Family Roles in Parent-Adolescent Communication

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"Families adopt, change, constrain, develop, create, recruit, indoctrinate, mediate, and act through individuals. Because of this clear focus on process the study of interaction within families and between the family and the outside world should be central to family psychology" (H. D. Grotevant, 1989).
Introduction: Definitions of the Family

Researchers have adopted three classic approaches to studying the family. Noller and Fitzpatrick (1993) review these three major definitions of the family based on family structure, psychosocial tasks and interpersonal transactions. Scholars have moved from thinking of the family as a structured household to thinking of the family as a transactional process because of social change.

The structural definition refers to biological or sociological connections because of shared genetics, marriage or adoption. Family membership is based on "mate selection" with children entering the family through procreation or adoption. The structural definition of family is based on age and sex hierarchies. The central idea is that parents are more powerful than children, and traditionally that men are the main providers for women. The changing structure of extended families, homosexual families, and gender hierarchies makes us rethink the structural definitions. Today only 7% of American households are made up of traditional married couples with an employed father, housewife mother, and two or more school age children (Otto, 1988).
The second major approach to studying the family deals with psychosocial tasks (Noller & Fitzpatrick, 1993). Here the family is a psychosocial group, made up of one at least one adult member and one or more other persons. The family is a cohesive group working toward need fulfillment, nurturance, and development. Task definitions usually describe the functions of the family. The psychosocial functions of the family have historically changed from institutional to companionate. Marriage and parenting are still considered within a social structure, but now fulfillment of goals is the main focus. The task definition includes emotion, yet ignores the different stages in family life.

Thus, the third definition proposed by Noller & Fitzpatrick (1993) sees the family as a transactional process. The family is a group of intimates with a shared identity and strong emotional ties. This definition suggests that communication in the family reveals central family processes. Families share a past history and are continually creating a future together.

I will adopt the transactional approach for two reasons. First, family members determine who is in the
family. For example, families can include stepparents, grandparents or anyone else within this definition. Second, the model focuses on the direct exchange of messages. This thesis will review the previous literature in parent-adolescent research in both intrapersonal and interpersonal realms. There is a gap that needs to be filled between intrapersonal and interpersonal research that will become apparent in the literature review. The focus of this thesis is on communication behavior in parent-adolescent communication.
Chapter 1

Intrapersonal Parent-Adolescent Communication

Most family communication studies are based on intrapersonal measures. Intrapersonal communication focuses on states or traits of an individual (attitudes, values, motives and personality). Usually intrapersonal research is tapped through questionnaire or interview data which relies on the information provided by one individual. In some family studies, the perspective of the parents is the favored one, whereas in other studies it is the account of the child.

A recent study, based on parents' reports of their behavior looked at socialization in regards to family structure and gender (Thompson, McLanhan, & Curtin, 1992). There are fewer parental gender differences in father-step mother and single parent families than in mother-stepfather and "original" two parent families. 1 Furthermore, single parents report that they exert less supervision and control over adolescents than do married parents. Step parents spend less time and use less affective emotion with adolescents compared to original parents. Finally, original mothers report to be the most responsive and spend more time with the
adolescents compared to original fathers.

Perceptual attitudes concerning family functioning have been tapped by comparing clinic and non-clinic adolescents with their parents (Noller, Seth-Smith, Bouma, & Schweitzer, 1992). The factors of family functioning that were measured included intimacy, parenting style, conflict, and the self concept of the adolescent. In general, parents and adolescents disagree on accounts of representative family life: parents see the family in a more positive light. This "generational stake" hypothesis is a common finding in the family perception literature. Parents feel more threatened if the family they have created fails. Adolescents are less committed to the family system because they are trying to establish their own identity. Interestingly, the generational stake hypotheses is not supported for clinic families. Instead, both mothers and adolescents in clinic families report similar negative perceptions of family life.

Perceptions of parent-adolescent interaction is related to family member's and outsider's views (Noller & Callan, 1988). Outsiders and adolescents have similar negative views of the family's interaction
patterns. Perhaps adolescents are more objective observers of their family interaction patterns. Again, parents seem to view their family in a positive way compared to adolescents, outsiders, and trained observers. As insiders, parents need to see their families in a positive light, whereas outsiders see the families in a more negative way. When given the opportunity to rate another family, outsiders may have a stake in being more negative about the other family. This negative comparison may bolster a positive view of the insider's own family.

Adolescent self-esteem and perceptions of parental behavior have been studied (Gecas & Schwalbe, 1986). Parent's reports of their behavior of control, support, and participation did not correlate with their children's perceptions of these behaviors. The highest correlation was found between girls' and fathers' reports of control/autonomy; both saw the father as exerting control. The lowest correlation is between boys' and mothers' reports of participation. The mothers' reports of participation and support were consistently higher than the reports obtained from the adolescents. In general, fathers overestimate the amount of control they have over their children.
In this study, adolescent' self-esteem is more strongly correlated with adolescents' perceptions of parents' behavior than it is to parents' reports of their behavior. Boys' self-esteem was more strongly linked to control. In other words, boys who saw their fathers as in control experienced higher self-esteem, whereas girls, who saw both parents as supportive and participative had higher self esteem. Thus, the adolescents' perceptions of the fathers' behavior were more consequential for boys self-esteem. For girls the influence of fathers' and mothers' behavior were more similar.

Some families may be more congruent than others in that parents and children see the family in the same way. Parent-adolescent communication has been analyzed using the Circumplex Model to see individual and family perceptions (Barnes & Olson, 1985). Types of family systems are established according to perceptual dimensions of cohesion, adaptability and satisfaction. Families high on cohesion, adaptability and satisfaction congruently perceived parent-adolescent communication. Adolescents perceived less openness and more problems than did their parents. There were no sex differences found for how adolescents viewed their
parents. Mothers reported better communication with their adolescents than did fathers.

The intrapersonal studies mentioned usually reveal large discrepancies between adolescent and parental self-reports. Furthermore, often the parents' reports do not correlate with each other concerning the adolescent. These intrapersonal findings suggest that when we examine communication in mother-father-adolescent triads, strong differences will emerge in their communication behavior.

Intrapersonal research needs to be linked to interpersonal behavior to provide a complete picture of family communication. The intrapersonal approach focuses mainly on states or traits of the individual while the interpersonal approach looks at the whole family, or various combinations of dyadic or triadic interactions interrelated to personal baseline patterns (Fitzpatrick & Wambolt, 1990). The next section will examine the research that has been conducted both in the intrapersonal and interpersonal approaches.
Interpersonal Parent-Adolescent Communication

Interpersonal communication focuses on the interaction between two or more individuals. Usually interpersonal communication is tapped into by direct observations or videotaped laboratory studies. Relationships are emergent patterns; they are redundant, interlocked cycles of messages, continually negotiated and co-defined by the participants involved (Gottman, 1982; Millar & Rogers, 1987). Although few interaction studies have been conducted with families of adolescents, two major interaction studies inform the thinking in this thesis (Vuchinich, 1987; Gjerde, 1986).

Focusing on nondistressed families, Vuchinich (1987) examined family conflicts at the dinner table. The two main goals of the study were to look at how mothers, fathers, and adolescents initiate and end conflicts. No single family role dominates the initiation of verbal conflicts. Verbal conflicts are defined as a form of social interaction characterized by at least two persons verbally opposing each other. A single move where one person opposes another is not a conflict; conflict requires two participants. A conflicting response to another's initiation marks the
beginning of a conflict episode. An even distribution of conflict initiation was found across all of the family roles. Parents initiated 47% of the conflicts, while children initiated 52.4% of them. There are no sex differences in the frequency of initiation of conflicts for parents or children.

The target of the conflict initiation, however, did reveal family differences. The father was the target for conflict initiation about half as often as any other family member. Mothers, daughters and sons all received the same number of conflicts. The low frequency of the attacks on the father is based on the children's pattern of initiating against the mother twice as often as they did against the father. Sons initiated conflict against the mothers three times as often as they did against fathers. Fathers initiated conflict against their daughters three times as often as they initiated conflict against their sons. Mothers, however, initiated conflicts against their sons twice as often as they did against their daughters.

Four major tactics were used to end conflicts: submission involves one person giving in to another, compromise is when both parties give in a little to
accept a middle ground, standoff involves dropping the conflict with no apparent resolution, and withdrawal is where one party overtly leaves the interaction by refusing to participate. Different family roles are related to the four ways of ending conflict.

Sixty one percent of the time, conflicts ended in a standoff, 21% in submission, 14.2% in compromise, and 3.8% in withdrawal. There were family role differences in how conflicts are ended. Mothers created twice as many compromises as all other family roles combined. Mothers also initiated nonconflict activity and standoffs most frequently. Regarding submission, children submitted three times as frequently as parents, thus displaying the social power of parents over children. Females were actively involved in twice as many closings as males. Mothers, in particular, acted as peacemakers in family conflicts at dinner.

The second major interaction study (Gjerde, 1986) argues that family situations change according to the specific context or group of conversational partners. The interpersonal structure of family interaction settings was studied with parent-adolescent families in dyads and triads. Interaction sequences were examined according to the presence of the mother in contrast to
the father. The father's presence in the triadic situation appeared to enhance the mother-son communicative relationship. Curiously, the opposite was true for fathers: the mother's presence tended to decrease the father's participation with the son. There were no significant changes in either parent's communicative behaviors in a dyad or triad for adolescent girls.

Gender differences emerged in both the Vuchinich (1987) and Gjerde, (1986) studies. Females are more active than males in other-oriented communication. Traditionally females are thought to be more intimacy oriented. Their communication is based on connection, consensus, and minimizing differences. Males are thought to be more independence oriented, where establishing status is important for maximizing differences. Communication between the genders is a balancing act juggling the conflicting needs of intimacy and independence (Tannen, 1990).

The traditional sex stereotypes are apparent in some families. Men are expected to be direct, forceful, rational and self-centered in their communication, whereas women are expected to be more indirect, emotive, yielding and other-centered in their
communication with others (Arliss, 1991). In light of this prior work, gender differences will be looked at in this study. This study will focus on adolescent gender differences within the family triad.

**Studying the Adolescent in the Family**

Reiss, Oliveri, and Curd (1985) look at dynamic family process and adolescent development. They identify two main strategies that have been used to study families thus far. These two strategies are called up from adolescence and down from society.

Up from adolescence is the notion that the adolescent is the center of concern. Developmental factors such as personality, ego structures, role-taking skills and identity exploration of the adolescent are studied. This definition focuses on the static-traits of the adolescent isolated apart from the communication context.

Down from Society is more concerned with the relationship of family process and adolescence as a system. The family is like a zone or social influencing force with built in underlying mechanisms of expression. Reiss (1981) looks specifically at family differences in their styles of relating to the
larger social environment. This study pursues a downward from society model. Thus, the focus is on the communication behavior of the entire family triad. Family roles are created through emerging behavioral patterns.

The Measurement of Communication Behavior

Family communication behavior can be examined by looking at the verbal interaction patterns. The Stiles Coding Scheme is a reliable and valid tool for studying verbal interaction in interpersonal relationships. The system of Verbal Response Modes is similar to that of Bales's Interaction Process Analysis but has certain methodological and conceptual advantages for this particular study. For example, Bales's Interaction Process Analysis does not have separate categories for interpretations, reflections and acknowledgments. With a microcoding scheme like Stiles, overt, distinguishable behaviors can be classified looking specifically at the process of family interaction (Bell & Bell, 1989). Although looking at the detailed process of interaction is time consuming, the results may yield important insights into family processes.
A verbal response mode is a category of language behavior that implies a particular interpersonal intent or microrelationship between communicators. Each mode has a distinct grammatical form and an interpersonal intent and are therefore coded separately. There are eight main conversational forms and intents listed below.

Insert Table 1 and 2 about here.

There are 64 possible paired mode combinations in all, eight pure modes for example (DD) and 56 mixed modes for example (ED). The interpersonal roles are created from three principles of classification respectively: source of experience, frame of reference, and focus. Each of these principles is based on the value of the "speaker" or the "other".

Insert Table 3 about here.

An interesting methodological device in this coding scheme involves combining two codes to create higher order categories. Two higher order categories
emerge by combining modes (forms and intents). These combinations create two separate dimensions of interpersonal roles. These distinct categories are labeled attentiveness and presumptuousness.

**Attentiveness** refers to the degree to which a person's utterances concern the other's experience. A person using mostly questions, acknowledgments, interpretations, and reflections is attentive. The opposite of this is someone who is informative or more self centered. This individual would use more disclosures, edifications, advisements and confirmations. According to Stiles (1978), client-centered and psychoanalytic psychotherapists and physicians collecting medical histories have very high attentiveness scores, while psychotherapy clients and patients display low attentiveness in communication.

**Presumptuousness** is classified as the extent to which a person presumes knowledge of the other. This person may be presumptuous for a variety of reasons. Advisements, confirmations, interpretations and reflections suggest presumptuousness. Disclosures, edifications, acknowledgments and questions reflect a lack of knowledge about the other person.
Hypotheses

After reviewing both the intrapersonal and interpersonal literature this study proposes the following hypotheses based on Stiles (1978) Verbal Response Modes. In interactional research in dyads, husbands and wives are responsible for the same number of utterances using the (VRM) coding scheme during casual marital interactions (Fitzpatrick, Vance & Witteman, 1984). The triad structure, however, lends itself to unique properties of interaction not found in the dyad. The triad consists of one close dyad and a person usually taking the role of an outsider. The mother often takes on the main parental role with the adolescent, whereas the father withdraws from participation with the adolescent (Bowen, 1976; Gjerde, 1986).

H1: Mothers will display more verbal communication behavior with both adolescent females and males than will fathers in a triadic situation.

Extending the first hypothesis, it is predicted that there will be differences between parents during conversations with the adolescent depending on the adolescents' gender. Based on the Gjerde (1986) research, the father's presence in the triadic
situation will enhance the mother-son communicative relationship, whereas, the opposite will be true for fathers: the mother's presence should decrease the father's participation with the son. There were no significant changes in either parent's communicative behaviors in a dyad or triad for adolescent girls.

**H1a:** There will be significant verbal communication differences between parents depending on the gender of the adolescent.

The second hypothesis predicts parent-adolescent communication role behavior. The conversational verbal responses of parents and adolescents should differ because of the very different family roles during this time period. Parents talk and interrupt adolescents more than vice versa in family decision making situations. Parents transmit their beliefs and preferred behavioral codes through commanding, teaching and directing (Steinberg, 1981).

Adolescents perceived fathers and mothers to engage in a directive, dialectic and a commanding manner of interaction, while friends were viewed as more negotiating and mutually influencing (Hunter, 1985). Stiles (VRM) category of presumptuousness is a classification of advisements, confirmations,
reflections, and interpretations and should resemble the typical parental conversation.

**H2: Parents will display significantly more presumptuousness (person presumes knowledge of the other) compared to their adolescent children.**

The third hypotheses also predicts gender role differences on the dimension of *Attentiveness* (other centered communication). Mothers were more likely than fathers to be affective, sharing of humor, emotionally toned in their interactions, and engaged in both dyad and triad situations (Gjerde, 1986). Vuchinich (1987) finds family role differences in conflict at the family dinner table. Mothers created twice as many compromises to end conflict compared to all other family members combined. Attentive speakers concern the other as a source of experience in communication by using more reflections, interpretations, questions, and acknowledgments.

**H3: Mothers will display significantly more attentiveness (other orientation communication) in their communication with family members compared to fathers.**

This gender distinction in conversational speech will have been socialized in daughters also by the time
they reach adolescence (Gjerde, 1986; Vuchinich, 1987). The fourth hypotheses predicts that adolescent girls, like mothers display other oriented communication.

*H4: Adolescent daughters will display significantly more attentiveness (other oriented communication) in their communication with family members compared to adolescent sons.*
Chapter 2: Methodology

Subjects

Families were invited to participate in a family communication study at the Communication Research Center at Vilas Hall. An article was written in the local newspaper by Dr. M. A. Fitzpatrick and Dr. D. Ritchie (Appendix A). Pamphlets were also posted around campus (Appendix B). Interested families were instructed to call the Communication Research Center. In the summer of 1989, fifteen families that contacted the researchers came into the laboratory to discuss parent-adolescent communication. A prescreening telephone survey was used to recruit families that consisted of a father, mother, and an adolescent between the ages of 13-18. The average age of the adolescents in the study was 16. The parents had been married an on average for 19.8 years. All marriages were first marriages except for one father had been married once before. All fourteen fathers and mothers were employed accept for one mother. The demographics on employment status, education, and income description are found in figures 1-3.
Procedure

Appointments were made at the convenience of each family over the telephone. Letters were sent confirming the date and the time (Appendix C). When the families came to the lab the experiment was explained and consent forms were provided. Because of age, parents had to sign consent forms for children and children also had to agree to participate (Appendix D).

Each family talked for about one hour: fifteen minutes in each of the four topics: The topics were, family, family rituals, problems with teenagers, and family decision making (Appendix E). The order was not counterbalanced because they were sequenced from casual positive to some problematic conflict. After videotaping, family members were escorted to separate interview rooms to complete a questionnaire (Appendix F). The researcher thanked and debriefed the families for their participation in the interaction analysis study.

Coding of the Transcripts

The videotaped conversations were transcribed by
undergraduate students at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Two coders were trained according to the Stiles (1978a) Verbal Response Mode (VRM) Coding Scheme. Intercoder reliability was checked throughout the coding process. High intercoder reliability with Cohen Kappa's was established (Form, 8.9 & 9.1, Intent, 8.3 & 8.5) (Appendix G).
Chapter 3: Results

In general, family communication resembles other types of interpersonal communication. The majority of interpersonal conversation was based on the self-centered communication of individuals as edifications (objective facts), 29.0% and disclosures, 24.8%. Communication based on the other and away from the self as the center of interest was the least represented through interpretations, 2.2% and advisements, 3.9%. The remaining interpersonal intents were confirmations, 13.0%, acknowledgments, 11.6%, questions, 7.1%, reflections, 6.1%. Only 1.7% of the interpersonal intentions were uncodable.

The first hypothesis was supported in that Mothers displayed more verbal communication behavior with both adolescent females and males than fathers in a triadic situation. In fact, mothers communicated more frequently than any other family member in all eight categories of verbal response modes. Mothers communicated significantly more ($M = 37.1, SD = 4.83$),
compared to fathers (M = 27.5, SD = 4.47,), t = 17.37, p < .000, df = 20813. There were, however significant differences between parents communication with their adolescents depending on the gender of the adolescent.

Insert Table 4 about here

The second hypotheses was supported. Parents displayed significantly more presumptuousness (person presumes knowledge of the other) compared to their adolescent children. More advisements, confirmations, interpretations, and reflections were used by the parents rather than by the adolescents. Parents communicated significantly more presumptuousness (M = 18.5, SD = 3.89,), compared to adolescents, (M = 7.21, SD = 2.59,), t = 33.08, p < .000, df = 20813.

The third hypotheses was supported because Mothers displayed significantly more attentiveness (other orientation communication) with family members in contrast to fathers. Mothers communicated significantly more attentiveness (M = 10.90, SD = 3.12,), compared to fathers, (M = 8.62, SD = 2.81,), t = 7.46, p < .000. df = 20813.

Adolescent daughters also displayed more
attentiveness (other oriented communication) in their communication with family members compared to adolescent sons. Adolescent females communicated significantly more attentiveness ($M = 5.80$, $SD = 2.37$), compared to adolescent males ($M = 2.24$, $SD = 1.48$), $t = 18.23$, $p < .000$. $F = 20813$. 
Chapter 4: Discussion

The families in this research communicated most frequently about themselves through self disclosures and edifications (objective facts pertaining to themselves). The two interpersonal modes of disclosure and edification made up over 50% of the behavior that occurred in the families. Individuals spent the least amount of time on the other through interpretations and advisements. An average amount of time was spent confirming, advising, acknowledging, questioning, and reflecting what the other had said. The findings in these family triads are similar to Fitzpatrick's marital couples also communicating disclosures and edifications the most frequently.

Overall, family members communicate more about the self rather than about the other person. Mothers, however do most frequently address the other individuals in the family. Mothers used more verbal communication behavior with both adolescent females and males than did fathers in a triad. Mothers take on more of a parental responsibility with adolescents in a triad interaction than do fathers, especially with adolescent sons. Perhaps mothers were more communicative with sons because their sons interacted
less (Bowen, 1976; Gjerde, 1986; Vuchinich, 1987). The father's presence in the triadic situation appears to enhance the mother-son communicative relationship. Curiously, the opposite was true for fathers: the mother's presence tended to decrease the father's participation with the son.

Mothers communicated more frequently with adolescent girls than did fathers. Yet the communicative difference between mothers and fathers is not as distinct as it was for adolescent boys. Mothers do not have to compensate for a lack of communication when adolescent girls are present. Overall, the mother takes on the main parental role with the adolescent, whereas the father withdraws from participation with the adolescent (Bowen, 1976; Gjerde, 1986).

Mothers and fathers alike frequently use a different type of communication when they are addressing their adolescent children. Stiles (VRM) category of presumptuousness based on advisements, confirmations, questions, and confirmations, resembles the typical parental conversation. Parents are more direct, commanding, and talkative than their adolescent children (Hunter, 1985). Parents display significantly more presumptuousness (person presumes knowledge of the
other) compared to their adolescent children. It makes sense that the conversational responses of parents and adolescents differ because of the distinct family roles during this time period. Parents talk and interrupt adolescents more than vice versa in family decision making situations based on greater experience. Parents transmit their beliefs and preferred behavioral codes through commanding, teaching and directing (Steinberg, 1981).

Parents and adolescents disagree on accounts of representative family life: parents see the family in a more positive light. This "generational stake" hypothesis is a common finding in the family perception literature. Parents feel more threatened if the family they have created fails. Adolescents are less committed to the family system because they are trying to establish their own identity. As adolescents establish their own identity parents may become even more presumptuous than they were when there was not a threatened family structure. There may be differing amounts of presumptuousness depending on the family structure. For example, single parents report that they exert less supervision and control over adolescents than do married parents. Step parents
spend less time and use less affective emotion with adolescents compared to original parents. Finally, original mothers report to be the most responsive and spend more time with the adolescents compared to original fathers (Thompson, McLanhan, & Curtin, 1992). There may be differences between these family structures and the presumptuousness level that parents exert.

The third hypotheses was supported in that mothers display significantly more attentiveness (other orientation communication) in their communication with family members compared to fathers. There were gender role differences on the dimension of Attentiveness. Attentive speakers concern the other as a source of experience in communication by using more reflections, interpretations, questions, and acknowledgments. Mothers were more likely than fathers to be affective, sharing of humor, emotionally toned in their interactions, and engaged in both dyad and triad situations (Gjerde, 1986). The Vuchinich (1987) research also supports these findings. Mothers created twice as many compromises to end conflict compared to all other family members combined. Results of the present study confirm that mothers are more attentive
Adolescent daughters display significantly more attentiveness (other oriented communication) in their communication with family members compared to adolescent sons. The girls have been socialized to be more other oriented by the time that they reach adolescence. Traditionally females are thought to be more intimacy oriented. Their communication is based on connection, consensus, and minimizing differences. Males are thought to be more independence oriented, where establishing status is important for maximizing differences. Communication between the genders is a balancing act juggling the conflicting needs of intimacy and independence (Tannen, 1990).

The overall findings from these fourteen traditional families are that there are gender behavioral role differences. Mothers and fathers differed on their frequency of interaction, their attentiveness and their presumptuousness characteristics. Adolescent girls and boys also differed in these same areas. This thesis, however, does not represent all family behavioral roles. In the final section these results based on the relatively small sample are tied with basic family typologies and
marriage typologies. Family roles in parent-adolescent communication should be analyzed within a larger theoretical framework.
Chapter 5: Future Implications with Marital and Family Typologies

The behavioral roles of family members is the central focus of this thesis. Marital interaction studies, however, have been studied more intensely than family communication research. Fitzpatrick (1976) classifies marriages according to schemata or basic knowledge structures that individuals use to interpret data. The Relational Dimensions Instrument (RDI) categorizes subgroups of individuals on the three basic dimensions of ideological views, interdependence, and conflict. Fitzpatrick suggests three pure types of couples with six possible combinations of mixed types. In the next section this thesis examines this marriage typology and two family typologies (Fitzpatrick, 1976; Fitzpatrick & Ritchie, 1988; Reiss, Oliveri & Curd, 1985). First, the traditional couple type represented in this thesis will be examined. Second, three other marriage and family classifications will be explored.

' Insert Figure 7 About Here
**Traditional**

The communication behavior between the parents and the adolescents in this thesis represent the traditional family type. According to Fitzpatrick (1976) these individuals tend to be very conventional in their views of marriage. There is a lot of stability and certainty in the role each person should play in a marriage. There is strong interdependence. Conflict is saved for only very important issues. The families in this thesis are traditional as shown by their specific gender communicative differences. The traditional couple type can also be viewed in a larger family context.

The family is viewed as a communication environment that influences the child's perceptions of reality. Two main types of environments are identified, an orientation to a harmonious relationship with the parents (socio-orientation) or an environment based on the open exchange and expression of ideas and active negotiation (concept-orientation). Fitzpatrick & Ritchie (1988) extend the earlier work of Mcleod & Chaffee (1972) and identify four main family types based on socio-orientation and concept-orientation variables.
Families of respondents scoring high on both scales are labeled consensual. Consensual families strive for a combination of conformity and openness. This thesis concerns consensual families because both socio-orientation and concept-orientation are apparent through family roles. The adolescents are able to express themselves, yet, the parents have the authority to be presumptuous. In other words, high conversation is important, yet there is pressure to conform to parental wishes.

Similar to the Fitzpatrick & Ritchie (1988) typology is that of Reiss (1981). Families have a general style that characterizes their underlying belief systems. Reiss calls this belief system family paradigms. A set of core assumptions or convictions are used to analyze the environment or social world. Family paradigms are generally quite steady yet can change dramatically during a crisis. A four category typology is created according to configuration and coordination dimensions during a task interaction study. A family high on configuration looks deep into the problem to discover its structure; its solutions are complex and patterned. At the other extreme are low configuration families whose solutions are simple,
superficial, and show little evidence of a search for underlying patterns of connection among the elements in the puzzle. Coordination is defined as the degree to which the efforts of each individual member are integrated into a common strategy when the family is working together. Reiss has four typologies based on configuration and coordination.

The consensus-sensitive families are represented in this thesis. These traditional families are high on coordination but low on configuration. There is a lot of interdependence, yet not much competition. Members in these families are attuned primarily to the thoughts and feelings of each other. Their subtle sensitivity to each other blocks out other social possibilities.

This thesis represents the traditional couple type and the consensual/consensus-sensitive family. Yet, large numbers of families from different socio-economic, educational and regional areas should be analyzed. Relatively little effort has been given to understanding the correlates and consequences of family types across patterns of individual and family development (Demo, 1992). There are other family types that could be analyzed with a more diverse sample in the future. The three remaining types are
independents, separates and mixed families.

**Independents**

The independent individuals are nonconventional in their views on marriage (Fitzpatrick, 1976). There is a high degree of autonomy of each individual. There is high conversation but low conformity. Conventional roles are uncertain and there is constant renegotiation and conflict. The independent couple type is incorporated into a pluralistic family. Families of respondents scoring high on concept-orientation but low on socio-orientation are labeled pluralistic. Pluralistic families stress the relationship between the child and concepts or issues (Fitzpatrick & Ritchie, 1988). Reiss (1981) labels these families environment-sensitive families. These families are high on both configuration and coordination. Members in these families are cooperatively organized to detect and investigate the full range of subtle nuances in their social and informational environment.

**Separates**

The separate family is quite different from the independents. These individuals are ambivalent about their roles and the relationship. Fairly conventional roles are regarded with marriage yet there is very
little interdependency (Fitzpatrick, 1976). There is high conformity, however not much conversation. These individuals are emotionally divorced and avoid conflict. Families of respondents low on concept-orientation and high on socio-orientation are labeled protective. Protective families stress a relationship of obedience and conformity between the child and parents (Fitzpatrick & Ritchie, 1981). Reiss (1981) labels these families distance-sensitive families. These families are low on both configuration and coordination. These members are isolated in a private world, mainly oblivious to the experience of others. The outside world of people, places, events, and things is lived in but neither explored nor understood.

Mixed

Lastly, Fitzpatrick (1976) discusses mixed couple types, where the individuals have different ideologies. These families are referred to as laissez-faire. Laissez-faire families express no consistent communication norms, suggesting there may be very little communication between the parent and the child. Reiss (1981) calls these families achievement-sensitive. These families are high on configuration but low on coordination. Members in these families do
not see themselves as part of a group but rather as individuals operating on their own to secure success. There is little conversation and also little conformity.

Limitations of the Study and Future Extensions

These couple/family typologies provide an interesting theoretical base for understanding communication within the family. The families represented in this thesis are all traditional in their communication roles with each other. This research should be continued with a larger more diverse sample to reveal these family types. A larger more diverse sample would increase the generalizability of these findings. The communicative roles should be different for parents and adolescents in each of these different paradigms.

The second limitation may be the types of families represented in this thesis. All of the families agreed to participate in a laboratory study. These families might all be interested in family communication already, and may not reflect the typical family. Also, their communication was obtained from the laboratory. Future studies should compare natural observation
findings to this thesis.

Family paradigms are a useful tool for thinking theoretically about family communication. The family paradigms are really intrapersonal classifications of individuals states and traits. Families can be grouped, like individuals according to their overall ideologies. After assessing the family type, researchers should analyze the interaction between the individuals. The interactional process should differ according to the four different typologies mentioned. The intrapersonal categories should be correlated to the interaction of the family members. Traditional individuals will interact consensually, that is they will be consensus sensitive. Independents will interact pluralistically, where the social environment is important. Separates will interact protectively, and distance will be important. Finally, mixed families will interact laizze-faire, where achievement is central to the interaction process.

The relationships that are formed will be different according to the types of interaction processes. Relationships are emergent patterns; they are redundant, interlocked cycles of messages, continually negotiated and co-defined by the
participants involved (Gottman, 1982; Millar & Rogers, 1987). Families are constantly changing through the individuals who make up that family. The focus of family research should be on the process of communication within a larger theoretical ideology. The gap between intrapersonal and interpersonal research needs to be filled. Parent-adolescent behavior through interaction typologies should remain the focus of more research.
Footnotes

1. In the Thompson et. al, article the term "original" refers to two-parent families that are married couples in which all of the children under 19 in the household were born to or adopted together by a couple.
References


Gjerde, P. F. (1986). The Interpersonal Structure of


Nye, F. L. (1988). Fifty Years of Family Research,


Trost, J. (1990). Do We Mean the Same by the Concept of Family? Communication Research, 17, 431-443.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Disclosure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advisement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confirmation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpretation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflection</td>
</tr>
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Table 2: Intent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disclosure</th>
<th>Reveals thoughts, feelings, perceptions, or intentions.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Edification</td>
<td>States objective information.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advisement</td>
<td>Attempts to guide behavior; suggestions, commands permission, prohibition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confirmation</td>
<td>Compares speaker's experience with other's; agreement, disagreement, shared experience or belief.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Requests information or guidance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgment</td>
<td>Conveys receipt of or receptiveness to other's communication; simple acceptance; salutations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpretation</td>
<td>Explains or labels the other; judgments or evaluations of the other's experience or behavior.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflection</td>
<td>Puts other's experience into words; repetitions, restatements, clarifications.</td>
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### Table 3: Taxonomy of Verbal Response Modes

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<tr>
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<th>Other's Experience</th>
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</thead>
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<td><strong>Focus on Other</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame of Reference</td>
<td>Frame of Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Speaker</strong></td>
<td><strong>Other</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disclosure</td>
<td>Question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I'm worried about my health.</td>
<td>Did you remember to pick up the tickets?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edification</td>
<td>Acknowledgment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Her husband is out of work.</td>
<td>Yeah Mm-hm.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Focus on Other

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker's Experience</th>
<th>Other's Experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Advisement</td>
<td>Interpretation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You ought to stop smoking.</td>
<td>You have been working too hard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confirmation</td>
<td>Reflection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We both feel the same way.</td>
<td>You want me to stop this.</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Table 4: Paired T-Test of Frequency of Interaction in Adolescent Daughter versus Son Families

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<tr>
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<th>Raw Frequencies</th>
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<th>T-test</th>
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<td>.28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>4874</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>10.35 (F. = 14,138)**</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>Raw Frequencies</th>
<th>Means</th>
<th>T-test</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1817</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>2851</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td>15.40 (F. = 6,674)**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adolescent</td>
<td>2007*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: * There are six adolescent girls and eight adolescent boys, making the raw frequencies even more striking.

** p < .000
Figure 1. Employment Status

- Professional: 53%
- Clerical: 14%
- Skilled Labor: 4%
- Technical: 11%
- Managerial: 14%
- Unemployed: 4%
Figure 2. Education

Above BA
43%

Some College
36%

BA/BS
21%
Figure 3. Income

Number of Parents

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Income Range</th>
<th>Number of Parents</th>
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<tr>
<td>$20-30,000$</td>
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<td>$30-40,000$</td>
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<tr>
<td>$40-60,000$</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above $60,000$</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 4: Intent of Family Communication

Number of Responses

Category of Verbal Response Modes

Advise  Confirm  Disclose  Edify  Interpret  Acknowledge  Question  Reflect  Uncode

Daughter  Son  Mother  Father
Figure 5: Family Communication in a Triad with an Adolescent Daughter

Daughter 38%  
Father 28%  
Mother 34%
Figure 6: Family Communication in a Triad with an Adolescent Son

Son 30%
Father 27%
Mother 43%
Figure 7: Family Typology

High Conversation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pluralistic</th>
<th>Consensual</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Low Conformity</th>
<th>High Conformity</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laissez-Faire</td>
<td>Protective</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>Separate</td>
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Low Conversation
What makes a family tick?

UW researchers to study parent-teen relationships

UW-Madison News Service

Mary Anne Fitzpatrick and David Ritchie are doing their bit to bridge the generation gap.

Fitzpatrick and Ritchie, communications researchers at the UW-Madison, are trail blazers in the jungle of adolescent-parent communication.

This summer will find the pair busy exploring the sometimes traumatic twists and turns of the parent-teen dialogue and how that dialogue influences the life of the average family.

"It's no secret that adolescence can be a time of severe conflict and difficulty," said Fitzpatrick, and the act of teen-parent dialogue, depending on how it's approached, can either smooth over those difficulties or exacerbate them.

In a landmark study about to be launched, the two communication arts professors will study families over a five-year period. They hope to determine how different kinds of families and their strategies for communicating influence such things as family bonds and change.

"Basically, we want to see how parents and their children talk to one another," said Fitzpatrick. How do they approach various issues and arrive at solutions to those issues? In previous studies, Fitzpatrick and Ritchie grouped families according to the strategies adopted for communicating. The UW-Madison researchers found that most families fall into four categories:

- The "laissez-faire" family is characterized by a lack of emphasis on parent-child communication. In this type of family, children are influenced more by people outside the family setting such as friends and classmates.
- The "protective family" values obedience and social harmony. Controversy is avoided and pressure is placed on children to conform to parental ideals.
- "Pluralistic families" encourage children to think for themselves and to challenge parental ideals. Open communication and the discussion of differing opinions are important.
- The "consensual family" tries to foster an interest in the world of ideas, but it's done in such a way as to avoid disrupting family power structures and internal harmony.

"There is not one perfect type of family," said Fitzpatrick. There are many different types and each has its own strengths and weaknesses.

But no matter what strategies families employ to exchange ideas and work out problems, the communication status quo comes under assault as children grow to adolescence, said Fitzpatrick.

And it is usually parents, added Fitzpatrick, that have difficulty adjusting to the new order. "You're not telling them to eat their carrots or put their coat on anymore. The rules and the issues have shifted." This change can lead to instability as adolescents and parents interpret situations differently.

As teen-parent issues become more sensitive, touching on such things as sexuality, drug and alcohol abuse, and academic performance, the assertion of parental authority can sometimes stifle teen-parent conversation.

Sometimes parents may ask what a child is thinking about and sometimes the kid makes the mistake of saying what's on his mind and ends up on the wrong end of a 30-minute lecture," said Ritchie. "The next time that happens, the kid isn't going to open up."

Families sought

The UW-Madison Center for Communication Research is seeking volunteer families from Wisconsin for an ongoing study of teen-parent communication.

Needed are both parents and one teen-ager (between the ages of 15 and 18) per family. After an initial screening by telephone, selected participants will be asked to participate in a two-hour session at the Center in Vilas Hall on the UW-Madison campus.

Evening and weekend appointments are available and a nominal payment of $30 per family will be offered.

Results of individual interviews and other personal information derived from the study will be kept in strict confidence.

Those interested in participating may call 263-9644.
PARTICIPANTS NEEDED FOR COMMUNICATION STUDY

Volunteer participants are needed for a study of family communication. Participants will be screened initially by a brief telephone interview. Both parents and one teenager (between 15 and 18) will be requested to come to the Center for Communication Research at the University of Wisconsin. The session will last approximately two hours. Evening and weekend appointments are available. A nominal payment of $30.00 per family will be offered. If you are interested in participating in this study:

PLEASE CALL

263-9644

Between 8:30 a.m.-4:00 p.m.
Monday-Friday

University of Wisconsin
Center for Communications Research
Dear

Thank you for agreeing to participate in our study on communication in the family. As I explained on the phone, your participation is completely voluntary.

Although information obtained in the study will probably have no direct benefit to you or your family, it does help us to understand family communication. All information obtained through your participation will be completely confidential.

Your appointment is scheduled for ___________ at ___________.

All appointments will take place on the 4th floor of Vilas Communication Hall. Vilas Hall is located at 821 University Ave. The building is on the intersection of University Ave. and Park Street. Enclosed, please find two maps. The first map is a general map to help you to reach campus, whereas the second map offers a more detailed picture of the University.

Easiest access to 4th floor Vilas can be obtained by taking any outside staircase. All exterior staircases lead to the 4th floor landing. Staircases are located on three sides of the building, facing University Ave., facing Park St., and facing The University Square Four Complex. (There are no stairs on the Johnson Street side of the building.) Once at the 4th floor landing, proceed toward Johnson Street to a set of double doors along a line of glass windows. A member of our research team will meet you there.

Parking is available at the Lake Street parking ramp, the Lake Street parking lot, University Square Four parking lot, Brook Street parking lot and the H. C. Memorial Library parking ramp. All of these parking facilities are shown on the detailed map of the University.

If you have any questions concerning these arrangements please call me at 262-3921 or 263-9644 or Alan Ring at 251-3988 or 255-7730. Thank you again for agreeing to participate. We look forward to meeting you.

Mary Anne Fitzpatrick
Director of Communication Research
University of Wisconsin-Madison

enclosures
Family Communication Study Consent Form

The purpose of this survey is to find out more about communication between parents and their adolescents. You are being asked to participate by answering a series of questions, which usually take about 20-25 minutes depending on how you answer.

We expect that the procedures will cause you no risk or discomfort.

The results of this study will contribute to our knowledge about communication in the family but the study will probably have no direct benefit to you as a participant. In all probability, there will be publications resulting from this study, but no member of your family will be identifiable from the material presented.

I will be pleased to answer any questions that you have now, or you may call Dr. Mary Anne Fitzpatrick at 262-2277 with any complaints about the research.

Your participation is completely voluntary. You may stop participating at any time prior to the completion of the project.

I have read the above and give my consent to participate in the study.

_________________________________________  ______________________
Signature                                            Date

I give consent to allow my child to participate in the family communication study.

_________________________________________  ______________________
Signature of parent or legal guardian                Date
Topic 1: The Family

Talk about your family. What does being a member of your family mean to you? How would you describe yourselves as a family? What makes your family unique or special?

Topic 2: Family Rituals

Family rituals are special events, conducted with as little interruption as possible, with clear beginnings and endings. Rituals usually involve preparation. Rituals might involve the way your family celebrates holidays, or birthdays, or even specific vacations, and so forth. Describe some important rituals in your family. Why are they important? What do they mean to you? What happens if something disturbs the ritual?

Topic 3: Problems of Teenagers

What special problems does a teenager face? What special problem does the family of a teenager encounter? Are there any special ways that your family handles problems with teenagers?

Topic 4: Family Decision Making

There are many issues and problems that come up in family life on which families have to make decisions.
Please take the packet of cards and discuss each issue on each card. Are these issues important to you as a family? How do you resolve these issues?
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