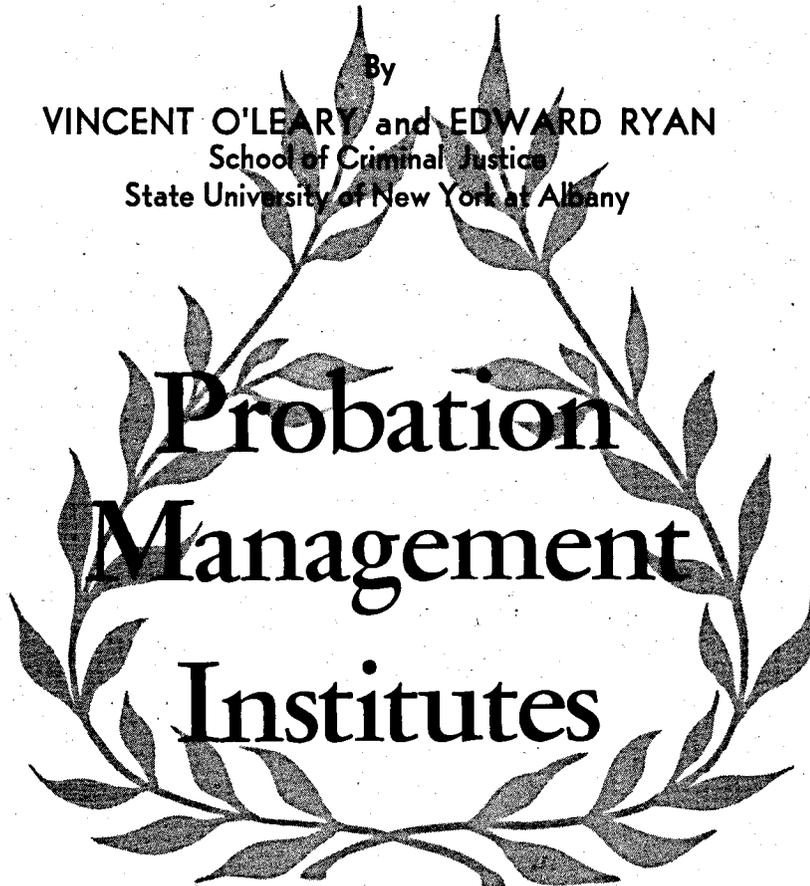Publication V

A STUDY OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN CRIMINAL JUSTICE

By

VINCENT O'LEARY and EDWARD RYAN
School of Criminal Justice
State University of New York at Albany

Probation Management Institutes

Administered by

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

Sponsors

October 1969

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A STUDY OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION

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A Publication of

THE PROBATION MANAGEMENT INSTITUTES

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THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

June 1, 1967 marked the beginning of a projected two and a half year
program of intensive, regional institutes for top-level adult probation
administrators in the United States concerned with new approaches
to the understanding of decision-making and managerial styles of
behavior. This project was made possible by a grant from the United
States Department of Justice, Office of Law Enforcement Assistance.

The program is administered by the National Council on Crime and
Delinquency and is sponsored by the Advisory Council on Parole of
the National Council on Crime and Delinquency; Association of Paroling
Authorities; the Interstate Compact Administrators Association for the
Council of State Governments; Probation Division, Administrative Office
of the United States Courts; Probation Representative of the Professional
Council of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency; and the
United States Board of Parole.

The basic objectives of the Probation Management Institutes are two-
fold: (1) to increase knowledge among probation administrators and
middle managers about new developments in organizational practice in
probation and community treatment and to encourage utilization of that
knowledge; and (2) to develop a heightened commitment on the part of
policy setting probation administrators to new concepts of effectively
managing change and the continuous testing of innovative forms of
treatment of offenders.

This document is the fifth in a series of publications from the
Probation Management Institutes which have been produced in the course
of preparing material for the institutes. It is hoped that this and
other publications will assist those who are concerned with the
administration of probation services to be more effective in their work.

                                        Alvin W. Cohn, Director
                                        Probation Management Institutes

October 1969

INTRODUCTION

This publication is based on a conference held at the School of
Criminal Justice, State University of New York at Albany in May of 1969.
It was sponsored by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency,
the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the New York Depart-
ment of Correction, and the New York Division of Local Police. Its
purpose was to explore the feasibility of applying theory and
techniques in conflict resolution, gained from research in other
settings, to the problems of criminal justice.

This publication only briefly touches on the conference itself.
Its main purpose is to describe the results which were obtained from
some of the questionnaires used in the conference which were designed
to sample kinds of conflict existing between the representatives of
police and probation agencies who made up the conference. An annotated
bibliography is provided which attempts to link the kinds of conflict
identified in the conference with a sample of relevant literature in
conflict resolution. As will be seen, the concepts and technology
of that field do appear to have quite direct application to criminal
justice issues. Opportunities for the development of research and
intervention strategies in this area seem clearly open.

Responsible for planning the conference and acting as faculty
were: Warner Burke, Institute of Applied Behavioral Science, National
Training Laboratories, Harvey Hornstein, Department of Social Psychology,
Columbia University, Alvin Cohn, Director, Probation Management
Institutes, National Council on Crime and Delinquency, Charles McCloskey,
Deputy Director, New York Division of Local Police, Robert Sullivan,
Director of Training, Division of Probation, New York Department of
Correction and Vincent O'Leary and Donald Newman, School of Criminal
Justice, State University of New York at Albany. A special note of
appreciation must be extended to Richard Walton, of Harvard University,
who generously made available materials, some of which he had not
yet published, which were particularly valuable in developing the concep-
tual framework for this project.

Most of all, appreciation must be expressed to the thirty-one
probation and police officials who spent four days and nights engaged
in the exhausting task of discovering the nature of the conflicts
which exist between the two systems they represented. Their patience
and enthusiasm made possible new knowledge--a small part of which is
shown in this publication. Practical applications from their labors
will certainly follow; some are already underway.

October 1969   Vincent O'Leary
                                          Edward Ryan

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The notion that police, courts, and correction can be thought about profitably as a unitary system is one that has received increasing prominence in the last few years. The work of the President's Crime Commission[1], the studies of the American Bar Foundation[2] and the generally emerging stress on system analysis[3] have all converged to heighten interest in perceiving the criminal justice apparatus as a single system.

This total system view brings into sharp relief the variety of roles played by the actors and the multiplicity of functions served by the agencies within it. It also illuminates the conflicts experienced by those actors and agencies as the interact one with the other. Some of these can be perceived easily as when claims are made that "the police are handcuffed by the courts," or "prosecutor demands for punishment destroy correctional efforts." Generally disputes are most subtle and expressed less overtly.

For example, as anyone who had been deeply involved in their operation knows, important conflicts exist between most active police and community correctional agencies. Yet, when representatives

[1]The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society", The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967, note especially pages 8 and 9.

[2]See Wayne Lafave, "Arrest:The Decision to Take a Suspect Into Custody," Boston:Little, Brown and Co., 1965; Donald Newman, "Conviction:The Determination of Guilt or Innocence Without Trial," Boston:Little, Brown and Co., 1966; and Lawrence Tiffany, Donald McIntyre and Daniel Rotenberg," Detection of Crime," Boston:Little, Brown and Co., 1967.

[3]See Alfred Blumstein, "Systems Analysis and the Criminal Justice System," The Annals, Vol. 374, November 1967, pp. 92-100.

of these agencies meet to discuss differences, the usual result

is uneasy compromise which glosses over real problems. Inevitably

the problems reassert themselves in renewed disagreements, program

disruptions and administrative power struggles. Heads of agencies

may even duel in the public media intent on scoring points on

their opposition. More likely, the modern administrator will seek

to cool and submerge such disputes with statements as, "We're all

concerned with law enforcement--the basic problem is each of us

needs more manpower." Rarely are conflicts openly explored; even

more rarely are they handled successfully. The notion that criminal

justice is a system whose parts must effectively articulate is more

often employed as a pious aspiration than as something to be applied

seriously.

Obviously, the problems of conflict inherent in criminal justice

are not unique. A considerable body of literature has developed,

particularly in recent years, about this phenomenon at the inter-

personal, group and organizational level. Although the substantive

basis of conflict varies from system to system, the same processes

have been identified and studied in many settings. (33,34,38,39).

And a variety of strategies to cope with them have been suggested.

(5,27,28,29,41,42,50).

From these studies of conflict, we have learned several things

about this characteristic of man and his organizations. On one hand

conflict can mean destruction, a loss of resources, and the failure

to achieve personal or organizational goals. On the other, it can

lead to increased personal motivation and organizational productivity.

It can have integrating as well as destructive results on individuals and systems. Conflict can have a creative outcome and can even lead to the development of new forms of cooperative interaction between individuals and systems. (37).

Indeed, our system of government builds conflict into its processes by providing for co-equal executive, judicial and legislative branches. Lipset argues that the very existance of a stable democracy requires the manifestation of conflict:

> "Cleavage--where it is legitimate--contributes to the integration of societies and organizations....consensus on the norms of tolerance which a society or organization accepts has often developed only as a result of basic conflict, and requires the continuance of conflict to sustain it."[1]

From this perspective conflict is seen as necessary to growth and constructive transactions among people and among organizations. Thus, the goal should not be to try to eliminate all conflict within the criminal justice system, but that which is clearly and importantly dysfunctional. (31). Most frequently our more modest goal will be to devise means of simply managing conflict to permit us to live with it while suffering a minimum of destructive consequences and suppression. (47).

An attempt to study systematically some aspects of these problems was undertaken in May of 1969 at the School of Criminal Justice of the State University of New York at Albany. A four day experimental meeting was organized which brought together 31 police and probation officials in teams from eight New England and Northeastern cities.

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[1]Seymour Martin Lipset, "Political Man, The Social Bases of Politics," Garden City, New York:Anchor Books, 1963, p. 1.

The program was co-sponsored by the National Council on Crime and
Delinquency, the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the
New York Department of Correction and the New York Division of Local
Police. The purpose of this meeting was to attempt to identify the
types of conflict which existed at the interface of two segments of
the criminal justice system--in this case police and probation
agencies. The goal was to increase understanding of the nature of
conflicts at this point in the system and identify strategies which
might better cope with them. Presumably, the techniques of study
used and the resolution strategies suggested would have applicability
to other points of conflict within the spectrum of criminal justice--
police vs. courts, prison vs. parole or prosecutor vs. police.

The participants were mature public officials; all were over
40 years, with considerable experience in the criminal justice
field. All were fairly well educated; none had less than some
college experience. As Table 1 indicates, probation executives were
slightly older and had attained a higher level of education. On the
other hand, police officials tended to have been employed longer
by their present agencies than did the probation officials. Almost
all of the police had been with their current employer more than
15 years while a significant number of the probation officials more
recently joined their present organization. This is less a commentary
on differences in individuals and more on the differences in practice
between two fields. Lateral transfer occurs much more frequently
between agencies in the probation field, than between police depart-
ments. It is a rare instance when a police official rises to a high

TABLE 1

CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS

AGE

Years	Probation	Police	Total
41 - 50	5	10	15
51 - 60	7	5	12
61 - 65	4	-	4

LENGTH OF SERVICE WITH PRESENT AGENCY

Years	Probation	Police	Total
1 - 5	1	1	2
6 - 10	5	1	6
11 - 15	5	-	5
Over 15	5	13	18

HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION COMPLETED

Grade	Probation	Police	Total
Some College	-	9	9
B. A. Degree	-	1	1
Some Graduate	5	2	7
Graduate Degree	11	3	14

ADMINISTRATIVE LEVEL

	Probation	Police	Total
Chief or Director	5	1	6
Deputy Chief or Director	8	8	16
Bureau Chief	2	4	6
Inspector or Supervisor	1	2	3

level, which all of these participants had attained, without a
substantial length of service in an agency.

A distinctive feature of the program was the use of data
from specially designed questionnaires, some of which were completed
by the participants before they arrived and some during the course
of the program. These questionnaires were designed to describe
some of the characteristics of the conflict existing between probation
and police agencies. Results were fedback to participants at
various points during the institute and their reactions solicited.
Four general classifications of conflict--dissensus, role conflict,
differential interests and perceptual distortion--were selected
for analysis.[1] These are not mutually exclusive; on the contrary,
they are highly interrelated. Perhaps they can best be thought of
as different perspectives--varying views of essentially the same
phenomenon--rather than as distinct categories.

Although the number of participants was small, tests of
statistical significance indicate many of the differences found were
significant at the .05 level and some at the .01 level;[2] more important
the direction of the difference of opinion found between the two
groups was very consistent. The differences appear especially
important in view of their relatively high level of education and
rank. It is suspected that the disagreements between police and
probation officials found here would be further accentuated among

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[1]The classifications were suggested primarily by the work of Richard
Walton of Harvard University.

[2]Another paper will describe in detail these tests of statistical
significance.

personnel at lower levels of their organizational hierarchies. The
data yield clues for further research and suggest methods of
conflict resolution which probably would have a chance of being
effective.

I. CONFLICT BASED ON DISSENSUS

The first type of conflict examined was that which arises out
of differences in the needs and values among members or groups of
members within a system. (10). This type of conflict is basically
ideological and rooted in differences in beliefs and norms. It may
arise over the question of what is right or wrong, or over differences
in methods of achieving goals. Conflict based on dissensus requires
the interaction of groups each of whom are highly motivated to keep
the core of their own set of values intact. Its source does not
lie in immediate issues, although they may affect its intensity,
but in the pre-existing beliefs of the participants.

Probation and police officials are part of a system which
requires their fairly frequent interaction. In a situation like this,
if differences of important values exist which can be tied into
the system, the probabilities are high that disputes will occur
between members of each group whenever issues affecting both are
at stake. Often the issue appears simple to reconcile until the
covert underpinnings of the conflict are understood. (1) It is not
uncommon, for example, for the head of a probation agency recruited
from another region,which is thought to represent sharply variant
political and cultural values, to have problems with a police depart-

ment over routine operational issues while a "native" administrator

can follow precisely the same course with little or no conflict.

The kinds of values over which dissensus may exist are almost

unlimited. For our purposes we attempted to sample opinions of

police and probation officials around issues which would likely

affect the character of their interaction and yet would transcend

essentially parochial concerns. The first sample of questions

measured favorable or liberal sentiments towards current legal

developments. They were adapted from questions prepared in other

settings by Banton,[1] Bordua,[2] and at Boston University's Law Medicine

Institute.[3] The data shown in Table 2 indicate probation officials

scored much more positively toward current legal developments with an

adjusted mean of +1.11 out of a possible +3.00 compared to an

adjusted mean score for the police of -.05. The probation officials

consistently scored higher in their response to such specific questions

as whether police and probation officers "have enough legal authority

to get their jobs done efficiently." They responded with mean

scores of +1.56 and +1.75 on the pertinent questions. The police

score on these two questions was much lower with a mean of -.69 on

question 42 and +.38 on question 47.

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[1]Michael Banton, "The Policeman in the Community," New York:Basic Books,
Inc., 1964.

[2]David Bordua, "The Police, Six Sociological Essays," New York:John
Wiley and Sons, 1967.

[3]Boston University Law-Medicine Institute, Training Center in Youth
Development, Report and Evaluation of Curriculum Development in the
Police-Community Relations Pilot Project," Washington, D. C.:Office
of Juvenile Delinquency, Department of HEW, October, 1966.

TABLE 2

FEELINGS CONCERNING CURRENT LEGAL PROCESSES

QUESTIONS	POLICE		PROBATION	
	Actual Answer	Adjusted Score	Actual Answer	Adjusted Score
2. Today's laws let people get away with crime quite easily.	* +.07	**(−.07)	−1.31	**(+1.31)
11. Sometimes it is fair to let people off probation early.	+2.23	(+2.23)	+2.75	(+2.75)
19. People in this community wish that courts and the police were harder on offenders.	+2.15	(−2.15)	+2.00	(−2.00)
27. The present system of state and federal laws has undermined my authority to a dangerous extent.	−.23	(+.23)	−1.62	(+1.62)
35. A number of pressure groups have been successful in getting legislation and court decisions that severely restrict the actions you can take.	+.30	(−.30)	−.81	(+.81)
42. Generally speaking, police officers today have enough legal authority to get their jobs done efficiently.	−.69	(−.69)	+1.56	(+1.56)
47. Generally speaking probation officers today have enough legal authority to get their jobs done efficiently.	+.38	(+.38)	+1.75	(+1.75)
ADJUSTED MEAN SCORE		−.05		+1.11

*Scores can range from +3.0 to −3.0
**The positive or negative signs in columns one and three were reversed for the adjusted score whenever a question was asked in a negative form.

Another set of questions designed to measure relevant value differences between the groups tapped reactions to alternative approaches toward offenders. The questions and scores are shown in Table 3. Not surprisingly, probation officers demonstrated greater agreement with a treatment-oriented approach, as shown by their adjusted mean score of +1.35, than did police officials who scored +.66. Some of the greatest discrepencies are found between police and probation attitudes toward community treatment facilities. Probation officers show a very high average agreement (+2.81) with question 43 which states that our policies should place greater emphasis on community treatment and less on sending offenders to prison." The same statement was given a score of -.07 by the police.

A third scale, constructed to test tolerance of deviant behavior, yields another measure of value differentials. To avoid answers which were too closely locked into occupational activities, questions were used in this scale which did not include operational issues likely to be encountered by police or probation officials in the course of their work. The questions were directed at more personal attitudes. Results are shown in Table 4. Overall, the probation officers displayed a positive response to these items with an adjusted mean score of +.74; the police responded negatively with a mean of -.24. The amount of disagreement varied by specific questions, but in all cases the probation officials' responses were consistently in the direction of greater toleration than were the police.

Table 5, describes the results with respect to the fourth scale

TABLE 3

APPROACHES TOWARD THE OFFENDER

QUESTIONS	MEAN SCORES			
	POLICE		PROBATION	
	Actual Answer	Adjusted Score	Actual Answer	Adjusted Score
4. A patrolman should generally try to make offenders feel as though they were really law-abiding but had just made this one mistake.	-.38	(-.38)	-.56	(-.56)
13. A probation officer should generally try to make offenders feel as though they were really law-abiding but had just made this one mistake.	+1.15	(+1.15)	.00	(.00)
20. An offender should be sent to prison as punishment for his crime.	-1.46	(+1.46)	-2.43	(+2.43)
28. An offender should be sent to prison as an example in order to stop others from committing crimes.	-.84	(+.84)	-2.06	(+2.06)
36. There should be a greater emphasis on psychological treatment for offenders.	+1.00	(+1.00)	+1.37	(+1.37)
43. In our correctional policies, we should place greater emphasis on community treatment programs (half-way houses) and less on sending offenders to prison.	-.07	(-.07)	+2.81	(+2.81)
ADJUSTED MEAN SCORE		+.66		+1.35

TABLE 4

TOLERANCE TOWARD DEVIANCE

QUESTIONS	MEAN SCORES			
	POLICE		PROBATION	
	Actual Answer	Adjusted Score	Actual Answer	Adjusted Score
8. A high school principle should have the right to send boys with long hair home.	+.69	(-.69)	-.93	(+.93)
16. A homosexual couple should not not be allowed to cohabit in your community.	+.77	(-.77)	-1.00	(+1.00)
24. Prostitution should be legalized and, if controlled, should be allowed to operate openly in a restricted area.	-1.38	(-1.38)	+.06	(+.06)
32. The criminal law already covers too much behavior.	-.37	(-.37)	-.06	(-.06)
39. A former child molester who has served his time should be allowed to join my local bowling club.	+.39	(+.39)	+1.00	(+1.00)
44. Suicide should not be considered illegal.	+.15	(+.15)	+.63	(+.63)
48. If your son starts to imitate hippies, you should insist that he clean up and get a haircut.	+.84	(-.84)	-.13	(+.13)
51. Welfare recipients should not be able to receive subsidized rents for housing in middle class areas.	-.54	(+.54)	-1.18	(+1.18)
54. The legal rights of a conscientious objector should be decreased.	-.15	(+.15)	-1.68	(+1.68)
57. Student demonstrators should be subject to more discipline.	+2.23	(-2.23)	+1.37	(-1.37)

TABLE 4 (cont't)

QUESTIONS	MEAN SCORES			
	POLICE		PROBATION	
	Actual Answer	Adjusted Score	Actual Answer	Adjusted Score
59. Penalties for smoking marijuana should be increased.	-.61	(+.61)	-1.68	(+1.68)
61. If an ex-convict moved next door to me, I would move.	-1.53	(+1.53)	-2.12	(+2.12)
ADJUSTED MEAN SCORE		-.24		+.74

used to tap this area. This scale, taken directly from Lazarsfeld,[1] measures a generalized attitude described as faith-in-people. Skolnick[2] and others indicates that an important difference between police and other groups would likely be found in their relative degree of faith or suspicion of others. The differences are not great but the police officials do reveal a somewhat lower score on the scale, with an adjusted mean score of +.87, than do probation officials who scored +1.37. Questions 15 and 23 discriminated most sharply between the two groups.

In summary, it is quite clear that there existed between the two groups a generalized difference in view about law violators, deviants, and legal processes. These differences consistently manifested themselves in the responses to almost every question. And as the item on community based treatment indicated, there was considerable disagreement between the two groups about desirable pathways to the goals of public protection and rehabilitation of offenders.

These conflictual attitudes may be a reflection of individual personality differences in the distinctive kinds of persons attracted to the two occupational groups (7,9). Or it might be argued that these differences are simply reflections of values imbedded in police and probation cultures which are imparted to respective members of the two societies. (21). These distinctions have at best only marginal usefullness to one faced with the practical task of designing resolution strategies for the kinds of conflict of concern here.

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[1] Paul Lazarsfeld, "The Language of Social Research;" New York:The Free Press, 1955.

[2] Jerome Skolnick, "Justice Without Trial," New York:John Wiley and Sons, 1967.

TABLE 5

FAITH IN PEOPLE

QUESTIONS	MEAN SCORES			
	POLICE		PROBATION	
	Actual Answer	Adjusted Score	Actual Answer	Adjusted Score
7. Most people can be trusted.	+1.92	(+1.92)	+2.18	(+2.18)
15. Most people are inclined to look out for themselves, at all costs, rather than try to help others.	+.31	(-.31)	-.25	(+.25)
23. If you don't watch yourself, people will take advantage of you.	+.38	(-.38)	-.87	(+.87)
31. No one is going to care much about what happens to me.	-1.46	(+1.46)	-1.87	(+1.87)
38. I feel very much I belong in my community.	+1.69	(+1.69)	+1.68	(+1.68)
ADJUSTED MEAN SCORE		+.87		+1.37

Efforts directed toward changing traits within individuals which are derived extrinsically to the setting in which conflict is manifested can be undertaken only with great cost and with doubtful consequences. Perhaps, the only way by which such sources of conflict can be dealt with efficiently is through profound changes in recruitment techniques and policies. One such approach involves the extensive use of psychological tests and interviews of candidates by clinically trained personnel. Thus far, however, results from these efforts are quite inconclusive.[1] For the resolution of conflict between members of a system--the focus of these efforts--it seems most sensible to assume that the major determinants of relevant behavior and the likely locus of successful interventions reside in the network of contemporary relationships in and around the organizations under study. This does not mean that values and beliefs are held any less intensively, it simply suggests that they may be dealt with more effectively from that frame of reference.

Whatever their source, in very few cases will simple persuasion or argument tend to change the beliefs held by individuals. (4). An alternative strategy is indicated by studies of cognitive conflict. Some of these suggest that the most effective way to cope with the conflict which arise from value differences is to provide as clear, non-judgmental feedback as is possible on the results of their behavior to members of both groups. (12). The aim is not to expend energy in changing belief systems but to give exact and comprehensive feedback on the results of jointly undertaken tasks. To the extent this occurs,

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[1]The Challenge of Crime, Op. Cit., p. 110.

values can be still maintained while increasing the capacity of groups
to work together successfully on common tasks.

A closely allied technique for dealing with problems arising from
group-based dissensus is to help the parties in the dispute evolve
goals larger and more important than the goals of either of the sub-
systems. (24). Thus, it may be vital to have police and probation
officials articulate mutual goals and provide systematic and clear
information as to the kinds of behavior most likely to achieve them.
Although there have been some questions about the utility of using this
so called "superordinate goal" approach (45), there is considerable
evidence which indicates that it is probably a profitable way to
attack these problems. (15).

Third party interventions represent more mechanical devices for
dealing with the conflict arising from dissensus. (11,13). Rarely
have such formalized intervention mechanisms been used in resolving
conflicts between police and probation agencies. The court is the closest
agency to a third party interventionist when it acts in certain kinds
of situations, but its actively is generally quite circumscribed.
Some writers have suggested there are limitations to third party
approaches (20), but evidence indicates that experimentation should
be undertaken to develop mechanisms which can operate between the sub-
parts of the criminal justice system. (36).

II. CONFLICT BASED ON ROLE DIFFERENCES

A second important kind of conflict which has been identified by
researchers is that which arises from varying role conflicts between
members of a system. (6). One way of describing a role is as the

definition of appropriate behavior in a particular setting: probation

officers are expected to behave in a certain way, police officers

in another.   Conflict can arise from characteristics in a role which

are unwelcomed by the occupant of that role, and which cause resentment

and competition with those in the same system.   Under such conditions

he will likely strive to redress the differences in competing values

which are forced on him.   Persons who are subjected to conflicting

role demands often try to cope with the stress by increasing pressure

on those around them.

In our study of police and probation officials a series of

questions were asked which tapped their views about their roles and

the status attached to their jobs.   For this purpose, three sets of

questions were asked of the participants.   The first, shown in Table 6,

was adapted primarily from the work of Banton.[1]   Differences in

perceived status can be readily seen in the responses to questions 18

and 26.   Both groups agree that the community sees the probation

officer as less likely to be working at his job "because he could get

nothing better", than is the policeman.   And in questions 34 and 41

both see the country club as more likely to accept the probation

officer.   Some sense of the stress likely to arise out of a role

conflict can be gleaned by comparing these responses to those given in

items 46 and 50.   Despite the responses about relative status levels,

the police believe that it actually takes more time to learn their

job than to learn the probation officer's and in item 58 deny that their

occupation is any less professional.

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[1] Banton, _Op. Cit._

TABLE 6

STATUS PERCEPTIONS

QUESTIONS	MEAN SCORES			
	POLICE		PROBATION	
	Actual Answer	Adjusted Score	Actual Answer	Adjusted Score
10. I would be proud if my son became a probation officer.	+.70		+1.44	(+1.44)
14. I would be proud if my son became a policeman.	+1.00	(+1.00)	+.44	
18. Most people think probation officers work at the job they do because they were not good enough to get another job.	-2.38		-2.00	(+2.00)
26. Most people think policemen work at the job they do because they were not good enough to get another job.	-.77	(+.77)	-1.37	
34. A probation officer would most likely be accepted by the local country club.	+1.46		+.69	(+.69)
41. A policeman would most likely be accepted by the local country club.	+.54	(+.54)	+.37	
46. Most of the duties of a policeman can be learned by anyone of average intelligence in a six month period.	-1.15	(+1.15)	-.37	
50. Most of the duties of a probation officer can be learned by anyone of average intelligence in a six month period.	-.38		-1.18	(+1.18)
53. A court is not likely to accept the expertise of a police officer.	-1.92	(+1.92)	-1.75	

TABLE 6 (con't)

QUESTIONS	MEAN SCORES			
	POLICE		PROBATION	
	Actual Answer	Adjusted Score	Actual Answer	Adjusted Score
56. A court is not likely to accept the expertise of a probation officer.	-2.30		-2.50	(+2.50)
60. Police professionalism is pretty much the same no matter who is at top of the department.	-1.61	(-1.61)	-2.00	
62. A probation officer's professionalism is pretty much the same no matter who is at top of the department.	-1.38		-1.81	(-1.81)
58. A probation officer is more professional than a police officer.	-.54	(+.54)	+.01	(+.01)
ADJUSTED MEAN SCORE		+.62		+.82

The second set of questions in this area centered around the possibility of a person transferring between the two fields. Table 7 shows the questions designed to scale this dimension. While both groups expressed a slightly higher negative response to the question as to whether a policeman is capable of performing a probation officer's duties, than they did on the reverse question, the police were less negative in their perception of role transferrability than were probation officers. The police display a score of -.65 towards the possibility of changing jobs, probation officers yield an adjusted mean score of -1.78. The greater distance attributed to the two groups by probation officials will be reflected several times in another section.

A third scale which is seemingly at odds with the findings of the first two is that which was designed to test feelings of acceptability in the community. The results are presented in Table 8. This scale was adapted from questions prepared by the Boston University Law-Medicine Institute.[1] On the whole, police indicate greater feelings of community acceptability with an adjusted mean score of +1.34 compared to the probation officials' score of +.96. The results of this scale may be confounded by some of the questions employed. For example, question 40 asks whether "your function is widely under-stood by the community". The police response was +.69; the probation response was -1.87. It is not clear whether this necessarily implies a greater or lesser community acceptability. It is questionable whether this particular set of questions was employed appropriately.

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[1] Boston University Law Medicine Institute, Op. Cit.

TABLE 7

PERCEPTIONS OF ROLE TRANSFERABILITY

QUESTIONS	MEAN SCORES			
	POLICE		PROBATION	
	Actual Answer	Adjusted Score	Actual Answer	Adjusted Score
3. The average policeman is capable of performing the duties of a probation officer.	-.84	(-.84)	-2.06	(-2.06)
12. The average probation officer is capable of performing the duties of a policeman.	-.46	(-.46)	-1.50	(-1.50)
ADJUSTED MEAN SCORES		-.65		-1.78

TABLE 8

COMMUNITY ACCEPTABILITY

QUESTIONS	MEAN SCORES			
	POLICE		PROBATION	
	Actual Answer	Adjusted Score	Actual Answer	Adjusted Score
9. My department has the respect of most poor people in my community.	+.84	(+.84)	+1.37	(+1.37)
17. People generally cooperate with me in my work.	+2.07	(+2.07)	+2.06	(+2.06)
25. It is important that I be liked by the people in the community with whom I come in contact.	+1.15	(+1.15)	+1.18	(+1.18)
33. I feel very much that I belong in my community.	+2.30	(+2.30)	+2.06	(+2.06)
40. My function is widely understood by the community as a whole.	+.69	(+.69)	-1.87	(-1.87)
45. People in my community want more probation officers.	+1.07		+.31	(+.31)
49. People in my community want more police officers.	+2.23	(+2.23)	+2.31	
52. Most people in my community would be proud to have their sons become probation officers.	+1.07		+.68	(+.68)
55. Most people in my community would be proud to have their sons become police officers.	+.15	(+.15)	+.56	_____
ADJUSTED MEAN SCORE		+1.34		+.96

Summarily, it might be concluded from the scales presented that police and probation officials attributed a higher status by the community to the probation officer's task. Yet the police gave many indications that they saw their job fully as professional and more demanding than the probation officer's. On the other hand, probation officials saw much more difference between the two tasks. The strains caused by differences in role requirements and differences in assessments of those roles are fairly clearly evidenced. The concomittant likelihood of conflict is also apparent.

In surveying methods which might be useful in coping with these strains, some of the techniques described earlier in the discussion on dissensus apply here equally. However, the task of providing a forum in which conflicts arising from role differences can be confronted and the feelings arising from those role differences explored and verbalized is often a delicate one. (6). It may be so difficult at times to deal directly with the feelings arising from role differences that few practical devices for open confrontation are available within any reasonable limits of time and other costs. Some attempts to deal with this problem have been attempted in experiments with role reversal techniques. (8). Typically, these methods require the parties in conflict--here police and probation officials--to play the role of the opposite number. Third party interventions may also be considered. (36). The important task is to break up the system of interaction which increases the conflict and feeds on additional potential sources of conflict latent in almost any human interrelationship. (43).

Another direction which depends less on confrontation is that which aims to vary the work structure in which those in conflict find themselves. (35). This may take a variety of forms. Increasing financial or prestige rewards can reduce some of the discrepancies between expectations and responses. Changing specific work requirements can also be used to alleviate tension in the system. This might be accomplished, for example, by probation agencies reducing the variety of administrative demands they make on police.

A tactic which has been suggested in other settings to counter these relationships is to expand mutual task responsibilities. (37). In every community the police are charged with the responsibilities of investigation and arrest and usually are constrained officially from undertaking correctional activities. Probation officers are supposed to rehabilitate and not to be concerned with general community protection. To reduce job specialization, some experimentation with job enlargement might be undertaken. Police, for example, might be given explicit and officially sanctioned correctional tasks such as helping in job placement or intervening in the community to see that opportunities such as recreational facilities are available to offenders.

Task expansion activities could involve organizational changes as well. Building on Likert's notion of the "link pin"[1] various types of inter-departmental planning and operating units can be visualized. Few such formally structured liaisons now exist in which the agents of segments of the system assume a criminal justice focus instead of their traditional narrow concerns. An important part of resolution strategies

[1] Rensis Likert, "New Patterns of Management," New York: McGraw Hill, 1961.

aimed at role conflicts must involve making more salient the larger
system.

III. CONFLICT BASED ON DIFFERENCES IN INTERESTS

A third perspective on conflict between probation and police

agencies is obtained by studying the different functions served by each.

In specific terms, how do the two groups behave as the share

responsibility for handling offenders and seek to serve their own

organizational requirements in the process. In order to measure

these issues, a series of paragraph length statements about practical

police and probation situations were presented to the two groups. They

were asked to express their view as to the most desirable outcome.

Table 9 shows a summary of the problems presented and the average

response to them by probation and police officials. There are obvious

discrepancies between the two groups particularly around questions

3,4,8,10, and 12. In question three, probation officers indicate their

strong feeling that the probation department is a treatment agency

and should not make arrests at any time, whereas the police think that

probation officers should make arrests for probation violations. In

question four, probation officers strongly oppose giving the police a

blanket list of the names of probationers, while the police only

slightly oppose such an action. In question eight, the police somewhat

agree, while probation officers disagree with the suggestion that the

police department be given the right to make recommendations directly

to the court on whether individuals should be granted probation or not.

In question ten, the police disagree and the probation officers somewhat

TABLE 9

OPERATIONAL SITUATIONS

QUESTION SUMMARY	MEAN SCORES		
	Police Score	Probation Score	Difference
1. Police request revocation of probationer for rule violation when new crime can't be proved.	2.72*	4.06*	1.34
2. Probation department requests police chief to require policemen to report any probation violation.	3.00	3.00	.00
3. Police contend probation department should be required to arrest probation violators.	2.20	4.33	2.13
4. Probation department refuses police department request for a list of names of persons on probation.	3.45	1.40	2.05
5. Probation department refuses police request to hold probationer in custody pending investigation.	2.63	2.00	.63
6. Police department wants information, which youth counselors may gather, shared with them.	1.99	3.41	1.42
7. Police department requests 16 year old youth be held in detention.	2.81	3.26	.45
8. Police department believes it should be given right to make recommendations to judge.	2.72	4.53	1.81
9. Probation department will not allow probationers to act as informer for police.	3.90	3.60	.30
10. Probation department refuses police request for access to a probationer's case file.	4.45	2.60	1.85

*The higher the score, the greater the disagreement with the statement.

TABLE 9 (con't)

QUESTION SUMMARY	MEAN SCORES		
	Police Score	Probation Score	Difference
11. It is proposed that police and probation agencies be combined into a single agency.	5.09	4.60	.49
12. Police department argues that a man with serious prior record should not receive probation.	3.18	5.00	1.82

agree with a probation officer's refusal to turn over his file for police use. In question twelve, the police would tend to refuse probation to a youngster because of its possible effect on others, whereas the probation officers would grant it.

Dissensus or discrepant role demands may explain some of these disagreements but a significant portion of this conflict seems to be rooted more in the day-to-day demands on a policeman or probation officer as such. The frame of reference is organizational rather than individual. (32). Probation and police officials have responsibility for executing tasks which at certain points intersect. Questions arise as to whom will expend what degree of energy in carrying out those tasks. The organizational imperative is to minimize expenditures either in servicing the needs of other systems or in readjusting internal mechanisms to accomplish joint tasks more effectively. Conflicts arise as two organizations require similar but scarce resources.

Game theory models have been employed quite effectively to analyze this type of conflict. (2,3,44,46). Building on such analysis some writers suggest that it is possible to escape the bounds of a win-lose orientation in which one system must gain at the expense of the other. Conditions can be described in which cooperation can provide a basis for the distribution of resources to maximize joint gain and indeed at times to provide mutual help. (40). The attainment of those necessary conditions is the key task,

In other settings it has proven useful to conceptualize these issues as essentially a problem of intergroup conflict in which persons believe in the propriety of their own group activity and believe that

they must win or lose in a contest with other groups. This approach
to the problem seems to hold considerable promise for application
to criminal justice and should be explored vigorously. There is a
tendency too often to think of persons who take opposite positions
as deviant, and to ascribe to their behavior negative personal motives.
(49). Police and probation officials need to understand the powerful
group based sources of conflict which operates between the two and the
problems they face because of it. (18,19). Stress on solving immediate
crisis has too often left basic disputes unresolved and they have
simply continued to rage. (17).

A number of specific techniques for intergroup conflict resolution
have been suggested. (15,16). Data are available on a wide array of
factors such as the behavior of delegates and leaders, (22), the utility
of feedback, (23), the effect of high prestige persons (48), and
leadership roles (25). Intergroup laboratory exercises can be useful
in dealing with some of these problems. Research findings indicate
that there will be a residual of conflict around old problems after
such interventions, but once the basis and effects of intergroup
conflict are understood, new problems can be faced more effectively (30).

IV. CONFLICT BASED ON DISTORTED PERCEPTION

A fourth approach to the study of conflict is centered in the
perceptual distortions which prevent a clear image of reality from
reaching parties in conflict. Distortions may arise from the lack of
interaction between persons or organizations; more frequently they stem
from the defective quality of the interaction which does occur. The
important point is that, whatever their basis, they have enormous
potential of becoming in themselves sources for creating and enlarging
conflict.

It was possible to scale several aspects of perceptual distortion in the interactions between police and probation officials at the experimental conference. Table 10 shows one such effort. It describes the degree to which probation and police participants were able to predict, in advance of the conference, the responses of their colleagues and the responses of the opposite group to the twelve operational situations described in the discussion above. Three findings emerge: (1) The police were able to anticipate the responses of other police more accurately than any other combination; (2) Both police and probation officials were quite close in their ability to predict how probation officials would respond; (3) The most inaccurate predictions were made by probation officials when they tried to estimate what the answers of police would be; they were twice as inaccurate as the police in predicting the responses of opposites. Misperceptions about feelings and attitudes are existant and, at least in the present study, the probation officials' estimation of the police was the most distorted.

The results of such basic misperceptions are reflected in Table 11. It shows the amount of conflict which police and probation officials independently estimated existed between the two groups. These data were obtained by asking each participant to predict how an average policeman and an average probation officer would respond to the twelve operational problems. The estimated differences were then compared with the actual differences between the groups. As Table 11 shows, both groups overestimated the amount of conflict which actually existed between them. Probation officials, presumably reflecting their greater distortion of police responses, were much more inaccurate about the

TABLE 10

PREDICTIONS OF RESPONSES TO
OPERATIONAL PROBLEMS

Question	POLICE PREDICTIONS		PROBATION PREDICTIONS	
	Mean Errors on Police Items	Mean Errors on Probation Items	Mean Errors on Probation Items	Mean Errors on Police Items
1	.6	.3	.6	1.2
2	.6	.8	.5	2.0
3	.2	.3	.4	.5
4	.1	.9	.3	1.0
5	.1	.0	.0	1.1
6	.1	.5	.6	.4
7	.8	1.6	.7	2.4
8	.3	.1	1.3	.1
9	1.0	1.0	.9	1.6
10	.1	.3	.3	.3
11	.6	1.8	2.0	.5
12	.4	.2	.4	.4
TOTAL OF MEAN ERRORS	4.9	7.8	8.0	11.5

TABLE 11

PERCEIVED CONFLICT BETWEEN GROUPS

Question	Actual Differences in Responses	Police Estimation of Differences	Probation Estimation of Differences
1	1.3	2.3	2.6
2	0	1.7	1.7
3	2.1	2.4	3.2
4	2.0	2.0	3.8
5	.6	2.0	3.4
6	1.4	2.2	2.2
7	.5	2.0	2.9
8	1.8	2.8	3.1
9	.3	2.2	3.0
10	1.8	2.7	3.4
11	.5	.5	.6
12	1.8	2.4	3.1
TOTAL DIFFERENCES	14.1	25.2	33.0

amount of conflict which existed. The assertion by some probation officials that the police participants were unique and that their attitudes did not reflect typical police attitude was vigorously denied by the police group. The police participants, to support their argument, pointed out they were able to predict in advance each others' responses and most participants had no idea who would be represented at the conference and, in fact, representatives from various cities had generally never met before.

Table 12 lends some credence to these arguments and yields another view of the effects of distorted perceptions. Here are presented the differences between the actual answers of the two groups of officials to the twelve questions and the estimated responses for each group. As would be expected, the actual responses of both the police and probation officials were most like those they had predicted would be given by persons similarly employed. Once again probation officials saw the greatest distance between their opinions and anticipated police opinions. Actually there was less distance between the two groups than either anticipated.

The differences in perception which have been demonstrated can arise from misunderstandings about value systems or there may be dysfunctions in the mechanisms which provide information to members of each system about the other. In either case, the probability is substantial that members of these two groups would inappropriately respond to each other by assuming conflicts which were much less than actually existed. This is a particularly costly kind of conflict which must be reduced to deal efficiently with those conflicts which are more

TABLE 12

PERCEIVED DISTANCE BETWEEN
OWN ANSWERS AND ESTIMATED ANSWERS OF GROUPS

Mean Perceptions

Questions	POLICE		PROBATION	
	Distance Between Own and Police Answers	Distance Between Own and Probation Answers	Distance Between Own and Probation Answers	Distance Between Own and Police Answers
1	1.0	1.0	.8	2.7
2	1.2	1.5	1.7	1.6
3	1.1	2.9	1.2	3.0
4	2.0	2.0	.8	3.6
5	1.7	2.0	1.1	2.6
6	.7	2.1	1.0	2.4
7	1.2	1.2	1.7	2.8
8	.4	2.4	1.2	2.6
9	1.0	1.5	1.0	1.8
10	.5	2.4	1.3	2.2
11	.6	.6	.8	2.6
12	1.4	1.5	1.2	2.6
TOTAL ESTIMATED DIFFERENCES	12.8	21.1	14.0	29.1

reality based.

Some studies indicate it may be possible to deal with some of
these perceptual differences in confrontation types of activities (27).
Such misperceptions are also common under conditions of inter-group
conflict (14) and some techniques to deal with this type of phenomenon
have been suggested earlier. One study cites fairly convincing
evidence which suggests that organizational structure can foster
conditions under which considerable distortions occur in the percep-
tions of persons about each other (26). Experimentation needs to be
undertaken to develop more "team-like" relationships between sub-parts
of the criminal justice system to foster the kind of distortion
reduction obviously needed.

V. SOME APPLICATIONS

The description and identification of types of conflict existant
between police and probation agencies was the central purpose of this
project. To the extent relevant behaviors can be effectively classified,
our ability to study them and the probability of our ultimate control
over them is sharply increased. However, the project attempted to do
more than simply identify classes of conflict. It was also used as
a laboratory to test out in a preliminary fashion some of the inter-
vention tactics suggested by research which might be employed in
subsequent field testing.

Throughout the conference a format was used which emphasized tasks
in small groups to which each person was assigned. During the
opening stages of the conference the groups were divided homogeneously--
the police participants were placed in two groups made up only of

police officials and the probation officials were similarly separated. Persons from the same community were placed in different groups. The purpose was to facilitate the identification of conflict issues and to provide an initial group experience which encouraged participants to express themselves freely and candidly. Each of the groups were given the specific task of indentifying behaviors which were desirable or undesirable on the part of opposites—probation describing police officials and police similarly describing probation officials.

The participants were subsequently placed in groups consisting of both probation and police participants. They remained in these mixed groups until the final stages of the conference. As a first task, members in each group were asked to identify from their own perspective which of the statements developed earlier they agreed with and those with which they disagreed. It was assumed that this process would identify specific points of substantive conflict. It did so quite well. Participants moved into the activity quite freely and the heterogenous groups proved to be useful vehicles for building up cross-group relationships.

The next phase of the conference was devoted to the testing of various devices developed to assist in the understanding of the dynamics of inter-system conflict. During this stage discussions of the substantive conflicts identified were undertaken and feedback on the nature of the differences were supplied. Much of the information earlier collected by the questionnaire was also fedback to participants. This was followed by a series of activities in which the participants were given an opportunity through their own activities

to examine alternative pathways to conflict resolution. Among these activities was a prisoner's dilemma task which explored the possible payoffs which might be achieved by persons and groups through competitive as contrasted to collaborative activities. Group decision-making tasks were employed which allowed the participants to arrive at decisions singly and cooperatively and to receive feedback on the effectiveness of the two methods. Group tasks were assigned which required that each group negotiate with the others to gain agreement on priorities previously assigned by each group. Measurement of the dyanmics of the resultant intergroup conflict and its effect on individual group members was fedback to the participants.

The exercises employed were built to demonstrate many of the specific conflict reducing mechanisms discussed earlier. Generally, they were quite useful in providing understanding of the dynamics of human conflict at an intellectual and emotional level. Relationships among the participants were apparently similarly enhanced.

The final phase of the conference was devoted to testing devices for working on specific backhome problems. This involved a step-by-step analysis of problem sovling techniques. During the last day of the conference, the participants were assigned to work in teams with the others from their community on specific backhome problems. They employed an instrument which took them through a step-by-step analysis of problem solving techniques. The participants evidenced some measure of dissatisfaction during this phase largely because of inability of some teams to identify real conflicts existing backhome.

The roots of this inability may lie in several areas but at least

two factors seemed to be important. First, many of the participants
were fairly high administrative officials in their agencies and
contended that they had few opportunities to observe conflicts on
a day-to-day basis between representatives of their agencies with
other systems. Apparently, the experiences of front-line personnel
was crucial in identifying practical operating problems between
systems. In assemblying representatives of systems apparently in
conflict it appears vital that operations personnel be directly
involved or at least their views be obtained on a systematic basis.

Another constraint on the ability of some teams to identify and
grapple with important backhome conflict is partially explainable
by the design of the program. Up to the last session participants
had been working in groups of persons who were relative strangers.
Over the course of the conference they developed a considerable degree
of confidence in one another and an ability to work fairly effectively
together. In the final session the groups were changed and participants
asked to work with persons with whom many had developed only
minimal relationships and with whom some of the most consequental
conflict may have existed. In future attempts, it would be important
to spend more time developing problem solving skills in the specific
group which will undertake such tasks.

On the whole, it appears quite feasible to bring together
representatives of criminal justice agencies to investigate systematically
the important areas of conflict which confront them. Various laboratory
exercises, such as inter-group competition and data feedback can be
usefully employed and relevant suggestions for change can result.

The test of these techniques, however, needs to be undertaken in

the community with a number of actors in the conflict. Some effects
in conflict reduction can be obtained in the environment of the
laboratory setting as in this case. But the arena for the most
profitable further experimentation now seems to lie in the field with
operating systems.

Such experimentation seemingly should be directed toward two
distinct efforts. The first of these lies in creating opportunities
for representatives of criminal justice sub-systems to come together
over a period of time to examine systematically conflicts existing
among them and to increase their ability to confront and deal with
those conflicts effectively. The general type of technology needed
for this kind of endeavor is suggested in the format of the Pro-
bation-Police Conference. From that experience, and based on research
findings in other areas, the kinds and sequence of interventions which
appear to hold greatest promise are: (1) Facilitating the articulation
of goals, such as the prevention crime, which subsume the interests
of the parties in conflict; (2) Providing feedback to increase mutual
understanding and to help identify attitudes and behaviors which
are discrepant with the commonly derived major goals; (3) Increasing
understanding of the dynamics of inter-group conflict which blocks
the successful modification of discrepant behaviors; and (4) Enhancing
the problem solving skills of the representatives.

The second kind of intervention would be less concerned with a
mutual problem strategy and place greater stress on organizational
mechanisms for conflict resolution or management. This would involve

the development of conflict mediating devices such as fact finding

panels. These might well include the involvement of private citizens,

a matter of great interest to those concerned with the reform and

improvement of the administration of criminal justice.[1] Another

form of organizational modification includes structural and task

changes which would tend to create conditions of greater cooperation.

Forms of this kind of activity are already taking place in various

correctional institutions were "guarding and control" functions, and

"treating" functions are not longer administratively autonomous but are

combined in teams responsible for the total management of units

within an institution.

Such an amalgamation of functions might well be tried across

criminal justice subsystems. Although bureaucratic resistance will

be predictably strong, the time may be ripe for such experimentation.

A major recommendation of National Commission on the Causes and

Preventions of Violence was directed precisely toward the need to

develop new ways of integrating the activities of criminal jusitce

agencies.[2] Similar thrusts have arisen from other quarters[3] and we

may expect more in the future.

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[1]See Vincent O'Leary, "Some Directions for Citizen Involvement in
Corrections," The Annals, Vol. 381, January 1969, pp. 99-108.

[2]"To Establish Justice, To Insure Domestic Transquility," Final Report
of the National Commission on The Causes and Prevention of Violence,
Washington, D. C.; U. S. Government, December 1969, pp. 159-163.

[3]See for example the federal Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets
Act of 1968.

SECTION I: EMPHASIS ON
INTERPERSONAL CONFLICT

1. Boulding, Kenneth. "The Individual As a Party to Conflict," <u>Conflict</u>
<u>and Defense</u>, by Kenneth Boulding, New York: Harper
& Bros., 1962, pp. 80-104.

The writer concludes that we cannot get very far with the predic-
tion, or even the perception, of the course of conflict situations
unless we develop means for probing the covert levels of hostility and
friendliness, as well as the overt. An exclusive concentration on
overt expressions may be extremely misleading and is likely to lead to
some disagreeable surprises. The nature of the information system also
profoundly affects the dynamic course of hostility and friendliness.
Where attitudes are covert, the individuals who are affected by them
are often not able to deal with them simply because they are not
aware that there is anything that needs to be dealt with. Boulding
concludes that the development of better information systems, there-
fore, is likely to diminish conflict.

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choice in Chicken and Prisoner's
Dilemma, Vol. XII, Number 3,
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September 1968, pp. 374-380.

This paper presents the workings of two-person, non-zero sum games
of the Prisoner's Dilemma Variety. It is extremely detailed and ill-
ustrates the specific methods and procedures for conducting such tests
and measuring results. The writers conclude that the knowledge that
one will be interacting with another person over a large number of
trials and/or increasing the maximum possible payoff may increase the
degree of cooperation.

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Scodel, A., J. S. Minas, P. Ratoosh, and M. Lipetz. "Some Descriptive Aspects of Two-Person Non-Zero-Sum Games," Journal of Conflict Resolution, 3, 2 (June 1959), 115-19.

3. Gahagan, James P. and Tedeschi, James T. "Strategy and the credibility of promises in the Prisoner's Dilemma Game," Vol. XII, Number 2, Journal of Conflict Resolution, June 1968, pp. 224-234.

The Prisoner's Dilemma game described here is a two-person mixed-motive game. The independent variable which was studied was the effect of one player's strategy selections on the strategy choices of the other player.

It was discovered that if patterned strategy choices are made by the "other" and these are perceived by the subject, the strategy choices of the subject will be affected. It was also found that the subjects saw promises as unbelievable unless they had a high level of credibility. If the subjects believed a promise, they not only sent one themselves, but they also tended to cooperate on the next trial.

Thus, content credibility requires a relatively high degree of behavioral verification before it is acted upon. Kelman (1958, 1961) referred to this motivational basis of attitude change based on content credibility as internalization. For internalization to be effective, however, the person receiving the communication must see it as congruent with his value system.

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       Marilyn Wilkins.   Paradigm," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 2, (1966), 343-360.

   Three empirical examples of the application of the lens model paradigm for studying cognitive conflict between persons are provided. These studies concerned the effect of (1) early vs. late confrontation of large cognitive differences between pairs, (2) different types of verbal interchange, and (3) differences in cognitive complexity induced in the subjects. The results are to be taken as indicative rather than definitive.

   (1) The weighted scores concerning overt conflict, covert conflict, and cognitive change were plotted as a function of trials. It is apparent that there is no difference between the early and late groups with respect to any of the four measures shown. Furthermore, analysis

of the slopes of these scores over trials showed no difference between the groups. There were, in short, no differences in sequence effects between groups which experienced an early confrontation of divergence and groups which experienced a late confrontation.

When the intratrial and intertrial results are considered together, they suggest that conflict was reduced, and cognitive change induced, mainly as a function of experience with the new task, rather than as a result of the intratrial interchange between the persons. These results are merely suggestive, Hammond states, but they are congruent with the results of the following study on the effects of different types of verbal interchange.

(2) This study compares two techniques of persuasion, each involving a different type of verbal interchange. The first type to be considered involves consideration only of one's own point of view, and is called Own Focus. The second technique, which consists in delineating the domain of validity of the other person's argument, is called Region of Validity. A person using the Region of Validity technique thus focuses both on his own point of view and on the other person's point of view.

It was found that conflict was not differentially reduced as the result of type of discussion within a trial. Hammond states that the form of feedback employed here, however, may have prevented full utilization of the Region of Validity technique.

(3) Differences in cognitive complexity were established by training one subject to learn a linear relationship between cue and criterion and by training the other subject to learn a nonlinear relationship between cue and criterion. It was discovered that the behavior of the simple subjects is clearly affected by events within the interaction: not only does the simple subject relinquish his training more readily, but the greater the difference in actual judgments the more cognitive change is induced in the simple subject. On the other hand, although the complex subject does show some cognitive change, he tends to respond to the conflict situation by maintaining and insisting upon his own training.

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5. Horwitz, Murray. "Managing Hostility in the Laboratory and the Refinery," Power and Conflict in Organizations, edited by Robert Kahn and Elise Boulding, New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1964, pp. 77-94.

This is a report on a training laboratory set up for the refinery staff of a large oil company. It consisted of development groups, characterized by an absence of formal structure and a lack of agenda, whose central task was decision making. The question the laboratory dealt with was "Under what conditions can one have conflict without hostility?"

In five experiments the following conclusions were reached:

(1) Experiment on Influence in Decision-Making: It was discovered that hostility is a function, not of the weight a person enjoys in joint decision making, but of the reduction of his expected weight in decision making.

(2) Experiment on Openness: It was discovered that there is a close relationship between a man's openness and the acceptance of his attempts to influence others.

(3) Experiment on Rejection: It was discovered that people who are mildly rejected can give a realistic assessment of their feelings, but those who are strongly rejected tend to present a defensive distortion of their feelings.

(4) Experiment of Status on Influence: It was discovered that during intergroup competition, there was a stability of status effects. Yet, there was a clear indication that job status loses some of its potency as a determinant of influence during training. On some occasions there was an apparent obliteration of status effects.

(5) Effects of Satisfaction with Weight on Group Collaboration: It was discovered that, as the individual becomes more satisfied with his own weight, he views the group members as more collaboratively oriented (that is, better able to build on one anothers' contributions).

6. Kahn, Robert L. and Donald Wolfe. "Role Conflict in Organizations," Power and Conflict in Organizations, ed. by Robert Kahn and Elise Boulding, New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1964, pp. 115-126.

Kahn and Wolfe are concerned with role conflict, and they present a variety of individual and interpersonal factors which suggest the

costliness of such conflict. Tension, dissatisfaction with the job, lack of confidence in the organization, and distrust and disrespect for colleagues are among them. They suggest the convening of role-senders and an attempt at joint work on the problem as the most effective modes for dealing with role conflict.

The main unresolved issue, however, is how to structure such confrontations in an unthreatening way. Not only must the particular organizational situation be taken into account, but the subjective factors of the individual's feelings about confrontation must be dealt with.

7. Knapp, William M. and Podell, Jerome E. "Mental patients, prisoners, and students with simulated partners in a mixed-motive game," Vol. XII, Number 2, Journal of Conflict Resolution, June, 1967, pp. 235-241.

This study was an attempt to gain more factual information about the relationship between personality variables and game behavior. It was discovered that whereas students and patients responded more cooperatively to a cooperative program than to a competitive one, prisoners appeared relatively unaffected by the difference in programs. The writers state that personality differences should be highlighted under a cooperative program. However, further empirical evidence is needed to test this hypothesis.

It was also discovered that the game behavior of all three groups was influenced by interaction with a simulated other throughout the total sequence of trials. Clearly the moves of other's or one's perception of another's strategy affects his behavior towards the other person.

To summarize, it was assumed that if ever the effects of personality and program are to be definitely demonstrated, then obvious personality differences coupled with large numbers of trials and subjects and a shifting program must produce these effects.

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8. Muney, Barbara F., and Deutsch, Morton. "The effects of role-reversal during the discussion of opposing viewpoints," Vol XII, number 3, Journal of Conflict Resolution, September 1968, pp. 345-356.

This study compares the techniques of role-reversal and direct discussion in resolving conflict. Direct discussion involves opposing parties meeting together and discussing their differences. Role reversal is a discussion procedure in which individual A presents individual B's viewpoint while individual B reciprocates by presenting A's viewpoint.

The writers examine the hypothesis that role-reversal is an effective means of reducing conflict. This hypothesis included the postulates that mutual taking of one another's role alleviates conflict by such processes as: reducing self-defensiveness, increasing one's understanding of the other's views, increasing the perceived similarity

between self and other, increasing the awareness of the positive
feature in the other's viewpoint and the dubious elements in one's
own position. This hypothesis has been advocated by such theorists
as (Moreno, 1955; Cohen, 1950, 1951; Rogers, 1952; Rapaport, 1960;
Deutsch, 1962).

It was discovered that in some situations role-reversal was far
less effective than direct discussion in resolving conflict. However,
it was also discovered that the technique of role-reversal requires
more skill and training for its successful employment than direct
discussion. The findings also reflect the strong possibility that
role-reversal is more effective for some kinds of issues, but less
effective for others.

It was found that role-reversal was less effective than direct
discussion when the contrary positions are quite extreme and where
the issues involved are closely linked to central moral and personal
values. Thus, it would appear from this study, that role-reversal
might be a more effective technique in resolving differences where
the conflict is more modified and does not involve central and moral
and personal values.

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9. Sandford, Meritt R. "Individual Conflict and Organizational Interaction," Power and Conflict in Organizations, ed. by Robert Kahn and Elise Boulding, New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1964, pp. 94-104.

The importance of irrational conflicts in organizational life is the major theme of this article. The author, states that many conflicts which appear as organizational problems are in fact based on unconscious conflicts in individual personalities. He cites the syndrome of authoritarianism as an example and maintains that the authoritarian is a particular problem in an organization when he is given a position of leadership in which he has the power and opportunity to express his personality conflicts in ways which are detrimental to the organization and its other members.

Sandford recommends the formalized role structure of organizations as the major defense against intrusion of personality. However, it is costly in that the rigidity of role structure which is necessary to control unwanted attributes of personality also stifles the expression of such constructive qualities as creativity.

10. Summers, David A. "Conflict, compromise, and belief change in a decision-making task, Vol. XII, Number 2, Journal of Conflict Resolution, June 1968, pp. 215-221.

Most previous laboratory research concerning interpersonal conflict has focused upon conflict resulting from competition for a scarce commodity, and has been conducted within an experimental game paradigm. However, the author points out that interpersonal conflict is often non-competitive. In other words, conflict between persons can often be characterized as the result of cognitive differences, i.e., conflict arising from opposed beliefs in a particular domain.

Summers presents results which indicate that the generalizability of experimental game findings may be limited to interpersonal conflict of a purely competitive nature. As shown here, the introduction of cognitive differences into dyadic interaction yields behavior markedly different from that observed in tasks in which subjects are competing.

For example, it was discovered that overall compromise behavior by one subject is not necessarily associated with overall compromise behavior by his opponent. Moreover, the trial-by-preceding-trial analysis indicates that the subjects did not engage in a systematic exchange of responses during the task. It is important to note that these results are inconsistent with recent experimental game findings that total number of cooperative responses are positively correlated over subject pairs, and that trial-by-preceding-trial responses within pairs are also positively correlated.

Furthermore, it was discovered that a strong inverse relationship between compromise by one subject and compromise by his opponent was present. That is, if subject one compromised on a given trial, subject two did not. Again, these results are inconsistent with previous experimental game findings.

Finally, the failure of payoffs to affect the subjects' behavior suggests that the payoffs employed here were not perceived as sufficient to justify behavioral change. This presents the question as to what constitutes a reward, or payoff, sufficient to induce the subject to compromise his position in the domain of socio-political beliefs or values.

The problem of compromising belief positions into more harmonious relationships gives rise to serious questions. Namely, should we try to change values either directly or indirectly, or should we forget about change and attempt to use or extract what is apropos in individual belief systems.

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11. Thibaut, John. "The development of contractual norms in bargaining: replication and variation," Volume XII, Number 1, Journal of Conflict Resolution, March 1968, pp. 102-112.

In the four experiments described here, it was discovered that extremely high aspiration levels on the part of the two parties and privacy of alternative resources heightened conflict. A uniform feature in all of the experiments was the active presence of the experimenter, who introduced the possibility of contract formation and suggested the structure of its provisions. The experimenter thus functioned as an active third party to the negotiations. Thibaut states that the work being done by Wells suggests the presence of such a third party is at least highly facilitative, if not indispensable, to the formation of formal norms.

According to Wells' analysis, formal norms emerge under high conflict situations while informal norms (non-contract) arise when commonality of interest is dominant. Consequently, it would seem that the greater the conflict in a bargaining siutation, the greater the need is for a third party to develop normative overtones.

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                    "Differential effects of ambiguous and exact
                    feedback on two-person conflict and compromise,"
                    Vol. X, Number 1, Journal of Conflict Resolution,
                    March 1966, pp. 88-97.

        This is a study of attempts to resolve conflict between decision-
makers in problem solving situations. It was discovered that in order
to achieve compromise and increase adaptation to new circumstances
on the part of decision-makers with cognitive differences, it is more
important to expend energy on providing clear and informative feedback
resulting from previous joint decisions, than to expend energy on efforts
to change the belief system of the antagonists.

        It was found that subjects who received exact, comprehensive
feedback learned more rapidly to adapt to the new common task, and to
resolve their differences by compromise. On the other hand, subjects
who received ambiguous or evaluative feedback (i.e. right and wrong
criteria) were not drawn together by the common task, and conflict
between their judgments was not reduced.

        In conclusion, it was discovered that fully informative feedback
(when compared with partially informative and evaluative feedback)
enable people (1) to learn from one another, (2) to resolve cognitive
differences by compromise, and (3) to maintain their original beliefs
while (4) becoming increasingly adaptive to new conditions.

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13. Walton, Richard E. "Interpersonal Confrontation and Basic Third Party Functions: A Case Study," Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, Vol. 4, Number 3, 1967, pp.327-350.

   This study centers on a conflict between directors of two independent groups in a government agency and interventions by a third party consultant who helped them confront their intergroup and interpersonal differences. The third party (a) enhanced the parties' willingness to confront each other, because they perceived him as possessing skills which could prevent the process from deteriorating; (b) synchronized the parties' readiness and efforts to confront, because of the signal value of his presence and his limited availability to them; (c) increased their candidness in expressing views about the issues and reactions to each other, because each party associated the consultant with a prior experience in which openness had been normative. In addition, the third party (d) increased their feelings of social-emotional support and (e) helped clarify and diagnose the issue.

   The confrontation helped the parties clarify the intergroup issues and partly resolve their interpersonal issues. In turn, the improved rapport between the directors enabled them subsequently to handle the intergroup issues more effectively.

   A significant aspect of this episode is that because of the nature of the third party's professional identity and the clients' prior experience with persons in the profession, his presence by itself tended to provide emotional support and reinvoke some of the behavioral norms which were instrumental to the conflict confrontation and resolution process.

   In this case, the third party had very little "face-work" or other work to do in establishing his role and competence and in communicating the attitudes which support a successful confrontation. In other situations, at least half of the third party's total job in assisting two parties in conflict may be concerned with this effort to establish the appropriate role identity and personal attributes.

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SECTION II: EMPHASIS ON
INTERGROUP CONFLICT

14. Blake, R. R. and Mouton, J. S.   "The Story Behind Intergroup Conflict,"
                                                    Group Dynamics - Key to Decision
                                                    Making. Houston: Gulf Publishing
                                                    Company, 1961, pp. 63-80.

        Two findings of paramount significance in determining barriers to the resolution of conflicts between groups are presented. First, under competitive conditions members of one group perceive that they understand perfectly the other's proposal, when in fact they do not. Thus, this inadequate understanding makes it all the more difficult for competing groups to view each other's proposals realistically.

        Secondly, areas they share in common are likely to go unrecognized and in fact be seen as being characteristic of one's own group only. Under conditions of competition, distinctions are sought for and areas of true agreement go undiscovered.

15. Blake, Robert R. and Mouton, Jane S.   "The Intergroup Dynamics of Win-
                                                    Lose Conflict and Problem-Solving
                                                    Collaboration in Union Management
                                                    Relations," Intergroup Relations
                                                    and Leadership, M. Sherif, Wiley
                                                    and Sons, Inc., New York: 1962:
                                                    pp. 94-140.

        This article emphasizes a behavioral science approach to conflict resolution. It enunciates a theory and lists attempts at the application of this approach. The writers maintain that once a systematic theory of intergroup phenomena has been established through laboratory training programs, norm-setting conferences, and the aid of a behavioral science interventionist, the differences, particularly in the behavior of representatives, under conditions of collaboration are dramatic. Inter-group leveling sessions can serve to clear the air by avoiding the pitfalls of win-lose conflict.

        The steps are threefold. On the one hand, the development of a comprehensive body of theory concerning the circumstances of intergroup conflict and cooperation is required. Needed on the other hand is the invention of methods which permit such theory to be immediately useful to the protagonists in an intergroup dispute as a basis for cutting through their conflicts and coming to an awareness of the conditions that promote cooperation. The final step is that of guiding the trans-formations from theory and intelligent insight to concrete steps of cooperation.

        Some of the ways that have been experimentally demonstrated to increase the likelihood of arriving at mutually acceptable solutions are: factually based mutual problem identification, fluidity in initial stages of proposing solutions, rather than fixed position taking, free and

frequent interchange between representatives and their constituent groups, and focus on important goals which are common to each party.

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16. Blake, Robert R. and Jane Mouton, "Interventions into Situations of Intergroup Conflicts," Managing Intergroup Conflict in Industry, by Blake, Shepard, Mouton, Houston, Texas: Gulf Publishing Company, 1964, pp. 101-113.

The interventions one might make to resolve intergroup conflict are based largely on assumption regarding conflict. If one assumes, for example, that conflict is inevitable and that disagreement is impossible, then the method used is likely to be fate, third-party judgment, or win-lose.

Where the assumption is that conflict is not necessarily inevitable but that agreement is impossible, the methods of neutrality, withdrawal or isolation most likely will be used. On the other hand, if agreement is seen to be possible, a different set of interventions is more likely to be employed. The approach may be peaceful coexistence or splitting of the difference.

A third approach could be one of mutual problem-solving. Under this approach, one assumes that effective collaborations can be gained only through a process based on education and applied within a systematic framework for formulating relevant issues of intergroup relations.

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17. Blake, Robert R. and Jane S. Mouton and Herbert A. Shepard. "The Win-Lose Orientation to Intergroup Disagreement," Managing Intergroup Conflict in Industry by Blake, Shepard, and Mouton, Houston, Texas: Gulf Publishing Company, 1964, pp. 18-33.

Immediately following experiments in intergroup competition, groups were asked to move almost immediately into situations requiring intergroup cooperation in the solution of a second problem. Almost invariably, they shortly found themselves working as antagonists rather than as collaborators. Feelings of competitiveness and mutually disparaging attitudes have become so deeply ingrained that members of one group cannot perceive the offerings of the other group as well-intended.

Only when the groups review the entire competition episode in detail, and together examine subjective attitudes of antagonism and how they were produced, as well as the objective data collected in the course of the experiment, are they able to regain perspective of themselves, their reactions, and the interrelationship. By analyzing and gaining insight into the background of their past behavior, it is possible for them to start working collaboratively across group lines.

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18. Blake, Robert R. and Jane S. Mouton   "Foundation and Dynamics of
        and Herbert A. Shepard.   Intergroup Behavior," Managing
                                                   Intergroup Conflict in Industry
                                                   by Blake, Shepard, and Mouton,
                                                   Houston, Texas: Gulf Publishing
                                                   Company, 1964, pp. 1-17.

The behavior of organization members in relation to each other is, at
the best, determined by one of three sets of forces: 1) Job responsibili-
ties; 2) Social backgrounds represented in such considerations as
training and experience; 3) The set of complex forces acting on them by
virtue of their active memberships in different groups. This chapter
is concerned primarily with the third set of forces.

As a group member, whether leader or member, an individual is a
representative of his group whenever he interacts with others in different
groups, provided the groups are in some way interdependent. As a
representative, a group member's opinions and attitudes are shaped by
the goals, norms and values he shares with others in his group. Normal
rules of conduct and the expectations of others in his group do not
allow him to act independently of his group's interests when areas of
disagreement arise between his group and another.

Large organizations are composed of many small groups. Because
of the size, complexity and nature of present-day organizations, group
comparisons, particularly of an invidious character are bound to occur.
Under such circumstances, differences, rather than similarities and
commonness of purpose, are highlighted, with conflict the inevitable
result. The result is that organizational needs for interdependence
and cooperation among groups are not met as well as they might have been,
had managerial personnel applied greater understanding to intergroup
relations.

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                                                Gulf Publishing Company, 1964,
                                                pp. 86-101.

A positive mentality is required in order to engage in effective
intergroup problem-solving. The thinking must be that more fruitful
organizational arrangements are possible than those achieved by working
independently, or on a win-lose basis, or on a bargaining basis.
Therefore, a pre-condition for problem-solving is a special kind of
optimistic feeling toward the capacities of other groups.

The distinction between this approach and bargaining or compromise
is that intergroup problem-solving emphasizes solving the problems not
accommodating different points of view. It recognizes that the problem
is in the relationship between groups. Thus, if the problem is in the
relationship, then it must be defined by those who have the relationship.
Also, if solutions are to be developed, the solutions have to be generated
by those who share the responsibility for seeing that the solutions work.

Some of the characteristics we would expect to be present under a
problem-solving approach are: problem definition, full problem review,
developing a range of alternatives, debate of alternatives by the whole
intergroup, searching for solutions, exploration, and evaluation of

solutions by the intergroup, and weighing alternative solutions.

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The emotional impact of win-lose conflict has led to devices for shortening or eliminating direct struggle between the parties. One such mechanism is the resolution of conflict through the neutral judgment of a third party. Although resorting to this approach can still mean loss, the risk is often preferred to lengthy and costly drawn-out battles.

The disadvantage is that once a third-party decision is made, a victor and a vanquished are created. The result, then, is that win-lose barriers to cooperative group efforts are erected. In the final analysis, the parties might have been just as well (or bad) off had they fought it out. The group defeated by the arbitrator's decision may feel cheated and resentful. Only the winning group feels highly committed to live by the third party's judgment.

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It is the contention of this paper that many prominent and
influential investigators of the character of intergroup interaction
made an early choice of the wrong path in seeking the explanations in
the processes of individual psychology and psychoanalysis. It is not
claimed that all this material is entirely irrelevant to science, but
that it is inadequate to account for the major part of hostile behavior
across group lines. The content of human minds is of course influenced
by unique patterns in individual experiences, but far more by elaborately
organized social experience. Persons can make distinctions, and invent
categories which influence action, but most of these are in fact made
for them by the groups in which they have membership.

We are told by our groups who and what to like and dislike, but
in a process generally subtle enough to allow us to feel that we have
arrived at these judgments individually and logically. Our organized
groups, in turn, achieve the content of collective judgments, not from
summing the contributions of the separate members, but within an
emergent process of group-to-group interaction which can only be fully
investigated on the sociological level.

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In this study it was found that delegates were neither less likely to reach consensus nor did they deadlock more than leaders. Unlike the leaders, however, the delegates took extreme amounts of time to negotiate a settlement--either a very long or a very short time. The amount of time a group of delegates required to reach consensus or a deadlock depended on the strength of their commitment to their reference groups' positions and the extent of their satisfaction with their leaders' performance.

It was discovered that the more committed and satisfied delegates spent less time in the negotiating groups. The less committed and satisfied delegate, on the other hand, negotiated for a longer time because he had to resolve not only the conflict between the positions he was instructed to represent and the positions his opponents are proposing, but also the conflict between these positions and his own preferences.

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This is a report of a one-day intergroup conflict laboratory conducted to investigate the effects of the use of modified "survey feedback" to increase negotiators' awareness of the competitive behavior in the negotiations and the distortions in internegotiator perception. The results suggest that mediators and others who seek to intervene between two groups in conflict can use techniques of process analysis, such as survey feedback, to increase the negotiator's positive evaluation of the negotiations and its outcomes. The results also point out that whereas high commitment to one's own group and its initial position in the negotiations will tend to mitigate the cooperation-inducing effects of this procedure, high satisfaction with one's role in the home group will tend to enhance them. It was suggested that high commitment leads one to a state of "insulated ignorance," in which one is protected from examining his own behavior, and the other's perceptions and feelings, through a conviction in the superiority of his won group's proposals and its inevitable success. High satisfaction with role, on the other hand, leads one to feel freer to deviate from his group's position.

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      In this study it was concluded that: (1) When individuals
interact with one another toward common goals, in time a group structure
emerges with definite hierarchical statuses and a set of norms to
regulate activities within the group. These norms institute the basis
of individual members' social attitudes in regard to relevant objects
and persons. (2) When two or more groups are in functional contact
with one another in competitive and reciprocally frustrating situations,
they develop negative attitudes and stereotypes toward one another.
These negative inter-group attitudes cannot be explained simply on the
basis of hardships and frustrations in the individuals' life histories.
In the two experiments in which this generalization was verified the
individuals were well-adjusted, healthy, successful persons whose
upbringing had not invloved unusual frustrations or uncertainties.
(3) When groups in a state of tension interact with one another
toward superordinate goals much desired by all which cannot be attained
by the energies and resources of one group, they tend to cooperate.
In a series of activities involving superordinate goals, intergroup
conflict and unfavorable stereotypes do become markedly reduced.

      Both in intergroup friction and in intergroup cooperation, the
trends of relations between groups do have significant consequences
for relations within the groups involved. At times in-group solidarity
is inversely proportionate to a favorable out-group orientation. The
trends in intergroup relations are not independent of relations within
groups. For the reduction of intergroup friction, group and intergroup
attitudes have to be in line with one another. If they pull assunder,
the likelihood of reducing tension is diminished.

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In this chapter the author undertakes a discussion of theory and research developed from the study of leadership, especially in industrial organizations. Problems of leadership to be adequately approached virtually demand the integration of concepts and findings from different levels of analysis. Leaders, their representatives, or their delegates are frequently involved in intergroup transaction. Leadership is a position within an organization and is subject to its sanctions. A leader is also involved in repeated interpersonal interactions with other members; and, in the ordinary train of affairs, the leader position is usually occupied for considerable periods of time by the same individual.

With a critical eye on related approaches and research, the author summarizes a conceptual scheme found useful in dealing with interpersonal and group interaction. Then he proposed extensions of the scheme to the level of intergroup interaction, pointing to existing gaps in research. The latter include, notably, persistent issues concerning the power structures within groups which affect leaders and their representatives in transactions with other groups, especially in committing their groups to some course.

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This article is one of the series of essays dealing with the social process in the modern prison. It describes the degree of conflict between the inmate and staff communities. It describes the privately expressed conception of each about appropriate conduct in institutions. It also examines the differences in perceptions between inmates and staff members about the attitudes that staff and inmates are believed

to have about appropriate conduct. The results suggest that there is less conflict between inmates and staff on a private attitudinal level than is usually reported on the basis of observed accounts. The social organization of the prison operates, however, to create a perception of severe conflict in role expectation between the two sub-groups.

Since bias and perception of social role is a product of the institution's structure, according to the author, changes in these perceptions require changes in the social organizations of the institution. A final section suggests some conditions under which the inmate culture and social structure might be modified productively.

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SECTION III: EMPHASIS ON
INTERORGANIZATIONAL CONFLICT

27. Beckhard, Richard. "The Confrontation Meeting," Harvard Business Review XLV, No. 2, (1967), 149-153.

The writer presents an explanation of the advantages and disadvantages of the confrontation meeting. The confrontation meeting is defined as an activity that allows a total management group, drawn from all levels of the organization, to take a quick reading on its own health, and--within a matter of hours--to set action plans for improving it. Sometimes, following situations of organizational stress, the elapsed time in moving from identification of the problem to collaborative action planning must be extremely brief. The confrontation meeting can be carried out in 4 1/2 to 5 hours' working time, and it is designed to include the entire management of a large system in a joint action-planning program.

The writer presents three case studies and states that experience shows that it is appropriate where:

1. There is a need for the total management group to examine its own workings.

2. Very limited time is available for the activity.

3. Top management wishes to improve the conditions quickly.

4. There is enough cohesion in the top team to insure follow-up.

5. There is real commitment to resolving the issues on the part of top management.

6. The organization is experiencing, or has recently experienced, some major change.

The positive results in the operations are that procedures which have been confused are clarified. In addition, practices which have been non-existent are initiated. Another advantage is that task forces, and/or temporary systems, are set up as needed. Still another improvement is in providing guidance to top management as to specific areas needing priority attention.

The positive results in the area of organizational health are as follows:

1. A high degree of open communication between various departments and organizational levels is achieved very quickly.

2. The information collected is current, correct, and checkable.

3. Larger numbers of people get ownership of the problem, since everyone has some influence through his unit's guidance to the

top management team; thus people feel they have made a real contribution. Even more, the requirement that each functional unit take personal responsibility for resolving some of the issues broadens the base of ownership.

4. Collaborative goal setting at several levels is demonstrated and practiced.

5. The top team can take corrective actions based on valid information.

6. There tends to be an increase in trust and confidence both toward the top management team and toward colleagues.

Three potential disadvantages or problems are as follows:

1. If the top management team does not really use the information from its subordinates, or if there are great promises and little follow-up action, more harm can be caused to the organization's health than if the event were never held.

2. Another possible difficulty is that the functional units, full of enthusiasm at the meeting, set unrealistic or impractical goals and commitments. The behavior of the key man in each unit--usually a department manager or division head--is crucial in keeping suggestions in balance.

3. One more possible problem may appear when the functional units select a few priority issues to report out. While these issues may be the most urgent, they are not necessarily the most important. Mechanisms for working all of the information need to be developed within each functional unit.

28. Blake, Robert R. and Jane Mouton, Herbert Shepard.   "Strategies for Improving Headquarters-Field Relations," Managing Intergroup Conflict in Industry, Houston, Texas: Gulf Publishing Company, 1964, pp. 114-121.

A headquarters-field laboratory was established to resolve conflict between two organizational components. This chapter describes the five phases used in this laboratory:

Phase I: Listing issues requiring joint problem-solving.

Phase II: Preparation of departmental self-images and images of the other department.

Phase III: Exchange of images.

Phase IV: Subgroup meetings based on similarity of function in field and headquarters.

Phase V: Review and Planning. Both sides came to see clearly that making and implementing new or changed policy is a complex process requiring <u>continuous feedback</u> among those involved. Efforts to implement a change are experiments the results of which need to be quickly available to the organization. They are reality-tests which may lead to policy modification, and they are explorations to find sufficient methods of implementation. The policy-making—and implementing process are thus seen as an innovation phase requiring open communication and collaboration among members of the leadership groups.

Phase VI: Followup. Realizing that planning is insufficient to bring about desired results, the groups established some means for operational followup. The groups also agreed to reconvene for review and evaluation after a period of implementation. The purpose of this meeting would be to insure that they could find ways to handle possible difficulties in carrying out the plans of Phase V, and "in checking on the health" of the relationship. Thus, if new sources of friction were to arise for which no problem-solving procedure was available, they could be dealt with appropriately.

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29. Blake, Robert R. and Jane Mouton, Herbert Shepard. "An Intergroup Problem-Solving Approach to Mergers," <u>Managing Intergroup Conflict in Industry</u>, by Blake, Shepard, Mouton, Houston, Texas: Gulf Publishing Co., 1964, pp. 146-152.

This chapter is an account of a merger laboratory. Its findings are quite important for intergroup conflict resolution. A major goal of the merger laboratory was to bring about commitment to new ways of working together. Another goal was to identify and find solutions to problems lodged in the clash of traditions and devergent operational practice. Overall, the goal was to move the companies toward a collaborative union through a problem-solving orientation.

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         Jane S. Mouton and   Conflict in Union-Management Relations," Managing
         Richard L. Sloma.   Intergroup Conflict in Industry by Blake, Shepard
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       The writers illustrate how intergroup conflict undergrids much of
modern complex organizational life. More than ever there is
interdependence between the groups. This interdependence can help
move organizations toward the accomplishment of mutual goals, or, it can
breed hostile and disruptive conflicts. Once conflict erupts, it is
difficult to control. It can consume everything and everyone it touches.

       The Intergroup Laboratory permits those groups in conflict to come
together and work through the tensions and frictions that have built
up during extended hostility. Confrontation at this level permits
participants to get beneath the issues separating them and to gain
knowledge of the misunderstandings and associated tensions. Once areas
of friction have been identified and tensions reduced, the two groups
can effectively solve their operational problems.

       The writers indicate that the greatest impact will become evident
when new issues and different problems arise. Here, the parties are
able to apply themselves in a problem-solving manner. In other words,
the background of conflict does not recede. Rather, it remains to
color and influence old issues born in that era. However, new issues,
do not have a past anchorage and need not have the same tug in the
direction of old norms and past practices. Members in both groups are
not bound by old expectations. Instead, they are free to explore jointly
for new solutions under the collaborative conditions produced by the
intergroup therapy sequence.

       One other point deserves special emphasis. Correcting a situation
of long-term chronic hostility requires continuous and diligent followup
efforts. As much as a five-year span may be needed before the root
system that produced the original animosities can be replaced by a new
and healthier root system--one that can cause the relationship to flourish.

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31. Boulding, Elise. "Further Reflections on Conflict Management," Power
and Conflict in Organizations, ed. by Robert Kahn and
Elise Boulding, New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1964,
pp. 146-150.

A serious devisive force in many organizations are "conflict traps"
or hidden conflicts that permanently divide groups and engender future
conflicts. Only an outside consultant can provide the detached objectivity
to detect the sources of these hidden conflicts.

Another problem is the relation of cultural factors to conflict
management. For example, our culture regards the individual who does
have an aggressive problem-solving orientation as ill-mannered. We
need further research to examine the relationship between differing
cultural values and their effect on techniques of conflict management.

A further problem in conflict management is to know what issues
are sufficiently crucial to warrant the expense and dysfunctional
consequences of confrontation.

Lastly, we need more research into the question of interpersonal
relationships in organizations aiming at social innovations which will
enable progressively larger groups to function more at the problem-solving
level and less at that of limited war.

Boulding, Kenneth. "The Organization As a Party to Conflict," Conflict and Defense, by Kenneth Boulding, New York: Harper and Bros., 1962, pp. 145-165.

The writer presents an analogy between individual and organizational conflict. In spite of the greater complexities of organizational conflict, the similarities bulk larger than the differences. The clue to the character of any conflict system is the self-images of the parties. In the case of an individual, this may be a fairly simple, unified image; in the case of an organization, we must consider the images of its many participant members, and the chain by which information reaches these members and modifies the images is longer, more diffuse, and correspondingly more capable of false transmissions. Even in the case of large organizations, however, the image of certain key persons occupying top roles is of dominating importance, and even though the process by which these images are created and modified is more complex, it is not essentially different from that by which the image of an individual is created and modified.

Much of the theory of conflicting organizations applies equally well either to organizations or to persons. The main difference lies in the greater capacity of organizations for growth and, therefore, for incompatibility in their self-images. Persons are sharply limited in extent by their biological structure; organizations are much less limited in this way, though, even here, the biological limits on the capacity for the receipt of information and for the elaboration of images may be important. For this reason, Boulding concludes, organizational conflict is likely to be more extensive, more diffuse, and perhaps more dangerous than the conflict of persons. It is not, however, an essentially different system.

33. Boulding, Kenneth E. "A Pure Theory of Conflict Applied to Organizations," Power and Conflict in Organizations, ed. by Robert Kahn and Elise Boulding, New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1964, pp. 136-45.

Boulding presents an excellent definition and description of the four basic concepts of conflict theory: the parties to the conflict, the field of conflict, the dynamics of the conflict situation, and the management and control of conflict.

There must be at least two parties to conflict; however, these parties may be persons, groups, or organizations.

The field of conflict is defined as the whole set of relevant possible states of the social system. Boulding further explains that any state of the social system which either of the parties to a conflict considers relevant is a relevant state.

The author explains the dynamics of the conflict situation as the field consisting of the combination of the position of the two parties wherein each party simply adjusts its own position to what it believes the position of the other party to be. Under this section the author explains, the possible systemic developments of negative trading, system breaks, and alternating conflict systems.

The fourth concept, conflict management, is defined as existing when there is an apparatus somewhere in the system which can perceive that the system is approaching the boundary of pathology and can then set forces in motion to reverse the movement of the system and pull it away from the boundary. These control mechanisms may be either unilateral or organizational. Mediation is seen as particularly effective.

Boulding calls for further studies to substantiate his belief that organizations fail as a result of their inability to provide for the essential function of conflict-resolution. He maintains that they must establish organizational machinery and encourage peacemaking personalities in order to resolve conflict.

34. Dutton, John M. and Walton, Richard E. "Interdepartmental Conflict and Cooperation: Two Contrasting Studies," Human Organization, 25, (1966), 207-220.

This report compares and contrasts emergent behavioral patterns in two district organizations. It focuses on how personnel of functionally interdependent departments enter into the process of joint decision-making and otherwise relate to each other. The study is based on data gathered through field observations and interviews.

The two case studies of conflict and collaboration presented here are especially fruitful objects of analysis because they are placed in the same general technological, economic, and market context and within the same overall organizational structure. The two company districts had the same basic task. Within each district, production and sales tasks included independent and interdependent aspects. Yet the two emergent relationships differed dramatically. In one district, production and sales each adopted a narrow, exclusive goal structure and engaged in reciprocal organizational strategies and tactics of conflict. In sharp contrast, each of the two parties at another district adopted goals that embraced the other's operating objectives and pursued strategies of collaboration.

The discussion first analyzes the technological and economic inter-dependence of the production and sales departments. Subsequently the relationship syndrome is described point by point in each district. The discussion then turns to the stabilizing processes in each relationship; the factors which may account for the different patterns in the two districts; and the consequences of these patterns for the participants

and for the larger organization.

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Strauss, G. "Tactics of Lateral Relationship: The Purchasing Agent," Administrative Science Quarterly, VII (Sept. 1962), 161-186; "Work-Flow Frictions, Interfunctional Rivalry, and Professionalism: A Case Study of Purchasing Agents," Human Organization, XXIII (Summer, 1964), 137-149.

35. Katz. Daniel. "Approaches to Managing Conflict," Power and Conflict in Organizations, ed. by Robert Kahn and Elise Boulding, New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1964, pp. 105-114.

Katz emphasizes that much organizational conflict has a rational basis. He lists three fundamental types of built-in, rational conflict: 1) Functional conflict induced by various subsystems; 2) Struggle between functional units in direct competition with one another; and 3) Hierarchial conflict stemming from interest-group struggles over the organizational rewards of status, prestige, and monetary return.

The author presents three strategies for dealing with various types of conflict. The first strategy is making the system work. Under this strategy there are four possible remedial approaches. The first is group therapy within the plant. The second is feedback of research information into the plant. The third is group laboratory training in a setting outside the organization. The fourth is the central organization school, to which members of various departments may be sent to gain additional skills in management and interpersonal relations.

The second strategy is developing additional machinery for conflict adjudication. The development of adjudication machinery puts the emphasis on controlling conflict rather than eliminating it. However, Katz states that the adjudication process must be made to "cost" something for individuals and groups using it (in terms of prestige or embarassment), so that the existence of the machinery itself does not act as a stimulus for every little grievance to develop into a conflict.

The third strategy, and the one that is usually tried last, is changing the institutional structure so that there is less built-in conflict. Katz presents a number of specific examples of where this has been done, and he clarifies the problems that have to be dealt with. The author concludes that conflict (group or individual) is not necessarily bad, and that organizations without internal conflict are on their way to dissolution.

36. Walton, Richard E. "Third Party Roles in Interdepartmental Conflict," Industrial Relations, Vol. 7, No. 1, October 1967, pp. 29-43.

The paper analyzes third party roles and interventions which are designed to assist in the resolution or control of interunit conflict and reviews organizational studies which have implications for such an analysis. "Third party" refers to any nonparticipant in a conflict who may facilitate the resolution or control of conflict between primary departments. In terms of organizational positions, potential third parties include: a higher organizational executive, a third peer department not directly involved in the interunit conflict, a separate unit formally assigned to coordinate the activities of two primary units, or an internal or outside organizational consultant.

The discussion takes up four types of intervention: (1) to reduce or eliminate the conflict potential in a situation; (2) to resolve directly a substantive issue in disupte; (3) to facilitate the parties' effort to manage a particular conflict; and (4) to help the parties change their conflict-prone relationships.

Regarding role attributes and interventions, Walton states that a third party may be related to the principals as an organizational superior, consultant, separate coordinating unit, or peer. These four role relationships differ in many respects, including the magnitude and types of power available to the third party, the degree of impartiality likely to be attributed to the third party, and the degree of relevant knowledge possessed by the third party. Given the need for inter-departmental coordination, the more differentiated the basic department's orientations, the more likely it is that a continuous specialized third party can contribute to the resolution of interunit conflicts. But, if organizational differentiation is not great the interventions of a third party can reduce rather than enhance coordination.

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   (2)   Pertaining to resolving substantive issues

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37. · Walton, Richard E., and Dutton, John M.   "Interdepartmental Conflict and Its Management; A General Model and Review," Krannert Graduate School of Industrial Administration, Purdue University, March 1968.

This paper presents a general model of interdepartmental conflict and its management together with a review of the relevant literature. The model contains five panels of related variables: conflict antecedents, attributes of the emergent lateral relationships, interface management activities, consequences of the relationship pattersn, and higher executive response. The general model is postulated as applicable to all lateral relations between two organizational units (departments, divisions, sections, etc.) which engage in any type of transaction, including joint decision making, exchanging information, providing expertise or advice, and auditing or inspecting.

The authors state that several features of the model of interunit conflict deserve emphasis. First, no a priori assumption is made that interunit conflict should be reduced. Second, the model recognizes a large number of potential determinants of conflict and conflict reinforcement syndromes. Third, the model incorporates contextual and structural factors emphasized by sociologists and economists, as well as interpersonal interaction phenomena studied by social psychologists. Fourth, the model of the internal dynamics of the emergent relationship

particularly enlightens the unfreezing problems for any change process. Fifth, permanent improvement in a system's ability to manage interunit conflict is shown to require sophistication of the executive response function.

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SECTION IV: SOME GENERAL
COMMENTS ON CONFLICT

38. Boulding, Kenneth E. Conflict and Defense, A General Theory, Harper and Row, New York: 1962, 346 pp.

The author attempts to study conflict as a general social process. He emphasizes that the game theory approach to conflict is far too narrow. He states that for a true understanding of conflict, we also have to examine love, affection, empathy, and community of feeling. These are concepts alien to the theory of games. This work purports simply to identify and build theoretical models of a set of social processes related to the phenomenon of conflict. Its theory is ethically neutral and capable of producing many different ethical positions.

39. Coser, Lewis. The Functions of Social Conflict. The Free Press, New York: 1964, 188 pp.

This is a very comprehensive work dealing with various types of conflicts in different social structures. It contains sixteen propositions as to the functions and effects of conflict. The author concludes that conflict tends to be dysfunctional for a social structure in which there is no or insufficient toleration and institutionalization of conflict. The intensity of a conflict which threatens to "tear apart," which attacks the consensual basis of a social system, is related to the rigidity of the structure. What threatens the equilibrium of such a structure is not conflict as such, but the rigidity itself which permits hostilities to accumulate and to be channeled along one major line of cleavage once they break out in conflict.

40. Deutsch, Morton. "Cooperation and Trust: Some Theoretical Notes," in Nebraska Symposium or Motivation 1962, Marshall R. Jones (ed.), Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962, pp. 275-318.

This paper is well-developed and carefully documented and places a heavy emphasis on gaming. It is divided into three major sections. The first considers the psychological consequences of cooperation and competition. It is guided by the Meadian Thesis that cooperation breeds new motives, attitudes, values, and capabilities. These, in turn, may have functional or dysfunctional consequences for the maintenance of effective cooperation. The second section deals with the conditions which lead to the initiation of cooperation. The third section is concerned with the relation between trust and cooperation.

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41. Deutsch, Morton. "Conflicts: Productive and Destructive," Vol. XXV, Number 1, Journal of Social Issues, 1969, pp. 7-41.

This is a concise comprehensive review of varied conflict situations and processes. However, the writer emphasized the fact that social scientists have rarely directed their attention to the defensiveness and resistance of the strong and powerful in the face of the need for social change. Deutsch states that we have focused too much on the turmoil and handicaps of those in low power and not enough on the defensiveness and resistance of the powerful. He concludes that it is more important that the educational institutions, the economic and political systems be changed so that they will permit those groups who are now largely excluded from important positions of decision-making to share power than to try to inculcate new attitudes and skills in those who are excluded.

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42. Goldman, Ralph M. "A Theory of Conflict Processes and Organizational Offices," Vol. X, Number 3, Journal of Conflict Resolution, September 1966, pp. 328-343.

The writer presents eight hypotheses that should be tested to help identify the approaches to the variables of conflict resolution. His article develops a theoretical mode of observation rather than a concrete guide to measurement. The writer suggests that we should study conflict from a conflict cycle approach just as business has been analyzed from a business cycle vantage. The development of the business cycle approach led to its acknowledgment as a social process with the consequent development of new insights, knowledge, and skills. Goldman concludes that the conflict process approach to the study of conflict cycles may similarly produce new knowledge.

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43. Mazur, Allan. "A nonrational approach to theories of conflict and coalitions," Vol. XII, Number 2, Journal of Conflict Resolution, June 1968, pp. 196-205.

This article summarized and integrates a very large number of common propositions about conflict and coalition behavior. It may easily be shown, for example, that an increase in conflict will result in the intensity of feeling and polarization of issues frequently observed in conflicts.

The writer maintains that relationships of like: support, conformity, and positive identity tend to coincide; and that relationships of dislike: conflict, divergence, and negative identity tend to coincide. Furthermore, Mazur asserts that this tendency increases with increasing conflict with consonant relationships increasing together.

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44. Rapaport, Anatol. "Critiques of Game Theory," Behavioral Science, Vol. 4, 1959, 49-66.

Game Theory is an attempt to bring within the fold of rigorous deductive method those aspects of human behavior in which conflict and cooperation are conducted in the context of choices among alternatives whose range of outcomes is known to the fullest extent to the participants. Certain problems, however, appeared to be incapable of solution by game theoretical tools due to their ambiguous and complicated nature. In attempting to rectify this inadequacy, workers in game theory introduced concepts which seen to derive from psychology, sociology, and even ethics. They have attempted because of the standards imposed by mathematical discipline, to axiomatize these concepts, so that they could be integrated into the formal method of rigorous deduction.

The process of axiomatization tends to extend the scope of application of rigorous deductions to areas hitherto treated more or less intuitively. Rapaport states that although this axiomatization may seem destructive, it need not be. It may lead to a rethinking to the imposition of certain conditions of validity. Game theoretical analysis, he maintains, helps uncover the tacit assumptions we make in our various conceptions of the like of fairness and justice.

Traditional ethical systems are often stated in terms of a few principles, but their terminology is usually so ambiguous that it is virtually impossible to agree on what are the controversial points which distinguish one ethical system from another. This has been recognized in our legal systems, where rules and procedures are spelled out so as to give to the extent that it is possible extensional definitions of justice. One may agree or disagree with these, but in attacking or defending specific laws, at least it is possible to delineate the areas of agreement and disagreement.

Rapaport asserts that game theory does the same for problems involving both parallel and opposed interests. In offering solutions, it spells out assumed principles of fairness as points of departure for disentangling complicated problems of settlement. In conclusion, therefore, the greatest conceptual value of game theory is in its compelling re-examination of social problems in a new light.

45. Robinson, James A. "Further Problems of Research on International Relations," <u>Intergroup Relations and Leadership</u>, M. Sherif, Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York: 1962, pp. 205-208.

   In this brief article, Robinson raises some questions concerning future research on conflict. He asks whether North's and Sherif's theory of superordinate goals reducing conflict uniformly activates new diplomatic channels or whether it reinforces established procedures. To compete with the superordinate goals hypothesis, the author suggests that one might form other hypotheses with two concepts familiar to the literature on conflict, the number of parties and the number of conflict issues. An example of an hypothesis of this latter type might be as follows: Bipolar conflicts over highly crucial issues are more likely to evoke demands for humanity than conflicts involving a larger number of parties.

<div align="center">References</div>

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46. Schelling, Thomas C. "Game Theory, and the study of ethical systems," Vol. XII, No. 1, <u>Journal of Conflict Resolution</u>, March, 1968, pp. 34-44.

   In this article, some of the deficiencies and limitations of the game theory approach in reference to ethics are examined. The author asks the reader to consider someone who is to make a choice in which he has no personal selfish stake (or is prepared to renounce any personal stake) who says that his only interest is in making the "right" choice--a good or moral or ethical choice. He has no interest in the consequences, he just wants to do the right thing. Game theory, Schelling states, will not be much help since it deals only with the relation of consequence to choices.

   Another implication of focusing on "choice and consequences" the author asserts, is that it eliminates motives from the strategy of decision. However, he concludes that the way game thoery has managed to cope with the infinitely reflexive problems of "he thinks I think he thinks I think..." may provide a model for handling some of the

deficiencies of game thoery approach such as interactions of motives.

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    Problems, 12 (Spring 1965), 367-79.

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    Journal of Conflict Resolution, 2, 2 (June 1958), 156-69.

47. Shepard, Herbert A.   "Responses to Situations of Competition and Conflict,"
                          Power and Conflict in Organizations, ed. by Robert
                          Kahn and Elise Boulding, New York: Basic Books,
                          Inc., 1964, pp. 127-135.

Shepard categorizes methods of conflict resolution as primitive,
modern, and civilized. The primitive methods include suppression and
total war. It was found that suppression while producing compliance
reduces the productivity of the suppressed group or person. Total war
is the least sensible method since both sides suffer tremendous losses.

The modern methods include limited war and bargaining. Examples of
limited war are courtroom battles and opposing groups competing and
being judged. This technique is unproductive in that the defeated group
never feels that justice has been done. Shepard asserts that even
under arbitration the "best judgment" is one in which both parties
feel that they were losers. Shepard defines good bargaining as existing
when each party gives away something that matters little to him and
gets something which means a great deal. He concludes that this leads
toward problem-solving.

The civilized method of resolving conflicts, Shepard asserts, is
problem solving. Problem-solving as a method of conflict resolution

requires trust and mutual identification. The solution will not be acceptable to one unless it is also acceptable to the other. Shepard concludes that, unfortunately, there are no simple techniques for bringing it off in either individual or organizational conflicts.

48. Sherif, Muzafer and Sherif, Carolyn W. "Attitude Formation and Change," in An Outline of Social Psychology. Harper and Bros., New York: 1956, pp. 538-578.

This is a comprehensive article dealing with factors in the formation and change of attitudes. An attitude is inferred from an individual's positive or negative stand toward its referents. It determines a consistent, characteristic mode of reaction in relevant situations, which may involve people, an issue, an institution, an object or value.

The writers illustrate that a critical factor is the originator of the stand presented. An originator who has prestige for the individual may be more effective in extending the range of positions tolerable to him. He may reject a somewhat distant stand less readily if the person who presents it is significant in his eyes. Conversely, he may reject a stand much closer to his own if its source is insignificant or inimical to him. It would follow from this article suggestions for conflict reduction made by police officials to police officers and by probation officials to probation officers would be most effective.

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49. Sherif, Muzafer. "Intergroup Relations and Leadership," Intergroup Relations and Leadership, Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York: 1962, pp. 3-21.

The primary principle empahsized in this article is that intergroup behavior is not primarily a problem of deviate behavior. When there is conflict between two groups, such as a strike or a war, it is usually the more responsible, the more talented, the more exemplary members of the group who are in control. Activities in conflict are conducted by individuals who can withstand the strains imposed by the conflict. When members of a group correctly or incorrectly perceive threat, unjust treatment, or invasion of their rights by another group, opinion in their group is consolidated, slogans are formulated, and decisions are made for effective measures--but not usually by a few neurotic or deviate individuals. Those recognized as the most responsible take the lead.

In reference to what determines the positive or negative nature of interaction between groups, Sherif states that it is determined by

the reciprocal interests of the groups involved and the degree of their significance to the groups in question. The issues at stake must be interests of considerable concern to the groups, if they are to play a part in intergroup relations. A matter of concern may relate to values or goals shared by group members. It may be a real or imagined threat to the safety of the group as a whole, an economic interest, a political advantage, a military consideration, prestige, or a number of others. Once a particular issue comes to the foreground as the dominant influence in intergroup relations, it may become the limiting factor, the main anchorage in the interaction process between them.

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50. Walton, Richard E.   "Legal-Justice, Power Bargaining, and Social Science Intervention: Mechanisms for Settling Disputes," Institute for Research in the Behavioral, Economic and Management Sciences, Institute Paper No. 194, March 1968.

This paper distinguishes between what are offered as fundamentally different mechanisms for settling intrasystem disputes: legal-justice, power-bargaining, and social science intervention. If we assume a dispute between two members of an established social unit, the two parties, as well as a neutral third party, have several contrasting approaches which they may take in settling the dispute.

First, invoking a legal-justice mechanism, they would ask: What are the rules of this social unit? What are the rights and obligations of the participants in this unit? Applying them to the facts in this dispute what is the fairest settlement?

Second, within a power-bargaining approach they would ask: Who is in the more powerful position in this situation? Who could actually force a decision in his favor or at least make it most costly for the other to persist in his position? What settlement is most consistent with the underlying power realities?

The third approach, social science analysis and intervention, would take into account many additional facets of the social system and would attempt to find a resolution to the dispute consistent with the objective of preserving or changing the social system (certain of its characteristics).

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