THE DYNAMICS OF CONFLICT IN FOUR-PERSON FAMILIES

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Not for quotation

Comments invited

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DEAR ABBY: CURIOUS asked, "Which is
the hardest? Being the youngest, middle
or eldest child?" You replied, "It all
depends where you're coming from."

Well, I'm the youngest, and I think
being the youngest is an advantage. Sure,
I got plenty of hand-me-downs, but they
were mostly good as new and I was always
the best-dressed kid in my class.

Since I was the last one to leave
home, I was treated like an only child
and got plenty of attention and love.
Because my folks were much better finan-
cially after my brothers and sisters left
home, they were able to do more for me
than they did for the others.

Also, I had plenty of examples to
follow. My parents were more relaxed
and made fewer mistakes raising me than
raising the older ones. I honestly can't
think of any disadvantages in being the
youngest.

LUCKY IN NEW CASTLE

DEAR ABBY: I think being the oldest child
is definitely the hardest--especially when
there are only two in the family and they're
both boys.

I'm the oldest, and when a fight breaks
out between me and my brother, I'm always
blamed. They say, "You're older and you
should know better."

Being the oldest means that you start
out being an only child, then all of a
sudden you've got to share your parents
and divide everything with another child.
And the baby gets more attention just be-
cause he's little and cute and helpless.
It's only normal to be jealous of him.

Being older means having more re-
sponsibility, like looking after my little
brother. My parents give me the job, but
they don't give me the authority to do
any hitting.

If I could choose, I would be the youngest.

RICKY IN KANSAS CITY

DEAR ABBY: The middle child definitely gets the worst of it. If the oldest accomplishes something, it's a big deal because it's the first time. Same with the youngest, because "the baby is growing up."

When the middle does it--nothing. It's neither the first nor the last.

The middle child is second in everything. Never first.

Do you know what it feels like to be introduced by your parents? It goes something like this: "This is our oldest. And this is our youngest. And the other one is Kathy." You feel like nothing.

I'm sure parents don't realize they do this. Maybe this will help.

A MIDDLE NOTHING

DEAR ABBY: I'm the youngest in a family of five children. When our mother died at 77, she left a houseful of lovely antique furniture, plus enough silver, linen and china to open a store. She also left some valuable heirloom jewelry. She didn't leave a will, but guess who got first crack at everything?

Mother's first-born daughter, of course.

GYPPED IN JOPLIN, MO.

DEAR ABBY: You ask, "Is it better to be the youngest, middle or eldest child?" Strange you should ask.

I have three sisters and two brothers--all older, married and living lives of their own. I've never been married and probably never will be.

I'm home caring for my mother, who is 88 and has been an invalid for 19 years, and my father, who is 90 and blind. You may sign me, "The youngest," or . . .

53 AND TRAPPED

Los Angeles Times, November 25, 1980.

As these fascinating letters to "Dear Abby" suggest, there is much popular intererest in which ordinal position is "best", older, younger, or middle child. Despite a substantial social science literature, firm answers to this question have not yet been found. Two approaches exist for dealing with the problem of ordinal position or birth category. One is to treat ordinal position as an independent variable and study its effects on personality or need disposition. For example, it has been found that first and only borns have stronger affiliation needs than later borns (Schachter, 1951). Adler (1930) has claimed that first borns had stronger leadership predispositions than later borns, while Stotland, Sherman, and Shaver (1971) have asserted that later borns empathised better than first borns. Schooler (1972) published a devastating criticism of the birth order literature attacking its unrepresentativeness since birth cohort effects were ignored. He attributed many of the findings to family formation trends in the general population. Since most people born right after the Second World War were the first children in their families, anyone studying such cohorts would find an overrepresentation of firstborns. Recently, Falbo (1981), taking Schooler's and others criticisms into consideration, developed a more sophisticated method. She demonstrated that "birth category" was related in modest fashion to achievement and some aspects of inter-personal orientation.

A second approach, and the one we favor, is to study the family as a social system. The study of families as social systems is not a new idea. Burgess (1926) pioneered this approach. The work of Bateson and the Mental Research Institute at Palo Alto (Ruesch and Bateson, 1951) and that by Haley, Jackson, Satir, Weaklund, and Watzlawick on family communication processes, de-emphasised the

individual and studied the family as a social system. General systems theory, particularly as interpreted by Miller (1965), also encouraged conceptualization of the family as a social system. By this approach families are social organizations that seek to attain collective goals. Fundamental to movement toward problem solving is maintenance of order. Hence, the primary family problem is solidarity or the ability to reduce conflict and effectively coordinate relationships between members and between subsystems so as to obtain environmental resources and maintain the system as a whole (Parsons and Bales, 1955). In general, the social system approach stresses social structure and interdependency to a greater extent than does the ordinal approach.

Two sets of questions guided this research. First, do four-person, stable middle-class urban families differ in the amounts of conflict they experience, and if so, what family types have the most and least conflict? Why? Second, do family subsystems differ in the amounts of conflict they experience, and if so, what subsystems have the most and least conflict? Why?

Bases of Family Conflict. The importance of primary groups for maintaining social control and group solidarity and reducing conflict has been a central theme in Janowitz' work. In one of his earliest publications (Shils and Janowitz, 1948), he and Shils showed that the capacity of the soldier's primary group to resist social disintegration was the key to understanding behavior of the German army in World War II.

Solidarity or integration refers to shared interests and standards while conflict, which stems from the Latin term conflictus, "a striking together", and confligere, "to strike together", means to fight, contend, battle, clash, to be antagonistic, or to be in opposition as a result of contending interests. Solidarity and conflict are two sides of a single phenomenon. As Simmel (1955)

noted: "Relations of conflict do not by themselves produce a social structure, but only in cooperation with unifying forces. Only both together constitute the group as a concrete, living unit. In this respect, conflict thus is hardly different from any other form of relation which sociology abstracts out of the complexity of actual life." (p. 20-21). Families may be seen as small political decision-making units constantly compelled to resolve issues of solidarity and conflict among their members (Coser, 1956). They must preserve their boundaries, maintain integrity as a unit, produce "goods" (such as meals) and services for their members, maintain their longterm existence, and care for their members' health and wellbeing.

A basic feature of families is its division into two subsystems, parents and children, a division based on power, status, and authority, and one that functions to maintain parental superiority on these attributes. Age and sex are important additional axes of differentiation. These axes when combined create family types and social roles. There are four types of four-person families: older son-younger daughter; older daughter-younger son; two sons; and two daughters. Family age and sex composition, in turn, determines social role and pair relationships. Each family consists of a father, mother, older and younger child, and these persons can engage in six possible dyadic relationships: father-mother; father-older child, father-younger child; mother-older child; mother-younger child; and older child-younger child.

The spousal subsystem is responsible for obtaining resources from the environment, system management, and resource allocation. The sibling subsystem is responsible for innovation and (with parents) resource consumption. Effective linkages of the two subsystems depend heavily on family norms which affect and are affected by age and sex differentiation.

In order to enhance stability, traditional families develop
norms that limit conflict in certain subsystems. Since the spousal
subsystem is the most important one for family survival, conflict
is least likely to be tolerated here. The next most important set
of relationships are those between parents and children. Since the
sibling subsystem consists of persons with the least amount of power,
the greatest amount of conflict is tolerated within it. Family
solidarity is least threatened when children fight among themselves.
Child/parent encounters arouse somewhat greater concern, while fights
between parents are by far the most dangerous to the system as a whole.

Family stability is also influenced by parental (and child) selection
of conflict targets. Two major patterns are possible. Most typical
is the situation where the focus of parent-child conflict is differ-
entiated. The father argues a great deal with one child while the
mother argues often with the other one. This pattern promotes family
solidarity by diffusing hostility. In the second more problematic pattern,
both parents engage in high levels of conflict with the same child (the family
"scapegoat").

Family Age and Sex Composition. Family age and sex composition (or
family type) affect spousal, parent-child, and sibling conflict by in-
fluencing the nature of the family's internal problems and its adaptation
to its environment. Middle class stable urban families experience two
main problems, keeping the father and keeping the older child fully
involved and committed to family life. The father is pulled away
by career and occupational commitments. These are especially strong
when he is in mid-life and his children are pre-adolescents or adolescents,
since by then he has achieved a responsible organizational position.
The older child is drawn outside by the culturally-defined need to
develop autonomy, by pressure from peers, and eventually by a desire
to form an independent nuclear family. The "resolution" by the family
of both the father's and the older child's external orientation is
affected by its age and sex composition.

There is a substantial literature showing that parents prefer
sons over daughters and younger sons over older ones (Arnold et. al.,
1975; L.C. Coombs, 1975 and 1977; C.H. Coombs et. al., 1977; and
Freedman, Freedman, and Whelpton, 1960)[1]. Williamson (1978) summarized the
results of a 1975 national sample survey on sex preferences for children, as
follows: "Respondents wanted one of each sex but basically preferred males.
Twice as many women preferred boys as did girls. The husbands preferred boys
over girls by as much as three or four to one. When the women were asked why
the wanted a boy, the most common reasons were: to please their husbands,
to carry on the family name, and to provide a companion for the husband. Girls
were desired as companions for the mother, because it was fun to dress them
amd fuss with their hair, because they would be more like the mother,
because they were easier to raise and were more obedient, because they
could do housework and care for other children, and because they were cuter,
sweeter, and not as mean as boys." This suggests that spousal
satisfaction is greatest and spousal conflict is lowest when a two-
child family has a younger son. Older male children are more likely
than older female children to participate in parent-child conflict
since they receive greater encouragement to achieve (Douvan and Adelson,
1966), are generally permitted greater leeway, and are less likely
to be assigned household tasks. Parent-child relationships with
younger children will differ according to the child's sex. Parental
relationships with younger male children are more likely than those
with female children to involve physically aggressive acts. Not only
are boys more aggressive than girls (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974), but
there is a strong normative proscription against hitting girls. It

is generally considered more appropriate for parents to spank younger than older children who get out of line.

There is a considerable range of evidence that suggests that girls outdo boys in the early grades in verbal skills (Maccoby, 1966; Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974; Duberman, 1975). Although by ten boys tend to equal girls in most verbal skills, girls retain their superiority in spelling and grammar on into adolescence. Because younger (pre-adolescent) girls have developed their verbal skills earlier, parental relationships with younger female children are more likely than those with younger male children to involve verbal disagreements rather than physically aggressive acts.

Older daughter/younger son and older son/younger daughter families have balanced sex ratios while two girls and two boy families have skewed ratios (Kanter, 1977). Families with skewed sex ratios have more parent-child and more sibling conflict than families with balanced sex ratios. There is more parent-child conflict because there is greater competition between same-sex children than between those of different sex for the affection and resources of both parents, but especially the parent of the opposite sex. There is greater sibling conflict between same-sex children than children of different sex because the latter find it easier than the former to differentiate themselves from one another. The girl with a brother is more likely to devote time to her physical attractiveness, while her brother will be culturally encouraged to excel in sports. Competition between two girls or two boys is greater than competition between a boy and a girl. More clearly defined sex roles emerge earlier in families with balanced sex ratios than in those that are skewed.

The high level of sibling and parent-child conflict in skewed sex ratio families impacts differently on the two boy and two girl spousal subsystems. Sibling and parent-child conflict enhance the father's role in the two boy family and thereby strengthens his interest in family activities. When two boys argue both parents expect the father to intervene, since the father is the main family role model. Fathers are expected to have greater understanding of and contact with boys than girls. The father receives gratification from this increased participation in family matters. The mother also is gratified by it. Enhanced involvement with the children by the father leads to positive spousal relations. Hence, sibling and parent-child conflict actually strengthen the parental bond in two boy families.

The situation differs in the two girl family. Although the two girls frequently disagree with one another and even come to blows quite often, both parents do not expect the father to become involved in these disputes, at least not as often as the mother is involved (and not as often as the father is involved in the two boy family). The girls and the mother feel they have a great deal in common with one another (and the father feels he has little in common with all three), since the mother is the dominant parental role model. In brief, two girl families fail to solve the problem of the father's participation in family life and consequently spousal conflict is greater in two girl than two boy families.

Two girl families and older son/younger daughter families share the problems associated with having a younger daughter. We noted that parents prefer sons and especially younger rather than older sons. Parents in older son/younger daughter families experience a great deal of conflict with their older son because of his powerful autonomy needs and peer involvements. Although this conflict may enhance their relationship with their younger daughter, since by contrast she is the more compliant child and the one more committed to the family, it

nevertheless engenders spousal conflict, since the problem of the father's participation in family matters remains unresolved. The two girl family likewise experiences a high level of spousal conflict, although for different reasons. Parents in the two girl family are particularly disappointed when their second (and presumably last) child is female, since she represents their final chance to have the boy they both coveted. As a consequence, the younger daughter in the two girl family is typically involved in frequent conflict with both parents, a pattern found in no other family constellation. Parental dissatisfaction at not having a boy also produces high levels of spousal conflict, with the overt basis of conflict focusing on the father's lack of participation in family affairs. Thus, families with a younger female child experience more spousal conflict than those with a younger male child.

Specific Hypotheses. Emphasis on the systemic effects of conflict and the threat of conflict on spousal, parent-child, and sibling relationships, particularly those created by family age and sex composition, life cycle, and division of labor, produced six specific hypotheses, each of which is developed below. First, the hypothesis is stated and then it is discussed.

Hypothesis 1. Conflict between parents will be least frequent; parent-child conflict will be of intermediate frequency; and sibling conflict will be most frequent.

The bond between parents is central to family survival and is more important for system maintenance than the parent-child or sibling bond. The family system can be maintained only if spousal conflict

can be regulated.[2] Families try to maintain solidarity by developing norms that limit conflict. The greater the threat conflict poses to family survival, the more likely it will be normatively discouraged. Since sibling conflict is least threatening, it should occur more often than either parent-child or spousal conflict. An alternative explanation might be called the "uncontrolled id" hypothesis. Children engage in more conflict than adults because they are less completely socialized. Hence, sibling conflict is most frequent, parent-child conflict is next, and adult conflict is least frequent. Of course, this psychologistic explanation cannot explain variations between and within families of differing composition.

Hypothesis 2. Older male children will engage in more parent-child conflict than older female children.

Older male children engage in more conflict than older female children because they are less involved in family life and are more competitively oriented. Both the male and female adolescent are marginal in that they no longer belong to the world of the child and are not yet completely acceptable as adults. Although the female older child is assigned parental-like duties and is more integrated into the parental coalition than her male counterpart, she still feels more comfortable with her peers. The male older child is less likely than the female to be given parent surrogate tasks vis-a-vis the younger child, since babysitting, house-cleaning, and similar activities are still culturally defined as more closely associated with the

female role.[3] Dunn and Kendrick (1977) reported that older sisters
in their sample "continually" mothered their infant sibling. The
lack of assignment of tasks of this type makes it more difficult
for the male older child to be consistently integrated into the family
parental structure. While the mother has domestic skills (child-
rearing, sewing, house-cleaning, etc.) she can pass on to her older
daughter, the father is without equivalent technical skills that are
transmittable to his son. As a result the father feels more comfor-
table with the younger child. The male older child is without a
central function in the family and therefore turns to his peer group
for support. He feels that tasks assigned him by his parents are
without value and consequently he often performs them in a manner
his parents perceive to be unsuitable. Male firstborns are also
more likely than female firstborns to be achievement oriented.
(Maccoby, 1966; Rosenfeld, 1966; Berger and Ivancevitch, 1973;
Breland, 1974, Falbo, in press). They are highly competitive strivers.
Moreover, they are more likely to be encouraged by their parents to
become autonomous (Maccoby, 1966; Douvan and Adelson, 1966).[4]

Hypothesis 3. Parent-child relationships with younger children
will differ according to the child's sex.

a.) Parental relationships with younger male children are
more likely than those with younger female children to involve
physically aggressive acts.

b.) Parental relationships with younger female children are
more likely than those with younger male children to involve verbal disputes.

Numerous studies and reviews of research, such as Maccoby (1966),
Maccoby and Jacklin (1974), and Weitz (1977), have shown boys to be
both more active and aggressive than girls. Moreover, there is a
strong normative proscription against hitting females. The greater
activity and aggressiveness and the weaker normative proscriptions
combine to produce greater participation by boys than girls in
physically aggressive acts.

Although male children are more likely than females to be in-
volved in physically aggressive acts with parents, older male children,
since they are stronger and more developed physically, are riskier
parental targets. In addition, physical punishment of younger children
by parents is tolerated and even encouraged to a greater extent than is
the case for older children. It is more legitimate for a parent to
spank a younger child who gets out of line than an older one. At
the same time, there is a strong normative proscription against hitting
females. Therefore, parental relationships with younger male children
are more likely than those with younger female children to involve
physically aggressive acts.

Maccoby (1966) and Duberman (1975) have summarized research
showing that girls excel in the early grades in most verbal skills.
They are more articulate, speak more frequently, and read easier and
more often than boys, although by ten years of age boys tend to equal
girls in most of these areas, but not in spelling and grammar.
Because pre-adolescent girls possess superior verbal skills they
are more likely than boys of the same age to be involved in verbal
disputes with their parents. Although the fight styles of male and

female adults may be interchangeable, as Bach and Wyden (1969) claim, this is not the case for pre-adolescents. Younger girls are more likely than younger boys to argue with their parents.

Hypothesis 4. *Families with skewed sex ratios will have more parent-child and sibling conflict than families with balanced sex ratios.*

The four family composition types differ in sex ratio. The older daughter/younger son and older son/younger daughter families have balanced sex ratios while the two girl and two boy families are unbalanced with three of one sex and one of the other. The latter have been labelled "skewed sex ratios" by Kanter (1977), who studied the lone woman in a male-dominated work organization. She distinguished between dominants and tokens and suggested that: (1.) tokens are more visible than dominants; (2.) differences between dominants and tokens tend to be polarized; and (3.) tokens' attributes tend to be "distorted to fit preexisting generalizations about their social type." We argue that skewed sex ratios promote conflict in that the more similar children are to one another in a family, the more likely they will compete for limited family resources. This results in increased conflict between siblings as each tries to obtain a greater portion of the resources allocated to the children.

It also results in increased parent-child conflict as children strive to increase their share of resources that are in high demand. Family members conflict over who should be obligated to perform sex-typed tasks, such as dishwashing or yard care. Finally, in skewed sex-ratio families one of the parents becomes the token sex-role occupant.

The visibility of this parent is heightened as is the competition among the other family members (the other parent and the same sex children) for the non-token parent's attention (Toman, 1976). Lamb, Chase, Lansdale, and Owen (1977: 269) conclude that at a very early age parents "encourage their children to pay special attention to the same-sex parent . . . this facilitates the acquisition of gender-appropriate behavior." The increased competition between siblings in skewed sex ratio families increases tension in parent-child encounters.

Hypothesis 5. *Two girl families will have more spousal conflict than two boy families.*

Although two boy and two girl families both experience high levels of conflict, their dynamics differ. Conflict leads to high spousal solidarity in the former but not in the latter type. Fighting between the boys actually increases the father's (and the older son's) family participation and involvement. When the boys bicker and hit one another, the mother turns to the father for help in dealing with them. The boys also look up to their father and their interests (e.g. sports) tend to correspond with his. The younger boy also admires his older brother and serving as role model strengthens the older son's link to the family. The father finds his enhanced family participation gratifying, and this contributes to his relationship with the family as a whole, and with his wife, in particular. The mother enjoys enhanced family visibility, greater competition for her attention, and the father's increased participation and commitment to family affairs.

In contrast, the two girl family fails to solve the problem of the father's family involvement. The two girls argue a great deal and even hit one another quite often, but the mother tends to resolve these disputes herself. Also, her culturally-defined interests and values (e.g. in clothes, personal appearance, etc.) are more likely to parallel those of her daughters. Although the father experiences visibility and greater competition for his attention, they provide weak rewards since they come from children of dispreferred sex.

Hypothesis 6. Families with a younger female child will have more spousal conflict than families with a younger male child.

Numerous studies, cited earlier, demonstrate parental preference for male children. Male and especially young male children encourage greater participation by fathers in family life. Parents in older daughter/younger son families may be especially pleased to have a son after a firstborn daughter. Failure to have a son first enhances the value of the male secondborn child. The younger son in older daughter/younger son families has an unusually benign relationship both with his parents and his sibling. Two boy families not only "solve" the problem of father involvement in family activities by necessitating that he monitor their disputes, but also keep the older son involved through his service as role model to the younger child. The more involved the father is in family life, the more satisfactory is the spousal relationship.

Finally, the two girl family produces special problems for the younger female child. Unlike any other family composition, the younger daughter in the two girl family argues a great deal with both parents and does so much more than her older sister. The contrast is especially strong between her situation and that of her counterpart in the older son/younger daughter family where the girl has remarkably warm relations with her father (even though she argues quite a bit with her mother). The high conflict levels with both parents suggest that the younger daughter in the two girl family is the family scapegoat. It may be that parents are so disappointed in not having a boy after two attempts that they not only fight one another a great deal, but also take out their displeasure on the youngest and most vulnerable child.[5]

METHODS

Forty-eight whole families of middle or upper-middle socio-economic status, each with two parents and two children, were studied. The sample consisted of equal numbers of the four types of family composition: older son/younger daughter; older daughter/younger son; two girls; two boys. Childrens' ages ranged from 8-12 (younger) and 12-16 (older). The average gap was 2.5 years. Two schools were contacted, one private elementary school, and one public junior high school, in order to select families with appropriate characteristics. Questionnaires were distributed to all students in every classroom with appropriate-aged children, over 1,500 students in all, which enabled us to obtain the family's home address, telephone number, socioeconomic status, occupation of parents, and family composition. Once the study families were selected, a letter requesting partici-pation was sent. We also called each family. We wrote and telephoned 88 families with these results: 48 completed interviews and 30 refusals (10 families were ineligible due to divorce or separation).[6] Sixty-three percent of the female older child families, 46% of the male older child families, 67% of two girl families, and 80% of two boy families participated. The overall participation rate was 61.5%. The interviews, which were tape-recorded, took place mainly in the evening and on weekends so that the entire family could join in. Family members were interviewed individually and collectively. Families were paid twenty dollars for their participation.

Table 1 displays the social characteristics of the sample families. The four family types were generally quite homogeneous. Although not dis-played in Table 1, mothers were employed outside the home in about half

Table 1 about here

the families of each type. Fathers averaged about 42 years of age while mothers were 39. The mean age of the older child was 13 and that of the younger about 10.6. Parents were married an average of 16 years. Only two parents (both males) had ever been married before. Neither had children by their previous marriages. Fathers typically held a college degree while mothers had some college. Average family income was $45,000.

A series of one-way analyses of variance showed that the four types of families were similar with respect to the background character-istics listed in Table 1. The only significant difference ($p < .05$) was with respect to father's age. For some reason, fathers in older daughter/younger son families were especially young. This general lack of differences between the four types increased our confidence that the effects found were due to family composition.

Arguments Index. Each family member was asked a set of questions about each of the six possible dyadic arguments in the family: father versus mother; father versus older child; father versus younger child; mother versus older child; mother versus younger child; and older child versus younger child. Small dolls were used to represent each family member. These helped make clear, particularly to children, precisely with whom each argument took place. Family members were asked to recall the last important argument involving each two-person set of family members, what it was about, what the other two non-involved family members did during the argument, how the argument ended, and how often arguments between these two parties take place.

Respondents were asked to characterize each dyad as one where arguments took place either rarely or often. An arguing dyad was defined as one in which arguments between the two parties were reported as prevalent. Of those classified as arguing dyads, 87.4% were described

as arguing "often," 1.7% as arguing "frequently," "semi-often," or
"fairly often," and 10.9% as arguing "in-between rarely and often".
This was in contrast to non-arguing dyads which were typically described
as arguing "rarely". Only a small number of respondents avoided the
"rarely" or "often" alternatives that were presented. Each dyad re-
ceived a score ranging from 0 to 4 depending on how many family members
independently described that dyad as one where arguments occurred
frequently.

Physical Aggression Index. Physical aggression refers to any act
inflicting physical hurt on another person. In a series of questions
near the close of the interview each family member was asked when
he/she last struck or was struck by another family member. Children
were asked when they were last hit by their parents and/or sibling
and parents were asked when they last struck their children and/or
one another. Very little time was spent exploring the specifics of
each incident and hence the quality of these data left something to
be desired, particularly when compared to the arguments index. The
definition of a physically aggressive act is often ambiguous and un-
certain. In addition to the ambiguity, there is a stigma associated
with being struck by one's parents which may have discouraged children
from admitting that they had been physically punished and parents
from admitting that they had used this discipline method. In all
four parent-child dyads (father-older child, father-younger child,
mother-older child, and mother-younger child) the parent reported
considerably more physically aggressive acts than did the child.

Unlike the arguments index, where every family member was asked
about all six dyads, each family member was asked only about physically
aggressive acts that took place in dyads in which he or she participated.
For example, mothers were asked about aggressive acts between them-
selves and their spouse, their older child, and their younger child,
but not about aggressive acts involving the father/older child, father/
younger child, or the sibling. It was assumed a respondent would be
best informed about physically aggressive acts involving himself or
herself. Each dyad received a score ranging from 0-2 depending on
how many members of the dyad reported a physically aggressive act.
A zero was assigned if neither member reported a physically aggressive
act, one if one member so reported, and two if both members reported
such an act.[7]

FINDINGS

The Content of Arguments. The arguments index measured disputes that family members reported took place frequently. The disputants fought over a variety of subjects. A major theme of parent-child arguments concerned the issue of responsibility. Parents tended to be critical of their children's moral accountability or reliability, feeling generally that they were not as answerable for their conduct as they should be. For example, fathers felt that their older child was not taking medicine as instructed, not handling homework assignments, forgetting about chores, or overeating sweets. Similarly, mothers felt that their older child was acting irresponsibly by not keeping their room clean, teasing the younger child, forgetting things like their keys, or not doing their assigned chores. Many mother-younger child arguments reflected the same theme. The content of arguments between the parents and between the siblings was quite different. There were only a few families where parents reportedly argued often with one another. In one case the wife was irritated with the husband's failure to accomplish household tasks quickly and in another the husband was critical of her work performance in the law office they shared. Arguments between children reflected their continual competition for jointly-used resources. Several disputes concerned television (what programs to watch, bothering the one who is watching, etc.) and most of the remainder dealt with the other shared resources and tasks--who sits in the front seat of the car, who washes and who dries the dishes, access to the

telephone, and the like.

Statistical Analysis. A two-way analysis of variance with family type and dyad type as the two factors was performed on the arguments and physical aggression data. The six dyad scores for each family were treated as repeated measurements (Winer, 1962). First, as Table 2 shows, there was a significant difference between the four family types in rate of arguing (p < .01). Second, it was found that there was a significant difference among dyad types in rate of arguing (p < .01). Third, there was a significant interaction between dyad type and family type (p < .05).

Tables 2 and 3 about here

Although different in certain respects, a roughly comparable set of findings were revealed using the physical aggression index. These are shown in Table 3. A significant difference was found between family types on rate of physical aggression (p < .01). Also, dyad types were significantly different in level of physical aggression. A significant interaction was found between dyad type and family type (p < .05).

The six specific hypotheses and their subhypotheses were tested using planned comparisons among the rows, columns, and cells of Tables 2 and 3 (Keppel, 1973, pp. 433-55). Although not necessarily orthogonal, these were the comparisons of theoretical interest.

H1 – <u>Conflict between parents will be the least frequent; parent-child conflict will be of intermediate frequency; and sibling conflict will be most frequent</u>.

Conflict can involve either arguments (Table 2) or physical aggression (Table 3). The patterns among the column means of Tables 2 and 3 were as predicted. Looking at arguments first, the mean parental rate was .771, the mean for the four parent-child dyads was 1.505, and the mean rate for siblings was 2.369. The differences between the parental rate and the parent-child rates and between the parent-child and sibling rates were both significant ($F_{1,44}$ = 34.016 and $F_{1,44}$ = 21.450 respectively, p < .001). For physical aggression the mean parental rate was .500, the mean of the parent-child rates was 1.088, and the mean sibling rate was 1.770. The parent vs. parent-child ($F_{1,44}$ = 18.239, p < .001) and parent-child vs. sibling ($F_{1,44}$ = 68.170, p < .001) comparisons were both highly significant.

H2 – <u>Older male children will engage in more parent-child conflict than older female children</u>.

Specifically, older male children were hypothesized to be involved in more arguments and physical aggression with both parents than older female children. This involved comparisons within columns two and four of Tables 2 and 3. Two boy and older son/younger daughter families were contrasted with older daughter/younger son and two girl families. The mean arguing rate between parents and older female

children was 1.208, while the mean arguing rate between parents and older male children was 1.854. The difference was statistically significant ($F_{1,44}$ = 6.418, p < .05). The pattern was similar with respect to physical aggression, but the difference between male and female older children was not statistically significant. The mean rate for female older children was .979 and for male older children 1.229 ($F_{1,44}$ = 3.158, p < .10).

H3 – <u>Parent-child relationships with younger children will differ according to the child's sex</u>.
a.) <u>Parental relationships with younger male children are more likely than those with younger female children to involve physically aggressive acts</u>.

The mean rate of parent-child physical aggression in Table 3 was 1.260 for males and .917 for females. In order to make use of all the relevant data in Table 3, we organized it into a two by two classification of families according to the sex of the older and younger children. A new dependent variable, parental aggression with the older child minus parental aggression with the younger child, was computed. If sex had an effect, then this difference should be greater when the older child was male and the younger child was female. Both effects were found and both effects were significant. For the sex of the older child, $F_{1,44}$ = 4.749, p < .05, and for the sex of the younger child, $F_{1,44}$ = 13.191, p < .001. There was no significant interaction.

b.) Parental relationships with younger female children are more likely than those with younger male children to involve verbal disputes.

The mean rate of arguments for younger female children was 1.75 and for younger male children was 1.208 (See Table 3). This difference was significant, $F_{1,44} = 6.745$, p < .05.

H4 - Families with skewed sex ratios will have more parent-child and more sibling conflict than families with balanced sex ratios.

This hypothesis involved comparisons between the older son/ younger daughter and the older daughter/younger son families, on the one hand, and the two boy and two girl families, on the other, excluding the first and last columns of Tables 2 and 3. First, with regard to parent-child conflict, both comparisons were supported. The mean argument rate in non-parental dyads for two boy and two girls families was 1.992, while among older male/younger female and older female/younger male it was 1.375 ($F_{1,44} = 13.812$, p < .001). For physical aggression the two rates were 1.542 and .908 ($F_{1,44} = 34.383$, p < .001).

The second part of the hypothesis, which concerned sibling conflict, involved comparisons within the last columns of Tables 2 and 3. Both comparisons were in the right direction and were significant. The mean rate of arguing in the two types of same-sex dyads was 2.958 and in the two types of opposite sex dyads 1.833 ($F_{1,44} = 10.741$, p < .01). For physical aggression the two rates were 1.917 and 1.625 ($F_{1,44} = 4.536$, p < .05).

H5 - There is more spousal conflict in two girl than in two boy families.

As can be seen from the first columns of Tables 2 and 3, both comparisons were in the right direction, but neither was statistically significant.

H6 - Families with a younger female child will have more spousal conflict than families with a younger male child.

Both of these comparisons, with respect to arguments and physical aggression, showed the expected differences, but neither was statistically significant.

Table 4 provides a summary of the main findings. Sixteen tests were conducted

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Table 4 about here

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on the nine specific hypotheses (six hypotheses plus three additional subhypotheses). Eleven of these were statistically significant, and five were in the predicted direction, but not statistically significant. The weakest support was found for those hypotheses dealing with spousal conflict (for example, Hypotheses #5, and #6) while the strongest support concerned parent-child and sibling conflict.

DISCUSSION

In addition to other methodological limitations, the study findings were based on a single family encounter.[8] We know little about their stability over time. Nevertheless, as anticipated, families did differ in conflict depending on their age and sex composition, and family subsystems (spousal, parent-child, and sibling) experienced different levels of conflict.

Older daughter/younger son families revealed a pattern of limited family conflict. The parental bond was stronger than in the older son/younger daughter families presumably because (1.) an older female child is more easily controlled by the family and has weaker needs for autonomy than an older male child, and (2.) a younger male child (following an older female child) enhances the father's family interest and involvement more than does a younger female child (following an older male child). A major problem in traditional urban middle class families is inducing the father to maintain a strong family commitment since mid-life males have established strong work commitment patterns. The younger son in the older daughter/younger son family experiences an especially benign relationship with the other family members. This is illustrated by the following exchange between the mother and the interviewer, where she compares her older daughter, Jean, and her younger son, Robert (Case #22). Note that she describes Jean as "the more difficult child" and Robert as "more compliant", cuddly, and the one most likely to be mothered. This case also supports the claim that the older daughter is assigned parental-like tasks.

Mother	Robert and I --Robert and I have a much softer, easier um, relationship. He, uh, he tries to please me more. Jean will--will confront me, she will argue with me. She--she has been of the two the more difficult child.
Interviewer	How does Robert get along by and large with, uh, with Dick (Husband)? Easily and smoothly?
Mother	Uhhhh, yeeeessss, he seems to be the more compliant of the two children. He also gets along with his sister very nicely. He sort of cuddles up to everybody.
Interviewer	Yes. Hmmm.
	((slight pause))
Mother	At least that's the way I--I--I view him.
Interviewer	Yeah. They also seem to get along with each other pretty well.
Mother	Remarkably well. They are--if you look and ask me for when they've argued, fought, or hit each other, I would have a very hard time. Um, Jean has seen that the key to success is to mother Robert because she views me as I mother Robert, so ((laughs slightly)) she mothers Robert. Everybody mothers Robert. You know, if there ever was a kid that was _totally_ taken care of, it's my son.

Older son/younger daughter families must deal with a recalcitrant older son, whose impact is expressed in several ways. Both parents argue more and physically aggress more with their older son than parents in mixed-sex families did with their older daughter. Also, the parents fight among themselves more than parents in older daughter/younger son families, presumably, in many cases, over the independent activities of the older child. Likewise the children fight more. The strong resistance of the older son to his father's authority and the gender of the younger child combine to weaken the father's involvement in family life. The older boy, because of the male adolescent's prototypical need for autonomy, is viewed by the father as argumentative and hence is seen as unattractive. In addition, he has few interests in common with his

younger daughter as she naturally models herself after her mother.
Hence, the father is unable to form a close attachment with either
child. The consequence for the family is comparatively high spousal
and parent-child conflict.

Like the older son/younger daughter families, those with two
girls were low on spousal solidarity, but for different reasons. They
revealed pronounced sibling conflict and an especially troublesome
situation for the younger child.

Shakespeare's The Taming of the Shrew concerned the family of
a rich merchant of Padua, Baptista Minola, who had two daughters,
Kate, the older, and Bianca, the younger. Kate was depicted as the
brawling, scolding woman--the shrew. Is the older girl in a two-
girl family typically a termagant? The greatest amount of arguing
and physical aggression in two girl families took place among siblings.
Only the two boy families had a higher rate of sibling conflict.
Spousal arguing and physical aggression was greater in these families
than in any other type. However, it was the younger child's and not
the older one's relations with both her parents that were the particular
focus of conflict. In the other family types the focus of parent-
child conflict was differentiated, the father argued more frequently
with one child, while the mother argued more frequently with the other.
A pattern of this kind diffuses hostility and enables the child to
form particularly close bonds with at least one parent. However,
in the two girl family, both parents engaged in more conflict with
the younger child; she became the family scapegoat.

Although the younger and not the older daughter was the main
family problem, Shakespeare was not entirely off track. Comparison of
the older daughter in the older daughter/younger son family with her

counterpart in the two girl family showed that the latter argued
more and engaged in more physically aggressive acts with both parents
than did the former. In general, two girl families also failed to keep
the father involved in family life, since the two daughters naturally
gravitated toward the mother and the mother toward them.

Families with two boys revealed strong spousal solidarity, in
part because of the high level of sibling conflict in these families.
The two boys compete and fight a great deal and the father was expected
to deal with their constant disputes and activities. The father
argued especially with his older son, although he was involved in
more physically aggressive acts with his younger son. Physical punishment was
viewed as more appropriate for the younger than the older child (and it may
have been safer as well.) The mother engaged in more arguments and more
physically aggressive acts with the younger than the older child. The
father was not alone in serving as a role model in two-boy families.
The older son did as well. Thus, the older son's conflict relation-
ship with his brother not only helped bring the father closer to the
family, but also bound the older son closer to the family. The
result was low spousal but high parent-child and sibling conflict.
These findings were consistent with those of Pepitone and Reichling
(1955), who found that High Cohesive groups were able to express more
hostility than Low Cohesive groups. They also found that the hostility
expressed by High Cohesive groups was more direct than that expressed
by Low Cohesive groups.

Having established that family types and family subsystems differ significantly in conflict level, it would be most helpful to an understanding of conflict dynamics to examine closely patterns of attractiveness among family members and their regular patterns of interaction. Family attractiveness patterns are difficult to ascertain, since there are strong norms that insist parents must love their children equally and not show favoritism. We expect that these norms are regularly violated even as they remain strong in the culture and stoutly defended. Homans (1974) has shown that interaction varies with liking, but we expect this will most often hold true when interaction can be easily controlled. Interaction rates among family members tend to be quite high, since they are less manipulable in the nuclear family than in other settings.

In summary, traditional middle class urban married couples with two children must resolve the problems of maintaining the participation in family life of the father and the older child. Age and sex composition significantly affect the family's ability to resolve these issues. Support for four major hypotheses was demonstrated. First, conflict varies by family subsystem. Children fight most often, parent-child conflict is intermediate and spouses fight least often. Second, male older children engage in more parent-child conflict than female older children. Third, parental relationships with younger male children are more likely than those with younger female children to involve physically aggressive acts, while parental relationships with younger female children are more likely than those with younger male children to involve verbal disputes. Fourth, and finally, parent-child and sibling conflict varies by family type. Skewed sex ratio families experience more parent-child and sibling conflict than families with balanced sex ratios.

CONCLUSIONS

Among the more interesting features of the "Dear Abby" letters with which we introduced this paper was the apparent inconsistency of claims and the tendency of letter writers to feel strongly that their own ordinal position was the best or the worst possible one. "Lucky in New Castle" felt being youngest was best, while "53 and trapped" felt being youngest was the worst situation. "Ricky in Kansas City" felt being oldest was hardest, while "Gypped in Joplin" felt the oldest child gained the most. Why such divergent views? Perhaps the main reason is that few people gain intimate access to other than their own nuclear family. Families are peculiarly private preserves, so one's view of family life tends to be derived from quite limited personal experience. Moreover, social scientists' perspectives have been severely impeded by the difficulty of studying whole families. Survey studies are rarely able to control adequately for essential variables, such as length of marriage, socio-economic status, and sex, age, and age gap of children (For example, see Douvan and Adelson, 1966). It is much easier to hand out large numbers of questionnaires or to conduct experiments in the laboratory than to study whole families in their place of residence. At every stage in the research process-- selection of the sample, obtaining consent, data collection, instrumentation, coding, and data analysis--the investigator studying whole families confronts complications. Furstenburg's (1980) study of the impact of early childbearing on the family is illustrative. It called for interviews of twenty whole families in the Child Guidance Clinic, but even that "modest" goal could not be accomplished. Furstenburg noted:

"It is easier in theory than in practice to study entire families. Even though the families were paid fifty dollars for their participation in the study, it was exceedingly difficult, during two months of fieldwork, to fill our quota of ten black, five white, and five Hispanic families, ten in prenatal situations and ten in postpartum situations. We avoided drawing our sample from the clinic's population, fearing that our results would be biased if families were selected exclusively from this single source. Therefore, in hopes of recruiting participants, we contacted a number of local agencies that provided services to adolescent parents. In the end, we felt extremely lucky and overworked to have interviewed 15 families (nine black, three white and three Hispanic) by the end of the fieldwork period." (pp. 67-68).

When whole families have been studied intensively, as for example by Henry (1965), only a small number could be examined and the emphasis was on psychodynamic factors. As a result, each family's unique set of psychological or psycho-cultural characteristics dominated the analysis. Families are, of course, much more than the ordinal positions and the particular psychological characteristics of their members. They are, in addition, interdependent sets of delicately balanced social relationships. The close study of these complex and fascinating sets promises to shed new light on family bonds, conflict, and child behavior.

Our conclusions about family conflict may be summarized in the form of three general principles:

(1.) Family conflict is systemic. Since conflict's effects ramify beyond those persons who actually experience a particular conflict episode, it is useful, if not essential, to study the entire interacting family unit rather than the individual. If we wish to understand the relations between two family members we must also consider the other family members.

(2.) Family conflict is socially regulated. Although individuals engage in conflictual acts, they are constrained by positions, roles, social structures, networks, and other highly institutionalized arrangements. Conflict variations are shaped by family procedures, incentive systems, and formal and informal arrangements, which are, in turn, shaped by societal and community roles and norms. In every society age and sex differences constitute basic elements in a person's life and destiny. Therefore, it is not surprising that these features play a crucial part in structuring interpersonal family conflict and solidarity.

(3.) Family conflict is transactive. Family conflict is not a uni-directional process. It is multi-directional, dynamic, and based on personal, social, and systemic features of family members as they interact with one another in day-to-day encounters. Thus, conflict episodes are routinely subject to competing interpretations and conflicting assessments.

FOOTNOTES

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1. The Coombs studies were based on national surveys done in the mid-70's. They concluded that preference for sons is still "quite pervasive in the American culture. . ." Williamson (1978) provides a useful review of the extensive demographic literature on sex preference. She points out that most large surveys on sex preferences interviewed only wives and this method probably underestimated boy preference. Preference for sons over daughters among Armenians in the early 1900's even extended to favoring them with food when supplies were scarce. Arshile Gorky's younger sister described her family's evacuation following the Turkish siege of the city of Van in 1914, as follows: "We marched along the east end of Lake Van, a very mountainous area . . . We walked day and night with little rest. We had no food to speak of. If mother found anything she would give it to Gorky because you take more care of a boy than girls and he was the only boy and he was very thin. My mother always worried about him. He was her favorite. Even when we kept fasts in Van, mother would give him food." (Mooradian, 1971:10).

2. In another study (Bonacich, Grusky, and Peyrot, 1980) we found that parents were more supportive of each other in disagreements with the older child than in disagreements with the younger child. The weaker support for the older child served better to maintain the two-position status system since the more powerful older child constitutes more of a threat to this system than the younger child.

3. Our data provided some support for the role-differentiation hypothesis. Each family member was asked to report how they spent their time on the Saturday prior to the interview. The time that both children spent alone with one another was calculated for each family by averaging the two children's reports. This figure was taken as an index of the older child's functioning in the capacity of parent surrogate or child caretaker. As expected, older daughters averaged twice as much time with their younger siblings than did older sons (2.2 hours versus 1.1 hours). Family members were also asked to report when they last engaged in a number of selected activities, one of which was shopping with another family member. Shopping is one example of domestic activity which is associated with parental role functioning. Female older children more often reported having gone shopping and indicated, on the average, that they had done so more recently than male older children.

4. Friedenberg (1959:13) claims that conflict is a crucial element in adolescent development: "Adolescent conflict is the instrument by which an individual learns the complex, subtle, and precious difference between himself and his environment."

5. Douvan and Adelson (1966:200) write: "Apparently the second girl in families that are limited to two children feels the weight of whatever traditional feelings and disappointed hopes the parents may have had about a son."

6. In fact, we entered the homes of 50 four-person families. In one case the interview had to be terminated because the father decided after a while that he did not want us to talk privately to his children.

In another case, also an older son/younger daughter family, we learned that there had been three children, but the oldest male (then 19) had been killed in a motorcycle accident a year ago. The family was ineligible since the older boy had been the middle child for the first twelve years of his life.

7. We examined the relationship between arguments and physically aggressive acts for each dyad and found a modest correlation (N = 288 dyads; r = .303).

8. Small sample field studies such as the present one confront several special methodological problems. The first and most obvious one is sample representativeness. In terms of type of family structure the married-couple family still clearly is the predominant form: "The traditional married-couple family, which has historically been the central kind of family structure, comprised 83 per cent of all families in 1978. This share, although somewhat less than in prior years, is still indicative of the overwhelming predominance of the married-couple family unit." (Bureau of the Census, Social Indicators III, 1980(b):5). We do not know how many four-person middle class never-divorced intact families with one pre-adolescent and one adolescent child of each sex currently exist in the universe of American families. Some relevant information, however, is available. Recent data from the Bureau of the Census (Current Population Reports, 1980(a)) show that 47.7 million husband-wife families in the United States have children under 18 and that the average number of children per family (own children) is 1.95. Hence, our study of families did represent

the overall average number of own children. However, when race and age of children are considered the size of the universe diminishes significantly. The CPS reports 9.7 million white and 3.2 million black husband-wife families with two own children. Of the 12.9 million families, 2.2 million had an older child 14-17 years of age and a younger child 6-13 years of age. (The Census age categories are 6-9, 10-13, and 14-17). The number of white middle-class never divorced two-child nuclear families with a child of each sex would consititute an unknown portion of this group.

Second is the "point of entry" problem. We had no way of knowing exactly where in the sequence of family behavior each of our measurements began. The life history of each family is inevitably different from any other. In some cases we may have arrived on the scene soon after a major family dispute or set of disputes or during an unusually quiescent period. Either pattern could be atypical for that particular family and a signigicant recent event (or long period of quiescence) could have affected responses to the interview. Since this was a one-shot study we were unable to assess the stablilty of our measure.

Third, and relatedly, we could not determine the significance of potentially critical events that may have taken place outside our observable field and about which we failed to inquire. One or more family members may have experienced an extrordinary event outside the family which influenced his responses. Such an occurrence, such as a husband's serious work problems, could bring about changes in his relations to another family member. These, in turn, could affect significantly the second member's encounters with a third family member, and so on. The impact of such indirect effects on family conflict patterns are extremely difficult to ascertain and measure.

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Table 1. MEAN SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SAMPLE FAMILIES

Family Type	Father's Age	Mother's Age	Age Older Child	Age Younger Child	Age Gap (Children)	Length of Marriage (Yrs.)	Father's Education (Yrs. Sch. Comp.)	Mother's Education (Yrs. Sch. Comp.)	Family Income
Older son/Younger daughter	42.75	38.58	12.67	10.33	2.33	15.73	15.75	14.17	$50,000
Older daughter/Younger son	39.00	38.33	12.75	10.75	2.00	14.58	16.08	15.50	$40,000
Two Girls	44.83	38.75	13.92	11.25	2.67	16.25	15.25	14.17	$45,000
Two Boys	44.08	42.08	13.25	10.25	3.00	17.08	16.58	15.64	$45,000
All Families	42.67+	39.44	13.15	10.65	2.5	15.92*	15.92	14.85*	$45,000*

*N = 47

+One-way analysis of variance, $F_{3,42} = 3.538$, $p < .05$.

			DYAD TYPE				
FAMILY TYPE	Father/ Mother	Father/ Older Child	Father/ Younger Child	Mother/ Older Child	Mother/ Younger Child	Older Child/ Younger Child	All Dyads
Older son/ Younger daughter	.417	.917	.250	1.000	.583	1.750	.820
Older daughter/ Younger son	.167	.583	.833	.667	1.000	1.500	.792
Two Girls	1.000	1.417	1.083	1.250	1.500	1.833	1.357
Two Boys	.417	1.500	1.667	1.500	1.667	2.000	1.460
All Families	.500	1.103	.959	1.103	1.187	1.770	

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE SUMMARY

	SS	df	MS	F
Between subjects				
Family type	26.733	3	8.911	12.058**
Subjects within groups	32.514	44	.739	
Within subjects				
Dyad type	39.101	5	7.820	21.308**
Family by dyad interaction	10.997	15	.733	1.997*
Dyad by subjects within groups	80.736	220	.367	

$*$ < .05 $**$ <.001

Table 2. MEAN NUMBER OF ARGUING DYADS BY FAMILY TYPE AND DYAD TYPE

			DYAD TYPE				
FAMILY TYPE	Father/ Mother	Father/ Older Child	Father/ Younger Child	Mother/ Older Child	Mother/ Younger Child	Older Child/ Younger Child	All Dyads
Older son/ Younger daughter	.833	1.667	.750	1.833	2.000	2.167	1.542
Older daughter/ Younger son	.667	1.083	.583	1.083	1.083	1.500	1.000
Two Girls	1.000	1.250	1.833	1.417	2.417	2.833	1.792
Two Boys	.583	2.083	1.083	1.833	2.083	3.083	1.792
All Families	.771	1.521	1.062	1.542	1.896	2.396	

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE SUMMARY

	SS	df	MS	F
Between subjects				
Family type	30.090	3	10.032	5.354**
Subjects within groups	82.458	44	1.874	
Within subjects				
Dyad type	80.543	5	16.115	18.045**
Family x dyad interaction	24.135	15	1.609	1.802*
dyad by subjects within groups	196.458	220	.893	

$*$< .05 $**$< .01

Table 4. SUMMARY OF RESULTS OF TESTS OF MAIN HYPOTHESES

Main Hypotheses	Arguments Index	Physical Aggression Index
I. (a) Parents vs. Parent-child	***	***
I. (b) Parent-child vs. Siblings	***	***
II.	*	+
III. (a) Physical Aggression	NR	***
III. (b) Arguments	*	NR
IV. (a) Parent-child	***	***
IV. (b) Siblings	**	*
V.	+	+
VI.	+	+

*** Significant difference in predicted direction, p < .001

** Significant difference in predicted direction, p < .01

* Significant difference in predicted direction, p < .05

+ Difference in predicted direction, not significant.

NR Index not relevant to hypothesis.

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