03	
Externalization (4)	24	.04	-.01	-.10	-.25	-.10	
Total (5)	24	-.14	.15	-.05	-.07	-.04	
Mother's Prediction of Child's Guilt							
Direct							
Acknowledgment (1)	26	-.01	.31	-.13	-.09	-.02	
Indirect							
Manifestations (2)	26	-.07	.24	-.13	-.19	-.06	
Defense							
Mechanisms (3)	26	-.04	.44*	.09	.15	.21	
Externalization (4)	26	.12	.22	-.20	.02	.06	
Total (5)	26	.00	.40*	-.12	-.06	.06	
Average Parent's Prediction of Child's Guilt							
Direct							
Acknowledgment (1)	24	-.04	.09	-.02	-.30	-.11	
Indirect							
Manifestations (2)	24	-.20	.23	-.18	-.08	-.10	
Defense							
Mechanisms (3)	24	-.20	.32	.04	.09	.06	
Externalization (4)	24	.10	.07	-.14	-.25	-.06	
Total (5)	24	-.14	.24	-.09	-.17	-.07	

*p \leq .05

Data expressed as correlation coefficients.

parents' predictions of child's forms of moral response than for child guilt and parents at 12. The only correlations which achieved significance among child-parent perception comparisons were mother's perception of child's defenses and mother's perception of child's total guilt as related to child's indirect manifestations. Thus, Hypothesis II was not supported for comparison of child and parents' perception of child's response.

Hypothesis III that there is a significant relationship between total guilt response of 12 year old boys and total guilt response of parents received no support.

Moral Areas Versus Forms of Moral Response

Comparison of forms of parent moral response to child guilt for three moral areas, as may be noted in Table 10, showed father's indirect manifestations (related to child externalization and total guilt) related significantly to theft and disobedience for child. Mother's use of defense mechanisms (related to indirect manifestations, defense mechanisms, externalization and total guilt of child) was related to child death wishes, theft and disobedience. Mother's total guilt at 12, as noted previously, was related to child's death wishes. No correlations of child subtotals for moral areas and parents' predictions of child's forms of moral responses achieved significance.

Table 10.--Comparison of Child's Guilt Scores for Moral Areas and Parents' Guilt Scores for Forms of Moral Response.

Parents' Guilt Scores for Forms of Moral Response	Child's Guilt Scores for Moral Areas			
	N	Death Wishes	Theft	Disobedience
Father at 12				
Direct Acknowledgment	26	-.13	.10	.15
Indirect Manifestations	26	.02	.44*	.41*
Defense Mechanisms	26	.13	.12	.12
Externalization	26	-.03	.23	.11
Total	26	.00	.26	.24
Mother at 12				
Direct Acknowledgment	26	.24	-.16	.05
Indirect Manifestations	26	.22	-.10	.10
Defense Mechanisms	26	.45*	.56**	.59**
Externalization	26	.27	.08	.00
Total	26	.39*	.04	.23
Average Parent at 12				
Direct Acknowledgment	26	.02	.00	.12
Indirect Manifestations	26	.14	.18	.29
Defense Mechanisms	26	.32	.37	.38
Externalization	26	.12	.13	.08
Total	26	.16	.19	.26
Father's Prediction of Child's Guilt				
Direct Acknowledgment	24	-.14	-.09	.05
Indirect Manifestations	24	-.07	.00	.04
Defense Mechanisms	24	-.05	.09	.00
Externalization	24	-.08	.00	-.18
Total	24	-.11	.00	-.01
Mother's Prediction of Child's Guilt				
Direct Acknowledgment	26	.32	-.16	-.04
Indirect Manifestations	26	.14	-.11	-.08
Defense Mechanisms	26	.26	.19	.10
Externalization	26	.16	.06	-.03
Total	26	.31	-.03	-.01
Average Parent's Predic- tion of Child's Guilt				
Direct Acknowledgment	24	.03	-.16	-.07
Indirect Manifestations	24	-.02	-.10	-.07
Defense Mechanisms	24	.02	.11	.00
Externalization	24	.02	.00	-.16
Total	24	.03	-.08	-.07

*p ≤ .05 **p ≤ .01

Data expressed as correlation coefficients.

Comparison of child's forms of moral response and parents' subtotals for three moral areas, as may be noted in Table 11, showed child's indirect manifestations (related to father at 12's defense mechanisms, mother at 12's defense mechanisms and total guilt, average parent at 12's defense mechanisms and total guilt, and mother's perception of child's defenses and total guilt) was related significantly to mother at 12's response to death wishes and disobedience and mother's perception of child's response to disobedience, and average parent's death wishes at 12.

Mother Versus Father Comparisons

A generally high positive relationship was obtained between mothers at 12 and fathers at 12 and mother's predictions of child's guilt and father's predictions of child's guilt (Refer to Table 12). Exceptions appeared in mother's response to death wishes both for response at 12 and prediction of sons' response which was in no case related to father's responses and for mother's perception of direct acknowledgment by child.

Total guilt of mother at 12 was related to all scores for father at 12 and all father's predictions of child subtotals. Total guilt of father at 12 was not related to mother at 12 for death wishes, defense mechanisms and externalization although all correlations were above $p \leq .10$. Father's total guilt for perception of son was not related to mother's death wishes or direct

Table 11.--Comparison of Child's Guilt Scores for Forms of Moral Response and Parents' Guilt Scores for Moral Areas.

Parents' Guilt Scores for Moral Areas	N	Child's Guilt Scores for Forms of Moral Response					#
		D.A. (1)	I.M. (2)	D.M. (3)	Ext. (4)	Tot. (5)	
Father at 12							
Death Wishes	26	.07	.35	.17	.25	.29	
Theft	26	.05	.26	.10	.13	.23	
Disobedience	26	-.07	.28	-.03	.11	.10	
Mother at 12							
Death Wishes	26	.05	.49*	.08	.17	.26	
Theft	26	.03	.10	-.26	-.06	-.05	
Disobedience	26	.13	.40*	.25	.08	.30	
Average Parent at 12							
Death Wishes	26	.16	.59**	.05	.14	.31	
Theft	26	.04	.22	-.07	.06	.12	
Disobedience	26	.00	.36	.08	.11	.19	
Father's Prediction of Child's Guilt							
Death Wishes	24	-.15	.21	.02	.13	.06	
Theft	24	-.19	.13	-.04	-.04	-.04	
Disobedience	24	.01	.04	-.12	-.30	-.12	
Mother's Prediction of Child's Guilt							
Death Wishes	26	.02	.33	-.09	-.14	.03	
Theft	26	-.09	.28	-.02	.09	.08	
Disobedience	26	.10	.46*	-.27	-.16	.03	
Average Parent's Pre- diction of Child's Guilt							
Death Wishes	24	-.18	.29	-.07	-.10	-.05	
Theft	24	-.18	.17	-.02	-.05	-.03	
Disobedience	24	.04	.24	-.20	-.38	-.11	

*p ≤ .05 **p ≤ .01

Data expressed as correlation coefficients.

#D.A. (1)-Direct Acknowledgment
 I.M. (2)-Indirect Manifestations
 D.M. (3)-Defense Mechanisms
 Ext. (4)-Externalization
 Tot. (5)-Total

Table 12A.--Comparison of Mother's Guilt Scores at Twelve Versus Father's Guilt Scores at Twelve.

Father at 12 Variable	Mother at 12 Variable							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Death Wishes (1)	.28	.40*	.38	.23	.39*	.43*	.37	.49*
Theft (2)	.27	.44*	.40*	.42*	.49*	.21	.29	.52**
Disobedience (3)	.14	.36	.53**	.35	.38	.21	.34	.46*
Direct Acknowledgment (4)	.11	.49*	.36	.29	.40*	.24	.32	.45*
Indirect Manifesta- tions (5)	.38	.38	.35	.32	.44*	.44*	.25	.52**
Defense Mechanisms (6)	.23	.45*	.60**	.43*	.47*	.29	.43*	.58**
Externalization (7)	.31	.27	.46*	.32	.45*	.13	.39*	.47*
Total (8)	.27	.46*	.50**	.39*	.49*	.33	.38	.57**

*p ≤ .05 **p ≤ .01 N = 26

Data expressed as correlation coefficients, all in positive direction.

Table 12B.--Comparison of Mother's Prediction of Child's Guilt Scores Versus Father's Prediction of Child's Guilt Scores.

Father's Prediction of Child's Guilt Variable	Mother's Prediction of Child's Guilt Variable							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Death Wishes (1)	.15	.59**	.39*	.24	.44*	.51*	.34	.49*
Theft (2)	.23	.84**	.45*	.32	.54**	.49*	.68**	.65**
Disobedience (3)	.24	.61**	.52**	.34	.57**	.29	.53**	.56**
Direct Acknowledgment (4)	.29	.55**	.37	.43*	.43*	.27	.40*	.50*
Indirect Manifestations (5)	.19	.72**	.45*	.31	.49*	.51*	.49*	.58**
Defense Mechanisms (6)	.12	.71**	.43*	.15	.49*	.58**	.53**	.54**
Externalization (7)	.12	.69**	.50*	.28	.52**	.25	.70**	.55**
Total (8)	.24	.79**	.51*	.34	.59**	.50*	.61**	.65**

*p ≤ .05 **p ≤ .01 N = 24

Data expressed as correlation coefficients, all in positive direction.

acknowledgment. Closer agreement existed for perception of child's responses than for parents at 12. All comparisons of parents' perceptions of child's responses were significant except mother's response to death wishes and direct acknowledgment and some comparisons with defense mechanisms. These findings are important in relation to findings of mother's defenses as related to child guilt.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

General Considerations

Results of comparison of twelve year old boys' moral responses and those of their parents consistently provided greater evidence of mother-son similarity than of father-son similarity. In only one case, child resistance to temptation and father guilt for theft, was this trend reversed. The consistently greater mother-son similarity contradicts expectation of greater father-child similarity based on the psychoanalytic theory of identification. Results also emphasized greater similarity of children's moral responses and their parents' reports of their own responses at twelve than of children's responses and parents' predictions of their responses. Generally high internal consistency indicated presence of some common factor measured by the total score. Intercorrelations of guilt scores for fathers showed consistently significant correlations; this consistency contrasted with less internal consistency for children and mothers. The implications of the differential consistency of subtotals will be discussed in relation to greater mother-child similarity than father-child similarity.

The hypothesis that children's moral responses in three situations would be significantly related to parents'

similar areas of moral response gained some support of a limited nature. Although trends appeared, the generality of conclusions based upon these trends must be limited due to the large number of non-significant findings. Support of the child-parent similarity emerged particularly for the mother-child comparison of death wishes. In no case was total guilt related for children and parents. Selective patterning of response rather than general support was obtained for the hypothesis regarding significant relationships between forms of moral response. Fathers' indirect manifestations and mothers' use of defense mechanisms appeared most closely related to child guilt. A marked lack of significance of child-parent relationship for direct acknowledgment resulted. Resistance to temptation data showed one interesting comparison of father guilt and child resistance to temptation for theft at the same level of significance as child guilt related to resistance to temptation for this situation. Only child's resistance to temptation for disobedience and mother's prediction of the child's resistance to temptation for disobedience were significantly related among comparisons of resistance to temptation for children and parents.

Child Similarity to Mother as Opposed
to Similarity to Father

Psychoanalytic theory predicts that following the resolution of the Oedipus situation, the boy adopts the characteristics of the father in a global manner to alleviate castration anxiety. Anacletic identification, emphasizing emulation of the controlling authority to postpone or avoid loss of love, is conceived as a forerunner of superego development in psychoanalytic theory but receives greater emphasis in social learning theory as the product of an important constellation of parent-child interaction. The limited number of significant results prevents a broad generalization of findings. Trends show greater similarity of child responses to mother's responses at twelve, and to her prediction of the child's responses, than similarity to the father's responses in both instructional conditions. These suggest greater support for a model of personality emphasizing identification with a controller of resources whose love the child wishes to maintain. The alternate explanation would necessitate assumption that the boys in the sample had, in the areas tapped, failed to achieve adequate resolution of the Oedipal situation and father identification. Previous research (15) found greater cross-sex identification as boys progressed from prepubescence (10 years) to adolescence (14 years). The particular age of the subjects in the sample may thus

influence the relative amount of identification. Of importance to the finding of greater mother-child similarity than father-child similarity are the parallel findings of greater consistency of father's responses to the three moral areas and forms of response to moral situations than children's or mother's. Becker (11) reports that a large number of investigations show that both sexes perceive the mother as more nurturant and as using more psychological control, and the father as stricter and exhibiting more physical punishment, especially for boys. Boys perceive fathers as more frustrating and fear-arousing and as granting less autonomy.

The results suggest a greater unity and less situational dependence of fathers' standards for moral behavior. Lower intercorrelations for mothers' responses to moral areas particularly may indicate support for Bronfenbrenner's (16) observation from psychoanalytic theory that the male superego is always more punitive, the female superego more emotionally involved.

The data suggest that the boys in the sample have not yet developed a unified superego based on global incorporation of the father's standards as proposed by psychoanalytic theory. The possibility of regression at the emergence of puberty may influence identification. The more probable explanation, however, appears to

involve emulation of the mother's standards as the nurturant, caretaking model for differential response to various situations incurring moral judgment.

Identification with the Parent's Superego

The pattern of significant correlations between child guilt and parent guilt provides some support for the suggestion (16) that the child identifies with the superego of the parent. Direct acknowledgment was in no instance significantly related to any other form of moral response nor to total guilt. Father's indirect manifestations, mother's defense mechanisms, and combined parent defense mechanisms were more frequently highly related to child guilt than other forms of moral response. This may indicate that the child models his response to moral situations on subtle cues of internalized guilt rather than direct expression of remorse. Allinsmith (2) suggests that the parent provides a model of inhibition of aggression when psychological discipline techniques are used, and Bandura and his associates' (7, 8, 9, 10) research on modeling responses indicate that a child will learn to inhibit, to aggress, or to punish himself from observation without direct mediation of instrumental learning. The child may be sensitive to the parents' indirect and defensive maneuvers and so incorporate this framework of reaction to anticipated transgression as readily or more so than direct training in moral areas.

Absence of significant correlations for direct acknowledgment does not preclude the possibility that the parent may reinforce various expressions of guilt although he does not manifest these himself nor predict the child's use of these manifestations.

Greater similarity of the child's responses to parents' reports of their own responses at twelve than to parents' perceptions of the child's responses suggest that the parents may not be aware of the child's actual responses and of similarity of their manifestations of guilt and the child's guilt responses. The parent may not be aware of the child's guilt responses expressed through defense mechanisms and indirect acknowledgment which he manifests himself without conscious awareness. The findings appear to support identification of the child's superego with the parent's superego as the parent does not seem to show awareness of the manner in which the child shows similarity to him.

Helper, according to Bronfenbrenner (16), found children's self-perceptions as closely related to the parent's ideal for the child as to the parent's self-perceptions. Perceptions of the child's responses in this research were not necessarily the parents' ideal for the child. Parents' predictions varied from extreme overestimation to extreme underestimation, but some responses, particularly resistance to temptation and direct acknowledgment of guilt, may have been

influenced by cultural expectations and family values. Some influence of sex-role standards may have affected mothers' perceptions of children's responses. These data suggest that similarity of moral responses of parents and children predominantly appears in comparisons of indirect forms of expression of guilt, and that the parent's prediction of the child's responses may be less a function of accurate observation of the forms of expression the child acquires which are manifested by the parent as other factors. Indirect forms of expression, like Helper's parent ideal for the child, appear to reflect the internalized standards of the parent which are later represented in the child's moral responses.

Differential Roles of Parents in Transmission of Standards

Differential roles of the parents in transmission of culture may be indicated in findings of similarity of father guilt to child resistance to temptation for theft and child resistance to temptation and child guilt for theft, as opposed to a high relationship between child and mother for disobedience. The father may provide a standard for culturally approved behavior and the mother be more influential in the home environment. Findings of previous research (25, 43) suggest that the boy may identify with appropriate sex typing while the girl identifies with characteristics of the mother which

differentiate her as an adult from the girl. Boys, according to Emmerich (25), tend to perceive the father as more controlling. The mother, however, may be the controller of resources in the home. Some difference may be observed with stages of development in moral judgment. Movement into the community and concern for community standards may be the product of later development than concern about disobedience of the mother. The findings of greater father-child similarity for theft and mother-child similarity for disobedience are particularly interesting in the light of the higher mother-father correlations for theft and disobedience situations than for death wishes. These are both observable situations where parent agreement may be greater, as opposed to the death wish situation where parent correlations were near chance but mother-child correlations were generally significant. The child may identify more with the mother in affective and home-oriented situations. The differentiation of the mother's and father's areas of discipline may be important in these respects.

Peer Factors

The failure to find consistently high relationships between parent moral responses and child moral responses, particularly for resistance to temptation, suggests that some factor other than parental standards may be operative. Kohlberg (39) emphasizes the importance of peer group judgment as a factor in the development of

moral judgment. It is possible that a peer factor may influence self-reports of resistance to temptation, and to some extent guilt, when the collection of data in the school situation is considered. Hoffman (35) reports findings that parental antecedents are related to pressure to deviate but not where it is opposed to the child's values and standards. These may shift in differing situations.

Bias of the Sample

Another factor which may contribute to low relationships of parent moral responses to child moral responses and in some cases the narrow range of guilt scores is the composition of the sample. The sample tended toward a middle class, Protestant group who might be expected from previous research (47, 58) to show more internalization of guilt than a more heterogeneous sample. The one family whose income was under \$3,000 showed all child and parent situations reflecting deviation and guilt above 70%. The desirability of a more heterogeneous sample is emphasized, and it may be speculated that selectivity of parents who agreed to cooperate in the investigation biased results. Other factors to be considered are family differences in values. Some families indicated that the disobedience situation would be less severely evaluated in their families than other situations. Findings of significant

relationships of boys' resistance to temptation and guilt for theft may reflect a less ambivalent, culturally determined situation than disobedience or death wishes. Control for motivation and need for achievement has been stressed by Hoffman (35), and may introduce an extraneous variable in situational and child-parent comparisons. Allinsmith (2) notes that people who disown moral needs and deceive themselves about remorse are most likely to yield in resistance to temptation situations. The importance of Allinsmith's finding may appear in the limited relationship of children's and parents' resistance to temptation; some children who showed high guilt and deviated had fathers who received zero scores on guilt.

Comments on the Instrument

The need for revision of the guilt scale may be indicated by the narrow range of guilt scores for some subtests. A means of control for denial and suppression of guilt is needed. Mosher (50) found high guilt subjects relatively insensitive to situational cues while low guilt subjects were highly situationally dependent. Further research could incorporate this difference in the research design. The two resistance to temptation situations may have cued low guilt scores among some subjects. The limited number of significant correlations between resistance to temptation and guilt severity,

however, suggests that, for these subjects, guilt scores were relatively independent of resistance or deviation. Trends toward a positive relationship between resistance to temptation and guilt severity indicate that the anticipation of transgression may result in a guilt response which is as severe as that following deviation. These results perhaps support the assertion that the anticipation of guilt serves to prevent deviation. Subjects who obtained very low guilt scores were consistent across the three moral areas which further suggests that guilt responses were not dependent on resistance or deviation.

Attempts at Integration

The most cogent explanation of the varied and somewhat confounded findings of this research appears to be that the father presents a more unified, less situationally determined standard of moral behavior which the child may model in acceptance of cultural expectations. The mother appears to respond in a more situationally determined manner, providing a more love-oriented model of moral standards. She appears to be dominant in determination of affectively oriented situations and in standards involving the home. Both parents serve to inculcate their standards in the child through subtle communication, reflected in modeling of the superego of the child on the superego of the parent

rather than the parent's overt verbalization. The parents' indirect responses to moral areas, indirect manifestations for fathers and defense mechanisms for mothers, assert more influence on moral standards of twelve year old boys than direct acknowledgment or resistance to temptation. The many non-significant relationships suggest that other sources of moral response are important.

The anaclitic model of identification is more directly supported by these data than is defensive identification, particularly in reference to death wishes and disobedience. The mother may provide a nurturant object whose love is dependent on conformity to her standard rather than the father's standard. Child externalization was highly related to father's use of indirect manifestations of guilt. This may indicate relation to the father as the greater authority, with the child more likely to expect physical punishment from the father.

Further Considerations

The investigator plans to make further modifications of the objective items concerning death wishes, theft and disobedience. A reliability study, which is in the process of completion, should provide further information about discriminatory potential of items and stability of subjects' scores over time. Modification of wording of

some items and expansion of items for some forms of moral response would probably increase the effectiveness of the instrument. The possibility of more age-relevant items for parents is being considered.

Methodology may be refined further by the inclusion of other parent variables, more accurate evaluation of the social desirability of certain responses and control for denial of guilt. Family interviews, utilizing a structured interview schedule or role playing technique, might be utilized. Data from instructions for children, involving perceptions of father and mother, would be desirable. Some measure of rigidity appears relevant in view of differential consistency of moral responses.

As noted previously, a more heterogeneous sample is needed for effective evaluation of the parent-child comparisons of moral responses. The findings of this study must be restricted to the sample which participated as a more heterogeneous sample might yield differing conclusions.

Data from children of differing ages could enable evaluation of developmental influence on parent-child agreement and changes in congruence of children's responses and parents' predictions of their responses. Situations in which the items were administered could be varied to evaluate influence of home and school.

Differing areas of moral response in relation to high and low guilt subjects provide a promising area for further research.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY

The major purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship of moral responses of twelve year old boys in the areas of death wishes, theft and disobedience and their parents' moral responses in these areas as they perceive themselves at twelve and as they perceive their sons' responses. Hypotheses relevant to these comparisons predicted generally high relationships between children's and parents' responses for guilt and resistance to temptation in three areas and in use of forms of moral response. Forms of moral response included direct acknowledgment, indirect manifestations, defense mechanisms and externalization. Hypotheses generated initially from psychoanalytic conceptions of identification were viewed from the alternate approaches of psychoanalytic theory and social learning theory. Pearson product moment correlations were computed to obtain comparisons of child, father at twelve, mother at twelve, father's perception of child's guilt, mother's perception of child's guilt, average of mother-father at twelve, and average of parents' prediction of child's responses.

Hypotheses tested for significance at the .05 level by Pearson product moment correlations for guilt scores and phi coefficients for resistance to temptation comparisons were:

Hypothesis I: There is a significant relationship between moral responses of twelve year old boys in moral areas of death wishes, theft and disobedience and moral responses of their parents in these areas.

Hypothesis II: There is a significant relationship between twelve year old boys' forms of moral response, defined as resistance to temptation, direct acknowledgment, indirect manifestations, defense mechanisms, and externalization, and parents' forms of moral response.

Hypothesis III: There is a significant relationship between total moral response of twelve year old boys and total moral response of parents.

Hypothesis IV: It is hypothesized that similarity between child and father will be greater than similarity between child and mother.

Twenty-six 12 year old boys from Traverse City Junior High School and their fathers and mothers participated in the study, this number representing the number of completed responses from an initial contact of 175 families. The instrument included story completion items from Allinsmith (2) and forced response objective questions from Allinsmith's levels of guilt severity, Adams' (1) levels of guilt severity, and additional items checked by graduate students and the investigator's research director. Guilt items were scored and weighted for severity. Correlations were computed for all relationships of guilt scores. Phi coefficients (66) were used for comparisons of resistance

to temptation for children and parents and of resistance to temptation and guilt for theft and disobedience.

All interrelations for child, father at twelve, mother at twelve, father's perception of child's guilt, mother's perception of child's guilt, average parent at twelve, and average parent's perception of child's guilt were found to have subtotals significantly related to total guilt. Interrelations of guilt scores for fathers were considerably more consistent than interrelations for children and mothers. Resistance to temptation comparisons with guilt did not show such high correlations. The limited number of significant correlations between resistance to temptation and guilt severity suggested that, for these subjects, guilt scores were relatively independent of resistance or deviation.

Some support was gained for Hypotheses I and II, especially for child compared with parents' reports of their own responses at twelve. Resistance to temptation comparison showed only the child's response and mother's perception of child's response for disobedience to be significantly related. Parent resistance to temptation was not significantly related to child's guilt, and children's resistance to temptation was related to parents' guilt only for child resistance to temptation for theft and father's guilt for theft. This was the only instance in which father-child similarity was greater than mother-child similarity.

Correlations between child guilt for three moral areas and parent guilt for these areas indicated that child's guilt response for death wishes was significantly related to mother's guilt for death wishes, disobedience and total guilt. Child's guilt for death wishes correlated significantly with average parent guilt at twelve for death wishes. Parents' prediction of child's guilt was significantly related only for mother's prediction of child's guilt for disobedience and child's guilt for death wishes.

Forms of moral response showed selective patterning of significant relations, but little general support for Hypothesis II. Fathers' indirect manifestations of guilt at twelve was related to child's externalization of guilt and total guilt, and father's defense mechanisms at twelve was related to child's indirect manifestations. Mother's defense mechanisms at twelve was related to child's indirect manifestations, defense mechanisms, externalization and total guilt. Mother's total guilt at twelve showed a significant relationship to child's indirect manifestations. Combined parents' defense mechanisms at twelve showed a significant relationship to child's indirect manifestations, externalization and total guilt. Parents' total guilt at twelve was significantly related to child's indirect manifestations. Comparisons of direct acknowledgment showed no significant relationships. Parents' perceptions of child's responses

yielded only the significant relationship of mother's perception of child's defense mechanisms and perception of child's total guilt to child's indirect manifestations. Thus, Hypothesis II received little support from comparison of child's guilt with parents' perceptions of child's guilt.

Comparison of child's total guilt with parents' total guilt showed no significant comparisons; therefore, Hypothesis III received no support.

Father's indirect manifestations were related to child's theft and disobedience scores. Mother's defense mechanisms at twelve were related to child's death wishes, theft and disobedience. Mother's total guilt showed a significant relationship to child's death wishes. No significant relationships resulted among comparisons of child's responses to moral areas and parents' predictions of forms of child's moral response. Child's indirect manifestations were related to mother's death wishes at twelve, disobedience at twelve, mother's perception of child's disobedience response, and average parent's death wishes at twelve.

Generally high positive relationships were found in comparisons of mother's and father's responses. Mothers' response to death wishes at twelve and prediction of child's death wishes failed to show a relationship to fathers' responses although the mother-child similarity for death wishes was high. Mother's perception of

child's direct acknowledgment was generally not related to father's perception of child's guilt.

Total guilt for mother at twelve was related to all of father's subtotals. Total guilt of father at twelve was related to all of mother's subtotals except mother's death wishes, defense mechanisms and externalization. Closer agreement existed between father-mother responses for perception of child's guilt than for parents at twelve.

Major findings were greater child-mother similarity than father-child similarity, non-supportive of Hypothesis IV, and more supportive of acquisition of standards through anaclitic identification as viewed by social learning theory or imitation of a controlling parental model than the psychoanalytic concept of identification with the aggressor following resolution of the Oedipus situation. Fathers' guilt scores were more consistent than those of mothers or children, which suggested that the father may serve as a model for cultural standards, especially in view of a significant relationship between father's guilt for theft and child's resistance to temptation for theft. The mother may function as the model for home and affective behavior. Parents' responses at twelve showed greater similarity to children's responses than parents' perception of children's responses. Data may reflect the identification of the child's superego with the parents' superego; the parents may not be aware of guilt manifestations in the child if they defend against guilt

or express it indirectly themselves. Total guilt comparisons showed no significant relationships, suggesting that guilt may be expressed in different forms, the summation of which may not be comparable to the summation of the separate forms of response assessed.

It was suggested that the father may present a more unified, less situationally determined standard of moral behavior which the child may model in acceptance of cultural expectations. The mother appears to respond to more situation cues, and provides a more love-oriented model of moral standards. She appears to be dominant in affective and home situations. Subtle communication and parental forms of response to moral situations may be more influential than direct acknowledgment. This communication seems to be reflected in modeling of the superego of the child on the superego of the parent.

The anaclitic model of identification was more directly supported by data than defensive identification, particularly in reference to death wishes and disobedience. The mother may provide a nurturant object whose continued love is dependent on conformity to her standard, and the child may respond more to this reinforcement than to motivation for global incorporation of the father's standards. Child externalization was highly related to father's indirect manifestations of guilt, which may indicate the boys' relationship to the father as the more punitive, especially physically punitive, authority.

One may conclude that some relationship exists between moral responses of twelve year old boys and their fathers' and mothers' moral responses, although this research may not fully describe this relationship. The large number of non-significant relationships suggests that other sources of moral responses than those considered are important. Greater mother-child similarity than father-child similarity and greater similarity of child's responses to parents' reports of their own responses at twelve than parents' perceptions of child's moral responses raised interesting questions for further research. The use of objective questions in relation to story completion items appears promising.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Description of Sample

Table 1.--Distribution of Children's Intelligence.

Range	N
Superior (IQ = 120 or greater)	9
Bright Normal (IQ = 110-119)	6
Average (IQ = 90-109)	
(IQ = 100-109)	8
(IQ = 90-99)	3

Table 2.--Distribution of Parents' Ages.

Age Range	Father N	Mother N
50 or greater	4	2
45-49	2	0
40-44	12	9
35-39	6	10
30-34	2	5

Table 3.--Distribution of Parents' Education.

Education Range	Father N	Mother N
Ph. D. or equivalent	1	0
Master of Arts or Master of Science	5	1
Bachelor of Arts	1	5
Registered Nurse	0	4
Some College	9	5
High School	7	10
Grade 8 to 11	1	0
Grade 8	2	0
Incomplete	0	1

Table 4.--Income and Occupation of Head of Household.

Occupation	Above \$10,000	Income \$5,000- \$10,000	\$3,000- \$5,000	Below \$3,000
Professional	4	2	0	0
Owner of Business	0	1	0	0
Managerial	4	1	0	0
Other White Collar	2	2	0	0
Skilled	0	4	0	1
Unskilled	0	2	1	0

Table 5.--Religious Preference.

Religious Preference	N
Protestant	24
Catholic	2

Table 6.--Number of Siblings.

	Number of Siblings						
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Frequency	1	2	8	9	4	0	2

Table 7.--Ordinal Position.

	Ordinal Position						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Frequency	9	7	3	5	0	0	1

APPENDIX B

Instrument

Instructions, Story Completion Items
and Annotated Objective Questions

Directions for Group Administration of
Instrument to Children

I am Mrs. Lifshin and I am studying at Michigan State University. There I am learning about people of all ages. I am especially interested in knowing more about fellows your age, how people your age think and feel and what they do in different situations. So I am asking you to finish some stories which have no endings about young people doing different things, and to answer some questions about the stories. After you are finished, I will take the booklets back to the university so your answers will not be given to parents or the school. I am just interested in what you think.

Now I'm going to read the instructions on the front of the booklet and you can read along with me. If you have any questions, ask them now or raise your hand while you are working.*

*Modified from Allinsmith (2).

Background Information and Initial Instructions for Children

Background Information

Age: _____

Grade in School: _____

Ages of brothers: _____

of sisters: _____

Instructions

We have some stories here about young people doing different things but the stories have no endings. So we are asking you and many other boys to finish the stories for us. We want to know what different young people would do in situations like these. Tell what the people in the stories are thinking and feeling. There are no right or wrong answers; we just want to know what you think might happen. It is important that you complete every story and answer all questions on the pages following the stories.

Instructions for Children Concerning Perception of Father's

Responses

You have told us what you thought might happen in three different situations. Now we are asking you to answer the questions about the same stories as you think your father would have answered them when he was your age. You may wish to turn back to pages 2, 4 and 6 to reread the stories.

Instructions for Children Concerning Perception of Mother's
Responses

Now please answer the questions about the stories as
you think your mother would have answered them when she
was your age.

Background Information and Initial Instructions for Parents

Background Information

Age: _____

Education: High School _____

College: _____ Number of Years _____

Occupation of head of household: _____

Approximate annual income: _____ Under \$3,000
_____ \$3,000 to \$5,000
_____ \$5,000 to \$10,000
_____ Over \$10,000

Religious preference: _____

Instructions

The following stories about twelve year old boys are
incomplete. We are interested in how parents of twelve
year old boys think they would have responded to the stories
at twelve years. We are asking you to complete the
stories as you feel you would have at that age. Complete
all three stories, telling what you think the people in
them are thinking and feeling. There are no right or
wrong answers; we only want to know what you think might
happen. It is important that you complete every story and
answer all questions on the pages following the stories.

Instructions for Fathers and Mothers Concerning
Perceptions of Child's Responses

You have told us what you thought might happen in three different situations as you would have responded when you were twelve years old. Now we are asking you to answer the questions about the same stories as you think your child would answer them. You may wish to refer to pages 2, 4, and 6 to reread the stories.

Story Stem for Death Wishes*

I. Dave likes his baseball coach. The other day the coach promised him privately that Dave could pitch in the big game on Saturday. When the team meets for final practice, the coach doesn't say anything to Dave about pitching. Dave is afraid he has forgotten or changed his mind. He keeps thinking to himself over and over again: "The coach isn't going to keep his promise. I hope he doesn't even make the game. I wish he'd drop dead!"

When Dave arrives at the game on Saturday afternoon, he sees from the scoreboard that he is scheduled to pitch.

Story Stem for Theft*

II. Bill's friends have formed a baseball team. They promised Bill he could be their catcher if he could get a catcher's mitt. His father told he could not buy him a catcher's mitt. Bill saved all the money he could.

*Story stem from Allinsmith (2).

At last he had \$10.00 saved up to get a really good glove. When he arrives at the sports store, he sees the sales-clerk going down the stairs to the cellar of the store. The clerk does not see Bill, Bill decides to look at the cather's gloves himself before calling the clerk. He finds just the one he wants. Then he reaches for his money. It is gone. He realizes that he has lost it on the way downtown. Bill feels awful. He looks around. There is nobody in the store or near it outside. The clerk is still in the cellar. It occurs to Bill that the mitt would just fit under the bulge in his jacket.

Story Stem for Disobedience*

III. One day Ted's mother goes visiting a friend of hers in another town. At noon just after his lunch Ted phones his mother and talks with her. She tells him to be a good boy and says she will be home at suppertime. Now Ted is all alone with nothing to do. He thinks of the boxes in the top of his mother's closet. She has told him never to take down the boxes. He knows his mother won't be home until suppertime.

*Story stem from Allinsmith (2).

Objective Questions Following Death Wishes Story

You have told us in your own words what you think might happen when Dave arrives at the game. Now we would like you to check the following items. Mark Yes if the item represents what you think Dave felt or did. Mark No if you think he did not feel or act as the item suggests.

When Dave saw that he was scheduled to pitch

Yes No

- | | | |
|-----|-----|---|
| ___ | ___ | he blamed the coach when he made an error.
(defense mechanism-projection) |
| ___ | ___ | he felt very upset about his thoughts about the coach.
(direct acknowledgment-level III) |
| ___ | ___ | he pitched poorly.
(indirect manifestations-level II) |
| ___ | ___ | he didn't feel upset during the game but became
upset without knowing why later in the day while
things like eating, riding his bicycle, or finishing
his homework.
(defense mechanism-isolation) |
| ___ | ___ | he was unable to pitch.
(indirect manifestations-level III) |
| ___ | ___ | he pitched more like he did when he was first
learning than as he usually did.
(defense mechanisms-regression) |
| ___ | ___ | he pitched with his usual skill.
(neutral item-level 0) |
| ___ | ___ | he felt panic when he began to pitch.
(indirect manifestations-level III) |
| ___ | ___ | he was hurt in the game.
(indirect manifestations-level III) |
| ___ | ___ | he felt he was to blame when the team fell behind.
(direct acknowledgment-level II) |
| ___ | ___ | he felt nervous around the coach.
(indirect manifestations-level I) |
| ___ | ___ | he was sorry he had thought about the coach as he
had.
(direct acknowledgment-level I) |
| ___ | ___ | he told the fellows on the team about the coach's
promise and tried to get them to agree that the
coach should have told him he would pitch at final
practice.
(defense mechanism-projection) |
| ___ | ___ | he forgot about his thoughts about the coach.
(defense mechanism-repression) |
| ___ | ___ | he pitched well for the coach's sake.
(indirect manifestations-level II) |
| ___ | ___ | he acted silly and acted like a "little kid."
(defense mechanism-regression) |

Yes No

- — he felt more carefree and happy during the game
 than he usually did.
 (defense mechanism-reaction formation)
- — he led the team to victory in a tight spot.
 (indirect manifestations-level I)
- — he made a special point of praising the coach that
 day.
 (defense mechanism-undoing)

Objective Questions Following Theft Story

Do you think Bill: a. _____ took the glove.

b. _____ did not take the glove.

Check each of the following items which represent what you think Bill felt or did Yes. Check the items which do not represent what you think he felt or did No. Answer every question whether or not you think Bill took the glove.

Yes No

- | | | |
|-----|-----|---|
| ___ | ___ | Bill was afraid of being seen.
(externalization-level I) |
| ___ | ___ | Bill left the glove where his parents would find it.
(desire to be caught-level II-for total score only) |
| ___ | ___ | He went on to play without thinking about the glove.
(defense mechanism-repression) |
| ___ | ___ | Bill felt extremely upset.
(direct acknowledgment-level III) |
| ___ | ___ | Bill was sent to jail for taking the glove.
(externalization-level III) |
| ___ | ___ | The clerk came upstairs before he could leave.
(externalization-level II) |
| ___ | ___ | Bill felt a little uncomfortable and sorry he had taken the glove.
(direct acknowledgment-level I) |
| ___ | ___ | Bill returned the glove and confessed.
(direct acknowledgment-level III) |
| ___ | ___ | He blamed the clerk for being in the basement.
(defense mechanism-projection) |
| ___ | ___ | Bill knew it was necessary for him to have the glove.
(defense mechanism-rationalization) |
| ___ | ___ | His parents asked him how he bought the glove when he had left his money at home.
(externalization-level II) |
| ___ | ___ | Bill pitched poorly when he wore the glove.
(indirect manifestations-level II) |
| ___ | ___ | He felt more happy and carefree than he usually did.
(defense mechanism-reaction formation) |
| ___ | ___ | He left and then provoked a friend into helping him take the glove.
(defense mechanism-projection) |
| ___ | ___ | Bill began to act like a little kid; he was silly and babyish.
(defense mechanism-regression) |

Yes No

- ___ ___ He didn't feel upset walking out of the store but suddenly became upset later in the day while doing something like riding his bicycle.
(defense mechanism-isolation or displacement)
- ___ ___ Bill had to work after school to pay for the glove.
(externalization-level II)
- ___ ___ Bill couldn't move from the counter.
(indirect manifestations-level III)
- ___ ___ He said someone else had taken the glove.
(defense mechanism-projection)
- ___ ___ The fact that he had taken the glove didn't bother Bill then or later.
(neutral item-level 0)
- ___ ___ He gave someone else a present afterward.
(defense mechanism-reaction formation)

Objective Questions Following Disobedience Story

Do you think Ted: a. _____ took the boxes from the shelf.
 b. _____ did not take the boxes from the shelf.

Check each of the following items which represent what you think Ted felt or did Yes. Check the items which do not represent what you think he felt or did No. Answer every question whether or not you think Ted took the boxes from the shelf.

Yes No

- ___ ___ Ted was sorry he opened the boxes and saw what was in them.
 (direct acknowledgment-level I)
- ___ ___ Ted blamed someone else for opening the boxes.
 (defense mechanism-projection)
- ___ ___ He was spanked and sent to bed.
 (externalization-level II)
- ___ ___ Ted wasn't upset at the time but later in the day he became upset without knowing why when doing things like riding his bicycle or finishing his chores at home.
 (defense mechanism-isolation)
- ___ ___ A gift for someone else was in the boxes.
 (not categorized-level I-for total score only)
- ___ ___ He was afraid someone would see him.
 (externalization-level I)
- ___ ___ Ted was in a gay mood when his mother came home.
 (defense mechanism-denial)
- ___ ___ His mother returned home early.
 (externalization-level II)
- ___ ___ Ted was very upset about opening the boxes.
 (direct acknowledgment-level III)
- ___ ___ He replaced the boxes and forgot about opening them.
 (defense mechanism-repression)
- ___ ___ He thought about how much he had gained by opening the boxes.
 (defense mechanism-rationalization)
- ___ ___ He acted more like a little "kid" than someone his age.
 (defense mechanism-regression)
- ___ ___ Ted boasted about opening the boxes.
 (defense mechanism-denial)
- ___ ___ He called someone else to look at what was in the boxes.
 (defense mechanism-projection)

Yes No

- — Items in the boxes fell on him and hurt him
 seriously.
 (indirect manifestations-level III)
- — He forgot to replace the boxes.
 (desire to be caught-level II-for total score
 only)
- — He performed a good deed for someone else after-
 ward.
 (defense mechanism-reaction formation)