



Reasoning about morality in sons of lesbian and traditional parents: A developmental analysis

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Task definition

Analysis of distributive justice interviews

Developmental analysis of conceptions related to distributive justice

This section is comprised of a set of tables related to the distributive justice questions in the sons' interviews and the relation of sons' concepts to the complexity levels of their performances. In this section, and throughout this document (unless otherwise indicated) we have highlighted in red those concept codes that were awarded to more than 25% of sons in any one group. This has been done to make it easier to identify the more commonly used conceptions. Tables 2, 4, 7, 10, and 12 provide more general descriptions of reasoning at each developmental level.

Table 1: The relation between complexity level and *distribution* responses

Code	RM	%	RS	%	SA	%
Lazy kid should get some money and some gifts	1	25.00				
Teacher should loan poor kid the money	1	25.00			1	12.50
Coming up with the idea to have the sale should not affect distribution	1	25.00	1	5.00		
Students and school should share the money	1	25.00	1	5.00	1	12.50
Teacher shouldn't get any money	1	25.00	2	10.00	3	37.50
Quality/quantity of work should be considered	1	25.00	4	20.00		
Behavior should affect distribution	1	25.00	5	25.00	1	12.50
Performance (amount earned) should affect distribution.	1	25.00	5	25.00	4	50.00
Students and teacher should share the money	1	25.00	8	40.00	2	25.00
Equal: Money should be split evenly	1	25.00	10	50.00	2	25.00
Behavior should not affect distribution	1	25.00	10	50.00	3	37.50
Effort should affect distribution	2	50.00	7	35.00	5	62.50
Kids should get the money	2	50.00	8	40.00	4	50.00
Work amount should affect distribution	3	75.00	10	50.00	8	100.00
Quality/quantity of work should not be considered	4	100.00	18	90.00	8	100.00
Income should affect distribution	4	100.00	19	95.00	4	50.00
It is fair to earn candy/grade/money			1	5.00		
Teacher should get money			1	5.00		
Sex should not affect distribution			1	5.00		
Teacher should secretly give poor kid candy			1	5.00	1	12.50
Feelings should affect distribution			2	10.00		
Equal: Everyone in the class is equal			2	10.00	1	12.50
Money should go to charity			2	10.00	4	50.00
Possible reward should affect distribution			3	15.00		
There is more than one fair way to divide the money			4	20.00	6	75.00
Money should be used to buy school supplies			8	40.00	5	62.50
School/class should get the money			9	45.00	5	62.50
Some of the money should be used to pay taxes					1	12.50
Skill should affect distribution					1	12.50
Poverty should not affect distribution					1	12.50
Kids should vote on what to do					2	25.00
Money should be divided to benefit the most people					2	25.00

Table 2: Descriptions of the relation between complexity level and *distribution* responses

Lectical™ Level	Distribution	Examples
RM	At this level the choice regarding the distribution of money is made in light of a small number of concrete considerations. The relation between the kids and the money is seen as primary, i.e. because they made the money it should be theirs. Little else is considered as relevant and alternate options for distributing the money are not offered.	[SOMEONE SAID THE TEACHER SHOULD GET THE MONEY BECAUSE IT WAS HIS IDEA TO MAKE THE PICTURES. WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT THAT?] No. [NO? WHY NOT?] Because he didn't make the pictures and he didn't make the money. [1279]
RS	At this level the choice regarding the distribution of money is made in light of diverse and often elaborate concrete considerations. Lists of various school supplies and other ameliorative purchases are offered as preferences for the use of the money. These descriptions of possible purchases are related to considerations regarding the students and teacher. A general concern for fairness emerges (usually strict equality), which remains implicit and tied to particular solutions. However, the proliferation of possible uses for the money and possible schemes of distribution does give rise to the idea that there is more than one possible way to appropriately solve problem.	They should like give it to the school so the school gets more money so they can build and stuff...like build a new play yard or something. [THEY SHOULD GIVE IT BACK TO THE SCHOOL. WHY DO YOU THINK...] Like so the school could make...if like there was a fire at school and the music house burnt down and they don't have enough money for a new stage and music room with all the instruments again costs the right amount of money that you have. [WHY SHOULD THE KIDS GIVE IT BACK TO THE SCHOOL AND BUILD SOMETHING...PUT THE MONEY TOWARDS BUILDING A PLAYGROUND OR A MUSIC ROOM?] Because if like, 'cause if like they got two hundred dollars... [MM-HM] ...like they got about (pause) twenty hundred dollars... [MM-HM] ...and like if they each gave everybody ten- twenty dollars and one person only got 19, then they would have to figure out another way 'cause it wouldn't be fair to the other. [1271]
SA	At this level the choice regarding the distribution of money is made by coordinating a variety of different concrete considerations, such as what could be bought, who deserves the money and why. These considerations are coordinated by a general concern for determining fairest solution. Multiple solutions are considered and the possibility that there is more than one best solution is entertained. Different types of possibilities are considered, i.e. school supplies, field trips, charities. Different types of interests are considered, i.e. students', teacher's, and school's. These are coordinated by a search for the best solution, typically in terms of fairness or some other abstract criterion of adequacy.	Well, they could either keep it for themselves and buy like, and do some assembly, or, you know, have money for the school? Or they could give it to like a homeless shelter or, to something, one of those rainforest places that help the animals in the rainforest, or like the San Francisco AIDS Foundation or something. [WHY DO YOU THINK THEY SHOULD GIVE IT TO THE SCHOOL, OR...] Well if it's a poor school, then they might need it. But if it's a rich school, or if they don't really like need it, then they should give it to someone that needs it? Because they need it, the other place that they need it. And so they kind of need to think about it. I mean, they know whether it's a poor or rich school. [1280]

Table 3: The relation between reasons for *distribution* responses and complexity level

Code	RM	%	RS	%	SA	%
Reason: Grown-ups have better ideas	1	25.00				
Reason: Teachers already have money	1	25.00	3	15.00	1	12.50
Reason: More money should go to the teacher for being the boss			1	5.00		
Reason: Kids should get the money so they can buy toys			1	5.00		
Reason: Teachers should get the money because they are grownups			1	5.00		
Reason: Being too particular is bad when painting because you will see all of the mistakes			1	5.00		
Reason: Have to earn money/grade/candy bar			1	5.00		
Reason: Teacher should make certain choices			1	5.00	2	25.00
Reason: Giving money to the class makes the class better			4	20.00	2	25.00
Reason: Kids are different at different ages					1	12.50
Reason: All kids misbehave sometimes					1	12.50
Reason: Some money should go to the school because they determine the activities					1	12.50
Reason: Teacher should give Billy the candy bar because he has never had candy before					1	12.50
Reason: Kids might lie					2	25.00

Table 4: Descriptions of the relation between reasons for *distribution* responses and complexity level

Lectical™ Level	Reasons for Distribution	Examples
RM	At this level considerations regarding the distribution of money involve particular and simple responses to concrete facets of the problem (often merely following the questioning of interviewer). Respondents offer suggestions of possible distributions, typically by describing specific actions to be performed: "Give the money to the ones who worked most." They may also list the immediate consequences of certain distribution schemes, typically in terms of likely concrete outcomes: "That's bad, the girls will get mad." Evaluations are made in light of a standard of fairness, typically articulated as a concrete sense of equality: "Every one should get the same amount." Often the standard remains implicit and is not consistently applied across contexts.	[MELISSA SAYS THE GIRLS SHOULD GET MORE THAN THE BOYS. WHY WOULD SHE SAY THAT?] I dunno! Maybe because the girls didn't draw as good as the boys? [SO THEY SHOULD GET MORE, EVEN THOUGH THEY DIDN'T DRAW AS WELL?] Yeah... Maybe that. But I think they ALL still... I still think they all should get the same amount of money. [SO YOU DON'T THINK MELISSA IS RIGHT.] Yeah. [HOW ABOUT: JOHN SAYS THE BOYS SHOULD GET MORE. DO YOU THINK THAT'S FAIR?] No way! [NO WAY. WHY IS THAT NOT FAIR?] 'Cuzz they each should get the same amount of money, I still think. [OKAY.] 'Cuzz it wouldn't be fair to the other kids. [IT WOULD NOT BE FAIR.] So they all should get the same amount, otherwise it wouldn't be fair. [1293]
RS	At this level considerations regarding the distribution of money involve outlining accounts of possible distribution scenarios and evaluating them. The scenarios are offered as concrete accounts coordinating elements such as: basic mathematical operations on the money sum, situations or expectations of people involved, possible creative uses of money (e.g., charities), possible consequences of particular distribution strategies, etc. These elements are woven into a distribution scenario that is evaluated in light of a conception of fairness that includes concrete equality or balancing of simple expectations or concern for broader issues (such as awareness of poverty).	[WHAT DO YOU THINK THEY SHOULD DO WITH THE MONEY?] How much is there? [WELL WHAT DO YOU THINK?] \$17. \$17, OKAY. Is that even or odd? [THAT'S ODD.] Okay, so that would be pretty hard... [TO SPLIT UP?] Uh-huh. Maybe the teacher can have some of it and the kids can have the rest. [HUH?] Like the kids can have like \$2, all of them, and the rest would go to him, or their parents. [WHY WOULD YOU DO IT THAT WAY THAT THE KIDS WOULD GET \$2 EACH AND THE PARENTS OR TEACHER--] --'Cuzz it's an odd number, and you couldn't be splitting it up, because one person would get more and the other person would get less. [1279]

Lectical™ Level	Reasons for Distribution	Examples
SA	<p>At this level, considerations regarding the distribution of money entail relating the situations of those involved to various possible distribution scenarios and evaluating these considerations in light of a standard of fairness. This involves describing concrete distribution methods (e.g. specific actions) and the ways these would affect the particular people implicated therein (e.g. specific expectations and situations). Fairness is used as a criterion for evaluating the outcomes of these considerations and is typically seen as an obligation to treat everybody equally and/or make everybody happy and/or to do the right thing. Distribution scenarios become increasingly sensitive to broader issues, such as poverty, gender, etc., but the overall evaluative lens is still some sense of equal treatment and/or happiness of those involved and/or the best use of the money in particular cases.</p>	<p>They should just divide it up and try to make sure everyone gets the same amount. And if they can't, it should just be a few cents. And if there's a lot more money for one kid then they should just... even a few less cents, everyone should get exactly the same money. But if they get like one penny less... if they got ten or a penny or five cents less, then that's okay. Anything more than that wouldn't be okay... Except for the poor kids. They should get more. [THEY SHOULD GET MORE. BUT THEY SHOULD JUST GET A FEW PENNIES MORE?] No, they should get a lot more. [A LOT MORE.] Well, they should get like a little more in dollars, but if they don't get paid at all, then they should get like medium paid in dollars. [SO THEN EVERYBODY WOULDN'T GET THE SAME AMOUNT. EVERYBODY WOULD GET THE SAME BUT THE POOR KIDS WOULD GET MORE IN DOLLARS.] Yeah. The poor kids. So they would have more options, they would have options. [1289]</p>

Table 5: The relation between *fairness* considerations and complexity level

Fairness Code	RM	%	RS	%	SA	%
Contest or a chore is fair but not both	1	25.00				
Decision is fair even if not everyone agrees	1	25.00	1	5.00		
Work/chores done should be basis for distribution	1	25.00	1	5.00	3	37.50
Hurting feelings is unfair	1	25.00	2	10.00	1	12.50
Equal: Fairness is being treated the same	1	25.00	3	15.00	4	50.00
Unequal distribution/treatment is unfair	1	25.00	5	25.00		
Self-interest should not affect distribution.	1	25.00	10	50.00	5	62.50
It is fair to earn candy/grade/money	1	25.00	10	50.00	6	75.00
Poverty should affect distribution	2	50.00	12	60.00	3	37.50
Equal: Chores are unfair because the other kids don't do them	3	75.00	2	10.00		
It is unfair for poor child to have more chores	3	75.00	7	35.00	2	25.00
Contest is unfair	4	100.00	10	50.00	5	62.50
Sex should not affect distribution	4	100.00	16	80.00	7	87.50
Equal: Equal distribution is fair	4	100.00	18	90.00	3	37.50
Having more options is fair			1	5.00		
Boys and girls have fights			1	5.00		
Unkind actions are unfair			1	5.00		
Meanness should not be rewarded			1	5.00		
Money should not be divided up in a mean way			1	5.00		
Quality/quantity of work should not be considered			1	5.00		
Contest shouldn't be too easy			1	5.00		
Contest shouldn't be too hard			2	10.00		
Coming up with the idea to have the sale should not affect distribution			2	10.00	1	12.50
Money should be divided so that everyone is happy			2	10.00	1	12.50
Equal: Things should be divided up as equally as possible			2	10.00	1	12.50
Candy should be free to everyone			2	10.00	2	25.00
Work amount should affect distribution			2	10.00	2	25.00
Decision is fair and unfair			3	15.00	1	12.50
Equal: Distribution is not fair if it is too unequal			3	15.00	2	25.00
Equal: Boys and girls are the same and should be treated equally			3	15.00	2	25.00
What is fair to some is not always fair to others			4	20.00		
Personal relationships should not affect distribution			4	20.00	2	25.00
Contest is fair			7	35.00	2	25.00
Equal: We are equal because we are all people					1	12.50
Kids should have the choice to sell their art					2	25.00
Poverty should not affect distribution					4	50.00

Table 6: The relation between reasons for *fairness* responses and complexity level

Fairness Code	RM	%	RS	%	SA	%
Reason: Work amount might be too much	1	25.00	2	10.00		
Reason: Have to earn money/grade/candy bar	2	50.00	5	25.00		
Reason: Contest not fair because the chance of winning is low	4	100.00	7	35.00	4	50.00
Reason: Chores are not fair because student might be unable to do them			1	5.00		
Reason: It isn't fair to base distribution on differences			1	5.00		
Reason: Feelings of teacher/student should be considered			2	10.00	1	12.50
Reason: Behavior is unrelated to artwork			4	20.00	3	37.50
Reason: Splitting things up equally will keep people happy			5	25.00	2	25.00
Reason: People are good at different things			6	30.00	2	25.00
Reason: Everyone has a different idea of what is good art			6	30.00	4	50.00
Reason: Earning the candy bar and paying for it are the same thing					1	12.50
Reason: It is good for people to be different					1	12.50
Reason: Everyone should be equal because then they can buy the same amount of things					1	12.50

Table 7: Descriptions of reasoning about *fairness* by complexity level

Lectical™ Level	Fairness	Examples
RM	At this level conceptions of fairness involve ideas of concrete equality—everybody gets the same amount/is treated the same. This idea is articulated relative to simple accounts of possible scenarios. When other considerations are brought to light (feelings, poverty) it typically results in the inconsistent application of the idea of concrete equality. For example the respondent will change their mind when the particular situation of a person is brought to light, often opting for an unequal treatment.	[MELISSA SAYS THE GIRLS SHOULD GET MORE THAN THE BOYS. WHY WOULD SHE SAY THAT?] I don't know, that's such a bad thing! [THAT'S SUCH A BAD THING! IS IT RIGHT?] No, it's super wrong! [WHY IS IT SUPER WRONG?] Because everybody wouldn't get the same amount of money. [OKAY. JOHN SAYS THE BOYS SHOULD GET MORE. IS THAT FAIR?] No. [WHY WOULD HE SAY THAT?] I don't know. That's a bad idea, because the girls wouldn't get a lot of money. [1301]
RS	At this level conceptions of fairness involve the idea of concrete equality and/or the idea that people can be treated differently, but only in order to bring about concrete equality. Issues such as talent, gender, work ethic, etc. are considered as irrelevant to the idea of concrete equality. However, poverty is sometimes taken to be a case where unequal treatment would be fair. In this case the idea becomes that people should be made equal: "Poor kids should get more than rich kids because they have less to begin with."	[LISA SAYS THAT THE POOR KIDS SHOULD GET THE MONEY BECAUSE THEY DON'T HAVE MUCH.] That's not right. I think that the poor kids shouldn't get a lot of the money, because other kids might be poor and there might not be enough. And that's taking money away from the other kids....Oh. I think they should get some of the money. But they shouldn't get most of it. [SO SHOULD HE GET AS MUCH AS EVERYBODY ELSE, IF THEY SPLIT IT?] Yeah, I think they should get... they are the poorest in the class? [YEAH.] I think they should get a little more but not too much more. [WHY NOT TOO MUCH MORE?] Because then the other kids won't get a lot. Won't get some. [1299]

Lectical™ Level	Fairness	Examples
SA	At this level conceptions of fairness involve both ideas about equal treatment and equal outcomes. Possible situations (specific courses of action) are considered in light of likely concrete outcomes. The actions and outcomes are evaluated by mediating two considerations: are people being treated the same; do (even unequal) treatments result in creating equal situations for people. Issues of gender, talent, and work ethic, are considered in more detail but typically do not affect equal treatments. Often broader considerations such as the interests and opinions of those involved are brought to bear. But considering the perspectives of those involved is not as integral to the decision as considerations of equal treatments and outcomes. However, it is these considerations that make it less likely for poverty to be seen as warranting unequal treatment.	[SO IF YOU WERE FAIR, YOU WOULD NOT GIVE HIM A FREE ONE.] Yeah, but it's, it's like it's his decision, so... [IT'S WHOSE DECISION? MR. TOWNSEND?] Yeah. [BUT, WHY IS IT NOT FAIR TO GIVE HIM A FREE ONE?] Because if you give him a free one then all the other people, they have to like, they have to stand up and count like money on theirs, and he doesn't, he just gets it, like, "Can I have one, Mr. Tanner?" and then he just takes it. And then, like, "Oh, I only have 9 cents." Ooohhh. And they have to pay money. [SO IT WOULDN'T BE FAIR.] No, it wouldn't be fair. But I mean if they're going to make a conception [sic] because he's, like, he's not that... he's like not that wealthy, then... If you wanted to be like considerate and stuff, then I would give him one. But if I, but if the whole class would like reject on it? [YEAH.] Then I wouldn't, like, because it would be unfair. [1297]

Table 8: The relation between *poverty* responses and complexity level

Poverty Code	RM	%	RS	%	SA	%
Money from the class should be used to give poor kid an allowance	2	50.00			2	25.00
Kids that don't want to give poor kid a free candy bar should be punished	1	25.00				
Poor kid should get candy because he might be too poor to bring his own lunch	1	25.00				
Teacher should explain poor kid's situation to the kids in the class	1	25.00	1	5.00		
Each kid should give poor kid a little extra money	1	25.00	3	15.00	1	12.50
Teacher should give poor kid the money	2	50.00	2	10.00		
Teachers' share should go to poor kid			2	10.00		
Student would give his own money to poor kid for candy			2	10.00		
Poor kid should pay when he can			3	15.00	1	12.50
Poor people need more money			3	15.00	3	37.50
Extra money should go to poor kid's parents			4	20.00	1	12.50
Some free candy/money is okay			6	30.00	3	37.50
Class should give all the money to poor kid			1	5.00		
The school, not the kids, should help poor students			2	10.00	1	12.50
Poor kid should get a job			1	5.00	2	25.00
Poor child should not get extra money			2	10.00	1	12.50
Poor child should get charged a reduced price			2	10.00	3	37.50

Table 9: The relation between reasons for *poverty* responses and complexity level

Poverty Code	RM	%	RS	%	SA	%
Reason: More money should go to the poor because the rich will still have more	1	25.00				
Reason: Kids should give money to poor kid's parents so that they can give him an allowance			1	5.00		
Reason: You have a better life with money			3	15.00	1	12.50
Reason: Teachers care more about poor people than kids do			1	5.00		
Reason: Poor kid should not pay for candy and get poorer			2	10.00		
Reason: People need money to survive			4	20.00	2	25.00
Reason: Poor kid should not get more than other poor kids			2	10.00	1	12.50
Reason: With a job poor kid can make more money					1	12.50
Reason: There is no way to know who is poor					1	12.50
Reason: Poverty is not an issue that should be addressed at school					1	12.50
Reason: The small amount of money from the school isn't enough to help poor kid's family					1	12.50
Reason: Money for poor kid's candy is a tax on the other kids candy					1	12.50

Table 10: Descriptions of reasoning about *poverty* by complexity level

Lectical™ Level	Poverty	Examples
RM	At this level the kids have a hard time reconciling their concept of fairness (defined as equal shares) and their concept of charity. The idea of fairness/equality is very strong but they are unable to link the idea of the redistribution of funds in the classroom with the larger inequality of the families outside of it. More simply, they do not see that the redistribution in the classroom could be fair because it actually achieves greater equality outside of it.	[How about Billy? He comes from a poor family and doesn't get an allowance. What should the class do about him?] Give him the most, I think. [Give him the most? What if the teacher says no? Would you go along with the teacher or do you think you're right--] --they would just, maybe, give some of their money to him. [The kids?] Yeah. [Could give some of their money to him. Okay.] That they use for their change. [I see, their change they should give to Billy.] Yeah. (1293) [Lisa says that the poor kids should get more money because they don't have much. Do you agree with that?] Well.... I like it a little. [Tell me why you like that idea a little bit.] Because it's kinda like, if the poor kids had... then the poor kids would get more money, then the kind of, then the kind of rich kids wouldn't like it. [The poor kids would get more money and that's kind of fair, but the rich kids wouldn't like it. And if they didn't like it, would that make it not fair?] No. [So you kind of agree that the poor kids should get the money.] Well, it's kinda fair. [It is kinda fair. Because they have less than the rich kids?] Yeah. I said KIND of. [Kind of. But what makes it not fair? That's what I'm not sure about.] Well... like, if it's not fair, then that kids won't like it; but if it IS fair, then they would. [So, if you were a rich kid, would you think it's fair that the poor kids got the money?] I think it would be a little bit fair, because I like people that have no money, that, and sometimes I even help little babies. (1285)

Lectical™ Level	Poverty	Examples
RS	Kids at this level begin to extrapolate upon their concept of poorness to include the family of the poor student and the larger ramifications of being poor. The things that money is necessary for are often listed when describing the reasons for giving the poor student and his family money.	<p>[Lisa says that the poor kids should get the money because they don't have much.] Oh, yeah, that's really fair!! [You think that is fair.] Yeah. [Why do you think that's fair?] Because then you would help the earth... actually you wouldn't help the earth, you would help the poor. The poor NEEDS money to get a house, to get a toilet, to get their own privacy. [So you would be helping the poor.] Yeah. (1284)</p> <p>[Lisa says that the poor kids should get the money because they don't have much. What do you think about that?] I think that's more fair than the other ones. Because, like, if a person... if a kid who has less money. Or it depends on how much money. If one kid has like \$75, and the other kids have like \$1,000-and-something in their bank account, it wouldn't be fair. Because that kid's, like, the kid doesn't have as many options to buy things with. And the other kids are probably like buying, like, a new video game system, and those cost a lot of money. But they cost less than \$1,000. [I don't follow you. So should the poor kids get more money, or not?] Well, it depends on how much money they get. They should get like a little more money in dollars, because they don't have as many options. (1289)</p>
SA	At this level the children are considering an even broader interpretation of poverty by describing it as a problem that is too large for the class to address. They become concerned with the idea of helping a larger number of people and also describe charity as something that should be separated from the efforts of the kids in the classroom.	<p>[Lisa says that the poor kids should get the money because they don't have much.] That could be fair. Like I said, if it's a rich school, they don't need any supplies or anything like we have all these painting supplies and we have everything else: pencils, tables and everything? And there's this really poor school that doesn't have chairs, rugs, tables or anything? You should give it to them. [You should give it to the school, if it's a poor school. But what about a poor kid, should a poor kid get more than the other kids if you split it up among the kids?] I don't think so very much. [No? Why don't you?] This is a really hard school to get into, I mean get in, and that means you're not really going to be that poor... Like it's a private school, right? [Not necessarily.] Okay. So then, there's this poor kid in the class who like lives on the streets and everything but he does go to school no matter what, he like doesn't wear shoes to school? [You should help him with like a few supplies like some new clothes and new shoes and, like, a shower or something? Then you could... [But you shouldn't give him more money in this transaction...]] No, I don't think so. [You're saying the school should help him in some way but not the--] No. 'Cuzz a fourth and fifth grade class you don't really need money to buy anything unless you're some buying addict that like buys everything in your sight? And it'd be like crazy. Like find some money somewhere? (1281)</p> <p>[Lisa says that the poor kids should get the money because they don't have much.] I think that's pretty fair... But I think it's, I think it's sorta not fair because of the reasons everyone put a lot of effort into it and I don't remember what else I said, but whatever I said, "repeat." [You said you don't think it's fair now that the poor kids should get more money because everybody put a lot of effort into it, and you think that they should get the money in terms of how many pictures they sold. But you do say part of you feels like it would be fair. Why do you think that?] Well because poor people need some money. [Poor people need some money.] And without the money, they might not, well it's hard for them to live, and even if they give the most money to the poorest people it wouldn't help them out much because it's only like 2 or 3 bucks, and that doesn't help out much. So I don't think they should waste class money on that. [That's your feeling now, that although the poor people need money this is not going to be a lot of money and it's not really going to help them out...] So they should split it put among the kids. [According to how many pictures they sold...] They drew. [Oh, they drew. Okay. (1282)</p>

Table 11: Distribution of *grading* responses by complexity level

Grades Code	RM	%	RS	%	SA	%
Teacher should grade everyone the same	1	25.00				
Grades should reflect behavior	1	25.00	2	10.00		
Grades let students see where they need improvement	1	25.00	2	10.00	3	37.50
Grades are given to show parents their children's work	2	50.00	2	10.00	4	50.00

Grades are given to reward good students	2	50.00	4	20.00	1	12.50
Grades reward right answers	2	50.00	4	20.00	1	12.50
Effort and intelligence are equal	3	75.00	8	40.00	3	37.50
Student reports that he would improve for a reward			1	5.00		
Grades should be fair			1	5.00		
Teacher gives out marks to know when a kid is ready to move up a grade			1	5.00		
Teacher should consider extenuating circumstances when determining grades			1	5.00		
Less able student should get some help			1	5.00		
More able students should help less able students			1	5.00		
Feelings should affect distribution			1	5.00		
Teacher should give harder problems to smart students			1	5.00		
There should be two kinds of grades			1	5.00	1	12.50
Teacher should consider students' feelings			1	5.00	2	25.00
Teacher should encourage less able student to do better			2	10.00		
Skill should affect distribution			2	10.00	1	12.50
Teacher should help students more			2	10.00	1	12.50
Effort is more important than being right			3	15.00	3	37.50
Grades are a way for kids to know how they are doing			6	30.00	3	37.50
Grades reflect students' effort			7	35.00	4	50.00
Grades should be up to the principal					1	12.50
Grading should depend upon existing school rules					1	12.50
Grades should show when you have improved					1	12.50
Getting a bad mark might make the other kids tease you					1	12.50
You need grades to get into college					1	12.50
Kids act the way they do because of their home life					1	12.50
It is okay to be lazy if you are smart enough					1	12.50
Teacher should correct work so the kids know what they did wrong					2	25.00

Table 12: Descriptions of reasoning about *grading* by complexity level

Lectical™ Level	Grades	Examples
RM	<p>At this level grades are seen as rewards and evaluations. They make you happy or sad and tell you how well you are doing. It is believed that grades should reflect effort and not just talent. Moreover, it is unclear if grades reflect other things besides schoolwork, i.e. being good, well behaved, etc. Implicit standards of what is fair and what is nice are used to evaluate grading practices: "It would be mean to give a bad grade when they tried hard."</p>	<p>Well, if Rebecca is smarter than Peter, and Peter is more responsible-er than Rebecca, then I think they should both get the most stars. ([SO YOU SAID REBECCA IS SMARTER AND PETER IS MORE RESPONSIBLE SO THEY BOTH SHOULD GET STARS. HOW COME?] Because... they both are the most talent. [THEY BOTH HAVE THE MOST TALENT.] Like Rebecca has the talent of math, and Peter has the responsibility for cleaning up his room and doing his homework. So that's why they should both get the most stars. [I SEE. SO THEY BOTH HAVE A TALENT: REBECCA IS SMART, AND PETER IS RESPONSIBLE. SO THEY SHOULD GET THE SAME AMOUNT OF STARS.] Yah. [1285]</p>
RS	<p>At this level grades are seen as a part of a larger classroom/educational situation. They are described as relating to effort, talent, and smarts. Grades are seen as evaluative and informative: "They let you know how good you are doing." They are also seen as rewards, with the power to make people happy, sad, excited, and discouraged. The consequences of bringing grades home to one's family are sometimes considered. Such considerations of the outcomes of awarding grades begin to play a role in judgments concerning the fairness of grading schemes.</p>	<p>[WHY DOES A TEACHER GIVE GRADES ANYWAY?] Because in one whole school there might be too much kids, and, some grown-ups might not know, well actually a teacher could just take turns with kids, and tell how he's doing it, telling kids... Or, like... like, if there's one kid like a toddler, and as he gets higher and he gets better at math? And a grade is something that you have to do something harder. [OH, SO A GRADE WILL SHOW YOU THAT YOU UNDERSTAND SOMETHING AND THEN YOU CAN DO SOMETHING HARDER.] Yeah. [AND IS THAT, IS THAT A GOOD REASON FOR A TEACHER TO GIVE GRADES?] Yeah. [SO THEY KNOW... WHAT?] So they know, uhm... [WHEN TO GIVE SOMETHING HARDER, IS THAT WHAT YOU MEANT?] Yeah, when to give someone harder work when they're doing good. [1284]</p>
SA	<p>At this level grades are seen as informative for both teachers and students and as capable of both promoting and hindering further academic progress. Talent, effort, and intelligence are seen as important factors in awarding grades, but more important are the outcomes of a grade on a student's future performance and happiness. Fairness emerges as a key consideration in judging which grading schemes are to be preferred. Such judgments involve descriptions of the outcomes that would likely follow upon awarding a grade in a given situation. This outcome entails both emotional and academic consequences of the grade and is evaluated in light of a standard of fairness and educational effectiveness.</p>	<p>[WHY DOES A TEACHER GIVE GRADES ANYWAY?] So the kids can see how smart they are and how they need to improve, and how much more they need to study. [IS THAT A GOOD REASON?] Yeah. [WHY IS THAT A GOOD REASON: FOR THE KIDS TO SEE HOW SMART THEY ARE AND HOW MUCH THEY HAVE TO IMPROVE AND WHAT THEY NEED TO STUDY?] Because if they don't know how much they have to improve, some of the kids might just not improve, might improve like a couple of problems, and they won't get a better grade, well they won't really do better, so they should know how much they have to study, so that they can study the right amount to get to do better in school. [1282]</p>

Analysis of conceptions related to distributive justice by family type

The following tables show the distribution of conceptions of distributive justice by family type. The few differences across family type are illustrated in bold red type.

Table 13: The relation between family type and *distribution* responses

Distribute Code	Lesbian	% (n=15)	Traditional	% (n=17)
It is fair to earn candy/grade/money	1	6.67		
Sex should not affect distribution	1	6.67		
Poverty should not affect distribution	1	6.67		
Teacher should secretly give poor kid candy	1	6.67	1	5.88
Teacher should loan poor kid the money	1	6.67	1	5.88
Students and school should share the money	1	6.67	2	11.76
Feelings should affect distribution	2	13.33		
Money should be divided to benefit the most people	2	13.33		
Equal: Everyone in the class is equal	2	13.33	1	5.88
Possible reward should affect distribution	2	13.33	1	5.88
Quality/quantity of work should be considered	2	13.33	3	17.65
Money should go to charity	2	13.33	4	23.53
Teacher shouldn't get any money	3	20.00	3	17.65
Behavior should affect distribution	4	26.67	3	17.65
There is more than one fair way to divide the money	4	26.67	6	35.29
Equal: Money should be split evenly	5	33.33	8	47.06
Kids should get the money	5	33.33	9	52.94
Students and teacher should share the money	6	40.00	5	29.41
Money should be used to buy school supplies	6	40.00	7	41.18
Behavior should not affect distribution	6	40.00	8	47.06
Performance (amount earned) should affect distribution.	7	46.67	3	17.65
School/class should get the money	7	46.67	7	41.18
Effort should affect distribution	7	46.67	7	41.18
Work amount should affect distribution	9	60.00	12	70.59
Income should affect distribution	12	80.00	15	88.24
Quality/quantity of work should not be considered	14	93.33	16	94.12
Lazy kid should get some money and some gifts			1	5.88
Some of the money should be used to pay taxes			1	5.88
Skill should affect distribution			1	5.88
Teacher should get money			1	5.88
Coming up with the idea to have the sale should not affect distribution			2	11.76
Kids should vote on what to do			2	11.76
	7.53		7.65	

Table 14: The relation between family type and reasons for *distribution* responses

Distribute Code	Lesbian	% (n=15)	Traditional	% (n=17)
Reason: Kids should get the money so they can buy toys	1	6.67		
Reason: Teacher should give Billy the candy bar because he has never had candy before	1	6.67		
Reason: Have to earn money/grade/candy bar	1	6.67		
Reason: Teachers already have money	2	13.33	3	17.65
Reason: Giving money to the class makes the class better	6	40.00		
Reason: Kids are different at different ages			1	5.88
Reason: More money should go to the teacher for being the boss			1	5.88
Reason: Teachers should get the money because they are grownups			1	5.88
Reason: Being too particular is bad when painting because you will see all of the mistakes			1	5.88
Reason: All kids misbehave sometimes			1	5.88
Reason: Grown ups have better ideas			1	5.88
Reason: Some money should go to the school because they determine the activities			1	5.88
Reason: Kids might lie			2	11.76
Reason: Teacher should make certain choices			3	17.65
	.73		.88	

Table 15: The relation between family type and *fairness* responses

Fairness Code	Lesbian	%	Traditional	%
Meanness should not be rewarded	1	6.67		
Money should not be divided up in a mean way	1	6.67		
Quality/quantity of work should not be considered	1	6.67		
Equal: We are equal because we are all people	1	6.67		
Decision is fair even if everyone does not agree	1	6.67	1	5.88
Coming up with the idea to have the sale should not affect distribution	1	6.67	2	11.76
Money should be divided so that everyone is happy	1	6.67	2	11.76
Hurting feelings is unfair	1	6.67	3	17.65
Work amount should affect distribution	1	6.67	3	17.65
Poverty should not affect distribution	1	6.67	3	17.65
Work/chores done should be basis for distribution	1	6.67	4	23.53
Kids should have the choice to sell their art	2	13.33		
Candy should be free to everyone	2	13.33	2	11.76
Equal: Chores are unfair because the other kids don't do them	2	13.33	3	17.65
Equal: Distribution is not fair if it is too unequal	2	13.33	3	17.65
Unequal distribution/treatment is unfair	2	13.33	4	23.53
Equal: Fairness is being treated the same	2	13.33	6	35.29
What is fair to some is not always fair to others	3	20.00	1	5.88
Decision is fair and unfair	3	20.00	1	5.88
Equal: Boys and girls are the same and should be treated equally	3	20.00	2	11.76
Contest is fair	3	20.00	6	35.29
Personal relationships should not affect distribution	4	26.67	2	11.76
It is unfair for poor child to have more chores	4	26.67	8	47.06
Self-interest should not affect distribution.	7	46.67	9	52.94
It is fair to earn candy/grade/money	9	60.00	8	47.06
Contest is unfair	10	66.67	9	52.94
Poverty should affect distribution	11	73.33	6	35.29

Fairness Code	Lesbian	%	Traditional	%
Equal: Equal distribution is fair	12	80.00	13	76.47
Sex should not affect distribution	13	86.67	14	82.35
Having more options is more fair			1	5.88
Boys and girls have fights			1	5.88
Unkind actions are unfair			1	5.88
Contest or a chore is fair but not both			1	5.88
Contest shouldn't be too easy			1	5.88
Contest shouldn't be too hard			2	11.76
Equal: Things should be divided up as equally as possible			3	17.65
	7.00		7.35	

Table 16: The relation between family type and reasons for *fairness* responses

Fairness Code	Lesbian	%	Traditional	%
Reason: Chores are not fair because student might be unable to do them	1	6.67		
Reason: Earning the candy bar and paying for it are the same thing	1	6.67		
Reason: It is good for people to be different	1	6.67		
Reason: Feelings of teacher/student should be considered	1	6.67	2	11.76
Reason: Work amount might be too much	1	6.67	2	11.76
Reason: Have to earn money/grade/candy bar	2	13.33	5	29.41
Reason: Splitting things up equally will keep people happy	4	26.67	3	17.65
Reason: Behavior is unrelated to artwork	4	26.67	3	17.65
Reason: People are good at different things	4	26.67	4	23.53
Reason: Everyone has a different idea of what is good art	6	40.00	4	23.53
Reason: Contest not fair because the chance of winning is low	6	40.00	9	52.94
Reason: It isn't fair to base distribution on differences			1	5.88
Reason: Everyone should be equal because then they can buy the same amount of things			1	5.88
	2.07		2.00	

Table 17: The relation between family type and *grades* responses

Grades Code	Lesbian	% (n=15)	Traditional	% (n=17)
Teacher gives out marks to know when a kid is ready to move up a grade	1	6.67		
Teacher should consider extenuating circumstances when determining grades	1	6.67		
Feelings should affect distribution	1	6.67		
Kids act the way they do because of their home life	1	6.67		
It is okay to be lazy if you are smart enough	1	6.67		
Teacher should consider students' feelings	1	6.67	2	11.76
Teacher should help students more	2	13.33	1	5.88
Grades should reflect behavior	2	13.33	1	5.88
Grades reward right answers	2	13.33	5	29.41
Skill should affect distribution	3	20.00		
Effort is more important than being right	3	20.00	3	17.65
Grades let students see where they need improvement	3	20.00	3	17.65
Grades are given to show parents their children's work	3	20.00	5	29.41
Grades are a way for kids to know how they are doing	4	26.67	5	29.41
Grades reflect students' effort	4	26.67	7	41.18
Grades are given to reward good students	5	33.33	2	11.76
Effort and intelligence are the same thing	8	53.33	6	35.29
Student reports that he would improve for a reward			1	5.88
Grades should be up to the principal			1	5.88
Grades should be fair			1	5.88
Less able student should get some help			1	5.88
More able students should help less able students			1	5.88
Grades should show when you have improved			1	5.88
Grading should depend upon existing school rules			1	5.88
Getting a bad mark might make the other kids tease you			1	5.88
You need grades to get into college			1	5.88
Teacher should give harder problems to smart students			1	5.88
Teacher should grade everyone the same			1	5.88
There should be two kinds of grades			2	11.76
Teacher should encourage less able student to do better			2	11.76
Teacher should correct work so the kids know what they did wrong			2	11.76
Average # responses	3.00		3.35	

Table 18: The relation between family type and *poverty* responses

Poverty Code	Lesbian	% (n=15)	Traditional	% (n=17)
Class should give all the money to poor kid	1	6.67		
Teachers' share should go to poor kid	1	6.67	1	5.88
Teacher should explain poor kid's situation to the kids in the class	1	6.67	1	5.88
Student would give his own money to poor kid for candy	1	6.67	1	5.88
Poor kid should pay when he can	1	6.67	3	17.65
Poor child should not get extra money	2	13.33	1	5.88
The school should help poor students, not the kids	2	13.33	1	5.88
Teacher should give poor kid the money	2	13.33	2	11.76
Poor child should get charged a reduced price	2	13.33	3	17.65
Extra money should go to poor kid's parents	3	20.00	2	11.76
Each kid should give poor kid a little extra money	4	26.67	1	5.88
Poor people need more money	5	33.33	1	5.88
Some free candy/money is okay	5	33.33	4	23.53
Kids that don't want to give poor kid a free candy bar should be punished			1	5.88
Poor kid should get candy because he might be too poor to bring his own lunch			1	5.88
Poor kid should get a job			3	17.65
Money from the class should be used to give poor kid an allowance			4	23.53
Average # responses	2.00		1.76	

Table 19: The relation between family type and reasons for *poverty* responses

Poverty Code	Lesbian	% (n=15)	Traditional	% (n=17)
Reason: Money for poor kid's candy is a tax on the other kids candy	1	6.67		
Reason: The small amount of money from the school isn't enough to help Billy's family	1	6.67		
Reason: Teachers care more about poor people than kids do	1	6.67		
Reason: Kids should give money to poor kid's parents so that they can give him an allowance	1	6.67		
Reason: Poor kid should not pay for candy and get poorer	1	6.67	1	5.88
Reason: Poor kid should not get more than other poor kids	1	6.67	2	11.76
Reason: You have a better life with money	2	13.33	2	11.76
Reason: People need money to survive	5	33.33	1	5.88
Reason: More money should go to the poor because the rich will still have more			1	5.88
Reason: With a job poor kid can make more money			1	5.88
Reason: There is no way to know who is poor			1	5.88
Reason: Poverty is not an issue that should be addressed at school			1	5.88
Average # responses	0.87		0.59	

Analysis of picnic interviews

Developmental analysis of conceptions related to promises and parental authority

In this section, we analyzed only the representational systems and single abstractions responses, because there were so few children whose performances were at representational mappings that we were not confident about representing their ideas.

Table 20: The relation between complexity level and the *actions* advocated by sons

Action code	RS	% (n=19)	SA	% (n=13)
Cleaning the room should be shared between parent and son.	1	5.26		
Child should get his way.	1	5.26		
Sometimes breaking a promise is okay.	1	5.26		
Lying to avoid hurt feelings is allowed.	1	5.26		
Advocates punishing Mom for breaking promise to son.	1	5.26	1	7.69
Compromises should be used to resolve problems.	1	5.26	4	30.77
Sneaking away from room is wrong because child could get lost or hurt.	2	10.53	3	23.08
Peter should tell someone that his Mom is being unfair to him	2	10.53	3	23.08
Says that Peter should tell his Mom the truth.	3	15.79	2	15.38
Peter should clean his room because it is too messy.	3	15.79	2	15.38
Says that it is important to consider parent's feelings.	4	21.05		0.00
States that lying is wrong.	4	21.05	3	23.08
Son should try to persuade parent that something is right/wrong	8	42.11	3	23.08
Sneaking away from room is wrong because it could worry the mother.	10	52.63	4	30.77
Breaking promises is wrong.	10	52.63	9	69.23
Sneaking away from room is right.	11	57.89	9	69.23
Mother should tell Peter to clean his room.	14	73.68	8	61.54
Stealing is wrong.	15	78.95	8	61.54
Sneaking away from room is wrong.	15	78.95	11	84.62
Sneaking out for a short period of time is okay.			1	7.69
Parents should explain themselves to their kids.			1	7.69
Decides what course of action is the right one by weighing the pros and cons.			1	7.69
Arrested son should tell on his Mom and get her in trouble for telling him to steal			1	7.69
Parents should resolve conflicts by talking to each other.			2	15.38

Table 21: Reasoning about *actions* by developmental level

Lectical™ Level	Actions	Examples
RS	At this level possible courses of action are described with specific examples and wrong or right actions are identified with very limited justifications like “Peter should clean his room because it is messy,” or “Peter should not go to the picnic because he might get lost.”	[Does a kid have to do whatever his mother tells him to do?] Mostly. [Mostly. What if she tells him to steal a pretty necklace for her from the store? Is that fair?] No. [no? Why not?] Because if it's a really nice necklace and it costs a lot of money, they took a long time on it, and they stole it, uhm... that wouldn't be fair because it cost a lot of money, and they didn't pay. (1302) [What should Peter do?] Allow him to try and clean up his room. [Allow him to try and clean up his room. And why should he do that?] Because his mommy told him to. [His mommy told him to. Was it fair of Carol - his mom - to tell Peter that he couldn't go out until he cleaned up his room?] Yes. [Yes. Why was that fair of Carol to tell Peter that he could not go to the picnic until he cleaned up his room.] Because his room's a mess and probably the other kids cleaned up their rooms. (1286)
SA	At this level, children still use concrete examples of what is right and wrong but they are more likely to provide generalized justifications for why something might be the wrong or right action like “sneaking away on your Mom is wrong because she won't trust you anymore if you sneak.” Respondents may suggest that Peter should come to some kind of compromise with his mother.	[So what's the difference, though, a mom has the right to tell a kid to clean up his room but you're saying she doesn't really have the right to tell him to steal something from the store. What's the difference?] Well, stealing something from the store is totally different, because, it's totally different because stealing something from the store is wrong. And if he gets to the mall he's going to finally realize that he shouldn't have done that. And he's never... but, but when... but when a mom asks you to do something that's like cleaning up your room or do chores, that she has a right to tell you what to do. Because it's not hurting anybody, it's not breaking into any jewelry store, it's not breaking into a bank or anything. It's doing something, it's actually helping out. (1289) [What should Peter do?] Umm... he could try and make a compromise. [And what would that be?] Maybe... whatever compromise the mother was willing to make. How... how soft is this mother? It seems like she's not very soft. I mean what would she agree to? What would different mothers agree to in different circumstances? [I see. And why do you think a compromise would be good?] Maybe that, maybe that he... maybe the mother's room was messy. He could say "well I'll clean your room" I mean he could find a way to... maybe a way to compromise. Because if this is how messy his room is, he could walk through it but it's pretty messy. So maybe he could go to the picnic and then clean up his room, or... he could go to the picnic and his mother could take a nap, and he wouldn't bother her. (1295)

Table 22: The relation between complexity level and reasons for *obeying and disobeying*

Obey/Disobey Codes	RS	% (n=19)	SA	% (n=13)
Disobeying means not listening.	1	5.26	2	15.38
It's okay to disobey a parent if s/he has broken a promise.	1	5.26		
It is okay to disobey a parent if s/he violates a child's "rights."	1	5.26		
Disobeying is wrong because it is breaking rules.	2	10.53	2	15.38
Children should obey parents even when they are unfair.	3	15.79	1	7.69
It's okay to disobey once you have done what you were supposed to do.	4	21.05	6	46.15
It's okay to disobey a parent if s/he is telling you to do is mean/ wrong/ bad.	5	26.32	1	7.69
Children should obey parents.	5	26.32	3	23.08
You should obey your parents because they have good reasons.	8	42.10	7	53.84
Children should obey their parents to avoid consequences or punishment.	10	52.63	6	46.15
It's okay to disobey parents if what they ask is illegal or unsafe.	15	78.95	13	100.00
It is okay to disobey a parent if what he or she tells you to do is unfair.			1	7.69
Children should obey parents because they know more than kids.			1	7.69
It is children's responsibility to obey their parents.			1	7.69
Children should obey their parents to avoid feeling guilty			2	15.38
Children should obey their parents because it shows respect.			2	15.38

Table 23: Reasoning about *obeying and disobeying*

Lectical™ Level	Obey/Disobey	Examples
RS	<p>At this level children claim that it is okay to <i>disobey</i> if a parent is asking a child to do something bad, if the parent is doing something mean to the child, or if the parent has broken a promise to the child. They claim that children should obey their parents either because parents have good reasons, because they know more, or because there are consequences for disobeying. In addition, they may argue that a child should obey his parent even if s/he is being unfair (but not if dangerous or illegal).</p>	<p>[Does a kid have to do whatever his mother tells him to do?] Yeah... [No matter what?] Well like if she said like "jump in a pile of mud" and you don't need to do that. (1272)</p> <p>[What's the difference, though, a mom has the right to tell a kid to clean up his room but she can't tell him to steal something from the store. What's the difference?] Stealing a necklace is illegal. And cleaning your room is not! (laughter) [Why is cleaning your room not illegal?] Because it's something that makes you not, makes it safer for you. Like if you had a, one of those remote-controlled cars and you step on it you could actually slip and like break your knee. (1300)</p> <p>[Is it okay now after he cleans [his room] if he sneaks out anyway to play with his friends?] No. [Even if he knows he can't get caught?] No. [And why isn't that okay?] Because his mother's telling him to stay inside. And, she's not being fair with that reason, but he should still do it. (1273)</p>
SA	<p>At this level, children build upon the arguments made at representational systems, demonstrating new psychological insights. For example, they may be concerned about feeling guilty if they disobey a parent. They may also argue that it is a child's responsibility to respect his or her parents. Less often, a child performing at this level may claim that it is okay for a child to disobey if a parent is being unfair.</p>	<p>[Well what's the difference, then, between his mother telling him he has to clean up his room - and having a right to tell him to clean up his room - and his mother not having a right to tell him to steal a necklace. What's the difference between that?] Well, a necklace, I mean stealing a necklace and cleaning up your room. I think that there's a big difference, because I mean, cleaning up your room will do good; and stealing a necklace will make one person happy, but the other person feel really bad, and I mean... and maybe make the other person feel bad because she just feels like inside he might go to jail if he gets caught. And also it will make the boy feel bad. And I mean, cleaning up his room, the boy might feel like he really doesn't want to do it, or feel like, I mean, you know, kind of mad or something like that at first, but then afterwards he'll probably like his room. (1280)</p> <p>[If he sneaks out and plays with his friends now, because she broke her promise to him?] Uhm... no. It still isn't. 'Cuzz he doesn't have her permission yet. [What if he knows he won't get caught? Is that okay now?] No, it's still not okay. [WHY NOT?] Because he's going to have that, he's going to remember that forever, and he's finally going to get so frustrated about it, he's going to be thinking about it for a long time, he's going to finally have to tell his mom, he's going to be so, he's not going to like it for the rest of his life. [I see. It won't feel good to him.] Yeah. (1289)</p>

Table 24: The relation between complexity level and conceptions of *parental authority*

Parental authority	RS	% (n=19)	SA	% (n=13)
Authority is the power of the big over the little.	1	5.26	1	7.69
Parents have authority so that they can help kids become responsible adults.	1	5.26	1	7.69
States it would be unfair for one parent to have more authority than the other.	1	5.26	1	7.69
One should obey the authority of a parent because it's the parent's job to teach the child right from wrong	1	5.26		
Says that it is unfair for parents to stop kids from playing because kids need to play	2	10.53	1	7.69
Parents can tell children what to do because they know more.	3	10.53	2	15.38
Parents have authority because they are in charge of the house.	2	10.53	3	23.08
Parental authority has limitations, such as treating children well.	3	15.79	2	15.38
States parents have authority because they know what is right and what is wrong.	3	15.79	2	15.38
Parents have authority because they have to take care of children.	4	21.05	2	15.38
Parents must only ask reasonable things of their children.	4	21.05	5	38.46
Parents have authority because they are responsible for their children.	6	31.58	3	23.08
States it is unfair if Peter has to miss the picnic.	8	42.11	2	15.38
Parents have authority.	8	42.11	3	23.08
Parents have authority because they are older.	8	42.11	4	30.77
Both parents have equal authority.	18	94.74	12	92.31
Parents have authority because they need to control kids.			1	7.69
Gender does not affect parental authority.			1	7.69
The purpose of authority is to teach children to do the right things.			2	15.38
Authority is exercised wrongly if it is too restrictive.			3	23.08
Parents should hold themselves to the same standards as the kids to be fair.			3	23.08

Table 25: Reasoning about *parental authority*

Lectical™ Level	Parental Authority	Examples
RS	At this level, authority is described through the concrete differences between the parents and the children. Parents have more authority because they are older, bigger, and in charge of their kids. Most of the kids at this level agreed that both parents have equal authority over their children.	<p>[Why is it fair for Peter's Mom to tell him what to do, anyway?] Because your mom... you aren't your mom's boss; your mom is your boss. So that's the difference. [That's the difference. So how come your mom is your boss and you're not your mom's boss.] Because she's bigger than you and she knows all more than me. (1285)</p> <p>[Does (other parent) have the right to tell you what to do?] Yep. Because they're also the parent and they're also older. [Can (one parent) tell you to do more things than the (other parent)?] Sometimes. [When can (other parent) tell you to do more things?] When your (other parent) is not home. [Can (other parent) punish you more?] If... They're home and you're not acting good. [Only if they're the only ones home and you're not acting good. But they can't punish you more than your (other parent); if your (other parent) was home, (they) could punish you if you're not acting good.] Yeah [Okay. Can a (parent) tell a (parent) what to do?] No. [No? How come?] Because they're both older than, if they have a kid, they're older uhm... and... sometime they kind of do a mix-up of that and not just like asking. [Not just like asking? So they'll do a mix-up, sometimes your (parent) will tell your (other parent) what to do.] Yeah. And if they get in arguments. [Okay. Can a (parent) punish another parent) for being bad?] No. [no? How come?] Because... They... Acted good a long time. (1290)</p>

Lectical™ Level	Parental Authority	Examples
SA	<p>At this level the children begin to set more defined limitations upon the authority of their parents. They state that parents must only set reasonable limits for their children and hold themselves to the same standards that they set for the kids.</p> <p>Parental authority is based on necessary things like maintaining order and teaching kids right from wrong. The children also identify aspects of the origins of parental authority such as their ownership of the house.</p> <p>Most kids agree that both parents have equal authority.</p>	<p>[Does a kid have to do whatever a mother tells him to do?] If it's something impossible, no. [What would be impossible?] Making a rabbit come out of her teacup. Impossible. [Yeah?] Unless you just find a rabbit and drop it in and take it out. And, I think... if, is she bossed him around a lot? [Does he have to listen if she bossed him around a lot?] If it's a REAL lot, like 75% of the time, I think... he should only, I think some of it he shouldn't listen to, and the rest he should. [What are the kinds of things he should listen to when his mom tells him what to do.] Like taking out the garbage, simple tasks. [Simple tasks he should listen to.] Yeah. That are not really hard to do, and then they don't take up a lot of time. (1282)</p> <p>[What should Peter do?] He should clean up his room real fast. [Why should he clean up his room real fast?] So then he could go to the picnic. [Then he could go to the picnic. Was that fair of Carol to tell peter that he couldn't go out until he cleaned up his room?] Sort of. [It was. Why was it sort of fair that Carol told Peter he couldn't go out until he cleaned up his room?] Well I'm not exactly sure why grown-ups want kids to clean their rooms, but they must have some kind of important reason. [They have... Can grown-ups tell children what to do?] Yeah, it's not very... but it's hard for the children. [It's hard for the children. In what way is it hard for the children when grown-ups tell them what to do?] Because they feel sort of like they have no freedom. [They feel like they have no freedom and... And what does that feel like to have no freedom?] Just bad. (1282)</p>

Table 26: The relation between complexity level and conceptions of *punishment*

Punishment	RS	% (n=19)	SA	% (n=13)
Punishing yourself is okay.	1	5.26		
Punishing parents does not work because they cannot be forced.	2	10.53		0.00
Punishing between parents is bad because it upsets the kids.	2	10.53		0.00
Equal people cannot punish each other.	2	10.53	2	15.38
States punishment for doing bad things is fair.	2	10.53		
Parents must consider the feelings of the kids.	2	10.53		
Punishment is fair even if Peter thinks it is unfair.	3	15.79	2	15.38
Parents can punish each other.	3	15.79	5	38.46
Punishment is unfair.	4	21.05	1	7.69
Punishment for breaking a promise is fair.	8	42.11	1	7.69
Punishment for disobeying is fair.	11	57.89	11	84.62
Parents cannot punish each other.	12	63.16	4	30.77
Divorce is the only punishment that parents can do to each other.			1	7.69
Equality between parents depends on the family.			1	7.69
Believing a punishment is unfair is selfish on the part of the child.			1	7.69
Punishment is unfair if parents are unreasonable about their authority	2	10.53	1	7.69

Table 27: Reasoning about *punishment*

Lectical™ Level	Punishment	Examples
RS	At this level the idea of punishment is mostly explained in terms of the inconvenience it will cause the child. When fairness is mentioned the children express that what might be fair to the Mom is not what Peter will think is fair but they do not give any reasons for why. The children do not consider the feelings of anyone other than the child in their answers.	<p>[So is it okay for biological mom to punish non-biological mom or non-biological mom to punish biological mom?] No. [no? Why is that not fair?] I don't know. Because younger sister and me wouldn't like it. [Younger sister and you wouldn't like it if non-biological mom punished biological mom or biological mom punished non-biological mom?] Yeah one mom punished the other mom. [Why wouldn't your sister and you like if non-biological mom punished biological mom or biological mom punished non-biological mom?] Because if they punished her, something could happen, like we wouldn't be able to play with them for like an hour or something. Then we like both of our moms to play with. (1275)</p> <p>[What should Peter's mom, Carol, do, if she catches him?] Not even let him go. [Not even let him go?] Because that's like sneaking out of the classroom and going to the bathroom and peeing on the floor. [Uh-huh. How is that like sneaking out of the classroom and going to the bathroom and peeing on the floor?] It's like, it's bad. [It's not the right thing to do.] Like (____) once did. [(____) did that? He snuck out of the classroom--] No, he didn't sneak... [What did he do?] I think he did it, but I don't really know... [He peed on the floor?] Well somebody did at our school. [But it was bad. I see. So that if Peter's mother catches him, she shouldn't let him go out. And that's fair to Peter?] No it's not fair to Peter, but it is fair. [It is fair.] Yeah but I don't think Peter would think it's fair. [Peter wouldn't think it was fair, but who is it fair to then?] His mom. [Why is it fair to his mom?] Because he was like sneaking out of the house, before he even cleaned his room. (1279)</p>
SA	At this level the idea that Peter will see fairness differently from his Mom is still present with the explanation that punishment is fair if you have been caught doing something wrong. The children at this level also begin to include a consideration of how their parents will feel about certain situations.	<p>[What should Peter's mother do if she catches him?] Mmmm... clean up his room and then he has to stay in his room until it's clean. [Is that fair to Peter?] Not to him, but it would be. [It would ... You'll have to explain. It's not fair to him but it would be fair?] Yeah. In his mind it probably, he wouldn't think it's fair but it would be fair. [I see. So in Peter's mind it wouldn't be fair but it would be fair, really. Yeah. [And why would it be fair if Peter doesn't feel it's fair?] Because he snuck out and he got caught. (1277)</p> <p>[[Can a (one parent) punish (another) for being bad?] Sort of. The only punishment I would know that (one) would do the (other) or (vice versa) is getting divorced. But I can't think of any other... [Any other punishment.] Yeah. And divorce is pretty harsh! [And that would be a punishment.] Um-hm. [Why is divorce pretty harsh?] Because if you get divorced one parent ends up with all the children and the other just has his own life. [And so who would be the one that would be punished?] It's usually... it's usually the (one parent). [Uh-huh.] I don't know why. [Who would get the punishment, because (the one) wouldn't have the children.] No, (that one) wouldn't have the children. (1300)</p>

Table 28: Relation between definitions of *promise* and developmental level

Promise definitions	RS	% (n=19)	SA	% (n=13)
Promises are 'bargains' or 'deals.'	1	5.26		
A promise is a rule.	2	10.53	1	7.69
Breaking a promise is equivalent to lying.	2	10.53	1	7.69
A promise is an agreement.			1	7.69
A promise is a commitment.			1	7.69
Keeping a promise means keeping your word.			1	7.69

Table 29: Reasoning about the nature of *promises* by complexity level

Lectical™ Level	Promise	Examples
RS	<p>Promises are seen as unbreakable rules for both parents and children and there is concern that breaking a promise could be unsafe for the child.</p>	<p>[Is it worse for a kid to break a promise to his mother, or for a mother to break her promise to her kid?] Both. [Both? Why are they both wrong? Or bad?] Well like if a grown-up... if a grown-up breaks a promise, if he's bigger, that doesn't mean it's worse. And I don't... and if, uhm, the kid is smaller, that doesn't mean it's less. [I see. So just because the kid is smaller doesn't mean the kid has less rights.] Um-hm. [And just because the mother is bigger, it doesn't mean she has more rights.] Um-hm. [Okay]. (1272)</p> <p>[Is it worse for a kid to break a promise to his mother or for a mother to break a promise to her kid?] A mother to break a promise to her kid. [And why is it worse for a mother to break a promise to a kid?] Because... like... because moms are supposed to take care of you in a good way, and, uhm... what are we talking about? [Well, you said to me that it was worse for a mom to break a promise to a kid than for a kid to break a promise to a mom.] Oh. Because moms would even keep a promise better and it would be really bad if a grown-up broke a promise. [You're saying it's easier for a mom to keep a promise than it is for a kid to keep a promise.] Um-hm. [So it's worse when the mom breaks the promise.] Yeah. [You also said moms are supposed to take care of you. What does that have to do with a mom keeping her promise?] Uhm, it might not be safe. [It wouldn't be safe for the kid. Because the mom wouldn't be taking care of the kid?] Right. (1274)</p>
SA	<p>The children begin to identify long lasting repercussions to promise breaking such as feelings of guilt and harm to others. The idea that keeping a promise might be harmful depending on the context also appears at this level. The concern that promise breaking might be unsafe disappears altogether but the idea that it is okay to break a promise if no one will know becomes much more popular.</p>	<p>[Is it worse for Peter to break a promise to Carol, or for Carol to break a promise to Peter?] I think that it's kind of the same. [Why is it the same?] Well, I mean, they're both kind of the same. I mean they're like equal. And, uhm, and, if like, it's the same thing as the mom breaking a promise to the boy as the boy breaking a promise to the mom. Because, if, if Peter breaks a promise to the mom, it's just the mom feels bad and probably after a while Peter will feel bad; or maybe right at first. And if the mom breaks a promise to the boy, then he'll feel bad and after a while she'll feel bad, because it doesn't... in this case, I don't think that it really matters that she, uhm, she's the mom and he's the boy. I mean it's like kind of the same thing. (1280)</p> <p>[Okay. Suppose Carol gets mad at him. He does sneak out and she gets mad at him. What should he do about that?] Tell her "you promised me I was going to do what I want," now for this day and for days on that I clean up my room you said I could go out and you woke up on the wrong side of the bed, I'm going to do what I want." And if the mom like grounds him or anything and he still cleans up his room, then I think he has the right to sneak out again. [Okay. So once he knows he won't get caught he'll just sneak out. Do you think he should do that, and if she doesn't find out, never tell her?] If he has the clean room, yeah. But it still can't be for as long... that long. Because if he does get caught he's going to get in really big trouble. (1287)</p>

Table 30: The relation between complexity level and sons' assertions about *promises*

Promise codes	RS	% (n=19)	SA	% (n=13)
It is more important for children to keep a promise than for parents.	1	5.26	1	7.69
Keeping promises is important.	1	5.26	1	7.69
Parents have more of an obligation to keep promises because they have a better understanding of promises.	2	5.26	1	7.69
A promise should be kept because some particular person will be sad or feel bad if it is broken.	1	5.26	2	15.38
Keep a promise to help parents.	1	5.26	3	23.08
You must decide whether or not to keep promises individually.	2	10.53	1	7.69
It's wrong to break a promise because that is lying.	2	10.53	2	15.38
You should keep a promise to avoid consequences or punishment.	2	10.53	3	23.08
States that once one person breaks a promise the other may too.	2	10.53	4	30.77
It is unsafe to break a promise.	2	10.53		
It is more important for parents to keep a promise than for children.	6	26.32	2	15.38
States it is equally wrong for adults and children to break promises.	6	31.58	4	30.77
It's okay to break a promise if the other person won't know.	7	36.84	10	76.92
Parents have an obligation to keep promises.	10	47.37	7	46.15
States it is unfair to break a promise.	16	84.21	7	53.85
Breaking a promise can make the promise-breaker feel bad or guilty.			1	7.69
Harm that results from broken promises can have lasting effects.			1	7.69
Keeping promises is dependent on some specific situation.			1	7.69

Table 31: Reasoning about *promise-keeping*

Lectical™ Level	Promise	Examples
RS	Children may define a promise as a deal or bargain that is made about a specific situation. Breaking a promise is often equated with the concept of lying. Promises are sometimes described as laws or rules.	<p>[She said to Peter, "I don't care if I told you that you can go out and play, you're staying home and that's that." What should Peter do? Is that fair?] No. [No? Why is that not fair to Peter?] Because first she says that he can do something and one second she says he can't do something. That doesn't really make any sense. [So it doesn't make any sense for her to say he can do it, and then to say he can't do it. Is it fair for her to tell Peter that he can't go out?] It's fair to tell Peter that he can't go out, but it's not fair to tell him... it's not fair that she says he can do something but then she says he can't do something. [Does it matter that she's breaking a promise to Peter?] Yes. [It does matter. Why does it matter?] Because promises are important. [Why are promises important?] Because it isn't really good to lie. [1286]</p> <p>[She said to Peter, "I don't care if I told you that you can go out and play, you're staying home and that's that." Is that fair?] No. [no? Why is that not fair?] Because, uh, because now he won't be able to go to the picnic. And it's no fair because, like, he said he could. [Okay, does it matter that she's breaking her promise to Peter?] What? [Does it matter that Carol is breaking her promise to Peter?] Oh yes, it really does matter. [It matters. Why does it matter?] Because she broke her promise and I think it might be a law that you can't. [1284]</p>

Lectical™ Level	Promise	Examples
SA	At this level the concept of a promise becomes less dependent upon a specific situation. A promise is defined as keeping your word.	<p>[She said to Peter, "I don't care if I told you that you can go out and play, you're staying home and that's that."] Pretty grumpy! [Is that fair?] No. [Does she have the right to tell Peter that?] No. [Why not?] Because she should figure out that she woke up on the grumpy side. [Does it matter that she's breaking her promise to Peter?] Yes. [It does? Why?] Promises are promises and you can't break a promise. [Why?] You can say "maybe" I'll keep this promise, but maybe not. [Why can't you break a promise, though. What is a promise anyway?] It's something that you tell someone that they won't do that they won't tell anyone else or do it to anyone else. [1300]</p> <p>[Is it worse for a kid to break a promise to his mother or for a mother to break her promise to her kid.] Well... kids don't have a lot of options, so I think, I'd say the mother. Because the mother has a lot more options. But still, the mother doesn't have as much time because she has to work. But if she works at home then she would have a lot more time. 'Cuzz working at home just means you have to do a few errands, clean up the house, and clean up the rest of the house, because she maybe doesn't, and then the rest of her day is off. [It's worse, then, if she breaks her promise to the kid, because she has more time, really.] Unless she has a job. [And then is it still worse for her to break her promise to her kid because she has a job?] Yeah. It still is. [Why is that, if she has a job, too?] Well, because... she should... well.. if she's promising it on the weekends, then... and she breaks her promise? Then that would be really bad, because she has so much time and she has so little error, I mean errands to do. So she has less errands to do, when she has to work. [Yeah. And so during the week would it be.. It wouldn't be as bad, because she has to work?] No, on the week... you mean during the week it wouldn't be as bad, she could just tell him she didn't have as much time and promise it to him on the weekend. [1289]</p>

Analysis of conceptions of promise and authority by family type

Table 32: The relation between family type and the *actions* advocated by sons

Action code	Lesbian	% (n=15)	Traditional	% (n=17)
Sneaking out for a short period of time is okay.	1	6.67		
Cleaning the room should be shared between parent and son.	1	6.67		
Child should get his way.	1	6.67		
Lying to avoid hurt feelings is allowed.	1	6.67		
Arrested son should tell on his Mom and get her in trouble for telling him to steal	1	6.67		
Advocates punishing Mom for breaking promise to son.	1	6.67	1	5.88
Peter should tell someone that his Mom is being unfair to him	1	6.67	4	23.53
Sneaking away from room is wrong because child could get lost or hurt.	2	13.33	3	17.65
Peter should tell his Mom the truth.	3	20.00	2	11.76
Peter should clean his room because it is too messy.	3	20.00	2	11.76
Lying is wrong.	6	40.00	1	5.88
Child should try to persuade parent that something is right/wrong	6	40.00	5	29.41
Sneaking away from room is wrong because it could worry the mother.	9	60.00	5	29.41
Sneaking away from room is right.	9	60.00	11	64.71
Mother should tell Peter to clean his room.	9	60.00	13	76.47
Stealing is wrong.	12	80.00	11	64.71
Sneaking away from room is wrong.	12	80.00	14	82.35

Table 33: The relation between family type and the *considerations* advocated by sons

Consideration code	Lesbian	% (n=15)	Traditional	% (n=17)
Something is fair and unfair at the same time.	1	6.67	1	5.88
Decides what course of action is the right one by considering the consequences.	1	6.67		
Compromises should be used to resolve problems.	2	13.33	3	17.65
Parents should resolve conflicts by talking to each other.	2	13.33		
Parents must consider the feelings of the kids.	2	13.33		
It is important to consider parent's feelings.	3	20.00	1	5.88
Decisions depend on the regular rules of the family			1	5.88
Decisions will depend on the kind of people that are involved			2	11.76

Table 34: The relation between family type and reasons for obeying and disobeying

Obey/disobey Codes	Lesbian	% (n=15)	Traditional	% (n=17)
It's okay to disobey a parent if s/he has broken a promise.	1	6.67		
It's okay to disobey once you have done what you were supposed to do.	1	6.67	9	52.94
It is okay to disobey a parent if what he or she tells you to do is unfair.	1	6.67		
Children should obey their parents to avoid feeling guilty	1	6.67	1	5.88
Disobeying is wrong because it is breaking rules.	1	6.67	3	17.65
It's okay to disobey authority if s/he is telling you to do is mean/ wrong/ bad.	4	26.67	2	11.76
children should obey their parents because it shows respect.	4	26.67		
Children should obey parents even when they are unfair.	4	26.67		
Children should obey parents.	5	33.33	3	17.65
Children should obey their parents to avoid consequences or punishment.	7	46.67	9	52.94
You should obey your parents because they have good reasons.	10	66.67	5	29.41
It's okay to disobey parents if what they are asking is illegal or unsafe	13	86.67	15	88.24
Disobeying means not listening.			3	17.65
It is okay to disobey a parent if they their child's 'rights.'			1	5.88
Children should obey their parents because they know more.			1	5.88
Children should obey their parents if doing so will get them something they need.			2	11.76
It is a child's responsibility to obey their parents.			1	5.88

Table 35: The relation between family type and conceptions of parental authority

Parental Authority Codes	Lesbian	% (n=15)	Traditional	% (n=17)
Parents should hold themselves to the same standards as their kids.	1	6.67	2	11.76
It is unfair for parents to stop kids from playing because kids need to play.	1	6.67	2	11.76
Parents have authority because they know what is right and wrong/ teach children what is right and wrong.	1	6.67	2	11.76
Punishment should be modified.	1	6.67	3	17.65
Parents have authority because they are in charge of the house.	1	6.67	4	23.53
Parents have authority because they know more than children.	1	6.67		
Authority is the power of the big over the little.	2	13.33		
It would be unfair for one parent to have more authority than the other.	2	13.33		
Parents can tell children what to do because they know more.	3	20.00	1	5.88
Parental authority has limitations, such as treating children well.	4	26.67	1	5.88
It is unfair when a child upsets a parent.	5	33.33	1	5.88
Parents must only ask reasonable things of their children.	5	33.33	11	64.71
Parents have authority.	6	40.00	5	29.41
Parents have authority because they are older/ bigger.	6	40.00	6	35.29
Parents have authority because they have to take care of children.	10	66.67	5	29.41
Both parents have equal authority.	14	93.33	16	94.12
Gender does not affect parental authority.			1	5.88
Parents have authority because they need to control kids.			1	5.88
The purpose of parental authority is to raise good children/adults.			3	5.88
Parents should explain themselves to their kids.			1	

Table 36: The relation between family type and conceptions of punishment

Punishment Codes	Lesbian	% (n=15)	Traditional	% (n=17)
Believing a punishment is unfair is selfish on the part of the child.	1	6.67		
Equal people cannot punish each other.	2	13.33	2	11.76
Punishment for doing bad things is fair.	2	13.33		
Punishing between parents is bad because it upsets the kids.	2	13.33		
Parents can punish each other.	2	13.33	6	35.29
Punishment is fair even if Peter thinks it is unfair.	5	33.33		
Parents cannot punish each other.	8	53.33	8	47.06
Punishment for disobeying is fair.	10	66.67	12	70.59
Divorce is the only punishment that parents can do to each other.			1	5.88
Punishing yourself is okay.			1	5.88
Punishing parents does not work because they cannot be forced.			2	11.76

Table 37: The relation between family type and definitions of promise

Promise Codes (definitions)	Lesbian	% (n=15)	Traditional	% (n=17)
Breaking a promise is equivalent to lying.	2	13.33	1	5.88
A promise is like a rule.	3	20.00		
A promise is an agreement.			1	5.88
Promises are 'bargains' or 'deals.'			1	5.88
A promise is a commitment.			1	5.88
Keeping a promise means keeping your word.			1	5.88

Table 38: The relation between family type and sons' assertions about promises

Promise Codes (assertions)	Lesbian	% (n=15)	Traditional	% (n=17)
Says that it is unsafe to break a promise.	1	6.67	1	5.88
A promise should be kept because some particular person will be sad or feel bad if it is broken.	1	6.67	2	11.76
You should keep a promise to help parents.	1	6.67	3	17.65
Breaking a promise can make the promise-breaker feel bad or guilty.	1	6.67		
Parents have more of an obligation to keep a promise because they have a better understanding of promises.	2	13.33	1	5.88
It's wrong to break a promise because that is lying.	2	13.33	2	11.76
Once one person breaks a promise the other may too.	4	26.67	2	11.76
It is more important for parents to keep a promise than for children.	4	26.67	4	23.53
Punishment for breaking a promise is fair.	4	26.67	5	29.41
It is equally wrong for adults and children to break promises.	5	33.33	5	29.41
It's okay to break a promise if the other person won't know.	5	33.33	10	58.82
Breaking promises is wrong/keeping promises is right/important.	12	80.00	10	58.82
It is unfair to break a promise.	10	66.67	13	76.47
Parents have an obligation to keep promises.	12	80.00	5	29.41
Sometimes breaking a promise is okay.			1	5.88
Harm that results from broken promises can have lasting effects.			1	5.88
You should keep a promise to avoid consequences or punishment.			2	11.76
It is more important for children to keep a promise than for parents.			3	17.65
Whether or not you should keep a promise depends on some specific situation.			4	23.53

Analysis of conceptions of promise and authority by family type and developmental level

In the following tables, the distribution of *authority* and *promise* codes are examined by family type and complexity level. Tables 39 and 41 display the distribution of *promise* codes. Tables 41 and 42 display the distribution of *authority* codes. In tables 39 and 41, codes that were identified exclusively in the performances of sons of lesbian parents are displayed in green bold type, whereas codes that were identified exclusively in the performances of sons of traditional parents are displayed in blue bold type. We have made a single exception to this formatting convention. The notions that (1) parents have to keep promises because it is their job, (2) once one person breaks a promise the other one may as well, and (3) you should obey your parents because they have good reasons, are so overwhelmingly present in the performances of the sons of lesbian parents (at one or both complexity levels) that we highlighted their occurrence even though a few sons of traditional parents presented concepts that were coded into these categories.

Tables 40 and 42 list the codes that are highlighted in tables 39 and 41 and categorize them as focusing on context, definition, affect, perspectives, consequences, care, limits, responsibility, knowledge, context, or power. Codes that are endorsed by sons from one family type across both developmental levels are highlighted with matching colors.

Table 39: The relation between family type, complexity level and conceptions of *promise keeping*

Promise Codes	RS				SA			
	Lesbian	% (n=11)	Traditional	% (n=8)	Lesbian	% (n=4)	Traditional	% (n=9)
Parents have to keep promises (it's their job).	9	81.82	2	25.00	3	75.00	3	33.33
It's ok to break a promise if the other person won't know.	4	36.36	4	50.00	2	50.00	7	77.78
It is more important for parents to keep a promise than for children.	4	36.36	2	25.00			2	22.22
Breaking a promise is the same as lying.	4	36.36	2	25.00			1	11.11
It is equally wrong for adults and children to break promises.	3	27.27	4	50.00	2	50.00	1	11.11
Parents have to keep a promise because they understand promises.	2	18.18					1	11.11
Keeping promises is important.	2	18.18			1	25.00		
Promises are like rules that you have to follow.	2	18.18			1	25.00		
Once one person breaks a promise the other may too.	2	18.18			4	100.00	2	22.20
Keep a contract to help parents.	1	09.09	1	12.50			2	22.22
It is unsafe to break a promise.	1	09.09	1	12.50				
A promise should be kept because some particular person will be sad or feel bad if it is broken.	1	09.09					2	22.22
You should keep a promise to avoid consequences or punishment.			3	37.50				
It is more important for children to keep a contract than for parents.			2	25.00			1	11.11
Keeping promises is dependent on the specific situation.			2	25.00	1	25.00	2	22.22
Promises are 'bargains' or 'deals.'			1	12.50				
Breaking a promise can make the promise-breaker feel guilty.					1	25.00		

Promise Codes	RS				SA			
	Lesbian	% (n=11)	Traditional	% (n=8)	Lesbian	% (n=4)	Traditional	% (n=9)
A promise is an agreement.					1	25.00		
A promise is a commitment.					1	25.00		
Keeping a promise means keeping your word.					1	25.00		
Bad feelings that result from broken promises can have lasting effects.							1	11.11

Table 40: The relation between family type, complexity level and categories of conceptions of *promise keeping*

RS			
Lesbian		Traditional	
Promise code	Category	Promise code	Category
Keeping promises is important.	no reason	It is more important for children to keep a promise than for parents.	no reason
Promises are like rules that you have to follow.	definition	Keeping promises is dependent on the specific situation.	context
Parents have to keep promises (it's their job).	perspective	You should keep a promise to avoid consequences or punishment.	consequences
Once one person breaks a promise the other may too.	perspective	Promises are 'bargains' or 'deals.'	definition
Parents have to keep a promise because they understand promises.	perspective		
A promise should be kept because some particular person will be sad or feel bad if it is broken.	affect		
SA			
Keeping promises is important.	no reason	It is more important for children to keep a promise than for parents.	no reason
Promises are like rules that you have to follow.	definition	Keep a promise to help parents.	care
Parents have to keep promises (it's their job).	perspective	A promise should be kept because some particular person will be sad or feel bad if it is broken.	affect
Breaking a promise can make the promise-breaker feel guilty.	affect	Parents have to keep a promise because they understand promises.	perspective
A promise is an agreement.	definition	Bad feelings that result from broken promises can have lasting effects.	affect
A promise is a commitment.	definition	Breaking a promise is the same as lying.	definition
Keeping a promise means keeping your word.	definition		

Table 41: Elaboration of selected *promise* codes with examples

Concept	Description	Examples
You should keep a promise to avoid consequences or punishment.	The sons who expressed this concept seemed to view the mother as a disciplinary figure with no defined motivation for her behavior aside from considerations of her mood.	<p>[IS IT OKAY IF HE SNEAKS OUT ANYWAY TO PLAY WITH HIS FRIENDS?] Huh! Like the last time, no! [NO, IT'S NOT?] Well, after he cleans up the room its kind of okay. [EVEN IF HIS MOM SAYS NO?] Yeah, but it's not really okay. [IT'S NOT OKAY. WHY IS THAT NOT OKAY?] Because he's being the way he did the last time. His mother's going to get mad at him again, really bad, because she woke up on the wrong side of the bed. [SO IT'S NOT OKAY BECAUSE HIS MOTHER'S GONNA GET MAD AND THEN SHE'S GONNA GET EVEN MORE MAD.] Yeah. [WHAT IF HE KNOWS HE WON'T GET CAUGHT?] Like his mom like is fast asleep totally? [RIGHT. SHOULD HE GO OUT AND PLAY WITH HIS FRIENDS? SNEAK OUT?] Like if his mom can't hear like nothing and she falls asleep for a day and a night, then he can do everything he wants and then go back and clean his room. [(RS)1271]</p> <p>[WHAT IF PETER SNEAKS OUT OF THE HOUSE ANYWAY AND GOES TO THE PICNIC. HIS MOM SAYS HE CAN'T GO BUT HE SNEAKS OUT ANYWAY. IS THAT RIGHT FOR PETER TO DO?] I don't think so, because if his mom catches him... he's not supposed to do it anyways, but if his mom catches him, he's going to be in deep trouble, you know, he might not even be able to go out, he'll have to clean his room every single day, like, you're not going anywhere 'til you're done cleaning your room. [BUT DO YOU THINK IT WAS FAIR OF CAROL TO TELL HIM HE COULDN'T GO OUT UNTIL HE CLEANED HIS ROOM?] No... Yes. I think that was fair. He has to clean his room before he goes out. [(SA)1281]</p>
Parents have to keep promises	The sons who felt it was more important for parents to keep promises showed a tendency to generalize their rules for the mother to include all grownups.	<p>[IS IT WORSE FOR A KID TO BREAK A PROMISE TO HIS MOTHER OR FOR A MOTHER TO BREAK A PROMISE TO HER KID?] A mother to break a promise to her kid. [AND WHY IS IT WORSE FOR A MOTHER TO BREAK A PROMISE TO A KID?] Because moms are supposed to take care of you in a good way, and... what are we talking about? [WELL, YOU SAID TO ME THAT IT WAS WORSE FOR A MOM TO BREAK A PROMISE TO A KID THAN FOR A KID TO BREAK A PROMISE TO A MOM.] Oh. Because moms would even keep a promise better and it would be really bad if a grownup broke a promise. [(RS)1274]</p> <p>[IS IT WORSE FOR A KID TO BREAK HIS PROMISE TO HIS MOTHER, OR HIS MOTHER TO BREAK A PROMISE TO HER KID?] His mother breaking a promise to her kid. [WHY IS THAT?] Because some kids don't know what promises mean. [HUH. SOME KIDS DON'T EVEN KNOW WHAT PROMISES MEAN.] And grownups do. [(RS)1279]</p>
Kids have to keep promises	Children who said it was worse for a kid to break a promise were concerned about negative consequences for either the child or the mother.	<p>[IS IT WORSE FOR A KID TO BREAK A PROMISE TO HIS MOTHER OR FOR A MOTHER TO BREAK HER PROMISE TO HER KID?] The kid to break a promise to the mother. [AND WHY IS IT WORSE?] Because the kid could get in big trouble. [THE KID COULD GET IN BIG TROUBLE IF HE BROKE HIS PROMISE TO HIS MOM.] Yeah. [WHAT KIND OF BIG TROUBLE?] Like... having to stay inside for two days or something. [(RM)1292]</p> <p>[WELL IS IT WORSE TO BREAK A PROMISE, FOR A MOM TO BREAK A PROMISE TO A KID OR A KID TO BREAK A PROMISE TO A MOM.] I'd say a kid, to a mom. [WHY IS THAT WORSE, DO YOU THINK?] I mean, because, like a mom could get really... like if she said, if you were going to get some medicine for her or something, and you didn't come through, that'd really be bad. And if it's just a toy, then I mean, you could get it next week or something. [(RS)1297]</p>

Concept	Description	Examples
Keeping a promise is important	Sons who expressed this concept tended to emphasize the unfairness/injustice of breaking a promise	<p>[IS IT FAIR FOR HER TO TELL PETER THAT HE CAN'T GO OUT?] It's fair to tell Peter that he can't go out, but it's not fair to tell him... it's not fair that she says he can do something but then she says he can't do something. [DOES IT MATTER THAT SHE'S BREAKING A PROMISE TO PETER?] Yes. [IT DOES MATTER. WHY DOES IT MATTER?] Because promises are important. [BECAUSE PROMISES ARE IMPORTANT. WHY ARE PROMISES IMPORTANT?] Because it isn't really good to lie. [(RS)1286]</p> <p>[WHAT IF HE GETS AWAY WITH IT, THOUGH, AND DOESN'T GET CAUGHT BECAUSE 'CUZZ CAROL IS TAKING A NAP.] Well he still shouldn't, because he should do what his mom has asked him. And... or, or asked her if they could go later. Or because it's just... not really okay to just... leave and go off without telling his mom. I think that that's kind of something that... it's like, it's his, she's his mom, and I mean, yeah, I don't think you should do that to your mom--Or anyone. [(SA)1280]</p> <p>[DOES IT MATTER THAT SHE'S BREAKING A PROMISE TO PETER?] Yes, it does matter. [WHY DOES IT MATTER?] Because children have a right to like... you know there's child abuse? That would be a little bit like that? Because you like break a promise that you've promised before. And then she just says, "Now you ain't playing no matter what." That would be unfair. [SO WHAT SHOULD PETER DO?] He should tell his other parent that his mom's breaking a promise. And if she doesn't listen, I think he has a right to sneak outside. [(SA)1281]</p>
Promises are like rules that you have to follow	Kids that expressed this opinion associated promises with laws, rules or other social regulations.	<p>[DOES IT MATTER THAT CAROL IS BREAKING HER PROMISE TO PETER?] Oh yes, it really does matter. [IT MATTERS. WHY DOES IT MATTER?] Because she broke her promise and I think it might be a law that you can't. [(RS)1284]</p> <p>[WHY IS IT NOT FAIR IF HE SNEAKS AWAY?] Well, because, like... that would be disobeying the rules, and it would be like, it would be like, if you weren't allowed, if no one was allowed, no one in the whole world, that would be like breaking the law. [(RM)1287]</p> <p>[IS IT WORSE FOR A KID TO BREAK A PROMISE TO A MOTHER OR FOR A MOTHER TO BREAK A PROMISE TO A KID?] Both the same. [WHY ARE THE BOTH THE SAME?] Because the same, promise, promise-breaking is the same, the same level of bad sportsmanship. Bad whatever. [PROMISE-BREAKING IS THE SAME LEVEL OF BAD SPORTSMANSHIP OR WHATEVER... WHAT ELSE IS PROMISE-BREAKING THE SAME LEVEL OF?] Same level of saying you're sorry and then coming back and doing something to them. [(SA)1277]</p>
Promises are like "agreements" or "bargains"	This notion tends to include some consideration of the promisee's expectation that the promise will be kept.	<p>[DOES IT MATTER THAT CAROL IS BREAKING HER PROMISE TO PETER?] Yeah. [WHY DOES IT MATTER?] Well because, if you break a promise then it's like... Breaking a promise, like, it says that you don't care what ... you agreed to. ...it's unfair on his part and her part. [(RS)1297]</p> <p>[IS IT WORSE FOR A KID TO BREAK A PROMISE TO HIS MOTHER, OR FOR A MOTHER TO BREAK HER PROMISE TO HER KID?] I think the same. [THE SAME? WHY IS IT THE SAME?] Because a mother wants her kids to be good and keep their promises. [(RS)1293]</p>

Table 42: The relation between family type, complexity level and categories of conceptions of *parental authority*

Authority Codes	RS				SA			
	Lesbian	% (n=11)	Traditional	% (n=8)	Lesbian	% (n=4)	Traditional	% (n=9)
Both parents have equal authority.	10	90.91	8	100.00	4	100.00	7	77.78
It's okay to disobey parents if what they ask is illegal or unsafe.	9	81.82	7	87.50	4	100.00	8	88.89
Parents have authority because they have to take care of children.	8	72.72			2	50.00		
You should obey your parents because they have good reasons.	7	63.64	1	12.50	3	75.00	3	33.33
Children should obey their parents to avoid consequences or punishment.	5	45.45	4	50.00	2	50.00	4	44.44
Parents have authority because they are older.	5	45.45	3	37.50	1	25.00	3	33.33
It's okay to disobey authority if s/he is telling you to do is mean/wrong/bad.	4	36.36	2	25.00				
Children should obey parents even when they are unfair.	3	27.27	1	12.50	1	25.00	1	11.11
Parents can tell children what to do because they know more.	3	27.27	1	12.50	1	25.00	1	11.11
Parental authority has limitations, such as treating children well.	3	27.27			1	25.00	1	11.11
Parents must only ask reasonable things of their children.	2	18.18	2	25.00	1	25.00	4	44.44
Parents have authority because they know what is right and what is wrong.	3	27.27	1	12.50	2	50.00	1	11.11
Equal people cannot punish each other.	2	18.18					2	22.22
Children should obey their parents because it shows respect.	2	18.18			2	50.00		
Disobeying is wrong because it is breaking rules.	1	9.09	1	12.50			2	22.22
Authority is the power of the big over the little.	1	9.09			1	25.00		
It's okay to disobey a parent if s/he has broken a promise.	1	9.09						
It's okay to disobey once you have kept a promise.			4	50.00	1	25.00	5	55.56
Parents have authority because they are in charge of the house.			3	37.50	1	25.00	1	11.11
Parents have authority so that they can help kids become good adults.			2	25.00			1	11.11
Disobeying means not listening.			1	12.50			2	22.22
It is okay to disobey a parent if they violate their child's 'rights.'			1	12.50				
It is okay to disobey a parent if what s/he tells you to do is unfair.					1	25.00		
Equality between parents depends on the family.					1	25.00		
Authority should not be too strict.					1	25.00	2	22.22
Children should obey their parents to avoid feeling guilty					1	25.00	1	11.11
It is a child's responsibility (job) to obey their parents.							1	11.11
Parents have authority because they need to control kids.							1	11.11

Table 43: The relation between family type, complexity level and categories of conceptions of *parental authority*

RS			
Lesbian		Traditional	
Promise code	Category	Promise code	Category
Authority is the power of the big over the little.	power	Parents have authority so that they can help kids become good adults.	responsibility
Parents have authority because they have to take care of children.	responsibility	It is okay to disobey a parent if they have violated their child's 'rights.'	limits
You should obey your parents because they have good reasons.	knowledge	Parents have authority because they are in charge of the house.	power
It's okay to disobey a parent if s/he has broken a promise.	limits	It's okay to disobey once you have kept a promise.	limits
Equal people cannot punish each other.	limits		
Children should obey their parents because it shows respect.	responsibility		
Parental authority has limitations, such as treating children well.	limits		
SA			
Authority is the power of the big over the little.	power	Parents have authority so that they can help kids become good adults.	responsibility
Parents have authority because they have to take care of children.	responsibility	Disobeying is wrong because it is breaking rules.	definition
You should obey your parents because they have good reasons.	knowledge	Equal people cannot punish each other.	limits
It is okay to disobey a parent if what he or she tells you to do is unfair.	limits	It is a child's responsibility (job) to obey their parents.	responsibility
Equality between parents depends on the family.	context	Parents have authority because they need to control kids.	power

Table 44: Elaboration of selected *authority* codes with examples

Concept	Description	Examples
<p>Authority is the power of the big over the little</p>	<p>Sons who defined authority as the power of the big over the little expressed the concept as a sort of general idea that bigger/stronger people are more capable than smaller/weaker people.</p>	<p>[WHY IS IT FAIR FOR PETER'S MOM TO TELL HIM WHAT TO DO, ANYWAY?] Because your mom... you aren't your mom's boss; your mom is your boss. So that's the difference. [SO HOW COME YOUR MOM IS YOUR BOSS AND YOU'RE NOT YOUR MOM'S BOSS.] Because she's bigger than you and she knows ... more than me. [(RS)1285]</p> <p>[SO IT'S JUST ABOUT EQUAL YOU MEAN?] Yeah. It's sort of equal, it depends the family you have. [WHAT DO YOU MEAN?] I mean.. it's like.. some women are stronger than men, you know, like, like people that work out all the time, women that work out all the time and then these men that don't do anything, like, are in really bad shape and everything, and I think it would be.. the woman would make a little more charge from the man, but the man would still take a lot of charges... [(SA)1281]</p>
<p>Parents have authority because they have to take care of the children</p>	<p>The children that suggested their parents have authority because they are the caretakers of their children also expressed a common theme that parents and children are bound together because of the amount of time that they spend with each other or the amount of effort that the parent puts into the child.</p>	<p>[WHY DOES PETER'S MOM CAROL HAVE THE RIGHT TO TELL HIM WHAT TO DO?] Because they're older people that are taking care of you. [AND SO BECAUSE THEY'RE OLDER AND TAKING CARE OF YOU, THEY CAN TELL YOU WHAT TO DO? ANY OTHER REASON?] Because she's not a babysitter (laughs). [SHE'S NOT A BABYSITTER.] Because if it was a babysitter, they wouldn't really have the right to tell me what to do unless your mom told them to tell him what to do. [SO WHAT'S SPECIAL ABOUT A MOM THAT'S DIFFERENT FROM A BABYSITTER?] Moms stay with you for a longer amount of time. [(RS)1276]</p> <p>[WHY DOES PETER'S MOTHER HAVE THE RIGHT TO TELL HIM WHAT TO DO ANYWAY?] Because she's the adult and she teaches him how to be, how to make wise choices and not be, and know more so when he grows up he won't... he won't be mean and get arrested. [(RS)1291]</p> <p>[WHAT MAKES IT FAIR FOR A CHILD TO DO WHAT HIS MOTHER TELLS HIM TO DO.] Well if you're talking about all the time it's not fair. If you're talking about once in a while, or about half the time, it's pretty much fair because the mom does a lot of things for him. [(SA)1282]</p>
<p>You should obey your parents because they have good reasons</p>	<p>Kids that expressed this argument often included some idea of safety in their reasoning. They also tended to refer to the inconvenience that might be caused to others if they did not obey their parents.</p>	<p>[WHY DOES THE MOM HAVE THE RIGHT TO TELL PETER WHAT TO DO?] I don't know, maybe it's because like when friends come, they might like trip on them or like hurt theirself, or he might lose some toys and tell his mom to buy some new ones... [(RS)1272]</p> <p>[WHY IS IT FAIR FOR HIS MOM TO TELL PETER TO CLEAN UP HIS ROOM?] Because then it'll get messier and messier and then she would just get annoyed and just have to clean it up all by herself, like with babies. She would say, "Are you a baby?" and he would say "No." So they would get in this argument. And it would be a long argument. [(RS)1284]</p> <p>[WAS IT FAIR TO TELL PETER THAT HE COULDN'T GO TO THE PICNIC UNTIL HE CLEANED UP HIS ROOM?] In a way it could be and in a way it couldn't be. It could be fair because his room should be neat, and so if someone was coming over later tonight, even if someone wasn't coming over later tonight, I mean his room should be clean because it's part of the house. But it also wasn't fair because I mean, he could just clean it up later and go out with his friends. [(SA)1280]</p> <p>[WHY DOES SHE HAVE THE RIGHT TO TELL HIM TO CLEAN UP HIS ROOM?] Because that's like, it's what you usually have to do when you're a child, and like... it's not terrible that I have to clean up my room but I don't like to do it, it's still fair for a mother to force her kid to clean the room, it's like, things all over the floor, you can't get around without stepping on something. Then you can force a child, I think. [(SA)1281]</p>

Table 45: An analysis of codes reflecting sons' "buy in" with respect to parental authority and promise-keeping

Action code	Lesbian	% (n=15)	Traditional	% (n=17)
Sneaking away from room is wrong because child could get lost or hurt.	2	13.33	3	17.65
Peter should tell his Mom the truth	3	20.00	2	11.76
Lying is wrong.	6	40.00	1	5.88
Sneaking away from room is wrong because it could worry the mother.	9	60.00	5	29.41
Stealing is wrong.	12	80.00	11	64.71

Consideration code	Lesbian	% (n=15)	Traditional	% (n=17)
It is important to consider parent's feelings.	3	20.00	1	5.88

Obey/Disobey code	Lesbian	% (n=15)	Traditional	% (n=17)
Children should obey their parents because it shows respect.	4	26.67		
Children should obey parents even when they are unfair.	4	26.67		
Children should obey parents.	5	33.33	3	17.65
You should obey your parents because they have good reasons.	10	66.67	3	17.65
Children should obey their parents because they know more.			1	5.88
It is a child's responsibility to obey their parents.			1	5.88

Parental Authority code	Lesbian	% (n=15)	Traditional	% (n=17)
Parents have authority because they know what is right and wrong/ teach children what is right and wrong.	1	6.67	2	11.76
Parents have authority because they are in charge of the house.	1	6.67	4	23.53
Authority is the power of the big over the little.	2	13.33		
Parents have authority because they know more than children.	1	6.67		
Parents can tell children what to do because they know more.	3	20.00	1	5.88
Parents have authority.	6	40.00	5	29.41
Parents have authority because they are older/ bigger.	6	40.00	6	35.29
Parents have authority because they have to take care of children.	10	66.67	5	29.41
Parents have authority because they need to control kids.			1	5.88
The purpose of parental authority is to raise good children/ adults.			3	17.65

Punishment code	Lesbian	% (n=15)	Traditional	% (n=17)
Punishment for doing bad things is fair.	2	13.33		
Punishment is fair even if Peter thinks it is unfair.	5	33.33		
Punishment for disobeying is fair.	10	66.67	12	70.59

Promise Codes	Lesbian	% (n=15)	Traditional	% (n=17)
A promise should be kept because some particular person will be sad or feel bad if it is broken.	1	6.67	2	11.76
You should keep a promise to help parents.	1	6.67		
Breaking a promise can make the promise-breaker feel bad or guilty.	1	6.67		
It's wrong to break a promise because that is lying.	2	13.33	2	11.76
Punishment for breaking a promise is fair.	4	26.67	5	29.41
Breaking promises is wrong/keeping promises is right/ important.	12	80.00	10	58.85

It is unfair to break a promise.	10	80.00	13	76.47
Harm that results from broken promises can have lasting effects.			1	5.88

Table 46: Tally of codes reflecting sons' "buy-in"

Number of statements indicating buy-in from sons of lesbian parents	Average per son (n=15)	Number of statements indicating buy-in from sons of traditional parents	Average per son (n=17)
136	9.07	103	6.06

