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ABSTRACT

CULTURE AND CONFLICT: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ORGANIZATIONS
by
Lynn K. Jones

In social service organizations, more time, attention and energy are often invested in staff conflict than in client care. The reasons suggested for this paradox--lack of a generally-accepted program philosophy, personality conflicts and competition for power--all fail to persuade. Something more fundamental is going on: Organizational cultures shape how people relate to one another and how work gets done.

This study documents the types of conflicts that occur in two residential treatment centers, one with high-conflict and one with low-conflict, and examines their organizational cultures. The relationship between the organizational cultures and interdepartmental conflict and the relationship between the organizational cultures and administrative strategies used to manage the conflicts is investigated.

A survey that measures interdepartmental conflict was administered to staff members of ten residential treatment centers. Based on the outcome of this survey two organizations were selected for further study: one with a high index of interdepartmental conflict and one with a low index of interdepartmental conflict. A qualitative analysis was conducted at these two organizations, using archival analysis and structured interviewing.

The major findings of this study were:

The perception of interdepartmental conflict differed significantly among organizations.

The older facilities had less interdepartmental conflict than younger facilities, and nonaccredited facilities had less conflict than accredited facilities.

At the two organizations, culture was the major factor contributing to conflict. A "culture of caring" characterized the low-conflict organization. A "culture of embattlement" characterized the high-conflict organization.

Staff homogeneity differentiated the two cultures. At the low-conflict organization there were few minority staff (15%) whereas at the high-conflict organization, minority staff (71%) comprised a powerful subculture that appeared to be at the root of the conflicts.

Administrative staff were relatively unaware of the importance of the cultures at their organizations. In addition, there were few differences in the management strategies. The differences that existed were determined by the organizational cultures and were not the result of conscious choices made by the administrators themselves.

CULTURE AND CONFLICT: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ORGANIZATIONS

by
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Dedicated to

My Father,

whose unwavering support,

interest and enthusiasm

gave me the courage and strength

to succeed in this endeavor

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CHAPTER I

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

Context of the Problem

As social workers, much of our lives are lived in social service organizations. Ruth Smalley characterized social work as an "institutionalized profession"[1] meaning that "it is institutionalized in agencies and programs under diverse auspices and with diverse sources of support."[2] Living our lives in organizations as we do, we are acutely aware of how our organizations are often battlegrounds for conflict among staff members.

It is well established that the territory of the organization is a fertile breeding place for conflict. In fact, it has been suggested that an organization without conflict is unhealthy and that organizations in which there is little or no conflict may "stagnate."[3] "Organizational conflict as it stands now is considered legitimate,

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[1]Ruth Smalley, Theory for Social Work Practice (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1967), 4.

[2]Ibid., 1.

[3]M. Afazalur Rahim, "A Strategy for Managing Conflict in Complex Organizations," Human Relations 38 (Jan 1985): 82.

inevitable, and even a positive indicator of effective organizational management."[4]

Pondy has suggested that conflict is not an episodic or problematic phenomenon but a pervasive fact of interaction, and it becomes the essence of organization.[5] Given the commonplace nature of conflict in our work environment it is important that we begin to understand the sources of organizational conflict as well as the implications for its management. Researchers have argued that how conflicts are managed is critical to organizational effectiveness.[6]

Conflict in organizations has been defined by Deutsch as incompatible activities, where one person is interfering, obstructing, or in other ways making the behavior of another less effective.[7] Kreisburg defined it as a relationship between two or more parties who believe they have incompatible goals.[8] Tedeschi et al defined conflict as an

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[4]M. Afazalur Rahim, Managing Conflict in Organizations (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1986), 7.

[5]Louis Pondy, "Reflections on Organizational Conflict," Journal of Organizational Change, Change Management (February 1989): 94-98.

[6]Dean Tjosvold, The Conflict-Positive Organization: Stimulate Diversity and Create Unity (Reading, Ma: Addison-Wesley, 1991)

[7]Morton Deutsch, The Resolution of Conflict (New Haven, Ct: Yale University Press, 1973)

[8]Louis Kreisberg, The Sociology of Social Conflicts (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973)

interactive state in which the behaviors or goals of one actor are to some degree incompatible with the behaviors or goals of some other.[9] For Robbins, conflict is simply all kinds of opposition or antagonistic interaction.[10]

Rahim suggests that conflict is "an 'interactive state' manifested in disagreement, differences or incompatibility within or between individuals and groups."[11] He identifies four sources of conflict within organizations: intrapersonal, interpersonal, intragroup, and intergroup. Intergroup conflict refers to "conflict between two or more units or groups within an organization."[12]

It is of interest that intergroup interactions are a source for organizational conflict given the prevalence of organizations that are organized by departments or other structural groups. This type of organizational structure can be traced back over the centuries. Likert and Likert traces it to Moses who reorganized people from an amorphous tribe to a structured organization with staff and a workable

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[9]James T. Tedeschi, B.R. Schlenker, and Thomas V. Bonoma, Conflict, Power and Games (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1973)

[10]Stephen P. Robbins, Managing Organizational Conflict: A Non-Traditional Approach (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974)

[11]Rahim, Managing Conflict in Organizations, 13.

[12]Ibid., 17.

span of control.[13] March and Simon suggest that "an explicit theory of departmentalization can be traced to Aristotle (Politics, Book IV, Chapter 15)."[14]

Ouchi[15] explains that the bureaucratic organization, designed around the specialization of staff, was successful in earlier times in large part because of the social context that existed then. Bureaucracy as it was defined by Max Weber was a model of efficiency ninety years ago. However, Ouchi points out that the bureaucracies of Weber's time existed in provincial, close-knit societies in which members of the same family or close friends worked together in one business or one government bureau. Social bonds of kinship, friendship and religion held them together. "Indeed Weber observed that the principal source of inefficiency in administration stemmed from nepotism and favoritism: The social bonds were so numerous and intimate that 'rational' or impersonal decision making was uncommon."[16] In this context, to have the organization technically specialized

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[13]Rensis Likert and Jane Gibson Likert, New Ways of Managing Conflict (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1976), 13.

[14]James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, Organizations (New York: John Wiley & Son, Inc., 1958), 41.

[15]William G. Ouchi, Theory Z: How American Business Can Meet the Japanese Challenge (New York: Avon Books, 1981), 53.

[16]Ibid., 53.

and formally directed as a counterbalance to the social intimacy of the workers was a clear advantage. Today, the social context for organizations has changed. Instead of a closely knit society of people who know each other so well they can barely view each other objectively, we now have bureaucratic organizations of people who hardly know each other at all and who are further alienated by the structure that specialization imposes.

While bureaucratic organizations present problems for us in our modern social context, this organizational structure often still prevails. Indeed, social service organizations are most frequently departmentally organized: employees are grouped together according to role, function, and title. This is considered to be efficient for program management and staff supervision. These groupings allow staff members with similar training and job responsibilities to work together in setting goals, developing program ideas, implementing therapeutic interventions and evaluating results. A consequence of this reasonable and logical form of organization is often, however, intergroup conflict resulting in poor communication and inefficient service delivery.

March and Simon suggest that there will be more conflict between departments that share a common service unit than between units that do not, and the conflict will

center on the resource provided by the service unit.[17] Social service organizations share a "common service unit"--the client--and, therefore, appear to be at high risk for conflict and disagreement about service delivery from the respective units.

We recognize this in our work as helping professionals, since the barriers to success in the helping process frequently seem to involve other professional staff who are trying to help the same client. As social workers we have come to see that both positive human development and problems in living are the result of complex interactions between physical, social and educational factors. Unfortunately, no problem or disorder seems to result from a single factor. Our clients' difficulties emerge from the interaction of personal, social and environmental elements, many of which are beyond our ability to control or even modify. It is rare for an individual to receive services from a single helping professional. Instead, we usually call on several highly-trained specialists to analyze and intervene with specific aspects of the problem. Sometimes these specialists work together as a team. Often, however, each discipline provides a particular service without consulting the other professionals serving the same client.

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[17]March and Simon, Organizations, 122.

March and Simon address this issue and suggest that "homogeneity" of participants will facilitate a sharing of goals and a reduction of conflict.[18] As described above, in our work, the "participants" are typically not homogeneous, coming from different professions and disciplines and thus, contributing to a situation ripe for conflict. Garner asserts that interdepartmental problems, especially poor communication, "is a major factor inhibiting the therapeutic process in all human service programs."[19] Dubinskas also feels that the problem of cross-functional discord remains common and intractable in organizations despite efforts to create cross-functional integration.[20]

Administrators are familiar with this problem and often find that they must invest disproportionate amounts of time in what staff have either done or not done, rather than what the clients are doing.

Shulman suggests that this is not unusual,

> My observations of staff systems have indicated that difficulties between staff members often occupy

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[18]Ibid., 125.

[19]Howard Glen Garner, Helping Others Through Teamwork: A Handbook for Professionals (Washington, DC: Child Welfare League of America, Inc, 1988), 7.

[20]Frank A. Dubinskas, "Culture and Conflict: The Cultural Roots of Discord," in Hidden Conflict in Organizations: Uncovering Behind-the-Scenes Disputes, ed. Deborah M. Kolb and Jean M. Bartunek (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1992), 189.

> the greatest portion of staff time and energy. When one inquires what the prime source of frustration is for staff members (particularly in large and complex systems and especially if the staff is interdisciplinary), the answer is 'interstaff relations.'[21]

Garner says, "The departmental model brings out the worst in us. In departments, each profession builds its own little empire. Each department protects its territory, its power, and its status."[22]

It is striking that the professionals and paraprofessionals who are the behavior models for children with problems in our social service organizations have such communication and relationship problems themselves, making an effective program almost out of reach.

> Those who counsel, teach, and live with the children in our institutions explain daily to their charges that human problems can be resolved, but in their relationships with one another they frequently model some of the same behaviors they seek to correct in the children. The form and style of the distrust, backbiting, and hurting may appear more respectable in the adult system than it does in the child system, but the net effect is also more destructive.[23]

An issue of "confidentiality" often develops among staff in this situation, and this serves to exacerbate the problem of communication. In order to keep the clients from

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[21]Lawrence Shulman, The Skills of Helping: Individuals, Families, and Groups (Itasca, Illinois: F. E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1992), 632.

[22]Garner, 66.

[23]Ibid., 7.

being the first to know, staff withhold information from each other in the name of confidentiality--information that is necessary to resolve the problems. March and Simon propose that "incomplete sharing of information leads to intraorganizational disagreement."[24] Garner suggests that this is a common experience and "leads staff members in all departments to experience despair or anger and to consider resigning."[25] Van Maanen in a study of London police officers found that access to information about cases amongst police officers was personalized and often not shared because they were afraid of leaks, how they appeared to others or that they would be drawn away from their case at hand.[26]

Different theories regarding what creates interdepartmental problems have been proposed. One is that there is a "missing element"--a generally-accepted program philosophy and treatment approach. This is based on the observation that conflicts between individuals from different departments often seem to be derived from

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[24]March and Simon, Organizations, 127.

[25]Garner, 8.

[26]John Van Maanen, "Drinking Our Troubles Away: Managing Conflict in a British Police Agency," in Hidden Conflicts in Organizations: Uncovering Behind-the-Scenes Disputes, ed. Deborah M. Kolb and Jean M. Bartunek (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1992), 56.

differing theoretical and philosophical orientations. In social service organizations, the differences in treatment philosophy often occur along departmental lines, with psychology, psychiatry, social work, and education in conflict.

Fahlberg suggests that interdepartmental conflict, when it occurs in residential treatment centers, results from a lack of a philosophical base:

> Staff conflicts are damaging to the health of the child, the staff and the program. This is likely to be the scenario when there is not a unifying philosophical framework. This does not mean that a broad variety of techniques cannot be used, but rather that they must all be subservient to the central theme of treatment as articulated by the organization's philosophy.[27]

While the lack of an organizing philosophical base is a plausible explanation for interdepartmental conflict, Seiler points out that it does not necessarily explain the problem. He cites diverse work groups that are able to work well together despite their lack of organizing philosophical principles, as well as groups that have philosophically similar points of view and who do not work well together, "going out of their way to make trouble for each other."[28]

Another explanation for interdepartmental conflict

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[27]Vera Fahlberg, ed., Residential Treatment: A Tapestry of Many Therapies (Indianapolis, In: Perspective Press, 1990), 50-51.

[28]John A. Seiler, "Diagnosing Interdepartmental Conflict," Harvard Business Review (Sept/Oct 1963): 121-122.

focuses on relationship difficulties or personality "clashes" among the staff members. Administrators commonly lament, "if staff got to know each other as people they would be able to work together more effectively." It is frequently asserted that "the right kind of people" would be able to work together without the competition and conflict that sabotage the program. Seiler points out that this explanation also falls short of explaining the problem since a group composed of like-minded personalities is rare. We also know that some groups that are highly productive sometimes are personally antagonistic.[29]

A third popular explanation for interdepartmental conflict puts the blame on competition between groups for authority, power, and influence. Proponents of this theory believe that breakdowns occur because each department operates from an entrenched position that, if compromised, will bring the group nothing but defeat and loss of influence. But Seiler points out that the logical conclusion of this theory is that the only productive relationship between groups would be one in which either or both groups had no desire or opportunity for influence over the other, making a passive relationship the only vehicle for successful work relations. This is implausible because

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[29]Ibid., 121.

we know that many of the most productive relations are between groups that are aggressive and confidently seeking high achievement.[30]

None of these common explanations adequately explains interdepartmental conflict. More often interdepartmental conflict seems to be related to a combination of many factors, some of which are known and some of which seem to be hidden.

Bryans and Cronin state the problem well:

> Given the variety of causes for conflict, it is clear that the formal means of control, as well as the informal sources of power, will occasionally if not frequently be used to achieve a group's or an individual's ends. This situation, it should be noted, cannot be accounted for by a unitary view of the organization. The pluralist view recognizes the existence of many different interest groups with different objectives, influenced by different value systems and working with the power structure of the organization.[31]

Perhaps "culture" is dictating how each department is functioning and relating to other departments. What defines an organization's culture is hardly tangible, but it nonetheless profoundly affects the way people feel about each other and how the work gets done. It has been said that an organization's culture originates from "unconscious

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[30]Ibid., 122.

[31]P. Bryans and T. P. Cronin, Organization Theory, ed. C. Gilles van Wijk (New York: Facts on File Publications, 1984), 67.

relational patterns."[32] The attributes of organizational culture will be delineated later in the chapter but some of the salient characteristics of organizational culture are: organizational values and preferred ways of thinking and working; perceptions about power, professionalism, work hours and office locations. These beliefs, values and preferred ways-of-doing-things are not openly discussed but clearly have an impact on the way groups in the organization relate to each other.

If any member of the culture were asked to describe it, he or she most likely would not be able to do so. However, if one sits through meetings, the cultural artifacts assert themselves. Culture is speaking, expressing a belief that is no longer conscious--an example of "the way things are done around here."

Cultural barriers seem to contribute to the lack of interdepartmental cooperation. Shafritz and Ott suggest that "... a strong organizational culture literally controls organizational behavior: For example, an organizational culture can block an organization from making changes that

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[32]Michael A. Diamond, The Unconscious Life of Organizations: Integrating Organizational Identity, (New York: Quorum, 1993)

are needed to adapt to a changing environment."[33]

Clearly, cultural barriers are problematic because they may negate the effectiveness of typical strategies for managing interdepartmental conflict. Without a live understanding of the cultural barriers, typical strategies for managing interdepartmental conflict are likely to fail.

> From the organizational culture perspective, the personal preferences of organizational members are not restrained by systems of formal rules, authority, and norms of rational behavior. Instead, they are controlled by cultural norms, values, beliefs and assumptions. In order to understand or predict how an organization will behave under varying circumstances, one must know and understand the organization's patterns of basic assumptions--its organizational culture.[34]

March and Simon have suggested that an organization reacts to conflict by four major processes: problem-solving, persuasion, bargaining, and 'politics'.[35] In a problem-solving approach, it is assumed that objectives are shared and that the decision problem is to identify a solution that satisfies the shared criteria. Thus, in the problem-solving process the importance of assembling information is stressed, search behavior is increased and considerable emphasis is placed on evoking new alternatives. However,

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[33]Jay M. Shafritz and Steven J. Ott, Classics of Organization Theory (Pacific Grove, California: Brooks/ Cole Publishing Company, 1992), 482.

[34]Ibid., 482.

[35]March and Simon, Organizations, 129.

from a cultural perspective, the strategy is flawed because the central assumption that objectives are shared is not realistic.

In the case of persuasion, it is assumed that individual goals may differ within the organization and that goals need not be taken as fixed. Implicit in the use of persuasion is the belief that at some level objectives are shared and that disagreement over subgoals can be mediated by a reference to common goals. There is less reliance on information-gathering than in problem-solving and a greater emphasis on testing subgoals for consistency with other objectives. Again, from a cultural perspective, this strategy is inadequate since it also assumes that goals and objectives are shared.

Where a bargaining approach is used, disagreement over goals is taken as fixed, and agreement is sought without persuasion. One of the major questions in bargaining theory is the extent to which bargaining solutions represent appeals to shared values of fairness. A bargaining process can be identified by its properties of acknowledged conflict of interests, threats, falsification of position, and gamesmanship. From a cultural perspective, this strategy would only be successful if cultural perceptions are taken into account.

In politics, like bargaining, there is intergroup

conflict of interest. However, the arena of give-and-take is not fixed by the participants. Again, to be effective this strategy must consider cultural concerns.

For multidisciplinary social service organizations, especially those organizations known as residential treatment centers, interdepartmental conflict is a major problem that is not easily understood or explained. Organizational culture is implicated in numerous ways in the interdepartment relational problems for these organizations. The second chapter on the History of the Problem explains how the thinking about organizations evolved to include a perspective of organizational culture, which documents why issues of interdepartment relations need to be considered within the context of organizational culture.

In summary, the context of the problem concerns interdepartmental relations in residential treatment centers. Because departments in these organizations typically lack homogeneity and have a common service unit they are arenas ripe for conflict. The problem is further complicated by organizational cultures--ways of doing things, beliefs, and values that are no longer conscious. These cultures have a profound effect on the way departments are viewed and how conflicts are perceived, and cultural factors determine how the conflicts can be successfully managed.

This study examines the presence of cultures in organizations and how these cultures influence interdepartmental relations. The strategies administrators employ to manage conflicts between departments and the effect of these strategies on the organizational culture are also examined.

The study is a systematic exploratory study as defined by Kahn.

> Here, the objective is the identification of sound questions, promising concepts, and preliminary hypotheses in a field which as yet has had limited development and therefore, is not prepared for elaborate experimental designs to test complex, abstract hypotheses.[36]

The data were gathered by the use of archival study, structured interviews and the administration of a questionnaire.

As a social work effort, it is expected that the information generated by this study will expand existing social work knowledge. Social workers in organizations responsible for delivering effective client care are in constant interaction with groups and individuals from other departments and play a central role in the linkages of various professionals. As social work administrators, they have a vested interest in managing organizations in which

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[36]Alfred J. Kahn, "The Design of Research," in Social Work Research, ed. Norman A. Polansky (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960), 51.

departments are able to work together in a collaborative and cooperative way. Central to the skill of a social worker in a multidisciplinary organization is a broad understanding of organizational factors that optimize interdepartmental relations. The findings of this study could be helpful in this endeavor.

The Study Problem

This study seeks to develop understanding of interdepartmental conflict in the multidisciplinary organizations known as residential treatment centers and the role that organizational culture plays in these conflicts. Identifying and describing the interdepartmental conflict in two residential centers--one with high conflict and one with low conflict--is the initial step in attempting to understand and explain how culture is operating within the organization.

The purpose of this study is to describe the organizational culture of two residential treatment centers and how organizational culture contributes to high or low interdepartmental conflict. The specific objectives of this study are:

To identify and describe how administrators manage and understand interdepartmental conflict in two organizations.

To identify and describe the strategies administrators use in two organizations to manage interdepartmental conflict and how this affects the organizational culture.

To identify attributes of the organizational cultures in two organizations, one with high interdepartmental conflict and one with low interdepartmental conflict.

To identify and describe how the organizational culture in two organizations contributes to interdepartmental conflict in those organizations.

To compare and contrast the organizational cultures in two organizations, one with high interdepartmental conflict and one with low interdepartmental conflict.

Study Questions and Hypotheses

The following are the research questions and hypotheses:

Question I: To what extent do interdepartmental conflicts exist within an organization?

Hypothesis I: If administrators are unaware of interdepartmental conflicts, then the conflicts will be more extensive and have a more serious impact.

Question II: Are interdepartmental conflicts a function of diverse departmental cultures and, if so, are they affected by the coping mechanisms used in the organization to manage interdepartmental conflicts?

Hypothesis II: If administrators have set up managerial ways of handling interdepartmental conflicts, then the organizational culture will support cooperative relations between departments.

Question III: How aware of conflicts within the organization are the administrators and what do they do to mediate conflicts?

Hypothesis III: Interdepartmental conflict is usually an "open secret" and therefore, it is rarely addressed head-on by administrators.

Question IV: To what extent does the organization rely on informal communication between departments and how does the use of informal communication relate to interdepartmental conflict?

Hypothesis IV: When there is a greater reliance on formal communication among departments, then fewer opportunities for misperception and conflict between departments will occur, and when organizations depend on informal communication there will be greater conflict

between departments.

Question V: How aware are the administrators of their organizational cultures and what do they do to influence them?

Hypothesis V: Administrators will be largely unaware of their organizational cultures and, therefore, will not have mechanisms established to influence them.

Critical Concepts

The following concepts and issues are central to an understanding of organizational culture and interdepartmental conflict. The concepts are related to the study questions and hypotheses.

Organizational Culture

Basic to this study is the concept of organizational culture. One author has described culture as existing in

> the ether of interaction--in symbols, feelings, informal expectations, and learned values that allow interaction between people to make sense ... What the culture provides is a design for living, a design that is fashioned and supported as much in formal as in informal expectations.[37]

Others have described organizational culture as "the glue

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[37]Stephen Hill, "Technology, Corporate Culture, and the Insurance Industry: The Australian Experience," Technology in Society 12 (USA: Pergamon Press, 1990): 11.

that holds the organization together,"[38] "the social tissue,"[39] "how we do things around here,"[40] "the social energy that moves people to act,"[41] or "the fabric of meaning."[42] During the past decade, literature advocating an "organizational cultural approach" to the understanding and management of organizations has been produced at an ever-increasing rate.[43] "Culture" is a powerfully evocative word and concept and has been adopted by a wide range of organizational theorists to try to understand, explain, predict and control behavior in organizations.

Theorists and researchers utilizing an organizational culture perspective for the study of organizations

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[38]Thomas J. Peters and R. H. Waterman, In Search of Excellence: Lessons from America's Best-run Companies (New York, New York: Warner Books, 1982)

[39]Andrew M. Pettigrew, "On Studying Organizational Cultures," Administrative Science Quarterly 24 (1979): 570-81.

[40]Rosabeth Kanter, The Change Masters: Innovation for Productivity in the American Corporation (New York, New York: Simon and Schuster: 1984)

[41]Ralph H. Kilmann, Mary J. Saxton, Roy Serpa and Associates eds. Gaining Control of the Corporate Culture (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1985): ix.

[42]Clifford Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures (New York, New York: Basic Books, 1973): 144-5.

[43]Linda Smircich, "Concepts of Culture and Organizational Analysis," Administrative Science Quarterly, 28 (March 1983): 339-358.

acknowledge that the fundamental nature of an organization rests as much in its culture as in the more formal organizational charts and codes of practice;[44] that organizations are "complex patterns of human activity."[45] This perspective is predicated upon recognizing organizations as mini-societies and includes elements associated with the anthropological concept of culture, such as subcultures, norms, rituals, and myths. A cultural perspective also implies that there is some degree to which the norms, or implicit rules of behavior, and the interpretations of rituals and myths are shared among the members of the organization.

> The stability, or organization, of any group activity depends upon the existence of common modes of interpretation and shared understanding of experience. These shared understandings allow day to day activities to become routinized and taken for granted. Through the development of shared meanings...organization members achieve a sense of commonality of experience that facilitates their coordinated action.[46]

These shared meanings and taken-for-granted assumptions are

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[44]Gareth Morgan, Images of Organization, (Beverly Hills, Ca: Sage, 1986)

[45]Gareth Morgan, Peter J. Frost and Louis R. Pondy, "Organizational Symbolism," in Organizational Symbolism, eds. Louis R. Pondy, Peter J. Frost, Gareth Morgan, and T. C. Dandridge (Greenwich, Ct: JAI Press, 1983), 3-35.

[46]Linda Smircich, "Organizations as Shared Meanings" in Organizational Symbolism, eds. Louis R. Pondy, Peter J. Frost, Gareth Morgan, and T. C. Dandridge (Greenwich, Ct.: JAI Press, 1983), 58.

the foundation of organizational culture.

The organizational culture perspective assumes that many organizational behaviors and decisions are almost predetermined by the patterns of basic assumptions held by members of an organization. Those patterns of assumptions continue to exist and to influence behaviors because they repeatedly lead people to make decisions that "worked in the past" for the organization. With repeated use, the assumptions slowly drop out of peoples' consciousness but continue to influence organizational decisions and behaviors, even when the organization's environment changes. They become the underlying, unquestioned, but virtually forgotten reasons "for the way we do things here"--even when they are no longer appropriate. They are so basic, so pervasive, and so totally accepted as "the truth" that no one thinks about or remembers them.

As will be delineated in the Literature Review in Chapter Three, organizational culture has been explored through many different theories (e.g., organizational symbolism, contingency theory, and classical management theory) and in various fields (e.g., anthropology, sociology, semiotics.) The theory used in this inquiry is organizational symbolism.

Organizational symbolism focuses on individuals' interpretations and understandings of their experience and

the meanings they have for the things associated with their work. The specific focus in the study of organizational culture using this theory is upon the organizational values and assumptions that individuals hold, what those values and assumptions mean to them, and the degree to which those values, assumptions, and meanings are shared across the organization.

Interdepartmental Conflict

Interdepartmental conflicts are conflicts between members of different departments. These conflicts may be overt or may be conflicts that are more insidious and are generally not discussed, but nonetheless have a profound affect on how work that necessarily overlaps across departments gets done.

Informal and Formal Communication

Informal and formal communications are patterns of communication within an organization. Formal communication patterns are established, official modes of communication such as, meetings, written memos and reports. Informal communication patterns are made up of unofficial communications--communications that take place outside of meetings, "at the water cooler," or outside of work,

information that is learned through the "grapevine" or through other informal means.

Anticipated Contributions

The study documents the types of interdepartmental conflicts occurring in a multidisciplinary social service organization--a residential treatment center.

The study examines the cultures present in organizations of this kind and how they relate to interdepartmental conflict. The dysfunctional aspects of organizational cultures that are present are analyzed. Prior studies have analyzed the functional, cohesion-producing aspects of organizational cultures.

The study will also document the management strategies used to address interdepartmental conflict and how these strategies relate to organizational culture.

The responsibility for strengthening staff working relationships and for dealing with obstacles that block effective collaboration rests with administrative staff. This study will help administrative staff understand what contributes to a positive working culture among departments. The contribution to practice is likely to be less prescriptive and more analytical. It is anticipated that this study will provide managers with the tools to analyze their organizations rather than universal remedies.

Etzioni suggests that a comparative study of organizations will: Establish universal propositions of organizational theory, reduce overgeneralized propositions to specific statements and develop new propositions, supplementing existing knowledge.[47]

It is anticipated that the findings of this study will establish propositions regarding the presence of organizational cultures in social service organizations as well as propositions about their relationship to interdepartmental conflicts.

In addition, it is anticipated that the findings will document the pervasiveness of interdepartmental conflict within social service organizations and the need for managers to develop strategies for understanding the cultures that exist in their organization.

Study Limitations

This study does not address the effect of interdepartmental conflicts on the clients. Research indicates that when interstaff relationships are poor within a system, there is usually a strong negative effect on services to clients. For example, an interesting research

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[47]Amitai Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations: On Power, Involvement, and Their Correlates (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961), xiv.

project by Stanton and Schwartz indicated that there is an association between staff tensions and psychiatric symptoms on the part of patients in a psychiatric hospital.[48] Polsky also demonstrated that where child care staff are isolated from professional staff and are given only custodial responsibility they accommodate to and actually reinforce, the delinquent client culture in order to maintain order and control.[49] While this aspect of interdepartmental conflict is important for research, it is outside the scope of this study.

The method used in this study also presents several limitations. One limitation is that a sense of the entire organization studied is attained from key informants. In order to be sure that the true picture is being attained one would theoretically need to survey everyone in the organization. While effort has been made to get an accurate cross section of informants, it is possible that an unfortunate choice was made and that the informants selected represent extreme viewpoints and not the general view of organizational members.

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[48]Alfred H. Stanton and Morris F. Schwartz, Mental Hospital: A Study of Institutional Participation in Psychiatric Illness and Treatment. (New York: Basic Books, 1954)

[49]Howard W. Polsky, Cottage Six (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1962)

The complexity of studying organizations precludes a large sample of organizations being studied, presenting another study limitation. Because only two organizations were examined in depth, it is not possible to know if the findings of the study pertain to organizations in general or whether they are specific to the organizations studied.

The organizations selected for study will be limited to a relatively small geographic area, New Jersey. It is possible that the study findings may be related to the accidental situation of being located in New Jersey and not to the organizations themselves.

Using informants as a source of data presents another study limitation. It is impossible to know whether staff are willing to tell the true story or whether they are only telling what they think the researcher wants to hear, thus the accuracy of the data may always be subject to question.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORY OF THE PROBLEM

The focus of this chapter is on how modern organization theories developed to include a perspective that organizations have their own cultures. This will allow the reader to consider the problems of interdepartmental conflict within the context of organizational culture.

Classical Theories of Organizations

The basic tenets of classical organization theory were rooted in the industrial revolution of the 1700's.[50] Classical organization theorists assumed that employees behave rationally in response to economic motivations, that they respond consistently to environmental cues and that individual differences among employees were unimportant.[51] People were manipulable extensions of the machines they operated, and managers applied scientific techniques to design environments that would motivate employees to be more

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[50]Jay M. Shafritz and J. Steven Ott, eds. "Classical Organization Theory," Classics of Organization Theory (Belmont, Ca: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1992), 26.

[51]P. Bryans, T. P. Cronin, 10.

productive in their work.[52]

The organization itself was a super machine. It functioned by rules and regulations as absolute as laws of nature. Authority was centralized and absolute. Communications flowed along rigid channels. Work and responsibility were clearly divided by line and staff roles as well as by specialization and expertise.[53]

Three major schools of thought supported this mechanistic concept: theories of bureaucracy, formal organization theory, and scientific management.

The bureaucratic model was depicted by Weber[54], a German sociologist, as the most appropriate organization for industrial production. The bureaucratic model is based on the notion of rational legal authority, which is the authority inherent in the manager's position in the hierarchical structure. Rules and procedures guide employees' activities and define their positions. Duties and rights are strictly controlled at each level. How the organization functions is to be independent of any

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[52]Amitai Etzioni, Modern Organizations (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), 21-22.

[53]Ibid., 12.

[54]Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills, eds. and trans. From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1946)

along the hierarchical ladder and are based purely on merit. The security of employees is ensured by written rules and procedures that contain what they need to know to do their jobs.[55] Formal organization theory has its origins in the writings of practitioners such as Fayol[56], who felt that organizations could be managed more efficiently if certain universal principles were applied. These principles were in large part in response to the industrial revolution that produced increasingly complex organizations preoccupied with effectiveness and productivity to meet increasing demands.

These principles provided guidelines for formal organizational structure:

Organizational structure is specialized by function and by division of labor. Employees perform differentiated tasks and are allocated to functional departments.

A chain of command establishes a line of authority moving downwards through the organization.

Unity of command is established, with each employee reporting to one supervisor.

A span of control determines the optimum level of effective supervision: five or six subordinates per supervisor.

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[55]Bryans and Cronin, 12.

[56]Henry Fayol, General and Industrial Management (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons Ltd, 1949), 19-42.

Official communication is through the vertical chain of command.

Communication and control is made easier and efficiency improved by a minimum number of authority levels.

Line and staff roles are explicitly defined. Decisions about the production of goods and service are made by line departments, and staff departments provide specialist advice and services to assist the line departments.[57]

Scientific management owes its origins to Frederick Taylor, who produced a number of guidelines for managers to replace the existing "rule of thumb" methods. He asserted that "the best management is a true science, resting upon clearly defined laws, rules and principles ... (and) that whenever these principles are correctly applied, results must follow which are truly astounding." [58] Hierarchical structure and division of labor were implicitly accepted. Taylor focused his attention on how managers could control and coordinate the performance of tasks to improve organizational efficiency. The most efficient methods were analyzed using scientific techniques such as time and motion studies. To induce employees to adopt these methods, Taylor

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[57]Bryans and Cronin, 11-12.

[58]Frederic W. Taylor, The Principles of Scientific Management (New York: Norton, 1967), 7.

introduced incentive schemes such as payment by results.[59] Political, social and cultural changes created new expectations of the proper way to treat people, which placed strains on classical organizational management. The "machine" model of organizations began to lose its relevance.

The increasing complexity of markets, variability of products, increasing number of branch plants and changes in technology all required more adaptive organizations. As mergers and growth proceeded and the firm could no longer be viewed as the "lengthened shadow" of one man (the founding entrepreneur), a search for good leadership became a preoccupation. A good, clear, mechanical structure would no longer suffice.

March and Simon observed that classic organization theories did not account for the problems that might arise between departments. Since the whole set of activities to be performed by departments was to be specified in advance, the only remaining issue was for work to be effectively allocated; once it was, problems of coordination were theoretically eliminated.[60]

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[59]Bryans and Cronin, 11.

[60]March and Simon, Organizations, 45.

Human Relations School

The Hawthorne Experiments, conducted in 1927, demonstrated for the first time that informal social systems exist in organizations, and that these systems influence the way organizations function as much as do the better understood, formal systems. This understanding was a turning point in organizational theory. It led to the examination of the social and psychological influences on human behavior in organizations. New schools of thought were formed that are critical precursors to this study.[61]

The Hawthorne Experiments revealed that scientific management, with its mechanistic economic view of man, was often one-sided and did not take into account the vagaries of human behavior or how people at work are affected by social variables such as informal group behavior. Further, few jobs are suitable for piece-rate incentive plans or payment by results, and the alienating effect of such environments resulted in poor production and labor unrest. The scientific management approach could not deal with rapid change. It presumed that once the proper structure was achieved the firm could run forever without much tampering.[62]

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[61]Bryans and Cronin, 12.

[62]Ibid., 11.

The report of the Hawthorne Experiments was published in F. J. Roethlisberger and William Dickson's Management and the Worker.[63] The Hawthorne Experiments demonstrated the significance of informal organizational structure on the behavior of individuals and work groups that operate alongside, and sometimes in conflict with, the formal organizational structure.

The Hawthorne Experiments, carried out by Elton Mayo and his associates from 1927-1932, tested how aspects of the work environment such as physical surroundings and resting periods affected the productivity of the workers. The results were puzzling: no matter how the environment was manipulated, productivity increased. Mayo concluded that aspects of the social system were affecting output, rather than such things as strict supervision, incentive payment schemes, or physical working conditions. Thus, their findings called into question the assumptions of scientific management.[64]

The Hawthorne findings prompted the beginnings of a theory of human behavior that focused on the social system operating within an organization. Motivation, morale,

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[63]E.J. Roethlisberger and William J. Dickson, Management and the Worker: An Account of a Research Program Conducted by the Western Electric Company, Hawthorne Works, Chicago (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949)

[64]Etzioni, Modern Organizations, 32-35.

democratic leadership styles, interpersonal relations, communications and group dynamics were found to be among the factors influencing productivity and worker satisfaction. The theory recognized that the employee's social needs are rarely satisfied by formal structures. As managers accepted this view, they introduced new methods of management with an emphasis on informal activities and on the factors influencing group formation and group attitudes.[65]

The research methodology of the Hawthorne Experiments has been criticized as being "blind" to intergroup issues.[66] Alderfer suggested that the researchers did not have "the conceptual or technical equipment to examine the consequences of their own group behavior on the system they were learning to study."[67] Nevertheless, the Hawthorne Experiments drew attention to the human component in organizations.[68] From that point on, labor could not be considered "just another resource."

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[65]Bryans and Cronin, 14.

[66]Clayton P. Alderfer, "An Intergroup Perspective on Group Dynamics," in Handbook of Organizational Behavior, ed. Jay W. Lorsch (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1987) 192.

[67]Ibid.

[68]Bryans and Cronin, 70.

Chester Barnard's The Function of the Executive[69], appearing in 1938, reflected the times. It was the first new theory of organizations, and it would be come to be known as a cornerstone of the human relations school. Barnard viewed organizations as cooperative systems through which non-rational individual behavior is made rational in the collectivity of the goal-directed organization. In Barnard's terms, logic is not to be found in individual behavior but rather in coordinated, purposeful interaction. He stressed natural groups within the organization, upward communication, authority from below rather from above and leaders who functioned as cohesive forces. With labor unrest and the Great Depression upon him, Barnard's emphasis on the cooperative nature of organizations was well-timed. People had to be controlled, and their compliance assured, for the organization to thrive. The pursuit of goals in a deliberate, orderly fashion was central to Barnard's model of management.

Critics argued that the human relations school failed to integrate formal and informal aspects of organizations and viewed organizations as isolated, self-contained

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[69]Chester Barnard, The Functions of the Executive, 2 ed., (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968)

"islands."[70]

Systems Theory

Classical theorists stressed task management and organization structure. After Hawthorne, the Human Relations School emphasized the social and psychological influences on human behavior. The problem was to find a conceptual framework that could integrate all these different elements; this became the major objective of the systems theory of organizations. The application of the systems approach to organizations was influenced by similar theoretical developments in the physical, biological and social sciences.

The systems view of organizations assumes that: Organizations have needs for survival, they are sets of interdependent parts and they are behaving and acting entities.

This perspective views the organization in terms of the functions of its component parts and their mutual interactions. Because of the close interrelationships of its components, the organization is more than simply the sum of its parts. Continual adjustments have to be made within and between its components for the organization to achieve a

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[70]Etzioni, Modern Organizations, 47.

state of dynamic equilibrium with its environment. This is a process of input (resources), throughput (conversion process), and output (products).[71]

The organization is seen as "the context in which behavior occurs."[72] Behavior shapes the organization just as the organization influences the behavior. The interaction of the two affects almost every aspect of the way the organization functions--communications, decision-making and roles.[73]

Largely in response to the classical view of organizations that denied the significance of decision processes and decision outcomes,[74] March and Simon discussed the dynamic, as opposed to the static, nature of organizations and provided a framework for further exploration of the impact of systems on individuals and the impact of individuals on systems. Their analysis accounted for multiple conversion processes. They said,

> Organizations are systems of coordinated action among individuals and groups whose preferences, information, interests, or knowledge differ. Organization theories describe the delicate conversion of conflict into

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[71]Bryans and Cronin, 15-6.

[72]J. Steven Ott, ed., Classic Readings in Organizational Behavior, (Belmont, Ca: Brooks/Cole Publishing Co., 1989), 6.

[73]Ibid.

[74]March and Simon, Organizations, 16.

> cooperation, the mobilization of resources, and the coordination of effort that facilitate the joint survival of an organization and its members.[75]

In their pursuit of an understanding of how organizations survive, March and Simon explicated many ideas that would become important to theories about organizational culture. They suggested that control over information, identities, stories and incentives are crucial for organizational survival. They also suggested that as information is processed and channeled, goals and loyalties are shaped, "shared stories" are created and an "organization ethos" is developed that includes "common beliefs."[76] Trying to understand how individuals and groups coordinate themselves, they recognized that staff "weave supportive cultures, agreements, structures and beliefs around their activities."[77] It is a mosaic of many pieces that form a composite whole.

Philip Selznick advanced the thinking of organizations as "cooperative systems."[78] He recognized that aspects of organizational behavior were nonrational and could not be

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[75]Ibid., 2.

[76]Ibid.

[77]Ibid.

[78]Philip Selznick, "Foundations of the Theory of Organization", American Sociological Review, 13 (1948): 25-35.

adequately handled by the formal mechanisms established in an organization. "But as we inspect these formal structures we begin to see that they never succeed in conquering the nonrational dimensions of organizational behavior."[79] Because organizational members may have goals that are not aligned with the formal goals of the organization, management must devise ways of incorporating these views into its policy-making process or risk threatening the integrity of the organization and its mission. He called this process of organizational adjustment "co-option."[80]

Selznick's thoughts about "organization" and "institution" were important precursors to theories about organizational culture. He suggested that "institutions" were a "natural product of social needs and pressures--a responsive, adaptive organism."[81] When thinking about an "institution" Selznick asserts that its "history" must be considered, including how it has adapted to power in the community, the social strata of its staff and how these factors affects its policies and ideologies, often

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[79]Ibid.

[80]Ibid.

[81]Philip Selznick, Leadership in Administration: A Sociological Interpretation (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1957), 6.

unconsciously.[82] He also suggests that institutions have "values,"[83] "identities,"[84] "self-images," and "patterns" that aid communication.[85]

Like others who were thinking about organizations as social systems, Parsons viewed organizational behavior as the "output" of the interaction of economic, social, psychological, structural and technological variables. He felt that "goal attainment" was the defining characteristic of an organization and distinguished it from other social systems. He defined goal attainment as: "a relation between a system (in this case a social system) and the relevant parts of the external situation in which it acts or operates."[86] He discussed the "cultural-institutional" level of the organization to which he attributed "a system of values," "technical lore," "ideology," and "ritual symbolizations"[87]--all ideas that would be important from an organizational culture perspective.

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[82]Ibid.

[83]Selznick, Leadership, 15.

[84]Ibid., 16.

[85]Ibid., 18.

[86]Talcott Parsons, "Suggestions for a Sociological Approach to the Theory of Organizations," Administrative Science Quarterly (Jan 1956): 63.

[87]Ibid., 63-85.

Critics of the systems theory felt that it ignored the individual who makes up the organization and its components.

Social Action Theory

Derived from the sociology of work and socio-psychological traditions, the social action theory views the organization as the outcome of the interaction of motivated people that do not necessarily have an unambiguous "central value system."[88] Social action theorists acknowledged previously unrecognized organizational strains: between organizational needs and individual needs, between rational and nonrational behavior, between organizational expectations and individual autonomy, between formal and informal relations; between line staff and departments.[89]

An analysis of the tension between organizational and individual needs restored the focus back on the individual; the individual is given the opportunity to act autonomously, rather than just respond to environmental cues. Activities and interactions among individuals of the organization are interpreted as sources of subjective meaning. This interpretive paradigm adds an historical dimension to the analysis of the organization and its members as the "sense

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[88]Bryans and Cronin, 18.

[89]Etzioni, Modern Organizations, 41.

making" is largely determined by past experience. Sense making is a universal process, a continuous sizing-up and modifying of how organizational constituents are perceived.[90]

The conflict between formal and informal rules is examined in social action theory. Formal rules have an official status by being written or expressed by formal authorities. Informal rules are, on the other hand, implicit and cut across the lines of authority. Informal rules are "ways of doing things" developed by ongoing interactions. They establish a temporary social order. Formal rules frequently fail to deal adequately with non-standard situations, and so informal rules become a counterbalance, making strict enforcement of formal rules nonproductive. In contrast, by allowing processes of mutual adjustment to take place against a background of formal rules and standards, a smooth operation can be achieved.[91] This line of thought led to the current concept of "organization cultures."

With social action theory, organizational thinking moved away from structuralist analysis. By introducing a new approach to organizing, social action theory restored

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[90]Bryans and Cronin, 18.

[91]Ibid.

the organizational member to his position as an active and creative being. Furthermore, the theory made it possible to delineate more clearly the extent to which planning, programming and optimizing are possible in the organization, and at which points the more unpredictable human factors have to be reckoned with. The organization culture perspective attempts to understand these human factors.

Organization Culture Theory

Organization theorists from the human relations school, the systems perspective and the social action perspective were disillusioned with the assumptions inherent in largely rational, bureaucratic models. They drew on concepts from sociology and anthropology to explain the essential realities of organizational life that seemed to be missing in the rational views of organizations. The field of organizational psychology grew with the growth of management and business schools. Schein explains that the application of the concept of culture to organizations "came only recently as more investigators interested in organizational phenomena found themselves needing the concept to explain variations in patterns of organizational behavior and the levels of stability in group and organizational behavior,

which had not previously been highlighted."[92]

Perhaps the most influential work to set forth an alternative, much more subjective, view of organizations was Karl Weick's The Social Psychology of Organizing[93]. Weick demonstrated how people's cognitive processes and social interactions shaped organizations in nonrational ways. As its title promised, his analysis also emphasized the fluidity and dynamic nature of organizational life.[94]

By the late 1970's, several researchers had advanced theories that severely questioned the rational bureaucratic view: Weick suggested organizations were "loosely coupled systems,"[95] Trice, Belasco and Alutto suggested that organizations are permeated with myth and ceremony,[96] and Cohen, March and Olsen became frustrated trying to apply the bureaucratic model to universities and described them as

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[92]Edgar H. Schein, "Organizational Culture," American Psychologist 45 n.2 (February 1990): 110.

[93]Karl E. Weick, The Social Psychology of Organizing (Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1969).

[94]Harrison M. Trice, James Belasco, and Joseph A Allutto, "The Role of Ceremonials in Organizational Behavior," Industrial and Labor Relations Review 23 (October 1969): 31.

[95]Karl E. Weick, "Educational Organizations as Loosely Coupled Systems," Administrative Science Quarterly 21 (March 1976): 1-19.

[96]Trice, Belasco and Alutto, 40-51.

"organized anarchies."[97]

Also in the 1970's, Japan, a country with a drastically different culture, became the United States' chief competitor for economic leadership of the world. This was a jolt to U.S. managers, because since World War II they had taken for granted the supremacy of U.S. management. The technical and managerial methods of industry in the United States had been emulated around the world. Everyone questioned whether cultural differences accounted for the remarkable productivity of Japanese organizations. The cultures of U.S. work organizations were criticized for the decline in productivity. Environmental forces were demanding change and many U.S. managers began to see that past practices may have discouraged innovation, quality, and cooperation. They also began to wrestle with the complexity of making the necessary changes.[98]

Ouchi's Theory Z elucidated the stark contrast between Japanese and U. S. organizational cultures. He described Japanese organizations as possessing a powerful norm of collective responsibility, which was built in large part on

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[97]Michael D. Cohen, James G. March and Johan P. Olsen, "A Garbage Can Model of Organizational Choice," Administrative Science Quarterly 17 (1972): 1-25.

[98]Harrison M. Trice and Janice M. Beyer, The Cultures of Work Organizations (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1993), 30.

the fact that employment for Japanese men was a stable, lifetime commitment. Trust and loyalty to the firm over most of one's productive years was fostered by the lifetime commitment made between employee and employer.[99] In addition, the policy of lifelong job rotation created workers who may lack specialized expertise but have the advantage of a broad organizational knowledge because they have worked in multiple functions within the organization. This gives employees the ability to coordinate functions and cooperate with others across the organization.[100]

Japanese workers do not specialize in a field; rather, they are specialists in an organization. They learn everything they need to know to make their firm work. By the same token, the firm invests in its employees and offers incentives for them to develop the skills they need to become an expert in their organization.[101]

These organizational characteristics are vastly different from organizations in the United States, where employees frequently change jobs and firms. In the United States, employees are specialists. They develop loyalties to a specialty, not an organization, contributing to an

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[99]Ouchi, 22.

[100]Ouchi, 27.

[101]Ouchi, 29.

organizational structure that is more often characterized by competition than cooperation. In the United States, some employers are reluctant to offer training to their employees out of a fear that they would be developing an employee for a competitor.[102]

The recognition that culture appeared to have such an impact on the functioning of organizations was an important conceptual development in organizational research. In 1973, Andrew Pettigrew studied a large retail firm on a long term basis. In a highly influential article he delineated the concept of organizational culture for management research:

> In the pursuit of everyday tasks and objectives, it is all too easy to forget the less rational and less instrumental, the more expressive social tissue around us that gives those tasks meanings. Yet, in order for people to function within any given setting, they must have a continuing sense of what that reality is all about in order to be acted upon. Culture is the system of such collectively accepted meanings operating for a given group at a given time.[103]

Since Pettigrew, research on organizations has continued to try to understand the culture of organizations. It is a search for the expressive side of the organization as opposed to the scientific or structural side previously defined by classical theorists.

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[102]Ouchi, 29.

[103]Andrew M. Pettigrew, 570-81.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW OF ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE

This study encompasses published works in two areas: organizational culture and interdepartmental conflict. The literature on organizational culture will be reviewed in this chapter so that its relevance to the functioning of departments can be understood. The literature on interdepartmental conflict and the relationship between organizational culture and interdepartmental conflict will be reviewed in Chapter Four.

Organizational Culture

> It is said that the last thing a fish would be conscious of would be water. Embedded man swims just as innocently in the culture of his community."[104]

The organizational culture perspective is another attempt to understand how organizations function. This perspective rejects the assumptions of the structural and systems theories and identifies new factors involved in how organizations function. One theorist describes

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[104]John W. Gardner, Self-Renewal: The Individual and the Innovative Society (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 87.

organizations as survival-oriented organisms made up of parts that cooperate toward common goals and eliminate dysfunctions in response to demands from the environment. Culture is the organism's learned survival responses. Culture is the key to the two main conditions for survival--external adaptation and internal integration. This is accomplished by negotiations, which if successful will be taken-for-granted and revolve around basic assumptions.[105]

The organizational culture perspective assumes that many organizational behaviors and decisions are almost predetermined by the "patterns of basic assumptions" that are held by members of an organization, and not controlled by formal authority, rules, and norms of rational behavior. Because they "worked in the past," patterns of assumptions continue to exist and to influence behaviors. With repeated use, these patterns slowly drop out of consciousness while still influencing organizational decisions and behaviors, even when the organization's environment changes. They become the conventional wisdom, the underlying, unquestioned, but virtually forgotten reasons for "the way we do things here" --regardless of whether the reasons still apply. No one thinks about or questions them, because they

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[105]Barbara Czarniawska-Joerges, Exploring Complex Organizations: A Cultural Perspective (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, Inc., 1992), 166.

are so basic, pervasive, and so universally accepted as "the truth."[106]

Organizational culture has a rich and diverse theoretical genealogy that includes anthropology, sociology, semiotics, communication theory, social psychology, and folklore. Each of these disciplines defines culture in different and various ways. In fact, 164 different definitions of the word culture have been identified, each reflecting different theoretical assumptions and purposes.[107] Given the complexity of the concept of culture and its diverse theoretical roots, consensus among researchers about a single theoretical framework and definition of the elements of culture is next to impossible.

In reviewing the work that has been done in the area of organizational culture, Smircich identified five dominant themes or types of frameworks that have been used to study organizational culture:

> The comparative management framework views organizations as social instruments for task accomplishment.
>
> The corporate culture framework views

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[106]Jay M. Shafritz and Steven J. Ott, "Organizational Culture and Symbolic Management Organization Theory," Classics of Organization Theory (Belmont, California: Wadsworth, Inc., 1992) 482.

[107]Alfred L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions (New York: Vintage, 1952)

> organizations as adaptive organisms existing by a process of exchange with the environment.
>
> The organizational cognition framework views organizations as systems of knowledge. "Organization" rests in the network of subjective meanings that organization members share to varying degrees, and that appear to function in a rule-like manner.
>
> The organizational symbolism framework views organizations as patterns of symbolic discourse. "Organization" is maintained through symbolic modes such as language that facilitates shared meanings and shared realities.
>
> The unconscious processes and organization framework views organizational forms and practices as the manifestations of unconscious processes.[108]

According to Smircich, organizational culture is either viewed as a variable--something that the organization "has" --or as a root metaphor--something the organization "is." A way in which the initial two themes (comparative management and corporate culture) differ from the other three is that they describe organizational culture as a variable that an organization has. Culture is either viewed as part of the organizational environment (comparative management) or as a result of human enactment and interaction (corporate culture). Both perspectives view the organization's culture as independent of the organization itself.

> Underlying the interests in comparative management and corporate culture is the search for predictable means

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[108]Smircich, "Organizations as Shared Meanings," 58.

> for organizational control and improved means for organizational management. Because both of these research approaches have these basic purposes, the issue of causality is of critical importance.[109]

"The search for a predictable means for organizational control" referred to above suggests a view of organizations that is grounded in classical organization theory. In classical theories, the primary question posed was how best to design and manage organizations to achieve their stated purpose effectively and efficiently. Later theories would postulate that this could not be accomplished in any "predictable" or "controlled" way because many aspects of organizational life were nonrational, occurred as a result of various interactive forces and were heavily influenced by informal systems that were not readily known. Because the comparative management and the corporate culture views do not seem to take these important factors into consideration, they were not considered as potential frameworks for this study.

The other three themes (organizational cognition, organizational symbolism, and unconscious processes and organization) seek to understand organizations as cultures and "to explore the phenomenon of organization as subjective experience and to investigate the patterns that make

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[109]Smircich, "Concept of Culture and Organizational Analysis," 347.

organized action possible."[110] Furthermore,

> the mode of thought that underlies culture as a root metaphor gives the social world much less concrete status. The social world is not assumed to have an objective, independent existence that imposes itself on human beings. Instead, the social or organizational world exists only as a pattern of symbolic relationships and meanings sustained through the continued processes of human interaction. Social action is considered possible because consensually determined meanings for experience that, to an external observer, may have the appearance of an independent rule-like existence. The focus of attention of researchers here is also on language, symbols, myths, stories, and ritual, as in the culture-as-variable perspective...However, here these are not taken for granted as cultural artifacts, but instead as generative processes that yield and shape meanings and that are fundamental to the very existence of the organization.[111]

Researchers exploring culture through an organizational cognition perspective view the culture as shared knowledge, specifically focusing on shared rules of behavior, "how we do things around here." They are interested in documenting the understandings or rules that organization members use to achieve coordinated action.[112]

The theme of unconscious processes and organization has its foundation in the structural anthropology of Levi-

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[110]Ibid., 348.

[111]Ibid., 353.

[112]Smircich, "Concepts of Organizational Analysis," 354.

Strauss.[113] Researchers exploring organizational culture from this perspective seek to integrate unconscious processes with the more obvious conscious processes, drawing concepts from psychoanalytic theory. Allcorn has suggested that an organization's culture is in part defined by the psychological defenses of its members.

> Organization has at its core a confluence of individual unconscious psychological defenses that form an interactive social defense system that defends members and groups from anxiety arising from the organizational life and threatening elements in the immediate environment and society.[114]

Organizational symbolism is the theory that has been employed to frame this study because of a desire to focus upon organizational culture as shared meaning among members. Organizational symbolism is not based on classical assumptions regarding the study of organizations and provides the most appropriate framework through which to explore shared values, assumptions, and their meanings. The focus of organizational symbolism is on interpreting or deciphering the patterns of symbolic action. The meaning and understandings of the individuals within the organization and their interactions create organization

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[113]Claude Levi-Strauss, Structural Anthropology (New York: Basic Books, 1963)

[114]Seth Allcorn, "Understanding Organizational Culture as the Quality of Workplace Subjectivity," Human Relations, 48 N (Jan 1995): 74.

culture.[115]

Allaire and Firsiroutu[116] categorized the theories of organizational culture differently than Smircich. Their summary of the theoretical foundations of organizational culture identified two schools of thought: socio-cultural and ideational. Organizational symbolism is encompassed within the ideational school.

The socio-cultural view of organizational culture is equated with the formal social system of the organization, including: validated roles, expectations, and behaviors. This perspective is similar to Smircich's first two themes--comparative management and corporate culture--in that it is rooted in classical theories about organizations and involves accepting the organizational culture as, once developed, something the organization "has" rather than "is."

Research conducted through an ideational framework reports on the culture from the perspective of the individuals within that culture and focuses on the individuals rather than groups. In the ideational view, organizational culture is viewed as "patterns of meaning,

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[115]Smircich, "Concepts of Organizational Analysis," 354.

[116]Y. Allaire and M. E. Firsirotu, "Theories of Organizational Culture," Organization Studies, 5 (March 1984): 193-226.

e.g., of values, of norms, or organized knowledge and beliefs."[117] Language and symbols are the primary vehicles for understanding or making sense of experience. Therefore, organizational culture cannot be divorced from the individuals within the organization.

Within the ideational school of thought are several more specific frameworks of culture, including the cognitive (i.e., Smircich's organizational cognition theme), the structuralist (i.e., the unconscious processes and organization theme), and the symbolic. The primary difference between the first three and the symbolic framework is that, for proponents of the first three, culture is located in the minds of the culture-bearers, the individuals within the organization, whereas for proponents of the symbolic framework, culture arises from the products of the minds of the culture-bearers, the meanings and symbols shared among individuals.

Smirchich's "organizational symbolism" is essentially the same as Allaire and Firsirotu's view of the symbolic framework of the ideational school except that the ideational school focuses on individuals and Smircich's framework includes groups.

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[117]Ibid., 195.

Organizational Symbolism

> Even at the level of simple or supposedly simple sense perception we are increasingly discovering that the message which comes through one of the five senses is itself mediated through a value system. We do not perceive our sense data raw; they are mediated through a value system. We do not perceive our sense data raw; they are mediated through a highly learned process of interpretation and acceptance...What this means is that for any individual organism or organization, there are no such things as 'facts.' There are only messages filtered through a changeable value system...This does not mean, however, that the image of the world is a purely private matter and that all knowledge is simply subjective knowledge...Part of our image of the world is the belief that this image is shared by other people.[118]

Symbolism cannot be extricated from meaning or social interaction. The symbolic process involves imbuing meaning in something, such as a physical object, a vocal sound, a gesture or an action that can be shared with or used to communicate with another person. Humans interact and derive meaning from their world through the process of symbolic interpretation.[119]

Social structure and organizations are created and sustained through symbolic action. Communities could not exist without common symbols, which allow people to develop

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[118]Kenneth Ewart Boulding, The Image (Ann Arbor, Mi: The University of Michigan Press, 1956): 13-14.

[119]Morgan, Frost and Pondy, "Organizational Symbolism," 30.

common meaning.[120] The theory of organizational symbolism recognizes that much that is important for understanding human action and attitude in organizations is wrapped up in the meanings created, sustained, challenged, and sometimes changed in those organizations.

The organizational experience and the interpretation of the experience by the participants define the organization. In organizational life, the participants continually make sense out of the ongoing interactions, refining their definition of the organization.[121] Understanding organizations from a symbolic perspective becomes the task of being able to "unravel the particular code of interpretation"[122] utilized by members of the organization.

Investigating organizational culture through the lens of organizational symbolism is the search for "a system of shared symbols and meanings"[123] Geertz, a major proponent of the symbolic framework view of organizations described culture as:

> the framework of beliefs, expressive symbols, and values in terms of which individuals define their

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[120]Hugh Dalziel Duncan, Symbols in Society (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1968): 32.

[121]Allaire and Firsirotu, 208.

[122]Morgan, Frost, Pondy, "Organizational Symbolism," 15.

[123]Smircich, "Concepts of Organizational Analysis," 342.

> world, express their feelings and make judgements ... it is the fabric of meaning in terms of which human beings interpret their experiences and guide their actions.[124]

Czarniawska-Joerges says it another way, "Culture can be viewed as a bubble (of meaning) covering the world, a bubble that we both create and live within. Its film covers everything that we turn our eye to; it is ... the medium of social life."[125]

As indicated previously, the concept of organizational culture is based on the identification of organizations as mini-societies. Therefore, according to this symbolic definition of organizational culture, within each mini-society is a distinctive pattern of shared values, beliefs, interpretations and meanings.

Exploring organizational culture through the symbolic framework involves discovering the various kinds of symbol systems (patterns of meanings) within the organization; to discern reoccurring themes that are patterns in symbolic discourse and links among values, assumptions, and action. It involves exploring taken-for-granted assumptions, contextual issues, and uncovering underlying values. The

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[124]Geertz, 144-5.

[125]Barbara Czarniawka-Jeorges, "Culture is the Medium of Life," in Reframing Organizational Culture, eds. Peter J. Frost, Larry F Moore, Meryl Reis Louis, Craig C. Lundberg, Joanne Martin (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, Inc., 1991), 287.

focus is on how individuals interpret and understand their organizational experience and how they translate them to action.[126]

Kuh and Whitt synthesized these related points of view and provided the definition of culture used in this study:

> the collective, mutually shaping patterns of norms, values, practices, beliefs, and assumptions that guide behavior of individuals and groups in an institution and provide a frame of reference within which to interpret the meaning of events and actions.[127]

In the search for patterns of beliefs, interpretations, and meanings, an organization's culture can be more easily illuminated when the various contents of the culture are differentiated from one another and their relationships described. Schein asserted that organizational culture consists of three components: cultural artifacts, values and underlying or basic assumptions.[128] These components are interrelated. They vary from the artifacts, which are readily apparent, to assumptions, which are all but invisible.

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[126]Smircich, "Concepts of Organizational Analysis," 351.

[127]George D. Kuh and Elizabeth J Whitt, "The Invisible Tapestry: Culture in American Colleges and Universities," ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report 1 (1988): 12-3.

[128]Schein, "Organizational Culture," 110.

Cultural Artifacts

Artifacts are the most visible aspect of an organization's culture and include any event or item that is imbued with cultural symbolism, such as language, rituals, myths, stories, sagas, legends, rites, ceremonies.

Symbols are "signs" that suggest meanings that are more significant than themselves and communicate much more than their "intrinsic content" because they are endowed with personal meaning. The true significance of a symbol is rarely apparent to an outsider or a newcomer.[129]

Any object, event, gesture, concept or image can function as the raw material in the creation of symbols. Latouche describes how the furniture, office space and even the architecture of buildings are symbols that set the stage for organizational culture in political settings.[130]

Artifacts, therefore, play an important role in the dynamic process of meaning making that occurs within an organization's culture. "Only when members of a group assign similar meanings to facets of their situation can organizations devise, through interaction, unique responses

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[129]Morgan, Frost, and Pondy, "Organizational Symbolism," 4-5.

[130]Daniel Latouche, "The Organizational Culture of Government: Myths, Symbols and Rituals in a Quebecois Setting," International Social Science Journal 35 (Feb 1983): 257-78.

to problems that later take on the trappings of rule, ritual, and value."[131] The meaning that is attributed to cultural artifacts changes over time through the interaction of organizational members. Cultural artifacts also assist in the socialization of newcomers offering an interpretation of the organization's history and help members to negotiate expected behavior.

Schein asserts that, while "it is easy to observe artifacts--even subtle ones, such as the way status is demonstrated by members--the difficult part is figuring out what the artifacts mean, how they interrelate, what deeper patterns, if any, they reflect."[132] Artifacts may mean different things to different people within the same culture and, therefore, represent various distinct patterns within that culture.

Examples of cultural artifacts include norms, language, ritual, myth, saga and stories. They will be defined and described below.

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[131]John Van Maanen and Stephen R. Barley, "Cultural Organization: Fragments of a Theory," in Organizational Culture, eds. Peter J. Frost, Larry F. Moore, Meryl R. Louis, Craig C. Lundberg, and Joanne Martin (Beverly Hills, Ca: Sage, 1985), 34.

[132]Schein, Organizational Culture and Leadership, (San Francisco, Ca.: Jossey-Bass, 1985), 15.

Norms

Norms prescribe overt behavior. "They are organizational sea anchors, providing predictability and stability."[133] Norms tend to be informal and unspoken expectations that have a rule-like nature. Within an organization, norms tend to be learned by trial and error, and practice due to their subconscious nature. However, some norms may be communicated as "the way we do things around here." Some of the typical aspects of organization about which norms develop include communication patterns, mode of dress, degree of punctuality, style of communication and ways in which people address one another.

Language

Language is at the foundation of organizational symbolism, because it is primarily through language that symbols are communicated and meanings are shared. The way organizational members communicate is something that must be learned in order to communicate effectively and, therefore, "get along." An organizational newcomer or an outside observer often finds discourse confusing and has difficulty speaking the "language." An organization's language

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[133]Steven J. Ott, The Organizational Culture Perspective (Chicago, Ill: The Dorsey Press, 1989), 37.

sometimes reflects the language of its dominant technology. Most organizations' languages, however, have unique words, phrases, and acronyms that are unclear to others with similar backgrounds. This jargon also serves to identify members of a social group or subgroup. Those who do not speak the jargon are easily spotted as outsiders. Ott emphasizes: "...language is both a product of the culture and a maintainer and transmitter of it. However, ... language is most central to the organizational cultural perspective because of its power or influence over thought and perceptions of reality."[134] Tannen has studied the differences between the way men and women communicate and has demonstrated how language has often influenced perceptions of competence and expertise.[135]

Morgan et al asserted that language, as an artifact, is so powerful that it influences and shapes the very nature of the organization:

> The everyday language of bureaucracy is one of the means through which the organization actually creates its bureaucratic characteristics. We see that the aggressive character of an organization is sustained by a kind of military mentality that leads it to shape aggressive relations with its environment and the local labor union, or to foster strategies designed to out

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[134]Ott, 28.

[135]Deborah Tannen, Talking from 9 to 5: How Women's and Men's Conversational Styles Affect Who Gets Heard, Who Gets Credit, and What Gets Done at Work (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1994)

> maneuver all kinds of opposition. We think that organizations end up being what they think and say, as their ideas and visions realize themselves.[136]

Ritual

Smircich defines rituals as "behavior patterns which are stylized and formalized and which are repeated in that form."[137] "Adhering to rituals is similar to role-playing."[138] Rituals communicate meaning within the organization, make statements about the quality of life within the organization, and set standards against which organization members are asked to compare and modify behavior.

Rituals express our values and assumptions by demonstrating how things should be and are.[139] For example, weekly staff meetings, depending on how they are conducted, may be rituals that demonstrate values of open communication, sharing and teamwork.

Rituals are also "a standardized, detailed set of

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[136]Morgan, Frost, and Pondy, "Organizational Symbolism," 133.

[137]Smircich, "Organizations and Shared Meanings," 59.

[138]Latouche, 272.

[139]Jack Goody, "Against Ritual: Loosely Structured Thoughts on a Loosely Defined Topic," in Secular Ritual, eds. S. Moore and B. Myerhoff (Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1977), 25-35.

techniques and behaviors that manage anxieties, but seldom produce intended, technical consequences of practical importance.[140] An example of this type of ritual might be the annual strategic planning meeting conducted by many social service agencies. Such meetings may produce a document of limited utility but nonetheless the exercise may manage anxieties and have other unintended benefits.

Myth

Cohen defined myth as a substantially fictional narrative related to origins and transformations expressed in symbolic terms.[141] Trice and Beyer added that it is also "an unquestioned belief about the practical benefits of certain behaviors that is not supported by demonstrated facts."[142] Czarniawska-Jeorges suggests that myths have a "sacred" quality and provide an explanation that is socially shared for important phenomenon.[143] According to Boje, Fedor, and Rowland myths serve at least four functions in organizations:

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[140]Harrison M. Trice and Janice M. Beyer, "Studying Organizational Culture through Rites and Ceremonies," Academy of Management Review 9 (April, 1984): 655.

[141]Percy S. Cohen, "Theories of Myth," Man 4, 337-353.

[142]Trice and Beyer, "Studying Organizational Culture through Rites and Ceremonies," 655.

[143]Barbara Czarniawska-Jeorges, Exploring, 292.

They create, maintain, and legitimize past, present and future actions and consequences.

They maintain and conceal political interests.

They help explain and create cause and effect relationships.

They rationalize complexity and turbulence to allow for taking predictable action.[144]

Latouche asserts that myths function as powerful and influential links between often glorified values and the reality of the organization and in so doing legitimize actual practice and behavior.[145]

Saga and Shared Knowledge

A saga is "a collective understanding of a unique accomplishment based on historical exploits of a formal organization, offering strong normative bonds within and outside the organization."[146]

Sagas are important because they result in shared knowledge, a central aspect of organizational culture.

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[144]David M. Boje, Donald B. and Kendrith M. Rowland, "Myth Making: A Qualitative Step in OD Interventions," Journal of Applied Behavioral Sciences 18(January 1982): 17-28.

[145]Latouche, 267.

[146]Burton R. Clark, "The Organizational Saga in Higher Education," Administrative Science Quarterly 17 (1972): 178.

Cultures cannot be divorced from their histories and they do not arise overnight. To develop a culture, people need to spend time together, to interact and share with one another common uncertainties and some ways of coping with them. Thus, a particular culture will be based in the unique history of a particular group of people coping with a unique set of physical, social, political, and economic circumstances. Once individuals in a cultural group come to share some set of ideas and cultural practices, these ideas and practices begin to have a kind of life of their own, and comprise a shared knowledge. A shared knowledge often persists within a group after the uncertainties that gave rise to it are no longer present, and its originators and early proponents have left. Fortado suggests that at first stories emerge as "exploratory gestures in a search for kindred souls" but later become the "cement tying them together."[147]

Values

Cultural artifacts are the most visible elements of an organization's culture. A task more important than merely identifying artifacts is, however, linking them with the

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[147]Bruce Fortado, "Subordinate Views in Supervisory Conflict Situations: Peering into the Subcultural Chasm," Human Relations 34 (Nov 1992): 1156.

associated values, assumptions, and meanings held by members of the organization, determining the degree to which meanings of the artifacts are shared, and understanding how these values and assumptions affect the behavior of individuals with the organization.

Values embody the things that are important to people (including their beliefs)--what people care about--and thus are emotionally laden. The processes through which values are formed are unclear and appear to vary among people. Values provide the emotional energy or motivation to enact organizational actions. The more strongly they are shared the more coherent the organizational culture will be.[148]

Often there are beliefs about the type of person that represents a good organizational "fit." A study of NASA's culture revealed a belief that the agency must be staffed by "exceptional" people.[149] A study of certain high reliability organizations--organizations that are mandated to do everything possible to avoid altogether certain kinds of negative outcomes--revealed that personality characteristics that were valued were "self confidence,

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[148]Yoash Wiener and Yoav Vardi, "Relationships Between Organizational Culture and Individual Motivation--A Conceptual Integration" Psychological Reports 67 (1990): 295-306.

[149]Howard E. McCurdy, "Nasa's Organizational Culture," Public Administration Policy 52 (March/April 1992): 190.

decisiveness, and the ability to take risks."[150]

According to Schein, as values are enacted and found to yield positive results they tend to be taken-for-granted and eventually stop being questioned, dropping below the conscious level to become basic assumptions.[151]

Basic Assumptions

Assumptions form the unquestioned reality of individuals within an organization. How things are done, what is good, what is effective, what the purpose of the organization is, what the individual's job entails, what his or her priorities are and why efforts succeed or fail in an organization--these all are assumptions that often exist below the level of consciousness and, therefore, are difficult to change. Schein asserts, "Basic assumptions have become so taken for granted that one finds little variation within a cultural unit. In fact, if a basic assumption is strongly held in a group, members would find behavior based on any other premise inconceivable."[152] The

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[150]Rochelle Lee Klein, Gregory A. Bigley, and Karlene H. Roberts, "Organizational Culture in High Reliability Organizations: An Extension," Human Relations 48 (July 1995): 790.

[151]Edgar H. Schein, Organizational Culture and Leadership (San Francisco, Ca: Jossey Bass, 1985), 15.

[152]Ibid., 18.

subconscious "rules" encompassed by assumptions have a great deal of influence over the behavior of individuals in the organization.[153] Van Maanen and Barley asserted that "culture implies that human behavior is partially prescribed by a collectively created and sustained way of life..."[154]

In order to understand how an organization functions, one must know and understand its patterns of basic assumptions, its values--its organizational culture. "Culture is to the organization what personality is to the individual--a hidden, yet unifying theme that provides meaning, direction, and mobilization."[155] Any attempt to understand interdepartmental relations in an organization must necessarily include an understanding of the organizational culture. In the next chapter the literature on interdepartmental conflict will be reviewed and its relationship to organizational culture explored.

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[153]Ibid.

[154]Van Maanen and Barley, 31-32.

[155]Ralph H. Kilmann, Mary J. Saxton, Roy Serpa and Associates, ix.

CHAPTER FOUR

LITERATURE REVIEW OF INTERDEPARTMENTAL CONFLICT

This chapter reviews the literature concerning interdepartmental conflict: how organizations manage conflict and the potential role organizational culture plays in the development of interdepartmental conflicts. An attempt is made to detail the relationship between organizational culture and the ways organizations manage conflict.

Interdepartmental Conflict

In his original study, Pondy established the prevalence of conflict within organizations and emphasized the difficulty managers have addressing all of them. He suggests that managers tend to deal with the conflicts that are more easily resolved.

> Organizations are characteristically faced with more conflicts than can be dealt with, given available time and capacities. The normal reaction is to focus attention on only a few of these, and these tend to be the conflicts for which short-run, routine solutions

are available.[156]

More recently, Pondy went so far as to characterize the organization as "a pure conflict system."[157] Rather than cooperative systems where conflict is a common occurrence, he suggests that organizations are conflict systems where cooperation occasionally occurs. Pondy believes that, in a pure conflict system, conflicts are perpetuated without resolution and decisions are often made without solving the problem.[158] Van Maanen supports Pondy's view suggesting that conflict is often "a rather permanent state" rather than a state that develops and is subsequently resolved. He also believes that the form these conflicts take will vary by setting.[159]

A common locus for organizational conflict is the boundary between departments. As early as the turn of the century, Follett said that the "relation of departments ... I have found is one of the weakest points in businesses

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[156]Louis R. Pondy, "Organizational Conflict: Concepts and Models," Administrative Science Quarterly 12 n. 1 (June 1967): 301.

[157]Louis R. Pondy, "Reflections on Organizational Conflict," 259.

[158]Ibid.

[159]Van Maanen, 54.

which I have studied."[160] Conflicts within organizations are many and often involve interdepartmental relations--and interdepartmental relations are also one of the weakest points of social service organizations today.[161]

Different causes have been cited for interdepartmental conflict. Thompson cited division of labor as a major source of conflict.[162] Katz surmised that some subunits of an organization develop a degree of autonomy from the others. "Having distinct functions, they develop their own objectives and norms and compete with other units, even though they must also cooperate."[163] March and Simon also suggested that tension is likely to vary with the proximity of departments, with the relationships among the key members of each department and with the need for joint decision-making.[164]

Among the numerous sources for interdepartmental

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[160]Mary Parker Follett, Dynamic Administration: The Collected Papers of Mary Parker Follett, eds. Henry C. Metcalf and L. Urwick (New York and London: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1940), 71.

[161]Garner, 7.

[162]James D. Thompson, "Organizational Management of Conflict," Administrative Science Quarterly 4 (1961): 389-409.

[163]Fred E. Katz, "The School as a Complex Organization," Harvard Educational Review 34 (1964): 428-455.

[164]March and Simon, Organizations.

conflict that Pondy identifies is "divergence of subunit goals." Pondy explains, "goal divergence is the source of conflict when two parties who must cooperate on some joint activity are unable to reach a consensus on concerted action."[165]

Tjosvold, Dann and Wong have found that employees of different departments who believe that their goals are cooperative, discuss their conflicts openly and constructively, which helps them work more collaboratively. Competitive goals result in avoidance or escalate the conflict; independent goals have been found to have a similar impact on the conflict dynamic as competition, although not as strong. Cooperative goals, it is argued, do not eliminate conflict but make it easier to manage.[166]

Zald found that in correctional institutions the level of conflict was higher in institutions with mixed goals or predominantly treatment goals. These conflicts arise out of the incompatible requirements of custodial and treatment goals.[167] Programs that operate on predominantly

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[165]Pondy,"Organizational Conflict: Concepts and Models," 300.

[166]Dean Tjosvold, Valerie Dann, and Choy Wong, "Managing Conflict Between Departments to Serve Customers," Human Relations 45 (October 1992): 1037-8.

[167]Mayer N. Zald, "Power Balance and Staff Conflict in Correctional Institutions," Administrative Science Quarterly (July 1962): 22-23.

custodial goals are highly routinized with little staff interdependence.[168] In treatment programs, individualized planning requires staff interdependence, constant discussion and decision-making. "Disagreements requiring adjustment occur continually."[169]

Walton and Dutton suggest that task interdependence poses a risk for interdepartmental conflict. Task interdependence is defined as those activities that require units to depend on each other for assistance, information, compliance or other coordinated acts.[170]

> High task interdependence and overload tend to heighten the intensity of either interunit antagonisms or friendliness, increase the magnitude of the consequences of unit conflict for organizational performance, and contribute to the difficulty of changing an ongoing pattern.[171]

Research by White also found that both the drive for departmental autonomy and interdepartmental hostility were greatest where the interrelation of tasks was highest.[172]

"Task-related asymmetries" have been cited by Walton

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[168]Ibid., 29.

[169]Ibid., 30.

[170]Richard L. Walton and John M. Dutton, "The Management of Interdepartmental Conflict: A Model and Review," Administrative Science Quarterly 14 (1969): 73.

[171]Ibid., 74.

[172]Harrison White, "Management of Conflict and Sociometric Structure," American Journal of Sociology 67 (1961): 185-199.

and Dutton as a possible cause of interdepartmental conflict.[173] This develops when one department enjoys more status than another. For example, the high status department may get information that is withheld from others. It may enjoy power over others. Walton and Dutton summarize the situation caused by task-related asymmetries: "Symmetrical interdependence and symmetrical patterns of initiation between units promote collaboration; asymmetrical interdependence leads to conflict."[174]

Zald offered a power-balance proposition between the residential, social work and education departments in correctional institutions: conflict is most likely to occur between departments that are unable to control the situation and those that are perceived as being in control. He found that the patterns of conflict among these three departments were generally consistent with predictions based on this power-balance hypothesis.[175]

Walton and Dalton also suggest that performance criteria and rewards may contribute to interdepartmental conflict.[176] When each department is only held responsible

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[173]Walton and Dutton, 75-77.

[174]Walton and Dutton, 74.

[175]Zald, 22-49.

[176]Walton and Dutton, 75,

for an aspect of an interdepartmental task, and if the reward system emphasizes the separate performance of each department rather than their combined effort, conflict is likely to be the result.

The view that rewards contribute to conflict is reinforced by Sniezak and May, who state that "organizational reward structures can often cause a conflict between the interests of each individual and that of the group as a whole."[177] They suggest that this is likely to happen if the rewards from group work are "ambient stimuli": rewards distributed equally to all members of the group regardless of the level of individual contributions to the group work. Other rewards, such as promotions and terminations tend to be based on individual performance and not group performance. Thus a conflict between individual versus group work is set up and reinforced by the reward structure of the organization.

Conflict may develop when departments depend upon a common pool of scarce organizational resources. In addition to monetary resources, this includes such things as physical space, equipment, manpower and clerical support.[178]

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[177]Janet A. Sniezek and Douglas R. May, "Conflict of Interests and Commitment in Groups," Journal of Applied Social Psychology 20 n14 (1990): 1151.

[178]Walton and Dutton, 77.

Walton and Dutton suggest that interdepartmental conflict may be related to the communication abilities of the members of different departments. Communication between departments can be strengthened by common experience, which reduces communication barriers and provides common reference points.[179] Miller proposed that when the members of different departments know little about each other they will make unreasonable interdepartmental demands out of ignorance, unwittingly interfering with collaboration.[180]

The personal skills and traits of department members also appear to affect interdepartmental relations. Dalton found that traits such as background, values, education, age and social patterns were related both to the interpersonal rapport between unit representatives and the amount of collaboration between respective units.[181] Zald found that there was direct relationship between length of service and the perception of tension, with staff who have worked longer perceiving more tension. He hypothesized that senior staff were sensitized to perceive tension by the older issues and

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[179]Walton and Dutton, 77.

[180]Eric J. Miller, "Technology, Territory and Time," Human Relations (Dec 1959): 243-272.

[181]Melville Dalton, Men Who Manage (New York: Wiley, 1959)

conflicts.[182]

Thompson suggests that in addition to the particular skills, beliefs and talents that an individual brings to an organization, he also brings talents, beliefs and attitudes that are irrelevant to the organization's technology. He describes these as "latent roles" and says that "these nonorganizational roles of members can become active in organizational contents."[183] Racial and ethnic origins, family lineage, class and religion can often contribute to these latent roles. Thompson believes that a more heterogeneous labor force will be more vulnerable to conflict based on latent roles.

Argyle feels that personality contributes to the ability to work collaboratively. He describes a person with a high disposition to cooperate as someone who places priority on associating with others for mutual benefit, gaining social approval and working together towards a common goal, whereas a person who places priority on maximizing his or her own welfare, as opposed to the welfare of the group, has a low disposition for cooperation.[184] This appears to be especially critical in milieu

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[182]Zald, 42.

[183]Thompson, 393.

[184]Michael Argyle, Cooperation: The Basis of Sociability (London: Routledge, 1991)

institutions, where according to Zald, personality and interpersonal relationship factors are likely to enter into decisions even at the lowest levels of staff.[185]

In summary, the high prevalence of conflict within organizations is indisputable, and it is clear that organizational conflict often centers around interdepartmental issues. Various factors have been suggested as contributing to interdepartmental conflict, including: how the organization is structured, organizational and departmental goals, interdependence of tasks, task asymmetries, performance criteria and reward structures, communication between departments, resources, and the personal skills, traits and personalities of individual members.

Management Strategies for Resolving Conflict

The importance of the administrator's style in managing organizational conflict cannot be underestimated. Administrators are said to develop a "dominant style"[186] towards conflict that shapes their behavior when conflict occurs.

Conflict has many individual and personal meanings that

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[185]Zald, 47.

[186]Robert R. Blake and Jane S. Mouton, Group Dynamics: Key to Decision-Making (Houston: Gulf Publishing Co., 1991)

result from the experience of life. Whether we confront or ignore it, conflict is a part of our lives. The resolution of conflict can mean a better common working ground or a destruction of working relationships. Owen states:

> Conflict between two parties appears to unfold in a relatively orderly sequence of events and--unless something intervenes--the sequence tends to be repeated in episodes. Each episode is highly dynamic, with each party's behavior serving a stimulus to evoke a response from the other. Further, each new episode is shaped in part by previous episodes.[187]

According to Owen, the final goal is to manage conflict in such a way that it will be as productive as possible for all concerned while minimizing the destructive consequences.

Each administrator has a style that influences the management of conflict. Mary Parker Follett discussed three primary styles: domination, compromise and integration. She also identified other styles of handling conflict, including avoidance and suppression.[188]

Blake and Mouton presented a conceptual scheme that classified the styles of handling interpersonal conflicts into five types: forcing, withdrawing, smoothing, compromising and problem solving. Each style was described in terms of the attitude of the administrator: concern for

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[187]Robert G. Owen, Organization Behavior in Education (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1981), 12.

[188]Follett, Ibid.

production or concern for people.[189]

Thomas[190] maintains that it is common in a conflict situation to emphasize the extent to which a party is willing to cooperate with another party but to overlook a second critical factor--the party's desire to satisfy his or her own concerns. Thomas identifies two critical behavioral dimensions that shape the way one conceptualizes conflict:

Cooperativeness--attempting to satisfy the other person's concerns.

Assertiveness--attempting to satisfy one's own concerns.

Thomas uses those two basic dimensions of behavior to define five specific methods that managers use to deal with conflict:

Competing. The manager is essentially assertive and uncooperative in the style of conflict resolution. An individual pursues his own concerns at the other person's expense. This is a power-oriented mode in which one uses power--one's ability to argue, one's rank, economic sanctions, etc.--to carry the day.

Accommodating. The manager is essentially unassertive

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[189]Robert R. Blake and Jane S. Mouton, The Managerial Grid (Houston, Texas: Gulf Publishing, 1964)

[190]Kenneth Thomas, "Conflict and Conflict Management," Handbook of Industrial and Organizational Psychology ed. Marvin D. Dunentte (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1976): 891.

and cooperative in the style of conflict resolution. An individual neglects his own concerns to satisfy the concerns of the other person. There is an element of self-sacrifice in this mode. Accommodating might take the form of selfless generosity or charity, obeying another person's order when one would prefer not to, or yielding to another's point of view.

Avoiding. The manager is essentially unassertive and uncooperative in the style of conflict resolution. An individual does not immediately pursue his own concerns or those of the other person. The conflict is not addressed. Avoiding might take the form of diplomatically sidestepping an issue, postponing an issue until a better time, or simply withdrawing from a threatening situation.

Collaborating. The manager is essentially assertive and cooperative in the style of conflict resolution. An individual attempts to work with the other person to find some solution that fully satisfies the concerns of both. This requires digging into an issue to identify the underlying concerns of the two individuals to find an alternative that meets both sets of concerns. Collaborating might take the form of exploring a disagreement to learn from each other's insights and concluding to resolve some condition that would otherwise have them competing for resources, or confronting and trying to find a creative

solution to an interpersonal problem.

Compromising. The manager is essentially intermediate in both assertiveness and cooperativeness in this style of conflict resolution. Individuals find an expedient, mutually acceptable solution that satisfies both parties.

Rahim[191] further refined Thomas' scheme. He delineated five styles of handling interpersonal conflict by combining two motivational orientations: concern for others or concern for self. These two motivations are essentially the same as Thomas' "cooperativeness" and "assertiveness."

Rahim's five styles are also essentially the same as Thomas' but were renamed and organized by their high and low concern for self or others:

Integrating. ("Collaborating" in Thomas' scheme.) This person has a high concern for self and others.

Obliging. ("Accommodating" in Thomas' scheme.) This person has a low concern for self and high concern for others.

Dominating. ("Competing" in Thomas' scheme.) This person has a high concern for self and low concern for others.

Avoiding. ("Avoiding" in Thomas' scheme.) This person has a low concern for self and others.

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[191]Rahim, Managing Conflict in Organizations, 17-20.

Compromising. ("Compromising" in Thomas' scheme.) This person has an intermediate concern for self and others.

Each person is capable of using all five modes, but some individuals depending on their dominant personality characteristics, rely more heavily on certain modes. Thomas[192] states that the conflict management behavior the individual uses is a result of his personal predispositions in combination with the circumstances that arise.

Blake and Mouton as well as Likert and Likert have suggested that the integrating (Rahim) or collaborative (Thomas) or the problem solving style is the most effective.[193] However, Hart[194], Rahim and Bonoma[195] and Thomas[196] have suggested that for conflicts to be managed functionally, the situation determines whether one style may be more appropriate than another. Rahim suggested that integrating and compromising styles are appropriate for dealing with strategic issues. The other styles are

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[192]Thomas, 22.

[193]Blake and Mouton, The Managerial Grid; Likert and Likert, ibid.

[194]Lois B. Hart, Learning from Conflict: A Handbook for Trainers and Group Leaders (Reading, Ma.: Addison-Wesley, 1971)

[195]M. Afzalur Rahim and Thomas V. Bonoma, "Managing Organizational Conflict: A Model for Diagnosis and Intervention," Psychological Reports 44 (1979): 1323-1344.

[196]Kenneth Thomas, Ibid.

appropriate for tactical or day-to-day issues[197] or when conflict is minor or frictional in nature.[198]

Rahim says that the management of organizational conflict involves the process of first diagnosing and then intervening in the conflict.[199] The diagnosis of the conflict is important because the underlying causes may not be what they appear to be on the surface. Rahim suggests a system encompassing both formal and informal approaches to diagnose a conflict, and he has developed several instruments for this purpose.[200]

It is generally accepted that two approaches to conflict management are: structural approaches and behavioral approaches. The structural approach attempts to intervene by changing an aspect of the organization's structural design, such as: clarification of job expectations, use of coordinating and integrating mechanisms, establishment of superordinate objectives, use of reward structure and systems of communication.[201]

Clarification of job expectations was identified as one

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[197]Rahim, Managing Conflict in Organizations, 29.

[198]Ibid., 36.

[199]Ibid., 29.

[200]Ibid., 34.

[201]Michael H. Mescon, M. Albert and F. Khedouri, Management (Cambridge, Ma: Harper and Row Publishers, 1988)

of the best means for managing to prevent dysfunctional conflict as it clarifies what each individual and subgroup is expected to accomplish.[202]

Coordinating and integrating mechanisms are other avenues of managing conflict. The most widely used coordinating mechanism is the chain of command. The concept of unity of command facilitates the use of hierarchy to manage conflict. Integration devices such as liaison personnel and task forces are also useful in managing conflict. These devices have proved to increase the effectiveness of organizations.[203]

The determination of superordinate objectives is another structural technique for managing conflict.[204] These superordinate objectives require the collaboration of two or more individuals or groups. The underlying agenda is to channel the efforts of all parties toward the same objectives. Rewards can be utilized to manage conflict by influencing parties to conduct themselves in ways that avoid dysfunctional consequences. A well coordinated reward

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[202]Ibid., 564.

[203]Paul R. Lawrence and Jay W. Lorsch, Managing Differentiation and Integration (Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press, 1967)

[204]Muzafel Scherif, O. J. Harvey, B. J. White, W.R. Hood and C. W. Scherrif, Intergroup Conflict and Cooperation: The Robbers Cave Experiment (Tulsa, OK: The University of Oklahoma Book Exchange, 1961)

structure encourages behavior conducive to the overall objectives of the organization and helps people learn what management considers desirable behavior in various to problem situations.[205]

The behavioral approach attempts to improve organizational effectiveness by changing members' culture: attitudes, values, norms, beliefs. Rahim suggests that the behavioral approach is designed to manage conflict by helping organizational members learn various styles of handling conflict, mainly the integrative or collaborative style.[206]

In summary, the way a manger resolves conflict is likely to be personal and have an impact on organizational effectiveness. The interpersonal style of the manager as well as the structural techniques within the organization that are utilized are likely to influence the conflict resolution style of the manager. There is no consensus in the research about which style is most effective, although there is a predilection for the collaborative style. The avoidance style has been cited as either ineffective or superficially effective for short term, temporary conflict

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[205]Walton and Dutton, Ibid., 73-84.

[206]Rahim, Managing Conflict in Organizations, 35.

management.[207] Bercovitch[208] has suggested the negative organizational effects of competing, accommodating, and avoiding styles have: they allow the underlying tension to remain unaffected, and organizational members tend to react by forming clear adversarial distinctions, trying for total victory, personalizing the conflict and emphasizing disagreements.

Moving into the next century, the conflicts the administrator face are much more complex, multifaceted and intense. However, today's literature is still shy of systematic attempts in the understanding of conflict resolution and its relevance to administrators. Recent efforts rely heavily on the earlier theoretical work of Rahim and Thomas. Such a paucity of literature calls for more attention to be focused on conflict studies on the part of practitioners and scholars.

Organizational Culture and Conflict

Human cultures often develop in response to people's struggles and their attempt to both manage them and create

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[207]Sam Cianfarano, "Addressing the Issues: Conflict Resolution," College Student Journal 20 (1984): 425-427.

[208]Jacob Bercovitch, Social Conflicts and Third Parties (Boulder, Co: Westview Press, 1984)

some order out of them.[209] Schein suggests that culture fulfills an anxiety-reducing function, analogous with defense mechanisms for the individual, because the resulting automatic patterns of perceiving, thinking, feeling and behaving provide meaning, stability and comfort.[210] Trice and Beyer say that cultures "cope" with ambiguities and uncertainties.[211] Thus, in organizations, conflict-- especially interdepartmental conflict-- may be a primary factor that has prompted the development of its culture.

However, just as culture is in part formed in response to organizational conflict, so too is organizational conflict a product of the culture. Culture and conflict are each both cause and effect, and each are mutually dependent.

The development of subcultures within an organization often cause organizational conflict. Many of the reasons for the development of interdepartmental conflicts are also reasons for subcultures developing.

Trice and Beyer[212] and Gregory[213] have described the

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[209]Harrison M. Trice and Janice M. Beyer, The Cultures of Work Organizations, 2.

[210]Ibid.

[211]Ibid.

[212]Ibid.

[213]Kathleen L. Gregory, "Native View Paradigms: Multiple Cultures and Culture Conflict in Organizations," Administrative Science Quarterly 28 n. 3 (Sept 1983): 359-

potential for subcultures to develop along departmental lines. Mintzberg also describes this phenomenon and suggests that departments or other subunits based on function or geographic location are more likely to produce strong subcultures than product-based departments, because grouping workers by function puts people together who already have similar occupational interests, experiences, and educational backgrounds. A common supervisor, shared identities and common experiences facilitate the elaboration of ideologies already shared into unique departmental subcultures within organizations. One common result is that group goals and identity become all-important at the expense of cooperation with other groups.[214]

Various theorists have documented the presence of subcultures within organizations, as well as their pervasiveness and importance in the functioning of the organization.[215] Subcultures themselves are fraught with the potential for conflict. Alderfer suggests that the dominant organizational culture may in fact be the product

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[214]Henry Mintzberg, The Structure of Organizations (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1979)

[215]Gregory, Ibid.
Patricia Riley, "A Structurationist Account of Political Culture," Administrative Science Quarterly 28 n. 3 (September 1983): 414-37.

of subcultures in interaction with one another, and often in conflict with one another.[216]

Trice and Beyer describe the tendency for subcultures to become "ethnocentric" as a primary cause of conflict between subcultures:

> People who endorse one set of ideas often come to distrust, fear, and dislike people with other ideas. The stronger and more emotionally charged the ideas, the more likely that their adherents will come to have intolerant and emotionally charged reactions to people who hold other ideas. . . . In organizations, as elsewhere in society, such feelings are likely to interfere with cooperation and coordination among groups and lead to such phenomena as passing the buck or blaming the victim.[217]

Kathleen L. Gregory describes the potential of ethnocentric subcultures to be in conflict: "Ethnocentrism, the tendency to take for granted one's own cultural view and to evaluate others' behavior in terms of it, increases the tendency for misunderstanding and conflicts to occur."[218]

Just as task interdependence fosters interdepartmental conflict, Trice and Beyer suggest that task interdependence also contributes to the formation of subcultures along departmental lines: "To the degree that task interdependence creates clear power differences and intergroup conflict, it encourages the growth of subcultures

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[216]Alderfer, 214.

[217]Trice & Beyer, The Culture of Work Organizations, 2.

[218]Gregory, 359-60.

that divide workers along the same lines."[219]

Trice and Beyer also document the occurrence of subcultures around line and staff distinctions.

> Like functional groupings, line and staff distinctions have traditionally tended to undermine cooperation and coordination as each group develops its own subcultural values and norms. . . Each group usually feels superior to the other and develops beliefs and rationales to support its superiority."[220]

Follett viewed the relation of departments as the "crux of business administration."[221] She admitted that the way to facilitate interdepartmental cooperation was unclear: "While the necessity of team-work between the departments is recognized by everyone, the methods for obtaining it are not yet sufficiently worked out . . ."[222] She did suggest that the organization have a process for "uncovering" the unconscious, underlying motive for conflict:

> The 'uncovering' which every book on psychology has rubbed into us for some years now as a process of the utmost importance for solving conflicts which the individual has within himself is equally important for the relations between individuals or between groups, classes, races, nations. In business, the employer, in dealing with his associates or his employees, has to get underneath all the camouflage, has to find the real demand as against the demand put forward, distinguish

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[219]Trice & Beyer, The Cultures of Work Organizations, 233.

[220]Trice & Beyer, The Cultures of Work Organizations, 234.

[221]Follett, 81.

[222]Ibid., 90.

> declared motive from real motive, alleged cause from real cause, and to remember that sometimes the underlying motive is deliberately concealed and that sometimes it exists unconsciously. [223]

Although Follett was not operating from a theoretical framework that included organizational culture, she recognized that unconscious forces are sometimes at work and her suggestion for developing a management strategy for "uncovering" these forces is still valid.

Walton and Dutton suggest that common experience is an antidote for interdepartmental conflict by reducing communication barriers and providing common reference points.[224] This suggests that a management strategy for addressing interdepartmental conflict is to increase situations that encourage common experience across departments. This is compatible with the idea that shared experience contributes to the formation of cultures within organizations and therefore may be an important tool in the management of interdepartmental conflict and culture. One would hypothesize that cross-departmental teams that create shared experiences and allow for more open communication would be less inclined to develop conflicting subcultures. This view is supported by Schein, who suggests that a strategy for dealing with intergroup conflict is to develop

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[223]Ibid., 38.

[224]Walton and Dutton, 77.

a vehicle for interaction and communication between groups. He also suggests that managers should give rewards to groups based on the help groups have given to one another.[225]

This view is also supported by Likert and Likert, who have suggested that "linking pins" and a "linking process" are critical in the effective management of organizational conflicts. They describe an organization that successfully incorporates these attributes as being made up of "interlocking work groups" that are highly loyal, have positive attitudes and trust others. They are skilled in personal interaction and problem solving, which allows them to participate in decisions and to communicate effectively. The administrator had developed an effective social system that allows for interaction and problem solving.[226]

Zald found that cross departmental work groups change the bases of conflict and that workers retained their professional identities while giving up their departmental identities. Conflicts contributed less to institutional instability than did departmental conflicts.[227] Zald feels that problem-solving organizations are likely to be conflict-ridden organizations because the opening up of

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[225]Edgar H. Schein, Organizational Psychology (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall 1970): 96-102.

[226]Likert and Likert, New Ways of Managing Conflict, 16.

[227]Zald, 42,

organizational decisions to discussion and debate raises the level of conflict in the institution. However, some kinds of tension may be lowered, especially those tensions that may lead to subversion of goals and avoidance of rules.[228]

A study investigating executive conflict management in a Fortune 500 company found that a lack of social links between disputing departments was irrelevant because there was little social pressure to resolve issues and great pressure to attack. This situation was exacerbated by codes of honor that were part of the culture in this organization. Executives found that they needed the aid of a third party to intervene in order to bring about some sort of settlement.[229]

Lawrence and Lorsch found that interunit cooperation is more effectively achieved and over-all organizational performance is higher when managers openly confront differences, rather than smoothing them over or dictating decisions.[230] While this is a legitimate strategy, in the case of interdepartmental conflict, where a culture or a

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[228]Ibid., 47.

[229]Calvin Morrill, "Conflict Management, Honor, and Organizational Change," American Journal of Sociology 97 n3 (November 1991): 585-621.

[230]Paul R. Lawrence and Jay W. Lorsch "Differentiation and Integration in Complex Organizations," Administrative Science Quarterly 12 (1967): 1-47.

subculture is operating differences may no longer be conscious, and therefore it may be difficult for a manager to discern and confront the real issue. In this case, Follett's demand for a process of "uncovering," is especially relevant. Martin and Siehl support this view, "it is likely that cultural development, like other aspects of organizational functioning, is not as responsive to direct managerial attempts at control as many would like to believe."[231]

Success in managing cultures within organizations depends on managers recognizing and understanding that cultures exist.[232] This may be hard to do as managers also fall prey to culture and may not recognize the presence of cultural forces. Martin and Siehl are not optimistic about the possibility of managing organizational cultures:

> It may be that cultures cannot be straightforwardly created or managed by individuals. Instead, cultures may simply exist and managers may capitalize on cultural effects they perceive as positive or minimize those perceived as negative. Perhaps the most that can be expected is that a manager can slightly modify the trajectory of a culture, rather than exert major control over the direction of its development.[233]

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[231]Joanne Martin and Caren Siehl, "Organizational Culture and Counterculture: An Uneasy Symbiosis," Organizational Dynamics (Autumn 1983): 53.

[232]Trice & Beyer, The Cultures of Work Organizations, 234.

[233]Martin and Siehl, 53.

Schein is equally pessimistic about the ability of managers to resolve intergroup conflict as they:

> . . . depend on a recognition of some problem by the organization and a willingness on the part of the competing groups to participate in some training effort to reduce negative consequences. The reality, however, is that most organizations neither recognize the problem nor are willing to invest time and energy in resolving it."[234]

In summary, cultures make organizational life more comfortable for the members. They have often developed in response to organizational anxiety and serve as palliatives.

Almost invariably, subcultures exist within organizations. The ethnocentric properties of these subcultures create a situation ripe for conflict between subcultures. Because a departmental organizational structure artificially separates people into groups that share experiences, that work closely together often under stress, that typically have similar backgrounds and educational experience, subcultures are likely to develop along departmental lines. This has been found to be true in research conducted on subcultures in mature organizations: subcultures emerged along hierarchical and functional lines.[235]

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[234]Schein, Organizational Psychology, 99.

[235]Joanne Martin, Sim B. Sitkin and Michael Boehm, "Founders and the Elusiveness of a Cultural Legacy," in Organizational Culture, ed. Peter J. Frost, Larry F. Moore, Meryl Reis Louis, Craig C. Lundberg, and Joanne Martin

Organizations suffer from interdepartmental conflict. When this is compounded with subcultures that are in conflict along departmental lines, the conflict becomes even more complicated, emotionally charged and difficult to handle. Subcultures develop in response to interdepartmental conflict, but, once formed, often create their own interdepartmental conflict.

Managers do not necessarily understand cultures that are operating within their organization--they are oblivious to the culture as a fish is to water. Even if they are aware that a culture is responsible for a problem, they may not be able to do much about it, for cultures develop lives of their own. Often managers do not feel that the time and energy that would be required to understand a culture and how it is functioning is warranted.

Managers also have their own conflict resolution styles that affect the organizational culture.

Perhaps what is most critical is for the administrator to understand that organizations are systems of conflict rather than systems of cooperation. This view demands that the administrator become more of an arbiter than a leader. In order to do this effectively the administrator must understand the culture and the conflict it encourages.

(Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1985), 115.

Martin suggests that culture cannot be managed. Because culture emerges, leaders cannot create cultures; their members do. Because culture is an expression of people's deepest needs, a means of endowing their experiences with meaning, she believes that it is naive and possibly unethical to attempt to manage culture.[236]

Siehl suggests, as result of her study that looked at the explicit attempt of a regional unit to change its culture during a time of company transition, that transition times are a possible time to manage the expression of cultural values. She was unable to conclude that the culture could be managed. Culture management, she suggests, may be the articulation of a possible culture, coming to agreement that it is desirable and then attaining it through the sharing of desired values. If so, all employees, not just the leader, contribute to the management of culture.[237]

Developing an understanding of the culture of an organization so that conflicts can be managed will

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[236]Joanne Martin, "Can Organizational Culture be Managed?" in Organizational Culture, ed. Peter J. Frost, Larry F. Moore, Meryl Reis Louis, Craig C. Lundberg, and Joanne Martin (Newbury Park: Sate Publications, 1985), 95.

[237]Caren Siehl, "After the Founder: An Opportunity to Manage Culture," in Organizational Culture, ed. Peter J. Frost, Larry F. Moore, Meryl Reis Louis, Craig C. Lundberg, and Joanne Martin (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1985), 139.

necessitate establishing a vehicle in the organization that allows for "uncovering" cultures. While it is commonly believed by administrators that such a vehicle would be helpful, Kolb asserts that such vehicles are rarely utilized, in large part because administrators prefer less formal, public avenues for the resolution of conflicts.[238]

In order to reduce interdepartmental conflicts the administrator needs to structure the organization with interdepartmental work groups that act as linking mechanisms. The goal of the work groups is to facilitate the sharing of experiences across departments, collaboration and establishing cooperative goals. It is also important for the administrator to establish a reward structure that supports the institutional mission, as opposed to departmental objectives, and to attempt to share information and resources fairly so that departmental status hierarchies do not develop. It will also be important for the administrator to encourage and promote subordinates with collaborative personalities.

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[238]Deborah M. Kolb, "Women's Work," in Hidden Conflict in Organizations: Uncovering Behind-the-Scenes Disputes, ed. Deborah M. Kolb and Jean M. Bartunek (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1992), 64.

CHAPTER FIVE

METHODOLOGY

This chapter begins with the delineation of the research purposes and questions addressed by this study. Then the methods used, including data sources, collection and data analysis are explicated.

Research Purpose and Questions

Research questions were generated from the purpose of the study and the conceptual framework. Dobbert asserted that research questions also need to be based in relevant theory.[239] The theory that is framing this inquiry about organizational culture is organizational symbolism.

Although this research is a systematic exploratory study and, therefore, is not attempting either to prove or disprove a theory, the research questions served as a guide that helped to initiate the research process. Dobbert suggested starting with questions based on all relevant sources of information and then "revise them as they prove

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[239]Marion L. Dobbert, Ethnographic Research: Theory and Application for Modern Schools and Societies (New York, New York: Praeger, 1984)

to be inaccurate, unworkable, or just plain wrong."[240]

The overall purpose of this study was to identify and describe the interdepartmental conflicts in two organizations--one with high conflict and one with low conflict--and then to define the role culture played in each, to identify and describe the strategies that the administrators in each of the two organizations utilized in managing interdepartmental conflicts and to associate their strategies with the organizational culture.

The following are the research questions and hypotheses:

Question I: To what extent do interdepartmental conflicts exist within an organization?

Hypothesis I: If administrators are unaware of interdepartmental conflicts, then the conflicts will be more extensive and have a more serious impact.

Question II: Are interdepartmental conflicts a function of diverse departmental cultures and, if so, are they affected by the coping mechanisms used in the organization to manage interdepartmental conflicts?

Hypothesis II: If administrators have set up

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[240]Dobbert, 13.

managerial ways of handling interdepartmental conflicts, then the organizational culture will support cooperative relations between departments.

Question III: How aware of conflicts within the organization are the administrators and what do they do to mediate conflicts?

Hypothesis III: Interdepartmental conflict is usually an "open secret" and therefore, it is rarely addressed head-on by administrators.

Question IV: To what extent does the organization rely on informal communication between departments and how does the use of informal communication relate to interdepartmental conflict?

Hypothesis IV: When there is a greater reliance on formal communication among departments, then fewer opportunities for misperception and conflict between departments will occur, and when organizations depend on informal communication there will be greater conflict between departments.

Question V: How aware are the administrators of their organizational cultures and what do they do to influence them?

Hypothesis V: Administrators will be largely unaware of their organizational cultures and, therefore, will not have mechanisms established to influence them.

Method Overview

This study was conducted in three parts. The first was a questionnaire administered to ten residential treatment centers to identify one that had a high degree of interdepartmental conflict and one that had a low degree.

The second part of the study was a qualitative analysis of the two organizations selected to identify and describe the nature of interdepartmental conflicts and to understand the role culture plays in these conflicts. The qualitative analysis examined the results of structured interviewing of key informants and archival data. The qualitative methods used in this study allowed "for an approach to inquiry that was systematic yet allowed the researcher to get close to the people being studied, to understand the world as they saw it."[241] The study of organizational culture through an organizational symbolism framework requires the inquirer to understand the world from the perspective of the participants.

The third part of the study analyzed the data as it

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[241]C. Marshall and G. B. Rossman, Designing Qualitative Methodology (Beverly Hills, Ca: Sage, 1989): 7.

relates to interdepartmental conflict, the role of organizational culture, the management strategies to resolve interdepartmental conflict and their effect on the culture.

Research Design

The dynamic view of organizations that is used as the basis for this study presents problems in developing an appropriate research design. It has been observed: "Due to its feedback structure this view of man, and the organizations that it implies, are relatively complex and defy the traditional research and design approaches."[242]

Key elements of this study can only be captured by qualitative methods. It is impossible to tease out the presence of culture in an organization without qualitative exploration because culture, by definition, is an unconscious force.

Recently researchers have become disillusioned with quantitative methods and quasi-experimental designs in the study of organizations because:

> of the relatively trivial amounts of variance they explained, the lack of comparability of results across studies, their failure to achieve much predictive validity, and the incomprehensibility their sophisticated methods contributed to reports of research. Furthermore, causality was often indeterminate or so complex that managers could not gain much insight from such research into how to change

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[242] Bryans, P., Cronin, T. P., ibid, 18.

organizations in beneficial ways.[243]

Qualitative study allows the researcher to capture the frame of reference, which is, in this case, culture. It also allows the researcher to define the presence of culture as it is uncovered. Qualitative study is a prerequisite to quantitative measuring when the issues or behavior in question are not well understood.

Understanding that culture may exist allows the researcher to examine the organizational process with this frame of reference. The researcher can also study those factors peculiar to the case so that a greater understanding of causality can be developed.

Level of Research

This research falls within the category of a systematic exploratory study. Kahn explains, "We may want an accurate, objective, dynamic picture of a process, a pattern of interaction, an event. The objective is a descriptive view, which may be qualitative, quantitative--or both--of a situation, agency, program or client group. It often has value for planning, policy selection and program implementation."[244] The study involves structured interviewing and archival analysis.

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[243]Trice and Beyer, The Cultures of Work Organizations, 31.

[244]Kahn, 51.

The study aim is to derive hypotheses for further testing and to develop research strategy and priorities. Prior knowledge of variables includes a general sensitivity to the variables of organizational culture. They are largely not known but sought. Hypotheses are formulated explicitly, but the researcher also seeks emerging hypotheses. Control of variables is at the level that they are sought. The method is flexible and the focus will shift with insights, regulated by the characteristics of the objects, not the hypotheses.

Data Collection

Study Part I

Ten organizations that operate residential treatment centers were selected. These organizations were all located in New Jersey and were comparable in size to each other.

A questionnaire was administered to three representatives from each of four departments of the ten organizations. Departments that were represented included: Administration, Residential, Education, Maintenance, Housekeeping and Clinical. There was some variation in these departments depending on the organizational structure of each organization studied. The questionnaire administered was an adaptation of two previously published questionnaires that were designed to measure

interdepartmental relations.[245] Questions that focused on interdepartmental conflict and cooperation from the two questionnaires were selected for the questionnaire that was developed for this study.

Using the results from this questionnaire the ten organizations were rank-ordered according to their level of interdepartmental conflict. The one that scored the highest and the one that scored the lowest were selected for further study.

The questionnaire was coded according to the center and the department of the person completing it so that data could be organized by center and department.

Study Part II

The second part of the study involved a qualitative study of the two organizations selected to identify the critical features of interdepartmental conflict, the role that culture played in these conflicts, management strategies for handling interdepartmental conflict and the relationship of these strategies to the organizational culture. This included in-depth structured interviewing and archival analysis.

The interviews followed the interview protocol

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[245]Basils S. Georgopoulos and Floyd C. Mann, The Community General Hospital (New York: Macmillan, 1962) James C. Taylor and David G. Bowers, Survey of Organizations: A Machine Scored Instrument (Ann Arbor, Mich: Institute for Social Research, 1970), 105-136.

(Appendix F), which contains many open-ended questions. I encouraged people to talk about their work, any aspect of it. I tried to keep leading questions to a minimum, probing for more information ("What else?" "Go on." "Can you tell me more about that?") when responses lagged. As common concerns, cultural manifestations or areas of disagreement emerged repeatedly among the interviews, I began to ask specific questions and directly seek clarification, in the manner suggested by grounded theory.

During these interviews I took notes, and expanded them into "field notes" shortly thereafter. Although I did my best to preserve each individual's exact words, some of my notes are paraphrases.

Respondent Selection

The use of respondents is critical in the evaluation of the dynamic nature of the interactions in the organization.

> The virtues of using respondents in case studies of organizations are that they can think in terms of the organization as a whole as well as various settings within it, they can be used to keep researchers in continuous contact with the setting, and, assuming certain levels of motivations and articulateness, small numbers of them can be used repeatedly to gather data about a broad range of events.[246]

Respondents were chosen for their knowledge of a broad range of events and activities and, in general, acted as "inside" consultants to the research effort. Therefore, it

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[246]Kahn, 51.

was important to select respondents who were knowledgeable and it is essential to know if what respondents say is accurate. "The problem is not that bias exists, but how to control for it in the research design."[247] In this study respondents were strategically sampled to represent specific categories of perspective.

Seidler presented a method for correcting the biases of respondents that involved stratified sampling.[248] Based on theories of conflict and power, he anticipated that such factors as hierarchy and position would affect respondents' protectiveness of Church officials in describing the amount of dissent in the church. The sample of informants was then stratified according to position.

A similar strategy was used in the design of this study because it was believed that different views would be held about the organization depending on the position of the respondent and the degree of responsibility that the respondent had in the organization. Therefore, respondents were categorized as secondary and primary, based on the decision-making and policy-making capacity of the

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[247]Charles C. McClintock, Diane Brannon, and Steven Maynard-Moody, Applying the Logic of Sample Surveys to Qualitative Case Studies: The Case Cluster Method, Administrative Science Quarterly 24, 619.

[248]John Seidler, "On Using Informants: A Technique for Collecting Quantitative Data and Controlling Measurement Error in Organizational Analysis," American Sociological Review 39 (1974), 816-831.

individual. Primary respondents were involved in, and responsible for, crucial decision-making, planning, and implementation activities. Primary respondents included department heads and administrators. On the other hand, secondary respondents were staff members less involved in major decision-making, but nonetheless responsible for specific duties/responsibilities related to the functions of departments within the organization. It is relevant to differentiate primary from secondary respondents not only because of the roles played, but also because they may differ in the way they perceive the organization, their roles in the organization, and their relationships with other members of the organization.

Respondents were selected according to department, so that a representative sample of administrators and line staff was selected from each department.

Interview Format

Structured in-depth interviews were conducted at the organizations. In structured interviewing, respondents are asked to respond to an identical set of stimuli through the use of an interview schedule. Structured interviews followed the "Interview Protocol." (Appendix F.) This format was developed after several interviews were conducted with administrators of residential treatment centers. These interviews highlighted sixteen domains that were important

to investigate and critical to the study. These domains were used as the basis of the interview format.

As a protocol, the respondents were informed of the general purpose of the interview: "I am interested in understanding how you work with other people in the center." Confidentiality was assured. Respondents were told that others from the staff will be interviewed also. They were all asked to read and sign an informed consent.

Archival Analysis

Because much of the culture of an organization is transmitted through written documents, and because documents form an integral part of the everyday life of an organization, documents are "social products that should be examined."[249] They can reveal cultural themes and are a valuable source of information. Because such documents are an integral part of the organization--its past, present, and future activities--they are important to the shared culture.

The question is whether documents are available irrespective of whether they are actually used. A document is at a minimum a single piece of paper with printed, typed, or otherwise reproduced content--not handwritten.

Documentary evidence included: annual reports,

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[249]Rodolfo Reodi Altamirano, "Action Research as an Appropriate Technical Assistance Approach in Community Development: An Investigation of its Link to Organizational Culture" (Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 1989), 91.

organizational charts, handbooks on agency policies and regulations, news clippings, brochures, pamphlets and newsletters.

Through archival analysis I attempted to:

Reconstruct and analyze the organization's history by identifying all major crises, crucial transitions, and other times of high emotion.

Locate patterns and themes across the events analyzed.

Cross-check patterns and themes against current strategic criteria.

Articulate assumptions that underlie actions taken and check these assumptions against current behavioral data.

Data Analysis

The analysis of the data entailed a systematic classification of observed behaviors. An organized list of the different types of information was formed. Having done this, I attempted to discover other characteristics associated with those categories. The purpose is to discover general patterns. Throughout the research there was an ongoing interaction between data collection and data analysis.

Babie describes the process of field research:

> The formulation of theoretical propositions, the observation of empirical events, and the evaluation of theory are typically all part of the same ongoing process. Although actual field observations may be preceded by deductive theoretical formulas, you seldom if ever merely test a theory and let it go at that.

> Rather you develop theories, or generalized understandings, over the course of your observations. You ask what each new set of empirical observations represents in terms of general social scientific principles. Tentative conclusions, so arrived at, then provide the conceptual framework for further observations.[250]

The general strategy for analyzing the data was a reliance on the theoretical propositions of the study. An attempt was made to understand the cultures present within each organization. As this was being done, incidents of interdepartmental conflict were documented and an effort was made to understand how the specific interdepartmental conflicts related to the presence of organizational cultures. Management strategies, as they seem to relate to both the organizational culture and interdepartmental conflict, were also recorded and analyzed in the same way.

The relevant findings were defined for each of the two organizations, and then the findings were compared and contrasted.

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[250]Earl Babie, The Practice of Social Research (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1983), 279.

CHAPTER SIX

RESULTS OF THE STUDY: THE ORGANIZATIONS

Description of the Organizations

The organizations selected for this study were all residential treatment centers for children and located in the State of New Jersey.

Residential treatment centers serve the most severely disabled populations and, short of hospitalization, are the most restrictive mode of treatment for long-term care. The defining characteristic of such settings is that the children reside in the facility for treatment. In principle, this is necessary because the clients function at a level that is too dangerous or too burdensome to themselves or others to allow treatment in a less restrictive setting. The goal of these centers is to improve the functioning of the children to a level that allows release to a less restricted setting where functioning should continue to improve or where additional treatment can be provided.

The ten[251] residential treatment centers surveyed

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[251]One organization did not complete the data collection process and was eliminated from the study.

varied according to age, size, the types of clients served, their auspices, staffing design and accreditation. The characteristics of the residential treatment centers are summarized in table 1.

TABLE 1

SUMMARY OF ORGANIZATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS FOR TEN ORGANIZATIONS SURVEYED

Org	conflict rating	age	size	client type	auspices	staffing	accred
6	1	113	166 beds	m/f, 5-21 ed, d/d	private, non-profit	shift	non-JCAHO
4	2	80	42 beds	males, 11-18 ed	private, non-profit	shift	non-JCAHO
5	3	75	32 beds	males, 6-12 ed	private, sect.	shift	non-JCAHO
2	4	32	48 beds	males, 10-16 ed	private, non-profit	house-parents	non-JCAHO
7	5	125	45 beds	males, 10-16 ed	private, non-profit	shift	non-JCAHO
3	6	79	76 beds	males, 7-14 ed	private, for profit	shift	non-JCAHO
1	7	22	30 beds	m/f 12-18 ed	public	shift	JCAHO
9	8	23	40 beds	m/f 10-18 ed	public	shift	JCAHO
8	9	21	45 beds	m/f 5-12 ed	private, non-profit	shift	JCAHO

The "conflict rating" is a rank order of the organizations according to the level of interdepartmental conflict as determined by the results of the questionnaire; a rating of 1 is the lowest conflict organization and a rating of 9 is the highest. This rating was determined by the mean score that each organization obtained on the Questionnaire. (Appendix E.) "Age" refers to the age of the facility; "Size" refers to the number of client beds; "Client type" is a summary of: the sex of the clients, the age of the clients, the diagnostic characteristics of the clients (either ed-emotionally disturbed or d/d-developmentally disabled); "Auspices" refers to the auspices of the organization; "Staffing" refers to the manner in which the facility is staffed; "Accred" refers to any accrediting body that the facility is subject to.

While clearly not definitive, organizational characteristics that appear to have an impact on interdepartmental conflict of the organizations surveyed are age and accreditation. The three organizations with the most conflict (organizations 1, 8 and 9) were all relatively young, twenty three years old or less, whereas the six organizations that had less conflict were founded seventy-nine years ago or more.

In addition, the three agencies that had the most conflict were all JCAHO (Joint Commission On Accreditation of Healthcare Organizations) accredited, whereas all the

agencies that had less conflict were non-JCAHO accredited.

Understanding why JCAHO accredited facilities had more conflict is only speculative. However, JCAHO is an accrediting body that bases its licensing regulations on a philosophy derived from a medical model, which dictates that much of the decision making is driven by the medical staff. This does not promote collaboration between departments and may be one reason why these organizations had more interdepartmental conflict.

Organization 8, which had the most interdepartmental conflict of the organizations surveyed, was selected for further in-depth study and henceforth is referred to as Organization A.

Organization 6, which had the least amount of interdepartmental conflict, was also selected for further in-depth study and henceforth is referred to as Organization B.

Description of the Two Organizations Studied

Organization A

Organization A is located in the downtown section of a city occupying 4.6 square miles with a population of 37,000. It is the county seat and boasts an impressive courthouse located about six blocks from the facility. About seven miles outside a metropolitan city, this is the largest city in the area and is the home of light industry and an

airport. Neighborhoods range from upper middle class to lower middle class, with both high rise apartments and low income housing projects in the same area. The city attempted to rejuvenate the downtown area about twenty years ago, but the shops could not compete with the many malls near it. Like many cities today, it clearly has seen better days.

The facility is located in a residential area, two blocks north of Main Street. On the same block is a church and many single-family homes that are rundown and in need of paint. A corner deli and a thrift shop are in the next block.

Although the facility is only twenty-one years old, it looks older because of its bland, institutional architectural style--a simple two story brick building with a flag pole in front. The site offers few amenities. Outdoor space is limited, with little parking and only one small paved area that serves as a playground. Once inside, one is reminded of a school building. Long cinder-block halls are floored with linoleum tiles and glare with florescent lights. Only framed posters decorate the walls. Off the halls are bedrooms, each furnished with the standard institutional wooden bed, sidetable and dresser. Multi-purpose rooms on each floor are furnished with carpeted platforms. Each has a television set.

The building also has a fully equipped institutional

kitchen, a dining room for residents and staff and offices for the staff. In the basement there is a recreation room with a pool table and other games.

The clients are boys and girls who range in age from five to twelve. They are classified as emotionally disturbed. They all attend a school operated by the organization but not located on the grounds.

The residential staff works shifts and is primarily responsible for the care of the children. Clinicians (who have Masters in Social Work degrees) perform clinical responsibilities. Department heads comprise the Administrative staff. Other staffs are the medical, housekeeping, maintenance and kitchen staffs.

Data were collected on the ages of the staff members at the two organizations because it was felt that age might contribute to how staff members from different groups related to one another. The ages of staff members at Organization A are summarized in Table 2. This information was not available at Organization B.

Similarly, the education of the staff members was considered to be a variable that might contribute to how staff members from different groups related to one another. Neuhauser has noted that the wider the gaps in educational backgrounds between staff of different groups, the greater

the likelihood for conflict.[252] The education levels for staff members at the high-conflict Organization A is summarized in Table 5. The information for Organization B was not available.

Data on the ethnicity of the staff members at the two organizations was collected. Background differences are likely to have a significant impact on the ability of various groups to get a long with one another.[253] Neuhauser suggests that the same societal issues of socioeconomic background and class membership that exist in the societal culture will affect an individual's relationships in an organization.[254] The ethnic background for staff members at Organization A is summarized in Tables 6 and 7 and the information for staff members at Organization B is summarized in Tables 10 and 11.

Data was also collected on the gender of the staff members at the two organizations as it was felt that gender might contribute to how staff members from different groups related to one another. This data is summarized in Tables 3 and 4 for Organization A and Tables 8 and 9 for Organization B.

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[252]Peg C. Neuhauser, Tribal Warfare in Organizations (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger Publishing Co., 1988), 68.

[253]Neuhauser, 62.

[254]Ibid, 63.

TABLE 2

AGE OF EMPLOYEES ACROSS DEPARTMENTS

ORGANIZATION A

AGE	RESIDENTIAL DEPARTMENT		CLINICAL DEPARTMENT		ADMINISTRATIVE DEPARTMENT		OTHER	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
22-25	13	23	2	20	0	0	0	0
25-30	14	25	5	50	0	0	0	0
30-40	21	37	2	20	3	50	8	35
40-50	5	8	1	10	2	33	6	35
OVER 50	4	7	0	0	1	17	3	18
TOTAL	57	100	10	100	6	100	17	100

More younger staff of Organization A (under 30 years old) work only in the residential and clinical departments. There are none in the administrative and "other" departments.

TABLE 3

GENDER OF STAFF ACROSS DEPARTMENTS

ORGANIZATION A

GENDER	RESIDENTIAL DEPARTMENT		CLINICAL DEPARTMENT		ADMIN DEPARTMENT		OTHER	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
MALE	20	35	2	20	0	0	9	53
FEMALE	37	65	8	80	6	100	8	47
TOTAL	57	100	10	100	6	100	17	100

All departments are predominantly female with the exception of the "other" department, which has one more male than females.

TABLE 4

SUMMARY OF THE GENDER OF THE STAFF

ORGANIZATION A

GENDER	#	%
MALE	31	34
FEMALE	59	66
TOTAL	90	100

Organization A is predominantly female (66%).

TABLE 5

EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF EMPLOYEES ACROSS DEPARTMENTS

ORGANIZATION A

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	RESIDENTIAL DEPARTMENT		CLINICAL DEPARTMENT		ADMIN DEPARTMENT		OTHER	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
HIGH SCHOOL	10	17	0	0	0	0	2	11
SOME COLLEGE	37	65	0	0	2	33	10	59
BA	9	16	0	0	1	17	1	6
POST BA TRAINING	1	2	0	0	1	17	0	0
MA	0	0	10	100	2	33	1	6
Ph.D	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	18
TOTAL	57	100	10	100	6	100	17	10

Less educated staff are concentrated in the residential and "other" departments, and highly educated staff in the clinical and residential departments.

TABLE 6

ETHNIC BACKGROUND OF EMPLOYEES ACROSS DEPARTMENTS

ORGANIZATION A

ETHNIC BACKGROUND	RESIDENTIAL DEPARTMENT		CLINICAL DEPARTMENT		ADMIN DEPARTMENT		OTHER	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
WHITE	7	12	9	90	4	66	6	35
AFRO-AMER	29	51	1	10	1	17	7	41
HISPANIC	1	2	0	0	1	17	2	12
OTHER	20	35	0	0	0	0	2	12
TOTAL	57	100	10	100	6	100	17	100

Minority staff members are concentrated in the residential and "other" departments.

TABLE 7

SUMMARY OF ETHNIC BACKGROUND OF EMPLOYEES

ORGANIZATION A

ETHNICITY	#	%
WHITE	26	29
MINORITY	64	71
TOTAL	90	100

Overall, the ethnic background of staff members at Organization A is 71% minority.

The Founding of Organization A

Organization A was founded in 1918 by an inner city Episcopalian diocese to help the families of men who had lost their lives in World War I. Homelessness was rampant, and many families were living in tents erected by the National Guard in a section of town called "Tentville."

In 1932, the organization opened a 400 bed shelter for transient men and served meals to 1,400 men at its soup kitchen. The city had been hit hard by the depression. At this time the organization also began counselling young people.

By 1946, the organization identified itself as "a leader in social work." In 1948, after two young girls were found abandoned, a group home for girls was established. It was the first of such ventures in the state.

In the 1950's, the organization added a number of services, including: mental health care, psychological counseling, educational guidance, and vocational counseling.

In 1966, a community representative from another large city asked the organization to assign a psychiatric social worker one day a week to the city. This social worker was housed in a local church. Later, the minister suggested that a bequest to his church be used to establish a child care center for abandoned and abused children, which was established five years later. The mission of this center continues unchanged to this day.

Organization B

Organization B is located about five blocks from the center of a town with a population of only 11,600. The town occupies three square miles and is seven miles outside a metropolitan city. Largely a bedroom community of white collar professionals, it is considered upper middle class. Attractive homes on tree-lined streets and an overall atmosphere of safety and security create comfortable neighborhoods. The town has an impressive history dating back to 1682 when it was first settled by a Quaker. Quaker tradition continues to be important to the community, and the meeting house founded in 1721 is still active. In earlier days, the natural transportation route along the river produced commercial activity. Today the charming town center is composed of shops, restaurants and boutiques.

The facility is in a residential area on the main street about five blocks from the center of town. A small park abuts the back of the facility. Driving into the facility one is struck by the impressive brick Victorian mansion that is at the entrance of the campus, which currently houses the administrative staff. This home was originally purchased by the organization's founder and is in immaculate condition, with a huge Tiffany stained glass window on the landing of the oak staircase and many other carefully maintained details of historic significance. The foyer, with its high ceiling, dark paneling and plush carpet

creates an impression of opulence. The massiveness of the house along with all the heavy, dark woodwork suggests stability.

Outside the mansion, facing the street is a manicured garden. Its centerpiece is a life-size sculpture of the founder. One feels her presence in the garden, along with a sense of history and tradition.

Surrounding the mansion are several other, much more modern buildings that house residences, the school and other offices. The buildings are attractive and unimposing. Concentrated on only a one-and-a-half acre plot, the buildings are convenient but confined. As a result, the parking and play areas are limited.

Living at the facility are children and adults who have developmental disabilities; many are also emotionally disturbed. The majority have been moved into off-campus group homes; only about twenty-two still live on the grounds.

Similar to Organization A, the residential staff at Organization B works shifts and is primarily responsible for the care of the children. Masters level clinicians perform the clinical responsibilities and are part of the Education department. The Education department also includes special education teachers and teacher's aides. Department heads comprise the Administrative staff. Other staffs are the medical, housekeeping, maintenance and kitchen staff.

TABLE 8

GENDER OF STAFF ACROSS DEPARTMENTS

ORGANIZATION B

GENDER	RESIDENTIAL DEPARTMENT		EDUCATION DEPARTMENT		ADMIN DEPARTMENT		OTHER	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
MALE	204	33.6	50	16.7	16	23.6	29	51
FEMALE	404	66.4	249	83.3	52	76.4	28	50
TOTAL	608	100	299	100	68	100	57	100

Every department has a higher percentage of female staff except the "other" department, which has one more male. This is essentially the same situation as Organization A.

TABLE 9

SUMMARY OF THE GENDER OF THE STAFF

ORGANIZATION B

GENDER	#	%
MALE	299	29
FEMALE	733	71
TOTAL	1032	100

Like Organization A, Organization B is predominantly female (71%).

TABLE 10

ETHNIC BACKGROUND OF EMPLOYEES ACROSS DEPARTMENTS

ORGANIZATION B

ETHNIC BACKGROUND	RESIDENTIAL DEPARTMENT		EDUCATION DEPARTMENT		ADMIN DEPARTMENT		OTHER	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
WHITE	276	92	479	78	67	99	50	88
MINORITY	23	8	129	22	1	1	7	12
TOTAL	299	100	608	100	68	100	57	100

All departments at Organization B are predominantly white.

TABLE 11

SUMMARY OF ETHNIC BACKGROUND OF STAFF

ORGANIZATION B

ETHNICITY	#	%
WHITE	872	85
MINORITY	160	15
TOTAL	1032	100

Overall, the ethnic background of staff members at Organization B is white (85%).

The Founding of Organization B

Organization B was founded in 1883 by a Philadelphia school teacher who became concerned about the plight of children with mental handicaps. At the time, there was a general lack of understanding about disabilities, and most mentally handicapped people were not even educated.

The founder of Organization B, however, was convinced that many such children could become useful and productive citizens if given the proper attention and training. Encouraged by several prominent and influential professionals, she rented a small house and, beginning with just one student, opened her own school, one of the first of its kind. Typical of the jargon of the day, it was referred to as a "Training School for the Mentally Deficient and Peculiarly Backward."

The founder was a pioneer in the field of special education. She innovated early intervention, small classes grouped systematically, structured learning programs based on individual abilities, school buildings geographically separate from residences and community living for persons with disabilities. She was a fervent campaigner against institutionalization and for educating people with disabilities.

Comparative Analysis of the Organizations

The two organizations selected for this study had a significant difference in the level of conflict between departments as determined by a questionnaire.

Quantitative Analysis of the Low-Conflict and High-Conflict Organizations

In this study, t-test was used to determine if the difference in mean scores between the low-conflict organization (Organization B) and the high-conflict organization (Organization A) was statistically significant.

TABLE 12

T-TEST ANALYSIS OF LOW-CONFLICT AND HIGH-CONFLICT ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR RESPECTIVE DEPARTMENTS

Organization	N	Score Mean	S.D.	t-value
Low-conflict	12	62.50	7.29	5.72***
High-conflict	12	42.17	9.93	

A significant difference ($p<.0005$) was found between the scores of the low-conflict and high-conflict organizations.

Like the other high conflict organizations, Organization A is one of the younger facilities, established 21 years ago. Organization B is one of the oldest facilities, founded 113 years ago. Also like the other high conflict facilities, Organization A is JCAHO accredited whereas Organization B is not.

The context of the two organizations present a striking contrast. While both organizations are located on a Main Street in cities of a similar size and both are in close proximity to large metropolitan areas, Organization A (high conflict) is located in a low income neighborhood in a city that is feeling the impact of difficult economic times, whereas Organization B (low conflict) is located in an upper class neighborhood of white collar workers in a comfortable bedroom community.

The facilities themselves also differ in their presentation. While both facilities are located in a small area and have space limitations, Organization A (high conflict) is in an old fashioned building, institutional in its design with few aesthetic amenities. It is furnished and decorated in an institutional, unimaginative manner. Organization B (low conflict) on the other hand, is housed in attractive buildings, some of which are historically significant, tastefully furnished and for the most part distinctly uninstitutional. Organization A has no plantings or trees around a single brick building. Organization B has several buildings, all of which are landscaped and surrounded by trees.

Both organizations have notable historical roots. Organization A (high conflict), however, has few relevant ties to the original organizational mission or founder. This is in stark contrast to Organization B. Clearly

Organization B is a direct descendent of the founder in its current mission and daily operations. The founder remains very much present: she is cited in all the organization's written materials, and a life-sized sculpture of her is a visual reminder to staff and clients of the historic character of the institution.

An analysis of the demographic data of the staffs of the two organizations reveals a difference of ethnic composition. Organization A (high conflict) is composed of 79% minority staff, whereas Organization B is composed of 15% minority staff.

Both organizations are female dominated (66% in Organization A and 71% in Organization B). Gender breakdown across departments is almost exactly the same for the two organizations, except for the administrative department, which in Organization A is 100% female and only 76.4% female in Organization B.

It would seem that these contextual and staff differences may well contribute to the organizational cultures of these two organizations. The implications for interdepartmental conflict are discussed in Chapter 8.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RESULTS OF THE STUDY: THE RESPONDENTS

This chapter reviews the data obtained from structured interviews conducted with key respondents at the high-conflict organization and the low conflict organization. The purpose of the interviews was to identify and explain the nature of interdepartmental conflicts present in the two organizations and to ascertain the role that culture plays in these conflicts.

Description of the Respondents

Respondents were selected from each department, but within the department they were chosen randomly, based on their availability. Interviews were conducted during all time periods so that both different departments and different shifts were represented.

The age, ethnicity and the gender of the respondents for the two organizations are summarized below in Tables 13, 14, 15, and 16.

TABLE 13

AGE OF RESPONDENTS

AGE	ORGANIZATION A	ORGANIZATION B
25-30	2	3
30-40	6	0
40-50	2	8
> 50	1	0

More of the respondents selected from Organization A were younger than respondents selected from Organization B. While this was not deliberate it could affect the data, with possibly a greater number of respondents at Organization B being more mature in their viewpoints.

TABLE 14

EDUCATION OF RESPONDENTS

EDUCATION	ORGANIZATION A	ORGANIZATION B
HIGH SCHOOL	1	0
SOME COLLEGE	3	1
BA	3	1
POST BA	0	2
MA	4	6
PhD	0	1

Organization B had a higher percentage of staff

interviewed with higher education (post BA or more) than Organization A. This also might contribute to a more sophisticated view of the organization.

TABLE 15

ETHNICITY OF RESPONDENTS

ETHNICITY	ORGANIZATION A	ORGANIZATION B
WHITE	5	11
AFRICAN AMERICAN	4	0
HISPANIC	0	0
OTHER	2	0

A greater number of minority staff were interviewed at Organization A, while none were interviewed at Organization B. This is consistent with the overall ethnic makeup of staff members at these two organizations.

TABLE 16

GENDER OF RESPONDENTS

GENDER	ORGANIZATION A	ORGANIZATION B
FEMALE	8	7
MALE	3	4

The gender of respondents from the two organizations

was essentially comparable.

Respondents were categorized as secondary and primary, based on the decision-making and policy-making capacity of the individual. Primary respondents were involved in, and responsible for, crucial decision making, planning and implementation activities. Primary respondents included department heads and administrators. Secondary respondents were staff members who were less involved in major decision making, but nonetheless were responsible for specific duties related to the function of departments within the organization. A summary of the primary and secondary respondents for both organizations is contained in Table 17 below:

TABLE 17

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY RESPONDENTS

ORGANIZATION A

1.	Primary	Clinical Department
2.	Primary	Other Department
3.	Primary	Other Department
4.	Primary	Residential Department
5.	Secondary	Residential
6.	Secondary	Clinical
7.	Secondary	Residential
8.	Primary	Other Department
9.	Secondary	Other Department
10.	Secondary	Residential Department
11.	Primary	Administration

Total: 6 Primary, 5 Secondary

ORGANIZATION B

1.	Secondary	Education Department
2.	Secondary	Education Department
3.	Secondary	Education Department
4.	Primary	Clinical Department
5.	Primary	Education Department
6.	Secondary	Other Department
7.	Primary	Education Department
8.	Secondary	Clinical Department
9.	Primary	Other Department
10.	Secondary	Residential Department
11.	Primary	Residential Department

Total: 5 Primary, 6 Secondary

In summary, a representative sample of respondents was interviewed at both sites. A balance of primary and secondary respondents was selected. Organization B (low conflict) had a higher percentage (72%) of older-than-40-year-old staff interviewed, whereas Organization A only had 27% over-40-year- olds. In addition, Organization B had a higher percentage (81%) of staff members interviewed with higher education (post BA or more) than Organization A,

which had 36%. It is possible that the greater numbers of staff members that are older and better educated may contribute to a culture of low conflict. Consistent with the ethnic and gender makeup of employees of the two organizations, 54% minority staff members were interviewed at Organization A but none were interviewed at Organization B; 72% females were interviewed at Organization A and 63% at Organization B.

No problems were encountered conducting the interviews at either site. The staff members interviewed seemed to enjoy participating in the interview and appeared to be open and candid.

Results Obtained from Respondents

Qualitative results are presented below as summaries of responses to substantive questions asked in the interviews. The semi-structured interview worked well as designed, with questions flowing smoothly from one to the next in the manner of conversation rather than an inquiry. It was emphasized in each interview that the information sought was the respondent's opinions and perceptions rather than some "right" answer. The results presented below are organized according to the domain within which specific questions were contained. The interview protocol is in Appendix F.

Homogeneity of Staff/Communications

The purpose of this set of questions was to determine if respondents had experiences that would help them understand staff perspectives from other departments and understand the mechanisms of communication between departments.

More staff from the low-conflict Organization B (64%) had experience working across departments. Only (18%) of the staff from the high-conflict Organization A had this experience, and all those were administrators. Since administrators are expected to take a broader perspective, prior experience in another department is less meaningful. This supports Walton and Dutton's notion that common experience will strengthen communication and improve interdepartental relations.[255]

In addition, three people from the low conflict organization explicitly stated that they "work closely" and one staff member explained that she was "part of their team," referring to another department.

No one at either organization reported having been trained across departments.

Communication at the high-conflict Organization A was described more negatively: communication is..."nonexistent," "terrible," "mixed," "bad," "cyclical" and "vague." At the

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[255]Walton and Dutton, 77.

low conflict Organization B respondents viewed communication as "good" (3), "well" and "OK." One suggested that "it could be better." One described it as "inefficient and time consuming." Respondents at Organization B tended not to generalize about communication as they did at Organization A and saw it instead as "person specific" when communication did not go well. It is not unusual in organizations for problems to be "personalized" as they seem to be at Organization B. When this occurs there is a tendency to blame the person on stage when the conflict drama is played out. When disputes are personalized, their organizational and societal origins are minimized and therefore they are less challenging to organizational structures.[256]

At the high-conflict Organization A, most communication was described as "informal," (55% of respondents) although several formal meetings were described by most. At the low-conflict Organization B, most communication was described as "formal," with meetings, team meetings, newsletters, daily bulletins and memos cited. Informal communication was acknowledged but it was not viewed as the primary mechanism of communication, as it was at Organization A, where respondents said that much

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[256]Jean M. Bartunek, Deborah M. Kolb, and Roy J. Lewicki, "Bringing Conflict Out From Behind the Scenes: Private, Informal, and Nonrational Dimensions of Conflict in Organizations," Hidden Conflict in Organizations: Uncovering Behind-the-Scenes Disputes, ed. Deborah M. Kolb and Jean M. Bartunek (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1992), 223.

information gets communicated around the lunch table.

Despite the communication issues at Organization A, 40% of the staff commented that communication had improved since the new administrator had done some training and established several formalized meetings. "It is much better since *** came." "Over the years it has improved." "It has improved over the 5 years." "I've seen a lot of changes."

There was little differentiation between the ways members of the two organizations learned what was going on in their departments and in their organizations, or how they communicated with other departments. Both cited memos, meetings, newsletters, informal communications and supervisors.

Staff of both organizations acknowledged the presence of a "grapevine." 73% of the staff of Organization A acknowledged the presence of a grapevine and 36% said they learned a lot from it. 82% of Organization B acknowledged the presence of the grapevine and 45% said that they learned a lot from it. It has been noted that gossip is commonplace in most organizations but in some it has "a positive, linking effect" and in others it has a "destructive and divisive" effect.[257]

Spatial Location of Departments

The purpose of this set of questions was to determine

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[257]Neuhauser, 161.

if the spatial location of departments and activities influenced the relationships of staff members from different departments. Van Maanen and Barley suggest that "differential interaction" between members of different departments may reflect their physical proximity and that this type of interaction may cause the development of subcultures.[258]

Respondents were asked whether the staff ate with the clients, as this often distinguishes one department from another. At the high-conflict Organization A, this was indeed the case. Only the residential staff was required to eat with the children. Other staff members ate in a separate dining room and were served different meals. Staff from other departments were served meals with more salads and other dishes that it was felt adults would prefer. Staff from other departments were not required to eat meals at the site and often chose not to. The dynamics in the adult dining room were mentioned by several respondents as an indication of interdepartmental relations: "People tend to sit with their department." "You can tell who is in and out by who they sit with." "You can see it all at lunchtime. People sit at separate tables with their cliques."

At Organization B, line staff from across departments ate with the clients, but administrative staff rarely did. This did not appear to be an issue.

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[258]Van Maanen and Barley, 37.

For both organizations, offices were primarily located in one building and were in close proximity to the children. At the high-conflict Organization A, the close proximity of offices seemed to exacerbate already tense relationships. This is in contrast to what was expected. Conventional wisdom suggests that staff who are closer in proximity to one another will have more frequent contact and thus more understanding of one another.[259] However, at Organization A this was not the case. For example, the nurses, whose office was located on the residential unit, felt the residential staff that they observed did not handle children appropriately and did not set limits adequately. The residential staff, on the other hand, felt that the nurses were unsupportive and did not help in ways they could. Perhaps neither perspective would have developed had they not been physically so close to each other.

One staff member from Organization A pointed out that departments with what was considered to be less power were all located in the basement. To him, being relegated to the basement was symbolic of how these departments were viewed. They included the maintenance, housekeeping and kitchen departments. Neuhauser describes this as the "upstairs-downstairs syndrome" and suggests that "for some reason, senior management is usually upstairs."[260]

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[259]Neuhauser, 153.

[260]Ibid., 152.

Characteristics of the Coordinating Group

The purpose of this group of questions was to ascertain if there was a group that functioned to coordinate tasks between departments and, if so, did this group have an impact on interdepartmental relations.

At the high-conflict Organization A, several groups were cited as having a coordinating function, including the treatment team and a supervisor's meeting. Several departments explained that they had departmental meetings and that department heads would act on issues raised there. However, no group served the function of facilitating discussion between staffs of different departments regarding their issues. "There is no meeting where gripes can be aired. No forum." Our meetings are "all about kids." "No group addresses staff conflict." "If issues are begun in the meeting they are channeled elsewhere."

A coordinating group that bridged issues across departments did not exist at the low conflict Organization B either. Any staff member of Organization B could call together a treatment team meeting at any time, but the focus of this meeting was on a specific client. Supervisor's meetings and departmental meetings were also cited as occurring at Organization B.

History of the Center

These questions are designed to ascertain perceptions

of the history of the center, including founders and previous administrators, to reveal how history may have shaped present-day interdepartmental relations and culture.

90% of the staff at both organizations had a fairly accurate idea of when each organization was founded. However, at the high-conflict Organization A, only one person (9%), the administrator, knew anything about how the facility was founded. At the low-conflict, Organization B, it was universally known how the facility was founded. 82% of the staff were able to supply details about the founder and her legacy.

In discussing previous administrations, the subject of "old timers" came up at both organizations. At the high-conflict Organization A, "old timers" were viewed as a rather potent negative force; they remained loyal to a previous administrator who now is an executive at the corporate office. At Organization B, "old timers" were also viewed as a problem. To deal with this issue, the administration consciously worked to eliminate them from the organization. "Old timers were a problem. Two years ago we had a planned turnover of 50%."

Many of the "old timers" at the high-conflict Organization A have been there for 15-20 years and remember quite well the various administrators. In the 21 years that Organization A has been operating they have had five administrators. This is in contrast to the low-conflict

Organization B, where in 113 years they have only had four administrators, each "hand picked" by the preceding administrator starting with the founder.

At the high-conflict Organization A there was mystique surrounding the previous administrator who now holds a corporate position. The administrative staff views many of those who continue to be loyal to him as "troublemakers" because they won't accept direction from them and will go over their heads to this executive to appeal a decision. "He is out, but in," one administrator commented.

Several respondents discussed a meeting this executive held some years ago when a union was trying to organize the staff. He met with the staff to air issues but did not include the administrators in the meeting. They "took offense." They felt that they were working on teamwork and he sabotaged it. Another administrator felt that it sent "a funny message" and that it reinforced an existing view that the present administration can't fire staff because they always have the recourse of appealing to this executive. They continue to feel that "people don't feel as though they can talk to administrative staff but they can talk to him." Other administrators said, "people that have been here for years will bypass existing staff and go to him," and "people 'til this day, when there is a problem, call him." Other staff members, however, viewed this meeting positively: "He had a very good meeting where he solicited input from child

care...it was a good session."

The presence of this executive continues to live on. One administrator said, "We talk about ***'s ghost." Two people said, "He is like Daddy." They described him: "liking to take care of everyone," "liking to be liked," "he was loved." He continues to be a reference point. One administrator said that staff members still "commonly" refer to things he said, "Well, *** said..." and refer to his policies.

In addition to his paternalistic and caring style, this previous administrator seemed to be viewed so positively also because he presided over the facility in a difficult time and was viewed as "bringing order from chaos." He is credited with developing the organization from a principally custodial model to a therapeutic one.

At low-conflict Organization B, organization values were traced to their historic roots. "Knowing the individual was important. Wanting to meet individual needs carries forth today." Similarly another respondent said, "it was a person-served focus." "There was a spirit of innovation that carries forth today." "Previous administrators have been heavily involved in a research orientation. This is important today." "The message I get from the history of the school is that we look at the total person, so it affects how we think about the work." Another person said, "Our history has affected our mission to be

goal-directed in a humanitarian way."

The history at Organization B, in addition to inculcating important values, was also motivating to the staff in the face of challenging work. "The history of the school is inspirational," commented one respondent. Another said, "The basic principles are the same. It is the reason why people work here today." And another said that it was important "to continue the tradition."

Perceptions of Departmental Function

The purpose of this set of questions was to understand how the members of the various departments in the two organizations view themselves, how they think they are viewed by others and how they function within the larger organization.

When respondents describe their views of the functions of their own departments, there was a striking difference in perspectives. 73% of the respondents from the high-conflict Organization A defined their tasks as they relate to the day-to-day operation, whereas 91% of the staff from the low conflict Organization B defined their tasks in terms of how they serve the children and the operating goals of the larger organization. For example at Organization A, the maintenance supervisor described his function as, "Building (care), safety, security, appearance, transportation, maintenance of vehicles, water, heat, light, garbage,

playground, ordering, shipping, stocking supplies, purchasing, landscaping." At Organization B, the maintenance supervisor described his job: "Very important as a support part of the organization. We are hands on for direct care." Similarly, a residential supervisor at Organization A described her function: "Hire; fire; staffing; supervise the running of the floor; maintenance; haircut money; paperwork; clothing; personnel." In contrast, at Organization B a staff member in a similar role described her function as: "To help children become as independent as possible and live as close to a normal life as possible."

When discussing their department's role in the center, 45% of the staff at the high-conflict Organization A had a distinctly self-important view of their department's role and felt that without their department the organization could not function. For example, the nurse at Organization A described her department as "the heart" and went on to say, "If the heart is not there the body won't function." A residential staff member described his department as "the backbone." He further explained, "We set the tone for everyone else." The residential supervisor described her department as "the core." She said her department "allows things to work." "If we didn't have child care I don't know if this place would work." The housekeeping supervisor saw her department: "Very important. What we do, nobody else

wants to do." She went on to explain, "Without us they can't even flush the toilet--we hand out the tissue!"

None of the staff at Organization A saw their department's role as more ancillary and supporting the larger organization, whereas 82% of the staff at Organization B did. Organization B respondents made statements such as, "We provide related services." "We provide support." "We provide diagnostic and therapeutic intervention." "We develop goals for the program."

When describing how they thought other members of the organization viewed their departments, 67% of the staff of the high-conflict Organization A felt that others judged their work in a negative way or inaccurately. They said: "They don't understand how extremely busy this department is." "They make negative comments about how we intervene with kids. They really don't have a sense of what we do." "They don't have a positive view. They think we make their life more difficult." "They don't think we are as good as they are." "They think we are robots that can keep on taking whatever is thrown our way."

At the low-conflict Organization B, 67% of the staff either felt that they didn't know how others viewed their department or felt that their department was viewed positively. "My understanding is that they see our department as a positive place to work." "They see us as extremely helpful, appreciative." "I think this department

is well respected, hard working, knowledgeable, accountable." "It seems like a positive relationship. They view us as responsive." "They see us as an integral part of the center."

When discussing interdepartmental relations at Organization A, responses ranged from "Overall very good;" "Could be better;" "Improving;" "Not too good;" to "There isn't any (interdepartmental relations). It is like being segregated down South." Responses also ranged at Organization B from "Could be better. It is segregated;" "Good;" "Generally good;" "Improving;" "Relations range from terrific to OK;" "Depends on who is the head of the department." At Organization B, responses ranged but were more positive 46% of the time, whereas at Organization A they were only positive 18% of the time.

Between the two organizations there was quite a difference in how the clients were viewed. At the low-conflict Organization B, 73% of the staff spoke passionately about really liking the clients. "They are why I am here." "99.9% I adore. They are wonderful, unique, needy learners." "I love the kids." "The clients in general are the best part of the organization." "They grow on you. I learn a lot from them." "I enjoy them." "I like them all." This was in contrast to Organization A where only 18% of the staff commented that they liked the clients. "They are the greatest, like family." "They are great. I love 'em."

55% of the respondents at the high-conflict Organization A complained that the children were overindulged materially and not taught respect. "They are spoiled and pampered." "They are given too much and it is not earned." "They are given too much; They don't have a picture of the real world." "We give the children too much here. It is a set up for when they go home." "We are teaching them that they need material things to be happy."

When reflecting on the organization as a whole, 82% of the respondents at the low-conflict Organization B spoke with zeal. "The organization is doing a wonderful job." "We do a great job." "It is run by competent people. It deserves its good reputation." "It is prestigious; well respected in the community; it is in the vanguard." "Its an excellent facility." "Its a very crucial environment." "It does a good service for the clients and the community." "It is very good. The reason everyone is here is to help."

In contrast, only 18% of the respondents at the high-conflict Organization B spoke of the organization with this type of zeal. "Its the best place for any kid in this type of situation." "It provides an important service." 36% spoke of it as "having a long way to go" or that it "could be better."

At both organizations, respondents universally felt that a goal for their department was to contribute to the effectiveness of the total organization.

View of the Organization

This set of questions attempted to a ascertain perceptions of the larger organization, including the organizational mission, policies and the professional orientation of staff.

When discussing whether a professional orientation dominated the center, a minority of the staff (27%) at the high-conflict Organization A felt that most orientations at the center were subservient to a clinical perspective. One person specified "social work," noting that all the clinicians and two administrators were MSW's. Most respondents did not have an opinion about this.

At Organization B, 45% of the staff suggested that a behavioral approach dominated the center.

At the high-conflict Organization A, few respondents (27%) had an articulated view of the organizational mission. Typical answers were "to take care of children." Whereas, at the low conflict Organization B, 67% of the staff were able to articulate the organizational mission and include concepts regarding the types of children served, what is the goal in general for these children and what types of services are provided.

At both organizations, orientation seemed to be the primary vehicle for the staff to learn about the organizational mission. At the high-conflict Organization A, 36% said that staff learn about the mission through

orientation. At Organization B, 82% said that staff learned about the mission through orientation.

Staff at both organizations felt that there had not been a change in the organizational mission. A minority at both facilities recognized that the mission had broadened through expansion over the years.

In discussing situations where staff members may have to act contrary to official policy, respondents at both organizations said that this did occur: 27% at the high-conflict Organization A and 45% at the low-conflict Organization B. At both organizations, fairly minor deviations from official policy were cited, usually involving enforcing rules with clients.

Interdepartmental Perceptions

This set of questions was designed to ascertain how respondents view interdepartmental relationships.

73% of the respondents at the high-conflict Organization A felt that some staff members had it easier. Some cited specific administrative discrepancies, such as the night staff being allowed to sleep for two hours on the job. Others felt that some had it easier because of friendships with key people. Some felt that staff members who had been there a long time had it easier because they were not held as accountable.

54% of the staff at the low-conflict Organization B

felt that some had it easier. However, in contrast to Organization A where staff members mostly credited staff characteristics, such as personal relationships and tenure, at Organization B, client characteristics were mostly credited for creating easier jobs. 36% said that certain staff had it easier because the particular group of clients that they were working with was considered to be easier. 18% of the staff said certain departments had it easier because of "fewer client contact hours."

At both organizations, respondents felt that staff from different departments at times failed to understand their point of view. At both organizations, respondents also felt that there were times that agreed-on treatment plans were not followed. 27% of the time at Organization A this failure was blamed on the residential staff. At Organization B, no particular department was blamed by anyone, but 27% of the staff said the failure was caused by a person, rather than a department.

It was acknowledged at both organizations that some groups had better schedules but there was no consensus at either site about which group that was.

Informal Relationships

This group of questions was designed to reveal the nature of informal relationships at each organization, including how prevalent they are and how they affect

interdepartmental relationships.

Respondents at both organizations universally felt that they regularly saw staff from other departments, with the majority feeling that they saw others daily.

Staff of both organizations acknowledged the presence of cliques. Cliques at the high-conflict Organization A were not viewed as developing around work groups and were seen as a negative force. Cliques were cited as occurring because many people at the center were related to each other, for racial reasons, and because some groups lived in the same town. Friendship groups are often the most powerful groups in an organization. Staff often consistently honor the rules and values of the friendship group over the organization.[261] This appeared to be the case at Organization A.

In addition, the clique seemed to be comprised of one racial group and many members of this clique lived in the same community. Work groups can take on special importance when they overlap with community groups. Their community affiliations often have a powerful influence over their attitudes about work and each other.[262]

Respondents felt that this particular minority group at the center was a clique that represented an especially negative force. This group was characterized as "a group of

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[261]Neuhauser, 182.

[262]Neuhauser, 190.

people that are not doing their job and complain about those that do; there is a group of people that feel ostracized because they are doing their job." Another comment: "I have never seen a place like this; at the last place I worked everyone pitched in and helped out one another. Here people say 'it is not my job.'"

At the low-conflict Organization B, cliques were universally viewed as occurring around various work groups. Where cliques occurred across work groups they were seen as age-related peer groups. 27% commented that the younger staff went out together. Van Maanen, in a study of the social drinking behavior of London's Metropolitan Police Department found that such after-work, social activity typically was patterned in organizational and occupational contexts (for example, by age, task, gender, rank, shift, location and so on).[263] The fact that the younger set of staff socialized after work at Organization B is congruent with this finding. In addition, at Organization B 56% said these informal social groups centered around organized organizational activities, such as softball games, volley ball games, special Olympics and dinner dances.

When discussing how the informal groups affected the way work got done, 67% at the high-conflict Organization A suggested that the cliques contributed to adversarial working relationships. "The gossip resulting from the

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[263]Van Maanen and Barley, 34.

cliques pits shift against shift and unit against unit." "It makes it hard to do your job. You try to go about your work and you always seem to be offending someone just by doing your job." "People walk around and not talk to people for no reason." "People have loyalties to their friends or relatives, it makes it harder on decisions that affect the kids." "The back-stabbing and rumors screws everything up." "It affects work a lot. When issues crop up, people will fuel it or pair off and isolate themselves."

In contrast, 67% at the low conflict Organization B saw the informal groups as basically positive. "It makes a better work environment." "It has increased an understanding of each others' roles." "It encourages a support or a group mentality." "Its mostly positive." One person suggested that cliques "were a problem three years ago" but they are "slowly diminishing." Neuhauser has observed that staff can use their knowledge of one another to be helpful and supportive as they seem to be in Organization B or to "spread tribal warfare in the Organization" as they seem to in Organization A.[264]

Resources

This set of questions was designed to determine if the allocation of resources was a source of competition or conflict for members of different departments.

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[264]Neuhauser, 191.

A minority at both organizations felt that how money was spent was an issue between departments. At the high-conflict Organization A, 18% said that it was an issue and specifically stated that the issue for them was that, at times, certain activities for the clients were denied because they were deemed to be "too excessive." A larger issue at Organization A was that money was wasted. 36% of the staff suggested that money was wasted either because of poor planning or staff abuse.

At the low-conflict Organization B, 36% felt that money was an issue between departments. 36% felt that the discrepancy of staff salaries across departments was an issue. At the time of the interviews, staff salaries was an area of particular contention. According to the staff, they had been promised a 5% increase and, at the last moment, it had been changed to 3%.

A minority (9%) of staff at both organizations felt that they were in competition with other departments for available resources.

Issues Surrounding Children

This set of questions was designed to ascertain whether issues about children was a focus for conflict between departments.

At the high-conflict Organization A, 73% said that conflicts occurred between departments over children. The

reason cited was discipline issues, described as "style differences," "inconsistencies," or "a difference in values or morals; they think they should be able to spank and cuss at kids." The conflicts seemed to occur most often with the residential department.

At the low-conflict Organization B, 18% felt that conflicts occurred about children. The majority indicated that this did not happen, suggesting that there was a level of trust between staff and a feeling of accountability for staff, that if something inappropriate did happen "it would not be tolerated."

It was universally felt at both organizations that admissions and discharges was a recurring issue for staff and there were often differences between departments. Respondents at Organization B explained that sometimes members of one department feel that they can program for a child and members of another department disagree. Organization A respondents said that sometimes staff want "to boot out a difficult child" and others feel that the child "can be worked with." Both said that these issues were often handled in meetings. Both complained that they did not have enough input into who is accepted and that often those decisions seemed to be financially driven.

Decision-making

This set of questions investigates whether decision-

making affects the perception of interdepartmental conflict.

45% of respondents at both organizations believed that organizational decisions were dominated by the views of a particular department, but there was no consensus at either organization about which department that was. Three or more departments were cited.

Staff at both organizations felt that decisions were made variously: by administration, by committee, within departments. There seemed to be a feeling at both organizations that staff is able to participate in decision-making, including decisions concerning children. Staff from both organizations felt that the primary vehicle for decision-making about children was the team.

The majority of respondents at both organizations felt that some departments make independent decisions: 63% at Organization A felt this was the case, and 73% at Organization B.

Perception of Power

This set of questions was designed to discover whether perceptions of power contributed to the relations of the staff of different departments.

When discussing who comes out on top in power struggles, 67% of the high-conflict Organization A responded that a particular group did, with 27% feeling that it was the administration and the residential staff (18%) feeling

that it was the "kids." It is notable that residential staff apparently feel that they are in competition with the clients in power struggles.

At the low-conflict Organization B, 36% felt that a particular group came out on top in power struggles, with 27% citing that it was the administration.

At both organizations, a majority (54% at Organization A and 73% at Organization B) felt that administrative staff were the people that had the most power.

There was no consensus at either organization whether one department had more power than another.

Views of the Administrative Staff

This set of questions was designed to ascertain administrative views on interdepartmental conflict and its management.

Administrative staff at both organizations readily acknowledged the presence of interdepartmental conflict at their respective organizations. At Organization A, the administrator said, "There is always conflict regarding who is responsible for what." At Organization B, the administrator said, "It exists."

The administrator at the high-conflict Organization A attempted to deal with the conflict at her organization by setting up a meeting in which members of different departments would have an opportunity to resolve some of the

conflicts and create a climate of "ongoing communication." She also explained, "When issues erupt I have an open door policy. I refer back to their supervisor and if necessary I meet with the person and their supervisor."

The administrator at Organization B said that they "work at improving" interdepartmental conflict. He said that specific directors of various departments focused on improving relationships. He said that they purposely increased the contacts that staff from different departments had with another. "Communication is essential." Not unlike the administrator from Organization A, the administrator at Organization B said that when there are conflicts he handles it: "I address it head on. I start by calling the Director of the unit. I hope to facilitate good communication." Also like the administrator from Organization A, he has a weekly director's meeting and expects that information will be disseminated from that meeting. He said that he and his directors have an "open door" policy. When conflict arises, he said, "I accept a lot of input, make a decision and solve it. Some people will be unhappy. The decision I make is driven by the needs of the children, not the staff. I expect it to be accepted in that vein. I will be respected because they know the decision was made based on what is best for kids."

When discussing whether the administrator felt that it was important to agree to each party's view to some degree

in the resolution of conflicts, the administrator from Organization A felt that it was important that different viewpoints are "heard" and the administrator from Organization B felt that it was important that different viewpoints are "validated." Both suggested that giving "respect" to the different parties was important.

When discussing the nature of the interdepartmental conflicts at their respective organizations, the administrator from Organization A described the clinicians and residential staff as having the "major problems." She suggested that neither party adequately "appreciates what the other does." Similarly, the administrator at Organization B cited the majority of the conflicts as occurring between the residential and educational staff (which at this organization includes the clinical staff), with neither party adequately "knowing enough about what the other does."

Both administrators feel that they confront differences of opinion in the resolution of conflict, but differed slightly when asked if they would force a resolution if necessary. The administrator at the high-conflict Organization A felt that she would say, "This is the rule," suggesting that if staff didn't like it they "can go above me or file a grievance." The administrator at Organization B said, "For my style the description 'force' is too strong. Once or twice I ordered a decision. I

emphasize the process. If you have data, and after reasoning, usually people come around. If it comes down to it and a conflict does have to be resolved, I will make a decision." Administrators at both organizations anticipate interdepartmental conflict and considered interdepartmental conflict to be a "normal thing." The administrator at Organization B said, "Conflict is pretty healthy. Any time that you have a group of professionals that care deeply about what they are doing there is going to be some conflict."

While there were many similarities in how the two administrators viewed and handled interdepartmental conflict, some differences do emerge. At the high-conflict Organization A, the administrator tends to think of interdepartmental conflicts as issues around staff discipline, whereas the administrator of the low-conflict Organization B thinks of them as philosophical issues. The administrator from Organization A believes the issues are derived from rule infractions and individual responsibilities: "I would enforce the rule." And just as staff discipline issues are handled, "If they don't like it they can go above me or file a grievance."

The administrator at Organization B believes that interdepartmental conflicts occur because feelings around children generate differences of opinion: "Whenever you have several people working with an individual you are going to

have opinions that may lead to conflict." He sees the conflicts as "emotionally based" because people "care deeply." When resolving interdepartmental conflicts he makes a decision that takes into account the needs of the children.

The way that the administrator from the low-conflict Organization B handles interdepartmental conflicts is related to the philosophical orientation of the organization, behavioral analysis. He says, that because conflict is often "emotionally-based," that he expects staff "to come prepared with the facts and data. This is a data-based program." He believes, "The more empirical data people have available, the more people will have thought through the issues." The philosophical orientation of the organization seems to give him a framework that is useful to him in his approach to interdepartmental conflicts.

Often the technical means or "tools" people use to do their work becomes part of the culture. Tools such as the use of behavioral analysis at Organization B shape the way the organizational world is viewed and habituates their practice. Behavioral analysis has become a tool that mediates human activities at Organization B in the pursuit of organizational goals.[265]

At the high-conflict Organization A where the previous administrator was a source of conflict between the staff and

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[265]Dubinskas, 191.

the administration, the administrator explained that the previous administrator was trained in psychoanalysis and she believed that his paternalistic style was derived from that philosophical orientation. "He believes that the staff must feel nurtured in order for them to be able to nurture the kids." While suggesting that she could see the "validity" in this approach and that she "tries" to take this approach when she can, she also felt that it was this legacy that contributed to many of the issues that she presently had to deal with. At this organization, the presence of a philosophical orientation to interdepartmental conflict contributes to the conflicts and does not provide the helpful framework that it does at Organization B.

Summary

Salient characteristics that appear to distinguish the high-conflict organization from the low-conflict organization are: the homogeneity of staff, communication between staff, spatial location of offices, history, organizational mission, perceptions of departmental function, perceptions of interdepartmental relations, informal relationships and views concerning children.

Characteristics that do not appear to distinguish the high-conflict organization from the low-conflict organization are: characteristics of the coordinating group, resources, decision-making and perceptions of power.

CHAPTER EIGHT

RESULTS OF THE STUDY: THE CULTURES

Both organizations have interdepartmental conflicts that are readily acknowledged. Even at the low-conflict organization, which had the least amount of conflict of ten organizations surveyed and was significantly different from the high-conflict organization that was studied, interdepartmental conflict was recognized. This seems to validate Pondy's notion that organizations are really "conflict systems" rather than cooperative systems that have conflicts.[266] Van Maanen and Barley also suggest that tensions between groups are "facts of life." They feel that these intergroup conflicts are "suspiciously tinged by telltale hues of cultural processes."[267]

What is vastly different between the two organizations is the perceptions of the conflicts. The same organizational phenomena that are perceived negatively at the high-conflict organization are viewed positively at the low-conflict organization. It appears that what causes this

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[266]Pondy, "Organizational Conflict: Concepts and Models," 301.

[267]Van Maanen and Barley, 48.

difference is the culture of the two organizations.

Organization A: An Embattled Culture

Many factors seem to contribute to the different cultures at the two organizations, with no single factor in and of itself explaining how or why the culture developed or functions. Perhaps the most obvious difference is the contexts of the two organizations. The high-conflict Organization A is located in a predominantly lower class, somewhat rundown neighborhood. The facility itself, a simple brick building, is institutional and offers few amenities. This is in stark contrast to the low-conflict Organization B, located in a solidly middle-class neighborhood, which is predominantly white collar and where the buildings are attractive, some even opulent. While it is hard to imagine that location and buildings in and of themselves would create a culture of conflict, it does seem that somehow they contribute to it or perhaps reinforce it. The high-conflict organization has a context that lends an aura of embattlement to the organization. The low-conflict organization has a context that is almost serene.

Perhaps the next most salient difference is the demographic make-up of the two organizations. At the high-conflict Organization A, a subculture seems to exist, created by the high number of minority group staff members at the center (71%). Van Maanen and Barley define organizational subculture as:

> a subset of an organization's members who interact regularly with one another, identify themselves as a distinct group within the organization, share a set of problems commonly defined to be the problems of all, and routinely take action on the basis of collective understandings unique to the group.[268]

Possibly further exacerbating interdepartmental relations is the fact that the residential department is almost totally dominated by the minority subculture. 88% of the residential staff are minority group members, in contrast with only 10% of the clinical department, 34% of the administrators and 65% of the other staff. This minority group is cohesive due to the similar interests, experiences and backgrounds of the members. Many are related to one another or are friends outside of work, serving to solidify the subculture.

The fact that this minority group is concentrated in the residential department makes the transference of their group identity to their department likely, creating in the process a powerful departmental identity prone to clash with other groups. The tendency of an ethnocentric subculture to "take for granted one's own cultural view and to evaluate others' behavior in terms of it, increases the tendency of misunderstanding and conflicts to occur."[269] A pernicious outgrowth of this dynamic is explained by Allison and Herlocker. They explain that when there is a strong ingroup

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[268]Ibid., 34.

[269]Gregory, 359-60.

and outgroup split, a task that is successfully completed by members of the ingroup will be viewed as occurring because of the ingroup's internal qualities, whereas when outgroup members succeed it is viewed as being related to external factors. For failures, the perceived locus of causality is reversed.[270] Thus, the existence of ingroup and outgroups is self perpetuating and promotes divisiveness.

Mintzberg suggests that when departmental subcultures develop, group goals and identities become all-important at the expense of cooperation with other groups.[271] This phenomenon seems to operate at the high-conflict organization, where a perception of departmental role is distinctly self-important. At the low-conflict organization this does not occur. Departmental roles were viewed as more ancillary and supportive of the larger organization. When staff from the high-conflict organization described their departmental functions, they described their day-to-day tasks and not how their functions supported the larger goals of the organization, as did members of the low-conflict organization.

Trice and Beyer suggested that the ethnocentricity of subcultures is likely to lead to "such phenomena as passing

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[270]Scott T. Allison and Caryn E. Herlocker, "Constructing Impressions in Demographically Diverse Organizational Settings," American Behavioral Scientist 37 (March 1994): 641.

[271]Mintzberg, The Structure of Organizations.

the buck or blaming the victim."[272] "Blaming the victim" does seem to occur at the high-conflict Organization A, where staff are negative about the clients and feel that they are "spoiled" and overindulged.

In contrast to Organization A, the low-conflict Organization B is markedly homogeneous, with only 15% of the total staff belonging to minority groups and no department dominated by minorities. Such homogeneity more than likely contributes to a culture characterized by a consistency of understanding and values across the staff. There is some indication that this organization "homogenized" its staff in a planned way, although there is no indication that this was done for racial or ethnic reasons, but rather to eliminate those staff that did not fit in. One administrator clearly said that several years ago they had a "planned turnover of 50%" and that since then they had far fewer conflicts between departments.

The subculture at the high-conflict Organization A is acutely felt by staff. Rituals are exhibited in the lunch room, with the different groups sitting separately from one another. Cliques that are primarily racially derived contribute to an adversarial work environment and create obstacles to job performance. Clique members come from the same community, socialize outside of work, and many are related to one another or dating one another. Louis

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[272]Trice and Beyer, The Culture of Work Organizations, 2.

explains that a "locus of culture" is any group regardless of whether the members come from the same or different unit, and that this group is often defined outside of work, such as a group of staff from different departments who get together regularly for bridge.[273] At the embattled Organization A the subculture seems to be strengthened by the outside activities of the members.

Staff members feel that other departments judge their work negatively or inaccurately at Organization A. They feel that members of other departments "have it easier." Most children's issues concerned staff from the residential department, where the subculture predominates, and differences of "values and morals" generated the conflicts. Van Maanen and Barley explain that subcultures arise when members develop "competing ideologies" regarding, for example, "the best way to treat particular clients."[274] In a study of probation officers, Van Maanen and Barley found that subcultures developed around those officers who viewed their role primarily as authoritarian and those who viewed their role as primarily therapeutic.[275]

At Organization A, there was a split around the

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[273]Meryl Reis Louis, "An Investigator's Guide to Workplace Culture," Organizational Culture, ed. Peter J. Frost, Larry F. Moore, Meryl Reis Louis, Craig C. Lundberg, Joanne Martin (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1985), 79.

[274]Van Maanen and Barley, 44.

[275]Ibid., 45.

appropriateness of various discipline measures, with the minority subculture feeling that corporal punishment was appropriate and other staff viewing such measures as abusive. While it may seem obvious that corporal punishment by today's social standards is not allowable, this phenomenon seems to fall into the "contracultural movement" described by Van Maanen and Barley. Most subcultures, Van Maanen and Barley explain, accept the organizational mission and do not overtly conflict with it. This occurs so that no subculture finds itself at odds with the remainder of the organization.

However, when the subculture is large and draws from various subgroups, the concern of being at odds with the larger organization is less an issue and a contraculture may develop. At the embattled Organization A, such a contraculture seems to be operating, which explains the extreme view of the subculture around discipline. "In a contracultural movement, behavior that is explicitly forbidden or viewed as improper by most outsiders is sanctioned within the group."[276]

In contrast, at the low-conflict Organization B, staff members felt that other departments viewed their work positively. They recognized that cliques existed but did not feel that they disrupted the work environment. In fact, they believed that cliques actually enhanced it. Children's

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[276]Ibid., 45.

issues did not generate conflict because there was a level of trust and accountability among the staff.

History contributes powerfully to the culture of Organization A. The previous administrator has reached almost mythic proportions. He is viewed as a savior, having brought the facility out of chaos to order. He is the reference point "for the way things are done." Stories live on about things he said and did. These stories have become a foundation for shared knowledge that informs staff about how things should be done today--often in conflict with the present administration's views. His presence haunts all that goes on. Weick suggests that a change in administration often makes culture more conscious because people realize how they have always done things when someone tells them to do things differently.[277]

The present administration is immobilized by this situation. They cannot compete with the myth of this man. Every change they try to make is discounted; conflicts cannot be successfully resolved because solutions run counter to "the way things are done." The administrators have been reduced to enforcing rules and the staff to filing grievances. The ideology promulgated by the former administrator is at the core of the culture of embattlement

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[277]Karl E. Weick, "The Significance of Corporate Culture," Organizational Culture, ed. Peter J. Frost, Larry F. Moore, Meryl Reis Louis, Craig C. Lundberg, Joanne Martin (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1985), 386.

and is clearly at variance with the views of the current administrator.

The "old timers" seem to form a subculture at Organization A. They are viewed as "troublemakers" and remain overtly loyal to the previous administrator. Zald suggests that "old timers" often perceive more organizational conflict than others because they have been more sensitized to the issues.[278]

Communication at Organization A is described as "terrible" and "nonexistent." Van Maanen and Barley indicate that this is symptomatic of subcultures characterized by ideological differences like Organization A.

> Occasionally, antagonisms between proponents of competing paradigms becomes so intense that members of the two camps cease to communicate and become, for all practical purposes, two subcultures delineated mainly by their scorn for one another.[279]

Organization B: A Culture of Caring

In addition to the serene context and homogenous staff, the culture at Organization B is profoundly influenced by the organization's history and mission.

The importance of the founder permeates everything. The life-sized sculpture of her in the garden at the

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[278]Zald, 22-23.

[279]Van Maanen and Barley, 44.

entrance-way creates an impression that she symbolically continues to oversee what goes on and that her value of caring lives on. All staff members speak of her in formidable terms, recognizing that she was a pioneer in the field, caring deeply for those that had been considered unworthy before her and innovating treatment methods. Dandridge says that where symbols work it is because people choose to believe, and as they allow themselves to be influenced by a symbol, they are not only inspired but also can be managed through it.[280] In another organization, a Catholic health care facility, Neuhauser observed that the statue of the founding sisters in the midst of well-tended rose bushes had a similar impact and were symbolic reminders of the organization's values of "caring, growth and sisterhood."[281]

The importance of the founder in the process of developing a culture has been noted before.[282] Kimberly assessed the impact of a founder on a new medical school:

Whether one chooses to call him an entrepreneur, a

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[280]Thomas C. Dandridge, "The Life Stages of a Symbol: When Symbols Work and When They Can't," Organizational Culture, ed. Peter J. Frost, Larry F. Moore, Meryl Reis Louis, Craig C. Lundberg, Joanne Martin (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1985), 153.

[281]Neuhauser, 56.

[282]Joanne Martin, Sim B. Sitkin, Michael Boehm, "Founders and the Elusiveness of Cultural Legacy," Organizational Culture, ed. Peter J. Frost, Larry F. Moore, Meryl Reis Louis, Craig C. Lundberg, Joanne Martin (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1985), 100.

> leader, or a guru, the fact is that his personality, his dreams, his flaws, and his talents were largely responsible for the school's early structure and results.[283]

Schein extends this point of view in an analysis of the impact of three entrepreneurs on the organizations they founded. He concluded that the founders' personal assumptions became shared by the organization's employees and remained so, even when firms grew dramatically, modified aspects of their businesses and changed leaders.[284]

The legacy of the founder at Organization B reaches out to sanction the current administrator as he is in a sense a direct descendent--each administrator a hand-picked member of the dynasty. Neuhauser has observed that organizations that are most successful at maintaining overarching organizational values over time are those that have managed to consistently select new leaders who are faithfully committed to the same values as those of the organization.[285]

The relevance of the founder in the culture of Organization B is in stark contrast to Organization A, where the founder was virtually unknown.

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[283]John R. Kimberly, "Issues in the Creation of Organizations: Initiation, Innovation, and Institutionalization," Academy of Management Journal 22 (Sept 1979): 454.

[284]Edgar H. Schein, "The Role of the Founder in Creating Organizational Culture," Organizational Dynamics (Summer, 1983): 13-28.

[285]Ibid., 43.

At Organization B, organizational values can be traced to their historic roots. Staff readily recognize that the organization's focus on the individual, the interest in research and innovation and humanitarian values are all inherited from their founder. Louis indicates that historical penetration indicates stability over time of a set of shared understandings. This stability suggests that those understandings are deeply embedded in the culture.[286]

Martin et al believe that organizational members use history as "raw material" to mold and form a culture. This is done as accounts of the organization's history, reflecting differential attention, selective perceptions and incomplete recall are interpreted and "ossified" in stories, legends and sagas and in so doing socially constructing a new reality.[287]

Not only does the history of Organization B inculcate important organizational values, but it also motivates staff in the face of challenging work. They find it "inspirational" and a reason to work there. They consciously want to continue the tradition.

Similarly, the organizational mission communicates important values at Organization B, but few Organization A

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[286]Meryl Reis Louis, "An Investigator's Guide to Workplace Culture," Organizational Culture, ed. Peter J. Frost, Larry F. Moore, Meryl Reis Louis, Craig C. Lundberg, Joanne Martin (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1985), 81.

[287]Martin, Sitkin, and Boehm, 103.

staff derived much meaning from their mission. At Organization B, the mission is more consistently communicated. A majority learned about the mission at orientation, in contrast with only a minority at Organization A.

The history and mission at Organization B instill in the staff a sense of organizational pride. They speak with zeal about the "wonderful job" the organization does, its prestige, its competent people and characterize it is as "in the vanguard." This organizational pride serves a uniting function: "The reason everyone is here to work."

A culture of caring at Organization B seems to extend to how the staff views the clients. They speak passionately of the clients, whereas at Organization A views of the clients were primarily negative. The administrator at Organization B uses this culture of caring as an administrative tool. He speaks of resolving conflicts based on what is good for the clients and knows that if he does that he will be respected.

The tradition of behavioral analysis contributes to the culture at Organization B. It is a philosophical orientation that crosses departmental boundaries and provides a cohesive focus. This orientation pervades all aspects of the organization. It is made explicit by the language used: staff members universally speak of the "data" and believe that their decisions are "data driven." It

provides a framework for the administrator to resolve conflicts as he demands that each party back up its position with data. Such a clear ideology, which is recognized and articulated by organizational members the way it is at Organization B, served to concretize the culture of caring by building consensus among organizational members across departments and aiding in problem solving between departments. This is in contrast to Organization A, where ideology contributes to interdepartmental conflict and competing ideologies characterize the culture of embattlement.

Summary

Both organizations are, in Pondy's terms, "conflict systems." The way each deals with conflict is determined by its physical setting, its institutional history and its ideology. The ancient Greeks said that character is fate; in organizations, culture is character.

CHAPTER NINE:

FINDINGS

Testing the Hypotheses

In this chapter, the results presented in previous chapters are discussed and interpreted in the context of the research questions and hypotheses. The study was designed to test the following hypotheses:

If administrators are unaware of interdepartmental conflicts, then the conflicts will be more extensive and have a more serious impact.

If administrators have set up managerial ways of handling interdepartmental conflicts, then the organizational culture will support cooperative relations between departments.

Interdepartmental conflict is usually an "open secret" and therefore, it is rarely addressed head-on by administrators.

When there is a greater reliance on formal communication between departments, then fewer opportunities

for misperception and conflict between departments will occur, and when organizations depend on informal communication there will be greater conflict between departments.

Administrators will be largely unaware of their organizational cultures and, therefore, will not have mechanisms established to influence them.

Hypothesis One: If administrators are unaware of interdepartmental conflicts, then the conflicts will be more extensive and have a more serious impact.

It is a commonly held notion that conflict needs to be "recognized and dealt with" and that when it is "ignored or denied it will fester and erupt later in more serious ways."[288]

Administrators at both the high-conflict and low-conflict organizations, however, seemed to be aware of the interdepartmental conflicts and readily acknowledged their presence. At Organization A, the administrator said, "There is always conflict regarding who is responsible for what." At Organization B, the administrator said, "It exists."

Administrators at both the high-conflict and low-conflict organizations anticipate interdepartmental conflict and consider it to be a "normal thing." The administrator

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[288]Neuhauser, 4.

at the low-conflict organization said, "Conflict is pretty healthy. Any time that you have a group of professionals that care deeply about what they are doing there is going to be some conflict."

What seems to be more important than being aware of the interdepartmental conflicts is being aware of the organizational culture. Neither administrator was consciously aware of their organizational culture and how it affected interdepartmental conflict. At the high-conflict Organization A, the administrator was aware that staff members were overly reliant on the previous administrator and aware of the problems this caused. What she did not understand was the organization's culture and how this administrator was a symbol of that culture.

The culture literally controlled how organizational members behaved, as well as how she herself behaved. Organizational members would not accept change and would not cooperate with one another, citing that "this is not how *** did it" or "not how we do things here." At the same time, the administrator was reduced to enforcing rules or telling staff members to file a grievance as the only ways she could get them to accept her leadership.

She was clearly aware of the tensions among departments and had an understanding of the issues. What she did not understand was how the subculture of her organization was contributing to interdepartmental strife.

Similarly, the administrator at Organization B seemed unaware of how the culture of caring at his organization contributed to better interdepartmental relations. Thus, what seems to exacerbate interdepartmental relations at the high-conflict Organization A is not that the administrator is less aware of the conflicts, but rather that she is less aware of the organization's culture. The low-conflict organization is fortunate to have a culture that facilitates better interdepartmental relations.

Hypothesis Two: If administrators have set up managerial ways of handling interdepartmental conflicts, then the organizational culture will support cooperative relations between departments.

As previously stated, administrators at both the high-conflict and the low-conflict organizations were consciously aware of interdepartmental conflicts. They also both had established managerial ways of handling conflict, which seemed striking similar. Both administrators spoke of attempting to manage conflict by holding meetings that included members from various departments. At the high-conflict Organization A, staff members readily acknowledged that communication and interdepartmental relations had improved since the administrator had formalized these meetings. The administrator at Organization B had worked to improve interdepartmental conflict by increasing the contact that staff members had with different department members.

Both administrators said that they have weekly directors meetings where department heads are encouraged to address interdepartmental issues and disseminate information to members of their departments.

Both administrators suggested that they confront differences when interdepartmental conflicts arise. The administrator at the low-conflict organization said, "I address it head on."

Both administrators suggested that they have an "open door" policy. The administrator at the high-conflict Organization A said, "When issues erupt I have an open door policy. I refer back to the supervisor and, if necessary, I meet with the person and their supervisor."

Not surprisingly, each administrator had a different managerial style. While both felt that they confronted conflicts, the administrator of the high-conflict Organization A had a "competing" (Thomas' scheme) or "dominating" (Rahim's scheme) of managing. According to Thomas, the competing manager is essentially assertive and uncooperative in the style of conflict resolution. An individual pursues his own concerns at the other person's expense. This is a power-oriented mode in which one uses power--one's ability to argue, one's rank, economic sanctions, etc.--to carry the day.[289] Thomas states that the conflict management behavior an individual uses is a

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[289]Thomas, Ibid.

result of personal predispositions in combination with the circumstances that arise.[290]

I would suggest that the circumstances at Organization A contributed to the management style the administrator chose. The culture was so strongly in opposition to change or resolution of an issue that she really had no option but to force her decisions. She said about herself, "I would say, this is the rule." She suggested that if staff members don't like it, "They can go above me or file a grievance."

The administrator at Organization B had a managerial style that would be described as "collaborating" (Thomas's scheme) or "integrating" (Rahim's scheme). Thomas describes this style of manager as essentially assertive and cooperative in the style of conflict resolution: attempting to work with the other person to find some solution that fully satisfies the concerns of both. This requires digging into an issue to identify the underlying concerns and finding an alternative that meets both sets of concerns. Collaborating might take the form of exploring a disagreement to learn from each other's insights and concluding to resolve some condition that would otherwise have them competing for resources, or confronting and trying to find a creative solution to an interpersonal problem.[291] The administrator at the low-conflict Organization B says

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[290]Ibid.

[291]Thomas, Ibid.

about himself, "For my style, the description 'force' is too strong. Once or twice I ordered a decision. I emphasize the process. If you have data, and after reasoning, usually people come around."

I believe that the culture allowed this administrator to take a more collaborative position in the resolution of conflicts. In his resolution of conflicts, he is usually able to appeal to group goals and values that are strongly part of the culture. He resorts to looking at the data, which is part of the philosophical orientation of the organization. He raises decisions to the level of what is good for the children, which is part of the organization's value system.

It does indeed seem that, at the low-conflict Organization B, the organizational culture supports cooperative relations. However, this does not seem to be because the administrator is aware of, or has set up managerial ways of handling the conflicts, as was hypothesized.

Elements of the culture at Organization B that support cooperative relations are the strong organizational values--which are rooted in the organization's history--the overriding philosophical orientation--which allows staff of different departments to subscribe to a unifying philosophy--and a sense of mission, which helps staff reach agreement by elevating differences to a higher philosophical

level.

Hypothesis Three: Interdepartmental conflict is usually an "open secret" and therefore, it is rarely addressed head-on by administrators.

Pondy came to believe that organizations are "conflict systems."[292] Van Maanen and Barley[293] asserted that interdepartmental conflicts are "facts of life." The experience at both Organization A and Organization B supports these notions. At both organizations, the administrators readily acknowledge the presence of interdepartmental conflict--there appeared to be nothing "secret" about it.

Both administrators, contrary to what was hypothesized, felt that they did address conflicts head-on. They both describe calling in representatives from various departments to discuss conflicts, hoping to facilitate communication between members of different departments in order to resolve conflicts.

Under closer scrutiny however, it becomes clear that at the high-conflict Organization A, the devastating conflicts caused by the minority subculture is the "open secret" not being addressed head-on by the administrator. The administrator may not have been addressing this by

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[292]Pondy, "Organizational Conflict: Concepts and Models," 301.

[293]Van Maanen and Barley, 48.

choice, for in addressing it she was likely to open herself and the organization to charges of racial discrimination and possible organizing by the staff (which had already been attempted once.) It is questionable whether she would have been supported by her superior, who had been her predecessor and had a different relationship with many members of the subculture. In fact, many of the members of the minority subculture (referred to as "old-timers") cited their loyalty to this administrator and used him as the reason for doing things the way they did.

What seems in large part to contribute to the culture of caring at the low-conflict Organization B is the homogeneity of the staff. This had not always been the case, however. It was an "open secret" that they had had a "planned turnover of over 50%" several years ago to eliminate from the organization old-timers that were considered to be negative. While this seems to have successfully solved the problem, it could hardly be considered a technique that addresses a conflict head-on. The source of the problem was simply eliminated. Their culture of caring created in large part by their homogeneity had had a huge price.

It would seem, from the experience at Organization A and Organization B, that where culture underlies interdepartmental conflict, the conflicts are an "open secret" not addressed head-on by administrators because of

their complexity and the seriousness of potential consequences resulting from addressing them. The consequences are so serious because addressing conflicts imbued with culture challenges the core identity of the members. When faced with this situation, the high-conflict Organization A chose to live with it--even if it meant living in a war zone. The low-conflict Organization B, chose to excise what they perceived to be a threat to their culture of caring. Neither organization was willing to risk addressing it head-on.

Hypothesis Four: When there is a greater reliance on formal communication between departments, then fewer opportunities for misperception and conflict between departments will occur, and when organizations depend on informal communication there will be greater conflict between departments.

The data seems to support this hypothesis. At the high-conflict Organization A, most conflict was described as "informal," although several formal meetings were described by most. At the low-conflict Organization B, most communication was described as "formal." Informal communication was acknowledged, but it was not described as the primary mechanism of communication as it was at Organization A.

Staff members at both organizations acknowledged the grapevine. Organization A felt that it was very negative

and pitted departments against one another.

While it does seem true that members of the high-conflict Organization A felt that informal communication predominated and that gossip was negative, it is also true that formal communication sometimes went awry and contributed to interdepartmental conflict. In at least two instances, formal communication was misinterpreted--it would seem almost deliberately--to fuel interdepartmental strife. In one instance, the administrator had written a memo to "all staff." Despite this, certain staff members felt that the memo was unfairly directed at their department. In order to correct this perception, the administrator had to walk people over to the bulletin board and show them that it said, "all staff."

In another instance, Child Care staff felt that a manual of policy and procedures was only written for them because it was entitled "Child Care Manual." They were unable to accept the explanation that the organization was in the business of child care and that the manual applied to all staff.

The culture of the organization seems to be able to distort how communications are perceived. If clarity is lost in formal communications, then it must be lost even more often in informal ones, where much more is left to interpretation in the retelling. Possibly there is greater control of cultural meaning when the communication is

formal, however, which gives the administrator a chance to correct misperceptions.

Hypothesis Five: Administrators will be largely unaware of their organizational cultures and, therefore, will not have mechanisms established to influence them.

At both the high-conflict Organization A and low-conflict Organization B, administrators seemed to be aware of interdepartmental conflicts as a natural part of organizational life. Both used techniques to handle conflicts. In addition, they felt that the mechanism of cross departmental meetings were available to deal with interdepartmental conflicts.

However, administrators seemed to be at a loss when culture colored the view of the organizational members, creating interdepartmental conflicts. When this occurred, the administrators neither had a mechanism available to help understand the cultural meanings (as much of it was unconscious) nor a mechanism to help deal with the conflicts that developed. This was most obvious at Organization A, where the administrator was reduced to enforcing rules and the staff to writing grievances. However, even at the low-conflict Organization B, when a group of staff members were in conflict with the culture of caring, the only solution was "a planned turnover"--eliminating the negative staff.

It would appear that an outside party is needed to navigate the murky waters clouded by culture--someone who is

not part of the culture and, therefore, can see it for what it is and understand its effect. This person needs to be authorized to engage with the organizational members in ways that allow them to confront the organization's culture and how they participate in it. They need to work out together what their culture means to them, how it serves them and how it doesn't. When these aspects of the culture become conscious there is a chance that it can be reinterpreted in a way that is more congruent with the goals of the organization. But only an outside person who is considered objective and who has the authority to negotiate with the members can do this. Neither organization had such a mechanism.

A study completed at a Fortune 500 company came to the same conclusion: the aid of a third party was needed to reach a settlement when culture was the reason why departments were disputing.[294]

Summary

Conflicts run rampant in organizations and administrators readily acknowledge them. What they are unable to acknowledge are the conflicts that are culturally derived. These conflicts are an "open secret." Addressing them is threatening to the organization because they are emotionally laden and challenge the core identities of organizational members.

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[294]Morrill, 585-621.

The strategies used by administrators to manage conflict also seem to be greatly influenced by the operating culture. Administrators at both organizations utilized similar strategies to manage conflicts. Culture seemed to explain their differences.

As hypothesized, formal communication leads to less conflict than informal communication. However, an unanticipated finding was that even formal communication can be distorted by culture.

Administrators seem to be handicapped by the cultures at their organizations. They have little awareness of the cultures and as expected do not have mechanisms available to manage them. It is recommended that administrators seek outside help to "uncover" cultures at their organizations and that an outsider be utilized to define and reinterpret the culture as needed.

CHAPTER TEN

IMPLICATIONS

Overview of the Study

As social workers, we are based in organizations that are usually departmentally structured and are fertile breeding grounds for interdepartmental conflict. Administrators must invest disproportionate amounts of time addressing interdepartmental conflicts, which divert staff attention and energy from clients. The reasons suggested in the literature for interdepartmental conflict include: the lack of a generally accepted program philosophy, personality conflicts and competition for power. However, these reasons do not adequately explain the widespread occurrence of interdepartmental conflict.

Because conflict in our work environment is so common, it is important that we begin to understand what causes it as well as how to manage it. Researchers have argued that how conflicts are managed is critical to organizational effectiveness.[295]

This study documents various types of interdepartmental conflicts that occur in the multidisciplinary social service organizations known as residential treatment centers. It also examines the

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[295]Tjosvold, The Conflict-Positive Organization.

cultures of these organizations and how their cultures relate to interdepartmental conflict, the management strategies used to address interdepartmental conflicts and how these strategies relate to the organizational cultures.

The major findings of this study can be summarized:

The perception of interdepartmental conflict differed significantly among organizations.

Older facilities had less interdepartmental conflict than younger facilities, and nonaccredited facilities had less conflict than accredited facilities.

At the two organizations studied in depth, culture was the major distinguishing factor contributing to conflict. A "culture of caring" characterized the low-conflict organization. A "culture of embattlement" characterized the high-conflict organization.

Staff homogeneity was the factor that most differentiated the culture of caring from the embattled culture. At the low-conflict organization there were few minority staff (15%) whereas at the high-conflict organization, minority staff (71%) comprised a powerful subculture that appeared to be at the root of the conflicts. In addition, it was found that the organization with the low-conflict had deliberately homongenized their organization.

Administrative staff were relatively unaware of the importance of the cultures at their organizations. In

addition, there was little difference in their management strategies. Where there were differences, they were determined by the organizational cultures and were not a conscious choice made by the administrators themselves.

Implications for Practice: Understanding Organizational Culture

Perhaps what was learned about organizational culture at the two organizations is the most important contribution of the study. Culture emerged as a force that significantly affected how work got done at both organizations, and culture seemed to distinguish the high-conflict organization from the low-conflict organization. Despite the important influence that culture had at the two organizations, it was taken for granted and was poorly understood by the administrators.

This study hypothesized that where interdepartmental conflicts were not recognized, and that where administrators did not have strategies for managing them, interdepartmental conflicts would be greater. This was not the case for many of the interdepartmental conflicts. Both organizations recognized interdepartmental conflicts, openly acknowledged them and had strategies for managing them. What the administrators lacked was an awareness of the cultures of their organizations, how the organizational cultures influenced interdepartmental relations and how

interdepartmental conflicts rooted in culture can be managed. When interdepartmental conflicts were culturally derived they were an "open secret" and not acknowledged or addressed head on by administrators at either organization.

An implication for practice is that social workers must begin to understand that organizations do have cultures and that these cultures do influence how work gets done. The effect of organizational culture can be positive or negative. The question arises: can culture be managed? Researchers have suggested that it cannot.[296] If it cannot, then what strategies address issues that arise as a consequence of organizational culture? At the two organizations studied in depth, the organizational culture was feared and avoided when it was the underlying cause for conflicts at the organizations.

Aspects of each culture at the two organizations emerged that raise questions for practice and have implications for work in other organizations. First, the physical context of each organization reinforced the operating culture. At the high-conflict organization, the run-down community, an institutional building with few amenities and sparse furnishings combined to set a tone for the culture of embattlement. At the low-conflict organization the well-tended white collar community, the carefully maintained buildings--some that were opulent--

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[296]Martin, "Can Organizational Culture be Managed?" 95.

along with lovingly cultivated gardens, provided a setting for a culture of caring. This suggests that culture may be virtually defined by the context of the organization. This idea warrants further investigation, since out of necessity many social service organizations operate in grim environments.

The history of the organization, the role of its founder, the symbolic representation of the founder and the founder's sense of mission also emerge as powerful determinants of culture. These factors were palpable at the caring organization but nonexistent at the embattled organization. The history of the caring organization was well understood. The founder was viewed as inspirational, was credited with establishing core values and a philosophical orientation that continued to be relevant. Symbols were used to reinforce the importance of the founder and the mission.

This finding suggests that an administrator may be able to use information about the organization's history, founder and mission to shape the organization's culture. It also raises a question about what organizations do when history, founder and mission have not become meaningful parts of their culture, like the high-conflict organization in this study. Do the organization's members try, perhaps unconsciously, to fill this gap? Was this gap why the previous administrator of the high-conflict organization was

elevated to almost mythic proportions in the eyes of the organization's members?

This may be one reason why the older facilities had less conflict than the younger ones. Perhaps it is more difficult to use the organization's history to shape the culture when the organization has not had time to recast it's history into a meaningful form.

This study found that management can either be in conflict with or supported by the culture. At the embattled organization, the administrators were in constant conflict with the embodiment of the culture--the previous administrator. Everything the current administrators did was viewed as being in opposition to what he had done and a challenge to his values. In contrast, at the caring organization the culture provided tools that were used by management to promote organizational goals.

At both organizations, cultural artifacts carried emotional overtones for the organization's members that verged on the irrational. The members at the embattled organization were just as impassioned about the role of the previous administrator as the staff at the low-conflict organization were about "the data" that they believed organized their work in so many ways. At both organizations, these aspects of the work were framed as "the way we do things." An important implication for practice is: when issues become emotionally laden and are articulated

as "the way we do things," culture is almost certainly at work.

Homogeneity of staff emerges as a critical factor separating the two organizational cultures. The diversity of Organization A is the single most important factor contributing to the strife between departments. An ethnocentric subculture composed of minority staff was extremely divisive. In contrast, the homogeneous staff at Organization B contributed to their culture of caring. In this organization, staff were deliberately selected because they supported the organization's values, and those that didn't were removed.

In discussing successful leaders, Fiedler felt that the "favorableness of the situation" was critical. Homogeneity of the work group was a consideration in how favorable the situation was for the leader. He believed that the ideal situation is one where a trusted, respected leader interacts with a homogeneous work group and the least favorable was where a leader was disliked by a heterogeneous work group.[297] The administrator at Organization A found herself in the unfortunate situation of trying to manage a heterogeneous work group that was in conflict with her.

Organizations today are under increasing pressure to become more diverse. However, they are not prepared to

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[297]Fred E. Fiedler, A Theory of Leadership, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1967)

manage diversity. Copeland has said that managing a multicultural workforce is emerging as one of the "most serious issues in the workplace today," yet he believes that most employers are not prepared to deal with it.[298]

Hospitals are having difficulty managing a diverse workforce. The reason suggested for this is that the organizational norms that reflect the culture and interests of a white male dominant group are incongruous with a workforce that is becoming increasingly nonwhite and female.[299]

Kolb and Donnellon believe that existing conflict management practices do not address disputes that arise out of, or are complicated by, social diversity. They observe that, "As new social groups enter the workforce and move up in the organization, conflicts rooted in clan, gender, race, and ethnicity have become more prominent."[300]

The findings from this study suggest that successfully embracing diversity is a complex issue which poses a management challenge to organizations warranting further investigation.

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[298]Lennie Copeland, "Learning to Manage a Multicultural Workforce," Training (May 1988): 49.

[299]Robert H. Schwartz and Dale B. Sullivan, "Managing Diversity in Hospitals," Health Care Management Review, 18 (Feb 1993), 51.

[300]Anne Donnellon and Deborah M. Kolb, "Constructive for Whom? The Fate of Diversity Disputes in Organizations," Journal of Social Issues, 50 (Jan 1994), 139.

Implications for Social Work Administrators

The findings of this study support Pondy's notion that organizations are systems of conflict, rather than the conventional notion that organizations are systems of cooperation that sometimes have conflicts.[301] The implication of this finding suggests that the role of arbiter is crucial for administrators, and that this role may be even more important than the role of leader.

In the role of leader we think of the manager as providing a vision, motivating staff and innovating ideas and approaches. However, in order for staff to be motivated by a leader and willing to accept a leader's vision and innovations, staff must be able to work together and subscribe to the goals of the organization.

If a conflict system exists, which this study suggests is typically the case, then an arbitration role becomes critical. As an arbiter, the manager negotiates with staff of interdependent departments to get the total job done effectively, cultivates good relations between staff, is flexible enough to adjust to the viewpoints of a variety of diverse work groups, personality cliques and in-groups and represents subordinates and their views in dealing with superiors and other departments. These tasks are critical

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[301]Pondy, "Organizational Conflict: Concepts and Models," 301.

in managing a conflict system, especially one in which organizational culture is the determining factor.

The findings of this study suggest that previously suggested strategies for structuring organizations, including Walton and Dutton's suggestion to reduce communication barriers and provide common reference points,[302] Schein's assertion that a strategy for dealing with intergroup conflict is to develop a vehicle for interaction and communication between groups,[303] Likert and Likert's suggestion for "linking pins" and "interlocking work groups,"[304] and more recent designs promoting quality teams may not be the way to resolve interdepartmental conflicts. While these strategies are valid and may improve interdepartmental relations, administrators should not be lulled into thinking that they will address all the factors that contribute to interdepartmental conflict.

The findings of this study suggest that organizational culture may be largely responsible for interdepartmental conflict. Just as the culture at Organization A seemed to be responsible for it's warring departments, the culture of caring contributed to the cooperative interdepartmental relations at Organization B. Apart from the distinguishing cultures, other characteristics that have been suggested as

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[302]Walton and Dutton, 77.

[303]Schein, Organizational Psychology, 96-102.

[304]Likert and Likert, New Ways of Managing Conflict, 16.

contributing to differences in interdepartmental relations, including organizational structure, management strategies and communication vehicles, were strikingly similar at the two organizations.

This finding suggests that cooperative interdepartmental relations depend as much, if not more, on the organizational culture than on the strategies a manager may employ. Without a supportive culture, every effort a manager makes to develop cooperative interdepartmental relations is likely to be sabotaged by members who act in a way determined by the organization's culture, as was the case at Organization A. Perhaps even more startling is the finding that the administrator's style and management strategies themselves may be determined by the organization's culture.

The prominence of organizational culture in determining interdepartmental relations has implications for administrators. Because culture functions below the conscious level, administrators are not likely to be aware of the cultures of their organization. This study found that neither administrator was fully aware of their organizational culture and how it impacted on interdepartmental conflict. This suggests that administrators should consider an intervention that will help them to understand their cultures and make them conscious--"a process of uncovering." Unfortunately, this

is a rare practice.[305] This study suggests that it is a practice that administrators should seriously consider, or ignore at their peril.

Implications for Social Work Education

As social workers, we are trained to mediate the environments of our clients to help them solve the problems of living. "The social work profession is one of the primary institutions designed to help people negotiate the complicated systems in which they live."[306] This unique perspective is ideal for the social work administrator, because as this study has shown, a crucial task for the social work administrator is arbitration.

Social workers are trained to work with groups and communities. They learn to negotiate differences and mediate between groups. They are taught to understand cultural differences and to be sensitive to these differences when working with individuals and groups. The findings of this study suggest that this knowledge base is perhaps the most important asset that a social worker brings to the role of administrator of a social service agency.

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[305]Kolb, 64.

[306]William Schwartz, "The Group Work Tradition and Social Work Practice," Social Work Futures: Essays Commemorating Twenty-Five Years of the Graduate School of Social Work, ed. Miriam Dinerman (New Brunswick, N.J.: Graduate School of Social Work, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey in cooperation with the Council on Social Work Education, 1983), 7.

Shulman suggests that "helping staff members to develop a positive working culture" is part of a social worker's professional responsibility.[307] If this is to be accomplished, this study suggests that a greater knowledge of organizational culture, its effect on how organizational work gets done and its implications for practice should be incorporated into social work education.

Social workers are trained to be sensitive to diversity and incorporate this understanding into their work. This foundation should help social workers deal with diversity in the workplace. Social work education should be extended to include the implications raised by this study about diversity in the workplace.

Implications for Research

The research design accomplished the goals of the study. The questionnaire significantly differentiated between organizations regarding their interdepartmental conflict. As the questionnaire was developed for this study and had not been used before it its present form, it would be worthwhile to test it in other organizations. The questionnaire could be a useful tool when diagnosing interdepartmental conflict in organizations.

Similarly, the interview protocol was successful in uncovering the cultures present in the two organizations.

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[307]Shulman, 642.

The protocol would be useful in other organizations to understand other cultures.

Interviews with more people than were conducted in this study would possibly broaden the scope of the information obtained.

Participant observation was disallowed from the methodology of this study. Greater testing of hypotheses as they emerged during the study would have been possible had participant observation been part of the methodology. More participants may also have enriched the data.

A valuable research focus would be a follow-up study in the same organizations a year later. This would reveal the impact of the cultures over time.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

ALBERT EINSTEIN COLLEGE OF MEDICINE
OF YESHIVA UNIVERSITY
COMMITTEE ON CLINICAL INVESTIGATIONS

TO: PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR
Schnall David
Wurzweiler
(212)-960-5432

MEMO DATED: 03/05/97
REPORT DUE DATE: May 6, 1997
RECERTIFICATION DATE: 06/02/97

FROM: BARRIE LEVITT, M.D., CHAIRMAN
COMMITTEE ON CLINICAL INVESTIGATIONS

RE: 1997 ANNUAL PROGRESS REPORT

In accordance with FDA/HHS regulations, ongoing research must recertified by the CCI annually in order for the research to continue. Annual progress reports are required for each research project whether or not the protocol has been initiated.

To facilitate compliance with this requirement, the roster of protocols below indicates which of your research projects are scheduled for recertification by the CCI (and when applicable, the IRB) in the month of June.

SPECIAL NOTICE: FOR THOSE INVESTIGATORS CONDUCTING RESEARCH UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF THE AECOM CCI AND THE MMC IRB, A COMBINED REPORT PROCEDURE HAS BEEN IMPLEMENTED. INSTRUCTIONS ARE ATTACHED. RETURN THE COMPLETED PROGRESS REPORT AND ATTACHMENTS TO THE PRIMARY REVIEW COMMITTEE (THE ONE WHO SENT THIS NOT

AN ANNUAL PROGRESS REPORT MUST BE COMPLETED FOR EACH OF THE PROTOCOLS LISTED BELOW. THE ORIGINAL AND THREE COPIES OF EACH ANNU REPORT, ALONG WITH THIS ROSTER AND ALL REQUIRED ATTACHMENTS (AS DELINEATED ON THE ANNUAL UPDATE FORM), MUST BE RETURNED TO THE CCI ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE, BELFER 405, NO LATER THAN MAY 6, 1997. SUBSEQUENT TO REVIEW AND APPROVAL BY CCI AND THE IRB (IF APPLICABLE), YOU WILL RECEIVE A LETTER FROM EACH COMMITTEE CONFIRMING REAPPROVAL TO CONTINUE YOUR RESEARCH.

ANNUAL PROGRESS REPORTS ARE DUE FOR ALL PROTOCOLS, EVEN IF A PROTOCOL WAS WITHDRAWN, DISCONTINUED OR TERMINATED DURING THE COURS OF THE YEAR. IN THESE CASES, SUBMIT THE ANNUAL REPORT, ALONG WITH A COPY OF YOUR STUDY'S FINAL REPORT. NO OTHER ATTACHMENTS ARE REQUIRED.

IMPORTANT NOTICE FOR RESEARCH CONDUCTED AT THE BMHC: SEE ATTACHED MEMO OF 3/11/93.

IF A STUDY IS FIVE YEARS OLD AND HAS NOT BEEN INITIATED, IT REQUIRES FULL COMMITTEE REVIEW. KINDLY PROVIDE YOUR WRITTEN OPINION AS TO WHETHER OR NOT THERE HAS BEEN ANY SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN THE SCIENTIFIC BACKGROUD ASSOCIATED WITH THE STUDY SINCE IT WAS INITIALLY REVIEWED BY THE COMMITTEE. PLEASE SUBMIT THIS WITH THE ANNUAL PROGRESS REPORT.

CCI # / MMC #	TITLE OF PROTOCOL	APPROVED FACILITIES	PROTOCOL APPROVED BY CCI	DATE PROTOCOL INITIATED	LAST RECERTIFICATI DATE
95-62	A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ORGANIZATIONS: CULTURE AND CONFLICT Lynn Jones - student	RESIDENTIAL TX CNTR	05/10/95 06/02/95	06/15/96 COMPLETE IF BLANK	06/02/96

Appendix B

Lynn K. Jones
16 Main Street
Califon, N.J. 07830

March 3, 1996

Permissions
Organizational Development Research Program
Institute for Social Research
PO Box 1248
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

Dear Gentlemen:

I am seeking to obtain permission to use several questions in an adapted form from Survey of Organizational A Machine Scored Standardized Questionnaire Instrument by James C. Taylor and David G. Bowers from versions published in 1967, 1968 and 1970.

I have attached a copy of my questionnaire and highlighted the questions that originated from the Taylor and Bowers surveys.

I will be using the questionnaire as part of my dissertation for a Doctorate in Social Welfare. If granted permission, please send me a letter documenting the permission and also granting permission for UMI to supply copies on demand of my dissertation which will contain the questionnaire as I have adapted it.

Your consideration of this matter is greatly appreciated. Should you have questions, I may be reached at 908-879-4500.

Sincerely,

Lynn K. Jones

10/14/97

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Appendix C

S I M O N & S C H U S T E R

1633 Broadway
New York, NY 10019
212-654-7502 • Fax: 212-654-4782
E-Mail: edith_golub@prenhall.com

Edith Golub
Consumer Permissions

April 29, 1996

Lynn K. Jones
16 Main St.
Califon, NJ 07830

Re: Your letter of 4/20/96

Dear Ms. Jones:

You may have our permission to use, in the English language only, material in the manner and for the purpose specified in your request from the following book:

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Sincerely,

Edith Golub
Consumer Permissions Dept.

Appendix D

WURZWEILER SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK DOCTORAL PROGRAM YESHIVA UNIVERSITY

Individual's Consent for Participation as a Subject in Research

By signing this form I have agreed to participate as a subject in a research study entitled: "A Comparative Study of Organizations: Culture and Conflict" to be carried out under the supervision of Dr. David Schnall, Wurzweiler School of Social Work, Yeshiva University, 2495 Amsterdam Avenue, New York, New York, 212-960-0800. The primary institution conducting this research is Wurzweiler School of Social Work, Yeshiva University.

Records of this study will be kept confidential and my responses will not be identified in any written or verbal reports. Research records may be inspected by the human research committee of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine and the Wurzweiler School of Social Work.

If any questions arise related to this research project, I can call the supervisor of this study or Dr. Margaret Gibleman, Director, Doctoral Program, Wurzweiler School of Social Work, Yeshiva University at 212-960-0800.

I have been given a copy of this form whether or not I have agreed to participate in this study. I have asked all questions I want to ask, after reading and listening to an explanation of the five paragraphs on the next page which describe:

1. The Purpose of the research.
2. The Procedures involved and duration of my participation.
3. The Risks that I will be taking, if any.
4. The Benefits that may result, to me or to others.
5. Alternative procedures or treatment.

Purpose: The goal of this study is to learn more about how people in residential treatment centers work together, and how the work environment could become more satisfying and productive.

Procedures: You will be asked to complete a fifteen item, multiple choice questionnaire. Your questionnaire will not have your name on it and no one, including the researcher will know which individual filled out your questionnaire.

You may or may not be asked to participate in an interview. If you do participate in the interview you will have the choice of not answering questions you wish not to answer. Everything shared in your interview will be kept confidential and no one from your organization will know the content of your interview. Every measure will be taken to insure the confidentiality of your interview.

Risks: None.

Benefits: Participation in this study will not be of any direct benefit to respondents. However, there will be a general benefit to the field of social work in that knowledge about how people in residential treatment centers will be advanced.

Alternative: I may choose not to participate in this study.

I have been told by the researcher that I may be a subject in it only if I wish, and I may withdraw from this study at any time. I have also been assured that my relationship with my employer and staff, now and in the future, will not be affected in any way if I refuse to participate or I enter the study and withdraw later.

_____ _____

Signature of Participant Date

_____ _____

Signature of Researcher Date

Appendix E

QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is a part of a study being conducted of residential treatment centers. In the broadest sense, the goals of this study are to learn more about how people in residential treatment centers work together, and to use what is learned to make the work environment more satisfying and productive.

If this study is to be helpful, it is important that you answer each question as thoughtfully and frankly as possible. This is not a test; there are no right or wrong answers. The important thing is that you answer the questions the way you see them or the way you feel about them.

All individual responses to questions are completely CONFIDENTIAL. Although none of the questionnaires, once they are filled out will ever be seen by anyone in your organization, to ensure confidentiality please do not place your name on the questionnaire.

Please identify what department you work with:

( ) Residential
( ) Education
( ) Clinical
( ) Administration
( ) Other

[Adapted from The Community General Hospital by Basil S. Georgopoulous and Floyd C. Mann and Survey of Organizations: A Machine Scored Standardized Questionnaire Instrument by James C. Taylor and David G. Bowers. Written permission granted to utilize these questionnaires.]

1. How well are staff from different departments working together to give good client care?

( ) Perfectly well
( ) Very well
( ) Fairly well
( ) Not so well
( ) Not at all

2. To what extent do staff from the various departments make an effort to avoid creating problems or interference with each other's duties and responsibilities?

( ) To a very great extent
( ) To a great extent
( ) To a fair extent
( ) To a small extent
( ) To a very small extent

3. To what extent do staff from different departments who have to work together do their jobs properly and efficiently without getting in each other's way?

( ) Completely smoothly
( ) Very smoothly
( ) Fairly smoothly
( ) Do not work together smoothly
( ) Do not work together smoothly at all

4. In general, how do the clients feel about the way different departments them work together?

( ) The clients feel that the staff work together completely smoothly
( ) The clients feel that the staff work together very smoothly
( ) The clients feel that the staff work together fairly smoothly
( ) The clients feel that the staff do not work together smoothly
( ) The clients feel that the staff do not work together smoothly at all

5. How are differences and disagreements between persons resolved?

( ) Disagreements are almost always accepted and are worked through
( ) Disagreements are usually accepted and are worked through
( ) Sometimes disagreements are accepted and worked through
( ) Sometimes disagreements are avoided or suppressed
( ) Disagreements are almost always avoided, denied, or suppressed

6. How are difference and disagreements between departments resolved?

( ) Disagreements are almost always accepted and are worked through
( ) Disagreements are usually accepted and are worked through
( ) Sometimes disagreements are accepted and worked through
( ) Sometimes disagreements are avoided or suppressed
( ) Disagreements are almost always avoided, denied, or suppressed

7. To what extent do members of different departments plan together and coordinate their efforts?

( ) To a very small extent
( ) To a small extent
( ) To a fair extent
( ) To a considerable extent
( ) To a very great extent

8. To what extent is the information you get about what is going on in other departments (or on other shifts) adequate or sufficient for your needs?

( ) To a very great extent
( ) To a considerable extent
( ) To a fair extent
( ) To a small extent
( ) To a very small extent

9. In your opinion, to what extent do all the staff members of this center subscribe to a unifying management or treatment philosophy?

( ) To a very great extent
( ) To a considerable extent
( ) To a fair extent
( ) To a small extent
( ) To a very small extent

10. In this center, how well organized or tied together are the efforts of the many groups and individuals toward providing the best possible client care?

( ) Perfectly
( ) Very well
( ) Fairly well
( ) Not so well
( ) Not at all well

11. In working with other departments, problems are bound to arise from time to time. When these problems do occur, to what extent are they handled well?

( ) To a very small extent
( ) To a small extent
( ) To a fair extent
( ) To a considerable extent
( ) To a very great extent

12. Which of the following best describes the manner in which problems between departments are generally resolved?

( ) Little is done about these problems--they continue to exist
( ) Little is done about these problems--they work themselves out with time
( ) The problems are appealed to a higher level in the center, but often are still not resolved
( ) The problems are appealed to a higher level in the center, and are usually resolved there
( ) The problems are worked out at the level where they appear through mutual effort and understanding

13. How are differences and disagreements between departments handled in the center?

( ) Disagreements are almost always ignored
( ) Disagreements are often ignored
( ) Sometimes disagreements are accepted and worked through, sometimes they are ignored
( ) Disagreements are usually accepted as necessary and desirable and worked through
( ) Disagreements are almost always accepted as necessary and desirable and are worked through

14. How friendly and easy to approach are members of other departments?

( ) Completely approachable
( ) Very approachable
( ) Fairly approachable
( ) Mostly unapproachable
( ) Totally unapproachable

15. When you talk to members of other departments, to what extent do they pay attention to what you are saying?

( ) To a very great extent
( ) To a considerable extent
( ) To a fair extent
( ) To a small extent
( ) To a very small extent

16. How much do persons from the various departments attempts to work together as a team?

( ) To a very great extent
( ) To a considerable extent
( ) To a fair extent
( ) To a small extent
( ) To a very small extent

Appendix F

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

DOMAIN A STAFF CHARACTERISTICS

- How long have you worked here ?
- What is your age?
- What is your experience?
- What is your education/professional training?
- Note ethnicity of the staff.
- Note the gender of the staff.

DOMAIN B HOMOGENEITY OF STAFF/COMMUNICATIONS

- Have you worked across departments?
- Have you been trained across departments?
- How would you describe the communication channels between departments? Are these channels mediated? unmediated? formal? informal?
- How do you find out about what is going on in the department and in the organization as a whole?
- How do you communicate with members of other departments?
- How much information do you learn through the "grapevine?"

DOMAIN C CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

ADMINISTRATOR ONLY

- How long have you been the administrator?
- How would you describe interdepartmental conflict in this center? If the administrator freely acknowledges the presence of interdepartmental conflict then ask: How do you cope with interdepartmental conflict?
- Do you feel that it is important to agree to each party's view to some degree in the resolution of conflict?
- Do you feel you confront differences of opinion in the resolution of conflict?
- If necessary would you force a resolution?
- Do you anticipate interdepartmental conflict?
- Do you consider interdepartmental conflict to be a "normal thing?"
- What expectations do you have for the resolution of interdepartmental conflicts?
- What is your professional orientation?
- Do you have more contact with any one department?

[Created by the Author]

DOMAIN D SPATIAL LOCATION OF DEPARTMENTS

- Do you eat with the clients?
- Where is your office located? Is it near where the clients reside?
- What is the proximity of your department in relation to other departments?
- What is the location of the administrator's office and does it have proximity to your department?

DOMAIN E CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COORDINATING GROUP

- Is there a coordinating group?
- Who comprises the coordinating group?
- What is its function?
- What mechanisms does it use? Meetings? Presentations?
- Is any department unrepresented on the coordinating group?
- Who heads the coordinating group?
- Is the head of the coordinating group chosen to be the head because of personal characteristics or because of departmental affiliation?
- Does the coordinating group address staff conflicts?

DOMAIN F HISTORY OF THE CENTER

- What is the age of the center?
- Who was the previous administrator? What was the professional orientation of the previous administrator?
- What is the history of the center as it is generally understood?
- What implications does the history of the center have for interdepartmental relations vis-a-vis conflict and conflict resolution?
- Is there a style for conflict resolution, ie., authoritarian?

DOMAIN G PERCEPTIONS OF DEPARTMENTAL FUNCTION

- What is your view of the function of your department?
- What is your departments role in the center?
- How do members of other departments view your department?
- Are there situations where your department acts autonomously without input from other departments?
- How are the needs of your department determined? followed up on?
- What are your perceptions regarding (a) the center as a whole (b) the clients in general (c) your own department (d) interdepartmental relations?
- Do you feel that it is a goal of your department to contribute to the effectiveness of the TOTAL

organization?
- Are members rewarded on the basis of their contribution to the total effort rather than their individual effectiveness?

DOMAIN H VIEW OF THE ORGANIZATION

- How do you view this center--as a school first, residential program second, or vice versa?
- Do you feel that one professional orientation dominate over others at the center?
- How do you understand the organizational mission?
- How do new staff learn about the organizational mission?
- Have there been any changes in the organizational mission?
- Do situations come up where you find you have to act contrary to official policy?
- Do situations come up where your preferred way of acting is OK with department policy but not official policy?

DOMAIN I INTERDEPARTMENTAL PERCEPTIONS

- In your opinion do some staff have it "easier"?
- When do members of other departments fail to understand your point of view?
- Are there instances where you feel that members of other departments fail to follow up on an agreed upon treatment plans?
- Do some staff have better schedules than others? Is there any relationship to what department they belong to?

DOMAIN J INFORMAL RELATIONSHIPS

- When do you interact with members of other departments?
- What other (informal) groups are there besides the official groups, ie., work teams, cliques, links between and within departments, groups of employees from similar ethnic backgrounds, etc.?
- How do the informal groups you mentioned affect the way the work is done here? Do they get along with one another?
- Do you feel a part of any of these groups?

DOMAIN K PHILOSOPHICAL ORIENTATION

- What determines your philosophical orientation? To what extent is it determined by your departmental affiliation?
- Do find situations where a philosophical difference contributes to misunderstandings between you and members of other departments?

DOMAIN L RESOURCES

- Do you find that how money is spent is an issue between you and members of other departments?
- Do you feel that your department is competing with other departments for available resources?

DOMAIN M ISSUES SURROUNDING CHILDREN

- Do you disagree with others over how children are handled? - Do disagreements occur more often with members of any one department?
- Do conflicts occur over admissions and discharges? Are these conflicts with members from other departments?

DOMAIN N DECISION-MAKING

- How do decisions get made for the organization?
- How do decisions in reference to a case get made?
- Do some departments make independent decisions?
- How do conflicts get resolved?
- Do some staff make independent decisions without being held accountable for them?
- Do decisions from particular departments carry more weight?
- Are major decisions dominated by the views of any one department?

DOMAIN O PERCEPTION OF POWER

- Who are the people that you believe have the most power in the center?
- Is there a department/s that has/have more power than others? What is the departmental hierarchy vis-a-vis power?
- Who comes out on top in power struggles and conflicts?
- Which departments are especially powerful?
- Is there a department that members who want to get ahead join? With whom do they try to develop relationships?

DOMAIN P INCIDENTS OF INTERDEPARTMENTAL CONFLICT

- Can you cite incidents of interdepartmental conflict? Are interdepartmental conflicts frequent or infrequent?
- In your opinion what is the cause of these conflicts?
- How were these conflicts handled?
- What was the outcome of the conflicts?
- Would you expect these type of conflicts to reoccur?
- Do staff hold grudges after conflicts of this kind? What is the aftermath of conflicts?
- Do some staff not bother to speak up when there is a conflict?

- Why?
- How should conflict be managed? Is it managed the way you think it should be? Would you prefer more openness?

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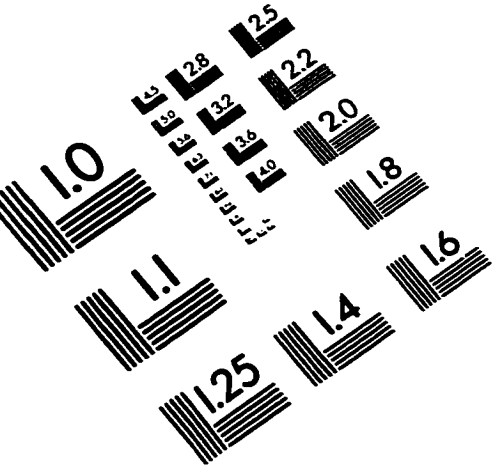
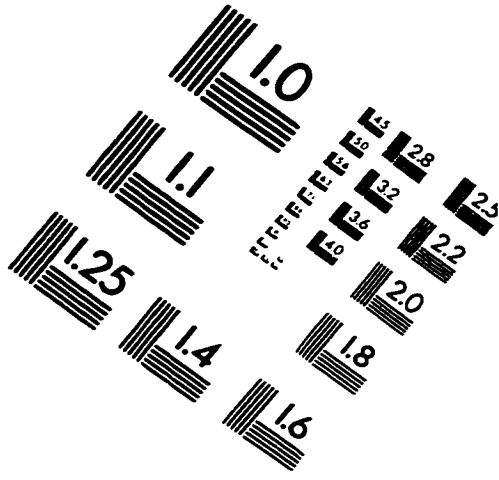
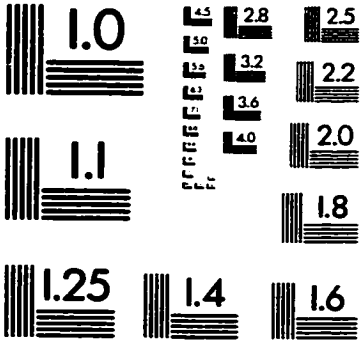
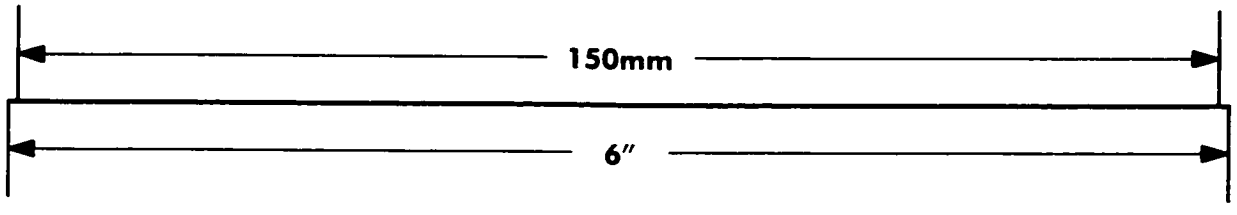
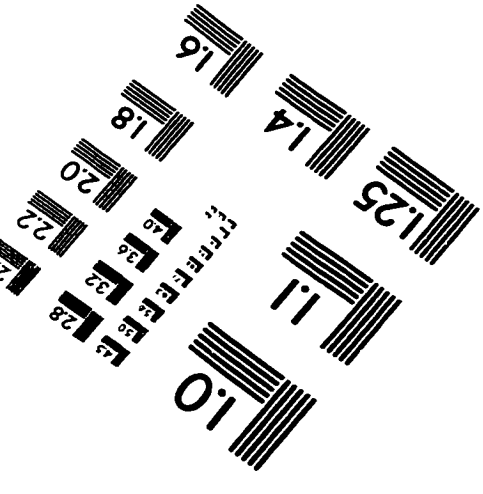
IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

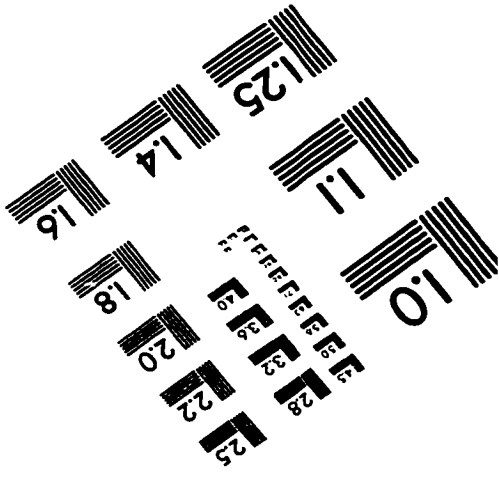












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