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Filial Piety and Self-Disclosure of Hong Kong Chinese Adolescents: A Familial Context

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Abstract

Objectives. The two studies investigated the influence of both traditional and modernized filial piety on self-disclosure of adolescents in Hong Kong. Study 1 tested Yang’s (1988) theory of filial piety and developed a revised scale. Study 2 examined the relationship between filial attitude and self-disclosure with the revised scale.

Methods. In Study 1, 186 university students completed a questionnaire that comprised of the Filial Piety Scale. Twenty filial piety items with the highest mean were extracted from the scale to develop the Revised Filial Piety Scale. In Study 2, 207 high school students completed the revised scale and a measure of self-disclosure.

Results. In Study 1, results of factor analysis showed that the 50 items failed to cluster into the 10 factors of filial piety. The results of both studies rejected the hypothesis that there was a significant difference between traditional and modernized filial piety. Both types of filial piety were found to have an impact on adolescents, for participants rated higher on some of the items on both types of filial piety. Study 2 revealed that: (1) adolescents seldom disclose, (2) adolescents disclose more often to mother than to father, and (3) females disclose more often than males. In addition, no correlation was found between filial piety and self-disclosure.
**Discussion.** Based on these results, it may be speculated that the concept of filial piety has been modified and that traditional and modernized filial piety can only be distinguished conceptually. In reality, people may not notice the minute modifications of the concept but rather, they may think filial piety is a unique construct. Different people may be filial at various degrees but may not be dimensionally different.
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Filial Piety and Self-Disclosure of Hong Kong Chinese Adolescents:

A Familial Context

In every interpersonal interaction, self-disclosure plays an essential role (Amodeo & Wentworth, 1995). It helps to initiate, develop, and maintain a relationship. According to Derlega and Grzelak (1979), self-disclosure is defined as "any information exchange that refers to the self, including personal states, dispositions, events in the past, and plans for the future" (p.152). It may be expressed nonverbally but is normally in a verbal form (Berndt & Hanna, 1995). Self-disclosure has also been found to be beneficial to people's physiological and psychological health (Jourard, 1964; McKay, Davis, & Fanning, 1995).

Self-disclosure has been extensively studied in Western cultures. The relationships with its correlates, such as gender (e.g., Dindia & Allen, 1992), age (e.g., Parker & Parrott, 1995), liking (see Collins & Miller, 1994, for a review), functions (e.g., Buhrmester & Prager, 1995), and targets of disclosure (e.g., Miller, Berg, & Archer, 1983), have been examined repeatedly. Dindia (1994) attempts to distinguished three perspectives of the studies of self-disclosure, namely, (1) an act, or, implicitly, personality trait, perspective, (2) an interpersonal perspective, and (3) an intrapersonal perspective.

Systematic research on Chinese self-disclosure, nevertheless, can hardly be found (Bond & Hwang, 1986) even though self-disclosure is believed to be universal (Goodwin, 1990). The scarcity of research studies on this respect carries no implication that Chinese are
negligent of their "selves" (C. F. Yang, 1991) nor are they less likely to self-disclose than the Westerners (Goodwin & Tang, 1996). As some studies revealed, Chinese were as expressive as Westerners (e.g., Hamid, 1994). However, such findings are inconclusive and there is contradictory evidence that Chinese seemed to be reluctant to divulge to others when compared with Western samples (e.g., Chen, 1995). More studies are needed to verify this.

Among the several articles on Chinese self-disclosure found, an etic approach that emphasizes cross-cultural comparison has dominated. This approach may lead to ethnocentrism (Sinha & Kao, 1997; Sinha & Sinha, 1997), which in turn causes misinterpretation and overgeneralization of Chinese social behaviors. In order to uncover the diversified patterns of Chinese self-disclosure, an emic, or indigenous, approach should be encouraged and adopted instead. An example of this approach is the study of M. J. Yang and K. K. Hwang (1980). They investigated the relationship between self-disclosure and authoritarianism in Chinese culture. Their study, however, is not representative as only Taiwanese students were recruited. It has long been argued that due to variations in modernization, mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong develop differently and at a different pace in terms of political, social, and economic realms (Ho, 1996; C. F. Yang, 1988; K. S. Yang & K. K. Hwang, 1991), and thereby mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong indigenous studies should all be compared rather than considered as one culture.
In addition to the etic-emic problem, none of the studies of Chinese self-disclosure singled out specific contexts, for example, family and school settings, for investigation. It seems studying Chinese self-disclosure in particular contexts is trivial. As some scholars (K. S. Yang, 1994) believe, the Chinese are context-oriented, adjusting their behaviors to both physical and psychological environments. Such a paradox prompts the present author to specify her investigation in a particular context, family.

Nowadays, family is still influential when compared with other non-familial organizations such as schools and workplaces (Goodwin & Tang, 1996). To maintain harmony in the family, a set of values and norms is established to socialize family members and govern interpersonal relationships among members. This set of rules is called familism (C. F. Yang, 1988). The values and norms underlying familism are generalized to non-familial organizations through the process of familization. As K. S. Yang (1994, 1997) defines, familization, or pan-familization, facilitates the generalization of "familistic experiences and relational habits acquired in the family, as an organizational prototype, to other groups so that the latter may be regarded as quasi-familial organizations" (p. 245).

Central to the familism, filial piety is believed to have great impact on Chinese social behaviors and remains vital in the governance of human behaviors (Yeh & Yang, 1991). The functionality of filial piety may be subject to the comprehensiveness of the concept itself. As a society changes, the content and characteristics of the traditional filial piety also change,
incorporating some modernized values. K. S. Yang (1988) may also have noticed the comprehensiveness of the concept of filial piety. He proposes another type of filial piety, modernized filial piety, which is partly a result of modernization, and contrast it with the traditional filial piety. He also suggests five dichotomous pairs of differences between traditional and modernized filial piety. The five pairs may shape the patterns of Chinese social behaviors, say, self-disclosure, differently.

Using a sample of adolescents, the present study attempts (1) to portray the general pattern of self-disclosure of Hong Kong Chinese nowadays; (2) to investigate their filial attitudes; and (3) most importantly, to investigate the relationship between filial piety, the prominent and fundamental Chinese value, and self-disclosure, seemingly, "alien" to Chinese, in the familial context where ingroup-outgroup distinction is minimal or does not exist at all. What is of interest in this study is the relationship between the filial attitude of Hong Kong Chinese adolescents and their self-disclosure behavior. Neither the personality traits nor the family system will be studied.

In the first section of next chapter, previous studies on Chinese self-disclosure are reviewed. Following this, the concept of filial piety and its related studies will be addressed. The last two sections will introduce the hypothesized relationship between filial piety and self-disclosure in the Hong Kong familial context. Research questions and hypotheses will
also be proposed in the two sections. It must be stated that the present study makes no
attempt to demonstrate the directional relationship of filial piety and self-disclosure.

Literature Review

2.1 Chinese Self-Disclosure

Basically, studies of Chinese self-disclosure can be classified into two categories, etic
and emic. Etic approach emphasizes cross-cultural comparison, facilitating researchers to
investigate how cultural variables influence at least two societies where attitudes, norms,
values, and behaviors are different. The emic approach concentrates on the intracultural level.
Researchers adopting this approach study the attitudinal and behavioral variations of a
sample of individuals who share the same cultural background. Here, studies using these two
approaches are reviewed separately.

2.1.1 Etic Studies of Chinese Self-Disclosure

A communicative behavior usually, and fundamentally, comprises the following
elements: sender, receiver, messages, and context. Reviewing the etic studies of Chinese self-
disclosure, there are four corresponding elements: discloser, target, topic, and cultural context.
These elements are not independent of but interact with each other. Researchers rarely focus
on the personality or demographic characteristics of a discloser and pay no attention to the
environmental factors. Rather, most of them investigate the interactive effects of discloser,
target of self-disclosure, and cultural context.
Hamid (1994), for example, examined the influence of two personality traits, self-monitoring and locus of control, on self-disclosure in two diverse cultures, New Zealand and Hong Kong. He hypothesized that Hong Kong Chinese sample would show a higher degree of self- and other-disclosure than the New Zealand sample, and that Hong Kong Chinese tended to share more task-oriented conversations than recreation- and chat- oriented conversations. Using telephone interview, the hypothesis that Chinese students disclosed more than New Zealand students in daily encounters was confirmed. Combining both Chinese and New Zealand samples, high self-monitors were found to engage in a higher level of disclosure than low self-monitors. Chinese externals were also found to report a high level of disclosure. Compared with the New Zealand sample, the nature of interaction for the Chinese was mainly task-oriented and scarcely recreation-oriented. The mean of chat-oriented conversation was slightly higher for the Chinese sample than the New Zealand one.

Similarly, Gudykunst et al. (1992) probed into the interactive effects of personality traits and cultural contexts. They investigated the influence of individualism-collectivism, self-monitoring, and predicted-outcome value on communication in both ingroup and outgroup relationships in four cultures, namely, Australia, Hong Kong, Japan, and the United States. Intimacy of self-disclosure was one of the dependent variables in their study. The results showed that the effect of predicted-outcome value on self-disclosure was greater in the collectivist cultures, Hong Kong and Japan, than the individualistic cultures, the United
States and Australia. To collectivists, predictability of one's behavior was important. The more positive an outcome one expects to achieve, the higher the level of self-disclosure. The study also supported that cultural factors modified the communication patterns in ingroup and outgroup relationships in the collectivist cultures. Hongkongers and Japanese engaged more in ingroup communication than in outgroup communication whereas no significant difference between ingroup and outgroup communication was found in the American and Australian samples. Contrary to Hamid's (1994) findings, self-monitoring was found to have no effect on self-disclosure in the two collectivist societies.

Using Rochester Interaction Record, Wheeler, Reis, and Bond (1989) surveyed the everyday social life in a collectivist country, Hong Kong, and an individualistic country, the United States. Again, disclosure, including both self- and other-disclosure, was one of the indicators of the everyday social interaction. As Wheeler et al. hypothesized, the mean levels of disclosure of the Chinese in same sex, opposite sex, mixed sex, and group interactions were higher than those of the Americans. It was also found that, despite cultural difference, females tended to disclose more than males in both same-sex and mixed-sex interactions. No evidence supported that there was an interactive effect of culture and gender on self-disclosure, however. The means of self-disclosure of American males were significantly different from those of American females but the means of self-disclosure of Chinese males were not different from those of Chinese females.
In contrast to Wheeler et al.’s study, Chen (1995) found that the Chinese were more reluctant to disclose than the Americans. Using a revised version of Barnlund's Self-Disclosure Scale, Chen found that the Americans were more likely to disclose than the Chinese on five topics, namely, opinions, work, finance, personality, and body, and to four target persons, including parents, stranger, acquaintance, and intimate friends. No significant effect of gender was found on the topics and targets of self-disclosure, except for the intimate friends, in this study.

In addition to the demographic and personality characteristics of discloser, targets, topics, and cultural context of disclosure, the effect of self-disclosure on individuals has also been investigated. Chen (1993) studied the impact of self-disclosure on the abilities of an Asian American sample, which was composed of Korea, Chinese, Indian, Malaysian, Pakistan, and Thailand, to cope with social difficulties in the United States. It was shown that intent of self-disclosure significantly correlated with all dimensions of the social difficulties, which included formal relations, management of relations, public ritual, contact initiation, public decision, and assertiveness. Another aspect of self-disclosure, valence, was found to correlate significantly with formal relations, public decision, and assertiveness while honesty, another aspect of self-disclosure, correlated with formal relations, management of relations, and contact initiation. The amount and depth of self-disclosure was found to have no impact on any dimension of social difficulties. This result was not surprising because, as Chen
argued, Asian communicative styles have long been characterized by the discouragement of the use of verbal language but the encouragement of the use of an indirect communication.

2.1.2 Rationales for Self-Disclosure and Non-Disclosure of the Chinese

To sum up the etic studies, both self-disclosure and non-disclosure seem to be a matter of culture. The Chinese have long been considered to be socially oriented (Bond, 1991). In the socially oriented culture, harmony is essential to ingroup relationships (K. S. Yang, 1997). In order to maintain harmony, the Chinese are not encouraged to speak their opinions, discontent, and feelings openly and directly. In fact, there is a cultural belief that an overt expression of one's attitudes and feelings would result in calamities and misfortunes (Gao, Ting-Toomey, & Gudykunst, 1996). Chinese people prefer implicit (Gao et al., 1996) or indirect communication and silence (Bond, 1991). It is, therefore, not impossible that some researchers (e.g., Chen, 1995) found a relatively low level of self-disclosure among the Chinese.

Other studies (e.g., Hamid, 1994) disconfirmed this result. The researchers of these studies concurred with the claim that Chinese were socially oriented. Yet, they believed ingroup-outgroup distinction marked the attitudinal and behavioral differences in communication. To ingroup members, the Chinese tend to engage in a higher level of self-disclosure and share more intimate topics (Gudykunst et al., 1992; Wheeler et al., 1989). To outgroup members, the depth of disclosure is extremely shallow and the topics shared are
more impersonal and superficial (Bond & Hwang, 1986). Such inconsistent findings
necessitate more investigations in this respect.

2.1.3 Loopholes of Etic Studies

The claim that culture plays an important role in the governance of people's behavior
seems unquestionable. To understand the cultural impacts on people's behaviors, etic studies
are thus necessary. When comparing one culture with another culture, one may presume that
individuals of each culture to a large extent are identical or alike. Such a presumption
confuses the individual and societal levels of analysis (Bond & Pang, 1991; Triandis,
Bontempo, Villareal, Asia, & Lucca, 1988). The findings of etic studies merely present a
generalized pattern of Chinese self-disclosure behavior. Individual differences are often
neglected.

Additionally, the generalized "Chinese" self-disclosure may not be completely applied
to the Hong Kong Chinese, Taiwan Chinese, and mainland Chinese cultures. Although the
cultural heritage of these Chinese societies is somewhat linked, the political, historical, social,
and economic backgrounds of these societies are varied (Ho, 1996). These variations would
shape the attitudes and behaviors of people of these three societies differently.

2.1.4 Emic Study of Taiwanese Self-Disclosure

Yang and Hwang (1980) attempted to investigate the relationships between intimacy
values and categorization of self-disclosure topics, between intimacy level of discloser with
target and depth of self-disclosure, between intimacy value of topics and depth of disclosure, and between gender differences and topics of disclosure. Children's perception of parenting was of interest in this study.

A total of 430 Taiwanese students were recruited. The students were requested to fill in two sets of questionnaires. The first one was on self-disclosure. This set of questionnaire, which contained 109 items, summarized several Western self-disclosure scales and interviews with some Taiwanese students. The second set of questionnaires was on the children's perception of parenting.

The findings showed that topics of disclosure could be classified into three categories, namely, general affairs, sex, and family. General affairs included items that were related to one's interests and preferences, experiences, and wishes. The "sex" category referred to those items regarding dating with opposite sex and other sex-related affairs. Items belonging to the "family" category were about parent-child relationship. Based on their intimacy values, these three categories were ranked as follows: sex, family, and general affairs. The intimacy value for "sex" was the highest whereas the value for "general affairs" was the lowest.

As the researchers predicted, students reported a reluctance in self-disclosure when the intimacy value of topics was high but a willingness when the intimacy value of topics was low. In general, students preferred to self-disclose to mother; yet, they preferred their best friends when the topics involved sex. Similar to Wheeler et al.'s etic study, Yang and
Hwang's study supported that females in general reported a higher level of self-disclosure than males. It was argued that the social norm that boys should be strong and independent while girls could be reliant on others might be a cause of such a gender difference. The study also showed that females disclosed more about family matters to their fathers, intimate friends, and ordinary friends, and more about general affairs to their intimate and ordinary friends than males. Yet, females were more likely to disclose sex-related topic to mothers but less likely to their intimate and ordinary friends whereas males preferred to talk with their intimate and ordinary friends in this respect.

2.1.5 Self-Disclosure of Hong Kong Chinese Adolescents

Extensive and independent research on the self-disclosure of Hong Kong Chinese adolescents is limited. Information is primarily gathered from local surveys on the general communication pattern of adolescents with parents and peers. For instance, the Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups conducted a survey on the communication patterns between parents and children in 1996. The results indicated that adolescents were more likely to ask their parents for help when they had health, financial, and academic problems but less likely to seek help when they were unhappy and had problems with friends. Similar to Yang and Hwang's (1980) study, this survey reported that over 50% of the respondents preferred to talk to their mothers. About 20% of them preferred to talk to both fathers and mothers. A slightly
higher than 10% of them would like talking with father. The organization concluded that adolescents in general had a more intimate relationship with mothers.

Parents were also interviewed in this study. They coincidently reported that studies, lack of money, and health were the three primary problems the adolescents would ask for help. Adolescents, as the parents noticed, were less likely to talk to parents or seek parents' help when they were depressed, dissatisfied with schools, and had a plan for the future. In fact, it was found that parents were not the first ones the adolescents would like to approach to.

The Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups (1993) carried out another study on how adolescents solve their problems. Among the 353 interviewees who reported that they were willing to consult others when they were in trouble, 33.4% of them would consult parents while 30.5% preferred friends. For those who had been emotionally disturbed prior to the interview, friends were preferred. Yet, for those who was not emotionally disturbed, parents were more important than friends. Moreover, the younger adolescents preferred to talk with parents while the older ones preferred friends. Gender difference was also noticed. Males preferred to discuss their problems with parents and females preferred friends. Besides, nearly 50% of the interviewees claimed that parents well understood them but only 23.2% of them believed that friends were the ones who were familiar with them.
In another study, Hong Kong Women Foundation (1995) found that, compared with sons, daughters were more likely to be encouraged to express their opinions and feelings for the maintenance of affective bond in a family. However, when compared with mothers and fathers, both daughters and sons were less likely to bear this responsibility. In this study, respondents were also asked whether family scandal should be leaked. A greater number of daughters, though insignificantly, did not agree the leakage of family scandal than the sons.

A local, unpublished thesis confirmed some of the findings of these surveys. Chan (1993) investigated the relationship between family communication patterns and adolescents’ self-disclosure to parents, peers, and social workers. The results supported previous surveys that adolescents had better communication with their mothers than with their fathers. They experienced more open communication and fewer communication problems with their mothers whereas more than half of the adolescents experienced neither open communication nor communication problems with their fathers. In this study, topics of disclosure were also considered. In general, adolescents were most willing to disclose study or work matters, then family problem, and least willing to disclose sex-related issues. Regardless of gender difference, adolescents preferred mothers rather than fathers when topics involved family matters and the younger ones preferred fathers as confidents while the older ones preferred mothers. Concerning sex problem, mothers were more preferable than fathers though both mothers and fathers were less preferable when compared with peers and social workers. The
sex problem was also found to have interactive effect with age and gender. Male and younger adolescents preferred to divulge to fathers while female and older adolescents preferred mothers. Similar to the family and sex problems, adolescents were more willing to disclose study or work problem with their mothers than with their fathers irrespective of age and gender differences.

To summarize these four studies, it seems that girls are more likely to disclose to family members than boys. For both boys and girls, mother is more preferable as a confident than father. When compared with peers, both boys and girls, however, engage in relatively fewer conversations with both fathers and mothers. Moreover, there may have topical differences in self-disclosure.

2.2 Filial Piety

Another important concept of the present thesis is filial piety. Filial piety is possibly the most distinctive characteristic of the Chinese cultures (Hwang, 1991). For more than two thousand years, it has been shaping and governing human relationships of the Chinese (Ho, 1987; Yeh & Yang, 1991). Even though Chinese cultures have undergone rapid social changes and westernization, filial piety remains as a guiding principle of Chinese social behaviors (Ho & Kang, 1984; Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups, 1996; Tang, 1996).
2.2.1 Definition

K. S. Yang (1988) clearly defines filial piety from two perspectives. From the perspective of cultural ecology, filial piety is a "cultural device" which helps maintain harmony and cohesiveness of a family and continue its family line. From the social psychological perspective, it is both a social attitude and set of behaviors. Other scholars share similar viewpoints in this regard. For example, Ho (1994) defines filial piety as an individual "obeying and honoring one's parents.... providing for the material and mental well-being of one's aged parents, performing ceremonial duties of ancestral worship, taking care to avoid harm to one's own body, ensuring the continuity of the family line, and in general [conducting] oneself so as to bring honor and not disgrace to the family line" (p. 350).

In a content analysis of the Chinese classics, K. S. Yang (1988, 1997) provide a detailed account of what filial attitudes and behaviors were. He summarizes fifteen aspects of filial piety: "to revere and love one's parents" (敬愛雙親), "to obey one's parents" (須從雙親), "to admonish one's parents with reason and righteousness" (諫親以禮), "to treat and serve one's parents with politeness and etiquette" (事親以禮), "to fulfil one's parents' aspirations by joining the same occupation or vocation" (繼承志業), to promote the public prestige of one's kindred, to honor one's parents" (顯揚親名), "to cherish the loving memory of parental affection" (思慕親情), "to entertain one's parents appropriately" (娛親以道), "to let parents live without worry and anguish" (便親無憂), "to be near home and ready to serve one's
parents" (隨侍在側), "to look after one's parents with a spirit of true caring" (奉養雙親), "to preserve one's body from injury, (because one's body is received as a gift from one's parents)" (愛護自己), "to bear sons and thereby continue the family line" (為親留後), "to bury the deceased parents with ritual propriety" (葬之以禮) and "to offer sacrifices to the deceased parents with ritual propriety" (葬之以禮) (K. S. Yang, 1997, p. 252). K. S. Yang's definition though more detailed shows a close resemblance to that of Ho's (1994).

2.2.2 Traditional and Modernized Filial Piety

As a society modernizes, the traditional values of filial piety change accordingly (K. S. Yang, 1997; Yu, 1988). Based on his analysis of social and economic changes in Taiwan, K. S. Yang (1988) proposes several distinctions between traditional and modernized filial piety. In traditional Chinese society, people relied heavily on agriculture. To cultivate and harvest much agricultural produce, an extended and harmonious family was necessary. Because harmony was important for the continuity of a family line, filial piety was advocated. Socializing children to the importance of filial piety, the family could function continuously and harmoniously and parents could be ensured that they would be looked after when they were old. Nowadays, the society has gone through rapid changes and modernization. The agricultural and familistic-oriented society has been transformed into an industrialized and self-oriented society. Dependence on and cohesiveness of a group are no longer essential to the survival of a family or society. To integrate with the social changes, some of the
traditional values of filial piety have to be substituted by modernized ones (Ho, 1987). The
distinctions between the traditional and modernized filial piety are summarized as below (see
Table 1).

The first distinction between traditional and modernized filial piety is familistic
orientation and individualistic orientation, or, as translated literally, extensiveness and
restrictiveness. Traditionally, family was the basic unit of the agricultural Chinese society. To
maintain harmony and healthy functioning of a family, a set of rules and norms was
established to govern people's behavior and regulate human relationships within this family.
Filial piety was central to this set of norms (C. F. Yang, 1988). Because family played such
an important role in the traditional Chinese society, filial piety was soon generalized to other
non-familial organizations through the process of familization. However, the society has
gradually been transformed from agricultural-centered to industrial-centered, from familistic-
oriented to individualistic-oriented, the difference between the structure of the family and that
of the non-familial organizations increases. Familization becomes impossible and the
familistic values including filial piety can no longer be served as prototypes to guide people's
behaviors and regulate human relationships in the non-familial organizations (K. S. Yang,
1988). To put it another way, the traditional filial piety can govern human relationships in
both family and non-familial organizations but the modernized one guides the behaviors in the familial context only.

The modernized filial piety with more emphasis on emotion than on role fulfillment has been noticed by some scholars (Ho, 1987; K. S. Yang, 1988). In an agricultural society, parents were relatively authoritarian. They educated their children the importance of role-playing and fulfillment of filial duties. Little attention was paid explicitly to the development of affectionate bonds with their children. Today, parents are not as authoritarian as those in the traditional societies and put less emphasis on the fulfillment of filial duties. Their attention has shifted to the fostering of affective relationships with their children.

The heteronomous-autonomous morality is the third distinction of the two types of filial piety (K. S. Yang, 1988). In collectivist and agricultural society, heteronomous morality was stressed. Children were taught to behave properly and be considerate to others but were not expected to reason before performing filial acts. Filial behaviors, in a sense, were not spontaneous but governed by external rules. Nowadays, an autonomous morality is emphasized and the "foolish" filial piety is no longer advocated. Parents try to explain to their children why filial piety is important. The fulfillment of filial duties is not an obligation but an internalized norm.

The mono-beneficial goal of the traditional filial piety has been transformed into mutual-beneficial goal (K. S. Yang, 1988). In traditional society, children were expected to
serve, obey, and respect their parents but parents did not necessarily behave benignly to their children in return. The relationship between parents and child was unilateral and parent centered (K. S. Yang, 1997). In this sense, parents were the only beneficiaries. In the modernized society nowadays, mutual respect is required (Ho, 1987) and bilateral relationship should be developed (K. S. Yang, 1997). Both parents and children should fulfill their own filial duties. The parents should provide both physical and mental supports to their children while the children should obey and respect their parents. Both parents and children would thus be benefited.

An acceptance of individual differences marks the difference between traditional and modernized filial piety (K. S. Yang, 1988). Traditionally, norms were set and taught to every individual so as to regulate the individual's attitudes and behaviors and thereby ensure harmony and stability of family and society. The personality of an individual and that of the individual's parents were ignored. In the modernized and individualistic-oriented society, individual differences in filial attitudes and behaviors are recognized and accepted. Norms do not govern one's behaviors as vigorously and stiffly as before. An act is filial provided that a child is willing, the child's parents are delighted, and the society accepts.

These distinctions between traditional and modernized filial piety were tested in Chuang and Yang's (1991) study. Chuang and Yang attempted to find out the changes of traditional filial piety. They found that in the four filial relationships, namely, son-father, son-
mother, daughter-father, and daughter-mother, "to perform ceremonial duties to the deceased parents," "to let parents live without worry and anguish," "to promote the public prestige of one's kindred, to honor one's parents," "to treat and serve one's parents with politeness and etiquette" were still valued; but "to be near home and ready to serve one's parents," "to bear sons and thereby continue the family line," "to obey one's parents" were not valued as highly as before. The researchers concluded that the familistic orientation has been substituted by the individualistic orientation, heteronomous morality by autonomous morality, and mono-beneficial goal by mutual-beneficial goal.

The five pairs of dimensions help understand the multifaceted nature of filial piety. As K. S. Yang (1988) argues, modernized filial piety is not an opposite of traditional filial piety. In other words, whether the filial attitude of an individual tends to be more traditional or modernized cannot simply be represented by subtracting the total score of traditional filial piety from that of modernized filial piety. The five pairs of dimensions should be considered individually and the degree and directions of changes of the five pairs may vary greatly. It may be possible that the autonomous morality replaces heteronomous one, individualistic orientation takes over the familistic one, but role fulfillment remains important. Ho (1996) supports the multidimensional nature of filial piety and the coexistence of traditional and modernized filial piety although he does not suggest any dimensional changes of filial piety.
2.2.3 Components of Filial Piety

In his analysis, K. S. Yang (1988) distinguishes two basic components of filial piety, attitudinal and behavioral. The attitudinal component can be divided into cognitive, affective, and intentional levels or facets (see Figure 1). Cognitive and affective levels interact to influence the intentional level. The filial attitude that is a composite of filial affection, cognition, and intention, in turn, shapes filial behavior.

Using K. S. Yang's (1988) model, Chuang and Yang (1991) investigated the differences between filial cognition and behavior of Taiwanese men, women, girls, and boys towards fathers and mothers. For both son-father and son-mother relationships, the cognitive-behavioral differences for boys were on average greater than those for men. For the son-father relationship, the cognitive-behavioral differences of the following aspects, "to look after one's parents with a spirit of true caring," "to promote the public prestige of one's kindred, to honor one's parents," "to treat and serve one's parents with politeness and etiquette," "to let parents live without worry and anguish," "to perform ceremonial duties for the deceased parents," were greater for boys than those for men. For the son-mother relationship, the cognitive-behavioral differences were greater for boys than those for men with regard to the following aspects, "to look after one's parents with a spirit of true caring," "to let parents live without worry and anguish," "to promote the public prestige of one's
kindred, to honor one's parents," and "to treat and serve one's parents with politeness and
etiquette."

For both daughter-mother and daughter-father relationships, the cognitive-behavioral
differences were on average greater for girls than those for women. With reference to the
following aspects of filial piety, "to perform ceremonial duties to the deceased parents," "to
look after one's parents with a spirit of true caring," "to let parents live without worry and
anguish," "to promote the public prestige of one's kindred, to honor one's parents," and "to
treat and serve one's parents with politeness and etiquette," the cognitive-behavioral
differences were obviously greater for girls than those for women in daughter-father
relationship. Concerning the aspects "to perform ceremonial duties to the deceased parents,
"to look after one's parents with a spirit of true caring," "to promote the public prestige of
one's kindred, to honor one's parents," and "to treat and serve one's parents with politeness
and etiquette," the cognitive-behavioral differences, again, were greater for girls than those
for women in daughter-mother relationship.

Taken together, it seems that there was age difference. Both boys and girls held a
stronger belief in the importance of "to look after one's parents with a spirit of true caring,"
"to promote the public prestige of one's kindred, to honor one's parents," and "to treat and
serve one's parents with politeness and etiquette" but were more reluctant to fulfill filial
duties than the adult males and females.
2.2.4 Filial Piety in Hong Kong Context

Today filial piety continues to influence Hong Kong young people although some of its traditional values have waned. According to the Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups (1993), "obey [the respondent] as a filial duty" would be the second major expectations of their offspring when the adolescents were asked to list the expectations of their children in the future. The adolescents also reported that "to maintain the lineage of family" would be the second important reason for having a child. Yet, when the adolescents were asked whether they would follow the family's demand or do as they wished when the family's demand was incompatible with their desire, over 50% of them claimed that they would turn down their family's request and do as they wished.

Likewise, Hong Kong Women Foundation's (1995) study indicated that some of the traditional values are still functioning in the present society. For example, over 60% of the adolescents interviewed claimed they would consult and gain permission from their parents when they had to make career and study choices. Less than 35% of them, however, reported that they should take advice of older family members when choosing a spouse. More than 75% of them agreed to take all responsibilities for their aged parents. Yet, boys expected girls to take more responsibilities for the elderly and the young. Supporting K. S. Yang's (1988) distinctions between traditional and modernized filial piety, this study indicated a higher level
of affective involvement in the modernized society. Girls on average reported a slightly, though insignificantly, higher level of affective involvement than the boys.

Further support on the distinctions between traditional and modernized filial piety can be traced to Cheung, Lee, and Chan's (1994) study. Cheung et al. reviewed literature on filial piety in Western cultures and noticed a decline in the importance of filial piety in these cultures. They speculated that a similar result would be obtained in the Hong Kong context as Hong Kong became more westernized. Their findings confirmed their hypothesis that filial piety was no longer normative in the modern Hong Kong society. Their study also showed that filial attitude of respondents varied greatly. In short, their findings provided solid evidence to the distinctions between normative and variant attitudes and behaviors.

2.3 Filial Attitude and Self-Disclosure in Hong Kong Familial Context

As aforementioned, previous studies of Hong Kong Chinese self-disclosure are either rare or etic-oriented, neglecting individual differences. The present author believes that an individual level of analysis should be considered. While self-disclosure can take place in various contexts, at home, at school, or the workplace, only self-disclosure in family is of interest in this study. Despite the changes of Hong Kong family system, family still plays a critical role (C. F. Yang, 1988). In a study of the Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups (1996), about 60% of the adolescents interviewed reported that they spent more than four hours with their parents every day. The time spent with parents may not be a good indicator
of the importance of family to adolescents but at least implies that the family is not a place where most of the adolescents and even the teenagers who always stay away from home at night dislike (Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups, 1995). Furthermore, parents are still significant to children. The parents, at worst, merely provide shelter and financial supports for the children. They may provide love and guidance and show empathy to their children in the positive light (Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups, 1993, 1995).

In the etic studies of Chinese self-disclosure, Chinese people were found to disclose more in ingroups but less in outgroups. An individual may be affiliated with a number of ingroups: family members, classmates, colleagues, and members of an interest club. Then, what are the differences of self-disclosure patterns in these various ingroups? It is worthy to note the variations of self-disclosure patterns among these ingroups. However, only the relationship between parents and children in familial context is studied because of the limit of resources and time for investigation.

Reviewing the studies of Wheeler et al. (1989) and Yang and Hwang (1980), females in general seemed to be more willing to disclose than males and, compared with fathers, mothers were more preferable to talk to for both female and male respondents. It is thus expected in the present thesis that, regardless of target and topic of self-disclosure: (1) Females tend to disclose more than males (hypothesis 1); (2) for both gender groups, the degree of self-disclosure toward mother is significantly different from the degree of self-
disclosure toward father (hypothesis 2); (3) the degree of self-disclosure is the highest in daughter-mother conversation, the second highest in daughter-father conversation, the third highest in son-mother conversation, and the lowest in son-father conversation (hypothesis 3).

In Yang and Hwang's (1980) study, topic of disclosure was found to interact with gender of discloser and target of disclosure. Hamid's (1994) study supported that the levels of self-disclosure varied with different topics. Similarly, Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups (1996) also found topical differences in help-seeking behavior of adolescents. Chan's (1993) study also showed an interactive effect of topic of disclosure with gender of discloser and target of disclosure. Because the classifications of topics varied among these three studies, it is premature to hypothesize what topics and to whom each gender may prefer to disclose. A research question is raised instead: What are the topical differences in terms of gender of discloser and target of self-disclosure (research question 1)?

Self-disclosure in familial context is not merely influenced by the demographic characteristics of discloser, target, and topic of self-disclosure. Simultaneously, it may be affected by the values shared among family members like filial piety. In Hong Kong, filial piety maintains its governance on human relationships. Some aspects of filial piety, for instance, "to obey one's parents," "to maintain the lineage of family," and "to look after one's parents with a spirit of true caring," remain to be highly valued (Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups, 1993). Of course, as K. S. Yang (1988) argued, some aspects of the traditional
Filial piety may have been modified as the society has changed from familistic to individualistic orientation. Filial piety nowadays stresses autonomous morality, individualistic orientation, mutual benefit, emotion, and respect for individual differences. To take Hong Kong adolescents as an example, consultation with parents when choosing a spouse becomes obsolete (Hong Kong Women Foundation, 1995). The adolescents tend to be more autonomous and individualistic. They may make decisions irrespective of the social norms regarding filial piety (Cheung, Lee, & Chan, 1994). To the present author, it is expected that in general the modernized filial piety instead of the traditional filial piety is preferred among Hong Kong Chinese adolescents (hypothesis 4).

The comparison of total scores of traditional and of modernized filial piety is, nevertheless, not sufficient to explain the transformation of the concept of filial piety. Multidimensional nature of these two types of filial piety should also be examined. A question is raised accordingly: In what aspects does the traditional filial piety remain functional and in what aspects has it been replaced by the modernized filial piety (research question 2)?

In Chuang and Yang's (1991) study, no gender difference was found. Boys and girls agreed that "to look after one's parents with a spirit of true caring," "to promote the public prestige of one's kindred, to honor one's parents," and "to treat and serve one's parents with politeness and etiquette" were important; yet, they seldom fulfilled the filial duties in regard
to these three filial values. On the contrary, the Hong Kong Women Foundation (1995) noticed a gender difference that females reported a higher level of affective involvement than boys. The contradictory findings help generate another question: Is there any gender difference between the traditional and modernized filial piety (research question 3)?

According to K. S. Yang (1988), filial piety is composed of attitudinal and behavioral components. It is speculated that filial attitude may correlate, positively or negatively, with the communicative behavior, self-disclosure, in the Hong Kong familial context even though no previous study has been conducted to investigate the relationship between these two constructs. Scholars (K. S. Yang, 1988; Yu, 1988) recognize that the Chinese tend to obey one's parents, to let one's parents live without worry, and not to defy one's parents. These values may inhibit one to disclose, for disclosure of deviant opinions and poor academic performance, for example, may disappoint parents and irritate one's parents while disclosure of physical and mental health problems may increase parents' anxiety. The value "to admonish one's parents with reason and righteousness," on the contrary, seems to encourage children to express deviant opinions. These speculations are contradictory and make it impossible to draw hypothesis. Four research questions regarding to the interaction of filial piety and self-disclosure are thus generated: (1) Is there any relationship between filial attitude and the degree of self-disclosure (research question 4)? (2) Do gender of discloser and target of self-disclosure intervene the relationship between filial piety and degree of self-
disclosure (research question 5)? (3) Is there any relationship between filial attitude and topic of self-disclosure (research question 6)? (4) Do the gender of discloser and target of self-disclosure mediate the relationship between filial attitude and topic of self-disclosure (research question 7)?

It must be noted that filial piety mentioned in these four research questions are referring to the five pairs of dimensions of filial piety which are expected to emerge when answering research question 2 in study 1 which will soon be discussed in next chapter. If the five pairs of dimensions are found, the relationships between each pair of the dimensions and self-disclosure will be examined in study 2. If the five pairs of dimensions fail to emerge, the relationship between self-disclosure score and filial piety score, which is obtained by subtracting the traditional filial piety with modernized filial piety, will be considered instead, though it is not advisable to simply look into the differences between traditional and modernized filial piety regardless of the dimensional changes of the two types of filial piety.

2.4 Restatement of Research Questions and Hypotheses

For the seek of clarity, the research questions and hypotheses stated in the previous section are highlighted and classified into three groups here.

[Insert Table 2]
Study on Filial Piety

3.1 Introduction

Two studies were undertaken. The first study was concerned with filial piety and was designed to test K. S. Yang's (1988) theory of filial piety. Yang proposes five factors of traditional filial piety and five corresponding factors of modernized filial piety. Each pair of the dimensions of filial piety is theorized to be at the two extremes of a continuum. Due to the lack of scientific support for the theory, it was necessary to launch a pilot study. Upon completion of the present study, it was expected that (1) the 50 items used for the Filial Piety Scale would cluster into five pairs of dimensions of filial piety as Yang proposed; (2) a total of 20 items which comprised 10 traditional filial piety items and 10 modernized filial piety items would be isolated and used in a questionnaire for study 2; and (3) at the same time, some preliminary data of the filial attitude of Hong Kong university students would be available.

3.2 Method

3.2.1 Participants

A total of 186 Hong Kong Baptist University students were recruited to complete a self-report questionnaire on filial piety. Excluding five incomplete questionnaires, 29 of the participants were from Semiotics class while the remaining 152 were from Language and Communication class. The sample as a whole was composed of 39 males and 141 females.
with one missing data. The age ranged between 18 and 26 years with a mean age of 19.71 years. Eighty-nine completed version 1 of the questionnaire and 92 participants completed version 2.

3.2.2 Questionnaire

The present questionnaire covered two parts. First part was to gather demographic characteristics of participants like sex and age. Second part included a Filial Piety Scale that consisted of 50 items. Thirty-six items were extracted from the filial piety scales devised by Ho (1994), Yang, Yu, and Yeh (1991), Chuang and Yang (1991), and Yu (1988). Twenty-four of them were related to traditional filial piety and the other 12 about modernized filial piety. Another 14 items were designed by the author in accordance with Yang's (1988) theory. Three traditional filial piety items and 11 modernized filial piety items were added. The Filial Piety Scale, in all, comprised 27 traditional filial piety items and 23 modernized filial piety items. The scale was first constructed in Chinese and then back-translated into English by a graduate student majoring in English.

To eliminate the effects of fatigue and order of items on the participants, two versions were prepared. Apart from the order, the items in both versions were identical. The first 25 items of version 1 was equivalent to the last 25 items of version 2 while the last 25 items of version 1 was identical to the first 25 items of version 2. Participants were asked to rate on a 6-point Likert scale to the degree they agreed with the statement of each item (1 = strongly
disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = somewhat agree, 5 = agree, 6 = strongly agree). In order to avoid the neutral response option and to determine the direction of filial attitude of the participants, 6-point instead of 5- or 7-point Likert scale was used in this study.

3.2.3 Procedures

The questionnaire was distributed to students during the last 15 minutes of both classes in October and November 1998. Before the start, the present author first introduced herself and explained to the students the purposes and contents of the questionnaire. Students were allowed to complete the questionnaires within 15 minutes and leave as soon as they finished the questionnaires. They were also assured that their responses would be kept strictly confidential.

3.2.4 Statistical Analyses

Basically, factor analysis was employed to determine if the Filial Piety Scale truly represented the 10 factors of filial piety. Using exploratory principal component analysis with a varimax rotation, Yang's (1988) theory of filial piety was tested. It was expected that items generated on the basis of the 10 factors could explain, at least, 70% of the variance (Stevens, 1992).

Factor loadings obtained after executing the factor analysis would help prepare Revised Filial Piety Scale which would be used in study 2. To select 20 items for study 2, four criteria were set: (1) The eigenvalue of an item must be positive and greater than .30; (2) the
eigenvalue of the item could not be loaded positively on more than one factors but it was acceptable to be loaded positively on one factor and negatively on another factor; (3) the mean of that item must be greater than three which meant that the item was at least somewhat agreed with; and (4) ten items should be selected from the 27 items on traditional filial piety and 10 from the 23 modernized filial piety items, for most scholars concurred with the distinction between traditional and modernized filial piety.

3.3 Results and Discussion

3.3.1 Filial Piety Scale

Using Cronbach alpha, the 50 items were tested to be internally consistent ($n = 162, \alpha = .80$). Next an attempt was made to discover the underlying factors of the 50 items by using exploratory principal component analysis with a varimax rotation. The results showed that when the number of factors to be extracted was limited to 10 before the analysis, the cumulative percentage of variance explained was 54.42%. The percentage reached 66% at maximum when the number of factors was not set in advance (see Table 3).

[Insert Table 3]

The two factors, traditional filial piety and modernized filial piety, failed to emerge too. Since it was argued that filial piety could be classified into traditional and modernized filial piety, the reliability coefficients of the two types of filial piety were examined. It was discovered that the reliability coefficient for traditional filial piety ($\alpha = .88$) and for
modernized filial piety ($\alpha = .72$) were high. There was no significant difference between traditional and modernized filial piety ($F(54, 107) = 1.45, p >.05$).

The failure to find the two factors, traditional and modernized filial piety, may be a result of the difference between theorists and the general public in the understanding of the concept of filial piety. Theorists and researchers may be more sensitive and insightful into the macroscopic as well as microscopic effects of westernization and modernization on the concept of filial piety and thus can articulate the dimensional changes of filial piety in a conceptual way. To the general public, the concept of filial piety is probably regarded as a traditional Chinese concept. However, they may rarely notice any modifications of the concept. They may be aware that Hong Kong adolescents nowadays may reject their parents' requests and rationalize that the adolescents are no longer filial toward parents. Yet they may not realize that the act is a manifestation of the modernization of the concept. Therefore, further studies are needed to examine if the modernization of filial piety is only represented in the conceptual and theoretical level.

3.3.2 Selection of Twenty Items

To select 20 items for the design of Revised Filial Piety Scale, the means of the 50 items of Filial Piety Scale were first obtained. The 20 items with the highest means were highlighted. Secondly, the factor loadings of these 20 items were reviewed. The eigenvalue for item 9 was lower than three. Items 23, 46, 47, and 48 loaded positively on both factors,
traditional filial piety and modernized filial piety. Items 7 and 45 had lower loadings as compared with other traditional filial piety items and item 50 had lower loading on the dimension of modernized filial piety. These eight items were thus discarded and replaced by items 2, 15, 18, 20, 25, 28, 41, and 49. The loadings of these eight substitutes were higher than .50. The factor loadings, means, and standard deviations of the 20 selected items were summarized in Table 4.

Insert Table 4

The reliability coefficient of the 20 extracted items was then examined again. The 20 items were found to be internally consistent (\(\alpha = .75\)). The reliability coefficients for the two subscales, traditional filial piety and modernized filial piety, were also high (for traditional filial piety, \(\alpha = .88\); for modernized filial piety, \(\alpha = .72\)).

3.3.3 Filial Attitude of University Students

The results showed that, for the 20 selected items, there was significant different between traditional filial piety score and modernized filial piety (\(F(32, 140) = 1.67, p < .05\)). It was inconsistent with the findings when the 50 filial piety items were considered. The contradictory findings could hardly support or reject hypothesis 4 that modernized filial piety instead of traditional filial piety is preferred among Hong Kong Chinese adolescents.

The interaction of filial attitude and the demographic characteristics of the participants was also explored. First of all, the effect of gender on filial attitude was tested. There was no
significant difference between females and males in regard to the total filial piety score ($F(1, 159) = 1.67, p = .19$). In addition for the two subscales, there were no significant differences between the two gender groups (for traditional filial piety, $F(1, 175) = .48, p = .49$; for modernized filial piety, $F(1, 170) = .94, p = .33$). Similarly, younger participants did not score higher or lower than older participants in terms of total filial piety score ($F(5, 152) = .37, p = .87$), traditional filial piety score ($F(6, 167) = .91, p = .49$), and modernized filial piety score ($F(5, 162) = .73, p = .60$).

Because of the uneven sample sizes, it was necessary to examine if class size affected filial piety scores. The findings showed that class size had no significant effect on the total filial piety score ($F(1, 160) = .04, p = .85$), traditional filial piety score ($F(1, 176) = .05, p = .83$), and modernized filial piety score ($F(1, 171) = .001, p = .97$).

The results also showed that even if two different versions were used, the total filial piety score of version 1 was not significantly different from that of version 2 ($F(1, 160) = 1.01, p = .32$). Neither were the traditional filial piety score ($F(1, 176) = 3.19, p = .08$) nor the modernized filial piety score ($F(1, 171) = .11, p = .75$) discovered to be significantly different from those of version 2.

Because of the failure to extract the underlying factors of the Filial Piety Scale, each item of the 20 selected items was examined separately. It was interesting to note that almost all of the participants agreed that sons and daughters could reject their parents' requests (item
3). Only 2.2% of the participants somewhat disagreed with this item. Participants also showed a majority preference for items 16, 19, 21, 22, 27, 30, 37, 39, and 42. Only a small percentage of participants, ranging from 2.8% to 12.8%, disagreed with these items. For items 5, 15, 25, and 49, around 50% of the participants agreed while another 50% disagreed. About two-third of the participants agreed with items 2, 18, 28, 36, and 41, and another one-third expressed their disagreement on these items. Interestingly, a slightly more than 66% of the participants disagreed with item 20.

Based on these results, it may be speculated that the concept of filial piety has been modified. Nowadays, the claims that everyone has different viewpoints about filial piety (item 19) filial behaviors vary among people (item 42), and filial behaviors were spontaneous acts (items 37) are valued. The perception of the role of parents has been changed too. From the viewpoint of the present participants, parents should behave properly (item 21) and share their feelings and worries to the children (items 30).

Owing to the inconsistent findings concerning the traditional and modernized filial piety, it is fair to consider that both types of filial piety remain to be valued by Hong Kong university students at this stage. In fact, it can be noted that, on the one hand, a number of the participants agreed that children should conduct themselves under their fathers' principles even after the fathers' death (item 2), avoid committing immoral deeds (item 18), follow their parents' models (item 28) and be prepared to sacrifice themselves in order to take care of their
parents (item 41), and believed that everyone should be filial toward one's parents (item 39); on the other hand, the participants agreed that children could reject their parents' requests (item 3), neglect the opinions of parents when making decisions (item 16) and answer back to parents' unreasonable blaming (item 27), and disagreed to follow parental advice when making decision (item 20), to marry for the seek of continuing one's family line (item 22) and to rear children for securing financial support (item 36).

Study on Self-Disclosure & Filial Piety

4.1 Introduction

Using a sample of prevocational school students, the present study attempted to investigate filial attitude, self-disclosure, and their interrelationship. Based on the findings of the previous study, filial piety, in this study, was considered a unique construct with traditional filial piety at one end of a continuum and modernized filial piety at the other end. It was speculated that filial piety might correlate with the degree, target, and topic of self-disclosure.

4.2 Method

4.2.1 Participants

Two hundred and seven students were recruited from two prevocational schools, Caritas Bianchi College of Careers (N = 151) and Marden Foundation Caritas Prevocational School-Tuen Mun (N = 56). Excluding two missing data, 69 participants were male and 136
were female. The age ranged between 17 and 24 years with a mean age of 17.94 years. Seventy-eight participants majored in business studies, 101 participants in commercial studies, and 28 participants in technical studies.

4.2.2 Questionnaire

The questionnaire designed for study 2 contained three parts. The first part was about personal information of the participants, including age and gender. The second part was a measure of self-disclosure. The first thirty-five items were selected from studies of Jourard (1964), West and Zingle (1969), Yang and Hwang (1980), and Chan (1993). Some of them were originally written in English. They were first rephrased and translated into Chinese by the present author. Item 36 was designed by the present author. As emotional intelligence has been acknowledged to be important to personal development (Goleman, 1995), it was felt necessary to include an item on this aspect. The 36 items as a whole were back-translated by the graduate student who had previously translated the Filial Piety Scale. Back-translation ensured the meanings of the items that were prepared in English in previous studies were semantically similar to the Chinese translation. The 36 items were classified into six categories, namely, family and parents, studies and aspirations, interests, love and sex, general affairs, and personality and body. Each category contained six items.

Referring to hypothesis 2 that the amount of self-disclosure toward father and mother might be different, the present study requested participants to rate to what extent they would
disclose to each parent in respect of each item. All items were rated on a 4-point Likert scale (1 = never disclosed, 2 = occasionally disclosed, 3 = sometimes disclosed, 4 = often disclosed).

The last section measured the filial attitude of the participants. The 20-item Revised Filial Piety Scale which had been developed in study 1 was incorporated into this questionnaire. It was composed of 10 traditional filial piety items and 10 modernized filial piety items. To avoid social desirability effects and to facilitate comparison with study 1, the 20 items were rated on a 6-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = somewhat agree, 5 = agree, 6 = strongly agree).

4.2.3 Procedures

The survey was conducted in November and December 1998. Three teachers were invited to administer the survey. They were given an introductory note on how to conduct the survey. Based on the introductory note, the teachers briefly introduced to the participants the purposes of the present study. Then the participants were allowed to complete the questionnaires within 15 minutes.

4.2.4 Scoring

For the self-disclosure measure, mean total self-disclosure score, mean self-disclosure score toward each target, and mean self-disclosure score on each topic would be computed. To calculate the mean total self-disclosure score, irrespective of gender of discloser and topic
and target of self-disclosure, ratings on all items were added up and the sum was then divided by the number of items. The maximum score was eight and the minimum was two. The higher score, the higher degree of self-disclosure; and the lower score, the lower degree of self-disclosure.

Likewise, to measure the mean self-disclosure scores toward father and mother, the ratings on the 36 items for each target were added up and the sum was divided by the number of self-disclosure items. The mean self-disclosure score toward each target ranged between one and four. The higher score, the higher degree of disclosure toward the respective target; the lower score, the lower degree of disclosure toward this target. In this thesis, the topical differences in self-disclosure were of interest. Sub-scores for each topic and for each target were computed. Regardless of the target of self-disclosure, the ratings on the six items of each topic were summed. The mean self-disclosure score for each topic ranged between two and eight. Similar to the mean total self-disclosure score, a high score on a topic implied a willingness to disclose matters concerning this topic and low score meant that an individual was reluctant to disclose. The covariant, target of self-disclosure, were investigated afterward. The mean self-disclosure score for each topic and for each target was obtained by summing up the ratings on the six items of each topic for each target and then dividing the sum by the number of self-disclosure items for each topic. In this case, mean self-disclosure score ranged
between one and four. Score that was close to 4 indicated a willingness to disclose on a particular topic toward a particular target; score that was close to one connoted the opposite.

To obtain the mean total filial piety score, the sub-scores for the 10 traditional filial piety items and 10 modernized filial piety items would be obtained first. Then the scores of the 10 modernized filial piety items had to be converted into negative score by multiplying -1. The mean total filial piety score could thus be obtained by adding up the mean traditional filial piety score and the converted mean modernized filial piety score and then dividing the sum by two.

4.2.5 Statistical Analyses

When studying the results of self-disclosure, one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to compare the mean total self-disclosure scores for males and females and the mean self-disclosure scores toward father and mother. Multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was employed to measure the gender differences in regard to the topic of self-disclosure. Partial correlation was used to compute the correlation coefficients between the mean self-disclosure scores toward father and mother with the control of some extraneous variables like gender of discloser, age, school, field of study, and topic of self-disclosure. To investigate the filial attitude of males and females, one-way ANOVA, again, was employed to measure if there was significant difference between the two groups.
In the analysis of filial piety with the degree and topic of self-disclosure, partial correlation was used. Once the filial piety was found to relate with the degree and topic of self-disclosure, the present author would examine the effects of covariants, that is, gender of discloser and target of self-disclosure, on the relationship between filial piety and the degree of self-disclosure and on the relationship between filial piety and the topic of self-disclosure. Partial correlation was employed to control these prospective covariants.

4.3 Results and Discussion

4.3.1 Self-Disclosure

The measure of self-disclosure was a summary of several previous studies and thereby a reliability test of this measure was necessary. Regardless of the target and topic of self-disclosure, the reliability coefficient of the measure was .96. Even including the target of self-disclosure, the Cronbach alpha for the self-disclosure toward father also reached .96. The alpha level for the self-disclosure toward mother was also high (\(\alpha = .94\)). The reliability coefficient for each topic was computed: for "family and parents," \(\alpha = .86\); "studies and aspirations," \(\alpha = .84\); for "interests," \(\alpha = .87\); "love and sex," \(\alpha = .88\); "general affairs," \(\alpha = .86\); and "personality and body," \(\alpha = .84\). In short, the items of the self-disclosure measure were highly reliable.

In spite of the target and topic of self-disclosure, the mean total self-disclosure for both gender groups was low but there was a significant difference between the mean total self-
disclosure score for males and that for females ($F(1, 195) = 7.52, p < .01$) (see Table 5). This supported hypothesis 1 that females tended to disclose more than males.

The results also confirmed hypothesis 2 that there was a significant difference between the degree of self-disclosure toward mother and father ($F(70, 128) = 2.80, p < .001$) irrespective of the gender of discloser and topic of self-disclosure. This implies that adolescents might have more intimate relationships with mothers than with fathers. It may be argued that the roles of parents affect the degree of self-disclosure. Traditionally, mothers are more concerned with relational problems in a family and share more responsibilities to bring up children while fathers are expected to support the families financially.

The correlation between the degree of self-disclosure toward mother and father was significant and moderately high ($r = .599, p < .001$). In other words, a higher degree of self-disclosure toward mother coincided with a higher degree of self-disclosure toward father, and a lower degree of self-disclosure toward mother with a lower degree of self-disclosure toward father. It is doubtful whether personality of the discloser matters in this case. For instance, an extrovert may be talkative and expressive and hence disclose more to both parents while an introvert may be reticent.

Considering the gender of discloser, there was no significant difference between the two gender groups in terms of the degree of self-disclosure toward father ($F(1, 197) = 3.36, p$
Both groups tended to disclose less to their fathers. But the degree of self-disclosure toward mother remained significantly different between the two groups ($F(1, 199) = 10.29, p < .01$) (see Table 5). This indicates that the effect of the gender of discloser on the degree of self-disclosure may be mediated by the target of self-disclosure. Indeed, the interrelationship of the target of self-disclosure and gender of discloser can be revealed by the mean self-disclosure scores toward the two targets for both gender groups.

In Chapter 2, the present author argued that the degree of self-disclosure in daughter-mother conversation would be the highest, second highest in daughter-father conversation, third highest in son-mother conversation, and lowest in son-father conversation (Hypothesis 3). Yet, it was found in this study that the mean self-disclosure score toward mother for females was the highest (mean = 2.37), the mean self-disclosure score toward mother for males was the second highest (mean = 2.11), the mean self-disclosure score toward father for females was the third highest (mean = 1.91), and the mean self-disclosure score toward father for males was the lowest (mean = 1.76) (see Table 5). Hypothesis 3 was only partially supported. The findings seem to imply that the target of self-disclosure is more important than the gender of discloser. A possible explanation is that, as noted previously, mothers stress on the emotional development of children and interpersonal relationships. They may be more attentive to the self-disclosure of their children and encourage them to self-disclose. On the contrary, as Yang and Hwang (1980) suggests, boys seem to be socialized to be strong
and independent and thus tend to disclose less to mothers when compared with girls.

Similarly, fathers may abide to the social role that they should be tough and hence disclose less to their children. As communication is an interactive and two-way process, the fewer the fathers disclose and the fewer the children disclose to them in return.

An attempt was also made to eliminate the effects of other extraneous variables on the relationship between the degree of self-disclosure toward father and mother. Using partial correlation, the effects of age, class, school, field of study, gender of discloser, and topic of self-disclosure were one by one eliminated and the relationship between the degree of self-disclosure toward father and mother remained moderately high (see Table 6).

Regardless of gender of discloser and target of self-disclosure, adolescents seemed to disclose more about "interests" among the six topics of self-disclosure, and "interests" were more freely shared than "study and aspirations." This contradicted with Chan's (1993) findings that adolescents tended to disclose more about study- or work-related matters. It is speculated that nowadays parents emphasize the whole-person development of children instead of academic excellence. They help and encourage their children to develop a wider range of interests and hence children disclose more about interests. Consistent with Chan's results, the present study discovered that adolescents in general were least willing to disclose love- and sex-related matters. It may be argued that sex remains to be a taboo in Hong Kong.
Using MANOVA, the results showed that females disclosed significantly more than males in terms of "family and parents" ($F(1, 204) = 5.16, p < .05$), "studies and aspirations" ($F(1, 204) = 10.81, p = .001$), "interests" ($F(1, 204) = 11.54, p = .001$), "general affairs" ($F(1, 204) = 5.65, p < .05$), and "personality and body" ($F(1, 204) = 8.38, p < .01$) (see Table 5). For the topic of "love and sex," no significant gender difference was found ($F(1, 204) = .65, p > .05$).

When the target of self-disclosure was considered, it is obvious that for most of the items, except the mean self-disclosure score of item 5 for female participants, the mean self-disclosure scores toward mother were higher than those toward father. It seems that whatever the topic of self-disclosure is, mother is preferable than father. It may be reasoned that mothers are approachable. In a sense, mothers appear to be more caring and empathetic than fathers. In fact, mothers may have more time to interact with the children and discuss various topics with them.

4.3.2 Filial Attitude

The reliability coefficient of the Revised Filial Piety Scale reached .65. When the 10 traditional filial piety items and 10 modernized filial piety items were considered, the reliability coefficients were .69 and .59 respectively. Table 7 showed that, using one-way ANOVA, there was no significant difference between males and females in terms of mean total filial piety score ($F(1, 202) = .005, p > .05$). There was also no difference between males
and females in regard to the mean traditional filial piety score \(F(1, 202) = 2.71, p > .05\) and mean modernized filial piety score \(F(1, 202) = 3.43, p > .05\). Despite the gender of discloser, the present study fails to support hypothesis 4 that the mean traditional filial piety score was significantly different from the mean modernized filial piety score \(F(33, 172) = 1.11, p = .33\). Even when gender of discloser was partialled out, there was no significant difference in terms of traditional filial piety and modernized filial piety scores. Nevertheless, when each item was considered individually, participants seemed to rate higher on most of the modernized filial piety items than traditional filial piety items. None of the modernized filial piety items scored below four while only four traditional filial piety items were rated higher than four by both males and females. A possible explanation for this phenomenon is that adolescents are more westernized nowadays. They may be influenced by the Western concept of "independence," for example, that they should make decisions on their own. Of course, the Western values seem impossible to substitute all of the deep-seated traditional Chinese values. Some Chinese values remain influential at present.

4.3.3 Self-Disclosure and Filial Attitude

Contrary to the speculations of the present author (see Sections 2.3 & 2.4), Table 8 showed that there was no significant correlation between self-disclosure and filial attitude \(r = .11, p > .05\). In other words, filial attitude could not predict how much adolescents
disclosed to their parents. Even when the gender of discloser was partialed out, the relationship of mean total filial piety score with mean total self-disclosure score remained insignificant \( r = .11, p > .05 \). The target of self-disclosure was also considered. Again, the study failed to find significant relationships between filial attitude and self-disclosure toward father \( r = .08, p > .05 \) and between filial attitude and self-disclosure toward mother \( r = .12, p > .05 \).

Yet, it was interesting to discover that there were low but significant relationships of filial attitude with the topics of self-disclosure "family and parents" \( r = .17, p < .05 \), "studies and aspirations" \( r = .14, p < .05 \), "general affairs" \( r = .21, p < .01 \), and "personality and body" \( r = .14, p < .05 \). The relationships of filial attitude with "interests" and "love and sex" were non-significant, \( r = -.002, p > .05 \) and \( r = .02, p > .05 \) respectively (see Table 8).

When the gender of discloser and target of self-disclosure were considered, only the two topics, "family and parents" (for father, \( r = .15, p < .05 \); for mother, \( r = .15, p < .05 \)) and "general affairs" (for father, \( r = .15, p < .05 \); for mother, \( r = .21, p < .05 \)) remained significantly related to filial attitude. No significant relationship of filial attitude with other topics of self-disclosure was revealed.

To the present author, it is puzzling that the Chinese values had no impact on the degree of self-disclosure. It may be argued that, in a mathematical sense, the mean total filial
piety score was too low to establish any significant correlation with other variables. In most cases, the mean total filial piety scores of the participants were around zero. It meant that the participants did not show any preference toward traditional or modernized filial piety. The participants might score high or low at both traditional and modernized filial piety ends. In other words, while they may still abide to the traditional Chinese values that children should be obedient to their parents and should not defy them, they may be very expressive in family.

Whether or not a filial adolescent discloses may also be determined by other family members and the relationships with them. As mentioned previously, communication is an interactive process, parents' verbal as well as nonverbal behavior may affect self-disclosure behavior. If parents are authoritarian and apathetic and verbally discourage the expression of feelings, it can be expected that an adolescent may prefer not to disclose. On the contrary, if parents are encouraging and willing to listen to the adolescent, it is probably that the adolescent discloses more to them. The relationship with parents matters too. The better the relationship with parents, the higher degree of self-disclosure toward parents; the poorer the relationship with parents, the less likely to disclose to parents.

In addition to these possible extraneous variables or mediators of the relationship of self-disclosure with filial piety, personality of discloser may determine whether an adolescent discloses or not. It can be speculated that no matter whether they are filial or not, introverted adolescents tend not to disclose while the extroverts are more talkative and readier to disclose.
The above several speculations have not been examined in the present study. Further studies are recommended to consider these potential variables.

General Discussion and Conclusion

In this thesis, the present author believes that the traditional Chinese value, filial piety, has been modernized. Some aspects of the filial piety have been replaced by Western ideas and some remain influential in Hong Kong. Both traditional and modernized aspects of filial piety may have correlations with self-disclosure behavior. Two studies were conducted and their findings support some hypotheses and provide evidence for some research questions. Some hypotheses and research questions, yet, are unanswered. In this chapter, the results of the two studies are discussed together and limitations in conducting the two studies are reviewed as well.

5.1 General Discussion

Hong Kong may be a melting-pot in which the Chinese and Western cultures meet. On the one hand, the traditional Chinese heritage and values are incessantly being transmitted to the next generations. On the other hand, the Western values and ideas flow in through mass media and a consumer society. Whereas some undermine the traditional Chinese values, some integrate well with the deep-seated Chinese thoughts. In this case, filial piety, one of the concepts crucial to the Chinese, is an example of the latter. As K. S. Yang (1988) proposes, filial piety in the traditional sense has been "westernized" and "modernized." Some
of the Western values are incorporated with the traditional definition of filial piety and become a brand-new kind of filial piety, in Yang's term, "modernized filial piety."

Yang (1988) proposes five pairs of dimensional changes of filial piety, namely familislic-individualistic orientation, emphasis on role fulfillment or emotion, heteronomous-autonomous morality, mono- or mutual-beneficial goal, normative or variant attitudes and behaviors. These five dimensions were borrowed to design a filial piety scale in study 1. The scale consists of 50 items. Because Yang's model has not been tested, the scale must have been examined using factor analysis. The results showed that the 50 items failed to cluster into the 10 factors of filial piety. It is suspected that the 10factor model of filial piety is merely developed conceptually. In reality, people may not conceive this way. Neither can they notice the minute modifications of the concept. Rather, they may think filial piety is a unique construct. Different people may be filial at various degrees but not dimensionally different.

In study 2, filial piety was regarded as a continuum with traditional filial piety at one end and modernized filial piety at the other end, even though it had been found that the 50 items failed to cluster into these two factors in study 1. Twenty items of the Filial Piety Scale were extracted to develop Revised Filial Piety Scale which was used to measure the filial attitude among Hong Kong adolescents. Consistent with study 1, the findings of study 2 showed no significant indication that Hong Kong people inclined toward traditional filial
piety or toward modernized filial piety. It may be possible that some aspects of the traditional filial piety have been replaced by those of modernized filial piety while some coexist with the modernized filial piety. In study 1, for example, participants reported that every individual might define filial piety differently, children could turn down parents' requests, and parents had to behave properly in order to earn respect from children; at the same time, the traditional filial attitudes that children were responsible for parents' living and that individuals had to avoid committing immoral behaviors remained important (see Table 4). Likewise, study 2 found that the aspects of traditional and modernized filial piety mentioned above coexisted. The results of the two studies were consistent with that of the Hong Kong Women Foundation (1995). They also reject the hypothesis of other researchers (e.g., Cheung et al., 1994) that the influence of filial piety on Hong Kong people is on the wane.

In addition to the redefinition of the concept of filial piety, westernization and modernization are speculated to facilitate self-disclosure behavior of Hong Kong adolescents. Yet, consistent with other studies (Chan, 1993), Hong Kong adolescents were found in study 2 to be reluctant to express their feelings and thoughts to their parents. It may be that parents are perceived as authority figures and children dare not disclose personal feelings to them, especially on topics involving love and sex (see Table 5).

Comparing the two targets of self-disclosure, father and mother, the findings of study 2 support the investigations of Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups (1996) and Chan
Mother was preferred as the present study revealed. It may be speculated that nowadays mothers still bear more responsibilities to bring up children and have more time to nurture, to teach, and to play with their children. Mothers also are more concerned with interpersonal relationship. They may show empathy and be more attentive when their children talk with them. Such speculations may be a reason for the present finding. Yet, there may also be other possible explanations for such a phenomenon. Further studies are needed to probe into these underlying reasons. In fact, nowadays fathers tend to assume more nurturing roles which mothers were assumed to be responsible for in the past. As fathers are becoming more androgynous, caring, and empathetic, it is possible that children will disclose more to them. Hence, in addition to the difference of self-disclosure in terms of target, it is also necessary to examine the nature of the roles the parents assume and how feminine and masculine attributes of parents affect the degree of self-disclosure of children.

Personality of the adolescents may also be an extraneous factor determining the degree of self-disclosure. Extroverted, talkative, and active adolescents may be more willing to disclose while introverted and shy youths may tend not to disclose. The personality of the adolescents was not considered in present study. Further investigation on self-disclosure is encouraged to take personality of the discloser into account.

The difference of self-disclosure between the gender groups needs further exploration as well. The present study confirms other studies (Wheeler et al., 1989; Yang & Hwang, 1980)
that females tend to disclose more often than males whatever the topic is (see Table 5). It, however, provides no explanation for such a phenomenon. It is doubtful whether females tend to be more talkative while males are more reserved and whether the societal roles that males should be tough while females are accountable for the maintenance of affective relationship affect the self-disclosure behavior of the participants of the present study. Again, further inquiry of the reasons for such gender difference is necessary.

Despite the filial attitude and self-disclosure of Hong Kong adolescents, the primary purpose of study 2 was to investigate the relationship between filial piety and self-disclosure. It was speculated that the incorporation of modernized value with traditional filial piety might alter people's self-disclosure behavior. People might disclose more often if they emphasized individualism, emotion, autonomous morality, mutual-beneficial goal, and variant attitudes and behaviors. However, study 2 fails to find any evidence to support the speculation. It has been reasoned that the lower mean total filial piety score makes the correlation with self-disclosure difficult to be interpreted, the personality and behavior of parents, the relationship with parents, and the personality of discloser lead to the present results. More studies are needed to re-examine whether there is no correlation between filial piety and self-disclosure and investigate what the mediating factors are if the two variables are correlated.
5.2 Limitations

The primary limitation of the present studies may be related to the construction of the Filial Piety Scale and Revised Filial Piety Scale. In the initial stage of the development of the Filial Piety Scale, only university students were recruited. The sample was limited to university students and was not representative of other cohorts. Younger adolescents and adults should also have been recruited. Moreover, the sample was so small that the findings could hardly be generalized to other age groups, occupational groups, or other university students. Another limitation is that more females than males were invited to complete the scale. It is doubtful that the uneven proportion of participants resulted in the finding that there was no gender difference in terms of filial attitude.

It happened again when participants of study 2 were asked to complete the Revised Filial Piety Scale. More female than male secondary school students were recruited. Also, the students only represented those who were in their late adolescence and studying in schools. The findings obtained from these students may not be generalized to those who are working or in their early adolescence.

Apart from the sampling problem of the two studies, the reliability of the filial piety scales is questionable. In study 1, the reliability of the 50 filial piety items was greater than .70 which denotes the optimal level that a research tool is reliable and can be used (Hammond, 1995). Even when the 50 items were classified into traditional and modernized
filial piety, the reliability for both types of filial piety also reached the optimal level. When 
20 items were selected from the 50 items and formed the Revised Filial Piety Scale, the 
reliability coefficients of the new scale and of the two types of filial piety were greater 
than .70. However, when the same revised scale was used in study 2, it failed to reach the 
optimal level of reliability. Neither could the two types of filial piety reach the optimal level. 
The inconsistent findings of the reliability coefficient of the scale may be a consequence of 
limited items tested, for the reliability of a test depends on the number of items in the test 
(Hammond, 1995). Further investigation of the scale needs to include more items. 

Besides, the content validity of the scale is questionable. The 50 items of the Filial 
Piety Scale were constructed in accordance with the five pairs of dimensions of filial piety 
Yang (1988) proposes, but it seems that some of the items were used to measure more than 
one dimension. For instance, item 49 of the Filial Piety Scale might be grouped either into 
"mono-beneficial goal" category or into "heteronomous morality" category. Likewise, item 
17 might be an item of the "emphasis on role fulfillment" category instead of the "familistic 
orientation" category. It is thus argued that the operational definition of the five pairs of 
dimensions may be unclear and results in the failure of factor analysis. 

Of course, the failure of factor analysis simply indicates that Yang's (1988) theory 
which is the basis of the two filial piety scales is merely a conceptual explanation of the 
modernization of the concept of filial piety. As aforementioned, people may not notice the
dimensional changes of filial piety. They may have difficulty in classifying the characteristics of traditional filial piety and those of modernized dial piety also. The inability of participants to differentiate the two types of filial piety may be another possible explanation for the failure of factor analysis.

In short, the present studies have problems regarding sampling, the generalization of results, and the reliability and validity of the two filial piety scales. The present author recommends that there should be more investigations into the filial attitude and its relationship with self-disclosure using samples taken from different cohorts and socioeconomic groups.
References


Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups. (1993). *Young people's perception of family* (Youth Poll Series No. 9). Hong Kong: Author.


*The handbook of the Chinese parenting: Vol. 2. Chinese psychology* (pp. 25-64). Taipei:

Zhanglaoshi.
Table 1  Differences between traditional and modernized filial piety

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traditional Filial Piety</th>
<th>Modernized Filial Piety</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Familistic orientation (延展性)</td>
<td>1. Individualistic orientation (局限性)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Emphasis on role fulfillment (角色性)</td>
<td>2. Emphasis on emotion (感情性)</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Heteronomous morality (他律性)</td>
<td>3. Autonomous morality (自律性)</td>
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<td>4. Mono-beneficial goal (獨益性)</td>
<td>4. Mutual-beneficial goal (互益性)</td>
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<td>5. Normative attitudes and behaviors (劃一性)</td>
<td>5. Variant attitudes and behaviors (多樣性)</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>1. Self-disclosure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H1</td>
<td>Females tend to disclose more than males irrespective of target and topic of self-disclosure. Regardless of gender of discloser and topic of self-disclosure, the degree of self-disclosure toward mother is significantly different from the degree of self-disclosure toward father.</td>
</tr>
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<td>H3</td>
<td>The degree of self-disclosure is the highest in daughter-mother conversation, the second highest in daughter-father conversation, the third highest in son-mother conversation, and the lowest in son-father conversation.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RQ1</td>
<td>What are the topical differences in terms of gender of discloser and target of self-disclosure?</td>
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<td>II. Filial piety</td>
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<td>H4</td>
<td>The modernized filial piety instead of the traditional filial piety is preferred among Hong Kong Chinese adolescents.</td>
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<td>RQ2</td>
<td>In what dimensions does the traditional filial piety remain functional and in what dimensions has it been replaced by the modernized filial piety?</td>
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<td>RQ3</td>
<td>Is there any gender difference between the traditional and modernized filial piety?</td>
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<td>III. Self-disclosure and filial piety</td>
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<tr>
<td>RQ4</td>
<td>Is there any relationship between filial attitude and the degree of self-disclosure?</td>
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<td>RQ5</td>
<td>Do gender of discloser and target of self-disclosure intervene the relationship between filial piety and the degree of self-disclosure?</td>
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<tr>
<td>RQ6</td>
<td>Is there any relationship between filial piety and topic of self-disclosure?</td>
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<tr>
<td>RQ7</td>
<td>Do the gender of discloser and target of self-disclosure mediate the correlation between filial attitude and topic of self-disclosure?</td>
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<td>15</td>
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<td>2.03</td>
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<sup>a</sup> Here, the Kaiser rule was used. Only factors with eigenvalues greater than one were reported.
<table>
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<th>Item</th>
<th>Factor loadings</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
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<tr>
<td>2. Sons and daughters should conduct themselves under their fathers’ principles, even after the fathers’ deaths.</td>
<td>.71 --</td>
<td>4.02</td>
<td>1.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sons and daughters can reject their parents’ requests.</td>
<td>-- .53</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Sons and daughters should fulfill their parents’ expectations.</td>
<td>.70 --</td>
<td>3.51</td>
<td>1.07</td>
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<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Factor loadings</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>SD</td>
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<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>II</td>
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<tr>
<td>15. Sons and daughters should do something their parents are proud of.</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Sons and daughters do not always have to seek opinions from their parents for decision-making.</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>4.54</td>
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<tr>
<td>18. To avoid dishonoring one's parents, one should avoid committing immoral deeds.</td>
<td>.56</td>
<td>--</td>
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<tr>
<td>19. Everyone will have different viewpoints about &quot;filial piety.&quot;</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>5.10</td>
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<td>20. Sons and daughters should follow their parents' advice when they make decisions concerning future career or study.</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>-.49</td>
<td>3.01</td>
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<tr>
<td>21. To earn respect from children, parents should behave properly.</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.45</td>
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<td>22. The purpose of getting marriage is not for continuing one's family line.</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td>5.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. The achievement of the children is indebted to their parents.</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Sons and daughters can answer back to the parents' unreasonable blaming.</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.48</td>
<td>4.85</td>
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<tr>
<td>28. Sons and daughters should follow their parents' models to learn how to deal with people and problems.</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Parents should express their worries and discontent to their children concerning their misconduct.</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>5.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. The reason of having children is not to ensure financial support from the children when one gets old.</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>4.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Filial behaviors are natural and spontaneous acts, they will not be performed just for fulfilling others' expectations.</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>5.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Everyone should be filial toward his/her parents and be responsible for the parents' living.</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. In order to take care of one's parents, one should be ready to sacrifice oneself.</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Filial behaviors vary among people.</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>5.09</td>
</tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. No matter how poor their parents treat them, sons and daughters should treat their parents well.</td>
<td>.55</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3.65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The number of each item was based on version 1 of the questionnaire.

* Eigenvalues that were lower than .30 were suppressed here.

* The means of the 50 items were listed in detail in Appendix 6.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<td>1.93</td>
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<td>7.52</td>
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<td>F</td>
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<td>2.13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total score toward father</td>
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<td>.57</td>
<td>3.36</td>
<td>.068</td>
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<td>F</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>.56</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td>Total score toward mother</td>
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<td>2.11</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>10.29</td>
<td>.002*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
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<td>2.37</td>
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<tr>
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<td>.58</td>
<td>10.81</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interests</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>.61</td>
<td>11.54</td>
<td>.001*</td>
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<td>136</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love and sex</td>
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<td>F</td>
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<td>2.29</td>
<td>.57</td>
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* p < .01
b p < .05
a p = .001
Table 6  Partial coefficients for self-disclosure score toward father and mother controlled for age, class, school, field of study, gender of discloser, and topic of self-disclosure

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<tr>
<td>Class</td>
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<tr>
<td>Field of study</td>
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<td>School</td>
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<td>Sex</td>
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<td>Age x class x field of study x school</td>
<td>.61</td>
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<tr>
<td>Age x class x field of study x school x sex</td>
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<tr>
<td>Family &amp; parents x sex</td>
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<td>Studies &amp; aspirations x sex</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interests x sex</td>
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<td>General affairs x sex</td>
<td>.71</td>
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<tr>
<td>Personality and body x sex</td>
<td>.57</td>
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</table>

Note: All coefficients significant (p < .001)
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<th>Gender</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
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<td>3.97</td>
<td>.53</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Modernized</strong></td>
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<td>.42</td>
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* "T" = both males and females; "M" = males; "F" = females.
Table 8  Correlations of mean total filial piety score with mean total self-disclosure score and mean self-disclosure subscores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total filial piety&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>r</th>
<th>p</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>.59</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.016&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>.62</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.045&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>Love and sex</td>
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<td>.58</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.817</td>
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<td>General affairs</td>
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<td>.21</td>
<td>.003&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Personality and body</td>
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<td>2.21</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.043&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> N = 206, mean = 4.36, SD = .38.

<sup>b</sup> p < .05

<sup>c</sup> p < .01
Figure 1  Attitudinal and behavioral components of filial piety