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CHILD'S EVALUATIONS OF HYPOTHETICAL TRANSGRESSIONS OF

SOCIAL RULES: FACTORS THAT AFFECT THE JUDGMENT

Master's thesis

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Running head: Evaluations of Transgressions

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ABSTRACT

This study examined children's evaluations of descriptions of hypothetical transgressions of different social rules. 84 children between the ages 5 to 14 were divided into 4 groups according to age (5, 7, 11 and 14 yr). Children gave evaluations of the descriptions of 12 social rules. Each description was presented twice – transgressed by another child or by the child him/herself. In addition, teachers of the children rated the frequency of actual transgressions. The evaluations of severity of transgressions depended on social domain (e.g., transgressing moral norms was evaluated to be more severe than transgressing conventions or personal rules) as well as on particular content of a description. The 5-year-olds gave the most severe evaluations of the transgressions.

Key words: *child development, social judgment, morals, conventions, personal rules*

KOKKUVÕTE

Laste hinnangud erinevate sotsiaalsete reeglite rikkumisele: otsustusi mõjutavad tegurid

Selle töö eesmärk oli uurida laste hinnanguid erinevate sotsiaalsete reeglite rikkumisele. Uurimuses osales 84 5- kuni 14aastast last, kes jagati vanuse alusel 4 gruppi (5-, 7-, 11- ja 14aastased). Lapsed hindasid 12 situatsiooni lühikirjeldust sotsiaalse reegli rikkumisest. Iga reegli puhul esitati olukorra kirjeldus nii mina kui ka tema-vormis. Lisaks täitsid laste õpetajad küsimustiku, kus hindasid, kui sageli lapsed reegleid rikuvad. Tulemusena leidsin, et laste hinnangud sõltusid nii reegli valdkonnast (nt moraalialaseid rikkumisi hinnati konventsioonide ja personaalsete reeglite rikkumisest inetumaks) kui ka konkreetsest lühikirjeldusest. 5aastased lapsed pidasid reeglite rikkumist inetumaks kui vanemad lapsed. Soolised erinevused ilmnesid vaid hinnangutes, mis anti soostereotüübile mittevastava käitumise kirjeldustele.

Märksõnad: *lapse sotsiaalne areng, sotsiaalsed reeglid, moraalireeglid, konventsioonid, personaalsed reeglid*

INTRODUCTION

During the last decades children's evaluations and judgments about social transgressions have been studied by many researchers within the social domain perspective (Nucci & Nucci, 1982; Tisak & Turiel, 1988; Yau & Smetana, 2003). Elliot Turiel (1983) was one of the first to suggest that social judgments depend on the standards and practices that are valued and applied in different domains of knowledge. Many studies confirm the finding that the domain of social rules influences children's reasoning about social norms (see Turiel, 1998, for a review). Thus according to different domains social rules can be categorized in the following way, as proposed by Turiel (1983). First, <u>moral norms</u> specify how people ought to relate to each other independent of specific circumstances. These norms are prescriptive in terms of justice, rights, and welfare, e.g., one is not to hit others, to tease others, to steal, to lie, nor to break others' property (Piotrowski, 1997; Smetana, Campione-Barr, & Yell, 2003; Turiel, 1983). Second, <u>social conventions</u> are applied within the contexts of specific social systems. The main purpose of social conventions is to coordinate social interactions, which is achieved through endorsing behavioral uniformities such as sharing duties, sharing rewards, and turn taking (Piotrowski, 1997; Smetana, Campione-Barr, & Yell, 2003; Turiel, 1983). Third, <u>personal issues</u> are concerned with prudential rules, e.g., avoiding harm towards oneself and personal appearance, e.g., extraordinary appearance and gender based stereotypes (Barbieri, 1993; Turiel, 1983).

The ability to distinguish between at least two social domains – <u>morals and conventions</u> – has been shown to exist in various age groups. For example, the distinction between social conventions and moral norms emerges as early as during the forth year of life (Barbieri, 1993; Smetana & Braeges, 1990), and becomes consistent during preschool years (Davidson, Turiel, & Black, 1983; Smetana, 1984, 1989; Yau & Smetana, 2003). The level of understanding continues to develop during school years (see Smetana, 1993) and adolescence (Keltikangas-Järvinen, Terav, & Pakaslahti, 1999). The distinction between the two types of rules is based on various aspects in regards to these social domains. Children typically consider moral transgressions to be more serious in comparison to conventional violations (Barbieri, 1993; Smetana, 1981; Tisak & Turiel, 1988; Turiel, 1983). Also, children consider moral norms to be unchangeable regardless

of specific contextual circumstances. In contrast, social conventions are seen as depending mainly on agreement about acceptable ways of behavior within a particular social group (Turiel, 1983). In addition to this, children usually reason that social conventions are dependent on authority, while, conversely, they tend to believe that moral norms cannot be changed even if authority figures are described to allow or insist on the change (Laupa, 1991, Leman & Duveen, 1999; Neff & Helwig, 2002; Nobes & Pawson, 2003). Recently there have been arguments to support the view that the intensity of affect that is connected to the transgressions of social rules is one of the factors that contributes to the distinction between moral and conventional transgressions (Arsenio & Kramer, 1992; Blair, Monson, & Frederickson, 2001; Nichols, 2002; Wooglar, Steele, Steele, Yabsley, & Fonagy, 2001). As transgressing of moral norms causes easily recognizable distress for the victim, generally this will also create quite intensive negative feelings for the victimizer (Blair, Monson, & Frederickson, 2001). In addition to these two domains there is a third one which is mainly concerned with personal issues. The personal domain is combined of prudential and personal rules as transgressing either of these has the largest effect on the transgressor him/herself. Compared to the former two domains this is considered to be distinguishable from others as having the least serious outcomes if transgressed. Personal domain is most often described as dependent mainly on the will of the person it is applied to and so the changes in this domain can be quite easily introduced (Barbieri, 1993; Horn, Killen, & Stangor, 1999; Turiel, 1983). Still, one should note that this personal domain involves certain aspects that cannot be easily regarded as only being dependent on and having an effect on the person involved. For example, harming oneself is closely connected to moral issues and very extraordinary personal appearance can disrupt social order.

One of the purposes of this study is to analyze the differences between evaluations that are given to the descriptions of hypothetical transgressions of different types of social rules by children who belong to different age groups, particularly focusing on the issues of domain specificity and intensity of affect.

DESCRIPTIONS OF HYPOTHETICAL TRANSGRESSIONS

Using descriptions of hypothetical transgressions has been one of the most frequently used research methods within the social domain perspective (Arsenio, 1988; Barbieri, 1993; Buchanan-Barrow & Barrett; 1998; Hawley, 2003; Nichols, 2002; Smetana, 1981). Transgressing a rule provides children with possibility to witness social interactions as consequences of this act (Turiel, 1983). This gives the children an opportunity to become familiar with the consequences of transgressing social rules that belong to different domains. So, similarly to previous studies describing transgressions of rules instead of descriptions of following the rules is used as it is suggested that it is easier for children to give reasons why a rule should not be transgressed rather than having to argue why a rule should be followed.

Given the familiarity of situations that are described to the children it has been shown that children are able to give judgments about the transgressions starting from quite an early age, e.g., hitting others and sharing with others (Barbieri, 1993; Smetana, Campione-Barr, & Yell, 2003). To increase the familiarity the actors in the hypothetical transgression situations are most often described as being the same age and same sex as the child who is interviewed. One possible way to further increase the familiarity of the situation to be described to the children is to describe children themselves as actors in transgressions that are found to be occurring frequently in their everyday lives. However, one has to consider the possibility that people judge actions of others differently as compared to their own actions. Piaget (1932/1960) suggested that children might tend to judge others' transgressions more severely than their own. In this study I will compare the evaluations that children give to the hypothetical transgressions from different social domains as described to be committed by other children and by themselves in order to see whether this factor of familiarity influences the evaluations given to the hypothetical transgressions.

PARTICULAR CONTENT OF THE DESCRIPTIONS

One important issue concerning the studies of children's reasoning about transgressions of social rules are the particular rules that are selected by the researchers to be used in the study, and also the particular ways in which these selected rules are exemplified in the

descriptions of transgressions told to the children (Nobes & Pawson, 2003). For example, the welfare of another person can be endangered in multiple ways such as by physical or verbal aggression. Even if the social domain to which a particular rule usually belongs has a major effect on the evaluations of seriousness of transgressions, sometimes it is possible that the content of a particular description will have a large effect in itself (Tisak & Turiel, 1988). So there is a possibility that some transgressions that belong to the moral domain can be considered to be less serious than some of the transgressions that belong to the conventional domain, which again in turn can sometimes be considered as less serious than some of the transgressions that belong to the personal domain. Also, it is worth noting that different domains are not separable from each other entirely and that there can exist rules which may have some aspects of more than one social domain (Turiel, 1983). For instance, intruding into a line is most obviously disrupting the social order, but since as a result of the intrusion other persons' welfare might be harmed this kind of transgression also involves some moral aspects. In this study I will also compare the evaluations that are given by the children to different transgressions according to the social domain to which these transgressions belong to as compared to the particular content of the single descriptions.

Already Piaget (1932/1960) took into consideration the intention as an aspect that has influence on the evaluations of seriousness of transgressions. That is, the same transgression can be considered to be less serious if it is given that the person committing the act did not mean to inflict any harm. The same principle also can be applied in cases in which a transgression is evaluated to be more serious given that the actor meant to inflict harm. According to this point of view I assume in the study that the hypothetical transgressions of rules described as happening without any intent to inflict harm will be evaluated by children as less serious compared to the descriptions of hypothetical transgressions where the intentionality of the actor is not explicitly stated.

GENDER DIFFERENCES

In 1982 Carol Gilligan suggested that Kohlberg's classification of moral development was gender biased. Kohlberg (1976) based his theory on a study of an all male sample and thus failed to take into account the specific female view of morality, as Gilligan

proposes. In Gilligan's view, women are more likely than men to use interpersonal terminology while thinking about moral issues. So, morally good behavior, as a woman sees it, is more often equated with helping and pleasing others than morally good behavior, as a man sees it. Men tend to use principles of fairness and equity more often while reasoning about moral issues as compared to women. In terms of Kohlberg's stages men will thus be seen as being morally more developed than women. Following Gilligan's (1982) work there has been significant interest in the possible gender differences emerging during reasoning about moral dilemmas or social transgressions. Some research has confirmed Gilligan's suggestion (Keltikangas-Järvinen, Terav & Pakaslahti, 1999). Other studies have partially confirmed Gilligan's suggestion, as the girls are found to give more answers focusing on relationships as compared to boys, but children of both sexes give an equal amount of answers focusing on justice (Björklund, 2003; Donenberg & Hoffman, 1988). There has also been research that has not found gender differences (Eisenberg-Berg & Neal, 1981; Nisan, 1987; Smetana & Braeges, 1990). In conclusion it has been found that gender differences are minor (Jaffee & Hyde, 2000). Based on this I expect not to find large differences in evaluations that are given by girls to descriptions of hypothetical transgressions in comparison to evaluations given by boys to the same transgressions.

TEACHERS' RATINGS

Teachers of children are found to be the best informants of children's everyday behavior in group settings (Pulkkinen, Kaprio & Rose, 1999). As teachers spend quite much time with children in a group setting they have good possibilities of assessing the actual occurrence of transgressions, so they know which rules are transgressed and how often these transgressions take place. One of the goals of this study is to establish in everyday settings the frequency of the transgressions concerning the social rules described in this study. In addition it is of interest if there is any relationship between the frequency of transgressing the social rules in group setting in every day life as evaluated by the teachers and children's evaluations of seriousness of hypothetical transgressions. Also the possible gender differences in the frequency of transgressions are of interest (Björkqvist, 1994).

METHOD

PARTICIPANTS

Subjects in this study were 84 children who were recruited from a kindergarten and a school in Tartu. Approximately an equal number of boys (total 47) and girls (total 51) participated in the study. According to their age children were divided into four age groups: 5-year-olds, 7-year-olds, 11-year-olds, and 14-year-olds. The groups were of equal size (ranging from 23 to 25). Also, there was approximately the same number of boys and girls in each group (differing only by one). The youngest group of children consisted of 9 boys and 12 girls who were 5 years of age (M=5.17 years, SD=0.56). The second group consisted of 12 boys and 13 girls who were 7 years of age (M=6.89 years, SD=0.53). The third group consisted of 8 boys and 11 girls who were 11 years of age (M=11.22 years, SD=0.62), and the eldest group consisted of 10 boys and 9 girls who were 14 years of age (M=13.88 years, SD=0.34). Both of the parents of most of the children were Estonians. Five of the children had one of the parents from another nationality, and four of the children had both of the parents from another nationality. All the children spoke Estonian.

There were 6 teachers of the kindergarten-aged children and 3 teachers of the school-aged children who participated in this study.

INTERVIEWS

Children were presented with 24 short descriptions that pertained to familiar everyday events in the kindergarten and school setting (see appendix 1). The story characters were matched to the child by age and sex. There were 12 different rules that were depicted as violated. Each description was told to the children twice, once as if the rule was broken by another child and once as if the rule was broken by the child itself. Five of the stories focused on moral issues (hitting, teasing, stealing, lying, breaking another's property), three descriptions were included concerning transgressions of conventions (being greedy, disrupting a line, and leaving one's mess for others to clean), two of the short stories described accidental violations of the moral rules (hurting another by accident and destroying another's property by accident), and two of the descriptions focused on personal issues (coloring one's hair blue and doing something that is considered to be for

the opposite sex). The stories were constructed according to materials used in previous research (e.g., Smetana, Campione-Barr, & Yell, 2003) and also according to children's everyday conflicts in kindergarten setting as observed by Tulviste & Koor (2005).

All stimuli were similar as they described very shortly a situation of breaking of a certain social rule; the context was not described in any story. For each story, the participants judged whether it was nice or not to break the rule, how nice or bad it was (the choice of the wording was based on the child's decision). Three-point-scales were used to give decisions about how nice or bad it was to break a rule in the way as it was described in each particular story (see appendix 2). The abovementioned scales were printed and presented to children to help them to choose the variant they thought to be most appropriate. Children were also asked to give reasons for their decisions about the act being acceptable or not.

The format of interviews was designed according to previous research (Yau & Smetana, 2003) and a pilot study. For each story stimulus, children were asked the following questions in a fixed order. Children were asked: (a) "Is it nice or bad for (Estonian regular boy's or girl's name) to ___ (act in the described way)?" assessing (non)permissibility; (b) "How nice/bad is it to ___ (act in the described way)? A little nice/bad, nice/bad, or very nice/bad?" assessing severity; (c) "Why do you think it is nice/bad to ___?" to obtain the justifications for judgments from the children; if the children did not give the justifications as asked for the first time the question was repeated once.

The author individually administered the interview in 15- to 30-minute sessions. Pilot testing was conducted to ensure that children understood the stories and questions. Children were individually interviewed in a separate classroom both in the kindergarten and in the school. If a child got tired during the interview s/he was allowed to return to her/his classroom and the interview was continued within 7 days (only some 5 year olds got tired and needed to rest). The stories were presented in a random order.

QUESTIONNAIRES

The teachers were presented with individual questionnaires for each child from their class (see appendix 3). The items in the questionnaire described the breaking of everyday social rules in classrooms and the items closely resembled the stories used in the interviews with the children. Ten situations were described (hitting, teasing, stealing, lying, breaking another child's property, being greedy, disrupting a line, leaving one's mess for others to clean, coloring one's hair very extraordinarily, and doing something that is considered to be appropriate for the opposite sex). The teachers had to decide about each child how often the child was engaged in each of the above mentioned activities. The ratings of involvement were coded on a four point scale ranging from 0 (never) to 3 (very often). The questionnaires were presented to teachers after the interviews were finished to avoid discussions of the stories in classrooms before conducting the interviews. The teachers filled in the questionnaires individually while they had free time in the middle of a school day. For each participating child one questionnaire was completed.

RESULTS

First, detailed information will be given about the children's evaluations of hypothetical transgressions of different social rules and different situations will be grouped together according to children's evaluations. The differences between sexes and ages will be shown in regards to evaluations given to the hypothetical transgressions. Second, information will be given about teachers' opinions of how often children transgress the same rules as described to children during interviews in school settings. The opinions will be grouped according to the frequency and also according to the children's evaluations of severity of different hypothetical transgressions. The differences between sexes and ages will be shown according to the frequency of rule breaking as stated by the teachers. Finally, the correlations between children's evaluations and teachers' opinions will be shown.

CHILDREN'S EVALUATIONS

Children had to evaluate all the hypothetical transgressions presented to them as nice or bad on a three-point-scale. Mostly, the children did not find the described transgressions to be nice. According to this the scales were combined into one four-point-scale ranging from nice (0) through a little bad (1) and bad (2) to very bad (3) for the analyses. Children's evaluations of different transgressions are presented in order of severity in Table 1.

Table 1. Children's Evaluations of the Transgressions

	Valid N	Mean (SD)	Minimum	Maximum
Stealing	84	2.76 (0.57)	1	3
Breaking	84	2.76 (0.51)	1	3
Stealing 2	84	2.74 (0.60)	0	3
Breaking 2	83	2.70 (0.62)	1	3
Hitting 2	83	2.65 (0.63)	1	3
Hitting	83	2.60 (0.66)	1	3
Teasing	83	2.57 (0.68)	1	3
Teasing 2	84	2.51 (0.74)	1	3
Cleaning	83	2.33 (0.72)	1	3
Lying 2	84	2.31 (0.82)	0	3
Lying	83	2.29 (0.85)	0	3
Cleaning 2	83	2.27 (0.77)	0	3
Intruding 2	84	2.25 (0.77)	0	3
Greedy 2	83	2.22 (0.87)	0	3
Greedy	83	2.19 (0.80)	0	3
Intruding	83	2.19 (0.74)	1	3
Hair 2	83	1.73 (1.28)	0	3
Accidental breaking 2	84	1.71 (0.93)	0	3
Accidental hurting	84	1.63 (1.00)	0	3
Accidental hurting 2	84	1.62 (1.00)	0	3
Accidental breaking	83	1.54 (0.87)	0	3
Hair	84	1.49 (1.22)	0	3
Playing 2	84	1.05 (1.22)	0	3
Playing	84	0.87 (1.10)	0	3

Note: In the first column of the table there are abbreviations of situations and number 2 stands for the transgressions described as committed by the child herself or himself (see appendix 2).

As can be seen, from the Table 1, children evaluated most severely the descriptions of moral transgressions, following those, are the evaluations of descriptions of transgressions of conventions and unintentional transgressions of moral norms. The least severe were the evaluations of descriptions of transgressions of personal rules. Also, it is noteworthy that children mostly found transgressions of moral norms to be at least a little bad while they sometimes found other transgressions to be even nice.

The statistically significant differences between evaluations given to different descriptions of transgressions are presented in Tables 2, 3, and 4. There are differences between evaluations of descriptions of hypothetical transgressions described as committed by another child presented in Table 2. The differences between the children's

evaluations of the hypothetical transgressions described as committed by the children themselves are presented in Table 3. In Table 4, there are the differences between the children's evaluations of the hypothetical transgressions described as committed by other children and transgressions described as committed by children themselves.

Table 2. Results of t-tests for Children's Evaluations of the Transgressions Described as Committed by Another Child

	Hitting	Teasing	Stealing	Lying	Breaking	Greedy	Intruding	Cleaning	Accidental breaking	Accidental hurting	Hair
Teasing											
Stealing		2.23*									
Lying	-2.59**	-2.65**	-2.65****								
Breaking		2.27*		4.61****							
Greedy	-3.98****	-4.00****	-6.11****		-6.22****						
Intruding	-4.10****	-4.47****	-6.22****		-6.45****						
Cleaning	-3.04***	-2.50**	-4.85****		-4.77****						
Accidental breaking	-8.80****	-9.57****	-10.24****	-6.24****	-11.22****	-4.80****	-6.29****	-7.13****			
Accidental hurting	-8.36****	-8.38****	-9.37****	-4.92****	-9.87****	-4.32****	-4.63****	-5.52****			
Hair	-8.43****	-8.31****	-8.84****	-5.38****	-9.38****	-5.36****	-5.36****	-5.97****			
Playing	-12.73****	-12.12****	-15.07****	-9.56****	-16.13****	-9.74****	-9.51****	-9.72****	-4.68****	-5.47****	-4.22****

Note: In the first column and first row of the table there are abbreviations of situations (see appendix 2). *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.005, ****p<0.001.

Table 3. Results of t-tests for Children's Evaluations of the Transgressions Described as Committed by the Child Him/herself

	Hitting 2	Teasing 2	Stealing 2	Lying 2	Breaking 2	Greedy 2	Intruding 2	Cleaning 2	Accidental breaking 2	Accidental hurting 2	Hair 2
Teasing 2											
Stealing 2		2.35*									
Lying 2	-3.42****		-4.20****								
Breaking 2		2.11*		3.82****							
Greedy 2	-3.99****	-2.79**	-4.64****		-4.94****						
Intruding 2	-4.68****	-2.82**	-4.59****		-5.21****						
Cleaning 2	-4.34****	-2.46*	-4.90****		-5.25****						
Accidental breaking 2	-7.94****	-6.54****	-8.01****	-5.35****	-7.94****	-3.83****	-4.69****	-4.49****			
Accidental hurting 2	-9.45****	-7.11****	-8.57****	-5.35****	-8.99****	-4.67****	-5.51****	-5.35****			
Hair 2	-5.96****	-5.65****	-6.25****	-3.67****	-6.31****	-3.28***	-3.49****	-3.71****			
Playing 2	-10.50****	-8.85****	-11.23****	-7.89****	-11.07****	-7.72****	-7.53****	-7.59****	-4.57****	-3.65****	-3.75****

Note: In the first column and first row of the table there are abbreviations of situations and number 2 stands for the transgressions described as committed by the child herself or himself (see appendix 2). *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.005, ****p<0.001.

Table 4. Results of t-tests for Children's Evaluations of the Transgressions Described as Committed by Another Child and as Committed by the Child Him/herself

	Hitting	Teasing	Stealing	Lying	Breaking	Greedy	Intruding	Cleaning	Accidental breaking	Accidental hurting	Hair	Playing
Hitting 2				3.35****		4.85****	4.77****	3.79****	9.64****	8.78****	7.81****	13.30****
Teasing 2			-2.70**	2.00*	-2.70**	3.29****	3.18***	2.15*	7.48****	6.38****	7.74****	11.23****
Stealing 2				3.91****		5.11****	5.18****	4.60****	10.32****	8.89****	8.53****	13.40****
Lying 2	-2.72**	-2.54**	-4.69****		-4.49****				5.89****	5.21****	5.56****	10.36****
Breaking 2				3.87****		5.54****	4.89****	4.00****	8.98****	8.22****	8.35****	4.04****
Greedy 2	-3.25***	-3.17***	-5.48****		-5.56****				4.92****	4.20****	4.84****	9.66****
Intruding 2	-3.64****	-3.35****	-5.47****		-5.99****				5.84****	4.89****	5.78****	10.12****
Cleaning 2	-3.41****	-3.12***	-4.99****		-5.61****				5.89****	5.14****	5.60****	9.96****
Accidental breaking 2	-7.72****	-7.65****	-9.92****	-4.82****	-9.56****	-4.06****	-4.38****	-5.41****				6.64****
Accidental hurting 2	-8.42****	-8.34****	-10.04****	-5.31****	-10.04****	-4.77****	-4.64****	-5.89****				5.37****
Hair 2	-5.85****	-5.76****	-6.99****	-3.56****	-6.60****	-3.31****	-3.21****	-4.18****			2.16*	5.38****
Playing 2	-10.58****	-9.68****	-12.13****	-7.16****	-12.80****	-7.22****	-7.22****	-8.15****	-3.26***	-3.85****	-2.61''	

Note: In the first column and first row of the table there are abbreviations of situations and number 2 stands for the transgressions described as committed by the child herself or himself (see appendix 2). $*p<0.05$, $**p<0.01$, $***p<0.005$, $****p<0.001$.

According to the statistically significant differences between evaluations given by the children to the different transgressions the descriptions were grouped into five groups (see Table 5). The first one includes the situations judged most severely by the children. The situations had in common violation of rights connected to private property. The second group combines evaluations of the situations where aggression (both verbal and physical) towards others was described. Then follows the third group where evaluations of the descriptions of transgressions of social conventions belong together with the evaluations given to the descriptions of lying. The fourth group is a combination of evaluations of the unintentional violations of moral norms and personal rule violation in regards to conventions about appearance. And finally the least severe evaluations were given to the situation where transgressing a gender stereotyped behavior was described. The difference between groups in regards to the severity of evaluation given by the children was statistically significant (see Table 6).

Table 5. Children's Evaluations Grouped According to Severity

	Valid N	Mean (SD)	Minimum	Maximum
Stealing & breaking	84	2.74 (0.40)	1	3
Hitting & teasing	84	2.59 (0.46)	1	3
Cleaning, lying, intruding, & greedy	84	2.26 (0.52)	1	3
Hair, accidental hurting, & accidental breaking	84	1.62 (0.69)	0	3
Playing	84	0.96 (1.08)	0	3

Note: In the first column of the table there are abbreviations of situations (see appendix 2).

Table 6. Results of t-tests for the Children's Evaluations Grouped According to Severity

	Stealing & breaking	Hitting & teasing	Cleaning, lying, intruding, & greedy	Hair, accidental hurting, & accidental breaking
Hitting & teasing	2.95*			
Cleaning, lying, intruding, & greedy	8.78**	6.34**		
Hair, accidental hurting, & accidental breaking	13.39**	13.39**	9.11**	
Playing	14.91**	12.73**	10.33**	5.88**

Note: In the first column and first row of the table there are abbreviations of situations (see appendix 2). *p<0.005, **p<0.001.

Breakdown & one-way ANOVAs and Scheffé tests for post hoc comparisons were used for analyzing the differences between sexes and age groups.

The only statistically significant gender difference between evaluations given by the children to the descriptions of transgressions emerged in connection with the transgressing the personal rule about gender stereotype. In other words boys judged the descriptions of playing a game considered to be more appropriate for the girls to be worse (mean for descriptions of another boy's transgression was 1.31; mean for description of transgression as one's own was 1.79) compared to the girls who judged the descriptions of playing a game considered to be more appropriate for boys not to be so bad (mean for descriptions of another girl's transgression was 0.50; mean for description of transgression as one's own was 0.41; $F(1, 82)=13.42$, $p<0.001$ and $F(1, 82)=40.08$, $p<0.001$ respectively for the transgressions described as committed by another child and transgressions described as committed by the child him/herself).

The statistically significant differences between age groups are presented in Table 7. As can be seen from the table there were significant differences in evaluations given to in about a half of descriptions of hypothetical transgressions. In addition to this some tendencies can be brought out. In comparison to other age groups the means of evaluations of severity given to the described transgressions by 14-year-olds tended to be smaller than the means of evaluations of severity given by younger children. The 14-year-olds evaluated teasing described as committed by another child less severely than younger children did ($F(3, 80)=5.35$, $p<0.005$). They also judged the hypothetical

descriptions of themselves teasing other children less severely than 7-year-olds and 11-year-olds did (F(3, 79)=5.43, p<0.005). In addition, the 14-year-olds evaluated the descriptions of another child intruding the line and themselves intruding the line less severely than the younger children did (F(3, 80)=5.26, p<0.005 and F(3, 79)=4.84, p<0.005, respectively). Finally, the 14-year-olds evaluated the descriptions of having blue hair the least severely (for the transgression described as committed by another child F(3, 79)=5.23, p<0.005; for the transgression described as committed by the child him/herself F(3, 80)=8.50, p<0.001). Evaluations given to the unintentional transgressions and transgressions of personal rules showed more the tendency of declining in severity as the children grow older compared to the other evaluations of hypothetical transgressions. The 5-year-olds gave more severe evaluations to the accidental breaking of another child's property than 14-year—olds did (for the transgression described as committed by another child F(3, 80)=5.09, p<0.005; for the transgression described as committed by the child him/herself F(3, 79)=5.01, p<0.005). The 5-year-olds evaluated the descriptions of accidentally hurting another child more severely than the 14-year-olds did (for the transgression described as committed by another child F(3, 80)=3.65, p<0.05; for the transgression described as committed by the child him/herself F(3, 80)=6.60, p<0.001).

Table 7. Differences Between the Age Groups in the Severity of Evaluations

	5-y-olds	7-y-olds	11-y-olds	14-y-olds
Teasing	2.75^{14*}	2.68^{14*}	2.74^{14*}	$2.05^{5*, 7*, 11*}$
Teasing 2	2.35	2.72^{14*}	2.84^{14**}	$2.05^{7*, 11**}$
Intruding	2.20	2.40^{14*}	2.42^{14*}	$1.68^{7*, 11*}$
Intruding 2	2.45^{14*}	2.20	2.58^{14**}	$1.74^{5*, 11**}$
Accidental breaking	$2.10^{11*, 14**}$	1.56	1.32^{5*}	1.16^{5**}
Accidental breaking 2	2.25^{14***}	1.72	1.53	1.26^{5***}
Accidental hurting	$2.35^{7*, 11**, 14***}$	1.52^{5*}	1.32^{5**}	1.26^{5***}
Accidental hurting 2	2.15^{14*}	1.56	1.42	1.26^{5*}
Hair	2.10^{14****}	1.80^{14****}	1.58^{14*}	$0.42^{5****, 7****, 11*}$
Hair 2	1.95^{14*}	2.08^{14**}	2.00^{14*}	$0.79^{5*, 7**, 11*}$

Note: In the first column of the table there are abbreviations of situations (see appendix 2). *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.005, ****p<0.001

As for the groups of situations the only statistically significant difference between sexes (F(1, 82)=29.56; p<0.001) was the above mentioned difference between boys and girls in regards to the descriptions of engagement in a game that is considered to be more appropriate for the opposite sex.

The differences between age groups with regards to the situations grouped together are described in the Table 8. 14-year-olds gave less severe evaluations to the group of physical and verbal aggression than the 11-year-olds did (F(3, 80)=4.31, p<0.01). 14-year-olds evaluated the group of conventional transgressions less severely than the 11-year-olds did (F(3, 80)=4.26, p<0.01). The group of situations which included the descriptions of accidental transgressions was evaluated more severely by the younger children than by the older children (F(3, 80)=13.31, p<0.001). The 5-year-olds gave more severe evaluations of the transgressions belonging to this group than the 11- and 14-year-olds did. In addition, the 7-year-olds gave more severe evaluations to these transgressions than the 14-year-olds did.

Table 8. Differences Between the Age Groups in the Severity of Grouped Evaluations

	5-y-olds	7-y-olds	11-y-olds	14-y-olds
Hitting & teasing	2.60	2.66	2.78^{14*}	2.29^{11*}
Cleaning, lying, intruding, & greedy	2.33	2.30	2.47^{14*}	1.93^{11*}
Hair, accidental hurting, & accidental breaking	$2.15^{11**, 14****}$	1.71^{14***}	1.53^{5**}	$1.03^{5****, 7***}$

Note: In the first column of the table there are abbreviations of situations (see appendix 2). *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.005, ****p<0.001

FREQUENCY OF TRANSGRESSIONS

The teachers' opinions about the frequency of each type of transgression in everyday group settings are presented in Table 9, while the statistically significant differences between evaluations of frequency are shown in Table 10.

Table 9. Teachers' Ratings of the Frequency of Transgressions

	Valid N	Mean (SD)	Minimum	Maximum
Cleaning	78	1.04 (0.89)	0	3
Intruding	79	0.77 (0.75)	0	3
Teasing	83	0.69 (0.75)	0	3
Hitting	84	0.62 (0.67)	0	2
Playing	84	0.49 (0.84)	0	3
Greedy	77	0.49 (0.62)	0	2
Lying	82	0.41 (0.63)	0	2
Breaking	83	0.27 (0.47)	0	2
Stealing	83	0.24 (0.46)	0	2
Hair	83	0.22 (0.44)	0	2

Note: In the first column of the table there are abbreviations of situations (see appendix 2).

Table 11 shows the situations grouped together according to differences of frequency evaluations given by the teachers. Finally, in Table 12 the opinions of teachers are grouped together according to the previous grouping of children's evaluations' severity. As can be seen from comparisons of Tables 11 and 12 the frequency of transgressions in everyday life as evaluated by the teachers and the evaluations of severity of hypothetical transgressions by the children do not have common grounds for grouping.

Table 10. Results of t-tests for Teachers' Ratings of Frequency of Transgressions

	Hitting	Teasing	Stealing	Lying	Breaking	Greedy	Intruding	Cleaning	Hair
Teasing									
Stealing	5.68****	5.08****							
Lying	2.29*	2.97***	-2.63**						
Breaking	6.20****	5.35****		2.13*					
Greedy			-3.71****		-3.52****				
Intruding	-2.02*		-6.33****	-3.99****	-7.08****	-3.25***			
Cleaning	-4.22****	-2.90***	-7.95****	-5.88****	-7.58****	-5.48****	-2.67**		
Hair	4.87****	5.35****		2.76**		2.97***	5.63****	7.70****	
Playing			-2.35*		-2.31*		2.36*	4.46****	-2.61 (0.01)

Note: In the first column and first row of the table there are abbreviations of situations (see appendix 2). *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.005, ****p<0.001.

Table 11. Teachers' Ratings of Frequency of Transgressions Grouped According to the Frequency of Transgressions

	Valid N	Mean (SD)	Minimum	Maximum
Cleaning	78	1.04 (0.89)	0	3.00
Intruding, teasing, hitting, playing, greedy, & lying	84	0.58 (0.46)	0	2.17
Breaking, stealing, & hair	84	0.24 (0.31)	0	1.33

Note: In the first column and first row of the table there are abbreviations of situations (see appendix 2).

Table 12. Teachers' Ratings Grouped According to the Grouped Evaluations of Severity

	Valid N	Mean (SD)	Minimum	Maximum
Stealing & breaking	84	0.26 (0.40)	0	1.50
Hitting & teasing	84	0.65 (0.63)	0	2.50
Cleaning, lying, intruding, & greedy	84	0.70 (0.53)	0	2.25
Hair, hitting, & breaking	84	0.37 (0.39)	0	1.67
Playing	84	0.49 (0.84)	0	3,00

Note: In the first column and first row of the table there are abbreviations of situations (see appendix 2).

Repeated measures ANOVA indicated some statistically significant differences in teacher evaluated frequency of transgressions for the sex and age combined $(F_{(30,156)}=2.06; p<0.005)$. These differences in teacher evaluated frequency of transgressions between girls and boys from different age groups are presented in the following figures (see Figures 1 to 6). As can be seen in regards to hitting, 7-year-old girls were hitting others statistically significantly less often than 5-year-old boys were $(p<0.05;$ Figure 1). In regards to lying, the 11-year-old girls were lying to others statistically significantly more often than 7-year-old girls were $(p<0.01;$ Figure 2). About frequency of not cleaning up, the 5-year-old children were leaving their things for others to clean statistically significantly more often than 14-year-old children and 7-year-old girls were $(ps<0.01)$. Also the 11-year-old girls were leaving their things for others to clean statistically significantly more often than 14-year-old children and 7-year-old girls were $(ps<0.01;$ Figure 3). There were also differences in the frequency of engaging in the games that are considered to be more appropriate for the opposite sex. The 5-year-old boys were engaged in activities considered to be more appropriate for the opposite sex statistically significantly more often than 7-year-old girls were $(p<0.05)$. And the 5-year-

old girls were engaged in activities considered to be more appropriate for the opposite sex statistically significantly more often than children from all other age groups (ps<0.01; Figure 4).

While looking at the situations as grouped it can be seen that as to combined frequency of lying, intruding, being greedy and not cleaning up it was revealed that 5-year-old children were doing those things statistically significantly more often than 7-year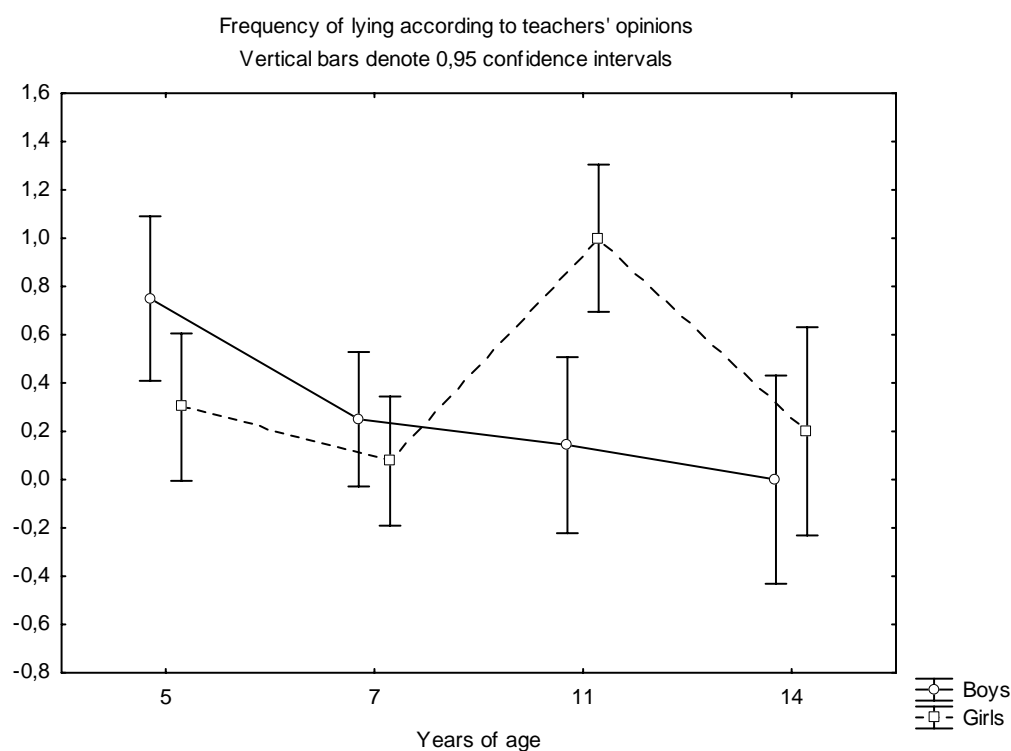-old girls and 14-year-old girls were (ps<0.01; Figure 5). As well as 11-year-old girls were doing those things statistically significantly more often than 7 year-old girls and 14-year-old girls were (ps<0.05). In regards to the combined frequency of hitting, teasing, lying, being greedy, intruding and playing a game considered to be more appropriate for the opposite sex the 5-year-old children were doing those things statistically significantly more often than 7-year-old girls and 14-year-old girls were (ps<0.05; Figure 6).
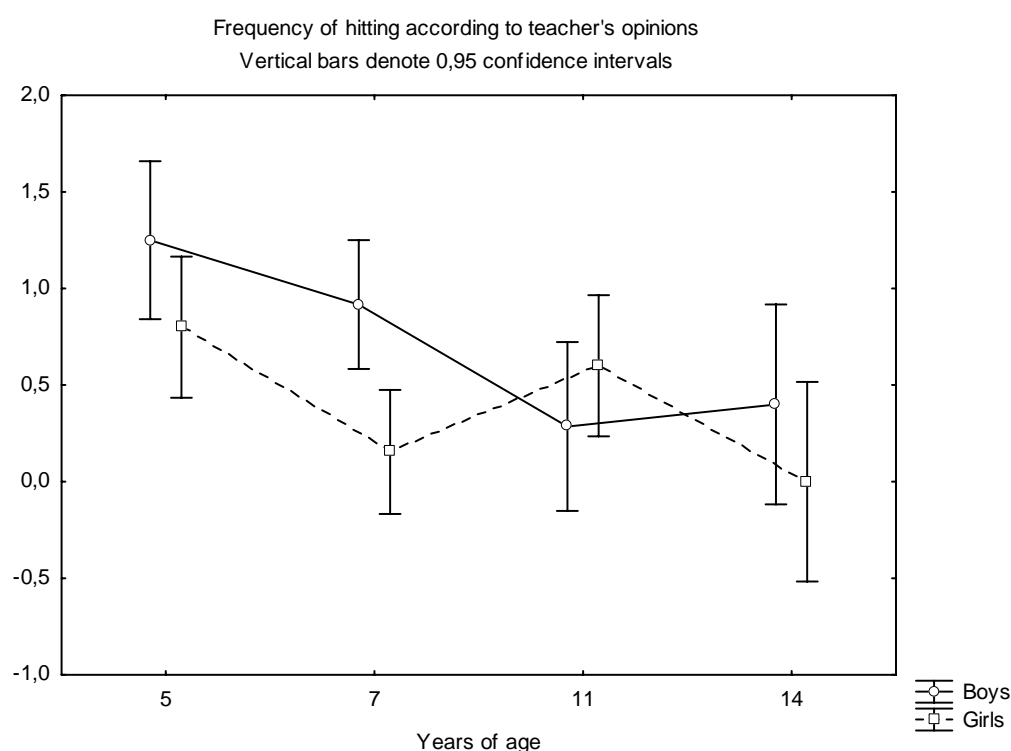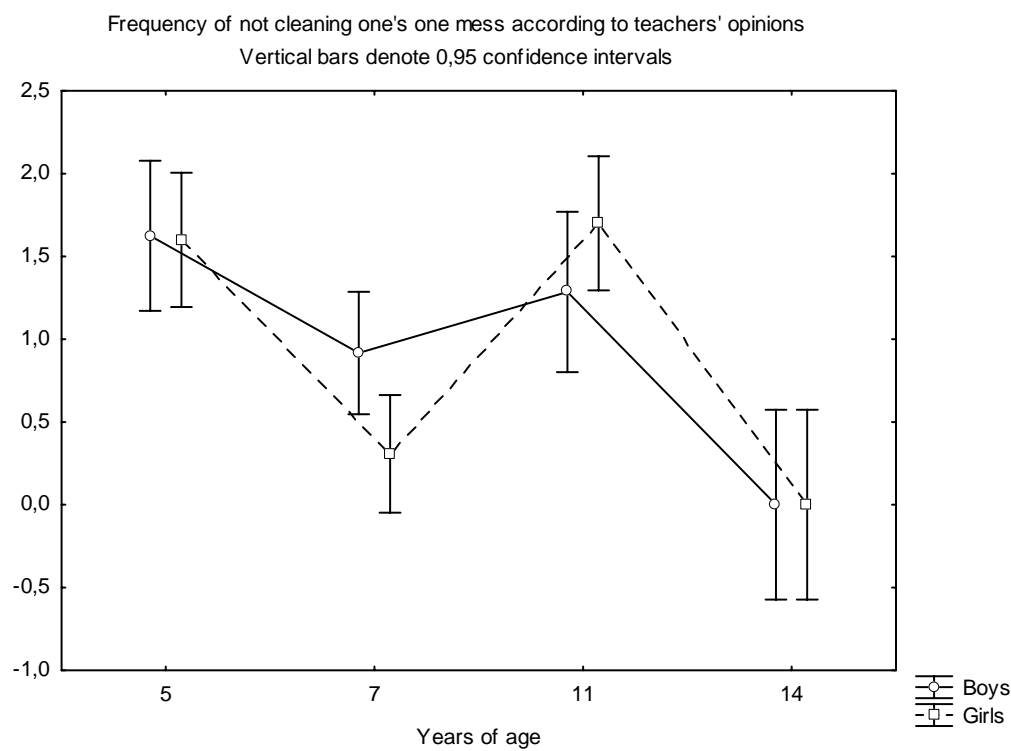

Figure 1. Difference in Hitting

Frequency of lying according to teachers' opinions
Vertical bars denote 0,95 confidence intervals

Figure 2. Difference in Lying

Frequency of not cleaning one's one mess according to teachers' opinions
Vertical bars denote 0,95 confidence intervals

Figure 3. Differences in not cleaning up

Frequency of being engaged in activities that are considered to be more appropriate for the
opposite sex according to teachers' opinions

Vertical bars denote 0,95 confidence intervals

Figure 4. Difference in Engagement in a Game for Opposite Sex

Frequency of intruding, teasing, hitting, playing, being greedy, and lying combined
according to the teachers' opinions

Vertical bars denote 0,95 confidence intervals
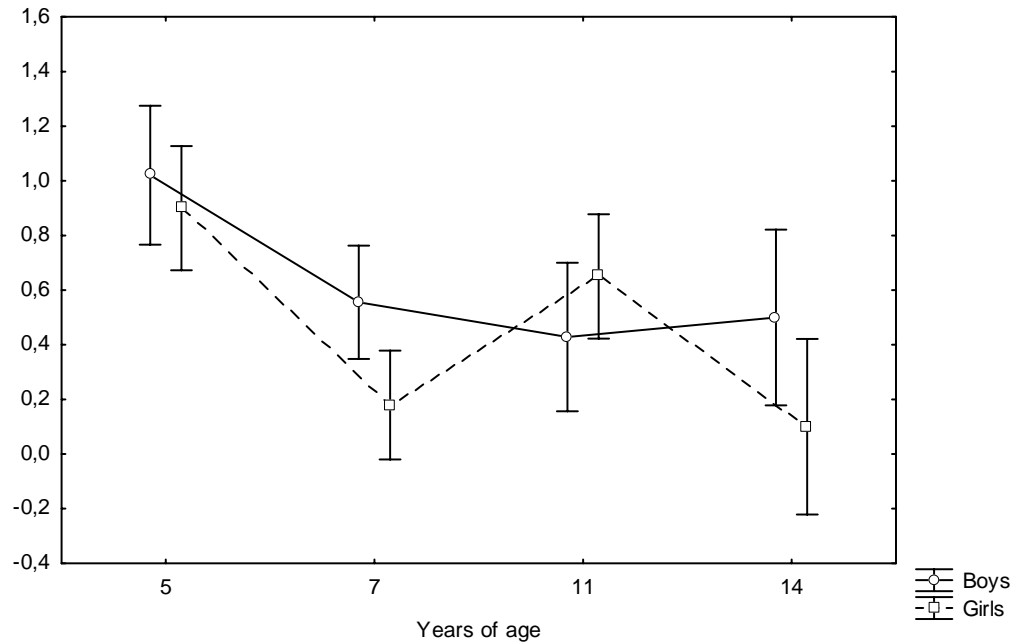
Figure 5. Differences in Grouped Situations: Grouped by Teachers' Opinions of Frequency

Frequency of not cleaning, lying, intruding, and being greedy combined according to
the teachers' opinion

Vertical bars denote 0,95 confidence intervals
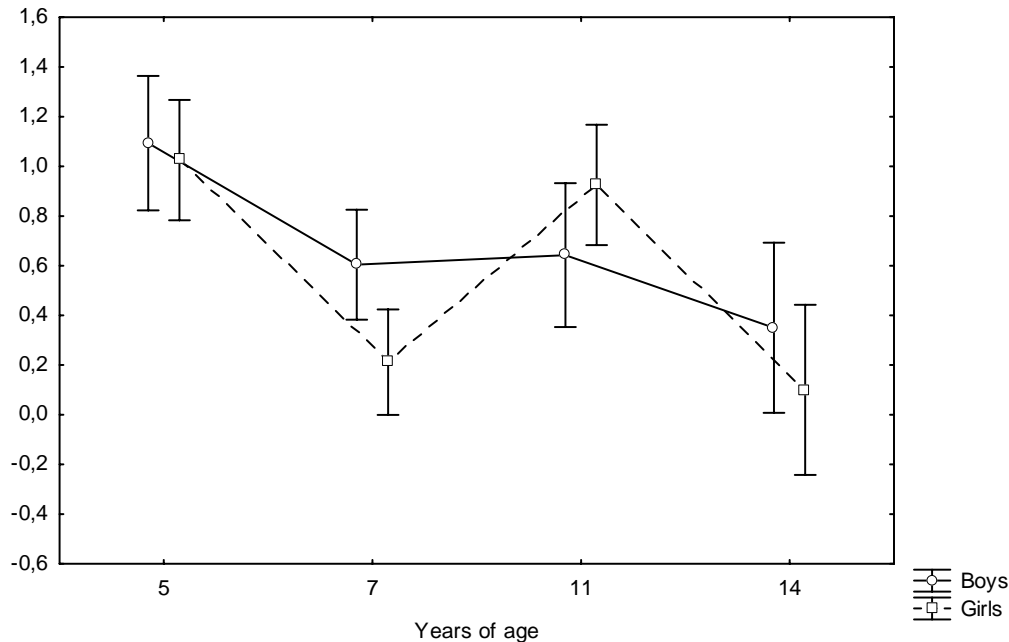
Figure 6. Differences in Grouped Situations: Grouped by Children's Evaluations of Severity

Breakdown & one-way ANOVAs and Scheffé tests for post hoc comparisons were used for analyzing the differences between sexes (presented in the Table 13) and age groups (presented in the Table 14). For all statistically significant differences between sexes it can be noted that according to teachers' opinions the boys were transgressing the rules more often than the girls. The boys were rated to hit others more often ($F(1, 82)=9.04$), to tease others more often ($F(1, 81)=9.38$), to break others' things more often ($F(1, 81)=7.56$), and to intrude the lines more often as compared to girls ($F(1, 77)=4.64$).

Table 13. Differences Between Sexes in the Frequency of Transgressions

	Boys (Mean)	Girls (Mean)
Hitting**	0.78	0.42
Teasing*	0.84	0.47
Breaking**	0.38	0.13
Intruding*	0.97	0.61
Stealing & breaking ($F_{(1, 82)}=5.08$)*	0.31	0.16
Hitting & teasing ($F_{(1, 82)}=12.47$)****	0.81	0.45
Hair, hitting & breaking ($F_{(1, 82)}=4.54$)*	0.46	0.29

Note: In the first column of the table there are abbreviations of situations (see appendix 2). *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ****p<0.001.

Table 14. Differences Between Age Groups in the Frequency of Transgressions

	5-y-olds	7-y-olds	11-y-olds	14-y-olds
Greedy	$0.94^{7**, 14*}$	0.28^{5**}	0.47	0.20^{5*}
Intruding	1.19^{7*}	0.56^{5*}	0.61	0.73
Cleaning	$1.61^{7****, 14****}$	$0.60^{5****, 11***}$	$1.53^{7***, 14****}$	$0.00^{5****, 11****}$
Playing	$1.50^{7****, 11****, 14****}$	0.20^{5****}	0.24^{5****}	0.00^{5****}
Stealing & breaking	0.47^{11*}	0.24	0.09^{5*}	0.00
Cleaning, lying, intruding, & greedy	$1.06^{7****, 14*}$	$0.40^{5****, 11*}$	0.81^{7*}	0.23^{5*}
Intruding, teasing, hitting, playing, greedy, & lying	$0.95^{7****, 11*, 14**}$	0.36^{5****}	0.56^{5*}	0.30^{5**}

Note: In the first column of the table there are abbreviations of situations (see appendix 2). *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.005, ****p<0.001.

As can be seen from the Table 14 there were significant differences between age groups in frequency of transgressing in four particular cases. In comparison to other age groups the 5-year-olds were always evaluated as transgressing the rules more frequently. The 5-year-olds were rated to be greedy more often than the 7- and 14-year-olds ($F_{(3, 73)}=5.52$, p<0.005). The 5-year-olds also were rated to intrude lines more often than the 7-year-olds ($F_{(3, 75)}=3.43$, p<0.05). As to playing the games that are considered to be more appropriate for the opposite sex the 5-year-olds were rated to play these games more often than the older children ($F_{(3, 80)}=28.73$, p<0.05). At the same time, the

teachers rated the 5- and 11-year-olds to clean up after themselves less often than the 7- and 14-year-olds (F(3, 74)=14.38, p<0.001).

There were very few statistically significant correlations between children's evaluations of the severity of transgressions and teachers' evaluations of the frequency of the transgressions. Children's evaluations of the severity of transgressing the personal rule of not playing the game that is considered more appropriate for the opposite sex were correlated with the teachers' ratings of how often the children were playing the games that are considered to be more appropriate for the opposite sex (r=0.29, p<0.01). There was also significant correlation between children's evaluation of transgressing the personal rule of not having too extraordinary appearance and teachers' ratings of how often the children actually had extraordinary appearance (r=-0.31, p<0.01). And finally, there was a significant correlation between children's evaluations of breaking another child's things and teachers' ratings of how often the children themselves broke the things of other children (r=0.27, p<0.01).

DISCUSSION

Turiel (1983) was one of the first to state that children differentiate three types of rules, namely, moral norms, social conventions, and personal choices. In this study it was assumed according to the social domain perspective that children evaluate the hypothetical descriptions of transgressions differently according to the type of social rule to which the transgressions belong to (Tisak & Turiel, 1988). As expected according to previous research the evaluations of the transgressions varied according to the type of social rule (Nucci & Nucci, 1982; Smetana, 1981; Smetana, Campione-Barr, & Yell, 2003). The groups that emerged after grouping the children's evaluations paralleled the social domains where the transgressions originally belonged to. The hypothetical transgressions of moral rules were evaluated by the children as being the most severe. The descriptions of transgressions of social conventions were evaluated less severely than the descriptions of transgressions of moral norms but more severely than the descriptions of transgressions of personal rules. The hypothetical transgressions of rules pertaining to personal choices were evaluated as being the least severe of all. Some possible reasons for this pattern can be proposed. It is known that children consider moral norms as not changeable. At the same time, the social conventions can be changed if the authority or the group decides to have new rules. The personal choices do not require even the group's approval to be changed; they are a matter of only one's personal will (Nucci & Nucci, 1982; Smetana, 1981; Turiel, 1983). So the evaluations of severity are paralleling the possibility and legitimacy of change: the less allowed it is to change the rule, the worse it would be to break the rule. It can be supposed that the origin of this pattern is in the natural consequences that would follow after breaking a particular rule. Transgressing any one of these rules can harm a person's well being but the amount or the severity of harm depends on the type of rule that was transgressed. Also, it is noteworthy that transgressing a moral norm has a clearly identifiable victim. At the same time, transgressing a social convention rather has a group of people collectively victimized without clearly hurting any one of them. And in the case of personal rules the harm done by the transgressor is directed mainly towards the transgressor him/herself. So, it seems that harming a particular easily identifiable person who is not responsible for the

transgression leads to the transgression being considered more severe than harming a group's consensus or harming oneself while transgressing a rule.

But even if the domain of a social rule is the main factor affecting the evaluations of the severity of transgressions it is not the only one (Tisak & Turiel, 1988). The particular rule within a domain and also the particular context chosen to represent the rule are important variables (Nobes & Pawson, 2003). So the children considered, for example, the descriptions of someone else not cleaning up his/her things to be worse than lying to others. This finding is contrary to the generalization that moral norm violations are worse than transgressions of social conventions. The children also considered the descriptions of themselves as having colored their hair blue as being more severe transgressions than unintentional breaking of moral norms. This exemplifies the importance of a particular description even further. The hypothetical event of having one's own hair colored blue was evaluated differently by the children than any other personal rule transgression. Most probably this finding is due to the circumstance that having blue hair is considered to be very extraordinary. So, it is very important for future studies to take the particular context of the descriptions into account in addition to the domain of the rule. Perhaps it would be necessary to compare multiple different descriptions pertaining to one and same rule to determine the main factors that effect the decisions about the severity of transgressions. For example, it can be supposed that one of the reasons why lying was evaluated less severely by the children in this study than other transgressions of moral norms was the fact that this kind of a lie depicted in the particular description (exaggerating or showing off) is not harmful to others' well being, like a lie of some other kind could be (e.g., giving wrong directions to a person who is lost). Also the intensity of affect connected to the particular context of a description may have an effect on the outcomes. For example, the children claimed many times during the interviews that breaking another person's pencil is a bad thing to do as this pencil may be very important to its owner because of the fact that it may be highly valued (e.g., being given by an important person). So this emotional value that was spontaneously added by the children to the original story might have increased the severity of their evaluations of breaking the pencil.

It was found by Piaget (1932/1960) that the intentionality has an effect on the children's evaluations of situations concerning damaging things. In this study the intentionality of the transgression clearly had an effect on children's evaluations of descriptions of damaging another's things as well as hurting another child. The descriptions of unintentional transgressions of moral norms were considered to be significantly less severe than the descriptions of the transgressions of the same rules where intentionality was not explicitly mentioned.

In general, the factor of having another child described as committing the rule-breaking as compared to describing the child him/herself performing the described action had no effect on the severity of evaluations. The only exception was the significant difference in the paralleling versions of transgressions where the actor was depicted as having blue hair where the children evaluated the transgression to be considerably worse if they themselves were described as the main character of the short story. Piaget (1932/1960) supposed that in such circumstances the children might regard their own transgressions to be less severe as compared to others' transgressions. It can be hypothesized that this was not the case this time because the descriptions used in this study were not events that had really happened to the child and the children thus had difficulties with identifying themselves with the characters of the short stories. It can also be explained that the identity of the described actor has no effect on the children's answers, as thinking about transgressions is basically the same process regardless of the specific situation (Turiel, 1983). To determine which one of these hypotheses, if either, is correct, it would be necessary to conduct a study where children are asked to describe some transgressions they themselves have performed and then compare the evaluations given with the evaluations of the same transgressions when committed by some other child.

AGE DIFFERENCES IN CHILDREN'S EVALUATIONS

It has been shown in previous studies that children from various age groups differentiate between social domains (Keltikangas-Järvinen, Terav, & Pakaslahti, 1999; Smetana, 1993; Smetana & Braeges, 1990; Yau & Smetana, 2003). In this study here were some statistically significant differences between the evaluations given by the children from

different age groups. Some aspects of the pattern that emerged are most interesting. It is worth noting that the transgressions of moral norms where the intentionality of the actor was not commented on were mostly judged similarly regardless of the age of the children. There was only one exception to this rule. Namely the 14-year-olds regarded teasing to be less a severe transgression than the other age groups did. Also there were no significant differences between the age groups in the evaluations given by the children to transgressing the rules of sharing the duties or sharing the goods. Only one social convention transgression – intruding in line – was evaluated differently by different age groups. In this case, as it also was mentioned before, the 14-year-olds evaluated the transgression to be less severe than the children from other age groups did. So, it seems that as long as the description included a strong aspect of justice, the age of the children had no effect on evaluations of severity. All these hypothetical transgressions were considered to be equally wrong regardless of the child's age. In addition to this it seems that by the end of early adolescence some aspects of social life are evaluated differently compared to younger children. If the harm done to others does not have any physical or material consequences then it is not seen quite as bad.

The unintentional transgressing of moral norms was seen by all age groups to be less severe than the transgression of the same moral norms where the intentionality of the actor was not clearly stated. Still, the 5-year-olds gave almost as severe evaluations of the descriptions of unintentional transgressions of moral norms as to the stories that did not state the intentionality of the actor. Children from other age groups considered these unintentional transgressions to be almost a half less wrong. According to this finding it seems that until the age of 6 or 7 years children are not very well able to discriminate between very similar stories only on bases of intentionality. But as soon as they acquire this ability it remains quite stable during the coming years.

The final finding concerning the differences between age groups has to do with personal decision about the person's own appearance. According to the results from this study, children remain very conservative about their appearance until they are older than early adolescence. Before that time they either want to obey the authority of adults in regards to their looks or they tend to conform to the group they belong to. So, in this study only by the age of 14 did children state clearly that having an extraordinary

appearance is something only the person him/herself is to be concerned about. And according to this way of reasoning the 14-year-olds also found the descriptions of having extraordinary looks significantly less severe in terms of transgressions than children from any other age groups did.

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN CHILDREN'S EVALUATIONS

As supposed, there were no major differences between the evaluations given by the boys and the girls (Jaffee & Hyde, 2000). There was only one exception concerning the description of playing a game that is supposed to be more appropriate for the opposite sex. Transgressing the personal rule of behaving in accordance to gender stereotypes was judged more severely by the boys than by the girls. This finding probably occurred as a result of a combination of two factors. It should be noticed that the content of the stories may have a different value in the cultural context. Playing with cars can be regarded to be appropriate for girls almost as well as for boys. It is not seen as a stereotypically masculine activity. Contrary to that, playing with dolls is still considered to be inappropriate for boys. This activity is considered to be stereotypically feminine. Especially Barbies (the particular type of dolls that was named in the short stories) can be considered to be exclusively meant for girls to play with. In addition to this, there seems to be a genuine gender difference. It has to do with boys trying harder not to appear like nor act like girls. The social pressure 'to be a man' is greater among boys than the social pressure 'to be a woman' among girls. This was also seen during the interviews when some of the boys stated that it would be bad for a boy or themselves to play with a doll because other boys would make fun of them. The girls participating in the study did not give similar reasons for the inappropriateness of playing with cars.

SOCIAL DOMAINS IN TEACHER RATED EVERYDAY TRANSGRESSIONS

In the teacher rated frequency of everyday transgressions there did not appear to be any patterns associated with social domains. Among the most frequent transgressions were both violations of social conventions and transgressions of moral norms. More specifically not cleaning up after oneself and intruding in line were rated to be as frequent as verbal and physical aggression towards other children. The least frequent were ratings

of damaging or stealing another child's property and having extraordinary appearance. These transgressions belong to moral and personal domains respectively. So, it can be seen that even in the group settings where following the social conventions is supposed to be very important, transgressing some of the moral norms appears to be as frequent as violating the social conventions.

AGE DIFFERENCES IN TEACERS' RATINGS

As to the differences between age groups the 5-year-olds were transgressing the rules in everyday life significantly more often than children from the older age groups did. This result can be explained in part as due to the kindergarten context where teachers have more possibilities to notice children's transgressions as compared to the school teachers who spend considerably less time observing the children acting freely in group context. But on the other hand, as the 5-year-olds were rated as transgressing the rules more often even if compared with the 7-year-olds then it can be assumed that they indeed are transgressing the rules more often than children from other age groups.

It is also interesting to notice that the 11-year-olds were transgressing some of the rules as often as the 5-year-olds did. This finding pertains to situations of lying to the other children and not cleaning up after oneself.

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN TEACERS' RATINGS

As to differences in the frequency of transgressions between boys and girls there were three situations where boys were rated by the teachers as transgressing the rules more often than girls. These situations were physical and verbal aggression towards other children and breaking the property of other children. It is generally believed that boys behave more physically aggressively than girls but it is sometimes also assumed that girls behave verbally aggressively more often (Björkqvist, 1994). In this study boys were clearly more aggressive in both ways. Breaking the property of other children can be also seen as a form of aggression and can be combined thus with the other two forms of aggression.

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN TEACHERS' RATINGS AND CHILDREN'S EVALUATIONS

The only significant correlation between children's evaluations of the transgressions' severity and teachers' ratings of the transgressions' frequency was between the transgressions from the personal rules domain. As to personal rules it was shown that the more often children were judged by the teachers to transgress these rules the more severely the children themselves judged transgressing these rules. There were no other significant correlations between the evaluations of severity given by the children and teacher rated frequency of everyday transgressions. In addition to this, the existing correlation can be explained more in terms of age differences. The 5-year-olds were seen as transgressing the rules most often and at the same time they judged the transgressions most severely. This finding of no significant correlations beyond the afore mentioned one is explainable as the moral reasoning and moral behavior are not overlapping in such a direct way that any measurement in one could be found to be in direct connection to measurements in another. Even if both of them are necessary components of moral life it is not sufficient to study only one and make conclusions about the other. In other words, it is necessary to distinguish clearly whether one's research subject is in the field of moral reasoning and moral judgment or in the field of moral behavior.

There are multiple factors that have an impact on the children's evaluations of hypothetical transgressions of rules. Among these the most important ones seem to be the social domain to which the rule belongs to and the particular content of the description of the transgression. Also the age of children as an indicator of cognitive development has important effect on children's evaluations of hypothetical transgressions. In contrast, the gender of children and the frequency of the transgressions committed by children do not affect children's evaluations of the seriousness of the descriptions of hypothetical transgressions.

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Appendix 1. Descriptions of hypothetical transgressions

1. Kati/Mati hits Pille/Jaagup.
2. Anne/Martin teases Liina/Kaido and tells that Liina/Kaido is stupid.
3. Siiri/Kalev takes secretly Helen's/Marek's teddy and puts it in her/his bag.
4. Triin/Kristo tells Kristi/Tiit that s/he has 100 teddys at home. But actually s/he has not.
5. Kaja/Tõnu breaks on purpose Angela's/Siim's drawing.
6. Reet/Andres takes more candy to her/himself and gives less candy to Jaana/Priit.
7. Tuuli/Margus intrudes the line to play computer games. S/he steps in front of Merike/Tõnis.
8. Kristiina/Meelis does not put her/his things away her/himself and Mari/Märt has to put them away.
9. Marju/Urmas breaks by accident Karin's/Teet's pencil.
10. Signe/Kalev throws ball to Juta/Toomas. But Juta/Toomas is by accident hit by the ball.
11. Kersti/Hendrik colors her/his hair blue.
12. Moonika/Jaak plays with a car/*Barbie*'ga.
13. You hit Tiina/Kalle.
14. You tease Leelo/Kristjan and tell that Leelo/Kristjan is stupid.
15. You take secretly Maarika's/Rein's teddy and puts it in your bag.
16. You tell Mai/Mart that you have 100 teddys at home. But actually you have not.
17. You break on purpose Lagle's/Indrek's drawing.
18. You take more candy yourself and give less candy to Sigrit/Raido.
19. You intrude the line to play computer games. You step in front of Heleri/Urmas.
20. You do not put your things away yourself. Leena/Veiko has to put them away.
21. You break by accident Teele's/Jüri's pencil.
22. You throw ball to Vaike/Madis. But Vaike/Madis is by accident hit by the ball.
23. You color your hair blue.
24. You play with a car/*Barbie*.

Appendix 2. Scales of evaluations
The ones that were used in kindergarten:

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The one that was used in school:

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◯ ◯

◯ ◯ ◯

Appendix 3. Questionnaire for teachers

Please mark how often …………………… (child's name):

	Never	Seldom	Often	Very often
Hits other children	0	1	2	3
Teases other children	0	1	2	3
Takes others things secretly	0	1	2	3
Lies to other children	0	1	2	3
Breaks others' things	0	1	2	3
While sharing takes more her/himself and gives less to others	0	1	2	3
Intrudes in line in front of others	0	1	2	3
Does not put her/his things away by her/himself	0	1	2	3
Colors her/his hair	0	1	2	3
Plays with toys for opposite sex	0	1	2	3