

A Guide to Understanding and Resolving Conflict for Organizational Effectiveness

Master's Project

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Introduction

Conflict is a natural element of all human interactions and is an ever-present feature of organizations. Aware of the significance of conflict to organizational effectiveness, academics and practitioners have devoted considerable attention to understanding and dealing with conflict in the organizational setting. Early research tended to focus on conflict as mostly a negative aspect of organizations (Pondy, 1967; Katz & Kahn, 1978). Conflict was viewed as an unintended byproduct of organizational structures and functioning (Pondy). It was thought to be observable in organizations as conflict episodes, with distinct phases, which threatened an organization's equilibrium and had the potential to inhibit productivity, stability, and adaptability (Pondy). Accordingly, research focused on the causes and signs of organizational conflict and on determining the best means for eliminating it (Rahim, 2010). Organizations in turn developed programs to eliminate or suppress conflict (Rahim). Most organizations still adopt this approach to conflict.

Beginning in the late 1960s, Deutsch (1969) and others began taking a broader view of organizational conflict. Recognizing the complex individual and group psychological facets of organizational life, they focused on psychological or perceived conflict and the interdependence between objective and perceived realities as experienced by organizational members (Deutsch). Building on this work, researchers considered the role of conflict in enabling organizations to adapt and progress in ever-changing environments (Rahim & Bonoma, 1979; Bercovitch, 1983). In this emergent view, conflict was considered a complex element of the organizational enterprise – sometimes negative, sometimes positive, always present, and, in fact, necessary for organizations to function (Rahim & Bonoma). Conflict was no longer seen as a product of the organization but instead as a core, enabling element that was interwoven with other features of

organizational life (Bercovitch). A body of conflict research went on to explore the connection between conflict and such organizational features as individual and group psychology, culture and norms, trust, communication, and emotional intelligence. This broader perspective has advanced the understanding of the roots, manifestations, and implications of organizational conflict, such that many theorists now argue for a strategy of organizational conflict resolution. This approach seeks to leverage the positive aspects of organizational conflict, while enabling individuals to sort through and resolve the negative aspects. It approaches conflict from a problem-solving perspective, with a goal of enhancing organizational learning, and encompasses an array of strategies and tools to help organizations and organizational members understand and deal with conflict constructively (Pruitt & Kim, 2003).

While many theorists hold this broader view of organizational conflict and advocate a conflict resolution strategy, most organizations and their leaders continue to view conflict as primarily negative and seek to eliminate or suppress it (Kolb and Putnam, 1992; Rahim, 2010). This gap between theory and practice can be traced to the defense mechanisms that individuals and organizations adopt to protect themselves from embarrassment or threat (Rahim). Individual defensive reasoning and organizational defensive routines are prevalent in all organizations and by their nature are not conducive to the kind of problem-solving and organizational learning necessary for effective conflict resolution (Rahim). Thus, organizations cannot and will not pursue conflict resolution strategies until they are able to acknowledge and confront these defense mechanisms

Considerable research supports a broad conception of organizational conflict and the adoption of a conflict resolution strategy. The challenge persists, however, to provide organizations with the impetus, self-awareness, and the mechanisms necessary to recognize the

complex role of conflict in organizations and to resolve conflict in support of organizational learning and effectiveness (Rahim, 2010). The purpose of this paper is to bridge the gap between this theory and practice and develop the template of a guide for understanding and resolving conflict. The paper will survey and analyze research on conflict, the many individual and group psychological aspects of organizational life, and theories of organizational learning and effectiveness in order to identify the most important concepts and tools for enabling greater understanding and the constructive resolution of conflict in organizations. The product of this analysis will be the outline of a guide that will be thoroughly grounded in research. The guide outline will include educational material intended to equip organizational members with the self-awareness and strategies needed to deal with conflict constructively. It will highlight best practices in designing structures and fostering cultures that leverage the positive aspects, and resolve the negative aspects, of conflict. The guide outline will present conflict and conflict resolution as opportunities for creative problem solving and organizational learning, with the ultimate purpose of supporting organizational effectiveness and a greater capacity of individuals and groups in the organization to deal with the many facets of conflict and organizational life.

Analytical Framework

Individuals in organizations are in a constant state of internal conflict as they grapple with the paradoxes of being part of a group (Berg & Smith, 1987). Compounding this internal tension between individual and group needs are anxieties, which are inevitably evoked in individuals by tasks and the need to collaborate in organizations (Krantz, 2001). Individuals seek to expel anxieties and other negative feelings by projecting these emotions onto other organizational members, who then internalize them through the process of projective identification (Horwitz, 1985). The psychological challenges of organizational belonging prompt

members to adopt individual defensive reasoning as a means for self-protection (Krantz). Organizations in turn adopt organizational defensive routines to protect members from embarrassment or threats (Krantz). The culture of an organization and its groups and subgroups is in some respects a defense mechanism (Schein, 1990). Considering the potency of these psychological forces, organizations are as much defined by them as by the tasks and structures intended to provide organizations with order and meaning.

Tasks and structures also yield complex psychological challenges for individuals and groups. Organizations are divided into groups and subgroups as a means for carrying out tasks. Considering these many layers of groups in organizations, in-group biases and the tendency of individuals to connect their social identities to groups are important factors to organizational functioning (Sherif, 1956; Tajfel and Turner, 1985). Task and structural interdependencies in organizations prompt individuals to adopt psychological orientations (cognitive, motivational, or moral), depending on the type of interdependence (Deutsch, 1985). The complex interplay between interdependence, psychological orientations, and social relations is an ever-present variable in how organizations function and deal with conflict.

While structures help organizations sort through and accomplish necessary tasks, they also institutionalize competition and plant the seeds for conflict (Burke, 2006). Competition may be defined as an opposition of goals (Deutsch, 1969). While conflict may stem from competition, it also can occur in cooperative contexts (Deutsch). Conflict can be psychological and emerge merely from the perceptions of conflicting parties, when no objective competition exists (Deutsch). Understanding conflict in organizations requires an assessment of not only objective realities but also realities as perceived by the conflicting parties and the relationship between the objective and perceived realities (Deutsch). Conflict can be destructive or constructive in

organizations (Deutsch). Conflict is necessary for organizations to adapt to environmental change (Pondy, 1992). Conflict in organizations can be categorized as task related (substantive) or emotional (affective) (Rahim, 2010). A moderate amount of task conflict is associated with positive organizational functioning (Jehn, 1995). Emotional conflict can be a negative force in organizations (Jehn, 1995). Seeking merely to eliminate or suppress emotions associated with conflict is insufficient, however. Sorting through the emotional aspects of conflict is an important step in enabling individuals and groups to move past conflict and work together effectively in the future. In order to capture the positive aspects, and work through the negative aspects, of conflict, organizations must focus on resolving conflict constructively. Among other things, a conflict resolution approach requires a greater understanding of conflict styles and strategies, awareness of the degree of conflict across organization levels, increased individual and collective self-awareness and learning capacity, and a problem-solving approach to resolving conflicts as they arise (Pruitt & Kim, 2003; Weitzman & Weizman, 2006).

Individuals are thought to have preferences for how they deal with conflict (Pruitt & Kim, 2003). The Dual Concern Model categorizes four conflict-handling styles (Contending, Problem-Solving, Yielding, and Avoiding) according to two types of concerns: concern for self and concern for the other (Pruitt & Kim). While there is evidence for individuals having preferred styles, the circumstances surrounding conflict also influence the style (or strategy) an individual adopts (Pruitt & Kim). The strategy chosen depends on such factors as the interests at stake, the importance of an outcome in a particular realm, the way conflicts are framed, and an individual's fear of conflict (Pruitt & Kim). To adopt a particular strategy, individuals must have a perceived feasibility of using that strategy to achieve one's goals at an acceptable cost and risk (Pruitt & Kim). Educating organizational members about their conflict-handling preferences and

the value of adopting different strategies, depending on the circumstances, enhances their ability to deal with conflict as it arises (Jehn & Mannix, 2001; Pruitt & Kim).

Leaders can take several steps to enable an organization to deal with conflict constructively. Effective conflict resolution is akin to the concept of double-loop learning in the organizational effectiveness literature. Most organizations approach errors from a single-loop learning perspective. In single-loop learning, organizations merely take corrective action when an error is detected (Argyris, 1977). Double-loop learning requires not only the detection of errors but also a thorough analysis and questioning of those errors and correction of underlying causes (Argyris). A problem-solving approach to conflict resolution is a double-loop learning approach to disagreement or conflict (Rahim, 2010). If adopted, it is more likely to yield enduring solutions and an organizational capacity for capturing the positive aspects, while resolving the negative aspects, of conflict (Rahim).

To deal with conflict effectively, organizational leaders should embrace the concept of a learning organization and double-loop learning. Implementing this approach is difficult, however, because of the defense mechanisms that are rooted in the behaviors, policies, and structures of most organizations (Rahim, 2010). An important lever for overcoming those defenses is fostering a culture of open discussion, disagreement, and respect and freeing individuals to take responsibility for, and learn from, errors (Jehn & Mannix, 2001; Rahim). Creating such a culture requires leaders to set aside their own defensive reasoning and to accept that learning from errors is essential for organizational growth and adaptation. It also requires all members of the organization to develop a greater understanding of and sensitivity to the complex psychological and group psychological facets of communication, task and social interdependence, trust, and team creation and functioning (Deutsch, 1985; Schein, 1988; Hurley,

2006; Hackman, 2002). A high degree of trust among organizational members is critical to a cultural of openness (Hurley). Considering that a decision to trust is tied to a number of relationship- and context-specific variables, an organization seeking to foster a culture of openness should educate its members on the components of trust and on how to build trust (Hurley). By encouraging individuals to discuss their feelings openly, a culture of openness increases self-awareness among individuals and groups and helps build an organizational capacity to reflect on events and emotions constructively (Stone et al., 1999). It creates a safe environment in which individuals can engage in the difficult conversations often necessary to work through the emotional aspects of conflict (Stone et al.).

Literature Review

Understanding conflict in organizations requires an understanding of the challenges all individuals face in being part of groups. Group membership is a paradoxical existence, as individuals persistently struggle with competing group and individual needs around belonging, identity, involvement, and boundaries (Smith & Berg, 1987). The tasks and need for collaboration required of group members trigger anxieties and psychic challenges for all individuals (Krantz, 2001). Group members deal with these anxieties through various psychological defense mechanisms, including projective identification, splitting, and scapegoating (Krantz). Projective identification is a prevalent defensive mechanism in organizations. It involves an individual projecting unwanted feelings, characteristics, or impulses onto another, and the other then internalizing or taking on the projected characteristics (Horwitz, 1985). Considering the prevalence of projective identification, organizations in essence sit on an “underlying strata of emotional relatedness that stems from the defensive expulsion and pooling of primitive emotional contents” (Krantz).

Group Dynamics

Organizations are also marked by group psychological dynamics, which are rooted in, and interrelated with, individual psychology and have implications for understanding and resolving organizational conflict. In three experiments with groups of boys in the 1940s and 1950s (most notably the Robbers Cave experiment), Sherif (1956) illustrated the relevance of in-group versus out-group comparisons to group dynamics. Among other results, his research demonstrated in-group bias, the tendency of groups to ignore or reinterpret favorable information about outsiders in order to fit negative stereotypes, and the pressure on group leaders to “act with regard to the prevailing temper” in their groups (Sherif, p. 104). It also showed how bringing groups together to work toward a common, meaningful goal improves group relations (Sherif). Sherif’s research yielded a foundational understanding of group dynamics and a window onto features of conflict between and within groups.

Social Identity Theory builds on the findings of Sherif and others to explain how individuals derive value and self-definition from group membership (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). It holds that social categorizations (groups) are not only cognitive tools that systemize the world for individuals, but also are a means through which individuals create and define their self-image (Tajfel & Turner). Tajfel and Turner provide three theoretical principles of Social Identity Theory:

1. Individuals strive to achieve or maintain a positive social identity.
2. Individuals’ positive social identity is based on favorable in-group versus out-group comparisons.
3. When individuals are not satisfied with their social identity, they strive to leave their group for a more positive group or to make their group more positively distinct.

Intergroup differentiation is a fundamental element of individuals' self-definition in organizations. Research concerning in-group favoritism suggests that differentiation (maximum difference) is even more important to group members than securing a greater share of a contested element (maximum profit) (Tajfel & Turner).

It is important to remember that individuals belong to multiple groups and as a result have multiple social identities (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Within an organization, individuals derive social identities from the overall organization, units and subunits, teams, and informal groups. Individuals also have identities connected to an array of groups outside the organization. The need for individuals to manage multiple social identities exacerbates the psychological challenges of belonging to an organization. Holding multiple social identities leads to role conflict, which in the context of Social Identity Theory, occurs when different identities impose different demands on an individual (Ashforth & Mael). Role conflict is omnipresent in organizations, but most individuals do not attempt to resolve it unless forced to (Ashforth & Mael). When required to break down conflicting role expectations, individuals will try to order, separate, or buffer identities (Ashforth & Mael). Individuals may (Ashforth & Mael):

- Comply with their primary identity
- Comply with the identity through which there is the greatest current pressure for conformity
- Decouple the conflicting identities as a means for eliminating their perception of the conflict
- Comply with the expectations associated with identities sequentially in order to avoid the need to resolve the conflict

According to Social Identity Theory, individuals in organizations primarily identify with their most local group (Ashforth & Mael). This suggests that competition for scarce resources among subunits can intensify in-group biases and that organizations with weak overall identities are susceptible to intergroup comparisons and the potentially adverse effects associated with such comparisons (Ashforth & Mael).

The profound link between group membership and an individual's identity yields valuable insight into how conflict can develop and intensify between groups in an organization. Based on Social Identity Theory, Ashforth and Mael (1989) highlight the escalation of negative relations between two groups:

- An in-group develops negative stereotypes of an out-group and in-group members depersonalize out-group members.
- Based on these stereotypes and a depersonalized view of out-group members, the in-group justifies maintaining social distance from the out-group and subordinating the out-group.
- Biases proliferate across the in-group as a "contagion" that can be mobilized against the out-group.
- Any competition between the groups threatens each group and its identity and exacerbates the above tendencies.

Making Sense of Group Life

Organizational life is fraught with individual and group psychological challenges, and individuals and groups cope with these challenges in various ways. To understand conflict in organizations, it is helpful to analyze and try to understand these coping mechanisms as they are played out. Coping mechanisms can be hard to detect and decode. In addition to individual

defenses and group dynamics, other features of organizations can help explain how individuals and groups deal with the psychological challenges inherent to organizational life. The culture of an organization and its groups and subgroups is one such feature. Schein (1990, p. 111) describes some aspects of organizational culture “as being for the group what defense mechanisms are for the individual.” He defines culture as “what a group learns over a period of time as that group solves its problems of survival in an external environment and its problems of internal integration” (Schein, p. 111). He says that group learning occurs simultaneously through behavioral, cognitive, and emotional processes (Schein). At a fundamental level, Schein (p. 111) says, culture forms cognitively, as a group comes to share “perceptions, language, and thought processes” that determine the “feelings, attitudes, espoused values, and overt behaviors” of group members. Culture manifests itself at three levels in organizations: observable artifacts (physical layout, dress code, etc.), values, and basic underlying assumptions (Schein). It is not easy to decode these manifestations, but there is value in looking past surface indicators in an attempt to understand the cultural dynamics of an organization (Schein). Culture is a powerful, self-perpetuating force in organizations in part because group members socialize each new member to a group (Schein). Also, with the proliferation of subgroups, organizations consist of many subgroup cultures, which must be negotiated in order for the overall organization to take action (Schein).

Organizational Metaphors

Organizational metaphors yield insight into how individuals make sense of group life and act the way they do. Hamburger and Yitzchayak (1998, p. 1) define an organizational metaphor as the “pair of spectacles through which members examine the processes and events in the organization.” In considering the implications of metaphors in organizations, they equate

metaphors to cognitive schema, in that they enable individuals to organize, summarize, interpret, and understand large amounts of information (Hamburger & Yitzchayak). As a means for individuals to simplify the complexities of organizational life, metaphors and schema pose challenges for relations between individuals and groups. They are in essence “filters that emphasize some elements of reality and screen out others” (Hamburger & Yitzchayak, p. 5). Metaphors and schema are essential for organizations to function, for mutual understanding among members is necessary for organizational stability (Hamburger & Yitzchayak). They can be problematic for organizations and their members, however, because numerous metaphors and schema exist across organizations and often contradict one another (Hamburger & Yitzchayak). When metaphors and schema held by individuals and groups are contradictory, individuals’ interpretation of facts and events vary according to the different schema and metaphors. It then can be hard for individuals and groups to find common understanding (Hamburger & Yitzchayak). Metaphors and schema also interact with group dynamics in the following ways, which can be counterproductive to organizational functioning (Hamburger & Yitzchayak):

- Attribution bias: Individuals attribute their own group’s positive behavior to their in-group and their negative behavior to external causes. The converse occurs when group members consider the behavior of an out-group.
- Judgmental bias: Individuals believe forced action toward the out-group is the best way to solve conflict and believe a pleasant attitude toward in-group members is appropriate in order to maintain harmony.
- Self-fulfilling prophecy: An individual or group changes its behavior in a way that is consistent with the schema or metaphor of the perceiver.

Metaphors and schema reflect underlying individual and group psychological dynamics of organizations and thus are critical to understanding organizational functioning and conflict (Hamburger & Yitzchayak).

Social Interdependence and Psychological Orientation

Deutsch (1985) drew an important connection between the way an individual copes with and functions in a group environment by researching the relationship between types of social interdependence and psychological orientation. By the mere fact of belonging to an organization, an individual is party to many social interdependencies, with superiors, subordinates, coworkers, etc. Deutsch considered five types of interdependence among the fundamental dimensions of interpersonal relations:

1. Cooperation-competition (promotive versus contrient)
2. Power distribution (equal versus unequal)
3. Task-oriented versus social-emotional (intellectual versus emotional)
4. Formal versus informal (relations defined by the structure of the organization versus those defined by the parties)
5. Intensity and importance (relations in this dimension are either very important to the participants or very superficial)

He analyzed the implications of each dimension for the psychological orientation of individuals. Explaining psychological orientation, he wrote that, “people orient themselves differently to different types of social relations and that the different orientations reflect and are reflected in different” psychological orientations (Deutsch, p. 78). He identified three components to psychological orientation (Deutsch):

1. Cognitive orientation: The schema, script, or frame that helps orient the individual cognitively to a situation.
2. Motivational orientation: Orients the individual to the possibilities of gratification or frustration of certain types of needs in the relationship.
3. Moral orientation: Orients the individual to mutual obligations, rights, and entitlements of the people involved in the relationship.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to describe in detail the correlations identified by Deutsch, but his research yielded two critical insights to understanding and resolving conflict in organizations: Psychological orientations can induce or be induced by a social interdependence, and the elements of psychological orientation (cognitive, motivational, and moral) tend to be consistent with one another (Deutsch). These findings in short mean that individuals have the capacity to adopt different psychological orientations in different social contexts (Deutsch). This suggests that changing either psychological orientations or the nature of social relations between conflict parties could support conflict resolution.

Organizational Conflict

With individual and group psychological dynamics as a backdrop, it is helpful to trace briefly the evolution of organizational conflict theory. Pondy (1967) wrote what at the time was considered a foundational paper for understanding organizational conflict. He considered organizational conflict as a sequence of episodes, with the result of each episode affecting subsequent episodes (Pondy). He likened conflict to a decision. As a decision is a process of gradual commitment to action, “a conflict episode can be thought of as a gradual escalation to a state of disorder” (Pondy, p. 299). He identified five stages of a conflict episode – latent conflict (conditions), perceived conflict (cognition), felt conflict (affect), manifest conflict (behavior),

conflict aftermath (conditions) – and discussed ways to deal with each stage in order to eliminate conflict.

Pondy (1967) treated organizational conflict primarily as an organizational malfunction and presented it as something that was distinct, identifiable, and necessary to eliminate. Building on his paper, a line of research focused on defining organizational conflict, understanding organizational variables related to conflict, and developing recommendations for eliminating conflict (Katz & Kahn, 1978). Katz and Kahn defined conflict as a collision of actors – an observable behavior that was distinct from competition (incompatible activities with respect to an objective) and conflict of interest (incompatible needs or preferences). Consistent with Pondy, they described conflict as a process, beginning with an action followed by an attempt at resistance and having an observable duration and conclusion (Katz & Kahn). In considering the conflict process, they identified such important variables as an organization's properties; conflict of interest; role expectations; personality and predisposition; norms, rules, and procedures; and the interaction of the conflict (the behavior of the conflicting parties) (Katz & Kahn). A core assumption of Pondy and Katz & Kahn's conception of organizational conflict was that it was a mostly negative, unfortunate byproduct of organizational structures and functioning.

A Broader View of Conflict

Shortly after Pondy published his foundational article, Deutsch (1969) advanced a broader view of organizational conflict. He characterized it as potentially constructive or destructive and highlighted the significance of psychological or perceived conflict. According to Deutsch, conflict stems from competition when the incompatible actions of parties reflect incompatible goals. It can also occur in cooperative contexts as a result of the psychological process of valuing or perceiving (Deutsch). He described how psychological processes influence

the emergence of conflict in the absence of competition. Individuals perceive an act according to both their perception of the act itself and their perception of the context of the act (Deutsch). Individuals do not always know the context of acts, however, and often substitute familiar contexts from their experiences (Deutsch). By drawing meaning from misplaced contexts, individuals arrive at a skewed perception of the act (Deutsch).

The psychological tendency of individuals to hold favorable views of themselves is also significant (Deutsch, 1969). Individuals are not similarly motivated to hold positive views of others. They thus are likely to perceive their own behavior as benevolent and more legitimate than the behavior of another party (Deutsch). Furthermore, an individual's misperception of an action or situation will likely grow as a conflict intensifies (Deutsch). Conflict can induce stress or tension, which can impair perceptual and cognitive processes (Deutsch). Individuals in conflict may (Deutsch):

- Be less able to perceive alternatives
- Have a reduced perspective on time
- Adopt black-and-white thinking
- Be susceptible to fear
- Be defensive
- Be sensitive to pressures for social conformity

Deutsch also underscored the significance of the psychological process through which an individual commits to something. Individuals have a need for self-consistency and thus tend to act in accordance with their beliefs (Deutsch). Based on the theory of cognitive dissonance, individuals also may change their beliefs and attitudes to align with their actions (Deutsch). According to Deutsch then, conflict can be objective and observable, but it also can arise and

intensify merely as a result of individual psychological processes in otherwise cooperative relationships and contexts.

Deutsch's expanded conception of conflict led to a new line of inquiry into organizational conflict. Where the tendency among theorists had been to narrow the focus on conflict as an observable behavior (conflicting action), theorists began to see conflict in a much broader vein. Bercovitch (1983) put forth three interrelated dimensions of conflict: the conflict situation (the basic incompatibility), conflict attitudes (the range of psychological factors), and conflict behavior (the related behavior). He suggested that focusing on the "behavioral manifestation [of conflict] is an extremely limiting exercise" and urged organizational leaders to understand that conflicts stem from "ineradicable human qualities and are related to situations of interdependence and scarce resources and perceptions of incompatibility" (Bercovitch, p. 105). He posited further that conflict "is not caused by 'inadequate' structures, nor is it undesirable. It is natural and inevitable and, properly managed, it is productive, relevant and creative" (Bercovitch, p. 105).

In reflecting on his 1967 paper, Pondy (1992) reevaluated his portrayal of conflict as a malfunction of organizations. He concluded that his previous reasoning was flawed because it assumed organizations were "cooperative, purposive systems" (Pondy, p. 259). Rather, he said, organizations are a "means for internalizing conflicts, for bringing them within a bounded structure so they can be confronted and acted out. ... Conflict is the very essence of what an organization is. If conflict isn't happening, then the organization has no reason for being (Pondy, p. 259). He advised organizations, in approaching conflict, to "stage the right conflict episodes, with the right conflicting parties, over the right issues, operating under the right ground-rules" (Pondy, p. 260).

Adopting this view, Kolb and Putnam (1992, p. 311) described conflict as a “perennial feature” of organizations that is generally not “bracketed into discrete public events and sequences.” They suggested that disputes and their resolution are “embedded in interactions among organizational members as they go about their daily activities” and defined conflict as existing “when there are real or perceived differences that arise in specific organizational circumstances and that engender emotion as a consequence” (Kolb & Putnam, p. 312). Noting that efforts in most organizations to deal with conflict serve merely to mask conflict, they advanced a broader approach to conflict resolution that encompasses both public, formal means and informal means of dealing with conflict (Kolb & Putnam). They advocated approaching disputes as units of analysis, with a goal of emphasizing the behavior of parties as the conflict unfolds and studying how issues are dealt with as conflicts are resolved (Kolb & Putnam). This broader perspective on organizational conflict, they contended, provides a window onto less public forms of dispute resolution, emphasizes the processes underlying the emergence of conflicts, highlights both the rational (logical) and non-rational (emotional) facets of conflict, and challenges the normative assumption that conflicts should be eliminated (Kolb & Putnam).

How Individuals Deal With Conflict

Fisher and Ury (1991) put forth an approach to resolving disputes that was widely adopted in formal negotiations and is useful to parties engaged in organizational conflict. They defined a wise agreement as one that meets the interests of each side to a dispute, resolves conflicting interests fairly, is durable, and takes community interests into account (Fisher & Ury). They argued that most negotiations produce unwise agreements because the conflicting parties argue over positions, rather than interests (Fisher & Ury). Most parties approach a negotiation as a zero-sum (or fixed-pie) game (Fisher & Ury). Stressing the benefits of the

parties looking for mutual gain, they put forth the concept of principled negotiation, which has four tenets (Fisher & Ury):

1. People: Separate the people from the problem
2. Interests: Focus on interests, not positions
3. Options: Generate a variety of possibilities before deciding what to do
4. Criteria: Insist that the result be based on some objective standard

Approaching any conflict from a principled negotiation perspective is generally beneficial, but organizational conflict is often dealt with informally, not in a formal negotiation. It is important, therefore, for organizational members to have the skills and self-awareness necessary to resolve conflicts through their everyday interactions. Individuals are thought to have four strategies for dealing with conflict: Contending, Problem Solving, Yielding, and Avoiding (Pruitt & Kim, 2003). In Contending, an individual holds to their own aspirations and tries to “persuade or force” the other party to give in (Pruitt & Kim, p. 38). Contending involves a number of tactics, such as arguing, making threats, imposing penalties, making demands, and imposing deadlines (Pruitt & Kim). In Problem Solving, an individual seeks to find a solution that is appealing to both parties to a conflict (Pruitt & Kim). Problem Solving includes such tactics as conceding in expectation of a concession, revealing one’s underlying interests, hinting at compromise solutions, and using back channels or mediators for communication (Pruitt & Kim). Problem Solving is generally associated with constructive and durable solutions to conflict. In Yielding, an individual concedes all or part of the contested matter, which can be effective in some circumstances (Pruitt & Kim). In Avoiding, an individual does not engage in the conflict at all, which can be problematic if the conflicting parties must deal with one another in the future (Pruitt & Kim).

The Dual Concern Model provides a valuable perspective on how individuals deal with conflict (Pruitt & Kim, 2003). It holds that individuals have two possible concerns in the face of conflict – concern for self and concern for other – and the extent to which individuals hold those concerns in particular situations affects how they deal with the conflict at hand (Pruitt & Kim). It then positions the four conflict strategies according to the degree of concern for self and concern for other (Pruitt & Kim). The strategies are ranked as follows (Pruitt & Kim):

- Contending: high self concern, low other concern
- Problem Solving: high self concern, high other concern
- Avoiding: low self concern, low other concern
- Yielding: high other concern, low self concern

The Dual Concern Model holds that individuals have innate tendencies to adopt strategies.

While individuals may have preferred strategies for dealing with conflict, there is also evidence that individuals will adopt different strategies according to conditions (Pruitt & Kim, 2003). The “theory of the impact of conditions” suggests certain factors can influence an individual’s dual concerns and lead to the adoption of a context-specific strategy (Pruitt & Kim, p. 42). Concern for self can be influenced by the importance of the interests at stake, the relative importance of the outcome (as compared to outcomes in other circumstances), the way outcomes are framed, and fear of confrontation (Pruitt & Kim). Other concern can either be genuine (based on intrinsic interest in other’s welfare) or instrumental (aimed at advancing self-interest) (Pruitt & Kim, 2003). Genuine concern can arise from interpersonal bonds, which can produce empathy, or a positive mood (Pruitt & Kim). Instrumental concern is the result of dependence on the other, which could be either positive (other could provide rewards) or negative (other could provide penalties) (Pruitt & Kim). Evidence also suggests that in choosing a particular strategy

individuals perceive a feasibility of using that strategy to achieve their goals “at an acceptable cost and risk” (Pruitt & Kim, p. 47).

The Dual Concern Model and theories concerning the impact of conditions and perceived feasibility establish an important connection between the circumstances of a particular conflict, an individual’s thoughts and feelings concerning the conflict, and the strategy the individual chooses in dealing with the conflict. There is also evidence that how individuals frame a conflict influences not only their own perspective on the conflict but also that of the other party (Pinkley & Northcroft, 1994). Conflict frames of reference are similar to the schema and metaphors discussed earlier, in that they are “perceptual sets that lead disputants to focus on some characteristics of a conflict situation while ignoring others” (Pinkley & Northcroft, p. 193). In researching the impact of frames on dispute processes and outcomes, Pinkley and Northcroft found that disputants’ conflict frames mutually influenced each other and converged during the negotiation. This, they concluded, suggests an “individual’s conflict frame may be at least in part a function of context and therefore susceptible to change” (Pinkley & Northcroft, p. 201). They also found the opportunity for integrative (problem-solving) negotiation increases when individuals in conflict have different frames, as each party is likely to yield on matters outside their frame (Pinkley & Northcroft). Pinkley and Northcroft researched the impact of three frame polarities on the outcome of disputes: relationship versus task frames, cooperative versus win frames, and emotional versus intellectual frames. They found that both parties to a dispute received the greatest monetary value settlement when they both had a task (as opposed to relationship) frame and a cooperation (as opposed to win) frame. They noted that monetary value settlement is not the sole dimension of an outcome – for example, maintaining a positive post-negotiation relationship may be highly important – but their research highlights the significance

of conflict frames to how parties interact when discussing a conflict, to tangible outcomes, and to parties' feelings about how a conflict is resolved (Pinkley & Northcroft). Of note, they found no correlation between the emotional versus intellectual frame and the value settlement but found that whether individuals had emotional or intellectual frames influenced how satisfied the parties were with the outcome of their negotiation.

Task Versus Emotional Conflict

Conflict frames are relevant to a body of research focused on task and relationship (called emotional hereafter) conflict in organizations. Building on the notion that conflict is either productive or destructive in organizations, Jehn (1995) and others sought to isolate task (substantive, cognitive, issue) and emotional (psychological, interpersonal) conflict and determine their significance to organizations. Studying intragroup contexts, Jehn found correlations between the two types of conflict and group effectiveness. She (p. 258) defined emotional conflict as conflict that “exists when there are interpersonal incompatibilities among group members, which typically includes tension, animosity, and annoyance among members within a group.” In contrast, task conflict exists “when there are disagreements among group members about the content of the tasks being performed, including differences in viewpoints, ideas, and opinions” (Jehn, p. 258). Based on a study of the international headquarters of a large freight corporation, Jehn concluded that task conflict was detrimental to groups performing routine tasks. It was not detrimental to groups performing non-routine tasks and in some cases was beneficial; in such groups an absence of task conflict was associated with complacency (Jehn). Emotional conflict was found to be detrimental to groups performing either type of task (Jehn). Unresolved task conflict could transform into emotional conflict, and emotional conflict might manifest itself as task conflict (Jehn). Later research concerning teams by Jehn and

Mannix (2001) found that managers of teams performing non-routine tasks could improve team effectiveness – and contain emotional conflict – by encouraging a norm of open discussion, engendering a high level of respect among team members, and fostering a cohesive and supportive team.

Amason (1996) provided an interesting perspective on the connection between task and emotional conflict in his research on strategic decision-making in top management teams. He found a paradoxical connection between conflict and decision-making: “[Conflict] appears important for high quality decisions. Yet, conflict also appears to be an impediment to consensus and affective acceptance” (Amason, p. 127). He found that emotional conflict (which he called affective) emerged in top management teams when task (cognitive) disagreement was perceived as personal criticism.

While the research by Jehn (1995) and Amason (1996) yielded insights into the relationship between conflict and team performance, others assert that attempting to separate task and emotional conflict is an oversimplification of that relationship. Yang and Mossholder (2004) found task and emotional conflict within groups to be interwoven complexly as part of intragroup emotional processing. They suggested task conflict and emotional conflict are not independent and do not hold mutually independent effects on team behavior and outcomes (Yang & Mossholder). Rather, they viewed the two types of conflict as interdependent and saw intragroup emotional processes as a means for resolving them (Yang & Mossholder). They pointed to emotional contagion and the adverse effects of a sequence of emotional experiences in explaining how task conflict could degenerate into emotional conflict (Yang & Mossholder). They wrote that an individual is likely to react emotionally when they observe another individual reacting emotionally (Yang & Mossholder). Emotional reactions in connection with a task

disagreement can trigger emotional contagion across a team (Yang & Mossholder). Then, a single emotional experience is likely to yield subsequent emotional experiences, which spiral into a series of emotional events that in turn will influence future interactions within the workgroup (Yang & Mossholder).

Yang & Mossholder (2004) advanced the concept of collective emotional intelligence as a means for improving intragroup emotional processing. They defined individual emotional intelligence as including four interrelated abilities: accurately appraising and expressing emotions, generating emotions to facilitate the thought process, understanding emotions and emotional knowledge, and regulating emotions in oneself and others to promote emotional and intellectual growth (Yang & Mossholder). By drawing on the concepts of adaptive structuration and tie strength, they demonstrated how emotionally intelligent individuals can increase the collective emotional intelligence of groups (Yang & Mossholder). Under adaptive structuration, a group tends to become “structured” in a way that reflects interpersonal interactions within the group, which in turn affects future interpersonal interactions within the group (Yang & Mossholder, p. 256). Thus, individuals with high emotional intelligence can foster constructive intragroup emotional processing by modeling emotionally intelligent behavior in interpersonal interactions. Tie strength is one important structural feature of interpersonal relations. It is connected to contact time, emotional intimacy, and reciprocity of favors and obligations (Yang & Mossholder). In groups with strong ties, group members “have a history of close, positive interactions,” (Yang & Mossholder, p. 256). In accordance with adaptive structuration, these interactions build upon one another and yield ongoing interpersonal relations that are conducive to the constructive handling of conflict. According to Yang and Mossholder (p. 596):

Where group members have strong ties, conflicts are less likely to escalate into relationship conflicts. Strong ties allow individuals to establish a shared knowledge of team objectives as well as information about members' roles and interaction patterns. We argue that group members with

strong ties also have shared knowledge concerning emotional expressions and experiences. Through socialization of emotional communication, members are able to build a shared emotional schema for the group. Strong ties let group members become adept at interpreting others' emotional expressions and facilitate empathic responses to them.

Druskat and Wolff (2001) analyzed the emotional intelligence of groups and found it leads to higher group performance. They posited that higher group emotional intelligence leads to greater trust, identity, and efficacy, which lead to greater participation, cooperation, and collaboration, which in turn lead to better decisions, more creative solutions, and higher productivity (Druskat & Wolff). They analyzed three levels of emotional interaction in groups: individual, within groups, and between groups. At the interpersonal level, they noted that teams often adopt perspective taking as a means for removing emotions from decisions (Druskat & Wolff). They argued that perspective taking in groups also should encompass and acknowledge how each group member is making an effort to understand the perspective of others (Druskat & Wolff). In order to regulate individuals' emotions, they advised groups to adopt norms of confrontation (calling individuals out when norms are violated) and caring (displaying regard, appreciation, and respect) for one another (Druskat & Wolff). In considering group-level emotional interactions, they suggested that norms supporting group self-awareness support group effectiveness (Druskat & Wolff). They also suggested that the effective acknowledgement and handling of emotional interactions with other groups enhances in-group effectiveness (Druskat & Wolff). One way to do this, they said, is for individual group members to serve as liaisons to important constituents (Druskat & Wolff).

Double-loop Learning

The intersection between organizational effectiveness and conflict resolution may be best expressed through the concept of a learning organization. Considerable organizational effectiveness literature in the past few decades contends that modern organizations must equip

themselves to adapt amid increasingly fluid environments through continuous learning and learning-based change. A leading theorist in this realm is Argyris, who criticized the single-loop learning approach present in most organizations (Argyris, 1977). His analogy of a thermostat is helpful in distinguishing between single-loop learning and double-loop learning (Argyris). In a single-loop learning approach, when a thermostat is too hot or cold, an organization merely turns the heat on or off (a corrective action) (Argyris). Double-loop learning entails questioning at what temperature the thermometer should be set (Argyris). Double-loop learning makes an organization “capable of not only detecting error but also questioning underlying policies and goals” (Argyris, p. 116). Organizations can and do exhibit double-loop learning, but Argyris suggests they generally do so only when some event precipitates a crisis, there is a change in management, or the existing managers create a crisis in order to initiate change (Argyris). The problem with adopting double-loop learning at these times is that:

- the change comes well after some organizational members recognized its necessity (which is dispiriting to them);
- the individuals who did not detect the issues that needed to be addressed are reinforced in not being alert;
- change under crisis is exhausting; and
- the changes themselves often reinforce the factors that inhibited organizational learning.

Rahim (2002) extends the concept of double-loop learning to dealing with organizational conflict. Any intervention in conflict should promote double-loop learning – not only among individuals but also in a way that transfers what individuals learn to the organization (Rahim). Unfortunately, individual defensive reasoning and organizational defensive routines can inhibit the creative problem solving necessary for double-loop learning (Rahim). As a result, in dealing

with conflict, organizations often commit what Rahim and others call Type III Errors. That is, they solve the wrong problem when they should have solved the right problem (Rahim). Even if organizations identify the problem properly, they often commit Type IV Errors, which Rahim defines as the probability of not implementing a solution properly. In order to support double-loop learning, Rahim contends, organizations should adopt conflict strategies that incorporate creative problem solving, which is a critical thinking process comprised of problem recognition, planning for change, and implementation. This perspective supports conflict resolution strategies like Weitzman and Weitzman's (2006) Problem Solving and Decision Making model, which is incorporated in the guide outline and discussed later.

Conceptual Underpinning

The conceptual underpinning of this paper and the accompanying guide outline is best encapsulated by Tjosvold (2006), who harkens to Deutsch's cooperative conflict in arguing for a practical application of the growing theoretical understanding of conflict as something that is essential to organizational functioning and is interwoven, not separate from, cooperation. Early conflict literature (Pondy, 1967) and the practices of most organizations today treat conflict as an organizational malfunction. The perspective is: conflict is an organizational illness that arises inevitably as individuals and groups interact in the organizational setting; cooperation is the ideal currency of organizational functioning. Drawing from Deutsch, Tjosvold challenges the effort to separate conflict and cooperation and isolate and eliminate conflict for an organization to function cooperatively. Rather, he argues, "working together cooperatively provokes conflict, not a superficial cohesion that is often counterproductive. Indeed, it is through conflict that teams can be productive and enhancing and leaders can be effective. To choose to cooperate is to

choose to conflict. To work together effectively requires effective choices in negotiating conflict” (Tjosveld, p. 92).

Discussion

Conflict is a complex element of organizations. It is interwoven with both the individual and group psychological facets of organizational life and the structural and task differentiations intended to provide organizations with order and purpose (Tjosveld, 2006). Conflict can be negative in organizations, and often is. Conflict can be emotional, and poorly managed emotional reactions to conflict are counterproductive to organizational functioning. Emotions are also integral to individual and group functioning and growth, and sorting through negative emotions constructively can enhance the ability of individuals and groups to work together in the future. While conflict can be negative, it is also an inherent and necessary feature of organizational functioning (Bercovitch, 1983). It is present in all interactions between individuals and groups and is a lever through which organizations contend with internal and external demands and pressures. Conflict enables innovation, prioritization, and decision-making. Dealt with properly, conflict is a vital and constructive feature of organizations (Pondy, 1992).

The problem is: Most organizations only focus on conflict when it manifests itself in negative episodes (Rahim, 2010) – a heated argument between two team members or hostile relations between interdependent teams, for example. The typical reaction to these episodes is to try to eliminate the conflict, with a goal merely of restoring order. The mistake in this approach is that organizations are not orderly (Pondy, 1992). They are by nature a boiling pot of individual and group identities and emotions, varied perspectives, and countervailing needs and interests. It is the boiling pot that defines an organization and enables it to function and grow (Pondy). Only addressing conflict when it arises in the form of emotional episodes limits an organization’s

ability to harness the positive aspects of conflict (Bercovitch, 1983). It also is unlikely truly to resolve the conflict. The emotional and psychological aspects of organizational life are so complex that for organizations to resolve conflict truly they must help individuals and groups build greater self-awareness, reflective capacity, and conflict handling abilities and adopt problem-solving mechanisms for dealing with actual conflict episodes.

A Conflict Resolution Strategy

A body of research indicates that organizations should adopt a conflict resolution strategy, but what does such an approach entail in practice? To answer that question, I have developed the outline of *A Guide to Understanding and Resolving Conflict for Organizational Effectiveness* (the Guide outline) (Appendix), which provides a multifaceted template, drawing on education, a carefully cultivated culture of openness, organizational design and development strategies, ongoing measurement and analysis of conflict levels, and a problem-solving approach to conflict episodes. Considering the complex individual and group psychology of organizations, the Guide outline positions educational material as foundational to a conflict resolution approach. Pro-actively equipping individuals and groups to deal with the anxieties and emotions triggered by group life will enhance their capacity to resolve conflict constructive when it arises. Accordingly, the Guide outline includes educational material concerning:

- Individual and group identities and how they influence the perspectives of organizational members (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Ashforth & Mael, 1989)
- Individual defenses and organizational defensive routines (Rahim, 2010)
- The psychological aspects of the interdependencies between individuals and groups (Sherif, 1956; Deutsch, 1969; Krantz, 2001)

- The mental models that individuals and groups hold and the limiting effects of the assumptions they make (Senge et al., 1990)
- The elements of trust (Hurley, 2006)
- The layers of communication (Schein, 1988)
- The psychological steps of team formation and the features of effective teams (Schein; Hackman, 2002)

Education is an important first step toward adopting a conflict resolution approach because it aims to prompt organizational members to question and consider the roots of assumptions that they hold about themselves, individuals across the organization, the organizational groups to which they belong, other organizational groups, and the overall organization. As explained by the literature, these assumptions are mechanisms for individuals to make sense of group life and deal with the anxieties associated with group membership (Berg & Smith, 1987; Krantz, 2001). Over time, they have become embedded in individual and group identities (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), in organizational culture and sub-cultures (Schein, 1990), and in the frames (or schema) (Pinkley & Northcroft, 1994) that individuals use to understand organizational functioning. As a result, these assumptions shape the perceptions of conflict and limit the ability of individuals objectively to assess conflict (Deutsch, 1969). Because it is hard for individuals to shed these assumptions, the Guide outline calls for ongoing education and scheduled opportunities for individual and group reflection on how the concepts are evident in organizational features and functioning. In sum, education about these concepts seeks to foster self-awareness, increased capacity to process one's emotional reactions, and greater understanding of and sensitivity to the psychological needs and reactions of other organizational members.

While awareness and understanding of these concepts is important, organizational members also must develop the skills necessary to incorporate this awareness and understanding into how they function. Accordingly, the Guide outline includes educational material to help build skills in the following areas:

- Having difficult conversations (Stone et al., 1999)
- Dealing with feelings and threats to identity (Stone et al.)
- Assessing levels of trust and employing tactics to increase trust (Hurley, 2006)
- Communicating and active listening (Schein, 1988; Stone et al.)
- Adopting different conflict handling strategies according to different situations (Pruitt & Kim, 2003)
- Influencing constructive intragroup processing of conflict and emotions (Druskat & Wolff, 2001; Yang & Mossholder, 2004)
- Reflecting on individual and group experiences, learning from those experiences, and applying what is learned to future situations (Rahim, 2010)
- Approaching conflict with problem-solving techniques (Weitzman & Weitzman, 2006)

Because developing these skills requires practice, the Guide outline calls for ongoing skill-building sessions and scheduled opportunities for individuals and groups to reflect on their efforts to apply the skills.

The overarching goal of the educational components of the Guide outline is to orient the organizational culture toward a conflict resolution approach. It is, therefore, critical for organizational leaders and managers to take part in the ongoing educational process, alongside the frontline staff members. Doing so will illustrate that leaders and managers embrace the effort, will position them as models for learning and applying the skills, and will underscore the

organizational commitment to a conflict resolution approach. The shared experience of the ongoing education, moreover, will help build a superordinate organizational identity (Sherif, 1956; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), which can offset pre-existing identity-based conflicts and help embed the constructive resolution of conflict in the organizational culture.

A Culture of Openness

While education is a critical element of the Guide outline, it is not sufficient itself to equip organizations to employ a resolution approach to conflict. Considerable research cites the value of a culture of openness to conflict resolution (Jehn, 1995; Jehn & Mannix, 2001; Rahim, 2010). Such a culture encourages individuals to express their opinions and feelings and to be open to the feelings and perspectives of others. It treats difficult emotions as opportunities for greater mutual understanding and building durable relationships, not as inherently divisive (Stone et al., 1999). It sets a norm of highlighting actions that violate agreed-upon organizational norms – Druskat & Wolf's (2001) norm of confrontation.

A culture of openness is intertwined with the concept of a learning organization. In such a culture, individuals are encouraged to question the status quo (Rahim, 2010). They are asked to challenge their own assumptions and defenses and to consider how their perspective is limited by their job function, their membership in groups and subgroups, their experiences in the organization, and the assumptions about the organization and its members that they have made over time (Argyris, 1977). Individuals are encouraged to acknowledge mistakes, and the organization embraces those mistakes as learning opportunities and seeks to identify and correct the underlying causes, rather than treat the symptoms (Argyris).

The educational material in the Guide outline aims to foster a cultural of openness, but such a culture will only take hold if its values are articulated and modeled by organizational

leaders and managers. A culture of openness asks individuals to question their assumptions and move away from psychological defenses for the sake of overall organizational cohesion and effectiveness. Individuals are unlikely to take such steps unless leaders and managers exemplify this behavior. Accordingly, the Guide outline includes information on how to foster and maintain such a culture. Trust is a pivotal element of a culture of openness (Hurley, 2006), and the Guide outline advises leaders and managers continuously to assess and work to build trust levels (Hurley). Leaders and managers will likely struggle with the steps required of them in a culture of openness – they have their own anxieties and have adopted their own defenses. If leaders and managers genuinely seek to resolve conflict constructively, however, they must be willing to listen openly to the opinions and feelings of others and even put forth their own mistakes as opportunities for learning. The Guide outline seeks to provide the impetus and the steps for doing so.

Organizational Design and Development

Because groups and teams are defining organizational elements and are interwoven with individual and organizational psychology, leaders and managers would be well served to employ organizational design and development strategies that support the constructive resolution of conflict. The Guide outline includes prescriptions from Schein (1988) and Hackman (2002) that are both rooted in and account for the psychological challenges inherent to organizational life. Adopting these prescriptions in the development and management of teams will enhance an organization's conflict resolution capacity. It will help set up individuals and teams for success in dealing with conflict.

The Guide outline advises leaders and managers, in creating and managing teams, to be aware of the phases, identified by Schein (1988), that groups and their members must go through

for a group to become effective. Whenever a new group is formed or a new individual enters a group, Schein explains, group members must deal with and resolve individual psychological needs. Until they do so, group members will exhibit “self-oriented behavior” and be unable to deal constructively with issues around a group’s process and the tasks at hand (Schein, 1988). Mindful of the paradoxes of group life (Berg & Smith, 1986), Schein (p. 41) identifies four issues in the context of a group that individuals must resolve:

- Identity: Who am I to be?
- Control and influence: Will I be able to control and influence others?
- Needs and goals: Will the group goals include my own needs?
- Acceptance and intimacy: Will I be liked and accepted by the group? How close a group will we be?

These issues will be a source of group tension until they are resolved, and they make it difficult for group members to listen to and show regard for others (Schein, 1988). The educational components of the Guide outline will help individuals understand and deal with these challenges, but greater awareness does not eliminate the need for individuals and groups to go through the process. The emphasis of the Guide on building skills in having difficult conversations (Stone et al., 1999), dealing with identity threats (Stone et al.), and communicating and listening (Schein; Stone et al.) will help individuals deal with the process. Leaders and managers also should provide, to the extent possible, the space and time necessary for each group member to resolve these issues.

Going through what Schein (1988) calls Phase I of building and maintaining effective groups then will prepare groups for taking on task and group maintenance functions, Schein’s

Phase II. Schein identifies three types of functions that effective teams must carry out on a continuous basis:

- Task functions: The group functions that are necessary for making progress on tasks.
- Building and internal maintenance functions: The functions necessary to building and maintaining good relations within the group.
- Boundary management functions: Functions related to managing a group's relationships to its environment.

Schein delineates specific functions within each category, and the Guide outline advises leaders and managers to use these functions as a “checking device” (Schein, p. 49) to determine how well groups are operating. Schein also provides a self-assessment for rating group effectiveness, and the Guide outline incorporates it as a means for increasing group learning and effectiveness. The Guide outline draws on Schein's research on and guidelines for group effectiveness because they focus on the psychological challenges of group membership and on building a group culture, cohesion, and capacity for reflection that are conducive to constructively resolving conflict. A team that is mindful of Schein's insight is also likely to be more emotionally intelligent, and a high group emotional intelligence supports the constructive conflict resolution (Druskat & Wolff, 2001; Yang & Mossholder, 2004).

High-Performing Teams

Teams (or groups) that resolve conflict constructively are likely to be high performing. The literature on optimizing team performance, moreover, includes guidelines that are well suited to resolving conflict. Accordingly, the Guide outline advises leaders and managers to follow Hackman's (2002) strategies for creating and enabling high-performing teams. Hackman (p. 23-28) identifies three features of high-performing teams:

- They always serve their customers well.
- The social processes that they use in carrying out their work enhance members' capability to work together interdependently in the future.
- The group experience, on balance, contributes positively to the learning and personal wellbeing of individual team members.

The last two features are especially relevant to this paper because they reflect a positive team experience and suggest team members are able to attend their psychological needs, the team has a high emotional intelligence, and the team continuously learns from its experiences. A team that operates in such a way is well equipped to deal with conflict.

Hackman (2002) further identifies five conditions for enabling high-performing teams, and the Guide outline advises leaders and managers to consider them as they develop and manage teams. A team will be able to achieve and sustain high performance if it (Hackman):

- Is a real team, rather than in name only
- Has a compelling direction for its work
- Has an enabling structure that facilitates rather than impedes work
- Operates within a supportive organizational context
- Has available expert coaching

Hackman (2002) identifies the criteria necessary to put in place each of these conditions, and the Guide outline advises leaders and managers to be mindful of each criterion as they oversee teams. Doing so will enhance team performance and support the constructive resolution of conflict. The prescription for making expert coaching available to teams is particularly relevant to conflict resolution because coaches can provide a mirror to help team members identify, understand, and deal with the psychological components of conflict as it arises. While expert

coaching is important, however, Hackman and the Guide outline stress that coaches should avoid intervening in a group's functioning to rectify poor performance or to eliminate conflict.

Intervention in such situations is unlikely to "clear out the interpersonal underbrush" (Hackman, p. 193). Rather, coaches should ask prompting questions and make observations to support the team's self-awareness and capacity for processing conflict. Expert coaching is a valuable resource for teams in dealing with conflict, but it is not always an option for organizations. As such, the Guide outline advocates the use of peer coaches on teams (Hackman). As Hackman explains (p. 195), "good coaching helps team members practice and learn the skills and rewards of being superb *self-managers*, and that is unlikely to happen if the coach is rarely around." By supporting team members in coaching themselves, organizations will enhance a self-management capacity, which supports greater intragroup processing of emotions and the constructive resolution of conflict.

Ongoing Measurement and Analysis

Because awareness is essential for understanding, the outline of the Guide proposes that organizations measure conflict levels on a regular basis and analyze the effects of conflict education and of interventions in specific conflict episodes. Theorists and practitioners have developed an array of tools for measuring organizational conflict. For example, Rahim's Organizational Conflict Inventory I (ROCI-I) measures the amount of conflict at the intrapersonal, interpersonal, intragroup, and intergroup levels. Rahim (2010) then proposes interventions tailored to the amount and types of conflict at each level. Rahim also developed a self-assessment questionnaire, Rahim's Organizational Conflict Inventory II (ROCI-II), to help individuals understand their conflict handling tendencies.

While these resources are potentially of value, the outline of the Guide proposes a more organic approach to measurement and analysis. It proposes that organizations conduct biannual conflict reflection dialogues as a mechanism for ongoing measurement and analysis. As detailed in the outline of the Guide, the dialogues would provide small-group, cross-functional forums for discussing and assessing the following:

- The amount and types of conflict across the organization
- The impact of existing conflict levels on the:
 - o The organization
 - o Groups and subgroups
 - o Individuals
- The impact of previous interventions in specific conflict episodes
- The impact of the ongoing conflict education proposed in the Guide outline
- The capacity of individuals, groups, and the organization as a whole to deal with conflict constructively
- Lessons learned from previous episodes of conflict
- Next steps for enhancing the organization's ability to deal with conflict constructively

The outline of the Guide envisions that the dialogue facilitators would compile a short report identifying themes from the discussions. The report would be distributed to all members of the organization and would serve as a benchmark for ongoing analysis and reflection across the organization. While far from scientific, this approach to the measurement and analysis of organizational conflict is more likely to extend the organization's capacity for conflict resolution. The dialogues would impart to all organizational members a sense of ownership of conflict measurement and analysis. Over time, moreover, the discussions themselves are likely to yield a

greater self-awareness, reflective capacity, and ability to resolve conflict constructively as it arises. It is envisioned that organizational leaders might pursue organizational design or development measures based on the dialogues, but the Guide outline advises against doing so unilaterally. It would be important to enlist the stakeholders to such measures in the decision-making process to ensure the measures are warranted and actually address the issues uncovered by the dialogues.

Problem Solving Approach to Conflict

A large part of the Guide outline focuses on equipping individuals and groups in organizations to understand and deal with conflict. Other parts focus on measures that organizational leaders and managers can take to create and maintain cultural, structural, and managerial features conducive to constructive conflict resolution. These aspects of the Guide outline constitute pre-emptive efforts in dealing with conflict. This paper contends that these efforts are critical to the constructive resolution of conflict because organizational conflict has complex emotional and psychological – as well as objective – roots. Individuals and groups must be aware of these emotions and have the capacity to deal with them as they arise in conflict situations. If an organization takes these pre-emptive measures, what then should it do when actual conflict episodes arise?

The Guide outline advises organizations to adopt Weitzman and Weitzman's (2006) Problem Solving and Decision Making (PSDM) Model for dealing with conflict episodes. The model provides a path for dealing constructively with individuals' multifaceted interests in conflict situations. In explaining the model, Weitzman and Weitzman note that individuals might appear to have objectively incompatible interests, but other factors also could be at play. Individuals in conflict could (Weitzman & Weitzman):

- Be too angry with each other to talk constructively
- Have fundamental differences in their values about the subject of the conflict or the processes for resolving it
- Hold different versions of the truth
- Have different views or desires about their relationship
- Have deep understandings

These factors highlight the potential for conflict to arise in cooperative contexts (Deutsch, 1969).

Weitzman and Weitzman (2006) propose a path forward that provides the conflicting individuals with room to account for their respective interests, values, preferences, realities, and emotional investments. The model starts by recasting the conflicting parties' interests as "concerns" to offset the conventional association of interests with tangible outcomes (Weitzman & Weitzman). Concerns, Weitzman & Weitzman explain, account for the intangible aspects of a conflict (values, emotional investments, etc.), which are prevalent and as important, if not more important, to the conflicting parties than tangible outcomes.

To support a constructive handling of the tangible and intangible aspects of the conflict, the model then positions the conflict as a complex puzzle for the conflicting parties to solve (Weitzman & Weitzman, 2006). Solving the puzzle entails an iterative process of collaborative problem solving that accommodates opportunities for individual and collective decision-making as a means for resolving each party's concerns (Weitzman & Weitzman). The model represents a cooperative conflict resolution process with four general phases:

- Diagnosing the conflict
- Identifying alternative solutions
- Evaluating and choosing a mutually acceptable solution

- Committing to the decision and simplifying it

The Guide outline advises using the PSDM Model because it helps conflicting parties sort through collaboratively the many complex individual and group concerns, tangible and psychological, at play. In short, it enables a thorough resolution of negative conflict episodes in a way that is likely to foster productive relations between the parties moving forward. The PSDM Model is likely to be especially effective in organizations that have embraced the educational components of the Guide outline, fostered a culture of openness, are mindful of Schein's and Hackman's organizational management insights, and continuously seek to measure, reflect upon, and learn from conflict.

Conclusion

This paper draws on research to advance a conceptual model for understanding and resolving conflict in organizations. This model encompasses the positive and negative implications of organizational conflict and advises organizations to adopt a conflict resolution strategy. The model emphasizes the importance of the individual and group psychological aspects of organizational conflict and cautions organizations against adopting superficial measures to eliminate conflict. Truly resolving conflict requires a holistic approach that provides individuals and groups within the organization with the self-awareness, reflective capacity, and the conflict handling skills to deal with the many facets of conflict. The model considers conflict as an important factor in ongoing organizational effectiveness and advises organizations to consider conflict as an opportunity for learning. Organizations (and their members and groups) that learn from conflict, the model argues, are better equipped to resolve conflict as it arises. They are more likely to be effective.

The paper draws from the conceptual model and its underlying research to identify the components of an outline for A Guide to Understanding and Resolving Conflict for Organizational Effectiveness. The Guide outline includes considerable educational material and emphasizes the importance of education and skill building to the constructive handling of conflict. Considering the complex elements of organizational conflict, organizations that merely address conflict episodes as they arise are unlikely to truly resolve conflict. The Guide outline emphasizes ongoing education for individuals and groups across the organization as a pre-emptive approach to conflict resolution. As a secondary benefit, the educational components of the Guide outline are likely to provide a valuable shared experience for organizational members and to yield the potential for the development of an overall organizational culture around the constructive handling of conflict.

Drawing from research, the Guide outline includes organizational design and development prescriptions that are rooted in and account for the individual and group psychological features of organizational membership and conflict. A critical prescription of the Guide outline is that organizational leaders and managers should develop a culture of openness, in which individuals are encouraged to question all matters and in which errors and conflict are confronted openly as opportunities for learning. This prescription is built on research connecting a culture of openness to the constructive handling of conflict. The Guide outline emphasizes the importance of organizational leaders not only fostering this culture but also embracing it. Considering the individual and group psychological and practical defenses that are present across organizations, a culture of openness is unlikely to take hold unless leaders champion and model it. The Guide outline also calls on leaders to be mindful of the psychological needs of individuals and groups as they develop and function within the organizational setting. Providing individuals

and groups the space, time, support, and impetus for sorting through these needs is likely to yield healthier and more effective organizations.

Much of the Guide outline focuses on pre-emptive measures to equip individuals and groups to deal with conflict and to minimize the possibility that conflict will spiral out of control. Conflict episodes will arise, of course, and the Guide outline proposes a mechanism for dealing with those episodes that supports the needs and interests of all parties to the conflict: the Problem Solving and Decision Making Model (PSDM Model) (Weitzman and Weitzman, 2006). By approaching conflict episodes as complicated puzzles to be solved, the PSDM Model minimizes the potential for spiraling emotions, accounts for the concerns of each conflicting party, and supports the constructive handling of conflict. Organizations that adopt the educational, skill-building, and organizational design and development components of the Guide outline will be well positioned to leverage the PSDM Model for resolving conflict in support of ongoing organizational effectiveness.

This paper argues that conflict is good and bad in organizations. For organizations to leverage the positive aspects of conflict and sort through and resolve the negative aspects, they must avoid the temptation to seek merely to eliminate conflict. Individuals and groups (including organizational leaders) must confront the complex underpinnings of conflict and the individual and psychological challenges inherent in organizational life. They must acknowledge and question individual defenses and organizational defensive routines with openness, honesty, empathy, and an interest in learning and growing as individuals and groups. They must approach conflict as a complicated defining feature of the organization, which must be dealt with constructively to support decision-making, prioritization, and ongoing organizational

effectiveness. This paper and the Guide outline seek to provide a conceptual and practical path for doing so.

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Appendix

Outline for “A Guide to Understanding and Resolving Conflict for Organizational Effectiveness”

I. Overview

The Guide should include a section for all members of the organization and a separate section for organizational leaders, managers, and human resources and organizational development staff. The section to be distributed to all members of the organization should include an introduction on conflict and organizational effectiveness, educational and skill-building material, and an appendix with resources. The section intended for organizational leaders, managers, and human resources and organizational development staff should include organizational design and development prescriptions and guidelines on facilitating the resolution of conflict episodes using the Problem Solving Decision Making (PSDM) Model. What follows is a detailed outline of each section of the Guide.

II. Introduction to Guide

Below is a first-draft introduction to the components of the Guide that all members of the organization should receive:

What do you think of when you hear the word conflict? Arab-Israeli relations in the Middle East? Harsh words exchanged between Republican and Democrat politicians? A bench-clearing brawl between two major league baseball teams? Maybe a family argument? Or a coworker who always seems to cause problems?

Is conflict a positive or negative force in our lives? For most of us of course conflict has a negative connotation. It's associated with physical pain or emotional intensity or at the very least awkward situations or uncomfortable feelings. Conflict in this sense is not something most people embrace – and that's understandable.

But where would we be without conflict? As painful as it can be to the participants, conflict is an important part of our lives. Thinking about conflict in the largest sense, where would we be without major conflicts in our history? The Revolutionary War? The Civil War? What about the Civil Rights Movement? Consider conflict in business. Would we still be using bulky computers with black screens if Microsoft and Apple did not conflict over the personal computer market through the 1980s and 1990s? How about in our private lives? Isn't there value in couples sometimes conflicting over important decisions? If a couple never had conflict, would each partner be happy with every aspect of their lives? Would a conflict-free relationship truly be healthy?

What about conflict in the workplace? Conflict at work can be very difficult of course. We spend much of our lives at work, and it's the rare person who wants to walk on eggshells every day in a conflict-ridden work environment. But conflict is critical to organizations. It can be a mechanism for making sure all perspectives are accounted for in an important decision. It can help organizations sort through priorities. It can serve as a valuable indicator of problems that might otherwise go unnoticed – overlapping responsibilities between departments, bad managers, or maybe conflicting expectations placed on an individual or role. It can also lead to new ideas and new energy. In short, conflict can be the first step in progress.

What's more, we couldn't eliminate conflict even if we wanted to. Conflict is present in a sense in all our interactions. It's present when we deal with another person, when we function within a group, or when a group to which we belong is interacting with another group. It's also present as we sort through our individual roles, responsibilities, and needs in any setting of our lives. Conflict is especially present in organizations because of the dividing lines around which organizations are structured. Individuals in organizations are grouped and separated by hierarchy, divisions, specific tasks, and more. Conflict is a frequent feature of the interactions within and across those groupings. Sometimes that conflict is good: conflict between manufacturing and sales units, for example, might highlight an important issue that has gone unnoticed and needs to be resolved for the organization to move forward. Sometimes it is bad, unleashing spiraling negative emotions that reduce productivity and make for an uncomfortable,

unhealthy work environment. Either way, conflict is always present in some respect in organizations. It can't be wished away or ignored. It has to be dealt with. It has to be resolved in a way that the organization can grow and function and individuals and groups can get along and feel good about their contributions.

This guide is about resolving conflict. Its purpose is to help you and individuals across your organization understand how and why conflict is present in your organization – and deal with conflict so you can capture its benefits and work through and resolve its negative aspects. The guide is about disagreements over tasks and decisions. It's about emotions and dealing with emotions. It's about trust and communication and the pressures we all deal with as members of groups. It's about working together, having empathy for one another, and learning how to have difficult conversations in a constructive manner. It's about self-awareness (as individuals and groups) and building an honest and open workplace. It's about being aware of conflict and working to understand its origins and implications. It's about resolving conflict to yield the best decisions for the organization and working through negative feelings before they damage relations and hinder the organization's ability to function and excel.

The guide includes a lot of educational material and suggested steps the organization can take to deal with conflict. These resources should be of value to you and your colleagues on an ongoing basis. But the guide is more than a collection of resources. Its primary purpose is to help you and your colleagues learn and grow. It is to help you, the groups and subgroups to which you belong, and your overall organization build a shared understanding about conflict, its benefits and negative aspects, and learn how to resolve conflict as it arises so that together you can be productive and happy in the workplace.

III. Educational and Skill-building Components

The Guide should include educational material on the topics below. The material should be prepared such that a member of the organization with responsibilities for human resources or organizational development could facilitate its delivery. The educational component of the Guide

should emphasize individual and group learning and thus should not consist of classroom-style training. Material should be provided to participants individually (either in print or online) to allow for self-directed learning and reflection prior to in-class sessions. The in-class sessions should be interactive workshops comprised of exercises and opportunities for individual and group reflection. The purpose of the in-class sessions should be to allow organizational members to experience and practice the concepts and skills presented in the educational material and to foster a shared organizational culture around handling conflict constructively. All members of the organization should participate in the educational sessions, including organizational leaders. The in-class sessions should be done in small groups, and the Guide should include advice on pairing individuals to support in-group or across-group cohort building and shared learning. The Guide should provide a model for yearly organization-wide education but also should include ideas for small-group exercises and reflection throughout the year. The Guide should include a section for facilitators to help them understand their role in enabling and supporting continuous individual and group learning. The topics that should be addressed by the educational material are:

Conflict in Organizations

- The positive and negative aspects of conflict in organizations
- The different levels at which conflict can occur within organizations: intrapersonal, interpersonal, intragroup, intergroup
- Conflict handling tendencies
- The Dual Concern Model and adopting different strategies according to different situations
- The elements of principled negotiation

- Approaching conflict from a problem-solving perspective
- A culture of openness and how it supports the constructive handling of conflict and individual, group, and organizational effectiveness

Identity in Organizations

- The formation of individual and group identities within organizations and how they influence perspectives and actions
- Individual defenses and organizational defensive routines
- The mental models that individuals and groups hold and the limiting effects of the assumptions that all organizational members make
- The elements of trust
- Schein's layers of communication, drawing on the parts of a person: open self, concealed self, blind self, and unknown self
- The psychological steps of team formation
- The elements of effective team functioning and maintenance
- The features of effective teams

Skill-building: Functioning Constructively in Organizations

- Having difficult conversations
- Dealing with feelings and threats to identity
- Perspective taking
- Assessing levels of trust and employing tactics to increase trust
- Communicating and active listening
- Processing emotions constructively and supporting and influencing others to do the same
- Individual and group responsibilities, needs, and opportunities in a culture of openness

- Reflecting on individual and group experiences, learning from those experiences, and applying what is learned to future situations
- Engaging in principled negotiation
- Applying the PSDM Model to conflict episodes

IV. Organizational Design and Development Components

This component of the Guide should focus on providing senior leaders, managers, and human resources and organizational development staff with the knowledge, impetus, and resources for creating an organizational culture and structure that are conducive to conflict resolution. Although it should be geared toward those individuals, there would be no harm in other members of the organization reading the material. In fact, making the material available broadly would be consistent with a culture of openness and would underscore the sincerity of organizational leaders in embracing the concepts expressed in the larger Guide. It is possible as well that, exposed to this material, frontline staff could serve as eyes and ears for organizational leaders and motivated advocates for the constructive handling of conflict. This section of the Guide should include material on the following topics:

- Building and maintaining a culture of openness
- Assessing levels of trust and strategies for increasing trust levels
- The role of leaders and managers in championing and modeling a culture of openness
- Building and maintaining a learning organization
- Advice on how to provide the support, time, and space necessary for new teams to go through Schein's processes of team formation
- Hackman's conditions for effective teams and how to adopt them on a continuous basis
- The value of coaching and how to promote peer coaching on teams

- Facilitating teams in completing and discussing their self-rankings using Schein's Rating Group Effectiveness questionnaire
- When to intervene in conflict situations
- Organizational development exercises to address counterproductive conflict at intrapersonal, interpersonal, intragroup, and intergroup levels

V. What to Do When Conflict Episodes Arise

This section of the Guide should include questions that individuals and groups should consider when conflict is perceived and details on when and how to employ the PSDM Model to resolve conflict episodes. Building on the educational material in the Guide, the questions are intended as an everyday resource for when individuals or groups perceive themselves to be in conflict. They also can be useful for learning discussions after conflict episodes have been resolved. To illustrate the types of questions that could be included in the Guide, below is a list of sample questions that the Guide should present to individuals who perceive themselves to be in conflict with an individual or individuals from another group within the organization:

- What is really happening here?
- How is my identity as a member of my group affecting my perspective on the situation?
- How is their identity as a member of their group affecting their words or actions? Their perspective?
- What assumptions have I made about this situation? How does an objective assessment of the data tell me about the situation?
- What insight into the situation can I gain by adopting their perspective?
- What is going on under the surface when we communicate about the situation?

- How can I communicate differently to help us deal with what seems like a conflict more effectively?
- What are my emotional reactions to the situation? How can I work through those emotions?
- What are their emotional reactions to the situation? What can I do to empathize with their emotions and to help them work through those emotions?
- Is there value to the organization of us sorting through our conflicting perspectives? Will our conflicting perspectives actually yield the best result for the organization, even if my perspective doesn't prevail in total?
- What is my tendency for dealing with conflict? What strategy have I employed so far? What strategy is best suited to the situation?
- From what I know about them, what is their tendency for dealing with conflict? What strategy have they employed so far? What strategy is best suited to the situation for them?
- What is the level of trust between us? What can I do to increase the level of trust?
- Do we need to work together and sort through the conflict using the PSDM Model?

Also included in this section would be the advice on when conflicting parties should engage in the PSDM approach to resolve their conflict and the specific steps involved in using the PSDM Model. These steps are represented in the schematic below and would be illuminated with further detail.

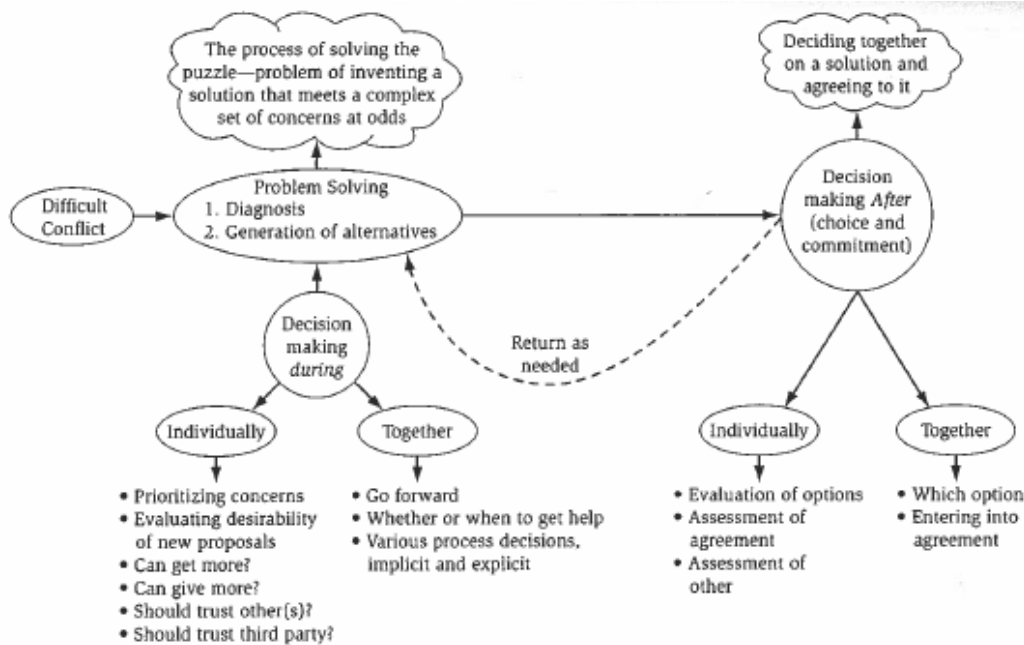


Figure 9.1. An Integrated Model of Problem Solving and Decision Making in Conflict Resolution.
 Note: The lists of decisions to be made are intended to be illustrative, not exhaustive.

After a conflict has been resolved, both parties (and perhaps others in their respective groups) should discuss what happened, why, what they learned from the conflict and its resolution, and how they can apply what they learned moving forward. The Guide should include material on how to engage in a post-conflict resolution learning discussion and how to capture what has been learned and embed it in ongoing organizational functioning.

VI. Biannual Conflict Reflection Dialogues

It is envisioned that an organization following the Guide would use biannual conflict reflection dialogues as its primary means for measuring and analyzing conflict. This may seem radical to organizational leaders, but using dialogue in this way is consistent with the organic approach to conflict resolution put forth in the Guide. The dialogues would convey to organizational members a sense of ownership of the ongoing process of measuring, reflecting upon, and learning from conflict. This qualitative approach to measurement and analysis,

moreover, is consistent with the premise of the Guide that conflict is both tangible and psychological. While attempting to capture conflict levels and implications with quantitative measures might be of some value to organizational leaders, such measures tell only part of the story. A full exploration of conflict and its multifaceted roots and implications is best done through a qualitative process of ongoing dialogue and reflection. The dialogues would yield a snapshot of current perceptions of conflict levels, types, and locations and provide a window onto the impacts of the ongoing conflict training and previous interventions in conflict situations. The dialogues by their nature also would reinforce other aspects of the Guide aimed at increasing individual and group self-awareness and fostering a culture of openness.

Although the dialogue concept is not fully developed, it is envisioned that the Guide would provide everything an organization would need to adopt the dialogues as a primary means for conflict measurement and analysis. The Guide would explain the rationale for using the dialogues, provide details on how to conduct them, and include advice on when follow-up actions might be warranted. A rough conception of the dialogues is that they would:

- Be conducted twice a year in a half-day or full-day session (depending on the preference of the organization)
- Be done in small groups (7-12 individuals), with randomly chosen participants from across the organization
- Include senior leaders and managers as regular participants, distributed across all the small groups
- Be run by a trained facilitator, who would note themes, without citing specific individuals

The dialogues would be free-form discussions concerning conflict levels, types, and locations; the impact of conflict on the performance and the wellbeing of the organization, groups, and

individuals; the impact on conflict and organizational performance of the ongoing conflict training and previous interventions; and thoughts for how the organization can continue to enhance its capacity for conflict resolution. The facilitators would avoid interjecting their own ideas, but would set ground-rules (respect, open discussion, safe space, etc.) and would ask prompting questions to help guide the discussion and ensure all parties have an opening to contribute.

The themes from a dialogue would be compiled in a short report, which would be distributed across the organization and serve as a benchmark and a starting point for the subsequent dialogue. It is envisioned that local teams would discuss the dialogue report in follow-up team meetings; groups with functional interdependence also might hold joint sessions to reflect on the themes contained in the report. Senior leadership should meet to discuss the themes and determine whether actions are warranted. The Guide would advise some actions according to specific themes that emerge but would caution leaders against taking any post-dialogue actions without involving the stakeholders in the decision-making process. Any actions should be undertaken through a transparent and inclusive process in order to be consistent with a culture of openness.

VII. Appendices to the Guide

- “The Decision to Trust,” reprint from *Harvard Business Review*
- Recommended reading list for any organizational member:
 - *Difficult Conversations: How to Discuss What Matters Most* (Stone et al, 1999)
 - *Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement Without Giving In* (Fisher et al, 1991)
 - *Leading Teams: Setting the Stage for Great Performances* (Hackman, 2002)

- *Process Consultation: Its Role in Organization Development, Volume 1* (Schein, 1988)