This research investigated how family communication patterns (FCP), based on conversation-orientation and conformity-orientation, were related to youngsters' self-disclosure to their parents. Data was collected through a questionnaire survey of youngsters in Hong Kong, aged 13-24. Questionnaires were distributed to students who were studying Communication at a local university. Another group of students was recruited who had younger siblings: they took a copy of the questionnaire home for the siblings to complete. The hypotheses were confirmed that youngsters in perceived pluralistic and consensual families reported more and deeper self-disclose to their parents. It was also found that youngsters' self-disclosure to parents varied among all four types of families: pluralistic, consensual, protective, and laissez-faire. These findings from a cross-cultural study supported the conceptualization of family communication patterns. (Contains 27 references and 3 tables of data.) (Author/RS)
Perceived Family Communication Patterns and Self-Disclosure to Parents:

A Study of Youngsters in Hong Kong*

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*For presentation at the 2001 International Communication Association Annual Conference,
Washington, D. C. The paper was partially based on the Honour's Project by the second
authored under the direction of the first author.
ABSTRACT

This research investigated how family communication patterns (FCP), based on conversation-orientation and conformity-orientation, were related to youngsters' self-disclosure to their parents. Data was collected through a questionnaire survey of youngsters in Hong Kong, aged 13-24. The hypotheses were confirmed that youngsters in perceived pluralistic and consensual families reported more and deeper self-disclose to their parents. It was also found that youngsters' self-disclosure to parents varied among all four types. These findings from a cross-cultural study supported the conceptualization of family communication patterns.
Perceived Family Communication Patterns and Self-Disclosure to Parents:

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Family is the first institution people encounter in life and is the institution that will accompany us for the longest time in our life. “Whether for good or bad, families, or at least family-of-origin experiences, endure and form the foundation for our life-long social relationship” (Beebe & Masterson, 1986, p. 4). This project investigates how perceived family communication patterns (Ritchie & Fitzpatrick 1990) influence Hong Kong youngsters’ self-disclosure to their parents.

Perceived Family Communication Patterns

Communication is a key factor of creating mutual understanding among members in a family. Family therapist Satir has long stressed the importance of family communication as the largest single factor determining the kinds of relationships one can form with others. In other words, family communication can really affect how and what kind of relationship we will make with others in our whole life. Chaffee and McLeod (1972) developed a model of the family as a communication environment that influenced the children’s communication behaviors. They suggested two dimensions of family communication pattern (FCPs). The socio-orientation pertains to inclination to maintain a harmonious relationship among family members. The concept-orientation has to do with the degree of open expression of ideas and active engagement from any family member in a debate. Position of the family tendency
in each dimension produces 4 family types. The first one is labeled as pluralistic with high concept-orientation but low socio-orientation. The second one is protective type with low concept-orientation and high socio-orientation. The third one is consensual family with high on both scales. The last one is the laissez-faire with low on both scales. Many studies in the past decades have demonstrated the influence of FCPs on children’s developing perceptions of reality, their socialization with outside world, their social behaviors such as media use and interest in public affairs, their consumer behavior and adolescent career decisions etc.

To expand on the previous conceptualization, Ritchie and colleagues (Ritchie, 1991, Ritchie & Fitzpatrick 1990) made revision to the FCPs. The revised thinking is based on basic family communication norms reflecting a) parents’ power/control, and b) parent’s support/care. Ritchie (1991) found that all family members agreed on positive associations of socio-orientation with parental power and concept-orientation with familial tact and harmony. It is also argued that FCP was actually perceptions of FCP. The two dimensions of concept-orientation and socio-orientation were subsequently renamed respectively as conversation-orientation and as conformity-orientation. Ritchie and Fitzpatrick were interested in if all family members had agreement on which family type they belong to. Their conceptualization, nevertheless, offers a specific means to investigate the influence of perceived family communication pattern on particular family members.

Although research about Hong Kong youngsters has shown that relationship or
communication with their parents is one of the main problems faced by Hong Kong youngsters (Howroyd & Macpherson, 1992), we currently know very little about the state of situation in Hong Kong society. As communication within the family has a big influence on the youngsters, family communication can determine the ability and confidence of young people to face the transition from childhood to adulthood (Noller & Callan, 1991). So, family communication is an essential part of a youngster’s healthy development and it is an important topic to study about Hong Kong youngsters.

Self-Disclosure and Youngsters

Self-disclosure as “the act of making yourself manifest, showing yourself so others can perceive you” (Jourard, 1971, p. 19) has received much attention in interpersonal communication studies. Self-disclosure has to do with any information about oneself which a person communicates verbally to another (Cozby, 1973). It has been shown that people self-disclose in personal relationships so as to receive confirmation (Reiss & Shaver, 1988). Exposing oneself to others enables one to know himself/herself so that self-identity becomes clear. Also, one can prevent the stress of keeping self from being known. Thus, self-disclosure contributes to a healthy personality.

Altman and Taylor’s (1973) theory on social penetration presented a model for understanding relationship and its development between individuals regardless of the nature of their relationship. Personality has depth and breadth dimensions that are uncovered as people
share different aspects of their personalities. Breadth and depth of self-disclosure refer to the number and the type (depth) of information that one is willing to disclose to others about self. The motives of escape, inclusion, pleasure and affection have been found to account for breadth of self-disclosure (Graham, Barbato, & Perse, 1993) while the motives of pleasure and affection have explained the self-disclosure of low intimacy topics (Graham, Barbato & Perse, 1993). When openness and richness are characteristics of a relationship, people experience highest level of self-disclosure. They can share with each other almost everything about themselves, positive and negative aspects. If the relation between family members is close, the youngsters may be more willing to tell their parents about everything including the superficial thing like taste and the deepest thing like personality. The importance of self-disclosure to a healthy personality and healthy relationships is also well-documented (Chelune & Associates, 1979). In this sense, self-disclosure is indispensable for a family to be one.

Many researchers have studied self-disclosure within the family. A large part of that literature is about self-disclosure between parents and children. Some have studied the motive and variables of self-disclosure (e.g., Doster & Strickland, 1969). Patterns of self-disclosure between youngsters and their parents have also been studied extensively. For example, many researchers found that mothers receive more disclosure from their children than fathers did in the family (Daluiso, 1972). There are also sex difference in children’s self-disclosure: high-school girls tend to remain constant in self-disclosure to parents, while boys of same age
show an overall decrease in self-disclosure to both parents (Rivenbark, 1971). Moreover, past research has found that youngsters are rather positive in their self-disclosure to their parents, yet tended to self-disclose with greater depth, breadth and honesty to close friends (Tardy, Hosman, & Bradac, 1981).

Variables influencing the youngsters' self-disclosure to their parents and several factors have also been examined. For example, when parents are perceived as nurturing and supportive, they receive more disclosure from children who found the encounters more rewarding (Doster & Strickland, 1969). Also, increase in parents' self-disclosure can led to more self-disclosure from their children (Abelman, 1976). Exploring the communication behavior and satisfaction, Martin & Anderson (1995) report similar motives and self-disclosures in communication of father-young adult relationships, as well as a relationship between motives and self-disclosure behavior. They conclude that motives and self-disclosure are directly related to relationship satisfaction, which supports the notion that motives and communication affect family satisfaction.

Regarding Hong Kong youngsters, Leung (1993) investigated influences of message content on the willingness of their self-disclose towards different target persons – a) parents, b) siblings, c) intimate friends, d) acquaintances and e) counselors. She found that overall Hong Kong youngsters were not very willing to self-disclose to others. When the target persons were their parents, they were more willing to disclose about their ‘financial issue’
and ‘future aspiration’. However, they were least willing to talk about their ‘personal relationship’ with parents. The researcher suggested that the above might be explained by the traditional culture of Chinese. As Chinese emphasize indirect communication, the expectation is that the others can read one’s mind rather without one saying it verbally and explicitly.

Self-disclosure gives any family member a chance to express his or her own needs, feelings and expectations. So, self-disclosure is the beginning of and a main path to good communication. If there is no self-disclosure from family members, we cannot say that they are communicating. Although self-disclosure pattern, motives and variables are really important issues when we are studying self-disclosure, an essential aspect – what influences the youngsters’ willingness to self-disclose, hasn’t received much attention. As self-disclosure contributes to youngsters’ healthy personality, we should study what influences their willingness to self-disclose. We need to learn about how events in the relationship shape communication as well as how communication affects relationship adjustment (Sillars & Wilmot, 1993). To know more about Hong Kong youngsters’ self-disclosure to their parents, we should first pay attention to the family communication patterns taking place in their families because the FCPs can influence the youngsters’ communication behaviors in the family. Self-disclosure pattern allows us to understand better about what facilitates or what hinders their willingness to self-disclose.

Family Communication Orientation and Youngsters’ Self-Disclosure
All youngsters experience the period of moving from childhood to adulthood. During this period, youngsters frequently become unsure about themselves and the direction of their lives. They may even face self-doubt and begin to think about whether they want to grow up and how quickly they want to grow up. So, it is a period full of suspect and doubt. Under this situation, family is an important part of a social environment that will influence the development of youngsters. The quality of family communication has direct effect on the youngsters’ ability and confidence to cope with the uncertainty faced in this period (Noller, & Callan, 1991). Good family communication may help them to develop close relationship with others inside or outside the family and to establish a more positive self-identity. However, unhealthy family communication may be a reason of the youngsters’ problem behaviors. On the other hand, this is the period when children are becoming psychologically mature. They are beginning to expect new rights in the family and renegotiate issues such as sharing of resources and information (Petronio, 1994). Family communication pattern will affect negotiation of intergeneration boundaries and impact on the successful growing up of children.

If there is two-way communication between the parents and children, the parents will spend more time to communicate with the children. Making time to communicate with children in effect shows respect to the youngsters’ opinions as well as concern for them. So, the youngsters may have more chance and larger intention to self-disclose to the parents. Studies have showed that individuals from conversation-oriented families exhibited greater
degrees of self-disclosure, desire for control, self-esteem, and sociability, whereas those from conformity-oriented families were more likely to be self-monitoring and shy and hold lower self-esteem (Huang, 1999).

The conformity-orientation in a family emphasizes that the children just listen to their parents and obey the order of their parents. The parents tend to control almost everything about their children. In this kind of family, the youngsters are discouraged from having say in the family and there is inadequate interaction between parents and children. This may dissuade the youngsters’ willingness to self-disclose. On the other hand, the conversation-orientation stresses that every member in the family has the right to express what they want to say. So, parents will ask for opinion from the children and the children’s contribution to the family is treasured. Also, the parents are free to tell their children their feelings and beliefs.

High degree of conversation orientation is associated with expression of feeling and opinion from both parents and children. This may accelerate the youngsters’ willingness to self-disclose more to their parents. Thus we can expect that youngsters who live in pluralistic and consensual families are more likely to self-disclose more and deeper to their parents. In protective and laissez-faire families, due to low degrees of conversation-orientation, two-way communication is not encouraged if not discouraged. The format of parent-child communication tends to be one-way communication in which feedback from youngsters is not sought, or there may be even no communication at all. So, the youngsters may have no
opportunity or intention to self-disclose to their parents. We expect that those who live in protective and laissez-faire families may have less and swallow self-disclosure.

Based on the above a hypothesis is proposed

H1. Children self-disclose more when perceived family communication pattern is high than when it is low in conversation orientation.

**Family Communication Pattern and Youngsters’ Self-Disclosure**

In the pluralistic pattern, family communication is perceived to be high in conversation-orientation but low in conformity-orientation. In this kind of family, parents are perceived to stress the expression of feeling and opinion from every family member and to encourage the family members to do the same. The perceived expectations for children’s conformity are low. So, the children and the parents are free to tell and listen to each other things about themselves. Even when they disagree with each other sometimes, they still want to let the other express whatever they want.

Families high in both orientations are called consensual families. Within this type of family, it seems that the parents have a dual role. On one side, they are supervisors to their children. One the one hand, they want the children to listen to their opinion when the family is making some serious decisions. On the other hand, they are like friends of their children and encourage their children to talk with them. It is not clear to what extent high conformity orientation may interact with high conversation orientation in consensual families.
Members of protective families perceive low degree of conversation-orientation but high degree of conformity-orientation. The parents in this family tend to decide everything for their children because they think that the children are immature to make decision. So, the parents do not promote interactions between the children and themselves, but request obedience from the children. As they have a final say in each issue, they just want the children to obey them but not to challenge them.

Furthermore, families low in both orientations are labeled as laissez-faire families. Under this family type, the parents have not used any obvious communication style. They just let the children do as they please. The children will not receive the command from parents and they are not asked to obey any rule set by their parents either. This may also lead to a lack of communication between parents and children. To understand the joint effect of perceived family communication on children’s self-disclosure to parents, a question is posed.

RQ1. Do children’s self-disclosure display different patterns among the 4 perceived family communication types?

**Method**

**Variables**

Independent variable. Perception of Family Communication Patterns is the independent variable in this study. Levels of this variable are determined by conformity-orientation and conversation-orientation following Ritchie & Fitzpatrick (1990).
Dependent variable. Self-disclosure is the dependent variable, represented by self-reported self-disclosure on a variety of topics.

Respondents

The population of this study is Hong Kong “youngsters”, which, according to the Central Committee on Youth (CCY), include individuals aged between 10 and 25 (Howroyd & Macpherson, 1992). The target respondents for this study were narrowed down to those who are 13-24. This decision was made based on the following considerations. (1) The youngsters within this age range are likely to be aware of problems in communicating with their parents. So, it is practically important to understand how they self-disclose in their families. (2) Those who are within this age range are mature enough to understand the content of the questionnaire so they can provide more accurate information. (3) Adult children in Hong Kong families normally do not leave home until they are married or long into their adulthood.

The sample included 208 respondents. Forty-seven percent of the respondents are 18 or below and the rest were 19 or above. Among the respondents, four age-groups, 17 to 20, represent a combined 60% of respondents (with over 10 % each). The sex ratio of male and female respondents was 1:2.
Instruments

The questionnaire consisted of two parts. The first part is to measure perceived family communication pattern and the second part is to ask what the youngsters disclose to their parents. The first part of this questionnaire was adopted from Ritchie and Fitzpatrick (1990) that included conversation-orientation and conformity-orientation subscales. Measures for conversation-orientation include 15 items. These items describe situations where there is mutual expression of feeling and opinion between parents and children. Examples are “my parents encourage me to challenge their ideas and beliefs” and “my parents encourage me to express my feelings”. The conformity-orientation sub-scale included 11 possible ways parents use to discourage children expressing opinions in the family. Examples of item are “my parents feel that it is important to be the boss” and “when I am at home, I am expected to obey my parents’ rules”. Reliability tests of the two scales yielded alpha of .76 and .83 for conformity and conversation orientations respectively.

The second part of this questionnaire included 35 questions about self-disclosure topics. These 35 items are selected from the 60-item “Self-Disclosure Questionnaire” (Jourard & Lasakow, 1971). Items that are not very relevant to local context or target population were excluded. For example, items are excluded such as “my views on the question of racial integration in schools, transportation, etc”, “my feelings about the salary or rewards that I get for my work”, “how I feel about the choice of career that I have made – whether or not I’m
satisfied with it” or “all of my present sources of income – wages, fees, allowance, dividends, etc”. These are uncommon in the life of an ordinary secondary school or university student in Hong Kong. The selected 35 items were grouped under 6 categories: 1. **Taste and Interest** (e.g. The kinds of movies that I like to see best; the TV shows that are my favorites); 2. **Studies** (e.g. What I feel are my special strong points and qualifications for my studies); 3. **Money Matters** (e.g. Whether or not I have savings and the amount); 4. **Appearance** (e.g. How I wish I look like: my ideals for overall appearance); 5. **Attitude and Opinions** (e.g. What I think and feel about religion; my personal religious views) and 6. **Personality** (e.g. Things in the past or present that I feel ashamed and guilty about).

The respondents were required to rate, on a four-point scale of -1 to 2, if and how much they disclose to their parents about a topic (-1 if they lie or misrepresent themselves, 0 if they disclose nothing, 1 if disclose in general, and 2 if disclose in complete details). The questionnaire was administered in Chinese. Bilingual individuals uninvolved in this research made translation from the original scales.

Coefficients of the reliability estimate for two family communication patterns and the six categories of self-disclosure ranged .75 to .89, except the category on attitudes and opinions (.69).

**Procedure**
Data were collected with a “snowball” sampling method. First, we distributed the questionnaires to the students who are studying Communication in a local university. Another group of students was recruited who had younger siblings. They were asked to take a copy of questionnaire for their sisters or brothers to fill in. The complete questionnaires were brought back the next day.

Results

Preliminary Analysis

**Perceived Family Communication Patterns.** Reported frequency for each of the perceived family communication type is 51 (24.5%) of Laissez-faire, 60 (28.8%) Protective, 50 (24%) Plural, and 47 (22.6%) Consensual.

**Self-Disclosure.** Amount of reported self-disclosure to parents was standardized for each of the eight topics: ‘Gender role’ (items on gender from the opinion category), ‘Interests/taste’, ‘Study’, ‘Money matters’, ‘Appearance’, ‘Sex’ (items on sex from personality), ‘General Opinion’, ‘Feelings’ (remaining items from personality). The means for each topic ranged from a high of 1.14 to a low of .30, on a two-point scale. Overall, ‘Interests/taste’ was the topic children reported self disclosing most and ‘Sex’ is one they disclosed least to their parents (see Table 1). Over 65% reporting disclosing in general or more on ‘Interests/taste, compared to below 5% reporting doing so for the topic of ‘Sex’, below 30% about ‘Gender Role’, below 50% about ‘Appearance’. For topics of ‘Study’,
'Money matters', 'General Opinion', and 'Feelings', just over 50% reported disclosing in general or more.

Age groups had no difference in overall disclosure and showed differences in the topics of gender role and money matters. Aged 18 or below reported significantly less disclosure on gender roles (M = .49 vs. .67 for those aged 19 or above; F(1,204) = 4.79, p = .03), but significantly more disclosure on money matters than those at 19 or above (.99 vs. .73 for those at 19 or above; F(1, 204) = 12.62, p < .001).

Sexes differed in overall disclosure with females disclosing more than males (M = 31.30 vs. 25.57 for males; F (1,205) = 8.18, p = .005). Specifically, the difference was significant for the topics of gender role (F (1,205) = 11.44, p = .005), interests (F (1,205) =12.72, p < .001), and appearance (F (1,205) = 13.32, p < .001).

Effect of Perceived Family Communication Patterns

ANOVA results resulted in significant group differences among 4 perceived family communication pattern types in overall disclosure amount (see Table 2) and in all 8 topics reported (see Table 3). Post hoc analyses revealed group differences in disclosure patterns in such a way that groups were distinguished on the base of orientation dimensions in overall disclosure as well as on the topic of Interests/Taste. Perceived FCP types high on conversation-orientation (Plural and Consensual) were each significantly higher on overall self-disclosure and on the category of Interest/Taste than the other two types (Laissez-faire
and Protective). There was no significant difference between the Plural and Consensual types on any categories. The reverse is true between the types low on conversation-orientation (Laissez-faire and Protective), with no significant difference found. There were, however, significant differences in cross comparison of several topic categories between groups high and low in conformity orientation. The Laissez-faire group disclosed less on the topic of ‘Gender Role’ than the Consensual group; the Protective group disclosed less on ‘Opinion’ than the Plural group. The Plural group disclosed more than either the Laissez-faire or the Protective group on ‘Interest/Taste’ and ‘Sex’. The Consensual group disclosed significantly more than either the Laissez-faire or the Protective group on ‘Appearance’.

Respondents who perceived Plural FCP reported highest disclosure in all but one category (Appearance), whereas those who perceived Laisser-Faire FCP reported lowest disclosure in all but the category of Money Matters. For four topics ‘Interest’, ‘Money’, ‘Opinion’, and ‘Feelings,’ the groups can be ranked from high to low amount of disclosure as Laissez-faire, Protective, Consensual, Plural group.

DISCUSSION

Findings here have provided preliminary evidence for the applicability of theoretical concept of family communication pattern to the Hong Kong society. Developed in the U.S., the conceptualization promises to have certain cross-cultural validity. We have gained preliminary knowledge of the family communication pattern as perceived by the younger...
generation in Hong Kong families. There is roughly equal distribution of four family types, which is likely indicative of the cultural change that has occurred among Hong Kong Chinese. Traditionally, protective families were the standard and ideally the type for the Chinese family.

The findings on the relationship between perceived FCP and youngsters' self-disclosure further support the conceptualization of FCP. Self-disclosure seems to be affected by the conversation orientation of the family, the orientation that encourages open expression, rather than by the conformity orientation, one that stress parental control. Influences of the conformity orientation may lie in the topic of self-disclosure. This may involve information about their children that parents think as necessary to know. What parents must know about their children are largely cultural-specific, it points to a future direction for research on FCP.

Findings on degree of self-disclosure on itemized topics have revealed some general information about Hong Kong youngsters' self-disclosure to parents. The topic of 'Interests/taste' they revealed most to their parents, but the topic of 'Sex' seemed to be off the limit, not surprisingly. They also talked less about 'Gender Role' and 'Appearance' with their parents. Topics of 'Study', 'Money matters', 'General Opinion', and 'Feelings' are relatively common as subjects of self-disclosure. Most of the above make conceptual sense as degree of self-disclosure was in consistency with the intimacy of the topics. A little puzzling is the topic of 'Gender Role', which is not very personal information but was disclosed more only
than the topic of ‘Sex’. An explanation may be the nature of the topic as a common sense and thus not a common topic of private talk.

Age differences in disclosure of gender role and money matters may just be an artifact of development related issues. More recently socialized, younger people are more likely to take the gender distinction for granted. It may occur to them less that this is a topic for talk. As for money matters, younger people may be less inhibiting for their sense of privacy is less developed. The sex difference in self-disclosure is generally consistent with past findings from Western societies. This may be evident of the cultural-general nature of gender distinction, where femininity is socially defined, in part, in terms of verbal expression of thoughts and feelings.

The wide range of age in the sample could have been a limitation. For this sample, however, there was no age difference for the self-disclosure pattern. A finding pointing to the societal/cultural norm of family communication.

Practically, findings from this study are beneficial to parent-child communication. When youngsters face difficulties in communicating with their parents, the parents should bear certain responsibility for creating the type of family communication patterns in the home environment. The findings here will be useful for Hong Kong parents to develop healthier relationship with their children. It may help for parents to know that parents’ absolute authority is no longer a useful tool to communicate with children. In a contemporary society,
parents' authority only suppresses the children's intention to talk to them and may lead to deterioration of the affiliation between parent and children. Also, parents should not neglect communicating with children (like what the parents in Laissez-faire families would do), because it is also unproductive to parent-child relation. To establish two-way communication is to develop better relation with children and to allow children self-disclose more.

One limitation in this study is about the design of questionnaire. Some respondents commented that there should be more choice than “yes or no” in the part of family communication patterns. They said that different situations happened in different time or different levels so that it is hard to choose from yes or no. Small sample size is another limitation. Youngsters occupied 20% of the over 6 million of the total population in Hong Kong and the approximate number is 1,200,000. A sample with a size of barely 200 is very small indeed. Findings here can hardly be generalized to all the Hong Kong youngsters without further replication. The snowball method generated a convenient sample, which gives rise to yet another caution for generalization of the findings. Lastly, future studies would need to pay attention to the target person of youngsters’ self-disclosure. Respondents actually mentioned that they self-disclosed in different level to their mother and father, and that it was difficult to pick a choice if it is generally defined as “parents”.

22 21
References


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<td>consensual</td>
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TABLE 3 PERCEIVED FAMILY COMMUNICATION PATTERNS AND TOPICS OF SELF-DISCLOSURE

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Title: Perceived Family Communication Pattern and Self-Disclosure to Parents: A Study of Hong Youngsters

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