DYNAMIC GOALS: AN INVESTIGATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GOALS AND COMMUNICATIVE BEHAVIOR IN REPETITIVE CONFLICT

by

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(Under the Direction of Jennifer A. Samp)

ABSTRACT

This thesis examined the influence of goals on the use of conflict tactics in serial arguments through the sequential analysis of 47 close friend and dating partner's conflict interactions. It was posited that the importance ratings of instrumental, relational and identity goals (Clark & Delia, 1979) would be relevant to the interaction and predictive of integrative, distributive and avoidant tactics (Sillars, 1980). The results indicated that multiple goals direct tactics. Overall, instrumental and self-identity goals predicted distributive behavior, other-identity goals predicted supportive behavior, and identity and relational concerns predicated issue oriented behavior. Only distributive behavior patterns emerged for the initiators of the conflict, while resistors also had integrative patterns. Both integrative and distributive patterns were found across individuals indicating that one partner influenced the goals and behavior of the other. Finally, the importance of both a cognitive and interactive perspective for understanding how multiple goals direct behavior was considered.

INDEX WORDS: Goals, Multiple Goals, Message Production, Conflict, Serial Arguments and Conflict Tactics

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DEDICATION

To my grandmother, Edna Mae Sorrells Bateman, who will be fondly remembered for her kind heart, great intellect, poise, and abundant courage.

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CHAPTER 1

Goals Direct Conflict Tactics in Interpersonal Relationships

Interpersonal conflict is a ubiquitous phenomenon in close relationships (Deutsch, 1973; Hocker & Wilmot, 2001). Close relationship partners rely on each other both physically and psychologically. Despite the benefits of such interdependence, this reliance also increases the likelihood of conflict (Braiker & Kelley, 1979; Deutsch, 1973). Conflict will occur to the degree that individuals are incompatible, and no two people will be completely compatible (Deutsch, 1973; Canary, 2003). In fact, Lloyd (1987) found that most couples have an average of two conflicts a week. Definitions of interpersonal conflict suggest that this incompatibility is the perception that one's partner holds a goal that is contrary or damaging to one's own (e.g. Hocker & Wilmot, 2001). Thus, the influence of goals within a conflict episode is important for understanding the process and management of conflict. Another essential consideration is how conflict is negotiated through communication. During conflict with relationship partners, individuals must manage a myriad of concerns, including the character and quality of the relationship, their own personal objectives as well as the often competing desires of their partners (Canary, Cunningham & Cody, 1988; Roloff, 1987). These multiple concerns reflect interaction-level goals that have implications for which behaviors are enacted during conflict (Canary, Cupach & Messman, 1995). Clearly, an understanding of goals is central to understanding conflict.

Conflict as a Strategic, Goal Directed Activity

A considerable amount of communicative behavior can be identified as strategic. For behavior to be strategic, it must reflect intention (Kellermann, 1992), purpose, and a willingness to act toward that purpose (Daly & Wiemann, 1994). Interpersonal conflict is strategic since its

performance requires purposeful and planned behavior in order to manage to a perceived incompatibility with a relationship partner (Canary, 2003; Newell & Stutman, 1988; 1991; Stutman & Newell, 1990). Assuming that conflict is a strategic process means that it is also a goal driven process (Berger, 1997; Daly & Wiemann, 1994; Dillard, 1990). Concurrent with several dominant models of message production (e.g. Dillard, 1990, Meyer; 1990; Samp & Solomon, 1995; Wilson, 1990), my perspective is grounded in the assumption that goals drive communication behavior. Thus, a consideration of the nature of goals in the process of communication merits attention.

Goals and Communication Behavior

Stated simply, goals are internal representations of desired states, whether they be psychological or emotional states, actual events, processes, or other preferred outcomes (Austin & Vancouver, 1996). Some goals are social or interaction goals, in that they require communication and cooperation from another individual to obtain (Berger, 1997; Clark & Delia, 1979; Wilson, 2004). By this definition, goals within conflict are necessarily interaction goals.

Goals as Knowledge Structures

Goals are organized and stored in long term memory within a network of knowledge structures that include those general plans and specific strategies relevant to goal pursuit (Berger 1993; 1997, Greene, 1984). When a person possesses a given goal, those knowledge structures relevant to a particular event are activated, as well as the plans and behaviors necessary to achieve the goals for that situation (Berger, 1993; Meyer, 1990, 1996, 1997; Wilson, 1990).

Message production scholars generally assume that goals have a direct influence on communicative behavior (e.g. Berger, 1997; Dillard, 1990; 1997, Meyer, 1990; 1997; Tracy, 1991; Wilson, 1990; 2002). In fact, almost any aspect of human behavior from the most basic of

biological functions (e.g. muscle movement) to life-long motivations (e.g. relationship success) can be understood as goal directed (Austin & Vancouver, 1996). Empirical investigations of have discovered that goals relate to multiple levels of message production, producing variation in message tactics (Dillard, Segrin & Hardin, 1989), linguistic devices (Meyer, 1994; 1996), and message features (Samp & Solomon, 1999; 2005).

Since the 1980's, communication scholars have published extensively to create lists of goals relevant to particular situations. Compliance gaining or influence situations have received the largest share of attention (e.g. Cody, Canary & Smith, 1994, Dillard et al. 1989, Dillard, 1989,1990, Wilson, 2004); although the content of goals relevant to relational (De Bro, 1993), negotiation (e.g. Wilson & Putnam, 1990), and conflict situations (Canary, et al., 1988) have also been examined.

Despite the countless number of goals possible in human interaction, these taxonomies generally reflect similar themes that are relevant to any social interaction. One of the most common organizations is that of Clark and Delia (1979), who described goals as either task /instrumental, identity (face-saving) or relationally oriented. Austin and Vancouver (1996) in their review of the goals construct in psychology advanced a similar framework. The authors suggest that the three social goals are self-assertive, social relationship and integrative social relationship or task. *Instrumental* goals are those that seek to remove a particular obstacle and require a response from the target. *Relationship* goals are those that wish to preserve and or develop a particular relationship; while *identity* goals attempt to maintain a particular self image for the actor or the other (Clark & Delia, 1979). Furthermore, within the context of conflict, Canary et al. (1988) argued that these three goals can be also described as *proactive* or *reactive*. This distinction is especially useful for classifying interaction goals because they account for the

"give and take" of goal negotiation in conflict. Individuals with proactive goals desire to change an adverse social situation; this may be the state of the relationship or a partner's offensive behavior. These goals can occur before the interaction begins and serve to frame the initial part of an interaction. Reactive goals, however, are those that occur while in conversation. Here an unexpected obstacle or problem emerges and the actor is forced to change his or her behavior in order to respond (Canary et al., 1988). For example, in a conflict situation an individual may have a proactive goal to get his partner to help with housework more often, but his partner responds with an attack on his money management. That partner may then have a reactive goal of defending himself from a face-threat.

In communication situations individuals are motivated to try to accomplish several concurrent objectives (Brown & Levinson, 1987, Tracy, 1984; Tracy, 1991; Miller & Read, 1991). Thus, the goals perspective also asserts that more than one goal can be relevant to a situation at a time (Dillard et al., 1989; Dillard, 1997; Hample & Dallinger, 1992; Samp & Solomon, 1999; Tracy & Coupland, 1990**;** Wilson & Putnam, 1990). In an interaction, relationship, instrumental and identity goals will all be activated to some extent (Clark & Delia, 1979). For example, if an individual wanted to refuse another's request for a date, she may be motivated to both clearly decline the invitation and to spare his feelings. However, cognitive capacity to consciously consider multiple goals is limited (Dillard, 1990), and some goals are more salient than others at any one time (Wilson, 1990).

Dynamic Goals

Goal dynamism is a further implication of individual's having multiple relevant goals. Models of goal driven message production (e.g. Dillard, 1990) assert that goals do not remain static, but vary based on the course of interaction within the dyad (e.g. Berger, 1997, Waldron,

1997). As Berger (1997) suggests, goal shift may occur within an argument when an individual's goals are thwarted by his or her partner or when a more important or attractive goal emerges. For example, after an individual makes a request, her partner may respond in a way that challenges her goal or is incompatible to the achievement of that goal. At this point, the actor might feel the need to engage in relational repair or increase the importance of her original instrumental goal. Furthermore, an actor may shift or change goal importance within an interaction if his or her partner accepts that actor's goal.

Empirical support for goal shift is relatively limited; Waldron (1997) reported the results of an unpublished study that investigated the role of conversational planning in interactions. Participants were paired with strangers and asked to inquire about their partner's religious and political beliefs. After the conversation, the participants viewed their tape in 30 second increments and were asked to report their goal and also to write what they were thinking at the time. Goal shift was measured across the conversations based on the relative importance of one of 5 goals. Waldron (1997) found that in 30% of the intervals (approximately 5 out of the 16) individuals' goal importance rating differed from the previous rating. Shifts in goal importance for more than one goal occurred about half of the time. Thus, a further conclusion about the nature of goals is that goals-shift occurs frequently within interactions in complex ways (Waldron, 1997).

In the previous section, I have identified the main characteristics of goals relevant to this investigation. Goals are defined as desired end states (Austin & Vancouver, 1996) and more than one goal can be activated in any given situation (e.g. Dillard, 1990). The multiple goals individuals hold can be subsumed into three overarching categories: instrumental, relational and identity which are relevant across situations (Clark & Delia, 1979). Finally, we know that goals

will generally vary in importance throughout an interaction (Waldron, 1997). In the following section, I will further describe the relevance of the goals perspective to understanding communication in conflict by reviewing the links between goals and message production.

Goals Drive Message Production

Recall that one of the fundamental assumptions of the goals perspective is that goals direct behavior. To achieve instrumental, relational and identity goals an individual must activate and produce messages relevant to that situation (Meyer, 1990; 1997). For communication scholars, the goals perspective represents an opportunity to investigate how messages are created in strategic interactions like interpersonal conflict.

Miller, Galanter, and Pribram (1960) were the first to articulate a clear goal-behavior link through a TOTE (test-operate-test-exit) cycle where an action is compared against a goal, changed, compared again and if a match was found- the cycle is exited. Later, Dillard (1990) introduced a Goals-Plans-Action sequence which is the basis of many communicative investigations of goals. Dillard (1990) theorizes that when there is a difference between the current state and an important desired goal, the GPA sequence triggers. Therefore, goals in conflict situations, like serial arguments, will correspond with particular behaviors through the enactment of plans. Extensions of Dillard's model have demonstrated a clear link between goals and message tactics. Dillard (1989) found that when individuals have the desire to change a relationship, a proactive goal, they construct direct and positive messages. Influence and identity goals correspond with highly logical message tactics (Dillard, 1989; Dillard et al., 1989). Thus, goals influence communication behavior on an abstract, tactical level.

Goals also relate to changes in message features. Samp and Solomon (1999; 2005) investigated the influence of goals on message features after individuals experienced problematic

events. The authors found that message embellishment (i.e. explanations, additional information, or justifications) was predicted by challenging, important, intense and complex goals. Furthermore, primary goals were related to messages exhibiting a self focal center (i.e. self as the subject of the sentence) rather than a relational or other center (Samp & Solomon, 1999). Other theories of goal directed message production relate to the structure of speech acts (i.e. a talk turn) and linguistic devices (i.e. use of questions, requests etc). Meyer (1994) found that request type moderates the link between goals, linguistic devices and the sequences of speech acts. Thus, based on tests of Meyer's (1994) model, having a particular goal should relate to generating specific message content turn-by-turn in conflict interaction.

In summary, this perspective asserts that interactions are defined, directed and understood through and by goals. Goals are cognitive structures that are relevant to particular situations (e.g. Meyer, 1990; Wilson, 1990). Multiple goals can occur within any one situation (e.g. Tracy, 1984), and generally a tripartite distinction is used to describe these goals: instrumental, relational and identity (Clark & Delia, 1979). Goals are related to behavior through cognitive structures, embedded in memory and organized through plans (e.g. Berger, 1993). Investigations of goals and cognitive structures, for the communication scholar are in service of understanding and forming models of communicative action. Communication is then strategic action which is to a large degree purposeful and intentional. The following explication of serial arguing will demonstrate that this phenomenon is no exception and that this context is highly conducive to the investigation of goal dynamism in interactions.

A Context for Examining Goal-Directed Activity During Conflict: Serial Arguing

Understanding how goals direct strategic interaction allows communication scholars to make predictions for behavior in serial arguments. Often, partners do not resolve the differences

between their goals in one interaction (Lloyd, 1987; Vuchinich, 1987; 1990). Instead, the expression of incompatible goals can occur in an episodic fashion (Canary et al., 1995). Repetitive episodes of expressed conflict centered on one issue are called serial arguments (Johnson & Roloff, 1998; 2000a; 200b; Roloff & Johnson, 2002; Trap & Hoff, 1985). This cyclical interaction pattern is described as having periods of flaring up and simmering down. Periods of flaring up include the decision to confront one's partner and arguing over the issue, while simmering down occurs when the conflict is not currently expressed but not resolved (Trapp & Hoff, 1985). Thus, serial argumentation is a unique kind of conflict interaction where a dyad returns episodically to a particular issue through a pattern of confrontation, argumentation, and deescalation. However, frequent confrontation or high levels of conflict within a relationship is not indicative of serial arguing; the episodes must be centered on a single issue.

Frequency and Consequences of Serial Arguing

Research on serial arguments demonstrates that this kind of conflict interaction occurs with regularity in close relationships. After Trapp and Hoff (1985) first described serial arguing, some researchers noted that their participants were engaging in episodic conflict (e.g.; Lloyd, 1987; Newell & Stutman, 1991;Vuchinich, 1987). All of Johnson and Roloff's (1998) sample (*N*=79) were able to think of a serial argument they had with a relational partner. Their participants reported an average of 13 different conflict episodes per serial argument. Other studies demonstrate how often individuals end an argument without resolution. Beniot and Beniot (1987) found that 40% of their undergraduate sample left arguments unresolved by physically leaving and 50% reported that they occasionally engaged in the same conflict, while 45% stated that the same conflict reoccurred fairly often. Lloyd (1987) also found that a significant percentage of her dating sample (32%) left arguments unresolved. Arguments are left

unresolved within family conflict as well. Vuchinich (1990) reported that 66% of the disagreements he observed at family dinners were left unresolved. The frequency with which individuals leave conflict unresolved is important because this action gives opportunity for a single disagreement to become a serial argument (Roloff & Johnson, 2002). Thus, serial arguments likely account for a sizable percentage of all arguments.

The majority of research on serial arguing has looked at the relational consequences of recurring conflict episodes. Relational consequences, while not the focus of this thesis, highlight why an investigation of serial arguing is important to close relationships. Johnson and Roloff (1998) asked undergraduates about serial arguments in their current or former dating relationships. They found that degree to which the participant perceived the argument was resolvable, not the frequency with which episodes occurred, was related to relational quality. Perceived resolvability is negatively related to a variety of communication patterns (i.e. counter-complaining, demand / withdraw patterns), the amount of discord in the relationship, and mulling about the issue (Johnson and Roloff, 1998). However, it is positively related to constructive communication (Johnson & Roloff, 1998), statements which confirm the relationship and forming optimistic comparisons (Johnson & Roloff, 2000a).

It is important to make distinctions between serial arguments and other types of repetitive interaction. Sometimes in conflict interactions, behaviors become undesired repetitive patterns (URP). Research suggests that URPs occur because negative arousal cognitively impairs the implementation of new plans leading an individual to return to automatic behavior patterns (Turk & Monahan, 1999). There is no evidence that all serial arguments are Unwanted Repetitive Patterns. First, the differences between the initiator and resistor's roles in the argument suggest that serial arguments planed, strategic interactions. The initiator is the individual who recognizes

the relational problem and feels irritated about the other partner's behavior (Johnson & Roloff, 2000b). This leads this initiator to initially confront his or her partner with the goal of enacting change (Johnson & Roloff, 2000a; 2000b). Before individuals attempt social confrontation, they plan out the interaction (Stutman & Newell, 1990) and Johnson and Roloff (2000b) found that the initiator planned out his or her approach much more than the resistor in serial arguments. Furthermore, serial arguments are likely to flare up when the initiator feels an urgent need to confront their partner (Johnson & Roloff, 2000b). This decision represents a strategic move, suggesting that instead of being "unwanted" the argumentative episode is actively desired and anticipated.

The Utility of Serial Arguing as a Context for Examining Goal Directed Activity

I argue that serial arguing is a strategic, goal driven process. First, conflict in general is the negotiation of incompatible goals (Hocker & Wilmot, 2001). Goals and their achievement are the currency of a conflict episode, thus they serve to frame the interaction and the behaviors within it. Second, serial arguments are driven by two conscious, purposeful decisions: one to open the unresolved conflict, and one to close it without resolution. Recall that since serial argumentation and conflict in general utilizes strategic behavior, communication produced within the events is goal directed. Serial arguments offer a useful context to investigate goal directed communication since repetition makes partners' goals and communicative behavior patterns relatively stable (Johnson & Roloff, 2000a; 2000b). This suggests that the links between goals and communicative behavior are strong. Furthermore, serial arguing is also especially suited for an investigation of goal shift since the conflict episode has yet to be resolved and points of goal blockage are highly likely. Finally, the process of flaring up and simmering down

seem to be driven by different kinds of goals which indicate that goal shift is an inherent part of serial argumentation.

Research suggests that individual's behavior in serial argument episodes reflect stable patterns (Johnson& Roloff, 2000a; 2000b). Theories of message production would suggest that those individuals have developed specific knowledge structures for the conflict which contain relevant goals and tactics for their achievement (e.g. Meyer, 1997; 1990). Berger (1993) also posits that events, like serial arguments, stored in long term memory will include declarative knowledge of the interaction sequence which can be used to interpret communication behavior and plans to direct that behavior. Wilson (1990) and Greene (1984) suggest that fit, recency, and strength are three criteria which determine the activation of a goal and its relevant plans and behaviors. Wilson (1990; 1995) describes the relationship between goals and behaviors as a cognitive rule. Fit criteria assume that situational features in the environment are more similar than different to description of an event stored as a knowledge structure. Recency and strength are measures of accessibility, and Wilson (1995) posits that frequent access increases the likelihood that the rule is activated. Individuals often report that they are strongly convinced they know what their partner will say the next time the argument occurs and what behaviors would trigger that argument (Johnson & Roloff, 1998). Furthermore, Johnson and Roloff (2000a) found that participants when asked to report what happens during their serial argument, not only gave descriptions of typical behavior, but also reported dialogue for how the conflict unfolds. These findings suggest that individuals in relationships have specialized communicative knowledge structures for a serial argument. The serial argument should activate similar goals, plans to achieve those goals, and interpretations of behavior whenever the episode occurs. Thus, it seems likely based on participant reports and goal driven theories of message production that the kinds

of goal relevant to any serial argument should be strongly related, conscious and instrumental in directing stable behavior patterns across episodes.

Moreover, Johnson and Roloff (2002) suggest that interaction patterns within a serial arguing episode may be dynamic. Serial arguments can trigger goal shift through escalation of conflict, role reversal, and the flare up and simmer down cycle. Conflict patterns in general are not always stable across issues and time, instead, patterns of conflict escalation and negative conflict spirals occur in relationships (Gottman, 1993; 1994). While the issue may stay the same, the way the argument unfolds may change. It is possible that the conflict may escalate from a focus on frustrating or problematic behavior to an attack on the individual's disposition or character. The partners may then slip into patterns of countercomplaining (Gottman, 1994) and trigger the reactive goal of defending one's self against attacks.

Furthermore, the participant's own roles in the argument may change. Initiators usually demand while resistors withdrawal, however, if the confrontation behavior itself becomes the topic of the argument, the roles could be reversed (Roloff & Johnson, 2002). O'Keefe and Shepherd (1987) report that role reversal within a conflict interaction results in a subsequent change in goals. This change reflects opportunity for proactive goals to be superceded in importance by reactive goals and create a pattern of goal shift within an episode.

The fundamental process of flaring up and simmering down also creates variable patterns within the argument episode. Flaring up occurs when it is triggered by a "provoking situational cue or mood" (Roloff & Johnson, 2002, p.112). From those cues, Johnson and Roloff (1998) found that individuals felt they could predict when the argument was about to occur. However, simmer down, seems to be triggered differently. Trapp and Hoff found that their participants simmered down when "the issue and the relationship are more important than the frustration

involved in arguing" (1985, p.38). In addition, Vuchinich (1986) found that family members in unresolved arguments around the dinner table kept the number of turns in each argument short. Simmering down may demonstrate an attempt to manage the relational damage done by the serial argument; "by keeping an argument brief, individuals can focus their attention on other important activities and also may reduce the likelihood of conflict escalation" (Roloff & Johnson, 2002, p. 112). Thus, simmering down could be related to relational goals while flaring up caused by mood or irritating event triggering an identity or instrumental goal. This implies that the interactants are more motivated to prefer their relationship and partner over their own agendas as the argument progresses. Thus, throughout an argumentative episode it is likely that individuals will shift their goals from themselves to their relationship or the other.

I argue that serial arguing is a negotiation of goal achievement and the process of serial arguing is driven by goal related decisions. The kinds and sequence of goals and their relationship to conflict behavior should be relatively stable and salient to interactants because of the repetitive nature of serial arguments. This process also offers many opportunities for goals to change within a conflict episode. First, individuals have to collectively negotiate a shift from open confrontation to de-escalation. Second, serial arguments offer a context where reactive goals can occur. For those reasons, serial arguments represent a particularly useful context to study the relationship between goals and behaviors in interactions. The next section seeks to review how goals dynamically operate to produce messages within communicative exchange.

Communication Goals Direct Conflict Tactics

To review, goals are cognitive structures which direct communicative behavior and are relevant to conflict and serial arguing. Individuals hold multiple goals in all interactions including instrumental, relationship, and self/other identity goals (e.g. Clark & Delia, 1979).

Goals influence multiple levels of communicative behavior, ranging form the content of messages (Dillard et al. 1987; Dillard 1989) to the structure of utterances (Samp & Solomon, 1999; 2005). Goal driven models of message production have done much to further understanding of the relationship between goals and communication. However, these models have been criticized for not focusing on the ways the interaction itself influences communication behavior (Waldron, 1995). Although current theories have suggested that goals change throughout interactions (e.g. Dillard, 1990), these models stop short of empirically demonstrating how and when goals change within an interaction.

The perspective presented here is that particular goals can be reconsidered and revised or abandoned (Berger, 1997). Commitment or the importance to a particular goal throughout an interaction may wane or increase (Austin & Vancouver, 1996). Goals within conflict are dynamic because interpersonal communication itself is dynamic. Recall that when and individual has a social or interaction goal, they must coordinate with his or her partner in order to reach goal achievement (Wilson, 2004). In fact, the process of interpersonal communication itself dictates that both partners influence the production of communication (Jones & Gerard, 1967). Whenever what one partner says is associated with what was said previously by the other partner mutual influence occurs (Cappella, 1985; 1987; 1994). Furthermore, individuals in conflict often engage in patterned behavior where individuals reciprocate positive or negative statements (Messman & Canary, 1998). This can be especially true in repetitive interactions where partners often report engaging in habitual interactions (Johnson & Roloff, 1998; 2000a; 2000b). Thus, in conversations, each response is somewhat contingent upon the later. I expect to see a relationship between the goals that individual's initially hold, his or her communicative behavior and the kind

of response the other partner makes. In turn, that response will be related to the partner's goals and behavior.

Most research studying links between goals and message production measure self-reported goals at the initial turn of a hypothetical situation. However, to fully capture the ways that goals relate to message production, actual interactions must be considered (Waldron, 1995; 1997). In conflict, behavior is directed by tactics. In the next sections, I will briefly introduce the idea of conflict tactics and strategies and how goals influence the kind of behaviors used in serial arguments.

Conflict Tactics and Strategies

Tactics are the behaviors utilized to perform a strategy or plan connected to a particular goal (Berger, 1997). In conflict interactions, these tactics are reflective of specific behaviors at measurable turns of the interaction. The collection of tactics that an individual uses during a conflict episode forms an individual's conflict strategy (Cupach & Canary, 1997). Conflict researchers have demonstrated that conflict tactics collapse into three strategy categories: integration, avoidance and distribution (Cupach & Canary, 1997; Sillars, 1980). This categorization will be used here because of empirical support (Canary & Cupach, 1988; Sillars, Coletti, Parry & Rogers; 1982) and it lends itself well to both global and specific identification in interaction. *Integrative* tactics are cooperative and involve supportive negotiation of problems, characterized by actively requesting and offering information. *Avoidance* tactics refuse to acknowledge the conflict. They represent withdrawal, topic avoidance and shift, "giving in" to partner and escaping confrontation. *Distributive* tactics are competitive; individuals who use these tactics want to achieve their goals irregardless of the outcome for their partner. To do so, they may use critical, threatening, defensive and aggressive behaviors (Cupach & Canary, 1997;

Sillars, 1980). In this investigation of goals in serial arguments, I will present hypotheses which expect a clear relationship between goals and the tactics used in conflict interactions.

Goals Influence Tactics

Like other communicative situations, individuals in conflict have specific goals that correspond with particular conflict strategies. Canary et al.'s (1988) study investigated both the types of goals in that occur within conflict situations and the tactics which relate those goals. The authors found that when a participant had reactive goals they used more distributive strategies, while proactive goals related with integrative strategies. Specifically, participants with goals to defend self used more personal criticisms. Furthermore, integrative tactics related with a goal to change the relationship. The instrumental goals of obtaining permission and increasing benefit were not significantly related to integrative tactics or distributive tactics more so than other goals. Thus, there seems to be a general pattern between self-centered goals (save my face) and uncooperative tactics. While other-oriented goals (save our relationship, save partner's face) correspond with cooperative tactics. Instrumental goals seem to be present when both integrative and distributive tactics occur, however; specific tactics are better predicted by secondary goals. Thus, I expect to find that in serial arguments:

H1a: Initiators who demonstrate more integrative tactics than distributive or avoidant tactics will also rate instrumental and relational goals more important than self-identity goals.

H1b: Initiators who demonstrate more distributive tactics than integrative or avoidant tactics will also rate self-identity and instrumental goals more important than relational or other-identity goals.

Recall that resistors and initiator's have different cognitions and behavior in serial arguments. Like other situations of social confrontation, the initiator has planned the confrontation more so than the resistor (Johnson & Roloff, 2000b). O'Keefe and Shepherd (1987) analyzed transcripts from undergraduate arguments over current issues. They found that within a single argument, interaction goals changed with a shift in the individual's role of either initiator or respondent. When participants were in the initiator's role, they made clear communication the highest priority; however, when they were in the respondant's or resistor's role, their priorities were face needs and interaction maintenance. These findings indicate that there is a clear distinction between instrumental and relational goals based on role. Thus, I expect that conversational role may have a direct influence on the kinds of goals considered important to individuals in serial arguments.

H2a: Initiators will report instrumental goals more than relational or identity goals across the conversation.

H2b: Resistors will report relational and other-identity goals more than instrumental goals across the conversation.

Resistor's Goals and Communicative Behavior

The interactive nature of goals is apparent when the initiator's goal driven tactics lead to a goal driven response by the other partner. Based on the principles of mutual influence (e.g. Cappella, 1985; 1994) this response will be associated with by the manner in which the initial confrontation occurred. The goals perspective does not contain particular predictions for how tactics may influence goals across partners. However hypotheses can be created based on what we know about the initiator and resistor's cognitions in serial arguments and the myriad studies

on identity threat, defensiveness and face-work (e.g. Brown & Levinson, 1987; Hample & Dallinger 1995; Turk & Monahan, 1999).

Recall that O'Keefe and Shepard (1987) found that communicative goals changed when an individual held the role of the initiator or resistor in an interaction. Resistors, on the whole were more concerned with goals this perspective would term secondary, the relationship and the identities of the partners. This focus may be caused by the nature of influence itself. Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest that requests by their very nature are face-threatening to the target because they imposition the place on the target's autonomy. When the initiator attempts to negotiate his or her own goal achievement it causes the relational and identity aspects of the conversation to become more salient to the resistor. Furthermore, resistors did not plan the initial confrontation or feel that there was an urgent need to discuss the issue as much as the initiator did and reported that they withdrew while their partners demanded (Johnson & Roloff, 1998). Demand / withdraw patterns represent another way mutual influence affects the goals individuals have in serial arguments.

Furthermore, Hample and Dallinger (1995) found that some individuals find it difficult to focus on the issue at hand instead of taking conflict as a personal attack. Taking conflict personally can either be situational or a personality difference; however, when individuals feel threatened, which often happens when a partner tries to change them, they respond defensively (Hample & Dallinger, 1995). A similar pattern can be seen individuals experiencing Unwanted Repetitive Patterns. Turk and Monahan (1999) found that in URP arguments, participants had reported more goal change, and felt a higher threat to their identity. Thus, when initiators use demands and control tactics, resistors should find requests for change threatening. When this occurs, I expect that resistor's will respond with reactive, self-focused goals.

H3: An initiator's use of distributive tactics in the discussion will relate to the resistor rating self-identity goals more important than instrumental or relational goals.

However, it is possible that resistors will be responding to a partner using integrative tactics, through actively soliciting their point of view to form an agreeable solution. In serial arguments, individuals often view their argument as resolvable, and those individuals report higher levels of relationally confirming communicative behavior (Johnson & Roloff, 2000a). This suggests that initiators in serial arguments are not always using competitive strategies and instead may be using problem solving behaviors. Thus I also expect to find that:

H4: An initiator's use of integrative tactics in the discussion will relate to the resistor rating relational and instrumental goals more important than self-identity goals.

Like initiators, the goals held by resistors will correspond with conflict tactics. However, what we know about the resistor's behavior and goal related cognitions about serial arguments suggests that it is dissimilar to initiators. Consider how the distinctions previously presented (high reported rate of withdraw, less planning, does not view issue as urgent) will affect goal and behavioral links in resistors. First, avoidance behavior should be a general pattern amongst resistors. Second, if my predictions are right about resistor's goals, reactive goals should also be prevalent. Recall that reactive goals related more with distributive strategies (Canary et al., 1988). These predictions are also supported by the fact that individuals who take conflict personally often are responding to suggestions that they should change from their partners. These individuals will either respond defensively through returning verbal aggression, while others defend themselves through avoidance tactics (Hample and Dallinger, 1995). Thus, I expect to find that:

H5: A resistor's self-identity and instrumental goals will relate to more distributive and avoidant tactics than integrative.

It is also possible that resistors' position causes them consider other goals more important than self-identity. In this case, resistors are either concerned with relationship or their own tasks. If a resistor is concerned about the relationship and the other partner's face is it is only logical that he or she will try to confirm, understand and support that partner through more integrative tactics. Recall that Dillard et al. (1989) found that when relationship goals where high, individuals constructed more positive messages and when identity goals were high, they constructed more logical messages. These findings suggest that when individuals have other-oriented goals they use more cooperative strategies.

H6: A resistor's relational or other-identity goals will relate to more integrative tactics than distributive or avoidant.

Resistor's Goals and Behavior Relate to the Initiator's Goals and Behavior

The principles of mutual influence suggest that the initiator's goals and behavior when he or she responds to the resistor will be based both on the resistor's initial response and his or her original goal (e.g. Cappella, 1985; 1988, 1994). The resistor's communicative response to the initiator's goal directed requests is crucial to understanding how goals in interactions change. However, no theoretical perspectives exist to guide predictions as to how or why these goals may shift or stay static. At this juncture, it is important to consider the context of serial arguing. Recall that within serial arguing episodes, responses from the resistor may cue simmer down, cause role-reversal or escalate the conflict triggering the emergence of reactive goals and all of these could relate to goal shift in serial arguments. Furthermore, it is assumed that goals shift

when achievement is blocked by the partner (Berger, 1997). All of these mechanisms can affect what goals are considered important by the resistor.

Based on the arguments that distributive tactics are the result of reactive, self-centered goals (Canary et al., 1988) and that negative behaviors are highly reciprocated in conflict interactions (Messman & Canary, 1998), the importance of self-identity goals will rise when initiators are faced with distributive tactics from the resistor. Furthermore, Waldron, Cegala, Sharkey and Teboul (1990) found when they asked participants to solicit self-disclosure from their partners, highly direct tactics by one's partner was related to more self-focused thoughts. In the case of serial arguing, it is also possible that a partner may initiate an argumentative episode with a goal to influence the other partner to change his or her behavior. However, as the argument progresses, the discussion might change from the unwanted behavior to character attacks, making self-presentation the primary goal.

H7: A resistor's distributive tactics will lead to increased importance of self-identity goals in the initiator.

If the resistor responds by avoiding the initiator's first attempt, that initiator can either give up on that goal or try harder to succeed. Since the initiator's role suggests that they have a more proactive and, in the case of serial arguments, demanding part in managing the conflict (Johnson & Roloff, 2000b), initiators whose requests are avoided may continue to demand more forcefully in hopes of getting a response. Caughlin and Vangelisti (1999) found that individuals will engage in demand patterns when their partner withdraws insomuch as the issue is important to them. Furthermore, Waldron, et al. (1990) found that when a participant's partner used indirect tactics, that participant spent more time thinking about instrumental goals than other goals. Thus, since we know that initiators report that the issue is urgent and that they planned for

the interaction (Johnson & Roloff, 1998), it is very likely that initial instrumental goal importance will be increased after the resistor's use of avoidance tactics.

H8: A resistor's avoidant tactics will lead to increased importance of instrumental goals in the initiator.

Furthermore, in negotiation research it is generally assumed that instrumental goals are the focus of the initial message production; however, as the interaction continues relational and identity goals also become salient (Wilson & Putnam, 1990). Initially, individuals are motivated by task concerns, the business of the conversation; however, since interaction goals necessitate the cooperation of another, goals managing the other and the relationship become salient. Partners in serial arguments often report that they believe the argument is resolvable (Johnson & Roloff, 1998) and those individuals also report using relationally confirming messages within their arguments (Johnson & Roloff, 2000a). Thus, it is also possible that if resistors use integrative tactics, initiators will respond by focusing on the relationship and resistor.

H9: The resistor's integrative tactics will lead to increased importance of relational and other-identity goals in the initiator.

The Role of Acceptance, Obstacles, and Rebuffs on the Initiator's Goals and Tactics

The resistor may respond to the request of the initiator by accepting, avoiding, or refusing to agree with the initiator's statements or perspective about the issue.[1] Refusal and acceptance are implicitly related to distributive and integrative tactics; nevertheless, since these responses have been given considerable attention in compliance gaining literature, they offer explanations for initiators' goals and tactics at the second turn of the interaction.

The compliance gaining literature has suggested that an individual can resist a partner's request through expression of obstacles and through rebuffs. An obstacle, as explicated by Ifert

and Roloff (1998), is a perceived barrier to the attainment of an individual's goal. These obstacles are part of cognitive structures representative of particular relationships and circumstances, so that some obstacles are inherently related to particular circumstances. Individuals prepare for certain obstacles they assume will be relevant to those circumstances and that individuals share a common set of obstacles (Ifert & Roloff, 1998; Roloff & Janiszewski, 1989). For example, a college student trying to persuade his or her friend to go to a movie with her would probably expect and prepare for the obstacle of her recipient having a test or paper due the next day. Out of all the possible obstacles, Francik and Clark (1985) claim that "speakers design requests to overcome the greatest potential obstacle they see to getting the information they want" (p.560). Individuals attempting to influence strategically create messages they think will be accepted based on the potential obstacles they assume will be relevant for a particular interactions (Roloff & Janiszewski, 1989). Thus, the communicator perceives that circumventing the primary obstacle will result in goal attainment. If the obstacle is removed, the request should be granted, since the obstacle its self is the cause of resistance (Ifert & Roloff, 1998). Clark and Delia (1979) and Francik and Clark (1985) suggest that all obstacles can be attributed to either inability or unwillingness. Ifert and Roloff (1998) found that the kinds of obstacles perceived in compliance gaining situations which factor into those that are generated out of unwillingness and those that are generated from an inability to comply.

However, the target of the request is not required to give a reason for a refusal. In the case of an unmitigated and unelaborated refusal (i.e. "No, I won't!", "That's not going to happen.", "No way!" etc), one particular change in message production has repeatedly been supported, the rebuff phenomenon (Hample & Dallinger, 1998). The phenomenon is described "when an initial persuasive effort is rebuffed, follow-up persuasive messages are ruder, more

aggressive, and more forceful than the first one" (Hample & Dallinger 1998, p.306). The phenomenon has been demonstrated in a variety of contexts and relationships. For example, Folkes (1982) found that 15% of the time when a date is refused, the requester was given no reason or elaboration for the refusal. Other studies have found that participants stated that rebuffs would be their response to compliance gaining tactics 10% -20% of the time (O'Hair, Cody, & O'Hair, 1991). Thus, it seems that rebuffs occur with some frequency.

Initiator's Response to Blocked Goals by Resistor

Examination of the self-report and goal data in Waldron's (1997) planning study led to identification of where goals shifts generally occurred, through the process of interacting with their partner. Waldron (1997) found that when an individual's goal was blocked by his or her partner, the instrumental goal increased in importance while other-identity goal decreased in importance. Berger (1997) suggests that while pursuing interaction goals it may become evident that an individual's primary goal is impossible to achieve and the goal itself is abandoned and another is established. In the case of interaction goals, after an individual makes a request, it is the partner's response that challenges goal achievement. Based on the assumptions that conversations are guided by the mutual influence of both partners (e.g. Cappella, 1985; 1994), the manner by which the resistance occurs will necessarily determine the communicative strategies that follow and is important for understanding and predicting goal directed behavior in conflict interactions. Here, I am interested in the link between the initiator's behaviors and goals and the kinds of responses used by the resistor.

Hample and Dallinger (1998) found that participants faced with hypothetical rebuff situations changed their editorial standards (i.e. decisions on whether or not to use a message) for compliance gaining messages as they are faced with more rebuffs. Individuals became more rude

and aggressive with the target of their compliance seeking message as rebuffs continued. They chose less polite messages and accepted more negative appeals during cognitive editing. It seems that rebuffs makes other-centered goals less salient than task related goals, in turn, the individual's communication becomes more and more aggressive. However, Hample and Dallinger (1998) suggest, it is possible that "repertoire exhaustion" is an equally good explanation for the phenomenon. Thus, an individual who is rebuffed may find that she has tried all of her polite appeals without success or explanation for her failure and resorts to more and more aggressive approaches out of desperation. Furthermore, Ifert and Roloff (1996) found that initiators who were given unwilling obstacles from intimate partners were more persistent in their task related objectives and produced more persuasive messages. Initiators who were given unable obstacles; however, did not show such a pattern, instead they were more forgiving of the refusal. Thus, I expect to find that:

H10a: A resistor's use of inability obstacles will increase the importance of relational and other-identity goals for the initiator.

H10b: A resistor's use of unwillingness obstacles and rebuffs will increase the importance of self-identity and instrumental goals for the initiator.

Initiator's Response to Accepted Goals by the Resistor

While the nature of serial arguments would lead one to expect that individual's goals would most likely be blocked, rather than facilitated, it is possible that individuals achieve goal acceptance from their partner. Waldron (1997) findings would suggest that after goal achievement, the importance of the instrumental goal understandably decreases and relational and identity goals increase. Thus, I also expect to find that:

H11: A resistor's use of acceptance responses will increase the importance of other-

identity and relational goals for the initiator.

The next chapter deals with the methods and procedures used in this study and presents the results of the analyses that were utilized to test the above hypotheses.

CHAPTER 2

Method

Participants

This thesis relies on a secondary analysis of data collected by the author and Dr. Jennifer Samp during the summer of 2004 for a study entitled "Communicating about Disagreements in Close Relationships". One-hundred and ten undergraduate students (52 females and 58 males) from the University of Georgia were invited to participate in the study along with a close friend or a dating partner. The participants came from the Department Speech Communication research pool which consists of students in introductory level speech communication classes. In exchange for their participation, they were given course credit. A total of 55 dyads participated in the study, of those dyads 31 identified themselves as close friends and 24 as dating couples. 47 dyads (24 friends, 23 daters) were retained for analyses. Those eliminated had severely incomplete or unusable data. All of the dating couples were cross-sex, while 21 friendship dyads were cross-sex. The participants ranged in age from 17 to 35 years (M= 20.63 SD= 2.294). 5.5% of the participants were freshman, 30.9% were sophomores, 20.9% were juniors, 32.7% were seniors and 10% identified themselves as "other". The relationships represented in this study were of significant duration. The average length of the close friendships was approximately 3 years and 10 months, while the average length of the dating relationships was 1 year and 6 months.

Conflict Interactions

During the study, the participants were given 10 minutes to discuss a serial argument in their relationship. The kinds of conflicts chosen by the participants showed an interesting trend. Not surprisingly for a college age sample, the most frequent kinds of conflicts include the

amount of time spent with each other, drinking and partying habits, the status of the relationship (for daters especially), past or current relationship partners, and issues of communication (i.e. one doesn't listen to other). However, issues varied from the size of their engagement ring, defining a "real date", whether or not to end a violent relationship, and reading private e-mail. Overall, the nature of conflicts appeared to be generally serious and important to the participants.[2] The vast majority of dyads spoke about their disagreement for the entire time (*n*=37); however the mean amount of time spent talking about the issue was 8.67 minutes.

Procedures

Dyads arrived at the lab at their scheduled time. The researcher or research assistant gave consent forms to the participants and explained the procedures to the dyad. The researchers answered any questions about the procedure the participants had before the study began. First, one member of the dyad was taken to a different room. Both members of the dyad were instructed to fill out demographic measures, as well as relational and conflict style measures which will be used for another analysis. After completing the survey measures, the participants were asked to make a list of up to three serial arguments they had with their partner in the last three months. Serial arguments were explained to the participants: "A lot of the time, we have disagreements about the same issues again and again. We are interested in those disagreements that you have had with your partner that are **serial**, in that they have occurred **more than once.**" After the participants filled out their disagreement list, they were reunited. The researcher reviewed the each partner's list and suggested that the dyad discuss one of the listed disagreements. The dyad and researcher collectively picked a disagreement that met the requirements of a serial argument and was comfortable for the participants. This procedure is similar to the Martial Agendas Protocol (Notarius & Vanzetti, 1983) which has been utilized by

many behavioral scientists to elicit conflictual interaction. The dyad was again separated and instructed to fill out the next packet considering the disagreement they chose. The packet included an attitudinal measure that will be used in later analyses. They were also given a lined sheet of paper with these instructions: "Please give us some insight into what you are planning to say and what you hope to accomplish on these lines below". Next, the dyad was reunited in a room equipped with two video cameras and a microphone. The researcher instructed the dyad to talk about that disagreement they choose and after setting a timer for 10 minutes, left the room. After 10 minutes were finished, the researcher returned to separated the dyad and each participant viewed a copy of the videotape. At one minute increments they were instructed to stop the tape and fill out a measure reporting importance level of goals they held for that minute. After both individuals were finished, the dyad was debriefed and thanked for their time.

Measures

Individual's goals were assessed through a seven item Likert-type scale which was completed by the participant at time 1 through time 10. The participants were asked to rate each goal on a seven point scale prefaced by this statement: "At this point in the conversation, it was important for me to…" Instrumental goals were assessed by the item: "Convince my partner of my position". Relational goals were assessed by a single item "Maintain our relationship". Both self and other identity goals were assessed by "Restore or maintain my own sense of self" and "Support my partner".

Coding Procedures

The videotaped interactions were categorized using a coding scheme based on Sillars (1980; 1986), Sillars, Dun and Roberts (1999) and Malik and Lindahl's (2000) examinations of conflict interactions. The coding scheme used here (See Appendix A) is a mixture of both of

these schemes so that a variety of conflict tactics could be assessed at a global level. From Sillars and colleagues this scheme takes the tripartite distinction first suggested by Sillars (1980), which define statements made by individuals during conflict as either: integrative (working with their partner) distributive (working against their partner) or avoidant (working away from their partner). Sillars et al., (1982) found that this distinction proved to be relevant for coding both verbal and nonverbal dimensions of behavior. Thus, Sillars and colleagues contribute both the overarching structure to the scheme as well as specific behavioral indicators for those general codes. Malik and Lindahl's (2000) System for Coding Interactions in Dyads (SCID) will be utilized to focus on making global judgments of strategies in the serial arguments. The SCID was created to measure communication skills and conflict processes within an interaction and also issues of power, dominance and aggression in the relationship (Malik & Lindahl, 2000). The schemes developed by Sillars and colleagues focus on coding each statement on a turn-by-turn basis. The SCID is useful in this investigation because it is so focused to making global judgments concerning multiple behaviors during a time interval. Overall, the scheme used in this investigation relies on categorical judgments to record use of integrative, distributive and avoidant conflict tactics.

Initiator and Resistor Codes

Within serial arguments and social confrontation generally, one individual initiates the conversation and the other takes the role of the resistor (Johnson & Roloff, 1998; Newell and Stutman, 1991; 1988; Stutman & Newell; 1990). In order to identify the initiator and resistor in each dyad, one of the coders read each participant's the list of disagreements and descriptions of what they was going to say. After comparing both individuals in the dyad, the coder was able to clearly identify the initiator in 44 of the dyads. For the remaining 11, the author both read the

open ended self-report data and consulted the video tapes to determine who held each role. The coding scheme developed for this investigation was designed to follow the initiator and resistor's behavior throughout the interaction. Both the initiator and the resistor's behavior were coded for the tactics; however, the resistor's messages will also be coded for whether their responses reflected agreement with the initiator, the presentation of an obstacle, or a rebuff. Thus, this scheme relied on 14 separate codes that collapsed into 2 different categories: *tactics* (integrative, distributive and avoidant) and *responses* (acceptance, obstacle and rebuff) (See Table 1).

Two research assistants were trained by the author as independent coders for this study. They were blind to the predictions of this thesis and meet weekly with the author to answer any questions and ensure reliability. Coders were asked to make categorical judgments as to whether a behavior occurred within in each one minute increment of the 10 minute videotaped interaction for the initiator and resistor. The judgments were mutually exclusive. Originally, the scheme had 14 total categories (see Table 1) however, during training those categories folded into 10 more general categories and an off-topic judgment (see Table 2 and Appendix A). [3]

Measuring Goals

Since this is a secondary analysis I am both enabled and constrained by the way the data were originally collected. In the original study, goals were measured by a 7 point Likert scale. However, in order to measure how goals dictate communication behavior, a single goal or combination of goals must be identified as most important for each minute. The concept of goal importance has been demonstrated to direct communication behavior (Samp & Solomon, 1999). Thus, it is also theoretically important to identify which goals were most important to the participant. To determine this, the researcher considered each minute for every participant individually. The goal or goal combinations rated the highest were identified. Thus, if a

participant rated one goal 5 out of 7 and the remaining goals only a 4, that highest goal was retained for that minute. Several patterns emerged. First, each of the four goals (relational, self and other identity and instrumental) occurred individually as the most important goal. Beyond single goals, the rest of the importance ratings were more complicated. At first, the researcher used very small combinations of two or three goals without consideration of theoretical continuity (See Table 3). However, it became clear after looking at those combinations that they could be separated into three categories. There was one prominent and frequent combination of self identity and instrumental which merited its own category. There were also two general categorizes of infrequent but similar codes. One category focused around instrumental concerns but also privileged relational and identity concerns in a variety of combinations. The other category consisted of all the mixtures of identity and relational concerns. Finally, a pattern of marking none of the goals as most important (e.g. by marking all the goals a 2 out of 7) was found. Thus, goals were measured by eight separate categories. For further definition and explanation see Table 4.

Analysis

Sequential Analysis

Merits of Sequential Analysis for Conflict Interactions. I propose that the links between goals and behaviors in conflict interaction be investigated through an analysis of behavior patterns. Dillard suggests that "as a general rule, an action to goal inference should be stronger to the extent that a pattern can be observed…" (1997, p. 63). Social interactions are complex, but can be organized along two dimensions: time and behavior type (Cappella & Street, 1985). Behavioral sequences can demonstrate principles of mutual influence in interaction and reflect the way individuals engage in conflict interaction. Recall that mutual influence between partners

is required for interpersonal communication to occur (Jones & Gerard, 1967) and when one person's behavior is correlated with another partner's behavior, mutual influence exists (Cappella, 1985; 1987; 1994). Sequential analysis has been utilized by many studies of marital interaction (e.g. Ting-Toomey; 1983; Margolin &Wampold; 1981; Gottman, 1994) to describe changes overtime in interactions. Simple behavioral frequencies do not tell a complete story without information on how those behaviors change overtime. For example, Gottman (1979; 1994) reported that distressed martial couples engage in more negative behavior in interactions than happy couples. Gottman (1994) also found that distressed couples engage in increasingly more negative exchanges, as do happy couples. The non-distressed couples simply use more positive behavior. Furthermore, Roloff and Ifert (1998) suggest that investigations of mutual influence and patterned behavior are especially pertinent to understanding communicative behavior in serial interaction, and offer an opportunity to extend the concept of mutual influence beyond one episode. Thus, in conversations, each response is contingent upon the later, making an event's place in time during an interaction key to understanding how an interaction occurs.

Basics of Sequential Analysis. Sequential analysis begins with collecting data so that temporal order is preserved. In this investigation, time is organized into set intervals; however, it can be measured by the onset and offset of kinds of behaviors (timed event sequences) or in simple event sequences (A then B then C) (Bakeman & Gottman, 1986). After data is collected, the one goal of sequential analysis is to identify the common behavioral sequences in the data and their structure (Gottman & Roy, 1990). First, simple or *unconditional* probabilities (i.e. the percentage of time integrative strategies were used) for specific behaviors are calculated. The purpose of sequential analysis is to identify those patterns of behavior that occur more often than chance would predict (Bakeman & Quera, 1995b). To do this, patterns of behavior are

determined by creating a transition matrix where codes represent rows and time represents columns. In most sequential analysis where intervals are not used, a "moving time window" is used to determine *conditional* probabilities (i.e. Are integrative strategies more likely to occur when individuals have relational goals?). The moving time window assumes that data points are dependent upon each other and measures how often certain codes follow others. For example, if a researcher used three codes A, B C- she could have observed these data points: ABCABC. The moving window would consider each pair or triple in order -(AB)CABC, A(BC)ABC, AB(CA)BC, etc to get the probability that B follows A and so forth. Thus, sequential analysis at the most basic level identifies sequences in the data and describes their frequency and probability (Bakeman & Gottman, 1986).

Lag Sequential Analysis. This investigation will utilize a particular kind of sequential analysis often called lag sequential analysis (Bakeman, 1979; Bakeman & Gottman, 1986; Gottman & Roy, 1990; Sackett, 1979, 1987). This analysis relies on "lags" (i.e. predictions that code A will occur in an interval following code B) to determine the relationships between codes. Lag-sequential analysis is appropriate for data collected at intervals to create the conditional probabilities (Bakeman & Quera, 1995a). The given event is said to occur at *lag 0* and if the target event follows in the next interval, it occurs at *lag 1*. The number of intervals between the event and target equals the "lag" for a particular model (Gottman & Roy, 1990). Lag-sequential analysis can be used when codes can follow themselves (i.e. A-A-A) or when repetition is not permitted (Bakeman & Quera, 1995b). In this analysis, codes may occur in consecutive patterns. The contingency tables proposed here will include rows and columns of behavioral codes and goals for both the resistor and initiator. Each cell will represent frequency of a particular goal or code following another goal or code at a given lag (Bakeman & Quera, 1995a). This

configuration will result in z-scores for each code which can be analyzed and compared to binomial distributions (Gottman & Roy, 1990).

In sequential analyses, the width of the interval can influence the kind of observations recorded. Coding interactions at one minute intervals also focuses our investigation on detecting patterns in strategies, which reflect the overall communicative direction. Each researcher must determine the best interval width to capture the variations in behavior he or she wishes to study without measuring co-occurring behaviors (Symons, 1992). While there are no hard and fast rules, there has been some evidence that shortening the width of the interval to rid the study of co-occurrence has caused increases in error variance (see Symons, 1992). The hypotheses presented in the previous chapter will be analyzed through a comparison of video-cued self-report goals which were collected at one minute increments and communicative behavior during the conflict. While behavioral codes are often considered act-by-act (Sillars et al., 1982), the goal measures were measured once every minute. Thus, the codes for behaviors have to also reflect the whole minute. The initial decision was made in part because of the tedious and tenuous process of measuring video-recalled goals. Video-recall is arguably the best method to cue memories of conversations (Waldon & Cegala, 1992). It would have been extremely arduous for the participant to make more than 70 goal-related judgments even with assistance from the videotape. Fatigue would have certainly hampered the participant's ability to make so many judgments.

After data entry, it became apparent that several codes were used with far less frequency than others. Specifically, avoidance, hostile and unable behaviors were used together less than 3% of the time. Those codes were eliminated from the scheme and recoded by the coders as another code. None of minutes recoded were uncodable with the reduced scheme. According to

the criteria suggested by Fleiss (1981) and Brennen and Prediger (1981) a kappa above .75 is considered "excellent", between .60-.70, "good" and .40-.60 is considered fair. For the tactics codes there was 77% agreement (k= .61) while for response codes agreement was 80% (k= .77). Cohen's Kappa was calculated using adjustments suggested by Bakeman and Gottman (1986) for sequential analysis. Thus, intercoder agreement suggests that reliability of the coding scheme was adequate for making global judgments of both verbal and nonverbal behaviors.

Testing Assumptions in Sequential Analysis

Like all statistical tests, the use of lag sequential analysis is contingent upon several important assumptions. First, a researcher must determine what kind of sequential order to test her predictions by. This is first step to the primary goal of sequential analysis, determining what probabilistic patterns exist in a data set (Gottman & Roy, 1990). Since sequential analysis assumes that some codes follow other codes more frequently, the researcher must test her own data to make sure this is actually true. This is a step by step process where hierarchical Markov Models are compared against each other until the right fit is found. Gottman and Roy (1990) call this "fitting the timetable" where it is determined how many events previous to the given event is necessary to reduce uncertainty of its prediction (p. 31). Markov models, like all models, are a set of assumptions that generate expected frequencies in the data (Bakeman & Gottman, 1986). Recall our discussion of conditional and unconditional probabilities. In a zero-order Markov model, these to probabilities are equal. It is assumed that one code is not more probable than another and that the codes are in a random order. In a first order model, the assumption is that codes are not equal in probability and that they occur relative to each other (i.e. A occurs most often after B). Furthermore, it is possible to have a model higher than one. In these cases,

predicting a given code is based on a code occurring more than one time lag previous indicating that pairs of codes are predicting other codes (i.e. triplets) (Gottman & Roy, 1990).

The Question of Independence. Essentially, when a researcher is testing for order, she is testing whether each code in the data is independent from the following code. If not, then it must be determined at which lag the sequence is significant. Thus, because each code serves as both an antecedent and consequent, a few critics consider the assumption of sampling independence to be violated (Bakeman & Gottman, 1986). However, in order to find sequences, the data must be empirically dependent upon each other. Bakeman and Dorval (1989) argue that it is important to make a distinction between empirical independence and sampling independence. In Anderson and Goodman's 1957 paper on Markov chains and also in a 1983 update by Goodman, they suggest that any violation can be circumvented by using the likelihood ratio chi squared test. Furthermore, Bakeman and Dorval (1989) conducted a Monte Carlo simulation using both independent (i.e. antecedent and consequent were different for each probability) and dependent data. They found both sets of data were randomly distributed and suggested that that assumption was not violated in the dependent data. Thus, most do not consider sampling independence in sequential analysis to be a damaging issue.

The null hypothesis for a test of independence is a zero-order Markov model, while the hypothesis first-order Markov model. Thus, the test of independence is the test for the first-order model. Gottman & Roy (1990) suggest using the Anderson and Goodman (1957) likelihood ratio χ^2 test. This test statistic, when N is large, is asymptotically distributed as a χ^2 test.

For this data, before I conducted any tests of assumptions, I first pooled across units (the participant). Then I tested the order of each set of codes predicting itself (tactics, responses, and

goals) and goals predicting behavior with the LRX^2 (See Table 5). The data were found to be first order for both kinds of sequences.

Stationarity and Homogeneity

Once the order of the data has been established, the next step in fitting the timetable is establishing stationarity. Stated simply, stationarity is the consistency of sequences over time (Gottman & Roy, 1990). Thus, a researcher will want to know if some sequences are more probable during different times in the data chain. If she finds that her data are not stable then a single analysis of the data is not sufficient, time must be considered as another factor. Determining how to test for stationarity is much more related to the data set than testing for order. The size of the effect and identifying which of the possible sequences change over time could be important in some cases. In others, very fine sequential changes may be crucial for understanding, or it may be determined that a general fit is sufficient (Gottman & Roy, 1990). The authors also suggest that Anderson Goodman LRX^2 omnibus test is an appropriate test to assess stationarity. This test compares the first half of the data to the second against the results of the pooled data set. For this data set, the data were determined to be highly stationary (See Table 6).

Homogeneity is the final overarching assumption of sequential analysis. In many cases, it is interesting to know whether or not sequences vary across or within groups. Most exploratory sequential analysis does not pool across units (i.e. the dyad or individuals). Thus, for each analysis a contingency table is generated for each participant. However, most researchers are interested in comparing groups or determining if group membership impacts the sequential structure. Once again, an Anderson Goodman LRX^2 test is an appropriate option (Gottman & Roy, 1990). The null hypothesis is that the data are not homogeneous. For this data set, it is

important to know if pooling across all subjects and also across groups is appropriate. The data were determined to be homogeneous at all levels across groups (i.e. initiator v. resistor, friends v. daters, and males v. females) (See Table 7).

Results

Non-sequential Descriptions

The reader may find it helpful to know which codes occurred more frequently than others and which codes across code sets co-occurred within lags. Recall that 47 dyads and 94 individuals were retained for data analysis. However, because not all dyads stayed on topic for the full ten minutes or reported goals for all minutes the final number of codes used were 827 for tactics, 329 for responses and 810 for goals for a total of 2181 codes. Not surprisingly, considering the nature of the interactions, the vast majority of tactics used were issue related (*n*= 577), followed by competitive control behavior (*n*= 159) and supportive behavior (*n*= 91). Overall, the interactions were overwhelmingly integrative. Acceptance codes outnumbered unwilling codes for responses 215 to 199. Finally, the 8 kinds of goals were fairly evenly distributed with the exception of the "none" (*n*= 69) and "concern for other" categories (*n*= 68). The combination of my position with identity and relational goals (*n*= 173) and relational concerns (*n*=159) occurred most frequently followed by the combination of identity and relational goals (*n*=156). Focus on "my position" and my identity and my position occurred 130, and 109 times in the data respectively. Finally, concerns for self also occurred (*n*= 76).

Goal Shift. One of the reasons why conflict interactions were chosen as the context to study the relationship between goals and behaviors is because the researcher thought it would have a high propensity for goal shift. Indeed, onset of a new code (i.e. the code proceeding it was different) occurred 538 intervals out of 810 codes or 66.4%. This suggests that the data are

highly variable. However, shifts to each of the particular goals generally follow the frequency with which they actually occurred in the data. Again, a shift to the "none" category (n=36) occurred least frequently. The combinations of my position with identity and relational goals (n=98) and identity and relational goals (n=96) occurred most frequently followed by relational concerns (n=78). Again, the focus on "my position" and my identity and my position occurred 71, and 60 times in the data respectively. Finally, the shifts to identity concerns also occurred less frequently: concern for self (*n*= 52) and (concern for other (n=47).

Exploratory Analyses

One objective for using sequential analysis is to determine what sequences are present in their data without the use of hypothesis testing (Gottman & Roy, 1990). For this data set it is interesting to see which behaviors follow each other and what goals best predict behavior. To do this, we must test for significant cells in the contingency tables. Recall that Sackett (1979) has suggested that the relationship between unconditional and conditional probabilities is best tested against the binomial distribution using z-scores. In a notable critique, Allison and Liker (1982), suggest an adjustment for sampling error to binomial computations of *z*-scores, which will be utilized here. Furthermore in lag sequential analysis, the researcher has the option of checking to see whether sequences exist beyond one lag. Here we have chosen to investigate up to lag 5 (i.e. antecedent occurs 5 time periods previous from the consequent). Logically, it is unlikely that behavior and goals further separated will have any influence on each other and indeed we found very few chains at such a time length.

When considering sequences within the same code set, one predominate theme emerges: codes predict themselves. In fact, Allison-Liker *z*- scores for tactics (competitive control behavior, supportive behavior and issue orientation) and response codes (acceptance and

unwilling) both as antecedents and consequents were significant at lags 1-5 (See Table 8). Furthermore, several trends were identified within goals. Some goal codes (self, other and none) occurred so infrequently the normality assumptions were not met. For those an AL *z*-score statistic was inappropriate, however; for the remaining codes the same theme emerged and was highly consistent across lags (See Table 9).

Furthermore, the results of the exploratory analyses confirmed that goals predicted behavior in this data set. For this analysis, the goals of self and other identity and none did not occur frequently enough in order to test for cellwise statistics. Concern for one's own position and one's own self combined with a concern with one's own position predicted competitive control behavior at lag 1 while concern for other's self predicted supportive behavior. Furthermore, combinations of identity and relational concerns predicted issue related talk at lag l. Unlike the sequences within codes, significant goal predictions do not remain static throughout the remaining lags. In lag 2, issue talk is not predicted by any goal, though every other behavior is consistently predicted. In lag 3, only competitive control behavior is predicted by my position and self/my position goals. However, in lag 4, beyond replicating lag 3, relational goals predicted issue talk. Finally, in lag 5, relational goals predicted issue talk and relational goals together with my position continued to predict competitive control behavior. Thus, clearly the goal of "my position" is the must robust effect. See Table 10 for a complete list of conditional probabilities and *z*-scores.

The findings for how goals predict response behavior in resistor's responses are considerably more static than the effects for tactics. For this analysis, the goals of self and "none" did not occur frequently enough in order to test for cellwise statistics. Overwhelmingly, at all lags, goals concerning preserving other's self predict acceptance responses while goals to

present my position predict unwilling responses. However, at lag 3 the combination of identity (both self and other) and relational goals predict acceptance responses and only the "my position-unwilling" sequence is significant in lag 5 (See Table 11 for complete results).

Tests of Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1a and 1b. Hypothesis 1a posits that initiators who demonstrate more integrative tactics than distributive or avoidant tactics will also rate instrumental and relational goals more important than identity goals. Hypothesis 1b states that initiators who demonstrate more distributive tactics than integrative or avoidant tactics will also rate self-identity goals and instrumental more important than relational goals. Then these hypotheses were be tested using a lag 0 contingency table. The event will be conflict tactics and the target will be goal importance ratings. Although the table effect was significant ($LRX^2 = 28.98$, d.f. 14, $p>.05$), none of the cellwise effects which met the assumptions of a normal distribution were significant. However, disregarding those inconsistencies in the data, competitive control behavior and "self" ($z=2.73$, $p>.01$) and "selfmy" ($z= 2.25$, $p>.05$) were concurrent. See table 12 for full results. At lag 0, H1a was not supported, while perhaps H1b would be supported given more data points. However, this is not surprising considering that this data set is first order. Post hoc, data were analyzed at lag 1, instead of concurrent behavior. Here "selfmy" ($z=3.10$, $p>.01$) was predictive of competitive control behavior. Initiator's rarely used supportive behavior, however, if one disregards the abnormality of the data initiator's goals to preserve the "other" were predictive of supportive behavior at lag 1 ($z= 3.24$, $p>.01$). Thus, when looking at subsequent lags H1a may be supported given more data points, and H1b is confirmed.

Post hoc, the same analysis was conducted for the resistors. The table effect for resistors was significant ($LRX^2= 67.47$, d.f. 14, $p<.0001$). At lag 0, competitive control behavior and both

goals for "my position" (z= 4.54, p>.0001) and "my position and self identity" (z= 2.64, p>.01) were concurrent. Also, support behavior and concern for other co-occurred at lag 0: z= 4.21, p>.0001).

Hypothesis 2a and 2b. Hypotheses 2a and 2b are overall comparisons of the kinds of goals held by the initiator and resistor. Hypothesis 2a asserts that initiators will report instrumental goals more than relational or identity goals across the conversation. Hypothesis 2b states that resistors will report relational and other-identity goals more than instrumental goals across the conversation. This hypothesis was tested using a lag 1 contingency table. The initiator and resistor's pooled *z*-scores were tested separately for homogeneity across all codes. For resistors, the goal of "my position" occurred significantly more frequently than others: z= 4.04, d.f. 1 p<. 05. For initiators, the relational goals occurred significantly more frequently than others: z= 9.06, d.f. 1 p< .01. Thus, H2a and 2b were not supported.

Hypotheses 3 and 4. H3 predicts that an initiator's use of distributive tactics at any turn of the discussion will relate to the resistor rating self-identity goals more important than instrumental or relational goals. H4 advances that an initiator's use of integrative tactics at any turn of the discussion will relate to the resistor rating relational and instrumental goals more important than self-identity goals. This hypothesis was tested using a lag 0, lag 1 contingency table and Alison Liker *z*-scores. The event or lag was conflict tactics for the initiator and lag 1 was the goal importance ratings of the resistor. Overall, the LRX^2 equation was significant, demonstrating a table effect between initiator's behavior and resistor's goals (LRX^2 = 59.28, d.f. 12, p>.0001). Three cellwise effects were found, all slightly divergent from hypotheses. See table 13 for full results. A strong sequential chain was found between the relationship between initiator's competitive control behavior and the resistor rating "my position" goals as most

important (z= 6.84, p >.0001). There were also relationships between initiator's issue orientation and both of the combination goals. The first combination goal encompasses high importance ratings of either all goals or all but one goal, centered on instrumental goals (z= 2.68, p>. 01). The second combination goal encompasses identity and relational goals (z= 2.00, p>.05). Thus, the results of testing hypothesis three demonstrated that competitive control behaviors do result in a self focus; however, that focus is on the resistor's position not maintaining their face. However, for H4 it seems that issue orientation behavior predicts multifaceted goals. Since so many goals were activated based on issue behavior, lags 2-5 were also investigated post hoc to determine if one kind of goal over time emerges as the main goal. At lag 2, the relationship and identity goals also created a sequence (z= 2.28, p>.05). Thus H3 was not supported and H4 was somewhat supported.

Hypotheses 5 and 6. H5 states that a resistor's self-identity and instrumental goals will relate to more distributive and avoidant tactics than integrative. H6 posits that hypothesis asserts that a resistor's relational or other-identity goals will relate to more integrative tactics than distributive or avoidant. These hypotheses were tested using a contingency table with the importance ratings of resistor's goals as antecedents and resistor's tactics as the consequence at lag 1. The table effect was significant: LRX^2= 51.07, d.f. 12, p>.0001. Cellwise, all of the behaviors were predicted by a goal(s) (See table 14 for full results). First, competitive control behavior was the consequent when both my position (z= 3.58, p> .001) and a combination of self identity and my position (z= 2.78, p>.01). Also, supportive behavior at lag 1 was predicted by concern for the other's face (z=3.69, p>.001). Finally, issue orientation was predicted by a combination of identity and relationship goals (z= 2.68, p>.01). Thus, Hypothesis 5 and 6 were confirmed.

Hypotheses 7, 8 and 9. H7 states that the resistor's distributive tactics will lead to increased importance of self-identity goals in the initiator. H8 asserts that a resistor's avoidant tactics will lead to increased importance of instrumental goals in the initiator. H9 posits that a resistor's integrative tactics will lead to increased importance of relational and other-identity goals in the initiator. A third table was constructed to test these hypotheses, the antecedent was the resistor's tactics, and the consequent was goal importance ratings for the initiator. The table effect was significant: LRX^2= 29.26, d.f. 12, p>.01. However, the majority of the cellwise examinations did not meet the conditions for the normal distribution (See table 15). The only significant sequence detected was between the resistor's issue orientation and the initiator's relational goals (z= 2.55, p >. 05). Thus, H9 was confirmed. Disregarding the abnormalities in the data, the resistor's competitive control behavior also predicted self goals (z= 3.28, p=.01) and self and my position goals (z=2.83, p >.01). It is possible that H7 would be confirmed if there were more data points. Since avoidance behavior did not occur frequently enough to do analyses, H8 could not be tested.

Hypotheses 10a, 10b and 11. H10a states that a resistor's use of inability obstacles will increase the importance of relational and other-identity goals for the initiator. While H10b posits that a resistor's use of unwillingness obstacles and rebuffs will increase the importance of self-identity and instrumental goals for the initiator at the second turn of the discussion. Finally H11 states that a resistor's use of acceptance responses will increase the importance of other-identity and relational goals for the initiator. The antecedent was the resistor's scores on the response code while consequent was the goal importance ratings of the initiator. The overall table effect was nonsignficant: LRX^2= 9.33, d.f. 6, p= .15. Thus, hypotheses 10a, 10b and 11 were not confirmed.

Table 1

Summary of Coding Categories

Codes for Initiators and Resistors

Integrative Tactics- *Working with partner*

Problem Solving- Individual makes statements of self-disclosure, compromise, or responsibility regarding solutions to issue.

Partner-Focus- Individual uses statements that support, validate and confirm the other partner and his or her perspective; responsive to nonverbal changes in partner's behavior.

Positive Emotion-Individual is calm, pleasant, pleased and cheerful when he or she speaks or listens. Facial expressions, body language and tone are warm and inviting.

Distributive Tactics- *Working against partner*

Verbal Aggression- Individual uses his or her words as weapons against the other partner's ideas, character and self-esteem, while his or her body language and tone is forceful and hostile.

Coercion- Individual is demanding, threatening or manipulative. Body language and tone is frightening and intimidating.

Negativity- Individual's body language and facial expressions and tone demonstrate anger and frustration.

Self-Focus/ Control- Individual controls the conversation by focusing on his or her own points and ignoring the input of his or her partner and their emotional state.

(table continues)

Table 1 (continued)

Summary of Coding Categories

Codes for Initiators and Resistors: Avoidance
Avoidance Tactics- *Working away from partner*
Withdrawal- Individual is increasingly less involved with the conversation. Body language, facial expressions and tone demonstrates a lack of interest or apathy.
Topic Shifting/Denial- Individual claims that the issue is "no big deal" and makes comments which shift the topic or distracts the conversation.
Acquiescence- Individual uses statements that alleviate the conflict by relinquishing his or her own position and accepting the other partner's with a body posture and facial expressions that are clearly upset and unnerved.
Codes for Resistors
Acceptance- Individual agrees with his or her partner in a self-respecting manner.
Unable- Individual clearly disagrees with his or her partner because he or she is hindered by physical, emotional or financial responsibilities or deficiencies.
Unwilling- Individual clearly disagrees with his or her partner because he or she does not want to or think he or she should agree.
Rebuff- Individual clearly disagrees with his or her partner without giving any reason.

Table 2

Revised Summary of Coding Categories

Codes for Initiators and Resistors

Integrative Tactics- *Working with partner*

Solution / Issue Orientation- Individual presents his or her perspective on issue, using self disclosure, solutions, statements of responsibility. Body language, facial expressions and tone are warm.

Support- Individual's statements support, validate and confirm the other partner and his or her perspective and is sensitive to emotional changes in the partner. Body language, facial expressions and tone are warm.

Distributive Tactics- *Working against partner*

Control/ Competitiveness -Individual attempts to control the conversation by focusing on his or her own points and ignoring the input of his or her partner, disregarding the emotional state of the other partner.

Hostile-Individual uses words as weapons against the other partner, often using demanding, threatening or manipulative statements. Body language and tone is angry, forceful or frightening.

(table continues)

Table 2 (continued)

Revised Summary of Coding Categories

Codes for Initiators and Resistors
Avoidance Tactics- *Working away from partner*
Active-Individual either claims that the problem is not an issue or attempts to change the topic of the conversation.
Passive- Individual becomes increasingly less involved in the conversation accompanied by disinterested, dull or withdrawn body language and tone.
Off-topic- *Mutual agreement to talk about something else beside the issue*
Codes for Resistors
Acceptance- Individual agrees with his or her partner in a self-respecting manner.
Unable- Individual clearly disagrees with his or her partner because he or she is hindered by physical, emotional or financial responsibilities or deficiencies.
Unwilling- Individual clearly disagrees with his or her partner because he or she does not want to or think he or she should agree.
Rebuff- Individual clearly disagrees with his or her partner without giving any reason.

Table 3

Original Goal Categories

Name	*Abbreviation*	*Description*
Primary Goals		
Relational	Rela	"Maintain our relationship"
Other-Identity	Oth	"Support my partner"
Self-Identity	Self	"Restore or maintain my own sense of self"
Instrumental	My	"Convince my partner of my position"
Total Combinations		
None		"No goals were rated as important"
All		"All goals were rated as important"
Combinations		
Selfmy		Self-Identity and Instrumental
Relaoth		Relational and Other-Identity
Iden		Self-Identity and Other-Identity
Selfrela		Self-Identity and Relational
Othmy		Other-Identity and Instrumental
Relamy		Relationship and Instrumental
Idenmy		Self-Identity, Other-Identity, and Instrumental
Relaiden		Relational, Self-Identity, and Other-Identity
Relaothmy		Relational, Other-Identity, and Instrumental
Relaselfmy		Relational, Self-Identity, and Instrumental

Table 4

Final Goal Categories

Abbreviation	*Description /Explanation*
Individual Goals	
Rela	"Maintain our relationship"
Oth	"Support my partner"
Self	"Restore or maintain my own sense of self"
My	"Convince my partner of my position"
Combinations	
Selfmy	
"Allmix"	idenmy relaothmy relaselfmy othmy relamy relaothmy all
"IdenRela"	relaiden iden selfrela relaoth
None	

Table 5

Likelihood Ratio Values for the Anderson-Goodman Test for Order

Codes	LRX^2	df	p
Within Codes			
Target: Goals, Given: Goals	733.84	49	> .001
Target: Tactics, Given: Tactics	221.70	4	> .001
Target: Response, Given: Response	100.96	1	> .001
Across Codes			
Target: Tactics, Given: Goals	73.53	14	> .001
Target: Response, Given: Goals	33.56	7	> .001

Table 6

Likelihood Ratio Values for the Anderson-Goodman Test for Stationarity

Codes	LR	df	p
Within Codes			
Target: Goals, Given: Goals	64.90	49	ns
Target: Tactics, Given: Tactics	4.02	4	ns
Target: Response, Given: Response	2.59	1	ns
Across Codes			
Target: Tactics, Given: Goals	12.90	14	ns
Target: Response, Given: Goals	13.42	7	ns

Note: $\alpha = .05$

Table 7

Likelihood Ratio Values for the Anderson-Goodman Test for Homogeneity

Codes	LR	df	p
Within Codes			
Target: Goals, Given: Goals			
Initiators v. Resistors	34.39	49	ns
Daters v. Friends	39.70	49	ns
Males v. Females	55.78	49	ns
Target: Tactics, Given: Tactics			
Initiators v. Resistors	7.41	4	ns
Daters v. Friends	6.99	4	ns
Males v. Females	2.06	4	ns
Target: Response, Given: Response			
Daters v. Friends	2.79	1	ns
Males v. Females	1.84	1	ns
Across Codes			
Target: Tactics, Given: Goals			
Initiators v. Resistors	23.64	14	ns
Daters v. Friends	17.80	14	ns
Males v. Females	14.07	14	ns
Target: Response, Given: Goals			
Daters v. Friends	10.83	7	ns
Males v. Females	6.95	7	ns

Note: $\alpha = .05$

Table 8

Lags 1-5 z- scores: Tactics Given Tactics and Response Given Response

Sequence	Lag 1 (conp) *z-score*	Lag 2 (conp) *z-score*	Lag 3 (conp) *z-score*	Lag4 (conp) *z-score*	Lag5 (conp) *z-score*
Con-Con	(.65)	(.63)	(.56)	(.55)	(.51)
	15.32*	13.90*	11.34*	10.50*	8.48*
Con-Sup	(.01)	(.00)	(.03)	(.04)	(.04)
	-4.36	-14.16	-3.20	-2.21	-2.25
Con-Iss	(.33)	(.36)	(.42)	(.40)	(.46)
	-10.29	-9.24	-7.65	-7.74	-5.85
Sup-Con	(.03)	(.00)	(.33)	(.00)	(.00)
	-4.18	-4.28	-3.34	-3.51	-3.05
Sup-Sup	(.27)	(.30)	(.25)	(.21)	(.25)
	4.50*	5.42*	3.87*	2.83+	3.19+
Sup-Iss	(.70)	(.70)	(.11)	(.79)	(.75)
	.55	.06	.29	1.19	.55
Iss-Con	(.10)	(.10)	(.42)	(.10)	(.11)
	-10.56	-9.36	-7.74	-7.13	-5.68
Iss-Sup	(.12)	(.11)	(.72)	(.10)	(.10)
	.78	.07	.22	.13	.00
Iss-Iss	(.78)	(.80)	(.79)	(.80)	(.79)
	8.60*	8.05*	5.53*	5.10*	4.91*
Acc-Acc	(.76)	(.74)	(.72)	(.69)	(.70)
	9.80*	8.48*	5.40*	4.75*	4.46*
Acc- Unwil	(.24)	(.25)	(.28)	(.37)	(.37)
	-9.80	-8.48	-5.40	-4.75	-4.46
Unwil- Unwil	(.74)	(.74)	(.66)	(.31)	(.30)
	9.80*	8.48*	5.40*	4.75*	4.46*
Unwil-Acc	(.25)	(.24)	(.33)	(.52)	(.52)
	-9.80	-8.48	-5.40	-4.75	-4.46

Note: Conditional Probabilities were tested against unconditional using the AL *z*-score (+p<.01; * p<.001).

Table 9

Lags 1-5 z- scores: Goals given Goals

Sequence	Lag 1 (conp) *z-score*	Lag 2 (conp) *z-score*	Lag 3 (conp) *z-score*	Lag4 (conp) *z-score*	Lag5 (conp) *z-score*
Rela-rela	(.59)	(.52)	(.56)	(.56)	(.47)
	14.17*	10.43*	9.69*	8.44*	5.15*
Rela-My	(.04)	(.05)	(.03)	(.05)	
	-3.28	-2.25	-2.79	-1.70	
Rela-Selfmy	(.00)	(.04)	(.01)	(.13)	
	-4.73	-2.69	-3.29	-2.85	
Rela-Mymix	(.09)	(.11)	(.12)	(.15)	(.13)
	-3.07	-2.02	-1.55	-1.26	-.98
Rela-Idenrela	(.015)	(.17)	(.18)	(.04)	(.15)
	-.50	.07	.28	-.28	-.53
My-Rela	(.05)	(.10)	(.11)	(.16)	(.19)
	-3.96	-2.35	-2.30	-1.21	-.55
My-My	(.48)	(.38)	(.34)	(.09)	
	12.39*	9.25*	8.05*	6.23*	
My-Selfmy	(.15)	(.14)	(.09)	(.14)	
	1.21	.80	-.35	1.17	
My-Allmix	(.10)	(.12)	(.16)	(.12)	(.08)
	-2.35	-1.72	-.51	-1.72	-2.52
My-Idenreal	(.10)	(.10)	(.10)	(.10)	(.09)
	-2.29	-2.31	-2.12	-1.98	-2.11
Selfmy-Rela	(.06)	(.06)	(.06)	(.08)	(.11)
	-3.34	-3.22	-3.41	-2.94	-2.17
Selfmy- My	(.14)	(.14)	(.17)	(.16)	
	.42	.46	1.94	1.57	
Selfmy-Selfmy	(.47)	(.42)	(.46)	(.33)	
	11.64*	9.86*	11.41*	6.87*	
Selfmy-Allmix	(.10)	(.11)	(.09)	(.13)	(.09)
	-2.14	-1.99	-2.19	-1.16	-1.91
Selfmy-Idenrela	(.05)	(.11)	(.08)	(.12)	(.19)
	-3.52	-1.80	-2.21	-1.17	.30

(table continues)

Note: Blanks indicate cells where AL *z*-scores could not be computed due to few data points. Conditional Probabilities were tested against unconditional using the AL *z*-score (†p <.05; +p<.01; * p<.001).

Table 9 (continued)

Lags 1-5 z- scores: Goals Given Goals

Sequence	Lag 1 (conp) *z-score*	Lag 2 (conp) *z-score*	Lag 3 (conp) *z-score*	Lag4 (conp) *z-score*	Lag5 (conp) *z-score*
Mymix-Rela	(.14)	(.17)	(.20)	(.18)	(.24)
	-1.35	-.52	.07	-.64	.59
Mymix-My	(.05)	(.05)	(.03)	(.04)	
	-3.21	-2.84	-3.10	-2.49	
Mymix-Selfmy	(.07)	(.10)	(.06)	(.05)	
	-2.10	-.63	-1.87	-2.09	
Mymix-Mymix	(.48)	(.38)	(.37)	(.35)	(.30)
	10.92*	6.99*	6.11*	5.20*	3.41*
Mymix-Idenrela	(.10)	(.14)	(.17)	(.20)	(.08)
	-2.38	-.87	.26	1.13	.15
Idenrela-Rela	(.13)	(.18)	(.20)	(.16)	(.15)
	-1.30	-.20	.22	-1.11	-1.47
Idenrela-My	(.06)	(.10)	(.06)	(.05)	
	-2.56	-.66	-1.91	-1.77	
Idenrela-Selfmy	(.03)	(.02)	(.02)	(.05)	
	-3.68	-3.85	-3.32	-1.72	
Idenrela-Mymix	(.16)	(.14)	(.16)	(.16)	(.31)
	-.56	-1.09	-.61	-.44	3.23+
Idenrela-Idenrela	(.42)	(.35)	(.31)	(.30)	(.31)
	8.97*	5.92*	4.53*	3.94*	3.37+

Note: Blanks indicate cells where AL *z*-scores could not be computed due to few data points
Conditional Probabilities were tested against unconditional using the AL *z*-score
(†p <.05, *p<.01; + p<.001).

Table 10

Lags 1-5 z-scores: Tactics Given Goals

Sequence	Lag 1 (conp) *z-score*	Lag 2 (conp) *z-score*	Lag 3 (conp) *z-score*	Lag4 (conp) *z-score*	Lag5 (conp) *z-score*
Rela-Con	(.15)	(.17)	(.15)	(.14)	(.14)
	-1.47	-.70	-1.03	-1.12	-.87
Rela-Sup	(.10)	(.07)	(.08)		
	-.36	-1.08	-.93		
Rela-Iss	(.75)	(.75)	(.77)	(.83)	(.83)
	1.52	1.32	1.51	2.25†	2.04†
Self-Con	(.23)	(.16)	(.18)	(.17)	
	.66	-.64	-.18	-.36	
Self-Sup	(.10)	(.11)	(.16)		
	-.30	.08	1.24		
Self-Iss	(.67)	(.73)	(.66)	(.78)	
	-.36	.51	-.68	.88	
Oth-Con	(.02)	(.02)	(.00)	(.00)	
	-3.71	-3.36	-3.20	-3.15	
Oth-Sup	(.32)	(.19)	(.20)		
	5.25*	2.11†	2.06†		
Oth-Iss	(.67)	(.78)	(.80)	(.87)	
	-.36	1.49	1.38	2.28	
My-Con	(.30)	(.32)	(.34)	(.33)	(.31)
	3.04+	3.46*	4.09*	3.58*	2.91†
My-Sup	(.12)	(.10)	(.05)		
	-.10	-.26	-1.87		
My-Iss	(.68)	(.58)	(.61)	(.56)	(.61)
	-2.55	-2.82	-2.27	-3.23	-2.04

(table continues)

Note: Blanks indicate cells where AL *z*-scores could not be computed due to few data points
Conditional Probabilities were tested against unconditional using the AL *z*-score
(†p<.05; +p<.01; * p<.001).

Table 10 (continued)

Lags 1-5 z-scores: Tactics Given Goals

Sequence	Lag 1 (conp) *z-score*	Lag 2 (conp) *z-score*	Lag 3 (conp) *z-score*	Lag4 (conp) *z-score*	Lag5 (conp) *z-score*
Selfmy-Con	(.36)	(.35)	(.28)	(.27)	(.23)
	4.18*	3.90*	2.01†	1.77	.77
Selfmy-Sup	(.04)	(.06)	(.07)		
	-2.28	-1.52	-1.18		
Selfmy-Iss	(.59)	(.59)	(.66)	(.67)	(.73)
	-2.06	-2.35	-.95	-.90	.38
Mymix- Con	(.20)	(.18)	(.17)	(.19)	(.20)
	.03	-.64	-.74	.05	-.76
Mymix-Sup	(.12)	(.09)	(.10)		
	.26	-.73	-.09		
Mymix-Iss	(.68)	(.74)	(.73)	(.70)	(.69)
	-.20	1.05	.70	-.41	-.44
Idenrela-Con	(.14)	(.13)	(.14)	(.15)	(.15)
	-1.98	-2.01	-1.30	-1.02	-.76
Idenrela-Sup	(.07)	(.14)	(.15)		
	-1.55	1.38	1.70		
Idenrela-Iss	(.79)	(.73)	(.70)	(.71)	(.71)
	2.77+	.81	-.01	-.16	-.04

Note: Blanks indicate cells where AL *z*-scores could not be computed due to few data points
Conditional Probabilities were tested against unconditional using the AL *z*-score
(+p <.05; †p<.01; * p<.001).

Table 11

Lags 1-5 z-scores: Resistor's Response Given Goals

Sequence	Lag 1 (conp) *z-score*	Lag 2 (conp) *z-score*	Lag 3 (conp) *z-score*	Lag4 (conp) *z-score*	Lag5 (conp) *z-score*
Rela-Acc	(.56)				
	.56				
Rela-Unwil	(.45)				
	-.56				
Oth-Acc	(.77)	(.82)			
	3.71*	4.00*			
Oth-Unwil	(.23)	(.18)			
	-3.71	-4.00			
My-Acc	(.27)	(.28)	(.30)	(.35)	(.33)
	-4.35	-3.92	-3.53	-2.64	-2.69
My-Unwil	(.73)	(.72)	(.70)	(.65)	(.67)
	4.35*	3.92*	3.53+	2.64+	2.69+
Selfmy-Acc	(.41)	(.40)	(.36)	(.49)	(.50)
	-1.54	-1.52	-2.37	-.58	-.43
Selfmy-Unwil	(.59)	(.59)	(.64)	(.51)	(.50)
	1.54	1.52	2.37†	.58	.43
Mymix-Acc	(.52)	(.54)	(.65)	(.53)	(.53)
	.32	.63	1.90	.02	.00
Mymix-Unwil	(.48)	(.46)	(.35)	(.47)	(.47)
	-.32	-.63	-1.90	-.02	.00
Idenrela-Acc	(.60)	(.62)	(.62)	(.60)	(.63)
	1.79	2.04†	1.59	.99	1.15
Idenrela-Unwil	(.40)	(.38)	(.38)	(.40)	(.38)
	-1.79	-2.04	-1.59	-.99	-1.15

Note: Blanks indicate cells where AL z-scores could not be computed due to few data points
Conditional Probabilities were tested against unconditional using the AL z-score
(+p <.05; †p<.01; * p<.001).

Table 12

Hypothesis 1: Initiator's Behaviors and Goals z-Scores at Lag 0

Sequence	Lag 0 (conp) z-score
Con-Rela	(.16)
	-1.25
*Con-Self	(.18)
	2.67 †
*Con-Oth	(.02)
	-1.42
Con-My	(.09)
	-.66
*Con-Selfmy	(.15)
	2.19 +
Con-Allmix	(.27)
	.28
Con-Idenrela	(.11)
	-1.37
*Sup- Rela	(.19)
	-.28
*Sup- Self	(.04)
	-1.08
*Sup- Oth	(.15)
	2.30 +
*Sup- My	(.11)
	.02
*Sup-Selfmy	(.00)
	-1.68
*Sup-Allmix	(.23)
	-.34
*Sup-Idenrela	(.27)
	1.45

(table continues)

Note: Sequences designated by an * indicate where assumptions of normality were violated. Conditional Probabilities were tested against unconditional using the AL z-score (+p <.05; †p<.01; * p<.001).

Table 12 (continued)

Hypothesis 1: Initiator's Behaviors and Goals z-scores at Lag 0

Sequence	Lag 0 (conp) *z-score*
Iss-Rela	(.23)
	1.29
*Iss-Self	(.08)
	-1.85
*Iss-Oth	(.06)
	.04
Iss-My	(.12)
	.60
*Con-Selfmy	(.08)
	-1.07
Iss-Allmix	(.26)
	-.07
Iss-Idenrela	(.17)
	.45

Note: Sequences designated by an * indicate where assumptions of normality were violated. Conditional Probabilities were tested against unconditional using the AL *z*-score (+p <.05; †p<.01; * p<.001).

Table 13

Hypotheses 3 and 4: Initiator's Behaviors and Resistor's Goals z-scores at Lag 1

Sequence	Lag 1 (conp) *z-score*
Icon-Rrela	(.12)
	-.07
Icon-Roth	(.04)
	- 2.55
Icon-Rmy	(.47)
	6.84*
Icon-Seflmy	(.19)
	.64
Icon-Rallmix	(.06)
	-2.43
Icon- Ridenrela	(.10)
	-2.38
Iiss-Rrela	(.11)
	-.68
Iiss-Roth	(.13)
	1.52
Iiss-Rmy	(.12)
	-6.12
Iiss-Seflmy	(.17)
	.27
Iiss-Rallmix	(.17)
	2.68+
Iiss- Ridenrela	(.22)
	2.00

Note: Sequences designated by an * indicate where assumptions of normality were violated. Conditional Probabilities were tested against unconditional using the AL *z*-score (+p <.05; †p<.01; * p<.001).

Table 14

Hypotheses 5 and 6: Resistor's Goals and Resistor's Behaviors z-scores at Lag 1

Sequence	Lag 1 (conp) *z-score*
Rrela-Rcon	(.17) -.33
Rrela-Rsup	(.17) .33
Rrela- Riss	(.66) .02
Roth-Rcon	(.00) -3.27
Roth-Rsup	(.35) 3.69*
Roth-Riss	(.65) -.08
Rmy-Rcon	(.34) 3.58*
Rmy-Rsup	(.12) -.83
Rmy-Riss	(.54) -2.34
Rselfmy-Rcon	(.32) 2.78†
Rselfmy-Rsup	(.05) -2.38
Rselfmy-Riss	(.63) -.50

(table continues)

Note: Cells where AL *z*-scores could not be computed due to few data points were omitted. Conditional Probabilities were tested against unconditional using the AL *z*-score (+p <.05; †p<.01; * p<.001)

Table 14 (continued)

Hypotheses 5 and 6: Resistor's Goals and Resistor's Behaviors z-scores at Lag 1

Sequence	Lag 1 (conp) *z-score*
Rallmix-Rcon	(.13)
	-1.27
Rallmix-Rsup	(.22)
	1.55
Rallmix-Riss	(.65)
	- .12
Ridenrela-Rcon	(.10)
	-2.08
Ridenrela-Rsup	(.10)
	-1.27
Ridenrela-Riss	(.79)
	2.68†

Note: Cells where AL *z*-scores could not be computed due to few data points were omitted. Conditional Probabilities were tested against unconditional using the AL *z*-score (+p <.05; †p<.01; * p<.001)

Table 15

Hypotheses 7, 8 and 9: Resistor's Behaviors and Initiator's Goals z-scores at Lag 1

Sequence	Lag 1 (conp) *z*-score
Rcon-Irela	(.07)
	-3.18
*Rcon-Iselfmy	(.19)
	2.83†
Rcon- Iallmix	(.22)
	-.90
Rcon-Irelaiden	(.18)
	.08
Riss-Irela	(.26)
	2.55+
*Riss- Iselfmy	(.07)
	-2.21
Riss- Iallmix	(.27)
	.30
Riss- Irelaiden	(.19)
	.91

Note: Sequences designated by an * indicate where assumptions of normality were violated. Cells where AL *z*-scores could not be computed due to few data points were omitted. Conditional Probabilities were tested against unconditional using the AL *z*-score (+p <.05; †p<.01; * p<.001).

Chapter 3

Discussion, Final Conclusions, and Future Directions

Since this thesis is an exploration of the link between goals and behavior within conflict episodes, it is fitting to organize the discussion of its results around the overarching goals for this project. The purposes for this project were manifold, however, the primary goal was to strengthen our understanding of the relationship between goals and messages in conflict and how goals direct the choice of specific tactics. Additionally, this thesis was designed to investigate how serial arguments unfold, including an understanding of both initiators and resistors' goals and behaviors within this context. Finally, this thesis seeks to understand how one's goals and behaviors are contingent upon one's partners within conflict episodes. To accomplish these goals, sequential analysis was chosen to unearth the relationships in highly interactive data. Beyond the conceptual goals for the thesis, I will also demonstrate in the next section how this analysis met the two main goals of sequential analysis: identification of sequences and those factors which shape the types of chains. Thus, this chapter will summarize the results of this project while demonstrating to what extent each of these goals were met and how they may be approached in the future.

Summary of Findings

Recall that the primary objective of sequential analysis is to determine whether or not sequences exist in the data or if codes are distributed at random. This assumption that chains do occur must be tested as well as the impact of time and group membership on the data set. All of these assumptions were tested and the results confirmed. The data formed chains of two codes indicating a first order relationship. The sequences were also both stationary and homogeneous

(i.e. not contingent upon time or group membership). Thus, for the remaining analyses, I was able to pool data cross intervals and individuals.

Dynamic Goals

Two seemingly competing understandings of the data are presented in the following section. First, goals were shown to be highly variable with 66.4% of the goal importance ratings differing from the proceeding rating. That is, in 66.4% of the intervals the participant changed which goal he or she rated to be the most important from the previous interval. Note that this does not account for changes in importance ratings within goals (i.e. self rating a 7 in one interval and a 4 in the next), but the changes in importance relative to other goals. This is a much higher percentage than the 30% reported by Waldron (1997) even though 16 second intervals were used compared to this investigation's 10. This is probably because Waldron (1997) only measured those changes in importance ratings that were above the standard deviation for that measure. A more comprehensive way of choosing the most important goal(s) was used in this analysis and does not provide a one-to-one comparison to Waldron's (1997) findings.

However, when using goals as both antecedent and consequent, the only significant sequences at lags 1 to 5 were each goal following the same goal. This suggests that goals are highly stable within the interaction (See Table 9). While there were no consistent change patterns within the whole data set, perhaps if certain groups were compared within the data set patterns would emerge. When testing for homogeneity, daters and friends, males and females and initiators and resistors showed no significant differences within these contingency tables as a whole. It would be inappropriate to do exploratory analysis comparing these groups if they are not fundamentally different. However, this does not mean that certain cellwise results were not different, as the LRX^2 equation is a global judgment of homogeneity. However, the explanatory

power of one or two cellwise differences is limited. Thus, more testing within the data set is needed to answer these questions. The relationship between goals and behaviors, however, was answered.

Goals Direct Behavior

Exploratory results confirm that individuals' goals predict their behavior. Four different significant chains were found predicting all three types of tactics. Two of the chains had more than one important antecedent goal while two of the behavioral consequents were predicted by a single goal importance rating. These chains occurred at lags 1 through 5, however, lag 1 proved to be most predictive, suggesting that the link between goals and behaviors is strongest at relativity brief intervals (lag 1 considers 2 minutes). At lag 1, both integrative and distributive tactics were predicted by certain goals. Overall, these relationships were highly logical.

Integrative behavior. Integrative behavior was measured by both supportive and issue related tactics. Supportive tactics acted as a consequent for concern for the other's self at both lag 1 and also lag 2. Since supportive behavior and concern for other occurred infrequently in the data set, the relationship between these two must necessarily be strong in order to be significant. This indicates that when individuals are concerned about maintaining their partner's face, they show that they respect and understand their partner's position through both their messages and body language. Supportive behavior was not predicted by any other goal than concern for the other, even those combination goals which included concern for the other. Instead at lag 1, when high importance ratings for concern for other were paired with concern for self and relational goals, issue orientation behavior occurred.

It is logical that this combination of goals predicted behavior centered on disclosure, position "hashing" and solution building. Individuals who care about their relationship and

partner are certainly motivated to clearly identify the issue and discuss solutions to resolve the problem. Also, Canary et al., (1988) found that relational goals were predictive of integrative tactics. However, why goals to preserve the relationship alone did not result in issue orientation behavior at lag 1, but did at lags 4 and 5 is not as clear. Relationship goals were most prominent for individuals overall and individuals used issue orientation behavior most frequently. This sequence could perhaps be explained if the data were not stationary and identity and relational goals became more important than relational goals as the conflict continued. However, this is not the case. The lack of a lag 1 relationship between relational goal importance and integrative behavior can be perhaps explained by the significant chain at lag 1. Clearly, there is something specific about the interaction between secondary goals (i.e. identity and relational concerns) and integrative behavior.

The relevance of multiple goals in interactions is assumed by the goals perspective. Considering this, the implications of these patterns in data set are twofold. The first is that as the importance of concerns for the relationship and identities increase, individuals choose more socially appropriate tactics over more efficient or effective tactics (Dillard, 1990; Kellerman, 1992; Wilson, 1997). If secondary goals inhibit behavior through making salient social constraints on behavior (Dillard 1990; Dillard et al., 1989) it follows that when several secondary goals are important this effect is compounded as compared to when only one is important to the actor. Thus giving one explanation why a combination of important identity and relational goals predicts issue related behavior. The reverse argument could be applied to the chain found predicting supportive behavior. When concern for other, self, and the relationship are important, those additional goals more self-focused intention may diminish the use of supportive behavior.

Furthermore, both the integrative relationships imply that examining multiple goals is crucial to understanding behavior in interactions. The goals perspective suggests that in social interactions more than one goal is important to the individual and the knowledge structures which house goals in individuals are complicated (e.g. Clark & Delia, 1979; Dillard, 1990; Tracy, 1984;1991, Tracy & Coupland, 1990). These data show that combination of similar goals result in different behavior than one goal on its own. The overarching implication is that multiple goals are important to measure and analyze. Without knowing all of the goals relevant to a particular situation, the researcher may come to faulty conclusions about goals and ensuing behavior.

It is important to note that when Canary et al. (1988) found single goal predictors of behavior they were using recalled conflicts, while this study used actual interactions. The authors found a clear link between relational goals and integrative tactics. However, it may be that more interactive collection methods are better able to detect multiple important goals for various reasons. Relational memories are influenced by the present relational state, individual's feelings about relational change (e.g. Ross, 1989) and the individual's knowledge structures about the relationship (e.g. Holmberg & Holmes, 1994). Thus, research has shown that specific details of interaction often are lost to schematic themes the individual holds about the relationship. It may be that individuals' memory is more nuanced when video-recalled data is used and better able to recall intention than other methods (Waldon & Cegala, 1992). Overall, this finding highlights the fact that goals do not occur in isolation and that individuals manage multiple goals during conflicts.

Distributive Behavior. The prominent finding across goals and behavior was the relationship between self focused goals and competitive behavior. When acting as antecedent,

"my position" resulted in and competitive control behavior as the consequent at all five lags, while a combination of "self-identity and my position concerns" and competitive control behavior occurred at lags 1-4. Indeed, Canary et al. (1988) found that distributive behaviors were linked to goals to defend one's self against a verbal attack. Perhaps the most interesting implication from these findings is that high importance ratings of self-identity did not predict distributive behavior alone. Recall that high importance of self identity when paired with other identity and relational concerns resulted in integrative tactics. However, when self identity goals and instrumental goals are important, the consequent is distributive tactics. Since high importance ratings of instrumental goals alone related to distributive behavior, it seems that there is a compound effect. When a participant just wants to protect herself, she does not necessarily use distributive tactics. However, when she stresses the importance of getting her position across regardless of the presence of the intention to protect self, she is willing to use controlling, manipulative or even threatening tactics. Again, this relationship suggests the incredible importance of measuring and understanding how multiple goals act to predict behavior in interactions.

The link between self focused goals and distributive behavior is certainly supported by conflict research on "negative" strategies. Researchers have long found that more negative behaviors are consistently replicated through interactions across partners. Overall, the research suggests that negative behaviors as a whole are more predictive of negative than positive behaviors are of positive (see Gottman, 1979, 1996; Messman and Canary, 1998). Thus, it is not surprising that sequences within an individual's behavior suggest that a self or position focused goal at lag1 will still result in competitive behavior up to five minutes later. This finding is supported by the fact that Burggraf and Sillars (1987) found that one act of confrontational

behavior often resulted in longer chains of confrontational behavior. Research has also suggested that individuals who are significantly more likely to use positive messages also are more likely to change the kinds of messages they use in an interaction (e.g. from compliant to agreement) (Gottman, 1979). Thus, this difference may explain the fact that goal importance does not predict integrative behavior with the same stability across time.

Differences Between Initiators and Resistors

The results also address to the second goal of sequential analysis: "the effect of contextual or explanatory variables on sequential structure" (Gottman & Roy, 1990, p. 19). In this investigation, the role a participant as resistor or initiator is the most influential explanatory variable. The results of the hypotheses both articulate differences between initiators and resistors within goal to behavior sequences and demonstrate how mutual influence works across partners.

Overall, the results of the hypothesis testing demonstrate that the resistor and the initiator are consistently dissimilar in the types of goals they rated as important and also in the types of significant goals to behavioral sequences. The only exception to this difference is the resilience of the effect between the goals of preserving "self", "my position" and their combination to predict competitive control behavior. For example, in H1, and H5 both resistors and initiators who placed an importance on the combination of "self" and "my position" goals also behaved in a competitive control manner at lag 0 and lag 1. However, at lag 1 resistors also showed a relationship between high goal importance of "my position" and competitive control behavior. This probably occurred in resistors and not initiators due to the frequency with which the instrumental goal was reported as important for the resistor. It also implies that initiator also need to be defending a specific face threat in order to behave competitively, while resistors, perhaps because of their role, feel a pervasive threat to their position (e.g. Brown & Levinson, 1987;

Hample & Dallinger, 1995). This finding demonstrates that the divergence in goals and behavior between the roles occur when the individual is trying to work with their partner and against.

H1 and H6 also show that resistors demonstrate a significant chain between the importance of supporting their partner and supportive behavior. Initiators rarely reported that goal and demonstrated that behavior very infrequently in this data set. The test of H1 does indicate that at lag 1, disregarding abnormalities in the data, supportive behavior and the concern for other do make a chain. However, the reliability of that finding is questionable given the normality assumption for the Alison-Liker *z*-score test was violated. Those who study supportive communication often look at the role of gender (e.g. Burleson, 1982); however, both male and female resistors used supportive behavior.[4]

Thus, the data reveal different patterns for resistors and initiator's goals and integrative behavior. Post hoc investigations of H1 indicate that initiators do not have a goal-behavior sequence that predicts issue orientation behavior, while resistors have a significant chain with identity and relational combination goals as antecedent. These differences are important considering previous indications of the serial arguing literature. How the initiator's goals direct behavior that seems to be concurrent to expectations of initiators generally. The initiator is the individual who recognizes the problem and feels irritated about the other partner's behavior and even feels an urgent need to discuss this issue (Johnson & Roloff, 2000b). The initiator then confronts his or her partner with the goal of achieving change (Johnson & Roloff, 2000a; 2000b). Furthermore, dating couples in serial arguments also report that the initiator is demanding within the argument (Johnson & Roloff, 2000b). Given those findings, it is understandable that competitive controlling behavior and a focus on self and one's own position is most prominent for the initiator and that integrative behavior is not the consequent for any one particular goal.

However, the story becomes more complex when one considers the most important goal sequences for both individuals in the dyad. Tests of hypothesis 2 found unexpected differences between the most important sequences for both the resistor and the initiator. Recall that for the resistors the "my position" goal sequence was most significant and "my position" was the goal that occurred most frequently. This finding is not divergent from Hample and Dallinger's (1995) observation that some individuals respond to influence with aggressive tactics. Furthermore, serial arguments participants often report highly scripted behavior (Johnson & Roloff; 2000a; 2000b). It is possible that because of the frequency of the conflict interaction some resistors become initiators of counter-claims or cross complaining (Roloff & Johnson, 2002).

The data reflect patterns also opposite of the predictions for initiators. When relational goals were important at one lag, they were also important at the second lag and this pattern was the most frequent and significant for initiators. Although this finding is contrary to H2, which suggested that instrumental goals would be the most important, it makes sense within the context of a serial argument and social confrontation that initiators identify relational goals as the most important. Initiators view the issue as a relational problem and consider silence as more of a negative influence on their relationship more than the possible negative consequences of voicing a complaint (Johnson & Roloff, 2000). When considering social confrontation generally, Stutman and Newell (1990) report that when initiators make decisions to confront a relational partner they wrestle with the "desire to eliminate intolerable behavior versus a fear of making the situation worse; a desire to improve the relationship versus a concern for harming it…" (p.186). Thus, the decision to act is made by the initiator of the argument based on a perceived increase in costs of withholding the relational problem. This decision was briefly presented by Johnson and Roloff (2000b) as an *endurance threshold* or a level at which the harm and suffering caused by

withholding a relational problem is greater than the risk of communicating that grievance presents to harming the relationship. The initiator's role makes relational goals more salient. Relational goals, however, did not predict any kind of behavior for initiators. It is very possible that relational concerns act as a "given" in the initiator's knowledge structures for the serial argument.

Mutual Influence of Goals and Behavior within the Dyad.

The relationship between an individual's goals and behavior do not operate in a vacuum. Possible goals and behaviors for each situation reside in knowledge structures (Berger, 1997; Dillard, 1990; 1997; Meyer, 1990, 1994); however, execution of behavioral patterns is triggered by situational features (Wilson, 1990). Those features include the behavior of one's partner within the conflict interaction. Cappella (e.g. 1988) suggests that understanding of communicative behavior is incomplete without an investigation of how one individual's behavior is contingent upon another's. While this thesis did not compare interactions to baseline performances, there are several indications that the mutual influence between the initiator and resistor within the dyad is most explanatory of behavior and goals observed here.

Together the hypotheses tests demonstrate that they are two cyclical patterns in the data. The most complete pattern demonstrated in the data is not surprisingly centered on competitive control behavior. Using sequential analyses, Margolin and Wampold (1981), Ting-Toomey (1983) and Gottman (1979) also found that confrontational or more "negative" conflict behavior was highly reciprocated between marital partners. Here, this analysis goes a step further and also demonstrates a pattern in the cognitive impetus behind such behavior. The following pattern is depicted in Figure 1. First, when initiators reported that the combination goal of both preserving self and presenting his or her position was important, they also demonstrated competitive control

tactics (H1). Within dyads, when the initiator used competitive control behavior, the resistor reported important goals to present his or her position (H3). The resistor then demonstrated competitive control behavior (H5) which was predictive of initiator rating self and position centered goals highly (H7). [5]

Also another, although incomplete, cycle included issue orientation behavior. Here, when initiators used issue orientation behavior, resistors rated the combination goal of identity and relational concerns high (H4). When resistors rated that goal as important, they also used issue orientation tactics (H6). Those tactics in turn, predicted that the initiator had relational goals (H8). However, rating relational goal as important did not predict issue orientation behavior in initiators (H1) (See Figure 2).

These cyclical patterns may give some insight as to how the argumentative process unfolds. Recall that in H2 resistors reported that "my position" goals were more important than any other goal and initiators reported that "relationship" goals were the most important. Now that those goals are contextualized within patterns, more explanatory possibilities exist beyond individual traits or role differences. It may be that the couples and friends can be separated into satisfied and dissatisfied groups, and these cycles are representative of those two groups. Consistently across investigations in marital research, dissatisfied couples not only use more negative behaviors (e.g. Gottman, 1979) they also reciprocate negative behaviors more often than satisfied couples and this often leads to conflict escalation (e.g. Billings, 1979). Satisfied couples; however, are less likely to reciprocate their partner's behavior (Gottman, 1994). These couples not only reciprocate less negative statements, they also make more positive statements (Billings, 1979) and make more statements of agreement than dissatisfied couples (Alberts, 1988). In fact, Gottman (1993) found that couples who were less likely to divorce or consider divorce made five

positive statements for every one negative statement within their conflict episode. Furthermore, Gottman (1979) found that nonclinical couples do not mirror each other as much as clinical couples (i.e. those who are receiving marital therapy). Instead statements of feelings about a problem and solutions are interspersed with agreement and negative affect. Thus, Gottman (1979) states that nonclincial couples can "unlatch" from cyclical patterns and move beyond a particular stage of a conversation circumventing the ruts that clinical couples are caught in (p.122).

Moreover, the cognitions of distressed couples are different from the cognitions of more satisfied couples. Sillars, Roberts, Leonard & Dun (2000a) found that in severe arguments and in distressed couples, partners expressed more pessimistic thoughts which reflected a belief that their communication was locked in a futile pattern would not result positive change. Satisfied couples; however did not demonstrate this ridged interpretation communication during the conflict, but were optimistic that resolution and understanding could eventually occur, indicating a more flexible interpretation. Sillars et al. (2000a) also found that dissatisfied couples continue to interpret the conflict situation in pessimistic ways. Thus, it seems that partners, especially those in dissatisfied relationships, will entertain myopic thoughts during conflicts that are schematically consistent with previous conceptions of their partner and the conflict itself. Those thoughts are also more negative, blaming and pessimistic than satisfied couples (Sillars et al. 2000b)

From this understanding of how arguments progress, it may be that the lack of continuation in the integrative cycle can be explained by the fact that those dyads are more satisfied with their relationships and hence show the same, more positive, "unlatching" pattern. These individual's cognitions are also more flexible and optimistic about the conflict resulting in goals which result in more "positive" tactics. However, the dyads that are a part of the

continuous negative cycle may represent a more cognitively and behaviorally ridged, dissatisfied group. These individuals are caught in a loop of negativity. What this study provides is a both a cognitive and behavioral understanding of each of these patterns. The data provide evidence that partners' tactics are contingent or reciprocal because of the cognitive reactions of each partner to that behavior. This study then serves to add another answer to why reciprocal patterns exist in conversation. Behaviors that normally relate to a particular goal or goal combination evoke those kinds of goals and behaviors in others.

Relevance to Non-Repetitive Conflict

Since serial arguments were the context of this investigation, it is necessary to consider the relevance of these findings to other conflict situations. First, although serial arguing does have several unique features (e.g. no resolution, many episodes) which make it a useful context for this study, there is no evidence that certain behaviors or patterns within this kind of conflict are markedly different from non-repetitive conflict. I believe that the goal to behavior links and patterns of behavior found in this study and their implications are highly relevant to all forms of interpersonal conflict. For example, the above descriptions of conflict patterns were very similar to those found in other conflict research where serial arguments were not investigated (e.g. Gottman, 1979). Thus, it is very likely that the same kind of findings would emerge from a study focused on new relational conflicts.

Limitations

No one investigation can answer all the questions related to a particular set of variables. Neither can a project be complete without considering how in the future more of those questions can be answered. Thus, the following limitations and their implications should be considered.

First both goals and behavior were measured at one minute intervals. It is possible this interval chosen was too short or too long to best capture how goals and behavior unfold in an argument. In fact, most individuals studying tactics, measure behavior act-to-act instead at intervals (Sillars, 1980; Sillars et al. 1982). It is possible that more of the original coding scheme would have been more applicable to the arguments if instead of coding for global tactics, act-to-act sequences were used. However, since this time segment was able to capture both overarching and specific patterns within the data, it may be that global measurements are as useful for understanding conflict episodes and how goals direct behaviors.

Second, the ways that goals were measured and hence analyzed have important implications. Recognizing that individuals have multiple goals which vary in intensity throughout an interaction, the participant was asked to give an importance rating for each goal at all minutes. However, in order to test hypotheses, the most important goal(s) were chosen for each individual at each minute. In the end, some of the most important goal combinations occurred too infrequently in the data to be useful for hypothesis testing. Thus, similar combinations were grouped together in a theoretically consistent and logical manner (See Tables 3 and 4).

However, no clear chain between goal importance and issue orientation was found for initiators. It maybe that some of the goal combinations were too aggregated to capture this chain. It is also possible that resistors and initiators could have different goal combinations which reflect the same behavior. Dillard (1997) calls this the "problem of equifinality" and suggests that in order to make the goals to behavior inference one must either remove other alternatives or look for patterns of behavior. In this study, patterns of behavior have been collected from multiple messages and the participants had unlimited communicative choices in a context where

goals were likely to be obstructed all of which reflect suggestions from Dillard (1997) for dealing with this issue. Thus, although absolute certainty can never be established when dealing with human behavior, this potential limitation was hopefully circumvented by the study design.

Another limitation concerning goals is manifested in how the goals were aggregated into combinations. From the understanding of Clark and Delia's (1979) tripartite goal scheme: instrumental, identity and relational, those categories should have been clear and distinct from one another. However, this is not the case. Self and other identity did not combine with frequency, nor did we see a strict separation between identity and relational goals. Furthermore, the goals of "my position" and "preserve myself" commonly co-occurred and also acted similarly when predicting behavior. The participants may have seen a different dichotomous grouping. It appears that in most cases participants grouped goals in an either "self related" or "other related" categories. This was true for the vast majority of goal groupings and those goal combinations that did not follow this distinction (e.g. Other-Identity and Instrumental) occurred infrequently in the data set. In the future, understanding goals through this lens may help to identify and solidify goal to behavior links.

Third, the development and implementation of the coding scheme was not without flaws. Although the scheme was based on respected and established schemes (Malik & Lindahl, 2000, Sillars 1980; 1986; Sillars et al., 1999) in this application of them, several of the behaviors did not occur within this data set. Furthermore, another difficulty with the coding scheme was lower than desired, although adequate, kappa was obtained. Although the inter-coder reliabilities were within the "good" range (Brennen & Prediger, 1981; Fleiss, 1981) it would be preferable to have higher scores.

Avoidance and hostile tactics were not measured in the final scheme because of their extreme infrequency. It may be that the directions given to the participants to "talk about the issue" were taken more literarily than needed and the dyad made an extra effort to engage in issue talk throughout the time allotted. It would have been more appropriate to instruct the participants to try to resolve the issue. Another possible reason avoidance behaviors were not found could be that those dyads that used avoidance behavior with frequency were eliminated from the pool when it was cleared of goals data that did not rate any goals as important or did not show any variance (i.e. rating all goals at all times as moderately important). It is understandable that individuals who may normally use hostile behaviors with their friends or dating partner would not display those in a video taped laboratory setting. Perhaps if the participants were given several different conversational topics to discuss they would become more comfortable with the setting.

Also, very few of the resistors' responses were coded as "unable" to agree or comply with the initiator and none were coded as indicating a rebuff of the initiator's statements. Neither of these two categories were retained for analyses. It is not surprising that rebuff responses were not found, given the laboratory setting and instructions to "talk about the issue". However, it is interesting that unable responses were not used more often. Research suggests that individuals are more tolerant of unable responses than unwilling (Ifert & Roloff, 1998). It would make sense that a resistor to whom relational and concern for the other is important would use such a manner of disagreement. However, recall that "my position" was found to be the most important sequence for resistors in this data set (H2). It is reasonable that individuals who want to make their position valid and known would simply state they disagree with their partner's ideas, instead of using to external circumstances as an obstacle.

Fourth, there was a pervasive problem of an inadequate amount of data points resulting in several situations where Alison-Liker z-scores were not normally distributed. This caused the validity several of those findings to be questioned, especially when dealing with behaviors that did not occur very often in the data set, like supportive tactics. Few data points also influenced the fact that the resistors' responses did not develop into patterns. I believe this is the reason that the LRX^2 equation was not significant and no cellwise tests could be made. Since only the resistors were used in these analyses, (a total of only 415 data points) it may be that there simply was not enough data to capture trends. Overall, it would have been profitable to have had a greater sample size.

Finally, whenever lag sequential analysis is employed the risk of type 1 errors can be high (Bakeman & Gottman, 1986). Especially since the code sets used here were large, many cellwise tests were computed. When many tests are conducted, the investigation-wise error rate increases producing some coincidental findings. Bakeman and Gottman (1986) suggest that researchers limit the numbers of codes they use and use confirmatory testing whenever possible. Here, a moderate amount of codes (16) were used for analyses and the majority of the tests were specifically related to hypotheses.[6] Moreover, the majority of those effects were highly significant ($p >. 01$ or greater). Thus, it is unlikely that type 1 errors were a pervasive problem in the data set.

Directions for Future Investigations and Overarching Implications for the Study of Communication and Goals

Although the results of this investigation begins to answer many questions about goals and tactics within repetitive conflict, it also begs many more. These questions are left for future research and some of the most pertinent to this data set are presented here. First, the concept of

goal shift was hardly considered within these analyses. Specifically, future investigations should identify which codes and groups of individuals show consistent patterns of change. Second, other important groups within the participants need to be identified beyond initiators and resistors. Theoretically, it is important to look at relational contexts such as satisfaction and commitment but other variables like conflict style and attitude towards conflict may also be relevant. Third, the response portion of coding scheme may be revisited so that both initiators and resistors are coded for their responses to the other. This would not only provide more data points to analyze, but it will also provide a more complete understanding of how the dyad interacts within the argument. Fourth, a more in depth look at how goals relate to tactics is imperative to understand the relationship the initiator's goals and integrative behavior. A full investigation into the possibility of equifinality is needed to understand if the initiators' and resistors' goals should be combined differently. Fifth, goal to behavior links were found across individuals in this study, so that the behavior of one individual influences the goals and behavior of another. It is possible that communicative behavior can be accounted for not only by individual's goals but also by their perception of the other partner's goals. Future research may find it useful to assess partner's perceptions to more fully understand how mutual influence occurs. Finally, it is important to note that although the data indicate cyclical patterns; these patterns were not tested within dyads. Instead they reflect the general movement within the argument for all dyads. It is necessary that both patterns be tested within each dyad to fully understand their impact. While pooled data were acceptable both based on assumption testing and conceptually for the purposes these analyses, a full understanding of the impact of these patterns is withheld without disaggregating the data.

Perhaps the most overarching implication of this study is concerned with approaches to communication through theoretical and methodological perspectives. Consider again the two main findings of this study: importance ratings of multiple goals affect behavior differently from single goals and interactions can be understood as patterns of goals and behaviors within dyads. Overall, this thesis serves to confirm that goals predict individual's choice of tactics and those choices are predictive of a partner's goals and tactics. The vast majority of investigations of goals use recall from memory of previous situations; however, this thesis uses interactive data allowing for video-cued recall and content analysis. Not only does that increase the external validity of these findings, this study bridges the gap between cognitive and interactive approaches to communication both theoretically and methodologically.

There is a distinctive lack of interaction studies within cognitive perspectives. Waldron (1995) calls for communication theorists to refocus their efforts on investigating messages in the social context not just on individuals' cognition. The disadvantages of not combining cognition with interaction are twofold: it can lead to a misunderstanding of message production as housed either entirely in the individual or the interaction. If our final aim as scholars is a better understanding of the process of communication we must consider the interrelationships between the individual and their cognitions and the dyad within communication episodes (Waldron, 1995). The end result of this kind of change would be theories of how conversations unfold that are informed by our understandings of how cognition influences behavior.

This call for change in methodology and theory is not new. Hewes and Planalp (1987) suggest a similar approach to communication. They suggest that a focus on interactivity without accounting for cognition does not allow us to understand the importance of individual in message creation, resulting in an incomplete picture of social episodes. In the same manner,

overemphasizing the role of the individual, simplifies investigations of communication to identifying traits and their implications; disregarding the clearly socially contingent aspects of interaction (Hewes & Planalp, 1987). Instead, a focus on cognition allows scholars to view communication as the result of cognitive processes and knowledge structures which operate in both the individual and the dyadic context. To fully utilize this perspective, social interaction is imperative.

Future research investigating how goals predict behavior, must then consider the benefits interactive studies. Once interaction is captured, it is then possible to also analyze how the interaction unfolds through sequential analysis. The utility of an interactive, cognitive and sequential perspective on conflict episodes has only been partially demonstrated here. Not only was this methodology able to find behavioral patterns, it was also equipped to predict those patterns through goals and show how cognitions and behavior of one partner are affected by the cognitions and behavior of another. However, this approach can also demonstrate how those patterns change over time (e.g. Gottman, 1979) and vary with relational and individual traits (e.g. Margolin & Wampold, 1981). Future investigations in this line of research within conflict interactions will profit from those additional tools.

The utility of the goals perspective for understanding message production is far from nullified by an interactive approach; however, the cognitive perspective cannot operate alone. To be sure, collecting analyzing and interpreting interactive dyadic data is an arduous, time consuming process with clear limitations. However, a joint understanding of the cognitive and the social brings us closer to an understanding of the complicated process of communicating.

Figure 1

Interrelationships Between Initiator and Resistor's Goals and Behaviors: Distributive Tactics

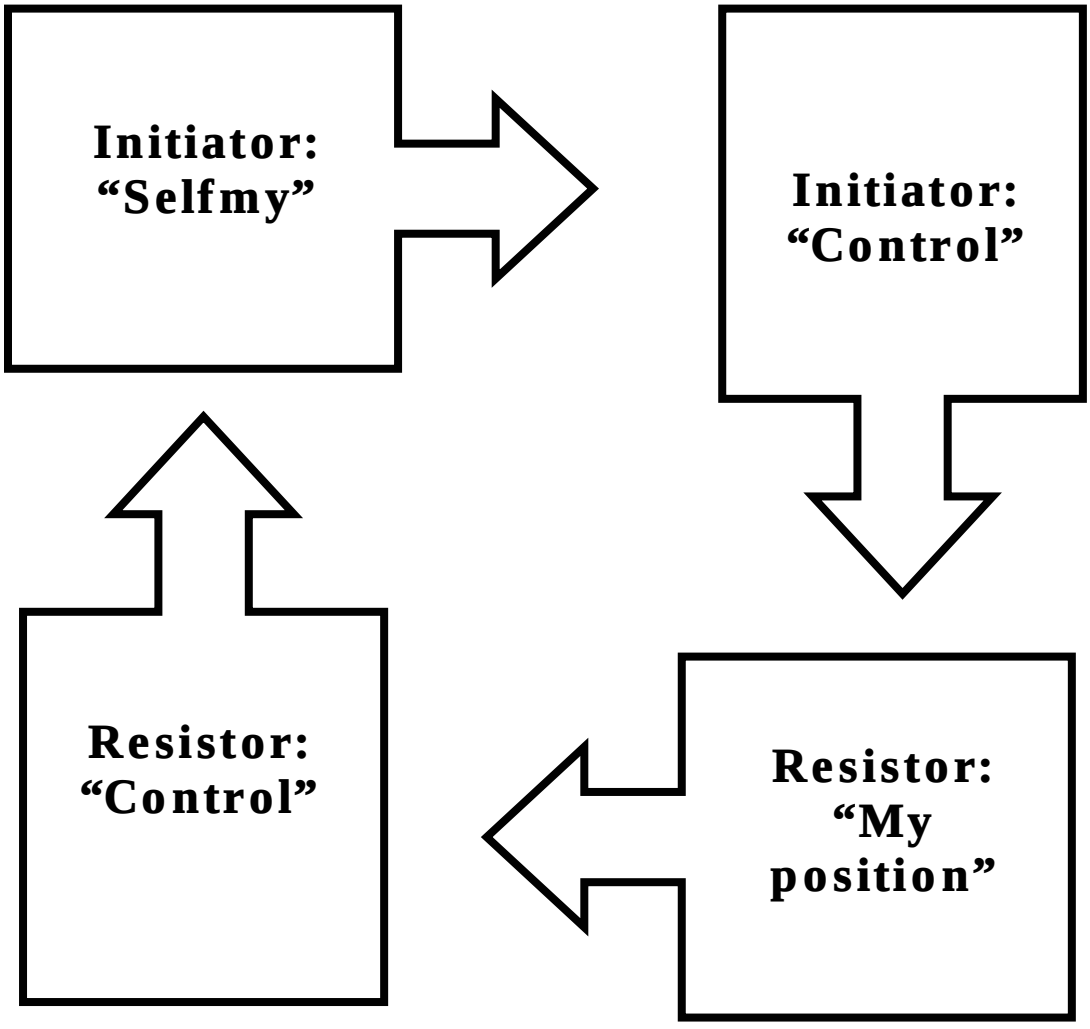
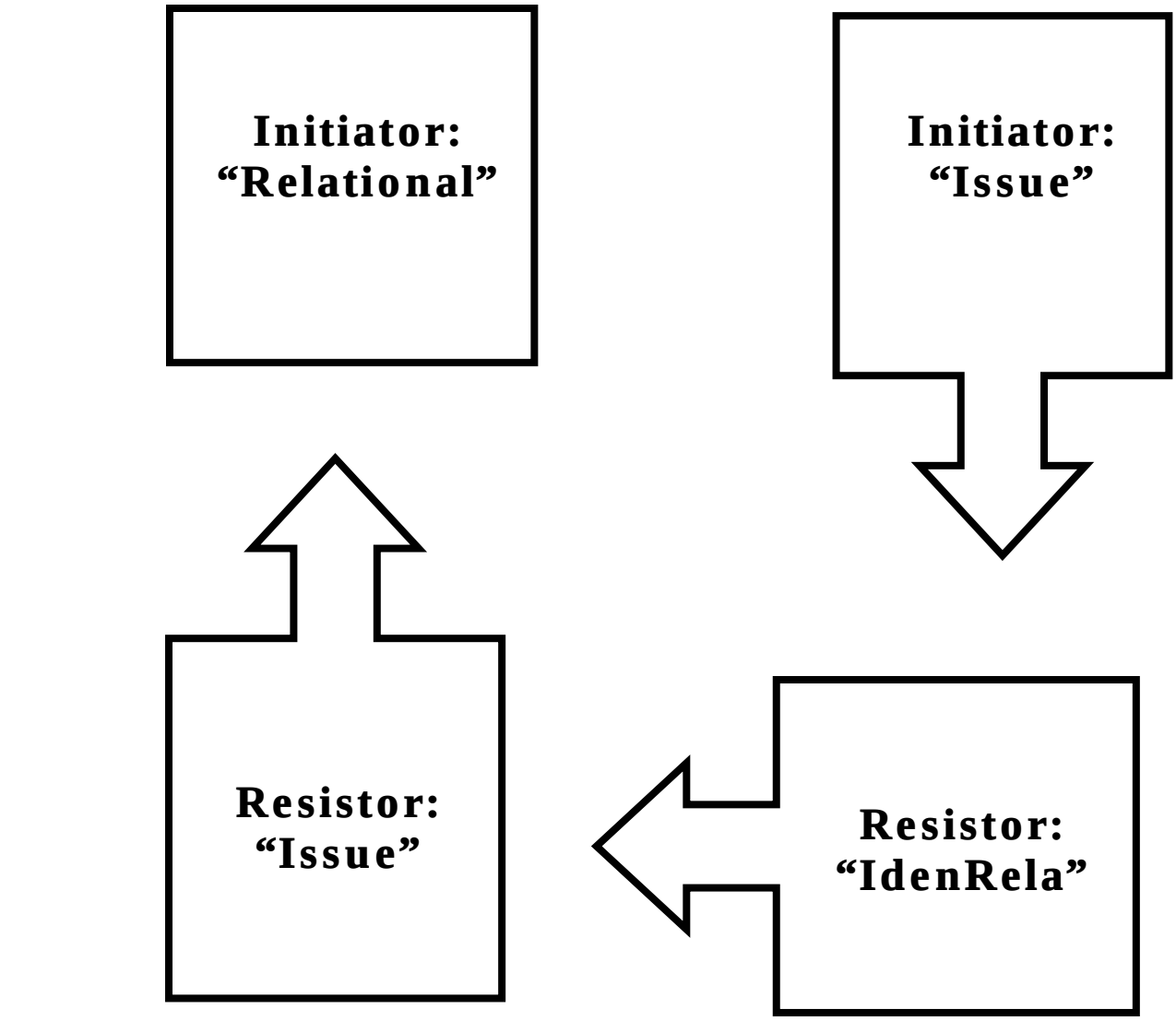


Figure 2

Interrelationships Between Initiator and Resistor's Goals and Behaviors: Integrative Tactics



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Appendix A

Global Coding of Conflict Tactics in Repetitive Conflict Interactions

The following descriptions of conflict tactics is your definitive guide to coding the behaviors you will observe. You will be making categorical judgments to determine whether or not each code occurred within each of the 10 minutes. Only one code will be used per minute. The coding scheme has two parts: codes for both members of the dyad and codes just for resistors. Thus, you should review the tape a separate time for each individual and then another time to make judgments about the secondary resistor codes. You will need to frequently consult the manual to make sure you distinguish between codes correctly. At the beginning, you should allow yourself time to watch the interaction as many times (e.g. 4-6) as it takes in order to make all of the judgments. Don't be surprised if it takes well over an hour to code one interaction, especially when you just begin.

The following codes reflect a common distinction in conflict strategies suggested by Sillars (1980). Conflict tactics can be distinguished by whether they reflect behaviors that work with the other partner (integrative), work against the other partner (distributive) and work away from the other partner (avoidant). There will be more than one code for each larger strategy, however, when you make these judgments, you shouldn't be thinking about the strategy distinction. Instead, focus in on whether the actual behaviors occurred or not. At the end of each code will be questions you find helpful in making your judgments. If you answer "yes" to these questions, you should code that behavior as occurring in that minute. You should only code one behavior per minute. If you find that the participant's behavior markedly changes within the minute, code for the behavior that best represents the minute as a whole.

Codes for Initiators and Resistors

Solution / Issue Orientation

Judgments about solution / issue behavior should primarily occur while the individual is speaking, not when he or she is listening to the other partner speak. Overall, the participant using these behaviors will have an active and productive role in the conversation. You will recognize this orientation through problem solving and information seeking behavior.

Problem solving will involve the individual self-disclosing feelings and opinions while soliciting and encouraging his or her partner to do the same (e.g. "I think we should go out more, what do you think?"). Since the level of self-disclosure is high, the tone of the conversation will be more intimate (i.e. the depth of relationship between the two individuals will be apparent). This behavior should demonstrate deep consideration for each partner's unique perspectives and needs. Problem solving behavior will be focused on finding a solution for the conflict at hand that is mutually agreeable and productive. This may be accomplished through disclosure, paraphrasing, taking responsibility and finding points of agreement. Problem solving communication will be constructive, meaning the statements will be focused on the issue. No personal attacks or threats should occur and the statements used will demonstrate respect and suspend judgment towards the partner and his or her behavior. This does not mean only positive aspects of the issue are discussed, negative or decisive comments may occur. However, the tone of these comments should not incite defensiveness, or discourage collaboration (e.g. I don't like it when you ignore my ideas, but I realize you already had a plan). The focus of the messages made by the partner should be on points of agreement- not contention. Furthermore, the individual should make statements that demonstrate his or her willingness to compromise. The person speaking may freely acknowledge responsibility for aspects of the disagreement (e.g. "I

know I could help out more around the house"). Communication is clear and direct, uses questions and paraphrasing to check perceptions (i.e. "It sounds like you are nervous about the move, is that right?", "Would you mind if we went to my parent's for New Years?).

Often an individual's messages may be focused on describing the issue but not focused on finding a solution. Solution/ issue orientation tactics may be instead focused on information seeking behavior or self-disclosure. The partner using issue orientation tactics may be attempting to define the problem, or his or her position on the issue. Individuals may use questions like "Why did you feel that way?", "When do you want to know by?" The individual may also use paraphrasing to ask her partner if she received his message correctly. For example, "It sounds like you are warning me that you aren't going to like this trip, is that right?" Issue orientation tactics instead use of questioning or paraphrasing to understand the issue better.

The individual using solution/ issue orientation behaviors will demonstrate good eye contact while speaking and will maintain and open body posture (e.g. turned towards the other partner). Messages should be spoken with an interested, expressive tone of voice (e.g. not monotone). This individual will not appear to be withdrawn, sullen, or angry.

- **Does the individual talk about his or her perspective, definition of the issue or understanding of the conflict?**
- **Does the individual question his or her partner about his or her perspective or details concerning the issue?**
- **Does the individual use statements of self-disclosure, compromise, and responsibility when talking about the conflict?**
- **Does the individual suggest a solution to his or her partner?**

Support

Behaviors reflecting support tactics should be above all respectful and mindful of the other person and his or her perspective. The support-focused individual is able to support his or her partner even if they disagree by listening carefully and expressing they understand his or her partner's perspective. The individual may even validate the other's perspective (e.g. "It's understandable that you feel neglected when I work late"). Support differs from issue orientation in that support behavior concerned with understanding, validating and confirming his or her partner. For example, "This really became an issue when I went to beach without you" is an example of issue orientation, but "You were really great to let me have time alone with my friends, I know it was hard on you" represents support behaviors. Behaviorally, the supportive individual demonstrates cues like nodding and making eye contact while listening. This individual is careful to wait for his or her turn to talk and does not interrupt the speaker.

Furthermore, the supporting individual appears to be responsive to the other's emotions. For example, when the other partner changes his or her tone, becoming angry or overwhelmed, an individual using support tactics will notice and respond accordingly by changing his or her tone, message or body langue. Any partner who seems oblivious to the needs and emotions of the other person cannot be using supportive tactics. For example, if his or her partner is angry they are not engaged in the conversation, that partner will remain unresponsive. Supportive communication is "person centered"; it is clearly adjusted and designed to reflect the state of the other partner and his or her understanding of the situation. In short, partner focused individuals show sensitivity to the other partner's emotions.

- **Do the statements support, validate and confirm the other partner and his or her perspective?**

- **Are his or her body language and facial expressions warm and inviting towards the other partner?**
- **Does the individual notice and display sensitivity towards the emotional changes in the other partner and adjust his or her communication accordingly?**

Hostile

Hostile tactics will always be in service preserving or forwarding that individual's agenda to the detriment of his or her partner. Thus, hostile messages and body language will hurt or belittle the other partner. You will recognize hostile tactics through aggressive, coercive and manipulative behavior.

Hostile messages may seem to be aggressive attacks on the other partner in both the content and tone. An individual may use insults, personal criticisms, attacking accusations, blaming statements, and "put downs". Aggressive statements are different from complaints in that they tarnish the person's character instead of expressing objections to behavior. These statements should be directed at the partner or someone close to them. For example, statements like: "You're a terrible housekeeper," "Why can't you understand what I am saying? Are you stupid?", "I can't imagine anyone would want to put up with your crap all day", "Your family acts like a bunch of idiots". Hostile tactics might be accomplished through the use of line of questioning which leads to the conclusion that the partner is to blame or flawed. (i.e. "What happened with the last interview? You didn't get the job! And how about the one before that? - You are useless!"). Overall, communication should resemble a hostile attack which is intended to damage the partner's character and self concept. The tone of hostile statements can be malicious, indignant, callous, hurtful and mean. Thus, the individual is being intentionally cruel, vicious or spiteful and may belittle his or her partner through a mocking or condescending tone. He or she

might yell and swear or use other coarse language with the other partner. This will be markedly different from someone merely making negative statements. Negative statements might reflect a frustrated or angry tone. However, the tone of the hostile tactics should resemble a physical attack - it should be sharp, biting, shocking and forceful.

Hostile statements can also be coercive, in that they attempt to take away the other partner's ability to act with autonomy. Statements of a coercive nature are best exemplified by the use of demanding, threatening exclamations. Coercive statements are the antithesis of cooperation; instead they totally disregard the partner's perspective and disrespect the target's right to control his or her own behavior. First, the individual may give direct commands or demands that the partner change his or her feelings, thoughts or actions. For example, coercive, controlling tactics might include statements like: "You ought to pay more attention to me!" "You have no right to feel that way!" "Next time, you should just ignore her". Then, the partner may add an "or else", threatening or manipulative statement. For example, "I won't ask you again, let it go!" "You will start helping out more or I won't live with you next year" "You better figure out what you want now, because I might not be around when you do". Manipulative statements can also be coercive; they represent attempts to belittle or shame the partner so that they change his or her behavior. These statements will not be pointed like verbally aggressive tactics, but they will be underhanded and unfair to other partner. Statements like: "I don't know why you torture me like this, you should know better than to bring up that subject!" "How can you think that? See, this is why our relationship is rocky." Generally, coercive statements are offensive not defensive. Coercive statements using manipulation differ from verbal aggressive tactics in that partners use guilt to try to get his or her way.

Coercive tactics can be accompanied by coercive body language (gestures and posture) which is equally threatening of other partner. Thus, the partner may have a threatening body posture (e.g. pointing, shaking hands or fist, moving too close) that seems as if it could hurt his or her partner. The coercive partner should also use a threatening, frightening tone.

- **Does the individual use his or her words as weapons against the other partner's ideas, character and self-esteem?**
- **Does the individual demand, not ask something of the partner?**
- **Are those demands accompanied by manipulative or threatening statements?**
- **Is the individual's body language and facial expressions frightening and intimidating?**

Competitive / Control

Competitive or control tactics are most readily identifiable by individualistic, competitive behavior. The actor should dominate the conversation, not allowing the partner to speak or elaborate on his or her points and they may also use interruptions. Overall, his or her communicative behavior should demonstrate a disregard for other's point of view in the conversation and reflect a basic disregard for the partner's feelings or emotional state. When an individual who is using competitive / control tactics presents solutions, his or her solution meets his or her needs and ignores the needs of the partner. This individual should not consult the other for possible solutions- instead they will just expect that the partner "see it his or her way". They may not even allow the other partner to define the problem (i.e. "No, the real issue is that you are too sensitive"). This individual will hold one strict interpretation of the issue and when the partner disagrees- he or she are told that they are wrong and given 10 reasons why. Competitive/control behaviors are different from hostile behaviors where threatening or

manipulative statements are used achieve the individual's own ends. Any cruel attacking behavior should not be coded as competitive/control behavior. Here, the individual dominates the other partner so that his or her perspective is not heard or given any credence.

Furthermore, this individual should not notice or adapt behavior when the partner seems overwhelmed or experiences a change in affect. For example, if the partner looks increasingly frustrated or despondent, the partner will not adjust his or her communication, or ask if the partner is doing alright. Instead, they will continue to present his or her points and solutions.

- **Is this individual controlling the conversation by focusing on his or her own points and ignoring the input of his or her partner?**
- **Does the individual seem to disregard the emotional state of the other partner and continue to push his or her own agenda?**

Passive Avoidance

Individuals may choose to avoid the conflict by passively withdrawing from the conversation, either by becoming increasingly less involved or by "giving" in to the other partner. Withdrawal behaviors occur when an individual, emotionally or mentally leaves the discussion before other partner is ready. This partner will demonstrates disinterest, disregard and detachment from issue through his or her body language and tone. Withdrawal does not include statements that deny personal responsibility for an issue or that a problem exists. The partner might actually refuse to remark; simply stop talking or listening or just try to end the conversation. For example a withdrawing partner might say: "Ok, let's not talk about it anymore", "I don't have anything else to say about this" or "Why bother? Let's just drop this". Individuals may also avoid the conflict discussion by "giving" to other partner before the conversation has finished. It is important that the individual's statements of responsibility or

disinterest try to pacify or soothe the other partner. For example, the individual may say: “OK, you’re right, I will be more polite to your mom” “Yeah, that’s fine, whatever you say”. If the conversation does continue, the withdrawing partner’s tone is bored, flat, disinterested, tired or distracted. Eye contact decreases, he or she might slouch, turn in his or her chair or begin using adaptors such as playing with hair or nails, adjusting clothing or glasses, etc. Overall, the withdrawing actor becomes increasingly more passive in the interaction.

- **Does the individual use statements that alleviate the conflict by relinquishing his or her own position and accepting the other partner’s?**
- **Does the individual seem increasingly less involved with the conversation- reducing the amount of comments he or she makes or ceasing to listen?**
- **Does the individual’s body language, facial expressions or tone demonstrate a lack of interest or apathy?**

Active Avoidance

Individuals may also work away from his or her partner by trying to change the subject or denying that the problem needs to be discussed. This tactic can be used to claim that the problem doesn’t exist or it not the responsibility of the actor. Overall, the partner should activity seek to avoid discussing the issue. First, the partner may deny that there is a problem, refuses to accept that there is a point of contention or that they are involved in the conflict. For example, the partner may say: “Come on, we really don’t fight that much!” “This is ridiculous, you are making housework a big deal, when it isn’t.” or “We both want to spend more time together, it shouldn’t matter what we do”. It is also possible that a partner may consistently change the subject (e.g. “Oh, I never told you what happened last night”), tries to bring up irrelevant points (e.g. “I really need a new handbag, don’t you think?), and makes tangential comments (e.g. “This

situation is just like that movie we watched, who played that main character?"). These attempts may not be negative; in fact it is possible that the individual tries to use excess humor or silly behavior to distract the other individual. Furthermore, the individual may continue to actively avoid discussion even when the other partner makes attempts to bring conversation back towards issue. Overall these tactics represent a refusal to discuss issue.

- **Does the individual claim that the issue is "no big deal" or "not my problem"?**
- **Does the individual make comments which detract, distract or deter the conversation from the issue at hand?**

Off-Topic (Couple Code)

When individuals finish or stop discussion on the issue and start another discussion on a totally separate topic, you should code off-topic. You should not code off-topic if individuals start another discussion relevant to the topic at hand. For example, if a couple was talking about the amount of time to spend together and they begin to discuss how another couple deals with this problem, it is not off topic. Also, if the partners begin to discuss the relevance of this issue to their relationship in general, this should not be coded as off topic. However, if they say: "Well, I don't have anything else to say... do you?" "Ok so what happened to you last night?" – you should code that as off topic. Thus, there needs to be a clear and decisive break between the two discussions.

- **Do the partners finish or stop the discussion on the issue and start a discussion on a separate topic?**

Codes for Resistor Responses

This scheme has a set of secondary codes which are only for the resistor. These codes are centered on how the resistor responds to the initiator's statements. You should code the resistor's

response to the initiator's solutions, plans, perspective on the issue, beliefs, attitudes and assertions. If the resistor does not speak during the minute or offer a verbal response to initiator or the initiator's position, you must code for the latent effect of what they do communicate. If the resistor responds to the initiator's position with a preference for his or her position, but no commentary on the initiator's position you should still code that minute. Thus, you should view the resistor as inherently responding to the initiator.

Acceptance

When, initiators may ask something of the resistor, whether it be to do something in the future, or to agree with his/her opinion the resistor may respond by agreeing with the initiator. Acceptance is different from passively giving up or acquiescence, because it is mostly likely he result of problem solving tactics by both partners. Acceptance, unlike acquiescence, will accompany statements of support and willingness to cooperate with the requests of the partner- with a positive tone and body language. Accepting behaviors will not include self-deprecating or placating attempts to quell the conflict. Resistors may respond with statements like: "I think that is a good plan, let's agree to try it out for a week", "You make a good case, and I can't disagree- I will use a softer tone when speaking with the kids" or "You are right, I shouldn't have felt used when you have helped me out so many times in the past". Overall, these statements will reflect agreement and acceptance of the initiator's perspective. Nonverbally, acceptance will be demonstrated through an open body posture, eye contact, warm facial expressions and head nods.

- **Does the individual agree with his or her partner in a self-respecting manner?**

Types of Obstacles

When a resistor responds that he or she does not agree or will not approve, grant or comply with the initiator's expressed view, they are using an obstacle. This scheme characterizes such responses in one of the following codes:

Unable

The resistor responds with a direct and clear refusal to agree or comply with the initiator. The resistor will also give a specific reason they cannot comply. This reason should imply that he or she is unable to do so because of a constraint or deficiency has hampered his or her ability to act. The resistor may say that they possess a physical, ("I just can't loose any more sleep over this project") emotional ("I am too angry to answer you right now"), or mental deficiency ("I don't know how to balance a checkbook"). The resistor might also state that they are lacking the financial ("I can't pay you back this week and make rent"), material ("If I had a car it would be different") or time resources ("Between work and the kids, I won't have any time to help this week").

- **Does the individual clearly disagree with his or her partner because they are hindered by physical, emotional or financial responsibilities or deficiencies?**

Unwilling

This kind of obstacle also presents a direct response from the resistor and a reason for refusal is clearly given. The resistor responds by saying they cannot comply because it would be inappropriate ("It would be wrong for me to lie for you"), they have no reason or incentive to do so ("I don't want to move to Atlanta because my family is here), or they feel it is the initiator's responsibility to act not his or her own ("It is your mother, I think you should talk to her yourself"). Furthermore, you should code "unwilling" if the resistor will not comply with the

initiator's statements because he or she holds another belief, prefers his or her own perspective, or simply states that she or she disagrees with the initiator's position.

- **Does the individual clearly disagree with his or her partner because they do not want to agree?**

Rebuff

This response is different from the other two because while the refusal is direct, no reason is given. The resistor states that they will not comply- but no elaboration occurs as to why they refuse to comply. For example, the resistor might say: "No, I am not doing that", "You have got to be crazy!", or "No Way!" The rebuff can be also accomplished non-verbally, through glares, refusing to respond, closed body posture, etc.

- **Does the individual clearly disagree with his or her partner without giving any reason?**

Off-topic

If you coded "off-topic" for the minute for the primary codes you should also code it here.

Footnotes

[1] Exhaustive description of the numerous reasons why particular individuals either accept or reject a certain request are beyond the scope of this thesis. Making those kinds of judgments would involve measuring a resistor's attitudinal and perceptional assessments of the relationship and the kind of request used by the initiator (Wilson, 2004).

[2] Several of the conflicts proved to be quite intense. In fact, two dating couples made statements that seemed to dissolve the relationship.

[3] In preliminary training sessions, it became clear that several codes were not significantly different from each other. Specifically, verbal aggressiveness, coercion and negativity folded into a category of hostility, withdraw and acquiescence became passive avoidance and partner focus and positive emotion folding in to a support category. Finally, issue orientation was added to solution or problem solving behavior to capture talk about the issue that was not specifically about a solution.

[4] The vast majority of social support literature suggests that women and girls not only support more (e.g. Burleson, 1982) they are more adept than men and boys at creating supportive messages (e.g. Goldsmith & Dunn, 1997, MacGeorge, Clark & Gillihan, 2002). However, there is a move to suggest that sex differences in the amount of supportive messages when significant, are not of great magnitude (MacGeorge, Graves, Feng & Gilliahm, Burleson, 2004) and that men are often seen as more skillful in some relational contexts (Derlega, Barbee & Winstead, 1994). Intrigued to see what if any differences occurred in this data set, H6 was reconsidered in light of both the individuals' gender and role. Both resistor males ($z= 2.95$, $p>.01$) and resistor females ($z= 3.04$, $p>.01$) create this supportive chain when abnormalities are disregarded. However, Derlega et al, (1994) points out that men seem to be more supportive in laboratory studies than

self-report data suggests. They speculate that laboratory condition may change the amount men support their partners.

[5] This final link is tenuous given the abnormalities in the data due to too few data points. However, when resistors have the goal of "my position" initiators follow with competitive control behavior at an extremely high rate ($z = 5.16$, $p > .0001$), behaviors which are clearly linked to the same goal that is suggested in the abnormal finding. Thus, it seems to be a legitimate finding.

[6] Seventeen codes were measured overall; however, the goal "none" was not used for hypothesis testing because it was not provide any relevant information for predictions.