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# Adolescent moral development ;: effects of sex role variables in projective stories.

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ADOLESCENT MORAL DEVELOPMENT:  
EFFECTS OF SEX ROLE VARIABLES IN PROJECTIVE STORIES

A Thesis Presented  
By  
Diane Josephine Wagner

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

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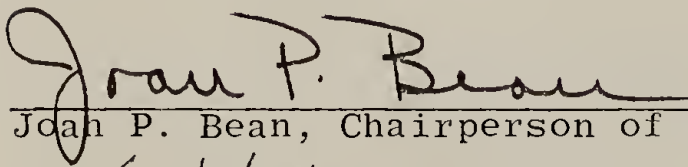
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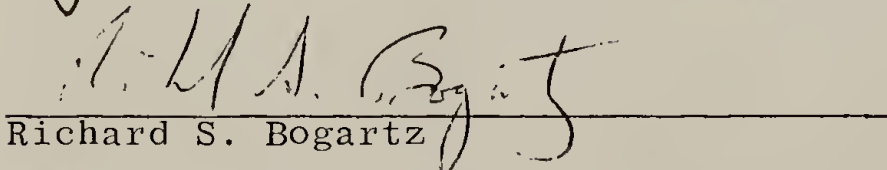
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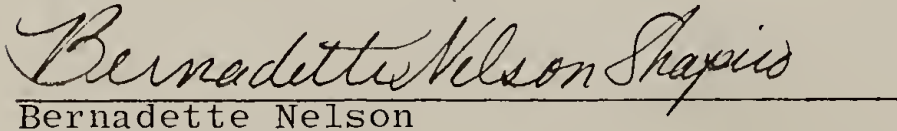
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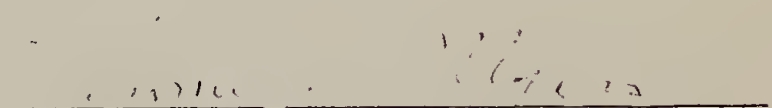
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## Abstract

Projective stories have been the measuring instruments most commonly used in studies of moral development. Although sex differences in moral development have been reported, the importance of sex role variables in story design have been given little consideration. Stories have often appeared male biased. In the present study projective stories were used to examine the effects of three variables: sex of protagonist, sex orientation of context, and sex appropriateness of protagonist in context, on the moral maturity scores of 192 eighth, tenth, and twelfth grade females and males. The experimental measure consisted of four moral conflicts, presented in story form. Each story was accompanied by a set of standard questions. Stories and questions were designed to integrate cognitive and affective aspects of moral development. Overall, females scored higher than males. Results showed a developmental effect such that moral maturity scores increased as a function of grade level. As predicted, there was a significant interaction such that males scored higher on stories with male oriented contexts, and females scored higher on stories with female oriented contexts. The sex of protagonist and sex appropriateness of protagonist in context factors had no significant effects on moral maturity scores. A significant main effect of story was noted.

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### Figure 1

Story Means as a Function of Grade and Sex  
of Subject

Recent studies have sensitized social scientists to ways in which choice of methodology may render results invalid or ungeneralizable (Alper, 1974; Entwisle, 1972; Kurtines and Grief, 1974). Experimental materials may be implicitly biased towards subjects of a particular culture, economic class, age group, or sex. Reported differences may, therefore, be an artifact of the experimental procedure, and not indicative of true group or individual differences. Accompanying this awareness is the responsibility to learn precisely how measurements may be affected by experimental biases, and how these biases can be eliminated from study designs. The present study is intended to examine factors which may be related to sex biases in the design of projective story tests.

The projective story technique is based on the assumption that subjects will "identify" with a protagonist and "project" themselves into a given hypothetical situation. Any measurement obtained by this method, however, will not be valid if its assumptions are violated, that is, if subjects are unable to "project" themselves into the particular situation. Historically, subject and story characteristics which may either facilitate or impede this projection or identification have been given but marginal

recognition. Included among these variables are sex of subject, sex of protagonist, and sex orientation of story context.

Projective stories have most often been the measuring instruments in studies of moral development. In these studies, the stories describe a moral conflict which subjects are requested to resolve. Each resolution is scored according to a set of specific factors, and an index of moral maturity is obtained. Moral maturity may be defined by shifts in patterns of reasoning (Kohlberg, 1963; LeFurgy and Woloshin, 1969; Piaget, 1965), or according to the presence of guilt and/or acts of restitution or confession (Allinsmith, 1960; Porteus and Johnson, 1965). In order to provide a background for discussion of methodological problems typically encountered in studies of moral development, it is necessary to review some of the major findings in that area of research.

The majority of studies of moral development have been based on the work of Piaget, Kohlberg, and Allinsmith. Piaget (1965) focuses on the sequence of moral reasoning patterns. This sequence involves a transition from an attitude of moral realism, in which the child accepts rules as sacred and immutable, to an attitude of moral relativism, in which rules are seen as people-made and negotiable. The transition from morally realistic (heteronomous) to morally relativistic (autonomous) reasoning is related to the growth

and change of cognitive structures. For Piaget, cognitive growth is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for moral judgment development. His theory does not describe the affective aspects of moral development such as guilt, confession, or fear of punishment. Piaget's theory is, therefore, considered a theory of cognitive moral development.

Stages of moral development as hypothesized by Piaget do depend on experience for their formation. He states that the child's interactions with peers, not with adults, promote moral development. He also notes that some children make more mature judgments in a hypothetical situation when they can recall analagous incidents in their own lives. According to Piaget, two social situations which may preclude a child's moral development are a lack of peer interaction and an extremely authoritarian upbringing.

Piaget used "la methode clinique" in his examination of children's thoughts on lying, stealing, rules of games, and concepts of justice. His subjects were asked to make judgments about the behavior of fictional children. Questions posed by the experimenter were based on story content and subjects' previous comments. In each story the protagonist was of the same sex as the subject. Piaget does not explain why this design was adopted. No sex differences in moral development are noted.

Piaget noted that, when presented with choices of punishment, morally relativistic children tend to choose those which express reciprocity; the content of the punishment is related to the act. Durkin (1959a) examined Piaget's notions of reciprocity, and found that older children were more concerned with mitigating factors than were younger children. She criticized Piaget for defining "reciprocity" in a narrow way (1961). "Turning the other cheek" in the hope of making an aggressor feel guilty was seen by Durkin as an indirect form of reciprocity.

Kohlberg (1964) argues that the sequence of moral development described by Piaget does not define unitary stages. Studies by MacRae (1954) and Johnson (1962) are cited in support of this criticism. Results of these two studies indicate that, according to Piaget's definitions of autonomous and heteronomous reasoning, a child who is at the autonomous stage in one area of moral reasoning may not be at the autonomous stage in another. Using Piaget's description of a cognitive developmental sequence of moral judgment maturity as a theoretical base, Kohlberg presents evidence for the existence of specific, unitary stages of moral judgment development.

Whereas Piaget discusses two general stages of moral development, Kohlberg defines six specific stages: 1) punishment and obedience orientation, 2) naive instrumental hedonism, 3) good-boy morality of maintaining good relations,



approval of others, 4) authority and social-order maintaining, 5) contractual legalistic, and 6) individual principles of conscience (see Kohlberg, 1963, for more detailed descriptions of the six stages). For Piaget, moral maturity is attained at around age 12 when the individual is capable of autonomous reasoning. According to Kohlberg, those who attain the highest level of moral reasoning, the principled level, do so in their late teens.

Like Piaget, Kohlberg's primary interest is in the different patterns of moral reasoning that emerge developmentally. Also like Piaget, Kohlberg maintains that changes in types of reasoning are a result of the child's interaction with the environment, and not merely a reflection or internalization of patterns and structures as they are presented by the culture. He believes that, while the successive bases of a moral order do spring from the child's awareness of the external world, they also represent active processes of organizing or ordering the world. Kohlberg (1963, 1964) notes that social participation, including experiences in role-taking, facilitates moral development. This is supported by Selman (1971) who reported that Kohlberg's premoral (stages 1 and 2) and conventional (stages 3 and 4) levels of moral development were significantly associated with non-reciprocal and reciprocal role-taking levels.

Kohlberg's (1963) subjects were presented with stories describing hypothetical conflicts. In these stories acts of obedience to legal-social rules or to the commands of authority were designed to be incompatible with human needs and the welfare of other individuals. After subjects offered a solution to each dilemma, a series of questions was posed by the experimenter. The questions were intended to examine how subjects justified their choices. Because they had to be adapted to a subject's previous comments and to the content of each story, the specific questions could not be replicated for publication.

Analyses of subjects' responses to these questions enabled Kohlberg to isolate six stages of moral judgment development. The subjects of this first study (1963) were a sample of 72 middle-class and lower-class boys, ages 10, 13, and 16, in suburban Chicago. In a later study these same stories were administered to a sample which included females (Kohlberg, 1964). Results of this more recent study showed adolescent boys to be more morally mature than adolescent girls.

Before true sex differences in adolescent moral development are assumed, several aspects of Kohlberg's methodology should be examined. Responses generated by a sample of 72 males, and no females, were used to formulate Kohlberg's six stage theory of moral development. It appears doubtful that stages described by such a limited population could

distinguish the moral maturity level of all persons, aged 10-16. If the original sample had been larger and had included females, somewhat different definitions of the stages may have been developed. Also, stories used in the first study (1963) were assumed to be appropriate for later studies with different populations. The projective story technique is based on premises which make this a questionable assumption.

All main characters in Kohlberg's stories were male. These male protagonists were, of course, set in male oriented contexts. One story deals with a civilian defense guard who wants to leave his post during an air raid in order to make sure his family is safe. Others involve: A man who is tempted to steal an expensive drug which may save his wife's life, a male doctor who must decide whether or not to perform a mercy killing, and a boy who lies to his father so that he can go to camp. Neither Kohlberg, nor other researchers who used the Kohlberg Moral Judgment Scale in their studies, suggested revising the dilemmas to include female protagonists for female subjects. The contexts of the conflicts are ones that, in our society, are more likely to be experienced by males than by females. In actuality, many of Kohlberg's conflicts are so dramatic that no one, male or female aged 10-16, is likely to have experienced similar incidents in his or her own life. However, the stories do present a socially appropriate and consistent



male image, one which may create a bias in favor of male subjects.

Allinsmith's (1960) approach may be distinguished from the approaches of Piaget and of Kohlberg by an emphasis on affective, rather than cognitive, aspects of moral development. His study was designed to examine three affective reactions to transgression: the severity of guilt, defense against guilt by externalization, and resistance to temptation. In his discussion these reactions are not related to types of moral reasoning, nor are they conceptualized in terms of stages.

Allinsmith's subjects were requested to write an ending to a story in which the protagonist was about to commit, or had already committed, a moral transgression. Choice of resolution was assumed to reflect the subject's personal response to the act. To distinguish guilt from other external, manifestations of conscience such as fear of punishment or avoidance of disapproval, the stories were designed so the protagonist would be able to transgress without being discovered. Subjects' responses, therefore, would be indicative of an internalized need for absolution, i.e., the presence of guilt.

The sample consisted of 112 junior high school boys. Three projective stories were used to elicit subjects' reactions to transgression. All protagonists were male and the story contexts were male oriented. Because no females

were included in the sample, no speculations about sex differences in moral development could be made.

Unlike Piaget and Kohlberg, Allinsmith did not use the interview method. Instead, his subjects were instructed to write their resolutions to the stories. An advantage of this method is that all subjects respond to the same material. When using the interview method it is necessary to adapt questions to the subject's previous comments, therefore all subjects are not asked the same questions. It is assumed that this sacrifice of experimental control will result in a more individualized, and more accurate evaluation.

The present study was designed so that all subjects responded to the same set of questions. Although experimental control was thus, modestly established, the questions remained open-ended. This avoided the problem presented by forced choice designs (LeFurgy and Woloshin, 1969) in which subjects are not permitted to explain their reasoning, nor to offer alternatives if neither proposed solution seems appropriate. Open-ended questions allow for individualized answers, and so, facilitate projection. Another difficulty encountered in the use of the interview method involves subjects' differential responses to male and female interviewers (Kurtines and Greif, 1974). In the present study an attempt was made to eliminate the single sex experimenter bias by administration of stories and questions in the presence of male and female experimenters.

In the literature on moral development those studies which describe types of moral reasoning and which, also, are based on the work of Jean Piaget, have been labeled "cognitive" (Johnson, 1962; Kohlberg, 1963; LeFurgy and Woloshin, 1969; Porteus and Johnson, 1965). Those which deal with reactions to transgressions or temptations in terms of feelings like fear or guilt have been called "affective" (Allinsmith, 1960; Porteus and Johnson, 1965; Rebelsky, 1963). However, a means of clearly distinguishing these two aspects of moral development has not been defined. Decisions as to what is "cognitive" and what is "affective" appear to be somewhat arbitrary. This problem was recognized by Ruma and Mosher (1967). The authors note that, "admittedly, the distinction between the cognitive and emotional (affective) aspects of moral development has been sharply, even arbitrarily, drawn." To determine the moral judgment maturity of their sample of 36 boys, aged 15-17, Ruma and Mosher used the Kohlberg Moral Judgment Scale. The Mosher Guilt Scale and a transgression interview were used to obtain a measure of guilt. It was concluded that a positive relationship existed between level of guilt and stage of moral development according to Kohlberg's scale. In another study, Hoffman (1970) reported that, according to the Kohlberg Moral Judgment Scale, internalized moral judgments are related to guilt and confession in 13 year-old boys.

Evidence of a relationship between cognitive and affective moral development does not answer the question of how the two aspects may be differentiated. However, it does cause us to examine the possibility that instruments intended to measure one aspect of moral development may actually measure both. For example, Kohlberg describes the cognitive moral development of the Type 1, punishment and obedience orientation, person. Fear of punishment, defined by other literature as "affective," is characteristic of moral reasoning at this stage. Similarly, a decision to resist transgression (Allinsmith, 1960) may include some consideration of moral principles as well as an anticipation of guilt.

Because no research has successfully pinpointed the nature of the relationship between these two aspects of moral development, a case may be made for the use of a purposefully integrative measure. In the present study, stories and questions have been designed to examine both "cognitive" and "affective" components. The projected solution to the moral conflict, the reasoning upon which the solution is based, and individual feelings and perspectives are included in the subject's response. In this way, a more comprehensive measure of the child's level of moral maturity may be obtained.

Porteus and Johnson (1965) examined both cognitive and affective aspects of moral development. In this study,



"cognitive" and "affective" were defined as in previous literature. Projective stories, based on those used by AllinSmith (1960), provided a measure of affective moral development. Stories used to measure cognitive moral development were based on those used by Piaget (1965). Subjects, ninth grade females and males, were required to respond to both cognitive and affective stories. Each cognitive and each affective story was presented in two forms, one with a female protagonist and one with a male protagonist. Half the subjects received stories with male protagonists and half received stories with female protagonists. It was reported that females demonstrated more guilt in response to stories describing moral deviance (affective measure) than did males. Also, females scored higher than males on the cognitive measure. Scores on cognitive and affective measures were correlated for males, but not for females. The authors note, "Although girls are more mature in both types of judgments, they are less consistent than boys in responding to the two types of stories." Results of this study show that females perform better than males on cognitive and affective measures of moral development.

To assess the effects of experimentally induced social influences on adolescent moral judgment, LeFurgy and Woloshin (1969) created a moral relativism scale. The scale was designed to distinguish between the perspectives of

moral realism and moral relativism as they were described by Piaget (1965). Morally relativistic responses were scored as more mature than morally realistic responses.

The moral relativism scale included 35 items in story form. Each story presented a protagonist who had to make a choice between two mutually exclusive alternatives: obedience to a legal or social norm, or deviance in favor of extenuating circumstances. Children who consistently decided in favor of the prevailing legal or social authority were designated as morally realistic, while those who consistently resolved conflicts in favor of extenuating circumstances were designated as morally relativistic. An example of a story item is as follows:

A young man named Jim wanted very much to join a fraternity at high school. One of the requirements for initiation into the fraternity was that he was to drink a glass of liquor in one swallow. Jim knew he could do it, but if he did drink the liquor he would be disobeying a strict family rule that no one in the family unless twenty-one could drink alcoholic beverages.

Jim should:

- A. Obey the family rule, but destroy his chances of getting into the fraternity.
- B. Go against the family rule.

According to LeFurgy and Woloshin, the morally relativistic, and, thus, more mature, response is "B". Other stories involve the following conflicts: whether or not to accept a bribe while running for governor, whether or not to drop bombs on a village during a war, and whether or not

to carry an illegal weapon. It is unlikely that subjects have experienced moral conflicts of this nature in their own lives.

While compiling story items to be included in the moral relativism scale, LeFurgy and Woloshin noted that girls, aged 8-16, tended to select more morally realistic resolutions than did boys of the same age. The authors recognized that this sex difference might be attributed to their all male cast of characters (Klinger, 1964). In order to test out this hypothesis, they readministered the story items, counterbalancing for sex of protagonist, and obtained the same results. Because counterbalancing did not eliminate the sex difference, story items which included one female protagonist and 34 male protagonists were chosen for the study.

Story characteristics other than sex of protagonist may have contributed to LeFurgy and Woloshin's finding. For instance, in the sample story item, proving oneself by downing a glass of alcohol is an action whose acceptance may be dependent upon the sex of the doer. When performed by a male, such behavior is generally tolerated by others and may even, in some circles, be considered laudable. The same action performed by a female is likely to be judged as inappropriate or socially unacceptable. LeFurgy and Woloshin stated that, when story items were counterbalanced for sex of protagonist, the stories themselves

were not changed. No mention was made of varying the contexts of the stories to make them appropriate to the sex of the protagonist. If this was indeed the case, then subjects were presented with story items which may have included a fighter bomber pilot named Mary or a star basketball player named Sue, female protagonists in male oriented contexts.

A female subject who projected herself into the situation described by this type of story item might have rejected some morally relativistic resolutions because she considered such behaviors inappropriate for a female. In that case, the tendency for females to choose morally realistic resolutions may be attributed to the confounding of judgments of sex inappropriateness with moral judgments. If a female subject projected herself into the protagonist's situation, this confounding could have occurred whether or not the protagonist was a female because all contexts were male oriented. A male subject who projected himself into the situation of a female protagonist in a male oriented context would then find himself in a sex appropriate setting.

For those story items which presented a male protagonist in a male oriented context, female subjects may have found it difficult to identify with the protagonist and/or to project themselves into male oriented contexts. It is possible that such items might not have measured differences in moral maturity, but differences in abilities to relate to male "bravado" imagery.



Thus analyzed, this study (LeFurgy and Woloshin, 1969) illustrates how findings of sex differences may be produced by choice of experimental materials and design. In this instance, the assumptions on which the projective story technique is based may have been violated if female subjects were unable to project themselves into the story. The contexts of the story items were male biased, and it appears doubtful that, for female subjects, the moral relativism scale provided a measure of moral judgment maturity.

Both conceptual and methodological problems are evident in a study of another aspect of moral development, the use of confession (Rebelsky, 1963). In this study "confession" as an indicator of conscience development was related to a behavioral measure of resistance to temptation. The experimenter hypothesized that: 1) confession fits more into the "dependent, affiliative, verbal, manipulative" framework of femininity and, so, more females than males would be likely to use confession, and 2) use of confession in projective stories would be positively related to the amount of resistance to temptation exhibited by subjects.

The subjects, equal numbers of male and female sixth graders, were given eight projective stories to complete. In all stories the protagonist was the same sex as the subject. Passages dealt with transgressions against peers or adults, deeds which had no possibility of being discovered. The resistance to temptation task, a shooting

gallery game, was presented shortly after the completion of the first four stories. The second set of stories was administered a few days after the resistance to temptation task. The author reported that: 1) girls used confession in more story endings than did boys in pretemptation and posttemptation stories, 2) non-cheaters used confession more than cheaters; this tendency was more pronounced for females than for males, and 3) non-cheaters confessed more in pretemptation stories and cheaters confessed the same amount or more in posttemptation stories. It was concluded that, as measured by resistance to temptation, confession is a better measure of conscience in girls than in boys. Three possible explanations of the resultant sex differences were offered by the author: 1) confession is dependent and affiliative, therefore it is a more appropriate behavior for girls, 2) girls are superior in use of language and confession requires verbal fluency, and 3) girls may not have been as interested in the shooting gallery game or the stories, and were able to choose an easy response without involving themselves emotionally.

Of the three explanations the third appears the most likely. In our culture a shooting gallery game is generally considered a masculine pastime. Sixth grade females are exposed to very few gun toting women models, either on television or in books. Grinder (1964) and Medinnus (1966) used the same shooting gallery game in their respective

studies. They reported that sixth grade girls cheated less than boys. Medinnus described the game as "masculine appropriate." Rebelsky's (1963) finding that fewer girls than boys were cheaters suggests that the sex appropriateness or inappropriateness of an experimental task may be relevant to the outcome of a study.

In a study of sex-role standards and achievement, Stein and Smithells (1969) reported that females and males rated achievement in athletics as "most masculine." The verbal description of the athletic achievement rated by the subjects was "winning a race." Mischel (1966) states that "aggression has become one of the main defining variables in delineations of masculine and feminine behavior." He notes consistent reports of males showing greater physical aggression than females. Males are exposed to a larger number of aggressive models and are freer to express aggressive behavior.

It should be assumed that, for the most part, subjects are quite familiar with sex-role standards held by the larger society. Whether or not they maintain these same standards in their private lives, they may desire to present an image consistent with social norms when tested. In Rebelsky (1963) all projective stories had contexts describing competition and physical aggression: cheating in athletic events, the smashing of a telescope or photography equipment, and the destroying of dresses. Female subjects

may have judged these actions not only as "immoral," but, also as sex-inappropriate (Mischel, 1966). For this reason transgressions committed by females may have appeared more deviant, thus creating a greater need for confession.

Despite same sex protagonists, female subjects may have found conflicts involving competition and aggression difficult to relate to their own sex-role learning experiences. Rebelsky's third explanation, that girls may not have been as interested in the game or the stories and were able to choose an easy response without involving themselves emotionally, may be congruent with this interpretation. Either interpretation, of unrelatability or sex-inappropriateness, implies that the methodology might have contributed to the finding of sex differences.

Piaget (1965) noted that some children made more mature judgments in situations which were similar to ones they had actually experienced. This observation was supported by the findings of MacGowan and Lee (1970). In their study, the number of immanent justice responses was used as an inverse measure of moral maturity. Immanent justice was defined as "the belief in the existence of automatic punishments which emanate from things themselves," (Piaget, 1965). The authors reported that males and females, ages 9-12, gave fewer immanent justice endings to familiar (stories from contemporary children's books) than to unfamiliar (foreign



folk tales) stories. The results of the MacGowan and Lee study (1970) indicate that unfamiliar kinds of conflicts like those used by Kohlberg (1963) or LeFurgy and Woloshin (1969), may not reveal the upper limits of the child's moral reasoning abilities. This implies that more accurate measures of moral maturity may be obtained when the moral conflict is one that has been experienced by the child. In the present study, stories were designed to prompt children to reexperience incidents from their own lives. Moral conflicts described in these stories are of a realistic, everyday nature, and, thus, may be more familiar to subjects.

Although the nature of a moral conflict may be equally familiar to females and males, the context in which the conflict occurs may be more or less familiar depending upon its sex role orientation. Kagan (1964) discusses instances in which females were presented with verbal problems, some "feminine" and some "masculine" in context. Females scored better on problems with "feminine" contexts although logical steps and computations were identical. The possibility that familiarity of context in terms of sex role orientation may affect a subject's moral judgments is supported by this finding. Stories with male oriented contexts designed for single sex samples (Allinsmith, 1960; Kohlberg, 1963) have been used with samples of males and females (Kohlberg, 1964; Rebelsky, 1963). In view of Kagan's report (1964), it

appears that results obtained by use of these stories with female subjects are of questionable validity.

Variations of sex of protagonist and sex appropriateness of context in projective story tests produce specific situations which may be responded to differently according to the sex and sex role learning experiences of the subject (Mischel, 1966). In their study, MacGowan and Lee (1970) reported that both degree of familiarity with the nature of the moral conflict and sex of protagonist are important in determining responses offered by females and males. Results of other studies show that a child is more likely to identify with a same sex than with an opposite sex character (Kagan and Lemkin, 1960; Maccoby, Wilson, and Cody, 1957). In projective story tests, identification with the protagonist should facilitate projection and, therefore, may increase understanding of the characters' perspectives.

Both sex orientation of story context and sex of protagonist are variables likely to influence the subject's ability to project himself or herself into a story. A third variable, created by the interaction of these two variables, should also be considered: sex appropriateness or inappropriateness of protagonist to context. For example, when a female protagonist is described in a context which, by cultural standards, is male oriented, the sex of the protagonist is inappropriate to the story context.

Sex inappropriate situations may create a confusing image of the protagonist and, therefore, impede projection. In this case, moral judgments and judgments of sex inappropriate behavior may be compounded. More severe, and, therefore, less mature moral judgments in terms of consideration of mitigating factors and characters' perspectives may result. Also, there would be no way to determine whether a judgment was made in terms of the moral conflict or in terms of sex role incongruencies. These problems were examined in the discussion of studies by Rebelsky (1963) and LeFurgy and Woloshin (1969). In both studies female protagonists were set in male oriented contexts and sex differences in moral development were reported.

These three variables: sex of protagonist, sex orientation of context, and sex appropriateness or inappropriateness of protagonist to context, have been problematic in the interpretation of sex differences in studies of moral development. The objective of the present study is to assess the effects of these factors on moral maturity scores. It is hypothesized that:

- 1) Moral maturity, as defined by the experimental measure, will increase as a function of the subject's age.
- 2) There will be a sex of subject by sex of protagonist interaction such that moral maturity scores will be higher for those subjects who are presented with same sex protagonists.

3) There will be a sex of the subject by sex orientation of context interaction such that males will score higher in response to conflicts set in male oriented contexts, and females will score higher in response to conflicts set in female oriented contexts.

4) Moral maturity scores will be higher for stories in which sex of protagonist is appropriate to sex orientation of context.



## Method

### Subjects

Subjects were 192 adolescents, 96 females and 96 males, from Massachusetts public schools. Three grade levels were represented: eighth ( $n = 64$ ), tenth ( $n = 64$ ), and twelfth ( $n = 64$ ). Equal numbers of females and males were drawn from English classes and study halls.

### Materials

The materials consisted of four moral conflicts, presented in story form. Each story was divided into two parts. In part one the conflict was presented; the protagonist must decide whether or not to commit a "dishonest" act. In part two the "transgression" has already been committed and the protagonist has to face the "wronged" other. (For stories and questions, see Appendix A.)

Stories were designed to:

- 1) examine the effect of sex of protagonist on moral maturity scores,
- 2) assess effects of sex orientation of context and sex appropriateness of protagonist to context on moral maturity scores,
- 3) describe the integration of cognitive and affective aspects of moral development, and
- 4) be of a realistic, everyday nature in order that subjects may reexperience actual incidents.

Each story had two versions: one with all female characters and one with all male characters. To assess effects of sex orientation of context and sex appropriateness of protagonist to context on moral maturity scores, female and male protagonists were set in both male oriented and female oriented contexts. Therefore, each of the four stories had four forms: a male protagonist in a male oriented context, a male protagonist in a female oriented context, a female protagonist in a male oriented context. Judgments of sex orientation of context were based on a study by Stein and Smithells (1969), and on the opinions of a female and a male judge.

Four questions (1A, 1B, 1C, and 1D) followed part one and three questions (2A, 2B, and 2C) followed part two, making a total of seven questions for each story. Questions were designed to describe the following: level of moral reasoning, cognitive and affective aspects of role-taking abilities, reciprocity, and feelings of guilt. Stories and questions were a synthesis of several approaches to the study of moral development (Allinsmith, 1960; Kohlberg, 1963; Piaget, 1965; and Rebelsky, 1963).

Question 1A asks the subject to provide a resolution to the protagonist's dilemma. The inclusion of the clause, "if you were (protagonist)" was intended to facilitate "projection". The reasons for the subject's choice of resolution are given in response to question 1B. Question 1C

requires the subject to anticipate the feelings of the protagonist after the conflict had been resolved in the suggested manner. An answer to this question provides a measure of ability to predict the consequences of one's actions. Question 1D asks how the other party would feel. Both 1C and 1D are intended to assess affective aspects of role-taking abilities.

Designed to detect and measure feelings of guilt, question 2A is open-ended. Both Allinsmith (1960) and Porteus and Johnson (1965) used an open-ended question to measure guilt. The presence of guilt is dependent on the answer given to question 1A. If, in part one, the subject chose the same resolution that is provided in part two of the story, that action may not be perceived as a transgression. In that case there would be no cause for a display of guilt.

Question 2B examines the use of the principle of reciprocity. In each story the protagonist is found wanting a favor or help from the story character whom she or he had wronged. Acceptance or rejection of such aid may be related to ideas about fairness and feelings of guilt. Question 2C has the same purpose as questions 1C and 1D, to provide a measure of role-taking abilities.

The conflicts described in the four stories are ones that seemed likely to have been experienced by junior and senior high school students. They were based on casual

observations of children and on the author's own experiences. The conflicts involved: breaking a promise, lying, snubbing a friend, and betraying a trust.

#### Design and procedure

The design was a 2 x 2 x 3 x 2 with three between subject variables and one within subject variable. Sex of subject, sex of protagonist, and grade level were the between subjects variables and sex orientation of context was the within subject variable.

At each grade level, half of the females received stories with all female protagonists and half with all male protagonists. The same procedure was followed for the male subjects. Each subject was presented with two stories in which the protagonist was set in a male oriented context and two in which the protagonist was set in a female oriented context; all four stories were contained on one story booklet.

There were four orders of story presentation. In this way each story was presented an equal number of times in first, second, third, and fourth positions in the booklets. There were two orders of presentation of sex orientation of context: 1) M, F, M, F, and 2) F, M, F, M. All stories were presented an equal number of times in each order. Therefore, a total of 16 booklet forms were administered: 2 sexes of protagonist x 4 orders of story x 2 orders of sex ori-

entation of context = 16 forms. All booklet forms were counter-balanced. For example, among the 32 male eighth grade subjects, each of the 16 forms was administered twice.

The story booklets were administered in the subjects' classrooms. Each subject received an eight-page booklet containing stories and questions, and an examination booklet in which to write the answers. A male and a female experimenter were present at each administration. Oral instructions were given by the experimenters; additional instructions were written on the cover of the story booklets. (See Appendix B for sample protocols.) Students had a full class period, 45-50 minutes, in which to complete the task. Upon completion their assistance was gratefully acknowledged.

### Scoring

The moral maturity score was the total number of points across stories. The maximum number of points for each story was 41, 24 for part one and 17 for part two.

The answers to the four questions that accompanied part one of each story were scored as a unit. The scoring criteria were:

#### Part one

A. Dealing with the conflict itself

U- unscorable answer

O- ignores conflict, doesn't consider it an issue



- 1- considers or defines conflict, but chooses to ignore it
- 2- solves conflict according to a single rule without any discussion of, or obvious consideration of, particulars of problem, mitigating circumstances, or feelings of characters
- 3- solves conflict according to a single rule, but includes mention of mitigating circumstances, particulars
- 4- some demonstration of the notion that rules may be changed with consensus, or an attempt at compromise which involves some amount of explanation or opportunity for characters to express feelings, opinions
- 5- includes characteristics of number 4, but all involved characters are given opportunity for input

Examples of responses for each scoring category are in Appendix C.

B. Consequences of action in terms of future of relationship.

U- unscorable answer

0- no concern

1- fear of discovery, anger

2- concern implied in action, no mention of fear or anger

3- specified desire to avoid hurting another

4- mention of importance of maintaining friendship, but does not discuss issues of openness or trust and their relationship to friendship

5- discusses the importance of maintaining trust and openness in a relationship

C. Role-taking abilities

U- unscorable

0- no obvious consideration of another person's perspective

- 1- considers position of only one party in making decision
- 2- superficial consideration of all parties
- 3- position of one character considered in depth with some consideration of other(s).
- 4- in depth consideration of all characters' perspectives

D. Affect of protagonist after decision is made or action is taken

U- unscorable

0- no affect

1- simple negative

2- simple positive

3- simple negative and positive

4- negative, qualified or elaborated

5- positive, qualified or elaborated

E. Affect of other after decision is made or action taken

U- unscorable

0- no affect

1- simple negative

2- simple positive

3- simple negative and positive

4- negative, qualified or elaborated

5- positive, qualified or elaborated

Scale A, "dealing with the conflict itself," was based on the Kohlberg Moral Judgment Scale and on Piaget's studies of moral judgment development. An answer that would receive

two points would be one that expressed the perspective of moral realism. A morally relativistic response would receive four or five points. The ability to predict the consequences of one's actions was considered an important aspect of moral development. Parts of Scale B are similar to scoring used by Allinsmith (1960) and Kohlberg (1963). Scale C measures the extent to which the subject is able to assume the perspective of others.

In her scoring system, Rebelsky (1963) included a scale similar to Scales D and E. However, she scored affect as either positive or negative. An examination of the pilot data from the present study revealed a range of positive and negative responses. To discriminate among them it was necessary to include additional categories.

#### Part two

The answers to the three questions that accompanied part two of each story were also scored as a unit. The scoring criteria were:

##### A. Dealing with "transgression"

U- unscorable

0- no feelings of having wronged other

1- some sense of guilt, discomfort, confusion

2- attempt to deal with guilt feelings; confession or some form of reparation

3- attempt to deal with guilt by re-establishing openness with consideration of other's feelings



4- includes characteristics of number 3, but adds some statement about the future of the relationship

B. Reciprocity

U- unscorable

0- no reflection on previous treatment of other

1- some idea, indication that the relationship is not equal, may involve punishment by other, anger

2- reflections on previous treatment of other

3- reflections on previous treatment of other plus some action taken to re-establish equality

C. Affect of protagonist

U- unscorable

0- no affect

1- simple negative

2- simple positive

3- simple negative and positive

4- negative, qualified or elaborated

5- positive, qualified or elaborated

D. General ending

U- unscorable

0- no affect

1- negative

2

3

4

5- positive

Scale A, "dealing with transgression," is an elaboration of the scale used by Allinsmith (1960). Scoring the use of reciprocity involves an examination of the subject's ability to analogize between the position of the other in part one and the position of the protagonist in part two. Scale D required the scorer to make a subjective judgment about the final resolution of the conflict. This included consideration of characters' actions, their circumstances, and their feelings.

All subject identification was removed by a third party who coded the response sheets numerically; scorers had no information about subject characteristics. Responses were scored by two females: the author and a second rater who had no knowledge of the purposes of the study. The second rater scored the answers of a random selection of 45 subjects, accounting for approximately one-fourth of the subject pool. Inter-rater reliability was  $r = + .95$ ; this was based on the total moral maturity scores for 45 children.

## Results

Two analyses of variance were performed. In the first analysis the dependent variable was the total number of points across the four stories. Included in this analysis were the between subjects variables: grade level, sex of subject, and sex of protagonist, and the within subject variable: sex orientation of context. In the second analysis differences between the stories were analyzed. The dependent variable was the total number of points scored by subjects on each of the four stories.

### First analysis

Overall, females scored higher than males,  $F(1,180) = 16.12$ ,  $p < .01$ . Further analyses at each grade level revealed that this effect was significant among eighth graders,  $t(62) = 2.60$ ,  $p < .05$ , and tenth graders,  $t(62) = 3.34$ ,  $p < .05$ , but not among twelfth graders. Mean moral maturity scores as a function of grade and sex of subject are presented in Table 1.

---

Insert Table 1 about here

---

Results show a developmental main effect such that moral maturity scores increased as a function of grade level,  $F(1,180) = 8.41$ ,  $p < .01$ . The Newman-Keuls test was used to determine the presence of a linear trend. It was found that the mean score of eighth grade subjects differed significantly

Table 1

Mean Moral Maturity Scores as a  
Function of Grade and Sex of Subject

	Grade		
	8	10	12
Females (n = 96)	29.46	33.45	33.21
Males (n = 96)	25.56	28.40	30.81

from the mean scores of tenth grade,  $q .95 (2,180)$ , and twelfth grade,  $q .95 (3,180)$ , subjects. Although the mean score of twelfth grade subjects was higher than the mean score of tenth grade subjects, differences did not reach significance.

---

Insert Table 2 about here

---

Results displayed in Table 2 show no significant main effect of sex of protagonist or sex orientation of context. The data did not support the predicted sex of subject by sex of protagonist interaction.

The predicted sex of subject by sex orientation of context interaction was supported by the data,  $F (1,180) = 6.43$ ,  $p < .05$ . Results show that male subjects scored higher in response to conflicts set in male oriented contexts and females scored higher in response to conflicts set in female oriented contexts. Mean moral maturity scores as a function of sex of subject and sex orientation of context are presented in Table 3.

---

Insert Table 3 about here

---

Results failed to demonstrate a significant sex of protagonist by sex orientation of context interaction, thus Hypothesis #4 was not confirmed.



Table 2

## Analysis of Variance:

## Analysis #1

Source	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Grade (G)	2	756.87	8.41**
Sex of S (X)	1	1449.26	16.12**
Protagonist (P)	1	121.50	1.35
Context (C)	1	15.84	.72
P x G	2	177.67	1.97
P x X	1	25.01	.27
G x X	2	58.20	.64
P x C	1	.93	.00
G x C	2	56.39	2.58
X x C	1	140.16	6.43*
P x G x X	2	136.67	1.52
P x G x C	2	19.89	.91
P x X x C	1	9.37	.43
G x X x C	2	30.86	1.41
P x G x X x C	2	3.56	.16
S (PGX)	180	89.89	
SC (PGX)	180	21.78	

\*\*p &lt; .01

\*p &lt; .05

Table 3

Mean Moral Maturity Scores as a  
Function of Sex of Subject and Sex

Orientation of Story Context

Sex Orientation of Story Context

<u>Sex of Subject</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Male	28.96	27.35
Female	31.64	32.44

---

### Second analysis

All four stories were intended to describe common types of conflicts, ones that adolescents are likely to have experienced in their own lives. To determine whether stories differed in terms of level of response elicited, an analysis of variance was performed. Table 4 shows a significant main effect of story,  $F(3,540) = 11.31, p < .01$ .

---

Insert Table 4 about here

---

The Newman-Keuls test was performed to determine the locus of differences between stories. The test showed that the mean score for Story 1 was significantly greater than the mean scores of Stories 2, 3, and 4,  $q .95(4,540)$ . Story 2, which had the lowest mean score, was found to differ significantly from Stories 3 and 4,  $q .95(3,540)$ . Stories 3 and 4 did not differ significantly from each other. A visual presentation of the story analysis as a function of grade level and sex of subject may be seen in Figure 1.

---

Insert Figure 1 about here

---

Table 4

## Analysis of Variance:

## Analysis #2

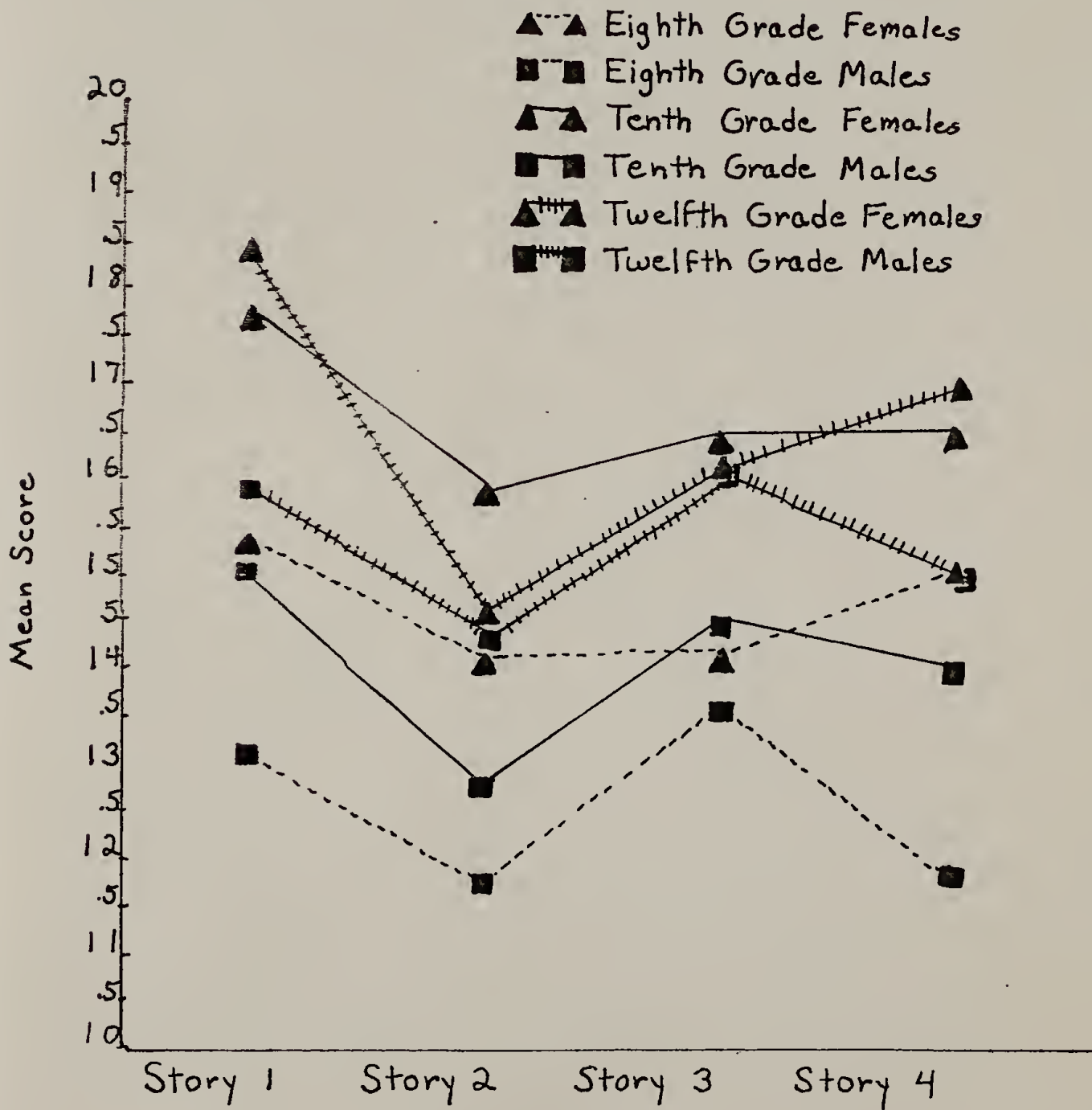
Source	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Story (D)	3	135.91	11.31**
Grade (G)			
Sex of S (X)			
Protagonist (P)			
G x D	6	5.62	.46
X x D	3	32.35	2.69*
P x D	3	6.63	.55
G x X x D	6	9.02	.75
G x P x D	6	24.85	2.06
X x P x D	3	33.19	2.76*
G x X x P x D	6	16.81	1.30
SD (GXP)	540	12.01	

\*\*  $p < .01$

\*  $p < .05$

Figure 1

Story Means as a Function of Grade and Sex of Subject





## Discussion

The predicted developmental main effect was supported by the data. Moral maturity scores increased with age; these increases were greater between eighth and tenth grade subjects than between tenth and twelfth grade subjects.

As hypothesized, the sex orientation of context factor had a significant effect on moral maturity scores. This finding indicates that sex orientation of context should be considered in the design of projective stories for samples of males and females. In studies which reported findings of sex differences (Kohlberg, 1964; LeFurgy and Woloshin, 1969; and Rebelsky, 1963), all protagonists were set in male oriented contexts. In view of the results of the present study, it is possible to interpret such sex differences as an artifact of story design.

That the predicted sex of subject by sex of protagonist interaction was not supported by the data indicates that subjects' identification with the sex of the protagonist may not influence moral maturity scores. Results also show that judgments of sex inappropriateness of protagonist to context do not seem to affect subjects' abilities to make mature resolutions. Of the three factors studied, sex orientation of context appears to be the most influential sex role variable in story design.

The sex of subject effect indicates that, as defined by the experimental measure, females are more morally mature

than males of the same age. This finding supports that of Porteus and Johnson (1965) who reported that females scored higher on both cognitive and affective measures of moral maturity. Results of the present study are not compatible with those studies in which adolescent males were found to be more morally mature than adolescent females (Kohlberg, 1964; LeFurgy and Woloshin, 1969). Differences in methodology may have contributed to this apparent reversal of effect. Unlike in previous studies (Kohlberg, 1964; LeFurgy and Woloshin, 1969), in the present study subjects were required to express themselves in writing. Generally, females are more verbal than males (Rebelsky, 1963). In a survey of ninth grade males and females, Entwisle (1971) found that girls wrote more words per story than boys. Greater verbal facility in explanations of moral reasoning processes, or of characters' perspectives, may have contributed to the achievement of higher moral maturity scores. It is possible that, in a forced choice design (LeFurgy and Woloshin, 1969), female subjects are not given sufficient opportunity or freedom to explain their reasoning.

When using the interview technique, the sex of the experimenter must be recognized as a variable likely to influence the outcome of a study (Kurtines and Greif, 1974). Low scoring female subjects in Kohlberg's study (1964) may have been interviewed by males. In the present study a female and a male experimenter were present at all times

during the class period.

As noted by Piaget (1965), and MacGowan and Lee (1970), greater familiarity with types of moral conflicts contributes to the achievement of more mature resolutions. Females may be more familiar with the four interpersonal conflicts used in the present study. Experimental materials were designed and written by the author, a female, thus, a bias favoring females may have been in effect. Materials used in studies reporting the greater moral maturity of males (Kohlberg, 1964; LeFurgy and Woloshin, 1969) were designed and written by males.

Although all four stories focused on common types of conflicts, the analysis reveals that in terms of moral maturity scores, subjects' responses to them were significantly different. One explanation of this finding is that conflicts depicted in some stories may have been more familiar to the realm of adolescent experience than others; their resolutions were likely to reflect greater moral maturity (MacGowan and Lee, 1970; Piaget, 1965). Story 1, which had the highest mean score, involved circumstances that may be especially familiar to adolescents, despair over one's physical appearance or lack of prowess. (See Appendix A for stories quoted in full).

A second possibility is that some conflicts may have been more difficult to resolve in terms of judging the protagonist's intentions. For example, in Story 1 the

protagonist was confronted with a conflict between keeping a friend's secret or revealing the information in order to support another person. It differs from the other stories in that either choice, to tell or not to tell, is clearly based on good intentions. When one's intentions are so obviously altruistic, it may be easier to arrive at a more mature resolution.

In Story 2, which had the lowest mean score, the situation is quite different from the situations in Stories 1, 3, and 4. In this story someone is about to make an unwelcome request at an inconvenient moment. If the protagonist stops to hear the request he or she will be put in the difficult position of having to evaluate the other person's abilities and the welfare of the team. Because it is necessary to evaluate these factors as well as the personal needs of the characters involved, a mature solution to this conflict may have necessitated more cognitive maturity.

Adolescents may not be familiar with this rather authoritarian and evaluative role, and so, may not have been able to draw upon their own experiences. Also, in Story 2 the protagonist's intentions were not as explicit as in Story 1 because, as captain of team or head of committee, he or she had a personal interest in the welfare of that organization.

Stories 3 and 4 were not significantly different from each other.



Differences among the four stories may be a result of several factors, some of which have not been considered in any study design using a projective story technique. The effects of familiarity with the conflict have been discussed (MacGowan and Lee, 1970; Piaget, 1965). Other factors including differences in intentionality, the number of factors to be evaluated, and the amount of power (authoritarian - evaluative role) held by the protagonist have not been investigated. Any story, however, may have certain characteristics which make it more or less difficult or familiar depending upon the particular experiences of a subject.

The significant findings of the present study: the effect of sex orientation of story content, the sex of subject effect, and differences between stories, demonstrate how experimental design may affect the outcome of a study. I would recommend that further research in the area of moral development focus on the design of experiments which involve the observation of actual behaviors in realistic settings. Subjects could be interviewed afterwards in order to examine considerations that determined their behavioral responses.



## Appendix A

## Story 1 - Female protagonist - Female context

## Part One

The school doctor told Marilyn that she was overweight and should have the family doctor put her on a diet. Marilyn told her friend, Liz, what the doctor had said, but asked Liz not to tell anyone. Marilyn explained that she would be embarrassed if anyone found out that the doctor thought she had a weight problem. Liz agreed not to tell anyone.

Later, in the cafeteria, Liz meets another friend, Christine, she also just had a "check-up" by the school doctor. Christine tells Liz that the doctor told her that she should have her family doctor put her on a diet. Christine is very upset by what the doctor said and is thinking that being overweight means that she is unattractive. Liz thinks that if she tells Christine that the doctor told Marilyn the same thing, it will make Christine feel better. Before speaking, Liz remembers that she promised Marilyn that she wouldn't tell.

- A. If you were Liz, what would you do?
- B. Why would you do that?
- C. If Liz did what you said in Question A, how would she feel?
- D. How would Marilyn feel?

## Part Two

Liz tells Christine what the doctor said to Marilyn, but doesn't tell Marilyn that she broke her promise.

The next week Liz has a big argument with her sister. She really wants someone to talk to about the argument, someone she knows won't tell her sister. She is sitting by herself in the cafeteria when Marilyn sits down next to her.

- A. Describe what happens.
- B. Do you think that Liz should tell Marilyn about the argument?  
Why?  
—
- C. How does Liz feel?

## Story 1 - Female protagonist - Male context

## Part One

The track coach told Marilyn that she probably didn't have enough endurance to be on the team, so it might not be worth her while to try out for it. Marilyn told her friend, Liz, what the coach had said, but asked Liz not to tell anyone. She explained that she would be embarrassed if anyone found out what the coach had told her. Liz agreed not to tell anyone.

Later, in the locker room, Liz meets another friend, Christine, who also wants to be on the track team. Christine told Liz that the coach had told her that she probably didn't have enough endurance to be on the team. Christine is very upset by this, and is thinking that she shouldn't bother practicing anymore. Liz thinks that if she tells Christine that the coach said the same thing to Marilyn, it will make Christine feel better and she won't give up. Before speaking, Liz remembers that she promised Marilyn that she wouldn't tell.

- A. If you were Liz, what would you do?
- B. Why would you do that?
- C. If Liz did what you said in question A, how would she feel?
- D. How would Marilyn feel?

## Part Two

Liz tells Christine what the coach told Marilyn, but doesn't tell Marilyn that she broke her promise.

The next week, Liz, who is already on the track team, has a big argument with the coach. She really wants someone to talk to about the argument, someone she knows won't tell the other members of the team. She is standing by herself in the locker room when Marilyn walks in.

- A. Describe what happens.
- B. Do you think that Liz should tell Marilyn about the argument?  
Why?  
—
- C. How does Liz feel?



## Story 1 - Male protagonist - Male context

## Part One

The track coach told Jesse that he probably didn't have enough endurance to be on the team, so it might not be worth his while to try out for it. Jesse told his friend, Mark, what the coach had said, but asked Mark not to tell anyone. He explained that he would be embarrassed if anyone found out what the coach had told him. Mark agreed not to tell anyone.

Later, in the locker room, Mark meets another friend, Peter, who also wants to be on the track team. Peter told Mark that the coach had told him that he probably didn't have enough endurance to be on the team. Peter is very upset by this, and is thinking that he shouldn't bother practicing anymore. Mark thinks that if he tells Peter that the coach said the same thing to Jesse, it will make Peter feel better and he won't give up. Before speaking, Mark remembers that he promised Jesse that he wouldn't tell anyone.

- A. If you were Mark, what would you do?
- B. Why would you do that?
- C. If Mark did what you said in question A, how would he feel?
- D. How would Jesse feel?

## Part Two

Mark tells Peter what the coach told Jesse, but doesn't tell Jesse that he broke his promise.

The next week, Mark, who is already on the track team, has a big argument with the coach. He really wants someone to talk to about the argument, someone he knows won't tell the other members of the team. He is standing by himself in the locker room when Jesse walks in.

- A. Describe what happens.
- B. Do you think that Mark should tell Jesse about the argument?  
Why?  
—
- C. How does Mark feel?

## Story 1 - Male protagonist - Female context

## Part One

The school doctor told Jesse that he was overweight and should have the family doctor put him on a diet. Jesse told his friend, Mark, what the doctor had told him, but asked Mark not to tell anyone. Jesse explained that he would be embarrassed if anyone found out that the doctor thought he had a weight problem. Mark agreed not to tell anyone.

Later, in the cafeteria, Mark meets another friend, Peter, who also just had a "check-up" by the school doctor. Peter tells Mark that the doctor told him that he should have his family doctor put him on a diet. Peter is very upset by what the doctor said and is thinking that being overweight means that he is unattractive. Mark thinks that if he tells Peter that the doctor told Jesse the same thing, it will make Peter feel better. Before speaking, Mark remembers that he promised Jesse that he wouldn't tell.

- A. If you were Mark, what would you do?
- B. Why would you do that?
- C. If Mark did what you said in question A, how would he feel?
- D. How would Jesse feel?

## Part Two

Mark tells Peter what the doctor said to Jesse, but doesn't tell Jesse that he broke his promise.

The next week Mark has a big argument with his brother. He really wants someone to talk to about the argument, someone he knows won't tell his brother. He is sitting by himself in the cafeteria when Jesse sits down next to him.

- A. Describe what happens.
- B. Do you think that Mark should tell Jesse about the argument?  
Why?  
—
- C. How does Mark feel?

## Story 2 - Female protagonist - Female context

## Part One

Beth is a likeable girl who enjoys doing artwork although she has never been very good at it. In class, she sits next to Sara, who is in charge of the committee that designs posters and programs for the school drama club. Beth has mentioned to Sara that she is thinking about signing up for the committee. Sara does not want her on the committee because she knows that Beth doesn't draw well. She is hoping that Beth will change her mind or forget to sign up.

On the last day that students can sign up for the committee, Sara, the committee head, is waiting for the bus. Out of the corner of her eye she sees Beth, a block away, waving to her and calling her name. Sara is sure that Beth is going to ask her if she can be on the committee. Beth doesn't know that Sara has seen her. The bus pulls up in front of Sara.

- A. If you were Sara, what would you do?
- B. Why would you do that?
- C. If Sara did what you said in question A, how would she feel?
- D. How would Beth feel?



## Part Two

Sara gets on the bus without turning around. The next week Sara forgets to bring home her social studies book. She really needs it because there will be a test the next day. Beth is in her social studies class and lives nearby. Sara thinks of calling her to ask to borrow her book.

- A. Describe what happens.
- B. Do you think that Sara should ask Beth if she can borrow the book?  
Why?  
—
- C. How does Sara feel?

## Story 2 - Female protagonist - Male context

## Part One

Beth is a likeable girl who enjoys sports although she has never been very good at them. In class, she sits next to Sara who is the captain of the soccer team. Beth has mentioned to Sara that she is thinking about being on the soccer team. Sara does not want her on her team because she knows that Beth is rather clumsy and can't run fast. She is hoping that maybe Beth will change her mind or forget to sign up for tryouts.

On the last day that students can sign up for tryouts, Sara, the captain of the team, is waiting for the bus. Out of the corner of her eye she sees Beth, a block away, waving to her and calling her name. Sara is sure that Beth is going to ask her about being on the team. Sara thinks that if Beth tries out the coach might let her on because they were short of players. Beth does not know that Sara has seen her. The bus pulls up in front of Sara.

- A. If you were Sara, what would you do?
- B. Why would you do that?
- C. If Sara did what you said in question A, how would she feel?
- D. How would Beth feel?

## Part Two

Sara gets on the bus without turning around. The next week Sara forgets to bring home her math book. She really needs it because there will be a test the next day. Beth is in her math class and lives nearby. Sara thinks of calling her to ask to borrow her book.

- A. Describe what happens.
- B. Do you think that Sara should ask Beth if she can borrow the book?  
Why?  
—
- C. How does Sara feel?

## Story 2 - Male protagonist - Male context

## Part One

Richard is a likeable boy who enjoys sports although he has never been very good at them. In class, he sits next to Joshua who is captain of the soccer team. Richard has mentioned to Joshua that he is thinking about being on the soccer team. Joshua does not want him on his team because he knows that Richard is rather clumsy and can't run fast. He is hoping that maybe Richard will change his mind or forget to sign up for tryouts.

On the last day that students can sign up for tryouts, Joshua, the captain of the team, is waiting for the bus. Out of the corner of his eye he sees Richard, a block away, waving to him and calling his name. Joshua is sure that Richard is going to ask him about being on the team. Joshua thinks that if Richard tries out the coach might let him on because they were short of players. Richard does not know that Joshua has seen him. The bus pulls up in front of Joshua.

- A. If you were Joshua, what would you do?
- B. Why would you do that?
- C. If Joshua did what you said in question A, how would he feel?
- D. How would Richard feel?

## Part Two

Joshua gets on the bus without turning around. The next week Joshua forgets to bring home his math book. He really needs it because there will be a test the next day. Richard is in his math class and lives nearby. Joshua thinks of calling him to ask to borrow his book.

- A. Describe what happens.
- B. Do you think that Joshua should ask Richard if he can borrow the book?  
Why?  
—
- C. How does Joshua feel?



## Story 2 - Male protagonist - Female context

## Part One

Richard is a likeable boy who enjoys doing artwork although he has never been very good at it. In class, he sits next to Joshua, who is in charge of the committee that designs posters and programs for the school drama club. Richard has mentioned to Joshua that he is thinking about signing up for the committee. Joshua does not want him on the committee because he knows that Richard doesn't draw well. He is hoping that Richard will change his mind or forget to sign up.

On the last day that students can sign up for the committee, Joshua, the committee head, is waiting for the bus. Out of the corner of his eye he sees Richard, a block away, waving to him and calling his name. Joshua is sure that Richard is going to ask him if he can be on the committee. Richard doesn't know that Joshua has seen him. The bus pulls up in front of Joshua.

- A. If you were Joshua, what would you do?
- B. Why would you do that?
- C. If Joshua did what you said in question A, how would he feel?
- D. How would Richard feel?

## Part Two

Joshua gets on the bus without turning around. The next week Joshua forgets to bring home his social studies book. He really needs it because there will be a test the next day. Richard is in his social studies class and lives nearby. Joshua thinks of calling him to ask to borrow his book.

- A. Describe what happens.
- B. Do you think that Joshua should ask Richard if he can borrow the book?  
Why?  
—
- C. How does Joshua feel?

## Story 3 - Female protagonist - Female context

## Part One

Linda meets her friend, Susan, in the hall after class. Susan is running for the office of class secretary. Susan wants very much to win and is quite nervous about the election which is the next day. She says to Linda, "Well, at least I know I can count on you to vote for me."

Linda likes Susan and considers her a good friend, but she thinks that the other candidate, Carol, would be a better class secretary.

- A. If you were Linda, what would you say to Susan?
- B. Why would you say that?
- C. If Linda did what you said in question A, how would she feel?
- D. How would Susan feel?

## Part Two

Linda says to Susan, "Yes, you have my vote." Linda votes for Carol, but does not tell Susan what she did. The next week, on her way to the store, Linda meets Susan. Linda is in a hurry because she has to buy some things and be back home in time for a babysitting job. Susan offers to buy the things that Linda needs for her so she can get to her job on time.

- A. Describe what happens.
- B. Do you think that Linda should let Susan go to the store for her?  
Why?  
—
- C. How does Linda feel?

## Story 3 - Female protagonist - Male context

## Part One

Linda meets her friend, Susan, in the hall after class. Susan is running for president of the varsity club. Susan wants very much to win and is quite nervous about the election which is the next day. She says to Linda, "Well, at least I know I can count on you to vote for me."

Linda likes Susan and considers her a good friend, but she thinks that the other candidate, Carol, would be a better president.

- A. If you were Linda, what would you say to Susan?
- B. Why would you say that?
- C. If Linda did what you said in question A, how would she feel?
- D. How would Susan feel?



## Part Two

Linda says to Susan, "Yes, you have my vote." Linda votes for Carol, but does not tell Susan what she did. The next week Linda is in her front yard, trying to fix her bicycle. Susan, who knows a lot about bicycles, is walking by and sees Linda. Susan offers to help Linda fix her bicycle.

- A. Describe what happens.
- B. Do you think Linda should let Susan help her with her bicycle?  
Why?  
—
- C. How does Linda feel?

## Story 3 - Male protagonist - Male context

## Part One

Alan meets his friend, Gary, in the hall after class. Gary is running for president of the varsity club. Gary wants very much to win and is quite nervous about the election which is the next day. He says to Alan, "Well, at least I know I can count on you to vote for me."

Alan likes Gary and considers him a good friend, but he thinks that the other candidate, George, would be a better president.

- A. If you were Alan, what would you say to Gary?
- B. Why would you say that?
- C. If Alan did what you said in question A, how would he feel?
- D. How would Gary feel?

## Part Two

Alan says to Gary, "Yes, you have my vote." Alan votes for George, but does not tell Gary what he did. The next week Alan is in his front yard, trying to fix his bicycle. Gary, who knows a lot about bicycles, is walking by and sees Alan. Gary offers to help Alan fix his bicycle.

- A. Describe what happens.
- B. Do you think that Alan should let Gary help him with his bicycle?  
Why?  
—
- C. How does Alan feel?

## Story 3 - Male protagonist - Female context

## Part One

Alan meets his friend, Gary, in the hall after class. Gary is running for the office of class secretary. Gary wants very much to win and is quite nervous about the election which is the next day. He says to Alan, "Well, at least I know I can count on you to vote for me."

Alan likes Gary and considers him a good friend, but he thinks that the other candidate, George, would make a better class secretary.

- A. If you were Alan, what would you say to Gary?
- B. Why would you say that?
- C. If Alan did what you said in question A, how would he feel?
- D. How would Gary feel?

## Part Two

Alan says to Gary, "Yes, you have my vote." Alan votes for George, but does not tell Gary what he did. The next week, on his way to the store, Alan meets Gary. Alan is in a hurry because he has to buy some things and be back home in time for a babysitting job. Gary offers to buy the things that Alan needs for him so he can get to his job on time.

- A. Describe what happens.
- B. Do you think that Alan should let Gary go to the store for him?  
Why?  
—
- C. How does Alan feel?



## Story 4 - Female protagonist - Female context

## Part One

Ellen promised Jackie that she would go shopping with her to help her pick out a dress for her sister's wedding. Ellen really did not want to go shopping with Jackie, but she said she would go because she had nothing better to do that afternoon.

Ellen's friend, Marian, comes over to see Ellen before she was supposed to meet Jackie. Marian asks Ellen if she would like to spend the afternoon visiting her cousins, people that Ellen really likes. Ellen wants to go with Marian and knows that Marian wouldn't want Jackie to come along.

- A. If you were Ellen, what would you do?
- B. Why would you do that?
- C. If Ellen did what you said in question A, how would she feel?
- D. How would Jackie feel?

## Part Two

Ellen calls Jackie on the telephone and tells her that she can't go with her because her mother needed her to help with some chores. Jackie says, "That's okay." Jackie asks Ellen to come over after she finishes the chores, even though it'll be too late to shop. She explains that she has two tickets for a movie to be shown that night, one that she knew Ellen wanted to see, and had planned on asking her, anyway.

- A. Describe what happens.
- B. Do you think that Ellen should accept the invitation?  
Why?  
—
- C. How does Ellen feel?

## Story 4 - Female protagonist - Male context

## Part One

Ellen promised to help Jackie improve her basketball by playing with her and giving her a few pointers. Ellen really did not want to play with Jackie, but she said she would because she had nothing better to do that afternoon.

Ellen's friend, Marian, comes over to see Ellen before she was supposed to meet Jackie. Marian asks Ellen if she would like to play basketball with her and some other friends, people that Ellen really likes. Ellen wants to go with Marian and knows that Marian wouldn't want Jackie to come along.

- A. If you were Ellen, what would you do?
- B. Why would you do that?
- C. If Ellen did what you said in question A, how would she feel?
- D. How would Jackie feel?

## Part Two

Ellen calls Jackie on the telephone and tells her that she can't come over because her mother wants her to run some errands. Jackie says, "That's okay." Jackie asks Ellen to come over after she finishes running errands, even though it'll be too late to practice. She explains that she has two tickets for a professional basketball game to be held that night and had planned on asking Ellen to go with her, anyway.

- A. Describe what happens.
- B. Do you think that Ellen should accept the invitation?  
Why?  
—
- C. How does Ellen feel?

## Story 4 - Male protagonist - Male context

## Part One

Karl promised to help John improve his basketball by playing with him and giving him a few pointers. Karl really did not want to play with John, but he said he would because he had nothing better to do that afternoon.

Karl's friend, Mike, comes over to see Karl before he was supposed to meet John. Mike asks Karl if he would like to play basketball with him and some other friends, people that Karl really likes. Karl wants to go with Mike and knows that Mike wouldn't want John to come along.

- A. If you were Karl, what would you do?
- B. Why would you do that?
- C. If Karl did what you said in question A, how would he feel?
- D. How would John feel?

## Part Two

Karl calls John on the telephone and tells him that he can't come over because his mother wants him to run some errands. John says, "That's okay." John asks Karl to come over after he finishes running errands, even though it'll be too late to practice. He explains that he has two tickets for a professional basketball game to be held that night and he had planned on asking Karl to go with him, anyway.

- A. Describe what happens.
- B. Do you think Karl should accept the invitation?  
Why?  
—
- C. How does Karl feel?



## Story 4 - Male protagonist - Female context

## Part One

Karl promised John that he would go shopping with him to help him pick out a suit for his sister's wedding. Karl really did not want to go shopping with John, but he said he would go because he had nothing better to do that afternoon.

Karl's friend, Mike, comes over to see Karl before he was supposed to meet John. Mike asks Karl if he would like to spend the afternoon visiting his cousins, people that Karl really likes. Karl wants to go with Mike and knows that Mike wouldn't want John to come along.

- A. If you were Karl, what would you do?
- B. Why would you do that?
- C. If Karl did what you said in question A, how would he feel?
- D. How would John feel?

## Part Two

Karl calls John on the telephone and tells him that he can't go with him because his mother needed him to help with some chores. John says, "That's okay." John asks Karl to come over after he finishes the chores, even though it'll be too late to shop. He explains that he has two tickets for a movie to be shown that night, one that he knew Karl wanted to see, and had planned on asking Karl, anyway.

- A. Describe what happens.
- B. Do you think that Karl should accept the invitation?  
Why?  
—
- C. How does Karl feel?

## Appendix B

Oral instructions were as follows:

We are from the University of Massachusetts and we would like your help with a project we are doing. It involves reading some stories and answering questions about them. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions. We are interested in how students of different ages solve various kinds of problems. These same stories and questions will be given to eighth, tenth and twelfth grade classes. Because our main interest is in how you do as a group and this has nothing to do with your school record, there is no need for you to put your name on your answer booklet. The only information we need is your grade, your sex, and the form of your questionnaire. Please make your answers as complete as possible and do the best you can. Do not turn the page until you have finished answering the questions on the previous page.

Additional instructions were written on the covers of the story booklets:

You will be presented with four stories. Each story has two parts. Part two is a continuation of the story presented in part one. There are four questions after each part one and three questions after each part two. Please answer them all as best you can.

The written instructions were also paraphrased orally.

## Appendix C

Sample answers for the various scoring categories are as follows:

Part One

A. Dealing with the conflict itself

0 points - ignores conflict, doesn't consider it an issue.

"Go with Mike because John doesn't need anyone to go along with him." (Story 4)

"Nothing. I don't have anything better to say." (Story 3)

1 point - considers or defines conflict, but chooses to ignore it.

"I would get on the bus without speaking to Richard because I wouldn't want to be bothered." (Story 2)

"Go with Mike. His plans have changed." (Story 4)

2 points - solves conflict according to a single rule without any discussion of, or obvious consideration of particulars of problem, mitigating circumstances or feelings of characters.

"Ellen should go with Jackie to pick out the dress. Because she told Jackie she would go with her and it wouldn't be right to say no." (Story 4)

"I promised I wouldn't so I wouldn't tell. When you promise something you make it out of your heart because you want to, you shouldn't break it." (Story 1)

3 points - solves conflict according to a single rule but includes mention of mitigating circumstances, particulars.

"Tell John he couldn't make it and had to go somewhere with his parents. So he could play with his friends and not hurt John's feelings." (Story 4)

"Tell Peter what Jesse had told me. Not only would Peter feel better and keep trying, but Jesse might also. He'd feel good. Neither Jesse or Peter would be embarrassed anymore knowing that they weren't the only ones the coach spoke to." (Story 1)

4 points - some demonstration of the notion that rules may be changed with consensus, or an attempt at compromise which involves some amount of explanation or opportunity for characters to express feelings, opinions.

"I still want to be friends with you and I hope I won't hurt you, but I'm going to vote for George instead of you because I think he's better and in this case I don't think this is one you can do only because we're friends. Because I think George is better and friendship shouldn't interfere with my feelings on voting." (Story 3)



"I would tell Peter that the coach probably says that to a lot of kids and that he should try out anyway. If necessary, I would tell him that I know another kid (nameless) who had been told the same thing. It might make Peter feel better to know he was not alone. I also have not betrayed Jesse." (Story 1)

5 points - includes characteristics of number 4, but all involved characters are given opportunity for input.

"If John was a very close friend of mine I would call him and explain the situation. If he still wanted me to go I would, but if he didn't care and I felt he really meant it I wouldn't go. The reason I would do this is that if John was close to me I would be honest with him. If the shopping plans were very important to him then I wouldn't think of not going. I think if he did the same to me I would understand. I wouldn't want him to wish he had gone with Mike instead of me." (Story 4)

"If I were Mark I would not tell Peter until I had asked Jesse if it were all right. I would do that because it would be better to keep my word to Mark. If I told Peter without asking Mark first, Mark may not ever trust me again. (Story 1)

B. Consequences of action in terms of future of relationship  
0 points - no concern.

"Get away from her like ignore her and get on the bus. Because she doesn't do well and you need the best drawers." (Story 2)

"Because I'd rather do something I really liked." (Story 4)

1 point - fear of discovery, anger.

"Say it was a joke. So no one will get mad." (Story 1)  
"If Marilyn found out she'd feel rotten, and she'd blame Liz." (Story 1)

2 points - concern implied in action, no mention of fear of anger.

"I would go with Jackie. She made a commitment to Jackie first. If Ellen didn't really want to go with Jackie, then it's her own fault for being in this dilemma by not voicing and acting in the way she really felt in the first place." (Story 4)

"Still go with John. Because I had made plans with him first. A little mad, but knowing he did the right thing." (Story 4)

3 points - specified desire to avoid hurting another.

"I would say okay or yes because he won't know who you voted for at the election. So I wouldn't hurt Gary's feelings." (Story 3)

"I would tell her that I voted for her but really voted for Carol. Because I wouldn't want to hurt Linda's feelings and still be voting for the person I thought was right." (Story 3)

4 points - mention of importance of maintaining friendship, but does not discuss issues of openness or trust and their relationship to friendship.

"I would go and play with John and try to make other arrangements with Mike. Because I had already promised John that I would, and maybe John needed me for basketball because I didn't need any help, but I might need John for something else." (Story 4)

"Marilyn would feel that Liz was a friend who could keep a promise and nothing would change between them." (Story 1)

5 points - discusses the importance of maintaining trust and openness in a relationship.

"If Marilyn had enough faith in me to tell me I should have the sense to keep my mouth shut. . . . Marilyn would be proud to have confided in such a true friend and she'll know she'll be able to count on me when something else comes up." (Story 1)

"If you promised someone not to tell anyone, I don't think you should. If the person found out you told someone, they wouldn't trust you. . . . Jesse would have a lot of trust in Mark." (Story 1)

C. Role taking abilities

0 points - no obvious consideration of another person's perspective.

"Nothing. Why not. I don't know. I don't know." (Story 3)

1 point - considers position of only one party in making decision.

"If I were Karl I'd probably go with Mike. Because guys want to have fun and not go shopping. He'd have a better time." (Story 4)

"I would tell him that I think George is a better man. To be truthful." (Story 3)

2 points - superficial consideration of all parties

"If I was Sara I would stand still and wait for Beth and let her sign up. To be polite even though she can't draw well, but maybe she can do other things." (Story 2)

"Go with Jackie. Because she promised her first. Happy because she kept her promise and disappointed 'cause she couldn't go with Marian." (Story 4)

3 points - position of one character considered in depth with some consideration of other(s).

"I would play with John. Because it's not fair to John if I play with the other kids. John's feelings would be hurt. It would show Karl was only using John. He would be angry but he would feel better for having done the right thing and for not hurting John." (Story 4)

"I'd tell him that I'd either had to play with John or let him come along with us. I'd tell him that we'd already set a date and I couldn't break it, then I'd tell him to put himself in John's position. And, that I might see him later." (Story 4)

4 points - in depth consideration of all characters' perspectives.

"If I were Mark I would give him an example of someone who was overweight and still stayed popular. I wouldn't tell him that Jesse had the same problem. If I were to tell about Jesse and his problem, I wouldn't be holding the secret and he would probably get mad at me and tell everyone not to tell me their problems because I tell everybody about them. I think Mark would feel like he was very smart. He kept the secret and helped Peter with his problem." (Story 1)

"I would ask Jesse and explain that Peter has the same problem as you and if it would be all right to tell him about you. This way, it might make Peter feel better . . . I think Mark would feel good because he promised and made sure he wouldn't say anything and did a right thing by asking Jesse first about the problem with Peter." (Story 1)

D. Affect of protagonist after decision is made or action is taken.

0 points - no affect

"I didn't tell her to do anything." (Story 3)

"No different." (Story 1)

1 point - simple negative

"He would feel bad for not voting for Gary." (Story 3)

"Helpless." (Story 1)



2 points - simple positive

"He'd feel satisfied and relieved that he got out of the middle of the situation." (Story 3)

"I think she would feel that she did the right thing." (Story 4)

3 points - simple negative and positive

"I don't think he would feel proud of himself but he would be glad that Richard was not on the team." (Story 2)

"She would feel good that she had kept a secret but would also feel that she would like to help Christine." (Story 1)

4 points - negative, qualified or elaborated

"Sara would feel bad but she would realize the fact that you can't have bad drawers on a committee." (Story 2)

"Like a heel, but would soon see that she was correct." (Story 3)

5 points - positive, qualified or elaborated

"She would feel warm and would feel a bit more grown up because she is doing something to help someone else even though there is something else she would rather do. A nice feeling." (Story 4)

"I think Mark would feel he had done the right thing by keeping his promise to Jesse. He probably would feel sorry for Peter but it was the only thing he could do." (Story 1)

## E. Affect of other after decision is made or action taken

0 points - no affect

"He wouldn't know either way." (Story 1)

"The same way." (Story 4)

1 point - simple negative

"Lousy." (Story 3)

"Maybe spiteful because Sara is the head of the committee and Beth isn't even on the committee." (Story 2)

2 points - simple positive

"Happy because Joshua had waited for him." (Story 2)

"John would be glad that Karl did stay to play with him." (Story 4)

3 points - simple negative and positive

"Depends on if he took it personally or not. If not, okay. If so, he'd feel bad." (Story 3)

"He might accept my excuse as truth and think nothing of it. If he does not accept the excuse he might feel bad or angry." (Story 4)

4 points - negative, qualified or elaborated

"Hopeful, but doubtful, knowing that she has friends but possibly isn't best for the job." (Story 3)

"Beth would probably feel very offended about Sara's bluntness. She probably wouldn't take time out to think that "honesty is the best policy." (Story 2)

5 points - positive, qualified or elaborated

"He would feel that he could trust Mark and he wouldn't feel too bad about what the coach said." (Story 1)

"Gary would at first probably hate Alan, he'd probably feel that he wasn't much of a friend. Till he really thought about it, then he would realize that Alan did it for his own good, and Gary also would feel a more better friendship." (Story 3)

Sample answers for the various scoring categories are as follows:

Part Two

A. Dealing with "transgression"

0 points - no feelings of having wronged other.

"Alan thanks him, graciously accepting the offer and leaves."  
(Story 3)

"Karl probably would. He does what he wants to do." (Story 4)

1 point - some sense of guilt, discomfort, confusion

"Ashamed for telling Christine." (Story 1)

"Linda would let Susan help her, but Linda would feel kind of small." (Story 3)

2 points - attempt to deal with guilt feelings--confession or some form of reparation.

"I do not think Sara should ask Beth for the book unless Sara plans to apologize for her behavior." (Story 2)

"Liz tells Marilyn about her fight and also about the broken promise." (Story 1)

3 points - attempt to deal with guilt by re-establishing openness with consideration of other's feelings.

"I think Linda should tell her the truth about who she voted for and then ask Susan if she would still go for her."  
(Story 3)

"Liz tells Marilyn first that she broke her promise and that she was real sorry, and tells her about her idea about her (Marilyn) and Christine going on a diet together." (Story 1)

4 points - includes characteristics of number 3 but adds some statement about the future of the relationship.

"Marilyn had found out that Liz broke her promise and says why should I keep your secret if you couldn't be a friend and keep mine. Liz explains the circumstances which justify why she told Christine and Marilyn says, "Why didn't you tell me?" Liz says she was afraid she'd be mad. Marilyn, if she's a good friend, will forgive Liz and try to help her with her problem and listen to her. Yes, a friend in need is a friend indeed. If they are good friends they should remain open with each other and not let a little misunderstanding upset such a good friendship."  
(Story 1)



## B. Reciprocity

0 points - no reflection on previous treatment of other

"Yes. The election is over, the experience has obviously lost significance in the life of the two boys." (Story 3)

"Yes. A good grade is worth more than thinking about what you should have done in Sara's situation." (Story 2)

1 point - some idea, indication that the relationship is not equal, may involve punishment by other, anger.

"Sara calls Beth and finds out she will not receive the book. Yes. Because she can't go on not talking to her forever, you gotta start somewhere." (Story 2)

"No. Because it just wouldn't be right." (Story 3)

2 points - reflections on previous treatment of other

"No. Because he feels that if he misses the job it will be a payback for what he did." (Story 3)

"No. If Ellen cannot keep a promise because she would have more fun with someone else, then she should not accept the invitation. I believe it would be wrong." (Story 4)

3 points - reflections on previous treatment of other plus some action taken with intent to re-establish equality.

"Yes. Because she needs someone to talk to and Marilyn has already confided in Liz about her problems. Marilyn understands why Liz told Christine and is now willing to help Liz, but Liz now feels she has broken the trust between her and Marilyn, and she must get everything out in the open before telling her own problems." (Story 1)

"His conscience will bother him whenever he sees Rich and he may try to compensate for not letting Rich be on the committee." (Story 2)

## C. Affect of protagonist

0 points - no affect

"Rushed and nothing else." (Story 3)

"Karl probably doesn't care either way." (Story 4)

1 point - simple negative

"She feels very ashamed." (Story 2)

"He realizes that he should have let him on the team." (Story 2)

2 points - simple positive

"He's glad to be able to tell someone about the argument."  
(Story 1)

"Grateful." (Story 3)

3 points - simple negative and positive

"A little awkward 'cause she lied but she will feel better later on."

"Joshua feels bad at first but knows getting on the bus saved a lot of embarrassment." (Story 2)

4 points - negative, qualified or elaborated

"Mad at herself because of the way she lied and mad at herself also because she passed up the chance to go with Jackie because she wanted to go with her (Ellen's) friends. So she later on tells the truth and Jackie is kinda mad. She (Ellen) isn't really a good friend if 1) she lied to Jackie and 2) that she just didn't come right out and tell her the truth." (Story 4)

"If Linda felt she was right it should not bother her, but if she was a true friend and felt she should have told Susan then she would feel guilty about not telling Susan." (Story 3)

5 points - positive, qualified or elaborated

"Glad that she got it off her chest about her telling Chris and that Marilyn isn't much mad and glad that Marilyn helped her solve her problem after she broke her promise." (Story 1)

"Alan feels good about having supported the stronger candidate and, at the same time, reassuring his friend. He might not have felt as comfortable having voted for Gary out of commitment, but he obviously cares about his friend's feelings and is committed to him in ways that far surpass the importance of the election." (Story 3)

## D. General ending

0 points - no affect

"She helps her fix her bike. Yes. Why not? The same as she always did." (Story 3)

1 point

"Beth turns her down. No. Because she didn't give Beth a chance. Sad." (Story 2)

"They have a big fight. No. What he doesn't know won't hurt him. He hopes he can get out of this mess." (Story 1)

2 points

"Karl says he won't be able to make it. No. Because he'd leave him to go with other friends. He feels bad." (Story 4)

"Mark tells Jesse what happened. Yes. Because everybody should be able to tell someone what happens to them. He feels guilty for telling Peter and breaking his promise to Jesse." (Story 1)

3 points

"Linda walks in and fixes the bike and they go in for a drink. Yes. If she knows how, why not? She shouldn't be worried about Sue finding out that she didn't vote for her, if it's a secret vote." (Story 3)

"Susan starts to help Linda. Yes. But she should tell Susan that she didn't vote for her as a true friend should. Susan wouldn't be offering to help just because Linda "voted" for her. Guilty. But if she tells, a little relieved. (Story 3)

4 points

"She talks to Marilyn and gets it off her chest and also explains how she told Christine. Yes. Because she knows she can trust her. Better now." (Story 1)

"Hopefully not much. During the conversation the truth comes out and Susan, being the understanding girl that she is, accepts it and helps Linda with her bicycle. Yes. It's good not to hold back feeling. That was the perfect time for the truth. Pleased with her decision." (Story 3)

5 points

"Mark tells Jesse about what the coach said to Peter. Then says he broke his promise to comfort Peter. Sure. If they're as close as they seemed, they can always trust each other. If Jesse understands (he will) Mark should feel pretty good." (Story 1)

"She helps her, and tells her about it. Susan gets upset but friendship is more than that and Sue understands. Yes. Because they are friends. Great. Everything is clear." (Story 3)

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