

The Development of Korean Children's and Adolescents' Concepts of Social Convention

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Abstract

Previous research in the United States has revealed that children's and adolescents' understandings of social convention go through a developmental trajectory that includes an early adolescent phase "negating" the importance of convention. This study examined whether this developmental pattern would generalize to children and adolescents from the more traditional East Asian culture of Korea. Specifically, among U.S. samples, children in middle childhood have an understanding of conventions based on a concrete understanding of social hierarchy; early adolescents "negate" their prior understandings and view conventions as "merely" the dictates of authority; and in middle adolescence, U.S. samples establish an affirmation of convention as constituent elements of a social system structured by shared norms. Our hypotheses were that Korean children would not exhibit the negation phase associated with early adolescence and might develop an understanding of the societal function of convention earlier than U.S. samples. To examine this, interviews were conducted using culturally appropriate situations with 64 Korean children and adolescents in three age groups of 10 to 11 years ($M_{\text{age}} = 10.1$ years), 12 to 13 years ($M_{\text{age}} = 13.2$ years), and 15 to 16 years ($M_{\text{age}} = 15.8$ years). Findings revealed that, contrary to our expectations, Korean children go through the same developmental sequence of concepts about convention as observed with children in the United States. This implies that the developmental trajectories of understandings of the functions of social convention can be generalized to children in traditional East Asian cultural settings.

Keywords

social convention, Korean children, social domain theory

Research on the development of social reasoning has found that children across a broad range of cultures differentiate between the conventions of society and moral concerns having to do with human welfare, justice, and rights (Smetana, Jambon, & Ball, 2014; Turiel, 1983, 2002). Much less attention, however, has been given to the potential impact of culture upon development within each of these conceptual frameworks. The focus of the present research was on the

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development of Korean children's and adolescents' understandings of the functions of social conventions as constituent elements of societies as rule-governed systems (Searle, 1969; Turiel, 1983). Social conventions, such as dress codes and forms of address, are by definition particular to the social context in which a given convention or norm has validity. Thus, unlike the task of constructing a set of understandings about presumed moral universals of fairness, children's and adolescents' understandings of the purposes of convention emerge out of their efforts to make sense of the functional significance of norms and values which are particular to their own cultural milieu (Smetana et al., 2014; Turiel, 2002). In addition, the importance of conventional norms as a whole appears to vary across cultures. Several studies (Haidt, Koller, & Dias, 1993; Nisan, 1987; Nucci, Camino, & Sapiro, 1993) have reported that children and adolescents in more traditional societies are less willing to accept alteration or removal of existing social conventions than are children and adolescents growing up in Western cultural settings. These types of findings have led some cultural psychologists to propose that adherence to convention reflects a strong focus on respect for authority and desire for "community" in traditional societies (Haidt, 2012; Jensen, 2011; Shweder, Mahapatra, & Miller, 1987).

In the present study, we examined the age-related shifts in conceptions of the functions of societal conventions among children and adolescents in Asia, particularly in South Korea. Previous research with American children has reported that understandings of the functions of social convention oscillate within a total of seven levels, in which individuals initially affirm the importance of convention and subsequently progress to reevaluate the role of conventions (Turiel, 1983). In this study, our focus was upon three of these seven levels associated with shifts in understandings about convention from middle childhood to adolescence as these three levels are the ones that have received the most research attention (Nucci, Becker, & Horn, 2004; Nucci, Creane, & Powers, 2015; Nucci & Weber, 1991; Turiel, 1983). As reported in this prior research, Level 3 emerges in middle childhood and marks a period in which convention is affirmed on the basis of a concrete understanding of social hierarchy and social order. In early adolescence, children enter Level 4 where they "negate" their prior understandings and tend to view conventions as having little social utility or importance and thus regard social conventions as "merely" the dictates of authority. This view is replaced in middle adolescence with an affirmation of convention as constituent elements of a social system structured by shared norms (Level 5; Nucci, 2009; Turiel, 1983). Achievement of this Level 5 understanding that societies are normative systems marks the first time that children can be said to genuinely understand what is meant by the concept of "society." Within the United States, the oscillating pattern in concepts of convention has been associated with periods of misbehavior in middle school children at Level 4, followed by a decrease in violations of classroom conventions at Level 5 (Geiger & Turiel, 1983; Nucci, 2009). That is, children appear to "regress" as they enter early adolescence, followed by more complex integrations and improved performance in middle adolescence. Thus, development within the conventional domain appears to conform to a fluctuation rather than to a gradual incremental pattern.

An open question is whether this oscillating pattern from middle childhood to middle adolescence holds only for members of Western contemporary society, where the importance of convention is often downplayed in comparison with individual autonomy and freedom of expression. Indeed, within the American cultural context, being "conventional" is often viewed in negative terms. In contrast, more formal, traditional cultures, such as many countries in East Asia, place a greater value on convention, and attention to manners and social hierarchy (Baek, 2002; Yau & Smetana, 2003). Furthermore, prior work has found that children and adolescents in traditional societies had less willingness to agree to the alteration of social conventions than children in the Western society (Haidt et al., 1993; Nisan, 1987; Nucci, Camino, & Sapiro, 1993). Korean culture with its connections to Confucianism was viewed as an excellent context in which to examine the potential impact of culture on the development of concepts about societal convention. Korea has embraced Confucian traditions to a greater degree than China, where Confucianism

originated (Hyun, 2001). These traditional values include hierarchical family structures that give priority to members according to age and gender (males over females, older siblings over younger). These status differences within the family are accompanied by conventions in forms of address that differ for parents and younger siblings. Attention to hierarchy also carries over to the public sphere. For example, Korean university undergraduates bow in the presence of faculty. This adherence to convention coexists within a society that is technologically sophisticated. According to statistics compiled by the World Bank, 84.3% of the Korean population is linked to the Internet. There is some evidence that attainment of higher education reduces adherence to traditions. However, a recent survey of college-educated Koreans found that they endorsed traditional values, such as granting priority to an older sibling over a younger one, at high rates (4.84 on a 6-point scale; Hyun, 2001).

In addition to children's exposure to collectivistic values in everyday settings, the Korean moral educational curriculum may also influence children's emphasis on conventions in the society. That is, starting in elementary school, Korean children have regularly scheduled classes labeled as "morality," where they are taught about proper lifestyle such as how to behave morally as a member of society (Lee, 2014). Reflecting this, previous research on Korean children has found that they not only make domain distinctions among morality, convention, and personal issues (Kim, 1998; Park, Lee-Kim, Killen, Park, & Kim, 2012) but also develop "a clearer understanding of the function of conventions within social systems than do American children" (Song, Smetana, & Kim, 1987, p. 582).

Thus, Korean children's better knowledge of social conventions has raised questions as to whether Korean children would display a different developmental pattern within the conventional domain than American children. It raises the possibility that Korean children do not move through an early adolescent period of the negation of convention as seen in Level 4 with U.S. children. It also raises the likelihood that Korean children may achieve an understanding of the societal functions of convention at an earlier age than is observed among adolescents in the United States.

On the contrary, we also have a competing hypothesis that Korean children's development of concepts of conventional norms may follow a similar pattern to U.S. children. Currently, educators in Korea have reported many problems concerning second-year middle school students, which is equivalent to seventh graders in the United States. Second-year middle school students in Korea have been found to not conform to teachers' authority and have an increase of other problems such as bullying and peer exclusion (J. Lee, 2012; Son & Jeong, 2014). Such behavioral patterns are quite similar to what was reported by Geiger and Turiel (1983) as associated with the *negation* phase of convention and suggest that the oscillating pattern observed in the United States may also hold within the more traditional Korean cultural context. If we find that early adolescents in Korea go through a negation phase in the present study, it would provide compelling evidence for cultural generalization of the dynamic U-shaped change rather than incremental emergence of conceptions of societal convention. It would also call into question characterizations of the treatment of convention within more formal, traditional societies as comprising a dimension of "morality" based upon respect for authority and community (Haidt, 2012; Jensen, 2011; Shweder et al., 1987).

To investigate this research question, the current study implemented face-to-face interviews with Korean children and adolescents between the ages of 10 and 16 years. Because the emergence of the different levels in understanding convention in different age groups has been well established with U.S. populations, we did not interview a new separate population of American samples. Our first research hypothesis was that Korean children would show evidence of the Level 4 negation phase in reasoning about social convention. A finding of Level 4 in any of the age groups in the present study would reveal that Korean children move through the negation phase of development in their construction of convention understandings.

However, we also had an alternative hypothesis that Korean children would *not* show evidence of a negation phase and that development would proceed directly from Level 3 to Level 5. If this is the case, it would be feasible that Level 5 would occur earlier among Korean children than had been observed among U.S. populations as the entire developmental process would be accelerated for the Korean sample. Within U.S. samples, approximately half of adolescents of 14 years of age have been found to display Level 5 conceptions of convention (Nucci, Becker, Horn, 2004). Level 5 understandings occur among less than 10% of U.S. children of 12 to 13 years of age (Nucci, Becker, Horn, 2004). If we find that approximately half of Korean adolescents of 12 to 13 years of age (or younger) display Level 5 in this study, it would provide compelling evidence that Korean children develop their understandings of social convention earlier than children within the United States.

Method

Participants

A total of 64 children and adolescents distributed among three age groups, 10 to 11 years (12 boys, 9 girls: $M_{\text{age}} = 10.1$ years, $SD = 0.33$), 12 to 13 years (12 boys, 9 girls: $M_{\text{age}} = 13.2$ years, $SD = 0.29$), and 15 to 16 years (11 boys and 11 girls, $M_{\text{age}} = 15.8$ years, $SD = 0.32$), comprised the study sample. Participants were recruited from three public schools identified by the third author in middle-class neighborhoods in Seoul, South Korea. Approximately two thirds of the population of South Korea falls within the middle class (Cha, 2015). In addition, the overwhelming majority (88.3%) of Koreans live in urban settings (Young & Walsh, 2011). Thus, we viewed our sample as representative of the population of South Korea.

Following national customs and with the approval of our university's Office for the Protection of Human Subjects, we received formal written approval from the principals of those schools to recruit students. The homeroom teachers were notified with instructions to not select children on the basis of school performance or any other criteria, but simply on the likelihood that the children would be willing to speak with the interviewers. All the selected students agreed to be interviewed and provided their written assent.

Procedure and Materials

With the collaboration of participants' homeroom teachers, the second author and two female undergraduate researchers (teacher education majors), fluent in Korean and natives of Seoul, met with students and interviewed them individually. The first and second authors trained the undergraduate interviewers, and several practice interviews were done before data collection began to check for the validity of the interview assessment. These practice protocols were translated and reviewed by the first author, who is also fluent in Korean, and the fourth author for their fidelity to interview procedures.

Each interview took place in a quiet room in schools (e.g., library room) and lasted about 20 to 30 min. The interview used vignettes adapted from the assessment of concepts of societal convention used by Nucci, Becker, Horn (2004), developed originally by Turiel (1983). We provided two stories that involved a conventional domain issue (Nucci, 2001). We also included a personal domain story (Nucci, 2001) as a filler task: It was included to minimize response bias among children who might feel that the adult interviewers were seeking compliance with social norms. Issues considered to be within the personal domain reflect choices that should be a matter of individual choice or privacy. In the present study, the personal domain vignette described a middle school girl who wished to wear an orange dress to a party. Her mother expresses a dislike for the dress color and tells the girl to change. The girl in the story tells her mother that she does

not want to change and goes ahead and wears the orange dress to the party. We felt confident that our current subjects would treat this as a situation in which the protagonist should not have to comply and should be able to wear what she wants.

The first conventional vignette depicted a situation of using a formal title when addressing a person of higher status. The original situation involved the use of formal titles when a child addresses a classroom teacher (Turiel, 1983). In the present study, we altered the situation for the Korean context by presenting a vignette in which a sixth-grade student is in a social situation where the central figure in the story needs to greet his uncle. The uncle, however, is in fact another child who is younger than the central figure. The target child in the vignette decides to call his uncle by his first name, rather than by the title "uncle" due to the uncle's age. The central character is then reminded by an older family member of the convention to use the title "uncle," but the central character continues to use the first name because his uncle is younger than him.

The second conventional vignette was based on the protocol developed by Nucci, Becker, Horn (2004) and involves an actual historical event from American history. The situation takes place in the immediate aftermath of the revolutionary war, during a time when England had not recognized the United States as an official country. Because of this, there was no way to establish trade agreements or other interactions between the United States and England. To move things forward, the King of England sent a letter to George Washington to open channels of communication between the two leaders. However, the King addressed the letter to Mr. George Washington rather than to "President" George Washington. For this reason, George Washington returned the letter to the King unopened. This particular vignette has been found to be especially sensitive to evidence of Level 5 understandings of societal convention. The third author, who has almost 30 years of experience with Korean educational system, indicated that South Korean children are familiar with this piece of U.S. history and that use of this situation would be appropriate to use in students' evaluation of George Washington. (Upon request, the complete interview protocol may be obtained from the first author.)

For both of these vignettes, participants in our study were asked to evaluate the decisions of the main characters who did not comply with the relevant social conventions regarding forms of address. In coding for levels of understandings about social convention, the scoring system looks for evidence that the subject supports use of the convention, as well as their justifications for their decision. Why participants thought the conventions should be used or not was our main interest of analyses (e.g., such as function in structuring of actions within the social system or just a mere compliance to authority). Their responses were classified into one of three levels reflecting participants' understandings of the social functions and importance of societal convention. In scoring the responses, the coders employed a guide with examples of responses to the interview questions that would fall within each level for each vignette. What follows are descriptions and examples of responses at each level. The examples are edited for length. A complete scoring guide with details for coding of individual responses is available upon request from the authors.

Level 3 responses generally affirmed the convention under consideration based on the connection between convention and a concrete understanding of social hierarchy. Beyond this basic notion of hierarchy, there was no evidence that a given convention was connected to the structuring or organization of society as a social system. This is illustrated in the following excerpts edited for length. The first are responses to the scenario regarding addressing the uncle by his first name.

Question: *Youngsoo* called his uncle *Minwoo* by his name. What do you think about this? Do you think it is alright or not alright to call him by his name and not call him as uncle?

Response: I don't think it is appropriate to call him by his name.

Question: Why do you think so?

Response: Because he is mom's younger brother. So uncles should be called as uncles.

Question: Then do you think you should always call him as uncle in this case, or that it doesn't matter to call him by his name?

Response: Uncle. Because uncle's mom is one's grandmother.

This participant's responses indicated that the title "uncle" signified relative status within the family, but did not connect this with a conception of the family as a social system or connect larger societal norms connecting family structure with Korean society. This same participant's responses to the scenario involving George Washington focused upon the relative status of the titles of President and Mr. in defending Washington's refusal to accept the letter. However, this participant was not able to consider that conventions such as titles are affirmed as constituent components of social systems. That is, he expressed having no idea of the relationship between the use of the title President in the letter and the acknowledgment that the United States was a country. Thus, he failed to acknowledge that King's failure to refer to Washington by the title "President" was related to his not recognizing the United States as a country.

Level 4 responses marked a position where the function and meaning of social convention were reevaluated in terms of the consensual and arbitrary basis of conventions. *Level 4* responses negated conventions as merely the "dictates of authority" or the views of a particular group. The right or wrong of an action was evaluated on the perceptions of the potential effects of the act—generally seen as minimal or benign. The conventions themselves were seen as having no prescriptive force and were thus judged not especially important. There was no connection in these responses between individual conventions and societies as normative systems. This can be seen in this participant's responses to the scenario regarding the use of the title uncle.

Question: *Youngsoo* called his uncle *Minwoo* by his name. What do you think about this? Do you think it is alright or not alright to call him by his name and not call him as uncle?

Response: I think it's ok.

Question: Why?

Response: Because he is younger, I don't think it matters.

As can be seen below, this same participant's explanations for Washington's decision to return the letter unopened to the King of England focused upon Washington's own personal expectations for "some better titles," but evidenced no understanding that the use of titles was connected with recognition of the United States as a country.

Question: Why do you think he returned the letter?

Response: He thought the letter would be addressed as President but it wasn't. So Washington was disappointed.

Question: Why was he disappointed?

Response: He was expecting some better titles.

Question: Does the way in which the letter is addressed have anything to do with having England recognize the United States as a country?

Response: I don't know.

At *Level 5*, conventions are affirmed as constituent components of social systems. Conventions are understood to be arbitrary in and of themselves but collectively form the "rules of the game" for members of a social system. At this level, there is a clear connection between social conventions and societies as normative systems. This can be clearly seen in the following responses of a high school student.

Question: *Youngsoo* called his uncle *Minwoo* by his name. What do you think about this? Do you think it is alright or not alright to call him by his name and not call him as uncle?

Response: You should not call your uncle by his name.

Question: Why do you think so?

Response: There is a family structure and accordingly to this, it is without doubt that you should call him as uncle.

Question: What is the purpose of calling the uncle by his title?

Response: Because in our country, there is the notion of filial duty (A duty to one's parents), and there is a significant hierarchy. This is the norm for our country and I think this is natural.

This student's responses connected family titles to broader cultural norms and social structure without any prompts from the interviewer. This same participant also spontaneously connected Washington's return of the letter immediately to the connection with the recognition of the United States as country that would be signaled by addressing the letter to President rather than to Mr. Washington.

Question: So remember that the letter said "Mr. Washington" instead of "President Washington," and thus, he returned the letter without opening this? Do you think such act was alright or not alright?

Response: It was alright.

Question: Why?

Response: He is the president of a country. Clearly a country and citizens in that country exists. I think it is wrong for England to disregard someone like him and call him as if he was a regular person.

Question: Why did it matter so much to him that the letter be addressed: President Washington?

Response: Because Washington is the president of US and US is independent from England. I think it is right for King to call Washington president.

Question: Does the way in which the letter is addressed have anything to do with having England recognize the United States as a country?

Response: Yes, there is a relationship. President is a representative of a country. If you accept someone who represents a country, it means you accept the independence of the country.

Issues of Coding for Developmental Level and Reliability

All interviews were transcribed, and half were translated into English. This allowed the first and second authors to verify the fidelity of the implementations of the interview in Korean with the original English forms of the assessment. It also allowed the first author to participate in coding in her native language, English. All identifiers were stripped from the transcripts, and coding was done without knowledge of the age or gender of the participants for any given transcript. All coding of the responses to the conventional domain vignettes was completed by the first and second authors. Coder reliability was established with 35.7% of the interviews drawn randomly from the total, with a Cohen's Kappa of 0.87. Each coder scored half of the transcripts. Responses to the two conventional vignettes were coded separately to minimize possible influences of score assignments across vignettes. The large majority (81.25%) of participants received the same scores for both vignettes. In all cases where the two scores differed, the difference was within one level. Following procedures established in prior research (Nucci, Creane, & Powers, 2015), the two discrepant scores were averaged and the participant was assigned a final score (e.g., 4.5). We report the frequencies of half-score assignments by age group in the "Results" section.

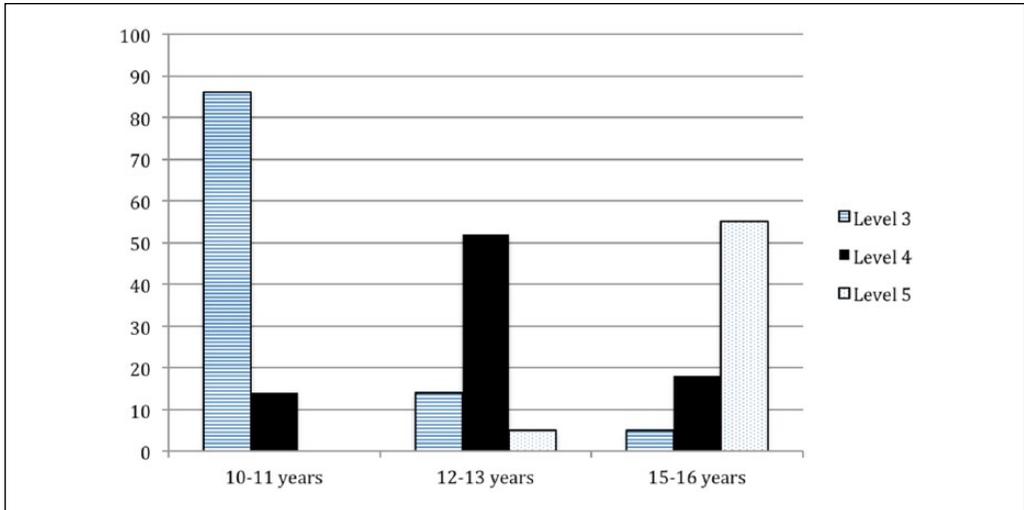


Figure 1. Percentage of participants at each age providing Level 3, Level 4, or Level 5 concepts of social convention.

Results

As we had expected, the responses to the *personal domain* vignette showed that all participants supported the girl's decision to wear the orange dress despite her mother's objections. These responses established that participants were not responding to the vignettes with a bias toward rule compliance. The personal domain vignette was not coded beyond this and was not included within the formal data analysis.

Our study addressed two main questions. The first was whether Korean children and adolescents would move through a sequence of age-related changes in their understandings of social convention as seen with U.S. children. Our interest was to observe whether Korean children would mirror what had been observed with American samples or whether Korean children move through a transitional negation phase of reasoning about convention, and would construct an understanding of conventions as constituent elements of social systems (what we refer to as Level 5) earlier than has been observed with children in the United States. The distribution of levels of reasoning by age among our Korean sample is presented in Figure 1. As can be seen in Figure 1, there is a very clear age-related association between age and level. The majority (all but one) of the 10- to 11-year-olds provided responses that were coded at the lowest Level 3. The mean score for level for this group was 3.12 ($SD = 0.35$). The majority of 12- to 13-year olds displayed Level 4 reasoning. An additional 5% of the 12- to 13-year-old participants received scores of 3.5, and 14% obtained scores of 4.5 (not shown in Figure 1). These half-level scores resulted from the average of scores by participants who were coded as being at one level (e.g., Level 3) on one of the vignettes and the adjacent level (e.g., Level 4) on the other. Only 5% of 12- to 13-year-olds received level scores of 5.0. The overall mean level score for the 12- to 13-year-old age group was 4.00 with a standard deviation of 0.52. Thus, in line with prior research with American samples (Nucci, Bercker, Horn, 2004; Nucci & Weber, 1991; Turiel, 1983), a majority of our Korean middle school participants displayed reasoning about societal convention that was at the negation phase.

Finally, as would be expected from prior research (Nucci, Becker, Horn, 2004; Nucci & Weber, 1991; Turiel, 1983), the majority (55%) of 15- and 16-year-olds displayed Level 5 conceptions of social convention. An additional 18% were at Level 4, and 23% received scores of

4.5. The mean level score for the 15- to 16-year-old group was 4.61 with a standard deviation of 0.53. An ANOVA with Gender and Age as the grouping variables and Level as the dependent variable revealed a significant overall effect for Age, $F(2, 63) = 50.83, p < .001$, and no significant effect for Gender. Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey's honest significant difference test indicated that the mean level scores for each of the three age groups were significantly different from each other, $df(3, 58) = 3.40, p = .05$. These outcomes were nearly identical with the results reported with a similar age American sample reported by Nucci and colleagues (2004). Thus, the findings from this study with middle-class urban Korean children and adolescents provided evidence that Korean children move through a period of negation of social convention in early adolescence and do not achieve a Level 5 understanding of the societal functions of social convention any earlier than has been observed with American samples.

Discussion

In this study, we explored the progression of understandings about convention among Korean children. Particularly, we aimed to discover whether findings from prior studies with U.S. children generalize to Korean children or whether understandings of social convention among Korean children would follow a different developmental pattern, such as a straightforward linear trajectory, as a function of the cultural emphasis on hierarchy and tradition. Despite the importance of Confucianism within Korean culture which emphasizes hierarchy and social order (Baek, 2002; Yau & Smetana, 2003), and the corollary emphasis that is placed in Korean education (Lee, 2014) on social conventions and maintaining a "proper lifestyle as a member of the society," our study found that development of understandings of societal convention is indeed generalizable to Korean children and adolescents. That is, Korean participants also followed the U-shaped pattern of affirmations and negations of the functions of convention described by Turiel (1983). The ages associated with these developmental changes were in line with norms established through studies with North American samples (Nucci, Becker, Horn, 2004; Nucci & Weber, 1991; Turiel, 1983). These shifts during adolescence run contrary to the picture of enculturation as the progressive alignment with adult values (Shweder et al., 1987). Our findings indicate that an emphasis or greater value placed on conventions and traditions does not necessarily lead children and youth to develop a deeper structural understanding of the purpose of and affirmation of conventions. Furthermore, the findings from this study reveal that an active engagement in the process of constructing social norms and systems entails progressive evaluation and reevaluation of children's understanding of social conventions. This interpretation is in line with many previous studies across numerous cultures indicating that a period of adolescent challenge to social norms and adult authority occurs in traditional societies even in settings of considerable stress and duress (Smetana, Ahmad, & Wray-Lake, 2015). It is also in line with reports that Korean middle school students show an increase in resistance to social conventions, such as bowing in the presence of an adult, in comparison with younger and older students (Son & Jeong, 2014). Importantly, our findings also indicate that generating an understanding of the societal purposes of convention is a fairly difficult task to accomplish that has commonalities across cultural settings. Although children at fairly young ages are aware of the norms of their society, it is not until middle to late adolescence that they fully grasp the societal functions of norms that are arbitrarily agreed upon cultural standards. Finally, these age-related patterns in concepts about convention may reflect more general shifts in cognitive processing taking place during the adolescent years (Richardson, Mulvey, & Killen, 2012).

Despite significant findings, our study has several limitations. First, our study was limited to middle-class Korean children in the most developed and "modernized" capital city of South Korea. Although approximately two thirds of the population of South Korea falls within the middle class (Cha, 2015), and an overwhelming majority (88.3%) of Koreans live in urban

settings (Young & Walsh, 2011), it is possible that there might be geographical and class-based differences that were not evident in the present study. It would be interesting to see whether these results would be generalized to rural adolescents in South Korea, or even to children growing up in the more restricted society of North Korea. In addition, our assessment was based on only two conventional vignettes. It is possible that other conventional norms may have elicited different patterns of reasoning. We are not inclined to place much weight on this possibility because of the range of items that have been used in prior studies investigating Korean children's differentiation of matters of convention and morality (Kim, 1998; Park et al., 2012). That research has reported consistency in judgments by Korean children across a spectrum of conventions. However, one cannot rule out possible effects of the content of our assessment. Finally, only about half of our 15- to 16-year-olds provided level reasoning across both scenarios. This suggests that a follow-up study that included older participants would be needed to establish the mean age for attainment of Level 5 thinking among Korean adolescents.

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