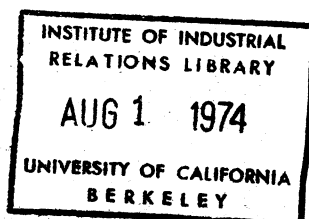# MANAGEMENT OF CONFLICT

Implications for Community Relations
and for the World of Work.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIFTEENTH ANNUAL RESEARCH CONFERENCE

IN INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS,

March 13, 1973,

Institute of Industrial Relations • University. of California,• Los Angeles

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THE MANAGEMENT OF CONFLICT

A major theme in nearly every presentation at this conference is the inevitability of conflict. The emphasis is on accepting this as a fact of life - as a part of the human condition - and the problem is posed in terms of how to manage conflict constructively: how to use it, utilize it, grow and learn from it instead of avoiding it. This theme is advanced in the introductory remarks by Bernstein who comments on Konrad Lorenz' theories of aggression. The challenge here is to find better ways of utilizing aggression to "take the teeth out of conflict."

Conflict is defined by Thomas as a condition in which the concerns of two parties appear incompatible. Flowing from this definition, Thomas posed the question of what needs to be known in order effectively to handle conflict. In brief, what needs to be known is the nature of conflict behavior, which ways of dealing with it are constructive and destructive under various conditions, and how productive outcomes can be facilitated. The modalitites of collaboration, compromise, competition, avoidance, and accommodation are discussed and the desirability of collaborative ways of dealing with conflict are documented. Thomas closes his remarks by issuing a challenge: how to change those conditions in people, organizations, and society which prevent collaborative ways of handling conflict.

Six examples of conflict management, taken from the international, interorganizational, organizational, inter-personal and intrapersonal levels of behavior, are analyzed by Shapiro. He discusses these examples in terms of innovations, barriers, key dynamics and results. Many of the same principles - for example, sound third-party intervention methods of making the issues clear and explicit, techniques of inducing adult problem-solving instead of "games" - are pointed out in all six examples. (A "conflict instrument," Behavior Description Questionnaire, is administered and scored by conference participants in the workshop session. It measures the five modalities of handling conflict, and some norms and interpretations of the "self-feedback" exercise are provided by Thomas. The questionnaire, score sheet, and interpretations are appended.)

Ernest Carbaugh, the first speaker in the panel discussion, notes that public schools are no longer a sanctuary from the "real world" because racial conflict - at times violent - has been placed squarely in the lap of schools as their problem to be solved. He mentions several new and promising approaches designed to deal with the conditions that generate conflict, for example, ethnic commissions, school-community advisory committees, and measures of decentralization.

Paul Prasow's remarks focus on the nature and role of conflict and cooperation in the employment relationship. Both modes are "normal" human behavior: cooperation is evident when individuals organize to achieve common objectives, and conflict arises from divergent socio-economic interests and from psychological differences in perception and motivation. He warns that conflict does not disappear by improving methods of communication; rather, it becomes rational and creative, its destructive effects are minimized, when it is channeled into grievance arbitration procedures of disputes.

Rosalind Loring addresses herself to the conflict women confront at
work, particularly at the management level. She feels that the resolu-
tion of conflict depends on the analysis of its sources. She speaks of
the "double-bind" of women at work, the stereotypes which hold back their
equity with men and the problem of acceptability and credibility women
have as workers and as executives. Quoting Rudolf Dreikurs to the effect
that the greatest revolution in values that is now taking place is the
desire and overt push toward change of status for the "second stringers"
in our society - women, minority groups, the poor, the elderly - she
points to new and promising ways in which women are beginning to deal
with conflict: the legislative process, creating their own institutions,
new consciousness, and becoming superior in or challenging the criteria
that determine excellence in work.

Robert Tannenbaum concludes the panel presentations by stating three
major observations from his work with individuals and in organizational
development. The issues are an over-reliance on techniques rather than
on organic understanding of conflict situations; the fear of conflict in
our society which leads to "band-aid" cures; and his belief that conflict
arises when individual or institutional identity is threatened or invaded.
Noting that the title of this conference has to do with managing conflict,
Tannenbaum poses the related question that may underlie much of the hoped-
for conflict resolution: Does conflict manage us?

June 1974   Stewart Shapiro
                                   Professor of Education
                                   University of California Santa Barbara

            Presented by the Institute of Industrial Relations
               in cooperation with University Extension

               University of California Los Angeles

C O N T E N T

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Irving Bernstein

I have two functions here this morning. The first is to welcome you to the fifteenth of the Annual Research Conferences that Angus MacLeod and the Institute have been putting on with a good deal of success over a long period of time. And second, Angus asked me to talk a little about a kind of background aspect to the theme of this conference, "Management of Conflict." I read Konrad Lorenz' book, On Aggression, when it first came out five or six years ago and found it fascinating, not merely in and of itself, but also with particular reference to human conflict and especially conflict in the labor relations area. Let me try to summarize for you what seemed to me the central ideas that Lorenz put forth, primarily in that book but also in others of his writings. He, of course, has devoted his life to the study of animal behavior and is regarded as the founder of the subscience of ethology, the comparative study of animal behavior including man. The assumption of ethology is that there is a continuity and similarity between all forms of animal life including man. Thus, one should be able to learn a good deal about human behavior by the study of other species of animals, continuity and similarity arising out of evolution which affects all species in approximately the same way.

In this particular book Lorenz is concerned with the problem of aggression. You can use different words to talk about this phenomenon; the word used here today is conflict, but in his frame of reference it is aggression which lies at the basis of conflict. He defines it as the fighting instinct in beast and man which is directed against members of the same species. Thus the lion that kills an antelope is not aggressive in Lorenz' terms, he is merely hungry; it would be aggression in this sense only if the lion killed or attacked another lion.

Now, Lorenz points out--and this is something that people, I'm sure, would disagree with him about in some cases--that animals, including man, have four basic spontaneous instincts to which they respond automatically under certain circumstances: hunger, sex, fear, and aggression. The evolutionary purpose of the intraspecific instinct of aggression, as he defines it, and as Darwin pointed out in the nineteenth century, is to spread the individuals of a given species out evenly in relation to their food supply. He has some very interesting treatment of particular species, for example, of color in tropical fish, which is the evolutionary device for informing these fish of when their competitors within the same species are coming into their territory in order to take over their food supply, or of bird calls which perform a similar kind of function with many species of birds.

In man, Lorenz says, natural selection probably imprinted aggression upon the species in the early Stone Age, when man's nutrition was derived from an economy which was based upon hunting and gathering, and the species obviously was much less numerous than it is at the present time. So this aggressive instinct emerged at a time when there were very few men on the surface of the earth, when they engaged in activities in order to feed themselves in which they were necessarily spread very thinly over a particular geographic surface.

Depending on the social organization of the species--whether it is
organized on an individual basis, on a pair basis, on a herd basis or some
larger basis--each unit defines its own geographic territory. In the lan-
guage of the gang, it establishes its "turf." And each member of that unit,
within the species, knows the borders of that territory exactly and defends
those borders against other members of the species who trespass upon them
with violence, with aggressive violence. Thus aggression in this frame of
reference is inherently defensive, it is not offensive. Under normal circum-
stances, when there is conflict between an invader and a defender, the morale
of the defender is higher than the morale of the invader, and in the absence
of great disparities in size, strength, or some other physical feature of
the contestants (and they are seldom very great within the same species)
victory normally goes to the defender. This is how evolution has worked it
out: the territory is defended successfully against invasion by aggression
from the outside.

Robert Ardrey--I'm sure some of you have read his work, which is based
largely on the work of Lorenz and his followers--has called this the terri-
torial imperative. That is, for animals the defense of one's territory is
related to the defense of the food supply for the particular group which
is trying to preserve that supply against some outside attack by members of
the same species.

Now, in every species, in the interest of the long-term survival of the
species, there are some circumstances in which aggression must be suspended
temporarily. That is, if there were constant violent aggression leading to
death, this would ultimately cause the extermination of the species and would
be self-defeating. A brood-tending mother, for example, who must be especially
aggressive against predators, must be inhibited from attacking her own young.
In the animal kingdom those species whose natural weapons, usually teeth and
claws, are most devastating have the most reliable inhibitions against the
destruction of members of their own species. Lorenz has some very interesting
material on wolves who fight in precisely this way, but never to the death;
there is always an inhibiting mechanism which comes into play when one is
victorious so that he does not kill the other. He simply urinates on him
and walks away. That kind of behavior is the key element that I want to
return to later.

So in the animal kingdom you have a response to the territorial imper-
ative, but not to the death. The difficulty with man, and Lorenz has fun
with this, is that evolution provided him with relatively harmless natural
weapons. We are not nearly as effective with our teeth and our claws as
other animals are, but, unfortunately, from this point of view, man was pro-
vided with a much larger brain. Thus, he was able to devise far more effective
weapons through the development of technology, weapons of formidable power
which he has linked to his own aggression and thus his power to destroy his
own species is unmatched among all the animals.

In animal behavior aggression is suspended by what Lorenz calls a process
of ritualization, that is, the development of some kind of procedure or
ceremony which provides a substitute for physical attack. In psychiatry this
is known as redirection. In some species this process is very primitive,
for example, I'm sure we have all seen a dog shaking an imaginary enemy in

his teeth. In others--in Lorenz' work particularly with European geese, which are fascinating creatures--this process of ritualization is very highly developed. In the case of the geese, it has led to a very elaborate ritualization known as the triumph ceremony, in which they are able to substitute a ritual performance for actual aggression and thereby prevent physical violence. Furthermore, and this is another point he makes, participation in this advanced form of ritualization creates a bond between the individuals of the same species who are engaged in this process so that they are no longer strangers; they develop love.

Lorenz points out that love is found only in very highly aggressive animals; that love in all probability has evolved from aggression; that love is younger on the evolutionary scale; that you may have aggression without love in a particular species, but you cannot have love without aggression. You get the formation in these sophisticated animals like the geese as a consequence of the triumph ceremony, of a very deep bond which, if one wants to use the human word for the expression of that behavior, really constitutes love.

Crowding, by definition, makes every species more aggressive. There is limited physical territory and if you increase the number of individuals and you create crowding, inevitably there is going to be greater competition for the food supply and you increase the level of aggression within that particular society. One of the most disturbing things, documented recently in a United Nations report on human population around the world, as perhaps the most dramatic population change which has been going on for at least a generation, is the enormous rate of urbanization in the undeveloped and underdeveloped nations. There are absolutely gigantic cities emerging in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, in the less developed nations in the world where, if this kind of analysis is correct, you must have very severe crowding and an inevitable increase in the level of aggression in those societies.

Now, evolution intended man to live a Cro-Magnon existence--not to be cooped up in cities. Civilization, therefore, modern industrialization, urbanization and so on, in relation to the aggressive instinct is inherently extremely dangerous because it intensifies man's propensity to be aggressive while it deprives him of natural outlets to discharge his aggression. And this, I think, is the essence of the ideas which Konrad Lorenz has set forth. If the analysis makes sense--and it makes a great deal of sense to me--I think the problem that man faces in containment of his aggressive instinct, in depriving it of its violent character, is to devise rituals. Engaging in the process of ritualization in the various areas of human conduct which tend to lead to aggression and violence would lead to some redirection of those energies into nonaggressive nonviolent channels.

Lorenz, in a very brief conclusion to his book, talks a little about sport. It seems to me this is one obvious way in which redirection is achieved, and the enormous popularity of professional football in the United States in recent years, particularly among males who are not necessarily more aggressive than females but express it in somewhat different ways, can easily be fitted into the Lorenzian system as a ritualization of the process of aggression

One area of social affairs in which we have quite successfully ritualized the process of conflict is in labor relations, through the system of collective bargaining. We have drawn the teeth out of labor-management relations, which used to be extremely violent and aggressive, but which are now conducted in accordance with certain procedural rules and legal rules and certain ceremonials that people who are involved in the process learn to engage in automatically. It becomes part of the way of doing things, like the triumph ceremony of the goose. It performs an extremely vital function in the suppression of aggression, substituting for it some form of ceremonial or ritual which allows for the conduct of what is potentially an explosive human reaction in a mode of civility.

Our problem within the framework of this analysis is to extend the process of ritualization into other areas of human conflict, so that we can manage conflict in a civilized fashion and avoid violence and other forms of aggression which are so displeasing and threatening to us as individuals and to society as a whole.

ISSUES IN MANAGEMENT OF CONFLICT

Kenneth W. Thomas

Before talking about management of conflict, I want to tell you something about <u>tension</u>, which is very much on my mind right now. Researchers at Purdue have found a relationship between intellectual functioning and tensions.
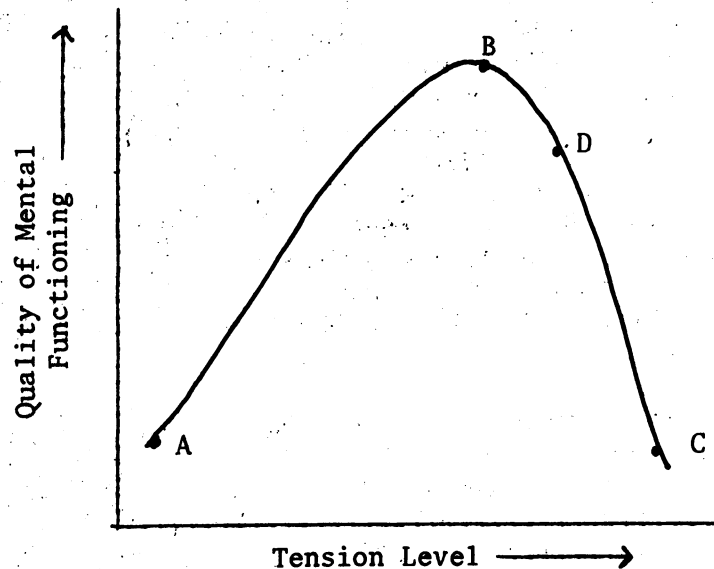
Figure 1. Relationship between tension level and the quality of mental functioning

At Point A, you're not very tense at all; you're kind of bored sitting there; things wander through your mind; you're not very smart or sharp; you don't pick up very much or use it very well. When the tension increases to some optimal level, Point B, however, you're on top of things; you are alert, on your toes, and running on all cylinders. After that, as tension continues to increase, your intellectual functioning decreases to a point down here which we call panic, Point C, where nothing works at all. I could tie this graph into the session today by saying I have observed that people manage their conflicts in such a way as to keep their tension at an optimal level: on slow days you pick a fight with your wife; when the world is too much with you, you withdraw, and that sort of thing. However, the real reason that I put this graph on the board is to say that a lot of things contribute to tension, besides conflict. So if I'm not absolutely brilliant today, I'm at Pt. D.

In the next hour or so I will try to present some general concepts from the literature on conflict that should be helpful in putting conflict and conflict management in some kind of perspective.

Defining "Conflict"

One thing I've learned is that talking about "conflict" generates conflict unless you can agree on a definition. Conflict is one of those words, like "power," that everyone uses, but that is seldom defined; and when people do define it, they define it differently. On a good day I'll define it three different ways myself, so I want to make sure we have one definition to work from: <u>Conflict is the condition in which the concerns of two parties appear to be incompatible.</u> I want to stress some parts of that definition. The first point is that I'm defining conflict in terms of a <u>condition</u>, or a state of affairs, rather than behavior. Irving Bernstein talked about aggression; that is behavior. And very often people associate conflict with aggressive, assertive or other kinds of behaviors. However, I want to make the point that you can have conflict without fighting--that fighting is only one response to conflict. For example, I know a couple whose marriage has turned sour. They feel a bit miserable with each other, but they don't fight anymore. Both are unhappy with each other because they are not getting what they want from the marriage. That is the conflict. The conflict is there and it is taking its toll of both those people even though there isn't any fighting. Conflict is a condition, and fighting is only one possible response.

The second point is that I'm using a very general word, "concerns," to indicate that conflict can occur over just about anything that I care about. The concern could be a responsibility that has been delegated to me; it could be a value that I hold; it could be an opinion that I want to express; it could be some personal needs, like affection and autonomy and whether you laugh at my jokes.

The third point is that I use another general word, "parties," to indicate that conflict can occur between individuals, between groups, between organizations, between nations, and at a lower level conflict can occur between the facets of one person's personality.

One final word should be underlined: <u>appears</u>. Conflict is something that occurs in the minds of the people who are experiencing it; it is not something that exists in the real world independently of people. If in some way your concerns are really opposed to mine, but I don't know it, then I don't experience a conflict and I don't behave conflictfully toward you. Likewise, if there is really no incompatibility between my concerns and yours, but I think there is, then we're in trouble. Conflict is in the eye of the beholder.

The Functions of Conflict and the Notion of "Conflict Management"

One of the most exciting things in the conflict literature in the past decade has been a subtle shift in attitudes toward conflict. The most striking aspect about conflict is the destruction that has often been connected with it--wars, strikes, riots, and so on. It used to be that researchers focused almost exclusively on those destructive aspects, and if you read some of that earlier work, you get the idea that conflict was a kind of disease that happened to people, that when you got into a conflict situation you became inhabited by spirits--that nonrational powers took over and lead you into an ever-spiraling escalation of hostility and destructiveness.

There is still a lot of that bias left. I received a book the other day called Conflict Among Humans --a modest title--written by a psychologist. You can see that the publishers gave it a bright red cover, probably to symbolize blood and gore. The book is "Dedicated to the meek, for even if they do not inherit the earth, at least they will not have contributed to its destruction."

The biases of social scientists are often reflected in the buzz words that we are fond of using. The earlier emphasis on the negative aspects of conflict was reflected in the term, "conflict resolution." The implication of the term was that you could (and should) solve or eliminate conflict. The goal of conflict resolution was some sort of ideal state where there was no conflict, where people worked together in total harmony.

Well, those sentiments have changed a bit. One of the developments that has changed them is a growing realization that we can't eliminate con- flict--that conflict will occur wherever two or more people are together, because people have different ideas, different experiences, different per- spectives, different values. You can drive conflict underground, you can suppress it (to have it come out some other way), but you can't eliminate it. Even studies of Utopian communities, where you would expect a lot of harmony, have shown that they have their share of conflict just like the rest of us. It turns out that the successful Utopian communities aren't the ones that don't have any conflict; they are the ones that are able to manage their conflicts most constructively. Another reason for this shift in attitudes is that more and more research is being done which shows that conflict has a number of benefits as well as costs, so that even if you could eliminate conflict you might not want to. There is a lot of research which bears upon this theme, and I'll only summarize some of the basic ideas.

One of the newer notions in motivation theory is that harmony isn't what it is cracked up to be--that if you really achieved it you wouldn't like it very long; before long you would be bored and out looking for some kind of excitement, people with different ideas, and that sort of thing. Another idea is that conflict is tied very closely with learning. John Dewey had a conception of learning, that as long as things were going along swimmingly you didn't learn anything--that it was only when you hit some kind of obstacle, looked up and tried to figure out what the devil had happened and how to get around the obstacle that the learning occurred.

Another point is that conflict is tied very closely to social change. It is usually some kind of frustration with the status quo that motivates change. Even though social conflict and the resulting changes may raise your tensions a little now, when you look back on it twenty years from now it will look like progress. If we were to eliminate conflict we would eliminate social change.

Finally, conflict has been linked very closely with creativity. In studies of both the functioning of committees and the work of scientists, researchers have found that exposing one's ideas to people with different ideas results in more creative kinds of ideas. For example, committees where conflicts are openly voiced and worked through come up with superior products than if they had been run by agreement.

So, as I said, even if you could eliminate conflict you wouldn't want to. If you did so in an organization, you would have an organization that was dull, unlearning, static, and uncreative. Now, that is not to say that conflict is always to be regarded as a good thing. What has emerged is a

more balanced perspective on conflict which recognizes that it can be constructive, it can be destructive. With that change the emphasis has shifted from eliminating conflict to managing conflict. The old buzz word "conflict resolution" is giving way to the new buzz word "conflict management." The new term reflects an acceptance of conflict as an inevitable part of life and connotes the goal of working with conflict--using it, harnessing it, trying to make it productive, maximizing the benefits and minimizing the costs--to manage conflict the way you would manage inventories or whatever.

Now, the shift in objectives from eliminating conflict to managing conflict requires you to know a little more about conflict; you have to be able to make finer discriminations and develop a more varied repertoire of tactics. There are at least three concepts that you have to know in order to be able to manage conflict: One is, "What kinds of behaviors do people use to deal with conflict?" Another is, "Given the kinds of behaviors that emerge in conflicts, which kinds of behaviors are likely to be productive, and which are likely to be destructive?" The third is, "After you know that, how do you go about facilitating or fostering the kind of behavior that is going to be productive?" We will discuss these topics one at a time.

A Two-Dimensional Model of Conflict-Handling Behavior

First, I'll give you a scheme for describing conflict behavior which we've been experimenting with over the last five years. It used to be that people talked about conflict behavior in terms of two alternatives: one was cooperation (that was the "white hat" one) and the other was competition, (the "bad" one because it is destructive). But that dichotomy doesn't do justice to the kinds of complex decisions people make in conflict situations. There are other alternatives besides cooperating or competing: you can withdraw, or propose compromises, or set up collective bargaining, for example.

The new scheme seems to be a more accurate reflection of the various possibilities. It uses two dimensions to classify conflict-handling behavior. Remember how I defined conflict: conflict is the condition in which the concerns of two parties appear to be incompatible. So let's look at two parties, Party and Other ("Party" is the guy we are talking about.) In a conflict situation, we can basically classify Party's behavior according to his attempts to satisfy the other person's concerns and his attempts to satisfy his own concerns. Attempting to satisfy the Other's concerns is the cooperation dimension--Party can be cooperative or uncooperative. If you were brought up the way I was, this is the dimension that got stressed by your mother and grandmother ("be nice") and it was the one that my father and my grandfather used to talk about on Sundays ("the milk of human kindness"). Attempting to satisfy one's own concerns is the assertiveness dimension-- Party can be assertive or unassertive. That is the dimension my grandfather used to talk about the other six days of the week, and it represents the kind of books my father used to bring home--you know, those self-help, Horatio Alger books.

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                        X Competition                          X Collaboration


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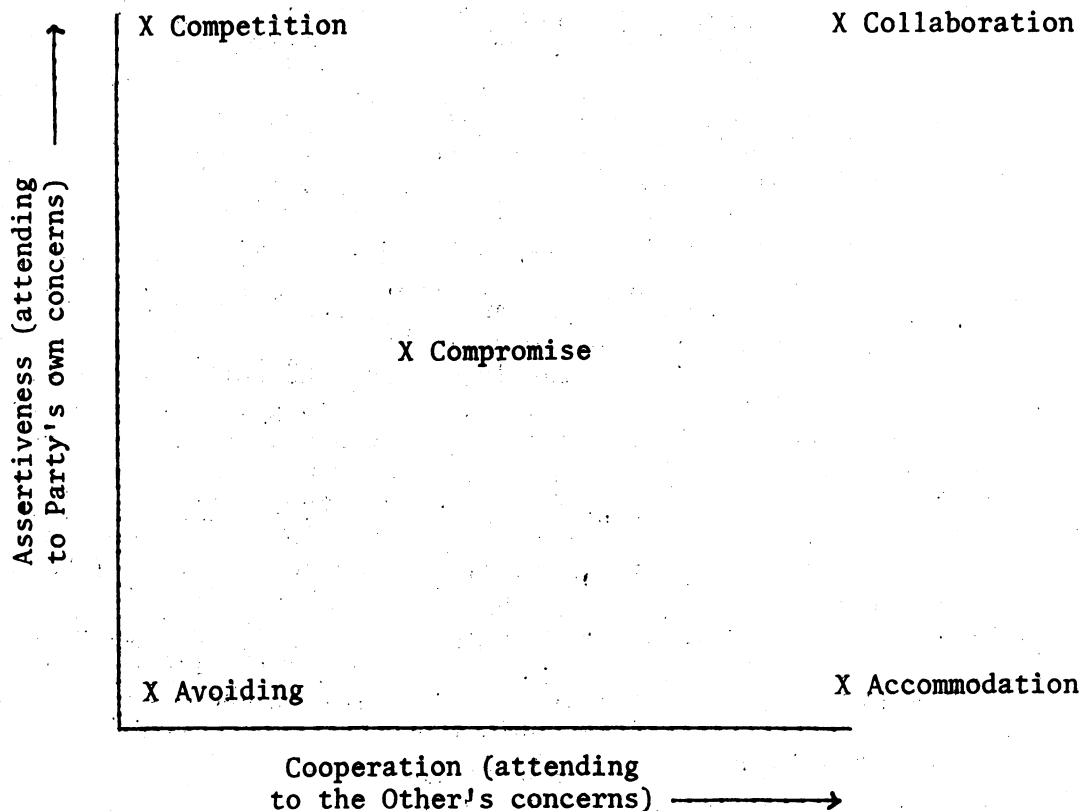Cooperation (attending
to the Other's concerns) ─────────→

Figure 2. Five "conflict-handling modes," graphed according
to the two underlying dimensions of cooperation and assertiveness

At any rate, these two dimensions suggest five different behaviors people
can adopt in conflict situations. I call them "conflict-handling modes." The
first is competition. If I'm Party and competing, then I try to satisfy my
own concerns at the expense of the other person. I am assertive and uncoop-
erative; I go after what I want, devil take the hindmost. I use whateverppower
I have at my disposal to get the other person to bow to my will. In a dis-
cussion with you, I don't listen to you: I argue and try to convince you that
you're wrong and I'm right. Another example: The union strikes to get manage-
ment to accept its last terms--competition.

The opposite of competition is accommodation. In accommodation I sacri-
fice my concerns for those of the other person. You really shouldn't let your
daughter have that date with the football player, but her heart is set on it
and you don't want to disappoint her. I'll give you another example: There
is a lot of nudity down on my beach. I live on the top of an old hotel with
a patio right outside my apartment. Because the police were cracking down on
nude bathing on the beach, some of the girls would some up on the sun deck and
sunbathe outside my apartment. Well, even though that distracted me, I let
them do that. That is accommodation.

Now, there is something in the middle, called compromise, or splitting the difference. I don't go whole hog after what I want, but I go after it somewhat. And I don't give the other person everything he wants, but I give him some of it: "You have to give some to get some"; "half a loaf is better than none." For example, I've got a female relative that I don't like. She wants me to visit her a lot, and I don't want to see her at all, so I go out to see her every once in a while. We're both sort of unhappy with that arrangement, but we can live with it. Or, I can't remember if I repaid a dollar to Jim, so I give him 50¢. That is compromise.

There are two more conflict-handling modes. It is possible to be both unassertive and uncooperative--we call that "avoiding." It's where you sidestep the issue, don't get involved, pass the buck, withdraw. I'm sorry that one of my colleagues isn't here now; he is going to be on the panel this afternoon. I once caught him avoiding. He has an office at the end of the corridor, and if you walk down the corridor you can look under the door and see if he is in his office by whether or not the light is on. He is very popular with doctoral students--they are knocking on his door all the time. So, one day he had something he really needed to get done, I happened to walk by his office, and found him sitting there in the dark straining his eyes trying to write. Well, that was avoiding. Some of the other professors with weaker eyes put weatherstripping underneath their doors to keep the light from showing. That married couple I talked about earlier who are so discouraged about their relationship that they don't even bother to work on it anymore--that's another example of avoiding.

Now to get to the new "white hat" mode, collaboration. According to this mode it is often possible to be both assertive and cooperative at once (so my mom and dad were both right). In collaboration, what Party tries to do is find some alternative that satisfies both his own needs completely and the other person's needs completely--not something that satisfies them both a little bit and leaves them both a little unsatisfied (like compromise), but something that satisfies them both completely. That involves doing three things: First you confront the conflict: "We have got a problem here." Then you share information about the concerns of both parties: "What is it that you really want, what is it that I really want"? And finally, you problem-solve to find some alternative that satisfies both sets of concerns: "How can we both wind up winners"?

I'll give a brief example of collaboration. A supervisor has been collecting data every week for five years from one of his subordinates, having the subordinate fill out a brief form. But then the supervisor takes a management course and decides that he would like another piece of information in addition to what he is currently getting. The old form doesn't have a space for that new piece of information, so he leafs through his file drawer and comes up with another form, an older, longer one. This form has the new information that he wants, and a lot of other stuff besides, so he gives it to his subordinate and asks him to fill it out. But the subordinate balks, and says "I can't do it." So they sit down: "We have a problem." "Yes." "This is my need," the boss says, "this is the information I need." And the other guy says, "all of it"? "No, I need this piece, and those pieces." And the subordinate says, "Well, my problem is that I haven't got time to fill that out. If I do, then I've got to take my time away from these other things which you probably think are more important, and so do I." So both identify their underlying concerns: they move from their initial position which is a win-lose, long form vs. short form issue, and redefine the issue as "new information" versus "minimized time." And then they convert the conflict issue into a problem. The supervisor asks, "How can we

minimize your time, and provide me the information I need"? They scratch
their heads and they come up with a new form which is shorter than any of
the old forms, but has all the information that the supervisor actually needs.

This is a simple little example which may seem obvious, but, you know,
the supervisor could have said, "Well, goddamn it, I'm the boss, you fill
out that form" (competition); or he could have said, "Well, we haven't
needed that information for five years, I guess I can get along without it
now" (accommodation); or the subordinate could have filled out the long
form every other week and the short form every other week (compromise).
What happened instead was some solution they are both happy with and can
accept. They are both winners.

Effects of the Five Conflict-Handling Modes

These are the five conflict-handling modes. The second part of what I
said you had to know about conflict management is, which of these modes will
have constructive effects and which will have destructive effects. Well,
after my biased presentation it's not exactly difficult to figure out that
I'm going to support collaboration. Let me tell you why, with some data
we've found. Let's look at it first from the point of view of the inter-
personal returns to Party. If he is cooperative, as in collaboration or
accommodation, then the other person is going to like him. Now, if he is
collaborative, the other person will also respect him. If he is only accommo-
dative, the Other is going to like him but not respect him. So he gets more
interpersonal results from the other person if he is collaborative.

In terms of his effectiveness in getting his own goals met, Party is
also ahead by being collaborative. We have found that supervisors tend to
rate people who are avoiding and accommodative as being less promotable than
other managers. Being less assertive, they don't really go after their goals;
and promotions are partially based upon how they achieve those goals. Two
separate studies have shown that collaborative managers are more promotable.
One of those studies showed that the people who had in fact been promoted
fastest relative to their years in an organization were more collaborative
than the others. You might think that competitive managers would achieve
their goals quickly, too. But competitive managers appear to make trouble
for themselves; if I compete with you, you will tend to compete back and
mobilize your energy against me; you are also going to stop being very coop-
erative with me. In most organizations, there is enough interdependence
between people so that my performance depends upon you. From the point of
view of Party's interpersonal rewards and goal attainment, then, collaboration
appears to yield the highest returns.

We can also look at Party and Other together, as a pair, and see what
their joint returns from the modes are. It is the same story. With avoiding,
nobody wins. With competition, accommodation, and compromise, there is either
one winner and one loser or two people who split the difference. Whereas
with collaboration, there are a couple of winners. Consider that an organi-
zation is in some ways the sum of its parts: if you get managers resolving
conflict so that everybody wins, that means that the organization as a whole
is that much more ahead. For example, in resolving an interdepartmental
dispute between Production and Sales, if you can figure out a way of getting
the plant to increase its productivity without hurting sales then the organi-
zation as a whole is better off. Researchers at Harvard studied manufacturing
companies in three different industries and found that the companies who were
the leaders in their industries were the ones who used collaboration internally.

Influencing Conflict Behavior

Thus it seems that in the best of all possible worlds, you would want to collaborate all the time. The problem, of course, is that this isn't the best of all possible worlds, and there are situations in which it is just not wise to collaborate. That is reflected in our conventional wisdom, which says, "come let us reason together," and, "two heads are better than one." But it also says, "half a loaf is better than none," "turn the other cheek," "you can't fight city hall," and, "don't let the bastards grind you down." The point is that you have to be flexible, that conditions in any given situation are going to reward some conflict-handling modes over the others. And that takes us to the third concept I said you had to know about conflict management, how do you influence conflict behavior, or, what conditions create which conflict-handling modes?

At this point it is useful to think of an individual as being surrounded by conditions and to think of all those conditions as exerting different forces on his behavior. Many of those forces tend to discourage or prevent collaboration. Let's say, first, that there are some stakes involved in a specific issue. If they are high stakes, the person is more likely to be assertive in dealing with that conflict. If the stakes aren't very high, then it may not be worth his time, especially if he is tired or he is busy, --"to hell with it." In that case, he either avoids the issue (sticks his head in his paper and says "Yes, Dear" to his wife, for example) or accommodates because he doesn't have to worry much about the outcome.

Another condition is conflict of interest. By that I mean the degree to which what Party wants and what the other guy wants are clearly incompatible. Now, if it is impossible for us to find an integrative solution, there is no point in sitting down and scratching our heads and going through that whole laborious process of trying to problem-solve. If the stakes are high enough, we will probably wind up competing or compromising or using a strange hybrid approach, called collective bargaining.

A third condition is social pressure. We can think of an individual as being surrounded by a web of social forces from his environment. Some of them come from Party's constituents--people whom he represents in some way with a stake in the conflict. Let's take a labor union, for example: the union negotiator's constituents, the rank and file, aren't going to let him collaborate with management. They would accuse him of sleeping with management. At any rate, that is one kind of social pressure from the constituents. In organizations there are also social pressures from more or less neutral bystanders. Most organizations develop some kind of norms to prevent conflict behaviors within the organization which might disrupt the system.

Another condition is Party's history of interaction with Other, which shapes each person's expectation of the other's behavior. It makes sense that if we are in a very competitive relationship, I'm going to be very careful about opening up and problem-solving with you, because you will probably use whatever information I give you as a weapon to bargain with. "Oh, so that's what you want! Well, O.K., but you'll have to pay for it." Or, take a relationship in which people accommodate all the time, that's all sweetness and light--"After you Alphonse." In that situation it may be difficult to collaborate, because the first step, confronting the conflict issue, can look like forcing the other person: "He's being assertive, and thats not 'nice'."

A fourth condition that can prevent collaboration is <u>time pressure</u>. When you get down to the eleventh-hour bargaining in labor-management negotiations, there really isn't time to collaborate and problem-solve on complex issues. There is time for a hasty compromise at best. Thus, even though you might collaborate all the time in the best of all possible worlds, this <u>isn't</u> the best of all possible worlds and there are conditions that sometimes prevent you from collaborating. Now here comes the challenge: the challenge of conflict management is to <u>change the conditions</u> that prevent you from being able to collaborate. Rather than react to the conditions which currently exist and accept these short-term realities, think ahead to the kind of relationship you would like to have and be <u>pro-active</u> (another buzz word) in bringing about the conditions which would foster that kind of relationship. Later, Stewart Shapiro will give you some cases and some specific techniques people have used to create conditions that set up collaboration. Right now, I'll simply mention some general strategies.

Sometimes a conflict of interest can be changed by changing the incentives in a situation; profit-sharing is one example of instituting collaborative incentives. If there are social pressures that prevent people from collaborating, then maybe you can change some of those social pressures, create new norms. Interpersonal norms can sometimes be changed by sending groups through team-building programs, communication workshops, etc. If you can't change those social pressures, sometimes you can at least isolate the parties from their constituents. Mediators often keep negotiations private to help foster collaboration. Nixon and Kissinger kept their talks with North Viet Nam fairly private, partly so that they wouldn't be subject to public pressures to deal firmly with our enemies--i.e., take a hard (competitive) line. If you have the kind of interaction history which makes it difficult to collaborate or problem-solve, then maybe you can set out now to <u>build</u> a relationship that will support that kind of behavior. Sometimes you may feel that you don't have the skills to deal with sticky issues involved in a particular conflict. If that is the case, perhaps you can import somebody who has those skills--a mediator, trusted friend, friend of the family, etc. Finally, if you haven't got enough time to sit down and problem-solve with someone, perhaps you can make more time available or set aside a time. For example, next time you might begin working on the seniority issue before formal negotiations begin, or, take that time you have been meaning to take to sit down with your daughter and figure out what is wrong.

* * * * * * * * *

I'll just summarize quickly. The ideal of conflict resolution has given way to the ideal of conflict management. That ideal accepts the notion that conflict is pretty much a fact of life and that it needs to be dealt with constructively. In the best of all possible worlds you would want to collaborate on all important issues, since collaboration generally results in the most constructive outcomes. However, conditions sometimes prevent you from collaborating. But, being pro-active you can accept the <u>challenge</u> of conflict management--look ahead and create the conditions that <u>enable</u> you to collaborate.

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Graduate School of Management, UCLA

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INNOVATIONS AND BARRIERS IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION

STEWART B. SHAPIRO, Ph.D.

I would like to present six different examples of conflict management. Each of these include both innovations and barriers.

One is from the work of Richard Walton on the International level . "A Problem-solving Workshop on Border Conflicts in Eastern Africa."

A second is by Robert Blake and his colleagues on the Intergroup area - specifically, union-management, "The Union - Management Intergroup Laboratory: Strategy for Resolving Intergroup Conflict."

The next is by Will McWhinney in both industry and community organizations. These deal with conflict within systems. "Open Systems and Traditional Hierarchies" and a "Reticular Society: New Institutions for a Post-industrial Democracy."

The fourth and fifth examples are from the fields of interpersonal conflict as in marital therapy and group therapy.

One is the work of Eric Berne in Transactional Analysis and in Games People Play and more recently in I'm O.K. You're O.K. by Thomas Harris. And the other is from George Bach in The Intimate Enemy - How to Fight Fair in Love and Marriage.

The sixth example on Inner conflict is taken from my own work on "The Use of Ego Therapy in Managing Racial Conflict" and "The Inner Dialogue or How to Talk to Yourself and Get Answers that Make Sense."

OUTLINE OF INNOVATIONS AND BARRIERS IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION

STEWART B. SHAPIRO, Ph.D.

Six different examples of conflict management will be presented:

I.   International Level - Richard E. Walton

A Problem-Solving Workshop on Border Conflicts in Eastern Africa

      1. Introduction
      2. Background
      3. Preparatory Phase
      4. Solution Phase
      5. Outcomes
      6. Summary

II.   Intergroup Level - Robert R. Blake et al.

The Union-Management Intergroup Laboratory

      1. Background
      2. Phases of the Workshop
         a. Orientation
         b. Image development
         c. Exchange of images
         d. Clarification of images
         e. Intra-group diagnosis
         f. Exchange of diagnoses
         g. Consolidation of issues
         h. Plans for future
      3. Summary and Conclusions

III. Organizational and Community Level - Will McWhinney

Open Systems Planning

      1. Background
      2. Three models of organization of work
      3. Three approaches to management

I INTERNATIONAL LEVEL -- RICHARD E. WALTON

A Problem-Solving Workshop on Border Conflicts

1. Introduction

Richard Walton's work has emphasized the practice of effective third party intervention in conflict management, theoretical models of interpersonal conflict, and applications to intra-organizational and international conflicts. He is currently in the Graduate School of Business Administration at Harvard.

I have chosen Walton's work on the border conflicts of Eastern Africa because of the innovativeness and importance of this level of application.

Six participants each from Somalia, Ethiopia and Kenya met in Italy (neutral ground) and participated in a two-week workshop to search for solutions to recurrent border disputes between Somalia and her two neighbors.

The workshop had a behavioral science orientation. It was considered a pilot venture which might provide a model for improvement in other international relations. Although the conference itself was a mixture of success and failure, its implications were judged as promising. In particular much was learned about the problems of composition of the participants, duration, location, goals, techniques, groupings and pacing.

And now some details:

First, the participants were drawn from the elite (government, professions, and various academic disciplines) of their countries but attended as private citizens, not official delegates of their respective countries. This was to be an experiment in informal diplomacy. There were four behavioral science consultants and three organizers of the conference -- all Americans.

2. Background

The background of the dispute is as follows:

Certain areas in Ethiopia were largely inhabited by Somali tribes and the same was true in Northeastern Kenya. The Somali constitution calls for uniting these people in Greater Somalia, and there have been many border incidents involving killings and relatively heavy military expenses by all three countries. Twice in the last 10 years there have been wars between Somalia and Ethiopia and between Somalia and Kenya. Further, the Soviet Union started sending military aid and training assistance to Somalia and the U.S. and Britain, in turn, helped Ethiopia.

The original organizers of the workshop were a group of social scientists from Yale with the support of all three governments and a U.N. agency. The Yale group set the goal of the workshop: To achieve a consensus on a written proposal to solve the border dispute.

The design of the workshop consisted of two phases:

I A preparatory phase - The purpose of this phase was to develop communication and diagnostic skill in group processes. Activities were simulations, theory sessions and critiques of meetings.

II A solution phase - The purpose of this phase was to search for viable strategies or solutions to the issues involved in the border conflicts.

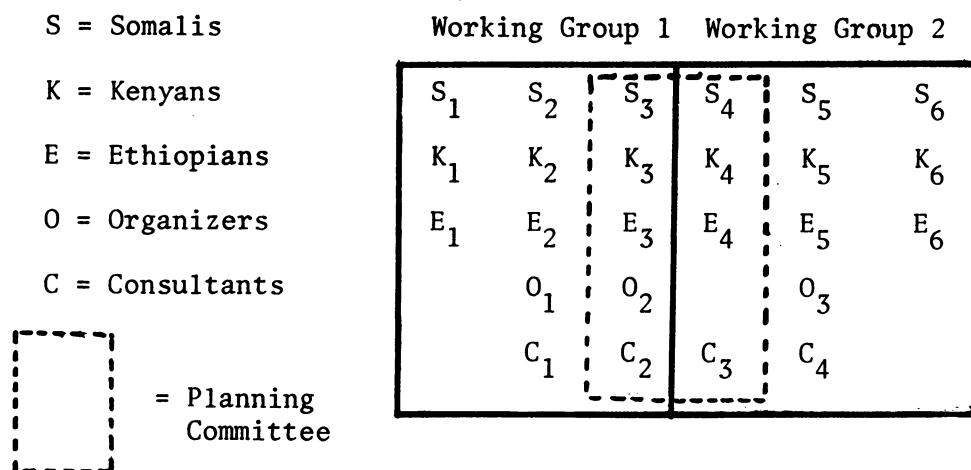The make-up of working groups is shown in Figure 1.

S = Somalis

K = Kenyans

E = Ethiopians

O = Organizers

C = Consultants

 = Planning Committee

Working Group 1   Working Group 2

S_1	S_2	S_3	S_4	S_5	S_6
K_1	K_2	K_3	K_4	K_5	K_6
E_1	E_2	E_3	E_4	E_5	E_6
	O_1	O_2		O_3	
	C_1	C_2	C_3	C_4	

Figure 1 Makeup of Working Groups

3. Preparatory Phase

These working groups were intentionally unstructured in Phase I. The consultants did not specify any substantive agenda or way of deciding on agenda, and they did not provide any chairmanship. The time was to be used in any way the groups chose but focusing on group process was stressed. The role of the consultant was facilitator of process. This resulted in the usual, predictable frustration which led to the total Group's first planning session. A committee was formed to select topics for discussion. The discussions then proceeded mostly on the role of the Organization for African Unity. This was followed by a period of consolidation and preparation for facing the substantive border issues. They learned about the politics and cultures of one another's countries. Generally the Group became more effective in handling differences. When differences arose they were clarified. There was no exploiting of "cracked national images". When inadequacies of each country were disclosed the mood was one of respect and understanding.
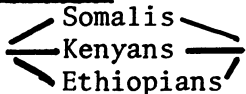
On each of the first three days a simulation exercise was used (from 1 1/2 to 4 hours long.) One was on alternate leadership styles and their effects on groups. The others offered choices of competing or cooperating -- as in "Prisoner's Dilemma".

4. Solution Phase

In the middle of the first week control of the conference was transferred to a planning committee. This was part of a transition from Phase I, preparatory training to Phase II, search for substantive solutions. Transfer of control to the planning committee partially grew out of complaints from the participants. They had been assigned a task--to meet as <u>national groups</u> and prepare statements of issues to be presented in a general session--which they resisted and out of that grew the planning committee.

The planning committee was accepted by the total community. It had a permanent chairman but decided that the General Assembly (total community) would have a rotating chairmanship among the 3 countries.

<u>The Tasks for National Groups</u>

Task I   As individuals ⟷ Somalis / Kenyans / Ethiopians → list on newsprint key grievances or disputes your people have with each of the other countries.

<u>Task II</u> On a second sheet of newsprint list your predictions of the grievances or disputes the individuals from each of the other two countries will bring regarding your country.

The objectives of the tasks were:

1) To provide a consistent format in identifying the symptoms and issues of conflict.

2) To help each national group to take the role of the other, in order to anticipate the images of how one's own country is viewed by the others. Thus, to understand the "others" views.

However, only the Somalis followed the format. Both the Ethiopians and Kenyans presented only <u>their own views</u> of the disputes.

Then the planning committee tried to have the substantive issues discussed in the General Assembly, but again there was much resistance and confusion.

The participants then went back to the working groups and resumed discussion. The ethnic prejudice issue finally surfaced briefly.

At that point in Group 2 the Consultants introduced the brainstorming technique and the group tried it on solutions to the Biafra War.

After this the Assembly met again but again was almost totally ineffective in moving on the substantive issues. The participants then returned to their working groups.

Group 2 broke into three sub-groups and brainstormed possible solutions to the main problem--the border dispute. However, serious conflict broke out in one of the sub-groups. Even so, many of the participants of Group 2 felt real progress had been made. For example, they had organized their solutions into Political, Economic, Military and Social types.

At that point Group 1's efforts had not been very productive and the staff from Group 1 was depressed and exhausted.

The Planning Committee met again to integrate proposals from Groups 1 and 2 and tried to resolve differences between these solutions. Essentially this effort was a failure, so the committee decided to present these issues in the General Assembly. The issues were:

1) Should there be recognition of ultimate right of self-determination and provision for a plebiscite?

2) Should the neutral or buffer zone be drawn from wholly within the disputed territory or include territory now within the Somali Republic?

On these issues Group 1's proposals were closer to the general views of the governments of Kenya and Ethiopia whereas Group 2's positions were closer to the Somali government's position. There was some squabbling within national groups over these views when national groups had spontaneously caucused.

These issues then went to the General Assembly but, unfortunately, by that time, there was considerable deterioration of process in that body when discussing the merged products of Group 1 and 2. There was continued and increasing conflict and hardening of positions. The Kenyans and Ethiopians hardened their positions against the right of self-determination and the Somalis for it. In other words there was regression to strong nationalistic positions.

The Assembly then broke, the Planning Committee met and suggested that the Assembly re-convene and deal with short-run solutions and avoid the 'red-hot' issue of self-determination. The Assembly did re-convene but its efforts were almost entirely futile. Emotionalism and conflict escalated.

The conference ended on a sour note even though one of the organizers made a speech to the effect that the Workshop couldn't be evaluated so soon, that it was a high-risk, high-payoff venture, and that it might have sparked some ideas that would lead to resolution. He felt that perhaps they had learned something about the methods and the approach which could be applied in other international situations and that in any event they couldn't afford to stop trying.

5. Outcomes

Walton, in reviewing the whole workshop, made the following points:

1. The ultimate purpose was to have a positive influence on the resolution of the border disputes.

2. In these terms the short-run effectiveness of the workshop could not be assessed. For example, each group was thoroughly debriefed by its own government. Also, one month after the conference the Prime Minister of Somalia and the Emperor of Ethiopia met in a 'summit' conference.

3. The workshop was unable to reach a consensus about a proposed solution.

4. The Working Groups 1 and 2 did create positive rapport and some productive processes within groups but this did not transfer to the Assembly.

5. A questionnaire was returned by 14 of the 18 participants and indicated that the earlier discussions were educational and all returns indicated that they understood the others' view better. Also, there was a moderate increase in the amount of openness toward alternate solutions.

Walton, also concluded that despite the hostility and suspicion in the assembly, the majority of individuals did feel the workshop had some merit.

What was learned according to Walton?

1. The composition of the groups was helpful. Most of the participants were bright, articulate and emotionally mature. Some, however, were not able to express feelings and at least one member was regarded as an obstructionist.

2. They were not officially obligated or bound to their government's positions, a very important consideration. It was only when the grievance task broke down that they reverted to extreme nationalist positions.

3. Trust and respect did not develop enough in the national groups--and this was the major weakness in the design. Walton felt much more time should have been spent in developing the national groups early in the workshop.

4. He felt two weeks was insufficient time to develop the national groups and to develop the total community.

5. Walton felt the location (neutral ground) was excellent.

6. In his opinion, the major goal of the conference was too ambitious. Even though consensus for only one proposal was sought, it was too difficult--and tended to discourage everyone concerned--especially in a first venture like this. Walton suggested as a goal, several alternate solutions rather than consensus on one, and some follow-up activities.

7. The groupings were satisfactory except for the General Assembly-- and that was greatly hampered by parliamentary procedures and the difficulty of reaching the goal of one solution.

6. Summary

In summary, in my opinion, <u>this was an innovation</u>--an international conference <u>without</u> all the usual rules, regulations and paraphenalia. It was an example of informal diplomacy by individuals, based on behavioral science rather than purely political foundations. However, it is note-worthy that there were no Black or African consultants or organizers. The <u>most crucial incident</u>, in my opinion, was that there was very little inves-tigation or effort made to persuade the Kenyans and Ethiopians to follow the recommended format in the exchange of grievance technique, the most basic technique in Phase II.
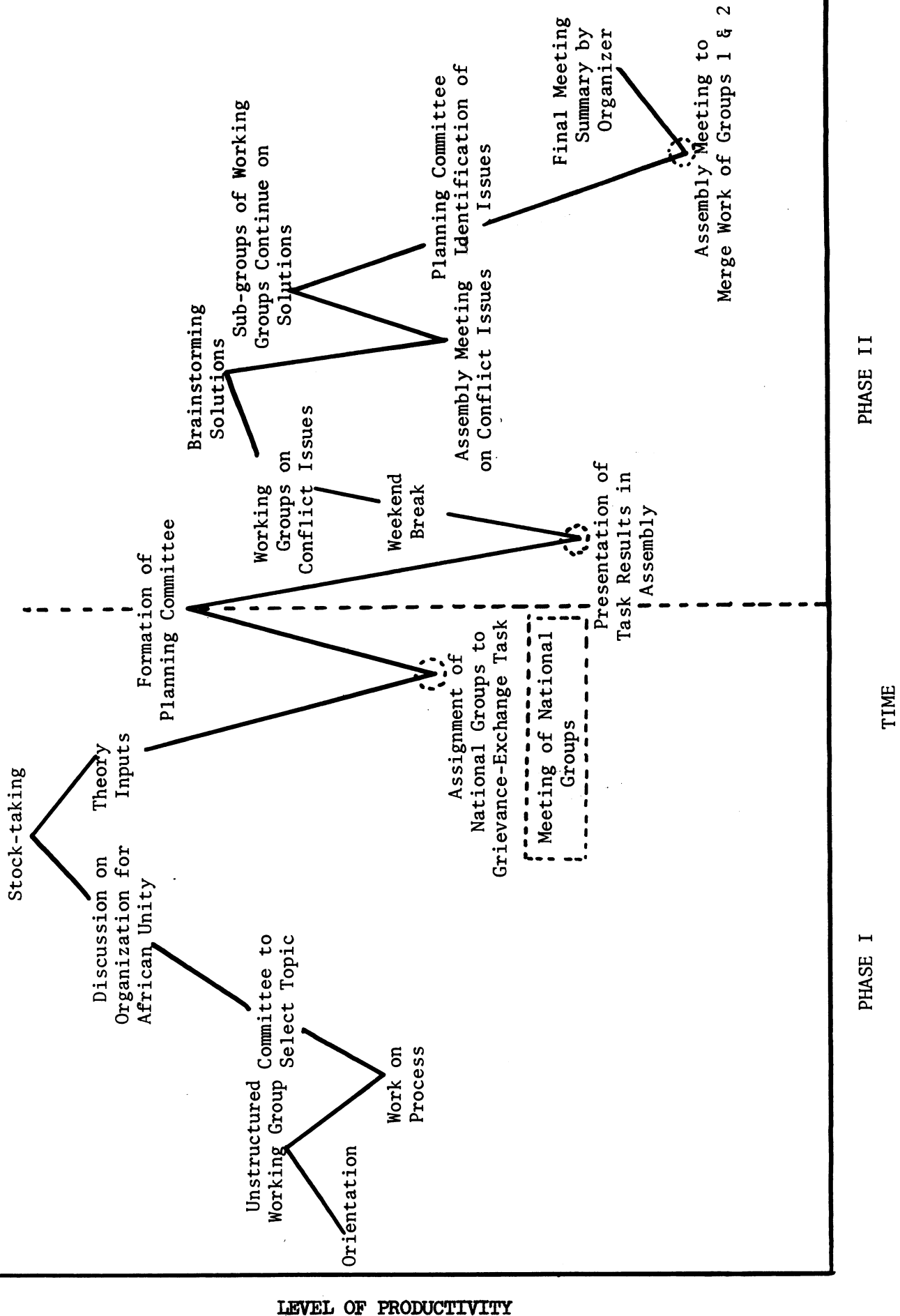
What was demonstrated, however, was that the <u>small-group processes</u> and the issues of trust, team-building, self-disclosure, etc. which are so well studied and practiced in the behavioral sciences are almost identical whether the participants are strangers, members of the same organization or repre-sentatives of different countries.

This is a very important point because it demonstrates that small-group processes can be so powerful that they challenge the grip of the social or national loyalties--however partially or temporarily. The fact that these loyalties could be challenged at all is noteworthy because of all the emphasis on national pride, identity and sovereignty in the developing countries.

What apparently happened was that the small temporary systems, especially the working groups and planning committee, drew loyalty, trust and committment to themselves. This then increased tension in the national groups because of the threat of reduced national loyalty. Thus, the dynamic forces of conflict were temporarily displaced from the international to intra-national level and the national groups were not prepared for this because their cohesion was not sufficiently developed. However, the key activity of grievance exchange unintentionally offered an opportunity for correction of tension in the national groups. This tension reduction was manifested by the way the Kenyans and Ethiopians handled--or more accurately--resisted the task. In my opinion, this rebuilt the national loyalty and, if anything, increased the international tension more. Apparently to whole-heartedly tackle the task of grievance exchange would have ripped the national loyalties beyond endurance. Therefore, regression to even greater than the original nationalism took place. So, the situation reverted to the age-old saying; "Blood is thicker than water"--especially when "brothers"--even though they have many Family Fights--believe they are being attacked by outsiders.

Figure 2, on the following page, presents the phases and critical incidents of this workshop.

Figure 2 Activities and Incidents in East Africa Conference

Stock-taking

Theory Inputs

Discussion on Organization for African Unity

Unstructured Working Group Committee to Select Topic

Work on Process

Orientation

Formation of Planning Committee

Working Groups on Conflict Issues

Weekend Break

Brainstorming Solutions

Sub-groups of Working Groups Continue on Solutions

Planning Committee Identification of Issues

Assembly Meeting on Conflict Issues

Final Meeting Summary by Organizer

Assembly Meeting to Merge Work of Groups 1 & 2

Assignment of National Groups to Grievance-Exchange Task

Meeting of National Groups

Presentation of Task Results in Assembly

LEVEL OF PRODUCTIVITY

PHASE I

TIME

PHASE II

II INTER-GROUP LEVEL - ROBERT R. BLAKE ET AL.

The Union-Management Intergroup Laboratory

The second example of conflict management comes from Blake, Mouton and Sloma and concerns a Union-Management Intergroup Laboratory. This represents what has now become a classic model, not so much new as powerful in its effects and applications.

This laboratory or workshop is described as a systematic approach for confronting intense intergroup hostility between management and an international union and moving the win-lose strategies toward a cooperative problem-solving orientation. The attitudes, assumptions, misunderstandings of each group were jointly examined through a series of systematic steps. The two groups worked independently and jointly to examine their relationship in depth. Focus was on the long-standing underlying barriers rather than specific, concrete issues at the surface. When the areas of misunderstanding and sources of tension have been identified and resolved it was possible for the two groups to solve day to day operational problems. This general approach has been used in many industrial and governmental settings.

1. Background

The international union involved was the bargaining agent for a highly specialized and skilled group of workers - and has been for 25 years in this particular plant. Chronic long-term hostility characterized the relationship between management and this international local. Lately, grievances have been on a steady rise. There were a large number of arbitration cases. Strike threats were common.

Management had been engaged in a three year plant improvement effort which involved intensive laboratory and seminar O.D. work. Each member of management participated and each had experience in intergroup conflict management exercises and theory -- and what is more, management had successfully used this experience to settle intergroup managerial conflicts.

In an O.D. session a management consultant confronted them (mgmt.) with their own defensiveness and inaction in getting at the root of the problem with the union - and what he saw as their win-lose orientation. Out of this confrontation grew the Union-Management Intergroup Laboratory. Both management and the union agreed to participate - somewhat reluctantly and suspicious of each others motives.

Nine representatives from the union and nine from management took part in the two-day laboratory. There were two behavioral science consultants. One met with the management group, the other with the labor group.

2. Phases of the Workshop

There were 8 steps or phases in the laboratory as shown below:

Phase	Activity	Grouping	Purpose	Time (in hrs.)
1	Orientation	Joint Sessions	Set stage	1/2
2	Intra-group development of own image and image of others	Separate Groups	Generate Primary Data	5
3	Exchange of images	Separate Groups	Flow of Data	1
4	Clarification of images	Joint Session	Process Primary Data	2
5	Intragroup diagnosis of relationship between groups	Separate Groups	Generate and Process New Data	4
6	Exchange of diagnosis	Joint Session	Flow, Comparison and Integrating New Data	3
7	Consolidation of key issues and sources of friction	Joint Session	Working Through, More Processing of New Data	2
8	Planning next steps	Joint Session	Goals and Plans for Action	1

I will briefly discuss each phase.

Phase I - Orientation: The consultants set the stage by stating that the goal of the workshop was to change the win-lose relationship to a problem solving one - and that to do that the participants would identify and make plans to eliminate the issues which block problem-solving. Thus, the workshop was clearly structured not to include bargaining, specific grievances or personalities. This two-day workshop was to be only the first step in a sequence of events, and as such it might not, by itself, resolve the differences.

Phase 2 - Image-Development: Each group constructed its own self image and
its picture of the other group. As the images emerged they were to be
recorded on newsprint for use in reporting back when the two groups met
again.

The theory held that it would be much easier for the union and manage-
ment to describe "the other" guys' behavior, motives and goals than their
own and the theory proved to be correct.

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        MANAGEMENT                        UNION

  ┌─────────────┐┌─────────────┐   ┌─────────────┐┌─────────────┐
  │1 MANAGEMENT'S││2 MANAGEMENT'S│  │3 UNION'S    ││4 UNION'S    │
  │  IMAGE OF    ││  IMAGE OF    │  │  IMAGE OF   ││  IMAGE OF   │
  │  SELF        ││  UNION       │  │  SELF       ││  MANAGEMENT │
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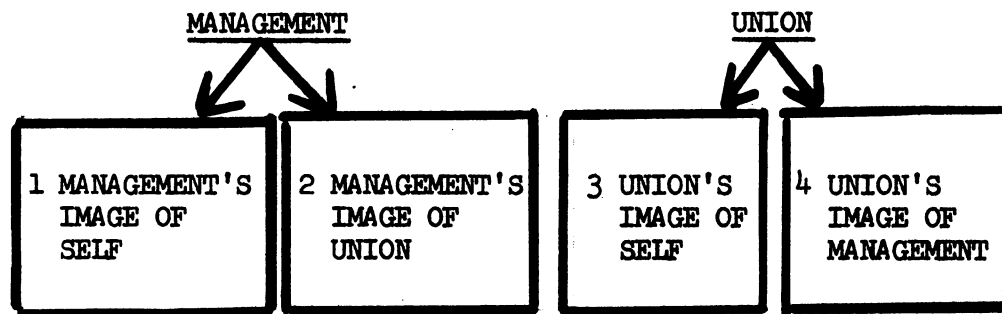
Figure 2
Development of Images

Both groups had difficulty with the task--both tried to describe their
own images first but slipped into name-calling and discussing personalities
and bargaining issues. With the help of the consultants, however, both
groups did develop images of themselves first and then of the other group.

Phase 3 - Exchange of Images: What was sought here were the differences in
perception of each group by itself and by the other and the areas of agree-
ment. The differences might show up hidden or root causes of conflict. The
similarities might reveal whether one or both parties really wanted peace
or war. For example, if the union saw itself as wanting to continue fighting
a win-lose battle and management saw this too, there would be very little
basis for mutual problem solving. If they both wanted peace, however, and
both saw the other as wanting peace it would greatly help to see the common
goal of peace even though the means to that goal might be difficult.
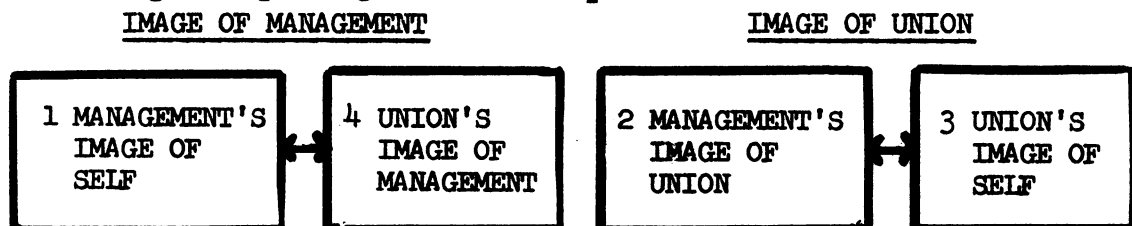The Images if put together for comparisons look like this:

                IMAGE OF MANAGEMENT   IMAGE OF UNION

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  ┌─────────────┐   ┌─────────────┐   ┌─────────────┐   ┌─────────────┐
  │1 MANAGEMENT'S│◄─►│4 UNION'S    │   │2 MANAGEMENT'S│◄─►│3 UNION'S    │
  │  IMAGE OF    │   │  IMAGE OF   │   │  IMAGE OF    │   │  IMAGE OF   │
  │  SELF        │   │  MANAGEMENT │   │  UNION       │   │  SELF       │
  └─────────────┘   └─────────────┘   └─────────────┘   └─────────────┘
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Figure 3
Comparison of Images

MGMT's image was as follows

Of itself (1)

1. Running a competitive growing business.

2. Equal concern for people and production.

3. Competent at managing.

4. Upgrading supervision.

5. Willing to be more fair in dealing with the union.

6. Need to prevent loss of power to unions.

7. Fair and honest in meeting obligations.

Rated by the Union (4)

1. Pressure from H.Q. to cut costs and throw out union.

2. Production and profits "überalles" The "hell with people" - use them.

3. Fatherly dictators.

4. Took over apprenticeship program and ruined it.

5. Opposed to organized labor in every way, shape and form.

6. Try to make union look bad - chip away at membership - give us run-around on all grievances.

7. Two-faced and unfair.

Unions image

Of itself (3)

1. People oriented-fair shake.

2. Skilled craftsmen.

3. Would like better relations with company but warning: "If you push us around we'll fight back."

4. Locally and democratically run - don't have to follow HQ "party line".

5. Want more recognition for skills and craftsmanship.

6. Don't want co-management but want recognition and chance to contribute more to operation of plant.

Rated by Management (2)

1. All you care about is winning over us.

2. Proud and skilled but ruled by small power clique.

3. Never willing to compromise on any points in contract.

4. Controlled by small minority - undemocratic members don't know what's going on.

5. Union leaders want to promote themselves for higher job in union.

6. Seniority rules hurt the business - best man can't advance.

Comparison: The union spokesmen saw themselves as democratic agents of the membership. Management saw the membership as "sound" but misled by union leaders. The Union is proud of skillful work but feels management fails to recognize this. The Union wants to be more involved in the operation of the plant and management expresses same desire - but NEITHER SEE THIS AS A COMMON INTEREST YET.

Phase 4 - Clarification of Images: The next two hours were spent in a joint session which was supposed to be devoted to clarifying the images of each group. The discussion often became heated. Neither side could believe the other could be so "wrong" about it. Renewed tensions and old issues debated concerning management's alleged attempt to drive the union out and its dealing with union grievances in bad faith and management's denials and counter-charges - mainly that the elite "sitting-right-there" made all the decisions for the union membership.

The behavioral science consultants intervene heavily in this phase - confronting both sides with their win-lose behavior, suggesting that each side has been understood by the other before proceeding (the Carl Rogers technique) and finally assigned the following homework to each group for the next session: Two questions were to be answered.

(1) "What do we do (union or management) that has contributed to the image   the other group has of us?" and,

(2) "What is in our own beliefs and actions that lead us to the conclusion we have about ourselves?"

Phase 5 - Intra-group diagnosis of themselves and the relationship: Both groups, meeting separately spent the evening and part of the following morning in (1) self-analysis and (2) diagnosing the "why" of their own actions. The groups were still far from any real mutual trust or understanding but this activity at least opened the door.

After much griping about the union and some coaching by the consultant, management took the union's image of them (management) as it was reported and listed everything they could think of under each point that could lie behind the various interpretations of management.

The union reacted in a similar way - first name-calling and griping about management but then digging into their own attitudes and feelings and their reactions to both images developed by management.

The consultants felt both groups were finally on a process level - rather than win-lose scapegoating and name calling.

Phase 6 - <u>Exchange of diagnosis</u>. <u>Integrating insights</u>: Most of the day was devoted to phase 6 - exchanging then debating through the results of both groups diagnoses.

The <u>dynamics</u> of this were very complex, but included the following major points.

1. Management selected what they felt was the number one issue as far as the union was concerned; namely, that the company was opposed to international unions.

2. Management admitted that they <u>preferred</u> independent unions but wished to bargain in good faith because, in fact, the international was in the plant.

3. Management attempted to show its partial disengagement (<u>disidentifi-cation</u>) with its major reference group-(headquarters)- and that in any event even headquarters have reduced its opposition to inter-nationals.

4. The Union, for a while, still clung to the idea that management was bound to its reference group (i.e., that the claim of disidentification was a facade and that management's <u>real</u> motives were hidden; namely, to discredit grievances and drive out the union--when what the union wanted was to be treated with respect).

5. Both groups were now more openly exchanging feeling and interpretations and the union then presented its major diagnosis as a value difference; namely, "Managements strong preference for independent unions."

6. The union also tried to show that its membership was influential in bargaining decisions contrary to managements image of the union. Here the union was trying to <u>re-establish identification</u> or engagement of its leadership with members, which management had been trying to pry apart...this was the opposite of the previous dynamic of management as over-identified with its headquarters central leadership.

7. Finally, both groups began to hear each other better. Management finally "heard" that the union also was genuinely interested in production. This was the first endorsement (joint affirmation) of a common perception of positions--an agreement at last--at least on images--and thus it led to genuine movement toward collaboration--<u>a real turning point in the workshop</u>.

8. The main signs of progress were that both sides listened better. Though not always agreeing, they heard each other out. There was more real clarifying--much less attacking and defending--and both sides were still able to get many things off their chests.

Phase 7 - Consolidation of key issues: Working with the consultants,
management and the union jointly identified the following conflict issues
or barriers which would require further resolution:

1. Insufficient mutual trust and respect. This was considered the
   key element by both parties. For example, management's preference
   for independent unions on the one hand and its stated desire to
   work with the international on the other hand, was an issue that
   needed further understanding.

2. Idealogical differences. Both agreed there were wide differences
   in purposes and principles. Common purposes would have to be
   identified if the two groups were to move to joint problem solving.

3. Inadequate knowledge and understanding. It became clear to both
   groups through the exchanges that many factual matters were not
   known and that neither of them really knew how the other operated.

4. Attitudinal differences. Differences in attitudes toward each other,
   and operation and management of business affairs reflected their
   different perspectives, different levels of knowledge and past
   relationships.

5. Need for more effective use of people. Both agreed there should
   and could be more participation and involvement of wage people in
   the operations in the plant.

6. Better understanding of rights and obligations. Here again both
   parties felt they needed further understanding and acceptance of
   each others role in the bargaining process-particularly the mutual
   expectations they each held for the other.

7. Better communication. Both felt that difficulty in communication
   caused many of their problems. Generally they felt the need for
   more openness with each other.

8. Better listening. Both sides it was felt needed to listen more and
   better. For example, one union man said "I know right now how to
   save the plant $10,000 but I haven't found anyone who will listen
   to me yet."

Phase 8 - Planning next steps: The final time period was spent in deciding
on follow-up steps. It was agreed that much remained to be talked out
because many tensions still existed. It was concluded that before tackling
operational problems together both sides needed to talk among themselves
about what was learned from these sessions and each side wanted to report to
its other members on the progress that had been made. They wanted feedback
from their constituents and then they would make a tentative proposal for the
next steps.

3. Summary and Conclusions

According to the consultants, the main issues were as follows:

1. The degree of local autonomy in management.

2. The union's perception of management as completely money oriented--
and the unions need to counteract this "inhumanity".

3. Managements suspicion of the leading clique in the union which did
not represent the members.

4. Managements attitude that the union's only real goal was to protect
and build itself, that it had no real concern for productivity, and
that it had only an external administrative concern for people
(wages, seniority, etc.)

5. Similarities not seen.

   Management saw itself as production and people oriented. The
   union only saw the production orientation. On the other hand the
   union group saw itself as having an obligation toward their members
   and toward production. Management saw some of this people-orienta-
   tion but couldn't really see the production orientation. What the
   two shared in common they could not recognize. They only saw
   differences--even in those things which they really had in common.

   However, in spite of this it was concluded that the airing of these
   differences provided a constructive foundation for further work.
   Through self-analysis and exchange of views, management and the union
   moved slowly to a better relationship. It was felt that as new issues
   arose the members of both groups would have the beginnings of a
   collaborative, problem-solving rather than a strictly win-lose
   orientation. Figure 3 presents the phases and critical incidents
   of this workshop.

Figure 3 PHASES IN THE UNION-MANAGEMENT INTERGROUP LABORATORY
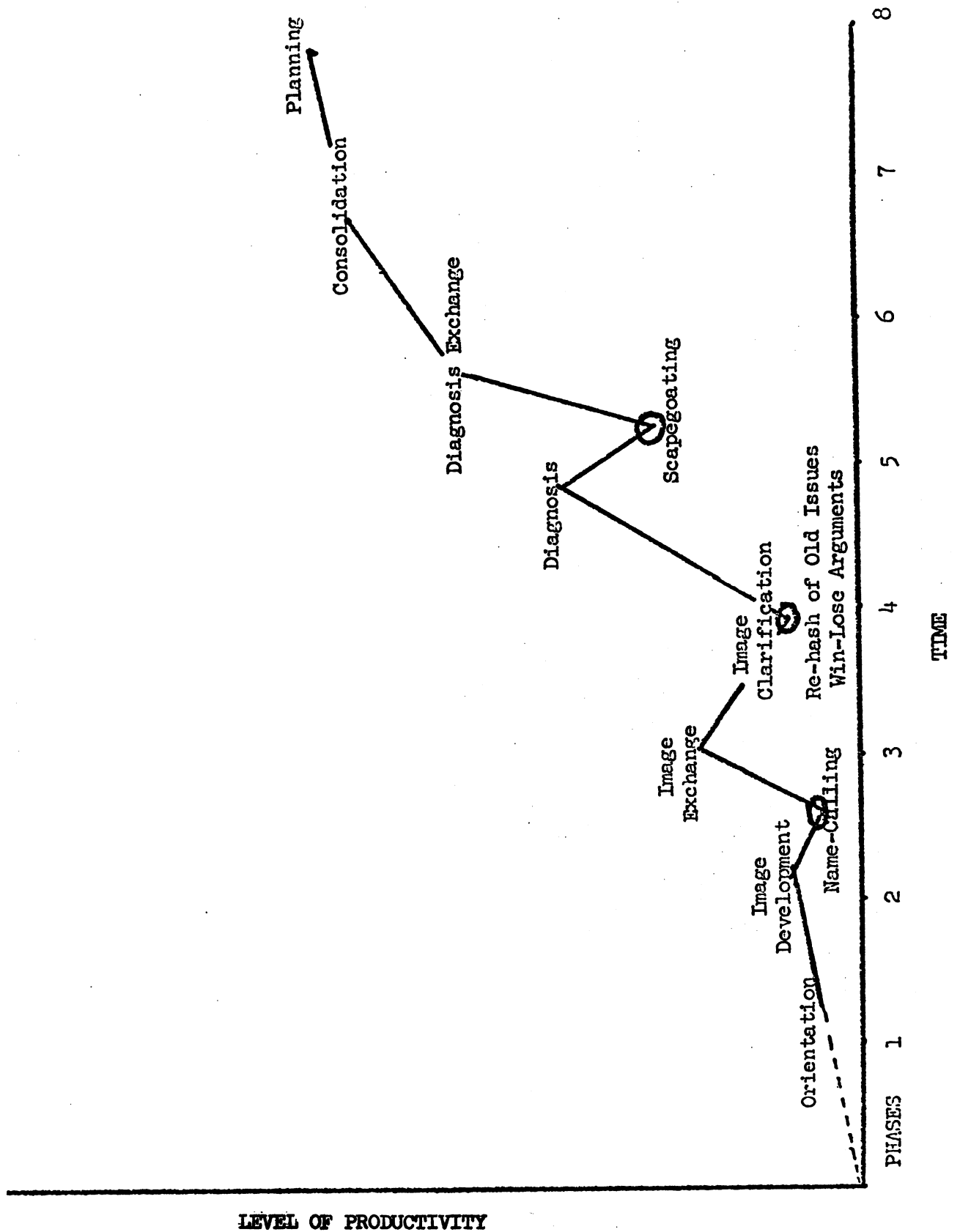
III. ORGANIZATIONAL AND COMMUNITY LEVEL - WILL McWHINNEY

Open Systems Planning

1. Background

Will McWhinney is a professor in the Behavioral Science Area of the UCLA Graduate School of Management. He and several other colleagues have been working on "Open Systems Planning" in industry and in community organization.

Open systems planning is not strictly speaking a method of conflict resolution. It is a highly innovative approach to organizations and one of the derived benefits is its very powerful effect on delaying or preventing conflict. People become so focused on the central problems of production, self-management and relationships of individuals and subsystems that expected conflict does not arise. For example, in the community organization McWhinney worked with in Watts, the expected conflict did not develop among blacks or between blacks and white or blacks and the police. Apparently there is a great freedom of choice for the individual in his day to day activities and at the same time a deep problem-solving orientation. McWhinney and his colleagues have not dealt with conflict which has already been generated since their approach is strictly developmental and in that sense preventitive.

Open systems design began with a search for more satisfying and durable work environments which would provide for growth of the individual as well as his security. It is a response to the problems of turnover, absenteeism, alienation and lowered involvement in work which is creating widespread problems at all levels and in nearly all organizations.

Open systems is placed within the context of post-industrial society, in which traditional industrial democracy no longer adequately serves in the face of vast changes that are taking place in individual values and motivation on the one hand and organizational size, complexity and technology on the other hand. People simply want more control over the factors that influence their lives. In a word, McWhinney's interpretation is that they want to be much more self-managing and participative in decision-making.

Open systems design aims at creating work conditions in which the individual can have his integrity respected. In our contemporary bureaucratic structures there are what McWhinney calls "invasions" of the individual or work team through supervision,

formalistic training, and other status-reducing devices. Open systems are based on autonomous task groups, organized around central tasks or core technology of the productive process.

2. Three Models of Organization of Work

To illustrate this McWhinney identifies three models of work organization:
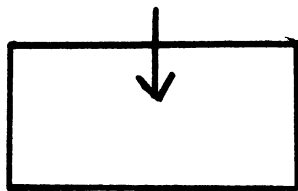
1. Traditional supervision.

Figure 1

A traditional system can be visualized as a well-delimited arena or space in which workers are contained. The arrow indicates the supervisors' invasion into the work and personal space, interfering with the flow of work by teaching, controlling, auditing, evaluating for wage payment etc.
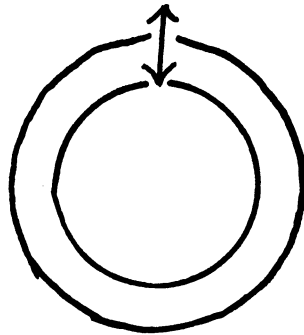
2. Socio-technical system.

Figure 2

Here autonomous work groups create a space free of invasion by supervisors. Within the identified boundaries the workers have freedom to make decisions. Typically these boundaries establish the freedom in details of task organization, scheduling, quality control, training and employee evaluation, discipline, vacations, etc. The contact with the larger organization is through a boundary manager (the arrow) who has prime responsibility for availability of resources like utilities, machinery, new employees. He also is responsible for the flow of materials, changes in design, wages, etc.
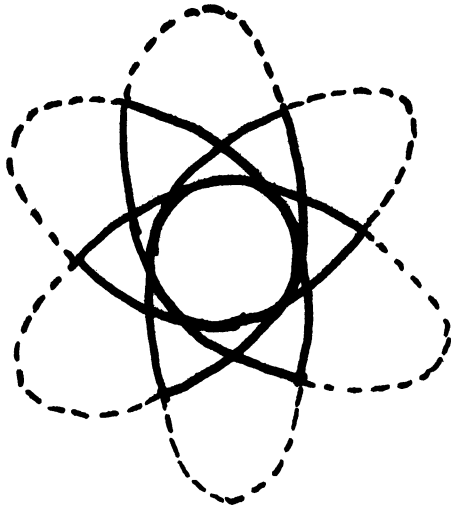
3. The open system design.

Figure 3

This "flowering" design begins for the individual employee, at any level, as an autonomous system allowing him to learn, free of invasion. The basic operating requirements of the core process (central technology) are learned and associated with each task group. As each person develops competence in the basic skills he has the opportunity to engage in every domain of concern related to the core process and its supporting functions. The trend is toward self-managing teams.

3. Three Approaches to Management

For example, in a small plant which employs · about 250 technicians in the manufacture of a consumer product there are no craft-based jobs. All hourly workers are organized into teams which collectively are responsible for all plant functions. They are using three approaches to management. Two of these approaches begin with a full-time manager whose role gradually decreases and the third approach has no strictly managerial role at all.

a. First approach (workers assigned to manager-consultant)

In this approach a group of technicians is assigned to a manager at the out-set. The manager is considered to have more knowledge of how the company operates and how the machinery operates than the technicians. His goal is to impart this know-ledge to the team so that it can eventually operate without him. The manager's role evolves like this:

Manager ⟶ Consultant ⟶ Off the Team

b. <u>Second approach</u> (manager as resource person is assigned to team)

Here the manager is assigned to a team. The <u>team determines</u> what special role the manager is to play. Most technicians in this approach see the manager as a knowledgeable resource for the team to use until such time as it has sufficient skill to operate without frequently calling on him. The manager's role in this case looks like this:
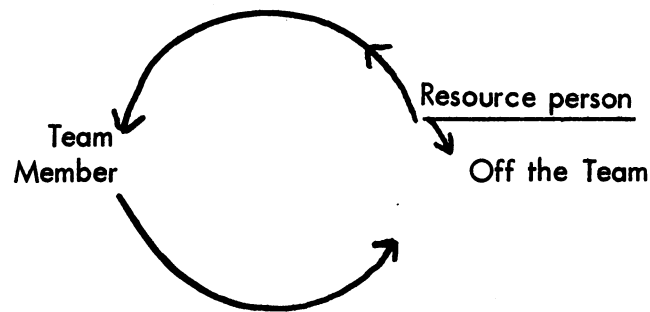
c. <u>Third approach</u> (No member of management on team)

This is the case in which a team is formed with no member of management included, even at the start. This seems to require that several members of the team be well-grounded in the technology and operations involved in making the product.

It is estimated that if a team <u>begins</u> with a full-time manager, a minimum of about 4 months is required before the manager can leave the team and move on to another assignment. Many teams and team managers request a lot of help from behavior science consultants in the weeks just before the decision is made to operate as a self-managing team.

The great majority of task-teams at this plant are now <u>striving</u> to become self-managing. Four teams are now self-managing. This goal is not <u>shared</u> unanimously by all technicians and managers, but the general consensus seems to be that self-management is an economical and satisfying approach to the organization of work.

4. Effects of Open Systems

What emerges from this approach are "enlarged jobs" with emphasis on group psychological process skills for maintaining intra-group relations. The sources of

energy appear to come from a sense of identity and personal competence—and this is supported by the persistence of these open systems, once they get started, and in the extension of the worker's involvement beyond the work site.

One firm has used the open systems model to create a number of process plants in a great variety of settings. These plants have certainly succeeded on economic grounds. Compared with other plants producing the same product on nearly identical equipment, these plants have reduced direct costs by 50% or more, saving millions of dollars for the company. Similar open systems organizations are now operating in many other companies, some school systems, colleges and governmental agencies. One large electric firm has accepted the autonomy of the teams though retaining supervising lead-men.

According to McWhinney, one of the really impressive features in some of these open systems plants is that workers take on more activities outside the work place. The most visible involvements have to do with community racial troubles. Following major disturbances in their small city, a number of workers organized the black community to deal directly with the leaders of the city and of industry. This is one form of conflict resolution and prevention of further conflict.

Participation in other community activities has also grown. Blue-collar workers won elections to the school board, the mayoral office, and other local positions. Church and school activity has increased. In one plant nearly 10% of the work force holds elective office.

5. Problems in Open Systems

Along with its successes, the open-systems approach generates some real difficulties. As blue and white collar workers and professionals grow in their sense of personal competence in operating their core processes and maintaining their social systems they begin to make decisions in broader areas. They push upward against the middle management people, not to obstruct, but to engage with them on decisions and policies. Middle management, in turn, must choose between pressing upward on the hierarchy for new task responsibilities or getting squeezed out, instead of up. Supervisors surrender important decisions to workers supposedly below them. These decisions usually control the work environment at the production level, ordering supplies, planning delivery schedules, negotiating sales goals and even initiating technological change. Lower managerial ranks are "capturing decisions on product variations, packaging and distribution."

If the open system process continues, workers and middle managers are freed from their usual roles and tend to invade the decision-making areas of higher managers.

These managers, jealous and needing their own decision spaces press back and regain the power they formerly had excercised. Thus, they re-invade the work-spaces of their subordinates and the open-systems growth is stopped. The clash between traditional hierarchies within the system and the emergent growth of the open sub-systems is the most prominent source of conflict which has faced almost all deep social movements. I do not think the open-systems people have resolved this boundary dilemma and it will be very interesting to watch as the people in this approach accumulate experience.

Another problem is in the fact that "de-bureaucratization" reduces promotion opportunities so that the intrinsic rewards for participation in open systems must out-weigh the external incentives of increased pay and status and symbolic prestige. A team of 60 or 70 workers may have only one manager who himself has only slightly better odds for being promoted than the workers.

There are also some individual personality barriers to open systems. People with high dependency and counter-dependency needs find the absence of supervisors discomforting. A more independent personality is also not likely to fit because of the pressure for interdependent work. The person who enjoys working with others and who works well with the freedom from structure and authority which is usually imposed from the hierarchy does well in open systems. Also, the open systems can and does evolve structure which is appropriate to the task but still there are risks. The traditional organization usually provides a kind of structure with stable expectations, defenses against intimacy, and some security from competitive new ideas and creative people. These are important benefits if one is severely driven by achievement motivation based on the fear of failure. These securities are greatly reduced by open systems which therefore are experienced as very threatening to at least some people in most organizations.

There are at least two other major problems with open systems, and these lie in the strategies of development and the critical issue of the point of entry.

a. Strategies of development

Very briefly the strategies of development are not well formulated but they include the political route as in socialist ownership schemes in Yugoslavia, union action-especially in the areas of health and safety and pensions, government and legal approaches which regulate safety, wages, etc., and finally industrial-organizational development, including industrial engineering and psychology and organizational development.

Open systems uses all four strategies in various combinations but the strategies are not well developed. They usually begin with what they call a generative group - or coordinating group - usually drawn from a high level staff group and diagonal slices of membership across the organizations. These generating groups - germinate and

support one or more work groups organized around core technologies and eventually spawn new generating groups who proliferate the process.

b. Points of entry

In spite of, or maybe because of the above processes, the issue of point of entry still remains critical. Again briefly there are four entering points each with its own difficulties:

1. Entry from the top - through staff groups in industrial engineering, personnel or organizational planning. This approach is still the most popular but often fails to achieve real change in organizational climate.

2. "Inside out" - or bottom-up. Here the problem is that when the workers initiate open systems or similar changes they are perceived as revolutionary - and perhaps subversive, and are dealt with as such.

3. Top and bottom. Here the entry is at the top to gain permission to engage with the bottom. The effect is often to place the intervening levels in a pincer, receiving often contradictory pressures from bottom and top. This tends to destroy middle management, and often brings the whole organization down also.

4. Open systems entry. This is the idealized entry which usually starts with a high level staff group, involves a preliminary training period with diagonal slices of the organization and then develops the generative groups which I mentioned before. There are two major problems with this approach. One is the over-eagerness of workers to get the open values without building an adequate support group and the other is the perennial problem of departmentalization. The vertical inter-relationships of these open subsystems is particularly difficult because of the deep incompatibility of the open system values and the traditional hierarchies of responsibility.

So much for problems and difficulties. It is obvious that there remains much to be worked out.

I would like to conclude by offering one more example of open systems design in a community rather than an organizational setting.

6. Open Systems in Community Arts Institutions

a. Studio Watts

The inner city has produced some clear examples of this model, notably community arts institutions. One of these is Studio Watts Workshop in Los Angeles. It began as

a "person-builder," pairing one master and one apprentice to give training and confidence to aspiring black artists and youth from the street. The "Workshop" has also evolved into a program builder, generating its own programs and nurturing others. These programs, like the apprentices, gain new support and use in the community, and often generate still more programs themselves. We see this in the arts, in education, and in housing; they support cooperative buying and social services, facilitate political efforts, and, as network members, seek governmental support and discourage governmental intrusion.

Studio Watts and other arts organizations contract with traditional public and private institutions, such as county agencies, museums, performing arts centers, and schools, to take their programs and to support individual artists, writers and organizers who have gained skills working in the temporary relationships within the community. They express their own interrelatedness in collectives such as The Meeting at Watts Towers. This informal grouping of arts and other community organizations collects when an opportunity or confrontation requires more facilities than any one group can muster. In its design and training of group leaders it operates as a network. As a reticular (or network) structure it is more a medium for connection than a corporate organization; it recapitulates for the individual organization the relationship the individual person holds with the organization; out of the strength gained in the network, the individual enclave of activity gains power as a cultural entity to affect the political environment.

7. Summary

In summary what McWhinney calls a reticular society is one in which people are related as in a network rather than in hierarchical pyramids. It is an extension of the present trends away from single, restrictive identifications toward opportunity to grow in one's work, in one's caring, in one's obligations, more in accordance with personal growth and pacing than with external societal expectations. It is one which responds to a changing political and technological climate by creating temporary systems imbedded in a fabric of social interdependence. In a reticular society management would mean self-management. As such I offer it as one innovative means of conflict management which does more to prevent and displace conflict than to treat it directly and symptomatically after it has already developed as in the other two major examples from Walton and Blake.

IV INTERPERSONAL LEVEL - ERIC BERNE

Transactional Analysis

Transactional Analysis, a therapeutic method developed by Eric Berne has continued to grow and flourish ever since its beginnings in the late 1950's and early 60's. Now it is one of the leading therapies in this area -- and is practiced in a wide variety of settings, including personal, group, marital and family therapy, industry, prisons, schools and many other institutions and organizations.

In my opinion the major contributions of Berne in conflict management lie in his analysis of social transactions, his treatment of games, and his use of relationship analysis, particularly in marital problems.

1. Analysis of Transactions

The aim of Transactional Analysis is social control. In Berne's system, individual analysis - or what he calls structural analysis is based on the now familiar tri-partite division of personality into three ego states, Parent, Adult, and Child. After a sometimes brief introduction to structural analysis, Berne and his followers introduce people to transactional or social-interaction analysis. In appropriate or healthy social control the Adult or rational, grown-up data processing self retains executive power in dealings with other people some of whom, consciously or unconsciously, are attempting to activate the person's Child (immature, irrational, child-like self) or Parent (moralizing or over-protective conscience).

According to Berne, it is the Adult (self) who "decides" when to release the Child or Parent and when to take the executive power.

Berne did most of his analysis of transactions in therapy groups. Game analysis and relationship analysis follow from transactional analysis.

Berne's most classical example of transactional analysis in group therapy follows:

In a group of seven housewives, one of the newer members, "Camellia", announced that she had told her husband she was not going to have intercourse with him anymore and that he could go find himself some other woman. "Rosita", one of the more sophisticated and experienced group members, asked curiously, "Why did you do that?" Then Camellia burst into tears and replied, "I try so hard and then you criticize me."

According to Berne there were two transactions here, the first of which is represented by the following diagram. These PAC diagrams are typically drawn and analyzed by the therapist for the group.
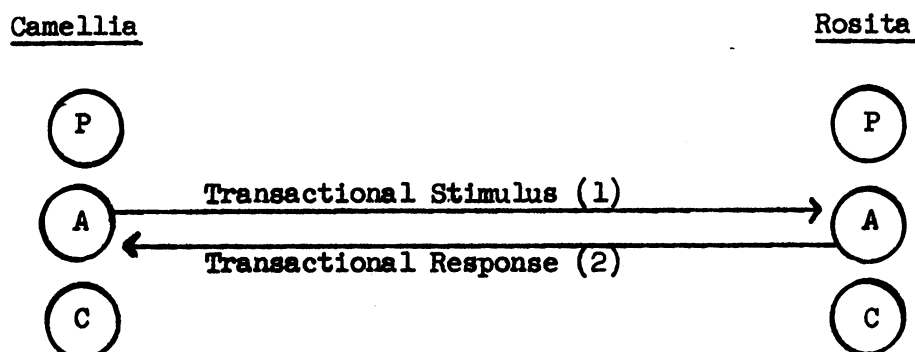
Camellia   Rosita

Figure 1
Complementary Transaction - Type 1

The personalities of the two women are represented as including Parent, Adult and Child. The first transactional stimulus (1) is Camellia's statement about what she told her husband. She related this in her Adult ego state with which the group was familiar. It was received in turn by the Adu of Rosita, who in her response (2) ("Why did you do that?") exhibited, accord ing to Berne, a mature, reasonable interest in Rosita's story. As shown in Figure 1 the transactional stimulus was Adult to Adult, and so was the transactional response. If things had continued on this Adult to Adult leve the conversation might have proceeded smoothly and no conflict would have occurred.

Rosita's question, ("Why did you do that?"), now constituted a new tranactional stimulus and was apparently intended as one Adult speaking to another. Camellia's response, however, was not that of one Adult to another but that of a Hurt Child answering a Critical Parent. Camellia's misperception of Rosita's ego state, and the shift in her own ego state from Adult to Child, resulted in what Berne calls a <u>crossed transaction</u> which is the most important source of interpersonal conflict and misunderstanding. This crossed transaction is illustrated in Figure 2 below:
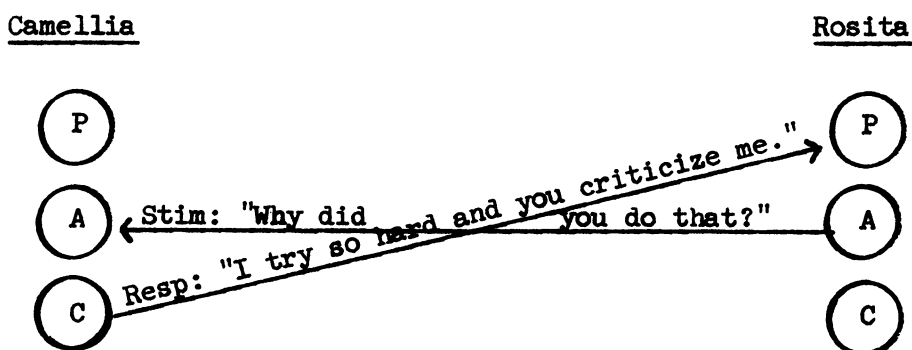
Camellia   Rosita

Figure 2
Crossed Transaction - Type 1

This particular type of crossed transaction, in which the stimulus is directed to the Adult but the response comes from the Child is considered by Berne as probably the most frequent cause of misunderstanding in marriage, work and social relations.

Another example of the crossed transaction occurs when the stimulus is directed to the Adult and it is the Parent who responds. Thus, anyone who asked Mr. Troy a rational question, expecting a judicious answer, might be disconcerted to find himself being treated to a set of dogmatic, ill-considered prejudices as though the questioner were a backward child in need of correction. This situation is represented in Figure 3 below:

Mr. Troy   Other Person
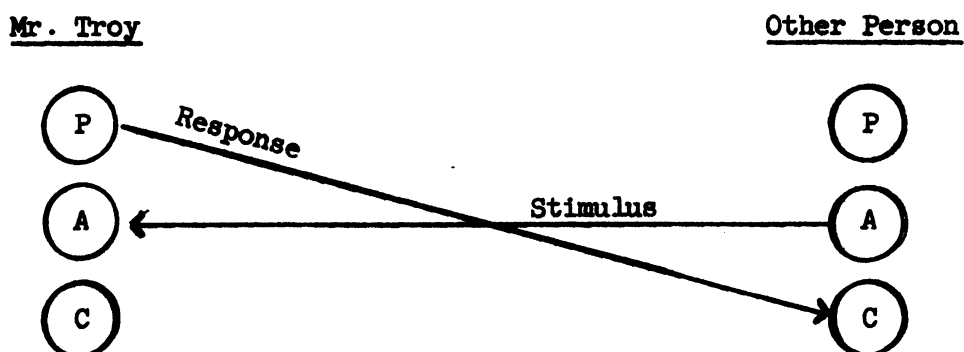

Figure 3
Crossed Transaction - Type 2

Again, it is to be noted that as long as the vectors are not crossed, the conversation proceeds smoothly and there is no conflict. As soon as there is a crossed transaction, someone is disconcerted and the complementary relationship terminates.

In the case of Camellia and Rosita, for example, Rosita said nothing after Camellia burst into tears. Holly, however, immediately began to comfort Camellia and apologize for Rosita. Holly talked to Camellia like an Over-protective Parent would talk to a Hurt Child. In essence Holly's remarks would read, "Don't cry, honey, everything will be all right. We all love you and that stupid lady didn't intend to be mean." Camellia responded with grateful self-pity. These transactions are represented in Figure 4 below:
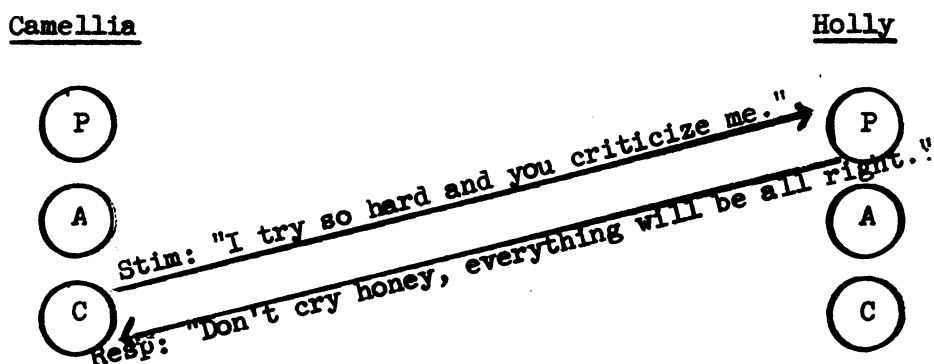
Camellia   Holly

Figure 4
Complementary Transaction - Type 2

After these and other transactions the therapist's task was to switch everyone back to an Adult level so they could all function according to Figure 1, the Adult-Adult Complementary transactions (Type 1). The therapist does this in Berne's method by waiting for an opportune moment and then giving the foregoing analysis with diagrams.

According to Berne, Rosita knew that Camellia would learn nothing from being comforted and that Holly would learn nothing from comforting her. The point was that Camellia felt people were always misunderstanding her and criticizing her. Rosita correctly perceived that she herself hadn't criticized Camellia and that, on the contrary, Camellia had implicitly criticized her by weeping. Camellia had demonstrated many times that she was adroit in manipulating people into pity and apologies. The purpose of this feedback-analysis in the group was to make Camellia aware of what she was doing.

Furthermore, Camellia's Over-protective Parent and Holly's Hurt Child reinforced each other in characteristic ways which promoted marital conflict in both their marriages. Holly was about to get a divorce because her husband was "exploiting her" and Camellia was having conflict because her husband "misunderstood and criticized her."

In the course of repeated analysis of similar situations, these two women became more and more aware of what they were doing and more and more able to control these tendencies in the group and at home, with corresponding benefits in their marital situations.

This then is the essence of interpersonal conflict resolution as practiced by Eric Berne and his followers in analysis of social transactions.

2. Analysis of Games

In Berne's thinking one of the eternal problems of people is how to structure time. As people become more acquainted with one another, certain identifiable patterns of interaction take place, which Berne thinks follow certain rules and regulations. A game is defined as an ongoing series of complementary, ulterior transactions progressing to a well-defined, predictable outcome. If an unexpected or "illegal" move is made the game is interrupted and the transaction becomes crossed rather than complementary. In games there is always concealed motivation - a hidden agenda - a series of moves with a snare or "gimmick." The agenda or game may be and often is unconscious to the players. The chief characteristics of games are (1) they are ulterior and (2) there is a payoff. Games, according to Berne are common at all levels of society and in all cultures and are one of the chief causes of interpersonal and social conflict.

Although games can be played consciously to "con" people, Berne is most concerned with the unconscious games played by ordinary (innocent) people. Games are not necessarily fun. They can be deadly serious. The grimmest game of all is "War." Three examples of common games are "If it weren't for you" and "Why don't you - Yes but" and "Now I've got you, you son of a bitch." Descriptions follow:

I "If it weren't for you"

This is one of the most common games played between spouses. Mrs. White complained that her husband severely restricted her social activities, so that she never learned to dance. Due to changes in her attitude brought about in psychotherapy, her husband became less sure of himself and more indulgent. Mrs. White was then free to enlarge the scope of her activities. She signed up for dancing classes, and then discovered to her despair that she had a morbid fear of dance floors and had to abandon this project.

This incident, along with similar ones, laid bare some important aspects of the structure of her marriage. Out of many suitors she picked a domineering man for a husband. She was then in a position to complain that she could do all sorts of things "if it weren't for him." Many of her women friends also had domineering husbands and when they met for morning coffee, they spent a lot of time playing "If it weren't for him."

As it turned out, however, contrary to her complaints, her husband was performing a very real service for her by forbidding her to do something she was deeply afraid of, and by preventing her, in fact, from even becoming aware of her fears. This was one reason her Child self had shrewdly chosen such a husband. Furthermore, behind the domineering behavior of the husband was hidden his own great fear of desertion which happened to him once when his mother was hospitalized for 1 year during his childhood. So, the game served both parties as games always do.

The transactional analysis of this game is presented below in Figure 5. The social level (overt) is indicated by the solid lines and the psychological (covert) level is shown by the dotted lines.
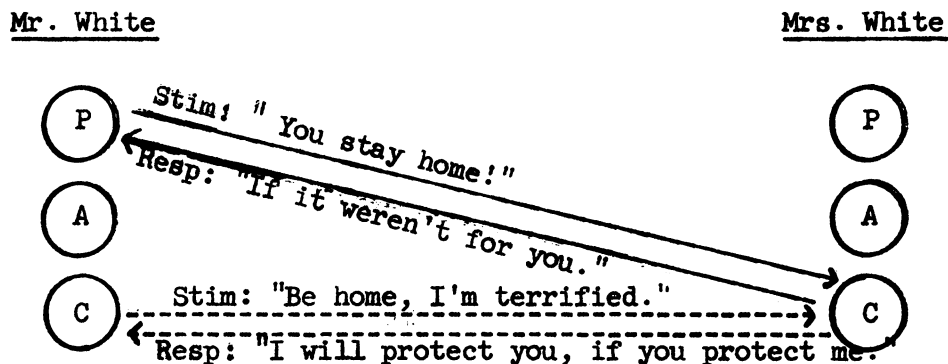

Figure 5
Transactional Analysis of the Game "If it weren't for you."

II "Why don't you - Yes but."

This is also a very common game, and was the first to be identified and analyzed by Berne. It is played frequently at social gatherings, committee meetings and various helping groups-therapeutic and otherwise.

The following example will serve to illustrate:

Mr. Green: I'd like to do my own repairs around the house but I'm not very good at it.

Mr. Blue: Why don't you take a course in carpentry?

Mr. Green: Yes, but I don't have the time.

Mr. Red: Why don't you buy some good tools?

Mr. Green: Yes, but I wouldn't know how to use them.

Mr. Brown: Why don't you have the repairs done by a handyman?

Mr. Green: Yes, but we can't get one, and besides it would cost too much.

Mr. White: Why don't you just accept the way you fix things?

Mr. Green: Yes, but they don't work when I do.

Such an exchange is typically followed by a silence. It is eventually broken often by someone who has not been actively involved in the game, perhaps to begin another game.

The "Why don't you - Yes but" game can be played by any number of people. The subject person presents a problem. The others present solutions, each beginning with "Why don't you -----?" or some equivalent. To each of these suggestions Green objects with a "Yes but ---". Berne says that a "good" player can stand off the others indefinitely until they all give up, whereupon Green wins the game. It is the silence which signifies his victory.

Since the solutions are, with rare exceptions, rejected, it is apparent that this game (like all games) serves some ulterior purpose. The game is not played for the ostensible purpose of an Adult quest for information or solutions, but to reassure and gratify the Child. Green presents himself essentially as a Child, inadequate to meet the situation. Others then become transformed into wise Parents anxious to despense their wisdom for his benefit.

This is illustrated in Figure 6.   Solid lines indicate the social level, dotted lines the psychological level.

Mr. Green   Others
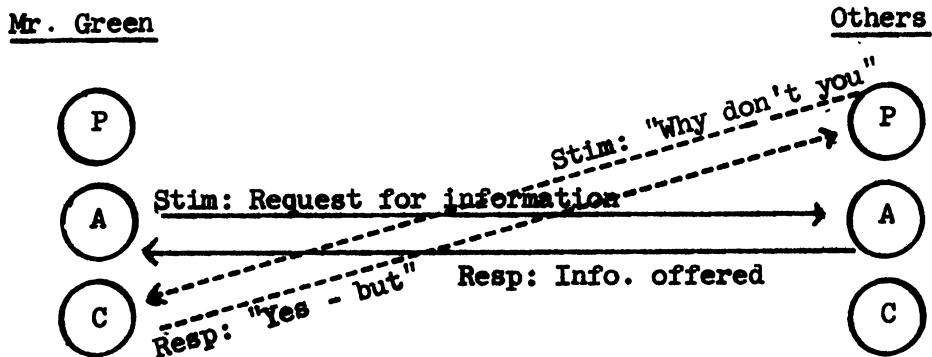

Figure 6
Transactional Analysis of the Game "Why don't you - Yes but"

It is important to again note that both the psychological and social transactions are complementary rather than crossed, even though the trans‑ actions at the psychological level are usually unconscious. The fact that the transactions are complementary accounts for the fact that a game can continue to be played until it is interrupted by a crossed transaction or until it is "played out."

Berne feels that while almost anyone will play this game at times because of its time-structuring value, individuals who favor it can and will play either side with equal facility. He points to "switchability" of roles as being true of all games - even though some people habitually play one side more often.

Thus, the ulterior purpose of "Why don't you - Yes, but" is to defeat the Parent and to prove that the Child is unconquerable - will never surrender. The real payoff to the Child is the silence which follows after all the so-called wise Parents have racked their brains and give up in frustration.

It is obvious how this game can create conflict in organizations and hold up productive problem-solving processes. Berne's solution to this conflict is to diagram and analyze it for the parties involved, hoping to do this in their Adult states so that they can gain social control.

III "Now I've got you, you son of a bitch!"

This is an important game because it occurs in negotiating situations in legal disputes, business or government and in other inter-personal situations (family, friends, etc.). If a poker player uses this game when he gets an unbeatable hand he is more interested in the fact that other players are completely at his mercy rather than that he is good at poker or might make some money. Another classical example follows:

Mr. Blue needed some plumbing fixtures installed and he reviewed the costs very carefully with the plumber before giving him the go-ahead. The price was set, and it was agreed that there would be no extras, no "cost-overrun." When the plumber submitted his bill, he included about four dollars extra for an unexpected valve that had to be installed. It was about four

dollars on a $400 dollar job. Blue became infuriated, called the plumber on the phone and demanded an explanation. At first the plumber would not back down. Blue wrote him a long letter criticizing his integrity and ethics and refused to pay the bill until the extra charge was withdrawn. The plumber finally gave in.

It soon became clear that both Blue and the plumber were playing games. In the course of the negotiations they both sensed each other's potential for this game. The plumber made his provocative move when he submitted the bill. Since Blue had the plumbers word, the plumber was clearly in the wrong. Blue now felt justified in venting almost unlimited rage against him.

On the surface (social level) their dispute was Adult to Adult, a legitimate business argument over a stated sum of money. At the psychological level it was Blue's righteously indignant Parent to the plumber's provocative Child. Blue was exploiting his trivial but technically defensible position in order to vent the pent-up furies of many years on his "chiseling" opponent.

With Berne's help Blue was able to recognize how secretly delighted he had been at the plumber's provocation. Blue recalled that ever since early childhood he had looked for similar injustices, received them with delight and exploited them with the same vigor. In many of the cases he recounted, he had forgotten the actual grievance but remembered in great detail the course of the ensuing battle. The transactional analysis of this game follows with solid lines indicating the social level and dotted lines the psychological level of the transaction.

Mr. Blue   Plumber

Resp: "Now I've got you, you son of a bitch."
Stim: "Can you do some work for me?"
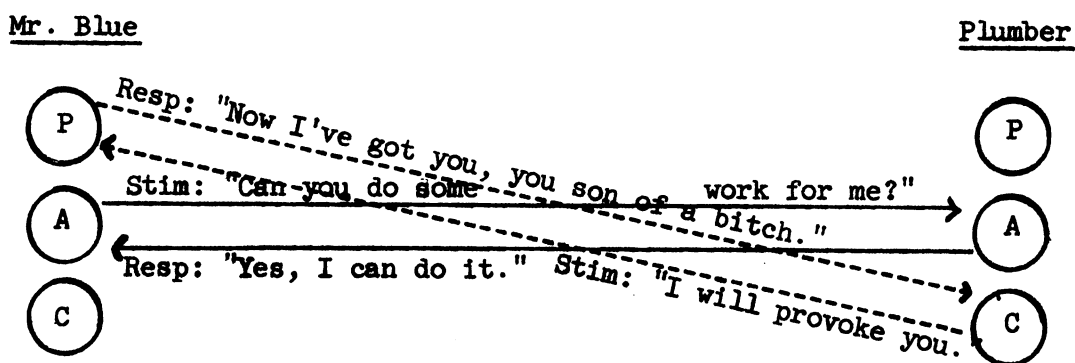Resp: "Yes, I can do it." Stim: "I will provoke you."

Figure 7
Transactional Analysis of the Game,
"Now I've got you, you son-of-a-bitch!"

As can be readily noted, this game is one in which "injustice collecting" plays a prominent role, and as such is related to other injustice games such as "Why does this always happen to me?"; "Ain't it awful"; "P.T.A.," and "How dare you strike my Child!"

In summary, in the hands of a trained person analysis of games can be a powerful tool in conflict resolution. The method of resolution is analytical and diagrammatic and depends to a great extent on the ability of the therapist or third party to elicit the Adult ego state in both or all of the participants as they absorb the analysis.

3. Relationship Analysis

Relationship analysis is another powerful tool in conflict management. Its best use, however, is in the prevention of unnecessary conflicts because it is employed before relationships have been well developed and in impending liaisons in marriage, business partnerships, task teams, etc. The following is an example of this procedure in the case of a man who was forming a new relationship which he felt might lead to marriage:

Mr. Kay had recently met Miss Bee and described his relationship with her in some detail. Since he was already a "known quantity" to his therapist (Berne) they were able to construct a relationship diagram (Figure 8).

Miss Bee was the kind of a girl to whom many men were attracted, not specifically for sexual purpose but in order to take care of her. This was apparently the main attraction for Mr. Kay also. Miss Bee is always in need of money and probably would like a man with money but would not want to talk about how it was made. She wanted to be a musician and also wanted to paint. Mr. Kay was quite interested in business and thought women should be more practical too. He looked at some of her paintings and felt that they showed confusion and told her so, which she resented. She cannot stand criticism. She is so sensitive that from time to time she has to shut herself up in her room for a few days and get away from everybody. She expected him to understand that and he told her that he did not think he could go along with it.

Figure 8 below represents the theoretically ideal relationship in which each aspect of each party is in a complementary relationship with each other party. Berne begins his relationship analysis with this ideal model and modifies it to fit each case, by erasing or changing the lines (vectors).
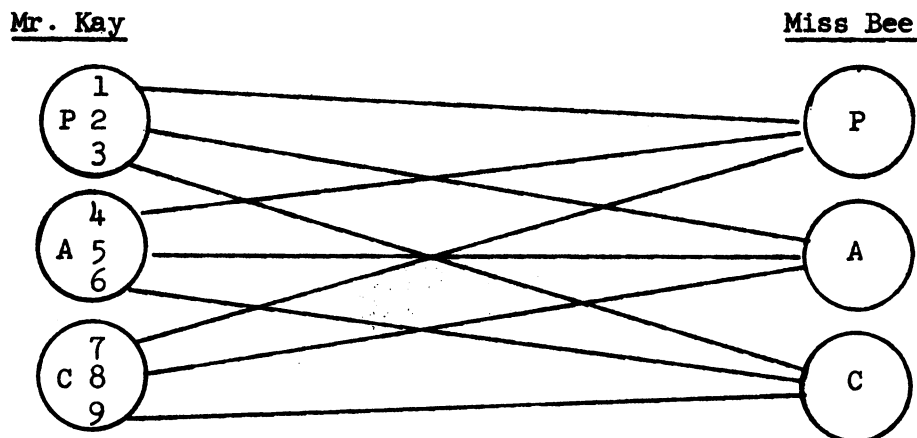

Figure 8
A Theoretically Ideal Relationship

In this ideal relationship satisfactory transactions can take place along each of the nine vectors (lines 1 thru 9) in both directions. If, for example the Parent of Kay gives a transactional stimulus directed to the Child of Bee, this Child will give an appropriate response in return and vice versa. This means that, in effect, all of the transactions would be complementary, none crossed.

The first vector investigated was Kay Parent - Bee Child (vector 3). Mr. Kay saw Miss Bee as a kind of waif, a gypsy-like creature in need of protection. Kay was notorious for his Parental generosity, which, in fact, got him into considerable trouble. Miss Bee was very receptive of such Parental overtures and it was therefore concluded that, in general vector 3 Kay Parent - Bee Child was harmonious. However, there was an important exception to this. When she isolated herself in her room his Parent was frustrated because he could not be taking care of her. Therefore, there were some barriers in this vector which are indicated with a bar in Figure 9 the specific Kay-Bee relationship as distinguished from the ideal model. Otherwise vector 3 was left intact in Figure 9.

Miss Bee's desire to be a painter provided most of the material for analysis of vector 2, Kay Parent - Bee Adult. From the Parental point of view, Mr. Kay was not very sympathetic, duplicating his father's view toward art. Thus, this vector was erased from the ideal model in Figure 8.

Kay Parent - Bee Parent (vector 1) was also erased because Kay and Bee showed little tendency to moralize together or to take care of people together.

Kay Adult - Bee Child (vector 6) concerned Bee's way of living. On rational grounds Kay was critical of her sloppy housekeeping, poor eating habits, isolation and inability to tolerate any criticism. She resented this. Therefore this vector was also eliminated as unpromising.

Analysis of Kay Adult - Bee Adult (vector 5) revealed that she was almost entirely interested in the arts whereas he was interested in business and aviation. They could not talk to each other long with much enthusiasm about each other's projects. Therefore vector 5 was erased.

Kay Adult - Bee Parent (vector 4) was neutral because Bee didn't show any perceptible Parental activity at all in the relationship. She offered no maternal advice or backing for his projects. Thus vector 4 was erased because it was unformed.

Kay Child - Bee Parent (vector 7) was eliminated because she made no attempt to protect him or criticize him for his recklessness. She also didn't show any inclination to discuss it rationally with him which eliminated Kay Child - Bee Adult (vector 8).

The above statements left only Kay Child - Bee Child remaining to be analyzed. This vector, according to Berne, is the crucial one in marital relationships and in their case it was very conflicting because it wasn't clear who would be doing what to whom. Both had what Berne calls "heavy scripts" for seduction and rejection but who would be doing this and who would be the object wasn't at all clear. Thus, again, this Child - Child vector, number 9, was also eliminated.

After all this analysis only one somewhat harmonious vector (No. 3)
Kay Parent - Bee Child remained, and even this one had some limitations
as indicated by the bar in Figure 9 below. This vector was practically
the sole basis on which Kay and Bee were drawn together in the first place
and its power in this case might have blinded Kay into thinking it was a
good and promising relationship. In this particular example, with the
help of relationship analysis Mr. Kay broke off the relationship.

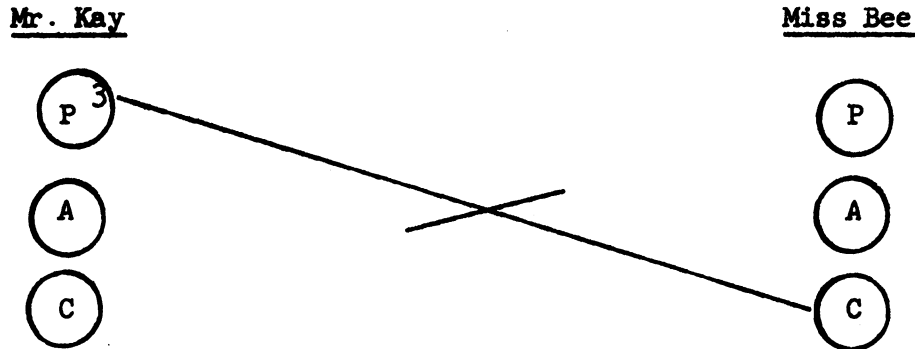**Mr. Kay**   **Miss Bee**

Figure 9
Relationship Analysis of an "Unpromising" Couple

Berne states that relationships with as many as seven harmonious of the
nine possible vectors would be exceptionally stable and would be likely to
indicate long friendships.

In summary Berne regards relationship analysis as having a predictive
accuracy on the order of 80% or 90%, if sufficient material is available
on both parties. Thus, it is and could be used as a method of conflict
prevention or conflict management in business partnerships and work teams
in organizations.

* * * * * * * *

In my opinion all three of Berne's contributions to conflict management,
Transactional Analysis, Game Analysis, and Relationship Analysis are useful
tools in the management of interpersonal conflict. These methods are to
some extent and could be to a much greater extent applied to industrial and
governmental organizations. For my part, however, much more qualified
empirical evidence is needed to both understand and validate his methods.

V. INTERPERSONAL LEVEL - GEORGE R. BACH

Fight Training

1. Introduction

Dr. George R. Bach, a clinical psychologist in Beverly Hills, California, has for many years been interested in the constructive use of aggression. In what he calls "fight training" he trains couples to fight "fair, " according to certain rules and principles he and his colleagues have developed at the Institute for Group Psychotherapy.

Bach believes that verbal conflict between intimates is not only acceptable but is highly desirable, if the couples fight constructively. He claims that the natural tensions and frustrations of two people living together can be greatly reduced this way. Since they live with fewer "lies and inhibitions" and learn to discard outmoded notions of etiquette, these couples are free to grow emotionally, to become more productive and creative as individuals in their own right and also as pairs. They are likely to do a better job of raising their children and they feel less guilty about the hostile emotions that they harbor against each other.

Many of Bach's ideas are also held and practiced by marital therapists and other therapists of a wide variety of persuasions. What is innovative about Bach's approach is the degree to which he has systemized and elaborated his techniques of fight training and some aspects of his "theory of intimate aggression, " also known as the "impact theory of aggression. "

2. Theoretical Assumptions on Aggression

The theoretical assumptions underlying Bach's work are:

(1) Aggression is a given component of a total transactional relationship called "intimacy. " Agression is not an isolated personality factor or drive, nor simply a tendency to respond to the frustration of goal-directed activity. The usual assumption that the primary aim of human aggression is to hurt, injure or kill is not accepted. Such a narrow definition obscures certain important functions of aggressive encounters. These are: influence, familiarization, catharsis, and change.

(2) The task of effectively harnessing man's aggressiveness cannot be accomplished with traditional concepts like altruism, love, sublimation, deterrents, pacificism, or compromise. The old frustration-aggression hypothesis of Freud is also considered inadequate because it does not account for the constructive change observed

in clinical practice. Aggression can relieve frustration but not necessarily to punish or injure the partner who is perceived as the frustrator. What injury, threat of injury or punishment may be involved can be instrumental in influencing the partner to change. Hence the concept of the constructive use of aggression.

(3) Man's aggressiveness to man is a primary datum. The question is not where aggression comes from or why it exists, or whether it is good or bad, irrational or pathological. The current controversy over whether human aggression is innate or nurtured is useless in answering the urgent question of how to control aggression. The question is how to program aggression into a context of safety which does not interfere destructively with the maintenance and growth of the relationship as a whole.

(4) Previous concepts of aggression failed to specify any appropriate context for aggression. Previous concepts also failed to clearly differentiate fighting among friends of basically good will (the context of intimacy) from fighting between enemies (the context of alienation). The dynamics are quite different. Old attempts to "out-law" aggression can be replaced by scientific programming of appropriate aggression. Semantic re-definitions or conversions of aggression into self-assertiveness or game-like debating fail to deal squarely with the primary datum of man's aggression.

(5) In accepting the "aggression-love" conflict as primary, some contexts of communication within that framework can be defined in which it is appropriate and safe to express aggression.

There are six contexts in which aggression can be appropriately expressed:

(a) Mutually agreeable aggression exchanges (e.g., sexualized aggression, playfulness, win-lose competition where winner does not "take all," but where the loser's take may be as much as the winner's.)

(b) Influence of the direction and mission of the system as a whole (e.g., rallying supporters and followers, fighting for a "way of life" etc.)

(c) Reinforcement of creative aggression and insurance of freedom of involvement which demands boldness in the control of frustrators.

(d) Rejection and reduction of pathogenic social-environmental influences (e.g., fighting a pathology-inducing parent or mate, teacher or therapist).

(e) Cathartic expressions using displaced or symbolic impersonal targets for aggression.

(f) Inner dialogue, fighting with oneself.

Inappropriate and unsafe contexts are those in which aggression disrupts and reduces communication.

In summary, Bach's impact theory of aggression views aggression as instrumental to producing change in the intimate system. Verbal as well as non-verbal aggression is primarily informative communication about conditions which would further provoke or maximize or reduce the injury-inflicting potentiality of aggression (hostility). Aggression-exchange produces useful information about desirable, tolerable or intolerable positions along the dimension of intimacy, such as optimal distance (spacing), authority (power-hierarchy), and loyalty (territory). In the impact theory, the completion of the influence process or impact is the terminal point of the fight and the reward or reinforcement for it.

3. Case Study of a Constructive Fight

Bach offers the following case as an example of a constructive fight:

Dr. Jack Holt, a busy internist was depressed because his wife, Corinne, no longer wanted to tell him what she did with her time while he was off on his busy daily (and sometimes nightly) routine of caring for his patients. He was earning over $60,000 a year, but neither Jack nor Corrine enjoyed their money. They were living what Bach calls "parallel lives" and seldom shared their feelings except about unimportant matters. Jack was beginning to suspect that Corinne was having an affair.

The husband was the "heavyweight" in the family. He was more intelligent, more verbal, more logical and enjoyed more social status than his wife. Before they entered fight training, Corinne tried to compensate for her "weight" deficiencies by using alienating hit-and-run tactics against him. She knew, for instance, that he felt guilty because he treated relatively few nonpaying clinic patients. So she needled him by calling him "money mad." She refused to listen when he tried to level with her. He attempted to find out how she might feel about living on a reduced income, but she would not discuss it.

When Jack found that Corinne could not be engaged on this issue, he got mad and accused his wife of hitting him below the belt and being a "sneak" fighter. His accusations only made Corinne more angry. In their fight-training group, she explained why she had resorted to her dirty tactics:

Corinne (toward Jack): That's all I could do. Sure I fought dirty! But only when you overwhelmed me and had me in a corner. I got tired of losing practically all the time. Anybody would! So, the only way I knew how to slow you down was to get at you with a sort of fifth-column approach.

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Dr. Bach: In other words, you're telling your husband: 'I have to fight dirty when you corner me!' But you shouldn't have to let yourself be cornered. Has there been any improvement?

Jack: Yes, I think so--don't you, sugar?

Corinne: (toward Jack) Oh, yes. You're a hundred percent better.

Dr. Bach: What does he do now that he didn't do before?

Corinne: Well, he gives me a chance to score a point or so now and then I no longer allow myself to be cornered. I don't wait to fight until my back is against the wall, and so I don't have to fight dirty any more.

Jack: (toward Corinne) I just follow the fair-fight exercises. I wait until you feel really good and then I place my beef, and it works. Whenever I see you're 'down' and not up to it, I initiate a fight pause.

Dr. Bach: Could you both talk about an experience that illustrates your new fight styles?

Corinne: Well, a while back I was asked to be maid of honor at the wedding of the daughter of the most important family in the little town where I come from. It was a socially important, high-class affair. When I got to my home town, I was so thrilled and involved in preparing for the event that I didn't tell Jack for four days.

Jack: (toward Corinne) Yeah! What really got me good and sore was that I tried to reach you several times by long distance and left messages all over the place for you, and you never returned my calls. Of course, I felt rejected and like a goddamn fool.

Corinne: Well, you were right to tell me off when I got back from Michigan feeling really important and in the swing of things. That's when you made a real good point. I liked that.

Dr. Bach: What was that point?

Corinne: (toward Dr. Bach) Oh, he was very angry with my excuse that I'd been too involved in the social affairs of the wedding. But he really got fit to be tied when I said that he wouldn't have been interested anyway.

Jack: (smiling at the recollection) Yeah, I caught you attributing to me what you thought I thought--all that stuff about 'spirals' that we've talked about here in the group. Anyway (turning toward the group now): I told her to cut it out, that the important point was not my interest or lack of it in the wedding, but that I'm interested in anything involving Corinne; and the way she can be involved with me is to share her other involvements with me.

Corinne: (toward Jack) When you said, "You're having your fun; all I ask is that you cut me in on it," that made sense to me. It made me think I can learn to share.

Jack: (toward Corinne) So, why haven't you done anything about that since you got back from Michigan?

Corinne: (agitated) Because I'm afraid to share activities with you! I know that you'll belittle them and resent them because I'm not concerning myself every minute with your fate.

Jack: (red-faced and shouting) Foul! Stop! There you go again, telling me how I think and feel. Stop attributing things to me! Why don't you ask me? I'll tell you how I feel. Actually, I'm thrilled when you go into something on your own and that it interests you. I love you for it; but I want you to share it with me.

According to Bach's interpretation of this protocol, Jack "scored" a point in this fight because he hit Corinne when she was "up" and felt strong and important. He waited until she felt independent and strong enough to entertain the idea of sharing without feeling she might be acting like a child who is reporting to an overwhelming heavyweight. When she felt strong, she was not only able to consider his demand to share her interests, she was glad to let him win!

In a constructive fight like this, according to Bach, there are no losers. Corinne was able to "buy" Jack's point because she gained some fresh information from this fight. She found out that he was not belittling her social interests (which she, not he compared unfavorably with his important medical work) that he really meant it when he said he wanted to be included in her world but did not wish to take it over.

4. Scoring System for Fights between Intimate Parties

Bach and his colleagues have designed a self-scoring system for intimates fights. The criteria for scoring make up a "fight elements profile." They have also developed a fight effects profile which indicates the results of a fight. These scoring systems, while not universally useful or appealing to some participants are innovative in form

and particularly useful from our point of view in identifying and summarizing the key elements in Bach's methods of conflict resolution. These elements are listed below. In actual practice each element is score positively (+), negatively (-) or neutral (0).

(a) Fight elements profile:

1. Reality - This refers to the authenticity of the fight in terms of the aggression being based on justifiable, rational grounds which also _feel_ authentic.

2. Injury - This refers to the fairness of the fight in terms of whether injuries are kept within the participants' capacity to absorb them.

3. Involvement - This measures how seriously the fighters take the engagement and to what degree there is reciprocal give and take.

4. Responsibility - This indicates whether the fighters "own up" to their part of aggression or response to aggression.

5. Humor - The fight is rated plus if humorous behavior brings some constructive relief to either or both of the partners (not sadistic or evasive humor).

6. Expression - This measures the degree to which aggression is overtly and clearly expressed.

7. Communication - This measures the transparency and flow of communication without interfering "states."

8. Directness - This measures to what degree the aggression is on a "here-and-now" basis.

9. Specificity - This refers to how much the charges and countercharges refer to specific, observable actions, feelings or attitudes.

(b) Fight effects profile:

1. Hurt - This indicates whether the fighters feel more hurt or less hurt after the fight.

2. Information - This refers to the new knowledge gained about where the participants stand with each other and what alienates or pleases them.

3. Positional movement - This reveals to what degree the fight issue has been advanced in the direction of conflict resolution.

4. Control - This indicates the amount of sanctioned (permissible) power or influence gained or lost.

5. Fear - This reveals how the fighters' fears of the fight or the other fighter have been affected by the fight.

6. Trust - Here changes are measured in the fighters' confidence that they can deal with one another in good faith.

7. Revenge - This indicates what has happened to retaliatory or "grudge" feelings.

8. Reparation - This measures undoing or repair of injuries or to extend apologies and forgiveness.

9. Centricity - This item indicates any changes in the fighters' central significance and value in one another's thinking and feeling.

10. Self-count (autonomy) - This measures changes in the fighters' feeling of self-worth.

11. Catharsis - This indicates to what extent the fighters emerged with a "purged" or "cleansed" feeling due to the release of aggression.

12. Cohesion - affection - Here the effects of the fight on the partners' feelings of "optimal distance" (the preferred social distance) are recorded.

5. Summary

In summary, Bach and his colleagues maintain that people who master the fine art of fair verbal fighting and conflict resolution will,along with many other benefits, be disinclined to commit physical violence. They admit they have no scientific proof for this statement nor the statement that such people (fair fighters) will be less likely to follow leaders who exploit man's need for the expression of aggression. Both also believe that any world disarmament system must be built on sound social-psychological thinking, not just politics. To quote him, "The more the values of realistic and aggressive intimacy pervade a culture, and the more people commit themselves to constructive verbal fighting, the more safely sated will be man's appalling appetite for lethal violence."

The Use of Ego Therapy in Managing Racial Conflict

Stewart B. Shapiro

Introduction

The purpose of this presentation is to demonstrate applicability of Ego Therapy to the problem of racial prejudice in a 33-year-old Negro nurse. Ego Therapy was introduced by the writer (2) in 1962. Its core technique is role-playing the inner dialogue of the subselves which exist in each personality, according to the theory of this writer. The following case of B. A. is presented as one application of this approach to one of the most crucial social problems of our time. I do not hold that individual psychotherapy or even human relations workshops are adequate substitutes for the kind of social reform needed to remedy long-standing, pathogenic cultural, social, and economic conditions. However, individually held attitudes such as ethnocentrism might be subject to modification by intensive methods like Ego Therapy.

The Case of Miss B. A.

Miss B. A. (hereafter referred to as "B") is a 33 year old Negro nurse who was attending a personal growth workshop conducted by the writer in the midwest. This workshop was organized in the form of small micro-lab contact groups of 5 or 6 people. These groups engaged in various group dynamics exercises including T-Groups (1), self-drawings, inner dialogue of subselves (3), and interpersonal contracts (4). In the beginning of the workshop I offered various individuals the opportunity of making personal contracts with me. B's contract with me was to work on "her problem," which she described as a "racial hangup." My condition for implementation of her contract was that she work it out in the presence of her small group. She reluctantly agreed to this condition and evidenced much anxiety and ambivalence about the prospect. The other mutual condition of the contract was for her to signal me indicating that she was ready for the encounter. In the afternoon of the second day she gave the pre-arranged signal.

Reconstruction of Ego-Therapy Session

After B's signal, I went to her group and sat down with them. There were five others in the group -- all white adults of ages ranging from the middle 20's to the early 50's. I asked her to re-state her agreement with me and she did -- going into some detail. She related that it was most difficult for her to do this because she was ashamed to admit these things and quite anxious as to how it would affect her subsequent behavior with both whites and blacks.

Apparently, B felt uncomfortable with her black friends and her family with whom she lived -- because she wasn't able to confront them with her own ambivalence about how they regarded whites. She felt that if she questioned their mistrust of whites, she would be labeled an "Uncle Tom" (or an "Aunt Tomina").

Her family, in particular, having come from the South, felt that they could only trust whites "so far," and that it was best not to get too close with any of them. This was a kind of warning to B who worked with many white nurses, doctors, and patients in the hospital where she was employed. On the other hand, B also felt uncomfortable with whites because she could not share that aspect of her which

was deeply prejudiced against whites. This was true even though she developed strong positive feelings for some of the white nurses with whom she worked closely. Thus, she was often uncomfortable with <u>both</u> groups -- white and black...

I encouraged her to use the subself format we had been demonstrating in the workshop by mapping out her various selves, using crayons on a large sheet of butcher paper. As she talked, she drew the following diagram to represent her subselves and her dilemma:
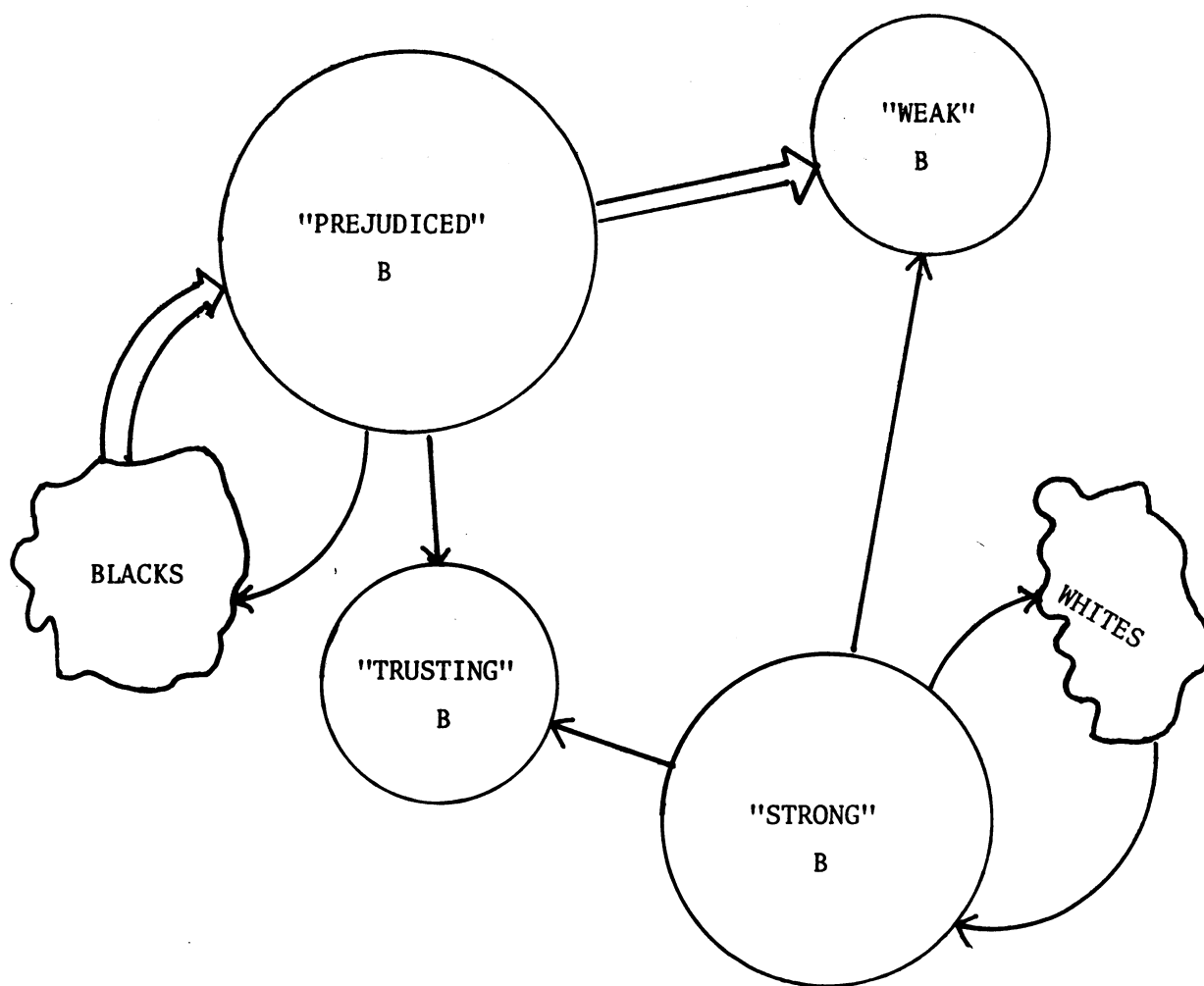

Fig. 1. The Inner Selves of B at Present

B reported that she felt prejudiced against whites when in the company of blacks -- and this feeling ran high among her own family who were very bitter about their treatment in the South. She acknowledged with hesitancy and shame that there was a large part of her which was deeply prejudiced. This she drew as "Prejudiced B," and its nearness to the blacks was indicated. The fact that she felt much more heavily influenced by her own black associates than she was able to influence them is indicated by the thick black line leading from "Blacks" to "Prejudiced B" and the thin line from B to Blacks.

She also indicated that she felt ashamed of this prejudice, but was helpless to change it because, in this sense at least, she was weak. So she drew a circle to represent "Weak B" -- strongly influenced by "Prejudiced B" as indicated by the heavy black line from "Prejudiced B" to "Weak B."

As is commonly done in Ego Therapy, I asked her who regarded her as weak --
and she indicated that the strong part of her did. She then drew a circle --
large, but not quite as large as "Prejudiced B" -- to indicated "Strong B." She
associated "Strong B" with whites, but she felt somewhat limited in her interaction
with them. In further talk, she decided there was also a "Trusting B" who was
vulnerable to both "Strong B" and "Prejudiced B." She felt that "Weak B" pre-
vented her from trusting whites, but that "Strong B" pressured her to follow her
own intuition to trust some whites and to resist the in-group conformity pressures
from the blacks and "Prejudiced B." Thus, she was seriously conflicted -- ashamed
of her prejudice, which she regarded as a weakness, but unable to confront the
blacks with their wholesale condemnation of whites, and at the same time unable to
admit to even her best white friends that she felt so deeply prejudiced against
them. This conflict, furthermore, was undermining her self-respect.

It was on the issue of self-respect that I was able to turn B's attention to
her conflicting images of herself as depicted in the following diagram which I
drew:
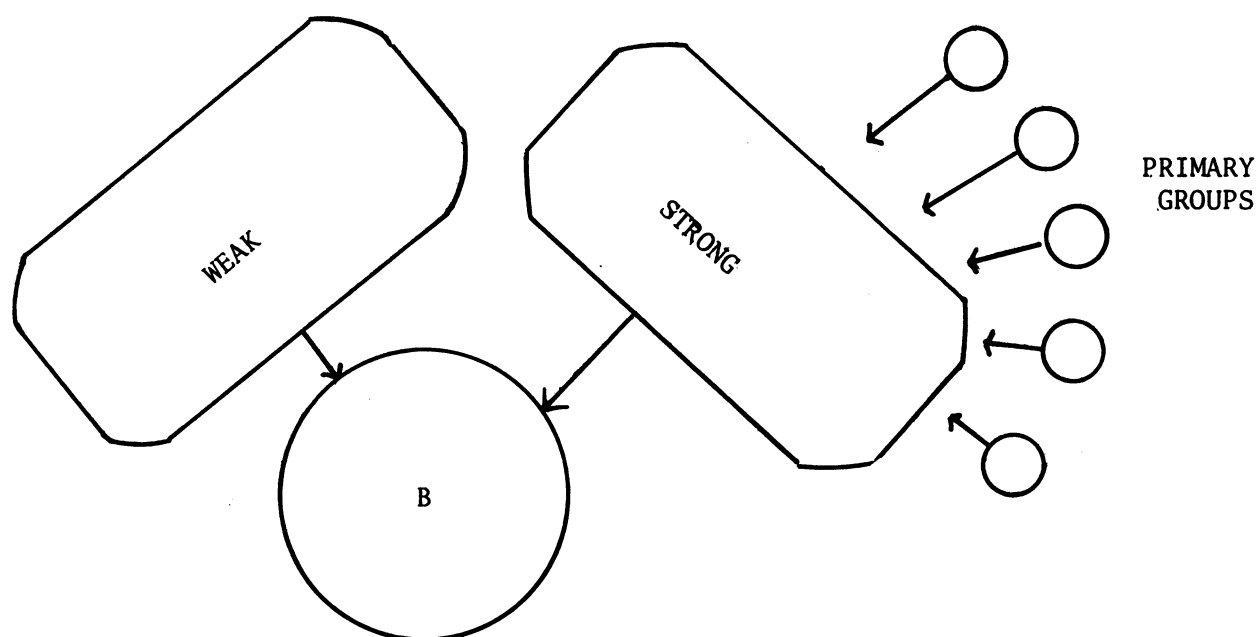
Fig. 2. B's Conflict

I said, in accordance with the triadic model often used in Ego Therapy, that
there were two opposite messages coming in at her. One of these was that she was
weak, the other that she was strong -- and particularly that she should be strong.
She agreed that this made a great deal of sense to her, because as far back as she
could remember she was regarded as strong. She was the eldest girl in a family of
six, and from a very early age was regarded as "big sister" -- a kind of auxiliary
parent -- by her siblings, her parents, and her friends. She was the brightest,
healthiest, and most reliable member of her family, and they depended on her for
decisions and for money, since she worked much of her life and helped to support
the family. She was bound to them not only by race but by virtue of her role --
her significance in the family as breadwinner and problem-solver.

I indicated by the small circles in Figure 2 that her family and friends were the primary groups which fed her self-image as strong. The "weak" self-image was more recent and more acute in her present conflicted situation -- particularly since the family moved north and particularly recently (past year or two) when the racial issue was "boiling up" all over this country and indeed the world.

She seemed quite relieved that I saw her conflict and had converted it into individual rather than racial terms. She also added that because she had this self-image of great strength, she was loath to admit these "glaring defects" to anyone else in the world -- and particularly to whites. Realizing how torn she had become over her dissonant self-images seemed to make much sense to her. Ventilating her shame, guilt, and anxiety over the fact that she really felt weak, even though she always expected herself to be strong, apparently had a definite cathartic effect, judging by her first report after the workshop.

The Ego Therapy session was concluded by the comments and feedback from the other members of the group, mostly to the effect that they understood her "weak-strong" dilemma -- at least as human beings if not as blacks -- and that they had had similar experiences. They were supportive and frankly impressed with her courage in disclosing what was obviously most difficult for her. They also said that now they knew her better, whereas before, in the other micro-group exercises, they felt she was being "uptight" and "over polite."

Discussion

I had no way of knowing how successful we had been with B. It seemed to me that she was still quite "shaken up" by the experience at the time I left the group. I left them talking about what B might do about this problem, hoping the discussion would act as encouragement for her. Some possibilities for action were: (1) to confront her relatives about how she really felt -- with the risk of alienating her family and friends and (2) the risk of confessing to her white friends that she still felt much prejudice toward them.

A week after the workshop I had occasion to see B, and on seeing me she threw her arms around me and told me that she "was walking on air." I, of course, was delighted but somewhat surprised by this result, and both wondered whether it would last and what accounted for her reaction. She informed me that what seemed most important to her was that she was able to understand and accept "her weakness" as a "normal dilemma" for her and that she no longer felt self-contempt and therefore felt easier with both blacks and whites. She had not yet confronted her black colleagues but she did not feel the urgency to do it. She felt she might do this later -- depending on circumstances and perhaps the virulence of their prejudice, particularly if it were acted out in some overt destructive form. She also had not yet confessed to her white friends either -- and likewise felt no urgency to do so, although she felt more certain that she would be able to do this than confront the blacks. Most of all, she felt she was her "own self" again -- even though she was prejudiced for and against the whites, depending on the frame of reference.

Four-Month Follow-Up

B's attendance at another workshop of mine four months later afforded me another opportunity to interview her to determine some of the longer-range effects of her Ego Therapy experience. Below is a report of that interview:

S: Did the effects of thw work we did at_____stay with you?

B: Yes, very much so.

S: Did it change anything in your feelings or behavior?

B: Yes, with blacks I speak up more; like when they say how you can't trust "whitey" -- any white man -- I speak up and say, "That isn't true. You can trust some of them." Some blacks don't like it when I speak up like that, but some of them listen. The younger ones just want to be militant and hate "whitey." They don't listen, but I'm not as afraid now with blacks. I can say what I think much more.

    With whites, though, I say less now. I'm more cautious because I keep hearing about whites turning on blacks. I'm still very close to the doctor's and nurses on my staff, but I still don't express all my feelings.

    I saw a movie, "The Slaves," and the part where the white master betrays the overseer slave really bothered me. It kept me awake a couple of nights and made me more mistrustful of whites. Also, my little sister couldn't get into a choral group at school and that really bugged me. I spoke to the people at school about that. I really spoke up, but it didn't do any good.

    I quess I have more courage now, but I still don't know how to be a leader with the blacks. I'd like to be more of a leader, but the militants won't accept me because of my age and because I like and respect some whites and don't hate them all.

S: What subselves emerged in our last workshop that helped you to become stronger with the blacks? What identities strengthened you?

B: I became less afraid of immediate black presspre and surer of myself. I became more sure I'm black, more identified with blacks, but less afraid of their disapproval. I know I'm black now, and I'm more angry at what whites have done to blacks, but I'm freer to express my anger to blacks. But I'm also less free to openly talk about the black-white issue with whites -- except for my friends at work, and we don't talk about it much either. I guess I don't trust whites to accept my greater anger with them, so I withdraw more from most whites. I think they will disapprove of my feelings.

Apparently, B was unable to articulate which subselves became more crystallized as a result of the Ego Therapy work, but that didn't appear to detract from some very real feelings of change within her. If I had formulated it to her (which I didn't because of the risk of over-intellectualizing and further dissecting a moving experience for her), I would have stated that her "strong self" had become even stronger and had become independent of both white and black groups. She appears to have become surer of herself and her black identity with both whites and blacks. This is demonstrated with her resistance to, and ability to strongly disagree with, the pressures of immediate black reference groups. With whites her increased strength is demonstrated by her capacity to feel more anger about the blacks' treatment by white society. Apparently, her ability to accept her conflict as a human one rather than as a sign of weakness and loss of perfection was a very important step for her increased self respect. This she accomplished -- at least partly. I believe -- as a result of the Ego Therapy work with me and with her white colleagues at the workshop.

B realizes she still has some hangups, but does not feel they are as much personal reflections on her as much as they are due to her increased awareness of self and the actual racial conflicts that exist. In my opinion, her major problem in this area still remains the control of her tendency to overgeneralize her feelings of mistrust for whites and her unnecessary withdrawal from some whites.

Missing sociological elements in this case concern the history of changes and conflicts in her reference groups. Apparently she drew much strength from her role as a responsible black family member -- big sister -- and later transferred some of this strength identification to a white professional reference group. This shift was incomplete, however, because she still had strong ties with blacks -- her family and friends. In addition, because of the recent racial strife and the leadership role of young black militants, she was no longer regarded as a leader, and in fact lost respect in her own eyes. Thus, some of her current confusion could be explained by the incomplete shift in identification with whites and her inability to be regarded as a leader of the blacks now. Before the workshop, she felt alienated from both groups -- and increasingly from herself. Now she feels more real with herself and with blacks, but still alienated from most whites -- even to some extent with her white professional associates.

Summary

This paper outlines the use of Ego Therapy in the case of B. A., a 33 year old negro nurse, who presented a problem of racial prejudice in a personal growth workshop. By converting the racial conflict into personal terms, B was able to accept her so-called "weak self" and to integrate it into a broader picture of herself which included several diverse sub-identities. The Ego Therapy session was conducted in a small group setting and the techniques of mapping the inner subselves was used, followed by group feedback and discussion. A four month followup interview was conducted to check the longer-range effects of this work. While the effects of this work appear favorable in the case of B, much more work needs to be done in order to generalize these results to other people. Even though it may be true that other therapies may have produced similar individual results because of catharsis alone, it is felt that Ego Therapy provided a helpful framework for B's entrance into meaningful dialogue with self and others. It is concluded that Ego Therapy and Human Relations Laboratories might be useful in managing racial problems in certain individuals.

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PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Ernest L. Carbaugh

It seems strange to me, a school person, to be discussing conflict. It had long been the nature of educational establishments to avoid conflict. We sincerely believe that schools mirrored the views and aspirations of their communities, and what community could quarrel with its own image? Now schools have become focal points of conflict and criticism. The order of the day is confrontation with angry individuals and groups. Emergence from our idyll began when we were rudely jolted by the Watts incidents, and later by the eastside walkouts of Mexican-Americans. We began to see that perhaps we were not as sacrosanct as we had been thinking we were, and we began to look at things more realistically. I cannot tell you that we have solved all of our problems at this moment. I do feel, however, that we are taking some steps that eventually will help us to solve them.

Let me acquaint you with some of the forms of conflict in public schools today. I sense that I am in a business community this afternoon, and one of our critics is the business community. You say to us, "Look, the nation is giving you millions of dollars and you are not giving us a product that we can evaluate. You hide behind achievement test scores that are inconclusive and misleading. If Ford Motor Company turned out cars with defective parts it would have to face the unpleasant consequences right away, and we don't see any reason to believe that you are any different than Ford Motor Company. You are spending our money and you should be accountable for the product that you produce." I submit that this is partially true, and that much of the conflict arising over what we do with public funds is justified. However, I do feel that not only business but other segments of the community have oversimplified the situation. It is not possible to say, "Here's John Jones, we're moving him ahead nine months for every nine months he attends school, because John Jones is also a product of things other than schools - his heredity, home, church, the streets. So, one of the big hangups we are confronted with is that society is trying to put off on the schools the entire problem of education. Much of this is our fault because we fostered the notion that schools were the fount of all knowledge. We now recognize that there are many components of society other than the schools that should be jointly engaged in the education process. Schools are simply not equipped to take on the job by themselves, and since the shock of Watts, we have emerged from the ivory tower and begun to work with the community and its agencies on mutual problems.

In recent years physical conflict has increased dramatically on our campuses. Our first response to this threat was to hire security agents. This made the community feel good because we had officers on campus with guns and everything was going to be calm. In turn, the schools felt that they had done their duty to the community and the problem was solved. However, in all honesty, we could bring the National Guard into some of our schools and still not solve the basic issues underlying the conflict situation.

As a measure to meet the threat posed by violence, minority personnel were sent to administer mid-city schools. In effect we said to the community, "Now there you are folks, we solved the problem. You've got ethnic administrators and everything is going to be alright." We had for years and years shut out the minority person who was attempting to go up the ladder of school administration. I know not whether it was systematic, but at least he was shut out. Then when the occasion arose we threw him into the breach without a great deal of training and said, "Well we've solved the problem." What really happened was minority administrators worked as hard at changing

conditions as had white administrators - and developed the same kinds of ulcers. We found that ethnic identification was a partial solution, but that the total solution still remains to be found.

Generally when we talk about conflict, especially in problem schools, we are talking about minorities versus whites. One of the things the Board of Education addressed itself to is the formation of ethnic commissions (Black Commission, Asian Commission, Mexican-American Commission) to interpret - and again I can't say this is totally solving the problem - to some degree the hopes and aspirations of these groups for the children. It is very easy to hear or say something and get it all wrong. We hope, through the cooperation of the commissions, that inter-group communications will be refined to a much higher level.

We do rather puzzling things to meet conflict situations arising from the presence of various ethnic groups in one city - like developing our 70/30 permit policy. The intent of the policy is to integrate the district on the ratio of 70% white students in each school and 30% minority youngsters. However, there is one drawback; our school district is composed of 54% minority youngsters. We really haven't figured that one out yet. The background of the dilemma is pure and simple. In the present state of the art of humanity, if we can call it that, people of different ethnic origins do not always mingle freely. Some social psychologists have contended that when the minority enrollment in a white school gets to 30%, white flight takes place. Others say, no, it is more like 20%, and I know some who will tell you facetiously it is when the first minority kid shows up to enroll. So, we do not address this problem on the basis of actual ethnic enrollment, but at least it is an attempt to solve the conflict through action rather than ignoring it completely.

One of the institutions that we have high hopes will help us solve conflict in the schools is the Community Advisory Council. It is in its infancy, and we have encountered many problems, but by and large the committees seem to be working. They seem to be increasingly addressing themselves to the problems of the youngsters and to the aspirations of the total community.

We hope conflict will diminish because of the recent restructuring of the Los Angeles Unified School District. We have decentralized the district into twelve areas, but it is still too early to say unqualifiedly that this is a good thing. I sense we are doing a better job; the power of decision is closer to the individual school. Teachers, principals, and parents don't have to run to the "Hill" to get an answer. One can go to the school directly, or if the answer is not satisfactory the office of the Area Superintendent is within a few miles.

We have, I hope, learned not to be quite so paranoid about ourselves. Always before we felt that we had to defend ourselves. Our attitude was we were right because we were educators, and the rest of the people were wrong because they were not educators. I think we are learning now to cooperate with people as people and we are learning that even though we admit we can be wrong, the sun will rise again tomorrow just the same as it did today. Frankly, it's kind of a comfortable feeling; we don't have to fight nearly

as many battles that way. We are trying to make the schools fit the needs of the youngsters. While we still believe strongly in academics and fine arts, we no longer contend that Latin is a vital part of curriculum, or that every child should love Beethoven. The Community Advisory Councils are helping us to understand what it is they want their youngsters to learn. We are not uncomfortable in implementing community goals even though they differ from school to school and community to community.

In summation, we have a variety of conflicts within our schools to which we finally have become sensitive. We are trying a variety of solutions, all of which in the long run have proved to be partial solutions and none of which taken alone really solve the problem. I have no doubt that as we continue to refine our skills in developing approaches to conflicts within the schools we will become more and more successful in providing lasting solutions to those conflicts.

CONFLICT AND COOPERATION IN LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

Paul Prasow

My remarks will focus on the nature and role of conflict and cooperation in the employment relationship. As we know, both of these forces (conflict and cooperation) are present in virtually every employer-employee relationship and are inextricably intertwined with each other. Conflict and cooperation are present regardless of the character of the work performed or whether the employer is an individual, a corporation, a government, a university, or even a labor union. Conflict and cooperation in labor-management relationships may be charted as descriptive points on a continuum from intensely conflictful to highly cooperative patterns of group behavior. Any given point on the conflict-cooperation continuum depends on a resultant of complex interlacing variables.

Cooperation in the work relationship is as normal to human behavior as is conflict. Cooperation is exhibited in all situations where individuals organize or are organized to achieve common objectives--where individuals function in a structure of mutual interdependence in achieving these goals. Conflict arises from divergent socio-economic interests and from psychological differences in perception and motivation.

A fundamental source of conflict between employee and employer arises from the division of the economic pie. Employees want higher wages, shorter hours, and improved working conditions. Employers strive for higher profits for reinvestment in plant modernization and expansion, larger salaries, bonuses, etc. But the resources available for distribution between the contending parties are invariably limited. The institution of collective bargaining provides one means of resolving such conflicts between organized employees and their employer.

The kind of conflict discussed has little to do with personalities; it has to do with how groups of people perceive their interests. Take the single word, wages, and consider the concept for a moment. It is a truism to observe that those who receive wages for their labor live in an entirely different world from those who pay wages as employers. To an employee who receives wages the thrust is upward on the human aspect of the business: he wants more, more in terms of raising his standard of living, his status in society, his self-respect, his standing in comparison with others, his image in the family, among friends and neighbors. Some very important values are tied in to his wages, and therefore his goal is for higher wages, certainly a legitimate objective on his part. However, if looked at from the standpoint of the employer who has to make sure he can meet the payroll it is an entirely different situation. He is operating in a different milieu. To him, wages are costs and the thrust is to keep wages not necessarily down, but balanced in relation to other costs of production. That is why the two sides often can't view the wage concept in the same light; they perceive their interests differently, which is one of the basic causes of conflict in every industrial society regardless of the economic or political system.

There is nothing intrinsically wrong with either outlook. Both parties have a legitimate self-interest in achieving their objectives. Both are right--from their vantage point and function. And contrary to the rhetoric of collective bargaining, there are few villains in this drama. Epithets such as selfishness, greed, avarice, cupidity, etc. are often present, but their existence are seldom of decisive relevance.

A basic source of conflict in the employment relationship arises from the fact that someone manages and someone is managed. Whenever one person has authority over another (regardless of the nature of the relationship) there is always a possibility that the exercise of that authority will be viewed as arbitrary or unreasonable. Conflict arises because the parties differ in their perceptions of what constitutes a "fair and reasonable" exercise of authority. Many employee grievances in modern industry are rooted in this aspect of the employment relationship. To recognize that there are essential differences of interest and perception as between employer and employee which give rise to conflict, is not to say that such conflict is necessarily unhealthy. Conflict of interest may at times be destructive, but more often it can and does perform a positive and constructive role, particularly in the field of collective bargaining. Clark Kerr once wrote:

> . . . /C/ut of aggressive conflict or its latent possiblity comes the resolution of many disputes. The strike and the lockout and the threat of these actions are means for inducing agreement--out of war or the threat of war comes the settlement of controversies. It is through such aggressive conflict or its potentiality that the parties find the bases for continued association and acceptance of each other. Collective bargaining and grievance handling are the more effective because of the more violent alternatives at hand. . . . out of the conflict of management and union--and this on occasion may involve aggressive action--the worker is better served. As the two parties compete for his loyalty, his interests are advanced. Further, this conflict protects him from domination. In its absence, one of the other organization might become too powerful for him to retain a minimum of personal liberty. Management and union check and balance each other. [1]

To sum up, conflict exists at virtually every level of human relationships and pervades every aspect of society. Most conflict is normal, natural, and inescapable. Sociologists, psychologists, and other behavioral scientists explain that conflict is necessary for survival, that without contending forces there would be no growth or change. Life would stagnate and become comatose.

Conflict does not disappear by improving methods of communication, rather it becomes rational and creative, its destructive effects are minimized, as it is channeled into grievance arbitration procedures for the peaceful resolution of disputes over the interpretation and application of the collective bargaining agreement.

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1. Clark Kerr, Labor and Management in Industrial Society. New York: Doubleday & Co., 1964, pp. 172-173.

WOMEN AND THE WORLD OF WORK

Rosalind K. Loring

I believe that the generalized conflict relating to women in work has become one of the most controversial and confused in our society today. On one hand, it seems there isn't a day when the Los Angeles Times does not print some article relating to new positions of status, another breakthrough, a restatement of role by women. If we were to take the reports as they come through, one by one, we could assume that change has been dramatic, rapid and relatively without conflict (no buildings were burned). Yet, actually, this is not true; there is still great difficulty in resolving the basic conflict between the aspirations of women and the tradition, expectations, and behavior patterns of men and institutions.

There has been just a one percent increase in the number of women who have moved into the ranks of management in the past seven years. Still diffused and disparate are the methods for resolving inner and interpersonal conflicts which women and men experience as they try to resolve basic differences. As women attempt to move upward in the worlds of business, industry, government, health care, and so forth, we search for ways of dealing with this centuries-old juggling act. The method we choose depends upon our analyses of both the source of conflict and the most feasible solution. Using the federal government's requirement of Affirmative Action as one example of improving the utilization of women, we could play the numbers game. We could say that while women are more than 50 percent of the population, they are only 39 percent of the work force and that possibly 17 percent of these are academically and experientially qualified. Then we can confront any management or union (there is little difference in the behavior of management and labor in employment of women) about their employment practices. We can question the percentage in terms of a "fair and equitable" way of resolving the discrepancies in employment. But we have all observed the difficulites in this method. Another employment method is to be concerned about the substantially smaller number of women who themselves are concerned. Any one of you might say, "but I've got three secretaries working for me who are delighted to be secretaries, who search for nothing better in life than to be my strong support staff," and I would agree that that is possible. Our resolution would then take another track--possibly that of counseling. Surely our variations in identifying the issues and the solutions will be based upon our own goals and values.

For women with aspirations, it has been too often a lose-lose situation. For women the conflict is too frequently a question of how to meet the stereotypes while pursuing their personal goals. Distortion comes because everyone knows a woman. One of the best lines I hear is, "of course, I am concerned about women, I'm married to one." Please note the "one" while I recall some of the familiar stereotypes with which women who work must deal.

By all odds, the major issue is the question of femininity. Most praised and prized, we have yet to define femininity. Is it a natural state or is it a way of behaving which makes men feel more comfortable? And if one is born female can one lose one's feminine nature?

Another stereotype claims that women are <u>by nature, biologically,</u>
unaggressive people. They may have goals, but they certainly
are unaggressive in their pursuit of these goals.

Still another stereotype is that women are far more emotional
than men. Again, we seem to have distortions in defining
natural states and learned behavior; in separating individual
response from research data.

For the individual woman there is the question of gaining acceptance and
credibility in her work setting. No matter where she is, who she is, or what
she brings to her work, she is dealing constantly with varying views as she
attempts to achieve acceptance in order to establish her credibility. Although
we could go on with the types of stereotypes which we live with, there are
other sources of conflict.

You have been hearing from the speakers thus far much about institutional
types of relationships and institutional sources of conflict. I will come
back to them, but it seems to me that because women as a group are not organized
there is no union of women which meets and confronts men as a union--the indi-
vidual woman in her experience generally deals with the dilemma of personal
action through the dynamics of her own personality. She questions how to handle
her abilities, her sense of self, her self-concepts; how to channel her drives,
her ambitions, the kinds of desires of other sub-groups in society. Further,
she strives to succeed in her many roles since she is not only a manager, or
a worker, or a secretary, but also a mother, a wife, a mistress <u>and</u> an un-
licensed teacher--plumber--taxi-driver--preacher--policeman--laundress, etc.,
etc. Of course, men too play many roles, but for women the pressure is to
select a priority which determines the level of commitment. Thus, there is
inner conflict resolution which most women face if they are at all aware.

On to the group level now, because as representatives of institutions and
organizations the immediate sources of conflict with women may indeed lie at
the group level. Women today are concerned about equity, equality, and ways
of productive accomplishment. They review the history of the development of
organizations of all kinds and find it replete with uncooperative, unproductive
systems. It is a painful process when historical patterns are disavowed and
change is required. Yet the contemporary mood has engendered an array of value
changes so that the woman who used to care as an individual how she was per-
ceived by men has now joined with other women. Her value system says "I'd
rather be a part of that group and get more dollars, more status, more equality
instead of more love and affection." That one value change alone makes a great
deal of difference in the behavior of women at work. Such substantial value
changes which women in groups (history, management, personnel relations, psy-
chology, teaching, et al) are experiencing has impacted the form of both collec-
tive and individual behavior.

Here life style and work innovations converge. Women in groups can promise
one another (we hear a great deal about sisterhood in this context) 'that we
can now in a group of women go into a restaurant and get waited on, whereas I
could not as an individual woman.' A small but subtle switch in life style;
people with money (and this means women as well as men) have more clout, more
power. Similarly, we find women moving to demand access to boards of directors,
media, decision-making areas, and government positions.

Rudolf Dreikurs (many of you must know of his work because he has written so much about the future of organizations) in speaking of the worldwide revolution for change says that the greatest revolution of our time has been the demand for change in status of those people who have been perceived by themselves and by others as being second stringers--ethnics, poor, youth, aged, and women. His comment emphasizes that those whom Shakespeare called the 'stranger in society' still may be the stranger in our society four hundred years later. Dreikurs states that people do not yet know how to live with each other as equals and therefore we experience great conflict. We are back to the familiar questions--the questions of dominance and subordinates, and how to handle organizational and individual needs.

Lately, women, both individually and in groups, have concentrated upon ways to resolve these continuing conflicts. Their success has depended upon the sophistication of the women in their analyses of their alternatives, of their ability to take risks, and of their value system. Of course, methods have varied, but still the one most often used has to do with acceptance and accommodation. That is, if I am the only woman in a group of twenty men, I will be happy to sit in a meeting and await my best time to make my occasional contribution to the deliberations of the group. I will play the semi-passive role which is expected and required in order to gain acceptance so that I can at least be a part of the group. This traditional accommodation and consequent acceptance is still going on and is the kind of manipulation of the environment which makes it possible to move slowly, step by step. Please note: It does not cut down on the potential contribution women might make.

There is the other end of that continuum, a more dramatic role, which has to do with the use of legal means to resolve conflict. Tremendous energy and effort have produced certain laws: equal pay for equal work; the several Presidential executive orders requiring affirmative action; the upcoming Equal Rights Amendment. In the terms of industrial relations language, this is third-party intervention. That is, some means outside of one's self, outside of the immediate exchange between you and me, a third-party, better known as the law, is charged with the resolution of my critical issues.

Another alternative has been developed by women who go into business by creating their own organizations. In the last three years, more firms than ever before have been initiated by women who then employ only women. This has become a vehicle for finding suitable work which utilizes their education, experience, and abilities, their drives and need to feel they are productive, contributing members of society. Among the newest ventures are women publishers and women producers of films--two major areas where it's most difficult for a woman to get a responsible job. So, creation of one's own institution is a way of resolving conflict, although it may be seen by some of you as withdrawal. Certainly it destroys the stereotype of gentle-woman since such activity is both aggressive and risk-taking.

Still another path to resolution is developing awareness. Consciousness raising, which everyone has been hearing about, is a process intended to create an awareness of how I feel, how I respond, and what I understand, and therefore who I am. Thus, I can better establish my expectations and strive to fulfill them. In Eric Berne's terms, it is a movement from the child status (which many adult women still have) through the parent status (which other adult women practice forever) to adult status and responsibility for one's own actions only.

Awareness-consciousness raising groups accomplish that change for many, many women. At UCLA Extension we have developed a course, <u>Management Development for Women</u>. There are two major differences between this and other management development courses: first, companies will send women if it is indicated for women; and second (and far more important), it's a receptive learning environment for a woman who hasn't quite made it, but wants to do so. It's a good place to experiment and to test her skills with her peers; it's less risk, less dangerous, less hazardous as she attempts to discover her abilities and improve her performance.

Another and now familiar method of conflict resolution is confrontation with those who are functioning in traditional ways. However, far more frequently used by women is that of being superior in work productivity, of being three times better than the next (man) who has applied for the job. A T and T, Sears Roebuck and others have had to document the rationale for their past practices of under-employing women. But this is merely the tip of the iceberg for most companies have just been more fortunate and have yet to be questioned about this traditional process. There are siill vast numbers of women who will work harder, longer, try to be better etc., and are adapting and maneuvering in order to find their best spot on the career ladder as a way of avoiding actual confrontation.

Fianlly, it seemsto me that there are innovations as free-wheeling as other group's strategies. I'd like to recount just a few: First, women are challenging the criteria used to determine excellence. Throughout society there is a lack of acceptance of formerly accepted 'verities of life.' Now the challenge is of criteria of who should have power, who really has drive, who does have ability or excellence. At the same time women are attempting to restructure other aspects of society, home, family, and marriage, with the assumption that if these are restructured then there may be more experience known so that one can make the leap to another role or position. Third, and very important, I think, are conscious and deliberate efforts to develop materials which can be used by men and women to understand each other and changing times, to create bridges between men and women because most women would prefer to work <u>with</u> men as well as <u>with</u> women. We prefer to be part of the mainstream, in the extablishment instead of outside. Books and films about management which change stereotypes reflect the total approach of women attempting conflict resolution. Women will continue to attempt to expand the range of alternatives. In the process, the objective is conflict reduction for all.

MANAGEMENT AND THE WORLD OF WORK

Robert Tannenbaum

I come to this subject matter from a background of over ten years in the organizational development field--working with a wide variety of organizations in industry, government, education, and community, as well as from a long involvement in sensitivity training where our interests have been more at the level of the individual and his growth and development. It is in these contexts that a number of my remarks should be heard. I will highlight a few issues which have emerged for me out of experiences I've had in dealing with conflict situations involving individuals, groups, organizations, and communities.

The first observation I would like to make has to do with techniques. I continually find in sessions like this one, that individuals are reaching out for techniques to deal with the problems they face. I don't want to put techniques down. They often are most helpful adjuncts in coping with a given situation. However, I think individuals often feel a great need for a bag of tricks to give them a sense of personal security as they attempt to cope with conflict. They will often use a technique, whether or not it is really relevant, primarily to put themselves at ease. On the other hand, what is most needed is existentially to live in the situation, have a feel for it, and do that which is most appropriate to confront and cope with it.

Second, I want to provide an alternative to some of the comments I've heard today which have suggested the desirability of coping with conflict by moving it in the direction of collaboration or some similar "ideal" mode. I think there is great fear of conflict in most of the people in our culture, and thus we somehow have the fantasy that conflict is bad and that the way to deal with it is to move away from it. My conclusion is that many of our interpersonal and social problems exist today because we are unwilling really to face the conflicts, to live through them, and to learn from them.

We often put a band-aid on a bad situation rather than confront it directly. Jim Fisk used a phrase which is so often currently heard in our society: "law and order." To me this phrase has become a broadly meaningful societal symbol. It says, "Please let's keep things cool; let's not permit the really important things to happen, because if they do we'll have to deal with them." I strongly believe that the cry for law and order in our society is a cry that says; "Put the lid on; don't let those things happen."

I would like to ask you to view that in the context of a volatile, changing society and of volatile, changing, growing human beings. Real growth occurs through confronting differences. By confronting differences, we have to face inconsistencies within ourselves--whether we are individuals, groups, or institutions. And to put the lid on is to insure that much ferment necessary to reach richer, more innovative, more viable modes is not likely to occur. In fact, keeping the lid on is a way to insure that the status quo will be maintained. In other words, I feel that conflict is the yeast out of which many very positive things can happen, and that we often err by moving away from it.

Third, much of the discussion around conflict has implicitly if not explicitly dealt with differences. Blacks are seeking their identity, as are women, young people, and many others. There is a constant quest, given the culture that we live in, for identity on the part of individuals, groups, and organizations. Meaning in life depends on how we define ourselves. And once we get an identity, we can't let others question or threaten it, because if they succeed we feel destroyed. Much of the conflict at all social levels arises out of the need of individuals or larger social entities to maintain their identities and to protect those identities from the invasion of others.

To me, procedurally, this leads to one important suggestion. I feel that where individuals or groups are uncertain as to who they are, the first step is to help them develop a better sense of their own identities. Then, the next step can be taken to link them to other social entities. My experience tells me that it is very difficult for any individual or group to reach out to others towards a larger, more viable whole when those individuals or groups do not know who they are.

Fourth, in my remarks thus far, I have at times mentioned the individual and his feelings or emotions. The title of this conference has to do with managing conflict, but I suspect there is a related issue-- namely, does conflict manage us? I suspect that the latter is often the case. Given our culture again and the way that we are brought up, most of us are terribly fearful of conflict. Therefore, we may justify the solutions we propose in terms of rational arguments which purport to link a given intervention to the hoped-for conflict-resolution outcome. Quite often, in fact, the approach that is used is one that defends the individual or group against its own fear of facing the conflict. I would therefore underscore the importance of first asking ourselves the question: where do I or where does my group stand on this, and are the steps we are taking primarily taken to protect us against fear or invasion rather than really to deal more effectively with the situation at hand?

APPENDIX

BEHAVIOR DESCRIPTION QUESTIONNAIRE

Name (Mr./Ms.)_____Date_____

INSTRUCTIONS: Consider situations in which you find that your wishes differ from the wishes of another person. How do you usually respond to such situations?

On the following pages are several pairs of statements describing possible bahavioral responses. For each pair, please circle the "A" or "B" statement depending on which is most characteristic of your own behavior. That is, please indicate which of those two responses is more typical of your behavior in situations where you find that your wishes differ from someone else's wishes.

In many cases, neither the "A" nor the "B" statement may be very typical of your behavior; but please select the response which you would be more likely to use.

1 A. There are times when I let others take responsibility for solving the problem.

B. Rather than negotiate the things on which we disagree, I try to stress those things upon which we both agree.

2 A. I try to find a compromise solution.

B. I attempt to deal with all of his and my concerns.

3 A. I am usually firm in pursuing my goals.

B. I might try to sooth the other's feelings and preserve our relationship.

4 A. I try to find a compromise solution.

B. I sometimes sacrifice my own wishes for the wishes of the other person.

5 A. I consistently seek the other's help in working out a solution.

B. I try to do what is necessary to avoid useless tensions.

6 A. I try to avoid creating unpleasantness for myself.

B. I try to win my position.

7 A. I try to postpone the issue until I have had some time to think it over.

B. I give up some points in exchange for others.

8 A. I am usually firm in pursuing my goals.

B. I attempt to get all concerns and issues immediately out in the open.

9 A. I feel that differences are not always worth worrying about.

B. I make some effort to get my way.

10. A. I am firm in pursuing my goals.

B. I try to find a compromise solution.

11 A. I attempt to get all concerns and issues immediately out in the open.

    B. I might try to sooth the other's feelings and preserve our relationship.

12 A. I sometimes avoid taking positions which would create controversy.

    B. I will let him have some of his positions if he lets me have some of mine.

13 A. I propose a middle ground.

    B. I press to get my points made.

14 A. I tell him my ideas and ask him for his.

    B. I try to show him the logic and benefits of my position.

15 A. I might try to sooth the other's feelings and preserve our relationship.

    B. I try to do what is necessary to avoid tensions.

16 A. I try not to hurt the other's feelings.

    B. I try to convince the other person of the merits of my position.

17 A. I am usually firm in pursuing my goals.

    B. I try to do what is necessary to avoid useless tensions.

18 A. If it makes the other person happy, I might let him maintain his views.

    B. I will let him have some of his positions if he lets me have some of mine.

19 A. I attempt to get all concerns and issues immediately out in the open.

    B. I try to postpone the issue until I have had time to think it over.

20 A. I attempt to immediately work through our differences.

    B. I try to find a fair combination of gains and losses for both of us.

21 A. In approaching negotiations, I try to be considerate of the other person's wishes.

   B. I always lean toward a direct discussion of the problem.

22 A. I try to find a position that is intermediate between his and mine.

   B. I assert my wishes.

23 A. I am very often concerned with satisfying all our wishes.

   B. There are times when I let others take responsibility for solving the problem.

24 A. If the other's position seems very important to him, I would try to meet his wishes.

   B. I try to get him to settle for a compromise.

25 A. I try to show him the logic and benefits of my position.

   B. In approaching negotiations, I try to be considerate of the other person's wishes.

26 A. I propose a middle ground.

   B. I am nearly always concerned with satisfying all our wishes.

27 A. I sometimes avoid taking positions which would create controversy.

   B. If it makes the other person happy, I might let him maintain his views.

28 A. I am usually firm in pursuing my goals.

   B. I usually seek the other's help in working out a solution.

29 A. I propose a middle ground.

   B. I feel that differences are not always worth worrying about.

30 A. I try not to hurt the other's feelings.

   B. I always share the problem with the other person so that we can work it out.

Scoring the "Behavior Description Questionnaire"

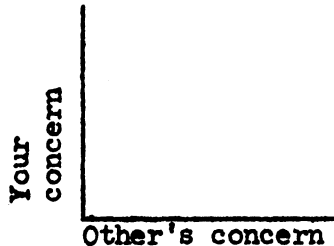Circle the letters below which you circled on each item of the questionnaire:

Item No.	Competition (Forcing)	Collaboration (Problem-Solving)	Sharing (Compromise)	Avoiding (Withdrawal)	Accommodation (Smoothing)	
1				A	B	1
2		B	A			2
3	A				B	3
4			A		B	4
5		A		B		5
6	B			A		6
7			B	A		7
8	A	B				8
9	B			A		9
10	A		B			10
11		A			B	11
12			B	A		12
13	B		A			13
14	B	A				14
15				B	A	15
16	B				A	16
17	A			B		17
18			B		A	18
19		A		B		19
20		A	B			20
21		B			A	21
22	B		A			22
23		A		B		23
24			B		A	24
25	A				B	25
26		B	A			26
27				A	B	27
28	A	B				28
29			A	B		29
30		B			A	30

Total number of items circled in each column:

Competition	Collaboration	Sharing	Avoiding	Accommodation

Interpreting Your Scores on the

Measure of Conflict-Handling Behavior

For our purposes, conflict is a condition in which the concerns of two parties appear to be incompatible. These "concerns" might be opinions, needs, values, goals, etc.--any of which may generate conflict. So we can graph a conflict situation in terms of those two concerns--your concern and other's concern.

```
            |
            |
  Y         |
  o  c      |
  u  o      |
  r  n      |
     c      |
     e      |
     r      |
     n      |
            |_____
              Other's concern
```

Looking at this graph, we can see a number of possible outcomes in terms of the satisfaction of those two concerns. We classify your conflict-handling behavior in a situation according to the sort of outcome which you strive for:

a. Competition -- you strive to satisfy your concern at the expense of the other's (forcing, arguing, pulling rank, etc.)

b. Collaboration -- you look for some way of satisfying both your concern and the other's (looking for new alternatives, problem-solving, etc.)

c. Sharing (Compromise) -- you settle for partial satisfaction of your concern and partial satisfaction of other's concern (exchanging concessions, bargaining, etc.)

d. Avoiding -- you don't attempt to satisfy either your or the other's concern, sidestepping the issue (ignoring, passing the buck, delaying, etc.)

e. Accommodation -- you sacrifice your own concern in order to satisfy other's concern (conceding, taking pity, etc.)

On the next page, those five "conflict-handling modes" are plotted according to their intent to satisfy own and other's concern. Notice that two of them -- competition and collaboration -- are relatively assertive in the sense that they actively try to satisfy one's own concerns. Notice also that two of them -- collaboration and accommodation -- are cooperative in the sense that they attend to other's concerns.

Each individual has a repertoire of conflict-handling modes -- he selects one which seems appropriate to the circumstances of the conflict situation in which he finds himself. However, the chances are slim that individuals use all five modes equally. Most people are more adept at some modes and use them more frequently -- just as a right-handed person favors that hand over his left.

Sketching Conflict-Handling Styles
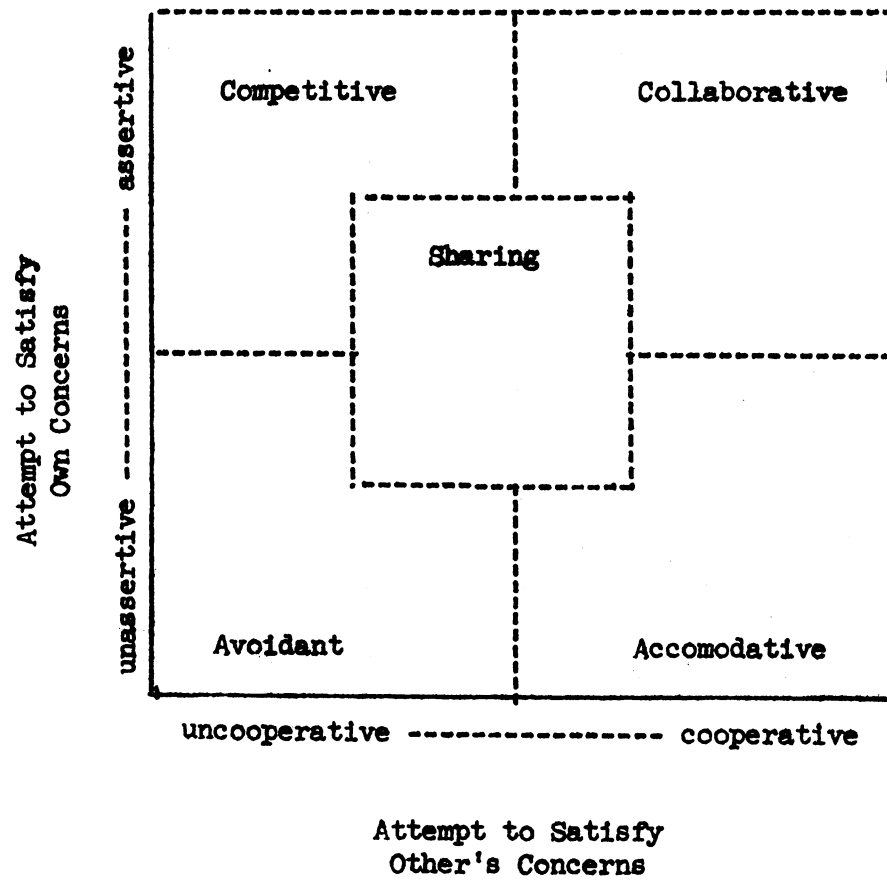
The instrument which you completed attempted to get all your own repertoire of conflict-handling modes. The instrument can't give you definitive answers, but it can serve as an aid to help you analyze your own repertoire. You may want to jot down your scores on the figure on the previous page, indicating which modes are highest in frequency and which are lowest. At that point, you may be able to relate your own repertoire to the dimensions of assertiveness and cooperation.

Some average scores for four groups were:

1. A group of men and women (largely professionals) in a sensitivity training workshop sponsored by the Institute of Industrial Relations, UCLA:

competition	collaboration	sharing	avoiding	accommodation
6.0	5.9	6.9	5.7	5.6

2. Eighty-six masters degree students in Business Administration at the University of Pittsburgh:

competition	collaboration	sharing	avoiding	accommodation
5.7	6.5	6.8	6.2	5.0

3. Sixty-six undergraduate students in Business Administration at California State College, Los Angeles:

competition	collaboration	sharing	avoiding	accommodation
5.6	6.1	6.6	6.2	5.6

4. A group of twenty-three men and women in a management of conflict workshop sponsored by the Institute of Industrial Relations, UCLA:

competition	collaboration	sharing	avoiding	accommodation
4.5	6.8	5.4	6.5	6.7

Successful managers come in all shapes and sizes. However, some behavioral science research shows a link between conflict repertoires and a number of variables which are important to a manager. Managers who have advanced rapidly in an organization are likely to collaborate more frequently than others -- and to accommodate and avoid less frequently. Peers are more likely to feel positively toward managers who are cooperative -- collaborative and accommodative. Finally, organizations which are leaders in their industries have been found to use collaboration more frequently to resolve internal conflicts.

If you are interested in reading more material on conflict-handling modes, you may want to read:

a. Kenneth Thomas, "Conflict and Conflict Management" in Marvin Dunnette (Ed.) Handbook of Industrial and Organizational Psychology. Chicago: Aldine, in press.

b. Robert Blake and Jane Mouton, The Managerial Grid. Houston: Gulf Publishing, 1964.