

Moral Education in the context of three-generation Swiss families
A test of the Double Team Theory

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Abstract:

How are values transmitted across multiple generations? What are the similarities and differences in the way that grandparents and parents influence moral development? This paper reports results of the first test of a Double Team theory of moral education practices in multi-generation families. A multi-faceted, multi-perspective questionnaire was developed and administered to an initial sample of 45 children, adolescents and adults in 15 intact three-generation Swiss families. Among the most important findings are that parents and grandparents are more alike in their moral education practices than expected. Most respondents see their family moral education practices as democratic, while the children see grandparents as either permissive or traditional and they see the “democratic” moral education practices of their parents as “permissive.” Further, there is substantial continuity of values across the three generations. The relative stability of values across generations and the high endorsement of democratic parenting are particularly consistent with the relatively conservative rate of social change that characterizes Swiss participatory democracy. Questions are raised about cohort and culture effects, as well as the size and bias of the initial sample. Research on a wider range of families is needed to help understand the effect of family moral education practices not only on child development, but also on changing communities.

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Introduction

How do grandparents and parents differ in the ways that they (try to) influence the moral development and character education of, respectively, their grandchildren/children? Increasing attention has been paid to the influence of social networks including intergenerational relations on attachment (Lewis 2005) (Antonucci 2001) as well as on social, intellectual, and psychological development and well-being (Allen, McElhaney et al. 2003; Amato 2005) across different cultures (Wu, 2002; Nauck, 1997). Levitt for example found that while having multiple close personal relationships has an overall positive effect on children's social adaptation, considering grandparents to be in one's "inner circle" is the only close personal relationships that has a consistent, positive additive effect on adaptation across cultures and genders (Levitt 2005). Unfortunately, as noted recently by Lewis (Lewis 2005) among others, very little research examines the role of grandparents in the moral or character development of their grandchildren? Although increasing attention has been paid to the intergenerational transmission of problem behavior across multiple generations (Capaldi, Conger et al. 2003) and there is increasing illuminating research on moral education practices in families (cf(Berkowitz and Grych 1998) Walker, 1999 (Walker 1999)#390)(Allen, Weissberg et al. 1989) in particular) we have found almost no research that examines the process of moral education between grandparents and grandchildren, and none that compares the moral education practices of grandparents and parents within families (Nunner-Winkler 2000). The Fribourg Intergeneration Value-transmission Inventory (German: Freiburger Intergenerationelles Werteübermittlungsinventar: *FIWI*) was designed to measure and compare the ways that parents and grandparents as members of the child's social network influence the character development of their offspring. We have taken the unusual step of publishing early results because the question of the role of grandparents in the social adaptation and/or character development of their grandchildren has been long called for (cf. (Krappmann 1997) and little examined.

Double Teaming: A conceptual model of multigenerational value transmission.

Moral education practices in families powerfully influence the moral and character development of children (Maccoby 1983; Berkowitz, Giese et al. 1995; Allen, Hauser et al. 1996; Goodnow 1997; Chase-Lansdale, Gordon et al. 1999; Walker 1999; Kreppner 2000; Kruse 2000; Bandura, Caprara et al. 2001; Knafo 2003). From research on moral discussion in families we have learned that the amount, quality and openness of discussion, and the attachment between parents and children influences the development of mature moral judgment (Allen et al. 1989; Berkowitz 1995; Allen et al. 1996; Marsh 2003). From research on parenting practices we have learned that in western countries, when children have secure, warm and supportive relationships with parents they are more likely to develop values similar to those of the parents (Knafo 2003; Cowan 2004). In western countries as well as in China, monitoring behavior

and providing clear expectations are also important. Grandparents, too, affect the moral and character development of their grandchildren, directly as well as indirectly through their relationship with their own children (Petzold 1992; Hetherington 2003). The quality of communication and the quality of the relationship are each said to influence the likelihood that children ---including adult children--- will understand and appreciate the values and expectations of their own parents throughout the lifespan (Berkowitz et al. 1995; Rohan 1996). (Aldous; Bengtson and Harootyan 1994; Mueller 2003) (Robertson 1977); (Lüscher 1989, 1998) . That being said, we often observe that parents and grandparents take different approaches to the moral education of the same child. A grandparent may allow a child more candy or a later bed time than parents. Alternately, grandparents may be less tolerant of unkempt bedrooms or unfinished homework. We reasoned that complementary approaches to family moral education would be adaptive for children and adolescents (see Lewis, 2005 for an in depth discussion of complementary vs. summative effects of multiple attachment figures or of social networks). For example, an adolescent could exercise moral autonomy (e.g. rebel against strict parental norms) and at the same time, retain the moral guidance of grandparents as a bridge to the larger culture/society. Alternately, grandparents could serve as secondary boundary-holders in cases where youth trespass weaker parental norms. This investigation is a first effort to begin to assess, describe and compare the family moral education practices of parents and grandparents. The Double Team theory proposes that the family moral education practices of parents and grandparents are complementary, and that taken together, they provide a mechanism that predicts the relative strength of multi-generation value concordance.

Family Moral Education Practices

Family moral education practices, for purposes of this research, refer to the ways that parents and grandparents attempt to influence the values, character development, social and moral behavior of their offspring. Moral education is said to occur through two processes that can be broadly classified as transmission and transaction. Transmission occurs through doing activities together that provide opportunities for role-modelling (Bandura 1991) (Maccoby 1983) for moral exemplars and for direct instruction. Transaction occurs through discussing moral issues (Blakeney and Blakeney 1990) (Gibbs 1996; Berkowitz et al. 1998); (Kohlberg 1984; Oser 1992).. Obviously the two processes are not mutually exclusive.

Family moral education practices differ from moral education in formal (e.g. classroom settings) because of the presumed long-term attachment to family members. Family moral education practices refer explicitly to the efforts of older family members (and perhaps other attachment figures) to influence the moral and character development of their offspring. In this sense, the German language research on Erziehungsstile (Education styles) is more self-conscious in its moral function (Perrez 1980; Petzold 1992). Erziehungsstil refers to the "educational" style of parents in their efforts to rear children for responsible membership in adult society. This research thus differentiates a) the transfer of technical or practical knowledge (e.g. how to fix a broken bicycle); and b) the transfer of emotional attachment (e.g. a sense of security and self-worth) from c) the development of social and moral values (decency, a sense of justice, personal integrity, work ethic).

Hypotheses

The Double Team model of multi-generational family moral education posits that the quality of relationship within the inner circle of the social network (warmth,

security, conflict, relative amount of time spent together) is a field through which children develop values by (1) doing activities together (e.g. cooking, gardening, playing games, walking in the woods;) in which values are indirectly observed, tested, and adopted, modified or rejected (i.e. a field through which values are transmitted) and (2) discussing value-laden issues (day to day activities, social behavior, news events, school work, moral, political and social issues) in a way that provides opportunities for value transaction (exchange of ideas, listening, questioning, conflict, agreement, learning, change and growth). Therefore we examine two modes of family moral education: transmission and transaction (Flor 2001) across two generations.

The relation between moral education and parenting

Parenting practices/Erziehungsstil refer to the quality of relationship and communication that characterize value guidance in family settings (Baumrind 1989); (Smetana 2002). It refers to the transaction between parents and children through which children develop morally, as well as technically, socio-emotionally and intellectually (Kruse 2000). In the German-language research Erziehungsstil refers to the way that adults teach manners and “proper” behavior (Perrez 1980). Like its Latin counterpart, *educare*, to draw out, Erziehen refers to the way that parents and other significant adults draw out, or bring up children. In this sense grandparents and parents both play an Erziehen (i.e. moral education) role in the social network of their offspring when opportunities for moral education arise.

Much of the research on what we call family moral education practices (FMPE) is based on the seminal work of Baumrind (Baumrind 1971) who identified the critical dimensions of “parenting”, at least in the North American context, as acceptance, behavioral control and democratic communication (Avenevoli 1999), (Kreppner 2000)). From these dimensions four patterns commonly emerge that vary by the degree to which parents accept, set limits, and discuss behavior with their children. The three most commonly identified parenting/Erziehungsstil are called: (a) authoritative, (b) authoritarian and (c) permissive (cf. (Varela 2004)). Democratic moral education practices (Oser 2001; Selman 2003) that emphasize discussion and transaction are consistent with authoritative “parenting/Erziehungsstil”. Traditional boundary setting, often associated with authoritarian parenting practices in North American research samples, is consistent with values transmission (exemplars) approaches (Smetana 2002; Hasebe 2004). Permissiveness is consistent with the absence of clear expectations in the presence of high levels of warmth or responsiveness (Rohan 1996). Recent research suggests that there is relative stability across generations within a given culture in value-related family moral education practices. Wu, et.al. (Wu 2005) found, for example, that obedience, shame, humility and hierarchically-oriented family moral education practices that originally derived from Confucianism continue to influence parenting practices in modern China (2004). Yet there is virtually no empirical evidence to describe the process of moral education across generations within families. The following model (see figure 1) presents a conceptual schema of our predictions about multi-generational moral education practices

Based on a solid body of past research, we expect that (1) parent child relationships (G1-G2; G2-G3) will be characterized by both closeness and conflict (Bengtson et al. 1994; Allen et al. 2003), while some scant research suggests that (Aldous 1985; Ranst 1995) grandparent – grandchild relationships (G1 –G3) will be characterized by greater warmth and less conflict. (2) G1 will report greater opportunities for value transmission than value transaction, as compared with G2-G3 dyads. (3) G2 will report

higher levels of democratic moral education practices, while G1 will endorse more traditional and more permissive moral education practices.

A more detailed description of the theoretical basis for the Double Team Theory is available in another report (Oser 2005; Blakeney in preparation).

Method

Participants

Participants (N = 45) were a convenience sample of 15 three generation intact families in Switzerland, recruited through word-of-mouth in the German-speaking part of Switzerland. Eligibility criteria were that the family included at least one child between the ages of 9 and 16; two parents living together, and at least one grandparent who lived within 50 km., with whom the target child had regular (at least several times per year) contact. Grandparents could not live in the same household or provide daily care for the target child. Sample included 15 grandparents (G1) who ranged in age from 60 to 91, ave. = 73), about two thirds were grandmothers. Parents (G2) ranged in age from 36 to 50, (ave. = 43), three quarters were mothers. Children (G3) ranged in age from 9-16, ave. = 12.6, 25% boys.

Procedures and measures

A first prototype version of the FIWI was administered to each family member individually. As this was a pilot study, participants were given the option to fill out the questionnaire themselves, in written form, or to respond to the questions orally, and have their responses written by a trained member of the research staff at the University of Fribourg, Department of Education. Three families chose the written form.

Structure of the FIWI. The FIWI consists of four major sections. Section I collects information about the independent variables: demographics (e.g. age, gender, geographic distance from the corresponding generation (s), and for the grandparents (G1) and parents (G2) profession, education, and so on. It also asks about the quality of the relationship between generations (e.g. closeness, warmth, conflict) and lessons learned on hindsight. Section II assesses how often each generation engages in various kinds of activities with the other generation. Section III, the heart of the FIWI, presents a series of situations in which there is an opportunity for moral education (OME) (described below). Section III also includes questions about family atmosphere in general, taken from the FUM (Familie Umwelt Skala) (Moos 1974; Schneewind 1985). Section IV surveys values and virtues that each generation finds important for themselves, and --- in the case of adults --- for their children/grandchildren. The structure of our predictions for this research is presented in the following diagram (Fig. 2).

Insert Figure 2 about here

Measuring Contexts for moral education. Activities are measured by asking each generation how often they participate with each respective "other" in a range of activities including playing, eating, going on outings, helping each other and so on. Responses are measured on a 4 point likert scale (e.g. daily, weekly, monthly, several times a year).

Resulting scales and reliability. Factor analysis yielded the following activity scales: Transaction, Learning while doing, Family learning, and Cultural learning. The

following table lists the items in each scale, and their Cronbach Alpha levels. Of particular note is that two scales are composed of high levels of transaction, which, for purposes of our model, we label TACT, while the other two approaches are higher on activities than on discussion, and thus provide better opportunities for value transmission than value transaction. They are labelled TMIT.

Insert Table 2 about here

Assessing Moral Education Practices

Opportunities for Moral Education. The double team theory posits the family moral education practices of grandparents as a secondary field through which values are strengthened and connected to culture (see Figure 1, above). Thus grandparents mediate between intergenerational value concordance and social change. Our first step in testing this notion is comparing moral education practices across generations, controlling for cohort and family structure. Therefore, we created a series of situations that offer opportunities for moral education taken from common experiences reported to members of the research team in the early phases of the study. The OME asks how G1 or G2 would respond to a particular challenge: e.g. playing computer games before doing homework; stealing from a store. Adult respondents are also asked to give their reasons for the response they choose in each situation. Children are asked how they think G1 and also G2 would respond, as described above. We calculate FMEP score by summing weighted responses to each given OME (see formula below). Following the research of Nucci and others (Nucci 2001; Smetana 2002) we provided situations that we classified as conventional (e.g. choice of clothing); moral (e.g. stealing from a store; responsibility for a pet); cultivation of particular cultural norms/virtues (e.g. work habits); adolescent sexual behavior; friendships; and behavior in the so-called grey zone (e.g. riding the tram without buying a ticket). Follow-up questions ask the parents and grandparents how they would react to each situation. For purposes of the pilot study, half the OMEs provided forced-choice answers and half provided the opportunity for open-ended responses. From the open-ended responses, we developed forced-multiple-choice responses for the main study. Computer game vs. homework, for example, is an issue around which responsible care-takers can respond in different ways. In Swiss culture, work before play is a conventional cultural norm. It thus allows us to test three questions central to our research: How much continuity is there from one generation to the next in this convention? Is there a difference between G1 with respect to G3, versus G2 in relation to G3? How accurately do young people perceive the expectations of, respectively, their parents and their grandparents?

For purposes of the analysis of FMEP from OME data we provide action choices for each OME that include (at least) a) Allow the behavior (or don't punish it); b) Forbid the behavior (or punish it); c) Discuss the options with the child and find a solution together; or d) Let the child make her/his own decisions. Here, for example, are the choices offered in a question about adolescent sexuality. The question is whether parents should permit their 15 year old son to spend the week-end in a ski-hut in the mountains with his 14 year old girlfriend. Using a four point Likert scale, we asked participants how likely they were to respond in each of the following ways:

- A. Give him permission to go.
- B. Talk about potential consequences of sex.
- C. Just say no.
- D. Let him make his own decision.
- E. Negotiate a solution together.

We expect to find combinations of responses that vary by domain as well as by cohort & gender of G1 and G2, as well as age and gender of G3.

Comparing FMEP across moral, conventional and personal issues. The FIWI includes a scale modified from the Parental Authority Index (PAI) of Nucci ((Hasebe 2004)) and Heidrich & Rohr's similar German-language measure ((Heidrich 1999)) which asks members of each generation to rate particular statements as to who should make a given decision (e.g. what music the child listens to at home): parent, child, or parent and child together. The PAI examines three things: (1) the extent to which certain behaviors are seen as moral, conventional or personal; (2) the extent of interpersonal concordance or discordance on same; and (3) the degree of autonomy granted by parents to children, or endorsed by grandparents and young people.

Taking these measures together: we classify FMEP based on the identified dimensions of Baumrind (Baumrind 1971) and their extensions in more recent work (Lamborn 1991; Avenevoli 1999; Smetana 2002) as described above. We propose the following formula for classification into FMEP categories:

$$\frac{OME_N * [(D (+/-) + T (+/-) + P (+/-))] * A (+/-)}{PAI [Mor - (Con + Pers)]}$$

Where OME_N equals the weighted number of each OME response, multiplied by the number of each such weighted responses; and D, T, P +/- represent, respectively, high or low democracy, traditional boundaries, and permissiveness; and A represents level of self-rated attachment. This whole is divided by the relative percentage of moral (as contrasted with conventional and personal) responses signified as the province of parents. Thus, democratic discussion could be variably connected to traditional or permissive action choices, and associated with varying levels of attachment. Further, the moral obligation of parents to children is accounted for, when, for example, a grandparent rates "lying to a teacher" as the province of the parents to decide, it is scored as "moral" for purposes of this formula. Finally, FMEP across situations, divided by the relative weighting of situations as moral in contrast to conventional or personal, yields a numeric categorical variable.

Value Continuity and Change

Value clusters were initially derived by examining items from a 7 item "Domains of Life" measure, modified from the international Value of Children Scale (Tromsdorff 2001) and a list of 8 guiding values, which chunked items used on several standard Value-assessment measures (Rokeach 1989; Knafo 2003) that are common across several European philosophic traditions. Domains of life include items like family, friendship and profession. Guiding values include items like justice and compassion. Cluster analysis yielded three clusters across the 3 generations: Interpersonal happiness, Social engagement, Autonomous Democratic.

Results

Family Moral Educational Practices

On average, G1 and G2 were equally likely to engage in discussion about moral issues with G3

Parents. Across 9 OME vignettes 65% of parents (G2) favored democratic (negotiated) solutions. Parents were only more permissive than democratic with respect to clothing choice (Democratic = .36; permissive = .63); and parents were only

more traditional than democratic or permissive when it came to marrying a “foreigner” (Democratic = .36, Traditional = .55). On other OME situations parents were highly likely to choose discussion as their moral education practice of choice. On stealing = .85 chose discussion over punishment; .79 chose discussion over permitting or forbidding early sex, etc.

Grandparents. By comparison, across the 9 OME vignettes, 42% of grandparents favored democratic (negotiated) solutions. Contrary to our original hypothesis, however, 50% of the grandparents favored traditional solutions across OME situations.

Thus, our hypothesis that parents and grandparents would favor different moral education practices was supported, while our specific hypothesis that parents would set traditional limits while grandparents would be more permissive was not confirmed. On the contrary, grandparents tended more frequently to tow the traditional line on issues that parents considered negotiable. (see Table 3 below).

Insert Table 3 about here

Activities as a field for moral education.

With respect to the type of activities the generational network members engaged in, parents and children engaged in any given activities at least 4 times as often as grandparents and grandchildren, with day to day activities such as eating together having the highest differences and special activities such as vacations having the lowest differences. Surprisingly, however, the transaction scales (how often the two generations talked together) were much closer between the two dyads than were the transmission scales. Few Swiss grandparents in this sample went with their grandchildren to movies, museums, sports or even school exhibitions. Fewer than 30% reported ever playing with their grandchildren, helping them with homework, or doing household activities like cooking, gardening, etc. together; whereas nearly all parents reported participating in such activities with their children regularly. On the other hand 65 % of grandparents reported discussing personal, family, social and political issues with their grandchildren, as well as telling their grandchildren about their own experiences at least several times per month.

Children have value conflicts with their parents and value agreement with their grandparents In order to determine the relative rate of intergenerational value concordance we performed multiple paired sample t tests for independent samples (Field 2005). With respect to areas of value concordance and discordance, 37% of the time grandparents (G1) and grandchildren (G3) were concordant with each other, and discordant with G2. However 37% of the time G2 and G3 held similar values, while the grandparents rated the value as significantly less important. Further, for 27% of the values, G2 ranked the value midway between G1 and G3. Thus, value concordance was not significantly different between generation pairs.

Children and youth misunderstand grandparents and parents' moral education practices. Children believe their parents to be much more open than their parents believe themselves to be. Children consistently see their elders as more permissive than elders see themselves. Figure 3 (below) shows the relationship among G1, G2, and G3 with respect to traditional, permissive and democratic moral education practices with respect to work habits and clothing choice

Discussion

In this project we explored three sets of related hypotheses about the nature of multi-generational moral education practices. Grandparents and grandchildren were nearly as likely to have open discussions about political, moral, religious, social and

behavioral issues as were parents and children, although the parents in this sample were at least four times more likely than the grandparents to interact with their children in work, play and cultural settings. Parents and grandparents were more likely to agree with each other, except about dress codes, than either generation was to agree with youth. There was substantial agreement on values across three generations in this Swiss sample; and there was substantial agreement on moral education practices, in that both parents and grandparents highly valued practices of moral discussion, although the grandparents reported that this was not the case when they were parenting their own children. Perhaps the most provocative result of this preliminary test of the Double Team theory is that children and adolescents are likely to misunderstand their parents as well as their grandparents. Young people see their parents and grandparents very differently from how parents and grandparents see themselves. Young people tend to see grandparents as either more permissive or more traditional, depending on the issue, while they see their parents' democratic moral education practices as permissive.

Parents are more traditional with respect to work and love than to all other situations examined. Although 50% would negotiate a solution to the request to play computer games before homework, 43% said "Homework first." And when it came to an 18 year old daughter getting seriously involved with a 47 year old man, 86% of parents said they would forbid it. The apparently permissive reasoning of parents is interesting theoretically and culturally. For example 64% of parents would permit their 13 year old daughter to go to a disco in a sexy outfit because, as one respondent put it, "although parents can share their concerns, young people have to learn from their own experience." The same argument was used for sex with a peer, but not for stealing or homework, caring for a pet, or even wearing a bomber jacket favored by a right wing extremist group. The range of responses and reasoning may present a more clear pattern in the main study, but for the moment, the pattern of FMEP among the parents seems on the one hand, consistent with the democratic moral education practices favored by the general cohort of parents raised in the 60s, and on the other hand the issues on which they are permissive and authoritarian are consistent with Swiss conventional norms, as contrasted with results reported in American, German, and Japanese samples (Littmann 1970; Perrez 1980; Lamborn 1991; Smetana 2002; Hasebe 2004).

This raises questions about the meaning of intergenerational perspective differences which we hope to illuminate in research currently underway. One possible explanation is that the parents are themselves ambivalent, a pivot generation, caught between the values they learned from their parents, and the values they want to transfer to their children. Alternately, the perspective of G3 could be inaccurate (e.g. wishful thinking, or developmental misunderstandings); and/or the self-report of G3 and G2 could represent how they want to be, rather than how they actually behave. The latter hypothesis gains some support when we note that G3 think their parents are permissive when the parents report that they are "democratic."

The preliminary findings are encouraging in that the FIWI enables the testing of both process and content of moral education practices across three generations. The provocative findings that the grandparents view themselves as having become less authoritarian over time and that young people and their elders make different sense of perceived parenting practices underscore the need for further research.

Limitations and implications of the current study. The current sample limits the implications of the findings because of the small sample homogenous sample, that is, only intact three generation families were included, and thus families who are estranged between generations or those with particularly rebellious or distanced adolescents are unlikely to have enrolled. Further, the particular nature of Swiss society may have implications for the relatively high rate of democratic moral education practices across generations. Is the relative stability of Swiss society reflective of and reflected in the relative continuity in values across three generations? Is the long history of democracy and neutrality in Switzerland reflected in and reflective of democratic moral education practices? Might other societies and cultures be more compatible with other moral education practices in terms of continuity of values across generations? For instance, in cultures and societies that are more traditionally hierarchical or permissive more likely to utilize those compatible moral education strategies, especially in relation to value continuity as an outcome? The limited nature of this sample raises the need for cross cultural, cross cohort and cross-family-status research. Further, sample size limited the number of analyses that could be performed to compare VC with FMEP, therefore only general findings are reported here.

The importance of the current research: The FIWI is designed to examine moral education processes associated with intergenerational value continuity and change across three generations. This question is important for several reasons. First, the FIWI allows us to examine mechanisms of value change and value continuity in relation to changes that occur across multiple generations in particular families. It thus has the possibility to inform local and federal planning for maintaining societal integrity. It allows for the differentiation of core values from peripheral or superficial mores. Societal integrity, here, refers to the ability of a given system to adapt to changes internally and externally without either corrupting its core values, or becoming rigid (Blakeney 2005). In other words, which are the values that manifest themselves in the process of value transmission (e.g. democratic vs. hierarchical moral education practices). Maintaining the integrity of a given society demands (at least) a Double Team within the context of a social network to enable the transmission and transformation of core values to adapt to changes and nevertheless be true to itself. On the individual level, understanding the role of multiple generations on the character development of youth helps us to understand how to better influence moral development. For example, how might the role of grandparents be better utilized in helping troubled youth? Working with youth in day care and after school programs? Buffering the adaptation of immigrant families without indigenous grandparents? On the family level, understanding the interactions between generations can ease the burden of each generation in a time of changing family structures. For example, the most common day care arrangement for mothers who work outside the home in Switzerland is "grandmother." Nevertheless, half the grandparents interviewed said that it isn't "their business" to interfere or impose their values on their grandchildren. Further, 30% of primary school children in Switzerland are immigrants, who are less likely to have grandparents nearby. An open discussion within families about intergenerational educating expectations would likely benefit all concerned. Finally, on the macro level an awareness of how families transfer values between generations will inform our understanding and expectations of socio-cultural change. For example, if values within families change less than the popular media suggests, it would be important to understand the source of that continuity. Alternately, if there are specific areas where there is considerable change, while in other areas there is less change, it

would also be important to know. We also expect to be able to determine trends over longer periods of time, for example, if sexual mores are increasingly permissive, or if permissiveness peaked in a particular cohort or generation, and is returning to a more traditional orientation.

Suggestions for further research

Further research on Double Teaming should focus on cultural and national similarities and differences in moral education practices as they relate both to the espoused values themselves, as well as to value continuity and change. Are certain moral education practices more conducive to value continuity regardless of the content or nature of the values that are maintained across generations? It is also important to compare children who have relationships with grandparents to those who have less contact with their grandparents, including immigrant families --- although doing so involves a number of variables that are difficult to isolate (e.g. relative value or closeness of family ties). In this sample, grandparents spanned cohorts from those reared before World War II to those reared in the 60s. Further research currently underway explores the effect of cohort on both FMEP and values. Having a more clear understanding of the important and understudied role of grandparents in the moral education of the grandchildren will provide direction for more systematic involvement of grandparents in family based interventions. Finally, it is hoped that by sharing the FIWI and our preliminary findings at this early stage of the research, others will consider the important educational role of grandparents in designing research as well as for youth development programs and interventions.

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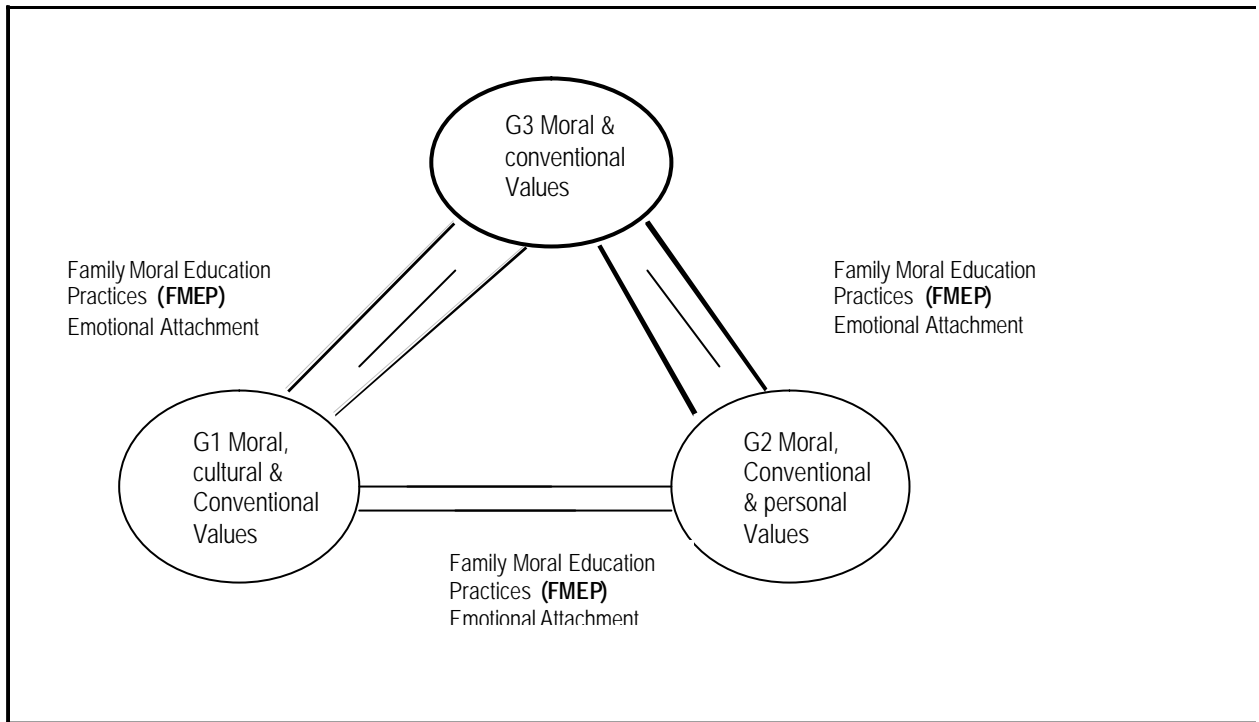
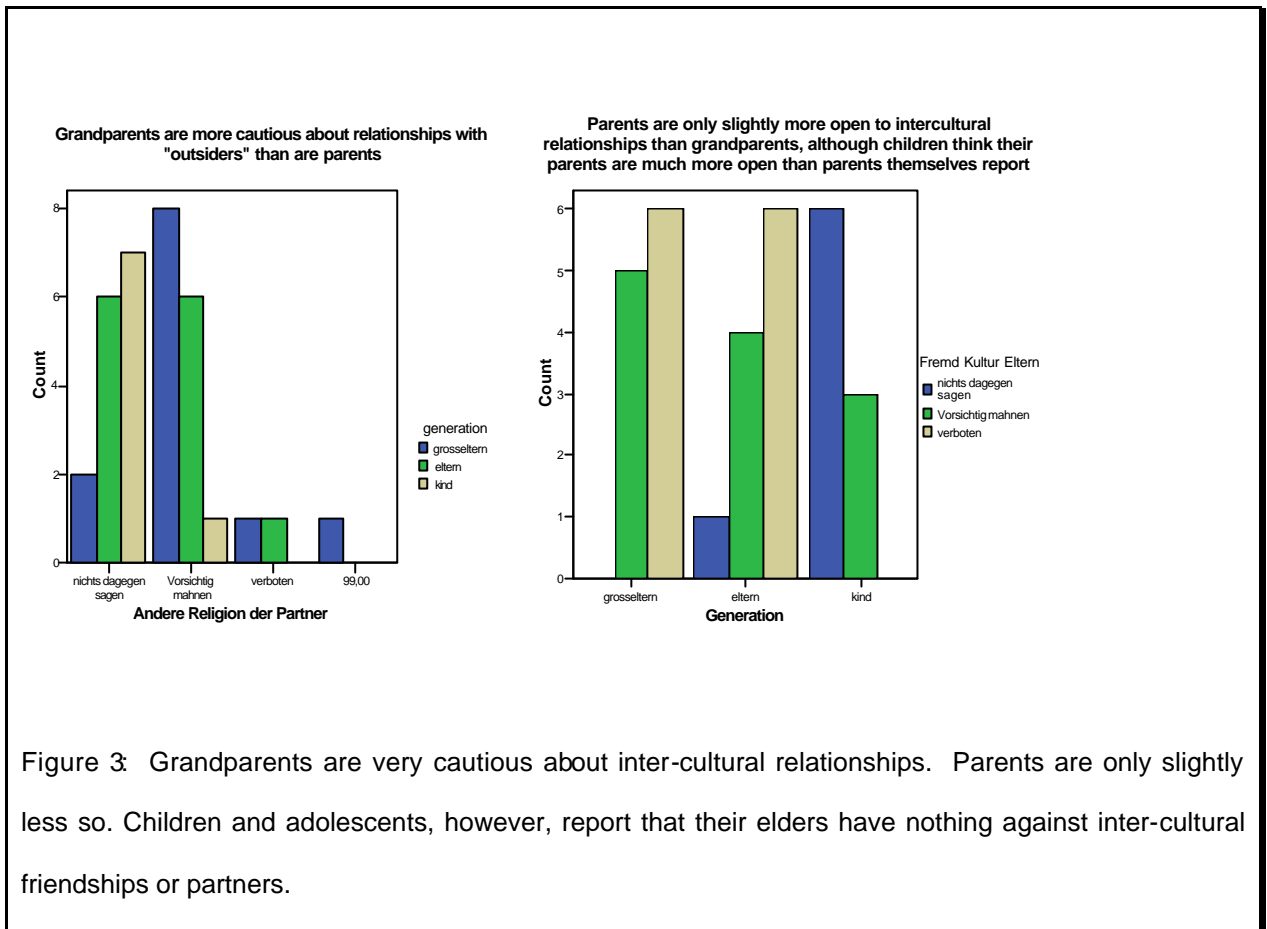


Figure 1: Double Team Process: Moral and conventional values of G3 reflect the moral education and attachment practices of both (G1) & (G2). The model posits both direct and indirect influences of G3. Further, G1 stands as proxy for situated normative cultural values, as mediated through the family.



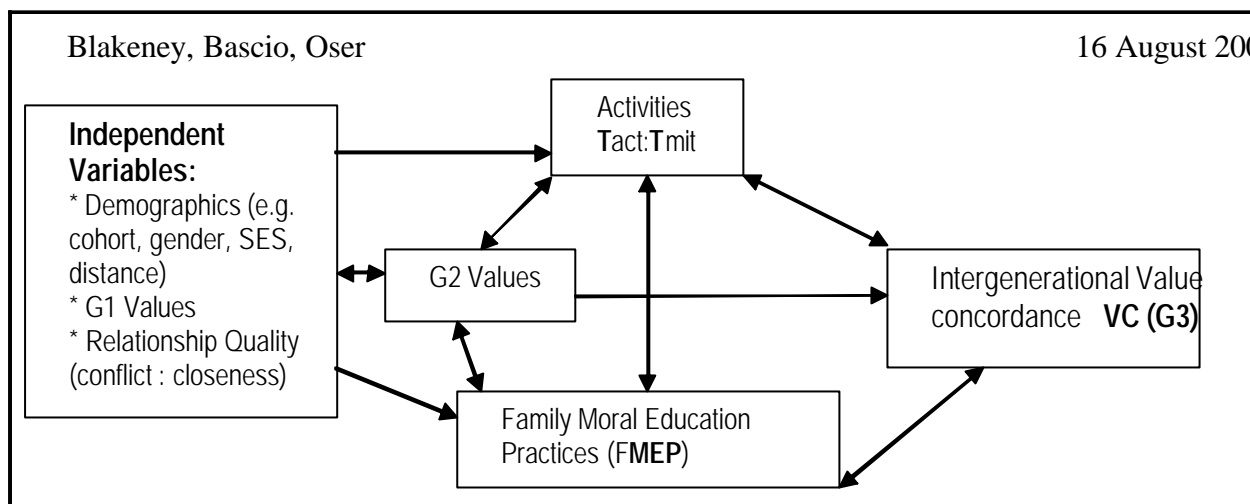


Figure 2: A conceptual model of how the Double Team Theory predicts intergenerational value continuity relative to value change. Here Activities, Family Moral Education Practices, and Values of both prior generations interact to promote value concordance outcome in G3

Table 1: Activities provide opportunities for transmission and transaction around values

Scale	Items	Alpha level
ACTIVITIES		
Transaction (TACT)		.735
	Moral, social, political discussion	
	Listening to problems	
	Religious discussion	
Learning while doing (TMIT)		.878
	Cooking, gardening, helping around the house	
	Doing sports, playing games	
	Discussing things G3 or others do, that are good or bad	
	Telling stories	
	Listening to problems	
Family learning (TMIT)		.811
	Listening to problems	
	Discussing things G3 or others do, that are good or bad	
	Helping child with homework	
	Excursions	
	Watching TV	
Cultural learning (TACT)		.791
	Discussing things G3 or others do, that are good or bad	
	Moral, social, political discussion	
	Movies, theater, museums	
	Library book store	
	Exhibits (including the children's)	
	Excursions	

	Permissive		Traditional		Democratic	
	G1	G2	G1	G2	G1	G2
Stealing	0	0	.64	.14	.36	.85
Work	.14	0	.50	.46	.36	.54
Clothing	0	.64	.38	0	.62	.36
Out-marriage	0	.09	.55	.55	.45	.36

Table 2: Moral Education practices vary by situation as well as by generation