MOTHER-DAUGHTER COMMUNICATIVE RELATIONSHIPS DURING ADOLESCENCE AND EARLY ADULTHOOD

by

Capreece S. Bowers

B.Sc., University of Northern British Columbia, 1998

M.Sc., University of Northern British Columbia, 2004

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF

REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER IN SCIENCE

in

PSYCHOLOGY

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN BRITISH COLUMBIA

December 2004

Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 0-494-04656-2
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 0-494-04656-2

APPROVAL

Name: Capreece Bowers

Degree: Master of Science

Thesis Title: Mother-Daughter Communicative Relationships During Adolescence and Early Adulthood

Examining Committee:

_____
Chair:

_____
Supervisor: Dr. Sherry Beaumont
Associate Professor
University of Northern British Columbia

_____
Committee Member: Dr. Loraine Lavallee
Assistant Professor
University of Northern British Columbia

_____
Committee Member: Dr. Paul Madak
Professor,
University of Northern British Columbia

_____
External Examiner:

Date Approved: _____

ABSTRACT

This thesis examined communication patterns of mothers and daughters of two age groups (adolescents, ages 12 through 16, $n = 24$; and, young adults, ages 20 through 35, $n = 21$). Mother-daughter dyads participated in discussions about five hypothetical issues and completed self-report measures of mother-daughter relationship conflict. Conversations were audiotaped and coded for rates of overlaps between speaking turns, simultaneous speech, and successful interruptions. It was hypothesized that there would be greater differences in the conversational styles of adolescent daughters and their mothers as compared to adult daughters and their mothers, and the magnitude of conversational style differences would be positively related to perceptions of relationship conflict. Results partially supported the hypotheses. The predicted differences in mothers and daughters conversation styles as a function of age were found. However, findings did not support the hypothesis that conversational style differences would predict perceptions of relationship conflict.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments

I would like to extend my sincere appreciation and gratitude to Dr. Sherry Beaumont for the opportunity to work with her on this research project. I would like to thank Dr. Beaumont for her encouragement, supervision, and support during my undergraduate and graduate course work, and the preparation of my thesis. I have had the privilege of working with Dr. Sherry Beaumont for a majority of my educational career and what I have learned from her is invaluable. I would also like to thank my committee members, Dr. Loraine Lavallee and Dr. Paul Madak.

My family and friends have been an incredible source of strength and support throughout this process, and I would like to thank all of them for being part of my journey. I would like to thank my husband, Mike, for his patience and encouragement throughout my work. I would also like make a special thanks to my mother, Sharon Fischer, who assisted me in numerous hours of work with the coding of my data, and for acting as my personal "cheerleader." Further thanks is needed to my father, Jack Bowers, for his motivational support and backing throughout my educational journey.

Finally, appreciation is extended to Jacqueline Boonstra, Nicole Bowers, Gayle Bowers, Marsha Johnson, and Loretta Thorarinson for their assistance in various phases of the project. Of course, I would also like to thank all of the participants in Prince George who assisted me in this project. Without you this research could not have happened!

Mother-Daughter Communicative Relationships During Adolescence and Early Adulthood

INTRODUCTION

The communication patterns of parents and their children have received a considerable amount of attention in the research literature and have been identified as a crucial aspect of family life. Poor communication is often the basis for conflict in family relationships, and it can negatively affect the quality of the parent-child relationship (Robin & Foster, 1989). Developmental researchers have noted that families seem to experience an increase in communication problems when children become adolescents (Laursen, Coy, & Collins, 1998), and the degree of communication conflict that occurs in parent-adolescent relationships depends on the gender composition of the particular dyad in question (Arnett, 1999). For example, the mother-daughter dyad has been acknowledged as the most conflictual in terms of communication, yet both mothers and adolescent daughters report the highest levels of intimacy (e.g., Youniss & Smollar, 1985). The complicated nature of the mother-daughter relationship is evident throughout the lifespan, with a heightened level of conflict in the adolescent years and continual improvement through the adult years (Apter, 1999; Baruch & Barnett, 1983; Fingerman, 1997; Fischer, 1981, 1986; Rossi & Rossi, 1990). Nevertheless, the research is limited on the factors that contribute to the significant improvement in the mother-daughter relationship during adulthood. The purpose of the present research is to address the limitations of the literature by examining the role of conversational styles in the apparent difference between adolescent and adult daughter/mother levels of communication

conflict.

The apparent discord that mothers and daughters experience during adolescence has been linked to differences in conversational styles. Specifically, Beaumont and her colleagues (1995, 1996, 2000; Beaumont & Cheyne, 1998; Beaumont, Ruggeri, & Vasconcelos, 2001) have examined the temporal conversation styles of mothers and their daughters and have proposed that adolescent-parent verbal conflict may be partially due to parents' and adolescents' use of different and incompatible conversational styles. Specifically, research by Beaumont (1995, 1996, 2000; Beaumont & Cheyne, 1998; Beaumont, Ruggeri, & Vasconcelos, 2001) has shown that adolescents use a high involvement conversational style that consists of fast-paced turn-taking and frequent interruptions and simultaneous speech. In contrast, when mothers talk with their adolescents, they use a high considerateness conversational style that includes relatively slower turn-taking and fewer instances of interruptions and simultaneous speech. Beaumont (2000) has proposed that mothers use the slower, less overlapping style as a specific "child-directed" style that is reserved for conversations with their children. If this supposition is correct, one might expect that mothers of adolescents would use the features of the high considerateness style to a greater extent than mothers of adult children.

The purpose of this research is to extend the research by Beaumont on parent-child conversational style differences by testing this hypothesis. Furthermore, it is possible that the use of similar and compatible conversational styles may also contribute to higher satisfaction in the relationships between mothers and their adult daughters. The second purpose of this research is to determine if there is a relationship between

conversational style differences and perceptions of relationship quality. Identifying the communicative factors that impact the mother-daughter relationship in adolescence, as well as young adulthood, is a fundamental step for improving family functioning and the well-being of individual family members. The research questions that are addressed in this thesis are grounded in previous theoretical and empirical studies. Thus, the following literature review covers historical and recent research and theoretical arguments regarding such topics as parent-child relationships during adolescence, communication and the role of conversational styles, and changes in mother-daughter relationships during adulthood.

Parent-Child Relationships During Adolescence

Adolescence has been described as a time of "storm and stress," which started with G. Stanley Hall's (1904) description of the teenage years. The term, storm and stress, has its roots in the phrase, Sturm und Drang, which originated from the German literary movement of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was adopted by Anna Freud (1958), who stated that "to be normal during the adolescent period is by itself abnormal" (p. 275). Parent-child conflict has been identified as the basis of this challenging period (e.g., Arnett, 1999; Laursen, Coy, & Collins, 1998; Paikoff & Brooks-Gunn, 1991; Smetana, 1989). Based on a thorough review of the literature up to the early 1980s, Montemayor (1983) estimated that between four and five million families in the United States experience parent-adolescent conflict. In addition, recent research on adolescent storm and stress also found that most people identify adolescence as a strenuous time for both parents and their children (e.g., Arnett, 1999; Buchanan &

Holmbeck, 1998; Holmbeck & Hill, 1988). Although such conflicts are mild in most cases, both parents and children agree these conflicts are significant and can lead to problems, and there appears to be a definite period of time when conflict is likely to occur. A meta-analysis completed by Laursen et al. (1998) showed that the incidence of conflict is highest in early adolescence, but the intensity of conflict is highest in middle adolescence. The emotional distance appears to stabilize in middle adolescence and then decline when the adolescent moves away from home (Montemayor, 1983).

The findings that parent-child conflict was intense and frequent during adolescence was challenged by a number of more recent empirical studies. These studies found that familial "storm and stress" was not as evident as previously predicted (Holmbeck & Hill, 1988; Rutter, Graham, Chadwick & Yule, 1976), or as typical and severe as previous research had suggested (Collins & Laursen, 1992; Douvan & Adelson, 1966; Laursen & Collins, 1994; Offer, 1969; Offer & Schonert-Reichl, 1992). In fact, some studies show that only 15-20% of families report serious conflict, and the conflict is usually about everyday issues (Hill, 1987). The majority of arguments appear to reflect rule breaking and non-compliance to parental requests such as personal hygiene, chores, school work, and social activities. In addition, arguments centered around friendships and conflict with siblings (Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 1984; Montemayor, 1982; 1983, 1986). Research rarely shows that conflict occurs over topics such as religion, politics, sex and drugs. More "bickering and squabbling" and less positive interactions are characteristic of adolescence, rather than the extreme levels of disagreement that previous research suggested.

Despite conflicting opinions and evidence about the typical amount of conflict

between parents and children during the period of adolescence, researchers are in agreement about the potential impact of parent-adolescent conflict on both parents' and adolescents' well-being. Persistent conflict and stress between mothers and their daughters is linked to internalizing behavioural problems, such as low self-esteem (Apter, 1990), eating disorders (Paikoff et al., 1990), depression (Rutter et al., 1976) and suicide attempts (Tishler, McKenry, & Morgan, 1981). In addition, externalizing behaviours such as, substance use (Dishion & Loeber, 1985), and running away from home (Adams, Gullotta, & Clancy, 1985) have been linked to high levels of conflict in families. Clearly, parental support has a significant influence on the adjustment outcomes for adolescents. The evidence of damaging consequences during this stage emphasizes the importance of isolating the sources of parent-adolescent conflict.

In more recent years, adolescence has been more accurately described as a transition period for families (Steinberg, 1990). Despite consistent evidence of significant family bickering, parents and adolescents still appear to have close emotional bonds. Throughout adolescence, parents continue to influence their teenager's beliefs and behaviour, and can mediate the impact of adjustment problems (Steinberg, 1990).

It has been shown that a majority of adolescents reported healthy relationships with their parents, and that parent-child interactions remain positive and are of mutual importance during this transitional time (e.g., Blyth, Hill & Thiel, 1982; Greene & Boxer, 1986; Offer, 1969; Offer & Offer, 1975; Richardson, Galambos, Schulenberg, & Peterson, 1984; Steinberg & Levine, 1997). For example, Offer, Ostrov, Howard, & Atkinson (1988) conducted a study involving 6000 adolescents from ten different countries and found that most teens in all countries got along well with their parents and

had positive outlooks toward their families. Overall, then, it appears that parents and adolescents may have more frequent verbal conflicts as compared to preadolescence, but they still have a close emotional relationship with each other.

The levels and nature of conflicts and perceived closeness in parent-adolescent relationships appears to vary as a function of both the gender of the adolescent and the gender of the parent. For example, there are considerable differences in the behaviours and roles of mothers and fathers in family relationships (Collins & Russell, 1991; Steinberg, 1987). Fathers tend to encourage intellectual development and are more involved in problem-solving activities and discussions within the family. Father-adolescent communication often centers on political matters, authority related activities, and practical matters (Belsky, 1979; Montemayor, 1986; Montemayor & Brownlee, 1987; Montemayor, Eberly & Flannery, 1993; Russell & Russell, 1987). Fathers are seen as more judgmental, less involved in discussions of feelings, and more imposing with their authority. Adolescent girls, as compared to adolescent boys, report that their fathers do not understand, hear, or listen to them, so they avoid discussions with their fathers (Youniss & Smollar, 1985). The result is a (false) lower level of conflict between fathers and their daughters (Apter, 1990), and thus the majority of parental conflict adolescent daughters experience is with their mothers (Cooper, 1983; Steinberg & Hill, 1978; Youniss, 1983).

Adolescent involvement with their mothers is incredibly complex. The mother-daughter relationship is characterized by a combination of authority, equality, intimacy and conflict. Mothers and their adolescents interact in areas of household responsibilities, schoolwork, discipline and leisure (Collins & Russell, 1991; Montemayor & Brownlee,

1987). Additionally, mothers are more intimate and spend more time with their adolescents than fathers (Lecroy, 1988; Montemayor & Brownlee, 1987; Montemayor, Eberly & Flannery, 1993; Paulson, Hill & Holmbeck, 1991). Not only is the conflict more frequent and intense between mothers and daughters than in other family dyads (Hill, 1988; Montemayor, 1983;; Silverberg & Steinberg, 1987; Smetana, 1988), daughters report stronger relationships with their mothers, and mothers are seen as more understanding, open and accepting than their fathers (Youniss & Smollar, 1985). Daughters feel free to confide in their mothers, as well as fight with them and challenge them. Verbal exchanges such as self-disclosures of intimate issues characterize the mother-daughter relationship.

Although adolescence does not have to be a disruptive time for parent-child relationships (e.g., Arnett, 1999), there are characteristics that make some problems unavoidable (Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 1984). Traditionally, the examination of these characteristics has largely focused on the physiological changes associated with puberty, the adolescent's emerging need for autonomy, disparate perceptions between adolescents and their parents, and increased peer influences in adolescence.

Physiological influences on parent-adolescent conflict. A large part of the research on parent-child interactions was influenced by the psychoanalytic perspective, which described adolescence as a time of turmoil in family relations, and was attributed to "raging hormones" and biological drives of the teen. The mother-daughter relationship is affected the most by the tension in adolescence. Menarche for the teenage girl produces a particularly intense, although temporary, period of family turmoil. Many teenage girls pull away from their fathers during adolescence, and it is clear that as

teenagers develop physically, their relations with their parents undergo marked changes. Rierdan (1998) discusses family relations in relation to menarche, and it is clear that girls rely heavily on their mothers during adolescence and look to them for support during their transition. Postmenarcheal girls report more conflict than premenarcheal girls (Brooks-Gunn & Warren, 1989; Holmbeck & Hill, 1991).

A variety of recent research has explored adolescent development with respect to the physical changes associated with puberty and the effect on family functioning (e.g., Buchanan, Eccles, & Becker, 1992; Papini, Datan, & McCluskey-Fawcett, 1987; Rierdan, 1998; Steinberg, 1981; Steinberg & Hill, 1978), and has linked these physical changes to conflict levels in the family. For example, tension in the parent-child relationship peaks around the same time as the rapid changes of puberty (Hill, 1985; Steinberg, 1981; Steinberg and Hill, 1978), and the physical changes in hormones during puberty mediate changes in behaviour and mood (Steinberg, 1987). Research also shows that these changes can result in diminished parent-child closeness (Buchanan, Eccles, & Becker, 1992). However, there is only a limited relationship between levels of hormones in adolescence and mood, depression, irritability, anxiety, and aggression (Buchanan, Eccles, & Becker, 1992). Although all teenagers experience these hormonal changes, not all adolescents display these behaviours.

Despite belief in the Sturm und Drang theory of raging hormonal effects during adolescence, hormonal changes only accounted for 4% of the variance in negative affect found in young teenage girls (Brooks-Gunn & Warren, 1989). Social factors accounted for more than three times as much variance, as did links between negative life events and pubertal status and timing (Brooks-Gunn & Warren, 1989). Consequently, Brooks-Gunn

& Warren (1989) propose that such conflicts are due more to social than physiological factors. For example, negative emotions about menarche and pubertal change are common in girls, and girls may attribute them to parents, particularly the mother, who is perceived as not being sensitive to their desire for secrecy (Apter, 1990). Therefore, it is highly likely that other factors influence family conflict, besides their physical maturation.

The role of developing autonomy in parent-adolescent conflict. In addition to the biological component of adolescent girls' relationships with parents, traditional psychosocial theorists examined parent-adolescent conflict in the context of the adolescent's need to detach emotionally from his or her parents (Blos, 1967; Erickson, 1968; Freud, 1958). These views state that puberty is the foundation for separation/individuation, and adolescents must separate from their parents in order to become individuated and autonomous. In order for that to happen, it was believed that detaching from parents and the replacement of parents as important attachment objects was necessary (Erickson, 1968). Support for this supposition was largely discussed by Anna Freud (1958), who suggested that puberty initiates the development of adolescent "detachment from parents." A similar perspective was proposed by Blos (1967) who described adolescence as a "second individuation process," in which the adolescent should have attained a distinctly separate self. However, the changes in adolescence must be understood in terms of the psychological changes of the parent, as well as the adolescent. Interdependence has been suggested to be the reflection of family transformations during adolescence, in which the family maintains close ties while not threatening individuality (e.g., Hill & Holmbeck, 1991).

Most researchers in the area of family relations agree that achieving some level of autonomy from one's parents is a developmental goal of adolescence (Apter, 1990; Hill & Holmbeck, 1986); however, the degree and interpretations of the process of individuation have changed somewhat over the past 50 years. It was commonly believed that adolescents use "rebelliousness and conflict" as their vehicle to achieve independence from their parents; however, recent research suggests otherwise. Just as emotional turmoil is not an inevitable part of maturation; neither is conflict between parents and their children.

Recent research demonstrates that most adolescents develop autonomy without severing their emotional bonds with their parents (Grotevant & Cooper, 1986; Hill & Holmbeck, 1987). In contrast to the adolescent separating from his or her family, it appears the goal for families during adolescence is to achieve a new balance between connection and separation (Grotevant & Cooper, 1986). Accordingly, at the same time as adolescents want to achieve independence from their parents, they also require consistency and support from their families (Callan & Noller, 1986; Noller, 1995; Noller & Callan, 1990). In general, it is agreed that families should possess a moderate level of connectedness and have flexibility in roles and rules (Collins & Russell, 1991; Olson, Sprenkle & Russell, 1979). How we define success in the achievement of independence from one's parents is a complex issue that appears to involve maintaining and adapting to changing roles, rather than severing the ties and completely breaking away from one's parents.

Additionally, the adolescent's push for autonomy has been linked to their increase in assertiveness in family interactions, as they seek more symmetrical relationships with

parents (Hill, 1980; Steinberg, 1981; Youniss, 1980). The understanding of family interactions was modified even further by demonstrating that both supportive (Bell & Bell, 1982; Cooper, Grotevant, & Condon, 1983; Grotevant & Cooper, 1986; Powers, Hauser, Schwartz, Noam, & Jacobson, 1983) and mildly conflictual family interactions (Apter, 1990; Hauser, 1978; Hill & Holmbeck, 1987; Papini et al.; Papini, Roggman, & Anderson, 1991) promote adolescent individuation. It is suggested that adaptation to the physical changes of puberty is achieved by redefining family relationships through affective and assertive exchanges (Grotevant & Cooper, 1985, 1986). Assertive interactions contribute to the reconfiguration by allowing each family member to develop their own point of view, together with an increase in conflictual interactions. Affective exchanges contribute to the redefinition by allowing for an evaluative assessment of the others' point of view. The apex of pubertal growth is characteristic of an increase in levels of conflict and decrease in affective explanations (Papini et al., 1988). Specifically, the use of affective statements in families is related to the pubertal status of the adolescent, and assertive family interactions vary according to the pubertal status of the adolescent. These researchers suggest that rather than an increase in conflict during adolescence, the family is characteristic of a decrease in affective interactions between parents and their children, which are found to be present in mother-daughter relationships more than mother-son (Papini et al., 1988).

Definitions of autonomy that emphasize a departure from parental influences need to be reconsidered. For example, Hill (1987) defines autonomy as self-regulation, and suggests that independence involves the ability to use one's own judgment and to regulate one's own behaviour. Additionally, theories of autonomy need to address the

development of males and females. Most research applied male development to females; however, certain basic assumptions of the psychoanalytic perspective have been adopted by contemporary theorists who are concerned with explaining women's place in society. Studies of women and girls challenged the previous literature on the tasks of adolescent development that considered separation and individuation as collective adolescent interests (e.g., Apter, 1990; Chodorow, 1978).

One of the most influential of these theorists is Nancy Chodorow (1978). She accepts some of the original psychoanalytic starting points, such as the idea of unconscious motivation and that early life events determine personality. However, in contrast to the emphasis on the phallic stage, she focused on the earlier stages of development – the first and second years of life. According to Chodorow (1978), the infant has no self, as it cannot distinguish between self and caregiver, who is usually the mother, because it is helpless and dependent on its caregiver. Additionally, she suggests that infants go through a gradual process of differentiating themselves and their primary love object. The self develops in relation to the primary caretaker, who is usually the mother. She concludes that because most child rearing is done by women, female infants experience a caretaker who is like them in a very fundamental way. Girls grow up with a sense of similarity to and continuity with their mother, and thus, connectivity is fused into their way of relating to others.

Chodorow (1978) suggested that the female Oedipus phase is more about how the daughter remains connected to her mother as she forms her identity, rather than how she desires her father, as is emphasized in traditional psychoanalytic theories. The girl's self development is different than the boy's, due to her resolution of her Oedipal feelings.

She suggests girls do not need to turn away or separate from their attachment figure – mother – to develop a sense of female identity. Chodorow (1978) proposed that mothers produce girls who develop an identity that is relational, and boys develop an identity that consists of a sense of separation.

According to Chodorow's (1978) perspective, girls remain attached to their mothers throughout their lifespan (e.g., Apter, 1990; Chodorow, 1978). Therefore, issues of separation and connection are both fundamental concerns for young women and are seen as compatible aspects in the development of identity (Apter, 1990; Steinberg, 1990), which are redefined throughout the lifespan. Apter (1990) suggests the adolescent needs a relationship with parents to achieve individuality, and girls turn to their mothers for self-validation. Conflict then arises out of the adolescent daughter's attempts at "destroying her mother's previous images of her and to impress her with a new adult self" (p. 75). The process may be evident in the communication styles that mothers and daughters use with one another. Specifically, it may be displayed in how a mother speaks to her daughter, and how a mother may re-define her connection with an adult daughter. As the balance of separation and connection are reconfigured, we may see mothers adjusting their communication patterns with their daughters.

Part of the balance of separation and connection may be related to the mother's view of the daughter as an autonomous, mature person. The balance could affect the conversational style that mothers use with their daughters. Apter (1995) suggests that the regulative role is a mother's attempt to regain control through questioning and challenging. The mother's insistent questioning is often a trigger for conflict to occur, and the communication difficulties that mothers and their adolescent daughters'

experience lead to conflict (Apter, 1990). In addition, more mature adolescents may attempt to regulate conversational flow, resulting in the mother using less questioning, and perhaps more encouragement of autonomous functioning. The differences may be attributed to a difference in conversational styles. We can expect to see mothers using a conversational style more similar to her young adult daughter than her adolescent daughter.

Certainly, some of the family stress in adolescence results from the teenager striving for greater independence. Often young people press against the limits previously established by their parents, while their parents grant greater autonomy only with reluctance and anxiety. However, these interactions must be seen in the context of the family system, in which one family member influences other family members. The research has shown that adolescent transitions are interconnected with the life experiences of families and have an influence on both adolescents and their parents (Graber & Brooks-Gunn, 1999; Rossi & Rossi, 1990; Silverberg, 1996). Given the fact that adolescence is a time of significant and often striking changes, the family as a social system also changes.

The adolescent's autonomous development can also trigger a stressful reaction for their parents. Parents' anxiety over their maturing children is frequently compounded by their own concerns. Just as adolescents are preoccupied with their appearance, parents also become concerned with their own aging. The result may be that mothers and their daughters experience parallel reproductive and social transitions. Specifically, puberty and menopause may be occurring at the same time, and the psychological and physiological changes involve the same reproductive system (Graber & Brooks-Gunn,

1999). Adolescence is a time when parents are undergoing psychological changes (Silverberg & Steinberg, 1990), and transformations of roles and self-understanding (McDonough, Carlson & Cooper, 1994). In fact, Anna Freud (1958) concluded that it may be the parent who undergoes more of the stress in adolescence as their adolescent attempts to liberate themselves. For example, in addition to the newly developed cognitive abilities adolescents develop, mothers also struggle with feeling rejected and establishing new links with the emerging identities of their daughters (Friedman, 1980). Middle-aged parents may also compare their declining possibilities with the developing potential of their offspring, and they may be dissatisfied with the comparison. Their parents may look back on their past and try to assess how much of their early hopes they have achieved, sometimes with a sense of disappointment (Hill, 1980; Steinberg, 1980, 1981).

Negative interactions can have harmful consequences for both children and their parents. For example, adolescents who perceive greater attachment to their parents, report less depression and social anxiety, as well as more positive perceptions of family expressiveness and cohesion (Papini, Roggmann, & Anderson, 1991). Conflict also has a negative impact on parents. Parent-adolescent discord not only takes a toll on parental mental health, but parents also have less satisfying marriages (Baruch, Barnett, & Rivers, 1983; Silverberg & Steinberg, 1990; Steinberg, 2001). Many parents feel challenged to transform their parenting roles in adolescence, which can affect marital relationships; however, the adolescent provokes different responses in different parents. Some find it very stressful and negative, while others find it liberating and an opportunity to grow together. The variability is suggested to be influenced more if the parent is the same sex

as the transitioning child, being divorced or remarried, having few sources of satisfaction outside the parental role, and having a negative perception or "cognitive set" about adolescence (Silverberg & Steinberg, 1990).

Parent-adolescent perceptions. As adolescents mature, they are expectedly developing views and perceptions about the world that often differ from those of their parents. During the rapid individual and family changes of adolescence, the beliefs of parents and their children are more likely to diverge than in previous years. For example, Youniss and Ketterlinus (1987) state that communication is a complex issue for parents and their adolescents. They suggest that the complexity originates from children's acceptance of parents' unilateral authority and the subsequent perception of parents as benevolent caretakers. For example, all family members may avoid conflict or maintain shared values like an achievement orientation or a particular religion (Carlson, Cooper, & Spradling, 1981). Some appraisals may be shared, whereas others are distinct for individual family members. As a result, adolescents' beliefs of their families may be quite different from that of their parents with regard to their own emerging emotional and intellectual autonomy.

These discrepancies in perceptions between parents and adolescents have been linked to conflictual interactions and are a key concept in the understanding of their relationship (e.g., Steinberg, 1990). For example, families' perceptions differ with respect to the level of cohesiveness which they experience. Noller and Callan (1986) found that almost all adolescents were less satisfied than their parents with the adaptability in the family, and they report that the family is less adaptable than do their parents (when "adaptability in the home" is described as the families' capacity to adjust

and adapt the rules and responsibilities in times of stress). Noller and Callan (1986) also found that parents judged the family as more cohesive than did adolescents. Cohesion is defined as "the emotional bonding members have with one another and the degree of individual autonomy a person experiences in the family system" (Olson, Sprenkle, and Russell, 1979, p. 5).

It was also found that adolescents exaggerate differences, whereas parents minimize these differences (e.g., Callan & Noller, 1986; Jessop, 1981). Adolescents are more negative about communication in the family than are parents, and they tend to report more problems in the family than their parents (Barnes & Olson, 1985). Possible explanations for these differences have included the parents' desire to see the family more positively because of their investment into parenthood, the adolescents' attempt at developing a separate identity from their parents, and the adolescents may have developed an outsider view in early adolescence (Callan & Noller, 1986).

Further support for the difference in perceptions of parents and their children has been offered by Smetana, Braeges, & Yau (1991). They found that parents and their children have different interpretations of the issues they experienced conflict with. Specifically, parents viewed conflicts as differences in social values, whereas the issue for adolescents was often regarding their perceived personal power. Adolescents were more likely to judge hypothetical family differences as independent of parental authority and to consider them as personal issues, whereas parents were more likely to judge the same issues as conditional on their authority (Smetana et al., 1991). Smetana et al., (1991) suggested that family relations reflect adolescents' need for authority and childrens' desire to maintain control over their lives.

Peer Influences. An additional factor in family relationships that may affect the increase in parent-child disagreements during adolescence is the growth in peer influences and decreased reliance on parental advice as compared to when the child was younger. As adolescents become more independent from their parents, their peers become increasingly more important for emotional support and for socialization (Dorval & Eckerman, 1984; Mettetal, 1983). Adolescents spend more time with their peer group than in previous years (Berndt, 1982), and they spend more time with their peers than they do with adults (Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 1984; Youniss & Smollar, 1985). These friendships are testing grounds for their newly developed values (Cooper & Ayers-Lopez, 1985; Douvan & Adelson, 1966) Peer networks are essential to the development of social skills, and the reciprocal interactions help develop positive responses to the various crises that are faced by these young people (Cooper & Ayers-Lopez, 1985; Youniss & Smollar, 1985).

The increased time adolescents spent with friends led to the suggestion that peer influences replace parental influences during the adolescent years, resulting in reduced parental control in the adolescent's life (Small, Eastman & Cornelius, 1988). Berndt (1979) examined conformity to peers and parents and found that parent-adolescent conflict was due to an increased level of conformity to peers, which provokes arguments with parents. Berndt's (1979) findings also show that the largest impact is seen during the early and mid-adolescent years, but declines in late adolescence. The decline in the conformity to parents is suggested to be linked to an acceptance of parents' "conventional standards." In other words, children adopt standards that are more consistent with their parents in late adolescence (Berndt, 1979).

It was also suggested that adolescents turn to their peers for the companionship and emotional support that they do not feel that they receive from their parents (Bronfenbrenner, 1970, 1974). However, further examination of parent and peer relations during adolescence found that peers and parents meet different needs for the adolescent, rather than one or the other. Rutter, Graham, Chadwick, and Yule (1976) found further support for the notion that peer influences do not replace parental roles. They found that alienation from parents occurs in a minority of teens, and those adolescents were identified to have psychiatric problems. Apter (1990) suggests that adolescent girls still adhere to their parents' beliefs and values to a large degree, while incorporating new ones from their peers. Regardless of how important peers are in adolescent girls' lives, their mothers continue to be the dominant influence in their lives (Apter, 1990). Their mothers' significance is even more evident in the early adulthood years, when friends are less of a focal point than when they were in adolescence (Apter, 1990). A more appropriate description of the parent-child relationship may be a "transformation" rather than the severance of ties with parents in adolescence (e.g., Hunter & Youniss, 1982; Youniss, 1980; Youniss & Ketterlinus, 1987; Youniss & Smollar, 1985).

It is also suggested that the interaction with close friends in adolescence leads to a greater understanding of each others' opinions, and the nature of the adolescent-parent relationship is altered from a "unilateral authority" in childhood to "mutual reciprocity" in late adolescence or early adulthood (Youniss & Smollar, 1985). The peer relationships formed in childhood and adolescence are fundamental in the development and maintenance of adult relations. The unilateral authority is characteristic of the parent-

child relationship, in which one person (e.g., mother) has the "knowledge system" and the authority to impose the knowledge on the less informed person. Camaioni (1979) also proposes that mother-child conversations are asymmetrical and largely controlled by the mother; however, the conversations between children are symmetrical, as they share most of their knowledge and experience of the world with one another, and share equal rights to express opinions and be listened to (Hunter & Youniss, 1982).

Youniss and Smollar (1985) suggest that the symmetrical development is due to the adolescents' experience of cooperation and equality in their communicative experiences with their close friends. Specifically, they found that eleven or twelve year olds start to understand that each person's "opinions" are different through their intimate conversations with their close friends. Furthermore, the symmetrical relationship adolescents and their peers engage in prepares adolescents with the practice skills necessary to participate in satisfying communication with their parents as they become adults. We can anticipate an adjustment in the adult daughter relationship with her mother, as the adult daughter develops additional understanding and perspective-taking ability from her peer relations in adolescence that she will carry to her interactions with her mother once she enters the young adult developmental period.

Cooper et al. (1985) also examined differences in the adolescents' communicative experiences with peers and parents. They found that adolescents behave differently when communicating with their mothers, as compared with conversations with their peers. Cooper et al. (1985) also suggest the symmetrical component of the peer friendship allows the adolescent to express different opinions more freely. Furthermore, they found that the challenge in adolescence is to find a balance between individuality and

connectedness, offering further support for the notion of re-negotiating their relationship, rather than severing it. The transition and development of additional perspective taking ability is a challenge for parents as well as their children, and can have an impact on the satisfaction level of the relationship.

Krappmann, Schuster, and Youniss (1988) found that parents have a hard time when their children intensely begin to demand respect of their own issues, problems, and plans, which result from their involvement with their peers. They studied mother-child interactions in a game-playing context that was created to urge both parents and children to interact in an egalitarian and reciprocal manner. Krappmann et al. (1988) examined mother-daughter dyads between nine-thirteen years of age and studied mothers' attempts to control the situation, and how daughters react to those attempts. Their results showed that mothers struggled with their daughters' attempts at defining the situation and taking the initiative in the unilateral control context. As a result, the mother was challenged by the earlier images of her adolescent as a younger child, and had difficulty adjusting her interaction to meet the needs of a maturing daughter.

The parent-child relationship during adolescence is a distinctive developmental phase that is complicated by significant discord as well as positive regard for one another. The mother-daughter relationship is affected the most during this time. Physiological influences, autonomous development, parent-adolescent perceptions, and peer influences have been connected with the quality of parent-adolescent relations, and research has shown that negative interactions can have a detrimental effect on parent and adolescent well-being. This thesis will expand on the literature of parent-adolescent relationships by investigating communicative patterns as a predictor of the quality of parent/adolescent

relationships.

The Role of Conversational Styles in Parent-Adolescent Verbal Conflict

Over the past 30 years, a small number of researchers have attempted to examine changes in family dynamics by examining possible disruptions in the communication behaviours that are used by parents and adolescents. The traditional approach has been to investigate changes in parents' and children's use of interruptions when the children enter the period of adolescence (e.g., Hill, 1988; Steinberg, 1981; Steinberg & Hill, 1978). For example, West and Zimmerman (1977) assessed interruptions in five dyads consisting of mothers and young children (prepubertal) and found that most interruptions were made by the parent. Similarly, Greif (1980) examined interruption patterns in 16 parent-child dyads in the context of semi-structured play and found that parents interrupted children more than the reverse. However, research by Hill and Steinberg (Hill, 1988; Steinberg, 1981; Steinberg & Hill, 1978) has shown that as children go through puberty, there is a change in the typical patterns of interruptions in families, such that adolescents start interrupting their parents more than when they were younger and more than their parents interrupt them (at least this is the case for mothers). Based on a very old hypothesis proposed about supposed turn-taking rules of conversation, these researchers interpreted these findings as indicating that the adolescent tries to dominate his or her mother.

The idea that an interruption is a speech behaviour that is used by one who wishes to dominate is largely based on a model of conversational turn-taking proposed by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974). They proposed that speakers adopt an implied "turn-taking" rule when they converse that includes "rules" such as one person speaks at a time and speakers take turns. Their model implies that the person speaking has the "right" to

continue speaking until that person gives up that right. Consequently, there should be little overlap in speech, due to the speakers' attempts to remain within these turn-taking rules. Simultaneous speech and interruptions in conversation are viewed as violations of the turn-taking system, in which one person is indicating a power assertion or dominance attempt. For example, Mishler and Waxler (1968) proposed that parents tend to assert their power by interrupting in verbal interactions with their children. However, once children enter the period of adolescence, they attempt to gain power in the family by interrupting their parents more than when they were younger (Mishler & Waxler, 1968). That hypothesis is the basis for some more recent conclusions that conflict is the result of power struggles between parents and their adolescents (e.g., Steinberg, 1981).

There has been widespread acceptance that conversational "dominance" is indicated by attempted and successful interruptions (e.g., Hill, 1988; Mishler & Waxler, 1968; Steinberg, 1981; Steinberg & Hill, 1978; Zimmerman & West, 1975). Following the suggestion that interruptions are a violation of the turn-taking model, as proposed by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974), the "dominance hypothesis" has been used as a possible explanation for the change in communication patterns between mothers and adolescents. For example, Steinberg (1981) suggests that adolescents' interruptions are an attempt to gain the conversational floor and to assert power over their mothers in conversations.

In more recent years, some researchers have criticized the power assertion theory as a very simplistic and limited view of interruptions. As Walker (1991) points out, the unfortunate aspect of previous studies on parent-child interruptions is that the parent-child differences in attempted and successful interruption patterns were not reported.

Instead, changes in the family interactions in relation to the son's physical maturation were examined. Walker (1991) examined the validity of the "dominance hypothesis" by examining patterns of talking times and interruptions (successful interruptions and attempted interruptions) in family triads with children of both sexes and a wide age range. The patterns of verbal interactions within the family were examined in relation to the developmental stage of the child. For instance, if successful interruptions reflect dominance, then parents should be more successful in interrupting immature children than more developmentally advanced ones. Walker's (1991) results did not support the "dominance hypothesis" supposition. Walker (1991) found that verbal interactions vary with the child's developmental level. Specifically, parents of younger children were less successful in their interruptions of the child than were parents of older children. Walker (1991) suggests that a reason for fewer successes may be due to their limited potential to contribute to the discussion, which may result in parents yielding in instances of simultaneous speech, and thereby encourage the child's participation.

The context of the conversations is also a factor that must be considered. Parental dominance was not found when the family was discussing the child's moral problems. Walker (1991) concludes that verbal interactions are not primarily indicative of dominance and conflict, but rather involvement in the conversation with intent to elicit, understand, and challenge the position of others. Rather than indicating a higher level of "affective" conflict, it may simply be indicative of a more vigorous and challenging discussion. However, the common view expressed by family researchers is that these verbal interactions indicate dominance and conflict (e.g., Greif, 1980; Grotevant & Carlson, 1987; Jacob, 1974, 1975; Maccoby, 1990; Markel, Long, & Saine, 1976;

Steinberg, 1981; Steinberg & Hill, 1978; West & Zimmerman, 1977; Zuckerman & Jacob, 1979). The evidence of these differences is unclear because they have not distinguished between attempted and successful interruptions. It seems incorrect to categorize an attempted interruption as a dominance attempt when the person attempting to interrupt is unsuccessful, since the speaker who holds the floor does not stop talking.

Although Walker's (1991) study distinguished between successful and attempted interruptions, it is also limited in its findings. The study examined family triads and the characteristics of the participants were intact, generally well-functioning families who volunteered to participate in research on family interactions. The developmental trends were based on cross-sectional data with a relatively small sample size. Also, limitations of the analyses of verbal interactions should be acknowledged. Verbal interactions are influenced by a large number of factors, which may include verbal fluency, intelligence, context, task, etc. Their verbal interactions in the context of this study may not accurately reflect their communication patterns under other conditions, and do not tell us anything about broader lifespan changes of parents and their children.

A sociolinguistic approach to parent-adolescent verbal conflict. The sociolinguistic approach to the study of interruptions and other speech behaviours provides valuable information for research on parent-adolescent conflict. Sociolinguists argue that interruptions need not necessarily indicate dominance, and instead may reflect involvement, spontaneity, simple agreement, support, or mistimed attempts to gain the floor (Aries, 1987; Beaumont, 1995, 2000; Beaumont & Cheyne, 1998; Ferguson, 1977; Tannen, 1984). Sociolinguists have challenged the dominance hypothesis on an interpretive basis (e.g., Beattie, 1981; Scollon, 1985; Tannen, 1983, 1984, 1989).

Sociolinguists view communication as a dyadic process, rather than the one-sided approach that concentrates on what one speaker does to another speaker. They suggest that conversations are a "joint production," and the person's right to speak is based on characteristics that include the length of time a speaker has talked, and the number of points they have made (Murray, 1985; Tannen, 1989). Furthermore, Tannen (1983, 1984, 1989) states that in many instances, simultaneous speech can be "supportive rather than obstructive" (Tannen, 1989, p. 270). Tannen (1984) suggests that an interruption is an interpretive category and is a signal of rapport building. In other words, interruptions result from the speech acts of both interactants. Other researchers have also offered explanations that view interruptions as a reflection of involvement, support, or mistimed attempts to gain the floor (Aries, 1987; Ferguson, 1977; 1991).

Tannen (1983, 1984, 1989) has provided an alternate explanation for interruptions that is based on differences in conversational styles, not power struggles. The concept of conversational style was coined by sociolinguists to refer to the characteristic patterns of speech behaviours that individuals use in casual conversation (Tannen, 1984). Based on her ethnographic research, Tannen (1984) has identified two broad conversational styles: high involvement and high considerateness. The high involvement conversational style is characterized by fast turn-taking, fast rate of speech, and frequent overlaps and interruptions. The high considerateness conversational style is characterized by longer pauses between speaker turns, slower speech, and a lower rate of simultaneous speech and interruptions. These two styles are identified by the intentions of the speaker, which give meaning to what is spoken. Tannen (1984) has suggested that the high involvement speaker is trying to build rapport and signal involvement, whereas the high

considerateness speaker tries to honour the principle of not imposing.

Tannen (1983, 1984, 1989) has suggested the feeling of being dominated comes from unintended interruptions that are the result of different habits and attitudes towards overlapping speech. High involvement speakers' frequent use of overlap in conversation is intended as a relationship building device, whereas a speaker with a high considerate style may interpret frequent overlaps as a violation of the turn taking system. Therefore, when speakers use different conversational styles, the person who uses a high involvement style will interrupt the conversationalist who uses a high considerate style, and the high considerate speaker stops talking due to their perception that overlapping speech is imposing (Beaumont, 1995). As a result, we can expect to see the high involvement speaker start talking when the high considerate speaker pauses in their turn. Whether an interruption is successful or not will be based on whether the first person has completed their speech utterance and stopped talking. Subsequently, it is suggested that speakers who use these two different styles will experience a "clash" in conversational styles, and will form negative impressions of their interaction (Tannen, 1983). The most successful and enjoyable conversations are those between speakers who use the same style, and share assumptions for the pace of turn-taking and the use of simultaneous speech (Tannen, 1984).

Beaumont (1995, 1996, 2000; Beaumont et al., 2001; Beaumont & Cheyne, 1998; Beaumont & Wagner, 2004) has applied Tannen's concepts of the high involvement and high considerate conversational styles to the content of parent-adolescent conversations. Her general hypothesis has been that it is possible that different habits and styles for pacing and pausing in conversations between parents and adolescents result in

interruptions that are not attempts to dominate. In the first study in her program of research, Beaumont (1995) compared the communication patterns of girls and their mothers with those used in conversations between girls and their friends. Preadolescent (11- to 12-year-olds) and adolescent girls (15- to 17-year-olds) were paired with either their mothers or a close same-sex friend (i.e., a between-dyad design). The conversations were about four hypothetical, value-related issues, and they were later coded for features such as interruptions, overlaps between turns, and simultaneous speech. The results supported the hypothesis that adolescent girls interrupt their mothers due to differences in conversational styles. That is, girls of both ages and their friends used a high involvement conversational style, which included frequent interruptions, simultaneous speech, and overlaps between turns, and the use of a high involvement conversational style increased from preadolescence to adolescence. In contrast, mothers used a slower paced, high considerateness style, which included significantly fewer interruptions and instances of simultaneous speech. As a result of these differences in conversational styles, daughters interrupted their mothers more than mothers interrupted their daughters.

As a follow-up study to examine the functions of interruptions in mother-daughter conversations, Beaumont and Cheyne (1998) re-coded the original data from the Beaumont (1995) study for different types of interruptions. Namely, each instance of simultaneous speech or successful interruptions was coded for one of five functions: agreement, disagreement, topic change, tangentialization, or clarification. The results indicated that the functions for adolescent girls' interruptions of their friends and their mothers were the same (they interrupted both to agree and to disagree), and there were no significant differences in the rates of agreement and disagreement interruptions. The

authors claimed that these findings are further evidence interruptions are behaviours that are characteristic of the high involvement style, and therefore, they do not simply indicate attempts to dominate one's conversational partner.

Beaumont (2000) also compared the conversational styles used by mothers and their daughters (preadolescent and adolescent) with the style mothers used with their adult female friends. Twenty-four women engaged in separate discussions with their preadolescent and middle adolescent daughters and same-gender friends about four hypothetical, value-related issues (i.e., a within-dyad design). The conversations were coded for speech acts such as overlaps between speakers, simultaneous speech, and successful interruptions. The findings support the idea of a "clash" in conversational styles between mothers and adolescent daughters, as suggested by previous research (Beaumont, 1995). Specifically, when mothers talked with their friends, they displayed a high involvement style (as did their friends), which included frequent interruptions and instances of overlapping and simultaneous speech. However, when the same mothers talked with their daughters, they exhibited a high considerateness style, even though their daughters used a high involvement style. When talking with their daughters, mothers of adolescent daughters used a faster-paced style than mothers of preadolescents; however, mothers and adolescent daughters still demonstrated a "clash" in conversational styles. Beaumont (2000) suggests that this clash results from mothers continual use of a high considerate conversational with their adolescents, as well as the adolescent girls' inflexible use of a high involvement style.

Two more recent studies by Beaumont examined possible differences in parents' and adolescents' conversational styles as a function of gender. Beaumont, Vasconcelos

and Ruggeri (2001) examined the conversational styles of mothers and their preadolescent or adolescent sons and daughters. The results supported Beaumont's (1995, 2000; Beaumont & Cheyne, 1998) previous findings that children used a high involvement conversational style, whereas mothers used a high considerate style. This was found with both boys and girl and in both age groups. However, there was a tendency for adolescent sons to interrupt their mothers more than mothers interrupted sons and more than daughters interrupted their mothers. Like the study by Beaumont and Cheyne (1998), this study also examined the functions of interruptions and found that preadolescent boy dyads demonstrated more confirming speech than any other dyad, but adolescent boys produced significantly more rejecting simultaneous speech than mothers. These unique findings for mothers and sons were replicated by a further study that examined conversational styles of adolescent boys and girls with their mothers or fathers (Beaumont & Wagner, 2004). The results indicated that both mothers and fathers used a high considerateness conversational style, whereas both adolescent boys and girls used a high involvement style. Again though, mothers and daughters displayed less difference in conversational styles as compared to mothers and sons; however, mothers and daughters displayed greater differences in styles than did fathers and daughters. Thus, once again, it appears that there may be signs of both closeness and conflict in the mother-daughter communicative relationship during adolescence.

When Tannen originally discussed differences in conversational styles, she proposed that clashes in styles may result in negative perceptions or feelings about ones' conversational partner and about the conversation itself. However, that hypothesis has not been examined to a great extent in the literature. Beaumont (1996) examined

interactants' perceptions of conversations by having mothers and daughters, and adolescent girls and their friends, listen to sections of their previously recorded conversations, and then rate themselves and their partners on various characteristics. Parallel to the conversational style patterns, the results indicated that adolescent girls rated themselves and their friends similarly, but they rated themselves and their mothers differently. However, these perceptions were not analyzed in relation to actual conversational behaviours. The only study of parent-adolescent conversations that provides both information about conversational styles and perceptions is the study by Beaumont and Wagner (2004). In their study, the authors conducted path analyses to determine if conversational style differences predicted negative perceptions or feelings. Specifically, they found that greater differences in parents' and adolescents' conversational styles predicted the expression of more disgust emotions by the adolescent, which in turn, predicted more perceived conflict between parents and adolescents. Overall, then, there is some evidence to support Tannen's supposition that differences in conversational styles predict negative perceptions and emotions, in the context of adolescent-parent conversations.

Researchers have examined disruptions in the communicative behaviours of parents and their adolescents as indicators of conflictual interactions. The "dominance hypothesis" has been challenged by the sociolinguistic approach to the study of interruptions and other speech behaviours. The sociolinguistic perspective suggests that interruptions do not necessarily reflect a power assertion or dominance attempt. Instead, this approach views interruptions as an indication of rapport building, involvement, or mistimed attempts to talk with a speaking partner. Beaumont expanded on the

sociolinguistic perspective and applied Tannen's categories of high involvement and high considerateness to the communicative behaviour of parents and their adolescents. The conversational styles of parents and their adult children have not yet been examined. This thesis will apply Beaumont's methodology to its examination of mothers and their adolescent daughters, as well as adult daughters and their mothers. It is expected that the adult daughters and their mothers will demonstrate more similarity in conversational styles, and thus a higher reported relationship quality, as compared to adolescent daughters and their mothers.

Parent-Child Relationships during Adulthood

Parent-child interactions during adulthood continue to be characterized by a complex interplay between close, intimate ties and disruptive exchanges. Furthermore, gender continues to be a factor in the complex family dynamics of the adult years. It has been shown that communication and interaction style predicts relationship quality (e.g. Quinn, 1983), perceptions of parent-child relationships (Johnson, 1979), and psychological distress of both parents and their children (Umberson, 1989). The role of communication and interaction style is not exclusive to the adolescent years, as is often assumed (Harris, Ellicott, & Hommes, 1986). Although conflictual interactions occur, the mother-daughter bond tends to be the strongest and most enduring family link during the adult years (Noller & Fitzpatrick, 1993; Rossi & Rossi, 1990). The majority of adult daughter and mother attachments have been described with warmth and compassion (Baruch & Barnett, 1983), and it has been well documented that the positive qualities in the mother-daughter relationship increase as they age (e.g., Apter, 1995; Baruch & Barnett, 1983; Boyd, 1989; Quinn, 1983; Umberson, 1989). Researchers have linked the

improved mother-daughter association in the adult years to the daughters' autonomous stage of development (e.g., Smith, Hill, & Mullis, 1998), the reduction of parental obligatory demands (Scharlach, 1987; Umberson, 1989), an increase in shared perceptions and roles (Cohler & Grunebaum, 1981; Fisher, 1981; Nice, 1990) and an improvement in the quality of communication (e.g., Quinn, 1983).

The adult daughter-mother bond has been described as close and intimate by various classical studies as early as the 1950s. For example, Willmott and Young (1960) studied working class families in London during the late 50s and found a "striking" interdependence of mothers and their daughters. Chodorow's (1978) classic book *The Reproduction of Mothering* also established that mothers and daughters have a unique bond, and she suggested that the special connection between mothers and daughters is due to the social construction of gender. Specifically, she (1978) proposed that the ability to mother is reproduced from mothers to daughters, and that the organization of family relationships is an essential component in creating a psychological basis for mothering. More recent research has also identified the adult daughter/mother relationship as a significant source of psychological well-being (Apter, 2001).

Although conflict that is present in mother-daughter relationships is much less by the time the daughter is in her late twenties (Baruch & Barnett, & Rivers, 1983), the literature is limited in the information pertaining to conflictual interactions. Conflicts in later-life families are often perceived as relatively unimportant compared to conflict reports earlier in the family life course. A possible explanation for the relative disregard of adult parent-child conflict may be the perception that adult children have matured to a point where they no longer need to struggle against their parents (Baruch & Barnett,

1983; Blenker, 1963). Studies have largely focused on the extreme ends of the lifespan, such as the daughter in childhood and the mother in old-age, rather than the child as a mature adult, and the parent as healthy and independent. Consequently, these results focus on the necessary parental demands required during childhood, and the need of care for dependent parents in old age. In contrast, the young adult years present different challenges, as parents and their children are more equal and independent from one another (Hess & Waring, 1978).

Most previous studies have looked at men in the adult years, whereas the aging process of women has not received the same focus. However, more recent research has examined mother-daughter relations and has identified patterns that are unique to mothers and their daughters. For example, the adult daughter-mother relationship involves more positive and negative feelings than the father-son relationship (Fingerman, 2003), and daughters are much more likely than sons to provide care to their aging parents (Brody, Hoffman, Kleban, & Schoonover, 1989; Rosenthal, 1990; Spitze & Logan, 1990).

The importance of studying the adult daughter-mother relationship is substantiated by the impact that negative interactions continue to have on their mental health. Intergenerational conflicts have important implications for the well-being of both parents and their children. Adult daughters with weak ties to their mothers have lower scores on mental health indicators than do daughters with strong ties (Barnett, Kibria, Baruch, & Pleack, 1991; Welsh & Stewart, 1995). In addition, mothers who are dissatisfied with their grown children show more symptoms of psychological distress and are less happy with their lives (Davey & Eggebeen, 1998; Pruchno, Peters, & Burant, 1996). Accordingly, parents and their children who experience problems in adulthood

have more distant relationships than those who do not experience their relations as distressing (Bedford & Blieszner, 2000). As reviewed previously, research has shown a predictive link between conversational styles and relationship satisfaction in the adolescent years between daughters and their mothers (Beaumont & Wagner, 2004). It is possible that the adult daughter/mother relationship may also be affected by conversational style differences, thus, influencing the well-being of both mothers and their daughters over the lifespan.

Regardless of the inherent tension in family relations, adult daughters and their mothers experience less conflict than previous years (e.g., Apter, 1995; Baruch & Barnett, 1983; Boyd, 1989; Quinn, 1983; Umberson, 1989). A possible explanation for the improved family relationships in the adult years may be that the young adult daughter has reached a more autonomous stage of development. Previously, the task of young adulthood was thought to include the separation from parents and the accomplishment of new social, independent roles (e.g., Blos, 1962; Freud, 1958; Mead, 1970). Blos (1962) included the young adult years as part of the second individuation process of working through earlier conflicts and attachments. It was accepted that in order for a transition to young adulthood to be successful, attachment to parent figures needed to diminish, and attachment to oneself and others increase (Erikson, 1968; Freud, 1958). However, recent research does not support these theories, and the task of young adulthood appears to be familial interdependence, rather than family autonomy (Apter, 2001; Cohler & Geyer, 1982). Research has recognized that separation for mothers and their daughters is considered a life-long process, rather than a phase that must be completed by a certain time (Troll, 1987), and that separation and independence are not necessarily in opposition

of one another. Mother-daughter attachments are significant throughout the lifespan, from infancy to adulthood (Chavis, 1987; Troll, 1989). Troll (1989) also challenged the widespread myth that parents and adult children who experience conflict will try to distance themselves from each other as much as possible. Troll (1989) states this is not true, especially for mothers and daughters. For example, conflicts are handled in a manner in which conversation is generally restricted to topics that are "safe" and will not cause tension, which is thought to occur in order to preserve the relationship (Troll, 1989).

It has also been suggested that the more autonomous individuals are, the more positive their attachments will be to one another. For example, Smith, Hill and Mullis (1995) examined 221 (Mean age = 20.2) pairs of post-adolescent females and their mothers (Mean age = 46.5) by evaluating their perceptions of reported autonomy, intimacy, conflict, self-esteem, and quality of the relationship. They hypothesized that the more autonomous both mothers and daughters are as individuals, the more intimacy they would report in their attachments to one another. The results showed that mothers and daughters had many similarities on most of the relational perceptions, which were indicative of their strong attachments to each other. Their study suggests that mothers and daughters can simultaneously experience both intimacy and autonomy in their relationships (Chodorow, 1978; Troll, 1988). In other words, daughters continue to have a relationship with their mothers as they are developing their own identity. Mothers often become less conflicted with their own mothers as they work through their old issues within the context of their relationship with their own daughters. The "double identification" for women, both as mothers and as children (Chodorow, 1978, p. 204)

allows women to develop a new identity with their mothers. The adult-daughter and mother relationship must be understood in relational terms (Nagy & Spark, 1973).

An additional aspect of autonomous development is the child moving out of the family home. Part of the renegotiation of young adulthood involves the process of parents "launching" children into their own independent lives and adjusting to life without them. The "launching" may involve the daughter moving out of the family home and into a college setting. Studies of college students (e.g., Lapsley, Rice & Shadid, 1989) indicate significant progress with independence from parents over the college years. For example, Flanagan, Schulenberg and Fuligni (1993) found that among college students, living away from home was associated with the young adult reporting more independence, support, and mutual respect between parents and their children. These factors may contribute to an increase in relationship satisfaction due to the realization by the parent and child of their individual differentiation and an acceptance of differing opinions and lifestyle choices, which is a fundamental component of renegotiating roles (Green & Boxer, 1986). It is possible that the conversational styles are affected by the transition as well. Mothers and their daughters may adjust how they speak to one another once the transition of moving out has occurred, which acknowledges their mutual individuation that was not present earlier.

Directly related to the autonomous development of the young adult child, is the decrease of obligatory parental demands once the child reaches the adult years. Research has clearly demonstrated an increase in positive interactions between parents and their offspring once the adult years have been reached For example, Umberson (1989) and Scharlach (1987) relate the positive development of adult parent-child relationships to the

decrease of nurturing role demands and amount of assistance needed over the life course. Umberson (1989) studied the quality of parent-child relations and the level of demands placed by children on their parents. The findings revealed that parenting becomes more beneficial and less detrimental to well-being as parents age. Umberson (1989) suggests the source is related to the decrease of nurturing role demands over the life span. Further support for Umberson's (1989) idea is offered by Scharlach (1987), who examined role strain of mother-daughter relationships in elderly mothers and their daughters. Results demonstrated that women who reported more role strain had poorer quality in their mother-daughter relationships, and role strain was significantly related to role demand overload and the amount of assistance given. For example, if role strain is significantly related to role demand and the amount of assistance provided, it can be expected that adult daughters require less assistance and demands than adolescent daughters. Accordingly, it can be hypothesized that a greater satisfaction will be reported by mothers of young adult daughters. Nice (1990) also suggests that mothers may be alleviated by their mothering responsibilities for their daughters when their daughters enter young adulthood, which allows for a higher level of satisfaction in the adult daughter-mother relationship. The decrease of parental role demands allows for a more symmetrical relationship between parents and their children. An improvement in relations may be due to the adjustment of a more balanced relationship. Specifically, the hierarchical nature of the relationship shifts to reflect a more symmetrical relationship, in which two adults are interacting in an equal manner, which was not possible in the childhood years. Parents learn to relate to their adult children in a reciprocal manner, rather than a one-sided approach.

The reciprocal nature of the parent-child relationship during the adult years has received little attention. Many studies have focused on the parental influence on children, rather than the mutual effects of parent-child interactions. For instance, Boyd (1989) reviewed the research on the mother-daughter relationship, and found that most of the studies focused on the mother's influence on her daughter, rather than the influence of the daughter on the mother, or the reciprocal effects (Boyd, 1985; Kraus, 1990). It is important to address the reciprocal influences, as the relationship between parents and their young adult children is more mutually reciprocal than it ever was during the childhood years. The reciprocal nature of the adult daughter/mother relationship contributes to an increase in similarities in perspectives and roles (e.g., Cohler, 1988). For example, Cohler and Grunebaum (1981) examined more than 100 young adult daughters and their mothers regarding their relationship with one another and with the children in the third generation. They confirmed that there should be less conflict during later adulthood than earlier years, due to increased similarities in perspectives and roles. As women age, the adult daughter-mother relationship experiences several transitions (Cohler & Grunebaum, 1981; Fischer, 1981, 1986, 1991; O'Connor, 1990). As daughters share more roles with their mother, their positive regard increases (Fischer, 1981; 1986, 1991; Hess and Waring, 1978).

The occurrence of marriage and motherhood has been used as a significant marker for these changes (Nice, 1990; Fischer, 1981). Fischer (1986) looked at "developmental stakes" in terms of the relationships between young adult daughters and their mothers. She found that the daughter's marriage and first pregnancy affect the reordering of the mother-daughter relationship and increase the daughter's desire for closeness and

continuity with her mother (Fischer, 1981). The "developmental stakes" of the mother and daughter during young adulthood are more similar than at any other time in their lifespan. It is also predicted that once a woman has a child she will become aware of how much she is like her own mother, and the relationship will change at that point (Eichenbaum & Orbach, 1983). We may see this change through the use of conversational styles, as Beaumont (1995, 1996, 1998) proposes. Now that the parent views their adult child as an adult, they may adjust how they speak to their child. Specifically, the mother may adjust her style to one that reflects her daughter's (Beaumont, 1995). A high involvement style may be used to initiate a rapport building function, rather than the use of a high considerate style, that is used as an instructional form of communicating.

Although the increased similarities in the mother-daughter relationship have been shown to increase relationship satisfaction, these transitions may have consequences for either family member (Elder, 1985; Elder, Caspi, & Downey, 1986; Kaufman & Uhlenberg, 1998). Kaufman & Uhlenberg (1998) examined the transitions of work, marriage, and parenthood in the adult-child parent relationship. They looked at the effects in the child's life that may be stressful, as well as the positives, and then looked at the effects these events had on the parents' lives. Overall, they found an improvement in the relationships; however, these researchers also found a decline in adult parent-child interactions. Kaufman and Uhlenberg (1998) examined data from 1987-1988 and 1992-1994 of the National Survey of Families and Households to investigate how life course transitions affect changes in the adult child-parent relationship. They found that 1/5 deteriorate and 1/5 improve. The factors that influenced the deterioration were parental

divorce, parental health status, and problems in a child's marriage.

The reports of relationship satisfaction differ between parents and their children. Parents tend to report more positive relationships with their children than their children report at all levels of the life course. The term used to describe the discrepancy has been coined the "intergenerational stake hypothesis" (Bengston & Kuypers, 1971; Giarrusso, Stallings, & Bengston, 1995; Hagestad, 1987). Bengston and Kuypers (1971) introduced the term "developmental stake" to describe differences in perceptions of compatibility. They argued that parents have an investment in their children as a symbol of their own future, which results in a more positive perception than their children. However, children want to create their own place in society, resulting in a less perceived compatibility. In other words, there is resistance from older parents to account for problems with their children (Mancini & Blieszner, 1989). Support for Mancini and Blieszner's (1989) concept was found by Smith et al. (1998), who found differences between mothers and their adult daughters in reported conflict levels. The daughters in their study described more conflict than their mothers, and it was suggested that the conflict may be due to a "double-identification" process, which is experienced when a mother relives issues she had with her own mother, through her daughter.

Fingerman (1996) suggests the conflictual interactions is consistent with expected changes in the emotional salience of important social relationships later in life and relates the concept to her term of "developmental schism." She examined the sources of tension in aging mothers and their daughters' relationships, and describes the "developmental schism" as the reported parent-child differences in their perceptions of their relationship. The term refers to the idea that conflict between parents and their children is the result of

disparate developmental needs. For example, the emotional investment each party brings to their relationship may be different, and is tied to levels of tension. The daughters in her study described their mothers as intrusive, and related their mothers' intrusive behaviour to the mothers' investment in their relationship. It was suggested that mothers perceive themselves as a primary person in their daughter's family; whereas, the daughters did not perceive their mothers in the same manner. The daughters in Fingerman's (1996) study viewed their husbands and children as their primary family unit, distinct from their relationship with mothers. Daughters viewed their mothers separately, however, mothers continued to view themselves as part of the same family. It is suggested parents and their children's roles present a polarity that is never resolved (Fingerman, 1996), which may account for the inevitable conflict present in family relations.

"Developmental schisms" may be present throughout the lifespan and could contribute positively or negatively to a relationship. In relation to communication patterns, the advances that children make in their linguistic abilities are often viewed positively, as parents find it easier to communicate with a child who uses a communication style that matches their own. Additionally, children may appreciate their parents' use of a more relaxed parenting style as they mature (Fingerman, 1996), which may have a direct relationship with Tannen's (1984) conversational styles, and Beaumont's (1995, 1996) application to mothers and daughters. The additional cognitive abilities and maturity levels of communicative experiences that mothers and their daughters share in adulthood may be a result of mother's adjusting their style to match that of her daughter's, as their developmental stages reach a new level. Fingerman (1996) suggests that in order to understand tension in relationships, one must first

understand individual perceptions of that relationship in their interactions with one another. For example, parents who perceive their adolescent's new independence and maturity as a positive sign of maturity are less likely to experience the challenging questions as a source of friction.

Researchers have suggested that the nature of conflict, rather than the degree of intimacy and love, is the best way to distinguish relationships (Canary, Cupach, & Messman, 1995; Cohan & Bradbury, 1997; Gottman, 1979, 1993; Gottman, Coan, Carrere, & Swanson, 1998). For example, communication remains a central component to interaction and relationship satisfaction in the parent-child relationship (e.g., Apter, 2001). Communication can influence family relationships positively or negatively. Those who have open, clear communication tend to fare better than those families who have poor communication skills (Blieszner, Usita & Mancini, 1996; Quinn, 1983). Previous research has neglected the mutual interaction styles of parents and their children when studying communication patterns. Much of the literature on communication between parents and their children has focused on the child in the younger years, or the three way interactions of the child with mother and father. However, it has been shown that spouses act differently when together, and daughters have a particularly complex relationship with each of their parents (e.g., Youniss & Smollar, 1985). Mothers and daughters tend to communicate with one another more directly, whereas other parent-child combinations tend to engage in triadic interactions, usually involving a spouse (e.g., Troll & Smith, 1976). Fathers often interact with their children through the mother, and sons often relate to their own parents through their wives. As a result, negative interactions may have a greater impact on the mother-daughter relationship than they

would on relationships that are less close.

Research has clearly shown that communication is a significant source of relationship satisfaction in family interactions; however, the description of conflict in their adult interactions varies. For example, Clarke, Preston, Raksin, and Bengston (1999) looked at conflict in the relationships of older parents and adult children and found that conflict is more common that is often assumed. Two thirds of the parents (average age 62) and adult children (average age 39) reported conflict. Roughly the same proportion of parents and their children reported conflict, which contradicts the "intergenerational stake" hypothesis. Clarke et al. (1999) looked at problematic areas between older parents and adult children, and broke conflict into six categories. The largest source of conflict for daughters was communication and interaction issues, whereas parents viewed habits and lifestyles as the most significant cause of conflict. Clarke et al. (1999) suggest that unrealized expectations for communication form these complaints. Due to the developmental stages, mothers and their daughters bring different expectations to their communication, which may include expectations about speech patterns. It is possible that a reconfiguration might include how a parent speaks with his or her child. The reconfiguration may have an association with Tannen's (1984) categories of conversational styles. Specifically, we might see mothers talking to their adult daughters by using a style more similar to the one used with their friends (i.e., a high involvement style) rather than by using the high considerateness style that mothers of adolescent daughters tend to use. If this hypothesis is correct, we would see mothers adjusting their style by speaking with their daughters in a similar fashion to how these mothers speak with their friends. The expected result would be better communication,

resulting in less stress and tension in their interactions.

Perhaps, as evidence indicates, contact itself is not an essential element of more fulfilling relationships. More accurately, the dynamics of the speakers' interactions with one another may promote good relationships (Cooper et al., 1983; Larson, 1978; Noller & Callan, 1986; Quinn, 1983). Support for these assumptions comes from Quinn (1983) who found that the quality of communication tends to change in the later years of parent-child relationships. Quinn (1983) studied personal and family adjustment in later life of 171 parents, aged 65 and older. The study found good communication to positively influence the quality of the relationship between older parents and their children. The strongest predictor of the psychological well-being of parents was health, with the second predictor being the quality of their relationship with their children. Affection and communication influenced the quality of their relationships. Quinn (1983) highlights the importance of communication patterns in family relationships, and suggests that poor communication patterns may inhibit the opportunity for parents and children to arrive at new role bargains. Research has long acknowledged that role expectations developed during early stages of a relationship may require negotiations as the needs shift for both generations (e.g., Hess & Waring, 1978). Knowledge of the expectations of the other generations and the ability to engage in open dialogue regarding these expectations are a basic element of fulfilled parent-child relationships. The implication is that the presence of poor communication patterns may inhibit the opportunity for parents and their children to arrive at new role bargains. Poor communication in this context may include the conversational style that mothers and daughters use. The use of differing conversational styles between mothers and their daughters may inhibit reciprocity and positive role

negotiation.

Blieszner, Usita and Mancini (1996) also examined relationship quality, relationship satisfaction, and complaints among adult daughters and their mothers, and found that close mother-daughter relationships in adulthood are likely to include satisfying interactions with little conflict. Blieszner et al. (1996) found open and direct communication between mothers and daughters enhanced the mothers' positive feelings about their relationships. The more problematic relationships tended to involve poor communication, such as less discussion of feelings. The results of Blieszner et al.'s (1996) study may also have a relationship with Tannen's (1984) development of conversational styles, and thus relationship satisfaction may be affected by a particular conversational style. Part of the poor communication may include the mother using a high considerate conversational style with her daughter, while her daughter may use a high involvement style. The more "positive" relationships could include the mothers using a conversational style more similar to their daughter's style.

Summary. The parent-child relationship experiences transitions in the young adult years that set it apart from other developmental periods. The mother-daughter relationship remains closer than any other family dyad, but also experiences more tension. The well-being of both mothers and daughters are linked to their relationship satisfaction with one another, and the tension that does exist is a significant source of stress for both parents and their children. However, even though mothers and their daughters argue with one another, their relationship improves in the young adult years. The question that remains is: what contributes to the improvement during the adult years? Previous research has identified the development of autonomy, shared roles and

perceptions, and an improvement of communication as factors that contribute to the changes that occur for parents and their children in the adult years. The link between conversational styles and adult daughters and their mothers has not yet been examined. However, it is expected that an increase in the similarity of conversational styles will play a significant role in the relationship satisfaction of mothers and their young adult daughters.

Research Goal and Hypotheses

The goal of the present study was to extend previous research on mother-child communication by comparing the conversational styles used by mothers with their adolescent daughters and those used by mothers and their young adult daughters. The conversational styles were defined by patterns of interruptions, overlapping speech, and simultaneous speech. Furthermore, all daughters who participated were asked to complete questionnaires designed to assess their perceptions of the quality of their relationship. It was expected that adult daughters and mothers would demonstrate more similar conversational styles than adolescent daughters and mothers. In addition, it was hypothesized that similarity in mothers and daughters conversational styles would be positively related to their ratings of relationship quality, and that more positive relationship quality would be reported from mother/adult daughter dyads than from mother/adolescent daughter.

METHOD

Participants

This thesis was conducted as part of a larger program of research that was conducted by Dr. Sherry Beaumont and which was funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) from 1998-2001. That project investigated the conversational styles and relationship quality of mother-daughter, mother-son, father-daughter, and father-son dyads across two age groups (12-16; 20-40) and received approval by the UNBC Research Ethics Board in October 1997. The sample of participants that is included in the current study was collected by the author and a trained research assistant. The participants included a total of 45 mother-daughter dyads. Twenty-four of the dyads included adolescent daughters and their mothers, and 21 dyads included young adult daughters and their mothers. The young adult daughters lived away from their mothers' homes for at least a one year period. The participants were recruited from Prince George, BC, via advertisements in local newspapers and in local businesses.

Based upon the participants' responses to demographic questionnaires (see Appendices A, B, and C), the adolescent daughter's ages ranged from 12.68 to 15.85 (M = 14.14) and the young adult daughters' ages ranged from 21.33 to 39.17 (M = 27.39). The ages of mothers ranged from 32.22 to 48.51 (M = 38.59) for those of adolescent daughters and 44.39 to 70.80 (M = 53.45) for the mothers of adult daughters. Demographic information showed that most of the daughters lived with both of their biological parents (13 adolescent daughters and 13 young adult daughters). Seven adolescents and two young adults lived (or had lived) with their biological mother only, whereas two adolescents and two young adults lived with their biological mother and

step-father. One adolescent lived with her biological father and step-mother, and one adolescent was adopted. The family composition was not reported for four of the young adult daughters.

The reported birth order of the daughters indicated that 13 of the adolescents and five of the young adult daughters were the oldest children in their families. In contrast, seven of the adolescent daughters and 11 of the young adult daughters were the youngest children in their families, whereas two adolescents and one young adult were the middle children in their families. In addition, one adolescent was the second oldest in their family, and one adolescent was the second youngest. Finally, two young adult daughters were the second oldest, and one was the second youngest in their family. The birth order of one young adult daughter is not known.

Most of the mothers in the study were married: 16 mothers of adolescents and 12 mothers of young adults were married, five adolescent mothers and three young adult mothers were divorced, and one adolescent mother and two young adult mothers were separated. In addition one adolescent mother was widowed, and three young adult mothers were widowed. The marital status for the mother of one adolescent daughter and one young adult daughter is not known. Seven young adult daughters were single, twelve young adult daughters were married, one young adult daughter was separated, and one young adult daughter was divorced.

The majority of the participants reported that their ethnicity was Caucasian. Specifically, 17 adolescent daughters and their mothers, and 19 young adult daughters and their mothers indicated that their ethnicity was Caucasian. Four of the adolescent daughters and mothers, as well as two of the young adult daughters and their mothers

indicated their ethnicity was Aboriginal. In addition, three of the adolescent daughters and mothers reported that their ethnicity was African-American or African-Canadian.

Based on information about mothers and their spouses' occupations (where applicable), 87.3% of the participants were middle class, 7.3% were lower class, and 5.3% were unemployed families (according to the index developed by Blishen, Carroll, & Moore, 1987). Accordingly, the socioeconomic and ethnic profile of this sample could be described as predominantly middle class and Caucasian, which is consistent with the overall summary of persons living in the Prince George region (according to 1996 census information). In addition, two adolescent mothers were home-makers, three young adult mothers were retired, and one young adult mother was unemployed. Five of the adolescent mother's highest educational level attained was secondary school, five completed a high school diploma, three completed trade/technical school, one completed some college, five completed a college diploma, and four completed some university. The education level of one adolescent mother is not known.

The highest educational level attained for three of the young adult daughters was secondary school, four completed some college, three had a college diploma, seven completed some university, and two completed a university degree. The educational level of one young adult daughter is not known. Four of the young adult mother's highest educational level attained was secondary, two completed a high school diploma, three completed trade/technical college, two completed some college, one completed a college diploma, four completed some university, and four completed a university degree. The education level of one young adult mother is not known.

Procedure

The procedure for this study followed Beaumont's (1995, 1996, 2000) previous research methodology. Accordingly, after potential participants responded to the recruitment advertisements, they were telephoned and the procedure was explained to them over the phone. If the potential participant verbally consented to complete the study, a convenient time was set up for the researcher to visit their homes. Data was collected by the author and one trained research assistant at the homes of the mother-daughter dyads to ensure that they were as comfortable as possible and in an attempt to create a more naturalistic setting. Upon arrival at the participants' homes, the nature of the research was repeated to the mothers and daughters, and they were assured of the confidentiality of their responses. In addition, they were informed that they may withdraw their consent to participate at any time.

Each mother and daughter was first asked to independently complete a demographic questionnaire and a consent form (see Appendices A, B, and C) and the Revealed Differences Questionnaire (RDQ; Mishler & Waxler, 1968; see Appendix D). The RDQ has been used in previous studies of family interactions for the purpose of generating discussion topics. The RDQ was completed in two parts and includes 38 items describing hypothetical scenarios about interpersonal situations and values for which participants must select one of two possible answers.

When the participants completed the RDQ, the researcher then compared the mothers' and children's answers to the RDQ, marking down all of the item numbers on which the participants disagreed. Five of these items were then selected for the dyad to

discuss. To ensure that dyads from the two age groups would talk about a similar set of RDQ items, the discussion items were matched across dyad types. The procedure for matching the discussion items has been used in previous studies by Beaumont and consists of: "(a) calculating the proportion of all dyads who disagreed on each item; (b) calculating the difference between the proportion of younger dyads and the proportion of older dyads who disagreed on each item; and, (c) rank ordering the item numbers according to the size of the difference (from smallest to largest) between steps one and two" (Beaumont, 2000, p. 126). This procedure was updated as the completed questionnaires were received from participants. The item numbers that each mother-daughter dyad discussed were selected according to the rank orderings. The dyad members were given one item at a time to discuss. The researcher left the room while dyad members discussed each topic, and the participants were asked to discuss each item for approximately five minutes. All discussions were audio taped using two lapel microphones, which fed into separate channels of a stereo tape recorder.

Measures

Once the conversations were completed, the mothers were asked to complete the *Parent Version of the Conflict Behavior Questionnaire* (CBQ-P; Robin & Foster, 1989; see Appendix E). This self-report questionnaire was used to measure mothers' perceptions of the quality of their relationships with their daughters. It consists of 20 true/false statements (e.g., My child and I compromise during arguments). Previous studies have found good internal consistency for this questionnaire, and it has been shown to distinguish between distressed and nondistressed parent-adolescent dyads (e.g.,

Robin & Foster, 1989). The daughters were asked to complete the *Conflict Behavior Questionnaire - Adolescent Versions for Mother* (CBQ-D; Robin & Foster, 1989; see Appendix F). This questionnaire was used to measure daughters' perceptions of the quality of their relationships with their mothers. Like the parent version, it consists of 20 true/false statements (e.g., My father doesn't understand me), and has good internal consistency. For both of these questionnaires, responses that indicated greater parent-child conflict were given a score of one, and then all item scores were summed to compute a total score reflecting the magnitude of the perceived level of parent-child conflict, with higher scores reflecting greater perceived conflict (range of scores = 0-20).

As a second measure of perceptions of relationship quality, daughters were also asked to complete the "mother" version of the *Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment* (IPPA; Greenberg, 1982; see Appendix G). This questionnaire assessed adolescents' and young adults' perceptions of the quality of their relationships with their mothers. It contains 28 statements about felt security and emotional attachment to mother to which the respondent circles a number from 1-5 which reflected the extent to which the statement is true for her. The inventory has been found to have good test-retest reliability and internal consistency (Greenberg, 1982).

The order of presentation of questionnaires was counterbalanced across participants. It is important to note that the data collection for mother-daughter dyads occurred within the larger SSHRC funded study, such that some of the adolescent daughters participated in separate discussions with their fathers as well as their mothers. In those cases, the order of the discussions (mother, father) was counterbalanced across participants. In addition, the larger study included questionnaires measuring depression

and midlife stress for the mothers, and questionnaires measuring depression and autonomy for parents for the daughters. After the administration of the questionnaires, the dyad members received the twenty-five dollar honorarium.

Coding

The audiotapes were transcribed verbatim by the author and a trained assistant (see instructions for transcribing in Appendix H). To identify patterns of speech behaviours that reflect the use of the high involvement and high considerateness conversational styles, five speech behaviours were coded using Beaumont's (1993) coding scheme, with each reflecting a particular type of violation of the traditional turn-taking "rule" (see Appendix I). Coding was completed by the author using both the transcripts and tapes. Interobserver agreement was ensured by having a trained research assistant code 20% of the taped conversations and calculating a Cohen's kappa for the entire coding scheme and separate agreement percentages for individual coding categories. The primary categories of speech behaviours that were coded and analyzed for each speaker were based on the following definitions from Beaumont et al. (2001). For all of the categories of speech, "the first speaker is the person who held the conversational floor, and the second speaker is the person who intruded on the first speaker's speaking turn" (Beaumont et al., 2001, p. 430).

1. *Overlaps between turns (O)* were defined as instances when the second speaker cut off only one word (or less) of the first speaker's complete utterance, or when the two speakers began speaking at the same time after a pause. An overlap was credited to the speaker who initiated it (i.e., the speaker who is not currently holding the floor).

Overlaps were included as a measure of speakers' pace of turn-taking. That is, one would expect a faster-paced (high involvement) speaker to use overlaps more frequently than a slower-paced (high considerateness) speaker.

2. *Simultaneous speech (SS)* was defined as an instance in which the second speaker began talking before the first speaker had finished her utterance and both speakers continued talking and completed their utterances. Simultaneous speech, then, demonstrates a type of unsuccessful interruption (i.e., the second speaker is not successful in getting the first speaker to stop talking). An instance of simultaneous speech was credited to the speaker who initiated it (i.e, the "interrupter").

3. *Successful interruptions (SI)* were defined as instances when the second speaker cut the first speaker off before she had finished a complete utterance (i.e., more than the last word of the utterance). Success was determined by examining whether the first speaker abruptly stopped talking before her idea was completed, in contrast to continuing to speak simultaneously with the interrupter's speech. A successful interruption was credited to the person who initiated it (i.e., the interrupter).

Overlaps between turns, simultaneous speech, and successful interruptions correspond to Tannen's (1983, 1984) categories of high involvement and high considerateness conversational styles. As is standard for the use of Beaumont's coding scheme, two other speech behaviours were coded, but were not considered relevant to the study. "Listener responses (short remarks that encourage the speaker to continue; e.g., "mhmm") and unsuccessful interruptions (attempts to interrupt in which the first speaker continues to talk and the interrupter stops talking) also were coded to ensure that the scheme was mutually exclusive and exhaustive in coding all possible violations of the

turn-taking rule" (Beaumont et al., 2001, p. 430). The observed coding agreement was found to be high with an overall Cohen's kappa of .97, and with agreement percentages of .89 for successful interruptions, .88 for simultaneous speech, .90 for overlaps, .95 for unsuccessful interruptions, and .90 for listener responses.

Treatment of Data

The raw data were converted to an analyzable form using the method developed by Beaumont (1995) which follows from a similar precedent set by Hill (1988) and Kollack, Blumstein, and Schwartz (1985). The frequencies of each coding category (O, SS, and SI) were summed for each speaker across all discussion topics. However, the number of responses in each speech category is dependent on time spent talking. Accordingly, raw frequencies for each speaker were transformed into rates using the individual's talking time, as reflected by the number of words spoken, as the denominator. These rates were subsequently multiplied by the approximate average number of words that were spoken by dyad members over the entire session (i.e., 1,872). As Beaumont (2000) states: "this calculation results in more meaningful data by providing comparable rates of O, SS, and SI per 20-minute conversation, rather than rates of O, SS, and SI per number of words spoken. What are examined in this study, therefore, are rates of O, SS, and SI per 20 min of conversation, corrected for the amount of time each dyad member spent talking" (p. 129).

RESULTS

Analyses of Conversational Styles

The conversational style dependent variables (O, SI, SS) were checked for skewness before proceeding with the analyses, and data for all three variables were found to be positively skewed. As suggested by Tabachnik and Fidell (2001), a square root transformation was performed, and these transformed rates were used in the analyses (however, means and standard deviations for the untransformed rates are presented). Preliminary analyses were carried out to establish whether the speakers' rates of O, SS, and SI were intercorrelated. Correlations computed for daughters' rates of O, SS, and SI were found to be significant (r = .47 for SI and SS; r = .30 for SI and O; and, r =.44 for O and SS; $p < .05$). Two of the correlations computed for mothers' rates of O, SS, and SI were also found to be significant (r = .39 for SI and SS; and, r = .42 for O and SS; $p <$ .05; the correlation between SI and O was not significant). Consequently, speakers' rates of O, SS, and SI were analysed by a 2 (speaker) x 2 (dyad type) multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) with speaker (mother, daughter) as a within-dyad variable and dyad type (adolescent daughter, adult daughter) as a between-dyad variable. In this analysis, the three dependent variables (O, SS, SI) were entered into the MANOVA as a repeated measures variable called "speech type", and any significant interactions with this variable were followed by univariate analyses of variance (ANOVAs) by looking at the significance of the main effects (of speaker or dyad type) or interaction of the independent variables (speaker x dyad type) separately for each of the dependent variables. Significant univariate F ratios for interactions among variables were followed by Tukey's Honestly Significant Difference (HSD) tests of differences between means.

An alpha level of .05 was used for all statistical tests.

MANOVA results revealed significant multivariate interactions for: speaker and speech type, F (2, 86) = 4.33, eta-squared = .092; dyad type and speech type, F (2, 86) = 11.16, eta-squared = .206; and, speaker, dyad type, and speech type, F (2, 86) = 3.21, eta-squared = .069 (as shown in Table 1).

The significant multivariate interaction of speaker and speech type was followed-up by examining the significance level of the univariate main effect of speaker separately for each of the three dependent variables. The main effect of speaker was found to be significant for two of the dependent variables: for SS, F (1, 43) = 25.72, eta-squared = .374, and for SI, F (1, 43) = 6.62, eta-squared = .133 (as shown in Table 1). Examination of the relevant means for these main effects of speaker revealed that daughters produced significantly higher rates of SS (M = 11.46, SD = 7.63) than did their mothers (M = 6.96, SD = 6.05). Daughters also displayed significantly higher rates of SI (M = 6.42, SD = 4.87) than did their mothers (M = 3.93, SD = 4.34). These means and standard deviations are displayed in Table 2.

The significant multivariate three-way interaction between speaker, dyad type, and speech type was explored further by examining the significance level of the univariate interaction of speaker and dyad type separately for each of the three dependent variables. The univariate results indicated that this interaction was significant only for the dependent variable SS, F (1, 43) = 5.32, eta-squared = .110. Figure 1 displays the means for mothers' and daughters rates of O, SS, and SI as a function of dyad type (adolescent, adult). As shown in this figure, the significant interaction was due to the fact that mothers of adolescent daughters (M = 4.39, SD = 4.68) produced significantly less simultaneous

speech than did their daughters (M = 10.14, SD = 7.65, q = -5.03, $p < .01$). However, there was no significant difference between adult daughters' and their mothers' rates of SS (M = 12.96, SD = 7.51; M = 9.89, SD = 6.19, respectively; q = 1.86, $p > .05$). Furthermore, there was no significant difference in the mean rates of simultaneous speech produced by adolescent and young adult daughters (M = 10.14, SD = 7.65; M = 12.96, SD = 7.51, respectively; q = -2.46, $p > .05$); however, mothers of adult daughters produced more simultaneous speech than mothers of adolescents (M = 9.89, SD = 6.19; M = 4.39, SD = 4.68, respectively; q = -5.58, $p < .01$).

Analyses of Questionnaire Data

In order to address the hypothesis about whether greater differences in mothers' and daughters' conversational styles predict higher perceived conflict scores (as measured by the CBQ) or lower perceived attachment scores (as measured by the IPPA), a series of Pearson correlations and multiple regressions were performed. Before conducting the analyses, a difference score for each speech variable (O, SS, SI) was computed for each mother-daughter dyad by calculating the absolute difference between mothers' and daughters' rates of O, SS, and SI. These mother-daughter O, SS, and SI difference scores were not found to be correlated with the questionnaire scores. The difference scores were also used in the multiple regression analyses to predict the questionnaire scores (separate analyses to predict mothers' CBQ scores, daughters' CBQ scores, and daughters' IPPA scores). The results of these regression analyses also revealed no significant findings.

Table 1

Source	F	Significance	Eta Squared
Multivariate Main Effects for Speaker			
Speaker	15.78	.000	.27
Speech Type	80.65	.000	.65
Speech Type and Dyad Type	11.16	.000	.206
Speech Type and Speaker	4.33	.016	.092
Speech Type, Dyad Type And Speaker	3.21	.045	.069
Univariate Main Effects for Speaker			
Simultaneous speech	25.72	.000	.374
Successful Interruptions	6.62	.014	.133
Overlaps	1.73	.196	.039

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations for Speakers' Rates of Overlaps, Simultaneous Speech, and Successful Interruptions

Variable	Dyad Type	M	SD	N
Overlaps	Daughters			
	Adolescent	17.90	10.14	24
	Young Adult	15.40	8.32	21
	Mothers			
	Adolescent	16.99	8.26	24
	Young Adult	12.65	6.40	21
Simultaneous Speech	Daughters			
	Adolescent	10.14	7.65	24
	Young Adult	12.96	7.51	21
	Mothers			
	Adolescent	4.39	4.68	24
	Young Adult	9.89	6.19	21
Successful Interruptions	Daughters			
	Adolescent	6.16	4.62	24
	Young Adult	6.72	5.25	21
	Mothers			
	Adolescent	2.80	2.67	24
	Young Adult	5.22	5.48	21

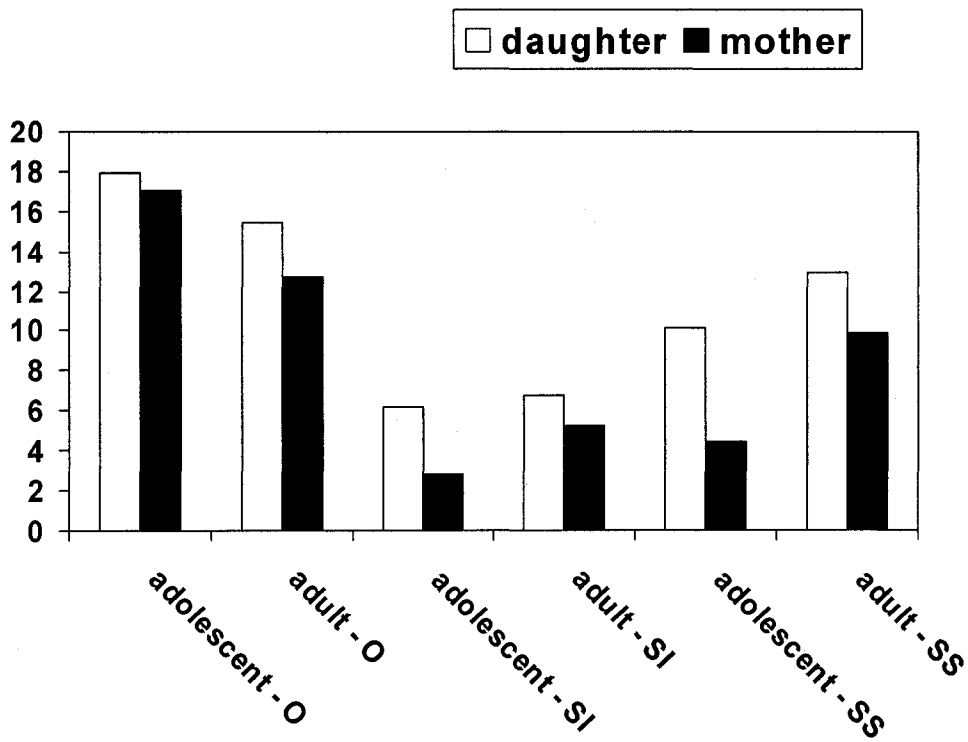

Figure 1. Mean rates O, SI, and SS as a function of speaker (daughter, mother) and dyad type (adolescent, adult).

In order to examine group differences in the perceptions of relationship conflict, the CBQ-P and the CBQ-D scores were analysed by a 2 (dyad type) x 2 (rater) mixed-model ANOVA with dyad type (adolescent, adult) as the between-dyad factor and rater (daughter, mother) as the within-dyad factor. This analysis revealed no significant effects. Consequently, there were no age differences found in the ratings of conflict for either adolescent or adult daughter and their mothers.

A correlational analysis revealed that the daughters' CBQ ratings and the daughters' IPPA rating were negatively correlated: $r = -.699, p < .001$. In other words, the greater the perceived conflict with their mothers, the less attached the daughters report feeling. Furthermore, adolescent daughters reported less perceived attachment to their mothers ($M = 92.58$, $SD = 20.31$) as compared to the adult daughters ($M = 111.05$, $SD = 18.72$; $t\,(43) = -3.172, p = .003$).

DISCUSSION

Findings Regarding Conversational Style Differences

The purpose of this thesis was to expand on Beaumont's (1995, 1996, 2000; Beaumont & Cheyne, 1998) previous research on mother-daughter communication patterns by comparing the conversational styles between mothers and their adolescent daughters with those of mother and their young adult daughters. It was expected that adult daughters and their mothers would demonstrate more similar conversational styles, as compared to those of adolescent daughters and their mothers. Similarity in conversational styles was examined by analyzing speakers' rates of overlaps, simultaneous speech, and successful interruptions. It was also hypothesized that similarity in mother-daughter conversational styles would be positively related to their ratings of relationship quality, and that adult daughter-mother dyads would report more positive relationship quality than the adolescent daughter-mother dyads.

The results partially confirmed these hypotheses. As was found in previous research by Beaumont (e.g., 1996, 2000), regardless of age group, daughters produced higher rates of simultaneous speech and successful interruptions than did their mothers. Although there was no significant difference in the rates of simultaneous speech produced by adolescent and adult daughters, mothers of adult daughters produced more simultaneous speech than did mothers of adolescent daughters. As a result, there tended to be a greater convergence in the conversational styles of mothers and adult daughters as compared to mothers and adolescent daughters (at least in terms of the use of simultaneous speech, which is the primary distinguishing characteristic of the high

involvement conversational style; cf. Tannen, 1984). This latter conclusion is supported by the marginally significant finding that the absolute difference in the rates of simultaneous speech for mothers and daughters had the tendency to be greater in the adolescent age group as compared to the adult age group.

The finding that mothers and their young adult daughters used more similar conversational styles as compared to mothers and their adolescent daughters is consistent with Beaumont's (2000; Beaumont & Cheyne, 1998) hypothesis that mothers use less of a high considerateness conversational style, and begin using a style more consistent with their daughters, once their children are adults and no longer live at home. The young adult daughters in this study lived away from home for a minimum requirement of one year, which may have contributed to the mothers' use of a more high involvement style, as evidenced by a higher rate of simultaneous speech. Once young adult children have left home, mothers may then view their daughters as more mature, autonomous individuals and adjust their communication style accordingly.

The extent of similarities in conversational styles also appears to be related to the symmetrical nature of parent-child interactions in adulthood. The asymmetrical nature of their relationship in adolescence shifts to a more symmetrical relationship in adulthood, which contributes to more similarity in the conversational styles used by young adult daughters and their mothers. For example, in adolescence daughters may demonstrate a higher rate of simultaneous speech and successful interruptions from the symmetrical interactions with their peers (Beaumont, 1995). In contrast, mothers may continue to use a slower turn taking system with their daughters due to the regulatory role they were accustomed to using when these daughters were children. This may account for the

findings that adolescent daughters rated their attachment to their mothers lower than the young adult daughters. Beaumont (2000) suggests that mothers use a slower, less overlapping conversational style as a "child directed" style that is used for communication with their children. Hakim-Larson and Hobart (1987) also suggest that mothers function as a "regulatory role" when communicating with their children, and suggest that mothers attempt to "fill in" the information needed to understand what their children are trying to say. They further suggest that as children become more autonomous, communication with their mothers may be more balanced than in the previous years. Accordingly, one might expect that mothers of adolescents would use the features of the high considerateness style more than mothers of adult children. The adult years offer a shift to a more peer like interaction style, resulting in mothers adapting to a style more consistent with their adult children.

The conversational styles parents use may also be influenced by their parenting practices. Parenting styles have been linked to adaptive functioning of conflict in the family (Cooper, 1988; Hill & Holmbeck, 1987; Holmbeck & Hill, 1991; Steinberg, 1990). Often conflict is not the problem, but rather how the individual responds to the conflict (Collins & Laursen, 1992). For example, adolescent behaviour can be predicted by their parents' adapting their parenting strategies to meet the needs and changes of the developing child (Holmbeck, Paikoff, & Brooks-Gunn, 1995). Parents who respond to conflict with their child with little flexibility (authoritarian parenting style) may see more of an increase in the levels of tension. Whereas, parents who are more responsive to change and are flexible (authoritative parenting style) may have less problems in negotiating conflict with their children. The more parents can adapt their parenting

practices to fit these changes, the more positive the effects on adolescent behaviour. Authoritative parenting is characteristic of adaptability and facilitates an easier transition between developmental stages (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). The parenting styles may be a potential factor in the use of similar conversational styles. For example, it is possible that mothers who adapt their conversational style to a style more consistent with their daughter's style use an authoritative parenting style.

Although the findings of this thesis demonstrate that mothers use a more high involvement conversational style with young adult daughters, both adolescents and young adult daughters used significantly more simultaneous speech and successful interruptions than their mothers. Accordingly, both adolescent and young adult daughters experienced a clash in conversational styles with their mothers. Beaumont, Vasconcelos and Ruggeri (2001) had similar results with their study on mother-daughter and mother-son conversations. They examined the similarities and differences in mother-daughter and mother-son conversations during preadolescence and adolescence, and found that both age groups experienced a clash with their mothers. However, it was suggested that the adolescent group may be more negatively affected by the clash in conversational styles, as compared to the preadolescent group, due to the high value placed on interpersonal similarities in the adolescent period. In this thesis, adolescents may also have been affected the most, as shown by the adolescent daughters' lower attachment rating to their mothers.

Contrary to the predictions made for this study, mothers may never use a comparable amount of simultaneous speech and interruptions as their daughters, since as suggested by Fingerman (2003), generational status may always play a role in how

mothers speak with their daughters. Fingerman (1996) suggests that generational status must be taken into account when examining conflict in mother-daughter relationships. She suggests that regardless of the age of the daughter, she will always occupy the child role and the mother will always occupy the parental role. These discrepancies result in an imbalance of the needs of mothers and daughters that may never be fully resolved. The changes parents and their children experience during adolescence are considered "important precursors" for their interactions in adulthood. Families establish ways of interacting in childhood, and they may find it difficult to break these patterns in adulthood; thus, tensions may persist (Fingerman, 2000; Troll, 1996). The stability in generational patterns may include the communication behaviour that occurs between mothers and their daughters. Depending on the amount of and resolution of these earlier issues, the relationship may be affected to a greater or lesser degree (Smith, Mullis, & Hill, 1998). It is possible that no significant difference in speech acts was found because mothers continue to view their young adult daughters as an extension of themselves, rather than as independent adults (Aldous, Klaus, & Klein, 1985; Ryff, Lee, Essex & Schmutte, 1994; Ryff & Selztzer, 1996).

The context for young adults separating from their parents is much different than for adolescents. Apter (2001) describes the issue of societal pressure in *The Myth of Maturity*. For example, young adults are expected to be independent, and it is often believed that they do not need their parents as they did in their younger years. Mothers also feel ambivalent towards their daughters, as they want to keep them close at the same time as push them towards adulthood. To acknowledge the continual need for support and guidance from one's parents in the young adult years is often thought of as immature.

However, young adult children are in a transition period that does involve the need for parental guidance and support. At the crux of the young adult transition period is the need for continual communication regarding these issues. The independence suggested to influence the parent-child relationship may not occur until the later adult years.

Findings Regarding Predictions of Perceptions of Relationship Conflict

The hypothesis regarding the prediction of ratings of communicative conflict was not supported, although some interesting findings did emerge from the analyses of the questionnaire data. The analyses of the relationship satisfaction measures revealed that adolescents rated their attachment to their mothers as significantly lower than did the young adult daughters, and the greater the level of conflict perceived by the daughters, the lower their ratings of attachment to their mothers. However, differences in conversational styles did not predict ratings of conflict for either age group. In other words, there was no relation between conversational style differences and ratings of attachment quality or perceived conflict.

The non significant findings with regard to the prediction of relationship satisfaction is surprising, given the results that mothers and their young adult daughters experience more similarity in their conversational styles, and given previous findings of a direct association between successful communication and relationship quality (e.g., Blieszner et al., 1996; Clarke et al. 1999; Quinn, 1983). With respect to the use of different conversational styles, Beaumont and her colleagues (1995; 2000; Beaumont & Cheyne, 1998; Beaumont et al., 2001) have referred to the explanations put forth by sociolinguists. For example, Gumperz (1976) suggests that speakers of similar ages and

backgrounds who have had similar communication experiences should display similar habits in voice quality and temporal patterns; whereas, conversations between speakers who have different backgrounds and habits occurs when the speakers do not share a "common base" of experience. These traits are linked to the symmetry of a relationship. For example, symmetrical interactions occur when speakers find common ground or a "common base". Accordingly, adult daughters and mothers are more likely to experience a "common base" for successful communication, which could offer a reason for the findings that young adult daughters and their mothers share more similarities in their conversational styles than those of mothers and their adolescent daughters. This was demonstrated by the mothers' increased use of simultaneous speech with their young adult daughters.

A few other explanations may account for the finding that conversational style differences do not predict conflict levels in mother-daughter relations. First, a stream of research suggests that the adult daughter-mother relationship may not be as close as often thought (e.g., Clarke, et al., 1999; Fingerman, 2003; Friday, 1977; O'Connor, 1990). Clarke et al. (1999) suggest that conflict between older children and their parents is more common than is often assumed and adult daughters continue to view communication as the largest source of conflict in relation to their mother. More recent research has suggested that the young adult years may be a stressful time for mothers and their daughters, rather than the agreeable relationship that one would expect (Fingerman, 2003). In fact, Fingerman (2003) found that some mothers and daughters viewed the young adult years as more stressful than the adolescent years. The problems described were related to an idealization of the mother-daughter bond in young adulthood, partner

choice, future plans, and perceptions in the relationship. The idealization of the mother-daughter relationship has resulted in the perception that mother-daughter relations are close and intimate. Mothers and their daughters may continue to have unrealistic perceptions of their relationships with one another until the later years of adulthood. For example, Fingerman (2003) focused her research on mother-daughter relationships in the later years, and suggests that the older years offer a time of "sophisticated interdependence," and the mother-daughter relationship may not display these characteristics until the later years. Cohler (1988) supports this idea as well, and suggests that the older years may be when we see a greater satisfaction level between mothers and daughters, as the two women then share more of age and time in the life cycle. The young age of the daughters in this thesis may account for the findings of this thesis that conversational style differences do not predict conflict levels in the young adult daughter samples.

O'Connor (1990) also found that the adult daughter-mother relationship may not be as close as is often thought. O'Connor (1990) examined the relationship of sixty mothers and daughters. Although these women saw each other frequently, they did not describe their relationships as "very close." O'Connor (1996) suggests the perception of a close mother-daughter relationship reflects the idealization of the mother role, and confusion between closeness and "tending," or caring for one's mother. O'Connor (1990) suggests that social scientists have considered the care females provide for someone in a relationship with the closeness of that relationship. In other words, providing care for someone has been equated with caring for someone. However, the mothers participating in this thesis were reported to be in good health, and did not require

help from their daughters. Accordingly, the results compensate for the impression of problematic relationships that occur when researchers focus solely on the burdens of care giving. Feminist theorists such as Chodorow (1978) and Eichenbaum and Orbach (1983) claim that such descriptions of femininity and mothering produce unrealistic expectations of the "martyr mother" and "dutiful daughter." Negative consequences such as anger, distress, and/or guilt may be the result from these unrealistic expectations. Although this study did not look at these factors, it is possible that these factors influence the conflict levels that mothers and their daughters experience in the young adult years.

Fingerman (2003) also found differences in the descriptions that mothers and daughters offered regarding their visits. For example, she found that the focus with the young adult daughters was their entry into adulthood, and these daughters tended to be more self-absorbed. The younger daughters also looked more to their mothers for direction than older daughters. The younger generation's needs dominated their visits, with both parties focusing on the daughter's entry into adulthood. In contrast, older mothers and daughters focused on the larger kin network in describing their recent enjoyable visits. However, mothers of both age groups appeared to be more invested in the relationships than their daughters. As is true of the period of adolescence, parents view their relationships with their children more positively than do their children (Bengtson & Kuypers, 1971; Fingerman, 1997). Problems may also arise if daughters feel their mothers are too involved in their lives, and mothers feel they are rejected somewhat from their daughters' lives. The consequence of these differing perceptions may result in conflict.

The most compelling suggestion for the nonsignificant relationship between

conversational style differences and perceptions of relationship quality is offered by Beaumont and Wagner (2004). They offer an explanation for adolescent-parent verbal conflict in relation to the roles of conversational style and emotional expression. The study involved an investigation of emotional expression in disagreement conversations between parents and their adolescent children, and they drew on previous research that found that a difference in communicative styles often results in misunderstandings and negative perceptions (e.g., Giles, 1979; Ryan, 1979; Welkowitz & Feldstein, 1969). The methodology followed Beaumont's (1995, 1996; Beaumont & Cheyne, 1998) previous studies by examining the rates of conversational style features (overlaps, simultaneous speech, successful interruptions). However, measures of observed rates of positive and negative emotional expressions were added. The expressions of humor, affection, interest, disgust, whining, and neutral emotions were coded for each speaker. The predictive associations between conversational styles differences, emotional expression, and perceptions of conflict were examined. Specifically related to this thesis, Beaumont and Wagner (2004) hypothesized that the mother-daughter dyads would show the most diverse emotional expression, and that the larger the difference in parent-adolescent conversational styles, the more the adolescent will display expressions of disgust. It was then expected the parent would react to their adolescent with disgust, resulting in negative affect reciprocity. It was further hypothesized that the adolescent disgust expressions would positively predict levels of perceived parent-adolescent conflict.

Beaumont and Wagner's (2004) results established that differences in conversational styles and parents' level of disgust predict higher levels of adolescent disgust; which in turn predicted higher levels of perceived conflict from the adolescent.

However, parents' perceptions of conflict were not predicted from adolescent's expressions of disgust. Beaumont and Wagner (2004) suggest that this finding may be due the parent's use of a more controlled and less emotional conversational style in an attempt to set an example of how to use appropriate emotional regulation strategies for their adolescents. Their study suggests that parents who can adapt to the use of a conversational style with low levels of negative affect may reduce the negative effect on conversational style differences and negative expression of adolescent perceptions of relationship quality. These findings offer a more comprehensive predictive model for conversational style differences and ratings of conflict.

Limitations of the Study and Suggestions for Future Research

It is necessary to identify a number of limitations of the methods used in this thesis. First, the predominantly Caucasian, middle-class composition of the sample limits the generalizability of the findings. Future research needs to examine communication style differences between mothers and daughters in other ethnic groups. An additional limitation is the high variability demonstrated in speakers' use of overlaps, simultaneous speech, and successful interruptions. The high variability was confirmed by the large standard deviations in this study. However, the variability is consistent with Tannen's (1984) and Beaumont's (1995, 2000) previous findings of large individual differences. In addition, Tannen (1984) suggests that distinct categories should not be used when discussing the high-involvement and high considerateness conversational styles. Instead, these styles need to be considered along a continuum from slow-paced to fast-paced talking, and the style a speaker is using can only be compared to that of the speaker's

partner. In this study, the results suggest that as a group, daughters demonstrate speech patterns that may be considered more high involvement than those of their mothers, as evidenced by the daughters' higher use of simultaneous speech and successful interruptions.

A third limitation of this thesis is the use of conflict conversations to obtain discussions between mothers and their daughters. The use of the Revealed Differences Questionnaire as a tool may inhibit the naturalistic context of communication between mothers and their daughters. However, Beaumont and her colleagues' (1995, 1996; Beaumont & Cheyne, 1998; Beaumont, Ruggeri & Vasconcelos, 2001) have found the Revealed Differences Questionnaire measure to be valid. Additionally, the topics presented to the participants are likely to reflect the types of conversations that would occur naturally between the daughter and her mother. Perhaps the combined use of audio-tapes and video-tapes may have provided valuable non-verbal communicative behaviour that was missed in the current study. As stated earlier, Beaumont and Wagner's (2004) findings of non-verbal expressions was a significant factor in the prediction of relationship satisfaction ratings between adolescent-parent conflict. The use of a video-tape for recording and coding non-verbal expressions may have provided valuable insight into the mother-daughter relationship that otherwise is lost.

In summary, the results of this study add to the literature on mother-daughter communicative experiences by providing information about mothers' communicative styles with both their adolescent and young adult daughters. The results support the hypothesis put forth in previous research by Beaumont (1995, 2000) that mothers and their daughters experience a "clash" in conversational styles, with the greatest difference

between mothers and adolescent daughters. It has been suggested that speakers who use different speech styles will interpret their experience as more negative than those who use similar speech styles (Giles, 1979; Tannen, 1984, Ryan, 1979). Accordingly, the expectation of this study was to find less relationship satisfaction between the mother-daughter dyads who demonstrated the largest difference in speech styles. However, these results did not support that hypothesis. A more accurate explanation of the role of conversational styles and mother-daughter relationships may be offered by Beaumont & Wagner (2004). Their results suggest that adolescent-parent conversational style differences may lead to increased hostile affect, and subsequently, to adolescents' perceptions of relationship conflict. The results of this thesis highlight the complexity of the mother-daughter relationship, and the importance of studying non-verbal communication in combination with verbal characteristics. The results also have implications for future research on mother-daughter relationships in the young adult years. Specifically, future research will be well spent following Beaumont and Wagner's (2004) study and adding adult daughters to their examination of emotional expression and its role in conversational styles and perceptions of relationship satisfaction. Conflict in mother-daughter relations can have a harmful effect on the mental health and well-being of both parents and their children. Educators and clinicians may reduce the effect of negative communicative exchanges through an awareness of conversational style differences.

References

Adams, G.R., Gullotta, T., & Clancy, M.A. (1985). Homeless adolescents: Descriptive study of similarities and differences between runaways and throwaways. *Adolescence, 20* (79), 715-724.

Aldous, J., Klaus, E., & Klein, D. (1985). The understanding heart: Aging parents and their favourite children. *Child Development, 56,* 303-316.

Apter, T. (1990). *Altered loves: Mothers and daughters during adolescence*. New York, New York: St. Martin's Press Inc.

Apter, T. (1998). *Best friends: The pleasures and perils of girls' and women's friendships.* New York: Crown Publishers.

Apter, T. (2001). *The myth of maturity: What teenagers need from parents to become adults*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc.

Aries, E. (1987). Gender and communication. In P. Shaver, & C. Hendrick (Eds.), *Sex and Gender* (pp. 149-176). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Arnett, J. (1999). Adolescent storm and stress. *American Psychologist, 54 (5),* 317-326.

Barnes, H.L., & Olson, D.H. (1985). Parent-adolescent communication and the circumplex model. *Child Development, 56*, 438-447.

Barnett, R.C., Kibria, N., Baruch, G.K., & Pleck, J.H. Adult daughter-parent relationships and their associations with daughters' subjective well-being and subjective distress. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 53* (1), 29-44.

Baruch, G. & Barnett. (1983). Adult daughters' relationships with their mothers. *Journal*

of Marriage and the Family, 45, 601-606.

Baruch, G., Barnett, R., & Rivers, C. (1983). *Lifeprints: New patterns of love and work for todays' women.* New York: McGraw & Hill.

Beattie, G.W. (1981). Interruption in conversational interactions and its relation to the sex and status of the interactants. *Linguistics, 19,* 15-35.

Beaumont, S.L. (1995). Adolescent girls' conversations with mothers and friends: A matter of style. *Discourse Processes, 20*, 109-132.

Beaumont, S.L. (1996). Adolescent girls' perceptions of conversations with mothers and friends. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 11*, 325-346.

Beaumont, S.L. (2000). Mothers' conversational styles with their preadolescent and middle adolescent daughters. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 46*, 119-139.

Beaumont, S.L., & Cheyne, J.A. (1998). Interruptions in adolescent girls' conversations: Comparing mothers and friends. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 13*, 272-292.

Beaumont, S., Vasconcelos, V., & Ruggeri, M. (2001). Similarities and differences in mother-daughter and mother-son conversations during preadolescence and adolescence. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology, 20* (4), 419-444.

Beaumont, S. L., & Wagner, S. L. (2004). Adolescent-parent verbal conflict: The roles of conversational style and disgust emotions. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology, 23*, 338-368.

Bedford, V.H,, & Blieszner, R. (2000). Older adults and their families. In D.H. Demo, & K.R. Allen (Eds.), *Handbook of family diversity* (pp. 216-231). London: Oxford University Press.

Bell, L.G., & Bell, D.C. (1982). Family climate and the role of the female adolescent:

Determinants of adolescent functioning. *Family Relations, 31* (4), 519-528.

Belsky, J. (1979). Mother-father-infant interaction: A naturalistic observational study. *Developmental Psychology, 15*, 601-607.

Bengston, V.L., & Kuypers, J.A. (1971). Genrational difference and the developmental stake. *Aging and Human Development, 2,* 249-260.

Berndt, T.J. (1979). Developmental changes in conformity to peers and parents. *Developmental Psychology, 15* (6), 608-616.

Berndt, T.J. (1982). The features and effects of friendship in early adolescence. *Child Development, 53,* 1447-1460.

Blenker, M. (1963). Social work and family relations in later life with some thoughts on filial maturity. In E. Shanas & G.F. Streib (Eds.), *Social structure and the family: Generational relations* (pp. 66-59). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Blieszner, R., Usita, P., & Mancini, J. (1996). Diversity and dynamics in late-life mother-daughter relationships. In K. A. Roberto (Ed.) *Relationships between women in later life.* New York: Harrington Park Press.

Blishen, B.R., Carroll, W.K., & Moore, C. (1987). The 1981 socioeconomic index for occupations in Canada. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 24,* 465-488.

Blos, P. (1967) The second individuation process in adolescence. *Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 22,* 162-186.

Blyth, D.A., Hill, J.P., & Thiel, K.S. (1982). Early adolescents' significant others: Grade and gender differences in perceived relationships with familial and nonfamilial adults and young people. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 11* (6), 425-450.

Boyd, C. (1985). Toward an understanding of mother-daughter identification using concept analysis. *Advances in Nursing Science, 7* (3), 78-86.

Boyd, C. (1989). Mothers and daughters: A discussion on theory and research. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 51,* 291-301.

Brody, E.M., Hoffman, C., Kleban, M.H., & Schoonover, C.B. (1989). Caregiving daughters and their local siblings: Perceptions, strains, and interactions. *Gerontologist, 29,* 529-538.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1970). Two *worlds of childhood: U.S. and U.S.S.R.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979.

Brooks-Gunn, J., & Warren, M.P. (1989). Biological and social contributions to negative affect in young adolescent girls. *Child Development, 60,* 40-55.

Buchanan, C.M., Eccles, J.S., & Becker, J.B. (1992). Are adolescents the victims of raging hormones: Evidence for activational effects of hormones on moods and behaviour at adolescence. *Psychological Bulletin, 111* (1), 62-107.

Buchanan, C.M., & Holmbeck, G.N. (1998). Measuring beliefs about adolescent personality and behaviour. *Journal of Youth & Adolescence, 27,* 609-629.

Callan, V. J., & Noller, P. (1986). Perceptions of communicative relationships in families with adolescents. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 48,* 813-820.

Camaioni, L. (1979). Child-adult and child-child conversations: An interactional approach. In E. Ochs & B.B. Scieffelin (Eds.), *Developmental pragmatics.* New York, NY: Academic Press.

Canary, D.J., Cupach, W.R., & Messman, S.J. (1995). *Relationship conflict: Conflict in parent-child, friendship, and romantic relationships: Sage series on close relationships.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Carlson, C.I., Cooper, C.R., & Spradling, V.Y. (1991). Developmental implications of shared versus distinct perceptions of the family in early adolescence. *New Directions for Child Development, 51*, 13-32.

Chavis, G. (1987). *Family: Stories from the interior.* St. Paul, MN: Graywolf Press.

Chodorow, N. (1978). *The reproduction of mothering.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Clarke, E., Preston, M., Raksin, J., & Bengtson, V. (1999). Types of conflicts and tensions between older parents and adult children. *The Gerontologist, 39* (3), 261-270.

Cohan, C.L., & Bradbury, T.N. (1997). Negative life events, marital interaction, and the longitudinal course of newlywed marriage. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 73* (1), 114-128.

Cohler, B.J. (1988). The adult daughter-mother relationship: Perspectives from life-course family study and psychoanalysis. *Journal of Geriatric Psychiatry, 21,* 51-76.

Cohler, B.J., & Geyer, S. (1982). Psychological autonomy and interdependence in the family. In F. Walsh (Ed.), *Normal family processes* (pp. 196-228). New York: Guilford Press.

Cohler, B.J., & Grunenbaum, H. (1981). *Mothers, grandmothers and daughters: Personality and childcare in three generation families.* New York: Wiley.

Collins, W.A., & Laursen, B. (1992). Conflict and relationships during adolescence. In C.U. Shantz, & W.W. Hartup (Eds.), *Conflict in child and adolescent development* (pp. 216-241). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Collins, W.A., & Russell, G. (1991). Mother-child and father-child relationships in middle childhood and adolescence: A developmental analysis. *Developmental Review, 11,* 99-136.

Cooper, C.R. (1988). Commentary: The role of conflict in adolescent-parent relationships. In M.R. Gunnar, & W.A. Collins (Eds.), *Development during the transition to adolescence* (pp. 181-187). Hillsdale, NJ, England: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Cooper, C.R., & Ayers-Lopez, S. (1985). Family and peer systems in early adolescence: New models of the role of relationships development. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 5*, 9-21.

Cooper, C.R., & Grotevant, H.D., & Condon, S. (1983). Individuality and connectedness in the family as a context for adolescent identity formation and role taking skill. In H.D. Grotevant & C.R. Cooper (Eds.), *Adolescent development in the family: New directions in child development* (pp. 43-59). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Csikszentmihalyi, M., & Larson, R (1984). *Being adolescent: Conflict and growth in the teenage years.* New York: Basic Books.

Darling, N., & Steinberg, L. (1993). Parenting style as context: An integrative model. *Psychological Bulletin, 113*, 487-496.

Davey, A., & Eggebeen, D.J. (1998). Patterns of intergenerational exchange of mental health. *Journals of Gerontology: Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social*

Sciences, 53B (2), 86-95.

Dishion, T.J., & Loeber, R. (1985). Adolescent marijuana and alcohol use: The role of parents and peers revisited. *American Journal of Drug and Alcohol Use, 11* (1-2), 11-25.

Dorval, B., & Eckerman, C.O. (1984). Developmental trends in the quality of conversation achieved by small groups of acquainted peers. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 49* (2, Serial no. 206).

Douvan, E., & Adelson, J. (1966). *The adolescent experience*. New York: Wiley.

Eichenbaum, I., & Orbach, S. (1983). *Understanding Women*. New York: Basic Books.

Elder, G.H. Jr. (1985). *Life course dynamics: Trajectories and transitions, 1968-1980* (pp. 23-49). Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Elder, G.H., Jr., Caspi, A., & Downey, G. (1986). Problem behaviour and family relationships: Life course and intergenerational themes. In A.B Sorenson, F.E. Weinert, & L.R. Sherrod (Eds.), *Human development and the life course: Multidisciplinary perspectives*. (pp. 293-340). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Erikson, E.H. (1968). *Identity, youth, and crisis*. New York: Norton.

Ferguson, N. (1977). Simultaneous speech, interruptions and dominance. *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 16* (4), 295-302.

Fingerman, K. (1996). Sources of tension in the aging mother and adult daughter relationship. *Psychology and Aging, 11* (4), 591-606.

Fingerman, K. (1997). Aging mothers' and their adult daughters' perceptions of conflict behaviours. *Psychology and Aging, 10*, 639-650.

Fingerman, K. (2000). "We had a nice little chat": Age and generational differences in

mothers' and daughters' descriptions of enjoyable visits. *Journal of Gerontology, 55B* (2), 95-106.

Fingerman, K. (2003). *Mothers and their adult daughters*. Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books.

Fischer, L. (1981). Transitions in the mother-daughter relationship. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 43*, 613-622.

Fischer, L. (1986). *Linked lives: Adult daughters and their mothers*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Fischer, L. (1991). Between mothers and daughters. *Marriage and Family Review. 16* (3-4), 237-248.

Flanagan, C., Schulenberg, J., Fuligni, A. (1993). Residential setting and parent-adolescent relationships during the college years. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 22,* 171-189.

Freud, A. (1958). Adolescence. *Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 13*, 255-278.

Friday, N. (1977). *My mother my self: The daughter's search for identity*. New York, New York: Bantam Doubleday Dell Publishing Group, Inc.

Friedman, G.(1980). The mother-daughter bond. *Contemporary Psychoanalysis, Vol. 16* (1), 90-97.

Gjerde, P.F. (1986). The interpersonal structure of family interactions settings: Parent-adolescent relations in dyads and triads. *Developmental Psychology, 22*, 297-304.

Giarrusso, R., Stallings, M., & Bengston, V. (1995). Adult intergenerational relations: Effects of societal change. In V. Bengston, & K. Schaie (Eds.), *The intergenerational stake hypothesis revisited: Parent-child differences in*

perceptions of relationships 20 years later (pp. 227-296). New York: Springer Publishing Co.

Giles, H. (1979). Ethnicity markers in speech. In K.R. Scherer, & H. Giles (Eds.), *Social markers in speech* (pp. 251-290). Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Gottman, J. (1979). Detecting cyclicity in social interaction. *Psychological Bulletin, 86* (2), 338-348.

Gottman, J. (1993). Studying emotion in social interaction. In M. Lewis, & J. Haviland (Eds.), *Handbook of emotions* (pp.475-487). New York: Guliford Press.

Gottman, J., Coan, J., Carrere, S., & Swanson, C. (1998). Predicting marital happiness and stability from newlywed interactions. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 60* (1), 5-23.

Graber, J.A., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (1999). "Sometimes I think that you don't like me": How mothers and daughters negotiate the transition into adolescence. In M. Cox, & J. Brooks-Gunn (Eds.), *Conflict and cohesion in families: Causes and consequences* (pp. 207-242). New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Greene, A.L., & Boxer, A.M. (1986*). Life-span developmental psychology: Intergenerational relations.* Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Greif, J. (1980). Fathers, children and joint custody. *Annual Progress in Child Psychiatry and Child Development*, 292-304.

Grotevant, H., & Carlson, C. (1987). Family interaction coding systems: A descriptive review. *Family Process, 26* (1), 49-74.

Grotevant, H., & Cooper, C. (1986). Individuation in family relationships: A perspective on individual differences in the development of identity and role-taking skill in

adolescence. *Human Development, 29* (2), 82-100.

Gumperz, J.J. (1976). Language, communication and public negotiation. In P. Sanday (Ed.), *Anthropology and the public interest* (pp. 273-292). New York: Academic Press.

Hagestad, G. (1987). Parent-child relations in later life: Trends and gaps in past research. In J. Lancaster,& J. Altmann (Eds.), *Parenting across the lifespan: Biosocial dimensions* (pp. 405-433). Hawthorne, NY: Aldine Publishing Co.

Hakim-Larson, J., & Hobart, C. (1987). Maternal regulation and adolescent autonomy: mother-daughter resolution of story conflicts. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 16,* 153-166.

Hall, G. S. (1904). *Adolescence: Its psychology and its relation to physiology, anthropology, sociology, sex, crime, religion, and education* (Vols. I & II). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Harris, R., Ellicott, A., & Hommes, D. (1986). The timing of psychosocial transitions and changes in women's lives: An examination of women aged 45 to 60. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 51* (2), 409-416.

Hauser, S. (1978). Ego development and interpersonal style in adolescence. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 7* (4), 333-352.

Hess, B.B., & Waring, J.M. (1978). Parent and child in later life: Rethinking the relationship. In R.M. Lerner & G.B. Spanier (Eds.), *Child influences on marital and family interations: A lifespan perspective* (pp. 241-273). New York: Academic Press.

Hill, J.P. (1980). The family. In M. Johnson (Ed.), *Toward adolescence: The middle*

school years. The seventy-ninth yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (pp. 32-55). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hill, J.P. (1985). Menarcheal status and parent-child relations in families of seventh-grade girls. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 14* (4), 301-316.

Hill, J.P. (1987). Familial adaptation to biological change during adolescence. In R.M. Lerner, & T.T. Foch (Eds.), *Biological-psychosocial interactions in early adolescence*. Hillsdale, NJ, England: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Hill, J.P. (1987). Research on adolescents and their families past and present. *New Directions for Child Development, 37*, 13-32.

Hill, J.P. (1988). Adapting to menarche: Familial control and conflict. In M. Gunnar (Ed.), *21st Minnesota Symposium on Child Psychology* (pp. 43-77). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Hill, J.P., & Holmbeck, G.N. (1986). Attachment and autonomy during adolescence. In G.J. Whitehurst (Ed.), *Annals of child development* (Vol. 3, pp. 145-189). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Holmbeck, G.N., & Hill, J.P. (1987). A path-analytic approach to the relations between parental traits and acceptance and adolescent adjustment. *Sex Roles, 14* (5-6), 315-334.

Holmbeck, G.N., & Hill, J.P. (1988). Storm and stress beliefs about adolescence: Prevalance, self-reported antecedents, and effects of an undergraduate course. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 17* (4), 285-306.

Holmbeck, G.N., & Hill, J. P. (1991). Conflictive engagement, positive affect, and menarche in families with seventh-grade girls. *Child Development, 62,* 1030-

1048.

Holmbeck, G.N, Paikoff, R.L, & Brooks-Gunn, J. (1995). Parenting adolescents. In M.H. Bornstein (Eds), *Handbook of parenting: Vol. 1: Children and parenting* (pp. 91-111). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Hunter, F.T., & Youniss, J. (1982). Changes in functions of three relations during adolescence. *Developmental Psychology, 18* (6), 806-811.

Jacob, T. (1974). Patterns of family conflict and dominance as a function of child age and social class. *Developmental Psychology, 10*, 1-12.

Jacob, T. (1975). Family interaction in disturbed and normal families: A methodological and substantive review. *Psychological Bulletin, 82* (1), 33-65.

Jessop, D.J. (1981). Family relationships as viewed by parents and adolescents: A specification. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 43* (2), 95-107.

Johnson, J.E. (1979). Depressives' cognitive appraisal of their mood states. *Journal of Clinical Psychology, 35* (4), 766-768.

Kaufman, G., & Uhlenberg, P. (1998). Effects of life course transitions on the quality of relationships between adult children and their parents. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 60* (Nov. 1998): 924-938.

Krappman, L., Schuster, B., & Youniss, J. (1988). Can mothers win? The transformation of mother-daughter relationships in late childhood. In M. Hofer, J. Youniss & P. Noak (Eds.), *Verbal interactions and development in families with adolescents: Vol. 15: Advances in applied developmental psychology* (pp.11-29). London, England: Ablex Publishing Corp.

Kraus, S.J. (1990). On adult daughters and their mothers: A peripatetic consideration of

developmental tasks. *Journal of Feminist Family Therapy, 2* (1), 27-42.

Lapsley, D.K., Rice, K.G., & Shadid, G.E. (1989). Psychological separation and adjustment to college. *Journal of Counselling Psychology, 36* (3), 286-294.

Larson, R. (1978). Thirty years of research on the subjective well-being of older Americans. *Journal of Gerontology, 33* (1), 109-125.

Laursen, B., & Collins, W.A. (1994). Interpersonal conflict during adolescence. *Psychological Bulletin, 115*, 197-209.

Laursen, B., Coy, K.C., & Collins, W.A. (1998). Reconsidering changes in parent-child conflict across adolescence: A meta-analysis. *Child Development, 69*, 817-832.

Lecroy, C.W. (1988). Parent-adolescent intimacy: Impact on adolescent functioning. *Adolescence, 23* (89), 137-147.

Maccoby, E.E. (1990). Gender and relationships: A developmental account. *American Psychologist. 45* (4), 513-520.

Mancini, J.A., & Blieszner, R. (1989). Aging parents and adult children: Research themes in intergenerational relations. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 51*, 275-290.

Markel, N.N., Long, J.F., & Saine, T.J. (1976). Sex effects on conversational interaction: Another look at male dominance. *Human Communication Research, 2* (4), 356-364.

McDonough, M.L., Carlson, C., & Cooper, C.R. (1994). Individuated marital relationships and the regulation of affect in early adolescence. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 9* (1), 67-87.

Mead, M. (1970). Pastoral psychology: The next 20 years: As seen by a social scientist.

Pastoral Psychology, 21, (201), 8-15.

Mettetal, G. (1983). Fantasy, gossip, and self-disclosure: Children's conversations with friends. In R.N. Bostrom (Ed.), *Communication yearbook: Vol. 7* (pp. 717-735). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Mishler, E.G., & Waxler, N.E. (1968). *Interaction in families: An experimental study of family process and schizophrenia.* New York: Wiley.

Montemayor, R. (1982). The relationship between parent-adolescent conflict and the amount of time adolescents spend alone and with parents and peers. *Child Development, 53*, 1512-1519.

Montemayor, R. (1983). Parents and adolescents in conflict: All families some of the time and some families most of the time. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 3*, 83-103.

Montemayor, R. (1986). Family variation in parent-adolescent storm and stress. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 1*, 15-31.

Montemayor, R., & Brownlee, J.R. (1987). Fathers, mothers, and adolescents: Gender-based differences in parental roles during adolescence. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 16*, 281-291.

Montemayor, R., Eberly, M., & Flannery, D.J. (1993). Effects of pubertal status and conversation topic on parent and adolescent affective expression. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 13*, 431-447.

Montemayor, R., & Hanson, E. (1985). A naturalistic view of conflict between adolescents and their parents and siblings. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 5,* 23-30.

Murray, S.O. (1985). Toward a model of members' methods for recognizing interruptions. *Language in Society, 14* (1), 31-40.

Nagy, I. & Spark, G.M. (1973). *Invisible loyalties*. New York: Harper and Row.

Nice, V.E. (1990). *Mothers and daughters*. Hampshire, USA: The MacMillan Press Ltd.

Noller, P. (1995). *Parent-adolescent relationships*. In M.A. Fitzpatrick & A.L. Vangelisti (Eds.), *Explaining family interactions* (pp. 77-111). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Noller, P., & Callan, V.J. (1986). Adolescent and parent perceptions of family cohesion and adaptability. *Journal of Adolescence, 9*, 97-106.

Noller, P., & Callan, V.J. (1990). Adolescents' perceptions of the nature of their communication with parents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 19*, 349-362.

Noller, P., & Fitzpatrick, M.A.(1993). *Perspectives on marital interaction: No. 1. Monographs in social psychology of language.*. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters, Ltd.

O'Connor, P. (1990). The adult daughter-mother relationship: A uniquely and universally close relationship? *Sociological Review, 38*, 293-323.

Offer, D., & Offer, J.L. (1968). Profiles of normal adolescent girls. *Archives of General Psychiatry, 19* (5), 513-522.

Offer, D., & Offer, J.L. (1975). Three developmental routes through normal male adolescence. *Adolescent Psychiatry, 4*, 121-141.

Offer, D., Ostrov, E., Howard, K., & Atkinson, R. (1988). *The teenage world: Adolsecents' self-image in ten countries.* New York: Plenum Medical Book Co/Plenum Press.

Offer, D., & Schonert-Reichl, (1992). Debunking the myths of adolescence: Findings from recent research. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 31* (6), 1003-1014.

Olson, D.H., Sprenkle, D.H., & Russell, C.S. (1979). Circumplex model of marital and family systems: Cohesion and adaptability dimensions, family types, and clinical applications. *Family Process, 18* (1), 3-28.

Paikoff, R.L., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (1991). Do parent-child relationships change during puberty? *Psychological Bulletin, 110* (1), 47-66.

Papini, D.R., Datan, N., & McCluskey-Fawcett, K.A. (1988). An observational study of affective and assertive family interactions during adolescence. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 17* (6), 477-492.

Papini, D.R., Roggman, L.A., & Anderson, J. (1991). Early-adolescent perceptions of attachment to mother and father: A test of the emotional-distancing and buffering hypotheses. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 11*, 258-275.

Paulson, S.E., Hill, J.P., & Holmbeck, G.N. (1991). Distinguishing between perceived closeness and parental warmth in families with seventh-grade boys and girls. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 11*, 276-293.

Powers, S.I., Hauser, S.T., Schwartz, J.M., Noam, G.G., & Jacobson, A.M. (1983). Adolescent ego development and family interaction: A structural-developmental perspective. In H.D. Grotevant & C.R. Cooper (Eds.), *Adolescent development in the family: New directions for child development* (pp. 5-25). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Pruchno, R.A., Peters, N.D., & Burant, C.J. (1996). Child life events, parent-child

disagreements, and parent well-being: Model development and testing. In C.D. Ryff, & M.M.Seltzer (Eds.), *Parental experience in midlife* (pp. 561-606). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Quinn, W. (1983). Personal and family adjustment in later life. *Journal of Marriage and the Family,* 57-73.

Richardson, R.A., Galambos, N.L., Schulenberg, J.E.,& Peterson, A.C. (1984). Young adolescents' perceptions of the family environment. *Journal of Early Adolescence.* 4., 131-153.

Rierdan, J. (1998). Ego development, pubertal development, and depressive symptoms in adolescent girls. In P. Westenberg, & Blasi, A. (Eds.), *Personality development: Theoretical, empirical, and clinical investigations of Loevingers's conception of ego development.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Robin, A.L., & Foster, S.L. (1989). *Negotiating parent-adolescent conflict: A behavioral family systems approach.* New York: Guilford.

Rosenthal, E.R. (1990). *Women, aging, and ageism.* New York: Haworth Press.

Russell, G., & Russell, A. (1987). Mother-child and father-child relationships in middle childhood. *Child Development, 58,* 1573-1585.

Rutter, M., Graham, F., & Chadwick, O.F.& Yule, W. (1976). Adolescent turmoil: Fact or fiction? *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, and Allied Disciplines, (17),* 35-56.

Ryan, E.B. (1979). Why do low prestige language varieties exist? In H. Giles & R.N. St. Clair (Eds.). *Language and social psychology* (pp. 53-69). Baltimore, MD: University Park Press.

Ryff, C.D., Lee, Y.H., Essex, M.J., & Schmutte, P.s. (1994). My children and me: Midlife evaluations of grown children and of self. *Psychology and Aging*, 9, 195-205.

Ryff, C.D., & Seltzer, M.M. (1996). The uncharted years of midlife parenting. In C.D. Ryff & M.M. Seltzer (Eds). *The parental experience in midlife* (pp. 3-25). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Sacks, H., Schegloff, E.A., & Jefferson, G.A. (1974). A simplest systematics for the organization of turn taking for conversation. *Language, 50*, 697-735.

Scharlach, A. (1987). Role strain in mother-daughter relationships in later life. *Gerontologist, 27* (5), 627-631.

Scollon, R. (1985). The machine stops: Silence in the metaphor of malfunction. In D. Tannen & M. Saville-Troike (Ed.), *Perspectives on silence* (pp. 21-30). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Silverberg, S.B. (1996). Parents' well-being at their children's transition to adolescence. In C.D. Ryff, & M.M. Seltzer. *Parental experience in midlife.* (pp. 215-254). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Silverberg, S.B., & Steinberg, L. (1987). Adolescent autonomy, parent-adolescent conflict, and parental well-being. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 16*, 293-312.

Silverberg, S.B., & Steinberg, L. (1990). Psychological well-being of parents with early adolescent children. *Developmental Psychology, 26* (4), 658-666.

Small, S.A., Eastman, G., & Cornelius, S. (1988). Adolescent autonomy and parental stress. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 17* (5), 377-391.

Smetana, J. G. (1989). Adolescents' and parents' reasoning about actual family conflict.

Child Development, 60, 1052-1067.

Smetana, J., Yau, J., & Hanson, S. (1991). Conflict resolution in families with adolescents. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 2*, 189-205.

Smith, L., & Hill, W., & Mullis, R. (1998). Relational perceptions in mother-daughter attachments. *Marriage and the Family Review, 27* (1-2), 37-49.

Spitze, G., & Logan, J. (1990). Sons, daughters, and intergenerational social support. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 52* (2), 420-431.

Steinberg, L.D. (1980). *Understanding families with young adults*. Carroborro, NC: Centre for Early Adolescents.

Steinberg, L.D. (1981). Transformations in family relations at puberty. *Developmental Psychology, 17,* 833-840.

Steinberg, L.D. (1987). Impact of puberty on family relations: Effects of pubertal status and pubertal timing. *Developmental Psychology, 23* (3), 451-460.

Steinberg, L.D. (1990). Interdependency in the family: Autonomy, conflict, and harmony in the family relationship. In S. Feldman & G. Elliott (Eds.). *At the threshold: The developing adolescent* (pp. 255-276). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Steinberg, L.D, & Hill, J. (1978). Patterns of family interaction as a function of age, the onset of puberty, and formal thinking. *Developmental Psychology, 14*, 683-684.

Steinberg, L.D, & Levine, A. (1997). *You and your adolescent: A parents' guide for ages 10 to 20.* New York: Harper Perennial.

Steinberg, L.D. (2001). We know some things: Parent adolescent relationships in retrospect and prospect. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 11* (1), 1-20.

Tannen, D. (1983). When is an overlap not an interruption? One component of conversational style. In R. DiPietro, W. Frawley, & Wedel (Eds.), *The first Delaware symposium on language studies.* Newark: University of Delaware Press.

Tannen, D. (1984). *Conversational style: Analyzing talk among friends.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Tannen, D. (1989). Interpreting interruption in conversation. In B. Music, R. Graczyk & C. Wiltshire (Eds.), *Papers from the 25th annual Regional meeting of the Chicago linguistic society* (pp. 266-287). Chicago, IL: Chicago Linguistic Society.

Thompson, I., & Walker, A.J. (1987). Mothers as mediators of intimacy between grandmothers and their young adult granddaughters. *Family Relations, 36,* 72-77.

Tishler, C.L., McKenry, P.C., & Morgan, K.C. (1981). Adolescent suicide attempts: Some significant factors. *Suicide and Life-Threatening Behaviour, 11* (2), 86-92.

Troll, L.E., & Smith, J. (1976). Attachment through the life-span: Some questions about dyadic bonds among adults. *Human Development, 19* (3), 156-170.

Troll, L.E. (1987). Mother-daughter relationships throughout the lifespan. *Applied Social Psychology, 7,* 284-305.

Troll, L.E. (1988). New thoughts on old families. *The Gerontological Society of America, 28,* 586-591.

Troll, L.E. (1989). Myths of midlife intergenerational relationships. In S. Hunter & M. Sundel (Eds.), *Midlife myths: Issues, findings and practice implications* (pp. 210-231). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.

Troll, L.E. (1996). Modified-extended families over time: Discontinuity in parts,

continuity in wholes. In V.L. Bengston (Ed.), *Adulthood and aging: Research on continuities and discontinuities* (pp. 246-268). New York: Springer Publishing Co.

Umberson, Debra. (1989). Relationships with children: Explaining parents' psychological well-being. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 51*, 999-1012.

Walker, L. (1991). Verbal interactions within the family context. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science, 23(4)*, 441-454.

Welkowitz, J., & Feldstein, S. (1969). Dyadic interaction and induced differences in perceived similarity. *Proceedings of the 77th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, 4,* 343-344.

Welsh, W.M., & Stewart, A.J. (1995). Relationships between women and their parents: Implications for midlife well-being. *Psychology and Aging, 10* (2), 181-190.

West, C., & Zimmerman, D.H. (1977). Women's place in everday talk: Reflections on parent-child interaction. *Social Problems, 24* (5), 521-529.

Whalen, C.K., Henker, B., Hollingshead, J., & Burgess, S. (1996). Parent-adolescent dialogues about AIDS. *Journal of Family Psychology, 10*, 343-357.

Willmott, P. & Young, M. (1960). *Family and class in a London suburb*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Youniss, J. (1980). *Parents and peers in social development.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Youniss, J. (1983). Social construction of adolescence by adolescents and parents. *New Directions for Child Development, 22*, 93-109.

Youniss, J., & Ketterlinus, R. (1987). Communication and connectedness in mother-and

father-adolescent relationships. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 16* (3), 265-280.

Youniss, J., & Smollar, J. (1985). *Adolescent relationships with mothers, fathers, and friends*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Zimmerman, D.H., & West, C. (1975). Sex roles, interruptions and silences in conversation. In B. Thorne & N. Henley (Eds.), *Language and sex: Difference and dominance* (pp. 105-126). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Zuckerman, E., & Jacob, T. (1979). Task effects in family interaction. *Family Process, 18* (1), 47-53.

Appendix A

Consent Form and Demographic Questionnaire for Mothers

I have heard about the research project on parent-child communication during adolescence and adulthood being conducted under the supervision of Dr. Sherry Beaumont of the Psychology Department at the University of Northern British Columbia. I understand that all information gathered for this project is to be used for research purposes only and will be considered confidential. I also understand that permission to participate may be withdrawn at any time.

Name: _____

Mailing Address: _____

Signature: _____

Please answer the following questions about yourself for our records.

Date of birth: _____ Place of birth: _____

Ethnicity:
_____ Aboriginal
_____ Asian
_____ Caucasian
_____ African-Canadian (or African-American)
_____ Other: _____

Sex: _____ male _____ female

Check the highest education level completed by yourself and your spouse (if applicable):

You:	Your Spouse:	
____	____	elementary school (please specify grade completed ____)
____	____	secondary school (please specify grade completed ____)
____	____	high school diploma
____	____	trade/technical school (please specify: _____)
____	____	some college
____	____	college diploma (please specify: _____)
____	____	some university
____	____	university degree (please specify: _____)
____	____	Other (please specify: _____)

Occupation: _____

Spouse's occupation (if applicable): _____

Marital Status: ___ single (never been married) ___ divorced
___ married or common-law ___ widowed
___ separated

Which of the following best describes your child's family situation? (i.e., the child who is participating in this study with you)

My child lives with: ____ biological mother only
____ biological father only
____ both biological parents
____ biological mother & stepfather
____ biological father & stepmother
____ adoptive parent(s)
____ foster parent(s)
____ other relative or guardian

How many children do you have and what are there ages (or birth dates)?

Appendix B

Consent Form and Demographic Questionnaire for Young Adults

I have heard about the research project on parent-child communication during adolescence and adulthood being conducted under the supervision of Dr. Sherry Beaumont of the Psychology Department at the University of Northern British Columbia. I understand that all information gathered for this project is to be used for research purposes only and will be considered confidential. I also understand that permission to participate may be withdrawn at any time.

Name: _____

Mailing Address: _____

Signature: _____

Please answer the following questions about yourself for our records.

Date of birth: _____ Place of birth: _____

Ethnicity: _____ Aboriginal _____ African-Canadian (or African-American)
_____ Asian _____ Other: _____
_____ Caucasian

Sex: _____ male _____ female

Check the highest education level completed by yourself and your spouse (if applicable):

You:	Your Spouse:	
____	____	elementary school (please specify grade completed ____)
____	____	secondary school (please specify grade completed ____)
____	____	high school diploma
____	____	trade/technical school (please specify: _____)
____	____	some college
____	____	college diploma (please specify: _____)
____	____	some university
____	____	university degree (please specify: _____)
____	____	Other (please specify: _____)

Occupation: _____

Spouse's occupation (if applicable): _____

Marital Status:___ single (never been married) ___ divorced
___ married or common-law ___ widowed
___ separated

How many children do you have and what are there ages (or birth dates)?

Appendix C

Consent Form and Demographic Questionnaire for Adolescents

I have heard about the research project on parent-child communication during adolescence and adulthood being conducted under the supervision of Dr. Sherry Beaumont of the Psychology Department at the University of Northern British Columbia. I understand that all information gathered for this project is to be used for research purposes only and will be considered confidential. I also understand that permission to participate may be withdrawn at any time.

Name: _____

Mailing Address: _____

Signature: _____

Signature of parent or guardian (if under 18): _____

Please answer the following questions about yourself for our records.

Date of birth: _____ Place of birth: _____

Ethnicity: _____ Aboriginal _____ African-Canadian (or African-American)
_____ Asian _____ Other: _____
_____ Caucasian

Sex: _____ male _____ female

Check your highest education level completed:
____ elementary school (please specify grade completed ____)
____ secondary school (please specify grade completed ____)
____ high school diploma
____ other (please specify: _____)

Do you have a job? ____ no ____ yes (specify: _____)

Appendix D

OPINION QUESTIONNAIRE

Here are a number of situations that people face in their lives. People have different ideas about what to do in these situations, and we are interested in your own personal opinion about them.

Please put a check mark (√) next to the alternative that comes closest to your own opinion. Please choose only ONE answer for each question.

1. The parents of a 14-year-old girl want to buy their daughter a new coat. The girl would like to pick out the coat herself to be sure it is in the same style as her friends wear. Her parents want to get a more practical coat for her, one that will last for several seasons. Should the girl pick out the coat herself, or should the parents have the final word?
   _____ Girl should pick coat herself
   _____ Parents should have final word

2. Mrs. Jones has a problem with her 3-month-old baby, who often cries when nothing is wrong with him, even after he's been fed and changed. The doctor says the baby is in good health, and says that all babies cry sometimes. The baby's crying upsets Mrs. Jones and she wonders what to do. What would you advise her?
   _____ Pick up the baby, or play with him, when he cries
   _____ Let him cry, and try to get used to it

3. Some people believe that there is nothing a person can't do or be if he wants to, and if he really works hard. Do you agree or disagree?
   _____ Agree
   _____ Disagree

4. Margaret has been seeing a man whom she likes very much and they are starting to get serious. She has never told him that she was engaged once before, several years ago, and that it ended unhappily. She hesitates to tell him now because it might seem strange that she never mentioned it before. Do you think she should tell him about it or just remain silent?
   _____ Tell him
   _____ Remain silent

5. A 20-year-old boy who lives at home prefers to go with his parents when they

visit their friends and relatives rather than to spend time in social activities with friends his own age. The parents feel that this is not good for him but do not know what to do. Do you think they should let him come with them as long as he wants to, or should they put more pressure on him to spend time with friends his own age?

_____ Let him come with them as long as he wants to
_____ Pressure him to spend time with friends his own age

6̃ A foreman sees one of his crew taking some company materials home from work. Should he report him or should he just ignore it?

_____ Report him
_____ Just ignore it

7̃ You are traveling on the train by yourself when a middle-aged woman sits down next to you to talk about her trip and asks questions about you. Would you talk to her about yourself or would you begin to read your newspaper so she would stop talking to you?

_____ Talk to her about yourself
_____ Read your newspaper

8̃ George has just begun a new job and doesn't know anyone in his crew. A few of the men get together to go bowling after work and have asked him to join them. Should he join them right away or would it be better to wait a while before getting involved with one particular group?

_____ Join in right away
_____ Wait a while

9̃ Since her husband died, Mrs. Green has been living alone. She has not been feeling well lately and her daughter is worried about there not being anyone there to take care of her. She wants Mrs. Green to give up her house and come to live with her. Mrs. Green wants to stay in her own house. Do you think it would be best for her to stay in her own home or go to live with her daughter?

_____ Stay in her own home
_____ Live with her daughter

10̃ A 6-year-old boy comes home from school crying. He tells his mother that another little boy in his class hit him. His mother tells him to stop being a crybaby and to hit the other boy back next time. Do you think that was the right thing to tell him or not?

_____ Right thing to tell him
_____ Not the right thing

11 Mrs. Allen, a widow, has asked her son to wallpaper some rooms in her house and to do some repair work for her. His wife wants him to do work around their own house that needs to be done. Do you think his mother has the right to expect him to do work at her house?

_____ Yes
_____ No

12 When a 17-year-old girl has a party at her house, should her parents go out for the evening to give her and her friends privacy, or should they stay home?

_____ Should go out
_____ Should stay home

13 A Boy Scout group plans to enter a magazine subscription contest. Under the rules of the contest a boy can either try for the individual prize of a bicycle or put his subscriptions in with the other boys in his group to try for the TV set. Some boys think that they should all put their subscriptions together to try for the TV set, other boys think they should each have a chance to try for the bicycle. What do you think they should do?

_____ Put subscriptions together for TV set
_____ Let each boy try for the bicycle

14 Mrs. Jones is worried about her 11-year-old son, who very often talks back to her when she asks him to do something. She feels that if she lets him talk back he will lose respect for her. But she also wonders if it isn't sometimes good to let a child express how he feels even when it is toward his parents. Do you think it would be a good idea to let him talk back sometimes?

_____ Yes
_____ No

15 Some parents think children should not be disciplined very strictly; others feel children should be strictly disciplined so they learn early about what things are right and wrong. What do you think parents should do?

_____ Not use strict discipline
_____ Use strict discipline

16 Now that Ryan is two years old, his mother has decided to take a part-time job because the family needs extra money. While she is at work, an older woman comes over to take care of him. Ryan likes this woman but misses his mother a lot, and doesn't feel like playing when she isn't there. What do you think his mother should do?

_____ Stop work and stay at home with him
_____ Continue working and let him get used to her being away

17 Mrs. Thomas is concerned about her 19-year-old son who she feels is always making plans that he does not carry out. For instance, he may decide in the evening to look for a job the next day, but when morning comes she cannot get him out of bed. Do you think Mrs. Thomas should try to pressure him or should she let him carry out his plans in his own way?

_____ Pressure him
_____ Let him carry out plans in his own way

18 Jim is very worried about his job and his girlfriend. One day when he meets a friend, he tells him about the whole problem. Afterward, he reconsiders and thinks that he should have kept his personal problems to himself. Which do you think he should have done?

_____ Told his friend about his problems
_____ Kept his personal problems to himself

19 Mrs. Burn's husband died two weeks ago and since then she has spent most of her time sitting at home and feeling sad. Her daughter insists that it would be better right now for her to find things to do and keep busy so that she won't think about her husband's death. Which do you think is better?

_____ Keep busy and not think about him
_____ Take time to get over his death

20 The question of bedtime is an issue in many families. Do you think a 15-year-old should be allowed to have the final word about what time he goes to bed, or should his parents have the last word?

_____ 15-year-old should have final say
_____ Parents should have last word

21 The doctor has come to the conclusion, after many tests and examinations, that his patient, Mr. Weber, has an incurable illness. Should he tell Mr. Weber the truth or should he put off telling him as long as possible?

_____ Tell him the truth
_____ Put off telling him

22 Mr. and Mrs. Adams have saved a considerable amount of money during their 35 years of marriage. Mrs. Adams suggests that they give some of this money to their son, who needs it to go into business for himself. Mr. Adams thinks they should use the money themselves to enjoy some of the things they have worked hard for, like going to Florida in the Winter. What would you advise them to do?

_____ Give some of the money to their son
_____ Use it to enjoy things they worked hard for

23 Jean is 19 years old and has been going with one guy, whom she likes, steadily for the past year and feels that she has gotten to know him well. Sometimes she feels, though, that it would be better to go out with many guys and not get too involved with one person yet. Which do you think is better?

_____ Go out with one
_____ Go out with many

24 Children are often disturbed when they find out that their own parents sometimes tell "white lies," that is, small lies to avoid embarrassing situations or hurting someone's feelings. Should parents try to explain why they have to tell these lies so the children will not be disturbed when they hear them, or should they always avoid telling any kind of lies when the children are around?

_____ Explain "white lies" to children
_____ Avoid telling any lies

25 Mrs. Collins is taking Peter to kindergarten for the first time. Peter says that he wants to wear his old baseball cap. Mrs. Collins would like to let him wear it since he wants to, but she knows that the other children will be dressed in their best clothes and she'll be embarrassed in front of the other mothers if he wears the old hat. Should she let him wear it, or not?

_____ She should let him wear it
_____ She should not let him wear it

26 Mr. and Mrs. Carter's 20-year-old son sometimes leaves the house for long periods of time without telling his parents where he is going and refuses to tell them wear he's been when he returns. His father and mother feel they have a right to know how he spends his time. Do you think he has a right to keep this to himself, or should he tell his parents?

_____ Has a right to keep this to himself
_____ Should tell his parents

27 Human nature being what it is, there will be wars and conflicts. Do you agree with this?

_____ Agree
_____ Disagree

28 Mrs. Johnson's mother is a widow who is now bedridden and needs someone to take care of her. Mrs. Johnson is thinking of having her mother come to live with her. However, she has three children at home who are still in school and she wonders if it might be better for her mother to go into a nursing home. Which do you think she should do?

_____ Have her mother come to live with her
_____ Have her mother go into a nursing home

29 Janice has been spending a lot of time with a girl in her high school class that her parents disapprove of. They feel this other girl is a bad influence and want Janice to stop seeing her. Janice feels she has a right to pick her own friends. Do you think Janice is right in this?

_____ Yes
_____ No

30 Mrs. Rogers wants to send her 4-year-old girl to nursery school. The little girl is afraid to be with the other children unless her mother is with her, and she has cried each time Mrs. Rogers has left her at the school. Do you think it is better to send her to school even though she cries about it, or would it be better to wait until she's older?

_____ Better to send her to school
_____ Better to wait until she's older

31 Mrs. Williams discovers that a 10-dollar bill that was on her dining room table has disappeared. Suddenly she notices that her daughter's 5-year-old playmate has the bill sticking out of her back pocket. The child refuses to admit that she took the money. Mrs. Williams knows her mother will punish the girl very harshly. Should she tell her mother about this or not?

_____ Should tell child's mother
_____ Should not tell child's mother

32 A 15-year-old boy has ideas about religion that differ from those of his parents. His father becomes annoyed when he expresses these ideas and many arguments have arisen. Do you think he should keep his ideas to himself to avoid arguments, or does he have a right to express his own ideas if he wants to?

_____ Should keep his ideas to himself
_____ Has the right to express his own ideas

33 At what age do you think it is proper for a girl to begin dating? That is, going with a boy to a movie or going out with him when they're not with a group their own age. Fourteen or older, or under fourteen?

_____ Fourteen or older
_____ Under fourteen

34 When a committee is working together, is it important for the chairman to help people get along well together or is it more important for him to make sure that the job gets done regardless of how people feel?

_____ Help people get along well together
_____ Make sure the job gets done

35 Some parents feel that obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn. Do you agree?

_____ Agree
_____ Disagree

Appendix E

Parent Version of the Conflict Behavior Questionnaire

You are filling out this questionnaire regarding your ___ son ___ daughter (check one) who is _____ years old. Think back over the last 2 weeks at home. The statements below have to do with you and your child. Read the statement, then decide if you believe the statement is true. If it is true, then circle true, and if you believe the statement is not true, circle false. You must circle true or false, but never both for the same item. Please answer all items. Your answers will not be shown to your child.

true false 1. My child is easy to get along with.

true false 2. My child is receptive to criticism.

true false 3. My child is well-behaved in our discussions.

true false 4. For the most part, my child likes to talk to me.

true false 5. We almost never seem to argue.

true false 6. My child usually listens to what I tell him/her.

true false 7. At least three times a week, we get angry at each other.

true false 8. My child says that I have no consideration for his/her feelings.

true false 9. My child and I compromise during arguments.

true false 10. My child often does not do what I ask.

true false 11. The talks we have are frustrating.

true false 12. My child often seems angry at me.

true false 13. My child acts impatient when I talk.

true false 14. In general, I don't think we get along very well.

true false 15. My child almost never understands my side of an argument.

true false 16. My child and I have big arguments about little things.

true false 17. My child is defensive when I talk to him/her.

true false 18. My child thinks my opinions don't count.

true false 19. We argue a lot about rules.

true false 20. My child tells me she/he thinks I am unfair.

Appendix F

Adolescent Version of the Conflict Behavior Questionnaire

Think back over the last month. The statements below have to do with you and your mother. Read the statement, and then decide if you believe the statement is true. If it is true, then circle true, and if you believe the statement is not true, circle false. You must circle true or false, but never both for the same item. Please answer all items. Your answers will not be shown to your parents.

true false 1. My mom doesn't understand me.

true false 2. My mom and I sometimes end our arguments calmly.

true false 3. My mom understands me.

true false 4. We almost never seem to argue.

true false 5. I enjoy the talks we have.

true false 6. When I state my opinion, she gets upset.

true false 7. We often get angry at each other.

true false 8. My mother listens when I need someone to talk to.

true false 9. My mom is a good friend to me.

true false 10. She says I have no consideration for her.

true false 11. My mom often seems angry at me.

true false 12. My mother is bossy when we talk.

true false 13. The talks we have are frustrating.

true false 14. My mom understands my point of view even when she doesn't agree with me.

true false 15. My mom seems to be always complaining about me.

true false 16. In general, I don't think we get along very well.

true false 17. My mom screams a lot.

true false 18. My mom puts me down.

true false 19. If I run into problems, my mom helps me out.

true false 20. I enjoy spending time with my mother.

Appendix G

Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (mother version)

Below are some statements that people often make in regards to their feelings about their relationship with their mother. Please read each statement and indicate how often it is true for you by circling the appropriate number (1 = almost never true; 2 = seldom true; 3 = sometimes true; 4 = often true; 5 = almost always true).

1. My mother respects my feelings.	1 2 3 4 5
2. I feel my mother is successful as a mother.	1 2 3 4 5
3. I wish I had a different mother.	1 2 3 4 5
4. My mother accepts me as I am.	1 2 3 4 5
5. I have to rely on myself when I have a problem to solve.	1 2 3 4 5
6. I like to get my mother's point of view on things I'm concerned about.	1 2 3 4 5
7. I feel it is no use letting my feelings show.	1 2 3 4 5
8. My mother senses when I'm upset about something.	1 2 3 4 5
9. Talking over my problems with my mother makes me feel ashamed or foolish.	1 2 3 4 5
10. My mother expects too much from me.	1 2 3 4 5
11. I get upset easily at my mother.	1 2 3 4 5
12. I get upset a lot more than my mother knows about.	1 2 3 4 5
13. When we discuss things, my mother considers my point of view.	1 2 3 4 5
14. My mother trusts my judgment.	1 2 3 4 5
15. My mother has her own problems, so I don't bother her with mine.	1 2 3 4 5
16. My mother helps me to understand myself better.	1 2 3 4 5
17. I tell my mother about my problems and troubles.	1 2 3 4 5
18. I feel angry with my mother.	1 2 3 4 5
19. I don't get much attention from my mother.	1 2 3 4 5
20. My mother encourages me to talk about my difficulties.	1 2 3 4 5
21. My mother understands me.	1 2 3 4 5
22. I don't know who I can depend on these days.	1 2 3 4 5
23. When I am angry about something, my mother tries to be	

understanding.	1 2 3 4 5
24. I trust my mother.	1 2 3 4 5
25. My mother doesn't understand what I'm going through these days.	1 2 3 4 5
26. I can count on my mother when I need to get something off my chest.	1 2 3 4 5
27. I feel that no one understands me.	1 2 3 4 5
28. If my mother knows something is bothering me, she asks me about it.	1 2 3 4 5

Appendix H

Instructions for Transcribing Overlapping Speech

(© Beaumont, 1993)

There are four different occasions when the two speakers could be talking at the same time. Type each according to the following examples (with slashed lines indicating that the two speakers were talking at the same time):

(1) Listener Response: something the second speaker says to encourage the first speaker to continue (e.g., mhmm, that's right).

F: Now I go to bed at 10:00, so it's like /not/
C: /Mhmm./
F: really a rule.

M: Privacy in terms of our opinions.
C: /Mhmm./
M: /We're/ allowed to have them.

(2) Interruption: when the second speaker cuts the first speaker off before she is finished.

Successful:
F: Ya, you /have to/
C: /They keep/ making noise.

Unsuccessful:
M: I don't think /that/

C: /But/

M: is a very good rule.

(3) Overlap: when both speakers begin talking at the same time after a pause or end of a sentence.

C: One rule. /Um/

F: /Think/ of a real simple rule.

F: I don't know what the rule should be.

C: /Change your socks./

F: /Tell your parents/ wherever you go.

M: But that's pretty (pause) /uh/

C: /But/ I mean.....

(4) Overlap: when the second speaker overlaps on the first speaker's last word.

C: Make sure your room is clean young /lady/.

F: /No./ I don't like that rule.

(5) Simultaneous Speech: when two speakers talk at once.

C: I don't know /what rule to chose because we/

F: /I know what the rule should be./

C: don't have many rules in our house.

Appendix I

TEMPORAL CONVERSATIONAL STYLE CODING MANUAL

You will be coding the structure of taped conversations that occur between two people. These conversations are taped in stereo with one speaker taped on the left channel and the other speaker taped on the right channel. Therefore, you must use a stereo tape player while coding, and it is always best to code these tapes while wearing good quality headphones.

Before beginning to code a tape, listen to the tape and follow along with the transcript. Feel free to correct the transcript where you feel it does not reflect what you heard in the tape. Listen to the entire tape once before beginning to code. After you have listened to the tape a first time, play it again and begin coding. Rewind and re-play when necessary.

Your task is to code for the structure of the conversation. That is, how the conversation is organized, constructed or arranged. Specifically, your task is to note any time when the normal turn-taking rule for conversation has been violated. While coding these conversations adopt the belief that when two people have a conversation, they assume that only one person will talk at once and that they will take turns talking. Therefore, while coding the tapes, assume that at any point in the conversation only one person should hold the conversational floor and the other person is silent, and that each speaker will wait his or her turn before beginning to speak. If these rules are violated, then the structure of the conversation has been disrupted. Your job is to: (1) identify when the turn-taking rule has been violated; and, (2) make a judgement as to what kind of a turn-taking violation has occurred.

There are three ways that the turn-taking rule can be violated: (1) the two speakers just mix-up their "timing" (see OVERLAPS below); (2) the second speaker makes a short remark that simply indicates that he or she is listening to the other speaker (see LISTENER RESPONSES below); and, (3) the second speaker tries to take over the floor before the first speaker is finished his or her turn (see INTERRUPTIONS below).

NOTE: Remember that you are coding for conversational structure. Do not make

judgements about the speaker's intentions beyond what is described in the following descriptions of the codes. For example, your task is to identify whether or not an interruption occurred NOT whether the speaker intended to agree or disagree by that interruption.

In summary, your task is to code each speaker's turn as one of the following (as described below): (1) No turn taking violation (N); (2) Overlap (O); (3) Listener Response (LR); (4) Interruption (one of three types: either SI, UIC, or UII). In other words, you must code every turn of talk that occurs in the entire conversation (unless it is speech directed to a nonparticipant, such as the experimenter or another family member who walks into the room).

(1) **NO TURN-TAKING VIOLATION (N):**

If a speaker's turn adheres to the turn taking rule as described above (i.e., there is no violation of the turn taking rule), then code that turn with an N (to indicate that there was no turn taking violation). You will find that in most conversations, there will be much more of these types of turns than those that do violate the turn taking rule. The point is to make sure that every turn of talk is coded as something. If there is a violation of the turn taking rule, you will code that speaker's turn as one of the codes that are described below, but if there is no violation of the turn taking rule, you would code that speaker's turn with an N.

(2) **OVERLAPS (O)**:

Overlaps are instances when both speakers are talking simultaneously; but, it is NOT clear that anyone was being interrupted. An Overlap is simply an indication that the timing of the turn-taking has been unintentionally disrupted. Code all of the following as Overlaps (O):

(a) Instances when the second speaker begins her turn a bit early (i.e., overlaps with the last word or less of the first speaker's turn). However, if the second speaker cuts off more than one word, DO NOT code it as an Overlap (i.e., it would be coded as an interruption. See below).

(b) Instances when both speakers begin talking at the same time. This typically happens after a pause in the utterance (or a period in the transcript.) In the following example, M's statement would be coded as an O.
It is important to remember that in these cases, the Overlap is coded to the speaker who ends up holding the floor (e.g., M in the following example).

C: Yeah that's right. /I think so/
M: /I knew you/ would agree with me.

(c) All other instances when the two speakers are talking simultaneously; but, it is not clear that anyone was being interrupted (e.g., the two speakers say something in unison). That is, use the Overlap category as "default" code when you have any doubts about whether a situation constitutes any of the other categories (e.g., Interruption).

(3) **LISTENER RESPONSES (LR)**:

Short utterances made by the second speaker to indicate to the first speaker that she or he is listening. These utterances can be spoken simultaneously with the current speaker or while the first speaker takes a short pause (or breath) within his or her continuous utterance. They are typically one-word utterances (e.g., "mhmm"), but can be two word utterances (e.g., "that's right" or "that's true"). The critical feature is that the second speaker's short utterance was not made in an attempt to take over the conversational floor. That is, you have to make a judgement about whether the LR was all that the speaker had intended to say. For example:

C: You shouldn't make a big thing /out/
M: /Mhmm./
C: of a little thing.

C: You shouldn't make a big thing out of a little thing
M: Mhmm.

C: because then it just keeps going on and on.

In both of these examples the mother's statement ("Mhmm") would be coded as a Listener Response (LR). However, if the mother had said, "Mhmm", and then went on to say something else in the same turn, it would NOT be coded as a LR. For example:

C: You shouldn't make a big thing out of a little /thing./
M: /Mhmm./ But what about .....

In the previous example, the simultaneous speech would be coded as an OVERLAP (because it cuts off C's last word), NOT as a LR. If it didn't cut off the last word (i.e., they did not speak simultaneously) then don't code it as anything because there is no violation of the turn-taking rule.

Sometimes a speaker will forget a word or will stumble on the pronunciation of a word, and the other person will help her out by saying the word that she might have been looking for. For example:

M: So, I think she should be given the /the/
C: /The/ choice.
M: The choice. Or given the right to choose.

In this case, C's statement would be coded as a LR because she is <u>not trying to take over the floor</u>, and she is helping M to continue talking.

*****NOTE**: Only code short responses, like "mhmm", as LR if they <u>actually violate the turn-taking rule</u>. Do NOT code these utterances as LR if they occur in a normal transition point in the turn-taking pattern. That is, if speaker A is talking and finishes his/her utterance, and then speaker B says "mhmm" as his/her turn, and then speaker A takes a new turn and happens to continue talking about the same thing he/she was saying previously, DO NOT code speaker B's "mhmm" as LR <u>because there was no true violation of the turn-taking rule</u>. For example:

C: You shouldn't make a big thing out of a little thing.

M: Mhmm.

C: You know like when Dad takes a fit when there's too much noise.

(4) **INTERRUPTIONS**:

An interruption occurs when the second speaker clearly tries to take over the floor while the first speaker is still talking. In deciding whether the first speaker had finished before the interrupter started to talk, use all available cues, including grammar (was the sentence complete?), semantics (did the message make sense without further elaboration?), and tone of voice (did the speaker sound done?).

NOTE: Certain speakers may have the tendency to finish their utterances with a grammatically incomplete sentence (i.e., sentences ending with "I mean", "you know", "but", "so", etc.). Under those circumstances it is important to consider the semantics of the sentence and the speaker's tone of voice when deciding to code an utterance as an interruption. Always take a conservative approach to coding interruptions. That is, if it is not clear that the second speaker was trying to take over the floor then DO NOT code the utterance as an interruption.

If it is clear that the second speaker was trying to take the floor from the first speaker before she was finished, AND the second speaker ends up holding the floor, then code the second speaker's utterance as a **SUCCESSFUL INTERRUPTION (SI)**. In the following example, C's statement would be coded as SI.

M: On the other side of it, I /wonder/

C: /Well/ maybe she's really sick.

If it is clear that the second speaker was trying to interrupt the first speaker before she was finished, BUT the second speaker does not take over the floor, then code it as an **UNSUCCESSFUL INTERRUPTION (UI)**.

Code all UIs as either a **complete utterance** (thought) **(C)**, or as an **incomplete**

utterance (thought) **(I)**. Again, use all available cues to determine if it is complete or incomplete.

The following is an example of an UIC, which is also known as "simultaneous speech":

M: He wants to go along /with his parents./
C: /I know but/ it's like he's giving up his life.

In this example, C interrupts M before she is finished, but M finishes anyway, and C also says a complete statement.

The example that follows would be coded as UII because C does not end up holding the floor.

M: He wants to go along /with his/
C: /Ya, but/
M: parents.

It is important to remember that if B unsuccessfully interrupts A, then A will continue her sentence until she is done. When A finishes her sentence after B's attempt to interrupt, do not code A as successfully interrupting B (i.e., A is simply finishing her sentence because B was not successful in getting her to stop). For the above example, C's statement would be coded as an UI(I), and M's second "turn" would NOT be coded as a SI (i.e., it would not be coded as anything).