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ABSTRACT

Formats of communication within families are believed to be relevant contexts for children's development. Cultural values, norms, and interpretation patterns are transferred from parents to children within the family's specific communication framework. The purpose of this project was to study the quality of relationships and the communication patterns among family members during the period of transition from childhood to adolescence. Sixty-seven families with an adolescent child (age 11.6 at the beginning of data collection) participated in a longitudinal study in which adolescents judged the quality of their relationships with their parents at 6-month intervals over a period of 3.5 years. In addition, concrete communication behavior between parents and adolescents was observed and recorded when children were 11.6, 13, 14, and 15 years old. Three groups of adolescents were identified in a cluster analysis. Adolescents in these three groups described the quality of their relationships as being either habitual, ambivalent, or secure. Results indicated that: (1) adolescents differ in their ratings of the quality of their relationship with their parents with regard to the aspects of emotional ambivalence, dependability, and discussion behavior; (2) differences across groups of adolescents who assess the quality of their relationship with their parents remain constant over time; (3) adolescents experience divergent communication cultures in their families. (Contains 26 references.) (WJC)

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QUALITY OF RELATIONSHIP AND COMMUNICATION BEHAVIOR WITHIN THE FAMILY: DIFFERENTIAL TRANSITION PATTERNS FROM CHILDHOOD TO ADOLESCENCE.

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Paper presented at the fourteenth Biennial ISSBD Conference, August 12-16, Québec City, Canada

ABSTRACT

Formats of communication within families are believed to be relevant contexts for children's development. Cultural values and norms, interpretation patterns are transferred from parents to children within the family's specific communication framework. During periods of transitions in family development such as puberty of a child, the quality of relationship and communication among family members is postulated to influence the course of the child's individual development.

Sixty seven families with an adolescent child (age 11.6 years at the beginning of data collection) participated in a longitudinal study, in which adolescents judged the quality of the relationship with their parents every six months over a period of three and a half years (8 waves). In addition, concrete communication behavior between parents and adolescents was observed and recorded when children were 11.6, 13, 14, and 15 years old.

Results point to differences among adolescents' judgments concerning their quality of relationship with the parents. Three groups of adolescents were found in a cluster analysis. Adolescents in these three groups described their relationship quality as being either habitual, ambivalent, or secure. Differences across groups were consistent over time. Observed communication behaviors in parent-adolescent dyads showed divergent patterns during the transition period from childhood to adolescence. Results are discussed under the perspective of adolescents' different experiences in family communication and implications of possible links between the quality of relationship between parents and children and adaptive or non-adaptive variations in family communication are considered.

Introduction

The intention of the project was to study how parents and their children manage to go through the phase of family life and individual development, when children reach puberty. In the domain of family development, this period of transition from childhood to adolescence has often been described as a critical phase for both children and parents.

During early adolescence, when children begin to demand new formats of communication with their parents, some family developmentalists see the main function of the parents to provide a "launching center" for the children (Duvall, 1977; Aldous, 1978 ; Hill, 1981). Early adolescence in the family is a period, where different interests have to be integrated in the intergenerational group: On the one hand there is the child, who wants to be perceived as a different person by his or her parents, who is striving for a new identity, who is in a major process of ego development negotiating his or her relationship with the parents to gain more degrees of freedom. On the other hand there are the parents, who intend to maintain communication patterns which so far have helped to stabilizing extant parent-child relationships. Parents exhibit the tendency to maintain what they have established so far as functioning formats of communication with their child. In consequence, changes in the child's communication behavior are perceived by the parents as either expected events which can enrich the family's established formats of communication, or as a threat which may endanger the family's established balance.

Hauser and his research group (Hauser, Powers, Jacobson, Noam, Weiss, & Follansbee, 1984; Hauser, Powers, and Noam, 1991) analyzed parent-adolescent communication patterns during adolescence, in both normal and pathological parent-child dyads, using both qualitative and quantitative research methods. The authors underlined the highly generative mechanisms of communication patterns within the family and linked different styles of parent-child communication, such as constraining or enabling modes of talking with each other, to the differential development of self-images and conflict solution capabilities in the adolescent. Cooper, Grotevant and colleagues (Grotevant & Cooper, 1983; Cooper, Grotevant & Condon, 1983; Grotevant & Cooper, 1985), asked whether elements of dyadic communication such as modes of assertion, acknowledgement, or irrelevant comments have a major impact on the genesis of ego development. Still another team in adolescence research, that of Judith Smetana (e.g. Smetana 1995; Smetana, Yau, Restrepo, & Braeges 1991; Smetana, Yau and Hanson, 1991) studied harmony or disharmony, modes of conflict resolution, and the development of responsibility in families with adolescents. They applied a coding scheme similar to the one used by Hauser and collaborators. Different communication patterns found in families are believed to influence adolescents' belief-system of responsibility within the family.

These studies which focus on parent-child interactions during puberty indicate, from a family-developmental perspective, that indeed different interests are negotiated and often-times generating stress and conflicts between parents and children. At the same time, there is a need for establishing a new balance in the families and the ability to cope with these challenges seems to be narrowly linked to the extant frameworks of communication within these families. However, getting along in solving problems concerning family issues such as the adaptation of relationship patterns according to changing needs and abilities is not a quite new task but has a history of handling these kinds of problems during developmental shifts during earlier periods of family life.

In order to study differences in the quality of relationship within families as well as communication patterns, a multimethod approach seemed adequate, using subjective assessments about relationship quality as well as observational methods to study concrete communication behavior and possible changes over time during the transition period.

Major questions were:

- Do adolescents exhibit systematic differences when they judge aspects of the quality of relationship with their parents?
- Do these differences continue over time?
- Can differences in relationship quality be linked to specific communication patterns in parent-child dyads?
- Are there differences in changes of communication patterns in parent-adolescent dyads according to the assessed quality of relationship ?

METHOD

Sample

Participating families were selected by advertisements in West Berlin daily newspapers; the target group included families who had at least two children with the oldest child between ten and twelve years of age. Two-parent, step-parent, and single parent families were included in the sample. The families were visited in their homes every six months during eight waves of data collection (3 1/2 years)

The original sample consisted of 97 families where all children had contact with their fathers even when they lived in single parent families. 30 families which left the study between the second and the fourth wave. These dropouts were analyzed according to the major scales measuring relationship quality aspects and self-esteem. No differences between the remaining sample of the 67 and the 30 dropout families were found. This sample of 67 constitutes the longitudinal sample which then was reduced to 60 in the eighth wave (see longitudinal schema below).

Insert Table 1 about here

Adolescents' mean age at the first wave was 11.6 years; mothers' average age at the beginning of the study was 37.2, fathers' average age 40.3 years. Thirty eight of the 67 families were intact two parent families, twenty families were single parent families with mothers having custody. Nine families were step families with a biological mother and a step father. As no differences were found on major scales between intact and step families, the two groups were collapsed. The sample involved thirty-one male and thirty-six female adolescents.

Data collection

Families were visited every six months in their homes by a trained graduate student who administered questionnaires and conducted the observations. Questionnaires were administered to both parents and the oldest child. Observations (recorded on videotape) were made during the first, fourth, sixth, and eighth wave. Discussions between mother and adolescent as well as between

father and adolescent were observed in structured situations. In order to provide comparable interaction situations, participants were asked to discuss statements presented to them on a standardized set of cards.

Cards contained statements such as "We are planning an outing for next weekend together" or "Some in the family do not clean up their room as they should." The number of cards given in the different waves differed somewhat between the first and the other waves. During the first wave, an introductory card and then ten cards were given in each parent-child dyad, whereas during the fourth, sixth, and eighth wave each dyad had to discuss five cards. Each topic on a card was discussed for about two minutes. For the 8 waves, a total of 1625 cards in the mother-adolescent dyads, and of 1135 cards in the father-adolescent dyad was scored. Thereof were 670 in the first wave respectively about 310 in the following waves for mother-adolescent, and 470 for the first wave and 210 for the following waves in the father-adolescent dyads.

Instruments

For the measurement of relationship quality, the following three scales were constructed (Kreppner & Spiel, 1992): Dependability, Emotional Hesitancy, and Discussion of Critical Issues (see Table 1). The Dependability Scale (5 items, 4 point scale) assesses the degree of family functioning, that is, the degree to which parents and children can count on each other in everyday living; the scale was derived from the Family Assessment Measure (FAM) by Skinner, Steinhauer, and Santa Barbara (1983) for a multilevel description of the respondent's role in the family. The Emotional Hesitancy Scale (4 items, 6 point scale) measures perceived emotional ambivalence in the relationship with an other family member. This scale is part of the new instrument which assesses perceptions of self and others within the family (Spiel & Kreppner, 1991). The Discussion of Critical Issues Scale (6 items, 3 point scale) assesses the intensity with which the adolescent discusses critical issues with the parents. This scale is a shortened and simplified version of Robin and Weiss "discussion at home" scale. (see Robin & Weiss, 1980).

Insert Table 2 about here

Cronbach alphas for adolescents' perceptions of their mothers and fathers during the first wave of data collection were 0.77 and 0.75 for the Dependability Scale, 0.64 and 0.59 for the Hesitancy Scale, and 0.54 and 0.70 for the Discussion Scale.

The two scales dependability and emotional hesitancy were cross-validated in a different sample of 181 (Spiel, Kreppner & Von Eye, 1995). In addition, exploratory factor analyses were computed separately for mothers and fathers. In both analyses, a 3 factor solution suggests independence of the three scales, both for perceptions of relationship with mothers and with fathers. Both solutions explain about 50% of the variance. The solutions were calculated using orthogonal varimax rotation. (see Spiel & Kreppner, 1991).

Categorization and Coding Procedures of Discussion Behavior

Four trained coders processed the videotapes; they were blind with regard to families' social background or other characteristics such as family status. Coders scored the cards on an event basis. Each discussion following the reading of a card was taken as one event, that is, the discussion per card served as the scoring unit. The categories used to describe the discussions had been specified after a series of pilot observations. The condensed coding scheme devised for this study allows one to simultaneously code various aspects in every dyadic discussion. Each discussion was given a score in each of the categories. Coding proceeded dyad-wise, that is, for each dyad all cards were

scored before coders moved on to the next dyad. This procedure was selected after a number of other attempts had been made in which events had been randomized. This procedure proved to be rather inefficient for it increased the number of instances in which coders misinterpreted utterances or gestures. However, events within a dyad were randomized. After having coded all events in, for example, a mother-adolescent dyad, coders went on to another mother-adolescent or father-adolescent discussion series in another family, but never to the father-adolescent discussion of the same family.

The discussion of each card was coded in regard to a formal aspect, who takes up the card, three communication aspects, one of which was a general description of the relationship (hierarchy), the other two person-specific aspects of formats of communication and interaction and measured separately for parent and child in the dyad, and finally a nonverbal aspect of communication, degree of closeness while discussing, again scored separately for each individual (see table 2). Reliabilities were obtained by computing kappa coefficients for two raters who had, after being trained, coded all categories for each event independently of each other. Parallel ratings of about 10 to 15 percent of all events served as a first basis for the reliability check. After six months, the reliability check was repeated.

Analysis of relationship data

Analysis of variance for first wave data

A series of 2 x 2 x 2 fixed effect ANOVAs were calculated to investigate influences of Gender, Family Structure (Two Parent and Single Parent (Mother) Family), and Age (below vs. above 11 years and 6 months) on adolescents' assessments of the quality of relationship during the first wave of data collection. Emotional Hesitancy with both mother and father, Dependability with mother, and Discussion of Critical Issues showed no variation that was significantly dependent on the three factors. Only perceived Father Dependability showed an interaction between gender and family structure ($F = 4.64$; $df = 1$; $p = .035$). Single parent girls (with contact with fathers) perceived their fathers as less dependable ($M = 12.92$) than girls in two-parent families ($M = 14.61$). For boys the trend was the other way round: Boys from single mother families perceived their fathers (with whom they had regularly contact) as more dependable ($M = 16.71$) than boys from two-parent families ($M = 14.63$).

Cluster analyses

The adolescents' ratings of their parents' dependability and emotional hesitancy with mother and father, and the adolescents' discussion of critical issues with mother were used to calculate a three cluster solution (Ward, 1963). Change in R^2 was used to decide on the number of clusters. A three-cluster solution with a differential profile of average scores was selected:

Cluster Habitual/Routine (23 families) shows a profile with average scores to slightly negative deviations for Dependability; no Hesitancy in emotional relationships with both parents; and negative deviations in the frequency of Discussion of Critical Issues. The characteristic of this cluster can be labelled as Routine Dependability and Habitual Security of adolescents in families with stable relationships but low communication potential, that is, lack of negotiation of critical issues.

Cluster Ambivalent/Hesitant (32 families) displays a very different profile: High positive deviations from average are found for the scale Emotional Hesitancy with both mother and father. Dependability is perceived as average for both mothers and fathers. Discussion of Critical Issues is also perceived as within average range. The characteristic of this large group of adolescents is the

high degree of emotional hesitancy and uncertainty and ambivalence in emotional relationships with both parents.

Cluster Secure/Confident (12 families) has a profile characterized by positive deviations from average for perceived Dependability of both parents. Emotional Hesitancy deviates to the negative side, also for both parents. Frequency of Discussion of Critical Issues deviates slightly to the positive side. Adolescents in this cluster perceive relationships with their parents as secure, positive and emotionally confident with high communication potential.

Insert Figure 1 about here

When means of the relationship variables are regarded over time, consistency of judgments according to the cluster membership is quite obvious in both dependability and emotional hesitancy but not for discussion of critical issues. **Hierarchical regression analyses** were conducted in order to assess the predictive power of cluster membership during the first wave for later periods. These analyses were carried out for the fourth and sixth wave with a first step taking gender, age of adolescents within a period, and family status as a set of independent variables, and cluster membership during the first wave (two contrast variables, CL 3-12 and CL 2-13 were formed) as second set of independent variables for the second step to predict specific assessment patterns during the two later periods. As results show, three of the five dependent variables were still predictable in the fourth and sixth wave by cluster membership.

Insert Table 3 about here

Dependability with father and Emotional Hesitancy with both mother and father continue to show considerable beta coefficients ($\beta > .40$ for fourth wave, and $\beta > .25$ for sixth and eighth wave). Moreover, when Delta R^2 , that is, the increment of beta in the second step, is regarded, cluster membership during the first wave was indeed a relevant indicator. When cluster-specific ratings of the relationship quality is viewed for all separate waves, both dependability and ambivalence differences are most salient for the adolescent-father ratings.

Insert Figures 2 and 3 about here

ANALYSIS OF COMMUNICATION BEHAVIOR IN DYADS

Communication behaviors in parent-adolescent dyads were scored from videotapes. One discussion per card was considered one event which was rated (either per dyad or per person) for each of the given behavior categories. Classifications were made according to formal, communication, and nonverbal aspects. Across all families, for the mother-adolescent dyad about 600 discussion events were judged during the first wave, and about 300 each during the fourth and sixth and eighth wave of our data collection. 400 events for the first wave and about 200 for the other waves were scored for the father-adolescent and mother-father dyads. Resulting frequency distributions in three dimensional cross-tabulations (see Fienberg 1980; Agresti, 1984; Wickens, 1989; von Eye, Kreppner, & Weßels, 1992, 1994) were generated by crossing the variables Time, Cluster Membership and Communication Categories for a number of various sets of separate analyses. As a longitudinal design, changes over time [T] were of major interest as well as frequency changes in the various observed levels of the communication categories [O]. The third variable varied for the different sets of analyses was cluster membership [C]. Analyses were conducted separately for

Insert Table 4 about here

Models with a probability greater .05 were selected as fitting for explaining the frequency patterns found in the respective cross-tabulations (for the search process BMDP 4 F Program was used). As "main effect" models were not interpretable as frequency contours along main effects were empirically predefined (unequal frequencies). Interaction terms or saturated models (with a triple interaction term) were analyzed according to the significances of the parameter estimates which were computed for the selected models. Parameter estimates allow one to describe table characteristics in more detail. We estimated parameters from contrast variables defined in a way similar to linear contrasts in ANOVAs (for details see Evers & Namboodiri, 1978; Rindskopf, 1990; von Eye, Kreppner, & Weßels, 1992, 1994). For the models the parameters for the interaction terms [TO] and, according to the different analyses, [CO] (cluster membership by level of communication category) are of primary interest, as these terms detail variable interactions. In saturated models, the triple interaction [TOC] signifies that the three variables influence the frequency distribution by a cell-specific mode without a reduction possible to a more parsimonious model.

In order to compute parameter estimates, contrasts were formed by using one of the categories as anchor category or reference, against which the others were compared. For instance, for the communication variable Interaction Style, the level "Competitive" served as contrast category against which the other categories "integrative", "distanced", "dominant", and "submissive" were compared. The four contrast parameters are estimated, the fifth, that is, the parameter for the anchor category can be assessed by summing the z-values of the entire row up to zero. The same procedure holds for all respective columns or rows of a $m \times n$ or a $k \times m \times n$ table.

As can be seen from table 4, the term [CO] or [COT] (for saturated models) were almost always necessary to explain the frequency distributions in the cross tabulations in both dyadic constellations.

Insert Figures 4-7 about here

As an illustration of differences in both relationship management and parental guiding behavior in the parent-adolescent discussions, continuities and changes of "egalitarian exchange" (category "hierarchy") and "dominance" in the mother-adolescent and the father-adolescent dyad (category "interaction style") are presented in more detail. Cluster-specific frequency patterns over time are given in different colors (see Figures 4-7). Dyads from the "secure" cluster exhibit significantly higher values in "egalitarian exchange" with mothers ($z = 8.10$) and fathers ($z = 7.36$) compared to dyads from the other two clusters. In addition to this general difference, mother-adolescent dyads in the "secure" group show an early high profile of egalitarian exchange compared to the other two groups, and variation in this mode is highest in the "secure" father-adolescent dyads. When the "dominance" of mothers and fathers in the discussion with their children is considered, a highly salient time-specific difference across the three cluster groups can be noticed: For the "secure" group, mothers show a higher degree of dominant behavior when children are 13 years old (fourth wave) compared to other times, fathers, however, appear to increase their dominant behaviors in discussions only thereafter, when the adolescents are 14 and 15 years old. Fathers in dyads from the "ambivalent" group show generally a consistently high dominant communication pattern without any time-specific variation ($z=2.74$), whereas fathers from the "habitual" group display a consistently low profile of dominance over the entire period.

DISCUSSION

The following three aspects summarize some of the study's major results:

- Adolescents differ in their ratings of the relationship quality with their parents with regard to the aspects of emotional ambivalence, dependability, and discussion behavior.
- Differences across groups of adolescents who assess the quality of relationship with their parents remain rather constant over time, especially when relationship with fathers and aspects of ambivalence and dependability are considered.
- Adolescents experience divergent communication cultures in their families. One of the major differences across families is the variation of the degree of parental flexibility in adolescent-parent communication patterns during the transition period.

The continuity of the judgment patterns over time that has been found in this study clearly indicates that adolescents have a clear-cut representation about the quality of their relationships inside the family. Results also strongly suggest that adolescents do produce and experience different communication patterns in their families (Kidwell, Fischer, Dunham, & Baranowski, 1983), often-times not comparable with communication patterns in another family.

Moreover, continuity of adolescents' judgment patterns over time on the one hand and the linkage of these patterns to adolescents' differential experiences in everyday discussions are believed to indicate the existence of different 'cultures of communication' in families. With Burgess (1926) concept of the family as a superpersonality with focus on the interaction quality among members, the family's inner communication culture is reestablished as a major source of information for the classification of family types with regard to the quality of socialization within families. Differential analysis of communication behavior in intergenerative dyads illustrates how fine-grained regulations over time contribute to the possibility or non-possibility to negotiate a new and more appropriate relationship pattern between parents and adolescents defining future common development.

The results found in this study indicating relationship-type specific behavioral differences have major implications for future research. Deeper knowledge about family-specific elements or details of communication may lead us to a better understanding of those factors relevant for a successful or unsuccessful passage from childhood to adolescence. The attempt has been made to open a new window in family research for the intensive use of observation and description of what the child in his or her family is "really" experiencing when communicating with the parents, a process well-known as "primary socialization". Development appears to be formed anew every day by parent-child exchange framed by the family-specific recurrent patterns of day-by-day communications.

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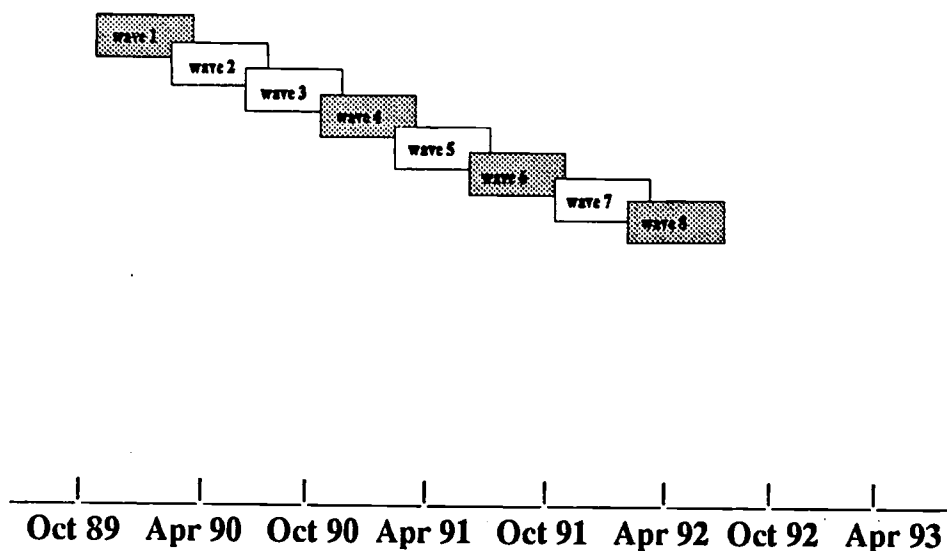
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Table 1

Timeschedule of Longitudinal Design and Sample Size per Wave

SCHEDULE FOR DATA COLLECTION



SAMPLE SIZE PER WAVE

WAVE	N	Mean Age
WAVE 1	67	11,6
WAVE 2	67	12
WAVE 3	67	
WAVE 4	67	13
WAVE 5	65	
WAVE 6	64	14
WAVE 7	63	
WAVE 8	60	15

Table 2

Scale Characteristics and Coding Categories

SCALE CHARACTERISTICS AND SAMPLE ITEMS

Dependability 5 Items, 4 point scale	"I can talk really well with him/her about my daily experiences"
Emotional Hesitancy/Ambivalence 4 Items, 6 point scale	"Often I would like to give my mom/dad a hug, but I don't do it"
Discussion of Critical Issues 6 Items, 3 point scale	"During the last two weeks we had a lot of arguments about how I spend my free time"

CODING CATEGORIES FOR CARD DISCUSSIONS

Formal Aspects of Communication

Who Picked up Card [parent; child; nobody]
Talking Time p/a [low; middle; high]

Interaction Aspects of Communication:

Hierarchy [egalitarian; long leach; hierarchical]
Communication Style p/a [statement; attention seeking; teaching; negotiating]
Interaction Style p/a [integrative; competitive; distanced; dominant;submissive]
Self Disclosure p/a [very low; low; high; very high]

Nonverbal Aspects

Tension p/a [very low; low; high; very high]
Closeness p/a [very low; low; high; very high]

Table 3:

Hierarchical Regression Analysis

Two step procedure: Independent variables for the first step: Gender, age, and family structure; independent variable for the second step: clustermembership
(2 variables: cluster 2 - 13 and cluster 3 -12).

ΔR^2 indicates the increment of R^2 after adding clustermembership in the second step.

WAVE 4

SCALE	MULT R	ADJ R ²	ΔR^2	VARIABLE	BETA	T	P
DP (ADOL-MOTHER)	.488	.176	.098	CLU 3 - 12	.329	2.472	.016
DP (ADOL-FATHER)	.516	.208	.210	CLU 3 - 12	.405	3.111	.003
EH (ADOL-MOTHER)	.550	.246	.290	CLU 2 - 13	.472	3.830	.000
EH (ADOL-FATHER)	.525	.216	.272	CLU 2 - 13	.452	3.569	.000
DC (ADOL-MOTHER)	.295	.012	.021	GENDER	-.290	-2.217	.031

WAVE 6

SCALE	MULT R	ADJ R ²	ΔR^2	VARIABLE	BETA	T	P
DP (ADOL-MOTHER)				-----			
DP (ADOL-FATHER)	.471	.152	.154	CLU 3 - 12	.302	2.222	.030
EH (ADOL-MOTHER)	.426	.110	.116	CLU 2 - 13	.360	2.767	.006
EH (ADOL-FATHER)	.450	.131	.156	CLU 2 - 13	.246	1.825	.073
DC (ADOL-MOTHER)	.410	.095	.045	AGE	-.300	-2.371	.021

WAVE 8

SCALE	MULT R	ADJ R ²	ΔR^2	VARIABLE	BETA	T	P
DP (ADOL-MOTHER)	.383	.066	.100	CLU 3 - 12	.365	2.495	.016
DP (ADOL-FATHER)	.324	.019	.075	CLU 3 - 12	.278	1.837	.072
EH (ADOL-MOTHER)	.334	.026	.090	CLU 2 - 13	.260	1.757	.084
EH (ADOL-FATHER)	.353	.041	.115	CLU 2 - 13	.346	2.357	.022
DC (ADOL-MOTHER)	.515	.196	.051	AGE	-.387	-3.182	.002

DP: DEPENDABILITY

EH: EMOTIONAL HESITANCY/AMBIVALENCE

DC: DISCUSSION OF CRITICAL ISSUES

Table 4:

Log-linear Models for Various Communication Behaviors Mother-Adolescent and Father-Adolescent Dyads over Time

T = Time (wave 1, wave 4, wave 6, wave 8)

O = Levels within a category (vary for each category)

C = Cluster membership: habitual, no discussion (1);
emotionally ambivalent(2); and secure and dependable (3).

Dyad: Mother - Adolescent Father - Adolescent

	Model	p	Model	p
<i>Formal aspects</i>				
Taker of card	saturated		saturated	
Talking time parent	[C], [TO]	.716	[C], [TO]	.325
Talking time adolescent	[CO], [TO]	.292	[C], [T], [O]	.550
<i>Communication aspects</i>				
Hierarchy in communication	saturated		[CO], [TO]	.156
Communication style parent	[C], [TO]	.230	saturated	
Communication style adolescent	saturated		[C], [TO]	.303
Interaction style parent	[CO], [TO]	.109	[CO], [TO]	.078
Interaction style adolescent	saturated		saturated	
Self disclosure parent	[CO], [TO]	.899	[CO], [TO]	.462
Self disclosure adolescent	[CO], [TO]	.655	[CO], [TO]	.707
<i>Nonverbal aspects</i>				
Tension parent	saturated		saturated	
Tension adolescent	saturated		[CO], [TO]	.064
Closeness parent	[CO], [TO]	.530	[CO], [TO]	.110
Closeness adolescent	saturated		saturated	

Figure 1

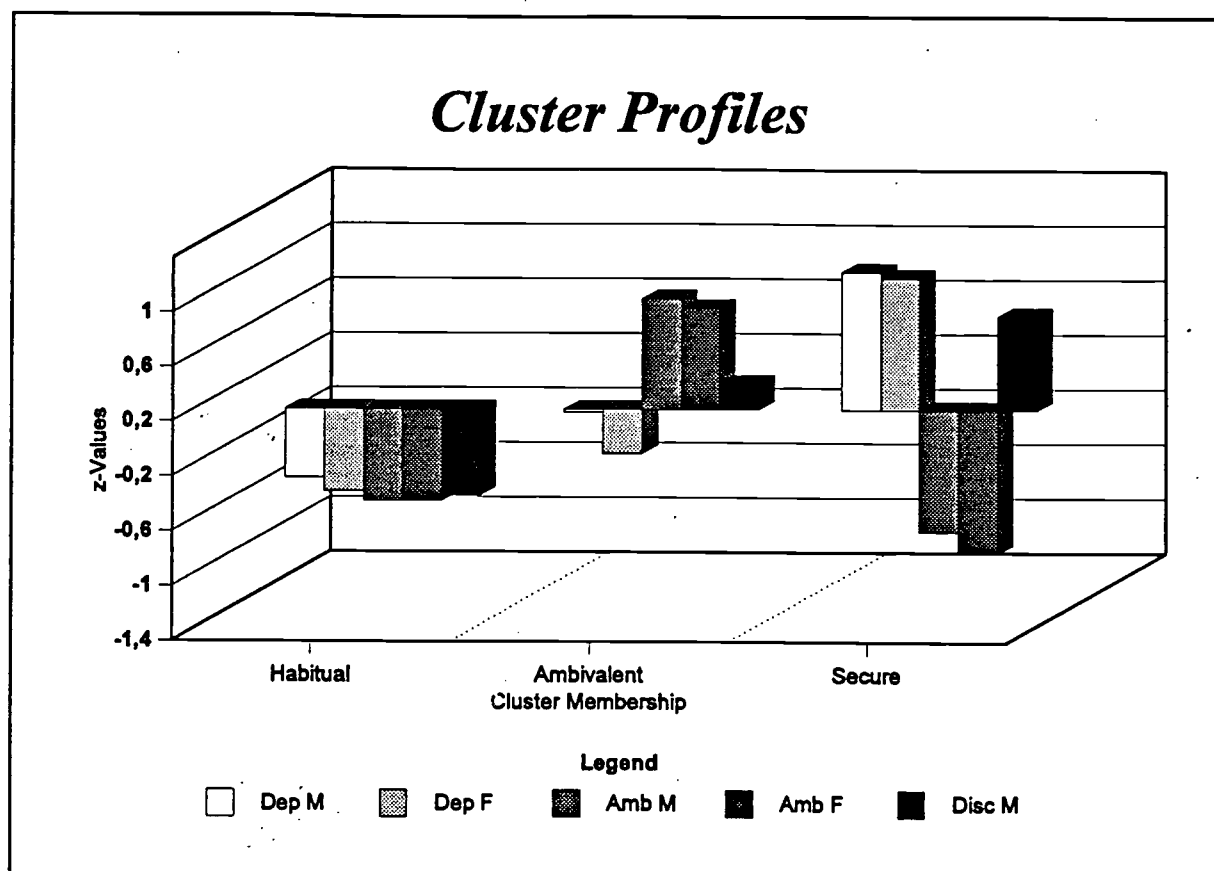


Figure 2

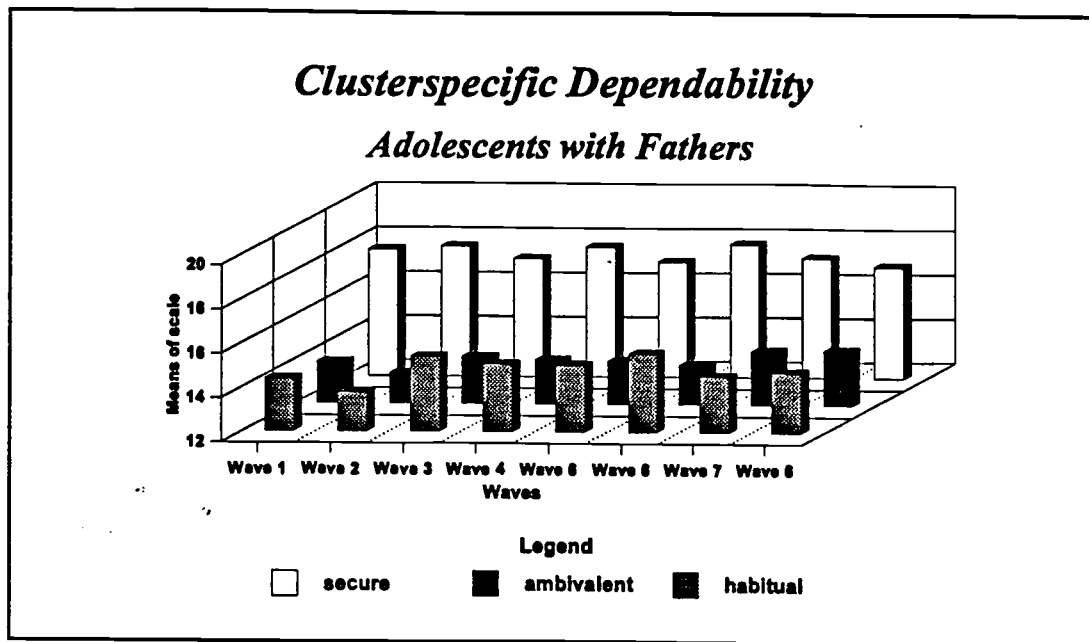


Figure 3

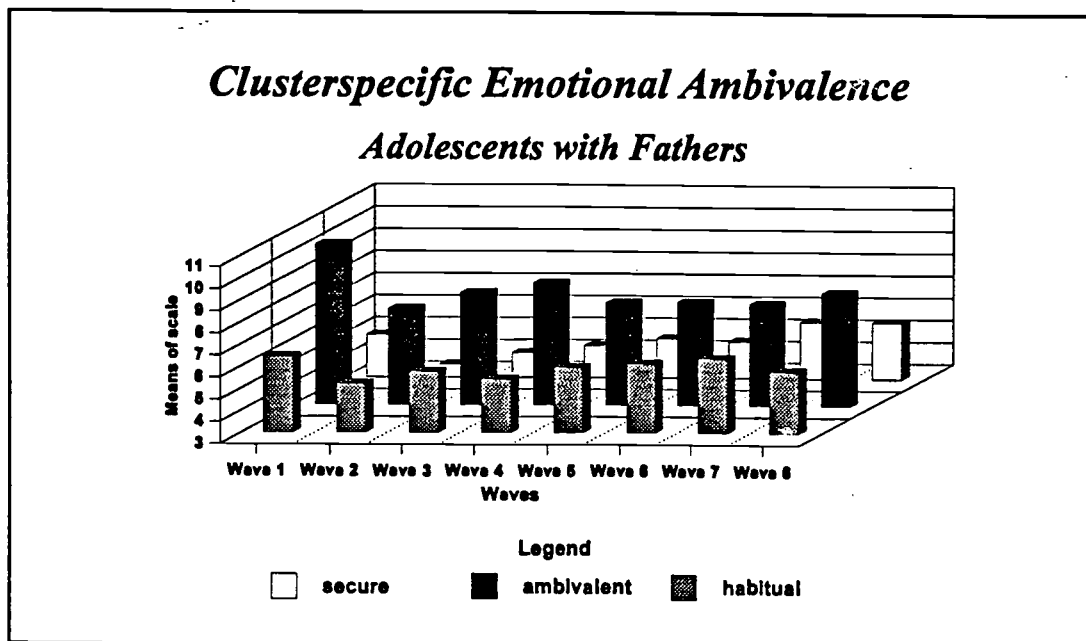


Figure 4

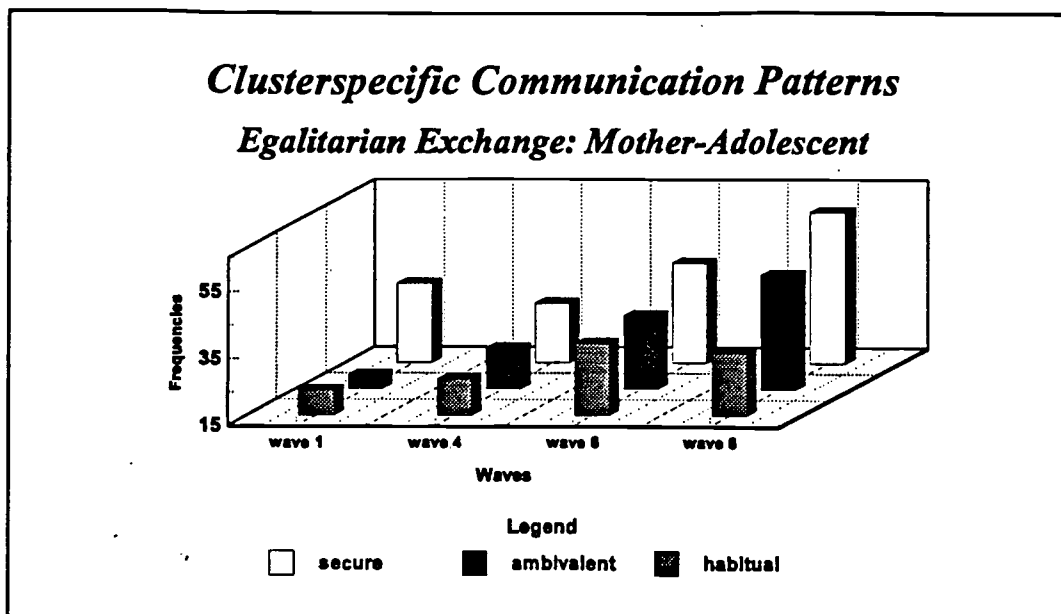


Figure 5

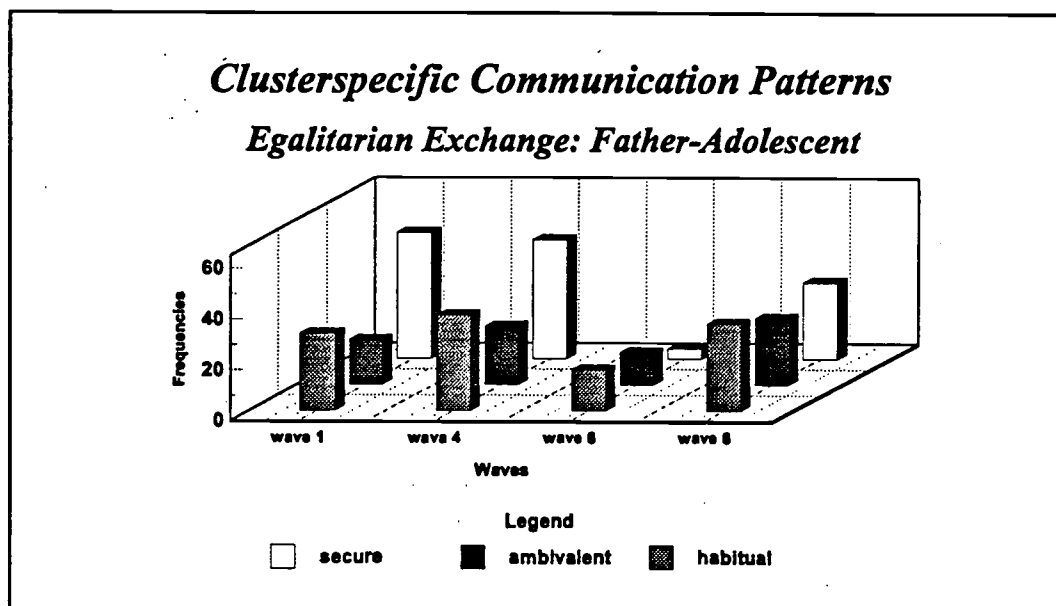


Figure 6

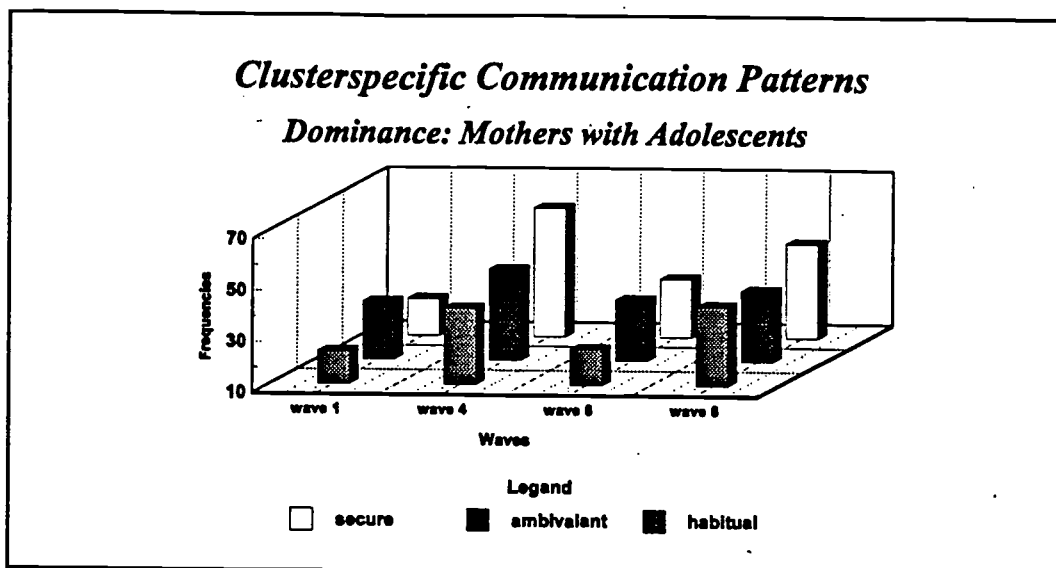
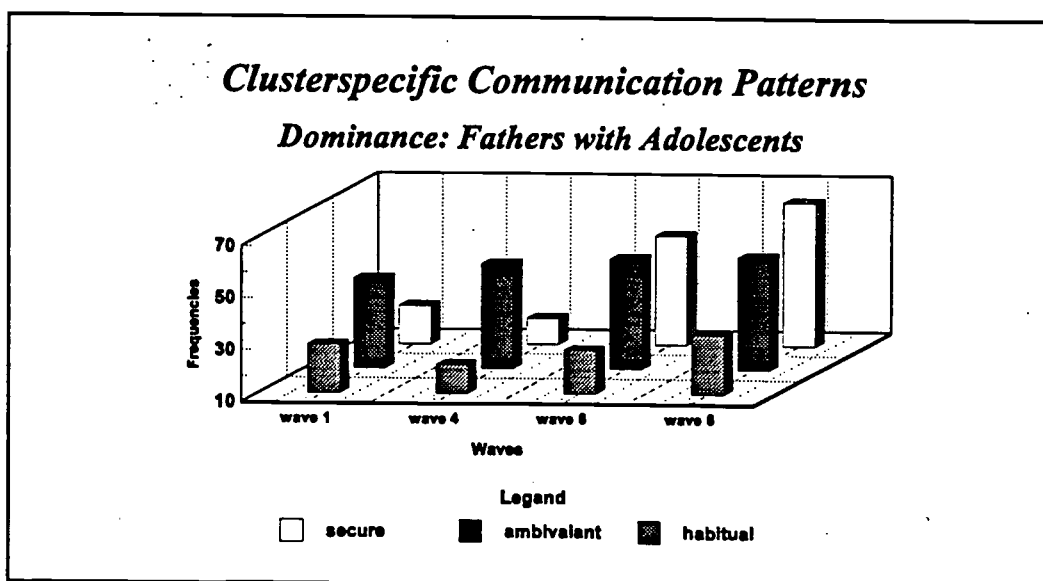


Figure 7





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08/27/96

XIVth Biennial Meetings of the International Society for the Study of Behavioural Development (Quebec City, Quebec, August 12-16, 1996).

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