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MORAL REASONING

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INTRODUCTION

Morality is fundamental to the human condition. From early on, children make distinctions between matters of right and wrong, and the people and institutions around them convey myriad moral messages in direct and indirect ways. A key part of morality is moral reasoning. It occurs within the individual, between individuals, and in myriad institutional and collective contexts. Moral reasoning is multifaceted. It serves, for example, to guide and determine one's moral judgment and behavior, to prod and persuade others, and to defend and bolster behaviors to oneself and others that in fact are driven by other motives (including amoral or even immoral ones). The literature on moral reasoning is vast. Here, the vantage point is grounded in a perspective that is attentive to developmental and cultural factors in moral reasoning. Research from across the social sciences is included, as is research that directly overlaps with moral reasoning such as moral values. The bibliography starts with information about publications that provide overviews (e.g., handbooks), and a review of classic theories, contemporary theories, and contemporary research measurements of moral reasoning. This is followed by three major sections pertaining to individual characteristics, social contexts, and culture and historical changes. The section on individual characteristics includes subsections on self, identity, prosociality, and values. The section on social context comprises subsections on family, peers, school, sociodemographic groups, civic groups, media, and religious institutions and secular societies. Finally, the section on culture and historical changes includes subsections on culture, globalization, and the natural environment and climate change. Naturally, the main sections and subsections are not mutually exclusive but rather serve as a useful organizational framework, sorting research along the lines of their primary foci.

GENERAL OVERVIEWS

Jensen 2020 is a 41-chapter handbook of moral development where more than 90 experts provide a comprehensive and international overview of theories and contemporary lifespan research. Killen and Smetana 2022 is a 27-chapter handbook of moral development with a focus on early morality, fairness, and prejudice. Liable, Carlo and Walker 2019, a 23-chapter handbook, examines the role that parents play in moral reasoning and development. Vargas and Doris 2022, a handbook of essays on morality, provides an interdisciplinary overview of a variety of issues in contemporary moral psychology and philosophy. Vozzola and Senland 2022 summarize classic and current theories of moral development in 13 chapters, including a focus on their application to counseling and education.

Jensen, L. A., Ed. 2020. *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Consists of sections on moral motives, moral behaviors, numerous contexts of moral development, and applications and policies. All chapters include research with diverse groups—cultural, ethnic, and socioeconomic—within and across nations, as well as suggestions for future research across the lifespan.

Killen, M., and Smetana, J. Eds. 2022. *Handbook of moral development*. New York: Routledge.

Edited by two domain theory researchers, many of the contributors to this handbook have worked extensively with that approach. Additionally, the handbook includes research on early moral development, parental socialization, moral emotions, and prosocial and aggressive behaviors.

Liable, D. J., Carlo, G., and Padilla-Walker, L. M., Eds. 2019. *The Oxford handbook of parenting and moral development*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Covers theories and research on the role that parents play in moral development, including research on socialization as well as genetic and biological influences related to parenting and moral development. Classic research and contemporary research directions are included.

Vargas, M., and Doris, J., Eds. 2022. *The Oxford handbook of moral psychology*. New York: Oxford University Press.

The main focus of this handbook is the philosophical literature on morality, with sections on history, foundations, and applications. It includes essays on the nature of moral judgments and reasons.

Vozzola, E. C., and Senland, A. K. (2022). *Moral development: Theory and applications*. New York: Routledge.

Summarizes recent developmental research, including on neuroscience and culture, as well as classic work. A notable focus is upon the application of research for counseling and treatment, as well as education in a global world.

CLASSIC THEORIES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Early social scientists asked the kinds of questions that contemporary research on moral reasoning and development has continued to address: Is morality the equivalent of societal norms or is morality a set of concepts that go beyond society (Durkheim 1984, Piaget 1965)? How do moral conceptions develop in the course of childhood and adolescence (Freud 1961, Piaget

1965)? Does the development of cognition, including moral reasoning, occur in a sequence of levels or stages (Baldwin 2001, Piaget 1965)? Who has notable influence on moral development—parents, peers, society as a whole, or other contexts (Freud 1961 Durkheim 1984)? To what extent does moral development differ between societies or cultures (Piaget 1965)? How should educational systems and societies aim to promote moral reasoning and development in children (Dewey 1916, Piaget 1965)?

Baldwin, J. M. 2001. *Social and ethical interpretations in mental development*. Bristol, UK: Thoemmes.

Originally published in 1897, the topics in this volume range from a discussion of the development of moral or “ethical” judgments and emotions in the individual to social progress.

Dewey, J. 1916. *Democracy and education: An introduction to the philosophy of education*. New York: Free Press.

A wide-ranging treatise on the purposes and aims of education, including consideration of values and morals in education.

Durkheim, E. 1984. *The division of labor in society*. New York: Free Press.

Originally published in 1893, this book puts forth the influential argument that moral reasoning and behaviors are inextricably tied to societal norms and conditions. The argument is presented in the context of a discussion of division of labor, anomie, and solidarity in modern societies.

Freud, S. 1961. *Civilization and its discontents*. New York: W. W. Norton.

First published in 1930, Freud’s book argued that inherent antisocial human tendencies are at odds with the human need to live in communities. He also provided a theoretical account of the early ontogenetic development of moral conscience.

Piaget, J. 1965. *The moral judgment of the child*. New York: Free Press.

A tour de force that introduces different methods for the study of moral reasoning, presents a sequence of moral development stages, and addresses educational policy. The book was originally published in 1932.

CONTEMPORARY THEORIES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This section provides an overview of key contemporary theories of moral reasoning and development. The primary tenets of these theories are presented through the prism of three perennial questions on the importance of and interactions between *environmental and genetic factors, *reasoning and emotions, and *cultural and universal factors. With respect to each of these questions, theory and research have moved definitively away from all or nothing stances. Instead, contemporary theories of moral psychology address complex ways that culture and universal ontogenetic development comodulate, that environmental and genetic factors interact, and that moral reasoning and moral emotions become interlinked in the course of development.

Environmental and Genetic Factors

Contemporary theory on the transmission of moral values and reasoning between parents and children continues to address the longstanding focus on parental socialization of children. Additionally, however, research addresses how children socialize parents, genetics, and

environmental antecedents (Knafo-Noam et al. 2020). Research on parents' influence on their children's moral values has been common for a long time (see *Classic Theories and Research Questions). Much of this research focuses on the environmental side of parenting, including the ways that parents influence their children's moral development through reasoning, modelling, and rewards and punishment (Grusec and Goodnow 1994). Some recent research addresses ways that children may influence their parents' values. Children experience a different environment from their parents due to factors such as being a different generation and having different peers which in turn makes it likely that they influence their parents. Findings show that adolescents report influencing their parents' values (De Mol and Buysee 2008), and that parents report being receptive to their children's ideas. Apart from parents and children influencing one another due to sharing an environment, theory and research also note that the influence occurs from parents to children through passive genotype → environment effects, and from children to parents through evocative genotype → environment effects. Genes do not code directly for moral values and concepts but through mediation (such as temperament), and research indicates a reciprocal genetic contribution to the development of moral values between parents and children (Schermer et al. 2011 and Uzefovsky et al. 2016). Recent research also focuses on environmental antecedents. Parents and children usually share overlapping social environments, such as extended family, ethnicity, social class, religion, and culture. These overlapping environments contribute to shared moral reasoning and values between parents and children (Knafo-Noam et al. 2020 and Prioste et al. 2016). Major life events that impact parents' and their children's environment, such as an economic crisis, a pandemic, or war, also constitute environmental antecedents that affect their shared moral concerns and values (e.g., Boer and Boehnke 2015). Recent theory proposes that parental socialization of children, child socialization of parents, genetics, and environmental antecedents constitute interconnected pathways in the development of morality (Knafo-Noam et al. 2020).

Boer, D., and K. Boehnke. 2015. What are values? Where do they come from? A developmental perspective. In *Handbook of value*. Edited by D. Sander and T. Brosch, 129-154. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

This chapter provides an encompassing overview of the development of moral values across the lifespan, their mutual transmission between children and parents, and the impact of societal changes.

De Mol, J., and A. Buysee. 2008. The phenomenology of children's influence on parents. *Journal of Family Therapy* 30:163-193.

One of relatively few projects to examine how within families, the direction of influence or socialization also flows from children to parents.

Grusec, J. E., and J. J. Goodnow. 1994. Impact of parental discipline methods on the child's internalization of values: A reconceptualization of current points of view. *Developmental Psychology* 30:4-19.

An influential paper in which the authors propose that children's internalization of moral values and reasons involves a two-step process where children first accurately understand the values, and then they accept those values.

Knafo-Noam, A., D. Barni, and S. H. Schwartz. 2020. Parent-child value similarity. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 164-185. New York: Oxford University Press.

A comprehensive overview of factors that account for similarities between children and parents in their moral values and concerns. This chapter draws on findings from diverse disciplines including genetics, psychology, and sociology. It proposes an integrative theory of environmental and genetic factors.

Prioste, A., I Narciso, M. M. Goncalves, and C. R. Pereira. 2016. Values' family flow: Associations between grandparents, parents, and adolescent children. *Journal of Family Studies* 23:98-117.

Addresses how effects of an overlapping environment on children's and their parents' moral values include the extended family.

Schermer, J. A., P. A. Vernon, G. R. Maio, and K. L. Jang. 2011. A behavior genetic study of the connection between social values and personality. *Twin Research and Human Genetics* 14:233-239.

An example of a study that uses data with twins to establish that values have a significant genetic component.

Uzefovsky, F., A. K. Döring, and A. Knafo-Noam. 2016. Values in middle childhood: Social and genetic contributions. *Social Development* 25:482-502.

Shows not only a genetic contribution to the development of moral values but also that genetic effects vary by value domain.

Reasoning and Emotions

Over time, scholars have addressed the role of emotions in moral action as well as the relation between emotions and moral reasoning. Scholars have focused on the development of empathy, sympathy, and care in decades-long research programs (Carlo et al. 2011 and Eisenberg et al 2015). Some scholars have pushed the strong hypothesis that emotions are what determine moral action and that moral reasons are simply post-hoc justifications (Kagan 1987 and Haidt 2001). Although emotions and cognition have historically been pitted against each other, most research in the last few decades addresses the intersection of moral reasons and emotions. A study by Carlo et al. 2011 finds that moral reasons and emotions were interrelated and predicted both pro-social and aggressive behaviors in adolescents. Monin et al. 2007 argue that the intersection of emotions and cognitions depend on the type of moral issue involved, with shocking violations pulling more for emotions whereas complex dilemmas pull more for reasoning. Malti et al. 2020 bring together numerous lines of research in a recent handbook chapter and conclude that moral cognition invariably functions in tandem with moral emotions, but that the nature of this interaction changes with development. As children develop, they typically become better at integrating their moral emotions with their moral reasoning. Also, the nature of moral emotions, moral reasoning, and their integration depend on culture. For example, shame is often viewed positively in Chinese cultures and promotes moral self-examination and concern with social welfare (Fung 2006).

Carlo, G., M. V. Mestre, P. Samper, A. Tur, and B. E. Armenta. 2011. The longitudinal relations among dimensions of parenting styles, sympathy, prosocial moral reasoning, and prosocial behaviors. *International Journal of Behavioral Development* 35:116-124.

A longitudinal study of almost eight hundred Spanish adolescents showing that prosocial behaviors were predicted by the interplay of moral reasoning and sympathy.

Eisenberg, N., T. L. Spinrad, and A. Knafo-Noam. 2015. Prosocial development. In *Handbook of child psychology and developmental science*. Edited by R. M. Lerner, 184-207. New York: Wiley.

Provides an overview of theory and research on prosocial development, including how sympathy grows in intensity and frequency in childhood and becomes tied to moral reasoning and behaviors.

Fung, H. 2006. Affect and early moral socialization: Some insights and contributions from indigenous psychological studies in Taiwan. In *Indigenous and cultural psychology: Understanding people in context*. Edited by U. Kim, K. Yang, and K Hwang, 175-196. New York: Springer.

An overview of research projects involving in-depth analyses of stories told in the presence of Chinese children in Taiwan which show that by age four they are well aware of notions pertaining to shame, loss of face, social discretion, and role-based duties.

Haidt, J. 2001. The emotional dog and its rational tail: A social intuitionist approach to moral judgment. *Psychological Review* 108:814–834.

The author proposes that moral judgments are generally the result of quick, automatic, emotion-based reactions. In contrast, moral reasoning is presented as slow, effortful, and serving to rationalize moral judgments in a post-hoc fashion.

Kagan, J. 1987. Introduction. In *The emergence of morality in young children*. Edited by J. Kagan and S. Lamb. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

The author argues that moral emotions are what really drive moral behaviors, whereas moral reasons are a post-hoc way to explain the behavior to self and others.

Malti, T., J. Peplak, and E. Acland. (2020). Emotional experiences in moral contexts: Developmental perspectives. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A Jensen, 244-263. New York: Oxford University Press.

A comprehensive overview of research on core moral emotions, their development, and integration with moral reasoning in both prosocial and antisocial behaviors. Additionally, the authors address genetic and socialization factors in the development of moral emotions.

Monin, B., D. A. Pizarro, and J. S. Beer. 2007. Deciding versus reacting: Conceptions of moral judgment and the reason-affect debate. *Review of General Psychology* 11:99–111.

The authors argue that all moral issues are not the same. Some issues, such as shocking moral violations, pull for emotion-laden judgments whereas other issues, such as complex dilemmas, pull for deliberation.

Cultural and Universal Factors

During the mid- to late-20th century, cognitive-developmental theories proposed that people universally delineate the moral domain from non-moral domains in identical ways (Turiel 1983), and that moral reasoning follows a universal ontogenetic sequence (Kohlberg 1981). Toward the late 20th century, theories increasingly emphasized that peoples' definitions of morality (Zimba 1994), and their moral reasoning and development are culturally shaped (Shweder et al. 1990). With respect to moral reasoning, decades of research support both universality and cultural distinctiveness. A variety of moral reasons, such as concerns with individual interests and duty to others, are broadly used across cultures (Jensen 2008 and Snarey 1985). Furthermore, some reasons such as individual interests emerge early in development, whereas others such as duty to others develop later. However, people from different cultures also vary widely in their moral reasoning, and these differences emerge early in development. For example, divinity-oriented concerns are common in some cultures but largely absent in others (Schwarz et al. 2020). Accordingly, in recent times, the cultural-developmental theory of moral reasoning proposes that development and culture comodule (Jensen 2015). This theory presents "templates" for the life course development of three kinds of ethics: Autonomy, Community, and Divinity (see *Culture and *Research Measurements). Briefly, the Ethic of Autonomy involves a focus on persons as individuals. The Ethic of Community focuses on persons as members of social groups. The Ethic of Divinity focuses on persons as spiritual or religious entities. The template for the Ethic of Community, for example, predicts a steady increase from childhood to adolescence to adulthood. The developmental templates, however, are flexible. Specifically, the life course trajectories for each of the three ethics accommodate the different hierarchies of ethics held by culturally diverse peoples. For example, in a culture where the Ethic of Community is prized above the other ethics, children will begin to reason in terms of community concepts from particularly early on; they will develop a comparatively wide variety of community-oriented reasons in the course of growing up; and community reasoning will prevail in adulthood. Thus, depending on the culture in question, each of the three Ethics emerges at somewhat different points in childhood, varies somewhat on the slope and specific qualities of its development, and reaches different endpoints in adulthood. From this theoretical perspective, ontogenetic development is not determinative. But nor is there a limitless cultural range, in the sense that some moral reasons only occur with development.

Jensen, L. A. 2008. Through two lenses: A cultural-developmental approach to moral reasoning. *Developmental Review* 28:289–315.

Offers an historical overview of theories of moral psychology. Then draws on a large body of developmental and cultural research to propose a novel cultural-developmental theory that charts moral development for the Ethics of Autonomy, Community, and Divinity by means of a template model that accommodates a particular culture.

Jensen, L. A. Ed. 2015. *Moral development in a global world: Research from a cultural-developmental perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

This book elaborates on the cultural-developmental theory of moral psychology, and presents findings from numerous countries as well as four instruments for conducting cultural-developmental research.

Kohlberg, L. 1981. *The philosophy of moral development*. San Francisco: Harper & Row.

Highly influential volume that includes Kohlberg's descriptions of his six-stage ontogenetic theory of universal moral development, as well as his views of moral philosophy and education.

Schwarz, M., S. I. Pujiastuti, and M. Holodynski, M. 2020. Beyond autonomy? Moral socialization goals of German and Indonesian preschool teachers. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 51: 456-474.

Findings illustrate how preschool teachers in two cultures varied widely on which of the three ethics, Autonomy, Community and Divinity, they emphasized in their socialization of children. Ethic of Divinity socialization was prominent in Indonesia but virtually absent in Germany.

Shweder, R. A., M. Mahapatra, and J. G. Miller. 1990. Culture and moral development. In *Cultural psychology*. Edited by J. W. Stigler, R. A. Shweder, and G. Herdt, 130–204. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

An early and cogent critique of the assumptions about self, morality, and development that Western moral psychology theories of the time exported to other cultures without adequate consideration of issues of validity.

Snarey, J. R. 1985. Cross-cultural universality of socio-moral development: A critical review of Kohlbergian research. *Psychological Bulletin* 97:202–232.

A review of more than forty cross-cultural studies using Kohlberg's cognitive-developmental approach. It finds support for the widespread occurrence of the three lower stages, but not the three higher stages in Kohlberg's six-stage sequence.

Turiel, E. 1983. *The development of social knowledge: Morality and convention*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

This volume brings together more than a decade's worth of research with the domain approach and argues for a universal structural domain distinction between moral rules and conventions.

Zimba, R. F. 1994. The understanding of morality, convention, and personal preference in an African setting: Findings from Zambia. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 25:369–393.

An example of research that finds cultural differences in definitions of morality. Findings with different age and social groups of Zambians shows that their understanding of morality is broader than the domain theory definition, encompassing not only reasons pertaining to harm and justice but also to communal well-being.

RESEARCH MEASUREMENTS

There are two measurement instruments for Kohlberg's cognitive-developmental stages of moral reasoning. Colby and Kohlberg 1987 offer a detailed scoring manual for the cognitive-developmental approach. Rest 1979 developed the Defining Issues Test (DIT), a questionnaire-based alternative to interviews for assessing moral reasoning in terms of Kohlberg's stages. For the cultural-developmental approach to moral psychology, both a coding manual and a questionnaire provide for assessment of use of the three Ethics of Autonomy, Community, and Divinity (see *Culture and *Cultural and Universal Factors). Briefly, the Ethic of Autonomy involves a focus on persons as individuals. The Ethic of Community focuses on persons as members of social groups. The Ethic of Divinity focuses on persons as spiritual or religious entities. Measurements of the three ethics assess the degree to which research participants use

each ethic and use of specific subcodes within each ethic. Jensen's 2015 coding manual for open-ended oral and written responses differentiates 13 to 16 subtypes for each ethic, such as "Self's Psychological Wellbeing" and "Rights" for Autonomy, "Duty to Others" and "Social Order and Harmony Goals" for Community, and "Scriptural Authority" and "God-given Conscience" for Divinity. The differentiation of subtypes of reasons within each ethic facilitated comprehensive coding of all of participants' moral reasons, including the valid assessment of diverse reasons by participants of different ages and cultural backgrounds. The questionnaire for the assessment of use of the three ethics, the Ethical Values Assessment (EVA), includes a 12-item short form and an 18-item long form (Jensen and Padilla-Walker 2015, and Padilla-Walker and Jensen 2016). EVA has been translated from English into other languages, including Arabic, Croatian, German, Polish, Spanish, Thai, and Turkish.

Colby, A., and L. Kohlberg. 1987. *The measurement of moral judgment*. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press.

This two-volume set includes an overview of reliability and validity issues in research with Kohlberg's stage theory. Also provides a detailed coding manual.

Jensen, L. A. 2015. Coding Manual: Ethics of Autonomy, Community, and Divinity. In *Moral development in a global world: Research from a cultural-developmental perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 221-235. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Provides a detailed coding manual with overarching coding guideline; definitions of the three Ethics of Autonomy, Community, and Divinity; definitions of each of the subtypes within the three ethics; and verbatim examples from different countries of reasoning for each subtype.

Jensen, L. A., and L. M. Padilla-Walker. (2015). Ethical Values Assessment (EVA—Long & Short Forms). In *Moral development in a global world: Research from a cultural-developmental perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 239-241. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Provides the questionnaire, along with coding guidelines and alternative wording of prompts. The questionnaire measures both endorsement of and preference for each of the three ethics.

Padilla-Walker, L. M., and Jensen, L. A. (2016). Validation of the long- and short-form of the Ethical Values Assessment (EVA): A questionnaire measuring the three ethics approach to moral psychology. *International Journal of Behavioral Development* 40:181-192.

Study 1 shows that a three-factor solution using the EVA_L (long form) had adequate model fit, and internal reliability and validity of all three subscales among college students. Study 2 shows acceptable model fit for a three-factor solution using the EVA_S (short form) in a nationally representative American sample.

Rest, J. R. 1979. *Development in judging moral issues*. Minnesota: Univ. of Minnesota Press.

This volume lays out the Defining Issues Test (DIT), a questionnaire to assess moral reasoning within Kohlberg's sequence of stages.

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS

This section focuses on the development of morality, including moral awareness, motives, and values, as part of the self and identity. There are entries pertaining to the self, identity, prosociality and helping, and values. While the focus is on how various aspects of morality

become part of an individual's psychology and reasoning, there is recognition that the processes and outcomes are situated within social contexts and culture.

Self

Moral self-awareness, the sense of oneself as a moral agent, emerges early in development. Thompson 2020 provides an overview of relevant research. The early development of moral self-awareness includes young children's understanding of others' emotions, empathy toward others, and a sense of how their behaviors influence others' feelings, reactions, intentions, and so on. Children's early moral understanding of others' intentions is demonstrated in research programs where children as young as 18 months will try to assist an adult in need in experimental situations, such as by opening a door for the adult who has both hands full or pick up pencils the adult dropped (e.g., Newton et al. 2016). In the preschool years, children develop emotions such as guilt and shame—emotions that point to a moral self with a conscience (Vaish et al. 2016). Thompson proposes that the early development of a moral self is a precursor for the development of a moral identity, which happens later (see *Identity). The other side of the coin of moral self-awareness is self-presentation, a topic reviewed in an in-depth chapter by Banerjee et al. 2020. Self-presentation involves the management of how one comes across to others morally, and includes behaviors such as self-promotion, displays of modesty, and apologizing. Lying, too, can be a way to preserve or promote moral status among others, and various lines of research show lying for this purpose among preschool-age children (e.g., Ding et al. 2018). The recognition that others too lie for the sake of their moral status evidently comes a little later in development, perhaps by age 6 or so (Banerjee et al. 2020). Self-presentation is also associated with wanting to demonstrate that one is a good group member, and various projects have examined how this can lead to favoring in-group members (e.g., Dunham et al. 2014 and Qian et al. 2016). Once children have moral self-awareness and think about how they present themselves to others, there is also the potential for moral disengagement. Bussey 2020 integrates a vast literature on this topic to describe how even young children begin to justify why they engaged in immoral behavior—not only to others but also to themselves. Disengagement serves to maintain one's own sense of being a moral person, even when having transgressed.

Banerjee, R., G. Hayman, and K. Lee. 2020. The development of moral self-presentation. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 92-109. New York: Oxford University Press.

A handbook chapter that draws on interdisciplinary literature to describe theories and findings on the development of self-presentation, that is, the management and control of impressions that one makes on other people. The chapter covers cognitive, emotional, motivational, social, and cultural processes.

Bussey, K. 2020. Development of moral disengagement: Learning to make wrong right. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 306-326. New York: Oxford University Press.

Integrates an extensive literature on moral disengagement, including its developmental trajectory, its myriad forms (including moral justification, displacement of responsibility, and misconstruing consequences), and the roles of socialization and culture.

Ding, X. P., H. M. Wellman, Y. Wang, G. Fu., and K. Lee. 2015. Theory of mind training causes honest children to lie. *Psychological Science* 26:1812-1821.

An example of a study in an extensive research program involving theory of mind. This study showed that training 3-year-olds in taking the perspective of others promoted the children's lying in ways that promoted their own interests.

Dunham, Y., M. Srinivasan, R. Dotsch, and D. Barner. 2014. Religion insulates ingroup evaluations: The development of intergroup attitudes in India. *Developmental Science* 17:311-319.

Many studies addressing in-group preference focus on race. This study addressing children's development of in-group preference focused on religion and caste among children in India.

Newton, E. K., R. A. Thompson, and M. Goodman. 2016. Individual differences in toddlers' prosociality: Experiences in early relationships explain variability in prosocial behavior. *Child Development* 87:1715-1726.

An example of a study in a line of research that assesses how early children will try to help an adult in need, and the extent to which helping is associated with factors such as maternal sensitivity.

Qian, M. K., G. D. Heyman, P. C. Quinn, F. A. Messi, G. Fu., and K. Lee. 2016. Implicit racial biases in preschool children's social categories. *Journal of Cognition and Development* 87:285-296.

A study on the development of in-group preference that showed that 3- to 5-year-olds in Cameroon and China showed both implicit and explicit bias against other racial group.

Thompson, R. A. 2020. The development of moral self-awareness. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 71-91. New York: Oxford University Press.

An in-depth overview of theory and research on moral self-awareness with a focus on its emergence and development in young children, including discussion of the relationship between early self-awareness and parent-child relationships. The chapter also touches on later development of moral identity in adolescence.

Vaish, A., M. Carpenter, and M. Tomsello. 2016. The early emergence of guilt-motivated prosocial behavior. *Child Development* 87:1772-1782.

An example of research from a program that examines the early emergence of understanding of moral concepts, such as harm. This study shows that 3-year-olds show greater awareness than 2-year-olds of whether or not they are responsible for a mishap that causes harm to a person.

Identity

Identity research in the area of morality focuses on the extent to which persons regard being moral as important to defining who they are. In other words, people develop moral self-awareness and self-presentation (see *Self), but some people come to regard thinking and behaving morally as integral to their sense of self. In their review of the literature, Hardy et al. 2020 describe the emergence of theory and research on moral identity in the 1990s, the expansion from an initial focus on personality traits to subsequent inclusion of social and

cognitive factors such as the development of a moral identity in the course of adolescence and adulthood (Hardy et al. 2014 and Walker and Frimer 2015) and the narratives that people construct centering on the importance of morality in their lives (McAdams 2015). Research on moral identity outside the West is rare (Hertz and Krettenauer 2016), but one study found that Chinese moral identity included a broader range of moral values and concepts than Canadian moral identity (Jia et al. 2019). Related to moral identity, recent research addresses the development of purpose which is a long-term goal that not only is meaningful to the self but entails wanting to contribute to the world beyond the self in a consequential way. Damon and Malin 2020 as well as Colby et al. 2020 summarize the current state of this area, including cultural and lifespan developmental research.

Damon, W., and H. Malin. 2020. The development of purpose: An international perspective. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 110-127. New York: Oxford University Press.

This handbook chapter provides an overview of the recent history of research on the character strength of purpose, and then reviews research projects across numerous countries such as Brazil, China, Iran, Finland, Korea, Mongolia, and South Africa.

Colby, A., M. Bundick, K. Remington, and E. Morton. 2020. Moral flourishing in late life through purpose beyond the self. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 440-458. New York: Oxford University Press.

Focuses on purpose—the commitment to self-transcendent moral goals—among older adults, and includes the observation that almost one-third of American older adults are purposeful and that this contributes to the common good.

Hardy, S. A., L. J. Walker, J. A. Olson, R. D. Woodbury, and J. R. Hickman. 2014. Moral identity as moral ideal self: Links to adolescent outcomes. *Developmental Psychology* 50:45-57. An important article contributing to a broadening of the concept of moral identity, and a focus on its emergence and development in adolescence.

Hardy, S. A., T. Krettenauer, and N. Hunt. 2020. Moral identity development. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 128-144. New York: Oxford University Press.

The authors provide an in-depth review of research on identity from the early 1980s through the present. The review includes a description of lifespan research, as well as several contexts of identity development such as family, peers, school, neighborhoods, and media.

Hertz, S. G., and T. Krettenauer. 2016. Does moral identity effectively predict moral behavior? A meta-analysis. *Review of General Psychology* 20:129-140.

This meta-analysis revealed the notable fact that out of more than 100 studies on moral identity fewer than 10% have been conducted in “collectivistic” cultures.

Jia, F., T. Krettenauer, and L. Lihong. 2019. Moral identity in cultural context: Differences between Canadian and Chinese university students. *Journal of Moral Education* 48:247-262.

A rare study that addresses the cultural influence on moral identity. Chinese participants had a broader set of moral values and concepts than Canadian participants. Also, Chinese participants' moral identities were more consistent across social contexts of family, work, and society.

McAdams, D. 2009. The moral personality. In *Personality, identity, and character: Explorations in moral psychology*. Edited by D. Narvaez and D. Lapsley, 11-29. New York: Cambridge University Press.

The author addresses personality in a way that includes a traditional focus on personality traits, but that also expands the concept to include motives and narrative life story. This broader approach has been influential in the area of moral identity research.

Walker, L. J., and J. A. Frimer. 2015. Developmental trajectories of agency and communion in moral motivation. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly* 61:412-439.

A relatively rare study including participants from childhood through mid-adulthood. It showed that agency was a moral motive at all ages, but that by mid-adulthood the value of communion became dominant.

Prosociality and Helping

Prosociality involves behaviors that benefit others. Carlo and Pierotti 2020 summarize the theoretical history of the concepts and key findings from research spanning the last several decades. Crucially, they distinguish between whether prosocial behavior is an altruistic goal and hence truly intended for the benefit of others or an egocentered means to other ends such as rewards for the self or avoiding punishment (Eisenberg et al. 2016). From early in development, altruistic prosocial behaviors are linked to prosocial moral reasoning (Carlo et al. 2010), and emotional and cognitive motivation to care for others (Mayseless 2020). In her book, Mayseless 2016 offers an integration of literature on motivations to care for others and their development from infancy through late adulthood. Some researchers suggest that a rudimentary form of prosociality, including the desire to help others, is present in infants and constitutes an innate predisposition (Hamlin and Tan 2020). Much of this research relies on experiments summarized in detail in Hamlin and Tan 2020. Others note that even if helping is an innate tendency, all developmental processes involve environmental interactions and that in this light the most important research questions pertaining to helping center on how, not whether, social experiences influence the development of helping (Dahl 2018). Dahl 2020 reviews findings on how both verbal feedback and behavioral practices may encourage the development of helping.

Carlo, G., and S. Pierotti. 2020. The development of prosocial motives. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 27-51. New York: Oxford University Press.

The chapter extensively reviews theories and research on prosociality, and also includes mention of the Prosocial Tendencies Measure (PTM).

Carlo, G., M. V. Mestre, P. Samper, A. Tur, and B. E. Armenta. 2010. Feelings of cognitions? Moral cognitions and emotions as longitudinal predictors of prosocial and aggressive behaviors. *Personality and Individual Differences* 48:872-877.

A longitudinal study with early adolescents that indicates the interrelation of moral reasoning and emotions in prosocial behaviors and aggression.

Dahl, A. 2018. *How, not whether: Contributions of others in the development of infant helping. Current Opinion in Psychology* 20:72-76.

This paper argues for research attention to the many ways that socialization agents contribute to the development of infant helping, rather than the question of the innate origins of helping behavior.

Dahl, A. 2020. Early developments in acts and evaluations of helping. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 288-305. New York: Oxford University Press.

A lucid handbook chapter that addresses evaluations of and engagements in helping behaviors from infancy to adulthood.

Eisenberg, N., S. K. VanSchyndel, and T. L. Spinrad. 2016. Prosocial motivation: Inferences from an opaque body of work. *Child Development* 87:1668-1678

This article makes the important point that motives for prosocial behaviors can be opaque to both actors and observers but that they range from egotistical to altruistic.

Hamlin, J. K., and E. Tan. 2020. The emergence of moral responses and sensitivity. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 267-287. New York: Oxford University Press.

An exceptionally in-depth account of research experiments with infants on their proclivities in regard to behaviors involving harming and helping others as well as sharing.

Maysless, O. 2016. *The caring motivation: An integrated theory*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Based on a vast review of interdisciplinary literature, this book proposes that the motivation to care for and nurture others has been evolutionarily selected for in humans, and that this innate tendency is shaped by environmental context in the course of development.

Maysless, O. 2020. The development of care. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 9-26. New York: Oxford University Press.

A comprehensive account of the motivation to care, including its definition, origins, and development. The author emphasizes both the innate side of the care motivation and how culture and social contexts shape how, where, to whom, and why persons engage in care behaviors.

Values

Trommsdorff 2020 points out that traditional research on moral values ignored the influence of culture and involved a “Eurocentric” bias. While some values such as helping and cooperation may be human predispositions, the ways that values find expression in the course of development is dependent upon culture. Trommsdorff gives the example of whether to help an older woman who is trying to reach a bus while some groceries are dropping from her basket. One line of reasoning might call for helping the person because she needs assistance and it is altruistic. Another line of reasoning, however, might involve not interfering with the person’s self-competence. Culture thus matters, even as individuals may vary in their sensitivity to

cultural norms. The socialization of values often involves verbal communication, and it also often involves less obvious everyday routines (Gaskins 2020). Furthermore, individuals also have agency in their development of values as they actively seek out particular environmental niches (Trommsdorff 2012). One value that has received considerable attention is forgiveness (Enright & Song). Meta-analyses show that forgiveness is associated with empathy and satisfaction with relationships (Fehr et al. 2010).

Enright, R. D., and J. Y. Song. 2020. The development of forgiveness. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 402-418. New York: Oxford University Press.

A detailed summary of research programs on forgiveness, including their origin in work by Piaget and Kohlberg, current measurement approaches, and practical applications in therapy and education.

Fehr, R. M. J. Gelfand, and M. Nag. 2010. The road to forgiveness: A meta-analytic synthesis of its situational and dispositional correlates. *Psychological Bulletin* 136:894-914.

An analysis of 175 studies with 26,006 adults which finds situational factors (such as providing an apology) account for greater variance in forgiveness than dispositions.

Gaskins, S. 2020. Integrating cultural values through everyday experiences: Yucatec Mayan children's moral development. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 186-202. New York: Oxford University Press.

An illustration of how everyday routines socialize children into a set of cultural values through an in-depth analysis of research with Yucatec Mayan families.

Trommsdorff, G. 2012. Development of "agentic" regulation in cultural context: The role of self and world views. *Child Development Perspectives* 6:19-26.

A comparison of differences in the development of intentional self-regulation in children from Asian and European American communities.

Trommsdorff, G. 2020. The development of moral values in cultural context. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 145-163. New York: Oxford University Press.

An encompassing review of research on universality and cultural specificity in the development of moral values.

CONTEXTS

This section focuses on the influence of social contexts on the development of morality and moral reasoning. The field of moral psychology has seen a steady expansion of the contexts of moral development that scholars take into account. In fact, recent research increasingly focuses not only on the moral reasoning of the individual but also on how social contexts in various ways frame and drive moral reasoning and development. Around the turn of the 20th century, Freud emphasized parents and family (see Freud 1961)—a focus that remains strong. During the early 20th century, as mass education in Europe and the United States became common and compulsory, Piaget 1965 emphasized peers. Another focus that remains strong. Many other

contexts of moral reasoning, however, are receiving current attention. Thus this section includes entries pertaining family, peers, school, sociodemographic groups, civic groups, media, and religious institutions and secular societies. While culture invariably infuses social contexts, culture is not addressed as a social context because culture is an overarching experience. A person spends time with peers and away from peers, in school and away from school, engaged with media and away from media. But a person is never away from culture. Culture is fundamental to individual and social lives. *Culture and Historical Changes are addressed in a separate section.

Family

Family is a primary context of moral socialization. Early theoretical perspectives in moral psychology largely focused on the role of parent-child relationships. For example, psychoanalytic theory asserted the role of parent-child relationships on the development of a moral conscience. The social-learning theory emphasized the importance of parents as role models for appropriate behaviors. Research on the role of family in moral development is therefore dominated by a focus on how parents, especially mothers (Patrick & Gibbs, 2016; Recchia et al., 2014), play a key role in moral development. Parental socialization of children's moral behavior has been studied mainly from the perspective of parenting styles and practices (Mounts & Allen, 2019). Research also highlights the indirect and direct role of parents in modeling the use of moral disengagement mechanisms which enable individuals to preserve one's identity as a moral person even when engaging in transgressions and aggressive behaviors that are contrary to their moral standards (Bussey, 2020). For example, engaging in wrongful behavior and then maintaining a positive view of oneself by either justifying their wrong behavior as serving a higher purpose or showing no guilt or remorse after the transgressive behavior. Parents may also retain their children's self-perception as morally responsible by minimizing children's transgressive behavior or responding positively to diminish their responsibility for their wrong behavior (*see Self). While parents are powerful role models, the contexts of moral socialization are not limited to parent-child interactions alone. Research shows how children are socialized through participation in everyday activities and practices, often involving multi-age relationships and social encounters beyond their immediate family (Gaskins, 2020; Rogoff et al., 2015; Padilla-Walker & Memmott-Elison, 2020). Research highlights the need to examine the role of conversations with multiple social partners in the development of moral conscience, moral selves, moral concepts, and moral language practices (DiBianca Fasoli, 2020). This involves a shift from the traditional focus of moral development as an individual psychological function to the understanding that multiple socializing contexts and agents may shape moral development.

Bussey, K. 2020. Development of moral disengagement: Learning to make wrong right. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 306-326. New York: Oxford University Press.

Integrates an extensive literature on moral disengagement, including its developmental trajectory, its myriad forms (including personal and collective disengagement, moral justification, displacement of responsibility, and misconstruing consequences), and the roles of socialization and culture.

DiBianca Fasoli, A. (2020). Conversations and moral development. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 306-326. New York: Oxford University Press.

A comprehensive review of dominant approaches to moral development (socialization theory, narrative, constructivist, and language socialization paradigms) and their contributions in advancing our understanding of the significance of conversations (across the life span, with multiple social partners) in moral development and socialization.

Gaskins, S. 2020. Integrating cultural values through everyday experiences: Yucatec Mayan children's moral development. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 186-202. New York: Oxford University Press.

An illustration of how everyday routines socialize children into a set of cultural values through an in-depth analysis of research with Yucatec Mayan families.

Mounts, N. S., & Allen, C. 2019. Parenting styles and practices. In *The Oxford handbook of parenting and moral development*. Edited by D. J. Laible, G. Carlo, L. M. Padilla-Walker, 41-56. New York: Oxford University Press.

This review examines literature on the relation of parenting styles and practices on moral behavior as well as bidirectional effects between parents and children in predicting moral behavioral outcomes, along with mediators (sympathy and self-regulation) and moderators (e.g., attachment, temperament, responsiveness) of parenting effects on moral behavior.

Padilla-Walker, L. M., & Memmott-Elison, M. K. 2020. Family and moral development. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 186-202. New York: Oxford University Press.

Explores moral socialization by multiple family members (e.g., parents, siblings, grandparents and extended kin), its impact on the many dimensions of moral development (e.g., moral values, emotions, cognitions, and identity) and how the influences of these moral outcomes on family relationships vary culturally and developmentally.

Patrick, R. B., & Gibbs, J. C. 2016. Maternal acceptance: Its contribution to children's favorable perceptions of discipline and moral identity. *Journal of Genetic Psychology* 177(3): 73-84.

This study examines the influence of maternal acceptance and warmth on children's and adolescent's perception of discipline (inductive vs power assertion and love withdrawal) and the formation of moral identity.

Recchia, H. E., Wainryb, C., Bourne, S., & Pasupathi, M. 2014. The construction of moral agency in mother-child conversations about helping and hurting across childhood and adolescence. *Developmental Psychology* 50: 34-44.

This study examines mother-child conversations about children's past positive and negative behaviors. Results highlight how the conversations with mothers about prosocial and transgressive behaviors provides opportunities for moral socialization by contributing to children's understanding of their own and others' moral agency.

Rogoff, B., Mejía-Arauz, R., & Correa-Chávez, M. 2015. A cultural paradigm: Learning by observing and pitching in. In *Advances in child development and behavior*. Edited by M. Correa-Chávez, R. Mejía-Arauz & B. Rogoff, 1-22. Amsterdam: Academic Press.

This introductory chapter discusses Learning by Observing and Pitching In (LOPI) as a cultural paradigm available to indigenous and indigenous-heritage communities of the Americas and its contributions in supporting children's learning, in contrast to the Assembly-Line Instruction paradigm.

Peers

Piaget and Kohlberg were the first theorists to suggest that peer groups had greater influence on children's moral development because of equality and reciprocity, compared to parent-child relationships. Piaget, for example, explained how play with rules was a medium for the development of moral reasoning. More recently, Berger and Davis (2014) proposed the Paidia theory of moral development where they assert that play experiences employ moral emotions, behavior and reasoning, thereby influencing moral development through childhood and the later years. Research shows that sports and inter-group play experiences (Bergen & Davis, 2021) in the family, school, neighborhood, and larger community settings provide opportunities for problem solving, negotiating the appropriateness of rules, controlling anger, discussing moral issues (e.g., sharing, fairness), reasoning (e.g., self-reflection, self-evaluation), and adjusting rules based on the age composition of play groups. These early experiences with friends have the potential to shape one's morality in adult life. Additionally, the composition of peer groups, gender dynamics, and peer-activity may be influenced by cultural norms and expectations (see Verma & Saraswathi, 2008). In a study with American college students, Liable and colleagues (2004) found that peer attachment in late adolescence was associated with high levels of prosocial behavior, empathy, kindness, perspective taking and less with aggressive behavior. While research suggests that friends who are aggressive may reinforce aggressive behavior, other research suggests that high quality friendships may have socio-emotional benefits and may serve as protective factors that help overcome the problems of aggressive behavior (Malti et al., 2015). While friendships influence the development of moral principles from an early age, research (Rutland et al., 2010) shows that friends also develop implicit and explicit prejudice based on variables such as group identity, social norms, inter-group relationships and perceived outgroup threat. Peer groups, therefore, are important contexts that foster moral development beyond what might be possible through maturation and schooling alone.

Bergen, D. & Davis, D. 2021. Play groups as contexts for moral development. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A Jensen, 306-326. New York: Oxford University Press.

This chapter highlights that age composition of play groups and types of play experiences influence the direction and depth of moral experiences. The authors also note that future research needs to examine the influence of virtual play groups on moral outcomes.

Bergen, D. & Davis, D. 2014. Relationships among play behaviors reported by college students and their responses to moral issues: A pilot study. *Journal of Research in Childhood Education* 28(4): 484-498.

Self-reported data collected from American undergraduate students suggest playful activity in the early years, especially games and pretense, facilitates the development of moral emotions,

behaviors and reasoning in later years. Findings also suggest that play patterns and their relationship to moral development may differ for females and males.

Laible, D. J., Carlo, G., & Roesch, S. C. 2004. Pathways to self-esteem in late adolescence: The role of parent and peer attachment, empathy, and social behaviors. *Journal of Adolescence* 27(6): 703-716.

The study explores the indirect and direct relationships of adolescent self-esteem and parent and peer attachments. Findings highlight a stronger relationship for parent attachment and self-esteem among male adolescents compared to female adolescents. Peer attachment was also significantly related to self-esteem, mediated by empathy and prosocial behavior.

Malti, T., McDonald, K., Rubin, K. H., Rose-Krasnor, L., & Booth-LaForce, C. 2015. Developmental trajectories of peer-reported aggressive behavior: The role of friendship understanding, friendship quality, and friends' aggressive behavior. *Psychology of Violence* 5(4): 402.

This study examine trajectories of aggressive behavior in middle childhood, and the role of friendship understanding and friendship characteristics on trajectories of aggressive behavior.

Rutland, A., Killen, M., & Abrams, D. 2010. A new social-cognitive developmental perspective on prejudice: The interplay between morality and group identity. *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 5(3): 279-291.

Authors propose a new integrative social-cognitive developmental approach to understand how the dynamic relation between morality and group identity influences children's prejudice and social-reasoning attitudes.

Verma, S., & Saraswathi, T. S. (2002). Adolescence in India: Street urchins or Silicon Valley millionaires. In *The world's youth: Adolescence in eight regions of the globe*. Edited by B. B. Brown, R. W. Larson, & T. S. Saraswathi, 105-140. Cambridge University Press. The chapter offers a comprehensive assessment of the trends shaping adolescence in India, more specifically the areas of family dynamics, peer relations, experience of schooling, and physical and mental well-being. The authors draw primarily from culture-sensitive research in order to refrain from the dominant Western perspectives on adolescence.

School

Kohlberg's universal stage theory gave much impetus to research on moral education as an important approach to promote the development of children's and adolescents' moral cognitive structures in school settings. He acknowledged that moral reasoning was influenced by rich social-moral experiences, and that moral educators had a major influence on moral identity and civic education (Althof & Berkowitz, 2006). Snarey and Samuelson (2014) explain Kohlberg's three major approaches to moral education: learning by imitation of adult role models (moral exemplars), dilemma discussions with friends or peers, and through the school community (e.g., Kohlberg's Just Community Schools). Kohlberg's theory inspired educational programs to include character education and value education as core aspects of their programs, with the understanding that high levels of moral reasoning can be achieved by school education. This, however has been the dominant focus of moral psychologists in the Euro-Western nations. School education in the majority-world often takes different forms when based on cultural values

and moral concepts (Dasen & Akkari, 2008). For example, Janné (2013) examined the use of *Jātaka* stories (traditional folk stories) to teach children about ethics and morality in numerous schools in India. Ganapathy-Coleman (2014) presents an analysis of parental ethno-theories and narratives on the cultural expectations regarding student-teacher relationships in schools. It is also worth noting that there is not much research on experiences of schooling and moral development among marginalized groups such as the lower social classes (Pandya et al., 2023) or tribal groups (Balagopalan, 2003). Future research has immense scope to address how moral education happens outside the school context or in alternate educational settings.

Althof, W., & Berkowitz, M.W. 2006. Moral education and character education: Their relationship and roles in citizenship education. *Journal of Moral Education* 35(4): 495-518. Article delineates the complex relationship between character education and citizenship education to foster the development of citizens who are pro-social and effective in participating in democratic societies.

Balgopalan, S. 2003. Neither suited for the Home nor for the fields. *IDS Bulletin* 34(1): 55-62. A preliminary report that draws on fieldwork and presents research findings about the problems with social exclusion of *Adivasi* (tribal) children and their relatively recent insertion in the formal schooling system.

Dasen, P. R., & Akkari, A. (Eds.). (2008). *Educational theories and practices from the majority world*. SAGE Publications India.

The authors draw critical attention to ethnocentrism in educational theory, research and pedagogy by presenting a critique of the dominant Western schooling system which is based on colonial models. They discuss educational methods of the majority world and advocate for culturally appropriate education systems for indigenous populations.

Ganapathy-Coleman, H. (2014). 'Teachers are Always Good. Children have Flaws.' Memories of School and Learning in the Narratives of Low-income Parents in India. *Psychology and Developing Societies* 26(1): 29-58.

A cultural-psychological study of beliefs and narratives of low-income parents from Gujarat, India regarding education. Findings highlight strong cultural ideals of a *guru* (teacher), *shishya* (student), and their sacred relationship.

Janné, H. (2013). The Buddhist Jātaka Stories: An Analytical Survey of a few Jātakas and their use in schools in the city of Benares, Uttar Pradesh, India (Unpublished dissertation). Karlstad University, Sweden.

This qualitative study explores the use of Buddhist Jātaka stories in classrooms of Benaras, India. Findings highlight the effectiveness of the Jātaka stories as an indigenous tool to impart moral education, and as a novel approach to value education from a non-western context.

Pandya, N., L. A. Jensen, and R. Bhangaokar. 2023. Moral reasoning among children in India: The intersection of culture, development, and social class. *Applied Developmental Science* 27:48-67.

In a study of high- and low-SES children in Baroda, India, the high-SES children used the Ethic of Autonomy more than low-SES children. The high-SES children attended regular school,

whereas the low-SES children were enrolled in school but worked instead to contribute to family income. They attended centers for educational assistance developed within their slum communities by a local non-government organization.

Snarey, J., & Samuelson, P. L. 2014. Lawrence Kohlberg's revolutionary ideas: Moral education in the cognitive-developmental tradition. In *Handbook of moral and character education*. Edited by L. Nucci, D. Narvaez, and T. Krettenauer, 77-99. New York: Routledge.

The chapter gives a brief review of Piaget's cognitive-development theory and Durkheim's cultural-socialization approach, followed by an elaborate account of Kohlberg's three models of moral cognition and development (moral stages, types and atmosphere), as well as the three methods of moral development proposed by him (moral exemplars, dilemma discussions, and just world schools).

Sociodemographic Groups

Research on gender has extensively addressed the question of whether females and males differ in their moral reasoning, values, emotions, and so on. Findings—which include a publication bias in favor of differences—generally show few differences (Hyde et al. 2019). Bigler and Liben 2020, however, point out that gender is a powerful predictor of people's experiences, including extent and type of education, occupations, and everyday time use. In their handbook chapter, they examine how morality and gender shape one another in underexplored ways. They also address sexual and gender minority (SGM) issues, a topic examined fully in a handbook chapter by Toomey et al. 2020. These authors discuss theory and research on harsh moral judgments experienced by SGM behaviors and persons. Research focusing on ethnicity reveals that culturally-specific moral values are socialized at an early age, and points to the effects of this early socialization. For instance, Mexican-heritage youth in the U.S. are socialized toward cultural moral values of *acomedido* (helping without being asked, based on attentiveness to others' needs [Alcalá et al. 2018]) and *familism* (emphasizes support, loyalty, honor, and obligation to family [Knight et al. 2014]). This early socialization, in turn, influences the prosocial moral reasoning and prosocial behaviors of Mexican American youth. Similarly, research with second-generation Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands shows how the cultural moral value of *filiial piety* (providing care for one's parents) is an enduring moral duty that informs immigrant origin youths' orientations toward their aging parents (Cheung et al. 2020). Research focusing on social class has recently highlighted notable and intriguing differences. For example, one four-study project in the Untied Stets (Piff et al., 2010) indicates that persons of low SES are more generous with their time, more charitable, and less likely to lie, cheat, or break driving laws than persons of higher SES. Research in India (Pandya et al., 2023) shows that high-SES children used the Ethic of Autonomy more than low-SES children and conceptualized the individual in independent and psychological terms, whereas low-SES children's view of autonomy invoked a dominant fear of physical punishments from others. The everyday lives of low-SES and high-SES families are very different, with vastly different social contexts of resource availability, accessibility and affordability. These differences are likely to influence moral development and warrant future research.

Alcalá, L., B. Rogoff, and A. L. Fraire. 2018. Sophisticated collaboration is common among Mexican-heritage US children. *PNAS* 115:11377-11384.

Study compares voluntary collaboration among U.S. Mexican indigenous-heritage and middle-class European American middle childhood-aged sibling pairs. Results reveal that U.S. Mexican indigenous-heritage sibling pairs spent twice as much time as middle-class European American children engaging in sophisticated collaboration.

Bigler, R. S., and L. S. Liben. 2020. The interplay of developing morality and gender attitudes. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 725-745. New York: Oxford University Press.

The authors review how children's developing views of morality and gender shape one another in important and underexplored ways. This includes a brief history of psychological theory and research, and account of why it mostly has not addressed the moral side of the development of gender concepts and attitudes.

Cheung, S.-L., H. Barf, S. Cummings, H. Hobbelen, and E. W.-T. Chui. 2022. Changing Shapes of Care: Expressions of Filial Piety among Second-generation Chinese in the Netherlands. *Journal of Family Issues* 41:2400-2422.

Interview study shows that second-generation Chinese young adults in the Netherlands center filial piety (conceived as a moral duty) in orientations toward their aging parents.

Hyde, J. S., R. S. Bigler, D. Joel, C. C. Tate, C. and S. M. van Anders. (2019). The future of sex and gender in psychology: Five challenges to the gender binary. *American Psychologist* 74:171-193.

This review describes five clusters of interdisciplinary findings that call into question a binary gender distinction, including psychological findings that highlight the similarities between men and women.

Knight, G. P., G. Carlo, C. D. Basilio, and R. P. Jacobson. 2014. Familism values, perspective taking, and prosocial moral reasoning: Predicting prosocial tendencies among Mexican American adolescents. *Journal of Research on Adolescence* 25: 717-727.

Survey study examines links between familism values, perspective taking, prosocial moral reasoning, and prosocial behaviors among early adolescent Mexican American youth. Endorsement of familism values predicts perspective taking and prosocial moral reasoning, which in turn predicts specific prosocial tendencies.

Pandya, N., L. A. Jensen, and R. Bhangaokar. 2023. Moral reasoning among children in India: The intersection of culture, development, and social class. *Applied Developmental Science* 27:48-67.

In a study of high- and low-SES children, three findings stood out. High-SES children used the Ethic of Autonomy more than low-SES children. Older children used many indigenous duty concepts, thereby invoking the Ethic of Community more than younger children. Younger children made substantial use of the Ethic of Divinity.

Piff, P. K., Kraus, M. W., Côté, S., Cheng, B. H., Keltner, D. 2010. Having less, giving more: the influence of social class on prosocial behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 99(5): 771-784.

Findings across four studies suggest that in spite of the lack of resources, affordability and a lower class, subordinate rank participants exhibited more generosity, compassion, and charity

compared to the upper class participants. Results give strong evidence for the role of social class in shaping prosocial tendencies.

Toomey, R. B., M. Shramko, S. S. Horn, and V. Paul Poteat. 2020. Moral implications of attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors related to sexual and gender diversity. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 746-764. New York: Oxford University Press.

This handbook chapter reviews the development of American children's and adolescents' beliefs and behaviors related to sexual and gender diversity, including sexual and gender minority adolescents' own civic and political engagement aimed at understanding and acceptance of their sexual and gender diversity.

Civic Groups

Much of the research on morality pertaining to involvement in civic groups has focused on adolescents. For most adolescents, their community service is motivated by both collectivistic and individualistic reasons (Jensen and LaPlante 2015, McNeil and Helweg 2015). Often, of course, they are motivated by collectivistic reasons such as wanting to help others or a concern for those who have been less fortunate than themselves. Perhaps less obviously, studies have found that individualistic reasons play a role. Adolescents also volunteer because it gives them a sense of personal satisfaction and they enjoy doing the work. When community service is a high school graduation requirement, that adds an additional individualistic motivation even if it may not be the only one. School serves as a source of socialization into community service in ways that go beyond fulfilling a requirement. Pancer 2020 details the influence of school as well as numerous other socialization contexts on community service in adolescence, including family, neighborhoods, and religious institutions. He and other scholars (Metzger et al. 2019) also note that a sense of civic responsibility is often part of a moral identity and sense of purpose (see *Identity). Hart 2020 observes that adolescents often highlight the motive of helping others to explain their involvement in civic groups, whereas adults additionally often invoke the value of problem-solving. One large longitudinal study has shown that voluntary community service participation in adolescence predicts volunteering in emerging adulthood. In contrast, required community service in adolescence does not lead to later community service (Kim and Morgül 2017).

Hart, D. 2020. Moral development in civic and political context. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 570-591. New York: Oxford University Press.

A review of how historical and cultural factors influence the meanings of civic and political motivation as well as the consequences of participation.

Jensen, L. A., and J. LaPlante. 2015. Civic engagement in immigrant youth in the United States. In *The development of immigrant-origin children and youth: A contextual approach*. Edited by C. Suarez-Orozco, M. Abo-Zena, and A. K. Marks, 276-296. New York: New York University Press.

Highlights the diverse autonomy and community motives that immigrant adolescents use to explain their civic and political involvement, as well as ways in which both their motives and types of involvement reflect their immigrant background and experience.

Kim, J., and K. Morgül. 2017. Long-term consequences of youth volunteering: Voluntary versus involuntary service. *Social Science Research* 67:160-175.

This study followed about 15,000 American adolescents for 13 years, starting when they were in grades 7–12. Voluntary community service participation in adolescence predicted volunteering in emerging adulthood, whereas required service did not. However, both voluntary or required service had long-term benefits in terms of educational attainment and earnings.

McNeil, J., and C. C. Helweg. 2015. Balancing social responsibility and personal autonomy: adolescents' reasoning about community service programs. *The Journal of Genetic Psychology* 176:349-368.

Use hypothetical scenarios to show that adolescents reason about community service in terms of both individualistic and collectivistic reasons.

Metzger, A., K. A. Ferris, and B. Oosterhoff, B. 2019. Adolescents' civic engagement: Concordant and longitudinal associations among civic beliefs and civic involvement. *Journal of Research on Adolescence* 29:879-896.

Use cross-sectional and longitudinal data to show that through their participation, adolescents become more concerned about social issues and develop an understanding of themselves as members of their society.

Pancer, M. 2020. Volunteerism. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 350-365. New York: Oxford University Press.

A review of ways that community service benefits adolescents and creates a civic identity, as well as the myriad social contexts that influence adolescents' community service.

Media

Digital media carry moral implications by facilitating exposure to diverse worldviews and moral values—including those that may conflict with local values (McKenzie 2020). Indeed, research suggests that some young people in diverse world regions now *remotely acculturate* to Western cultures by way of media exposure. In urban Jamaica, for instance, about one-third of young adolescents identify with European American culture by way of media exposure. These remotely acculturated Jamaican youth hold weaker beliefs about family obligations than do traditional Jamaican youth (Ferguson and Bornstein 2015). Among Bedouin in Israel, media exposure is highlighted as the key driver of increasing endorsement of individualistic values across generations (Abu Aleon et al. 2019). As research in Jamaica, Israel, and elsewhere reveals, media carry the capacity to reshape cultural moral values—particularly by introducing individualistic and autonomous values (Manago and McKenzie 2022). Yet research spanning diverse continents also points to continuity in cultural values with exposure to digital media, as young people often use digital media in ways that align with local values of collectivism (Manago and McKenzie 2022). In southern Mexico, traditional collectivistic and family-centered values shape young people's use and perspectives of digital media (Manago and Pachecho 2019). In northern Thailand, even urban-dwelling youth who spend a great deal of time on digital media emphasize that their media use achieves collectivistic aims (McKenzie et al. 2023). So, although

digital media are tools of globalization with the power to alter local moral values (see *Globalization), they are also tools that can reinforce—and even promote—local moral values.

Abu Aleon, T., M. Weinstock, A. M. Manago, and P. M. Greenfield. 2019. Social change and intergenerational value differences in a Bedouin community in Israel. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 50:708-727.

Mixed-methods study with three generations in a Bedouin community in Israel reveals value shifts across generations, with a more rapid pace of value change for women than men. Internet use, TV watching, and education explain differences in values across generations.

Ferguson, G. M., and M. H. Bornstein. 2015. Remote acculturation of early adolescents in Jamaica towards European American culture: A replication and extension. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 45:24-35.

Quantitative study reveals that exposure to U.S. media and less local media predicts higher odds of Americanization among young adolescents in Jamaica.

Manago, A., and J. McKenzie. 2022. Culture and digital media in adolescent development. In *Handbook of adolescent digital media use and mental health*. Edited by J. Nesi, E. H. Telzer, and M. J. Prinstein, 162-187. Cambridge University Press.

An expansive review that draws from psychological, sociological, and anthropological research to show how cultural values, structures of community, and notions of selfhood shape, and are shaped by, adolescent digital media use.

Manago, A. M., and P. Pacheco. 2019. Globalization and the transition to adulthood in a Maya community in Mexico: Communication technologies, social networks, and views on gender. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development*, 164:11-25.

Mixed-methods study with young adults in a Maya community in Mexico reveals that cultural values shape how young people think about the benefits and risks of information communication technologies.

McKenzie, J. (2020). Globalization as a context for moral development. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 663-682. New York: Oxford University Press.

Draws from interdisciplinary research across diverse world regions to show how globalization alters moral development. Proposes that media are the primary mechanism through which globalization reshapes moral development.

McKenzie, J., R. Castellón, E. Willis-Grossmann, C. Landeros, J. Rooney, and C. Stewart. 2023. Digital divides, generational gaps, and cultural overlaps: A portrait of media use and perspectives of media in Thailand. *Media Psychology*.

Mixed-methods study examines access to, use of, and perspectives of media among rural- and urban-dwelling adolescents and parents in northern Thailand. Results reveal how culture shapes media use and perspectives.

Religious Institutions and Secular Societies

Across many societies for thousands of years, religion has provided answers to interrelated questions about the meaning of life and death, and moral purpose. King et al. 2020 review how morality is central to religion and spirituality. These belief systems and worldviews typically place moral concepts and virtues at the heart of identity, even exemplarity (Bronk et al. 2013), as well as religious rituals and contexts. Adolescence and emerging adulthood appear to be periods of life when religion and spirituality become notable in moral identity and reasoning (Liang and Ketcham 2017). Research has begun to support the cultural-developmental hypothesis regarding the infusion of divinity in adolescents' moral reasoning (DiBianca Fasoli, 2018, Jensen and McKenzie 2019, Vainio 2015; see *Culture, *Cultural and Universal Factors). This infusion, however, is dependent on religious socialization contexts. Increasingly, however, societies and individuals are becoming more secular. Zuckerman and Thompson 2020 provide a detailed philosophical, psychological, and sociological argument that moral reasoning and behaving morally is not dependent on religion, and they further highlight that secular societies often flourish on measures such as charitable giving, lack of corruption and violence, and equitable child and health care. Within societies, it is often adolescence and emerging adults who are most likely to be secular. Research indicates that with exposure to globalization, adolescents in places such as urban Thailand are less likely to reason about moral issues in terms of divinity concepts than are rural Thai adolescents (McKenzie 2019; see *Globalization).

Bronk, K. C., P. E. King, and M. K. Matsuba. 2013. An introduction to exemplar research: A definition, rationale, and conceptual issue. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development* 142:1-12.

Provides an introduction to the volume on exemplar research, including spiritual exemplars. The volume highlights how to do exemplar research and how it offers insight into a construct of interest in a particularly intense and highly developed manner.

DiBianca Fasoli, A. 2018. From autonomy to divinity: The cultural socialization of moral reasoning in an evangelical Christian community. *Child development* 89: 1657-1673.

A rare and in-depth analysis of moral reasoning in parent-child conversations within an American evangelical Christian community. Findings show that parents employed three social-communicative processes, alignment, scaffolding and countering, to direct their children's reasoning towards an Ethic of Divinity.

Jensen L. A., and J. McKenzie. 2016. The moral reasoning of U.S. evangelical and mainline Protestant children, adolescents, and adults: A cultural-developmental study. *Child Development* 87:446-464.

This cultural-developmental interview study examined moral reasoning in relation to religious culture (evangelical, mainline Protestants), age (children, adolescents, adults), and moral issue (public, private). With age, differences between religious cultures became pronounced.

King, P. E., S. A. Schnitker, and B. J. Houlberg. 2020. Religious groups and institutions as contexts for moral development. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 592-612. New York: Oxford University Press.

An extensive review of research on spirituality and religiousness as sources of moral reasoning, values, virtues, and identity. The review draws on literature from different disciplines, and includes consideration of how religion can combine with morality in “toxic” ways.

Liang, B. and S. G. Ketcham. 2017. Emerging adults’ perceptions of their faith-related purpose. *Psychology of Religion and Spirituality* 9:S22-S31.

A thematic analysis of interviews with religious emerging adults about the intersection of their faith and moral purpose.

McKenzie, J. 2019. Divinity revised: The de- and re-contextualization of adolescent divinity reasoning in globalizing Thailand. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development* 164: 49-66.

Interview study in Thailand reveals that urban-dwelling youth with more exposure to globalization invoke Divinity reasoning less than rural adolescents. Urban Thai youth pair Divinity reasoning alongside Autonomy reasoning, while rural Thai youth pair Divinity reasoning alongside Community reasoning.

Vainio, A. 2015. Finnish moral landscapes: A comparison of nonreligious, liberal, religious, and conservative religious adolescents. In *Moral development in a global world: Research from a cultural-developmental perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 46-68. New York: Cambridge University Press.

A comparison of nonreligious, liberal religious, and conservative religious adolescents’ moral reasoning in Finland. Interview showed that nonreligious and liberal adolescents reasoned in terms of Ethics of Autonomy and Community, whereas conservative adolescents primarily used an Ethic of Divinity and also defined moral issues differently from the other two groups.

Zuckerman, P., and K. Thompson. 2020. Secular living as a context for moral development. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 613-628. New York: Oxford University Press.

Highlights that secular individuals and societies draw upon an inherent human moral sensibilities which are then elaborated through moral reasoning. The handbook chapter includes a focus on Scandinavian countries as secular contexts for moral development.

CULTURE AND HISTORICAL CHANGES

This section focuses on the role of culture in the development of morality, including ways that globalization constitutes a powerful and pervasive change to cultures and moral reasoning across the world. Until surprisingly recently moral psychology research taking culture into account was rare (see *Cultural and Universal Factors). Research primarily included a sliver of the world’s population from the Western world. Moreover, theory often presumed the universality of research findings from such narrow samples. However, as people from different cultures increasingly know of each other and interact in a wide variety of ways, researchers are recognizing that culture and cultural change are fundamental constituents of moral reasoning. In addition to addressing culture and globalization, this section ends with the inclusion of the burgeoning research focused on climate change.

Culture

Cultural research initially focused on critiquing the Western theories of moral reasoning, noting that they misrepresented or excluded a variety of moral concepts. Recent research has broadened to include highly diverse cultural groups and to delve deeply into diverse moral concepts. Miller has extensively examined the concept of duty in India (Miller and Källberg-Shroff 2020), and Pandya et al. 2023 address both similarities and differences among high- and low-SES Indian children and adolescents in their reasoning about different duty concepts (*faraj*, *zimmedari*, and *kartavya*) as well as other concepts such as *dharma* and *paap* (concepts involving a religious or spiritual meaning). Bhangaokar 2020 also provides an in-depth historical analysis of *dharma*. Yeh and Bedford 2020 examine the concept of filial piety in Chinese culture and differentiate reciprocal filial piety from authoritarian filial piety. Research is also addressing how the socialization of morality varies across cultures. For example, mothers' punishment of their toddlers is linked to an increase in helping behaviors in India but a decrease in Germany (Giner Torrén and Kärtner, 2017). Also, while Indian mothers direct their children's attention to the relationship with the giver of a gift, German mothers encourage their children's delight with the gift. While members of a culture undoubtedly identify with many of the moral concepts and master moral narratives that are prominent within their culture, researchers are also addressing how groups within cultures critique beliefs and practices that entail their subjugation due to factors such as ethnicity, gender, race, and immigration status (Seider et al. 2020; Syed et al. 2020). Critiques may be propelled by critical reflection and consciousness as well as participation in civic activities (Hipolito-Delgado et al. 2022). Even as attention to the fundamental role of culture in moral reasoning has grown, ample room for additional research remains. Research is needed in vastly understudied parts of the world, such as cultures in Africa. Research is needed on intersections between culture and other factors that are salient within particular cultures, such as race, SES, caste, religion or exposure to globalization (see *Globalization).

Bhangaokar, R. 2020. The development of communal and spiritual dutifulness in India. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 327-349. New York: Oxford University Press.

Describes how *Dharma* is central to the Indian psyche. The concept, with its lengthy history is complex, but encompasses interconnectedness with and service to others as part of an understanding of a universal cosmic order.

Giner Torrén, M. G., and J. Kärtner. 2017. The influence of socialization on early helping from a cross-cultural perspective. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 48:353-368.

This study showed that Indian toddlers engaged in more helping behaviors than German toddlers. Compared to German mothers, the Indian mothers reported encouraging helping more, praising such behaviors less, and punishing the failure to help more.

Hipolito-Delgado, C. P., D. Stickney, S. Zion, and B. Kirshner. 2022. Transformative student voice for sociopolitical development: Developing youth of color as political actors. *Journal of Research on Adolescence* 32:1098-1108.

Research focuses on civic education for minoritized students that encourages their critical reflection, participation in sociopolitical action, and sociopolitical efficacy.

Miller, J. G., and M. Källberg-Shroff. 2020. Culture and the development of moralities of community. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 52-70. New York: Oxford University Press.

This handbook chapter reviews how moral reasoning pertaining to community is qualitatively different from reasoning pertaining to justice, and it describes different moralities of community from various cultures and their socialization in the course of development.

Pandya, N., L. A. Jensen, and R. Bhangaokar. 2023. Moral reasoning among children in India: The intersection of culture, development, and social class. *Applied Developmental Science* 27:48-67.

In a study of high- and low-SES children, three findings stood out. Older children used many indigenous duty concepts, thereby invoking the Ethic of Community more than younger children. Younger children made substantial use of the Ethic of Divinity. High-SES children used the Ethic of Autonomy more than low-SES children.

Seider, S., A. El-Amin, and L. L. Kelly. 2020. The development of critical consciousness. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 203-221. New York: Oxford University Press.

This handbook chapter reviews the history of research on critical consciousness, the ability to recognize and reason about oppressive social forces. The chapter includes descriptions of dimensions of critical consciousness, its development and behavioral correlates, and different measurements.

Syed, M., M. Pasupathi, and K. C. McLean. 2020. Master narrative, ethics, and morality. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 500-515. New York: Oxford University Press.

This innovative chapter discusses the concept of master narratives, overarching cultural narratives rather than individually focused personal narratives. The authors argue that master narratives are fundamentally about ethics and come to exert moral force.

Yeh, K.-H., and O. Bedford. 2020. The psychology of filial piety and moral decision-making in Chinese people. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 385-401. New York: Oxford University Press.

An in-depth account of the foundations of filial piety in Chinese culture and Confucian ethics and the enactment of filial piety in the lives of contemporary Chinese, including in regard to elder care.

Globalization

As previously highlighted (see *Culture), cultural context shapes moral values and moral reasoning. Globalization represents a new cultural context that is reshaping the beliefs and behaviors of young people around the world (Jensen 2022; McKenzie 2019). Empirical research suggests that globalization promotes autonomous moral values and moral reasoning—particularly among young people residing in urban areas with substantial indirect intercultural exposure via media, direct intercultural exposure via tourism, and extensive embeddedness in formal schooling (Jensen et al. 2011; Manago 2014; Ozer et al. 2017; see *Media). Manago's long-term fieldwork in southern Mexico reveals that adolescents with more exposure to formal schooling—and hence, more exposure to Western ideas—emphasize individual choice in dating

relationships, family roles, and careers significantly more than adolescents, parents, and grandparents who did not attend high school. McKenzie's long-term fieldwork in northern Thailand reveals that adolescents growing up in globalized urban context with more exposure to digital media reason more in terms of Ethic of Autonomy than do their parents and adolescents growing up in a nearby rural context (McKenzie 2018; see *Media). Importantly, however, qualitative interview research also points to the maintenance of local Community-based moral values, even among young people with considerable exposure to globalization and endorsement of Autonomy values. There is evidence that, in Armenia, Mexico, and Thailand, interdependent values pertaining to family and filial piety are to some extent maintained even among young people with significant exposure to globalization (Huntsinger 2019; Manago 2014; McKenzie 2020). Future research should examine how globalization affects the moral values of young children, and on how the effects of globalization on moral values are shaped by local circumstances (Jensen 2022).

Huntsinger, C. S., T. Shaboyan, and A. M. Karapetyan. 2019. The influence of globalization on adolescents' conceptions of self and future self in rural and urban Armenia. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development* 164:67-82.

Mixed methods study with rural and urban Armenian adolescents finds that rural adolescents, who use the internet less frequently, prioritized traditional cultural values and family interdependence. Urban adolescents use the internet more frequently simultaneously develop global identities via media exposure and retain local identity rooted in family traditions and values.

Jensen, L. A. 2022. Globalization: Human development in a new cultural context. *Oxford handbook of cultural neuroscience and global mental health*. Edited by J. Y. Chiao, S.-C. Li, R. Turner, S. Y. Lee-Tauler, and B. A. Pringle, 464-483. Oxford University Press.

Handbook chapter reviews research addressing how globalization impacts adolescents and emerging adults. Considers how globalization reshapes: moral values, relationships with parents, gender roles, health and body image, language development, and identity.

Jensen, L. A., J. J. Arnett, and J. McKenzie. 2011. Globalization and cultural identity developments in adolescence and emerging adulthood. In *Handbook of identity theory and research*. Edited by S. J. Schwartz, K. Luyckx, and V. L. Vignoles, Vol. 1:285-301. Springer Publishing.

Handbook chapter highlights how globalization has altered cultural identity development for adolescents and emerging adults. Draws attention to both the risks (i.e., cultural identity confusion, mental health, intergenerational cultural gaps) and opportunities (i.e., civic involvement) introduced by globalization.

Manago, A. M. 2014. Connecting societal change to value differences across generations: Adolescents, mothers, and grandmothers in a Maya community in southern Mexico. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 45:868-887.

Mixed methods study compares values across three generations of women in a Maya community in southern Mexico, and across women and men with varying degrees of formal schooling. Results reveal that adolescent high school graduates prioritized autonomous values more so than non-high school adolescents, mothers, and grandmothers.

McKenzie, J. 2018. Globalization and moral personhood: Dyadic perspectives of the moral self in rural and urban Thai communities. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 33:209-246. Mixed methods interview study with adolescent—parent dyads in rural and urban Thailand reveals that urban adolescents uniquely prioritize the Ethic of Autonomy when reasoning about private moral experiences. Urban parents prioritize Ethics of Autonomy and Community to equal degrees, and rural adolescents and parents prioritize the Ethic of Community.

McKenzie, J., Ed. 2019. Special issue: Globalization as a context for youth development. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development*, 164. Special issue includes six empirical research articles that collectively convey how globalization affects young people's cultural values, moral reasoning, identity construction, and well-being. Articles span the globe, including: Armenia, Jamaica, Mexico, South Korea, Thailand, and the U.S.

McKenzie, J. 2020. Negotiating local and global values in a globalized world: The envisioned futures of Thai adolescents. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 30:856-874. Qualitative study reveals how adolescents growing up in a rapidly globalizing Thai city psychologically manage local and global values. Findings push forward scientific understanding of the reshaping of moral values with globalization.

Ozer, S., P. Bertelsen, R. Singla, and S. J. Schwartz. 2017. "Grab your culture and walk with the global": Ladakhi students' negotiation of cultural identity in the context of globalization-based acculturation. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 48:294-318. Interview study based in India finds that Ladakhi young adults who move to the urban center of Delhi endorse three cultural streams: local Ladakhi, national Indian, and global Western. Findings point to the complexity and ambiguity of negotiating local and global cultural streams.

Natural Environment and Climate Change

Even as climate change has proceeded at rapid pace, research on moral reasoning and development in regard to this topic is sparse. Matsuba et al. 2020 provide a rare and forward-looking overview of available findings. They classify reasoning, emotions, and behaviors on this topic as prosocial-moral because considerations pertaining to the preservation of the natural environment transcend narrow self-interest. They involve looking to broader considerations both in the here and now as well as for future generations. Nonetheless, moral reasoning pertaining to the preservation of the natural environment may take many forms, including reasoning in terms of Ethics of Autonomy, Community, and Divinity (see *Cultural and Universal Factors). As Flanagan et al. 2020 point out, such reasoning at least in part depends on cultural and socio-economic factors. Some North American indigenous communities, for example, identify in personal and collective ways with nature. Meanwhile, some communities are also more affected by environmental changes and threats than others, with communities with fewer economic resources typically most affected (Gallay et al. 2016). Research suggests that while everyone from early on has the capacity to differentiate among natural phenomena, concern with preservation of nature involves both reasoning and emotions (Krettenauer 2017), and behaviors aimed at such preservation may additionally require personal identification and generativity (Alisat et al. 2014, Wray-Lake et al. 2016, Zaval et al. 2015).

Alisat, S., J. E. Norris, M. W. Pratt, M. K. Matsuba, and D. P. McAdams. (2014). Caring for the earth: Generativity as a mediator for the prediction of environmental narratives from identity among activists and nonactivists. *Identity* 14:177-194.

A rare mixed-method study comparing environmental activists and nonactivists (aged 17 to 59 years) on self-report measures and narratives pertaining to the environment. Both an environmental identity and generativity distinguished the activists.

Flanagan, C., B. J. Dower, Mo. Smallwood, E. Galloway, A. Pykett, and C. Skye. 2020. The environmental commons: Collective moral actions and policies. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 765-782. New York: Oxford University Press.

The authors propose environmental commons theory as a new approach to environmental issues. The focus is on collective moral actions, even as individuals and groups vary on their understandings of nature, moral reasoning, and resources and economic interest.

Galloway, E., J. Lupinacci, C. Sarmiento, C. Flanagan, and E. Lowenstein. 2016. Youth environmental stewardship and activism for the environmental commons. In *Contemporary youth activism: Advancing social justice in the United States*. Edited by J. Conner and S. Rosen, 113-134. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO Praeger Publishing.

An in-depth account of youth organizing activities in Detroit pertaining to political decisions to locate large trash incinerators in low-SES communities where asthma rates are already high. The authors argue for the importance of youth involvement in environmental issues which affect their future lives.

Krettenauer, T. 2017. Pro-environmental behavior and adolescent moral development. *Journal of Research on Adolescence* 27:581-593.

An intriguing study that suggests that even as youth should have a vested interest in the future of environmental preservation, older adolescents engage in less in pro-environmental behaviors such as energy conservation and recycling as compared to early and middle adolescence. The study was conducted in Canada.

Matsuba, M. K., T. Krettenauer, and M. W. Pratt. 2020. The development of pro-environmentalism in context. In *The Oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Edited by L. A. Jensen, 419-439. New York: Oxford University Press.

A rare overview of research on the development of pro-environmentalism. The chapter surveys a large number of studies taking into account moral reasoning, emotions, identity, and actions, as well as giving consideration to context and culture.

Wray-Lake, L., A. K. Syvertsen, and C. A. Flanagan. 2016. Developmental change in social responsibility during adolescence: An ecological perspective. *Developmental Psychology* 52:130-142.

A 3-year longitudinal study of American adolescents found a decline in social responsibility values from age 9 to 16 and a leveling off in later adolescence. The authors discuss how declines in ecological assets may partly explain age-related declines in social responsibility values.

Zaval, L., E. M. Markowitz, and E. U. Weber. 2015. How will I be remembered? Conserving the environment for the sake of one's legacy. *Psychological Science* 26: 231-236.

The authors highlight that psychological barriers to pro-environmental action involve long time horizons and social distance. In two studies, the authors found that motivations to leave a positive legacy increase engagement with climate change and environmental problems, and they suggest that such motivations be leveraged to overcome the psychological barriers.