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**Shift Happens:
Transformations During Small Group Interventions in Protracted Social Conflicts**

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University**

By

Berenike O.H.M. Carstarphen

**Director: Michelle LeBaron
Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution**

**Spring Semester 2003
George Mason University
Fairfax, VA**

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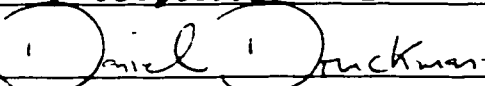


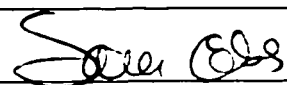
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**SHIFT HAPPENS: TRANSFORMATIONS DURING SMALL GROUP
INTERVENTIONS IN PROTRACTED SOCIAL CONFLICTS**

by

**Berenike O.H.M. Carstarphen
A Thesis
Submitted to the
Graduate Faculty
of
George Mason University
in Partial Fulfillment of
The Requirements for the Degree
of
Doctor of Philosophy
Conflict Analysis and Resolution**

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Spring Semester 2003
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DEDICATION

This is dedicated to all the people who participated in this research, especially to those who shared their personal stories of shift with me. This is also dedicated to all people who strive towards healing, reconciliation and peacebuilding. May you find some hope in these pages and some insights to aid your valuable work.

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ABSTRACT

SHIFT HAPPENS: TRANSFORMATIONS DURING SMALL GROUP INTERVENTIONS IN PROTRACTED SOCIAL CONFLICT

Berenike O.H.M. Carstarphen, Ph.D.

George Mason University, 2003

Dissertation Director: Michelle LeBaron

Deeply divided societies are characterized by fractured, hostile and oftentimes violent relationships. A key question for conflict resolvers is how can we get individuals and groups to stop fearing and hating each other and to come together in reconciliation towards building peaceable societies. How, why, when and under what conditions do individuals and groups experience a *shift* – a positive, qualitative change in the relationship between conflict parties, including changed attitudes toward oneself and the other party, the conflict issues, and the conflict situation as a whole – that paves the way for reconciliation and conflict resolution? This dissertation explores the process of how individuals and groups achieve such a shift through small intergroup dialogues.

This study explores the argument that shift is a dynamic, relational phenomenon that is facilitated by certain conditions and processes at the individual (intrapersonal), transactional (engaging with the other), and situational (small group intervention) dimensions of analyses. The research uses a multi-method inductive and deductive design in three phases: (1) an analysis of the film, *The Color of Fear*, to identify indicators of shift and factors that may facilitate shift; (2) interviews with intergroup dialogue participants of

pro-choice/pro-life abortion dialogues, race/ethnic dialogues, and Jewish-Palestinian dialogues in the U.S., and with third-party facilitators of intergroup dialogues in a variety of conflict settings to further explore shift and develop a process model of shift; (3) an experimental design that uses a simulated, written intergroup prenegotiation dialogue (no actual dialogue occurs) to compare the efficacy of affective appeals (personal stories) and cognitive appeals (rational explanations) to change attitudes.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

To illustrate why I chose to research *shift*—positive changes in adversaries' attitudes toward and relationship with one another—I will first tell you a story. Storytelling emerged as one of the key factors for facilitating shift, so it seems fitting to begin with a story.

In the fall of 1995, I had the wonderful opportunity to co-facilitate a dialogue between a small group of community police officers and gang-involved youth in a predominantly Latino neighborhood in Northern Virginia.¹ We were asked to conduct this dialogue by Barrios Unidos, a gang intervention and prevention organization, which had been working for several years with youth in this neighborhood to provide them social services and positive social alternatives to gang-related criminal activities. Barrios Unidos asked for our help in response to growing tensions and hostilities between youth and police that were having damaging side effects in the community-at-large. The dialogue group included six male Latino youth, ages 15-19 (current and past gang members) and three male community police officers (two White, one Latino). Some of the young men had strong personal grievances towards some of the officers. The dialogue group met for ten two-hour sessions over a six-month period.

¹ Co-facilitated by Ilana Shapiro, supervised by Frank Blechman, assisted by Joan Orgon Coolidge, as part of the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution's Applied Practice and Theory course. See the article, "Facilitating between gang members and police," by N. Carstarphen & I. Shapiro, *Negotiation Journal*, 13, 185-207.

When we paint a “before” and “after” picture of the two groups’ attitudes toward one another and their relationship, we have two starkly different pictures. Before the dialogue, the picture is characterized by misunderstanding, distrust, hostility and blame. After the dialogue, the picture is characterized by greater understanding, trust, liking, respect, and accountability. How did this happen? The first dialogue session focused on introductions, groundrules, goals, and agenda setting. The air was filled with tension and repressed anger and was so thick you could cut it with a knife. The second session focused on perceptions, attitudes, communication and behavioral patterns between the two groups and was filled with blame and accusations. The youth wanted to know why the police did what they did (which they perceived as harassment) and the police wanted to know why the youth were in gangs (which they perceived as criminal organizations). During the third session, each group developed a list of recommendations for how they wanted the other group to behave on the street. The discussion was tense, but increased understanding somewhat. The fourth session focused on violence in the community and the two groups traded “war stories” of being attacked and proudly displayed their respective scars. These stories revealed an important source of common ground—all participants in both groups had been victims of violence and everyone wanted to reduce violence in the community. Tensions eased more as they began to recognize common experiences and goals.

The fifth session again focused on why police use certain behaviors (e.g., frisking youth, asking them to get out of their cars), violence and personal safety. After much discussion and watching a video on police safety issues, we asked the participants to play a role-reversal. We asked them to identify a typical encounter between each group on the street that they wanted to better understand and prevent. The scenario was two youth “hanging out” in front of a convenience store and two police officers arrive and start asking them questions. Two officers role-played the youth and two youth role-played the

officers. After about five minutes, we stopped the role-reversal and debriefed. First, one of the police officers complimented the two youth on how well they played police officers and kept the situation under control—“You’re better than our rookies! You should be cops!” The youth laughed and blushed in response and said, “Man, I was nervous,” referring to being worried one of the “youth” may have been armed. They all laughed and suddenly started making jokes with one another, slapping each other on the back. One of the officers let one of the youth (the two participants who had the most hostile relationship) try on his bullet -proof vest; an amazing gesture. The rest of the session was a friendly discussion and light-hearted banter between the two groups. Shift happened.

To ensure we facilitators weren’t just imagining that we had witnessed a transformation, we asked the two groups separately what they had thought and felt about the fifth session. Both groups reported what we had seen. One officer said he asked his partner after they left the fourth session, “Wow, what happened back there? Something changed.” The participants’ behavior was significantly different towards one another after this shift occurred. They were different in their tone, language, attitudes and relationship in general. They greeted each other in a friendly manner before meetings, officers gave the youth rides home after some late meetings, and they even played basketball together one weekend.

An evaluation conducted at the end of the dialogue process revealed that both groups felt they had increased their understanding of one another, had developed positive attitudes towards one another, and both groups reported positive behavioral changes in one another when interacting on the street. One youth noted, “Before, they would stop people for no reason, now they are friendly when they see me. I feel protected by them.” Furthermore, both groups reported the dialogue had created a positive “ripple effect” among other police officers and youth who were not directly involved in the dialogue. The positive changes

reached beyond the dialogue participants. For example, a school police officer noted, “There hasn’t been near the type of mob assault that there’d been before, or even the one-on-one fistfights at school because of a new respect for the rules and to keep their friends out of trouble.” Another officer, who had initially been skeptical of the dialogue process, said to one of the police participants, “I don’t know what you’re doing in there, but keep doing it!”

My experience facilitating this dialogue was powerful. The questions that lingered were, “What happened? How did that shift in their attitudes, behaviors and their relationship take place?” I had ideas of what I thought had happened, but wanted to better understand such changes in attitudes and relationships in the hope that I could facilitate such changes again in the future. This dissertation seeks to help illuminate these questions.

Deeply divided societies, whether between police and youth as in the example above, or between ethnic, religious, or ideological groups, are characterized by fractured, hostile and oftentimes violent relationships. Most third-party intervention efforts seek to stop the violence and to achieve negotiated settlements over substantive issues, such as resource and territorial disputes. These efforts are important components of *peacemaking*. However, in order to achieve a just and lasting peace in these societies —*peacebuilding*— individuals and groups must develop relationships characterized at minimum by mutual acceptance, tolerance, and reasonable trust, and preferably by mutual understanding and positive attitudes toward one another. Individuals and groups in conflict must go through a process of reconciliation during which they experience a shift in attitudes towards one another and the conflict that leads to healing and constructive relationships. This is true regardless of whether groups strive to live in an integrated or segregated society. Intergroup attitudes influence whether intergroup conflicts will be resolved through violent or peaceful means, and whether conflicts will be resolved at all. As such, a shift in attitudes is a necessary

component of the reconciliation process and is the central focus of this research.

How do we transform relationships from destructive to constructive ones? How can we get individuals and groups to stop hating each other or seeing the “other” as their adversaries, and to have a positive shift in their attitudes toward one another and to come together in reconciliation towards building peaceable societies? While others and I have witnessed palpable shifts between individuals and groups in conflict, and I think “I know a shift when I see one,” this phenomenon has not been adequately studied to confidently define, measure or anticipate shift, or to ‘make’ shift happen. This study explores several basic questions about shift: (1) What is shift? Does shift happen? Can it be reliably identified by different people across contexts? (2) What factors facilitate the occurrence of shift? (3) What is the relationship of shift to reconciliation and conflict resolution? and (4) What are the implications of the findings for conflict intervenors?

For this dissertation, *shift* is defined as a positive, qualitative change in the relationship between conflict parties, including changed attitudes toward oneself and the other party, the conflict issues, and the conflict situation as a whole. Shift includes cognitive change (e.g., perceptions, attributions) and affective change (e.g., feelings, evaluations) within and between the individuals and groups involved in conflict and is expressed through positive behavior (e.g., cooperative, friendly) towards the other party. This definition is similar to attitude change, described by Fisher (1990) as including a more accurate cognition that incorporates all the parties’ perspectives, positive affect and a cooperative behavior orientation. However, shift goes beyond attitude change, which focuses on individual or intrapersonal change, to include changes in the relationships between the parties at the interpersonal, intergroup and total group levels of analysis.

I use the term *shift* not to introduce yet another new word to the conflict resolution field, but rather to offer a metaphor for the types of transformations I have observed

between conflict parties during my work and that others have described to me. These transformations led me to want to study this phenomenon in order to gain a greater understanding of what factors facilitate the occurrence of shift.

I am especially interested in shift that seems to “happen suddenly,” the “aha” experience, which dramatically changes the conflict attitudes and dynamics in the relationship between the conflict parties. The witnessing of such shifts has been the highlight of my practice in the field, as exemplified by my opening story. While intervenors often observe and talk about shifts between conflict parties taking place, there is little empirical research on this phenomenon within conflict resolution research (Colby & d’Estrée, 1997; d’Estrée & Colby, 2003). The research in our field that does exist on shift focuses primarily on “turning points” in *behavior* during negotiations (e.g., Druckman, 1986). However, I am primarily interested in the *attitudinal or psychological shifts* (cognitive and affective) within conflict parties and the *relationship shifts* between conflict parties, which has received relatively little attention in our field. Therefore, research on shift is warranted.

Gaps in the Conflict Resolution Field

The lack of research on shift can be explained by two “gaps” in the conflict resolution field: (1) the paucity of systematic research on conflict attitudes, relationship issues and reconciliation; and (2) the insufficient attention paid to the constructive role of emotions and affective processes (affective shifts) in favor of cognitive processes (cognitive shifts) in our theory and practice. Both of these gaps are described briefly below. One caveat is offered: by “gaps” in the field, I do not mean to presume that no one in the conflict resolution field is aware of, focused on, or “filling” these gaps. I merely intend to point out that these gaps exist, relative to the most common theory, research and practice,

although these gaps are beginning to close.

Insufficient Attention on Conflict Attitudes, Relationships and Reconciliation

Conflicts include at least three interrelated components: (1) the *substantive issues* (e.g., perceived goal incompatibility, interests, issues), (2) conflict *behaviors and processes* employed for resolving the conflict (e.g., violence, litigation, negotiation, mediation), and (3) conflict *relationships* (psychological factors, attitudes, perceptions, etc.) between conflict parties (Galtung, 1969; Mitchell, 1981; Moore, 1986). Despite the acknowledgement that conflict attitudes and relationship issues contribute to conflict and its escalation in the conflict *analysis* literature (e.g., Deutsch, 1973; Fisher, 1990; Mitchell, 1981; Rubin et al., 1994), there is relatively less research on the role of these issues or how to address them in the literature focused on conflict *resolution*. This gap is closing, thanks primarily to theoretical and practical contributions of social psychologists and other scholar-practitioners focused in the field of what Fisher (1997) calls, “interactive conflict resolution” (ICR). Fisher (1997) summarizes the theory, practice and research of pioneers in the ICR field, such as John Burton, Leonard Doob, Herbert Kelman, and other conflict resolution scholar-practitioners, and offers his own model of interactive conflict resolution that integrates previous models and approaches.

Fisher’s review suggests that scholar-practitioners of ICR recognize the importance of improving attitudes and relationships towards conflict resolution and that research on the outcomes of various ICR workshops indicates their approaches are successful at improving attitudes and relationships. However, what is less clear in the literature and Fisher’s review is what specifically, beyond the ICR process aspects theorized to lead to change, actually led to the improved attitudes and relationships. The *participants* are rarely asked what specific aspects of the process and the interactions between participants within the process led them

to change their attitudes and relationships. Fisher (1983) recommends greater research in which the objectives of ICR (e.g., improved attitudes, relationships) serve as the dependent variables and other components of the ICR model serve as independent variables. This dissertation helps fill this gap.

Until recently, relatively little attention has been focused on reconciliation between conflict parties in the conflict resolution literature (Ackerman, 1994; Assefa, 1993; Fisher, 1997). The primary focus in the resolution literature is on how to resolve the goal incompatibilities and substantive issues (e.g., political issues, resources), and how procedural issues and certain types of behavior (e.g., cooperative behavior, interest-based bargaining) contribute to conflict resolution. The psychological dimension (attitudes, perceptions) and relationship issues are often treated as by-products of conflict escalation and resolution and are assumed to be resolved largely through the settlement of substantive issues using appropriate procedural methods (e.g., Fisher & Ury, 1981; Mitchell, 1981). Thus, relationship and reconciliation issues, and their attendant conflict attitudes and psychological factors, have received relatively little attention in the resolution literature as compared to the large literature on negotiation and third party processes to achieve agreement on substantive issues.

In the prenegotiation and negotiation literature, relationship building often focuses on developing a “working trust” sufficient to get conflict parties to the table and to reach agreement. From this perspective, relationship building is a means to an end. The primary focus is still reaching agreement (e.g. Fisher & Ury, 1986). This approach is also characteristic of traditional mediation approaches (e.g., Moore, 1986). The efforts at relationship building do not necessarily seek to change the fundamental relationships between the conflict parties; the goal is not necessarily reconciliation.

When relationship building and reconciliation are the goals, these processes are often viewed as taking place during the postsettlement or postconflict phase (Ackerman, 1994), *after* the resolution or settlement of issues in order to deal with residual negative attitudes (Mitchell, 1993) and to heal relationships between individuals from the conflict sides (Fisher, 1997). Fisher (1997) distinguishes between relationship building and reconciliation. He recommends dialogue interventions during the pre-settlement stage to get the conflict parties to communicate again and share their different perceptions of the conflict and each other in order to increase understanding and begin relationship building. He recommends reconciliation interventions during the post-settlement stage to heal relationships.

Relationship building and reconciliation may best be viewed as both processes and goals that operate throughout the broader conflict resolution process. Relationship building and reconciliation are not only worthy goals after the settlement of issues, but may also be the keys to conflict de-escalation, resolution, and transformation— and to constructive engagement between conflict parties at all—especially in protracted, deep-rooted conflicts between different identity groups (Burton, 1969; Kelman, 1986; Lederach, 1994; Rothman, 1997). Kelman (1965) and Volkan et al. (1990) contend the psychological dimension, especially self-identity and esteem, must be explored and dealt with in order to resolve deep-rooted, protracted conflicts. Wilmot and Hocker (1988) argue that identity and relational issues are the “drivers” of disputes and they underlie content and process issues; “Because we are human beings, our inherent subjectivity drives dispute... the more severe and strained the conflict, the less satisfying the content approaches will be” (pp. 66-67).

Bush and Folger (1994) and Winslade and Monk (2000) argue that focusing on problem solving substantive issues at the expense of relationship issues may make the substantive issues more difficult to resolve. Fisher and Keashly (1991) suggest that dealing

with some of the relationship issues (e.g., through third party consultations) enables the parties to return productively to a substantive focus (e.g., negotiation and mediation). Fisher and Brown (1988), Pruitt (1990, 1991), and Greenhalgh (1987) contend that negotiation processes and outcomes are better (more efficient, produce more win-win solutions) when the parties have positive working relationships. Ross (1995) argues that without decreasing mistrust and increasing empathy between disputants, attempts to resolve interest differences will likely fail. Improving the mutual perceptions and interpretations held by the conflict parties requires the parties to engage in collective grieving, mourning, and reconciliation (Montville, 1990; Ross, 1995; Volkan, 1988).

Lederach (1994) suggests the key towards building peace in contemporary conflicts is restructuring the relationship of conflict parties "...with all it encompasses at psychological, spiritual, social, economic, political and military levels, which defies short term outcomes as the measuring stick of success" (p. 84). Lederach suggests that purely "rational" approaches are insufficient and that conflict resolvers must attend to the subjective and experiential aspects of people's needs:

These dynamics and patterns [of conflict], driven by real life experiences, subjective perceptions and emotions, render rational and mechanical processes or solutions aimed at conflict resolution not only ineffective, but in many settings irrelevant. To be at all germane and salient in contemporary conflict, peace building must root and direct itself to the realities facing the *experiential* and *subjective* facets of peoples' needs. However, it is at this very point that the conceptual paradigm and praxis of conflict resolution must shift significantly away from the traditional framework and activities that make up statist diplomacy.

I believe this paradigmatic shift is articulated in the movement from a frame of reference concerned primarily for the resolution of issues and toward one that envisions the reconciliation of relationships. *This calls for a conceptual framework that goes beyond a mechanical structural, or issue focused approach* (pp. 91-92, emphasis added).

Rothman (1997) argues that different intervention approaches are required depending upon whether a conflict is primarily an interest-based conflict or identity-based

conflict. Interest-based conflicts are usually concrete, clearly defined, and each side seeks outcomes that are bounded by the resources at stake (e.g., land, money, military and economic power). Identity-based conflicts are relatively intangible and deeply rooted in complex and multidimensional psychological, historical, and cultural factors. Identity conflicts typically emerge from frustrated and unmet needs and values and center on such identity needs as dignity, safety and control. Rothman argues that all identity conflicts contain interest conflicts. However, not all interest conflicts contain identity conflicts, although many do, particularly the longer the conflict goes on and the more it escalates.

Rothman suggests that interest conflicts are suitable for resolution via mediation, negotiation and problem solving, while identity conflicts are best approached via a dialogue and reconciliation process about needs and values promoting “voice,” mutual recognition and the discovery of common ground. Simply put, you can negotiate over interests, but you cannot negotiate over identity. Generally, it is only when the underlying sources of insecurity in identity conflicts are surfaced and needs are addressed, that the interest-based aspects of these conflicts may become amenable to negotiation. Thus, in identity driven conflicts, the conflict resolution process may need to begin with focusing on and resolving some of the relationship issues or identity needs, before proceeding to resolving substantive issues and interests.

There is increasing recognition that addressing the relational aspects of conflicts are important for resolving conflicts. However, conflict resolution processes tend to address relational issues as a means to resolving substantive issues. The issue is not just whether relational strategies are used, but where they are situated that is important. Improving and restructuring relationships may best be treated as a goal in itself and not just a means to resolving substantive issues.

This dissertation adds to the growing literature on relationship building and

reconciliation and offers empirically based insights on how shift happens.

Insufficient Attention on Emotions and Affective Processes

A second “gap” in the field is the relative lack of attention paid to the *positive* role of emotions for conflict resolution. Despite the fact that human beings are *thinking* and *feeling* beings, the conflict resolution field virtually ignores the positive role of emotions and affective processes in conflict resolution and reconciliation, while it focuses mostly on the negative impact of emotions towards conflict escalation and on cognitive communication and information-processing models for conflict resolution (Carnevale & Pruitt, 1992; Cloke, 1997; Thompson et al., 1995).

The relatively narrow focus on cognitive factors for analyzing the psychological components of conflicts and for developing effective conflict resolution techniques is acknowledged and explained by several writers. Thompson et al. (1995) suggest that given the importance of information for effective negotiation, much of the theoretical development in the area of conflict and negotiation has been guided by cognitive information-processing models. Carnevale and Pruitt (1992) claim the emphasis on cognitive mechanisms in negotiation is an extension of theory and research in social cognition, information processing in cognitive psychology, and decision theory to negotiation. Two cognitive-based perspectives dominate the field. One perspective in negotiation research, called the *heuristics and biases perspective* by Carnevale and Pruitt, focuses on negotiators’ mental shortcuts (the use of heuristics) and how these can produce erroneous judgments or biased perspectives, hence poor outcomes (although some research also indicates the use of heuristics can produce positive, win-win negotiation). The second perspective, referred to as the *schematic information processing perspective*, suggests that “cognitive factors—the perception of intentions, attitudes and beliefs about the other, the perception of the situation-

-in short, a person's construction of social reality, determines negotiation behavior (Abric, 1982; Deutsch, 1982; Brodt, 1990)" (Carnevale & Pruitt, 1992, p. 557). A cognitive approach to conflict resolution, therefore, focuses on correcting erroneous and distorted perceptions of "reality," and/or changing negotiators' cognitive schemata, thereby improving attitudes (including affect) and paving the way to seeing mutually beneficial solutions. While cognitive factors certainly influence negotiation behavior, this approach to conflict resolution downplays the relevance of affective factors for conflict resolution and reconciliation. It also virtually ignores the potential positive role of emotions and affective processes for bringing about changes in cognition.

The dominance of the cognitive approach is also largely due to predominantly negative perspectives of emotions. Conflict scholar-practitioners tend to focus on how emotions (e.g., anger, fear, hostility) contribute to conflict escalation and perpetuation (e.g., Mitchell, 1981; Rubin et al., 1994). The assumption is that conflicts escalate when "passion overwhelms reason" (Spinoza, 1951, cited by Sandole, 1993). Therefore, emotions are generally treated as something to be vented, managed and controlled so that parties can become "rational" and conflict resolution can proceed. Similarly, many scholar-practitioners describe conflict resolution as an "analytical" problem-solving process (e.g., Banks & Mitchell 1994; Burton & Dukes, 1990; Fisher & Ury, 1981; Moore, 1986) that emphasizes resolving substantive issues arising out of goal incompatibility through "rational" (cognitive) approaches to thinking. While these authors do not necessarily ignore the positive role of emotions, the primacy of cognitive processes (reasoning and rationality) is evident.

The dominance of the cognitive approach also helps explain the emphasis in much of the literature on "increasing understanding" between conflict parties and the relatively little focus on "improving affective attitudes." In fact, some authors suggest we should *not*

try to improve parties' attitudes toward one another. For example, Banks and Mitchell (1994) suggest that a problem-solving workshop should increase understanding between the parties, but each party's basic attitudes towards the opponent should not be changed. If they were changed, it might be considered a "brainwashing" exercise. Instead, the authors contend, "a workshop ensures that mutually hostile perceptions are not reduced, but are frequently heightened, sharpened, enlarged, intensified -- but above all they are understood" (p. 147). It is generally assumed that increased understanding will facilitate conflict resolution. However, Druckman, Broome and Korper (1988) point out that previous research indicates that increased understanding per se does not necessarily facilitate resolution. Therefore, other factors warrant further study. I suggest that our lack of attention to the potential positive role of affective processes and emotions inhibits our understanding of shift, hence reconciliation and resolution.

One exception to the negative view of emotions in the conflict literature is offered by LeBaron (2002), who suggests that conflicts can be transformed by tapping into emotions and feelings as sources of empathy, genuineness, clarity, hope and interpersonal facility. She recommends developing emotional fluency in order to build and nurture relationships and outlines ways to cultivate this fluency.

Another exception to the negative view of emotions is the research on the interplay of moods and negotiating behavior that shows that positive moods (defined by the authors as pleasant feelings that are typically induced by commonplace events, such as humor) can lessen anger and overt hostility (Baron, 1984; Carnevale & Pruitt, 1992), and can encourage cooperative behavior and creative problem-solving in negotiation (Baron et al., 1990; Carnevale & Isen, 1986; Hollingshead & Carnevale, 1990; O'Quin & Aronoff, 1981; Pruitt et al., 1983). On a cautionary note, however, positive mood states can also contribute to costly misperception and miscalculation in negotiation situations (Pruitt, 1995) and can lead

to sub-optimal agreement through excessively rapid concession-making. The contradictory findings suggest there may be an 'optimal' mood state for cognitive functioning, similar to the well-established conclusion that there are optimal levels of stress which enhance cognition.

There is also some research on the relationship between affect, cognition and negotiating behavior. Research on the impact of familiarity or understanding (cognition) and liking (affect) on negotiations suggest that the cognitive *and* affective elements and processes that in part create and escalate intergroup conflict may also make it possible in part to resolve it (Druckman, Broome & Korper, 1988; Druckman & Broome, 1991). Druckman and Broome (1991) found that positive sentiments (affects), as well as increased understandings (cognitions), might be necessary for long-term cooperation between groups, thus, conflict resolution. However, these authors do not explain how positive sentiments or understanding are induced.

In summary, the majority of writing and research in the conflict resolution literature, with some exceptions, generally focuses on the role of cognitive processes. When emotions are mentioned, the discussion tends to focus on their negative effects on reasoning or that emotions are merely by-products of cognition. The response by many scholar-practitioners in the field has been to suppress, vent, manage (in contrast to resolve), or delay dealing with emotions until after reaching agreements, if at all, and to focus on correcting misperceptions and increasing understanding between parties to reach agreements on substantive issues. The approach to emotions is similar to the approach by many in the field to relationships. Scholar-practitioners know they are important to conflict resolution, but generally opt for dealing with substantive issues using cognitive approaches while "managing" emotions and relationships so they do not "get in the way" of reaching agreements. It is often assumed that once agreements are reached, the source of negative emotions and

relationships will be removed. These assumptions and approaches may be too simplistic in that they ignore the fact that people are always being influenced by affective processes and by their emotions and they ignore the potential positive role and functions of emotions towards achieving positive attitudes, reconciliation and conflict resolution.

There are other practitioners who regularly focus on relationship building, emotions and affective processes in their practice, but tend not to publish significantly on their theory of practice. For example, the dialogue workshops and processes used by the Network for Life and Choice (formerly of Search for Common Ground) for exploring abortion issues between pro-life and pro-choice advocates, focuses on relationship building as a necessary first step to reduce intergroup antagonism and to enable participants to work together constructively. There are certainly other practitioners who are aware of these issues. The purpose of this section is to point out the historical and relative lack of attention to these issues as reflected in the conflict resolution literature.

This dissertation helps fill the two gaps described in our theory and practice with a particular focus on shift. Research on shift is needed to clarify our understanding of how, why and when “shift happens” to enable conflict intervenors to further develop strategies and techniques that encourage shift, hence, reconciliation and conflict resolution.

Purpose

There are two major aims of the dissertation research: theoretical and practical. On the theoretical level, the study explores the phenomenon of shift at the individual, interpersonal, intergroup and total group levels of analysis within a framework that focuses on the intervention setting. The purpose of the study is:

1. to contribute to the development of theories about shift and reconciliation and how attitudes and relationships change along a continuum from “negative” or

“destructive” (e.g., rigid, closed minded, mistrustful) to “positive” or “constructive” (e.g., generative, open, trusting) ones;

- a. to describe and explore the phenomenon of shift: what shift is, what the process of shift is at the individual and small group level among people who have participated in conflict resolution intervention initiatives, and the conditions and factors that facilitate shift;
 - b. to contribute to the development of theories about the role of and interrelationship between cognitive, affective, and behavioral processes leading to shift and reconciliation;
2. to increase understanding of the role of shift and relationship building in conflict resolution and negotiation;
 3. to offer practical applications and implications of the findings for use by parties and intervenors in conflict situations, especially to aid in the design of intervention initiatives.

Framework of Analysis

The framework of analysis guiding this research agenda is based on Fisher's (1990) consultation model. Fisher, who takes a social-psychological approach to intergroup and international conflict resolution, advocates the use of third party consultation (problem-solving workshops) as the most effective approach to addressing the subjective elements and relationship issues in conflict.² He argues that social-psychological theories at different levels of analysis are useful for understanding how consultation works toward its objectives

² See also Burton (1969), Kelman (1986), and Banks and Mitchell (1994) for descriptions of the social-psychological, problem-solving workshop approach to international conflict resolution.

of improving attitudes, improving relationships and creating the possibilities for conflict resolution. These levels include theories at the individual, interpersonal, group, intergroup, and international levels. However, Fisher does not explore the phenomenon of shift specifically.

My guiding framework draws from Fisher's model and includes four dimensions of analysis: (1) individual – intrapersonal cognitive and affective psychological factors and processes, (2) transactional – interpersonal and intergroup factors and processes (e.g., communication, behaviors, shared experiences), (3) situational – factors and processes in the conflict intervention setting, and (4) contextual – the conflict and surrounding environment. Figure 1 (p. 19) depicts these four dimensions. The arrows in the figure reflect the dynamic and relational nature of the shift process. The use of dotted lines instead of solid lines is meant to reflect the porous boundaries between the dimensions in that each dimension is continually interacting with every other dimension.

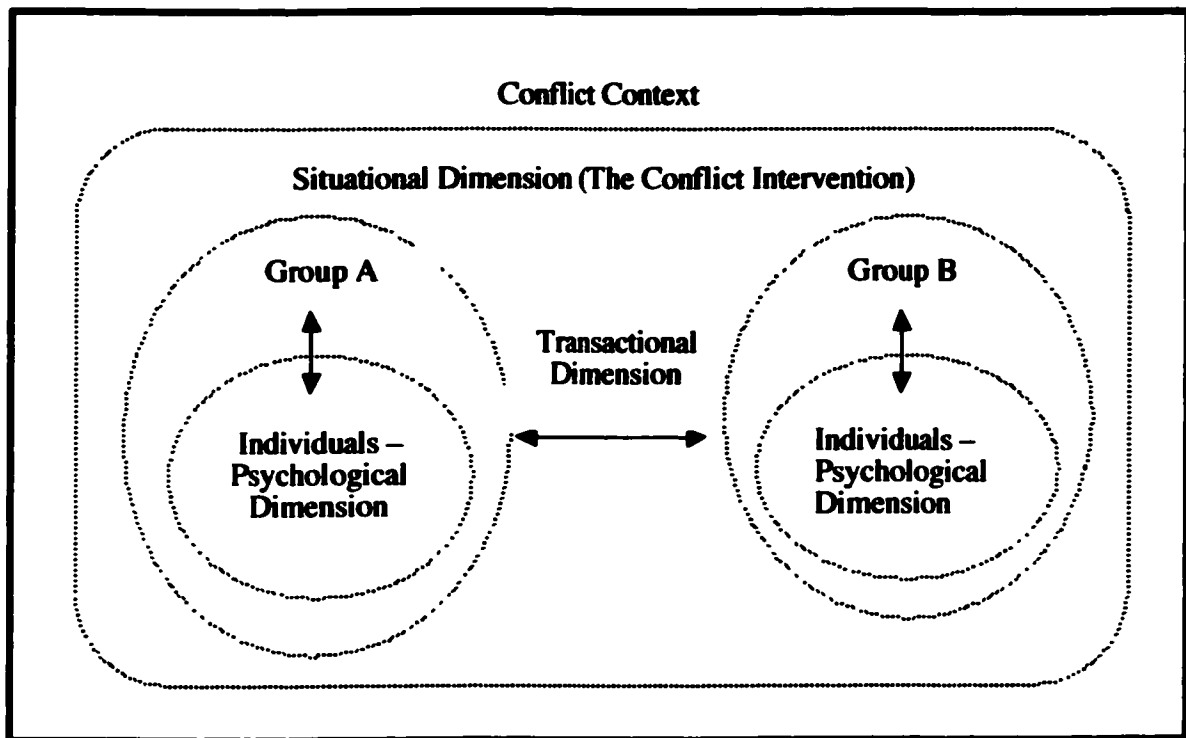


Figure 1: Dimensions of Analysis

The individual dimension refers to intrapersonal processes within the individual. At this level, shift occurs in the mind (cognition) and heart (affect) of the individual to change thoughts and feelings, or attitudes. These changed attitudes reflect *inner transformations*. These shifts occur through two processes. Shift occurs through certain intrapersonal psychological processes that facilitate shift. Therefore, the individual's psychological processes are explored to understand shift. Second, shift within individuals usually occurs as individuals interact with others, thus the transactional dimension of analysis is explored to understand shift. The transactional dimension refers to the interactions (e.g., communication, behaviors, shared experiences) between individuals within and between

conflict groups. This dimension is called “transactional” rather than “interactional” according to the following distinction between these two forms of communication offered by Seiler and Beall (1999):

Communication is interactional and transactional. An interaction is an exchange of communication in which people take turns sending and receiving messages. A telephone conversation is an example of a communication interaction. A transaction is an exchange of communication that is two-way. People are both senders and receivers at the same time. A relationship which allows us to share our realities with others is an example of a transaction (p. 38).

This transactional perspective of communication offers a more dynamic and relational model of communication than is implied by the interactional model and suggests there may be certain types of communications, behaviors, activities and other transactions that may facilitate shift.

The individual and transactional dimensions function in a dynamic feedback loop. What occurs in one dimension affects what occurs in the other dimension. Communication and behaviors expressed in the transactional dimension affect the thoughts and feelings of individuals in the individual dimension. Thoughts and feelings of individuals in the individual dimension affects what and how those individuals will communicate and behave in the transactional dimension. Individual thoughts and feelings are also exchanged transactionally without words or overt behavior. Further, shift within individuals may lead to shift between individuals (interpersonal level) and groups (intergroup level) as inner shift is expressed through some form of verbal or nonverbal communication and behavior. Similarly, shift at the interpersonal and intergroup levels may lead to shift at the individual level.

In summary, shift occurs in individual attitudes (thoughts and feelings) at the individual dimension—*attitudinal shift*— and is expressed through communication and behaviors in the transactional dimension—*behavioral shift*. The process for achieving shift

is both an individual psychological process and a transactional process between individuals and groups. Further, when individuals from different sides experience both attitudinal and behavioral shifts, the result is a shift in the relationship between the parties. Thus, there may be *individual, interpersonal, intergroup shifts* and a shift in the *total group* or a “total group phenomenon” (Stock & Lieberman, 1981, cited in Pearson, 1990) as described in the story presented at the beginning of this chapter.

In addition to the individual and transactional dimensions, there is the situational dimension. The shifts I am studying occurred through participation in specific intervention initiatives (e.g., dialogue groups, problem-solving workshops). Therefore, the intervention situation is examined to identify factors that facilitated or inhibited the shifts (e.g., the structure of the interactions, characteristics of the intervention, facilitator process skills, and so on). Finally, the interventions took place within the context of the overall conflict and surrounding environment. However, for the purposes of this research, the conflict context receives only enough attention to provide background information for the intervention.

This framework of analysis specifies four dimensions of analysis, however, these dimensions are not separate or discrete entities. The model assumes a dynamic, relational and mutually interactive process between the different dimensions of analysis and between individuals and groups. The primary focus in this research is on the individual dimension of analysis given that this is the least researched dimension in the conflict resolution literature, yet it is at this level that shift must ultimately take place. As Borris (1998a, 1998b) notes, if we can better understand the process of “healing the heart” at the individual level, we can then look to the implications of this for healing between people and groups at larger levels. I see the dissertation research as part of a larger research agenda on shift, reconciliation and conflict resolution. This framework of analysis shapes the questions guiding my research agenda.

Research Questions

This study involves three major research areas that seek to help fill the gaps in the field and achieve the purpose of the dissertation. First, the phenomenon of shift is identified and described and the factors that facilitate shift are explored at the different dimensions of analysis. Second, the research explores the relationship between shift, reconciliation and conflict resolution. Third, the research offers practical suggestions for third parties designing interventions that aim to improve intergroup relationships. The research questions are as follows:

The Phenomenon of Shift

Individual Dimension:

- What is “shift”?
- Does shift happen? Can we identify, measure, and induce shift?
- What are individuals’ experiences of shift? Are these similar or different?
- What psychological processes facilitate shift?

Transactional Dimension:

- What types of communication, behaviors, activities and other interactions facilitate shift?

Situational Dimension (The Intervention):

- What characteristics and conditions of third-party interventions facilitate shift?
- What third-party roles and functions facilitate shift?

Contextual (The Conflict Environment).³

- What is the larger conflict context in which the intervention took place?

The Relationship Between Shift, Reconciliation and Conflict Resolution

- What is the relationship between shift, reconciliation and conflict resolution?

Implications for Intervenors

- What do the findings suggest to intervenors for facilitating shift?

The research questions in each area move from descriptive “whether” and “what” questions to more explanatory “when,” “why,” or “how” questions. These questions guide the literature review, which in turn provides useful theories and research for answering these questions in the different dimensions of analysis. Yet, little research suggests how these dimensions interact. Further, little research in the conflict resolution field has focused on the phenomenon of shift itself. This research integrates and adds to existing literature and may lead to future research projects and further work on the broader questions.

³ While this question is asked of interviewees, it is largely beyond the scope of this research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

My personal experiences observing shifts and anecdotal stories told me by people who claim to have experienced shifts set the background for this research agenda and motivates me to investigate the phenomenon of shift through a systematic and empirical process. A diverse body of literature informs the conceptual framework and research inquiry. The following literature review focuses on the relevant theories and research in the individual, transactional and situational dimensions of analysis⁴.

Four bodies of literature guide this research: (1) reconciliation, (2) psychotherapy, (3) attitude change, and (4) models of third party intervention. I begin with an overview of the reconciliation literature to help frame the focus on shift and to provide initial insights into shift. Next, I review the psychotherapy literature because this field also seeks shift at the individual and interpersonal levels through a form of third-party intervention. Within this section, I also describe the relevance of studying cognitive and especially affective processes at the individual and interpersonal/intergroup level. The third section briefly reviews the literature on attitudes and attitude change. The fourth section explores the situational factors that may facilitate shift relying primarily on Fisher's (1990) model of

⁴I am not reviewing the contextual dimension because it is beyond the scope of this research.

third-party consultation, including the conditions and characteristics of the intervention and third-third party roles and functions. This section also explores the transactional factors that may facilitate shift, including the types of communications, behaviors and shared activities in which the participants engage at their own or the facilitator's initiative.

Reconciliation

Definitions and conceptualizations of reconciliation vary, but it is clear that reconciliation is viewed as both a dynamic process and a desired outcome. A general definition of reconciliation is: the restoration or rebuilding of relationships, the transformation of a relationship from one of enmity to amity (Boris, 1998b), or at minimum to mutual acceptance and reasonable trust (Montville, 1993). Assefa (1998) suggests reconciliation is the coming together of people who have been alienated from each other to form a community: people who are "walking together again." Based on these definitions, reconciliation requires precisely the type of shift that I am researching, so I review this literature first.

The subject of reconciliation is written about most within the theological, psychological and sociological literature and focuses primarily on spiritual reconciliation with God, or on interpersonal reconciliation, namely in psychotherapy and marital counseling. The concept and existing literature, in addition to new research, is increasingly being applied to politics, international relations and conflict resolution by theorists and practitioners, several of whom have developed models of reconciliation, including Assefa (1993), Diamond (1994), Diamond and McDonald (1998), Gardner-Feldman (1998), Kraybill (1988), Lederach (1994, 1997), and Montville (1993). Three features distinguish these different models of reconciliation: level of analysis, the general elements of the reconciliation process, and the specific mechanisms or activities to achieve reconciliation.

The levels of analyses these authors describe include ecological, spiritual, moral, personal, psychological, social, pragmatic, political, economic, historical, and structural dimensions. The elements of reconciliation include, for example, transactional acknowledgement, contrition, and forgiveness (Montville, 1993), and truth, mercy, justice, and peace (Lederach, 1994, 1997). The mechanisms or activities to achieve reconciliation, include, for example, a “walk through history,” and symbolic gestures and rituals (Montville, 1998). Many other activities have been used by other intervenors towards achieving reconciliation, some of which will be discussed in the section on the situational level.

The models of reconciliation suggest a number of key factors that facilitate shift. Of these authors, Diamond’s (1994) discussion of conflict transformation addresses the phenomenon and process of shift most explicitly. Diamond (1994) contends that:

To transform conflict is to work systemically to change the very assumptions, beliefs, and perceptions of the parties in conflict, as well as to open doors to creative solutions and new behaviors. To transform conflict is to deal with the root issues and needs being expressed in the conflict situation, not just to bridge different positions. To transform conflict is to release the energy bound in the intellectual, emotional, physical, and spiritual patterns of thought and action that have built up over time, and to reshape that energy into new and more positive patterns of relationship. To transform conflict is to discover peace (p. 3).

Diamond’s (1994) definition of conflict transformation includes reconciliation and requires shift. She offers a five-stage process for transforming conflict: (1) Motivation (touching the ideal), (2) Quest (vision and commitment), (3) Test (causes and consequences), (4) Death (self-examination and letting go), and (5) Rebirth (reframing and action). The Motivation and Quest stages essentially provide the motivation, hope, vision and commitment to seeking conflict transformation and new relationships. During difficult times and setbacks, parties can look back to their motivations and visions for energy and commitment to move forward. The shift in assumptions, beliefs, perceptions and relationships is triggered in stage 3 (Test), is occurring in stage 4 (Death), and culminates in

stage 5 (Rebirth), at which point shift has occurred. These last three stages will be described in more detail to explain Diamond's process of transformation.

The Test stage involves confronting the causes and consequences of the many obstacles that appear on our path of conflict transformation. These obstacles or conflicts may be single events or a long-term process in which we experience a wound, trauma, or a conflict situation that produces pain, anger and a legacy of suffering that becomes embedded in our daily existence and leads to "conflict-habituated systems" that express the consequences of the ongoing, unresolved conflict. The keys to the Test stage are for the parties to confront their legacy and cycle of hurt, blame, pain and fear, and to discover which human needs have been violated – the underlying causes of the conflict. "Discovering which needs have been violated directly addresses the causes of the conflict and allows us to proceed through the suffering in a clear direction" (Diamond, 1994, p. 9). Diamond identifies several practical skills of the Test stage that enable the parties to confront the conflict-habituated system as it is. Analytical skills for identifying the root causes of the conflict-habituated system and communication skills, such as dialogue, inquiry, active listening, and storytelling enable parties in conflict to learn of one another's needs, concerns, perceptions, and suffering, and to understand the inner logic of the conflict patterns. The Test stage helps build mutual understanding and trust and paves the way for the next stage, Death.

Stage 4, Death, involves self-examination and "letting go" of the mutual victim/blame process that perpetuates conflicts. Letting go of this process is a metaphorical "death" of parties' attachments to this cycle. It also introduces the element of responsibility in that parties see where they hold bitterness, anger and hatred toward the other and discover their own responsibility for escalating and perpetuating the conflict. According to Diamond, "This letting go makes room for something new to happen and is

the critical and necessary point for any transformation process” (p. 12). The practical skills of the Death stage include activities that enable us to take responsibility for our actions and to engage in reconciliation. “Self-examination, with acknowledgment, mourning, and remorse for the suffering of ourselves, and indeed all parties to the conflict, creates a path for healing and eventual forgiveness” (p. 12).

The final stage is Rebirth, which involves reframing and action. The parties develop new understandings of themselves, the other and the conflict and understand the sources of misunderstandings and ill will. Their negative images of the “enemy” recede and find the other is human too. The parties see themselves, the other side, and the conflict in a different light—shift has occurred. The parties have reframed the conflict and see new possibilities for satisfying mutual interests and needs. Parties can now take actions that before would have been unthinkable: building the foundations of trust, establishing new communications, and discovering common ground on which to meet and co-create a shared future. According to Diamond, “These actions represent the beginning of a *transformed relationship*. The translation of the *inner transformation* of the Test and Death experiences into the tangible actions of Rebirth is the motor behind conflict transformation” (1994, p.13, emphasis added). According to Diamond, it is during the Rebirth stage that the practical skills and activities of problem solving, negotiation, mediation, and decision-making are most relevant and useful.

In summary, Diamond’s model of conflict transformation is “an unfolding journey of discovery” (1994, p. 15) and is a model of reconciliation and shift. Diamond adds that the stages are not necessarily linear in relation to one another. Parties may engage in several stages simultaneously. Yet, what happens in each stage affects what may happen in the others. Diamond’s description of the conflict transformation process also suggests two types or levels of transformation: the *inner transformation* of the Test and Death

experiences, and the *relationship transformation* that begins with tangible actions during the Rebirth stage. The inner shift takes place after (or as) parties have: discovered and explored the underlying causes of the conflict (unmet human needs); confronted and worked through their suffering and loss; gained some mutual empathy and understanding of one another; recognized the need for jointly meeting their common human needs; acknowledged their mutual responsibility for the conflict, thereby shedding the victim/blame cycle; and, have let go of (but not forgotten) the past. These inner changes enable the parties to see themselves, the other, and the conflict in new ways, and to engage in new action for the mutual resolution of the conflict and transformed relationships. The result is a transformed conflict with new and more positive patterns of relationship.

A critical element in Diamond's model is the concept of "letting go," which she suggests is or could include forgiveness. The process and act of forgiveness is seen as a key element towards reconciliation by many scholar/practitioners. In fact, several authors argue that we can have forgiveness without reconciliation, but not reconciliation without forgiveness (Boris, 1998b; Montville, 1993). While some scholars contradict these assumptions and argue that reconciliation does not require forgiveness (e.g., Gardner-Feldman, 1998), forgiveness is generally seen as a key component of reconciliation and warrants further discussion.

Eileen Boris (1998b) writes that forgiveness is an internal process and is the psychological response to injury, while reconciliation is a behavioral coming together of two or more people in which reciprocity is essential. Similarly, in a study on conceptions of forgiveness by clinical psychologists and pastoral counselors, Kirkpatrick (1994) found that forgiveness was seen as an internal emotional and cognitive release from a past event leading to resumption of life without ruminations, and reconciliation added the behavioral or interpersonal resumption of relationship. Boris' (1998b) conceptualization of forgiveness

is summarized in this quote:

The critical dimension of forgiveness is a *shift* in one's understanding of, and relationship to the other person, oneself, and the world.... The shift permits us to see a larger perspective where the injury becomes a shared pain with other human beings. We see someone else's suffering and struggles and therefore feelings of victimization make way for feelings of compassion. No longer is there only one possible connection with the other person. There are choices. A new vision creates feelings of interconnectedness, which empowers us. It is with this backdrop that the stage is set for reconciliation to take place (pp. 3-4, emphasis added).

Thus, in Boris' conception, forgiveness represents *shift*, defined as a fundamental change in one's understanding (cognition) and evaluation (affect) of self, other and the world, and the relationships between these elements. Shift occurs through the process of forgiveness as we recognize our shared pain and move away from feelings of victimization towards empathy and feelings of interconnectedness. Forgiveness is a necessary step towards reconciliation, and in turn, reconciliation "enhances the process of forgiveness by structuralizing it into the web of the societies once in conflict" (Boris, 1998b 12).

The key to achieving shift in the process of forgiveness and reconciliation is recognizing, acknowledging and healing past traumas, both within our self and our group and within the "other" and their group. It is both an internal, personal process and a relational and transactional process. Similar to Boris (1998b) and Diamond (1994), Montville (1993) takes a psychological approach to reconciliation and focuses on the need for healing through mourning individual and collective psychological burdens of history. He suggests that reconciliation and healing depend on a process of transactional acknowledgement, contrition, and forgiveness that is indispensable to the establishment of a new relationship based on joint mutual acceptance and reasonable trust. Montville suggests that this process depends on the ability of parties in conflict to jointly analyze the history of their conflict, recognize the injustices and historic wounds, and accept moral responsibility where appropriate. In essence, Montville sees forgiveness as a key element in peacemaking,

in moving parties from victimhood to healing. He says that forgiveness may be a unilateral process, but that “transforming a victimhood psychology into a normal relationship in political conflict resolution requires interaction – essentially the negotiation of a new political and social contract between previous enemies” (1998). Montville also argues for the need to have public rituals of contrition and forgiveness and to transform the public consciousness in order to achieve conflict resolution.

Montville (1993) acknowledges the cognitive and affective processes in forgiveness. He suggests that the cognitive process of forgiveness invariably precedes the affective or emotional release of hatred and desire for revenge. While cognitive and affective processes cannot be separated out into discrete components so clearly, Montville suggests that the first step towards forgiveness involves primarily cognitive process and the second step involves primarily affective processes. Based on the work of trauma therapists (e.g., Fitzgibbons, 1986), Montville contends that victims often disassociate cognitively, therefore you have to first reconstruct the event (e.g. through a “walk through history”) to document, concretize and bring into consciousness the event. Once the event is brought into conscious awareness, an intervenor can help victims work through the painful memories and wounds. Montville applies the same logic and techniques to helping ethnic groups overcome their sense of victimhood towards healing.

Lederach (1994) also points to the need to heal the painful past as the key element towards reconciliation.

Reconciliation as a concept and praxis endeavors to reframe the conflict away from direct focus on issues dealt with in cognitive terms. Rather, its key contribution and primary goal is to seek innovative ways, at various levels to create a time and a place to address, integrate and embrace the painful past and the necessary shared future, in order to deal with the present (p. 108).

Lederach also implies the use of cognitive and affective processes. However, he does not

suggest that cognitive processes necessarily precede affective processes in the reconciliation process, as does Montville.

Gardner-Feldman, Montville, and Lederach describe reconciliation in both pragmatic terms on the one hand and in deeply spiritual, psychological and moral terms on the other hand. These two descriptions are similar to Kraybill's (1988) distinction between "head" and "heart" reconciliation. Kraybill argues that people need both "head" and "heart" reconciliation for reconciliation to really occur. By "head," Kraybill means one's values and conscience; people think they *ought* to forgive and reconcile with the other due to their religious values, prodding by friends and family, and other messages. By "heart," Kraybill means one's emotions (and may include moral and spiritual aspects); people respond not to what *ought* to be, but what *is*. Heart reconciliation is internally motivated, whereas head reconciliation is more externally motivated. Kraybill contends that people more readily reach a stage of "head" reconciliation than "heart" reconciliation. It is the head, or pragmatic, considerations that often motivate people to initially seek reconciliation, which may then set in motion the process of heart reconciliation (Gardner-Feldman, 1998).

Kraybill outlines a six-stage cycle of hurt and reconciliation: (1) open relationship, (2) injury, (3) withdrawal, (4) self-awareness, (5) internal commitment to reconciliation, and (6) an act of risk. Open relationships are characterized by trust and the willingness to risk. When risks are taken and expectations are not met, the result may be injury and a person may feel betrayed. The person may then withdraw from the other, physically and/or emotionally. However, after a time of withdrawal, people frequently attempt "head" reconciliation, but they may find their trust and willingness to risk is gone. They may attempt to behave as if they've forgiven the other, but deep hurts, anger, resentment, hostility, caution and distance may lie beneath the surface. The key to reconciliation then is self-awareness, where the person becomes aware of and accepting of one's emotions, including

awareness of past hurts and deeper vulnerabilities which might be the real source of the current emotions; “Often the real emotion comes from a trauma far removed in time!” (p. 8). Recognizing and acknowledging past hurts makes them lose their power to control our responses in the present. The next stage is an internal commitment to reconciliation, a conscious choice to become reconciled. The last stage is to take an act of risk, which either leads to higher trust and the restoration of an open relationship if the risk leads to positive results, or further injury if expectations are again not met.

In Kraybill’s model, the shift seems to take place during the process of self-awareness leading to a commitment to reconciliation. Self-awareness is primarily about dealing with current and past emotions and acknowledging one’s own contributions to the injury of others. Thus, it is also a process of other-awareness. Through this awareness, people shift from feelings of victimization to feelings of compassion and empathy. New visions of conflict parties as “humans-in-relationship” and feelings of interconnectedness pave the way for reconciliation.

The conflict transformation literature emphasizes many of the same goals, processes and procedures as the reconciliation literature. The transformative approach to conflict emphasizes relationships (Wilmot & Hocker, 1998), empowerment and recognition of the parties, and takes a relational worldview that focuses on both strength of the self and compassion towards others, capacity for self-interest and for responsiveness to others (Bush & Folger, 1994). Further, the conflict transformation approach seeks to create something new from what existed before—new feelings, new ways to cooperate, new solutions (Wilmot & Hocker, 1998).

Bush and Folger (1994) describe the transformative process as: microfocusing on parties’ presentation of the conflict-in-the-moment, encouraging perspective taking, and, encouraging deliberation and choice-making. They suggest the following procedures to

achieve their goals: (1) change mediators' opening statements to reflect transformative objectives; (2) change expectations for what parties do as they listen to each other's opening statements; (3) encourage parties to ask questions that arise from genuine curiosity about the other party, past events, or future possibilities; (4) identify points in the process in which parties indicate what they think the other does not understand about them; and (5) expand what can be included in agreements. Although not necessarily based on Bush and Folger's work, the Network for Life & Choice utilizes procedures 1-4 in their workshop format.

Lederach (1995) also utilizes a conflict transformation approach in which relationship building is a primary component. As described earlier, Lederach argues that conflict resolvers must attend to the subjective and experiential aspects of people's needs and their focus should be on the reconciliation of relationships. Lederach (1995), drawing on the work of others (e.g. Curle, 1991; Kriesberg, 1989; Ruppesinghe, 1994), refers to this endeavor as conflict transformation, in which social conflict is "a phenomenon of human creation, lodged naturally in relationships" (p. 17). Conflict transformation towards peacebuilding means that the fundamental substantive issues and procedural concerns are addressed and relationships are restructured. This model addresses all three components of conflict described earlier (substantive issues, behaviors and processes, relationships and psychological issues).

Conflict transformation includes both personal transformation in individuals and relationships and systemic change in the social system and structure in which relationships are embedded. The emphasis on the relational aspects of the conflict and goal of relationship building in the transformative approach distinguishes this approach from conflict management and resolution, which are viewed as attempts to control, regulate, and minimize potentially destructive consequences of conflict or to emphasize bridging positions without necessarily addressing underlying needs and concerns and restructuring

relationships. The emphasis on the relational aspects of conflict is similarly found in the reconciliation literature.

In summary, the literature on reconciliation and conflict transformation generally take a psychological and interpersonal approach to moving people towards healing and “restructured relationships.” The key factors identified include increased self- and other-awareness of past hurts, deeper vulnerabilities, and each group’s roles and responsibilities for escalating and perpetuating the conflict. It requires letting go of the past and developing a new, shared understanding of the past and future in order to deal with the present. Reconciliation requires a shift in one’s understanding of, feelings toward, and relationship to the other person/group, oneself/group, the conflict, and the world. This shift includes cognitive and affective components and is expressed behaviorally. Shift and reconciliation within and between individuals and groups in conflict is facilitated by the constructive interaction of individuals in conflict.

The reconciliation literature offers general theories and procedures for achieving shift and reconciliation. However, critical questions remain unanswered. For example, the authors above suggest that people need to gain a new awareness, perspective or worldview of the other, however they do not suggest precisely what leads people to gain a new awareness, perspective, or worldview, instead of maintaining their existing perceptions, perspectives, or worldviews. Several authors contend that acknowledging the suffering of others and accepting some responsibility for others’ suffering, is important, however, they do not explain what leads people to acknowledge the other in this way rather than minimizing, disregarding, and blaming the other as they did before. In addition, what leads people to be able to “let go” of the past when they haven’t been able to let go before? When and why would someone offer forgiveness when they couldn’t do so before? The authors summarized above offer only general suggestions and procedures to answer these

questions, but offer little in the way of explaining why these suggestions and procedures are effective. For example, Montville (1993) suggests having the parties engage in a joint “walk through history” that explores their mutual perceptions and interpretations of the past. He describes the procedure (e.g., each group draws a timeline with key events and meanings and then shares their timeline with the other) and outcomes (e.g., new understandings, views of the conflict and other), but does not fully explain why participants learn and change from the experience rather than resisting or integrating the experience to fit pre-existing attitudes and views. This dissertation attempts to more fully explain the factors that lead to shift and reconciliation.

The next section explores how shift can be facilitated based on research and practice in psychotherapy.

Psychotherapy and Shift

The field of psychotherapy offers another body of literature that illuminates shift at the individual, psychological level, and to a lesser extent at the interpersonal and intergroup levels. Psychotherapy also includes the situational level—the psychotherapeutic interaction between therapist and client. Further, the people and their problems exist within a larger context. While psychotherapy reflects several levels of analysis, the primary focus is the individual(s) coming to therapy. Based on a review of the therapy literature, d’Estrée, Beck and Colby (2003) identify three basic theoretical schools of thought that have sought to induce and measure shifts: behavioral, cognitive, and family systems. Following is a summary of their research.

Each of the three schools emphasizes “cognitive shifts” in clients’ perspectives of themselves, the other and their relationship and use cognitive approaches to induce such shifts. For example, the behaviorist school uses paraphrasing and reframing to help the

client become more accepting and tolerant of the other. The cognitive-behavioral school focuses on correcting five basic information processing errors that it assumes contribute to conflict and therefore need to shift: selective attention (focusing only on negative aspects of the other and their relationship), negative attributions and explanations of the other's behavior, negative expectancies and distorted assumptions about the other and their relationship, and unrealistic standards for how a relationship should be or how the other should behave. Baucom and Epstein (1991) designed specific interventions to modify cognitions in each of these five areas of conflict to correct and/or improve clients' perspectives. This approach and related techniques is most evident in the conflict resolution field that as noted earlier focuses largely on a cognitive information-processing model of conflict resolution.

D'Estrée, Beck and Colby (2003) also describe the family systems school which focuses on the "narrative stories" that evolve through social interaction and that define "reality" and subsequent decision-making and behavior within a given group. Different groups may have alternative narrative stories and definitions of reality that contribute to conflict. The goal of this therapeutic approach is to facilitate or promote change in specific stories or the relationship between stories, thus changing the parties' experience of the existing reality. Sluzki (1992) designed an intervention process and techniques which includes: framing the encounter and eliciting stories; eliciting new information or alternative views of the same events; further eliciting and validating alternative stories; and, finally, anchoring these new stories through post-session rituals or tasks designed to reconstitute and reconfirm the new descriptions. This approach is similar to Montville's "walk through history" in which the parties jointly analyze their representations of the past and develop a new integrated story. The shift in stories includes both cognitive changes (the storied representations of the other) and affective changes (how the other is evaluated). The family

systems approach also informs Cobb's (1993) "co-created narratives," Broome's (1993) development of a "third culture," and more recently, Winslade and Monk's (2000) narrative mediation approach that focuses on helping the conflict parties explore, better understand and change their views of the other and their conflict history towards a new narrative that helps heal their relationship.

In summary, the therapeutic approaches described by d'Estrée, Beck and Colby (2003) all explicitly or implicitly note changes in how the other is perceived and evaluated. However, the approaches described offer little advice on precisely why, how or when the shifts take place. At what point or why would individuals change their framing of the conflict and their perspectives of the other party, change their attributions of causality, or change their definition of reality, and so on? Further, similar to the conflict resolution literature, these schools emphasize cognitive factors for achieving the desired effects, while focusing relatively little attention on emotions and the affective dimensions of conflict resolution, except as a by-product of cognition and behavior.

A fourth approach to therapy not reviewed by d'Estrée, Beck and Colby is "emotion-focused therapy" (Johnson & Greenberg 1985, cited by Rubin, et al., 1994), which has been further developed by Greenberg, Rice and Elliott (1993) in their theory and practice of *experiential therapy*. This fourth approach emphasizes emotions to resolve conflicts and has been used primarily to resolve individual and marital conflicts. Unlike the more cognitive-oriented approaches described above, the emotion-focused approach has received little attention in the conflict resolution literature. Rubin et al. (1994) suggest this approach is especially appropriate for emotionally intense conflicts in which parties have emotions characterized by intense anger, resentment and frustration. Rubin et al. suggest that in this case, the third party intervenor (e.g., mediator, psychotherapist, counselor) must help each party identify his/her own and each other's emotions and deal with them

sympathetically and realistically rather than in a punitive fashion. As such, this approach requires more than just “venting,” the more common approach to emotions in the conflict resolution field. The emotion-focused approach seems particularly useful for dealing with protracted conflicts in which parties’ emotions tend to run high, thus, is of particular interest and relevance in this dissertation. I believe this approach offers a more comprehensive model of human functioning and change, including shift, than the approaches described above. Therefore, I will explain this approach in more detail.

Greenberg, Rice, and Elliott (1993), in the book, *Facilitating Emotional Change*, lay out their theory and practice of experiential therapy. Their experiential approach is rooted in the humanistic psychology field, specifically the “Client-Centered” approach of Rogers (1951, 1957, 1959), and the “Gestalt” approach of Perls, Hefferline, & Goodman (1951), and Perls (1969), as well as developments in cognitive science and emotion theory. Greenberg et al. offer a wholistic model of human functioning and change that acknowledges that human beings are thinking, feeling, and embodied beings. In research evaluating the impacts of experiential therapy, clients report the type of shift I am studying: more awareness of a feeling, experience or particular aspect of self or an other; new understandings of self and/or another, often experienced as an insight or “aha” about an experience or event; and, changes in clients’ cognitive and affective views of themselves and others (Elliott, James, Reimschuessel, Cislo, & Sack, 1985, cited by Greenberg et al. 1993).

From cognitive science, experiential therapy draws on the constructivist affective/cognitive perspective of human functioning in which modern views of attentional allocation, automatic processing, parallel modular functioning, and reconstructive memory have been developed.⁵ In addition, cognitive science developed a schematic processing view

⁵ For a summary of these concepts, see Greenberg et al. 1993.

of human functioning in which human beings are seen as organizing information into molar units (schemas) that guide processing. Schemas are viewed as complex information networks or mental models that operate out of awareness to guide perception memory and experience. However, humans are also capable of bringing this internal material into awareness, symbolizing, and using it as a basis for reflection, choice, and action. This latter process is the essence of experiential processing and personal change in the experiential therapy approach.

Greenberg et al. (1993) also draw on emotion theory, which contends, “emotion emerges as a function of appraisals of match/mismatch between situations and need, goals or concerns, and our appraisal of our ability to cope with the situation. Emotions are thus most strongly evoked when we are unable to meet our needs or when we succeed in doing so” (p. 68). These affect-laden responses to situations in which we do or do not meet our needs form the basis of our core self-related schemes. Greenberg et al. refer to these schemes as *emotion schemes*, defined as:

complex synthesizing structures that integrate cognition (in the form of appraisals, expectations, and beliefs) and motivation (in the form of needs, concerns, intentions, and goals) with affect (in the form of physiological arousal and sensory, bodily feeling) and action (in the form of expressive-motor responses and action tendencies). Together, these form complex internal models of self-in-the-world experience” (p. 5).

It is these self-in-the-world integrative cognitive/affective/motivational/relational action structures, or emotion schemes, that are the targets of their therapeutic work.

Greenberg et al. integrate cognitive science and emotion theory perspectives and offer a dialectical constructivist process theory (Pascual-Leone, 1976a, 1976b, 1976c, 1984, 1987, 1991) with which to understand dysfunction and the process of intervention and change. In this view, therapeutic exploration and change are primarily generated by a dialectical process of synthesizing different sources of experience, of what is often referred

to as thought (“head”) and emotion (“heart”), and a process of differentiation and integration of experience that leads to a dialectical construction of new meaning (p. 56). Thus, therapy needs to be viewed as a meaning-construction process involving *both* emotion and cognition. According to Greenberg et al., “clinical experience has demonstrated that intellectual knowledge about the self, although it has a certain appeal to clients, does not effect very deep or lasting change. Such knowledge does not affect behavior-determining emotion structures. Therefore, we argue that a person’s core self-relevant emotion schemes are the key to change” (63). Similarly, I hypothesize that focusing on new knowledge (understanding) in conflict situations is necessary but insufficient for bringing about shift, reconciliation and conflict transformation. Conflict parties also need to focus on their self-relevant emotion schemes to effect shift. Attending to emotions is key in this process.

The authors emphasize emotions over cognition as the key to problem solving and personal change because:

Although cognitive processes are of crucial importance in understanding human information processing and meaning construction, the emotions are crucial in understanding human action. Emotions arise in the course of human action, especially interpersonal interaction, and appear to provide biologically based solutions to human problems that cannot be managed by cognition alone (Oatley, 1992)” (Greenberg et al., 1993, p. 49).

Further, they argue that our core-related emotion schemes are the most influential in guiding automatic processing of personal meaning. “It is these emotion-based schematic structures that automatically integrate propositional, sensory, and proprioceptive information to produce an embodied ‘sense’ or ‘feeling’ of oneself in the world, as opposed to purely cognitive structures that produce only thoughts or ideas” (p. 5). Emotion schemes determine what is personally meaningful to us, and it is from our emotional reactions that we can tell what is important to us, how we are appraising our world and how we are coping with it. Therefore, the authors contend that the point of therapy is not to use reason or

evidence to change purely cognitive schemes. Rather, it is to change the complex cognitive, affective, motivation, and relational action components of emotion schemes to construct new emotion schemes and personal meaning. The basic assumption in their process-oriented treatment approach is that:

[B]arriers to current healthy functioning result from clients' problems in symbolizing their own experience and from the dysfunctional, emotion-laden schemes through which their experience is processed. Therefore, in our view, the process goal of therapy is to enable clients to access these dysfunctional schemes under therapeutic conditions that will facilitate relevant schematic change. The targets of therapy are the meaning-construction processes and the sets of emotion schemes that are relevant to the troubling issues and situations brought to therapy by each client. The goal of this approach is to instigate methods by which clients in therapy can access emotionally relevant schemes, can more adequately symbolize their experience, and can reprocess important experiences relevant to dysfunctional schemes. Emotional processing of this nature leads to the reorganization of the old schematic structures and the creation of new schemes (p. 12).

Greenberg et al. (1993) found that experiential activities are more successful than purely cognitive approaches in surfacing emotion schemes, making them felt-in-the-moment, and enabling them to be accessible to new information and change. The authors offer specific intervention techniques that utilize redeployment of attention and other affective/cognitive processes to facilitate change in emotion schemes. These techniques are based on the assumption that in order for emotional change to occur, "the meaning structures that generate emotional experience need to be activated in therapy so that they are currently governing experience. It is only then that they become accessible to new input and change" (p. 6). Thus, change in awareness is the key to altered action, and differential redeployment of attention is the key to change of awareness. I suggest that shift in small group conflict intervention is facilitated by similar experiential techniques and processes, which I discuss in the section on third-party intervention.

In summary, in contrast to those who focus on the negative aspects of emotions and believe we need to control emotions to prevent "passion overwhelming reason," Greenberg

et al. (1993) argue that emotions are organizing processes that enhance adaptation and problem solving. In fact, emotions are necessary for problem solving. Further, emotions drive motivation, attitudes, and the impulse to act. Therefore, they cannot be ignored. Greenberg et al. offer a dialectical, constructivist process model of therapy which integrates cognitive, affective, motivation and relational action components (emotion schemes) into a more wholistic model of human functioning than previous psychotherapeutic models which focus primarily on cognitive factors and approaches to therapy. It is through attending to our emotions that we bring our emotion schemes to a conscious level. Then we can use cognitive and affective processes to aid us in understanding our reactions to others and situations, identifying our needs and goals, and developing new perspectives based on our exploration of our emotion schemes and new information, thereby reconstructing our emotion schemes.

Several elements of the experiential therapy theory and approach share similarities with the reconciliation literature, namely the emphasis on self-awareness, jointly exploring the past and our reactions to the past to understand the present, and focusing on our needs and goals to provide a vision for the future and the motivation to strive for that desired future. While the authors focus on psychotherapy with individuals and their view of self-in-the-world, the theory and model of experiential therapy may be useful for understanding shift within interpersonal/intergroup intervention processes.

This hypothesis is further supported by research and clinical experience in psychology and neuropsychology that indicate that emotions are necessary for thinking, decision-making and problem-solving. A brief review of this research follows.

The Role of Emotions in Problem Solving

Research indicates that emotions have unique motivational and adaptive functions

that are generally helpful and positive for people's survival and social functioning (Izard, 1991, Greenberg et al, 1993). While scholars disagree on the number of emotions (e.g., Sites, 1990, contends there are over 400 different emotions), there is agreement that there are both "primary" and "secondary" emotions (e.g., Sites, 1990; Izard, 1991; Damasio, 1994). According to Greenberg et al. (1993), the primary emotions are interest/surprise, fear, anger, sadness, and happiness. Neuropsychologist Damasio (1994) contends the primary emotions are happiness, sadness, anger, fear, and disgust. Damasio further contends that primary emotions depend on the limbic system circuitry and that the secondary emotions form "once we begin experiencing feelings [the conscious awareness of our emotions; the realization of the nexus between the stimulus and emotional body state] and forming *systematic connections between categories of objects and situations, on the one hand, and primary emotions, on the other*" (p. 134). These *category-emotion structures* are similar to Greenberg et al.'s (1993) description of emotion schemes. Damasio's research suggests that to change a party's emotions toward the "other" and the conflict situation requires forming new systematic connections between categories (the other, the situation) and emotions.

Izard (1991) refers to emotions as the primary motivational system for human beings and describes motives as a *thought-feeling bond* or *affective-cognitive structure*. He argues there are as many kinds of motives as there are possible combinations of feelings and thoughts. Similar to Damasio's conceptualization of category-emotion structures, these affective-cognitive structures emerge when an emotion becomes linked to a mental image, symbol, or thought. These affective-cognitive structures lead to values, goals and ideals. To change or shift the affective-cognitive structure, one has to change the link between existing emotions and mental images, symbols and thoughts and create new links. Contrary to the conflict resolution field's emphasis on cognition to achieve such changes, Izard (similar to

Greenberg et al. 1993) stresses the importance of emotions in this process. The emotional component provides the motivation to adapt and change. Emotions help determine what we value: “We value things about which we have feelings, and the stronger those feelings, the stronger the values” (p. 127). Planning, decision making and behavior are also determined primarily by emotions: “You might believe that ideas are what count—that you just think of what it is you want to do, make a plan, set your goals, and go for it. But a plan or a goal is merely a set of cold and empty words if there is no emotion invested in it. If you have a goal but have no feelings about it, how likely are you to strive for it?” (pp. 15-16). Emotions help determine what we value, which in turn helps us establish goals and have the motivation to strive for those goals.

Similar to Izard (1991), Damasio (1994) claims that while emotions can at times inhibit effective thinking and decision making, emotions are also necessary for decision-making, problem solving, and human survival. Based on his research on individuals with brain damage in the cerebral cortex, Damasio concluded that there is a relationship between the inability for decision-making and flat emotion and feeling. In all the patients he encountered with certain prefrontal damage, he found this combination of effects: “The powers of reason and the experience of emotion decline together, and their impairment stands out in a neuropsychological profile within which basic attention, memory, intelligence, and language appear so intact that they could never be invoked to explain the patients’ failures in judgment” (p. 54). Contrary to the notion that the problem is “passion overwhelming reason,” reason is in fact dependent on emotion, and emotions are essential to learning, rational thinking and decision making. Observes Damasio: “We can’t decide whom we’re going to marry, what savings strategy to adopt, where to live, on the basis of reason alone” (cited by Lemonick, 1995). Emotions help us make decisions by telling us what we value and need. Emotions are increasingly recognized for the constructive role they

play in human experience (Cacioppo & Gardner, 1999).

Sites (1990) connects emotions to human needs theory by arguing that human needs are analogous to emotions and create an *emotion-need structure*: the emotion of fear is related to the need for security, anger is related to the need for meaning (predictable order), depression is related to the need for self-esteem, satisfaction (happiness, joy) is related to the need for latency (as opposed to stress), and boredom is related to a need for stimulation. He concludes that: "People are driven by emotions which are tied to needs. Because of this, appeals to reason are not likely to be effective" (p. 27).

In summary, emotions motivate, organize, and guide perception, thought and action. Emotions are linked to our values, human needs (including identity needs), goals and what is meaningful to us. Further, attending to our emotions is the key to uncovering and understanding our (and the other's) needs, values, goals and behavior. Therefore, attending to emotions is a critical component of reconciliation and conflict resolution.

Izard, Damasio, and Sites all agree that affect and cognition are intertwined. Each provides compelling arguments and evidence of the importance of emotions and affective processes in the formation of our cognitions and their importance in guiding behavior. They further suggest that problem solving and decision-making are dependent on the affective-cognitive structures, category-emotion structures, or emotion-need structures that each describes respectively. However, none of these authors provide a description or explanation of how to change, or shift, these structures, which may be necessary to achieve reconciliation and resolution. The question then becomes, when, why, how and under what conditions do such changes and shifts occur, and what is the role of cognitive and affective processes in shift? The previous section on Greenberg et al.'s experiential therapy combines the structures Izard, Damasio and Sites discuss and refer to them as emotion schemes. They also offer a process approach for effecting change in these emotion

schemes within a therapeutic setting which I contend may be applicable to conflict resolution. The next section discusses some research on the role of cognitive and affective factors in conflict resolution.

Affective and Cognitive Factors in Conflict Resolution

This section reviews the conflict resolution literature that focuses on affective and cognitive factors and the interplay between these factors. While the conflict resolution literature privileges cognition over affect, Zajonc (1980, 1984), based on a review of considerable evidence, asserted the primacy of affect in many situations. Subsequent research on the interplay of cognition and affect supports this prediction (e.g., Edwards & von Hippel, 1995; Granberg & Brown, 1989).

Druckman and Broome (1991) present several studies that help explain the interplay between cognition and affect in intergroup relations. Experimental research on intergroup contact shows that increased information about another culture leads to more positive attitudes toward that culture (Ben-Ari & Amir, 1988). Stephan and Stephan (1984) found that providing information on similarities and/or differences between conflicting groups tends to reduce prejudice and stereotyping. However, theories on cognitive dissonance suggest that new information that does not fit with existing attitudes is often ignored or rejected (cf. Mitchell, 1981 for a review). Bennett (1986) suggests that information alone about another culture may be insufficient to develop positive attitudes toward the other depending upon the level of ethnocentricity of the learner.

A few experiments on bargaining behavior show that yielding to an opponent's demands is facilitated by liking or perceived similarity although unexpected tough behavior from a "like" or "similar" opponent could result in deadlocks because of disappointed expectations (Brandstatter, Kette, & Sageder, 1983; Druckman & Bonoma, 1976, reviewed

in Druckman & Broome, 1991). Experimental studies of intergroup perceptions suggest that expectations of liking lead to more positive attitudes towards the other and stronger attempts to seek understanding (Broome, 1983).

Druckman and Broome (1991) further explored the interplay between cognition and affect through experimental studies on the effect of familiarity/understanding and liking on negotiation behavior. They found that high liking and high familiarity facilitated positive outcomes and processes. Reducing either liking or familiarity served to reduce negotiators' willingness to reach compromise agreements. Their experiment tested this hypothesis by assigning participants to a specific experimental condition based on degrees of liking and familiarity. In other words, the participants were *told* whether they understood and/or liked their negotiation partner. Aside from the effectiveness of this methodology, the question of how to create this positive understanding and liking (two aspects of shift) remains?⁶ In addition, emotions other than liking may also have significant positive effects on conflict resolution that have received little attention in the literature.

This study tests how affective and cognitive factors facilitate shift—including authentic positive understanding and liking—in Phase 3 of the experimental design (Chapter 6).

Attitudes and Attitude Change

Attitudes and attitude change is central to shift. Few topics are as well researched in the social psychology literature. Allport (1935, p. 798) wrote that attitude "is the most

⁶ Further, the cognitive and affective aspects of the experimental conditions were not necessarily stable affective-cognitive structures at the beginning of the negotiation because they were artificially induced. What happens when negotiating partners come to the table with stable negative affective-cognitive structures, as is often the case in protracted conflicts characterized by deep fear, anger and hostility? How can intervenors create positive familiarity and liking prior to negotiation? These questions warrant further research.

distinctive and indispensable concept in contemporary social psychology." Given the volumes written on the subject, this literature review is relatively brief and focuses on those aspects of the literature most relevant to the present research.

The Concept of Attitudes

Most attitude theorists see attitudes as hypothetical constructs that intervene between stimuli and responses. According to Petty (1995), "attitudes refer to very general evaluations that people hold of themselves, other people, objects, and issues" (p. 196). Different theorists have different views about the definition and structure (components) of attitudes. Three models of attitudes include the: multidimensional model (Rosenberg & Hovland, 1960), unidimensional and expectancy-value model (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975), and attitude accessibility model (Fazio, 1990). The three models differ in their definition of attitude (one or more components), the relationship between affect, cognition and behavior (reciprocal relationship versus linear relationship between affect, cognition and behavior), and in their emphasis on attitudes as responses to stimuli versus the prediction of behavior. The distinctions between the models have implications for understanding how attitudes change.

Multidimensional Models

Rosenberg and Hovland (1960, p. 3) views attitudes as: "predispositions to respond to some class of stimuli with certain classes of response." The multidimensional models contend that "attitudes involve what people *think* about, *feel* about, and how they would *like* to behave toward an attitude object" (Triandis, p. 14). Similarly, Triandis (1971) suggests: "An attitude is an idea charged with emotion which predisposes a class of actions to a particular class of social situations" (p. 2). Three classes of response are specified in

multidimensional models:

- **affective:** the emotion that charges the idea (e.g., positive or negative feelings toward the category).
- **cognitive:** information and thoughts about the object; generally some category used by humans in thinking
- **behavioral:** intentions, tendencies, or predispositions to act toward the object

Zimbardo and Leippe (1991) describe a five-part attitude system. This system includes the affective, cognitive and behavioral intentions toward the object, as well as the actual behavior itself. Finally, the attitude is the overall summary of the four components. While these authors include actual behavior in the system, most attitude researchers treat actual behavior separately.

Multidimensional models assume an interrelated and reciprocal relationship between the components of attitudes (Rosenberg & Hovland, 1960; Triandis, 1971; Zimbardo & Leippe, 1991). Generally, but not always, the components of attitudes are consistent (Triandis, 1971). Attitude change can occur by changing any one of the components of attitudes.

Unidimensional Models

Unidimensional models suggest the three components defined in the multidimensional model are related but distinct and emphasize one component as being most important or as constituting attitude. Fishbein and Ajzen's (1975) and Petty and Cacioppo (1981) use the term attitude to refer to the affective component. Fishbein and Ajzen's (1975) expectancy-value model proposes what the relationships are between the affective, cognitive and behavioral components. The cognitive components determine the

affective attitude (feelings about an object), which determine the behavioral intentions toward the object. Attitude change occurs through changing the cognitive component.

Pratkanis and Greenwald (1989) propose a sociocognitive model of attitude structure and function that argues that attitudes have a cognitive representation (as opposed to a tripartite structure), and that attitudes serve to relate a person to the social world and serve a social function.

Attitude Accessibility Model

Process models of attitude distinguish between cognition and affect but stress that attitudes are cognitive structures—an association in memory between the attitude object and evaluation of the object. The most researched process model is Fazio's (1990) attitude accessibility model, which conceptualizes attitudes in terms of attitude direction (positive or negative evaluation), attitude intensity or extremity (the degree to which they are positive or negative) and attitude strength (the degree to which an attitude is accessible in memory). The primary contribution of this model is the idea of attitude strength. Attitude accessibility is a better determinant of attitude consistency over time than attitude direction and intensity, and seems to determine how well attitudes guide behavior (Fazio & Williams, 1986). Attitude change occurs through changing cognition.

As in the social psychology literature, there are differences in the conflict literature on the concept of attitudes, which makes it more difficult to identify what constitutes attitude change and the process of attitude change in conflicts. For example, Mitchell (1981) has a three-part model of conflict: situation, attitudes and behavior. The conflict situation is defined as goal incompatibility and focuses on the issues in contention. He defines *conflict attitudes* as: "Common patterns of expectation, emotional orientation, and perception which

accompany involvement in a conflict situation" (p. 28). This definition of attitudes combines the affective and cognitive components of attitudes. Mitchell's model does not include the behavioral intention component, but it does include actual behavior. Conflict behavior is defined as *"Actions undertaken by one party in any situation of conflict aimed at the opposing party with the intention of making that opponent abandon or modify its goals"* (p. 29). In contrast, Rubin et al. (1994) define attitude as "a positive or negative feeling toward some person or object" and distinguish attitude from perception, which they define as "a belief about, or way of viewing, some person or object" (p. 84).

Whether attitudes are best viewed as three components or one or two remains unclear. The conceptual lack of clarity about attitudes makes this concept challenging to deal with and utilize. This research adopts the multidimensional model of attitudes because all attitude theorists agree that behavior is influenced by affective evaluations, cognitive ideas, thoughts, beliefs and behavioral intentions. However, all factors previously found useful for understanding attitudes are considered in the analysis of results.

Attitudes and Behavior

This section summarizes research on the relationship between attitudes and behavior. Early research found no link or a very weak link between attitudes and behavior (Abelson, 1972; Wicker, 1969). Later research found that attitudes might lead to behavior under certain conditions (Beale & Manstead, 1991; Parker et al, 1996, cited in Manstead, 1996), while other research shows that behavior can lead to attitudes (Triandis, 1971; Zimbardo & Leippe, 1991). Much of the difficulty in assessing the research on the attitude-behavior link stems from the varying conceptualizations of the definition, structure and function of attitudes (Pratkanis & Greenwald, 1989).

The weak findings by Wicker (1969) for an attitude-behavior link led Fishbein and

Ajzen (1975) to propose three conditions under which attitudes would predict behavior: (1) when global attitudes are used to predict aggregates of behavior; (2) when specific attitudes are used to predict specific behaviors; and (3) when social norms and intentions are distinguished. When the attitudinal and behavioral measures were compatible (e.g., global attitudes correlated with aggregates of behaviors), there were significant correlations between attitudes and behaviors, and when the measures were not compatible, the correlations were typically nonsignificant (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1977).

Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) developed a *theory of reasoned action* (TRA) to better explain the attitude-behavior link. Ajzen (1985, 1988, 1991) later revised the TRA and developed a new model, the *theory of planned behavior*. The TRA considers three factors as important in the prediction of behavior: attitude (evaluation) towards the behavior (predicted by beliefs about the behavior and values associated with those beliefs); the subjective norm regarding the behavior (e.g., beliefs of others and motivation to comply with others); and, intention regarding the behavior (the immediate determinant of behavior). Two meta-analyses showed significant correlations between attitude and subjective norms, on the one hand, and behavioral intentions on the other, and for behavioral intentions and actual behavior (Sheppard et al., 1988; Van den Putte, 1993, cited in Manstead, 1996).

The theory of planned behavior (TPB) added a new construct, “perceived behavioral control” (the individual’s perception of how easy or difficult it is to perform the behavior) to predict behavior. Research found that behavior could be predicted from attitudes in situations where subjects perceive high behavioral control, but that behavior was less predictable from attitudes in situations where subjects perceive low behavioral control (e.g., Ajzen 1991; Godin & Kok, 1997; Madden, Ellen & Ajzen; 1992, cited in Manstead, 1996).

Other researchers have found additional variables not included in the TRA and TPB models that mediate between attitudes and behavior and predict behavior, including: past

behaviors and habits (Bentler & Speckart, 1979), feelings of moral obligation (Spencer & Budd, 1984), the salience of an attitude object (Granberg, 1985), other's behavior (e.g., parents, peers) (Grube et al, 1986), expectations of likely behavior (Sheppard et al., 1988), and identity (Sparks & Shepherd, 1992). Situational and personal constraints may decrease attitude-behavior consistency (see Pratkanis & Greenwald, 1989). Manstead (1996) reviewed empirical studies that show that the emotions we expect to feel after we have engaged in a behavior (see Richard, van der Pligt, & de Vries, 1995) or the emotions we expect to feel while performing a behavior (Manstead & Parker, 1995) also influence behavior.

Research using the accessibility model found that attitudes that are formed on the basis of direct behavioral experience with an object are stronger and more predictive of future behavior towards that object than are attitudes that are based on indirect experience (see Fazio & Zanna, 1981, for a review; Fazio & Williams, 1986).

In summary, behavior is determined by many factors. Attitudes may exert a direct influence on behaviors or work in tandem with other variables. Given the continued importance of attitudes in influencing behaviors, attitudes continue to be important for understanding conflicts and conflict resolution.

Attitude Formation and Change

The attitude literature includes several theories for how attitudes form and change. These theories differ in their emphasis on affective, cognitive and behavioral sources of attitude formation and change.

The most prevalent theory of attitude formation, until recently, is that beliefs are the primary or most important determinant of attitudes (with attitudes defined as the affective component) (Edwards & von Hippel, 1995). This was especially common in social

judgment (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Smith & Clark, 1973) and expectancy-value models (C.W. Sherif, Sherif, & Nebergall, 1965; M. Sherif & Hovland, 1961; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). However, research also indicates that attitudes can be developed without the use of beliefs and conscious cognition through mere exposure to a stimulus (Bornstein, Leone, & Galey, 1987; Kunst-Wilson & Zajonc, 1980; Seamon, Brody, & Kauff, 1983; Zajonc, 1968, 1980, 1984) and through operant and classical conditioning (Hildum & Brown, 1956; Insko, 1965; Krosnick, Betz, Jussim, & Lynn, 1992; Lott, 1955; Razran, 1940; Zanna, Kiesler, & Pilkonis, 1970; cited in Edwards & von Hippel, 1995).

More recently, attitude researchers accept that attitudes can be based on affective (feelings, values), cognitive (beliefs), or behavioral information (inferred from people's behavior—self-perception processes), either separately or in combination (see Breckler, 1984; Petty & Cacioppo, 1986; Zajonc & Markus, 1982; Zanna & Rempel, 1988; cited in Edwards & von Hippel, 1995).

There have been relatively few empirical attempts to examine the difference between attitudes whose determinants are primarily affective and those whose determinants are primarily cognitive. Edwards and von Hippel (1995) suggest this may be, in part, due to the dominance of cognitive models in social psychology (e.g., Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Markus & Zajonc, 1985; Ostrom, 1984). The dominance of cognitive models in social psychology is parallel to the dominance of cognitive models in the conflict resolution literature.

Research on distinguishing between affect- and cognition-based attitudes suggests a theoretical framework in which attitudes vary along a continuum according to the relative contribution of affective and cognitive processes to their formation. Attitudes are composed of both affect and cognition, though frequently to varying degrees. Some attitudes may be “more affective” based while other attitudes may be “more cognitive” based in their formation (Edwards, 1990; Edwards & von Hippel, 1995; Millar & Millar, 1990; Millar &

Tesser, 1986; Wilson et al., 1989; Zimbardo & Leippe, 1991).

Figure 2 is a schematic depiction of the continuum of attitudes reflecting the relative contributions of affective and cognitive processes to attitude formation (Edwards & von Hippel, 1995). There is not a clear division or separation between these two process (as expressed by dashed rather than solid lines). Cognition and affect are dynamically intertwined and research shows that cognitive and affective processes unavoidably influence each other (e.g., Bower, 1983; Isen, 1984). However, one process may be dominant in the formation of an attitude.

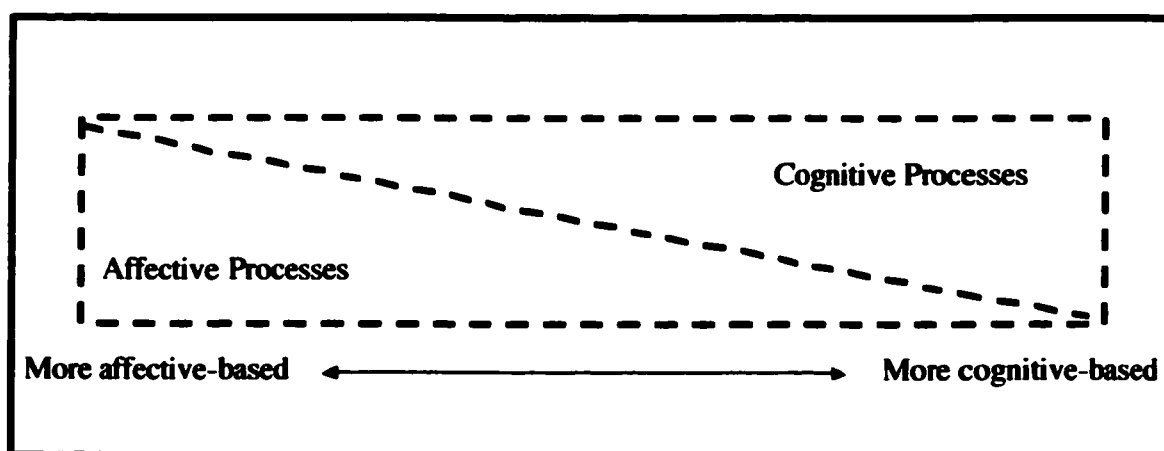


Figure 2: Affective and Cognitive Processes in Attitude Formation

In summary, attitudes may be based on cognition, affect and behavior to varying degrees. The psychological literature shows that attitudes can also change through these three primary processes (Zimbardo & Lieppe, 1991). First, cognitive change can lead to affective and behavioral change. For example, most of the persuasion literature and conflict resolution literature focuses on changing beliefs about the object or target person/group to change overall attitudes and influence behavior. Most current psychological theories of

persuasion have been developed to account for attitude change in response to rational appeals (Roselli et al., 1995). Second, behavioral change can lead to affective and cognitive change. For example, Festinger's (1957) cognitive dissonance theory predicts that dissonance reduction may lead to attitude change by bringing attitudes into line with behavior. Third, affective change can lead to cognitive change and behavioral change. Research on this last approach often focuses on the impact of negative or positive moods on persuasion and attitude change. Other research shows that appeals to people's emotions and affective processes are effective for changing attitudes. Much of the advertising field focuses on appeals to emotions to persuade consumers to purchase their products (Batra & Ray, 1986; Edell & Burke, 1987).

Granberg and Brown (1989) found that affect exerts a stronger effect on voting preferences than cognition, however, without the relevant cognitions supporting voting preferences, affect was found to be relatively unstable and less predictive of behavior. These results support earlier findings on attitude change (e.g., Norman 1975; Rosenberg 1968) that indicate that affect is more stable when it is consistent with accompanying cognitions. Thus, attitudes that are based on stable affect and cognitions may be more predictive of behavior than attitudes based on unstable or transient affect and cognitions. These findings suggest a need for both cognitive and affective change in order to effect behavioral change.

A brief review of persuasion literature shows that attitudes can change through varying the different elements of a persuasive message, including the content, messenger (personal characteristics), channel of communication, type of appeal (cognitive, emotional), how people mentally process persuasion appeals (heuristically, critical thinking), and changing the perceived meaning of the object or target person.

Research on persuasive communications found that effective ads use a combination of techniques including, mere exposure, classical conditioning, and arguments for or against

an attitude object to develop or change people's attitudes. Early research on persuasion focused on the cognitive processes involved in attitude change. The persuasive impact of a message is a function of attention, comprehension, yielding, retention and action (Hovland, 1953; McGuire, 1985).

The Yale communications group focused on "who says what to whom and with what effect" and proposed the following factors as central to changing attitude: the source (e.g., expert, attractive), message variables (e.g., number of arguments, argument strength), channel of communication, audience effects, and long versus short-term impact (reviewed by Petty & Cacioppo, 1986). For example, experts are more persuasive than non-experts. Two-sided messages (pro and con) are often more effective than one-sided messages with audiences that hold contrary attitudes. Messages that provoke strong emotions, especially fear, in the audience can be effective if they provide clear information about what behavior can prevent negative consequences.

Petty and Cacioppo's (1986) elaboration likelihood model of persuasion (ELM) focuses on why and how persuasion functions and proposes the acceptance of a message and attitude change can be achieved by two routes – the peripheral and central routes to persuasion. Central routes to persuasion are based on the content of the message, when people think critically about a message and are persuaded by the strength and quality of its arguments. Acceptance depends on the favorability of thoughts and the extent of elaboration. Peripheral routes to persuasion are based upon heuristically processing a message rather than focusing on the message content. Heuristic processes, or peripheral cues, are used such as expertise or attractiveness of the communicator and length of the message. The peripheral route tends to use appeals to emotion providing cues that stimulate message acceptance without much critical thinking about the message. These factors are peripheral to the actual message itself, but have been found to influence message acceptance.

Individuals with high personal ability (e.g., intelligence, access, receptive, attention) and motivation (e.g., high/low involvement) tend to use the central route and individuals with low ability and motivation tend to use the peripheral route.

The process of motivated reasoning is assumed to maintain and change attitudes in order to hold attitudes congruent with relevant information (Chaiken, Liberman, & Eagly, 1989; Petty & Cacioppo, 1986). Other research has shown that matching the content of a persuasive message to the functional basis of people's attitudes enhances message scrutiny, and therefore, increases persuasion and attitude change (see Petty & Wegener, 1998).

Asch (1940, cited in Wood, 2000) argued the primary process in influence or persuasion is not via a change in attitudes toward an object, but rather via changes in the definition and meanings of the object. When meaning changes, attitude changes. Bosveld et al. (1997, cited in Wood, 2000) found that people are more favorable toward "affirmative action" when others claim that it refers to equal opportunity rather than, for example, reverse discrimination. Issue "reframing" is a common approach in conflict resolution to change the way conflict parties construe the conflict situation and other.

Similar to the distinction between affect-based and cognitive-based attitudes, messages for attitude change can be described as utilizing a primarily cognitive appeal or affective and emotional appeal. Most of the above theories emphasize cognitive appeals. A persuasive message might be considered an affective approach or emotional appeal if it elicited affective rather than cognitive responses (Roselli et al., 1995). Edwards and von Hippel (1995) used objective stimulus features to distinguish between affective-based and cognitive-based persuasion appeals: "In principle, it is possible to identify a priori certain stimuli that are more emotionally charged and others that are more cerebral in nature" (p. 1009). For example, highly argumentative and accusatory statements or emotion-laden personal stories might be considered predominantly affective in nature, whereas statistical

data would be primarily cognitive. They distinguished between affective and cognitive appeals by examining the types of *responses*, emotional or non-emotional, which are elicited by the stimuli.

Some research suggests that selecting the most effective approach to changing attitudes is related to first identifying the predominant basis of the attitude. In two separate experiments on the relative contribution of affective and cognitive processes to attitude formation and change regarding inanimate objects, Edwards (1990) found that affect-based attitudes were more susceptible to change by affective than cognitive means of influence. By contrast, cognition-based attitudes were equally susceptible to affective and cognitive means of influence. Following on Edward's earlier research, Edwards and von Hippel (1995) conducted two experiments on the affective versus cognitive factors in person perception. They found that affect-based attitudes toward people were more significantly changed by affective persuasive appeals than by cognitive persuasive appeals, and cognition-based attitudes were equally changed by affective and cognitive persuasion appeals. Further, affect-based attitudes also tended to be expressed with greater confidence than cognition-based attitudes.

In contrast to Edwards (1990) and Edwards and von Hippel (1995), research by Millar and Millar (1990) shows that mismatching the basis of an attitude with the type of persuasion is more effective than matching. The discrepant findings are explained by Petty and Wegener (1998) as resulting from the strength of the arguments used in each author's experiments. They concluded that the strong arguments used in the experiments by Edwards (1990) increased message scrutiny, hence attitude change, in contrast to the weak arguments used in the research by Millar and Millar (1990). Thus, if persuasion arguments are strong and compelling, matching is more effective than mismatching. This matching principle was similar to Petty and Wegener's (1998) finding that matching message content

to the functional basis of people's attitudes increases persuasion and attitude change.

In summary, the psychological and persuasion literature shows that attitudes can be based on cognition, affect or behavior to varying degrees. Similarly, attitude change can occur through primarily affective, cognitive or behavioral processes. Different characteristics related to a persuasion appeal also influences the impact on attitude change. Recent research suggests that approaches to attitude change (cognitive, affective) should match the basis of the target attitude (e.g., use affect-based approaches to change affect-based attitudes). However, attitude change may be more stable and more predictive of behavior if both affect and cognition are changed and affective and cognitive appeals are utilized.

Attitude Formation and Change in the Conflict Literature

The dominant school of thought in the field of conflict resolution has been that conflicts arise "from a realistic pursuit of goals, no matter how oddly these goals appear to be selected" (Mitchell, 1981). Conflict related attitudes are generally seen as the by-product of conflict and conflict escalation (due to goal incompatibility, frustrated needs, and other "substantive issues"), not the cause of conflict, although negative attitudes can prolong and exacerbate conflicts. This reflects an *instrumental* approach to the sources of conflict (Mitchell, 1981). In contrast, the *expressive* view of the sources of human conflict argues that the root causes of conflict lie in the emotional states of fear, hostility, anger or aggression (Mitchell, 1981). Regardless of whether conflict attitudes cause or result from conflict issues, negative attitudes certainly inhibit conflict resolution.

Drawing from consistency theories, Mitchell (1981) describes certain psychological processes that maintain consistent (negative) conflict attitudes, such as selective attention, recall and perception and how these psychological processes inhibit conflict resolution. Rubin et al. (1994) describe attitudinal and perceptual changes during conflict escalation

and how negative attitudes and perceptions inhibit conflict resolution. They suggest that during conflict escalation, especially in violent conflicts, the parties undergo *structural changes*, including in their attitudes toward and perceptions of the other. The party comes to see the other as: deficient in moral virtue—dishonest, unfriendly, or warlike; different in values—selfish, inhumane (Struch & Schwartz, 1989); distrusted; hostile to party's welfare, and sometimes an enemy, or as the "evil-ruler enemy image" (White, 1984). Rubin et al. (1994) identify seven ways in which negative attitudes and perceptions develop that encourage escalation and discourage conflict resolution: (1) makes it easier to blame other for party's unpleasant experiences which in turn leads to escalatory tactics (Sillars, 1981; Syna, 1984); (2) leads to distrust of the other and their ambiguous actions are seen as threatening rather than given the benefit of doubt (Pruitt, 1965); (3) diminishes inhibitions against retaliation; (4) interferes with communication by leading to avoidance behavior; (5) reduces empathy with other who is perceived as so different from party (White, 1984) and perceived as having evil motives; (6) fosters zero-sum thinking, which tends to lead to win/lose problem-solving approaches; and (7) when negative perceptions grow really severe, other comes to be viewed as a *diabolical enemy* who is evil incarnate (White, 1984).

Conflict theorists provide good analyses of the role of attitudes and perceptions in conflict escalation and maintenance (e.g., Fisher, 1990; Mitchell, 1981; Rubin et al., 1994). However, there is much less research on how to change attitudes and perceptions in a positive direction towards conflict de-escalation or resolution. Notable exceptions include research on the outcomes of dialogues, problem solving workshops and other third party interventions that have found these processes improve attitudes, as well as contribute to improved behaviors and the resolution of substantive issues (e.g., see Fisher, 1997 for a review). However, this body of research focuses primarily on the third party processes (the situational dimension) and much less on the actual interactions among participants

(transactional dimension) and the specific reasons why their attitudes improved (individual dimension).

The research on attitude formation and change in other fields offers additional insights on how to improve attitudes between conflict parties and may have important implications for conflict resolution process design. One particularly interesting research finding that may be relevant to conflict resolution is the finding by Edward and von Hippel (1995) that suggest matching the approach to attitude change to the type of attitude one is trying to change. This approach may expand upon the existing literature on contingency approaches to conflict resolution (e.g., Fisher & Keashly, 1990). When conflict attitudes are primarily affective-based, then affective approaches may be most effective. When conflict attitudes are primarily cognitive-based, cognitive and affective approaches may be equally effective. This line of inquiry may be especially useful for determining appropriate intervention strategies. No research has focused on these issues in the conflict literature.

Can conflict attitudes, especially in protracted, deep-rooted conflicts, be distinguished as more affect-based versus cognitive-based? Pruitt and Rubin's (1986) "structural change model" and their characterization of the psychological changes that take place as a result of violent conflict escalation include both affective and cognitive processes, although they seem to emphasize emotions and feelings—anger, hostility, fear, lack of empathy, and so on. Their structural change model suggests that conflicts may become more affective-based as they escalate.

Pruitt and Rubin (1986) imply that as conflicts escalate, the causes of the conflicts change from instrumental (goal incompatibility) to expressive causes (fear, hostility, anger, aggression). It is no longer the substantive issues that predominate, but the psychological issues. This may help explain why these conflicts are so difficult to resolve through traditional conflict resolution approaches that focus on the instrumental causes.

Expressive causes of conflict appear to be primarily affective in nature. If in fact, violent, protracted, deep-rooted conflicts are primarily affective-based, then the research by Edwards and von Hippel (1995) suggests that affect-based approaches to attitude change would be more effective for inducing positive attitude change in these conflicts than cognitive-based approaches. This hypothesis is also supported by research on cognitive dissonance and cognitive consistency. Cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957), and similarly, Osgood's concepts of congruence and incongruence and Heider's theory of cognitive balance, maintain that people strive towards cognitive consistency when processing information contrary to their existing attitudes and beliefs. Common processes for developing cognitive consistency include ignoring information or rejecting information about the environment (in this case the conflict situation, opponents, and oneself or one's group), which does not fit in with existing attitudes and beliefs (Mitchell, 1981). These theories suggest that cognitive persuasion would be ineffective due to people's tendency to maintain cognitive consistency through various cognitive mechanisms. Thus, affective persuasion may be more effective in breaking through the cognitive barriers, especially in conflicts where the basis of conflict attitudes are driven more by affective-based than cognitive-based attitudes. Phase 3 of the research tests this hypothesis.

The Situational Dimension: Small Group Interventions

The situational dimension refers to the specific intervention in which conflict parties participate and which helps elicit shifts. This section focuses on the situational factors that facilitate shift, including the characteristics and conditions of interventions, and third party roles and functions and the specific types of procedures, tactics and activities that participants in interventions may engage in at their own or the third party's initiative.

The conflict resolution literature has a growing body of research on the theory and

practice of particular intervention methodologies. For example, the “contingency theory” literature seeks to match the type of intervention to certain characteristics of the conflict (e.g., Fisher & Keashly, 1991; Potapchuk & Carlson, 1987; Sheppard, 1984). The contingency approach hypothesizes that at certain stages or in certain situations, particular conflict resolution strategies, actions and roles are more effective in positively influencing the conflict process. As noted earlier, some authors suggest that intervention efforts designed to improve relationships need to come before efforts to settle interests. This dissertation research contributes empirical evidence to the growing literature on contingency models of intervention. This discussion is based on two types of interventions which seem well-suited to improving relationships: the *Network for Life and Choice* model of pro-choice/pro-life common ground dialogue workshops, and the consultation model (problem-solving workshops) as described by Fisher (1990, 1997).

Conditions Which Facilitate Shift

Generally, dialogue groups and problem-solving workshops seek to improve conflict attitudes, improve relationships, and explore possibilities for resolution (Fisher, 1990). Dialogue groups may or may not seek to resolve the conflict, but at minimum, they pave the way for moving towards a problem-solving orientation. Further, dialogue groups may come together over issues which they cannot resolve (e.g., the abortion conflict), but around which they may discover common ground areas or related issues on which they can work together (e.g., reducing unwanted pregnancies). Improving attitudes and relationships towards developing a joint problem-solving orientation is central to shift.

Most dialogue groups and problem-solving workshops include a relatively small group of people who engage in face-to-face interaction facilitated by an impartial third-party(ies) in a neutral location. The purpose of having small groups and face-to-face

interaction is to enable close and personal contact based on the *contact hypothesis* which assumes that contact will improve interpersonal and intergroup relations by increasing understanding and liking (Sherif & Sherif, 1953). The small, informal nature of the group should create a climate conducive to positive attitude and behavioral change (Fisher, 1990). Support for face-to-face interaction is also offered by Heise (1979, cited by Ridgeway, 1994), founder of *affect control theory*, who suggests that through contact, people can form “in context” appraisals and evaluations of others (sentiments or affect) which can change the culturally derived “out of context” sentiments people form about others. For example, an Israeli can form sentiments about Palestinians without ever having met one. While fundamental sentiments (also similar to emotion schemes) tend to be stable, they can be changed through interaction with others. When people interact with others, they form “in context” impressions of themselves, the others, the setting, and the events that are occurring which gives rise to new “transient sentiments.” These transient sentiments can become more stable, fundamental sentiments when through interaction with others, people are confronted with repeated, emotionally intense experiences that disconfirm old fundamental sentiments and support new sentiments.

The contact hypothesis is also supported by research that attitudes that are formed on the basis of direct behavioral experience with an object are stronger and more predictive of future behavior towards that object than are attitudes that are based on indirect experience (Fazio, 1986, 1990; Fazio & Zanna, 1978). Presumably, direct and positive experience with the other through face-to-face interaction will improve attitudes and behavior toward the other, thereby improving the relationship between conflict parties.

While putting people together does not necessarily improve relations, and might in fact, worsen relations; under the right conditions contact will improve relations (Sherif & Sherif, 1953, 1961; Cook, 1984; cited in Fisher, 1990). The developmental approach to

intercultural training proposed by Bennett (1986) suggests that assessing the “right conditions” for intergroup contact necessitates determining the stage of ethnocentrism-to-ethnorelativism of the people who are about to engage in contact. Bennett hypothesizes six developmental stages towards intercultural competence that may also have implications for improving intergroup relations. His developmental approach suggests that the stage(s) at which the people who engage in contact are in could be used to design what type of third party activities or strategies are used within the context of contact to move people towards greater ethnorelativism. Presumably, greater ethnorelativism will improve intergroup attitudes and relationships.

A variety of field studies and laboratory studies on the reduction of racial and intergroup prejudice via contact in small groups, have identified five factors that seemed critical to improving intergroup relations: (1) high acquaintance potential – the contact must involve personal or intimate interactions as opposed to superficial contacts; (2) equal status contact – members in the contact group must have the same status; (3) social norms – the social climate of the contact situation should emphasize positive behavior (e.g., open, honest, friendly, helpful, and egalitarian attitude); (4) cooperative task and reward structure – the situation must be structured so that competition goes unrewarded or punished and cooperation is reinforced (e.g., superordinate goals, Sherif & Sherif, 1953); (5) individual characteristics of the participants (e.g., moderate to high competence of minority group members to challenge stereotypes, and mild to moderate prejudice by majority group participants leads to more attitude change) and the other should attempt to contradict as much as possible the prevailing stereotypes of their behavior (Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969; Cook, 1970, 1984; Fisher, 1982, cited in Fisher, 1990).

The pro-choice/pro-life dialogue workshops, evaluated by LeBaron and Carstarphen (1997), were characterized by similar factors: (1) the opportunity to get to know the other;

(2) equal status members who are perceived as “moderate;” (3) positive social norms through the establishment of groundrules; and (4) positive social norms established through the facilitators giving a brief lecture on the common ground approach in order to establish a safe, positive and cooperative tone for the workshop. In summary, bringing conflict parties together in face-to-face interaction is a necessary but insufficient step towards improving intergroup relations. For the interaction to be effective, it must also include certain conditions and characteristics that are conducive to shift and improved intergroup relations.

Third Party Role and Functions

The role and functions of the third parties are also critical to shift and improving intergroup relations. There are several typologies of third party roles and functions. Mitchell (1993) offers thirteen third party functions: explorer; convenor; decoupler; unifier; ensembler; envisioner; guarantor; facilitator; legitimizer; enhancer; monitor; enforcer, and reconciler. Similarly, Kriesberg (1996) offers twelve “mediating activities”: selecting issues; selecting parties; providing good offices; communicating each side’s views; reframing the conflict; suggesting new options; raising costs of failing to de-escalate; adding resources for settlement; helping to create parity; building trust and credibility; fostering reconciliation; and legitimating and helping to implement the proposal or agreement. These roles and functions are often played by different intervenors and are relevant to different stages of the conflict as suggested by contingency theory approaches (e.g., Keashly & Fisher, 1996).

Fisher’s (1990) consultation model and the common ground dialogue model include several similar functions, such as: fostering trusting, respectful, and empathic relationships with and among the participants; inducing positive motivation, improving communication, diagnosing the conflict, and regulating the interaction. These are similar to

the therapist functions described by Greenberg et al. (1993). Common ground dialogue participants reported that the facilitators provided safety, focus, and unbiased guidance that they indicated was crucial to the success of the workshop (LeBaron & Carstarphen, 1997). All these factors help improve intergroup relations and conflict resolution.

Third party roles that emphasize cognitive factors, such as reframing issues, have received considerable attention in the literature. Less well understood in the conflict resolution field are roles that emphasize affect, as well as cognition, such as helping participants develop empathy and empathic relationships. Yet, empathy seems to be a key factor that facilitates shift and warrants more discussion here.

Empathy and Shift

Duan and Hill (1996) found three different views of empathy in the psychology literature: empathy as primarily affective, cognitive or both. Some have identified empathy as primarily an affective phenomenon referring to the immediate experience of the emotions of another person (e.g., Allport, 1961; Langer, 1967; Mehrabian & Epstein, 1972; Stotland, 1969). Eisenberg and colleagues (Eisenberg et al., 1994) defined empathy as an affective response that stems from the apprehension or comprehension of another's emotional state or condition and is similar to what the other person is feeling or would be expected to feel. Batson (1998), based on previous social psychological research, defines empathy as an other-oriented emotional response congruent with the perceived welfare of another person; if the other is in need, empathic emotions include feelings of sympathy, compassion, tenderness, and the like.

Others view empathy as primarily a cognitive construct referring to the intellectual understanding of another's experience (e.g., Barrett-Lennard, 1962, 1981; Borke, 1971; Deutsch & Madle, 1975; Kalliopuska, 1986; Katz, 1963; Kohut, 1971; Rogers, 1986;

Woodall & Kogler-Hill, 1982).

A third view holds that empathy contains both cognitive and affective components (e.g., Brems, 1989; Davis, 1983, 1996; Hoffman, 1977; Shantz, 1975; Strayer, 1987) or that it can be either cognitive or affective depending on the situation (e.g., Gladstein, 1983). Many authors suggest empathy is an affective, cognitive, and communicative process (Goldstein & Michaels, 1985, cited by LeBaron & Carstarphen, 1997). Similarly, Reardon (1983) argues that: "Since empathy is neither a purely cognitive nor purely emotional activity, it requires concurrent usage of those areas of the brain which allow reasoning and emotion (p. 4, quoted in Broome 1993, p. 101). Smither (1977) observed that empathy could develop via two routes: "empathy via contagion" and "empathy via role-taking." Empathic accuracy is a measure of a perceiver's ability to accurately infer the specific content of another person's thoughts and feelings (Ickes, 1993).

To minimize confusion, several authors have attempted to use different terms to distinguish between different types of empathy. Davis (1983) distinguishes between experiencing other's thoughts as *perspective-taking* (a cognitive process) and experiencing other's feelings as *empathy* (an affective process). Gladstein (1983) uses *cognitive empathy* to mean, "intellectually taking the role or perspective of another person" and *affective empathy* to denote "responding with the same emotion to another person's emotion" (p. 468). He stated that these two separate and distinct types of empathy were identifiable in the social, developmental, and counseling psychology literature, although the terms had not been used. Duan and Hill (1996) propose that researchers use *intellectual empathy* to refer to the cognitive process and *empathic emotions* to refer to the affective aspect of empathic experience.

Duan and Hill (1996) found evidence in other areas of psychology that indicates that both intellectual empathy and empathic emotions may independently affect

interpersonal behavior. Their review found that an affective empathic state has been found to mediate helping behavior (e.g., Batson, Fultz, & Schoenrade, 1987; Eisenberg & Miller, 1987; Krebs, 1975; Toi & Batson, 1982), and a cognitive empathic state has been found to alter the pattern of attribution of others' behavior (e.g., Gould & Sigall, 1977; Regan & Totten, 1975). The authors also found other evidence that suggested a mutual influence of cognitive and affective empathic processes (e.g., Hoffman, 1984).

The above conceptualizations of empathy emphasize the individual experience and psychology of empathy. In contrast, Broome (1993) offers a view of empathy as a relational process, hence the term *relational empathy*. He argues that empathy is not the unilateral attempt to accurately 'know' another's thoughts and feelings, but rather a bilateral or co-relational effort that demonstrates the possibility of internalizing other people's interpretations of issues and events. The goal is not to recreate meaning between people, which is the general conceptualization of empathy, but rather to co-create a new shared, relational meaning or shared reality, which, in effect, constitutes a "third culture." Relational empathy is an emergent and ongoing process in which meaning is continually subject to change.

Further, relational empathy is a dynamic and circular process that enables people to move towards varying degrees of understanding. The focus of relational empathy "is the process of arriving at mutual integrative understandings of each other's perceptual field by an affective *and* cognitive assimilation of the other's values, meanings, symbols, intentions, etc. As understanding begins to take place between communicators, they come to know the organization of each other's world- or self-view, and this includes feelings and emotions" (Broome, 1993, p. 101). Understanding requires the integration of affect and cognition in an interactive process that is embedded in a particular context or situation. As Broome notes, "Interactions between situational and personal variables account for more variance

than either situational or personal variables alone. A relational approach to empathy shifts the focus to the context in which conflict interaction takes place. By anchoring one's perspective of the conflict in such a framework, participants can explore the conditions that help to create empathic understanding" (p. 103). These conditions, may in fact be the same facilitative conditions listed above. What is important about Broome's concept of relational empathy is that it emphasizes empathy as both a process occurring as individuals interact with each other, and an outcome in terms of developing empathic understanding.

In summary, third party intervenors fulfill several roles and functions that facilitate positive intergroup attitudes and relations. Encouraging participants to develop empathy, including cognitive perspective-taking, affective empathy, and relational empathy seems especially effective. This study assesses the role of empathy in shift and may illuminate the differential effects or roles played by cognitive, affective and relational empathy.

In conclusion, the intervention setting should meet certain characteristics and conditions for face-to-face interaction to facilitate shift, such as the opportunity for personal interactions, equal status and moderate participants, positive social norms, and cooperative task and reward structures. Third party intervenors play key roles and functions that may also facilitate shift within this container, such as fostering trusting, respectful and empathic relationships, inducing positive motivations, improving communication, diagnosing the conflict, and regulating the interaction. The intervention setting provides the container in which constructive engagement with the other may take place.

Transactional Dimension: Engaging With the Other

This section focuses on the types of communication, interactions, and activities that intervention participants may engage in and that may help facilitate shift. These transactional

processes may be initiated by the third party facilitator and the participants. The power of these processes comes not only from the attributes of the transactions themselves, but also from the inherently relational aspect of the processes. Participants engage in communication, interactions, activities, and so on *together* as part of a shared process.

As described in the section on reconciliation, general activities that facilitate shift include a joint analysis of history towards a common definition of the problem. Similarly effective is a joint exploration of participants' needs, perceptions, images, emotions (e.g., hopes, fears, vulnerabilities, and pain) towards identifying differences, similarities and common ground to "unfreeze" conflict attitudes, perceptions, and feelings toward the self, other and the conflict issues (Fisher 1990; Lewin, 1948, cited in Rothman, 1997). Jointly examining each group's images and ideologies is important to gain a sense of how these factors influence behavior and policy development at the large group/national level (*ibid.*).

The mutual process of sharing ideas and information (e.g., through stories) about oneself, the other party, and the conflict involves a considerable amount of self-disclosure, which is typically absent in the wider interaction between conflict parties. Fisher (1990) describes the benefits as follows:

Mutual and respectful self-disclosure supported by the third party role and functions is predicted to lead to greater understanding and trust among participants. Furthermore, the opportunity to share similarities (as well as differences) is predicted to lead to an increased sense of attraction between participants that should increase receptivity to the ideas of the other party and support attitude change.... The more open and accurate communication that consultation endeavors to create allows the participants to see each other's intentions more clearly and to then more critically evaluate their own interpretations and reactions. This can lead to a much greater degree of congruence in the communication process as compared to the breakdowns and barriers characteristic of intense conflict. It also leads to an increase in the level of trust between the participants, which is a key element in any process of de-escalation, as indicated in the rationale of GRIT (pp. 220-221).

Furthermore, exchange theory and the norm of reciprocity suggest that as each party shares its views and stories in a respectful manner, the other will respond in kind. This leads the

participants away from an argumentative, bargaining stance and toward one of problem solving (Fisher, 1972, cited in Fisher, 1990). De Reuck (1983, cited by Fisher, 1990) describes this intended role shift as divesting the participants of their inhibitions as adversaries and offering them alternative roles as conflict analysts and then as partners in problem solving.

Specific activities through which to carry out these procedures include sharing stories, “walks through history,” perceptions exercises, and role-plays and role-reversals. These specific activities are highlighted because they are designed to challenge the participants’ views of themselves, their group, the other group, and the conflict, which sets in motion important psychological, interpersonal, and intergroup dynamics that lead to shift.

Storytelling

Sharing stories with the other is a primary vehicle through which shift and reconciliation can take place because sharing stories puts one in touch with one’s own painful past and the painful past of the other creating a shared bond. Storytelling may help uncover participants’ hidden emotion schemes (Greenberg et al, 1993), fears, stereotypes, pain and oppression, enabling people to feel compassion and empathy for each other’s pain and oppression and to relate as individuals with both commonalities and differences (Boris, 1998a, 1998b). Storytelling is a window into underlying meaning systems, values and needs, and an empowering process through which empathy, healing and relationships can be nurtured (LeBaron & Carstarphen, 1997).

The power of sharing stories is exemplified in the dialogue groups between pro-life and pro-choice advocates sponsored by the *Search for Common Ground Network for Life and Choice*. In our evaluation of these dialogue groups, Michelle LeBaron and I (1997) found that the sharing of personal stories of how people came to their beliefs about abortion

was a transforming experience for the participants. Sharing these stories made the discussion “personal” and concrete, rather than “ideological” or abstract discussions (e.g., right to life versus right to choose), as are most discussions on abortion. The participants felt more inclined to really listen to people’s personal stories because they couldn’t argue with people’s real experiences. Through listening to each other’s stories, the participants also found commonalities in their experiences, values, beliefs and concerns. Thus, they realized they were more similar than they previously believed. The use of storytelling also “takes participants out of a cognitive, analytic frame and taps into the experiential and affective dimensions of the conflict [surrounding abortion]. It is in these dimensions that emotional healing can take place, making it then possible to reframe and transform the conflict at the cognitive level” (LeBaron & Carstarphen, 1997, p. 350).

In storytelling, the emphasis is on telling one’s own story instead of focusing on the other party and what wrongs they committed. The purpose of telling one’s own story is to be understood, and through listening to the other’s story, to understand them better. This approach is similar to Fisher’s (1990) “reflexive approach” to intergroup conflict resolution, which he argues is a powerful transitional vehicle for “unfreezing” parties’ adversarial frames and moving them into integrative frames. This approach emphasizes the hopes, fears, traumas, experiences, perceptions, and needs of individuals operating in the context of identity groups. Through introspection, parties come to assign significant responsibility for the conflict situation to themselves. When parties tell their own stories and simultaneously hear other’s stories, and are then asked to articulate each other’s hopes, fears, etc., a number of changes occur: each party begins to gain an intersubjective appreciation for the other side; they find some resonance and even some degree of “merging stories” (Bruner 1987, cited by Fisher, 1990) that creates space for dialogue and problem-solving; they gain an acceptance of some degree of similarity between themselves

and the other which helps unfreeze the assumption that the other is an eternal enemy; they come to see shared concerns and needs which if not fulfilled may lead to violence; and, “we” replaces “us versus them.” Fisher concludes that the process of overcoming negative dispositional attributions and gaining the *analytic empathy*⁷ to do so appears to be a necessary condition, perhaps precondition, for allowing parties to reframe towards integrative views. Storytelling may facilitate empathy and this integrative process.

In research on problem-solving workshops, the use of personal experiences was identified as important in the most significant communication exchanges (Pearson, 1988; d’Estrée & Babbitt, 1998).

Walk Through History

Similar to storytelling is sharing a “walk through history.” Montville (1993) found that taking members of groups with a hostile history through a joint “walk through history” might be a first substantive step to overcoming feelings of victimhood towards forgiveness and reconciliation. The most common process for having participants “walk through history” is to have each conflict party draw a timeline of their conflict history, including key events, people, places, the meanings of those events, and so on. The process of drawing and debriefing the timeline combines analytical (cognitive), emotional (affective) and experiential processes. The process enables each conflict party to express their story and to listen to the story of the other, which tends to lead to greater affective and cognitive empathy, understanding and relationship building.

The walk through history allows parties to revisit the moments in history where the “wounds and losses to group self-respect occurred, and attempt to reactivate the mourning

⁷ By analytic empathy, Fisher implies the ability to understand and articulate the other’s hopes, fears, traumas, experiences, perceptions, needs, and so on.

process to a point of reasonable completion” (Montville, 1995, p. 27). It also helps participants “express *inter alia* basic anxieties about national identity, rage over past assaults and losses, fears about present and future safety and security, and perceptions of the adversary side” (ibid, p. 5). Further, this activity may illuminate the different versions of history by conflict parties. For example, how one side’s victories may be seen as catastrophe’s for the other side. The activity may also reveal events that were hidden to some conflict parties. Often this experience was the turning point in a longer workshop and dialogue process (Montville, 1998).

The walk through history enables participants to explore the history of their conflict, recognize the injustices and historic wounds, and accept moral responsibility where appropriate. It also enables participants to develop a new story of their history that integrates both of their pasts into a “merged story.” Montville’s approach is similar to the family systems approach described earlier, in which the therapist helps the patients create new narrative stories. The approach is also similar to Greenberg et al’s (1993) experiential approach to therapy. Both processes use experiential activities to bring emotional events, such as painful memories, into consciousness awareness so their meaning can be explored towards developing new shared meanings.

The walk through history also helps parties change their assumptions about the causes of the conflict. Attributions of causality shape specific emotions felt and the direction of behavior. Weiner (1985) suggests the cause of an emotion is based on the person’s attributions about causality of the eliciting event, and proposes three different dimensions of causality: locus (internal-external), stability (stable-unstable), and controllability (controllable-uncontrollable):

Thus, for example, if someone intentionally moves into a queue ahead of you, you would see the act as internally motivated and controllable, and you would probably feel angry. If the person was pushed roughly into the line by someone running by,

you would interpret the cause as external and uncontrollable, and you might feel pity or sadness (quoted in Izard, 1991, p. 38).

Similarly, research on negotiation behavior found that the attributions negotiators make about the causes of the other's negotiating behavior are important determinants of their reactions to that behavior (Bar-tal & Geva, 1986; Hewstone, 1988; Kelley & Stahelski, 1970, cited in Carnevale & Pruitt, 1992).

In summary, a "walk through history" leads conflict parties through a joint experiential activity that surfaces events in history that were painful to each side. Surfacing these painful memories enables conflict parties to jointly explore their conflict and work through their painful past. The parties come to realize they need to revise their attributions of causality to include and accept their own group's responsibility in the conflict. Thus, both groups develop more accurate cognitive understandings and more favorable affective appraisals of one another, their relationship, and the conflict. The participants overcome their sense of victimhood towards healing and reconciliation.

Perceptions Exercises

Activities through which to explore perceptions of the self, the other, and the conflict are another useful tool for "unfreezing" conflict attitudes, perceptions and feelings. The common ground workshop uses an opinion survey to explore each other's perspectives on the abortion conflict. Each participant fills out a questionnaire, responding to statements ranging from those specifically about abortion to more general statements about societal values (e.g., "Abortion is a violent procedure for terminating a pregnancy"; "Abortion is an appropriate method of birth control"; "I feel certain when life begins"). Everyone is asked to fill it out twice, first responding with his or her views and then responding as they think members of the other group would respond. After the data is tabulated, the results are

presented to the participants. Generally, responses to the survey by each side do not match the stereotypes attributed to them by the other side. The survey depicts their actual differences as well as beliefs they share in common (LeBaron & Carstarphen, 1997). This perceptions exercise is a powerful tool because it provides information that challenges the stereotypes and images parties have of each other.

However, information alone is not enough to change attitudes. As described earlier, consistency theory suggests that people strive for cognitive consistency and reduced stress by engaging in a number of cognitive techniques (e.g., selective recall, selective perception) to maintain the existing conceptual schema of the self, other and the world, with its attendant cognitive and affective components (Mitchell, 1981). Similarly, the fundamental assumption of *affective control theory* is that people try to make their transient sentiments match or confirm their fundamental sentiments (Ridgeway, 1994). When people are presented with disconfirming information, they oftentimes do not hear it, or they disregard it, deem it irrelevant or simply untrue, and “just don’t get it.” The cognitive mechanisms that maintain cognitive consistency usually work and stability is maintained. As Greenberg et al. (1993) note, as long as the emotion scheme remains intact, new information will be processed according to existing cognitive processing schemas that reflect and maintain existing emotion schemes. For example, during negotiations, people are presented with new and disconfirming information all the time, but the parties don’t necessarily change any of their preconceived ideas or attitudes. However, under the right conditions disconfirming information and events can lead to cognitive and affective change; can lead to new emotion schemes. The facilitative conditions described above are important. Seemingly most important, however, is that the disconfirming information and events are repeated and intense enough to elicit an emotional response. As Greenberg et al. (1993) argue, emotions are the key to surfacing the emotion schemes and making it accessible to new information,

hence change.

When disconfirming events are so extreme or repeated that the person can't adequately compensate for them, fundamental cognitive and affective structures (emotion schemes) will change. As mentioned earlier, affect control theory suggests that fundamental sentiments are generally stable, but will change when confronted with repeated and intensely disconfirming events. Similarly, expectation states theory of affective processes (Berger, 1988, cited by Ridgeway, 1994) suggests that when an event triggers a reasonably intense emotional reaction in an actor, this leads the actor to treat the other in an evaluative, emotional way. This interaction leads to the formation of affect states (similar to transient sentiments) that have both cognitive (informational) and emotional components. Affect states can lead to the formation of more stable affective structures and sentiments (e.g., "I like that person") and lead to the assignment of affective personality characteristics to the other person (e.g., "That person is nice"). The more intense the affective episode, the more likely future expressive episodes are activated and the more intense the affective structure formed. This is similar to Greenberg et al.'s (1993) explanation of how emotion schemes are formed and that emotion schemes that are formed around emotional responses to the world are most influential in guiding automatic processing of personal meaning.

An example of the role of emotional responses to new information comes from the common ground workshops. The evaluation of these workshops revealed that when participants debriefed the opinion survey, not only did they learn new information about the other, but they were also pleasantly surprised to find how much they had in common with participants on the other side (LeBaron & Carstarphen, 1997). Anecdotal evidence suggests that the more participants were pleasantly surprised by the survey results, the more positive the impact of the survey on their attitudes. This was in part because surprise led participants to question their beliefs and attitudes and motivated further dialogue. The discovery of

common ground led to excitement and hope for working together.

In summary, these theories suggest that affective structures, or emotion schemes, can be changed by repeated and emotionally intense expressive exchanges between individuals that disconfirm the existing affective structure or emotion schemes. Creating intense affective episodes and surfacing emotion schemes occurs through the interaction of individuals, whether the interaction is between therapist and client, conflict facilitator and conflict parties, or between conflict parties. However, missing in most of the theories described above is the relational aspect of the communication. For example, for disconfirming information or events to facilitate shift, they must be communicated authentically or sincerely. Otherwise, the information or events may be denied or disregarded. Pearson's (1990) research on the impact of sincere statements supports the contention that sincerity is important for information to be accepted and for it to have an impact on the listener. I suggest that shift happens when intervention participants exchange new information in an authentic, interpersonal relational exchange. Engaging with the other should challenge the participants' established beliefs and attitudes about the other and the conflict, and elicit emotional responses that encourage mutual self-reflection and other-reflection, inquiry and dialogue. Perceptions exercises, such as the opinion survey, are one useful approach in this process.

Role Play and Role Reversals

Role reversals have been found useful for developing empathy and leading to shift. For example, in the dialogue between police officers and gang/ex-gang youth described in the introduction to this paper, a role reversal exercise about a "first encounter" between police and youths gave the participants an opportunity to experience each other's lives (Carstarphen & Shapiro 1997). This exercise gave each group a deeper understanding of

each other's behaviors, thoughts and feelings and marked a fundamental positive shift in the relationship between the dialogue participants and changed the whole climate of the dialogue meetings for the remainder of the process.

Previous research on role-playing has focused on situations where people acted out another persona, verbally advocated a particular viewpoint to others, or wrote an essay that was contrary to their attitudes. This body of research found that these types of role-plays tend to change the actor's attitudes in the direction of their role (e.g., Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Janis, 1968; Leippe & Eisenstadt, 1994). By pretending to have a particular point of view or attitude, the role player may end up adopting that perspective or attitude. Several experimental studies found role-playing situations that simulate prejudice and discrimination are effective for reducing prejudice among students (McGregor, 1993).

One possible explanation for the power of role plays (and role reversals), especially the more dramatic ones, is offered by Greenwald (1969, 1970) who found that role-players tend to be more open-minded to information which supports their roles. Another possible explanation is role-plays encourage the actor to use both central processing and peripheral processing (the two routes to attitude change described in the elaboration likelihood model described by Petty & Cacioppo, 1986). Playing the role requires the person to think about and elaborate on the perspective and attitude of the character, indicating the use of central processing. However, to really "get into" the role, the person would also need to get in touch, at least somewhat, with the emotions attached to the perspective, attitude or the character being performed. This enables them to feel some of the emotions and feelings the character might feel, which indicates the use of peripheral processing.

Johnson (1971) reviewed various studies that used role-reversal in interpersonal and intergroup bargaining situations. The effectiveness of role playing was measured in terms of the following factors: degree of attitude change, interpersonal attraction, similarity of self

and opponent, facilitation of negotiations, and resolution of conflict. Johnson concluded that three major role-playing variables are important for their effectiveness: (1) authenticity of the person engaging in role reversal, (2) expression of warmth for and acceptance of the sender, and (3) most important was the expression of accurate understanding of the sender's message. On a cautionary note, it is not clear whether such role-play changes are integrated and generalized into real life.

The Advantages of Experiential Learning

Storytelling, walks through history, perceptions exercises, and role reversals, among other joint activities, have all been found useful for developing empathy between adversaries and for leading to shifts or turning points in their relationship. In fact, participants in the pro-life/pro-choice dialogue expressed that the joint learning that resulted in the dialogue was a "profoundly bonding experience." Similar to Greenberg et al. (1993), I propose these experiential activities are more likely to lead to shift than non-experiential activities.

This idea is supported by extensive research on learning that concludes that persons learn best when they are actively involved in the learning process (Wiman & Mierhenry, 1969). Further, even activities such as storytelling can become experiential if the participants move from being just passive listeners to "active listeners" who are fully engaged in the storytelling experience. If we assume that intervention efforts are a form of learning environment, then we can assume that learning theory will also apply to the field of conflict resolution.

The advantage of experiential learning is that it engages several aspects of a person in the learning process -- the cognitive, affective and experiential processes, or to put it another way, the mind, heart and body. Furthermore, invoking affective processes seems particularly potent in this learning process. Jensen (1995) suggests "the more intensely

that you engage the emotions, the longer you'll recall what you have learned" (179). This applies to both negative and positive emotions. Thus, people tend to remember those events and experiences that elicited the lowest lows and the highest highs. Incomplete events or activities are also more remembered than those that are completed or accomplished (the "Zeigarnik effect"), perhaps because incomplete events/activities (e.g., unmet needs, frustrated goals) elicit more intense emotions than completed events/activities as is suggested by the frustration-aggression hypothesis (Dollard & Doob, 1939) and Greenberg et al. (1993). The effect of intense emotions on learning and remembering helps explain why conflicts escalate and are perpetuated and why feelings continue to be inflamed long after the "triggering" event occurred. It also helps explain why people focus on certain events during conflict, namely those experiences that were most frustrating, hurtful and emotionally painful; because that is what was most learned and remembered. This suggests once again that in order for people to work through and get past these past negative emotional experiences, they need to experience intense new shared or positive emotions in relation to the other which disconfirm old learnings.

In summary, particular types of structured exercises may be especially effective for leading to shifts within and between conflict parties. Namely, experiential exercises seem extremely effective because they directly engage the cognitive, affective and experiential aspects of human beings.

Summary

This chapter provides a brief summary of several bodies of literature that frame the research agenda and provide initial ideas for exploring shift at the individual, transactional, and situational dimensions of analysis. The reconciliation literature offers several macro approaches and process “steps” toward relationship building and provides a general framework within which to explore shift. Reconciliation is a transactional process that may be facilitated through various techniques and through mutual contrition, forgiveness, and acknowledgement. Reconciliation practitioners emphasize dealing with both emotions and cognitions towards relationship building.

The psychotherapeutic and attitude change literature offers more micro-level suggestions for shift, primarily at the individual level. Intrapersonal change can occur through affective, cognitive, and behavioral approaches. The persuasion literature focuses on attitude change through varying different factors related to the message, including the content, messenger characteristics, channel of communication, type of appeal, how people mentally process persuasion appeals, and by changing the perceived meaning of the object or target person. Most of the psychotherapeutic and attitude change approaches emphasize cognitive approaches to change. Generally, the conflict resolution field also emphasizes cognitive approaches to attitude change and conflict resolution and tends to neglect the potentially positive role of affective processes and emotions for problem solving.

More recently, emotion-focused experiential therapy emphasizes emotions and utilizes experiential techniques to facilitate change in the affective, cognitive, motivational, and relational action components of emotion schemes in order to promote personal change and problem solving. Recent advances in neuropsychology and other fields show the important functions of emotions for decision making and problem solving and further support the view that emotions, as well as cognition, are important factors for attitude

change, relationship building and conflict resolution.

A common theme in the reconciliation literature and the newer approaches to psychotherapy and attitude change is the renewed emphasis on affective processes and emotions for change. These newer theories and approaches may have important implications for the conflict resolution field. They suggest that affective approaches and dealing with emotions are as important as more cognitive approaches, and are perhaps the first step towards shift, reconciliation and conflict resolution. If conflicts are driven by intense emotions such as anger, fear and grief, as is suggested by several authors, then some research suggests that the best approach to changing conflict attitudes and relationships may be through affective-based approaches.

The situational dimension refers to the conflict intervention and its attendant characteristics and conditions, and facilitator roles and functions that enhance greater self- and other-awareness, mutual understanding, and cognitive and affective empathy, which may lead to shift, restructured relationships and conflict resolution.

This literature review is the basis for the conceptual framework guiding the research and the preliminary hypotheses described in the next chapter. The next chapter also outlines the research methodology for the three phases of the research used to explore shift.

CHAPTER 3: OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH

This research is largely exploratory and inductive. However, I have certain assumptions and expectations about shift, based on my experiences and literature review, which influence my choice of a conceptual framework, my preliminary hypotheses, and methodology. Research is never completely “objective” nor “neutral.” This is acceptable as long as the researcher acknowledges her/his assumptions, expectations, and biases. This chapter further outlines the conceptual framework guiding the research, preliminary research hypotheses, and an overview of the methodology and research significance.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual frameworks guiding this research build on the literature outlined in Chapter 2. Shift is hypothesized to happen within a relational and dynamic process that includes three primary dimensions of analysis, including internal processes in the individual or personal dimension (cognitive, affective processes), transactional processes that occur within the context of the intervention (behaviors), and the situational factors that characterize and influence the intervention situation.

The individual dimension of the research uses a conceptual framework based on Greenberg et al.'s (1993) model of experiential therapy and other research on the cognitive and affective factors and processes involved in shift and conflict resolution. The transactional dimension includes all the interactions, communications (verbal and non-verbal), and other activities between conflict parties (including the facilitators). The situational dimension focuses on the characteristics and conditions of the intervention, and

on facilitator roles and functions.

This research combines these frameworks to explore the hypothesis that shift includes cognitive, affective and behavioral components and is facilitated by certain factors and processes in the individual, transactional, and situational dimensions of analysis. Shift may occur at the individual (intrapersonal), interpersonal, intergroup and total group level.

Focusing on relationship building is often a necessary first step towards negotiating on substantive issues. Therefore, the research explores the hypothesis that relationship building, specifically shift, is a necessary first step in resolving protracted conflicts characterized by negative and hostile attitudes toward the other. It is within a broader focus on relationship building and reconciliation that I explore the phenomenon of shift. Following are my preliminary research hypotheses developed to elaborate understandings of shift.

Preliminary Hypotheses

Individual Dimension

The Elements of Shift:

- Shift is defined as a positive, qualitative change in the relationship between conflict parties, including changed attitudes toward oneself and the other party, the relationship, the conflict issues, and the conflict situation as a whole
- Shift includes cognitive change (e.g., beliefs, perceptions, attributions) and affective change (e.g., feelings, evaluations) within and between the individuals and groups involved in conflict and is expressed through positive behavior towards the other party (e.g., cooperation, acknowledgement)
- Shift includes changes in emotion schemes (Greenberg et al., 1993) at the individual level such that the individual has new assumptions, beliefs,

evaluations, and perceptions – a new cognitive and affective view of the self, the other, and the conflict situation (Borris, 1998ab; Diamond, 1994; Fisher, 1990)

When and Why “Shift Happens”:

- Shift is a relational, multidimensional, dynamic process that is facilitated by situational factors related to the intervention situation and to the transactional processes between individuals during the intervention situation
- “Shift happens” when individuals receive repeated disconfirming new information from other individuals which elicits intense emotional reactions such that the dissonance is so strong that a shift is required to explain the self, other and conflict situation in a new logically consistent manner (Berger, 1988; Greenberg et al., 1993; Ridgeway, 1994)
- Shift happens when a person has an experience (a learning process) that is strong enough to elicit an emotional response, and this is most likely to occur when one is directly engaged in the new experience (e.g., experiential learning) (Greenberg et al., 1993; Jensen, 1995; Wiman & Mierhenry, 1969)
- Shift is facilitated by consciously attending to in-the-moment emotions and emotion schemes (Greenberg et al., 1993) or painful memories (Montville, 1993, 1995) and the resulting new self- and other-awareness, understanding, attitudes, and relationships (Greenberg et al., 1993; Kraybill, 1988; Montville, 1993, 1995)
- Shift is facilitated when participants are highly motivated and involved in the process and use both “central processing routes” (focused on the message) and “peripheral routes” (focused on the messenger) (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986)
- Shift is facilitated via empathy, including (1) cognitive empathy (perspective-taking), intellectual empathy and analytical empathy, (2) affective empathy and

empathic emotions (feeling to the other's feelings), and (3) relational empathy (Duan & Hill, 1996; Broome, 1993; Gladstein, 1983)

Transactional Dimension

Types of Communication, Behaviors and Activities Which Facilitate Shift:

- Shift is facilitated by sincere and authentic relations and communication between participants (Pearson, 1990)
- Shift is facilitated by communication or messages that: are expressed by “attractive” sources, include strong arguments and multiple perspectives, and messages that “grab” the receiver’s attention (Hovland, 1953; McGuire, 1985; Petty & Cacioppo, 1986)
- Joint exploration of history to change the “narrative stories” towards a common definition of the problem, new or “merged stories” (Broome, 1993, Cobb, 1993; Montville, 1993, 1998; Sluzki, 1992)
- Joint exploration of participants’ perceptions, images, emotions (e.g., hopes, fears, vulnerabilities, pain) towards identifying differences, similarities, and common ground to “unfreeze” conflict attitudes, perceptions, and feelings toward the self, other and the conflict issues (Diamond, 1994; Fisher, 1990; Greenberg et al., 1993; Kraybill, 1988; LeBaron & Carstarphen, 1997; Lederach 1994; Montville, 1993, 1998; Rothman, 1997)
- Experiential activities such as sharing stories, “walks through history,” role-plays and role reversals, are effective activities which facilitate shift (Carstarphen & Shapiro, 1997; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Fisher, 1990; Greenberg et al. 1993; Greenwald, 1969, 1970; Janis, 1968; Johnson, 1971; LeBaron & Carstarphen, 1997; Leippe & Eisenstadt, 1994; Montville 1993, 1998)

- Shift is facilitated by acknowledgment, contrition, apology, risk-taking behavior (Montville, 1993, 1998; Kraybill, 1988; Pearson, 1990)

Situational Dimension

Characteristics and Conditions Which Facilitate Shift:

- **Structure of the Intervention:** The use of small groups and face-to-face interaction facilitated by an impartial third party in a neutral location (Fisher, 1990).
- **The Characteristics of the Intervention:** The intervention must enable high acquaintance potential; enable personal and intimate contact; include participants of equal status who are open enough to entertain new ideas; have a cooperative task and reward structure (or superordinate goals); and, have formal and informal social norms in place which encourage constructive interaction (e.g., groundrules: respectful dialogue and behavior; friendly, open, honest communication; connective thinking; problem solving orientation) (Fisher, 1990; LeBaron & Carstarphen, 1997).

Third Party Roles and Functions Which Facilitate Shift:

- Third-party strategies which seek to improve conflict attitudes and relationships are more effective for shift than strategies which focus primarily on reaching agreements and do not focus on improving conflict attitudes and relationships (Druckman & Broome, 1991).
- Facilitative functions include fostering trusting, respectful, authentic and empathic relationships with and among the participants, inducing positive motivation, improving communication, diagnosing the conflict, regulating the

interaction, and encouraging perspective taking and reframing (Broome, 1993; Fisher, 1990; Greenberg et al., 1993; LeBaron & Carstarphen, 1997).

The Relationship Between Shift, Reconciliation and Conflict Resolution

- Shift facilitates reconciliation. Shift at the individual level will lead to new behaviors at the transactional level (e.g., acknowledging and taking responsibility for one's own/group's role in the conflict; offering apology, forgiveness, restitution; acting cooperatively). These behaviors can also facilitate shift in others towards reconciliation and restructuring of interpersonal and intergroup relationships.
- Shift and relationship-building facilitate conflict resolution (Druckman & Broome, 1991) and are necessary first-steps in protracted social conflicts where intensely negative conflict attitudes and relationships predominate (Fisher, 1990; Montville, 1993, 1995; Rothman, 1997).

The conceptual framework and preliminary hypotheses are regarded less as something to be tested using the traditional deductive approach; rather they are regarded more as framing and guiding the research in a manner consistent with the assumption of an inductive research approach (Creswell, 1994). As such, the framework and hypotheses will likely be modified during the data collection and analyses phases as is warranted.

Methodology

The research design includes both qualitative and quantitative research methods. An inductive grounded theory approach is used in which patterns and themes emerge towards building a theory of shift in an attempt to establish a conceptual relationship between the

factors explored and discovered (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). A deductive theory driven approach is used to determine whether existing theories/concepts in the literature described above and factors identified during the inductive approach help explain and predict shift. A deductive approach is also used to study the impact of shift and relationship building on conflict resolution. Here I describe the research design rationale, followed by the application of that design to this study, based on a three-phase approach.

The nature of a research problem and resulting questions should dictate the method (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Given that my questions are primarily exploratory, and that I am exploring a topic where the variables and theory base are relatively unknown, my research problem is well suited to an inductive, qualitative design (Creswell, 1994). However, given I have developed some tentative hypotheses based on the literature reviewed above, I will also use a deductive, quantitative approach.

While there has been much debate as to the advisability and feasibility of “mixing methods,” Creswell (1994) advanced three design models that mixed methods:

the two-phase design, in which the qualitative and quantitative studies are presented and discussed in two distinct phases; the dominant-less dominant design, in which one paradigm dominates the study and a less paradigm is used, typically in the data collection phase; and the mixed-methodology design, in which the research combines qualitative and quantitative approaches throughout the study, such as in the introduction, the purpose statement, the research questions, and the methods (pp. 189-90).

The research design is a “mixed-methodology.” The data collection and analysis methods were determined by the research questions and are summarized below in Table 1.

Table 1. Research Design

Research Questions	Data Collection Methods	Data Analysis Plans
1. The Phenomenon of Shift a. Individual Dimension <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is shift -- the key elements? • What psychological factors facilitate shift? • What are dialogue participant's experiences of shift? What are intervenors' perspectives on shift? • Are individuals' experiences of shift similar or unique? b. Transactional Dimension <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What types of communication, behaviors, activities, and other interactions facilitate shift? c. Situational Dimension <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are there certain factors in third-party interventions that facilitate shift? • Characteristics and conditions? • Third-party roles and functions? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Phase 1: Observation of film, <i>The Color of Fear</i>, by a group of undergrad/graduate students, and follow-up with a questionnaire • Phase 2: Interviews with participants and intervenors for their stories, experiences, and perspectives of shift • Phase 3: Experimental Design to compare affective and cognitive approaches to inducing shift for their relative impact on conflict attitudes and expected negotiation processes and outcomes as measured by questionnaire data 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thematic and pattern analysis, using grounded theory and process tracing methods • Comparative analysis across types of conflict, intervention settings, and groups • Descriptive statistics • Statistical analyses • Content analyses
2. Relationship Between Shift and Resolution <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the relationship between shift and conflict resolution? 		
3. Implications for Intervenors		

The research design focuses on the individual, transactional and situational dimensions of analyses presented in Figure 1 (p. 19). The three dimensions are interrelated yet are analyzed separately within each phase of the research to better distinguish between factors that facilitate shift at the different levels. Together, the three dimensions of analysis offer a comprehensive framework for exploring shift during small group interventions.

The research design includes three phases of research that build upon each other successively. The first phase involves observation of a documentary film of an interethnic weekend retreat on race relations and racism, *The Color of Fear*, by a small group of undergraduate and graduate students. Questionnaire data is used to isolate perceived shifts and their precursors at the individual, transactional and situational dimensions of analysis from the perspective of outside observers. The observers are asked to describe shifts they observed at the individual (intrapersonal), interpersonal, intergroup, and total group level and what factors they believed facilitated these shifts. Data analysis for this phase uses thematic and pattern analysis (Creswell, 1994), descriptive statistics, and process tracing methods (Druckman, 2001). The results of this phase inform the design and analysis in the second phase.

The second phases involves interviews with participants of dialogues groups and third-party facilitators of dialogue groups and other conflict resolution small group interventions. The purpose of this phase is to explore shift as experienced by “insiders” of small group interventions – participants and facilitators – to complement the “outsider” perspectives in phase 1. This phase focuses on exploring the factors that facilitate shift at the three dimensions of analysis, as well as the relationship between shift, reconciliation and conflict resolution. Data are compared within and across conflict types using descriptive statistics, grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) and process tracing methods to determine whether general patterns emerge and the relationships between factors in shift.

The third phase of research uses an experiment to test a set of hypotheses that emerged from the results of phase 1 and phase 2. Phase 3 compares the efficacy of affective approaches (personal stories) and cognitive approaches (rational explanations) for inducing attitude change. This phase emphasizes one component of shift, namely attitude change, and the relationship between attitude change and conflict resolution. Statistical analyses and

content analyses are conducted on the questionnaire data. The results of the three phases of research are used to develop implications for intervenors.

In summary, the research design includes three phases of data collection and analysis that are distinguished by their data collection procedures (observations, interviews, experimental design) and data analysis procedures (thematic and pattern analysis using grounded theory and process tracing methods, comparative analyses, descriptive statistics, statistical analysis, content analysis). The data collection and analysis procedures are described more fully in the subsequent three chapters. Each chapter discusses one phase of the research, including the methodology, results and discussion of results. Finally, conclusions are drawn to answer what shift is, what factors facilitate shift during small group interventions, and implications for intervenors. The literature review is referenced to explain the results found and to propose future research on shift.

This multi-method research design has several advantages and purposes. It is well suited to answering the combination of descriptive, exploratory, explanatory and relational questions that guide the research. It provides for a triangulation of findings, elaborate on results, offer a developmental approach in which the first method is used sequentially to inform the second method, may help discover paradox or contradictions, and will add breadth to the study (Greene et al. 1989, cited by Creswell, 1994).

Research Significance

The research yields:

- empirically informed hypotheses/theory about what shift is and what factors facilitate shift
- empirically informed hypotheses/theory about the role of shift in reconciliation and conflict resolution

- **practical guidelines for developing interventions that facilitate shift**

An underlying assumption of this research is that there is an optimum combination of factors (independent variables) that increase the likelihood of shift, and successful attitude change, relationship building, reconciliation and resolution. This research identifies and explores these factors and contributes towards the development of a theory of shift.

CHAPTER 4: IF IT LOOKS LIKE SHIFT, IT MUST BE SHIFT: AN ANALYSIS OF *THE COLOR OF FEAR*

The story describing the police-youth dialogue on page 1 illustrates a profound shift in attitudes and relationships between the participants. I witnessed and was part of this process and developed some ideas of what happened and why. I was fascinated by what I saw and experienced and felt motivated to research this phenomenon further. The literature review provides a general framework in which to explore shift and initial ideas for what factors and processes may facilitate shift.

Phase 1 of the research uses observation of a film to explore shift. The purpose of this phase of research is to get agreement that “yes, there is a phenomenon,” which I call *shift*, which can be identified by observers of an intervention situation. It is important to make sure that what I want to research does in fact exist and that shift can be observed and therefore more easily researched. This phase is designed to help identify possible factors in the individual, transactional, and situational dimensions of analysis (independent variables) that help facilitate and explain shift (dependent variable) at different levels of analysis—individual (intrapersonal), interpersonal intergroup, and total group shift. The results of this analysis are used to frame and guide the interviews conducted with participants and intervenors of small-group interventions in protracted social conflicts during the second phase of research (Chapter 5).

Methodology

Stimuli: “The Color of Fear” Film

The initial source of data for exploring shift is collected through questionnaires completed by observers of the film, *The Color of Fear*, and a post-film group interview. *The Color of Fear* was filmed in 1994 during a weekend retreat and depicts eight men of different ethnic backgrounds: two Latin-Americans (Hugh, Roberto), two African-American (Victor, Loren), two Asian-American (Japanese, Chinese) (David L., Yutaka), and two Caucasians (David C., Gordon), plus the director of the film, Lee Mun Wah, who is Chinese-American. The purpose of the retreat was for the men to dialogue about race relations and racism in the United States, to discuss their experiences with racism and how it has affected their lives, and to learn and grow from the experience. The film shows several shifts within and between the men and seems an excellent starting point for exploring shift.

Lee Mun Wah was a participant-facilitator throughout the weekend. He could best be described as an “insider-partial” (Wehr & Lederach, 1991). Lee is a counselor by training and a filmmaker. He works for Stir Fry Seminars as a facilitator of various workshops dealing with race/ethnic relations and racism. He organized the retreat, selected the men (based on his belief that they would aptly represent their ethnic groups and the variations within the groups, and who would offer differing experiences and viewpoints about the topics in discussion), and asked initial questions to begin the discussion. Lee Mun Wah played a low-key, unobtrusive, non-directive role as facilitator and played a very significant role in facilitating shifts. Lee’s goal for making the film was to increase awareness and understanding about how racism is experienced by various groups in society and to provoke dialogue on race relations and racism among viewers.

Approximately twenty-three hours of filming were done during the retreat, including all the dialogue sessions, social interactions (e.g., breakfast, lunchtime, informal discussions), interviews with each man individually, and miscellaneous interactions. The

twenty-three hours of film was distilled into the 90-minute film, *The Color of Fear*. Given the film shows only a portion of the weekend retreat, the results are viewed cautiously because we do not have the complete picture of what happened during the retreat. However, the film shows several shifts and seems to provide enough information surrounding these shifts to provide a good starting point to explore shift. Subsequent interviews with three members of the film confirmed these assumptions.

The film has two basic foci. The first and prevalent focus is that the men of color in the group and one of the white men, Gordon, spend the first half of the film trying to explain to the other white man, David C., that racism and white privilege/supremacy exist. David C. is very intransigent and replies to every statistic and personal story with his opinion that “the white man is not a damn to your progress. It’s your attitudes towards the white man that is a damn.” He constantly denies and minimizes the experiences of the other men and points the finger back at people of color as being the problem—their attitudes, beliefs, and so on. Eventually, David C. “sees the light” and acknowledges the other men’s experiences and that racism exists (beyond the obvious manifestations, such as the KKK), that white people have caused others a lot of pain, and that he unknowingly harbored prejudices and racist attitudes and needed to examine his own life and beliefs. In the end, David C. proclaims to the men of color: “I will be your ally.” Shift happened.

The second focus in the film is discussions among the men of color about the internalized prejudices and negative attitudes that exist between people of color and different ethnic groups. During these discussions, the men of color express their anxieties and fears about talking about this topic in front of white men. They also have to explain to David C. the difference between white racism/supremacy and prejudice between people of color. This leads to a discussion about white power and privilege.

This film is a powerful example of an interpersonal and intergroup dialogue that exhibited an observable shift in attitudes (affective, cognitive) within some of the men,

especially David C., and in the relationship between the participants, specifically between David C. and the men of color. This film offers an opportunity to observe and conduct an in-depth analysis on an intervention situation that led to shift¹.

Participants

Twelve graduate students participated in the study. Nine of the participants self-identify as “white”(including three foreign-born and six U.S. born) and three primarily as “people of color.” There were eight females and four males. The students were recruited from the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) at George Mason University (GMU) through an email advertisement on the ICAR listserve. Their participation was voluntary. Table 2 summarizes the demographic data of the participants.

Table 2. Phase 1: Research Participants

Demographic Characteristics	Number	Percentage
Sex		
Female	8	67%
Male	4	33%
Race/Ethnicity		
White-U.S. born	6	50%
White-foreign born	3	25%
People of Color-U.S. born	1	8%
People of Color-foreign born	2	17%

¹ Unfortunately, I could not get access to the film footage of the entire 23-hour intervention.

Procedures

The twelve graduate students viewed the film as a group. On arrival, the participants were given a brief introduction to the study and the background of the film. I instructed participants to pay attention to and look for any shifts they see in the film at the individual, interpersonal, and group level. I gave them an example of shift from the police-gang dialogue I describe in chapter 1 and offered them a working definition of shift as changes in the way people see themselves, the other side and the conflict, and changes in interpersonal or group interactions, dynamics and relationships. I also gave them alternative words commonly used to describe shift, such as turning points, breakthroughs, and “aha” moments. Some participants took notes during the film. Following the film, the participants were asked to complete a questionnaire. After the questionnaire, the group was interviewed about their written responses, debriefed them, and thanked for their participation. The purpose of the group interview was to enable me to dig deeper into their written responses and to stimulate additional reflection on shifts in the film.

Data Collection: Questionnaire

The post-film questionnaire included eight open-ended questions to explore shifts in the dialogue. I used the term “turning point” on the questionnaire (see Appendix A for the questionnaire). The use of a “fuzzy” definition of shift was inescapable given the exploratory nature of this phase of research and because I used alternative terms to help describe the phenomenon I am studying. This seems to have caused some confusion among participants as to what situations constitute shift. Some of the situations the participants identified as shift, I do not consider shift. Part of the purpose of this stage of research, however, was to clarify the concept of shift and determine the distinction, if any, between shift and other commonly used terms and concepts, and how I could best describe what I mean by shift for the interview phase of the research.

The eight questions on the post-film questionnaire asked the study participants whether they saw any shifts (or turning points), and if “yes,” to describe:

- the situation involving shifts (e.g., the scene—when, where, who) (1 question)
- the indicators they used to decide these situations were shifts (1 question)
- the precursors or factors they think facilitated the shift(s), including what was the role of emotions and information in leading to the shifts (5 questions)
- the results (impacts) of the situation on the men and their relationship, which *is* shift (1 question).

These questions and the conceptualization of shift are similar to Druckman’s (2001) framework for turning points analysis applied to international negotiations. Druckman’s framework distinguishes between the precipitants (precursors), the turning point (process departure), and the consequences of the turning point as moving towards or away from positive outcomes in negotiations.

While this phase of the research is primarily a qualitative analysis of the data, it also seeks information about independent variables and dependent variables related to shift. However, the independent and dependent variables were not operationalized beforehand as is usual in deductive research. Rather, this study is used to determine what constitutes the independent and dependent variables. Thus, the operationalization of these variables *emerges from* the data. The independent variables are assessed by the questions related to the precursors of shift: what led to the shifts. The dependent variables are assessed by the questions related to the impacts or results of the shifts: descriptions of the shift itself.

The questionnaire also included questions asking the participants to describe the impact of the film on them. Two open-ended questions asked for their thoughts and feelings while viewing the film. Twelve questions (on a five-point scale) asked how emotionally intense was watching the film, how much greater understanding did they achieve of other

race/ethnic groups, and whether their attitudes toward other race/ethnic groups were more negative or positive after watching the film. Data from these questions are not reported in this paper and will be used in a later post-dissertation analysis.

Pre-test of Questionnaire

Prior to the data collection with students from GMU, the questionnaire was pretested with a group of seven students at American University (AU). The film viewing was part of a workshop, however, the students saw only about 45 minutes of the film; the first half of the film. Students returned the questionnaire in a self-addressed stamped envelope within one week of viewing the film. Since the AU students did not view the entire film, the data collected was used to refine the questionnaire for use with the GMU students.

Sampling Unit

The data analysis is conducted on the questionnaire data. The group interview data is used to “fill in the blanks” and add depth and detail to written responses. The sampling unit in this study is each situation of shift—the portion of the dialogue, or scene, in which the shifts occur.

Data Analysis

The data is analyzed using an inductive process to identify themes and patterns (Creswell, 1994) in the post-film questionnaire responses in order to explore the dependent variable (shift) and independent variables (factors that precede or facilitate shift). The written responses are separated according to four categories: situations of shift, indicators, precursors, and results. The analysis procedures include pattern analysis (identifying categories of responses), descriptive statistics and process analysis (Druckman, 2001) to link the situations with their precursors and impacts. This analysis is a first step towards

developing theory using grounded theory methodology that identifies categories, subcategories and explores the relationship between these categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). In addition, the shifts are analyzed to determine the levels at which shift occur (e.g., individual, interpersonal, intergroup, total group). Finally, a *process model of shift* is developed from these other analyses. Additional explanations on the analysis procedures used are presented in the results section.

Results

This section presents the results of the data analysis, including the *situations* in which shift was observed, the *levels of analysis* represented by the shifts, the *indicators* participants used to determine shift was occurring or may occur, the *precursors* of shift, the *results* of shift, and a tentative *process model of shift* developed from these analyses.

Situations

The participants identify 16 situations in which shift takes place. Each situation is numbered according to its chronological occurrence in the film. Thus, Situation #1 occurs first and Situation #16 occurs last. Frequencies are calculated to assess the number of participants who identify a particular situation as a place where shift happens. Table 3 shows the distribution of situations of shift that are identified by the participants, including the situation description, the frequency of times (#) the situation is identified by the different participants, and the percentage of participants (%) who identify each situation.

Table 3. Phase 1: Situations of Shift

Code	Situation Description	# of Participants	% of Participants
1	Group-turned discussion into a "bashing" session	1	8%
2	Victor-expression of anger	5	42%
3	David-responds "really?" to Loren's personal story	2	17%
4	David Lee's-expression of frustration: "I'm invisible"	1	8%
5	Loren-said "David/Whites never have to think about being white"	1	8%
6	David-tells story of Chinatown experience	1	8%
7	Lee Mun Wah-asks David "what keeps you from believing...what if...?"	7	58%
8	Group-turned discussion to POC prejudice	3	25%
9	POC-acknowledgement of prejudice among POC	3	25%
10	Victor-express unease with POC prejudice talk	1	8%
11	David Lee-acknowledges anger & risk & expressed desire to risk talking about POC prejudice	2	17%
12	Lee Mun Wah-talks about his mother's murder	1	8%
13	Loren-expresses safety issue in group	3	25%
14	Lee Mun Wah-asks David to imagine a role reversal situation involving his daughters	7	58%
15	David-tells personal childhood story of racist father & beatings by father	10	83%
16	David-says to POC "I will be your ally"	1	8%

There are four situations that are identified by more than a third of the participants as being situations where a shift occurs, including:

- Situation #2 (N=5, 42%) – Victor's emotional expression of anger and frustration followed by David's silence for the first time.
- Situation #7 (N=7, 58%) – Lee Mun Wah's question to David C. that asked him

“What keeps you from believing that what the men of color have been saying to you is really happening? What would it mean to you if it were?” David responded he “didn’t want to believe that people could be so cruel to their own kind.” The people of color shifted in response to David’s acknowledgement.

- Situation #14 (N=7, 58%) – Lee Mun Wah’s question to David C. after David raised his concerns about affirmative action and his fear that his daughters wouldn’t get into college because minorities were getting “extra points.” Lee played “devil’s advocate” and asked David how he would feel if he were told “that only happens to a few people, maybe your daughters should just work harder to get those extra few points?” Lee was referring to earlier comments by David that implied people of color just needed to try harder. David seemed “to get” Lee’s point.
- Situation #15 (N=10, 83%) – David C. tearfully tells the group about his childhood, his racist father and his father’s physical abuse of him, and his subsequent closing off of his feelings to protect himself. The group responds with appreciation and support for David’s struggle to survive.

During the post-film discussion, there seems to be consensus on these four situations (based on ‘head nods’ and ‘uhus’). However, in the coding process, I attribute to each participant only those situations *explicitly* mentioned by them either written or orally. Therefore, the data in the table does not necessarily reflect all the situations that each participant viewed as a shift. Nevertheless, the results are an indication of which situations seemed to stand out most for the participants. The three men in *The Color of Fear* that I interviewed for the research in the next chapter also identified these situations as the most significant situations where shift occurred. The detailed analysis of the situations of shift, their precursors and results focus on the four situations that received the most “votes.” This analysis is presented on page 128.

Level of Shift

The situations of shift represent two levels of shift as follows:

- **Individual**—shifts within individuals (intrapersonal) experienced in the individual dimension
- **Interpersonal, Intergroup and Total Group** — shifts between two or more individuals (interpersonal, intergroup, total group), which may be expressed through observable behavior and dynamics in the transactional dimension

The purpose of distinguishing between the levels of shift is to distinguish between intra-person shifts and inter-person(s) shifts. This distinction may aid in the analysis of the different types of factors that facilitate shift in the individual, transactional and situational dimensions of analysis described in previous chapters. The distinction may also help me to develop a process model of shift that identifies precursors and results of shift. There is an interdependent relationship between these levels and dimensions of analysis. Shift is part of a relational and dynamic process. However, I have chosen to distinguish between different levels of analysis and between different dimensions of analysis for this research.

Shift at the individual level refers to the inner, intrapersonal experiences and processes of shift (e.g., affective, cognitive). These shifts do not occur in isolation. They occur “in relation” to other individuals as people interact in the transactional dimension. It is possible that only one person in an intervention group experiences a shift (e.g., an attitudinal shift). Generally, however, shift is experienced between two or more people in their attitudes and relationship with each other. Individual level shifts (e.g., attitude change) are usually, but not always, expressed as shifts in the transactional dimension. The transactional dimension includes behaviors, communications and interactions that are expressed between two or more people, such as statements of understanding or apology.

The interpersonal, intergroup and total group levels of shift are grouped together

because it was difficult to clearly distinguish between these three levels of shift. The distinction between the interpersonal and intergroup levels is fuzzy because several of the shifts were more clearly the result of statements or transactions between two men. However, those transactions and shifts also impacted the rest of the men in the group, as evidenced by their body language. It is also difficult to distinguish between interpersonal/intergroup and total group changes in the film. Shift at the total group level is similar to what others have described as the 'total-group phenomenon' (Stock & Lieberman, 1981, cited in Pearson, 1990), which Pearson (1990) described as "difficult to pin down, yet agreed upon by participants and/or third party members as points that were significant in the course of the discussion" (p. 63).

The different levels of shift are clearly interrelated, yet distinguishing between these levels of shift may aid in analysis of the factors and processes that facilitate shift.

Indicators of Shift

Participants were asked to describe what indicators they used to identify that shifts were occurring or had happened. Unfortunately, the participants did not always clearly link the situations they described with the indicators. Therefore, the following discussion of the indicators reported by participants is based on their general descriptions of the indicators they used as well as their specific descriptions of situations and indicators of shift.

Thirteen (13) indicators are identified. These indicators are divided into six categories: affective (emotions), cognitive (thoughts), nonverbal behavior, verbal behavior, time, and climate/group. Table 4 presents the indicators in the six categories, the number of participants who reported each indicator, and the percentage of participants who identified each indicator. The 'total' figure for each category is the number of times the participants reported the specific indicators in each category.

Table 4. Phase 1: Indicators of Shift

Indicators of Shift	# of Participants	% of Participants
Affective—Emotions/Feelings (2 Indicators)		
Increase or Decrease in Emotions (dramatic)	8	67%
• Intense/increased outpouring of emotions	8	67%
• Decreased intensity/de-escalation of emotion: general calming down, relief	2	17%
Change in Emotions	6	50%
• Lament, depressed, remorse	3	25%
• Surprised, confused	2	17%
• Internal struggle, stretching experience despite fear	2	17%
• Hurt, pain	1	8%
Total	18	
Cognitive—Thinking/Understanding (1 Indicator)		
Experiencing an 'aha'	4	33%
• Change in thinking toward other, issues	3	25%
• New realization, awareness of self	1	8%
Total	4	
Time (1 Indicator)		
Sudden change in words/attitudes	1	8%
Behavioral—Nonverbal (4 Indicators)		
Silence, reflection	4	33%
Facial expressions - changed-relaxed-peaceful, nodding,	4	33%
Crying	4	33%
Touching, hugging	2	17%
Total	14	

Table 4: Indicators of Shift – continued

Indicators of Shift	# of Participants	% of Participants
Behavioral— Verbal Statements (4 Indicators)		
Acknowledgement of other & their experience: racism exists; appreciation, validation of other's struggle/effort/survival, pain; express empathy, acceptance of other	8	67%
Risk taking (keep talking despite fear)	2	17%
Change content of discussion (e.g., new topic, new approach to communication -- share personal stories	2	17%
Change in behavior -- ceased confrontational behavior, posturing (e.g., switch from argument/debate to dialogue)	2	17%
Total	14	
Climate/Group (1 Indicator)		
Atmosphere changed - increased serious mood, relaxed, release of pressure	3	25%
Total	3	
Total Indicators – 13 Indicators	54	

The data suggests the observers used a wide range of possible indicators of shift and shows wide variability in the percentage of participants that reported a particular indicator. There are two possible explanations for this variability. First, as described earlier, the data presented reflect only the *explicitly* written or verbal statements of the study participants (mostly the written statements on the questionnaire). Thus, the actual number of participants who agreed with a particular indicator may be higher than the figures presented in Table 4. Second, the participants may have been differentially attuned to different types of indicators. For example, some people may be more attuned to emotional or nonverbal behaviors, while other people may be more attuned to verbal statements. The fact that I did not ask the participants to agree or disagree with each indicator is a methodological

limitation that qualifies the results. However, the results provide a useful starting point for exploring indicators of shift.

The data indicates that participants relied mostly on their observations of emotions (N=18) and nonverbal behaviors (N=14) as their cue that shifts were occurring. They used verbal behaviors or statements (N=14) to indicate that shift had occurred or may occur. Specific indicators reported by more than a third of participants include dramatic increases or decreases in the intensity of emotions (67%), change in emotions being experienced (50%), experiencing an “aha” (33%), silence and reflection (33%), facial expressions (33%), crying (33%), and verbal acknowledgement (67%).

Participants used verbal and nonverbal indicators of emotions to signal shift. They identified emotions that were directly expressed by the men in the film, such as when David C. said how hurt he was that others saw white people as oppressive. Participants also interpreted and intuited emotions in the men through the aid of nonverbal cues, such as crying, facial expressions and silence. Participants interpreted extended moments of silence as meaning that the men were in deep reflection and experiencing strong emotions, such as ‘being touched.’ The role of silence has been noted as important by some mediators. For example, Umbreit (1997) contends that many non-Western indigenous cultures are much more comfortable with and honoring of silence as part of the communicative, dialogue process. He suggests that mediators need to allow silence as a process through which parties *reflect* on their feelings and thoughts, thereby assisting “the involved parties in experiencing mediation as a process of dialogue and mutual aid—a journey of the heart in harmony with the head” (p. 8). The same reasoning applies to dialogue groups and other forms of conflict resolution interventions.

Verbal statements were also an important indicator of shift, most notably when statements expressed acknowledgement of something or someone (67%), such as David C.’s acknowledgement of the other men’s experiences and the prevalence of racism, which

was a complete turnaround from his previous denials.

The affective, cognitive, and nonverbal indicators were indicators that shift was occurring or may occur. The verbal statements were indicators that shift had occurred at the individual level within the person expressing acknowledgement and which indicates that shift may occur at the interpersonal, intergroup or total group level.

In addition to the indicators of positive shift, the participants also described indicators of negative turning points, including increased anger and fear, pointing fingers at the other, verbal rejection or refusal to acknowledge the other, a breakdown in unity, and an increased tense atmosphere. They are mentioned here only because some of the participants described these indicators as leading to impasse, greater reflection on self and others, or to uncovering some of the deep emotions related to the men's experiences, which the participants believed eventually helped facilitated shift.

Many of the variables that participants identified as indicators of shift could also be seen as *characteristics* of impactful statements, as *precursors* of shift, or as *results* of shift. For example, Pearson (1990) found that statements characterized as giving acknowledgement and taking a risk led to key moments in changing the discussion and relationships during dialogues and problem-solving workshops between Israelis/Jews and Palestinians. As will be shown in the next section, several indicators of shift were also reported as facilitators of shift, including intense emotions and verbal statements of acknowledgment. The confusion between indicators, precursors, and results of shift illustrates the complexity of these concepts and their interrelationship, and a lack of clarity in the questionnaire and framework of analysis during the first phase of the research. One purpose of the research in phase 2 (interviews) is to tease out the distinctions between different elements in the shift process.

Precursors of Shift

Participants were asked to describe what they think led to the shifts they observed. I refer to these variables as precursors to shift or factors that facilitated shift since the data collected does not lend itself to making causal conclusions. The reason for not making explicit causal claims between precursors and shift is twofold. First, while particular precursors may precede particular shifts and seem to lead to them, the data is based on outsider observations and assumptions about the film participants' internal and largely invisible psychological processes as well as visible interpersonal transactions. Second, the film captures only a small portion of the entire retreat so any observations and assumptions based on the film are based on incomplete knowledge of what is being observed.

The participants' text is analyzed to identify all the precursors they reported and the percentage of participants who reported each of these factors. First, all the factors are identified by going through each of the participant's responses and listing, in their words, all the precursors they identified. Second, similar factors are combined into one factor. For example, 'hear something unexpected that is counter to own experience' was combined with 'cognitive dissonance.' The result of this two-step process is a list of 25 precursors of shift. These factors are divided into the three dimensions of analysis and their corresponding subcategories (which emerged from the data): individual dimension (affective, cognitive, participant characteristics, time), transactional dimension (behavior, norms of behavior), and situational dimension (facilitator procedures and skills, characteristics and conditions). Table 5 (page 115) presents a summary of the precursors of shift, including the total number of participants (# of P's) citing a particular factor and the percentage of participants (% of P's) represented for each factor. The data presented reflect only the *explicitly* written or verbal statements of the study participants. Thus, the actual number of participants who agreed with a particular factor may be higher than the figures presented in Table 5, as is suggested by the group interview.

Table 5. Phase 1: Precursors of Shift²

Precursors	# of P's	% of P's
Individual Dimension (15 factors)		
<i>Affective: Emotions/Feelings (8 factors)</i>		
Emotions/Feelings –	11	92%
• Emotions/Feelings: Towards Other – be touched personally, emotionally, feel pain, hurt, etc. (especially intense -> can't ignore)	11	92%
• Emotions/Feelings: Towards Self – feel <i>own</i> emotions, pain, hurt	3	25%
Frustration/Anger	4	33%
Willing to Risk – let guard down, open up (due partly to increased trust)	8	67%
Camaraderie, Familiarity	2	17%
Need for Acknowledgement, Understanding, Progress	4	33%
Need for Belonging – unity, sense of group	2	17%
Need, Desire for Impact – higher purpose	1	8%
Catharsis, Release of Pressure/Emotions	1	8%
Subtotal	36	
<i>Cognitive: Thinking/Understanding (4 factors)</i>		
Reflection –	8	67%
• Reflect on Own Experiences— attempting to understand, self-questioning about the past, racism, privilege, pain	5	42%
• Reflect on Other's Experiences – alternative reality, questioning, attempting to understand	5	42%
Reframe Information – see new perspective, accept other's perspectives	7	58%
Cognitive Dissonance → anxiety; surprise	2	17%
See Common Ground/Differences	1	8%
Subtotal	20	
<i>Participant Characteristics (2 factors)</i>		
Readiness, Willingness to Change	2	17%
Credibility, Knowledgeable	2	17%
Subtotal	4	
<i>Time – Long Process (1 factor)</i>	1	8%
Total Individual Dimension	61	

² # of P's is the number of participants; % of P's is the percentage of participants who explicitly reported each precursor

Table 5. Phase 1: Precursors of Shift – continued

Precursors	# of P's	% of P's
Transactional Dimension (4 factors)		
<i>Behavior (3 factors)</i>		
Sharing Personal Stories – reveal pain, experiences, meanings	11	92%
Acknowledgment –	7	58%
• Acknowledge Other – racism exists, other's pain & perspectives	7	58%
• Acknowledge Self – own racism, privilege	4	33%
Impasse – lack of progress, not reaching understanding, acknowledgement	4	33%
Subtotal	26	
<i>Norms of Behavior (1 factor)</i>		
Sincerity, Authenticity	2	17%
Total Transactional Dimension	28	
Situational Dimension (6 factors)		
<i>Facilitator Procedures & Skills (3 factors)</i>		
Reframe → Role Play/Role Reversal – imagine being in another's shoes + probing questions to reflect on experience	7	58%
Facilitation Process Skills	4	33%
Personal characteristics – calming presence, gentle	2	17%
Subtotal	13	
<i>Characteristics & Conditions (3 factors)</i>		
Informal, Safe Space	3	25%
Meals/Social Time	1	8%
Time Pressure	1	8%
Subtotal	5	
Total Situational Dimension	18	
Total Factors = 25	107	

The 25 factors that facilitated shift were reported 107 times by participants. A discussion of the factors identified by 25% or more participants follows.

Individual Dimension

There are 15 factors cited at the individual dimension and these are mentioned 61 times by participants.

Affective Processes. The majority of the factors involve affective processes—emotions and feelings—in the individual dimension. The participants described 8 affective factors that facilitate shift and these are mentioned 36 times by participants. The most important finding is that 11 participants (92%) identified ‘being touched emotionally’ (e.g., by something the other men said) as a precursor of shift, especially when these emotions/feelings were intense. Also important is when the men got in touch with their *own* emotions, especially pain and hurt (25%). For example, one participant wrote: “Something important had to be explained in a way that made sense. For David C., someone had to make him feel – emotionally – the discrimination the others had felt. There had to be concrete examples...the times he did get a shift had nothing to do with people describing their own feelings, but when someone made him reflect on his own experience” (participant #6).

The second most commonly described factor within this category is ‘risk taking’, which is reported by 8 participants (67%) as leading to shift. Risk taking refers to the men being willing to take a risk, let their guard down, drop their mask, and open up their feelings and show vulnerability. Some participants said it was the trust that had been built among the men that enabled them to take risks in the group. Such openness was also perceived as resulting from the men’s willingness to take a risk and disclose feelings. In her research on impactful statements in intergroup problem solving workshops, Pearson (1990) found that

statements made by the members of the other side that were perceived as risky statements were more impactful than non-risky statements.

Participants described the men's 'need for acknowledgment' (33%), including the need for understanding and progress, as a precursor of shift because they believed this need kept participants engaged in the process. The role of acknowledgement as necessary for reconciliation is discussed in Chapter 2 and is confirmed in this research.

Another interesting finding regarding affective factors is the role of 'frustration and anger', which is identified by 4 (33%) participants as facilitating shift. Two of the shifts (Situations #7 and #14) began when the people of color had reached a certain level of frustration and anger at David C., followed by effective intervention by Lee Mun Wah, which helped facilitate a shift in David: "the anger at [David's] resistance to acknowledging them and the sensitive reframing by Lee which allowed David a chance to consider an alternative reality which didn't correspond to his mental model" (participant #11). Thus, rather than viewing frustration and anger as leading only to conflict escalation (as in common the conflict literature), these feelings may actually contribute to conflict resolution when they are finally acknowledged within the individual and expressed to others or when followed by effective facilitation skills.

In Situation #7 where David C. was asked the question, "What keeps you from believing," he finally got in touch with his own feelings (as evidenced by his body language) and acknowledged the existence of racism and expressed his sadness and horror that racism exists. This facilitated a shift in the people of color, especially Victor. Pearson (1990) described such acknowledgments as having "spoken to something *emotionally central* to the other side – directly addressing some central psychological concern (Kelman (1979, 1986))" (emphasis added, p. 63). Pearson (1990) observed similar dynamics in her observations of negotiations, mediations and problem-solving workshops and in her research on 'symbolic gestures.' The key point is that acknowledgement is an effective

facilitator of shift precisely because it touches the listener at the emotional level, satisfying an emotional need. The need for acknowledgment is perhaps one reason why the men participated in the retreat and why they continued to dialogue despite frustrations and anger.

In summary, the participants thought that emotions are key to shift: “Emotion played 98% of [the reason for shift]. Intensity is key” (participant #5); “Strong emotions (accusations, justifications, criticisms) led to breakthrough. These emotions were genuine, though not pleasant” (participant #7); “Emotions are often key. When people get out of being ‘rational’ often led to the biggest turning points” (participant #9).

Cognitive Processes. Cognitive factors were reported 20 times by participants in contrast to the affective factors that were reported 36 times. The greater mention of affective factors suggests that affective factors may be more important precursors of shift than cognitive factors. The most common cognitive process described by participants is the process of ‘reflection’ (67%). Participants described both ‘reflecting on one’s *own* experiences’ (42%) and ‘reflecting on *other’s* experiences’ (42%) as important factors. For example: “The director [Lee Mun Wah] really challenged David to reflect on the experiences of others. He was great” (participant #8) versus “...the time David did get a shift had nothing to do with people describing their own feelings, but when someone made him reflect on his own experiences” (participant #6). Participants believed this reflection process was a key factor enabling the men to get in touch with their own and each other’s emotions. Without reflection, the men (primarily David C.) merely let the information being offered pass by. The role of reflection is a key component of the experiential therapy approach described by Greenberg et al. (1993).

Reframing information (58%) or perspective-taking is another important step by the men towards understanding, accepting and acknowledging the other. This process was encouraged by the men and the facilitator. The role of reframing information and

perspective-taking has received considerable attention in the conflict resolution literature.

Transactional Dimension

Behavior. Participants identified 4 factors in the transactional dimension. These factors are closely related to the factors and shifts in the individual dimension. Shifts at the individual level (Person A) often led to shift at the transactional dimension (between individuals), which in turn led to shift in the individual dimension (Person B, C...). Similarly, behaviors in the transactional dimension often led to shift in the individual dimension, which in turn led to shift in the transactional dimension. As described in Chapter 1, the dimensions of analysis are interrelated and form a dynamic, circular model of change in which the shifts in different dimensions of analysis are interdependent. For example, the majority of participants reported that 'sharing personal stories' (92%) and vulnerabilities is a leading precursor of shift (transactional dimension). The men's personal stories touched the other men emotionally (individual dimension). In some cases, it was the men's willingness to risk or need for belonging (individual) and acknowledgment (individual) that encouraged them to share particular personal stories (transactional).

The factors in the transactional dimension are often the verbal expressions of shifts that had occurred or were occurring in the individual. For example, David C's increasing reflection on his own and other's experiences and the emotions and new perspectives this evoked in him led him to finally 'acknowledge' the other men's experiences and that racism exists (58%) and it led him to 'acknowledge his own racism and white privilege' (33%). David's acknowledgement, in turn, shifted the other men's attitudes toward David and shifted their relationship with him.

The importance of acknowledging the other is clear in the literature review in chapter 2. Less clear is why and how self-acknowledgement (e.g., acknowledge own racism) seems to facilitate shift in both the person making the self-acknowledgement and in others. One

possible explanation from the example of David C. is that as he acknowledged his own racism to himself, this perhaps led him to reevaluate and change his perceptions and attitudes towards others: “If I am racist, what does that mean for how I see others and relate to others? What does it mean for how I see myself?” When David verbally acknowledged to the other men the possibility of his being racist (and the possibility of white racism in general), his self-acknowledgement was seen as finally “opening his eyes” and taking responsibility for his attitudes and actions. This helped shift the other men’s attitudes towards David C. To achieve such self-awareness, especially of something negative about oneself, seems to require a willingness to engage and reflect on how others see us. Lee Mun Wah encouraged this self-reflection by asking David to imagine what it would mean to him if it were true and asking him whether he would want to know the truth.

The feeling of a ‘lack of progress or an impasse’ (33%) often preceded shift. This seemingly negative factor, when coupled with another factor in the individual dimension or action by the facilitator often led to shift. For example, at two key incidents of shift (Situation #7—David’s response to the “What keeps you from believing” question, and Situation #14—David’s response to the role-reversal involving his daughters), Lee Mun Wah, the facilitator-participant, intervened at a point when the rest of the men appeared frustrated and angry with David C. or felt at a loss as to what to do or say next. The study participants perceived these situations as impasse. Lee Mun Wah intervened at these two points using a variety of techniques, such as probing questions and reframing, which got David to really reflect on what the other men had been saying. As mentioned before, it was at these points that David had an emotional reaction and ‘got’ what the other men were saying. For example, participant #1 wrote: “At the two positive turning points [Situation #7 and #14], the feeling of an impasse, or of a failure to communicate, coupled with the director’s (Lee’s) questioning of David led to a shift.”

The link between ‘impasse’ and shift is unclear and remains to be explored in

further research. Since impasse in these two situations led the facilitator to intervene, and very effectively at that, the impasses could be seen as contributing to shift. Impasse may be more accurately viewed as a co-variable or needing to be coupled with another variable for impasse to contribute to shift. For example, impasse coupled with no action or 'destructive' action (e.g., humiliating participants for not 'getting it') could lead to further impasse or escalation. Impasse coupled with the 'constructive' action (e.g., asking participants to explore the underlying reasons for their resistance) could lead to shift, as finally occurred in the film. However, what constitutes 'constructive' action is still unclear. Some participants viewed Victor's angry outburst as resulting from frustration and impasse (or lack of progress), but that his angry outburst was not an escalation of events in the traditional negative sense in the conflict resolution literature, but rather as a 'wake up call' to David, getting him to finally stop and listen, even if only for a minute. Impasse may let people know that what they are doing is not working and they may need to "surrender" or let go so something else can happen. Previous research on negotiation also indicates a relationship between impasse or crises and turning points (Druckman, 1986, 2001). As such, the role of impasse warrants further study.

Situational Dimension

Participants identified 6 factors in the situational dimension of analysis, including facilitator procedures and skills and characteristics and conditions of the dialogue.

Facilitator Procedures & Skills. The majority of the factors in the situational dimension that facilitated shift related to various procedures and skills used by the facilitator (and to a lesser extent by the men in the film). Most notable is when the facilitator reframed information in a new way that asked the men to imagine being in someone else's shoes and then used probing questions to encourage them to reflect on other's and their own experiences and feelings (58%). Asking the men to imagine being in someone else's shoes

is similar to having them engage in a role play or role reversal, which was predicted to facilitate shift. Facilitation process skills, such as timing of facilitator interventions (e.g., at impasse) and keeping the dialogue moving forward (33%) were also identified as factors that helped facilitate shift.

Characteristics & Conditions. The primary characteristic and condition of the dialogue situation that was reported as facilitating shift was the informal, safe space of the dialogue (25%).

In summary, the study participants identified 25 factors that preceded and contributed to shift, of which 12 were explicitly mentioned by 25% or more participants (7 by 50% or more) and discussed above. Many of the individual factors were coupled with other factors. There was a reciprocal relationship between the precursors of shift and their effects (shifts) in the different dimensions of analysis. The primary factors that contributed to shift were the emotions and feelings that emerged from the dialogue transactions, the reflection on other's and one's own experiences and feelings, and well-timed facilitator procedures and skills.

Limitations. While the participants identified the factors they believed led to shift, there are several limitations with this analysis. First, there were only a small number of participants (N=12) observing the film and they were not randomly selected. Second, only one film or situation was used for the analysis and it was only an excerpt of a longer weekend retreat. Third, there is a lack of independence among the factors, which makes it difficult to isolate their specific impacts. However, it is reasonable to expect that the factors are interdependent since they are part of a wholistic process within, between and among a group of individuals. Fourth, each of the participants reported more than one factor or

precursor or shift and did so without indicating a ranking of the factors in terms of their relative importance. The lack of ranking makes it difficult to discern which factors were most important. However, the fact that some factors were identified by a much higher percentage of participants than other factors is an indication of relative importance (e.g., 92% versus 8%). Fifth, there may have been some confusion by participants between identifying what factors facilitated shift and describing the situations in which shift occurs, which would reflect a weak conceptualization of the idea of identifying factors or precursors to shift. These limitations suggest this is a very tentative, speculative analysis. Nevertheless, the analysis provides a useful starting point for understanding shift by providing some suggestions for the types of precursors of shift.

Results of Shift

Table 6 presents the results of shifts as identified by the study participants, including the types of changes and the level of shift in which the observed changes took place. These results actually constitute a definition of shift. The levels of shift were previously grouped into two categories: individual level and interpersonal/intergroup/ group level. These levels correspond to the individual and transactional dimensions of analysis.

Table 6. Phase 1: Results of Shift

Results/Outcomes – Types of Changes	# of P's	% of P's
Individual Level/Dimension (6 Results)		
<i>Affective: Emotions/Feelings (3 Results)</i>		
Personal connections, healing, acceptance, appreciation between POC and Whites	7	58%
Able to feel other's pain; empathy; remorse	4	33%
Able to feel own pain; accept it	3	25%
Subtotal	14	
<i>Cognitive: Thoughts/Understanding (3 Results)</i>		
Increased understanding of other	7	58%
Increased understanding of self	5	42%
Improved perspectives, perceptions, thoughts about other	4	33%
Subtotal	16	
Total Individual Level/Dimension	30	
Interpersonal, Intergroup, Total Group Level/Transactional Dimension (4 Results)		
Acknowledgement, affirmation toward other	5	42%
Confrontational behavior ceased	1	8%
Change in topic	1	8%
Atmosphere relaxed	2	17%
Subtotal	9	
Total Results = 10 Results		
Degree/Level of Shift		
Intense emotional impact	8	67%
Partial individual change	3	25%
Not necessarily permanent individual change	2	17%

The participants described 10 types of results or shifts. Many of these are related or similar. These 10 results fall into shifts at the individual level (intrapersonal shift) and shifts at the interpersonal, intergroup, and total group levels as expressed in the transactional dimension. The individual level shifts are characterized by new feelings, thinking, and understandings of self, other and the conflict and the individual's relationship to the other. The interpersonal, intergroup and total group shifts are characterized by shifts in the transactions (behaviors) between the participants and a change in the dialogue topic and atmosphere. Thus, shift refers to individual change (affective, cognitive) and transactional change (behavioral), both of which lead the participants toward mutually positive attitudes and relationships.

The majority of results are related to the shifts in David C. and between David C. and the men of color. However, the study participants did not always indicate which shifts they were referring to. Therefore, there is some interpretation on my part based upon a reading of the other responses to different questions by the participants.

The primary results were affective and cognitive changes within and between the men in the film. The main affective change was the 'personal connections,' healing and appreciation between the men of color and white men in the group (58%). The main cognitive changes were 'increased understanding of the other' (58%), 'increased understanding of oneself' (42%) and improved perspectives of other (33%). The primary behavioral change, which emerged from the individual level changes, was the acknowledgement of the experiences and feelings of the other (42%).

Limitations. One problem with this data and analysis is that the line is blurry between the precursors of shift and results given the complex chain of events in every situation. For example, at one step in the shift process, a factor is a precursor and at another step, the same factor may be viewed as a result. This becomes more evident in the section on

a process model of shift (p. 129). Many of the indicators of shift that participants identified are also results or shift itself. This conceptual dilemma is easy to see by merely looking at the descriptions of the indicators (Table 4), precursors (Table 5), and results (Table 6). For example, according to my initial definition of shift, positive changes in thoughts and feelings toward the 'other' and issues is shift. However, some participants also described these factors as indicators and precursors of shift.

One way to conceptualize the distinction between precursors and results is to distinguish the 'process of change' from the 'outcomes of change.' The 'process of change' includes the precursors or factors that facilitate shift and helps answer the questions of when and why shift happens. The 'outcomes of change' are the results and can be determined by comparing 'the before' and 'the after' picture in the participants' attitudes and relationships. The indicators illustrate both the process of shift (or that shift is occurring) and the results of shift. In addition, shift may be viewed as both a result and precursor given that shifts in one individual (result) often led to (precursor) shifts in other individuals (result). This model reflects the description of shift in chapter 1 as both a process and an outcome and illustrates the dynamic, interrelated aspects of shift.

The lack of conceptual clarity and precise distinctions between precursors and results is a limitation of this analysis and must be considered when interpreting the results of the analysis. This phase of the research will be expanded upon during subsequent phases to refine and clarify the various elements in the process of shift.

Degree of Shift. The participants made several observations of the degree of shifts they observed. The majority of participants described the shifts as intense, emotional experiences (N=8, 67%). However, several people also said they believed the shifts they observed in David were partial (N=3, 25%) and not necessarily permanent (N=2, 17%) depending upon whether or not he would later have a support system to nurture and further

his changes. Hugh, a Latino man in the film, said at the end of the film that the changes David had made needed ongoing support lest they fade in their impact and he returns to his former belief system. Several men in the film also felt that David had just reached the 'tip of the iceberg' and that he needed to keep exploring and questioning his attitudes and beliefs and increasing his understanding of himself and others. They did not believe a complete or permanent shift of such complex and life-long attitudes in David could be changed in one weekend. Rather, such changes or shifts are part of a longer process.

The men of color in the film and study participants expressed a cautionary acknowledgment of David C. and the depth of changes he had made by the end of the weekend. However, the participants seemed to feel that he had indeed experienced significant changes. Subsequent interviews I conducted with three of the film participants confirmed this observation of the film. In fact, David's life has completely changed since the retreat and he has co-led workshops on racism with other men in the group.

Process Model of Shift: Four Key Situations of Shifts, Their Precursors and Results

As described earlier, the participants identified four key situations in which they believed shift occurred. These four situations actually included more than one shift in each situation. To the extent possible (given the lack of complete information given by participants), I analyzed the four situations, the shifts they included, the factors identified as contributing to the shifts by participants, and the results of shift. The participants did not always make an explicit link between shifts, their precursors, and results and made many comments of general factors without designating which shift(s) they were related to. Therefore, the number of participants who identified particular facilitating factors in the descriptions below is lower than what is probably the case. Subsequent interviews with three of the film participants (phase 2 of the research presented in chapter 5) support the general process paths developed for the four situations of shift.

Each situation is described separately in chronological order, including the precursors and positive shifts. As described earlier, shifts at one step of the process may become precursors of the next step of the process. The results of each situation are movement towards positive relationships among the film participants. The analysis is presented as an interpretive process path through time in the tradition of process tracing (Druckman, 2001). Additional analyses of the models are presented following the descriptions of the four situations.

Situation #2—Victor’s emotional and angry outburst. The participants described two types of shifts or results related to Victor’s angry outburst: Victor’s cathartic release and David’s “wake up call.” Victor’s outburst was preceded by his increased ‘frustration and anger’ at David’s statements that indicated David’s lack of understanding and acknowledgment of the experiences of the men of color and the seeming frustration, anger and impasse this seemed to cause in the group as a whole. Victor’s frustration and anger coupled with his willingness to risk expressing himself (authentic expression) led to his outburst.³ Participants described this situation as both a cathartic experience for Victor and as helping lead to shift for David as evidenced by his silence after Victor was finished. This was the first instance when David was silent, seemingly reflecting on what Victor had said, Victor’s intense emotions and what would lead Victor to have such strong feelings. Prior to this point, David always had a ready response to whoever was talking, as if he weren’t really listening or reflecting on what other men were saying before responding. Participants interpreted his sudden silence as indicating something important was happening internally within David. Some participants believed David had a negative reaction to Victor’s anger,

³ My interviews with three of the dialogue participants suggested that Victor also got frustrated and angry because he empathized with the frustration and anger of the other men.

however, most participants believed it was a “wake up call” for David, and therefore a positive reaction.⁴

This incident did not lead to a significant shift in David, at least not a shift that was visible. However, it did seem to have some positive effect on him. Shift is a process any may occur without clear overt indicators. Given the exploratory nature of this phase of research, I felt greater inclusion was more appropriate than exclusion at this point. The chain of events can be summarized as follows (I = individual dimension, T = transactional dimension, S = situational dimension; D = David, V = Victor):

(T) D's statements indicating lack of understanding, acknowledgement → (T) impasse, frustration, anger in group → (I) V's intense frustration/anger + willingness to risk → (T) V's authentic expression of intense anger → SHIFT: (I) D's emotional reaction, silence, reflection, 'wake up call' & V's de-escalation of anger (catharsis)

Situation #7—Lee Mun Wah's question to David of 'what keeps you from believing'. The participants described two types of shifts related to Lee Mun Wah's question to David: the precursors of shift within David and his acknowledgement that racism exists and of his own prejudices, and the positive shift by the other men, especially Victor, which followed David's acknowledgement. The shift related to David was a complex chain of events. There was increased 'frustration and anger' among the men of color with David and his statements that indicated his lack of understanding and

⁴ I must note that in a follow-up video that showed additional scenes not in *The Color of Fear*, David later said that Victor's angry outburst 'made me frightened' and 'shut down.' So, in fact, his silence in this instance may actually have been a sign of closing off rather than careful reflection. Nevertheless, his fear may also have prompted him to listen more carefully to what others were saying, if for no other reason, than to avoid provoking such an outburst again. This seemed more constructive than his previous rebuttals and could be interpreted as a positive outcome and first step in the shift process.

acknowledgment of their experiences. The men of color made several statements expressing their frustration with David and the impasse that had developed. Their 'impasse' in the dialogue led to Lee Mun Wah's intervention. He 'reframed' the previous information in a new way and asked David to do a 'role play' by imagining: "What if what these men were telling you were true? What would that mean for you?" Mun Wah used 'probing questions' to encourage David to reflect on the 'other men's experiences,' the meaning of those experiences for him if he were to believe that what others were saying was true, and his resistance to believing them. Again, David was silent. His lower jaw started quivering, indicating he was experiencing some intense emotions. He then expressed his new 'self-awareness' that he didn't "*want to* believe that people could be so cruel to their own kind."

The realization of the sources of his resistance helped David reframe the men's experiences until he had a new perspective and believed their experiences were true. David came to a new awareness and verbally acknowledged that racism exists, how "horrible that must be" for the men of color, and that unbeknownst to him, he had his own prejudices. When David finally had some new awareness and understanding, he verbally acknowledged that racism exists and that the stories and experiences related by the men of color in the group "must be true." He was no longer dismissing or minimizing the men's experiences. This intrapersonal shift in David, expressed verbally to the group, led to a reciprocal shift in the people of color, most evident in Victor, who nodded his head and replied to David: "From here on, I can work with you." This led to a significant shift in the nature of David's relationship with everyone else in the total group as evidenced by the other men in the group nodding in agreement with Victor.

The impasse led the facilitator to intervene getting David to reflect, feel and come to believe and acknowledge the other men's experiences and his own prejudices, which in turn led the other men to have a positive shift towards David. This chain of events can be summarized as follows (I = individual dimension, T = transactional dimension, S =

situational dimension, POC = people/men of color, D = David, V = Victor):

(T) D's statements indicating lack of understanding, acknowledgement → (I)
 POC's frustration/anger → (T) impasse in group → (S) facilitator intervention
 (reframing, role-play, questions) → (I) D's reflection on other's experiences and
 his own resistance → (I) D got in touch with his feelings and felt the other's pain
 from racism → (I) D's reframing → SHIFT: (I) D's new self-awareness and
 perspectives → SHIFT/PRECURSOR: (T) D's acknowledgement of the POC's
 experiences, that racism exists, and of his own prejudices → SHIFT: (I) V &
 POC's changed attitudes toward D → SHIFT/PRECURSOR: (T) V's
 acknowledgement of D's acknowledgement → SHIFT: (T) total group shift in
 relationship between D and POC

Situation #14—Lee Mun Wah's question to David regarding his daughters
(role reversal). Similar to Situation #7, the participants described a shift within David as a
 result of Lee Mun Wah's facilitation skills in regards to a role-reversal involving David's
 daughters. Again, there was some frustration among the men of color due to their lack of
 progress in getting David to understand and acknowledge White privilege. Lee Mun Wah
 again intervened using probing questions, reframing, and most importantly by posing a role
 reversal situation to David. David had expressed his dismay about affirmative action and
 said all people should be evaluated according to merit and achievement. He believed that if
 people of color weren't succeeding it was their fault for not having the right attitudes and
 not trying hard enough, not because of institutional barriers to their progress. Given the
 impasse, Lee Mun Wah asked David how he would feel if his daughters were denied

entrance into their college of choice and he were told they should “Just try harder to get the extra points they needed.” David replied that he would feel like his feelings and experience were being minimized. Lee Mun Wah responded saying, “Yeah. Kind of like you’ve been doing to the men in this room?” David slowly responded, “Yeah. I guess that’s what I’ve been doing.” There was no verbal reaction to David’s acknowledgement that he had been minimizing the men of color’s experiences and feelings. However, the film showed the other men as nodding in agreement with David, signifying that they agreed with David’s assessment and perhaps that they were touched by his new awareness and acknowledgement of his behaviors. They seemed to be thinking and feeling, “Yeah! You finally got how you have been treating us and making us feel!”

The study participants described Lee’s facilitation skills—the role reversal situation he posed to David—as being key to getting David to ‘reflect on other’s experiences’ and how he would feel if he were in the type of situations they face. This reflection led David to ‘feel’ what the other men were feeling and empathize with them. This chain of events, which is similar to Situation #7, is summarized as follows (I = individual dimension, T = transactional dimension, S = situational dimension, V = Victor, L = Loren, DL = David Lee, D = David, POC = people/men of color):

(T) D’s statements indicating lack of understanding, acknowledgement → (I) POC’s frustration/anger → (T) impasse in group → (S) facilitator intervention (reframing, role-reversal, questions) → (I) D’s reflection on how he would feel in same type of situation the POC faced → (I) D’s feeling his feelings/experiences were minimized → SHIFT: (I) D’s new self-awareness, perspectives, and empathy with the POC → (T) D’s acknowledgement that he would feel minimized → (S)

facilitator intervention (questions) → SHIFT/PRECURSOR: (T) D's
 acknowledgement he had minimized the POC's experiences and feelings →
 SHIFT: (I) POC's changed attitudes toward D (nodding in agreement)

Situation #15—David sharing his painful childhood story. The participants described three types of shifts related to David's sharing his painful childhood story: David's new awareness about his childhood, the reasons why David told the story, and the shift in the other men upon hearing David's story. The story that David shared was his experiences growing up in a racist community and household. He told the group that his father beat him for many reasons, including to make him conform to his father's racist beliefs. David said his response to these experiences was to shut off his feelings so he would no longer feel the pain he felt. He told the story tearfully and prefaced the story by saying he just wanted the others to understand his past and struggles. The study participants thought this was the first time he had 'reflected on his past in an effort to understand himself.' In this process, David 'got in touch with his own feelings of pain and hurt'. He then 'risked opening up his feelings' and sharing his story with the group in an effort to explain to the group how he got to be the person he is, cut off to his emotions. He was 'seeking understanding' from the group and 'wanted to be accepted' by the group. The rest of the men were 'touched emotionally' by David's 'story', his 'risk-taking', and new 'self-awareness,' as evidenced by their non-verbal behavior. They were touched by his acknowledgement of their experiences and pain and his acknowledgement of his own prejudices and privilege. The men responded by verbally expressing their emotions and acknowledging and appreciating David's struggle, growing awareness and his survival of a painful past.

In summary, through David's reflection on his childhood, he developed a new

awareness of the impact of his childhood upon him. His desire for understanding and acceptance by the group led him to tell his childhood story. The other men were deeply touched by David's story and his acknowledgement of their experiences and his own prejudices. David had an internal shift, which led him to relate in a new way with the other men, which in turn led to an internal shift within the other men, and a shift in their relationship with David.

What was not obvious in the film was what preceded David's decision to tell his childhood story to the group. I later discovered (via interviews) that Gordon, the other White man, had talked at length with David Saturday afternoon/evening. Gordon, who spoke little in the film but seemed to understand and empathize with the men of color, was asked by the men of color to "talk to David" due to their frustration with David and the seeming impasse in the discussion (this request was shown in the film). Gordon wanted to talk with David to help break through David's barriers. During the discussion, he asked David to describe his childhood and his relationship with his father. It was because of Gordon's astute questioning of David that David got in touch with his own past and pain and how these had influenced his beliefs and ways of coping with unpleasant thoughts and feelings. Gordon and David's private discussion and David's personal discovery led David to want to share his childhood experience and explain himself to the men of color.

The chain of events is summarized as follows (I = individual dimension, T = transactional dimension, S = situational dimension, D = David, G = Gordon, POC = people/men of color):

(T) D's statements indicating lack of understanding, acknowledgement → (I)

POC's frustration/anger → (T) impasse in group + POC request to Gordon for help

→ (I) G's desire to help David 'see the light' → (T/S) G's probing questions to D

→ (I) D reflected on his past seeking self-understanding → SHIFT: (I) D got in touch with his own pain, self-awareness and understanding → (I) D's desire for understanding & acceptance → (I) D's willingness to risk → (T) D tells his story and explains himself to the group & SHIFT/PRECURSOR: D acknowledges their experiences and pain and his own prejudices → SHIFT: (I) POC's touched emotionally by D's story and struggle & POC's appreciation of D's self-understanding and feeling of shared pain (non-verbal behavior) → SHIFT/PRECURSOR: (T) POC's verbal acknowledgment and appreciation for D's pain and struggle → SHIFT: (T) total group change in relationship between D and other men

Summary

Three of the situations included frustration/anger: Situation #2, Situation #7, and Situation #14. Two of these situations, #7 and #14, ended in significant shifts. Situation #2, while it did have some positive effect on David C., it did not lead to a significant shift in him. What made the difference between the situations? One explanation is that more dialogue had occurred by situations #7 and #14 and that 'little shifts or openings' had built up enabling the 'large shifts' to occur at those points in the dialogue. Another explanation is that the critical difference in #7 and #14 versus #2 was the effective intervention by the facilitator, Lee Mun Wah. He used facilitation skills that got David to really reflect on what the other men were saying and their experiences, as well as to reflect on his own reactions, feelings and experiences if he were to face their situations. David's reflection process seemingly led him to react emotionally, to reflect on his and other's feelings and experiences, which enabled him to finally achieve a new understanding of himself, others, and the issues. There was no similar intervention in #2. Thus, the primary precursors of

shift in situation #7 and #14 were the facilitator's intervention and David's reflection and emotional reactions that led to his shifts.

In situations #7 and #14, the shifts in David at the individual level led him to acknowledge the other's men's experiences and feelings and to acknowledge his own feelings and shortcomings to the group. David took considerable risks, both in terms of letting down his usual defense mechanisms to really reflect, feel and form new understandings, and in terms of openly acknowledging the other's men's experiences (and thereby reversing his earlier statements and attitudes) and acknowledging his prejudices. David's acknowledgment led to shift in the other men at the individual level and the interpersonal/intergroup/group level. Specifically, the other men seemed to experience a change in their attitudes toward David. In situation #7, this was verbally expressed as Victor acknowledged David's acknowledgment ("From here I can work with you"). Victor's acknowledgement contributed to a total group change in the relationships between David and the other men.

Situation #15 included significant shifts in the individual and interpersonal levels. Again, the shift was facilitated by someone's effective intervention, in this situation, by Gordon's intervention. His discussion with David led David to reflect on his childhood. David got in touch with his past painful experiences and feelings and reached an awareness that he had learned to cope with his pain by shutting off his feelings. David realized that this made it difficult for him to see and feel other's pain as well. Gordon's careful intervention led David to share his personal story with the group. Thus, David's individual shift led to a relational shift, his outward acknowledgment towards the men of color. The men of color were emotionally touched by his story and appreciated his new awareness and his finally feeling the pain of racism for himself. They experienced individual shifts in their attitudes towards David, and acknowledged this to him (transactional dimension). The whole group seemed to experience a shift in the relationship between David and the rest of the

men. As in Situations #7 and #14, the key precursors of the shifts were effective facilitation intervention, which led to David's reflection on his past, the emotions this surfaced, and the new awareness and self-understanding that develop within David. His shift at the individual level led to his shift at the interpersonal level, which in turn led to shifts in the men of color at the individual and interpersonal levels, leading to a total group shift.

In summary, the three primary situations of shift (Situations #7, #14, #15) included the following precursors of shift at the individual level: facilitator/participant intervention, reflection on one's own experiences and other's experiences and feelings, and being touched emotionally, which led to increased understanding of self and other. At the transactional level, the individual shifts were expressed through sharing personal stories and acknowledgment. These led to individual level shifts in the listener, which in turn the individual expressed at the transactional level, all culminating in a shift in the total group.

Discussion

The data suggest that shift is observable. The participants tended to identify similar situations as shift. The major shifts (Situations #2, #7, #14, #15) were explicitly identified by 42%-83% of the participants. Further, as noted earlier, the actual number of participants identifying these situations (and the other situations) as shift was likely higher than these figures.

Participant used a variety of indicators to identify points in the dialogue where shift is occurring or may occur within and between people, and where shift has occurred. The primary indicators to observers that shift was occurring were the intense emotions the participants observed or intuited in the men (e.g., fear, anger, surprise, psychological pain), and the nonverbal behaviors (e.g., silence, abrupt changes in facial expressions, crying) and verbal statements (e.g., some type of acknowledgment) expressed by the men in the film. The participants either directly observed the emotions, such as David's surprise, while other

times the emotions were interpreted and intuited by the participants with the help of nonverbal cues, such as crying or changed facial expressions. Silence was also an important nonverbal indicator to participants that shift was occurring. They interpreted silence as meaning the men were in deep reflection and experiencing strong emotions. While silence is seen as an indicator of shift, silence may help facilitate shift, by encouraging reflection on what preceded the silence or on why everyone is suddenly silent. More research is needed to determine whether silence is also a facilitator of shift.

The participants also identified risk-taking behaviors (e.g., talking about sensitive topics, expressing feelings), changed communication behaviors (e.g., moving from debate to dialogue), and changed group atmosphere (e.g., from tense to more relaxed) as indicators that shift had occurred. Several of the indicators of shift were also reported as precursors of shift, including intense emotions and verbal statements of acknowledgment.

The primary precursors of shift in the individual dimension were affective processes, such as 'being touched emotionally.' Participants described two types of 'being touched emotionally' as precursors of shifts. One type of 'being touched' was when the men were touched at the emotional level by something someone else said. For example, the men were touched emotionally when David talked about his traumatic childhood experiences and then felt a connection with David, either because the men felt empathy with David or because they felt he was getting in touch with his own pain. The second type of 'being touched' was when the men got in touch with their *own* emotions, especially with their own pain and hurt. For example, David seemed able to shift whenever he got in touch with the pain of his own childhood and the pain of racism in *his* life. Also important was the intensity of the emotions; the more intense, the more likely the emotions were seen to facilitate shift.

"Risk-taking" was another key affective process that facilitated shift. The shifts often occurred when the men were willing to take risks, let their guard down, drop their mask, and open up their feelings and show vulnerability, for example, when sharing their

personal stories or expressing fear. Closely related to 'risk taking' was the role of 'trust' in that sufficient trust that had been built in the group, which helped encourage the men's risk-taking behavior. Other affective factors that facilitated shift were motivational factors, such as the men's need for acknowledgement and understanding, need for progress, need for belonging in the group, and feelings of camaraderie in the group, as well as the desire to make an impact on others who view the film. These factors motivated the men to stay engaged in the dialogue to achieve their needs and, therefore, shift.

A surprising finding was the potentially positive roles of frustration and anger as precursors of shift. However, these emotions facilitated shift only when they were acknowledged and expressed and/or when followed by effective facilitation skills. For example, Victor's angry outburst was seen as a positive 'wake-up call' to David, and the facilitator's skillful intervention during periods of frustration and impasse led to shift. Thus, rather than 'managing' or ignoring frustration and anger, as is common by many conflict resolution scholars and practitioners, these feelings, when expressed, explored and responded to, may actually "set the stage" for or contribute to shift.

Cognitive processes helped lead to shift at the individual level. For the men to be 'touched emotionally,' it seemed they often had to first reflect on and think about their own or other's experiences and feelings. It was not enough just to listen to the other, one had to reflect on what meaning other's experiences had for oneself in order to be touched emotionally. It was not enough for David to just remember his childhood; he had to also reflect on what meaning and impact his childhood had on him today. The reflection process enabled the men to get in touch with their feelings and helped them discover the meaning and impact of their emotions and experiences. Cognitive and affective processes are intertwined and the combination of these processes facilitated shift. However, key in this process was the experiencing of intense emotions.

Also important to shift at the individual level were two behaviors in the transactional

dimensions: expressing acknowledgment and sharing personal stories. When the men expressed acknowledgment of the other men's experiences or acknowledgement of their own feelings and experiences, this acknowledgement led to shift within the listeners. The sharing of personal stories was reported as a key factor that facilitated shift, especially at the individual level. Acknowledgement and personal stories facilitated shift because they touched the men emotionally. In addition to the content of what the men said, also important was *how* they communicated. When the men spoke with authenticity or sincerity, their statements facilitated shift.

In summary, the precursors of shift at the individual level were facilitator/participant intervention, reflection on one's own experiences and feelings and other's experiences and feelings, and being touched emotionally, which led to changed feelings and increased understanding of self and other. Individual shifts were expressed through acknowledgment in the transactional dimension. Acknowledgement also led to individual level shifts in the listener, which in turn the individual listener expressed at the transactional level, culminating in a shift in the group as a whole.

The participants described two categories of results: individual level change and interpersonal, intergroup, total group change. Within these two categories were 10 specific results. Many of these were related or similar. Each study participant did not always indicate which shifts they were referring to when describing results. Therefore, there was some interpretation on my part based upon a reading of the other responses to questions by the participants and by aggregating each of the participant's responses. There were no contradictory observations made by the participants.

The primary results of shift, or shift itself, were affective and cognitive change within and between the men in the film. The majority of the shifts were within David and between David and the men of color. The main affective change was 'healing, acceptance, appreciation and connectedness' within and between the men of color and White men in the

group, especially David. The main cognitive changes were 'increased understanding of the other' and 'increased understanding of oneself,' as well as positive changes in perspectives and perceptions of the other. The primary behavioral change, which emerged from the individual level changes, was the acknowledgement and affirmation of the experiences and feelings of the other and of oneself. Acknowledgement by one "side" was reciprocated by acknowledgement by the other "side."

A key finding was the reciprocal, dynamic and interdependent relationship between the precursors of shift and the results of shifts at the different levels of analysis. Individual level shifts (e.g., emotional change, new understanding) led to shift in the transactional dimensions (e.g., acknowledgment). These transactional shifts also led to individual shifts. The combination of individual and transactional shifts between two or more individuals led to shift in the total group. This was clearly demonstrated in the process models presented for Situations #7, #14 and #15. These situations all had a similar process path that is depicted here in a linear format. However, the path actually reflects a reciprocal and relational process between individuals, levels and dimensions of analysis (I = individual dimension, T = transactional dimension, S = situational dimension):

(T) Person A ("destructive" behavior) → (I) Person B/Group B (negative affective reaction) → (T) Person A & Person B/Group B (impasse in group) → (S)

Facilitator (or film participant) (intervention) → SHIFT: (I) Person A (constructive cognitive + intense affective reaction) → SHIFT/PRECURSOR: (T) Person A

(acknowledgement of Person B/Group B) → SHIFT: (I) Person B/Group B

(constructive cognitive + affective reaction) → SHIFT/PRECURSOR: (T) Person

B/Group B (acknowledgement of Person A) → SHIFT: (T) Total Group Shift

This process model of shift is a preliminary model limited by weaknesses in the data collection and analysis. As discussed earlier, the film provided incomplete data of what happened during the weekend retreat. In addition, the film only shows us what people said and did at the transactional and situational level. For the individual level, the research participants (and I) had to intuit and interpret the inner psychological experience of the men in the film based on visual data to identify precursors and results of shift. This is an imperfect process. We do not know what was really going on in the minds and hearts of the men in the film. We could only make assumptions and interpretations of their inner experiences based on the visual data presented in the film. Therefore, the process model presented here suggests a sequence of events that includes two types of precursors: precursors to shift that we saw and know happened and precursors to shift what we intuited and assumed happened. Given these limitations, I make no causal claims about this process model of shift. However, it does provide useful information for the next phase of research.

The analysis of *The Color of Fear* relied on observations of part of a dialogue retreat. The factors that were found to be most relevant for shift in this chapter are further explored in Chapter 5 (interviews) and Chapter 6 (experiment). The results helped me clarify the questions used in the interviews and initiated my interest in exploring the impact of personal stories in the experiment. The next chapter presents the methods and results of the interviews with dialogue participants and third-party intervenors.

CHAPTER 5: PERSONAL EXPERIENCES OF SHIFT—A QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEWS WITH PARTICIPANTS AND INTERVENORS

Phase 2 uses interviews with participants and third-party intervenors of conflict resolution and reconciliation initiatives, primarily dialogue groups and problem-solving workshops, to gather in-depth information about shift from the perspectives and experiences of people directly involved in these initiatives. This phase builds upon the literature review (Chapter 2) and the analysis of *The Color of Fear* (Chapter 4) and further explores the factors that facilitate shift. The interviews focus on shift at all levels of analysis—individual (intrapersonal), interpersonal intergroup, and total group shift.

Fisher (1997) summarizes the empirical results of several dialogue initiatives between Arabs and Jews held in the Middle East. The dialogues reflected different approaches, including sensitivity training (Lakin, Lomranz, & Lieberman, 1969), problem-solving workshops (Levi & Benjamin, 1976, 1977), and Neve Shalom village near Jerusalem and its School for Peace (Bargal & Bar, 1988, 1992, 1994; Shipler, 1986). In each of the initiatives, the results indicate positive changes in conflict attitudes, such as increased affection, decreased hostility and suspicion, increased understanding, increased awareness of the complexity of the conflict, and in the problem-solving workshops, participants reached agreement on several solutions related to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Fisher (1997) does not describe, however, how these changes took place or why they took place—what in the initiatives led to these positive outcomes. Phase 2 of my research found the same types of changes as in Fisher's review, but also explores the reasons for these

types of changes with a focus on changes in conflict attitudes (affective, cognitive) and behaviors and relationships resulting from new attitudes.

Methodology

Case and Informant Selection

This research focuses on the phenomenon of shift as it occurs and is experienced by individuals who have participated in face-to-face intergroup interventions. The focus is not on shift in particular conflicts among specific conflict parties. Rather, the informants are drawn from different bilateral intergroup conflicts representing different types of conflicts, different identity groups, and different geographic locations. The heterogeneity of the conflict cases helps achieve two aims: first, to aid in the analysis of whether the findings are situation-specific or universal; and second, to increase the generalizability and robustness of the research findings. The trade-off in selecting a heterogeneous sample of cases rather than similar cases is that there is a weaker basis for comparison between cases. However, since I am not studying the conflict cases, but rather the phenomenon of shift, the ability to generalize the findings is a stronger concern and motivation. The three conflict cases and six conflict parties include: (1) the Israeli-Palestinian conflict – Jews and Palestinians living in the U.S. (2) race/ethnic conflict in the U.S. – white people and people of color¹, and (3) the abortion conflict in the U.S. – pro-life and pro-choice advocates.

These cases were selected because they represent protracted intergroup conflicts between identity groups. I also had access to intervenors and participants of intervention efforts in these types of conflicts through personal contacts and the “snowball” method of

¹ Given the small number of actual people interviewed for this case, they were simply grouped into two groups – white people and people of color – for simplicity and confidentiality.

getting referrals to find additional people to interview.

In addition to the six conflict parties, I also interviewed third-party intervenors for their perspectives on shift. Thus, the data collection and analysis focused on the responses from seven groups – six conflict parties and the intervenors.

Participants

I conducted 8-14 interviews for each conflict case, with 4-8 participants from each conflict party, for 33 participants. Of these, I interviewed two husband-wife couples together. Given the difficulty of separating out their comments, I choose to treat the couples as one interview for a total of 31 interviews with participants. I also conducted interviews with 24 third-party intervenors who have worked with these three types of conflicts or with other intergroup conflicts (see Appendix B for complete list). Of these 24, I used 19 of the interviews for this research. The other interviews were less relevant to the types of intergroup conflicts I was focused on, but provided useful background information. Out of the total number of people interviewed (57), the analysis for this research was conducted on 50 interviews. Table 7 on the next page shows the number and demographics of the interviewees.

Table 7. Phase 2: Research Participants

Characteristic	Jewish-Palestinian Dialogues	Race Relations Dialogues	Pro-life/Pro-choice Dialogues	Third-Party Intervenors	TOTAL
TOTAL	14	8	9	19	50
Male	7	5	3	15	30
Female	7	3	6	4	20
Jewish²	8	n/a	n/a	1	9
Palestinian/Arab	6	n/a	n/a	1	7
African-American	n/a	3	n/a	2	5
Latino	n/a	1	n/a	1	2
White-U.S.	n/a	3	n/a	11	14
White-Foreign	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	2
Asian	n/a	1	n/a	1	2
Pro-life	n/a	n/a	4	n/a	4
Pro-choice	n/a	n/a	5	n/a	5

Case Descriptions

Following are brief descriptions of the cases, including the three types of dialogue groups and the third-party intervenors.

Jewish-Palestinian Dialogues. The participants interviewed for this conflict were members of two separate dialogue groups in northern California. Group 1 began in 1992 and has approximately 30 active members. This group had an experienced facilitator during the first several years of the group. However, during the past year or so before I conducted the interviews, the group was managed and led mostly by two of the original organizer-participants of the group. After several successful years of dialogue, Group 1 organized a

Jewish-Palestinian dinner and dialogue event in fall 1997 that hosted 420 participants. Group 2 was started by several of the dinner guests because they liked the experience and the idea of dialogue. Group 2 began in spring 1998 and has approximately 10-15 active members. Group 1 members explained the process of dialogue at an early meeting of Group 2. However, Group 1 has never had an experienced facilitator to help the dialogue process.

Race-Relations Dialogues. The participants interviewed for this case were members of three separate dialogue groups, including members of *The Color of Fear* and three Study Circles Dialogue Groups. *The Color of Fear* group is described in Chapter 4. The Color of Fear participants were together on a 3-day retreat. The group was convened and led informally by Lee Mun Wah, the producer and director of the film. He was an experienced therapist, but had not been involved in this type of dialogue group. He opened the dialogue and then provided occasional intervention during the retreat.

The Study Circles Dialogue Groups are modeled after the approach and materials developed by the Study Circles Resource Center in Connecticut (SCRC). The Study Circles participants met for 5-6 sessions over a 6-week period for a total of about 10-12 hours. A facilitator assisted each group, although not all participants interviewed thought their facilitators were sufficiently experienced for this type of conflict dialogue. The Study Circles Dialogue groups used written materials produced by SCRC to help structure the dialogues. However, each group developed its own agenda as the energy and interests of the participants dictated. Both types of dialogue groups met for a specific length of time,

² One person interviewed from a Jewish-Palestinian dialogue group was neither Jewish nor Palestinian/Arab. In order to protect this person's confidentiality, this person was included in the Jewish group since this person was married to a Jewish member of the group.

although under different conditions. Some of the participants from each of the groups continued to meet at some point after the formal dialogue group had ended for socializing or joint projects.

Pro-Life/Pro-Choice Dialogues. The participants for this case were members of several different dialogue groups referred to me by the Network for Life and Choice (NFLC), formerly of Search for Common Ground and now part of the National Association for Community Mediation. Adrienne Kaufmann and Mary Jacksteit established the NFLC in 1992 to facilitate dialogues between pro-life and pro-choice activists in the hopes of building relationships, trust, and finding common ground on which the two sides could work together. The NFLC helped launch or strengthen existing dialogue groups in over twenty cities in the U.S. Their primary contribution has been developing a philosophy and designing a process framework for dialogue. A key component of the process is an intensive one-day dialogue workshop (6 hours), which is often the kick-off event for ongoing dialogue groups. The interviewees for this research had all participated in a one-day workshop as well as ongoing dialogues following the workshop. The one-day workshops were all very similar in design, while the on-going groups developed in different ways. In addition, the length of participation in the dialogue groups by the interviewees varied from one year to over six years depending on the length of the group in which they belonged or their own interest and time availability. Experienced facilitators assisted all the groups. However, one of the groups did not have a facilitator at every meeting.³

³ For a comprehensive discussion and analysis of these workshops, see Kaufmann (1999).

Third-Party Intervenors. The third-party intervenors included an eclectic mix of academics and practitioners from a wide variety of backgrounds and experiences. All the intervenors had experience with intergroup facilitation. The specific intervention designs ranged from dialogue groups where the primary goal was developing positive relationships, mutual understanding and respect, to negotiations and problem-solving workshops where the primary goal was developing conflict resolution agreements. Many of the interventions included a mix of several approaches and goals. Many of the intervenors also had significant experience conducting trainings with conflict parties. The types of conflict interventions included the conflict cases used for this research – the abortion conflict and race/ethnic conflict in the U.S., and Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict in the Middle East – as well as other conflicts, such as gang conflicts, the tobacco conflict and environmental conflicts in the U.S., and the primary conflicts in Cyprus, Indonesia, Lebanon, Liberia, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Nigeria, Northern Ireland, Rwanda, Tajikistan, Tibet, among others. The interventions were generally with groups of 10-20 people and varied in length from one day to facilitations of groups over a period of one-three years. The majority of interventions described were 3-5 days.

Procedures

The fifty interviews were conducted individually except as noted above. The majority of interviews were conducted in person. Eleven interviews were collected via telephone. The interviews lasted from 45 minutes to 1.5 hours, with most interviews about 1 hour in length. All interviews were audio-recorded with permission by the interviewees. These audio-recordings were transcribed verbatim.

Prior to each interview, I sent the participant a brief overview of my dissertation topic, including the example of the shift I had observed during the police-youth dialogue

described in Chapter 1. I also gave them a working definition of shift as changes in the way people felt about and saw themselves, the other side and the conflict, and changes in interpersonal and group interactions and dynamics towards positive relationships and conflict resolution. I also gave them alternative words commonly used to describe shift, such as turning points, breakthroughs, and “aha” moments. At the start of each interview, the participants were again given an overview of the study, the example of shift I had observed, and my working definition. After the initial introductory discussion, I asked the participants whether they had experienced or witnessed the types of shifts I had described. The interviews proceeded from this starting point and roughly followed the interview protocol (described below). At the end of the interviews, I thanked the participants and promised them a summary of dissertation once it was complete.

Data Collection

The research questions identified earlier and the findings in Phase 1 guided the interview process. Semi-structured interviews were used to allow flexibility to ask follow up and more in-depth questions where appropriate and to encourage a more conversational atmosphere in order to enhance the free flow of the participants’ memories. The interviews included both open-ended questions and specific questions related to the dependent and independent variables. The interviews with participants were designed to reveal: (1) dependent variables – their experiences of shift, what this shift means to them (e.g., cognitive, affective, behavioral change), and (2) independent variables – the events and processes leading to shift, whether they had a shift, and if yes, what they believe facilitated their shift. The interviews with intervenors were to reveal: (1) dependent variables – their experiences of observing shift and their perspectives on what shift is (e.g., cognitive, affective, behavioral change), and (2) independent variables – the events and processes

leading to shift, what factors facilitate shift, what roles and functions they as intervenors play, what procedures and activities they used, and with what effects. Copies of the interview protocol for participants and third party practitioners are provided in Appendix B.

A comparison of participants' experiences will reveal similarities and differences in factors facilitating shift. The collection of perspectives from multiple participants, intervenors and conflict resolution initiatives allows for triangulation of the findings.

Sampling Unit

The transcribed texts of the interviews were used to identify patterns and themes related to shift. This study included two sampling units. One sampling unit was the interviewees' general statements as to the precursors and results of shift. The second sampling unit was the specific examples of shift provided by the interviewees in order to develop a process model of shift.

Data Analysis

Participants and intervenors were asked to describe their personal experiences or observations of shift and what they thought "caused" or led to the shifts. I use the term "cause" loosely since this qualitative, interpretive and exploratory analysis is not conducive to making the case for definitive causes of shift. A better term might be "facilitators" or "precursors" of shift as is used in Chapter 4. Nevertheless, the participants and intervenors interviewed for this analysis did attempt to identify causes at my request and used the term themselves. In some cases, they made clear and explicit statements of causes, and at other times, I inferred the causes from the sequence of events that they described. In their book on grounded theory procedures and techniques, Strauss and Corbin (1990) use the term "causal conditions" to refer to the events or incidents that lead to the occurrence or

development of a phenomenon. They describe causal conditions as follows:

Causal conditions...are often pointed to in the data by terms such as: “when,” “while,” “since,” “because,” “due to,” “on account of.” Even when such cues are missing, you can often locate causal conditions by focusing on a phenomenon, and systematically looking back through your data for those events, happenings, or incidents that seem to precede it (p. 101).

I will use the term “facilitators” or “precursors” of shift interchangeably to reflect the causal conditions that precede shift. However, while precursors may precede shift, they do not necessarily “cause” shift.

The precursors of shift are explored in two steps. First, the participants’ text is analyzed to identify all the general precursors they identified and the percentage of participants who reported each of these precursors. The analysis is conducted for each of the seven groups of respondents separately – the six conflict parties and intervenors—and is reported accordingly. Second, an analysis is conducted on specific examples of shift described by the participants and intervenors to identify the process of shift in terms of “precursors” and “results.”

The data analysis procedures for the first step include: thematic analysis using grounded theory methodology, and comparison between cases. Grounded theory is a general methodology for developing theory that is grounded in data systematically gathered and analyzed. It can be used in both qualitative and quantitative studies and may be the most widely employed interpretive strategy in the social sciences today (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). It employs both inductive and deductive analysis.

Theoretical sampling is at the heart of grounded theory approaches to research. It allows for using the constant comparative method in data collection and analysis. As such, data collection, analysis, and theory are related reciprocally and a theory emerges through inductive analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). When a theme, hypothesis, or pattern is

identified inductively, the researcher moves into a verification mode, trying to confirm or qualify the findings using deductive analysis. This sets in motion a new inductive cycle. Specific grounded theory analysis techniques include open coding, axial coding, and selective coding.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) provide a detailed description of grounded theory procedures and techniques. This summary is based on their book. Open coding is the first step to naming and categorizing the phenomena through close examination of data. It is the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing data. Categories are developed by making constant comparisons for similarities and differences between each incident, event, and other instances of phenomena and by asking propositional questions about the data. The result is a general set of categories to reflect the phenomena. After open coding, axial coding puts the data back together in new ways by making connections between a category and its subcategories and denoting the nature of the relationships between them and the phenomena, thereby creating a paradigm model of relationships. The process uses inductive and deductive thinking to establish relationships between categories and subcategories. The result is a set of general categories and their subcategories that reflect and explain the phenomena. The last step, selective coding, is integrating the data/categories to produce a theory. Selective coding is similar to axial coding but is at a more abstract level of analysis that moves from focusing on specific categories to focusing on a general theory that explains the phenomena.

This methodology is used to identify themes and patterns that emerge in the data collected from the interviews. This thematic analysis focuses on two sources of data: (1) the data relevant to the key factors that facilitate shift that are identified in the literature review and phase I of the research, and (2) new factors, categories of data, or coding systems and relationships that emerge in this phase of the research. The constant comparative method is

used to compare the phenomenon of shift across the different conflict parties and intervenors during data analysis to help identify broad themes and patterns related to shift, as well as identify differences between the seven groups (six conflict parties and intervenors).

The software program for qualitative data analysis, QSR NUD*IST ⁴, is used to help code and categorize the large volume of data and assist the data analysis process.

The data analysis procedures used to analyze the specific examples of shift in the second step of analysis uses *process tracing* methodology (Druckman, 2001) combined with selective coding (grounded theory procedures) to develop a model of the shift process. This process is described further in the section, Step 2: Developing a Model of Shift.

Limitations

Several methodological limitations in this research must be considered when reviewing and interpreting the results. These include the lack of random sampling of dialogue participants and intervenors, lack of comparing “shifters” and “non-shifters” (people who experienced shift versus people who did not experience shift), possible incomplete data, and the lack of ranking of the different precursors of shift.

Lack of Random Sampling of Participants and Intervenors. The participants and intervenors were selected via personal contacts and referrals rather than random sampling. The lack of random sampling limits the generalizability of the results. One reason for not using random sampling of dialogue participants was the lack of a large enough pool of participants from which to randomly sample a pool of people to interview. I had trouble getting enough dialogue participants to interview in the first place (due primarily to

⁴ QSR is Qualitative Solutions and Research, a software development company. NUD*IST

confidentiality issues), which precluded random sampling. However, the diversity of people that were interviewed from different conflicts suggests representative sampling and helps mitigate the lack of random sampling.

Lack of Comparison Between “Shifters” and “Non-shifters.” The research does not compare people who have experienced shift with people who have not experienced shift. All the participants who were interviewed experienced some degree of shift. The lack of such a comparison makes it difficult to determine whether the factors identified by participants as facilitators of shift are in fact the key reasons they experienced a shift. It is possible, even likely, that non-shifters have also experienced some of the factors that are identified by the people who experienced shift, but did not experience shift themselves. Future research should include such a comparison.

Possible Incomplete Data. The data collected may be incomplete. One problem is that some people who were interviewed were much more detailed in their responses than other people. This could have been caused by a number of factors, for example, how long ago the events were that I was asking people to remember, the amount of time we had for the interview, and so on. In Step 1 of the analysis, I coded only the statements that were actually made by interviewees. Therefore, the actual number of those interviewed who agreed that a particular factor facilitated shift could be higher than the figures presented in the results. There may also be factors *not* reported by any of the people interviewed that also facilitated shift but were not mentioned by the participants.

The lack of complete data also impacted Step 2, the analysis of specific examples of shift. Most of the examples provided by participants and intervenors focused, not surprisingly, on the specific events surrounding a shift. Since I didn't get all the details of

everything that preceded the shift, there may be important missing information. To attempt to compensate for these limitations, I tried to weave together the results of the general precursors and specific examples to develop a more complete picture and model of shift. However, the possibility of incomplete data remains.

No Ranking of Precursors. While I asked interviewees what they thought were the primary factors that facilitated shift, I did not ask them to rank order those factors. Therefore, it is unclear which factors were most important. However, the participants and intervenors' responses could be interpreted as reflecting an *implied ranking* of the precursors. The fact that a participant or intervenor referred to a particular precursor, but perhaps not to other precursors, could mean they ranked the precursors they referred to as higher in importance than those precursors to which they did not refer, albeit unconsciously. However, a problem with this assumption is that the participants and intervenors were involved in different types of interventions, with different structures, and processes, which is another potential limitation.

The limitations of the research methodology may call into question the internal and external validity of the analysis. However, I tried to overcome or compensate for these limitations by the procedures and explanations described above for each limitation.

Results

The results are presented in two sections: (1) the general results of precursors identified by the dialogue participants and third party intervenors using open coding and axial coding, and (2) the results of the analysis of specific examples of shifts, including a model of the shift process based on the general results and specific examples.

Step 1: General List of Precursors of Shift

The first procedure in this process is to list all the precursors described by participants. This process takes several steps. First, an initial coding scheme is developed using the list of precursors identified in phase 1, including the levels of analysis (individual, interactional, situational) and specific precursors within each level of analysis. Second, all the precursors are identified by going through each of the participants' responses and coding them according to the initial coding scheme. A new category is created for each precursor that did not fit into the initial coding scheme. These two steps reflect the open coding procedures described above. Third, after the initial list of precursors is identified, similar precursors are combined into one precursor and subcategories of general categories are identified (axial coding). Twenty-six (26) precursors, reported by at least 50% or more of the total participants or total intervenors, are identified through this three-step process. The precursors are summarized by level of analysis and general categories of precursors as follows:

- Individual level (within individuals) – affective factors; cognitive factors
- Transactional level (between/among individuals) – communication strategy (means of persuasion); acknowledgement; statements indicating common ground; sincerity (perceived participant characteristics and norms of communication); shared activities; risk; time
- Situational level (the intervention) – facilitator/leader roles and characteristics; characteristics of the intervention group

Each general category includes a number of specific precursors for a total of 26 precursors of shift. Table 8 (pp. 160-162) summarizes the results by: (1) conflict parties and intervenors, (2) level of analysis, (3) general categories and specific precursors, and (4)

percentage of respondents who identified each specific precursor. The table also presents a summary figure of the percentage of precursors reported by all six conflict parties (from the three conflict cases) to compare these results with the results for intervenors, and presents a summary of the total percentages of precursors of all interviewees. Discussion of the results follows the presentation of data. The abbreviations in the table include:

- J = Jewish
- P = Palestinian/Arab
- POC = People of Color
- W = White
- PL = Pro-Life
- PC = Pro-Choice
- Total Ps = Total for All Dialogue Participants
- 3PI = Third Party Intervenors
- Total = Total for All Dialogue Participants and Third Party Intervenors

Table 8. Phase 2: Precursors of Shift

Precursors (26 Precursors)	% J	% P	% POC	% W	% PL	% PC	% Total P₂	% 3PI	% Total
Individual Level (11 precursors)									
<i>Affective: Emotions/Feelings (My) (8)</i>									
Feel Personal Connection, Bonding, Liking	88%	100%	100%	67%	100%	100%	94%	95%	94%
Feel Acknowledged (Understood, Accepted, Respected), Good, Meaningful	75%	100%	100%	67%	100%	100%	90%	89%	90%
Surprise	75%	67%	100%	100%	50%	100%	81%	68%	76%
Trust-Safety (Trust Building)	63%	100%	40%	67%	75%	60%	68%	84%	74%
My Values (Peace, Justice, Relationship)	88%	83%	60%	67%	75%	80%	77%	63%	72%
Feel Other's Pain, Empathy	75%	50%	100%	100%	50%	20%	68%	79%	70%
Feel/See Other's Humanity, Individuality	63%	67%	60%	100%	75%	100%	74%	47%	64%
Role of Emotions (Feel, Reveal, Deal with My Emotions)	25%	17%	60%	33%	50%	60%	35%	63%	46%
<i>Cognitive: Thinking/Understanding (My) (3)</i>									
Understanding, Perspective-Taking	100%	100%	80%	67%	100%	100%	94%	100%	96%
Listening, Reflecting, Thinking with an Open Mind, Connective thinking	88%	83%	40%	100%	100%	80%	81%	79%	80%
See Common Ground (Needs, Goals, Values, Experiences, Background, Culture)	38%	100%	80%	100%	100%	100%	81%	84%	82%

Table 8. Phase 2: Precursors of Shift - continued

Precursors	% J	% P	% POC	% W	% PL	% PC	% Total P₂	% 3PI	% Total
Transactional Level (Behavior) (9)									
<i>Communication Strategy (by Other) (2)</i>									
Personal Sharing of Stories, Meanings, Beliefs, Assumptions	88%	83%	100%	100%	100%	100%	94%	100%	96%
Information, Facts, Explanations	38%	33%	-	-	50%	60%	32%	53%	40%
Acknowledgement (1)									
	75%	100%	100%	67%	100%	100%	90%	89%	90%
Sincerity of Communication & Participant (1)									
	88%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	97%	95%	96%
Shared Activities (3)									
Joint Action Projects	75%	100%	40%	67%	75%	80%	74%	58%	68%
Informal Socializing, Rituals	75%	83%	60%	67%	25%	40%	61%	63%	62%
Experiential/ Joint Exercises (role plays, cooperative activities)	-	-	60%	-	75%	40%	26%	79%	46%
Time to Interact, Reflect, Get to Know the Other, Change) (1)									
	75%	83%	60%	100%	50%	100%	77%	63%	62%
Risk (1)									
	38%	67%	60%	67%	50%	40%	52%	42%	48%

Table 8. Phase 2: Precursors of Shift – continued

Precursors	% J	% P	% POC	% W	% PL	% PC	% Total P₂	% 3PI	% Total
Situational Level (Intervention) (6)									
<i>Facilitator/Leader/Convener (3)</i>									
Manage Process (Skills, Techniques)	88%	83%	40%	100%	100%	80%	81%	79%	80%
Leadership (Vision, New Ideas & Skills, Modeling, Cultural Interpreter, Addresses Power & Structural Issues, Takes Risks)	63%	50%	-	-	100%	100%	55%	63%	58%
Personal Characteristics	50%	17%	20%	67%	50%	60%	42%	53%	46%
Characteristics of the Intervention (3)									
Safe, Encouraging Environment	63%	50%	80%	100%	75%	100%	74%	89%	80%
Structure-Process	25%	33%	20%	-	100%	100%	45%	74%	56%
Participant Characteristics	75%	100%	0%	0%	50%	40%	52%	53%	52%

The analysis of the participants' interviews reveals 26 precursors of shift at the individual, transactional, and situational levels of analysis. The precursors within and across levels of analysis are interrelated. Specific precursors described by interviewees do not exist in a vacuum in the real world. Furthermore, there is a fuzzy line between precursors and results since a result in one step of the *shift process* may become a precursor in another step of the process and vice versa. Shift is best viewed as both an outcome and a process. This circular and interdependent relationship between precursors and results was previously described in Chapter 4 on the analysis of *The Color of Fear*. These points will become clearer in the process tracing analysis presented with the specific examples of shift later in this chapter.

One further point to be made is that the results described below reflect what the dialogue participants and intervenors told me about the factors that facilitated the shifts within (individual) and between participants (interpersonal, intergroup, total group). This is not to say that each factor had the same effect on every participant. That may help explain why some participants, but not all participants reported a particular factor as a precursor of shift (in addition to transactional and situational differences between the dialogue groups). The reader must keep this in mind while reading my description of the results. Future research is needed to determine the precise effect of the different factors on individuals and to explain possible variations in effects across individuals.

At the transactional level, the most important factors reported by participants and intervenors are: hearing 'personal stories' (96%), 'acknowledgement' by the other (90%), the 'sincerity' of the other (96%), engaging in 'joint action projects' (68%) and 'informal socializing and rituals' (62%). The primary factors at the individual level, which were in response to these transactional level factors, are the participants' feeling a positive 'personal connection and bonding' with the other (94%), 'feeling acknowledged (understood,

recognized, validated)' (90%), increased 'understanding, perspective-taking' of the other's experiences, goals, needs, perspectives and life in general (96%), and discovering 'common ground' (82%) with the other. The increased personal bonding and understanding was facilitated by the participants' 'surprise' (76%) at the other's stories, 'trust building' (74%) with the other, 'empathy and feeling the other's pain' (70%), feeling and seeing the other's 'humanity and individuality' (64%), and 'listening, reflecting and thinking with an open-mind' (80%) on what the other had to say. These processes were further facilitated by the participants' own 'values and commitment' (72%) to building peace, justice and relationships, and to their 'surfacing and working through their own emotions—feel, reveal, deal with emotions' (46%).

The transactional level and individual levels of analysis were intricately intertwined, interdependent, and circular with factors at one level interacting with other factors at that level, and with factors at the other level. The processes and events at both levels were further facilitated by two key factors at the situational level of analysis. One factor was the characteristics of the intervention effort, specifically, the 'safe and encouraging environment' of the intervention setting, physical space, facilitators, participants, and norms of interaction (80%). In addition, the 'process management' skills of the facilitator or leader of the intervention (80%) were also reported as creating the safe and encouraging environment and helping the transactional level processes be successful. A more comprehensive and illustrative discussion of these factors and others not mentioned here follows.

The discussion of these factors begins with the transactional level factors, which describes "what happened" that facilitated shift, then discusses the individual level factors, which describes the impact of what happened on the individual(s), and ends with the situational level which describes additional factors that facilitated shift. Many of individual

level factors are also described within the transactional level discussion. I cannot do adequate justice to the voluminous and rich stories and information that the people I interviewed shared with me. Some of the interviews moved me deeply and brought tears to my eyes, even as I re-read them now. The quotes I interspersed throughout the discussion not only illustrate the points I am trying to make, but also illuminate some of the thoughts and feelings that people shared with me. The bold lettering within the quotes reflects the speaker's emphasis.

Transactional Level

Personal Stories

Overall, the data shows that one of the primary precursors of shift was listening to the other's 'personal stories' (96%). The stories were impactful because they were vivid, emotional, concrete, sincerely told personal experiences that touched the hearts of the listeners and opened minds. Embedded in these stories were not only the speaker's lived experiences, but also the meaning and impact of events and how these experiences shaped the speaker's feelings, beliefs, assumptions, attitudes, opinions, needs, goals and basic experience of their place in the world, especially in relation to the conflict and the other. For stories that were of painful experiences, the impact on the listener was often 'surprise and shock' (76%) at hearing these stories and 'pain and empathy' (70%) with the speaker and the other group. These personal stories also helped reveal the other's 'humanity' (64%)—"they have pains, sorrows, feelings, thoughts, and experiences just like me." Listening to the other's stories and feeling the other's pain and humanity helped the listener to begin to feel a 'personal connection and bonding' (94%) with the other and helped to build a feeling of 'trust-safety' (74%) that the other wasn't out to hurt them.

Stories helped participants begin to understand and recognize the other's feelings, needs, values and core concerns and to break through their stereotypes, fears and animosities toward the other. For example, the following comment by a Jewish participant illustrates the impact of hearing the other's personal painful stories.

It just brings out the humanity. I mean I think it helps you see a person in a totally different light, like as a human being....and they tell about their families back home and the pain or the happiness and the personal stories come out about the hardships that they've been through and...there are so many stories. One woman, her fiancé had been in prison for like twenty years and before they could get married, he died. A very painful thing, very painful. And so to hear that about another person just makes them so human.... How can you want to wipe somebody out when you've seen that kind of humanity? You know, really, my inclination would be I'd want to hug them and say its okay and it's going to be all right and not the reverse. It just has to pull people together... So there was a new appreciation for each other as just really good human beings. I think that's when the group gels. When they see that even though you have your beefs about your house in Ramallah and you don't like the way you're being treated, and I really feel like I need to have my safe place to go as a Jew and you don't understand my psychological makeup, and what is it going to take for you to embrace the holocaust, and I know you think it's just an excuse, and it's not an excuse.... Underneath that, I think we know that everybody has a story and a pain and a desire and a vision and those things have been embraced and appreciated. And when you experience those things with a group of people you're bonded. You just are. [JP-J-05: 408-668]

Listening to other's stories helped people discover common experiences and shifted their view of self and other, and helped groups move towards shift. For example, one participant from a race dialogue said:

What led to my "aha" was the listening to other people's stories that made me realize my common experiences with other group members and the things I had also felt and done. They were talking about feelings and things I had done too. Sitting face-to-face so you can't deny or ignore anything... the group didn't really gel until this 4th meeting. [R-W-18: 221-271]

The participants and intervenors said that hearing face-to-face personal stories was completely different from watching or listening to the media or reading 'facts' about the other and the conflict. Hearing a personal story, face-to-face, about other's life experiences

made it virtually impossible to ignore or deny the other's experiences, therefore, virtually impossible to not be impacted. Personal experiences cannot be argued with as positions can be. Stories helped participants see through the political rhetoric and instead, see the person. Sharing personal stories were impactful because they were told in the spirit of dialogue – to understand the other and to be understood, and to have a relationship with the other.

Having face-to-face dialogues and the opportunity to share personal stories and experiences was an important factor that touched people at an affective, emotional level and helped participants 'get to know' each other and facilitated the process of shift. As one Jewish participant commented, 'It's one thing to read about the conflict. It's another thing to get to know the people' [JP-J-06: 112-113]. Listening to the other reveal their deep experiences and emotions – from grief, fear, and anger to joy, love and hope – had a profound effect on participants. It was the emotional impact of hearing someone's story face-to-face that helped facilitate shift. This emotional impact could not be achieved as easily through any other means, such as reading about events or just hearing facts and information from the other.

In this process of getting to know the other, stories helped each side see the suffering on the other side. So often in conflicts, people believe they or their side is the only one suffering. Hearing the other's stories shattered this myth. This was true for all conflict parties, including those who considered themselves in a less powerful position vis-à-vis the other (e.g., Palestinians, African Americans). For example, the Palestinians talked about "how they're losing in the war too."

The personal stories told by pro-life and pro-choice dialogue participants mostly came from answering the question in the one-day workshop, "How did you come to your views on abortion?" or "What personal experiences shaped your views on abortion?" basically, the questions asked *why* people had their particular views. They included stories

of painful memories, unplanned pregnancies, legal and illegal abortions, and adoptions, among other experiences. Embedded in these stories were the life journeys that shaped who the participants were and the assumptions and meanings they attached to life, women, children, choices and abortion. Many of the listeners of these stories were also 'surprised' to hear them. Oftentimes, the surprise in the listener came at the realization that s/he had had almost the same past experience that the other had, but that they had interpreted the experience quite differently and reached very different perspectives and conclusions.

Questions that ask participants to share *why* they believe what they believe or hold the positions they have, rather than *what* beliefs or positions they have, dramatically altered the way in which people expressed themselves. Questions related to "why" encouraged people to express the meaning of events, experiences, histories, beliefs, positions, needs, fears, hopes, dreams, goals and so on. Questions related to "what" tended to encourage positional statements, political rhetoric and ideology, and lists of grievances. The "why" questions encouraged dialogue while the "what" questions were more likely to lead to debate. Similarly, Rothman (1997) suggests that "what" questions surface antagonism, while "why" questions encourage articulation of and exploration of core identity needs and fosters resonance. What is of course important is how the "why" questions are framed and answered. As Rothman points out, when "why" is asked in a belligerent way, as is usually the case in conflicts, as in "Why have you been so aggressive?" the response in-kind is "Because you backed us into a corner" (p.43). Sincere questions tend to lead to sincere answers.

The personal stories increased 'understanding' (96%) of the other by hearing other's experiences, feelings, meanings, needs, and so on. Personal stories also increased the listeners' understanding of the other by helping them be more willing and able to 'listen,

reflect, and think about' the other's experiences, perspectives and feelings with an open-mind.

Telling personal stories were also impactful because they conveyed risk taking and a willingness to be open by the speaker. The stories revealed the vulnerability and humanity of the other, which made it easier to really listen to the other with an open mind and open heart. The other's willingness to be open encouraged the listener to be open, in a mutually reciprocal process that helped develop trust between participants.

The shared experience of telling personal stories and listening to other's stories was a transactional process that facilitated intrapersonal, interpersonal and intergroup shift in the intervention groups. In addition, many of the shifts described by intervenors occurred when participants began to integrate or weave together their different stories while at the same time acknowledging the shared and different experiences of each individual and group.

Participants are truly transformed when they create "merged stories."

The powerful role of personal stories in facilitating shift is clear from the interviews. What is less clear is the role of 'facts and information' that didn't include a personal element. In total, only 40% of those interviewed reported this type of communication as facilitating shift. While personal stories also include 'facts and information' or are used to illustrate facts and information, they seem to impact the listener in a different way than facts and information alone. The difference seems to come from people's ability to feel 'empathy' (70%), feel and see the other's 'humanity' (64%) and feel a 'personal connection and bonding' (94%) to other people's stories much more easily than to other people's 'facts and information.' So, while the famous movie line, "Give me the facts ma'am, and nothing but the facts," may work well in a courtroom, such "cold, hard facts" may be insufficient to build relationships and facilitate shift. What seems key in personal stories and the meaning of past events is their ability to connect with the listener at an

emotional level. When participants were touched at the emotional level, this led to their intrapersonal shift in how they saw and felt about the other and the conflict.

Facts and Information

As just discussed, only 40% of interviewees referred to ‘facts and information’ as facilitators of shift. However, when ‘facts and information’ were coupled with personal stories or also focused on the *meaning* of the facts and information, the impact seemed greater. Sharing the meaning of ‘facts and information’ revealed the different explanations people have of the past. Realizing there is another way of making sense of or explaining the past changed the way participants perceived the other’s motives and actions, which changed the way they interacted. This was described by one intervenor as follows:

Another way in which I’ve seen it happen is that we’re very good at assigning **motives and reasons** to people on the basis of their actions and you know **why** the other side is doing what they’re doing and frequently finding out there may be an **alternative explanation** for their actions can give you a **completely different slant** on the past. And that **changes** the way you **interact**. [3PI-25: 44-50]

Hearing the other’s perspectives and explanations of past events showed the different ways people interpret and make meaning of the past. This recognition increased participants’ understanding of the other and increased trust. Focusing on the *meaning* of facts and information had a similar positive effect on participants as focusing on the meaning of past events revealed through personal stories, as described in the pro-life/pro-choice dialogues. Both approaches focus on revealing “why” someone believes something rather than “what” someone believes. Again, “why” questions tend to lead to dialogue, whereas “what” questions tend to lead to debate.

Acknowledgement

The role of acknowledgement in facilitating shift was indicated by 90% of those interviewed. When people perceived the other as acknowledging them in some way, it spoke to something meaningful and important to them (Pearson, 1990). The participants described several ways in which they were acknowledged by the other, including when the other, through statements, behaviors and nonverbal communication: expressed belief in the truthfulness of what the participant said; expressed understanding of the participant; expressed identification or empathy with the other; treated the participant as an equal and with respect; recognized their needs and interests; or, took responsibility for their past and present behavior, admitted mistakes or apologized.

When participants were individually or collectively acknowledged (through the other's statements and behaviors), the impact was they 'felt understood, recognized, validated, accepted and respected' by the other, which made them 'feel good' about themselves and the other. They felt a new hope that justice could be achieved and that they were engaged in something 'meaningful' (90%). The result was also 'trust-building' (74%) and further development of personal connections and bonding.

Although the majority of all groups reported the importance of acknowledgement, there were also differences in what was reported by the participant groups. The white group reported the least acknowledgement by the other (67%). One explanation for the difference may be the difference in power and privilege held by each group. Perhaps the white people had less reason to need acknowledgement than any other group or had less they could be acknowledged for vis-à-vis the people of color. In contrast, 80% of the people of color described receiving some form of acknowledgement. One example is from *The Color of Fear*. When David C. (the white man who had denied the reality of racism and the people of color's experiences) finally began to acknowledge the people of color's experiences, this

facilitated shift within the people of color toward David C., in their relationship with him, and created an optimism of the potential for positive change to occur. One participant described the experience as follows:

I felt so much optimism like I hope things are going to change like this. So much optimism about the basic possibility of accessing someone's decency and humanism at some point in some way.... from that moment on I felt like [David] was listening, some things were getting through to him compared to prior to that. But the more I felt he heard us, the closer we moved towards some sort of an accommodation of each other. By accommodation, I mean a state where we have a warmth between us, a connection between us. [R-POC-44: 52-62]

The Jewish group reported much less acknowledgement by the Palestinians than the Palestinians reported by the Jews (75% vs. 100%). The Palestinians were much more likely to report all different types of acknowledgement than any other group. In fact, the Palestinians were the only group that had a higher percentage of participants that cited acknowledgement rather than personal stories as the primary facilitator of shift. For the Palestinians, having Jewish participants acknowledge their past experiences and admit that massacres and injustice had happened since 1947 was critical for shift to happen.

The Palestinians were especially surprised and touched when Jewish participants who they expected to be anti-Palestine (e.g., a holocaust survivor, rabbi) acknowledged them in some way. The status and "credibility" of these Jewish participants made their acknowledgement even more meaningful to the Palestinians. For example, one Palestinian said the following:

There was also the other [Jewish] guy who lived the holocaust himself and he said, 'I don't want to have happen to the Palestinians what happened to us. I don't want to see those homes demolished.' And he lived it. He's about 79-80. Anytime he hears about something, like the house demolitions back there, he would say, 'We should send a letter for it not to happen because I don't want to have happen to the Palestinians what happened to us.' They have both sides...One side who hears the holocaust and feels sorry for them, and you have someone who lived the holocaust who says he doesn't want to have happen to the Palestinians what happened to us.... It meant a lot to see that people have in their mind that we don't want other people to suffer what we suffered. It meant a lot. [JP-P-48: 145-580]

In this example, the fact that the acknowledgement came from someone who had also suffered greatly and who could speak from personal experience as a holocaust survivor and showed empathy with the Palestinians increased the positive impact of the acknowledgement. This again suggests the importance of personal stories and their connection to acknowledgement.

One of the most emotionally told stories of acknowledgement came from a Jewish participant [J] who talked about what one of the Palestinian participants [P] had said about him to a filmmaker. Embedded in the acknowledgement was the perception by the Jewish participant that the other had changed his views of Jews in profound ways. The story this person told me was not a case of where there was a direct statement of acknowledgement made, but the impact on the participant was no less significant.

I know, and I don't think that [P] knows that I know, but [P] in our dialogue group was interviewed by a filmmaker. The filmmaker told me what [P] had said to him... about me. [P] had said, "You know when we started this dialogue group, [J] said 'wouldn't it be something if your daughter and my son got together and got married?'... And I **just hated that idea** and it just made me sick." This was basically what [P] said. And then [P] said [to the filmmaker], "I **wish** he'd ask me **again**." And that, to me, demonstrates to me that people can be touched and can change. [JP-J-04: 350-359]

The Jewish participant got tears in his/her eyes while telling this story because s/he felt so acknowledged and good about the changes s/he witnessed in the other and the personal relationship that had developed between him/her and the Palestinian participant.

When participants perceived the other had changed their minds and hearts, they felt acknowledged and that they were engaging in something "meaningful" (76%) because they believed they were helping create change. The feeling of engaging in meaningful activities also furthered shift by motivating and empowering the participants and helping them have a positive perspective of the other and hope for the future.

All the pro-life and pro-choice participants (100%) reported feeling acknowledged. Similar to other groups, some of the pro-life and pro-choice participants talked about how badly they had felt treated by the other side in the past. The emotional impact of being hurt and then having that hurt acknowledged was key to shift. The following quote by a pro-choice participant illustrates this dynamic.

I think the most salient piece of **emotional** material was when pro-life people got how pro-choice people see them as very **mean, cruel** people because of how they verbally **abuse** those of us in the pro-choice movement. It was so **important** for those pro-life people on the other side of the table to understand that. And most of them said, "**really?** That's really how you see us?" ... it was **really important** for that **emotional** content to be brought to the table. For me, the pro-life people **understood** how **mean** they can be and how **hurtful** that is and how hurtful it is not just to me, but it is hurtful to my **family**... That emotional piece, once I understood they understood that and they got it, that was **really important**. That was probably more important than almost anything else... I think the emotional content is certainly equally important with the particular items to resolve, but in some cases **more important**. [PL/PC-PC-40: 719-752]

The importance of acknowledgment of past behavior and its impact was also described by many of the intervenors. For example, Montville (1993, 1995) has written about the importance of acknowledgement and reiterated its importance during our interview. He claims that what people crave everywhere is recognition, acceptance and respect. Both sides have to be willing to accept moral responsibility for past wrongs. The role of the intervenor is to create an environment in which that message can be exchanged.

Direct, verbal statements giving acknowledgment to the other was one way acknowledgement was expressed between participants. The use of 'reflective listening' by participants with each other was another effective method that conveyed acknowledgement (feeling heard, understood). This was especially true for the pro-life and pro-choice participants who all reported the importance of reflective listening. Part of the NFLC dialogue approach is to teach dialogue participants the skill of reflective listening

(paraphrasing back the content, feelings and meanings the other has just verbally expressed) and having the participants use that skill throughout the dialogue process as needed.⁵

Reflective listening impacted both the person engaged in reflective listening and the person hearing the other reflect back what s/he just said. For the speaker, hearing the other accurately reflect back what s/he said indicated the other had respected and taken them seriously enough to really listen and had understood what they heard. This was inherently acknowledging. As Adrienne Kaufmann said, “to get it right, that act of giving back to somebody, the honor of having been heard really builds the bridge.”

For the listener, knowing they were expected to engage in reflective listening motivated the listener to focus on what the other was saying and on trying to understand what they are saying in order to accurately reflect back what was heard. Such focused attention on the other minimizes the tendency people often have to not listen fully and instead to focus on what they want to say and their counter arguments. Focusing attention on the other’s story increases the potential impact of the story since paying attention is the first step towards attitude change (Hovland, 1953; McGuire, 1985).

Another reason reflective listening seems so powerful for the person listening is it asks them to engage in a “mental role-reversal” to see the world from the other’s perspectives and feelings. Participants and the intervenors perceived reflective listening as a sincere and serious effort of people trying to understand each other as human beings and as a key facilitator of shift because of the acknowledgement that is conveyed via reflective listening and the deeper understanding and appreciation for the other that is nurtured in the

⁵ Most people in the conflict resolution field use the phrase ‘active listening.’ I prefer the term ‘reflective listening’ to emphasize it as a process of both inner reflection on what the other is saying and the expressed process of reflecting and paraphrasing back what is heard.

listener.⁶ The shared process of reflective listening helps build bridges for people to develop mutual understanding and healing.

Sincerity

The perceived sincerity of the other group was reported by 96% of interviewees as helping facilitate shift. The interviewees spoke of sincerity in terms of both how the other communicated, but also as a personality characteristic, which made the analysis process a bit difficult. Previous research by Pearson (1990) found the perceived sincerity of statements increased their impact. I included two types of communication as indicating or conveying sincerity: (1) how people expressed themselves, and (2) how people listened to the other. How people expressed themselves included: honest, genuine, heartfelt statements, stories and questions; respectful statements and stories made with the intent to educate and deepen understanding, not to attack and blame; and statements that expressed caring and commitment to one's values, the intervention process, the other, and the issues in conflict, which conveyed the integrity of the speaker. How people listened included: listening to understand the other (e.g., as evidenced by reflective listening); listening with an open mind; and, connective listening and thinking (e.g., looking for areas of common ground instead of difference).

I included these elements together since the interviewees often spoke of these communication factors within the same sentence and interchanged these words and concepts quite frequently. The seeming inseparable nature of these elements reflects the dynamic and interdependent nature of the factors described as facilitating shift. However, further research

⁶ Some intervenors cautioned that for some stories (e.g., painful stories that include expressing how the other side has hurt them), the act of telling the story and reflective

needs to be conducted to determine whether these particular components are better treated as distinct concepts.

Two forms of sincerity that helped facilitate shift were expressing commitment to one's values and expressing commitment towards the other. For example, the pro-choice/pro-life dialogue participants said the stories and the way the storyteller told their story revealed the other's sincerity, including their integrity, caring, compassion and commitment to their values. Even though these participants disagreed deeply about abortion, hearing the other's sincerity and commitment to their values helped shift the way they saw each other, and especially helped them develop a genuine respect for one another and the potential for common ground in shared values. For example, one participant said:

I came to feel, as odd as it sounds, that in some ways the people in the group that were pro-life that held their opinion and then got out there in the community and really worked for their opinion, I was more similar to them than to pro-choice people I know who never do a thing about being pro-choice...I have strong feelings about that. I think if you think something is important to you, you ought to be working on that and participating in your community and making sure the community moves forward.... There was this identification with the folks I worked with in the dialogue groups. Everyone had a real commitment to working in their community on social justice issues. We had different ideas about those social justice issues, but we all had that shared value. For me that is a core value, so when someone else exhibits that, I can appreciate it, even if I disagree strongly with their issue. [PL/PC-PC-40: 263-281]

When participants perceived the other as sincere or committed in their efforts to dialogue and build relationship, they responded in-kind. For example, one person of color talked about one of the white participants in the dialogue who showed a great deal of persistence in trying to dialogue and make a connection with him/her. One of the reasons the persistence made an impact was because the person of color was initially trying to resist the white person due to an earlier disagreement.

listening is very emotionally difficult and draining and requires a lot of support from the

He was making an effort to connect with me and I was making just the opposite. I didn't want to connect with him. And he positioned himself and sat beside me and he turned to me even in the group in trying to be nice to me. And I had made up my mind I'm not going to be nice to this man. I was fighting it all the way to the bitter end until I couldn't fight it anymore. And then I said [to myself], you got to be crazy. So we just connected and connected and we've been calling and talking to each other ever since. [R-POC-50: 125-133].

How people communicated in the way they expressed their personal stories, facts, information, explanations and general discussions greatly influenced the perceived sincerity of the speaker, hence the impact of the communication. Sincerity was also related to perceived intent of the communicator. When participants perceived the other as making excuses or justifications for their undesired behavior, the result was frustration, anger and impasse and the underlying concerns and needs got lost in their mutual acrimony and defensiveness. When participants perceived the other as trying to express themselves with the intent of educating rather than attacking in order to build understanding, they were perceived as sincere. When the other was perceived as sincere, the listener was able to really hear the other instead of getting defensive and ready for their counter-attack.

In conflict situations, the parties generally assume the other intends to harm them and that the other knows perfectly well how they are, in fact, harming them. Many of the participants described learning the other did not intend to harm them and did not even realize how they were harming them. Finding out the other was sincere in their motives and intentions, was an eye-opening experience that changed the way the participants saw and related to the other. For example, the people of color repeatedly remarked how surprised they were when they learned how "clueless" white people in their dialogues were about the experiences and continued discrimination and oppression of people of color in the U.S. and the unearned privileges that white people enjoyed. When the people of color realized that

facilitator during and after the intervention session.

white people didn't necessarily realize this, they no longer saw white people's motivation as being mean and cruel – instead, “they just don't know any better.” An example of this was in *The Color of Fear* dialogue group when David C. (described in Chapter 4) said he had a hard time believing the other men's stories and that “if that what the other men were saying was really happening, that would be a terrible, terrible thing.” This had a great impact on the people of color. Part of that impact was because David's statement revealed that he didn't realize people were suffering so much or that what white people were doing was so destructive and hurtful. One participant described his reaction to David's ignorance and David's new realization as follows:

When he said that, my view is that about 6 of the 9 people in the room, of which I was probably the biggest, had a deep, spontaneous opening of their hearts toward David, which I describe as an experience of falling in love with him. When I realized, god this guy really can't help himself, he's so stuck, he doesn't even mean to be that way, he just, you know, it's hard to believe that somebody could, and this is often the case with oppressed people, that it's very difficult for them to believe that somebody who is doing such harmful things or saying such harmful things in the case of David, could possibly be doing it and not know how harmful it is, therefore, they must be doing it with malice and forethought. I think that's where a lot of the outrage and going to war feeling comes from. But then there's a conceptual shift on the part of the aggrieved that they may be doing really, really, really terrible things, but they really, really, really don't know what the hell they're doing. [R-POC-19: 222-235]

Embedded in this realization that the other may not mean to be cruel is also the perception that white people, by becoming aware of racism and its impact on people of color, were beginning to break through their cycle of “denial and defense” to acknowledge racism exists. This acknowledgement would hopefully lead them to take responsibility for their role in perpetuating racism and to commit to doing something constructive towards ending racism. As discussed earlier, acknowledgement of past and present injustices is a key step in acknowledging the other.

Joint Action Projects

The percentage of people who described action projects as a source of shift varied from group to group (40%-100%). The primary reason for the wide variation seemed to have less to do with the importance of working together on joint projects, than with the characteristics of the particular dialogue groups or types of interventions in which the different people participated. For example, some of the groups were designed to include both a dialogue component and an action component. However, some of the interventions were designed to only meet for a specific amount of time to dialogue with no expectation of follow-up or joint action. Generally, the longer the group met, the more likely they had also engaged in joint action projects.

Most participants and intervenors described working on action projects as a *result* of some shifts that had taken place in individual, interpersonal and intergroup attitudes and behaviors in the groups. However, many interviewees also described working on joint action projects as furthering or deepening shift between groups. Several intervenors reported they used joint projects, or at least joint analysis and planning on specific issues, as the starting point and vehicle for not only finding common ground and meaningful action, but also for achieving shift within and between individuals and groups. Action projects, like other factors, are part of the overall process of shift.

The opportunity to “do something” was very important to the participants who had this opportunity. Action projects helped increase understanding, personal bonding and trust, and led to feelings of doing something that ‘felt good and meaningful’ (76%), which further increased the connections with other group members. Many interviewees said joint action projects symbolized going outside of the group and “going public.” The most visible joint project was the one described earlier in this chapter, when one of the Jewish-Palestinian dialogue groups (Group 1) organized a Jewish-Palestinian dinner and dialogue

in 1997 for 420 people with about 150 Palestinians and 270 Jews and “others” (neither Jewish nor Palestinian) who sat together in mixed tables. The event included high profile guests, drew people from ten different states, and garnered national media attention. This event launched Group 2 and was described as the highpoint by the majority of participants from Group 1. Several participants from Group 1 described the dinner as a turning point in their group as a whole.

Socializing, Rituals

The role of ‘socializing’ with the other or engaging in some type of ‘ritual’ together helped facilitate shift by enabling participants to see the other in contexts other than those focused on their conflict (62%). I am using the terms ‘socializing’ and ‘ritual’ in the ways they were used by the participants and intervenors interviewed for this research and which reflect the usage of these terms in everyday language. Socializing refers to opportunities to talk informally with the other about topics such as families, jobs, daily life, and other non-conflict related events. Ritual refers to both informal and relatively unstructured activities, such as sharing meals, and more structured activities, such as weddings, funerals, and religious ceremonies.⁷ The opportunity to interact in such non-conflict related situations helped participants understand the other, see the other’s humanity and individuality, and reduce fear. It also helped people discover common ground related to similar customs, backgrounds, and so on. The culminating effect was increased understanding and personal bonding.

⁷ The reader is encouraged to read Lisa Schirch’s (1999) dissertation for a more comprehensive review, conceptualization and analysis of ritual and its role in peacebuilding.

One form of ritual is “breaking bread” together. Many participants and intervenors described the simple act of sharing a meal as an important part of the re-humanization and shift process. An African-American participant explained this point in the following way:

It's very difficult to deny the humanity of somebody that you break bread with on a repeated basis. I suppose if you get jaded and start taking for granted the people you're breaking bread with it may not have a very powerful effect, but for a group of strangers essentially to sit down and have 6 meals together, there's no way to stay the same. And, in a sense having breakfast, lunch and dinner together a couple of times was a meta-communication, was more important in some ways than anything else that we said or did. We also shared beds by the way. There were roughly two people to a bed in the place we were staying. So sharing some of the basic activities of life, even some of the basic activities of family life, I think had a big impact on the ethos and direction of the final outcome of the whole drama. I don't think it gets anywhere near as much credit as it deserves. [R-POC-19: 355-369]

Other rituals described by participants included, for example, joint participation in Jewish Passover Seder and Muslim fasts during Ramadan, joint dinners as part of meetings or outside of meetings, praying together, dancing, drumming, sports, and so on. All of these activities had a bonding effect on the participants. One Palestinian dialogue participant summed up the role of socializing and rituals as follows:

To me, it's sitting with them and having dinners with them and going over to their house. They have the same things, the same traditions. I celebrate their holidays. I invite them to celebrate ours so we can have that understanding about each other. I think to break the barriers and the stereotyping and the fear of other people, is to know their language, their religion and their culture. And if you know that about the people then there's nothing else to fear. You only fear the unknown. [JP-P-03: 677 - 685]

The opportunity to socialize and engage in symbolically important joint rituals helps participants re-humanize the other. Lisa Schirch (interview) suggests that when participants engage in joint rituals, whether it's eating together or going on a safari bus ride, the effect is that the ritual experience gives the conflict parties a new *context* in which to interact and relate to one another beyond the label of their conflict identity group. The result is the participants begin to see each other in a new way while outside the context of the conflict or

negotiating room, and that this change carries over into the way the parties see each other in the conflict as well.

The socialization and rituals enabled shared experiences that helped participants transcend personal differences. The result in many cases was strong friendships and solidarity that were tested over time and held fast in the face of criticism, ostracism and danger. Some intervenors thought this level of personal bonding and solidarity and the resulting trust that developed was achieved primarily through socializing together.

Experiential Activities

'Experiential activities,' such as role-plays, role reversals, reflective listening, cooperative learning activities, joint problem solving, and other shared activities not described in other sections also created opportunities for shift (46%). In some sense, all the transactional level factors are experiential. However, this category includes primarily those activities that were designed by the intervenors or participants as specific learning and communication tools and techniques. Intervenors were much more likely than participants to describe experiential activities (79% vs. 26%). The low percentage of participants reporting experiential activities was again, likely due to the particular intervention group in which the participants were involved. Many of the groups included only dialogue without the use of experiential activities.

One of the most powerful experiential activities described by participants and intervenors was the use of reflective listening. This was described in the section on acknowledgement, but warrants further emphasis. The pro-life/pro-choice participants saw reflective listening as a key activity or skill that helped them understand the perspective of the other as well as let the other know they were really understood. One intervenor thought reflective listening is one of the most powerful exercises or techniques s/he has observed. It

is common for intervenors to use reflective listening with conflict parties, but it is even more powerful when the participants use reflective listening with each other. One intervenor gave this explanation:

I personally believe that when it comes to facilitating moments of big shifts, that techniques which cause people to simultaneously express their own agendas, or within a similar window of time, and then to actively engage themselves with the hurts and angers and needs of the other side, I think techniques like that are the most powerful for facilitating shifts.... I think in many negotiations, successful ones, I think there is a palpable sense of reaching a point where you can feel that people are actually connecting.... If someone will actually put themselves into paraphrasing an opponent, or a role reversal, and will do that for even 20-30 minutes, it is sufficient to bring a marked shift in people's behavior and in their attitude toward the other person. [3PI-39: 75-160]

Another useful exercise described by the pro-life/pro-choice participants was a questionnaire they were asked to complete during their one-day workshop that helped them discover common ground. The questionnaire included a range of statements from those specifically related to abortion to more general statements about societal issues, such as birth control, sexual activity outside of marriage, etc. Everyone was asked to complete the questionnaire twice; first responding with their views and then as they thought members of the group would respond to the questions. The survey used a five-point scale from strongest agreement to strongest disagreement. The results were then tabulated and presented to the group in a chart format. This exercise helped people become aware of their assumptions about each other, helped dispel myths and stereotypes, and most importantly showed people the significant number of areas in which the two groups shared interests, concerns, and views. Once people realized that the two groups shared some common ground on specific issues and values, people's comfort level, trust, respect, and liking of each other increased immediately. They suddenly realized that they had similar perspectives on many issues and weren't necessarily enemies after all.

Another successful experiential activity is a “walk through history,” popularized by Joseph Montville. Several of the intervenors described using this activity and its role in shift. The activity involves having each conflict party, while in separate small groups, draw a historical time-line or map of all events important to them in the history of the conflict. Each group visually and graphically draws their version of history. After each group draws their time-line or map, they share the time-lines with each other. One intervenor who used this process with a group of Greek and Turkish Cypriot teenagers said that after each small group was finished with their map, s/he had the participants walk in silence to view the other side’s map. The participants stayed in silence until everyone had read the other’s map and sat down. The intervenor then broke the silence by asking the participants to describe what they noticed about the maps or how they were feeling, etc.

I remember one young person, I couldn’t even say if it was Greek or Turkish Cypriot—it doesn’t matter—stood up and in a **profoundly aggrieved voice** said just, “They lied to us.” And I said, “What do you mean? Who lied to you?” And she said, “All our lives, our teachers, our parents, our media, **they all lied to us. They never told us there was another way of looking at these events.**” So that was a **profound moment** for her and a lot of people in that group... That **certainly opened a very deep conversation** and there was **general agreement** to that statement. It was like a **turning point** in the group. [3PI-10: 14-142]

The realization that there was another way to interpret history was startling to the participants. The teenager’s statement also conveyed acknowledgment to the other side that they had legitimate claims and concerns. All the intervenors who used this activity described it as an “eye-opener” that led to turning points in the participants’ attitudes, perspectives and interactions.

The intervenors described other activities, such as having participants engage in joint analysis of their conflict or in joint visioning of their future. Joint analysis of their conflict means the participants worked together to analyze their conflict, including the history, sources, parties, and other elements commonly discussed in the conflict resolution literature.

Engaging in joint problem solving helped build teamwork, trust, bonding and eventually agreements. Joint analysis focuses on the past and present situation and relationships. Joint visioning means asking the parties to imagine the type of future they want in place of the past and current conflict situation and to develop a shared vision of that future that meets all conflict parties' needs and aspirations and reflects what they would like their relationship to look like. When participants developed shared visions, this gave the groups common goals, needs and values to work together towards. Shared visions, like shared values and common ground, also helped keep participants committed and focused during difficult times. They could always go back to their shared vision to realize their potential for cooperation and peaceful coexistence. What was important about shared visioning and joint problem solving is they focused participants' attention on developing a *shared* understanding or meaning of the past and future.

What all these activities had in common was they used a structured learning activity that engaged people in cognitive, emotional, physical and spiritual ways to help uncover misperceptions, misunderstandings, different feelings, perspectives, worldviews, and real differences and areas of common ground. Since all the participants were asked to engage in the activities, it was a shared experience by all and this experience was itself bonding.

Risk Taking

Perceived 'risk taking' by the other also facilitated shift (50%). Taking a risk was related to the perception that the other was willing to be vulnerable and open-minded or to do something perceived as courageous, such as giving some form of acknowledgment or taking some form of action. For example, going to speak in front of a group representing the 'other' or simply being willing to participate in the dialogue group despite being criticized and, in some cases, ostracized by one's own group, was a form of risk taking that

was highly appreciated by participants. The Palestinians reported a much higher percentage of risk taking by the Jewish participants (67%) than the Jewish participants reported about the Palestinians (38%). The reason for this is not clear. One possibility is the perception of relative power between the two groups. The Palestinians perceived the Jewish participants as having more power in the relationship, and therefore, had more to risk (or more to lose). This raises interesting questions about the relationship between power and risk taking. Perhaps powerful groups can “afford” to take more risks. On the other hand, groups in a less powerful position may take more risks given they often say they have “nothing left to lose.” There were only minor differences in the reporting on risk among the other conflict groups. However, the relationship between perceived risk taking and relative perceptions of power warrants further study.

Individual Level

From the discussion above of the transactional level factors that facilitated shift, one can see that the primary impacts of these factors on the individual level were increased personal bonding (94%) and understanding (96%). These were further facilitated by the surprise (76%) people experienced while hearing other people’s stories, finding common ground (82%) and so on, which encouraged them to ‘listen to the other with an open mind, and reflect on what they heard’ (80%), which helped facilitate changes in their attitudes toward the other and the conflict. The stories also helped participants feel empathy (70%) for the other and feel and see their common humanity (64%). Being acknowledged by the other conveyed understanding, recognition, acceptance or respect and made participants feel ‘acknowledged, good and that they were engaged in something meaningful’ (90%).

Four additional factors that facilitated shift are perceived common ground between self and other, increased trust and safety, the role of participants' personal values and commitment, and the role of emotions.

Common Ground

Discovering some type of commonality with the other was another important facilitator of shift for 82% of the respondents, with all the groups reporting 80%-100%, except for the Jewish group. Only 38% of the Jewish participants expressed finding common ground as a precursor of shift. It is unclear why this group reported a much lower percentage of common ground as a precursor of shift than other groups.

Several types of commonality emerged in the dialogues, including: (1) similar experiences and backgrounds; (2) similar cultures and customs, and (3) common needs, interests, goals, and shared values. These commonalities helped people see the other beyond their group label and helped the participants identify with each other on a personal level. The general impact of finding common ground was increased bonding, trust, and understanding.

One striking commonality that emerged during many of the interventions was participants' common experiences of some form of pain and suffering in their personal histories. When participants discovered that the other had suffered too, this helped overcome their sense of victimhood. It helped them move from a focus on blaming the other for their suffering to realizing and acknowledging that all had suffered in some way. This realization made it easier for participants to become conflict resolution partners. Similarly, participants were surprised to find that the other was afraid of them—that everybody is afraid of everybody. This discovery also became a source of common ground. Many interviewees described the realization that the other had also suffered and was afraid as a turning point in how the participants saw the other and the conflict.

Another source of common ground was the discovery the other shared things in common in their background, culture, custom, families, jobs, hobbies, etc. For example, several of the Palestinians and Jews remarked how similar they were in superstitions, values, food, and art. When the other would reveal aspects of themselves that the listener saw in themselves, for example shared values, this not only helped establish that the participants had common ground around core concerns, but also helped the listener see the other's humanity and individuality. This was a key facilitator of shift. This was illustrated by one of the pro-choice participants who said:

At the end of that first round [storytelling] was that everybody had a very **deep, strong concern** for the welfare and benefit of women and children. We had different ways of expressing that, and different ideas about how that ought to work, but that was the **common paradigm**. Right away in the first meeting, we were able to hit **pay dirt** on what was our **shared value**.... Anytime we came to a problem in the group, we could always go back to that shared value and say let's go back to the **most important thing**, working for the benefit of women and children – is what we're doing now helping that? And it allowed us to really have a touchstone for how we got through some of the tough and difficult times in the group... The key positive shifts really were that I had to see people as **individuals**; I had to **understand** and really be **willing** to examine and accept how we were **alike**, because you don't want to do that. It goes back to the "other" conversation. Once I see something in that other person that is just like me and I like them because I like that in me and I can appreciate them because I appreciate that in me, all of a sudden their "**otherness**" begins to slip away. [PL/PC-PC-40: 228-515]

Finding shared values was a significant source of common ground and a potent force for shift. This quote also suggests that common ground, especially shared values, can provide the direction and vision that keeps a group on target; it can provide the glue that keeps a group together when things get tough. Louise Diamond (1994) describes having a common vision and commitment as an important step in the conflict transformation journey. Shared values can form the basis of a common vision and commitment.

Another source of common ground was when the other made statements that expressed common goals around specific issues in the conflict. For example, when the

Jewish dialogue participants expressed their support for Palestinian statehood, that was an important source of common ground and conveyed acknowledgement of the Palestinians core concerns and needs.

Finding common ground was especially impactful when it also led to action. For example, the Jewish-Palestinian groups worked on several projects to support their common goals. A person of color who had been involved in a dialogue group described the importance of finding common ground around specific issues, in this case police harassment and abuse of people of color, and actually doing something about it. The action included several members of the dialogue group going to the county police chief and discussing their common concerns about police behaviors in their community. The result was the person of color was appointed to the police chief's advisory council and has developed a professional relationship with the police chief and other high officials in the department that s/he believes has made a positive impact in the community. Finding such common ground and acting upon it helped strengthen the bond between the person of color and the white dialogue participants who were involved in the joint action.

Trust-Safety

'Trust-safety' (74%) was identified as a facilitator of shift and a result of shift. Trust-safety within and between individuals and groups was developed by several factors, including personal stories, acknowledgement, common ground, joint activities, the other's sincerity or risk-taking, increased personal connections and understanding, and the facilitators/leaders managing the dialogue process in a way that created a safe space. Trust-safety referred to participants feeling open and comfortable in the group. The majority of participants said the more they felt trust-safety in their group, the less they felt defensive and the more open they became, both in terms of being open to what the other had to say and in

terms of being willing to express themselves.

‘Trust-safety’ was related to personally **‘taking a risk.’** Several participants described that once a certain level of trust had been established (trust as a result), they (and others) took more risks in expressing themselves or raising sensitive topics, which in turn helped deepen the dialogue and facilitate further shift. This interrelated and dynamic process illustrates that shift is both an outcome and a process.

Trust was also built when participants stood in solidarity with the other. Several intervenors and participants described the importance of having the other side as a vocal ally. For example, several people told stories of one side being severely criticized or verbally attacked by their own side or the other side, and the other side responded by providing them both private and public support. Having the other act as an ally both reflected the solidarity and trust that had been built and facilitated further solidarity and trust. Such acts of solidarity also conveyed a certain amount of **‘risk taking,’** which helped facilitate shift.

Values, Commitment

A majority of the dialogue participants and intervenors described the role of the participants’ personal **‘values and commitment’** (72%) as facilitators of shift. Personal values included visions of peace, justice, or reconciliation, and the commitment to work towards these ideals through building mutual understanding and relationships, as well as action. A commitment to these ideals kept participants engaged in the process despite how difficult and painful it was sometimes. For many participants, their personal values were initially not extended to those with who they were in conflict. This realization, and the commitment to uphold their own values motivated them to be open to the other. For example, several of the Jewish participants in the dialogue groups saw themselves as peace activists who had worked in other conflicts and movements besides the Palestinian/Arab-

Israeli conflict, such as the civil rights movement, American-Soviet relations, and so on. Their values and commitment to peace, justice and reconciliation in these other conflicts helped them realize their need to work towards these values with Palestinians. The discrepancy between participants' deeply held values and their attitudes and behaviors was a source of discomfort and cognitive dissonance that motivated them to uphold their values. The following quote by a pro-life participant illustrates these dynamics.

From our side, I mean as a pro-lifer, as a Christian, we are **theoretically committed** to making a **distinction** between the evil that we oppose and the **people** who are involved in it. The **theory** is in place and the theory is strong and I am **committed** to it seriously. But, the **practice** breaks down a lot. What the dialogue process did is make it so much **easier** to take that theoretical distinction and **make it real**. I haven't wavered in my **opposition to abortion**. But, I do really **respect and admire** a lot of folks from the other side and that's not to say we don't screw up, but the common ground really did build **solid relationships** that were **real**. [PL/PC-PL-54: 151-161]

The intervenors described that they referred back to participants' values to encourage them to be open to hearing the other, to reflect on their own attitudes, behaviors and role in the conflict, and move towards living their values consistently. Some intervenors went a step further and challenged participants based on their own values of justice that they assumed were shared by the participants. For example, several intervenors described instances in which they believed the participants in their intervention were behaving irresponsibly or with a lack of fairness, justice or morality and actually confronted the participants about their behavior. By expressing their expectations that the participants take moral responsibility for the conflict and their actions, the intervenors believed they touched the participants' own deeply held values around justice that helped participants shift their attitudes and behaviors. While the intervenors admitted that some participants initially resisted such attempts, the intervenors who described this strategy reported it as successful.

Many of the participants and intervenors I interviewed talked about using the incongruity between the participants' attitudes, behaviors and values as a potential source of facilitating shift. When the participants realized a discrepancy between their behaviors and attitudes toward the other and their basic values, this seemed to create cognitive dissonance in them. In the literature review in Chapter 2, cognitive dissonance was discussed as generally leading people to change their attitudes to fit their behavior in order to justify their behavior and maintain cognitive consistency. According to the participants and intervenors, cognitive dissonance seemed to lead people to change their attitudes and behaviors to be congruent with their values.

Having people identify their deeply held values during an intervention may also be a source for finding shared values and common ground. Some participants and intervenors also described the role of values in terms of spiritual beliefs, such as the belief in the interconnectedness or a spiritual bond between all people, the connection of all to a higher power, that everyone is a precious human being worthy of dignity and respect, that we should be seeking "higher ground," and so on. The participants and intervenors said these deeply held values and beliefs facilitated shift by motivating participants to reach out and seek the best in all the participants and to treat others with respect. This helped facilitate shift internally within individuals and build personal connections and trust between people.

The Role of Emotions

It is clear from the discussions above that emotions played a significant role in facilitating shift. Most of the previous discussion has focused on the emotional reactions participants had to the other due to transactional level factors. In addition to these emotional reactions to the other, many participants (35%) and a majority of intervenors (63%) described the role of emotions for facilitating shift, including the importance of participants

surfacing and dealing with their own emotions related to the conflict or other personal experiences and the importance of emotions in general.

Many interviewees believed that participants had to first get in touch with their own experiences and emotions for them to be able to actively engage and get in touch with the experiences and emotions of the other. For example, the participants from *The Color of Fear* observed that for David C. (the intransigent white man) to acknowledge the people of color, he had to also get in touch with his own feelings about his past, specifically his childhood and relationship to his father, for him to be able to get in touch with the feelings and experiences of the people of color. In addition, when the people of color perceived that David C. was getting in touch with his own past, that simple observation moved them closer to David C.

In the film, the facilitator used probing questions to help David C. reflect on and get in touch with his emotions. Several dialogue participants and intervenors also described the use of probing questions to help people get in touch with their own deeply buried experiences and feelings.

Several intervenors said that getting in touch with and expressing one's own emotions help people to redefine their self-identity and relation to the other. "The expression of one's own emotions is part of the internal thing. Part of the process is to gain some emotional literacy; to be in touch with those emotions and to be able to express them in a way that begins to redefine who you are" (3PI-24: 205-209). Intervenors suggested this was empowering to participants.

Many participants and intervenors also described the importance of emotions in general for facilitating shift. While facts and information were useful, they believed these were insufficient for shift to happen. For example, one racial dialogue facilitator suggested that transformation happens when participants are faced with a human dilemma, an

emotional crisis, and that this crisis could only occur when the other's truth was felt emotionally. Such a crisis could encourage people to face the conflict and look at themselves, which would facilitate internal shift.

Where I think transformation takes place, **real transformation**, is often when you're faced with a human **dilemma**, a human truth of another human being.... it takes a **crises**, and it takes a willingness to **look at yourself**. Because I don't think the truth always does it. I think we do a lot of **denial** in this country. And, that denial is supported by the media and through stereotypes. [To break through that denial], I think takes a certain amount of **anguish and emotion**... and a willingness to **face** rather than avoid conflict... I think that until we have **that experience**, if we could get a very **visual personal or social visual memory**, then it would unconsciously come to us that it is possible to make a **transformation**, or it is possible to **go into the fire** and not be devoured or abused. [3PI-13: 36-84]

Several intervenors described the importance of having people recognize and work through their fears in order to build trust with the other. One intervenor described how in his/her facilitation of dialogues between Jews and Palestinians, s/he had to help the participants dig below the surface to really understand and deal with their underlying emotions, especially fear. While participants may be able to reach agreements at an intellectual level, these underlying fears would likely get in the way of their implementation. Only when the participants had really acknowledged and dealt with their own fears, in addition to each other's, could they build the trust necessary for resolving their conflict.

Many interviewees expressed the belief that emotions, rather than rational thinking and intellectual knowledge, were key to shift. A person of color who was a participant and facilitator of dialogues on racism reflected the belief of others when s/he said:

Let me tell you that **rational thinking** doesn't work in terms of working on issues of racism. It doesn't work at all, **ever**. I haven't seen it. I think we can all come to an **agreement** about **yes, you are right, we shouldn't discriminate, racism is wrong**, but that **doesn't change** the way people see me... there would be this **undercurrent, unconscious, but undercurrent that de-values** who I am a little bit. Those things are not amenable to somebody making a rational decision. Maybe that will help, but I think it needs to be **felt**. In some way there needs to be an **emotional** component to it,... it's not a rational thing. Obviously, presenting evidence is part

of the process, but there needs to be an emotional context, especially for things to take. [R-POC-44: 522-544]

Much of the conflict resolution literature reflects the assumption that negative emotions, especially anger, help escalate conflicts and get in the way of reconciliation and conflict resolution, and people should focus on being rational to overcome what are seen as negative emotions (e.g., Fisher & Ury, 1981; Moore, 1986; Sandole, 1993). The emphasis on rationality and reason in the conflict resolution field is discussed in Chapter 2. The people interviewed for this research also saw the positive potential of emotions, even anger, fear, pain and grief. The following quote by an intervenor reflects the perspectives of many people interviewed on the connection between emotions, rationality and shift.

If people are not able to tap their **passions**, then their rationality is going to be very **constrained**. But they have to be tapped **carefully** because it's so easy to develop false stereotypes or just be angry with each other. But when you tap into people's passions, you get **intensity**, you get being **present**, you get a level of **attention** that allows **change**, or **new perspectives** and **new insights** that are not going to happen when you're sitting on your emotions and not able to tap them... and unless people really start to look where their **energies** are tied up and start to speak from **there** then there's too much **locked up** for there to be positive **change**. [3PI-31: 374-391]

When people are engaged in conflict, especially protracted or violent conflict or conflicts that attack one's identity, people have intense emotions that may fuel the perpetuation of conflict. However, this research suggests that feeling, revealing and dealing with emotions, one's own and others'—whether pain, grief, anger and fear or joy, love and hope— can also be a source of personal connection, trust-building, empathy, understanding and so on, and may be key to shift, hence reconciliation and conflict resolution.

Tapping into emotions as a facilitator of shift is, however, a delicate process. Uncovering pent up emotions can easily open the “Pandora's box” that everyone fears but is not prepared or able to deal with. Therefore, the intervention process must be designed in

a way that taps into the positive potential of emotions. All emotions must be welcomed into the process.

The next section describes situational level factors (the intervention) that help create an environment conducive to constructive interactions among participants and that help facilitate shift.

Situational Level

The situation level—the intervention setting—is the framework in which the participants interact. How the intervention is framed helps set the tone and climate of interaction, the safe space, and the direction and focus of interaction. A primary goal of the intervenor is to create a space and process that is conducive to transforming relationships. The participants and intervenors cited the role of the facilitator/leader of the intervention and the characteristics of the intervention (e.g., safe and encouraging environment, structure, process) as facilitators of shift. Also mentioned is the open-minded nature of the participants who either self-selected to participate or were selected by the facilitators to participate.

Facilitator/Leader

The facilitators/leaders helped manage the dialogue process (80%) to enable mutual listening with respect and establish a safe environment (80%). In most cases, the facilitators also designed the structure and process used in the interventions that created the conditions in which the transactional level events took place (e.g., storytelling, socializing). Key process management skills identified by the dialogue participants included reflective listening, paraphrasing, reframing, summarizing and asking good questions.

The facilitators also provided leadership in the group (58%) that pushed the participants and process forward. Key examples of effective leadership included offering the participants a positive vision and encouragement, bringing them new ideas and concepts (e.g., connective thinking), and teaching the participants new skills (e.g., reflective listening). The intervenors described the importance of additional leadership roles, including: taking risks to confront behavior among their participants that they believed was counter-productive; identifying and talking separately with important “gate-keepers” in the group; acting as a cultural interpreter between groups; pushing the group beyond their comfort zone, such as raising power and structural issues; giving examples and lessons learned from other conflict situations, and modeling interethnic/interracial team-work.

Participants and intervenors also described certain personal characteristics (46%) of the facilitator that were particularly helpful, such as patience, sincerity, commitment, trustworthiness, and knowledge of the issues.

Characteristics of the Intervention

The key characteristic of the interventions that facilitated shift was the safe and encouraging atmosphere that was established in the group (80%). The safe atmosphere included both physical space and safety and psychological space and safety. The primary aspects of the physical environment that helped facilitate shift include face-to-face informal meetings, such as sitting in a circle, meeting in comfortable spaces such as living rooms, and going on a retreat. Two common themes in these descriptions were that the physical environments invited connection rather than separation, and were inviting rather than intimidating. One result was that the environment helped people get out of their typical role as adversaries. So rather than sitting people around a conference table, which both creates a physical barrier and encourages them to be in their more “formal” role as a negotiator,

Palestinian, or pro-choice activist, the majority of people interviewed suggested removing such physical and psychological barriers to genuine dialogue and getting to know the other. For example, for the Jews and Palestinians, the informal atmosphere of visiting each other's homes and meeting in people's living rooms helped create a positive atmosphere in which people felt comfortable with each other, encouraged people to see each other at a human level, and helped them dialogue more effectively.

Visiting each other's homes also helped participants learn about each other's families, lives and customs and the similarities between the two cultures. As described earlier, this perceived similarity further bonded the groups.

The physical space helped create psychological space for dialogue and shift. Interviewees described the following characteristics of the physical space as important for shift: using a circle of chairs, instead of a square table; meeting in intimate and comfortable settings, such as people's living rooms, rather than conference room or other formal space; and, using "get away" retreats that offered serene surroundings and opportunities to take a "walk in the woods." These conditions helped create a positive and welcoming atmosphere for constructive engagement because they invited connection and intimacy instead of separation and formality. The physical space is often the first thing people notice when they come together, so its first impression should induce comfort to help ease the natural anxiety that comes with meeting the other. Changing the physical space people use to meet one another seems to create change in the psychological space in which people meet as well.

Other factors that helped create psychological safety were trust in the facilitator and process, ground rules, and group norms that were established such as respectful listening and communication. There were some cultural differences related to ground rules and what was considered "respectful communication." For the African-Americans that were interviewed, ground rules such as "turn-taking" and waiting for someone to be finished

talking stifled genuine dialogue. In contrast, the white people tended to appreciate such rules to avoid being interrupted, which they've been taught is disrespectful. However, among African-Americans, when someone interrupts another person it may not be interpreted as disrespectful but rather as being engaged and interested in the other. Thus, the challenge for facilitators is to work with participants to bridge different ideas of what constitutes respectful communication and to develop norms that encourage rather than hinder the free flow of conversation and genuine dialogue.

The 'structure and process' of the intervention was also described as helping facilitate shift (56%), however, only 45% of all the dialogue participants attributed shift to structure and process while 75% of the intervenors did. There are two different possible explanations of this gap. One reason is that the majority of participants were in groups that had no formal structure or process. Even some of the groups that were supposed to have a structure ended up being rather unstructured and informal. The only participants who consistently attributed shift to the structure and process of their group were the pro-life/pro-choice participants (100%). As described earlier, almost all these groups used the structure and process approach developed by the Network for Life and Choice (NFLC) and in fact, most were facilitated by this organization. The NFLC was credited for developing the specific questions and activities used in the one-day workshop and the common ground approach that was used in the workshop and on-going dialogues. All the participants felt that the structure and design of the workshops and on-going dialogues created the space in which shift could happen.

The majority of participants and intervenors also said that the 'open-mindedness' (52%) of the participants helped facilitate shift. Many believed that had the participants been closed minded, little constructive dialogue could have taken place. The dialogue participants and participants in the intervenors' interventions were recruited through either self-selection

or by the facilitators or organizers of the interventions. Some people said that those interventions that recruited a self-selected group of individuals might only attract people who were at least open-minded enough to listen to the other side. All the dialogue participants perceived themselves to be open-minded. Whether self-selected participants really are more open-minded than non-participants is not known. Further, the participants seemed to perceive the other as open-minded because the other had in fact changed. Had I interviewed them before the other had changed, the participants may not have perceived the other as open-minded. Again, whether the other was more open-minded than non-participants is not known. The self-selection process raises the question of whether this process explains the shifts. However, not all the dialogue participants were self-selected; many were recruited. Several of the intervenors emphasized that they carefully helped select the participants for their interventions to ensure that those who attend at least seem to be open-minded.

Further research is needed to determine whether there are differential effects of intervention participants being self-selected or selected by third parties. In addition, further research to determine whether the other factors identified as precursors of shift would have differential effects on “open-minded”-to-“closed-minded” participants.

Speed and Depth of Shifts

While I was initially interested in the type of sudden and dramatic interpersonal and intergroup shifts that I had witnessed in the police-gang dialogue described in Chapter 1, the majority of dialogue participants and intervenors reported that they experienced or observed shift as a gradual process that takes ‘time to interact, reflect, get to know the other, and change’ (62%). It was the shared experiences, constructive engagement, reflection, and generally having the opportunity to get to know the other over time that facilitated shifts.

Further, not everyone who was interviewed necessarily experienced or observed the same degree of shift. I did not measure the degree of shift within each individual or dialogue group as a whole, however, I discerned, through statements and body language during the interviews, that some dialogue participants and groups clearly experienced greater shift than others. For some participants, the experience was “deep and profound” while for others the experiences they had were useful and interesting, but did not seem as impactful.

It is impossible to identify clearly from the data collected the reasons for the seeming differences in the degree of shift experienced by participants or observed by intervenors. Possible reasons include: (1) the participants and intervenors were involved in different intervention efforts, therefore, I was perhaps comparing “apples and oranges,” (2) the length of time that individuals/groups met; (3) the skills of the facilitator/leader; (4) the intervention processes and structures used; (5) the “starting points” of groups and individuals in terms of how much polarization there was initially. Differences in “starting point” suggest that participants in some groups had more “space” in which to shift. (6) The participants may vary in how expressive they are in describing their experience leading me to misinterpret their depth of shift. (7) Participants who perceived the other in their group to have been more acknowledged than their own group expressed less degree of shift. This last possibility was most clear in one of the Jewish-Palestinian dialogue groups.

In one of the Palestinian-Jewish dialogue groups, eight of the participants were interviewed which made it easier to compare different people’s experiences while somewhat “controlling” for the situational variables. Of these eight participants (four Jewish, four Palestinians), two of the Jewish participants seemed to have experienced less shift than the other six participants. They did report making friendships with the Palestinians, feelings respect for them, better understanding their perspectives, empathizing with their experiences, and so on. However, the other six participants described their experience in the dialogue as

much more profound than these two Jewish participants. I discerned two possible explanations the two different degrees of shifts. First, the two “less-shifting” Jewish participants felt their story was not listened to as much as were the Palestinians’ stories. They were also the only participants out of the eight to not report feeling acknowledged. They felt their concerns and needs and the concerns and needs of Israel were not taken as seriously as the concerns and needs of the Palestinians and Palestine. Thus, the apparent lower degree of shift experienced by these two Jewish participants seems related to their not feeling as acknowledged as the Palestinians. In contrast, the other two Jewish participants reported feeling acknowledged, but most of their shift seemed to emerge from hearing the Palestinians’ stories.

It is likely that none of these factors alone can explain the differences in shift. For example, some people described deep shifts even though they thought their facilitator was inept. Other people described shifts that took place within the span of a few hours, partly because the facilitators and the process were so good. Another possible factor that may influence degree of shift is the individual participant’s ‘readiness for shift.’ Much of the conflict resolution literature describes the role of ‘ripeness’ for conflict intervention. Individuals may also have different ‘ripeness’ for shift. Such a readiness for shift may also be related to the degree to which participants are open-minded (discussed earlier). Future research should further explore all these issues and the interrelationships between these issues and shift.

Summary

In summary, the interviews indicated that face-to-face, personal, sincere and generally on-going dialogue or interventions facilitated shift. At the individual level, the key ingredients towards shift were feeling personal connections, trust, empathy, re-humanization

of the other, understanding the other, discovering common ground, and feeling acknowledged in some way (feel understood, recognized, validated, accepted and respected), which made them feel good about themselves and the other and that they were engaged in something meaningful. Key in this process was the constructive role that emotions played in helping participants feel, reveal and deal with their own and each other's emotions, especially pain and fear. Empathizing with the other and perspective-taking helped participants better understand the other's perspectives. These individual level processes were most easily accomplished by events at the transactional level, including hearing personal stories, acknowledgement, sincere communication and listening (especially active listening), shared activities, time and risk. Also important was the role of participants' personal values in helping them remain open and committed to the process and the other and as a source of common ground and constructive cognitive dissonance.

The factors at the situational level, such as the role and skills of the facilitator and the characteristics of the intervention, especially the structure and process, helped create the context and conditions in which the transactional events and individual affective and cognitive processes occurred and thereby facilitated the shift process within and between individuals and groups.

All the factors that were identified by the dialogue participants and intervenors as facilitating shift worked in a dynamic, interactive process that spiraled toward reconciliation and a vision of the possibility of a shared, peaceful future.

The discussion above suggests several precursors of shift, and possible cause and effect relationships between these factors and shift. I use the phrase "cause and effect" loosely since this qualitative, interpretive and exploratory analysis and the nature of these complex processes are not conducive to establishing cause and effect relationships. Nevertheless, the participants and intervenors interviewed for this analysis did attempt to

make such connections at my request. In some cases, they made clear and explicit statements of cause and effect, and at other times, I inferred the cause and effect relationships from the sequence of events that they described and their general explanations for what factors facilitate shift. These “cause and effect” relationships are explored further in the next section by examining specific examples of shift provided by the dialogue participants and intervenors.

Step 2: Developing a Process Model of Shift-- Specific Examples of Shifts, Their Precursors and Results

To further explore the factors that facilitate shift, I examine specific examples of shift described by the participants to see if a pattern emerges in the general sequence of events. This pattern, if one emerged, would serve as the basis for a model of how shift happens. The model takes into account that several factors may occur simultaneously and that there is a constant interactive and dynamic relationship between different factors.

I begin this research by conducting an in-depth analysis of all the examples of shift provided by the participants of one conflict case—the Jewish-Palestinian dialogues. One conflict case is chosen to test out and refine the data analysis process and identify initial relationships between the various factors previously identified as facilitators of shift. The Jewish and Palestinian participants described 46 instances of an experience that led to a shift in themselves, others, or the group. Using *process tracing* methodology (described below), I analyze the 46 examples and develop a preliminary model showing the sequence of events in the shift process (Druckman, 2001). This model is then applied to the rest of the groups of interviewees from the race/ethnic dialogues, pro-life/pro-choice dialogues and the third-party intervenors.

All of the Jewish-Palestinian dialogue participants as well as all of the examples they

provided are used in this analysis. For the rest of the groups, I use random sampling by lot to identify two dialogue participants from each group and four intervenors to use for the analysis, for a total of 12 interviewees out of the remaining 36 (33%). Since the general precursors of shift identified by each of the groups in step one described above are similar, I reasoned that the results in this more focused analysis of the sequence of events, or the shift process, would also be similar. If there are different findings between the groups, those differences should emerge from the analysis of a randomly selected number of interviewees.

The remainder of my analysis is also limited to 1-2 examples from each person in order to save time, and because based on my experience analyzing all 46 examples from the Jewish and Palestinian participants it seems redundant to use them all. I do not use random sampling of the specific examples from each person because I want to use the “best” examples. Three criteria are used to select these examples of shift. I want to use examples that are comprehensive (linked several factors), detailed, and representative of dramatic and deep shifts within and between individuals and groups.

Process Tracing Methodology

The process tracing methodology produces a coding scheme with six phases of shift and some ongoing factors that facilitate shift. The six phases of shift are in ascending order so all precursors that are coded as Phase 1 precede precursors coded as Phase 2, Phase 3, etc. Precursors coded as Phase 2 precede precursors coded as Phase 3, and so on.

The process tracing methodology includes several steps that are summarized here and described in detail in Appendix D. First, each of the specific examples is divided into their component precursors of shift (the 26 factors that facilitated shift). The analysis of specific examples reveal additional facilitators of shift that I did not consider in my analysis of general precursors in the previous section. These new factors relate to statements or

behaviors made by the participant towards the other that they thought caused a shift in the other, which in turn caused a shift in them. I also include a few factors that are described in the examples but are not reported or discussed earlier because less than 50% of any group reported them. These items are included here to present a more comprehensive picture of the shift process.

Each example is analyzed separately. For each example, I put each precursor in a linear time sequence by placing each precursor in successive columns on a spreadsheet. The sequence is determined by analyzing the chain of events as described by the interviewees. In some cases, there is more than one precursor reported as occurring simultaneously, in which case, all these precursors are listed in the same column, but in separate rows to distinguish between them. After all the examples and their precursors are placed in sequence, an initial intuitively identified pattern and coding scheme emerges. After several iterations, I found 6 sequential “phases” in the shift process, alternating between transactional level and individual level “causes and effects,” plus one phase, “ongoing dynamics,” that is present throughout the process.

The coding scheme and phases are presented in Table 9. To convey that the borders between phases and categories of precursors are overlapping and porous, the borders of the table are wavy lines instead of straight lines. For example, while personal stories are designated as Phase 1 and the individual level reactions to those stories are coded as Phase 2, it is certain that the individual reactions are actually engaged *while* the other is telling their story as well as after the story is finished. The affective and cognitive processing begins immediately when the story begins. In fact, one is always engaged in affective and cognitive processing. It is also fair to say that the individual level reactions are in *response* to the story, therefore, they flow from the story. The different phases illustrate this flow. The table is explained further after its presentation.

Table 9. Phase 2: Phases in the Shift Process*

Phase 1 – Transactional Triggers	Phase 2 – Individual Reactions	Phase 3 – Shift	Phase 4 – Transactional Triggers	Phase 5 – Individual Reactions	Phase 6 – Shift
Communication Strategy: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personal Story • Facts, Information, Explanations • <i>Appeal to Values</i> • <i>Nonverbal</i> 	Affective Processes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Surprise • Empathy • Humanity • Personal Bonding • Trust-Building • Good, Meaningful 	Affective Change: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personal Connection, Friendship • Empathy • Rehumanized Other • Trust • <i>Respect</i> • <i>Changed Feelings</i> 	Acknowledgement <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Direct statements • Reflective Listening • <i>Nonverbal</i> 	Affective Processes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Surprise • Feel Acknowledged, Good, Meaningful • Personal Bonding • Trust-Building 	Affective Change: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personal Connection, Friendship • Acknowledged • Empathy • Rehumanized Other • Trust • <i>Respect</i> • <i>Changed Feelings</i>
Shared Activities: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Socializing, Rituals • Experiential, Joint Exercises, Reflective Listening 	Cognitive Processes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cognitive Dissonance • Reframing, Perspective-Taking • Listen, Reflect • Common Ground 	Cognitive Change: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understanding • Perceptions of Other (sincere, caring, similar) • <i>See Complexity</i> • <i>Take Responsibility</i> • <i>Changed Mind</i> 	Shared Activities: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Action Projects 	Cognitive Processes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cognitive Dissonance • Perspective-Taking, Reframing • Listen, Reflect • Common Ground 	Cognitive Change: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understanding • Perceptions of Other (sincere, caring, similar) • <i>See Complexity</i> • <i>Take Responsibility</i> • <i>Changed Mind</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Sincerity + Risk 		Relationship Change: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Cooperative, Friendly</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Sincerity + Risk 		Relationship Change: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Cooperative, Friendly</i> • <i>Agreements</i>
Characteristics of Intervention: Safe & Positive Environment; Structure; Participants – Open-minded, Motivated, Committed, Readiness, Personal Values, Sincere Facilitator Leadership & Process Management Skills General Feel, Reveal, Deal with Emotions Time to Engage, Interact, Reflect, Get to Know Each Other					

* Items in *italics* are new items not presented or discussed previously

Results

Table 9 shows the general phases or sequence of events in the shift process. The ‘ongoing dynamics’ occur throughout the process and refer primarily to the role of the facilitators and the characteristics of the intervention that created a positive atmosphere and opportunities for shift to take place. It includes the general role of emotions—the need to feel, reveal and deal with emotions. Generally, the shift process requires ‘time to engage’ for people to have shared experiences, constructive engagement and to get to know the other. In addition, interviewees described certain participant characteristics as factors that made shift more likely, including open-mindedness, motivation, commitment and personal values.

Phase 1 refers to factors at the transactional level, specifically ‘communication strategies,’ especially personal stories, ‘shared activities’ (‘socializing, rituals,’ and ‘experiential, joint exercises, reflective listening’), and ‘nonverbal communication.’ Nonverbal communication also influences the shift process. Many participants described non-verbal indicators, such as crying, silence, moving physically closer, or surprise (which was also reported as a “precursor”) as indicating the other was experiencing a significant reaction that may lead to shift. “A’s” perception of “B’s” reactions and possible shift affected “A” and vice versa. These perceptions of the other’s reactions seem to influence shift more indirectly than directly. For example, one participant described telling a painful story, during which the other began to cry. When s/he asked the other why s/he was crying, the other said because it was painful to hear how the other had suffered. The effect of the crying made the other appear more sincere when s/he responded to the question and the crying was evidence that the other had truly been touched.

Phase 1 also includes ‘sincerity’ and ‘risk,’ but these are designated with a “+” to indicate these factors are linked with other factors. ‘Sincerity’ increases the positive impact of the other’s ‘communication strategy’ or ‘acknowledgement.’ The factor ‘risk’ is listed

with a '+' sign because it is always mentioned in conjunction with what someone said or did—the others' willingness to take a risk or the courage it took to, for example, tell a personal story or give acknowledgement.

Phase 2 includes the individual level responses to Phase 1, including 'affective' and 'cognitive' processes. Phase 3 is where shift occurs, including:

- **Affective Change:** friendship (bonded); feeling good, meaningful, achievement; empathy; humanity of other; trust; respect; and changed feelings in general.
- **Cognitive Change:** understanding, perceptions of other (sincere, open-minded, caring, similar); complexity; shared responsibility; changed mind in general
- **Relationship Change:** cooperative, friendly attitudes, relationships, behaviors

Phase 4 includes transactional level factors, specifically 'acknowledgement' and 'shared activities' (experiential activities, reflective listening that conveyed acknowledgement, and joint action projects), as well as nonverbal communication, '+ sincerity,' and '+ risk.' While a few intervenors said they used joint action projects as a vehicle for contact, communication, shift, and so on, all the participants and the majority of intervenors described action projects as occurring after some level of shift had taken place.

Phase 5 is the individual level responses to Phase 3, including affective and cognitive processes and discovering common ground. Significant here is the observation that participants "felt acknowledged." Phase 6 also illustrates where shift occurs. These shifts are primarily due to acknowledgement. The changes in Phase 6 are similar to the changes in Phase 3, but may also include reaching substantive agreements. The changes in Phase 3 and Phase 6 may lead to a new cycle of transactional events and interactions, individual reactions and intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup and total group shifts. The results of the shift process are movement towards reconciliation and conflict resolution. These shifts and

results are similar to those described by Fisher (1997) in his review of empirical studies of dialogues and problem-solving workshops in the Middle East and elsewhere.

Some factors identified as precursors or facilitators of shift are also reported as a shift. For example, 'trust' is identified as a precursor of shift—the trust-building process—but it is also described as evidence of a shift, both in terms of the participant feeling increased trust in the other and in terms of there being increased trust within the group as a whole.

In this model, Phases 1-6 are in sequential order. A higher numbered phase may occur simultaneously to a lower numbered phase, but may never precede a lower numbered phase. Sometimes people skipped or did not mention a phase. For example, many examples focus only on the role of acknowledgment, which is Phase 4. However, it is clear in the interviews that something must have happened before Phase 4 that would lead someone to acknowledge the other. It is for this reason that I separate the transactional level into two separate phases.

Most examples by participants focus solely on the role of personal stories. These examples follow the same pattern: Person/Group A said something (Phase 1 – Transactional: communication strategy) and that caused a reaction in Person/Group B (Phase 2 – Individual: affective, cognitive) and a shift in Person/Group B (Phase 3 – Results). Keep in mind that the phases overlap. The “arrows” used in the visual display below represent the general flow of events, but are not meant to signify that the process is so neatly linear and distinct as they might imply.

Phase 1 -Transactional: Story by “A” → Phase 2 - Individual: Reaction in “B” → Phase 3 – Shift in “B”

The second most common examples focus on the role of acknowledgement: Person/Group A said something (Phase 4 – Transactional: acknowledgment) that led to a

reaction in Person/Group B (Phase 4 – Individual: affective, cognitive) and a shift in Person/Group B (Phase 5 – Results).

Phase 4 - Transactional: Acknowledgment by “A” → Phase 5-Individual: Reaction in “B” → Phase 6 - Shift in “B”

In several of the examples by participants, they refer not only to statements and actions made by the other, but also refer to things they said or did themselves. Participants describe *listening* to the other’s personal story or *telling* a personal story as part of a sequence of events; *receiving* acknowledgement or *giving* acknowledgement, and so on. The participants also describe what they believed are the effects of what they said or did on the other. These effects are the same as in other examples of the impact of personal stories and acknowledgment.

A few examples, mostly from the intervenors, include all six phases: Person/Group A said something (Phase 1 – Transactional: communication strategy) that caused a reaction in the Person/Group B (Phase 2 – Individual: affective, cognitive) and a shift in Person/Group B (Phase 3 – Shift), which they expressed to Person/Group A (Phase 4 – Transactional: acknowledgement), which led to a reaction in Person/Group A (Phase 5 – Individual: affective, cognitive, common ground), and produced a final shift (Phase 6) within and between Person/Group A and B.

Phase 1 -Transactional: Story by “A” → Phase 2 - Individual: Reaction in “B” → Phase 3 - Shift in “B” → Phase 4 - Transactional: Acknowledgment by “B” → Phase 5-Individual: Reaction in “A” → Phase 6 - Shift in and between “A” and “B”

To illustrate the sequential, simultaneous and cyclical aspects of the shift process and the relationships between all six phases, I offer a story told by an intervenor of an intervention s/he did in South Africa that led to a remarkable reconciliation and included shift at the interpersonal, intergroup and total group levels. The conflict included five

churches representing several different racial/ethnic backgrounds and that shared one pastor. The male pastor got romantically involved with a woman in his congregation. As a result, the oldest and most powerful church in the group of five fired the pastor. The firing caused tremendous anger and bitterness among members of the other churches and precipitated a major conflict and “blowout among the groups and it brought up a whole bunch of stuff about racism and power and who really calls the shots. There was a lot at stake; more than this one particular issue” (3PI-39, interview). The five churches asked the intervenor to facilitate a meeting for them to select a new pastor. Following is the intervenor’s description of what happened

I tried for an evening and we just couldn’t settle down into any kind of constructive discussion. There was so much **anger, resentment, and bitterness**. I could just tell there was a lot of **old baggage**. We couldn’t do any kind of rational problem solving.

At the end of the evening, I said to them: “It seems to me we are **really stuck** on a lot of stuff that is bigger than this particular issue and **my recommendation** is that we take some time and actually go back to that old stuff. This is going to take some **effort** on your part, but I’m willing to guide you through some conversations that will be strenuous, but that I have learned from experience is quite **powerful**.” They were willing to do that.

What we did then was basically each group got an evening, or a good chunk of an evening, over the coming weeks and they were supposed to prepare by bringing a **whole list of hurts and resentments** they had accumulated over the years. They were to be ready to share this with the group. In the event itself each group may have had six or eight different issues and they would choose a different person for each issue, because it involved different people. So, that person is coming as a presenter and saying, “**here is why I/we are upset**.” I asked them to choose a **listener** from anyone in the group and I encouraged them to choose someone they would particularly like to know has **heard** them, so they were often picking the most vocal opponent on the other side. Then that listener basically repeated back in their own words what had been said... It was an **active listening** exercise....

At the end of the first evening, the group that had been on that first evening and doing all the talking, they thought it was **fantastic**. They felt **heard**. The other group that had taken most of the hits during the evening and was doing all this active listening was so **dismayed and depressed**. They came to me afterwards and said why are we **wasting** our time, this is **old garbage**, what is the point. But, I told them to **stay with the process** and next week it will be **your turn** and see how you feel then. They came back and at the end of the second evening, **that group** was

really **enthusiastic**. It went three or four sessions like this. We went through years of stuff.

In the session that followed that there was a **phenomenal reconciliation**. One of the groups came with a prepared statement of **apology** and things they wanted to recognize they had done wrong, and that **triggered** similar responses from the other groups. For 45 minutes, people were just making apologies and you would really say it was a **true reconciliation**.

At **that point** it was a **straightforward matter** to appoint a committee to see what they are going to do about picking up the pieces, hiring a new pastor, and taking things forward.

I've been **astonished** at the **power** of that exercise. ...I would recall that as probably the time when I felt **most clear** that **one** particular technique had **turned the corner** for us.

This example illustrates a major shift leading to reconciliation between the groups in conflict, primarily through personal stories and reflective listening, which led people to feel heard, and which led one group to apologize to the other groups. The apology triggered a similar response in the rest of the groups and culminated in reconciliation. Once the groups had reconciled, they were able to engage in constructive problem solving and reach agreement on selecting a new pastor.

What is not explicit in this example is exactly why one of the groups decided to make a public apology to the others. The intervenor's interpretations of the events (which is similar to my earlier discussion on personal stories, acknowledgement and reflective listening) was that the group that made the initial apology did so because they had a chance to tell their story and be heard, were touched by the other's stories, and recognized their responsibility in the conflict. Once the first group made an apology, this apology opened the way for others to do the same. In this example, the first group doing most of the reflective listening initially felt distress, or cognitive dissonance, since the stories revealed the suffering or pain they had caused the other, which challenged their self-perceptions and identity. The initial reaction was not empathy and did not lead to shift. However, once everyone had the opportunity to tell their story and be heard the initial distress dissipated

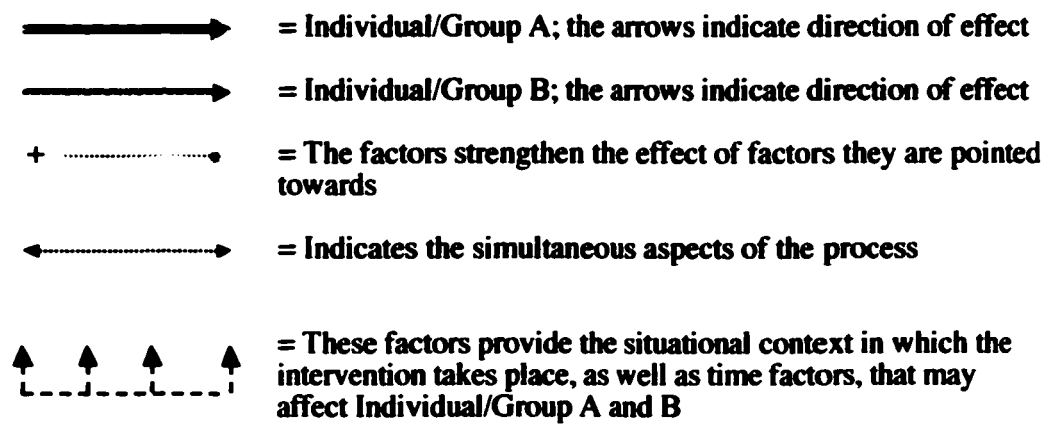
and people were able to reflect on and “actively engage” with what they had heard earlier and be touched. Key in this example is that the process of sharing stories and being heard had to be *reciprocal*.

The example suggests there are *cycles* in the shift process. “A” says something that triggers a shift in “B” (Cycle 1), which leads “B” to do or say something that triggers a shift in “A” (Cycle 2), and “A” reciprocates, which triggers a shift in “B” (Cycle 3), and so on, with all the intrapersonal shifts facilitating interpersonal and intergroup shifts. These cycles may also be spread out more in time than described here. For example, someone may say something that leads to a shift in the other, but it may take a while for the other to experience that shift, or take a while to respond.

Viewing the shift process as a multistage, cyclical process is similar to Mitchell’s (1981) model of conflict cycles during conflict escalation. In Mitchell’s model, each cycle represents a new conflict episode that was triggered by something and affects the conflict issues, behaviors and attitudes in a way that escalates the conflict to a more negative level of attitudes and coercion. The data in the present research suggests there is a similar cycle towards reconciliation and resolution as well, with each cycle representing another “episode” in the shift process towards positive attitudes, behaviors and relationships.

Druckman’s (2001) turning points analysis on 34 international negotiations (trade, security, and political negotiation) also showed that several turning points (shifts) might occur per case. The primary difference between Druckman’s model of turning points and the model presented in this research is that Druckman identified one major precipitant (precursor) per case, while I present a range of precursors that facilitate shift. In addition, Druckman’s model presents three “phases”—precipitants, departures (shifts), consequences (results)—while the model here presents these three parts of the shift process across six phases and multiple cycles.

The participants' and intervenors' examples reveal the interactive, dynamic, cyclical nature of the shift process within and between participants. There are some clear sequential aspects in the process, but some factors may occur simultaneously, and the phases may cycle back and be repeated. What is a "result or shift" in one "phase" may become a "precursor or facilitator of shift" in another "phase." Figure 2 attempts to capture the complexity of the shift process. Use the following legend to interpret the figure:



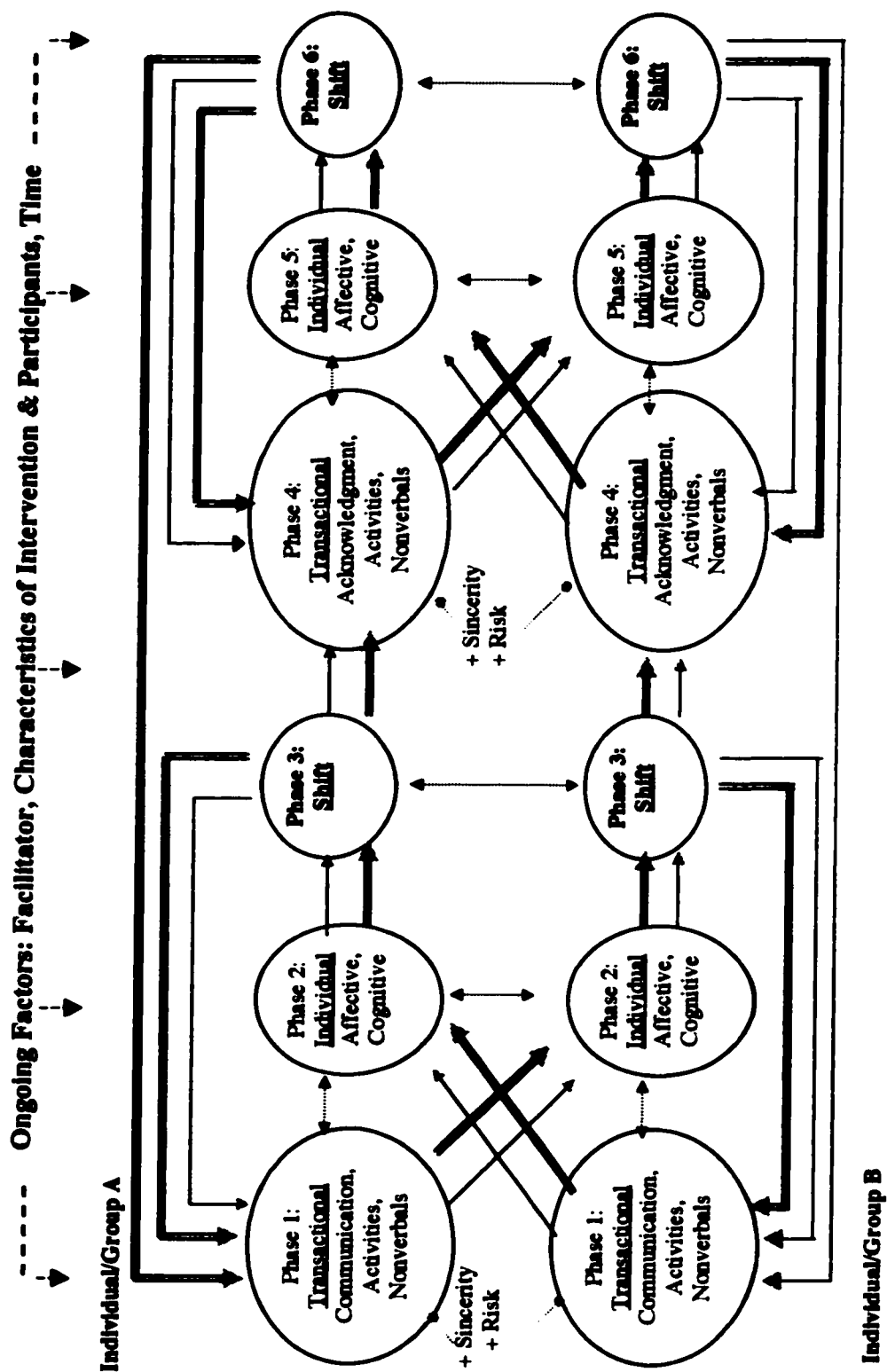


Figure 3. Phase 2: Model of the Shift Process

The figure looks complicated, but it illustrates the sequential flow in the shift process, the simultaneous processes, and the cyclical, recursive, evolving nature of the process. Following the single and double-lined arrows in the figure from left to right shows the sequential flow from one phase to the next. For example, Transactional level events by Individual-Group A (Phase 1) affects Individual-Group B at the individual level (Phase 2), which may lead to shift (Phase 3), which may lead to Individual-Group B acknowledging Individual-Group A (Phase 4), which affects Individual-Group A at the individual level (Phase 5), which may lead to shift (Phase 6).

The single and double-lined arrows that go back to a previous phase indicate the cyclical, dynamic nature of the process. For example, “A” may tell a personal story (Phase 1) that affects “B” who experiences a reaction (Phase 2) and shift (Phase 3), and that shift may lead “B” to change their communication strategy (Phase 1). Or, “A” may acknowledge “B” (Phase 4), which affects “B” (Phase 5) and causes a shift in “B” (Phase 6), which leads “B” to acknowledge “A” (Phase 4). Although the flow may seem to go backwards, this is the case only when a shift has occurred in Phase 3 or Phase 6. The shift sets in motion a new cycle of interaction that is generally in a positive direction.

The dashed lines with single-headed arrows represents the influence of the situational factors (facilitator, characteristics of intervention) and time to interact. These factors were present throughout the shift process or could influence the process at any time.

The dashed lines with double-headed arrows represent the simultaneous aspects of the process. Within an individual, there is a constant interaction between their affective and cognitive processes and transactional events. There are also simultaneous transactions between individuals and groups. In reality, all the factors represented in the figure occur somewhat simultaneously. I could have drawn arrows between every phase within and between individuals and groups, but it may have become confusing. Despite the

simultaneity of factors, the interviews also showed that transactional events *led* to individual level reactions and shifts, which is why I kept these factors as separate phases.

Shift can occur within one person in a group, between two people in the group, and within and between everyone in the group as a whole. This is described in Chapter 4 as intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup, and total group shift. Individuals in a group may experience shift in sequential order, for example, person “A” experiences a shift and then later, person “B” experiences shift. Individuals can also experience shifts simultaneously through the shared experience of storytelling, experiential exercises, and other experiences. This is more typical of the dramatic shifts described by participants and intervenors—a type of ‘total group phenomenon’ (Pearson, 1990).

In summary, the analysis of specific examples of shift reveals the flow of events in the shift process. This process includes six phases, an “ongoing” phase, and distinguishes between two types of transactional phases and their effects. The purpose of distinguishing between the two transactional phases is primarily to distinguish between communication strategies (Phase 1) and acknowledgement (Phase 4). The reasons for this are twofold. First, the analysis of the examples warrants such a distinction as described in the methodology section. Second, many scholars and practitioners have discussed the need for acknowledgement in reconciliation and conflict resolution. What has been less clear in the literature and research is what leads people and groups to acknowledge others in the first place. This research suggests ways that intervenors can structure and lead their intervention process to encourage acknowledgment and facilitate shift.

Discussion

All the factors that were identified by the participants and intervenors as facilitating shift worked in a dynamic, interdependent, interactive and cyclical shift process that spiraled toward reconciliation and resolution. Table 9 presents a rather linear model that illustrates

the general flow of events toward shift, but does not illustrate the complexity of the shift process. Part of the challenge in trying to describe the shift process is the tension between seeing time, events and shift as a linear, *monochronic* process versus seeing time, events and shift as a *polychronic* process in which there are multiple and simultaneous activities. A polychronic view of time enables us to develop a *systemic* rather than *linear* perspective on people, relationships, activities and context. A systems view sees people and relationships within a context that is dynamic, interdependent and evolving. The data in this research suggest there are both linear, sequential aspects to the shift process (e.g., “this happened, then that happened”) and multiple, simultaneous aspects to the shift process (e.g., “shift happened in the context of all these things happening between all these people”). Figure 3 (p. 217) of the shift process attempts to reflect both the linear and the multiple and simultaneous aspects of the shift process.

Analysis of the participants’ and intervenors’ reflections on what they thought led to shift and of their examples of shift provides a useful starting point from which to develop a draft model of shift that needs to be further tested and verified. Referring back to Figure 3, I conclude that the transactional events in Phase 1 and Phase 4 are the factors that most directly and most likely *trigger* shift. The individual level reactions to these triggers in Phase 2 and Phase 5 are the affective and cognitive *reactions* required for shift to occur. It was only when participants, for example, felt the other’s pain, felt a connection with the other, were able to see the other’s perspective, discover common ground, or felt acknowledged, that they began to shift. Phase 3 and Phase 6 are the affective, cognitive, behavioral, and relationship *shifts*. This again points to shift as a process and outcome, however, now the distinctions and interactions between these are clearer.

The ‘ongoing factors’ include additional factors that facilitate shift that are present throughout the shift process. However, these seem to have a less direct impact on shift than the transactional and individual level factors. The situational factors of the intervention itself

create the conditions and context in which shift may occur. For example, the facilitator may create a safe and intimate environment, design and lead the specific activities the participants engage in (e.g., storytelling, experiential exercises). The situational factors may facilitate shift, but do not seem to cause or precede it as directly. It is the participants actually *engaging* with the other at the transactional level that leads to shift most directly. An exception here is that the facilitator is also “transacting” with the participants. The facilitator is also a participant in the intervention, although in a different role than the participants. S/he may say something impactful (e.g. a new way of looking at the conflict), ask insightful questions, share their own experiences, and so on. While the facilitator helps create the environment in which the intervention takes place, s/he is also part of the transactional process and may “trigger” shift. I believe it is useful, however, to distinguish between the facilitator’s transactions with the participants from the participants’ transactions with each other because there may be a differential effect between these groups. For example, a facilitator may offer acknowledgment to the parties, but this acknowledgment may not be as powerful as the acknowledgement participants give to one another.

Time to interact, reflect and change is also a more indirect facilitator of shift. Time to interact doesn’t “cause” shift, but it may make it more likely, assuming the interactions are generally constructive. It is the shared experience and constructive engagement over time that facilitates shifts. Similarly, the “+” factors of sincerity and risk facilitate shift by strengthening the factors to which they are related. I suggest these more indirect facilitators of shift are *accelerators* of shift in that they accelerate the likelihood of shift happening, but do not trigger or lead to shift.

I propose that the phases of shift, including their individual, transactional and situational factors, and the four components— triggers, accelerators, reactions, shift—offers us a general model with which to understand shift as an outcome and process.

Next Steps. What intrigues me the most in this analysis is the apparent significance of the role of affective processes and emotions in the shift process and the power of personal stories in triggering shift. The participants and intervenors reported personal stories more often than any other transactional event, which suggests that these had the most impact on participants. They also offered reasons why participants were so deeply impacted by personal stories. I was often deeply moved myself by listening to the participants' and intervenors' telling me their *story* of experiencing or observing shift. In contrast, the role of 'facts and information' was mentioned much less frequently than personal stories. However, any intervention likely includes a mix of telling personal stories and telling facts and information. Therefore, the question arises as to whether these two communication strategies have different effects and whether or not there is an optimal sequencing of these two approaches in the design of an intervention. While the interviews suggest some answers to these questions, they warrant further investigation. The next chapter compares the effects of 'personal stories' and 'facts and information' to see whether they led to different types and degrees of results or shift.

CHAPTER 6. FACILITATING SHIFT THROUGH PERSONAL STORIES AND EXPLANATIONS: AN EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

Phase 3 uses an experimental design to test one of the general hypotheses derived from the results of the research in Phase 1 (film observation) and Phase 2 (interviews). A recurring theme in the previous research is the important role of affective processes and emotions and personal stories for facilitating shift. Cognitive processes and new facts, information and explanations were also precursors of shift, but seemed much less impactful than affective processes and personal stories.

I decided to verify the previous findings through an experiment that would allow for more controlled analysis of affective approaches (emotion-laden personal stories) and cognitive approaches (facts, information, rational explanations) in leading to positive shift. These approaches have received little attention in the conflict resolution research (for an exception, see Druckman & Broome, 1991). This experiment compares these two transactional strategies and their effect on individual (intrapersonal) attitude change. This is a much narrower exploration of shift than is done in the film observation and interviews, but provides a more focused analysis of these two precursors of shift.

As discussed in Chapter 2, there is a constant interplay between cognitive and affective processes in attitude formation and change. However, certain attitudes and approaches to attitude change may be described as “more affective-based” or “more cognitive-based,” which is determined by the relative contribution of each process (Druckman & Broome, 1991; Edwards & von Hippel, 1995). What is important is how the stimulus affects and engages the perceiver (i.e., affectively or cognitively). Thus, this

experiment compares “more affective approaches” to “more cognitive approaches.” Five hypotheses are used to explore the impact of affective and cognitive approaches on improving attitudes and increasing compromise and cooperativeness. These hypotheses are based on my observations, literature reviews, and results of the film observation and interviews.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Attitudes towards opponents in violent, protracted conflicts are more affect-based than cognitive-based. This hypothesis is based on the notion that when conflicts are protracted and violent, they undergo certain ‘structural changes’ (Rubin et al., 1994) that takes the situation beyond conflicts of interests and goals, to conflicts of identity and emotion-laden attitudes characterized by blaming the other, intense anger, fear, hostility, and lack of empathy. When conflicts evolve and escalate into violence, the primary drivers of the conflict seem to change from a focus on substantive issues to a focus on relational issues. I suggest that heightened negative emotions and feelings help escalate and perpetuate conflict and make them so difficult to resolve despite the best efforts of ‘rational’ negotiators. Even when negotiators reach an agreement on substantive issues, these agreements often fail to get implemented, fail to reduce the conflict, or opponents experience a resurgence of violence (e.g., Israeli-Palestinian Oslo Accord, Northern Ireland Good Friday Agreement). Even substantive issues are embedded with deep emotions (e.g., status of Jerusalem). Thus, one reason for these difficulties may be the lack of attention paid to the emotional and relational aspects of the conflict in favor of attention to the substantive aspects of the conflict.

If such conflicts are more affective-based (e.g. fear and anger drive the conflict) than cognitive-based, then previous research by Edwards and von Hippel (1995) suggests that

affective approaches will be more effective for inducing attitude change than cognitive approaches. The matching of approaches (affective-based or cognitive-based) to the type of attitude to be changed (affective-based or cognitive-based), may offer one explanation for why the results from the interviews indicate that affective-based approaches (personal stories) are more effective than cognitive-based approaches (facts, information and explanations) in changing attitudes and relationships in a positive direction.

Hypothesis 2: Affective approaches are more likely to induce shift (positive attitudes and expectations of the other, willingness to compromise, and cooperative negotiation strategies) than cognitive approaches. This hypothesis is the primary hypothesis that emerged from the interview results presented in Chapter 5. The interviews suggest that hearing personal stories and “being touched” is much more powerful than hearing the other side’s explanations or perspectives on the conflict or simply rationally discussing the “facts and information” of the conflict with the other. Although the latter is also important, it is the personal stories and being touched emotionally that seem to trigger shift.

This research seeks to illuminate the potential of affective approaches, in addition to the cognitive approaches to conflict resolution. There is a reciprocal and interdependent relationship between cognitive and affective processes (Semrau, 1987). That which makes us think also makes us feel and that which makes us feel also makes us think. Emotions are necessary for rational thought and decision-making (Damasio, 1994). Nevertheless, the conflict resolution literature tends to emphasize cognitive processes and rational problem-solving approaches and minimizes the importance of affective processes and emotions for conflict resolution (Carnevale & Pruitt, 1992; Cloke, 1997; Thompson et al., 1995). While cognitive-based approaches may be particularly useful during the problem-solving stage of a negotiation/mediation process (e.g., brainstorming solutions, negotiating, making

agreements), this approach may not be particularly useful for building relationships and positive attitudes toward one's negotiating partner and the conflict situation in the pre-problem solving stage of conflict resolution.

In addition, if attitudes in conflicts are more affective-based (Hypothesis 1), it is expected that affective-based approaches to attitude change are more effective than cognitive-based approaches.

Hypothesis 3. A combination of cognitive and affective approaches is more likely to induce shift than cognitive or affective approaches alone. Human beings are continually influenced by affective and cognitive processes. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that a combination of cognitive and affective approaches is more effective than a single approach for facilitating shift. The interviews in Chapter 5 show that shift is facilitated by a mixture of affective and cognitive processes at the individual level and a mixture of personal stories and information/explanations at the transactional level.

Druckman and Broome's (1991) research on the interplay between cognition (familiarity, understanding) and affect (liking) showed that the combined approach of "high liking" and "high familiarity" yielded greater positive attitudes and negotiation outcomes than "low liking" and "low familiarity." However, they created their experimental conditions by *telling* the research subjects the degree of their liking (high or low) and familiarity (high or low) of the other. This raises the question of whether the experimental conditions elicited *genuine* high or low liking. "Liking" and "familiarity/understanding" were found to be *results* of shift in Chapter 5. This research seeks to further explain what factors lead to liking and familiarity in the first place—the step that precedes Druckman and Broome's research. Hypothesis 3 further tests the assumption that a combined approach is more effective for changing attitudes than a single approach.

Hypothesis 4. Affective-first approaches are more likely to induce shift than cognitive-first approaches. Most intervention processes generally include several approaches to changing attitudes, building relationships and resolving substantive issues. The question becomes, is there an optimal sequencing of approaches that leads to the most positive outcomes? In other words, should intervenors use an “affective-first” approach or “cognitive-first approach” to facilitate attitude change and shift?

The interviews in Chapter 5 suggest that personal stories should precede focusing on “rational” discussion—an affective-first approach. Many participants said they were “more ready” to discuss substantive issues after they had built relationships. The intervenor’s example of a profound shift and reconciliation between members of five churches in South Africa suggests that personal stories, which led to acknowledgment, were necessary before the five groups were ready to move to problem-solving the particular substantive issue that led to the intervention. The interview results suggest that affective approaches (e.g., personal stories) should precede cognitive approaches (e.g., information, explanations). Hypothesis 4 tests the assumption that attempts to change attitudes in conflict situations should begin with affective-based approaches.

Hypothesis 5. The greater the level of emotions aroused by the positive statements of opponents, the greater the likelihood that shift is induced. The purpose of hypothesis 5 is to test the relationship between emotional intensity (e.g., “being touched”), attitudes and attitude change. It builds on the results of the film observations and the interviews in Chapter 5. When interviewees explained why listening to personal stories were more impactful than facts and information, they mainly described the emotional impact that listening to other’s stories had on them. The participants who described the most

emotionally intense personal experiences also seemed to experience the most shift.

However, the interview data did not enable me to test this observation.

Touching participants' emotions may surface emotion schemes and make them accessible to new disconfirming information, hence change (Greenberg et al., 1993).

Seemingly most important, however, is that the disconfirming information and events must be repeated and intense enough to elicit a reasonably intense emotional response in order to facilitate change (Berger, 1988; Heise, 1979; Ridgeway, 1994).

Previous research on attitude change toward a target person shows that emotionality of responses is related to attitudes in affective-based attitude conditions, but not cognitive-based conditions (Edwards & von Hippel's, 1995). Thus, the emotionality of responses in this research may be related to final attitudes only in the affective conditions. Hypothesis 5 tests the relationship between emotional intense reactions to positive stimuli and shift.

Summary. The primary purpose of this study is twofold: (1) to explore whether emotion-provoking experiences ("being touched") or thought-provoking experiences induce greater attitude change, or shift, and similarly (2) whether affective-based or cognitive-based communication approaches and content induce greater shift—e.g., personal stories versus rational explanations. The first question is concerned with the role of emotions in shift. The second question is concerned with communication approach and content. The two questions are interlinked yet distinct. While it is expected that affective-based communication approaches (approach and content) lead to greater emotion-laden responses in the communication recipient, it is also possible that cognitive-based communication approaches lead to emotional responses given the interplay between affective and cognitive processes. Therefore, the research explores the relationship between communication processes (affective and cognitive approaches) and communication

outcomes (emotionality of response) and their impact on attitudes about the other and the conflict situation.

The research also explores the assumption that conflict parties' attitudes in protracted, violent conflicts are more affect-based than cognitive-based, which may help explain why affective-based approaches may be more effective in changing conflict parties' attitudes toward one another and the conflict situation. Finally, the research explores whether there is an optimal sequencing of affective-based and cognitive-based approaches for changing parties' attitudes.

Summary of Hypotheses

- H1: Attitudes towards opponents in violent, protracted conflicts are more affect-based than cognitive-based.
- H2: Affective approaches are more likely to induce shift (positive attitudes and expectations of the other, willingness to compromise, and cooperative negotiation strategies) than cognitive approaches.
- H3: A combination of cognitive and affective approaches is more likely to induce shift than cognitive or affective approaches alone.
- H4: Affective-first approaches are more likely to induce shift than cognitive-first approaches.
- H5: The greater the level of emotions aroused by the positive statements of opponents, the greater the likelihood that shift is induced.

Methodology

Experimental Design

A controlled experimental design tests the hypotheses by comparing the efficacy of four experimental conditions to inducing shift and their impact on expectations of negotiation processes and outcomes: (1) “cognitive-only” approach (information-based); (2) “affective-only” approach (emotion-based); (3) “cognitive-first” approach (cognitive then affective approach); and (4) “affective-first” approach (affective then cognitive approach). A fifth condition, the “hostile” condition, served as the pretest condition and reflected “no approach.” Shift (as measured by a number of factors described below) is the dependent variable and the experimental conditions are the independent variables. The conditions are embedded in the written materials received by subjects and are described more fully below.

The Conflict Scenario

Students were recruited for participation in a “prenegotiation role play exercise.” The conflict scenario and materials are an adaptation of a simulation, the “Cygnus Conflict,” used by Druckman et al. (1988) and Druckman and Broome (1991). The present study included two simulated ethnic groups, Ruritans and Graustarks who are in conflict within the nation of Cygnus. The Cygnus conflict resembles the ongoing dispute between the Greek and Turkish communities on Cyprus.

Participants were asked to take the role of a negotiator from the Graustark side of the conflict (the participants did not realize that they all had the same role). The conflict setting and issues were described in the background materials. Following is a synopsis of the background materials taken from the 9-page document.

Overview of Exercise. The overview tells participants they are Graustarks living on the western side of Cygnus, an independent country since 1960. The Graustarks have been in a longstanding conflict with the Ruritans who live on the eastern side of the island. The participant is a member of the Graustark negotiating team that is about to enter into the first face-to-face talks since 1983 with the Ruritan negotiation team to settle two issues. The participants are given background information about Cygnus, its population, history, and conflict.

Historical Chronology. The background information was accompanied by a chronology of political control over Cygnus to the present, the independence agreement and subsequent violence, including ethnic cleansing, and the breakdown of negotiations in 1983 (see Appendix E for complete chronology).

Family History. To help participants “get into” their role, they are presented with their family history. This history includes: when their family settled in eastern Cygnus, their family source of income (carpentry business), their early support and hopes for a better future after the 1960 independence agreement, culminating in a tragic story of ethnic cleansing against their village by Ruritans in 1974, during which an older brother was killed, and their subsequent forced migration to western Cygnus. The tragic story of loss was designed to create hostility and fear towards the Ruritans in order to make the simulation more “real.”

Role as Graustark Negotiator and the Issues. The participants were told their role and credentials as a Graustark negotiator. Each issue up for negotiation was stated formally (with supporting materials such as maps) along with various options for possible agreement, including the Graustark and Ruritans’ preferred options. Their objective is to draft an agreement on two issues: territorial jurisdiction over Cygnus and payment of restitution and relocation of refugees.

Prenegotiation Dialogue. Participants were told that the Graustarks and Ruritans have agreed to the first face-to-face talks since 1983, sponsored by the United Nations. Each side has met separately with the U.N. Secretary General who felt the two sides had been separated too long to be able to hold constructive negotiations. Therefore, the Secretary General arranged a 1-day informal dialogue meeting between the two teams of negotiators to meet, talk, and get to know each other better prior to official negotiations the following month. The dialogue was to be held at Camp David and last for 5 hours. The retreat would also include staying in the same house, eating meals together, and participating in sightseeing and other informal activities.

Independent Variables

Conceptualization, Operationalization and Pretest

Two independent variables are conceptualized: an affective approach to attitude change and a cognitive approach to attitude change. One way to distinguish between the affective- and cognitive-based appeals is in terms of objective *stimulus* features. "In principle, it is possible to identify a priori certain stimuli that are more emotionally charged and others that are more cerebral in nature" (Edwards & von Hippel, 1995, p. 1009). For example, highly argumentative statements or emotion-laden personal stories might be considered predominantly affective in nature, whereas statistical data might be primarily cognitive. The distinction between affective and cognitive can also be made with reference to the types of *responses*, emotional or non-emotional, that are elicited by the stimuli (Edwards & von Hippel, 1995, p. 1009). However, it is also possible that the same stimulus will elicit emotional reactions in one person and non-emotional reactions in another.

The primary distinction between the affective and cognitive approach in this experiment is between appeals to emotions and caring (positive stimuli which makes you

feel) focused on people and relationships and appeals to thinking and reason (positive stimuli that makes you think) focused on issues, information and explanations. In addition, the distinction between the affective and cognitive approach is between two broadly conceptualized communication approaches. The affective communication approach is characterized as subjective, expressive, emotional, personal, feeling oriented, concrete and specific. The cognitive communication approach is characterized as objective, calm, rational, impersonal, facts oriented, abstract and general. The affective approach is operationalized as statements that are emotion-laden, personal stories. The cognitive approach is operationalized as statements that are information-laden, rational explanations. Simply put, is it information or feelings that make the difference?

The affective communication approach relies on the use of a personal story to represent the basis of the speaker's perspective of the conflict. The personal story was developed using real-world accounts of tragic experiences in violent interethnic conflicts. The cognitive communication approach relied on the use of an explanation to represent the basis of the speaker's perspective of the conflict. The explanation emphasizes facts, figures and a historical chronology of events. The explanation was adapted from real-world explanations used in the Cyprus conflict and other conflicts. The personal story and explanation serve as the basis for the experimental conditions.

The material chosen for the attitude change stages (the "statements" made by the opponent) in this study were pretested by six independent coders to ensure that the material used for the affective approach elicited significantly more emotional responses than the material used for the cognitive approach, and that the material in the cognitive approach elicited significantly more non-emotional responses than the material in the affective approach. The coders rated each of the materials on their communication style and content

using dichotomous statements on a 7-point scale. The items representing each of the conditions was as follows:

affective approach – assessed by the 8 items: feeling-oriented, emotional, expressive, subjective, concrete, specific, personal, passionate

cognitive approach – assessed by the 8 items: facts-oriented, rational, calm, objective, abstract, general, impersonal, dispassionate

The coders responded to two additional questions on a 7-point scale, from *strongly agree* to *strongly disagree*, to assess whether they responded to the materials with primarily affective or cognitive processes. The two questions used to assess this were: whether or not the statements affected the reader emotionally; and whether or not the reader thought about the statements in an emotional or unemotional way while reading them. These two questions are similar to those used for research on affective versus cognitive forms of persuasion by Edwards (1992) and Edwards and von Hippel (1995).

The affective and cognition condition statements were also compared to the hostile condition to assess whether the hostile condition did in fact produce hostile attitudes so that it may serve as a valid pretest (external validity). The items representing each of the conditions to assess the validity of the hostile condition included 4 items: whether the statement/speaker was hostile or friendly, threatening or peaceful, positive or negative, and whether the reader liked or disliked the speaker.

Three conditions, the hostile approach (pretest condition), affective approach and cognitive approach, were pretested to ensure the reliability and validity of the conditions. The other two conditions that combined the affective and cognitive conditions were not pretested because pretesting them did not seem relevant. The purpose of the pretest was to determine whether the hostile condition really led to hostile attitudes, and whether the

affective and cognitive conditions were distinct in the ways conceptualized and operationalized.

Pretest Results

Reliability analyses were conducted on the two composite variables: hostile opponent and experimental condition. For the hostile opponent dimension, the inter-item correlation mean was .75 and Cronbach's alpha coefficient was .92. For the experimental condition dimension, the inter-item correlation was .41 and the Cronbach's alpha coefficient was .89. These results indicate exemplary reliability (high internal consistency) of the two scales (Robinson, et. al., 1991).

The results of the pretest coding on the items are summarized in Table 10. Based on a 7-point scale, lower mean scores (below 4.0) reflect more agreement with the left-hand descriptor of each item response pair, while higher mean scores (above 4.0) reflect more agreement with the right-hand descriptor.

Table 10. Phase 3: Check on Manipulation – Pretest

Item - Perceptions of Statement/ Person^a	Hostile Condition	Affective Condition	Cognitive Condition
Composite – Hostile Opponent^b	21.40	14.00*¹	13.60*¹
Friendly vs. Hostile	6.00	4.00* ¹	3.17 * ¹
Peaceful vs. Threatening	5.40	2.80* ¹	3.80 * ¹
Positive vs. Negative	4.83	3.83	3.00
Cooperative vs. Antagonistic	5.20	3.40	3.40
Composite – Experimental Condition^b	n/a	26.00*²	46.60*²
Feeling-Oriented vs. Fact-Oriented	n/a	3.50	5.33
Emotional vs. Rational	n/a	3.67	4.67
Expressive vs. Calm	n/a	3.33	5.17
Subjective vs. Objective	n/a	3.17	4.00
Concrete vs. Abstract	n/a	2.17	2.50
Specific vs. General	n/a	2.00 * ²	4.00 * ²
Personal vs. Impersonal	n/a	1.50 * ²	4.67 * ²
Passionate vs. Dispassionate	n/a	1.60 * ²	4.40 * ²
Affected emotionally by statement: Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree	n/a	1.67* ²	4.67 * ²
Thinking unemotionally while reading statement: Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree	n/a	2.83 * ²	5.50 * ²

a. Lower score indicates more agreement with left-hand descriptor – more liked, friendly, emotional, expressive, and so on. Scores below 4.0 indicate affective items. Scores above 4.0 indicate cognitive items. Scores of 4.0 indicate both affective and cognitive items.

b. Scores are aggregated across 4 scales for Hostile Opponent and 10 scales for Experimental Conditions.

*¹. Indicates a significant difference ($p < .05$) between the affective or cognitive condition and the hostile condition (Newman-Keuls multiple range tests).

*². Indicates a significant difference ($p < .05$) between the affective and cognitive condition (t-test).

In comparison to the affective and cognitive conditions, the results indicate that the hostile condition statement/person was rated as significantly more hostile overall on the composite score ($F[2,12]=4.78, p<.03$), and more hostile ($F[2,14]=9.40, p<.003$) and threatening in particular ($F[2,12]=8.06, p<.006$) (Newman-Keuls multiple range tests). The hostile condition was also more negative and antagonistic, but this did not reach significance. In contrast, the cognitive condition statement was rated as friendly, peaceful, positive, and cooperative. The affective condition was rated as peaceful, positive and cooperative, and as neither friendly nor hostile. The scores support the distinction between the three conditions and suggest the hostile condition did in fact create a sufficiently hostile attitude to serve as a pretest condition from which to change negative attitudes to ones that are more positive.

The affective and cognitive condition statements were distinct in the manner desired on almost all factors. The affective condition statement received a score below 4.0 on all ten factors, indicating affective responses. The cognitive condition statement was rated as cognitive seven of the ten factors, including fact-oriented, rational, calm, impersonal, dispassionate, not affected emotionally, and was thinking unemotionally while reading the statement. The cognitive condition was rated as more affective on the concrete-abstract dimension and as neither pole on two items: subjective-objective and specific-general. The aggregate score also indicated the affective (26.00) and cognitive (46.60) conditions resulted in different reactions and perceptions as intended.

There were statistically significant differences between the affective and cognitive condition statements on the experimental scale (composite score) and five of ten factors. The affective condition statement was rated as more affective in general ($t=4.18, p<.003$), and in particular as more specific than general ($t=2.74, p<.03$), personal than impersonal ($t=4.23, p<.002$), and passionate than dispassionate' ($t=3.56, p<.007$). The six coders who

pretested the materials were also more affected emotionally than not affected emotionally by the affective statement ($t=4.62$, $p<.001$), and were thinking more emotionally than unemotionally while reading the statement ($t=3.61$, $p<.005$). The remaining factors were in the direction predicted, although they did not reach significance. The lack of significance may have been due to the small sample size ($N=6$) used in this portion of the research. Overall, the results suggest that the affective and cognitive conditions were distinct in the ways intended.

Intercoder Reliability Analysis

Intercoder reliability for the experimental conditions was assessed using frequency analysis of the 14 items in Table 10 above. For the first four items comparing the hostile condition with the affective and cognitive conditions, the mean scores were recoded into the category positive (at or below 4.0) or negative (above 4.0) attitudes. The frequency results were based on the percentage of coders rating each item as positive or negative. The results indicate that the percentages of intercoder agreement for these four items ranged from 75% to 92% agreement on the hostile condition, 50% to 83% agreement on the affective condition, and 58% to 83% agreement on the cognitive condition.

For the ten items comparing the affective and cognitive conditions, the mean scores were first recoded into the category affective (below 4.0), cognitive (above 4.0), or affective-cognitive (4.0). Then frequency for intercoder agreement was calculated. Table 11 summarizes these results.

Table 11. Phase 3: Intercoder Reliability – Pretest

Item	Hostile Condition		Affective Condition		Cognitive Condition	
	Code	%	Code	%	Code	%
Perceptions of Statement/ Person*						
Friendly vs. Hostile	Negative	92%	Neutral	50%	Positive	83%
Peaceful vs. Threatening	Negative	75%	Positive	83%	Positive	58%
Positive vs. Negative	Negative	75%	Positive	58%	Positive	75%
Cooperative vs. Antagonistic	Negative	75%	Positive	67%	Positive	67%
Feeling-Oriented vs. Fact-Oriented	n/a		Affective	58%	Cognitive	83%
Emotional vs. Rational	n/a		Affective	58%	Cognitive	67%
Expressive vs. Calm	n/a		Affective	67%	Cognitive	67%
Subjective vs. Objective	n/a		Affective	75%	Affective-Cognitive	50%
Concrete vs. Abstract	n/a		Affective	100%	Affective	8%
Specific vs. General	n/a		Affective	92%	Affective-Cognitive	50%
Personal vs. Impersonal	n/a		Affective	100%	Cognitive	67%
Passionate vs. Dispassionate	n/a		Affective	92%	Cognitive	67%
Affected emotionally by statement: Agree vs. Disagree	n/a		Affective	100%	Cognitive	67%
Thinking unemotionally while reading statement: Disagree vs. Agree	n/a		Affective	67%	Cognitive	92%

The results indicate that the percentages of intercoder agreement for these ten items ranged from 58% to 100% agreement for the affective statement and 8%-83% agreement for the cognitive statement. The extremely low intercoder reliability for the cognitive condition on the item, Concrete vs. Abstract, was likely due to the fact that this item was also rated as affective in nature. The assumption was that the cognitive condition would be rated as abstract. While it was rated as more abstract than in the affective condition, this item was

rated as concrete rather than abstract. This is likely due to the detailed information provided in the cognitive condition. Thus, the item, Concrete versus Abstract, did not distinguish between the two conditions in the way predicted. In the cognitive condition, two items, Subjective versus Objective and Specific versus General were coded as both affective and cognitive (4.0). These items also had lower reliability scores than other items in either condition. The remaining items achieved intercoder reliability agreement at 50%-83%.

Experimental Conditions

The independent variables include the “pretest” condition and four experimental conditions that were contained within the written simulation materials. Referred to as hostile, affective-only, cognitive-only, affective-first, or cognitive-first, each condition was developed and presented as shown below.

Hostile Pretest

After reading the background materials about the conflict (history, negotiator roles, issues, personal tragedy, and so on), and the setup for the prenegotiation dialogue, the participants were instructed to imagine that today (the day of the simulation) is the day of the dialogue. The opening of the dialogue by the facilitators was described. Participants were then told that the facilitators asked the dialogue participants, “What is your vision for the future of Cygnus?” and that one of the Ruritan participants responded angrily to this question as follows:

What is my vision for the future of Cygnus? We demand that Cygnus be partitioned into two states with the current Fed Line as the legal boundary! We would control 37% of Cygnus, and Graustarks would control 63% of Cygnus. This is the only way we can preserve peace on the island. We Ruritans cannot afford to take the risk of being controlled by you as you have tried to do ever since we got independence in 1960! We tried to live with you in peace, but your military and civilians attacked us for no reason in 1963! You murdered thousands of my people! You used ethnic cleansing to get us out of the areas you wanted to control!

We will not be dominated and murdered by you Graustarks ever again! We are never going to let that happen again! We can't trust you! We demand that Cygnus be divided into two separate states! We also demand that you assume responsibility for relocating any former Ruritans who wish to relocate and to pay each person \$1000 in restitution payments!

Participants in all conditions read the same background materials and this hostile statement. The purpose of reading the hostile statements by a Ruritan negotiator during the dialogue was to heighten hostility, fear and other negative perceptions of the opponent and to heighten negative expectations of the upcoming negotiation climate and outcomes. Although previous research indicates that merely categorizing people into groups (social categorization) induces negative out-group attitudes (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Lemyre & Smith, 1985), the present research sought to heighten and deepen the negative out-group attitudes through the personal family history and this hostile statement. The purpose was to make the simulation more real than merely relying on the categorization effect, or just telling people that they are enemies. The personal family history and hostile statement sought to ground the participants' attitudes in real affective and cognitive reactions to the materials.

Having participants read materials that may elicit painful or distressing affective and cognitive reactions may raise ethical concerns. These concerns were addressed through two methods. First, the materials to be used for the experiment, in addition to a description of the hypotheses and methodology, were submitted to the George Mason University Human Subjects Review Board, who gave permission to use them. Second, when recruiting potential participants, I informed the students that the written materials included a description of a civil war between two ethnic groups and that some of this information may cause discomfort. Since participation was voluntary, I left it up to the students to decide whether to participate. In the end, the materials were not so graphic as to merit more than a PG-13 rating. No participants refused to participate because of the materials. No one expressed distress nor appeared to be distressed from having participated in the simulation.

Participants in the hostile control condition then completed the prenegotiation questionnaire. This condition was treated as a pretest with the remaining four experimental conditions treated as posttests.

Affective-Only

After the hostile statement made above, participants in the affective-only condition were told the facilitator asked another question later in the day, “What is your perspective of the conflict?” This information is the same in the affective-only, cognitive-only and affective-first condition. Participants were told that a Ruritan negotiator responded with intense, but not hostile, personal story about a personal family tragedy during the conflict, during which time the storyteller’s family lost their land and the storyteller witnessed his brother being murdered by Graustarks (see Appendix F for complete story). After reading this statement, participants were asked to complete the prenegotiation questionnaire.

Cognitive-Only

After the hostile statement made above, participants in the cognitive-only condition were told the facilitator asked another question later in the day, “What is your perspective of the conflict?” This information is the same in the affective-only, cognitive-only and affective-first condition. Participants were told that a Ruritan negotiator responded with a calm explanation that detailed his and the Ruritan perspective of the history of the conflict, and why the Ruritans acted as they did in the conflict (see Appendix G for full explanation). After reading this statement, participants were asked to complete the prenegotiation questionnaire.

Affective-First

After the hostile statement made above, participants in the affective-first condition were told the facilitator asked another question later in the day, “What is your perspective of the conflict?” This information is the same as in the affective-only, cognitive-only and affective-first conditions. Participants then read the Ruritan negotiator’s statement that was used in the affective-only condition. After the affective statement, participants were told that another Ruritan negotiation answered the question, and the participants read the same statement as was used in the cognitive-only condition. Thus, the participants read the affective statement first, then the cognitive statement. After reading both statements, participants were asked to complete the prenegotiation questionnaire.

Cognitive-First

After the hostile statement made above, participants in the cognitive-first condition were told (read) the facilitator asked another question later in the day, “What is your perspective of the conflict?” This information is the same as in the affective-only, cognitive-only and affective-first condition. Participants then read the Ruritan negotiator’s statement that was used in the cognitive-only condition. After the cognitive statement, participants were told that another Ruritan negotiation answered the question, and the participants read the same statement as was used in the affective-only condition. Thus, the participants read the cognitive statement first, then the affective statement. After reading both statements, participants were asked to complete the prenegotiation questionnaire.

Order of Presentation Manipulation

Research by Edwards and von Hippel (1995) used the process of order manipulation to study the effect of affective versus cognitive persuasion on attitude change.

The underlying assumption guiding their research was that “variations in the sequence of information presented to subjects produce primacy effects such that information presented first has greater impact, or becomes dominant” (p.1008). Previous research by Edwards (1992) validates this assumption. They used order manipulation in separate experiments to induce affect-based versus cognitive-based attitudes in the attitude induction stage and then tested the efficacy of using affective versus cognitive persuasion in the attitude persuasion stage. The present experiment uses the order manipulation as part of the attitude change stage in the affective-first and cognitive-first conditions, rather than in the attitude induction stage, to assess which order is more effective for inducing positive change.

Similarities Among Conditions

A careful attempt was made to ensure that the pretest and four experimental conditions were comparable in all respects except those factors related to the experimental hypotheses and conditions. The following are some of the similarities among the conditions:

- All conditions, including the hostile pretest condition, had the same background material and role used in the attitude induction stage.
- In the attitude change stage, the information about the pre-negotiation dialogue and the facilitator’s questions was the same in all conditions. Only the actual statements made by the Ruritan negotiator were different according to the experimental condition.
- The opening and closing sentences of each of the Ruritan statements (not including the hostile statement) were comparable in terms of expressing the intent of the speaker. The first sentence ended with “then maybe you will understand the

situation from my perspective.” The last two sentences in each statement indicated the speaker wanted a fair agreement and to live in peace.

- The length of the written materials specific to the experimental conditions used in the attitude change stage was comparable for the affective-only and cognitive-only conditions.
- The length of the written materials specific to the experimental conditions used in the attitude change stage was comparable for the affective-first and cognitive-first conditions.
- Although participants were asked to read the materials and complete the prenegotiation questionnaire at their own pace, careful observation of participants found that participants completed everything within a comparable time period (1 to 15 minutes of one another, with the overwhelming majority of participants finishing everything within 5 minutes of one another).
- The author organized and conducted all experiments, thereby minimizing possible experimenter effects, but not bias effects (Kiesler et al., 1969).

These precautions were taken to reduce the possibility of extraneous factors affecting the participants' attitudes, thereby reducing the plausibility of alternative explanations for the results.

One outstanding issue is whether there is an unintentional “priming effect” of the opponent's hostile statement read by all participants before the experimental conditions, which may influence the results. These materials may induce a primarily affective-based attitude toward the opponent (Hypothesis 1), in which case the affective condition is expected to be more effective in changing attitudes than the cognitive condition (Hypothesis 2). However, the greater effectiveness of the affective condition might then be due to the

affective priming, rather than something inherent in the affective condition. For experimental research focused on improving attitudes in protracted, violent conflicts, it may be irrelevant if there is an affective priming effect from the personal tragedy and hostile statement. In protracted and violent conflicts, like in the Cygnus simulation, there is usually a great deal of hostile, affective priming throughout the course of the conflict. Parties generally arrive at the negotiation table or a dialogue with hostile emotions. Opening statements are often hostile and accusatory. That was the reason for including the hostile statement in the simulation. Nevertheless, the hostile statement increases external validity, but may decrease internal validity. These effects need further research.

Dependent Variables

The effects of the conditions were assessed on four types of indices embedded in the prenegotiation questionnaire: (1) prenegotiation attitudes, (2) willingness to compromise, (3) negotiation strategies, and (4) what most impacted the participants' attitudes (self-reports). The prenegotiation questionnaire is included in Appendix H.

Prenegotiation Attitudes

The prenegotiation questionnaire included 57 items to assess a variety of attitudes about the opponent, self, and expectations about the upcoming negotiations. Forty-nine (49) of the items were included for analysis in this paper. The 49 questions represented eight dimensions or composite variables as follows:

General Attitudes About the Opponent's Personality/Behavior – assessed by 13 items: fair, trusting, trustworthy, compromising, peaceful, friendly, sincere, logical, practical, predictable, effective, intelligent, similar to us

Feelings Toward the Opponent – assessed by 8 items: care about, feel compassion toward, respect, forgive, like, positive feelings toward, can get along with, willing to invite to my home

Understanding/Empathizing with Opponent: assessed by 5 items: easy to understand, understand perspectives, understand actions, has legitimate concerns, empathize with

Assumptions About the Opponents' View of Us – assessed by 5 items: trusting of us, cares about us, likes us, understand us, sees our legitimate concerns

Attitudes About the Opponents' Role in the Conflict – assessed by 4 items: not responsible for the conflict, used defensive military actions, justified actions, are victims

Attitudes About Our Role in the Conflict – assessed by 4 items: not responsible for the conflict, used defensive military actions, justified actions, are victims (reverse scored in tables)

Expected Negotiation Climate – assessed by 4 items: open climate, cooperative climate, productive climate, friendly climate

Expected Negotiation Outcomes – assessed by 6 items: opponent wants fair agreement, expect satisfactory resolution, we have compatible solutions, win/win situation, I am willing to compromise, opponent willing to compromise

Twenty-two (22) of these questions (45%) were used in the research by Druckman et al. (1988) and Druckman and Broome (1991) to compare results. Additional questions were added to capture concepts described in the literature (e.g., Pruitt & Rubin, 1986) and in the Phase 2 interviews. The dependent variables for attitudes were measured on a 7-point scale using pairs of dichotomous statements as end-points. The 7-point scale is based on the most general method for the measure of attitudes—the Semantic Differential (Osgood et al., 1957, cited in Triandis, 1971). This instrument allows the researcher to present any attitude object. A series of scales, bound by polar adjectives (e.g., fair versus unfair), is used and the subject reacts to the attitude object on this set of standard scales. The Semantic Differential was also used in the research by Druckman and Broome (1991) that informed the present study.

Participants were also asked to report the impact of opponents' statements on them. Impact was assessed by 2 items: the level of impact of the opponents' statements (none to very big) and the valence of those statements (negative to positive) on attitudes on a 7-point scale.

Willingness to Compromise

The prenegotiation questionnaire included 3 questions to assess expected outcomes and willingness to compromise on the two issues to be negotiated. The 3 questions included: What was the actual agreement *likely* to be reached; what was the *desired* outcome, and how far was the participant *willing* to go to reach an agreement. These 3 questions were asked for each of the two issues for a total of 6 questions. The responses were based on multiple-choice options.

Negotiation Strategies

Participants were asked to write a brief strategy that they planned to use in the negotiations. They were told to first consider their definitions of the conflict, the opponent's definition of the conflict, their desired outcomes and bottom line on the two issues, their opponents' desired outcomes and bottom line, their thoughts and feelings about their opponent and their expectations of the negotiating climate. They were also told to plan a strategy that they thought would be most effective in reaching an agreement that achieved their goals. They were asked what would they say and do in the negotiations and whether a cooperative or competitive strategy would be most effective with their opponents.

What Most Impacted the Participants' Attitudes

Participants were asked an open-ended question about what impacted them most in determining their attitudes toward their opponent.

In addition to the above indices, the prenegotiation questionnaire included the following questions:

- 6 questions as a check on the manipulation – assessed by the items about the opponent and negotiating climate as involved, rational, emotional, emotional climate, rational climate, and whether the opponents' statements affected them emotionally
- 2 questions about the role and issues in the scenarios – assessed by asking the degree to which the participant identified with the assigned role and whether the issues were realistic
- 2 questions about the helpfulness of a real dialogue or mediation – assessed by asking whether or not a real dialogue or mediation would be helpful for resolving the issues.

Participants

The data was collected from 81 male and female undergraduate students attending George Mason University. Using undergraduate students for research is a common practice, but has its limitations, namely, the students are not a representative sample of society and are on average younger and less experienced than the negotiators in real negotiations. Participants were recruited by my making a 5-minute presentation about the research in select classes in the School of Communication and New Century College. Classes were selected through voluntary participation of the faculty in these two schools. Participants were asked to sign-up for one of the pre-determined time slots. Although participation was voluntary, the majority of students who participated received credit by their instructors for their participation. The number of participants randomly assigned by lot to one of the five conditions was as follows:

Table 12. Phase 3: Research Participants

Hostile Pretest	Affective Only	Cognitive Only	Affective First	Cognitive First	Total
15	16	18	16	16	81

The participants were seated at tables with at least 2.5 feet distance separating each individual.

Procedures

Participants were run in small groups in 1.5-hour sessions. On arrival, the participants were given a brief introduction to the study. They were asked to raise their hands if they had questions as they read the materials so I could answer questions privately

thereby not potentially revealing the different experimental conditions. Participants were instructed to go through the material at their own pace and to participate in a short debrief at the end.

The experiment does not include an actual negotiation, but focuses on a “prenegotiation dialogue,” although no actual dialogue takes place either. The participants were told they were supposed to be preparing for a negotiation, but were not told they would not engage in a negotiation. The rationale for this approach is that the purpose of this experiment is *to study factors that facilitate shift prior to negotiation*. The assumption is that if outcomes such as understanding, liking and other positive attitudes were produced, the expected negotiation process and outcomes would be similar to what Druckman and Broome (1991) found in their research on the effects of liking and familiarity (understanding) in negotiation. The impact of shift on actual negotiations remains to be explored in further experiments.

Five packets of written materials were prepared according to five experimental conditions. Each participant was given a packet of material. The participants were asked to begin at the same time, but were allowed to proceed at their own pace. The reason for this self-paced timing was to enhance participants’ ability to “get into” their role and to immerse them in the scenario without interruption. The packet of material consisted of three parts: (1) the 9-page document describing the conflict scenario, (2) the special information relevant to each particular experimental condition; and (3) the prenegotiation questionnaire.

The procedures were divided into four stages: (1) the attitude “induction” stage, (2) the attitude “change” stage in which shift is induced, (3) the prenegotiation questionnaire, and (4) a debrief stage at the end.

Stage 1: Attitude Induction

The first stage was devoted to reading the 9-page set of materials describing the conflict scenario and to my answering any questions by the participants. As described above, these materials included a description of a dialogue in which they supposedly had participated with the Ruritan negotiators in preparation for the presumed upcoming negotiations. This portion of the dialogue included a “hostile” statement made by a Ruritan negotiator during the dialogue. Participants in all conditions read the same materials, including the “hostile” statement, during the attitude induction stage.

Participants in the “pretest” condition (Condition 1) then completed the prenegotiation questionnaire. Included among the questions are the dependent measures. The results in Condition 1 provided the pretest data of prenegotiation attitudes. The results in the four experimental conditions provided the posttest data of prenegotiation attitudes. The procedures do not follow the traditional pretest/posttest method whereby participants complete both a pretest and posttest measure (e.g., between Stage 1 and 2). This “simulated” pretest/posttest method is based on the assumptions underlying probability theory and random assignment, and has been used in other experiments to avoid encountering repeated measure artifacts such as pretest sensitivity (Lemyre & Smith, 1985). This was of particular concern in the present research given the short time delay (about 10 minutes) between the pretest and posttest measures.

Stage 2: Attitude Change

The goal of the second stage of the experiment was to induce positive attitude change about the opponent and the conflict—to induce shift. The second stage was devoted to reading the special information relevant to the four experimental conditions: (1) “affective only” personal story, (2) “cognitive only” rational explanation, (3) “affective

first” (personal story then rational explanation), and (4) “cognitive first” (rational explanation then personal story). The background information and hostile statement served as the pretest condition. Thus, there were five conditions in this research.

Stage 3: Prenegotiation Questionnaire

After the attitude change stage, participants in the four experimental conditions completed the renegotiation questionnaire to measure whether attitude change—shift—was induced. Participants in the pretest condition completed the renegotiation questionnaire following the attitude induction stage. The renegotiation questionnaire included a total of 75 scaled questions, including the questions related to renegotiation attitudes (57), willingness to compromise (6), level and valence of impact (2), checks on the manipulation (6), identification with role and issues (2), and helpfulness of dialogue or mediation (2). In addition, the questionnaire asked one open-ended question on what most impacted the participants’ attitudes and asked participants to write a brief negotiation strategy. These are described more fully in the section above labeled Dependent Variables.

Stage 4: Debrief

After the participants completed stage three (Renegotiation Questionnaire), they were debriefed to inform them of the purpose of the exercise and how the data would be analyzed and reported. No participants indicated that s/he was aware of the conditions. All participants were asked not to discuss the experiment with other students. Table 13 summarizes the five conditions and first three stages.

Table 13. Phase 3: Experimental Design – Stages and Conditions

Conditions	Stage 1 Attitude Induction	Stage 2 Attitude Change	Stage 3 Prerenegotiation Questionnaire
Condition 1 – Hostile Pretest	X	O	X
Condition 2 – Affective-Only	X	X – Personal Story	X
Condition 3 – Cognitive-Only	X	X – Explanation	X
Condition 4 – Affective-First	X	X – Personal Story, Explanation	X
Condition 5 – Cognitive-First	X	X – Explanation, Personal Story	X

Limitations. There are two weaknesses with this study. First, as the interview results show in Chapter 5, there is a huge difference between dialoguing with someone face-to-face and reading information. There is a significant difference between hearing an embodied, human story and reading a story that is constructed, artificial, and removed from human interaction. Second, by trying to isolate variables in order to identify specific relationships between them, the very act of isolating variables takes them out of their natural context, which raises doubt about their meaningfulness. Despite arguments to the contrary, studying complex human interactions and phenomenon in a simulated environment calls into question the generalizability of results. Students in a simulation are not real actors in a conflict. A simulated dialogue is not a real dialogue (even if I had included a live dialogue). A constructed situation in which participants had no real stake may limit the accuracy and generalizability of findings. Further, a simulation eliminates the situational influences (e.g., the actual conflict context, bureaucratic politics, external constraints) that also impact on conflict and conflict parties.

Data Analysis

A variety of data analysis techniques are used on the questionnaire data as appropriate. Content analysis was used to code 'negotiation strategies' and 'what most impacted participants.' Descriptive statistics (frequencies, means) and significance tests (t-tests, correlations, significance tests, and analysis of variance tests—ANOVA) were then used to assess the effects of the experimental conditions on the prenegotiation questions. When comparing the mean scores of three or more conditions using ANOVA tests, the Newman-Keuls multiple range test and Fisher Least Square Differences multiple range test (FLSD) were conducted to identify which pairs of conditions were significantly different. The FLSD test is the least conservative of multiple range tests and is therefore most likely to "pick up" significant differences between conditions (Winer, Brown & Michels, 1991). This was deemed important given the exploratory nature of this research. However, the FLSD test also has a higher probability of Type 1 errors than other tests. Therefore, the Newman-Keuls, a more conservative test than FLSD, but still powerful test, was also used (Winer, Brown & Michels, 1991). Despite recent criticism of the Newman-Keuls test, it is still commonly used (Lindman, 1992). Further, the Newman-Keuls test was used in research by Druckman, Broome and Korper (1988) that informs my methodology. Except where noted, the results reported are based on the Newman-Keuls test given it is a more conservative test.

Results

Reliability Analyses: Experiment

Checks on Manipulation: Experiment

In addition to the pretest of the conditions presented earlier, all participants of the actual experiment were asked on the prenegotiation questionnaire to indicate their perception

of their opponent (on a 7-point scale) on six dichotomous pairs of responses similar to the questions on the pretest of the materials. Three of the questions related to perceptions of the other as rational or emotional, unemotional or emotional, and detached or involved. Two questions related to expectations of the negotiation climate as emotional or rational and emotional or unemotional. Participants were also asked the degree to which they were affected emotionally by the statements.

On the individual items, scores above 4.0 indicate support for the affective distinction (left-side of item response pairs), while scores at or below 4.0 indicate support for the cognitive distinction (right-side) as conceptualized and operationalized in this study.¹ The distinction between the affective and cognitive condition was not as stark as on the pretest. Nevertheless, the mean scores were in the predicted direction. There are two possibilities for the difference with the pretest. First, in the pretest, participants read only the hostile, affective or cognitive condition statement. These were read out of context. In the actual experiment, participants read the statements within the context of the overall conflict and upcoming negotiations. Perhaps the context muted the differences perceived in the pretest. Second, the hostile statement read by all participants in the experiment may have primed the participants to be more affectively affected in all conditions, given the hostile condition was rated as affective. This may have inadvertently reduced the distinction between the affective and cognitive condition by moving the cognitive condition closer to the affective side. However, as stated earlier, this hostile priming effect is likely a more accurate representation of the real world. That was the reason for including the hostile statement in the simulation. These effects need further research.

Both the affective and cognitive condition received scores above 4.0 on all items,

¹ Note: this scoring is in the opposite direction as the pretest. The reason for changing the direction of the scoring was simply because it was easier for me to remember that 'above 4.0' was 'affective' and 'below 4.0' was 'cognitive.'

indicating an affective approach. However, the affective condition statement received higher scores than the cognitive condition on all but one item. Further, a composite score was calculated of the aggregate of the six individual items. Reliability analysis on the composite score of the six scales indicates an inter-item correlation of .22 and a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .60, which shows the composite variable has a moderate to high level of internal consistency (Robinson, et. al., 1991). The affective condition received a much higher composite score than the cognitive condition. Table 14 summarizes the mean scores.

Table 14. Phase 3: Check on Manipulation – Experiment

Item	Affective-Only Condition	Cognitive-Only Condition
Experimental Condition (Composite)^a	34.31[*]	30.53[*]
Perceptions of Other		
Emotional vs. Rational Other	5.38	4.83
Emotional vs. Unemotional Other	6.19 [*]	5.28 [*]
Involved vs. Detached Other	5.81	4.94
Emotional vs. Rational Climate	5.31	5.50
Emotional vs. Unemotional Climate	5.88	5.56
Impact of Statement on Reader		
Affected emotionally: Very Much vs. Not At All	5.75 [*]	4.65 [*]

a. Scores are aggregated across six scales in this table to distinguish between the affective and cognitive condition. The higher the score, the more affective the rating. Scores above 4.0 indicate affective rating. Scores below 4.0 indicate cognitive rating.

* Indicates a significant difference between the affective and cognitive condition at $p < .05$ (t-test).

The results indicate that the affective condition (personal story) participants perceived the affective statement as more affective in general (the composite score) than the cognitive statement ($t=2.28$, $p<.04$), and in particular perceived their opponent as more emotional than unemotional than the cognitive condition (rational explanation) ($t=2.12$, $p<.05$). The affective condition was also rated as more emotional than rational and more involved than detached than the cognition condition, however, these did not reach significance. Affective condition participants expected the negotiation climate to be more emotional than unemotional compared to the cognitive condition, but surprisingly expected the climate to be more rational than emotional than in the cognitive condition (these differences did not reach significance). Participants were also asked to indicate “the extent to which you were affected emotionally by the statements by the Ruritan negotiators.” Participants were more affected emotionally in the affective condition than those in the

cognitive condition ($t=2.47$, $p<.02$). Although the differences were not as distinct as in the pretest, overall, the results suggest that participants were responsive to the experimental conditions. Another explanation for the less distinct results in the experiment than in the pretest is that in the pretest the coders were responding to each of the statements separately. In the experiment, the participants were responding, not only to the affective or cognitive statement, but also to the hostile statement. It will be shown later that the hostile statement, as predicted, elicits more affective than cognitive responses. Therefore, all conditions used in the experiment may be rated as more affective than when rated separately as in the pretest.

Reliability of Dependent Composite Variables

The eight dimensions used to measure attitudes and changes in attitudes each included several related items intended to more accurately reflect and measure each dimension or composite variable. In order to verify the appropriateness of combining the chosen individual items into their corresponding composite variable, reliability analyses using inter-item correlations and Cronbach's alpha coefficient was conducted on each composite variable. The composite reliability results are presented in Table 15.

Table 15. Phase 3: Reliability Analysis – Dependent Composite Variables

	General Attitudes re. Opponent	Feelings Toward Opponent	Understand Opponent	Opponent's View of Us	Opponent's Role in Conflict	Our Role in Conflict	Negotiation Climate	Negotiation Outcomes
Inter-item Correlation	.31	.38	.21	.36	.37	.16	.38	.20
Rating^a	Very High	Very High	High	Very High	Very High	Moderate	Very High	High
Alpha Coefficient	.84	.82	.57	.73	.69	.44	.70	.59
Rating	Very High	Very High	Minimal	High	Moderate	Minimal	High	Minimal
Average Rating Overall	Very High	Very High	Moderate	High	High	Minimal	High	Moderate

a. Ratings for evaluating composite scales on inter-item correlation and alpha coefficient are based on Robinson et al. (1991)

Robinson et al. (1991) suggest the social sciences commonly accept .20 and higher for inter-item correlations and .70 and higher for the alpha coefficient for judging inter-item correlation (both these scores are judged to be “high”) (see Table 15). Based on the general rating criteria for evaluating scales developed by Robinson et al. (1991), the results indicate:

- two very highly reliable composite variables – General attitudes about opponent, Feelings toward opponent
- three highly reliable composite variables – Opponent’s view of us, Opponent’s Role in Conflict, Expected negotiation climate
- two moderately reliable composite variable – Understand opponent, Expected negotiation outcomes

- one minimally reliable composite variable – Our role in the conflict.

The reliability ratings of each composite variable must be kept in mind when interpreting the results. The reliability scores of ‘Understand Opponent,’ ‘Expected Negotiation Outcomes,’ and ‘Our Role in the Conflict’ were relatively low, and therefore any conclusions about these composite variables are qualified.

Check on Role and Issues

Responses on the prenegotiation questionnaire indicate that participants were moderately identified with their assigned role ($X=4.88$ on a 7-point scale) – 64% of participants agreed that they were strongly identified with their role, 22% were neutral, and 14% disagreed. Participants thought the issues used in the simulation were very realistic ($X=6.01$ on a 7-point scale) – ninety percent (90%) of participants agreed the issues were very realistic, 5% were neutral, and 5% disagreed. There were no significant differences among the experimental conditions regarding the realistic nature of the issues. However, there were significant differences among the experimental conditions on role-identification. The affective-only ($X=5.50$) and cognitive-only ($X=4.92$) participants agreed significantly more strongly that they identified with their role than participants in the affective-first condition ($X=4.00$) ($F[4,75]=3.15, p<.02$). These differences are not explained and must be considered when interpreting the results.

The results presented in the next section are presented in order by hypothesis. The data, results and discussion are detailed and incremental in order to clearly show my analysis procedures and interpretation.

Results for Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis #1: *Conflict attitudes in violent conflicts are more affect-based than cognitive-based.*

This hypothesis is based on the notion that when conflicts are protracted and violent, the situation changes from being conflicts of interests or goals, to conflicts of identity and emotion-laden attitudes that perpetuate conflict and make them so difficult to resolve. If in fact such conflicts are more affective-based than cognitive-based, then previous research suggests that affective approaches will be more effective for inducing attitude change than cognitive approaches (Edwards, 1990; Edwards & von Hippel, 1995).

To test the hypothesis, the responses from the pretest of the conditions in the present study (reported in Table 10) were coded as affective or cognitive. Mean scores above 4.0 were coded as cognitive and mean scores below 4.0 were coded as affective. The results indicated that the hostile condition was more affective-based than cognitive-based. However, it was slightly more cognitive-based than the affective condition. Table 16 summarizes the results.

Table 16. Phase 3: Pretest of Conditions^a

Item	Hostile Condition		Affective Condition		Cognitive Condition	
Experimental Condition – Composite Score:	29.40	Affective	26.00	Affective	46.60	Cognitive
Feeling-Oriented vs. Fact-Oriented	3.67	Affective	3.50	Affective	5.33	Cognitive
Emotional vs. Rational	3.50	Affective	3.67	Affective	4.67	Cognitive
Expressive vs. Calm	1.83	Affective	3.33	Affective	5.17	Cognitive
Subjective vs. Objective	2.83	Affective	3.17	Affective	4.00	Aff-Cog
Concrete vs. Abstract	2.00	Affective	2.17	Affective	2.50	Affective
Specific vs. General	3.00	Affective	2.00	Affective	4.00	Aff-Cog
Personal vs. Impersonal	2.33	Affective	1.50	Affective	4.67	Cognitive
Passionate vs. Dispassionate	2.00	Affective	1.60	Affective	4.40	Cognitive
Affected emotionally by statement: Agree – Disagree	3.67	Affective	1.67	Affective	4.67	Cognitive
Thinking unemotionally while reading statement: Agree – Disagree	4.50	Cognitive	2.83	Affective	5.50	Cognitive

a. Mean scores above 4.0 are coded as 'cognitive,' scores below 4.0 are coded as 'affective,' scores of 4.0 are coded as 'affective-cognitive.'

The results indicate that all but one of the individual items (thinking unemotionally) on the scale was coded as affective in the hostile condition. The overall hostile condition composite score was also coded as affective. ANOVA analysis indicated that the composite score for the affective-only condition and hostile condition were significantly more affective than the cognitive-only condition ($F[2,12]=12.07, p<.002$) according to Newman-Keuls tests. The results suggest that conflict attitudes in violent conflicts (as in this study) are more affective-based than cognitive-based. Therefore, it is expected that affective approaches to changing these attitudes would be more effective than cognitive approaches

(Edwards, 1990; Edwards & von Hippel, 1995).

Results for Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2 stated: *Affective approaches are more likely to induce shift (positive attitudes and expectations of the other, willingness to compromise, and cooperative negotiation strategies) than cognitive approaches.*

Prenegotiation Attitudes

Hypothesis 2 was tested through two processes. First, the data was analyzed by looking at the frequency of significant differences between the two experimental conditions (affective-only and cognitive-only) and the pretest condition on prenegotiation attitudes as measured by the prenegotiation questionnaire. Did the affective or cognitive approach result in more significant positive changes from the pretest condition (and were there any negative changes)? This analysis resembles a “simulated pretest/posttest” design to measure change (Lemyre & Smith, 1985). Second, the two experimental conditions’ means were compared to determine whether or not there were significant differences in the means between the affective and cognitive approach. This latter analysis resembles the type of analysis conducted by Druckman and Broom (1991) for comparing the effects of experimental conditions. The two approaches to test the hypothesis are reported separately.

Comparing the Hostile Pretest with the Affective-Only and Cognitive-Only Posttests

Results on the Eight Dimensions (Composite Variables)

Prenegotiation attitudes were measured on eight dimensions (composite variables): general attitudes about the opponent’s personality and behavior, feelings toward the opponent, our understanding of the opponent, the opponent’s view of us, the other’s role in

the conflict, our role in the conflict, expected negotiation climate, and expected negotiation outcomes. These eight dimensions include 49 total questions and were described in the section on Dependent Variables (p. 246). The mean scores for the composite variables for all conditions are summarized in Table 17. Higher scores mean more positive or constructive attitudes.

Table 17: Mean Composite Attitude Scores – 5 Conditions^a

Dimensions	Hostile	Affective Only	Cognitive Only	Affective First	Cognitive First
Opponent in General	33.07	48.50* ^{1,3}	41.00* ¹	52.13* ^{1,3}	50.13* ^{1,3}
Feelings Toward Opponent	27.07	35.13* ^{1,4}	28.67	32.88* ²	33.40* ²
Understanding the Opponent	24.27	24.88	22.41	26.33* ³	26.47* ³
Opponent's View of Us	8.80	13.40* ¹	11.94* ¹	12.75* ¹	13.33* ¹
Opponent's Role in Conflict	13.27	14.88	14.89	17.63* ^{1,4}	15.60
Our Role in Conflict	15.00	16.56	16.75	18.63* ¹	16.80
Expected Negotiation Climate	11.33	15.88* ¹	13.72	16.00* ¹	15.13* ¹
Expected Negotiation Outcomes	19.93	25.94* ¹	22.94	24.88* ¹	24.53* ¹
TOTAL ATTITUDE SCORE	19.09	24.58*^{1,3}	21.54*¹	24.98*^{1,3}	24.43*^{1,3}

^a Higher score indicates more positive attitudes – more friendly, cooperative, and so on

*¹ indicates the mean score is significantly different at $p < .05$ in the experimental condition versus the hostile pretest condition (Newman-Keuls test)

*² indicates the mean score is significantly different at $p < .05$ in the experimental condition versus the hostile pretest condition (FLSD test)

*³ indicates the mean score is significantly different in the affective-only, affective-first or cognitive-first condition versus the cognitive-only condition at $p < .05$ (Newman-Keuls test)

*⁴ indicates the mean score is significantly different in the affective-only, affective-first or cognitive-first condition versus the cognitive-only condition at $p < .05$ (FLSD test)

A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to measure differences in means among the hostile pretest condition and two experimental conditions, the affective-

only and cognitive-only conditions. The Newman-Keuls multiple range tests and Fisher Least Square Differences multiple range tests (FLSD) were conducted to identify which specific changes from the pretest (hostile condition) to the posttest (experimental conditions) were significant. Except where noted, the results reported are based on the Newman-Keuls test given it is a more conservative test. The FLSD is reported where the Newman-Keuls failed to detect a significant difference. FLSD is more likely to detect differences than the Newman-Keuls. Given the exploratory nature of this research, it seems prudent to capture all potential differences. Additional research should be conducted to validate the findings.

The results for comparing the hostile pretest and affective-only and cognitive-only posttest indicate several significant changes from the pretest to the posttest. The affective-only and cognitive-only conditions showed significant positive changes on the total attitude score from the hostile pretest ($F[4,73]=10.09, p<.0001$). These reached significance according to Newman-Keuls tests. Tests of the eight dimensions show the following results:

- the affective-only condition showed significant changes on five of the eight dimensions (63%), including attitudes about the opponent in general ($F[4,75]=15.06, p<.0001$), feelings toward the opponent ($F[4,75]=3.14, p<.02$; FLSD), assumptions about the opponent's view of us ($F[4,74]=3.21, p<.02$), and our expectations about the negotiation climate ($F[4,75]=4.43, p<.003$) and negotiation outcomes ($F[4,75]=4.03, p<.006$)
- the cognitive-only condition showed significant changes on two of the eight dimensions (25%), including attitudes about the opponent in general ($F[4,75]=15.06, p<.0001$) and the opponent's view of us ($F[4,74]=3.21, p<.02$)

Although not significant, both the affective-only and cognitive-only condition showed more constructive attitudes toward their own side's role in the conflict than the hostile pretest condition participants. These results mean the participants in the affective and cognitive conditions took more responsibility for their side's role in the conflict, felt less justified in their actions, more offensive and less as victims than the pretest participants. The hostile pretest participants felt more justified, more defense, more as victims, took less responsibility, and so on. Further, when comparing the mean scores for the 'other side's role in the conflict' versus 'our role in the conflict,' the distance between scores narrowed for both the affective and cognitive condition. The affective and cognitive condition participants saw their own role in only slightly more positive terms than their opponent's role, while the hostile condition participants saw their own side's role in the conflict in a much more positive light than their views of their opponent's role in the conflict. The hostile condition had a more ethnocentric view of the conflict. Correlation analysis showed there was a significant inverse relationship between views of the 'other side's role in the conflict' and 'our role in the conflict' ($r = -.42, p = .000$). Similarly, Druckman (1968) found an inverse correlation between ingroup and outgroup attitudes in his study on ethnocentrism.

The positive changes between the pretest to posttest suggest a diminishing effect of *fundamental attribution error*. This is described as the tendency for people to ignore situational causes for the negative behavior of others and to attribute the behavior of others to negative internal dispositions while simultaneously attributing negative behaviors of oneself (or group) to situational causes (Heider, 1958; Jones & Davis, 1965). The tendency to see one's own behaviors as situational is also related the tendency to absolve oneself of responsibility in conflict situations and to see oneself as purely a victim (Montville, 1993, 1995) needing to defend oneself. The *error* is the tendency to judge others based on dispositional factors, while judging ourselves based on situational factors. We apply

different processes for judging others versus ourselves. If the other uses violence, it is because they are inherently violent people. If we use violence, it is because we had no other choice given the situation. This difference in attributing cause or motive to the other versus ourselves diminished from the pretest to the posttest.

In summary, both conditions showed significantly more positive attitudes than the hostile pretest on the total attitude score. On the individual dimensions, the affective-only condition participants showed significantly more positive attitudes on five dimensions compared to two dimensions for the cognitive-only condition.

Analyses were also conducted on the 49 individual items on prenegotiation attitudes to highlight more specific changes in attitudes. The affective-only condition resulted in 23 significant positive changes from the pretest group (47% of the 49 items) while the cognitive-only condition resulted in only 9 significant positive changes (18% of the 49 items) as shown by ANOVA tests. Specific results follow.

Attitudes Toward Opponent in General

The affective-only participants showed more significant changes than cognitive-only participants, and where both experimental conditions produced significant changes, the affective-only condition showed greater degrees of changes than the cognitive-only condition. Both affective-only and cognitive-only participants, when compared to the hostile pretest condition, perceived their opponents as significantly more friendly ($p < .001$), peaceful ($p < .02$), compromising ($p < .002$), more practical ($p < .008$), and more effective ($p < .08$).

Affective-only participants (but not cognitive-only participants) also perceived their opponents as significantly more trusting generally ($p < .03$), trustworthy ($p < .02$), intelligent ($p < .001$), similar ($p < .05$), and more fair ($p < .05$) than the hostile pretest condition.

Feelings Toward the Opponent

Both experimental conditions also felt more liking towards their opponent ($p < .02$) than the pretest group. Further, affective-only participants were significantly more likely to have more positive feelings ($p < .02$) and compassion ($p < .06$) toward their opponent and were more likely to invite their opponents to their own home ($p < .10$) than the pretest group. The cognitive-only participants changed in the same direction but the results did not reach significance.

Opponent's View of Us

Affective-only and cognitive-only participants perceived more positive attitudes from their opponent than pretest group participants, including more liking of "us" ($p < .03$) and more trusting of the participant ($p < .03$). Affective-only participants also perceived more caring about "us" ($p < .04$) than the pretest condition. The cognitive-only participants changed in the same direction but the results did not reach significance.

Our Role in the Conflict

The cognitive-only participants became slightly less likely to see their own group as victims in the conflict ($p < .10$). This means that cognitive-only participants were less likely to hold on to their 'victimhood' status (Montville, 1993, 1995). The affective-only participants changed in the same direction, but the results did not reach significance. This was the only variable for which the cognitive-only participants showed more significant change from the pretest hostile group than the affective-only participants

Understanding of the Opponent

Although affective-only participants generally reported higher understanding and

empathizing with the opponent than the hostile pretest participants, including understanding the other's *perspectives*, the affective-only participants reported significantly less understanding of their opponent's *actions* than the pretest group ($p < .009$). This was the only result that contradicted expectations. The cognitive-only participants also reported less understanding of their opponent's actions than the pretest group, but the result did not reach significance.

One possible explanation for these results is that the affective-only participants had more empathy, caring and compassion for other side, had positive feelings for them and saw them as victims in this conflict, all of which might make it harder to understand why the opponent used violence. We tend to not want to see people who we see as "good" do things that we consider "bad", such as using violence against others. This may be especially true when we acknowledge that the opponent has also been victimized. For example, during the interviews (Chapter 5), one of the Palestinians said he understood the security fears and concerns of the Israelis in light of their being victims during the holocaust. However, he could not understand how people who have had such terrible things done to them in the past, could turn around and do (what he considered to be) the same to others. In other words, "How could they, of all people, do such terrible things to the Palestinians?!" The same dynamic may explain the results in this experiment.

Another explanation may be related to the distinction between *understanding* the opponent and *agreeing* with the opponent. For example, in response to the September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon, allegedly by terrorists supporting and following Osama bin Laden, many people around the world proclaimed: (a) they understood the grievances of the terrorists, but (b) in no way agreed with their violent actions resulting from those grievances. However, many people did not seem to hear the distinction being made between understanding and agreeing. Instead, they interpreted the

message, “I understand why they did this” as meaning the speaker “agreed” with the attackers or thought the attackers were justified in their actions.² The failure to make this distinction often results in the shorthand expression of “I can’t understand their actions!” when really meaning, ‘How could they do such a terrible thing?!’

Further research is warranted to explain the relationship between understanding the opponent’s perspectives and understanding their actions.

Expected Negotiation Climate

The affective-only participants significantly changed their view of the negotiation climate on two items. They were more likely to expect the negotiation climate to be friendly ($p < .002$) and cooperative ($p < .018$) than the pretest condition. The cognitive-only participants changed in the same direction on these items, but the results did not reach significance.

Expected Negotiation Outcomes

Affective-only participants were significantly more likely than the pretest group to expect their opponents to compromise their positions ($p < .03$), expect their opponents to want a fair agreement ($p < .002$), and were slightly more likely to expect a satisfactory resolution of the issues through negotiation ($p < .11$). The cognitive-only participants changed in the same direction on these items, but the results did not reach significance.

Impact of Statements

Supporting the above findings that the affective-only had more positive impact than

² This example is based on the impressions I formed from personal conversations, letters to the editor in newspapers, editorials, emails, television and radio news reports, and reflects

the cognitive-only are the results of one additional question. Both affective-only and cognitive-only participants reported significantly greater positive influence of their opponents' statements on their attitudes than the hostile pretest group ($p < .001$).

In summary, when comparing the pretest-posttest attitude results for the total attitude score, eight dimensions and 49 individual items, the affective-only condition is somewhat more effective in inducing positive change than the cognitive-only condition, which supports Hypothesis 2.

Comparing Affective-Only Condition Versus Cognitive-Only Condition

After examining the pretest-posttest changes, the data was examined to determine whether there are significant differences in the means between the affective and cognitive approach.

Prenegotiation Attitudes

The results further support the contention that the affective-only condition is more effective in producing positive change in attitudes than the cognitive-only condition. In addition to the pretest to posttest changes, the affective-only condition showed significantly more positive attitudes than the cognitive-only condition on the total attitude score ($F[4,73]=10.09, p < .0001$), including two dimensions: the opponent in general ($F[4,75]=15.06, p < .0001$), and feelings toward the opponent ($F[4,75]=3.14, p < .02$; FLSD test) (Table 17, p 263).

In terms of the 49 individual items, the affective-only condition participants showed 12 items (24%) for which their mean scores were significantly more positive than the mean

my interpretation of some of what I read as miscommunication. This is not based on

scores of the cognitive-only condition participants (according to ANOVA with Newman-Keuls and FLSD post-hoc tests). These results are summarized below.

Attitudes Toward Opponent in General

The affective-only condition participants perceived their opponents as significantly more similar ($p<.05$), intelligent ($p<.001$), trustworthy ($p<.02$) and sincere ($p<.07$) than cognitive-only condition participants.

Feelings About Opponent

Affective-only participants also had more positive feelings towards their opponents than cognitive-condition participants, including: more positive feelings generally ($p<.02$), empathy ($p<.04$), caring ($p<.07$) and compassion ($p<.06$).

Opponent's Role in Conflict

Affective-only participants were slightly more likely than cognitive-only condition to perceive their opponents as victims in this conflict ($p<.11$).

Expected Negotiation Climate and Outcomes

Affective-only participants expected the negotiation climate to be significantly more friendly ($p<.002$) and were more likely to believe that their opponent wanted a fair agreement ($p<.002$) than cognitive-only participants.

Impact of Statement

Finally, the affective-only participants were significantly more likely than cognitive-

rigorous study of data.

only participants to report that their opponents' statements had a positive influence on their attitudes toward their opponent ($p < .001$).

In summary, the affective-only condition shows significantly more positive attitudes than the cognitive-only condition on the total attitude score, two of the eight composite dimensions, and 24% of the individual items. Based on the pretest-posttest results and the comparison between the affective-only and cognitive-only conditions, I conclude that the affective-only condition is significantly more effective in changing attitudes than the cognitive-only condition.

Willingness to Compromise

Three attitudinal questions were used to test participants' willingness to compromise on two issues—territory and refugee issues. The three questions asked participants' expectations of the agreement they are *likely* to reach, their *desired* outcomes, and their *willingness to compromise* on the two issues (Druckman & Broome, 1991). For the measures 'likely outcome' and 'desired outcome,' three outcomes were possible on each of the two issues: an agreement favoring the Graustark position, the Ruritan position, or a compromise located between the opposed starting positions. The third measure, 'willingness to compromise,' consisted of three outcomes on each issue: not yielding from initial positions, a compromise located between the opposed starting positions, or capitulation by accepting the other's initial position. Table 18 shows the means scores for each condition and each outcome for the two issues to be negotiated.

Table 18. Phase 3: Amount of Compromise – Five Conditions^a

Outcomes	Condition ^b Territorial Issue					Condition Refugee/Restitution Issue				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Likely	2.07	2.13	1.94	2.25	1.67	2.00	2.06	2.00	2.06	2.00
Desired	1.14	1.63 ^{*1}	1.39	1.63	1.80 ^{*3}	1.87	2.06	1.83	1.88	2.00
Willingness to Compromise	2.00	2.13	1.94	2.50 ^{*2}	1.73	2.00	2.13	2.00	2.00	2.00

a. Scores are mean scores for each question. Higher scores indicate greater movement from initial position and higher levels of compromise.

b. Conditions are: (1) hostile; (2) affective-only; (3) cognitive-only; (4) affective-first; (5) cognitive-first.

^{*1} indicates significant difference at $p < .05$ according to ANOVA; significant difference from the hostile pretest condition (Newman-Keuls test)

^{*2} indicates significant difference at $p < .05$ according to ANOVA; significant difference with cognitive-first condition (Newman-Keuls test) and cognitive-only condition (FLSD test)

^{*3} indicates significant difference at $p < .10$ according to ANOVA; significant difference from hostile pretest condition (FLSD test)

When comparing the first three conditions, the only significant difference for amount of compromise is the affective-only participants ($M=1.63$) moved further from their initial position on their desired outcomes on the territorial issue than those in the hostile condition ($M=1.14$) and cognitive-only condition ($M=1.39$; $F[2,45]=3.33$, $p<.045$). The affective-only condition also showed more compromise on the other questions than the hostile and cognitive-only conditions, but the differences did not reach significance.

Negotiation Strategies

The written statements of strategies for the upcoming negotiations made by participants in each condition were coded according to the overall preferred negotiating strategy: (1) competitive, (2) neither competitive nor cooperative, or (3) cooperative. Two coders, including the author, performed the coding. While some participants clearly stated they would use a cooperative or competitive strategy, most did not. Therefore, the following key words, phrases and concerns were used to distinguish between cooperative and competitive strategies:

- cooperative—cooperative strategy, compromise, focus on both sides getting or giving something, building trust, listen to other, need to know each other, establish positive relationship, try to relate to them, face saving for both sides, mutual benefits, being flexible, work together, similar goals, similar needs, find common ground, find joint agreements, seek equality in outcomes
- competitive—competitive strategy, push, focus on my side, further our cause, they should..., they must..., they are unwilling to budge, they are wrong, there will be a lot of arguing, my stand is firm, get mediator on my side, tell them to get over the past

The statements used for this analysis included only those statements for which there was agreement on the coding by both coders.³ Statements from 76 out of 81 participants (94%) were used for this analysis. Table 19 shows the mean scores for each condition.

³ The coders discussed the initial areas of disagreement to see on which items they could reach agreement. The final coding resulted in 76 statements for which there was agreement.

Table 19. Phase 3: Negotiation Strategy – 5 Conditions^a

	Hostile	Aff-Only	Cog-Only	Aff-First	Cog-First
Strategy as Competitive to Cooperative	2.29	2.75*	2.06	2.60*	2.50

a. Scores are mean scores for the preferred negotiation strategy. Higher scores indicate higher levels of cooperativeness on a 3-point coding scale.

* Indicates significant difference at $p < .06$ (ANOVA); significant difference between affective-only condition and cognitive-only condition (Newman-Keuls) and between affective-first condition and cognitive-only condition (FLSD).

Results of ANOVA analyses indicated the affective-only participants ($M=2.75$) expressed more cooperation than the hostile ($M=2.29$) and cognitive-only participants ($M=2.06$) who expressed “neither competition or cooperation” ($F[2,44]=3.60$, $p<.04$). The affective-only condition was significantly more cooperative than the cognitive-only condition according to Newman-Keuls multiple ranges tests.

Conclusion

The results of the measures on prenegotiation attitudes clearly indicate that both the affective-only and cognitive-only conditions had a significant positive impact on changing participants' attitudes and expectations regarding their opponent and negotiations. Further, the results indicate that the affective-only condition had a greater positive impact on changing attitudes and expectations than the cognitive-only condition compared to the hostile pretest. In several cases, the affective-only condition resulted in significantly more positive attitudes and expectations when compared directly to the cognitive-only condition.

The results on participants' willingness to compromise provided virtually no support, except on one question, for the hypothesis that affective-only conditions are more effective for facilitating shift than cognitive-only conditions. However, the results for

participants' negotiation strategy showed the affective-only condition was significantly more cooperative than the cognitive-only condition, which supports the hypothesis that affective approaches are more effective for facilitating shift than cognitive approaches, even on the more 'substantive' aspects of the conflict (at least in terms of participants' intentions or expectations about their negotiating behavior). Overall, the results support the hypothesis that affective approaches are more likely to induce shift than cognitive approaches.

Results of Experiment for Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3 posits that: *A combination of cognitive and affective approaches is more likely to induce shift than cognitive or affective approaches alone.*

This hypothesis is based on the notion that the interplay of appeals to emotion and reason are more effective than either alone. Further, this hypothesis acknowledges the interconnection between affective and cognitive processes.

Prenegotiation Attitudes

To explore Hypothesis 3, all four experimental conditions were compared with the hostile pretest condition to see which experimental condition led to the most positive change and whether the combined approaches (affective-first, cognitive-first) led to more positive changes than the approaches alone (affective-only, cognitive-only). The following results refer to the scores presented in Table 17 (page 265).

The results for the affective-only and cognitive-only conditions were reported earlier, but summaries are presented in this section for comparison purposes with the combined approach. All posttest conditions showed significant changes on the total attitude score ($F[4,73]=10.09$, $p<.0001$) compared to the hostile pretest condition. Comparing the mean scores of the experimental conditions to the pretest condition on the 8 dimensions had the following results:

- the affective-only condition showed significant changes five of the eight dimensions (63%)
- the cognitive-only condition showed significant changes two of the eight dimensions (25%)
- the affective-first condition showed significant changes on seven of the eight dimensions (6 according to Newman-Keuls test, 1 according to FLSD test -- 88%): attitudes about the opponent in general ($F[4,75]=15.06$, $p<.0001$), assumptions about the opponent's view of us ($F[4,74]=3.21$, $p<.02$), opponent's role in the conflict ($F[4,75]=2.53$, $p<.05$), our role in the conflict ($F[4,75]=2.36$, $p<.07$), our expectations about the negotiation climate ($F[4,75]=4.43$, $p<.003$), and negotiation outcomes ($F[4,75]=4.03$, $p<.006$), and our feelings toward the opponent ($F[4,75]=3.14$, $p<.02$; according to FLSD test)
- the cognitive-first condition showed significant changes on five dimensions (4 according to Newman-Keuls test, 1 according to FLSD test -- 63%): attitudes about the opponent in general ($F[4,75]=15.06$, $p<.0001$), assumptions about the opponent's view of us ($F[4,74]=3.21$, $p<.02$), our expectations about the negotiation climate ($F[4,75]=4.43$, $p<.003$) and negotiation outcomes ($F[4,75]=4.03$, $p<.006$), and our feelings toward the opponent ($F[4,75]=3.14$, $p<.02$; according to FLSD test)

The results indicate the affective-first condition was slightly more effective than the affective-only condition and much more effective than the cognitive-only condition. The cognitive-first condition was equally effective as the affective-only condition and much more effective than the cognitive-only condition.

Comparing the mean scores of the experimental posttest conditions to each other on the 8 dimensions and total score showed the affective-only, affective-first, and cognitive-first conditions were must more effective than the cognitive-only condition:

- the affective-only condition showed a significantly more positive attitude than the cognitive-only condition on one dimension: attitudes about the opponent in general ($F[4,75]=15.06, p<.0001$); and the total attitude score ($F[4,73]=10.009, p<.0001$)
- the affective-first and cognitive-first conditions showed a significantly more positive attitude than the cognitive-only condition on two dimensions: attitudes about the opponent in general ($F[4,75]=15.06, p<.0001$); understanding the opponent ($F[4,74]=3.02, p<.03$); and on the total attitude score ($F[4,73]=10.09, p<.0001$)

Comparing the mean scores of the five conditions on the 49 individual items had somewhat similar results. The results for the affective-only and cognitive-only condition were reported earlier, but summaries are presented here for comparison purposes with the combined approach:

- the affective-only condition had more positive mean scores than the hostile condition on 46 items (94%)
- the cognitive-only condition had more positive means mean scores than the hostile condition on 38 items (78%)

- the affective-first condition had more positive mean scores than the hostile condition on 46 items (94%), of which 25 items were significantly more positive (20 according to Newman-Keul test, 5 according to FLSD test – 51% of total items)
- the cognitive-first condition had more positive mean scores than the hostile condition (Condition 1) on 46 items (94%) and had the same score on two items (4%), of which 22 items were significantly more positive (19 according to Newman-Keul test, 3 according to FLSD test – 45% of total items).

Table 20 is a summary of the frequency of positive changes for each of the experimental conditions in terms of the 8 dimensions (composite variables) and the 49 individual items. The table includes the total percentage of positive changes and the percentage of statistically significantly positive changes.

Table 20. Phase 3: Frequency of Positive Changes for Each Condition^a

Dimensions	Affective-Only		Cognitive-Only		Affective-First		Cognitive-First	
	Total	Sig.	Total	Sig.	Total	Sig.	Total	Sig.
8 Dimensions (Composites)	100%	63%	100%	25%	100%	88%	100%	63%
49 Individual Items	94%	45%	78%	18%	94%	51%	94%	45%

a. 'Total' refers to the total percentage of positive changes. 'Sig.' Refers to the percentage of statistically significant positive changes.

The results indicate the affective-first and cognitive-first conditions were much more effective than the cognitive-only condition. The affective-first condition was moderately more effective than the affective-only condition. The cognitive-first condition was equally

as effective as the affective-only condition.

Another way to interpret these results is to look at the 'additive' effect of the affective and cognitive approaches. In other words, does adding the cognitive approach *after* the affective approach make it more effective in inducing shift? Does adding the affective approach *after* the cognitive approach make it more effective? Based on the means scores and ANOVA analyses (comparing the posttest to the pretest) the results indicate that adding the affective approach after the cognitive approach (cognitive-only to cognitive-first) greatly increased the impact on changing attitudes in a positive direction. Adding the cognitive approach after the affective approach (affective-only to affective-first) also increased the impact on attitudes, but less so than in the previous example. What happens when adding a second approach *before* one of the approaches? Adding the affective approach before the cognitive approach (cognitive-only to affective-first), had a greater positive impact than adding the affective approach after the cognitive approach. Adding the cognitive approach before the affective approach (affective-only to cognitive-first) also increased the impact on attitudes, but less so than adding the cognitive approach after the affective approach. In summary, 'adding' the cognitive approach to the affective condition only improved the results when adding the cognitive approach after the affective approach. Adding the affective approach to the cognitive approach greatly increased the impact on attitudes, especially when added before the cognitive approach.

The results support Hypothesis 3 that the combined approaches are more effective for inducing shift (increasing positive attitudes) than the approaches alone. The affective-first approach was clearly the most effective in inducing change from the pretest to posttest, especially when compared to the cognitive-only condition. The means of the combined approaches were also significantly more positive than the cognitive-only condition (but not the affective-only approach). These results also provide additional support for Hypothesis 2

that the affective approach is more effective than the cognitive approach.

Willingness to Compromise

The affective-first and cognitive-first conditions were compared to the affective-only and cognitive-only conditions in their willingness to compromise on the two issues. Similar to testing for Hypothesis 2, analyses of variance (ANOVA) and multiple range tests were conducted on the three questions about the participants' expectations of the agreement they are *likely* to reach, their *desired* outcomes, and their *willingness to compromise* on the two issues for all five conditions. For the measures 'likely outcome' and 'desired outcome,' three outcomes were possible on each of the two issues: an agreement favoring the Graustark position, the Ruritan position, or a compromise located between the opposed starting positions. The third measure, 'willingness to compromise,' consisted of three outcomes on each issue: not yielding from initial positions, a compromise located between the opposed starting positions, or capitulation by accepting the other's initial position. Means by condition for each outcome are shown in Table 18 (p. 275).

Comparing the affective-first and cognitive-first conditions to the affective-only and cognitive-only conditions in their willingness to compromise on the two issues had mixed results. On the territorial issue, participants in the cognitive-first condition moved slightly further from their initial position on the *desired* outcome ($M=1.80$) than those in the other four conditions (means of 1.14, 1.63, 1.39, and 1.63; $F[4,74]=2.09$, $p<.09$). The result reached significance between the cognitive-first condition and hostile condition according to FLSD ($p<.05$).

Participants in the affective-first condition moved significantly further from their initial position on their *willingness to compromise* on the territorial issue ($M=2.50$) than those in the other four conditions (means of 2.00, 2.13, 1.94, and 1.73; $F[4,73]=2.59$,

$p < .05$). The result reached significance between the affective-first condition and the cognitive-first condition (Newman-Keuls, $p < .05$) and the cognitive-only condition (FLSD, $p < .05$). No significant differences were obtained on the refugee issue.

In summary, the affective-first approach and cognitive-first approach showed slightly greater amount of compromise than the affective-only and cognitive-only condition on the territorial issue only, indicating only limited support for they hypothesis that the combined approach is more effective in changing attitudes than a single approach.

Negotiation Strategies

The written statements of strategies for the upcoming negotiations made by participants in each condition were coded according to the overall preferred negotiating strategy: (1) competitive, (2) neither competitive nor cooperative, or (3) cooperative. Means by condition for each outcome are shown in Table 19 (p. 277).

Results of ANOVA analyses indicate the affective-only condition participants ($M=2.75$) expressed much more cooperation than participants in the hostile ($M=2.29$) and cognitive-only conditions ($M=2.06$) who expressed “neither competition or cooperation,” and expressed slightly more cooperativeness than the affective-first ($M=2.60$) and cognitive-first condition ($M=2.50$) ($F[4,75]=2.50$, $p < .06$). These differences reached significance between the affective-only and cognitive-only condition (Newman-Keuls, $p < .05$). When comparing the combined approach versus the single approach, the affective-first approach was more cooperative than the cognitive-only approach (FLSD, $p < .05$). The results show that the combined approach, especially the affective-first condition, is more effective than the cognitive-only approach only, providing limited support for Hypothesis 3.

Conclusion

On the 'prenegotiation attitudes,' the affective-first approach and cognitive-first approach were far more effective than the cognitive-only approach for inducing positive attitudes (e.g., a higher percentage of significant differences between the pretest and posttest). The affective-first condition was slightly more effective than the affective-only condition, while the cognitive-first condition was equally effective as the affective-only condition. In addition, the affective-first approach and cognitive-first approach had significantly different scores than the cognitive-only condition on three and two of the eight attitude dimensions respectively. There were no significant differences in means between the combined approaches and affective-only approach. This suggests the combined approaches are more effective for inducing positive attitudes than the cognitive-only approach but not the affective-only approach. This provides only partial support for the hypothesis that combined approaches are more effective than single approaches.

Similarly, on 'negotiation strategies', the results show that the affective-first approach is more effective than the cognitive-only approach. No other significant differences were found between the combined and single approaches.

On 'willingness to compromise,' the affective-first and cognitive-first conditions showed slightly greater amount of compromise than the affective-only and cognitive-only conditions on the territorial issue only, providing very limited support on one issue for the hypothesis.

In conclusion, the affective-first approach and to a lesser extent, the cognitive-first approach, were significantly more effective for inducing shift than the cognitive-only condition, but not the affective-only condition. The results support Hypothesis 3 with regard to the cognitive-only condition, but not the affective-only condition.

Results of Experiment for Hypothesis 4

Hypothesis 4 posits that: *Affective-first approaches are more likely to induce positive shift than cognitive-first approaches.*

This hypothesis asks whether the order of the approaches in the combined approaches makes a difference? Is the affective-first approach or the cognitive-first approach more effective for inducing positive attitudes? In Chapter 5, some of the dialogue participants reported that being touched emotionally opened them up to discussions on more substantive issues and “rational” discussion. Hypothesis 4 sought to explore the relationship between the order of approaches and their impact on attitudes.

Prenegotiation Attitudes

When comparing the affective-first and cognitive-first conditions to the hostile pretest condition (Table 17, p. 265), the results suggest that the affective-first condition is more effective than the cognitive-first condition:

- on the eight composite dimensions, the affective-first condition had significantly more positive attitudes than the hostile pretest condition on seven dimensions (88%), compared to five dimensions (63%) for the cognitive-first condition
- on the individual items, the affective-first condition had significantly more positive attitudes than hostile pretest condition on 25 items (51%; 20 with Newman-Keuls, 5 with FLSD), compared to 22 items (45%; 19 with Newman-Keuls, 3 with FLSD) for the cognitive-first condition.

Comparing the affective-first and cognitive-first conditions with each other showed no significant differences. The results indicate that when comparing the pretest to the posttest results, the affective-first condition is more effective for inducing positive shift than

the cognitive-first condition, suggesting support for Hypothesis 4. However, the lack of significant differences between the affective-first and cognitive-first conditions qualifies this conclusion. Overall, the results indicate weak support for the hypothesis that the affective-first condition is more effective than the cognitive-first condition for inducing positive shift in attitudes.

Willingness to Compromise

When comparing the affective-first and cognitive-first conditions to the hostile pretest condition (Table 18, p. 275), the results showed that the affective-first and cognitive-first conditions *desired* a slightly more cooperative outcome on the territorial issue than the hostile condition ($F[4,74]=2.09$, $p<.09$). The results reached significance only for the cognitive-first condition (according to FLSD), indicating lack of support for Hypothesis 4.

When comparing the results between the affective-first and cognitive-first conditions, the affective-first condition was significantly more *willing to compromise* on the territorial issue ($M=2.50$) than those in the cognitive-first condition ($M=1.73$; $F[4,73]=2.59$, $p<.05$). This difference was significant according to Newman-Keuls tests, indicating support for Hypothesis 4. No other significant differences were found between the hostile pretest and posttest combined conditions, nor between the two combined approaches. The results show mixed support for Hypothesis 4.

Negotiation Strategies

The conditions' mean scores for negotiation strategy presented in Table 19 (p. 277) indicate that the affective-first participants expressed slightly more cooperativeness ($M=2.60$) than the cognitive-first participants ($M=2.50$), and both achieved slightly more cooperativeness than the hostile condition ($M=2.29$). The results did not reach significance

indicating no support for the Hypothesis 4.

Conclusion

On the ‘prenegotiation attitudes,’ the results indicate some support for the hypothesis that the affective-first condition is more effective than the cognitive-first condition for inducing positive attitudes. The results on ‘willingness to compromise’ indicate mixed and very weak support for the hypothesis. The results on ‘negotiation strategies’ show no support for the hypothesis. Overall, the results suggest the affective-first approach is only slightly more effective than the cognitive-first approach.

Results of Experiment for Hypothesis 5

Hypothesis 5 states: The emotionality of the response to stimuli is related to the impact of the stimuli so that the more emotionally participants respond to positive persuasive appeals, the greater the positive attitudes they have about the opponent. Conversely, the more emotionally participants respond to negative persuasive appeals, the more negative attitudes they should have about the opponent.

The purpose of Hypothesis 5 is to determine whether emotional responses to stimuli predict the impact of the stimuli. This hypothesis emerged from Chapter 5, in which the role of emotions and being “emotionally touched” seemed central to facilitating shift in the dialogue participants. The dialogue participants described being emotionally touched as one of the differences between listening to personal stories versus facts, information and explanations of the past and present; they were emotionally touched by the stories, but much less so by facts, information and explanations. Although both forms of communication, or persuasion strategies were described as helpful, the participants described personal stories as much more impactful than facts, information and explanations for facilitating shift.

Hypothesis 5 seeks to further explore the relationship between emotionality and the impact of stimuli.

The results of the pretest of the hostile, affective and cognitive conditions showed that the affective and cognitive approaches were rated as positive, and the hostile pretest was rated as negative. There were no significant differences between the affective and cognitive condition. Therefore, both conditions are assumed to reflect 'positive persuasive appeals.'

The results to Hypothesis 2 lend general support to Hypothesis 5 by showing that the affective-only approach was more effective in inducing positive attitudes than the cognitive-only approach. Given that the affective-only condition led to more intense emotions to a positive stimuli in participants than the cognitive-only condition (as shown in Table 16, p. 263), one can infer that there is a relationship between emotional intensity and positive stimuli on changing attitudes in a positive direction. Similarly, the results of Hypothesis 4 lend some support to Hypothesis 5 given that the affective-first approach was more effective than the cognitive-first approach. The research by Edwards and von Hippel (1995) also support this hypothesis. Their second study focused on changing positive attitudes (affect-based or cognitive-based) toward another person to negative attitudes through negative persuasive appeals (affect-based or cognitive-based). They found that the emotionality of responses to the persuasive appeal predicted final attitudes in the affect-based attitude conditions, but not in the cognition-based attitudes condition. Given my assumptions and the evidence that the hostile condition participants' attitudes were mostly affective-based, then based on Edwards and von Hippel's findings, I suggest that the emotionality of responses to the different conditions in the present study would also predict final attitudes. I predict that because people respond more emotionally to the positive stimulus in the affective condition than to the positive stimulus in the cognitive condition (see Table 16, p. 263), the relationship between emotionality and final attitudes would be

stronger in the affective condition than the cognitive condition. Figure 4 shows the expected relationships between stimulus, emotionality, and final attitudes for affective-based conflict attitudes.

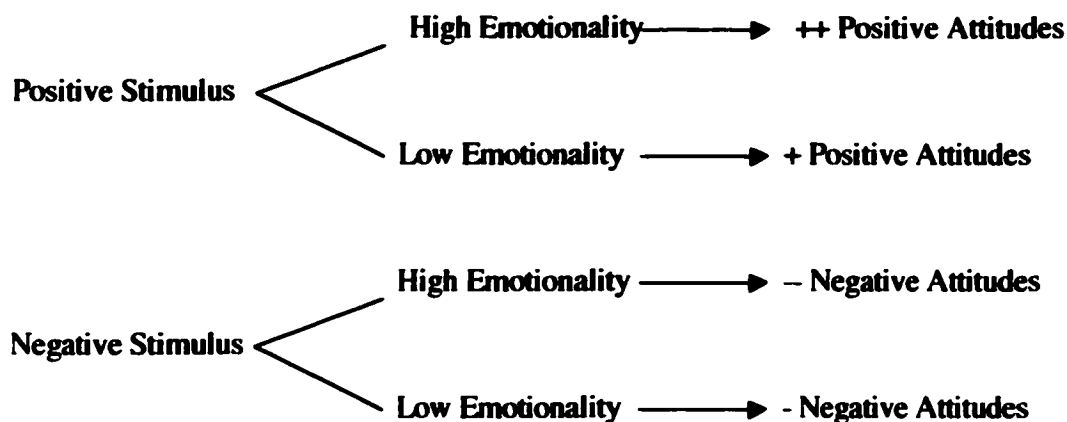


Figure 4. Phase 3: Stimulus, Emotionality and Final Attitudes for Affect-Based Conflict Attitudes

Three data analysis procedures were used to test Hypothesis 5: (1) correlation analysis between emotionality and attitudes; (2) an analysis on what participants reported as having had the most impact on their attitudes; and (3) an analysis of the relationship between 'level of emotions,' 'level of impact,' and 'valence of impact.'

Correlation Analyses. Correlation analyses were conducted between the variable measuring the participant's emotional response to the opponents' statements, *Indicate the extent to which you were affected emotionally by the statements by the Ruritan negotiators (Not At All – Very Much, on a 7-point scale)*, and the eight dimensions of final attitudes (composite variables) for the hostile, affective-only and cognitive-only condition. Table 21

presents the correlation results for the hostile pretest and affective-only and cognitive-only conditions.

Table 21. Phase 3: Emotionality and Prenegotiation Attitudes^a

	Emotionality in Hostile	Emotionality in Affective-Only	Emotionality in Cognitive-Only
General View of Opponent	-.23 (p=.422)	.30 (p=.261)	.04 (p=.873)
Feelings Toward Opponent	-.16 (p=.586)	.35 (p=.188)	-.33 (p=.195)
Understanding of Opponent	-.30 (p=.304)	.58 (p=.018)	-.19 (p=.471)
Opponent's View of Us	-.46 (p=.099)	-.16 (p=.574)	.17 (p=.512)
Opponent's Role	-.27 (p=.351)	.22 (p=.405)	.20 (p=.444)
Our Role	-.52 (p=.056)	.42 (p=.108)	-.01 (p=.962)
Negotiation Climate	-.23 (p=.439)	.11 (p=.677)	-.004 (p=.989)
Negotiation Outcomes	-.12 (p=.680)	-.27 (p=.307)	-.12 (p=.640)
Total Attitudes^b	-.45 (p=.106)	.41 (p=.133)	-.08 (p=.771)

a. Positive scores indicate a direct relationship between emotionality and attitudes. Negative scores indicate an inverse relationship.

b. Total Attitudes is an aggregated score of the eight dimensions.

The results provide minimal support for the hypothesis. There was a lack of significant difference on the composite score of total attitudes, and significant differences on only three of the eight individual items (38%). For the hostile pretest, the more participants were affected emotionally by the negative stimuli, the more negative their final attitudes in

terms of 'opponent's view of us' ($r = -.46$, $p = .099$) and 'our role' ($r = -.52$, $p = .056$). For participants in the affective-only condition, the more they were affected emotionally by the positive stimuli (affective appeal), the more positive their final attitudes in terms of 'understanding the opponent' ($r = .58$, $p = .018$). There was a borderline result in the affective-only condition for 'our role' in the conflict ($r = .42$, $p = .108$).

The results show that the emotionality in the affective-only condition was slightly more effective in changing attitudes in a positive direction than in the cognitive-only condition (which showed a slightly negative relationship). Further, emotionality in the hostile condition was related to more negative attitudes. In summary, the results indicate very marginal support for the hypothesis that greater emotionality in response to positive stimuli is related to greater attitude change in a positive direction.

What Most Impacted Participants' Attitudes. To further test Hypothesis 5, an analysis was conducted on what participants reported as having had the most impact on their attitudes. Were participants impacted mostly by affective or cognitive factors? As Edwards and von Hippel (1995) suggested in their research, "What is important for the present research is whether affective or cognitive factors provide the dominant source of meaning to the individual in the formation of an attitude" (p. 1009), and similarly I presume, in the changing of an attitude.

In the present study, the participants were asked to provide a written answer to the question: "What most impacted your attitudes toward the other?" I coded the responses according to the source of the attitude as follows: (1) general historical background information (cognitive); (2) participant's personal history (tragedy in own family— affective); (3) hostile statement (opponent's affective statement); (4) affective statement (opponent's personal story); (5) cognitive statement (opponent's facts, rational

explanations); or (6) both the affective and cognitive statements generally. Only the participants' responses in the affective-first and cognitive-first conditions were used for this analysis. The reason for using only these conditions is that the participants in these two conditions were exposed to all the same materials, although in different orders. Research by Edwards and von Hippel (1995) show that participants in the affective-first condition would refer mostly to evidence in the affective segment and participants in the cognitive-first condition would refer mostly to evidence in the cognitive segment due to primacy or order effects. However, given the earlier results in the present research that indicate the greater effectiveness of affective (emotional) approaches than cognitive (rational, factual) approaches, I predicted the participants in both conditions would report that the affective approach (opponent's personal story) had the greatest impact.

The frequency of responses in each category for each condition is presented in Table 22.

Table 22. Phase 3: What Most Impacted Participants' Attitudes

Category	Affective-First (N=16)		Cognitive-First (N=15)	
	No. of Responses	% of Responses	No. of Responses	% of Responses
Historical Background	0	0%	0	0%
My Personal History/Tragedy	1	6%	1	7%
Hostile Statement	0	0%	0	0%
Affective Statement (Opponent's Personal Story)	8	50%	10	67%
Cognitive Statement (Opponent's Facts, Explanations)	1	6%	1	7%
Both Affective & Cognitive Statements Generally (or didn't specify)	6	38%	3	20%

As predicted, participants in both the affective-first (50%) and cognitive-first (67%) conditions identified the opponent's personal story as having the most impact on their attitudes. In some cases, the participants in the affective-first (38%) and cognitive-first (20%) condition referred more generally to the tragedies and/or events experienced by the opponents. It was unclear whether they were referring to the personal story or rational explanation, so these statements were coded as 'both affective and cognitive.' Even if these more ambiguous comments by participants were instead coded as "cognitive," the results would still indicate that participants were most impacted by the opponent's personal story – the affective condition. The results support the hypothesis that emotionality is related to attitudes. The results also support the previous hypothesis of the greater efficacy of affective over cognitive approaches.

Level of Emotions, Level and Valence of Impact. In one final test of Hypothesis 5, an analysis was conducting using three items on the experimental prenegotiation questionnaire (on a 7-point scale):

- **Level of Emotions:** Indicate the extent to which you were affected emotionally by the statements by the Ruritan negotiators (Not At All – Very Much);
- **Level of Impact:** Indicate the extent to which the Ruritan negotiator's statements made a big impact on you (No Impact At All – Very Big Impact);
- **Valence of Impact:** Indicate the extent to which the Ruritan negotiator's statements influenced your attitudes toward them in a negative or positive direction (Very Negative – Very Positive).

Table 23 shows the mean scores for the responses in the four experimental conditions.

Higher scores indicate greater agreement with the item. Scores above 4.0 indicate general agreement and scores below 4.0 indicate general disagreement with the statement.

Table 23. Phase 3: Mean Scores for Level of Emotions, Level of Impact, Valence of Impact^a

Item	Affective-Only Cond. 2	Cognitive-Only Cond. 3	Affect-First Cond. 4	Cog-First Cond. 5
Level of Emotions	5.75 (1)	4.65 (4)	5.40 (2)	5.07 (3)
Level of Impact	5.25 (1)	4.41 (4)	5.07 (2)	5.00 (3)
Valence of Impact	4.69 (2)	3.82 (4)	4.73 (1)	4.67 (3)

a. Mean scores above 4.0 indicate high levels of emotion, impact and positive influence. Numbers in parenthesis are the rank ordering of condition means for each variable.

The mean scores indicate that all the experimental conditions affected the participants emotionally, all conditions impacted the participants, and all but the cognitive-only condition had a positive influence on participants' attitudes as reported by participants.

By looking at the rank order of the condition means for the three variables, one can see that affective-only and affective-first condition ranked 1st or 2nd, while the cognitive-first condition ranked 3rd and cognitive-only condition ranked 4th on the variables. One can infer from these results that the level of emotions, level of impact, and valence of impact are related. Correlation analysis revealed that these variables are correlated:

- Level of emotions x level of impact— $r=.68$, $p=.000$
- Level of emotions x valence of impact— $r=.33$, $p=.008$
- Level of impact x valence of impact— $r=.31$, $p=.013$

ANOVA analysis indicates the affective-only, affective-first and cognitive-first condition participants expressed more positive impact (valence) of the other's statements than the cognitive-only condition participants ($F(3, 59)=2.58$, $p<.07$). The difference

between the cognitive-first condition and cognitive-only condition was significant ($p < .05$) according to Newman-Keuls tests, and the affective-only and affective-first condition reached significance according to the FLSD tests. No other significant differences were found.

These results provide some support for Hypothesis 5 that there is a relationship between emotionality and positive attitudes for positive persuasive appeals. The results also support Hypothesis 2 that the affective-only condition is more effective than the cognitive-only condition (positive impact-valence). Similarly, the results provide partial support for Hypothesis 3 that the combined conditions approaches are more effective than single approaches (for the cognitive-only condition).

Conclusion

The results provide some support for Hypothesis 5 that emotionality is related to the level and valence of impact of different stimuli. The results show that, in general, the more emotionally participants respond to positive persuasive appeals, the greater the positive attitudes they have about the opponent. These results also reflect the interview results, which showed that 'being touched' emotionally by an 'opponent' in the dialogue was more likely to lead to shift than rational, logical discussions. Interviewees reported that the emotional connections that were made between participants led to shift. Some participants reported that being touched emotionally also opened them up to discussions on more substantive issues in a rational manner. Conversely, the results show that generally the more emotionally participants respond to negative persuasive appeals (e.g., hostile statements), the more negative attitudes they have about the opponent. However, the hypothesis was tested using a mixture of approaches that had mixed results. Therefore, more research is needed to

explore the role of emotionality in changing attitudes.

Attitudes, Expected Behaviors and Conflict Resolution

In addition to testing the initial five hypotheses, additional correlation analyses are used to explore the relationship between attitudes, (expected) behaviors and conflict resolution. This analysis is based on aggregate scores of all five experimental conditions.

Six of the eight composite dimensions emphasize attitudes about the self and opponent, including general attitudes about the opponent, feelings toward the opponent, understanding the opponent, the opponent's view of us, opponent's role in the conflict, and our role in the conflict. Two of the composite dimensions emphasize the participants' expectations about their and the opponent's negotiation behaviors, including expectations about the negotiation climate and negotiation outcomes. Correlation analysis ($p < .05$) between the eight composite dimensions indicates that the greater the participants' positive attitudes, the greater their positive expectations of the negotiation climate and outcomes, hence behaviors and conflict resolution.

Correlation analysis also shows that the greater the participant's positive attitudes and expectations (the aggregate score of all eight dimensions), the greater their level of cooperativeness (aggregate score on the two issues to be negotiated), for expected likely outcome ($r = .19$, $p < .10$) and desired outcome ($r = .41$, $p < .0001$), and the greater their expected use of cooperative negotiation strategies ($r = .34$, $p < .003$). These correlation analyses indicate a positive relationship between attitudes, expected behaviors, and expected negotiation outcomes. Further research is needed to explore whether attitudes and expected behaviors are correlated with and predictive of actual behaviors.

General Discussion and Conclusions

Here I restate the five hypotheses and present brief conclusions for each hypothesis, plausible alternative explanations for the results, discussion of unanticipated results, and areas for future research.

Hypothesis 1. *Conflict attitudes in violent conflicts (the hostile condition) are more affect-based than cognitive-based.* The results indicate that the hostile condition is more affect-based than cognitive based. Both the hostile condition and affective-only condition are significantly more affect-based than the cognitive condition.

Hypothesis 2. *Affective approaches are more likely to induce shift (positive attitudes and expectations of the other, willingness to compromise, and cooperative negotiation strategies) than cognitive approaches.* A detailed analysis comparing the hostile pretest condition with the affective-only and cognitive-only posttest conditions indicates the affective-only condition is much more effective for inducing shift than the cognitive-only condition. The affective-only condition shows significant differences with the hostile condition on five of the eight composite prenegotiation attitude dimensions (63%) and the total attitude score, compared to two of the eight dimensions (25%) and the total attitude score for the cognitive-only condition. For the individual items that comprise the eight dimensions, the affective-only condition results in more than twice as many significant positive changes as the cognitive-only condition. The affective-only condition also shows slightly more willingness to compromise than the cognitive-only condition and significantly more cooperativeness on the negotiation strategy. The results support Hypothesis 2 that the affective-only condition is more effective than the cognitive-only condition for inducing positive attitudes.

While the results are as predicted, there is one plausible alternative explanation for the findings. The personal story is more persuasive because perhaps it is better written, more believable, and so on, rather than because it is a personal story or affective-based approach versus a rational explanation or cognitive-based approach. Others have argued that comparisons between rational versus emotional appeals are confounded with differences in the content of the communication (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1981). During the pretest of the affective and cognitive conditions, the people reading these conditions thought the personal story was much more powerful and persuasive than the rational explanation. However, that was exactly the point – that personal stories are more powerful and persuasive than rational explanations. Future research should be conducted to validate the findings while ensuring the statements used for each condition are different only in the ways intended in order to control or at least minimize unintended effects within the conditions.

Hypothesis 3. A combination of cognitive and affective approaches is more likely to induce shift than cognitive or affective approaches alone. The affective-first approach and to a lesser extent, the cognitive-first approach, are significantly more effective for inducing shift than the cognitive-only condition, but not the affective-only condition. The results support Hypothesis 3 with regard to the cognitive-only condition, but not the affective-only condition. The results seem to indicate that the “additive effect” of the cognitive condition is not nearly as great as the “additive effect” of the affective condition. It is not clear why there is a lack of stronger results in relation to the affective-only condition. The only obvious reason is the personal story is so powerful that the impact of the rational explanation is much less in comparison. Therefore, the combined approaches are much more impactful than the cognitive-only approach, but not much more effective than the affective-only condition.

Hypothesis 4. *Affective-first approaches are more likely to induce positive shift than cognitive-first approaches.* The results show the affective-first approach is only slightly more effective than the cognitive-first approach. The lack of stronger results is confusing given the interview data in Chapter 5 and the results for previous hypotheses in this chapter. The interviews in Chapter 5 suggest that telling personal stories is more effective if they occur before a focus on information and rational discussion, predicting the affective-first condition is more effective than the cognitive-first condition. The explanation by many participants is that the personal story helps open their hearts and minds to be able to engage in more rational discussion focused on substantive issues. This hypotheses is supported by others who suggest that when there is a great deal of hostility and negative attitudes between parties, dealing with the emotions and attitudes in the conflict must come before dealing with the more 'rational' or substantive elements in a conflict (Jacksteit & Kaufmann, 1995; LeBaron & Carstarphen, 1997).

These recommendations also reflect the theory of facilitating emotional change proposed and practiced by Greenberg et al. (1993). Their approach suggests that the therapeutic practitioner needs to first help the client uncover and activate their emotion-based schematic structures (emotion schemes) which enables the client to *then* take in and process new information in order to change the emotion scheme towards a more constructive one. The authors show how to work with emotional processes to facilitate shifts in meaning and resolve various psychological difficulties. A similar process may be true for resolving conflicts: the opponents need to be aroused emotionally—in this case, with a stimulus that has a positive emotional effect (e.g., personal story)—for them to take in new information (e.g., rational explanation) resulting in positively changed attitudes and a cooperative problem-solving orientation. However, the results for this hypothesis indicate only weak support for this argument.

One possible explanation for the lack of stronger results is the difference between a “real life” dialogue and the experimental setting used for this research. In a “real life” dialogue, what happens-in-the-moment is likely much more impactful on people’s reactions and what comes next than when participants are told what to do (e.g., read all the materials) in an experimental setting. In a real dialogue, people may get stuck in discussions of the substantive issues and never discuss the relationship issues. They may attempt to engage in rational discussion and problem-solving without ever focusing on attitudes and underlying meanings and personal experiences. In the real world, this would not lead to shift unless or until they focus on the issues from their personal experiences and/or underlying meanings. If the latter occurs, this may then help them re-evaluate information and discussions they may have dismissed or argued against earlier and help them get to a problem-solving state of mind. The example of the reconciliation between five churches in South Africa in Chapter 5 illustrates this dynamic. The church members attempted to resolve the issue of selecting a new pastor using a problem-solving approach. However, they had not dealt with underlying relationship issues and attitudes from their past history so the talks broke down. After the participants had told their stories and mutually apologized, they were then ready for a more cognitive problem-solving approach to resolving their immediate issue. This may indicate that the affective-first approach is like dealing with a crisis before a turning point can occur, as is found in past negotiation research (Druckman, 2001). Or, the affective-first approach may deal with the emotional grief, pain and sense of victimhood of the past that enables parties to focus on relationship building and reaching agreements for the future.

In the experimental setting, participants are told to read all the materials. They read both the personal story and the explanation before being asked to respond. They did not have the same opportunity for “dialogue or problem-solving to breakdown,” and were able to react to the materials as a whole, after reading them all, rather than incrementally and in-

the-moment as would occur in a real dialogue. Therefore, in contrast to the “real world,” the ordering of the materials may have been ineffective in the experiment.

Hypothesis 4 is also predicted by the results of the previous hypotheses. The results of Hypothesis 2 clearly show that the affective-only approach is more effective than the cognitive-only approach. The results of Hypothesis 1 shows that conflict attitudes (the hostile condition) are more affect-based than cognitive-based, providing some explanation for the findings in Hypothesis 2. For Hypothesis 4, an underlying assumption is that the affective-first condition is a more affective persuasion approach and the cognitive-first condition is a more cognitive persuasion approach. This assumption is based on previous research that found that variations in the sequence of information presented to subjects produces primacy effects such that information presented first has greater impact, or becomes dominant (Druckman, 1994; Edwards, 1992; Edwards & von Hippel, 1995). In Edwards and von Hippel (1995), their experiment uses an order manipulation to both engender affect-based or cognition-based attitudes toward another person in the *attitude induction stage* and then uses an order manipulation to create affective and cognitive means of persuasion for the *attitude change stage*. They show that affect-based attitudes are most effectively changed by affective persuasion appeals. For cognition-based attitudes, however, cognitive persuasion appeals are not significantly more effective than affective persuasion appeals.

In my experiment, I did not attempt to engender an affect-based versus cognitive-based attitude in the attitude induction stage. I merely try to engender a hostile view of the opponent, although this, in fact, is a more affect-based attitude than cognitive-based attitude (Hypothesis 1). I do, however, use the order manipulation during the attitude change stage to compare the affective-first approach with the cognitive-first approach. Similar to Edwards and von Hippel’s (1995) findings, the affective-first approach is more effective,

although only slightly more effective, than the cognitive-first approach in changing attitudes.

The lack of stronger results for Hypothesis 4 has two additional possible explanations. First, the underlying assumption that the affective-first condition is an affective-based appeal and the cognitive-first condition is a cognitive-based appeal may be incorrect. This assumption is not pretested prior to the experiment. Therefore, I ran t-tests to test this assumption using the six questions on the prenegotiation questionnaire that were previously used to check the manipulation of the hostile, affective-only and cognitive-only conditions (see Tables 13 & 14). The results of the t-test indicate only one significant difference. The cognitive-first condition is scored as significantly more affective than the affective-first condition on the item, 'the other is emotional versus rational.' Further, the affective-first condition is rated as less affective than the cognitive-first condition on two additional items, for a total of half the items. These results suggest that the underlying assumption of the primacy effects in the order manipulation is false. In fact, the results indicate a slight 'recency effect' instead. These results help explain the general lack of support for the hypothesis.

The second possible explanation is that participants in both the affective-first and cognitive-first conditions are mostly impacted by the affective appeal (the personal story) regardless of its order in the materials, and thus both conditions are affective-based. This possibility is supported by the results in Hypothesis 3 that found that the combined approaches are more effective than the cognitive-only approach, but not more effective than the affective-only approach. The common thread in the effectiveness of the affective-only, affective-first and cognitive-first conditions is they all include the affective appeal (personal story).

In summary, the results show the affective-first condition is only slightly more effective than the cognitive-first condition. The lack of stronger results contradicts findings

presented in Chapter 5 as well as prior research by others. More research is needed to explore whether there is an optimal order between affective and cognitive approaches to attitude change.

Hypothesis 5. The emotionality of the response to stimuli is related to the impact of the stimuli so that the more emotionally participants respond to positive persuasive appeals, the greater the positive attitudes they have about the opponent. Conversely, the more emotionally participants respond to negative persuasive appeals, the more negative attitudes they should have about the opponent. The results provide some support for the idea that emotionality is related to impact of the stimuli. However, the hypothesis is tested using a mixture of approaches that have mixed results. More research is needed to explore the role of emotionality in changing attitudes.

The results clearly support the findings in Chapter 5 of the strong impact of personal stories. The dialogue participants said the personal stories “touched and opened their hearts.” Hypothesis 5 attempts to make a link between “being touched” (emotionality) and positive impact on attitudes. However, the results provide inconclusive evidence to support this hypothesis. The strongest support for this hypothesis is that the overwhelming majority of participants in the combined conditions (affective-first and cognitive-first) said the personal story impacted their attitudes more than anything else in the materials they read.

One possible explanation for the lack of more significant results between emotionality and attitudes, however, may be in the difference between having a face-to-face dialogue with a real human being telling his/her personal story versus reading someone’s personal story. The dialogue participants and intervenors interviewed for Chapter 5 all describe the importance of face-to-face interaction versus reading something in the

newspaper or watching someone on television. The lack of face-to-face interaction in this experiment may have muted the participants' reactions, both affective and cognitive, in comparison to if they had heard the stories or explanations face-to-face. In other words, the emotionality of the participants during real dialogues is likely much higher than the emotionality of the participants in this experiment, especially in regards to the personal story. Other possible reasons for the lack of stronger results is the participants in real dialogues are personally engaged in the dialogue, whereas the participants in experiments are less personally engaged in the "dialogue." The more people are engaged in an activity, the more they pay attention to it, and the more likely they will be affected. These are limitations of using an experiment. It can rarely, if ever, completely replicate the real world. The difference between face-to-face sharing of personal stories and reading the stories could be tested in an experiment to verify these assumptions.

In summary, the results are strong and as expected for Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2. There is general support for Hypothesis 3, but the results are significant only in relation to the cognitive-first condition. There is weak support for Hypothesis 4 and inconclusive support for Hypothesis 5. There is also some evidence that attitudes toward self and other is related to expected behaviors by and toward a negotiating opponent.

In conclusion, the data from the simulated prenegotiation dialogue shows the power of personal stories for facilitating attitude change and positive shift. In addition, combining personal stories with more rational discussion and explanations is more effective than either approach alone; especially more effective than hearing (reading) only rational explanations. The results suggest that intergroup interventions should include time for participants to share personal stories as well as engage in more rational discussion and explanations of each side's perspectives. What is less clear from the data is whether there is a best time for this storytelling to take place. The data shows only marginally better outcomes when the

storytelling comes before the rational explanations than vice-versa. Given that most interventions likely include a mix of these approaches, further research is warranted to explore whether there is an optimal ordering of these two approaches.

CHAPTER 7: GENERAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Original Conceptualization and Goals of Analysis

The goals of this research were to explore three broad questions about the phenomenon of shift, including: (1) what facilitates shift at the individual, transactional, and situational level of analysis, (2) what is the relationship between shift, reconciliation and conflict resolution, and (3) what are the implications of the findings for third party intervenors?

Conflict has been popularly conceptualized as a tripartite model with three components: substance/issues, process/behaviors, relationships/attitudes (Galtung, 1969; Mitchell, 1981; Moore, 1986). Past research has focused on turning points in the processes or behaviors of conflict parties, and on the effectiveness of various strategies for reaching agreement on substantive issues. The focus in this research is on what leads to positive changes in attitudes and relationships, including attitudes toward oneself, the other party, the conflict issues, and the conflict situation as a whole, and to new behaviors, specifically in the context of organized intervention processes. The term *shift* is used to illustrate or mark these changes, which take place within and between individuals and conflict parties.

This chapter presents and integrates the conclusions of the research findings from the three phases of inquiry, contrasts these findings to Druckman's (2001) model of turning points, offers theoretical insights within the discussion of findings, explores the link between shift, reconciliation and conflict resolution, discusses the practical implications of the findings for conflict resolution intervenors, and suggests areas for further research.

Conclusions

The first study is an analysis of the film, *The Color of Fear*, to develop a preliminary understanding of what shift is, including whether or not observers tend to identify the same events in the film as shift, and what are the indicators, precursors, and process of shift. The second study is an analysis of interviews conducted with participants of dialogue groups from three different conflicts, and with third party facilitators of dialogue groups, problem-solving workshops, and other types of intervention processes. The interviews support the results of the first study and add depth and breadth to more fully understand shift and the process of shift. The final study is an experiment to test a series of hypothesis that emerged from the first two studies, primarily the impact of personal stories (affective approaches) versus rational explanations (cognitive approaches) on attitude change. The findings in the three phases of research match some of the expectations described as preliminary hypotheses in Chapter 3.

Following is summary of the highlights from these three studies using the original research questions as a guide and using the literature to help explain the findings.

What is “Shift”?

Shift is an outcome and a process. Shift as an outcome is the definition of shift—positive changes in attitudes (affects, cognitions) toward the self, other, conflict and perhaps, the world, and positive changes in relationships and behaviors that pave the way for reconciliation and conflict resolution. These changes may occur suddenly and dramatically or gradually and incrementally. Positive shift is characterized by varying degree of:

- **Changes in Affect – feel personal connection and liking of other, empathy, rehumanized other, trust, respect, feel the other is sincere, caring, similar, and personal healing**
- **Changes in Cognition – new understanding and perceptions of other, see common ground and complexity, take responsibility for own (individual, group) role in conflict**
- **Changes in Relationship – new relationships that include the affective and cognitive changes and is characterized by personal connections and friendships**
- **Changes in Behaviors – the changes in the relationship (including affective and cognitive change) are expressed through cooperative and friendly behavior**

Shift occurs in different levels of analysis, including the individual level or *intrapersonal* shift, and *interpersonal*, *intergroup* and *total group* shifts between conflict

parties. The focus in this research is on shift that occurs through participation in some form of conflict intervention process.

Shift as a process includes dynamic, interrelated, reciprocal and multiple dimensions of analysis (individual, transactional, situational) and levels of analysis (intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup, total group shift), phases and cycles. Shift is a relational phenomenon that emerges through the shared experience of participating in authentic, constructive engagement with others over time. Shift progresses in multiple phases that alternate between transactional engagement and intrapersonal engagement and between intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup and total group level shift. There are synergistic processes and outcomes that evolve as people experience personal and shared shifts. To mark only one particular point in time as constituting “the” shift ignores this dynamic and evolving process. Instead, a more accurate picture of shift is one that recognizes that several shifts at different levels of analysis and to varying degrees may occur throughout different cycles of the process of shift, which may culminate in a total group shift.

Shift is often observable; both in terms of shift as a process (shift is occurring or may occur), and in terms of shift as an outcome (shift has occurred to some degree). In the analysis of the film, the research participants (film observers) identify the same primary events as shift, and these were the same points in the film that are identified as shifts during the interviews with three of the men from the film. Observers of *The Color of Fear* and the interviewees use a variety of indicators to identify points in the dialogue

where shift is occurring or may occur within and between people, and where shift has occurred. Primary indicators of shift are when participants express the following changes:

- Affective indicators – change in intensity of emotions (increase, decrease); change in emotions being experienced (e.g., surprise, pain, “touched”)
- Cognitive indicators – cognitive dissonance, participants struggling to understand, new thinking and realizations starting to emerge
- Nonverbal indicators – silence, reflection, changes in facial expressions that express affective and cognitive processes (e.g., surprise, confusion, crying)
- Verbal indicators – statements that reflect affective and cognitive indicators (e.g., statements expressing surprise, pain), and statements of acknowledgement, especially when it has not been expressed before, that indicates an intrapersonal shift has occurred and which may trigger a shift in the person or people being acknowledged

The indicators vary according to how sudden or gradual the changes occur, and how dramatic or incremental they occur. For example, the participants may exhibit a sudden or gradual increase in the intensity of emotions, may offer a dramatic and unexpected expression of acknowledgement, or take incremental steps towards full acknowledgement. Generally, the more sudden and dramatic the indicator of change, the more likely the indicator and shift is observed. This implies that intervenors need to also be attuned to the more subtle changes that may be occurring in order to capitalize on opportunities for shift.

What Factors Facilitate Shift?

The studies suggest that shift happens when certain human needs are met within and between individuals and groups in conflict. I suggest these needs include: (1) security needs (e.g., trust-safety, perception of other as sincere, caring, understanding of self and others to give meaning to the past and to predict and influence the future), (2) identity needs (e.g., respect, acknowledgement), and (3) social bonding needs (e.g., personal connections, friendships). These needs are met as participants engage together in authentic ways and change together in their attitudes, behaviors and relationships over time. These processes and opportunities for engagement are facilitated by certain facilitator roles and functions and characteristics and conditions of the intervention situation.

Each study contributed unique insights on the specific factors that help facilitate shift in the individual, transactional and situational dimensions of analysis. The film analysis offers five primary contributions to the research: (1) the importance of being touched emotionally to facilitate shift, (2) that participants need to take the time to reflect on one's own and the other's experiences, feelings, thoughts and perspectives to make shift more likely, (3) the power of personal stories, (4) the role of acknowledgement (of self and other), and (5) the need for both self-awareness, understanding, acknowledgement and healing and other-awareness, understanding, acknowledgement and healing to facilitate both intrapersonal and interpersonal/ intergroup shift.

The primary contribution of the interviews is they further clarify the factors that facilitate shift and the relationship between these factors in order to develop a process

model of shift. The primary contribution of the experiment is it confirmed the findings in the film observation and interviews of the greater efficacy and impact of personal stories (affective approaches) versus facts and explanations (cognitive approaches) on attitude change (one aspect of shift), and it provides some support for the finding in the interviews that personal stories should precede rational explanations.

The research suggests that the primary precursors of shift are as follows:

- Individual dimension – new and intense affective processes and experiences (personal bonding, feel acknowledged, surprise, trust-building, empathy, feeling the humanity of the other, personal bonding), cognitive processes (cognitive dissonance, perspective-taking and reframing, listening and reflecting, seeing common ground)
- Transactional dimension – personal stories, acknowledgement, shared activities (action projects, socializing and rituals, experiential and joint exercises), sincerity, risk taking, and to time to engage, reflect and get to know each other
- Situational dimension – facilitator roles and functions, including process management skills and techniques (e.g., reflective listening, reframing, insightful questions) and leadership roles and functions (e.g., offering new visions, ideas, and skills, addressing power and structural issues, and risk taking); the characteristics of the intervention, including a safe and encouraging environment (e.g., through groundrules, circle of chairs), and the structure and process of intervention (e.g., dialogue, use of structured

activities, and flow of activities); and the personal characteristics that participants bring to the intervention (open-minded, motivated, committed, and certain personal values)

Following is a more detailed analysis of the most important findings about the situational, transactional and individual factors that facilitate shift and how these interact to facilitate shift.

The Situational Factors

At the situational level, shift is facilitated by an intervention structure and process that creates a positive environment that invites participants to engage with each other rather than against each other. This environment provides physical and psychological safety and provides the “space” in which constructive engagement is possible. Such constructive engagement is enhanced by the location and physical layout of the meeting room, the availability of refreshments, and groundrules, opportunities to dialogue, a process that emphasizes genuine and respectful communication, perspective-taking, empathy, common ground, mutual learning and understanding, cooperation, and a win/win orientation in order to build relationships and solve problems.

The personal characteristics and attitudes that participants bring to the intervention also seem to influence whether, how easy, and to what degree shift will occur. The primary characteristics and attitudes that help facilitate shift are open-mindedness, motivation to learn and make peace, commitment to the process, people and

potential outcomes, personal values, and readiness to change. These characteristics and attitudes toward the intervention may be further nurtured by the third party intervenor. For example, the intervenor's framing of a dialogue may encourage participants to be open-minded, committed to the process, and so on.

The Transactional Factors

The research identifies several types of transactional events that seem to trigger shift, primarily personal stories, shared activities, and acknowledgment. There is also evidence that as more individuals in the intervention participate actively in these transactional events (e.g., everyone tells their story, everyone apologizes), the greater the synergistic effects of these transactional events in the group.

A common feature of personal stories and shared activities (especially experiential activities, socializing and rituals) is they help participants experience the world from the other's experience, including the other's feelings, thoughts, perspectives, needs, meanings, visions, goals, and life in general. The better able participants are to "get into the other's shoes" to experience affective empathy and cognitive empathy (perspective-taking), the better they seem able to connect emotionally and mentally with the other, and the more likely they seem to experience intrapersonal affective and cognitive shift. These intrapersonal shifts often lead to interpersonal, intergroup, and total group shift. Sharing personal stories are especially powerful in this process. This is confirmed in all three phases of the research.

The role of acknowledgement is another key facilitator of shift at the intrapersonal level and seems to be the primary facilitator of interpersonal, intergroup, and total group shift. The film analysis and interviews indicate that acknowledgement generally follows shift at the intrapersonal level (or intragroup level). Therefore, acknowledgement is coded as a distinct phase in the shift process (Phase 4). The most common transactional precursor of acknowledgement is storytelling (Phase 1). Given the powerful role of personal stories and acknowledgement, I present a more detailed discussion of these factors.

The Power of Personal Stories

This section offers some additional thoughts on why sharing personal stories seem so important for facilitating shift. The interviews show that one of the first steps in relationship building is to “make the ‘other’ human” and that sharing personal stories—in the spirit of genuine dialogue—is seemingly the most successful starting point in this process. Personal stories include stories of past personal experiences, the meaning and impact of those experiences, why and how participants came to hold their attitudes, beliefs and perspectives, and basically any discussion that focused on participants’ personal experiences and meaning making of the world, especially in relation to the conflict and the other. These could include discussions of substantive issues, but the focus is on the meaning and impact of these issues on the participants. Personal stories include the participant’s direct experiences or the experiences of others close to the participants (e.g., family, friends). Participants also tend to connect these personal stories

to their group or collective experience, which makes intergroup as opposed to just interpersonal shift more likely.

Listening to the other's personal stories facilitates attitude change and relationship building in three ways. First, stories help adversaries break through their stereotypes, fears and animosities toward the other side by helping them begin to understand and recognize the other's perspectives, needs, values and core concerns. Second, stories help adversaries develop empathy with the other and help them feel bonded and connected to the other at an emotional level. Third, stories help adversaries discover common ground, shared experiences, needs, values, core concerns and hopes for the future. Listening to each other's stories helps create bridges across deep differences and helps lay the foundation for reconciliation and conflict resolution.

Storytelling is often feared as opening "Pandora's box" and unleashing intense negative feelings that may lead to increased hostility and conflict escalation, and may hinder problem-solving. This research suggests that rather than fearing storytelling, it should be welcomed as an important process for opening deep wounds and pain, which need to be surfaced and acknowledged for the healing journey to begin, for reconciliation to take place, and for problem-solving approaches to be effective (Montville, 1993).

Why Personal Stories are Powerful

Storytelling can be a powerful process for both the speakers and listeners. Storytelling is a process that empowers participants by giving voice to their experiences and core concerns. Storytelling is a window into underlying meaning systems, values,

and need of the other and a process through which empathy, healing, trust, understanding, and relationships can be nurtured (LeBaron & Carstarphen, 1997). Pearson (1990) suggests that “*using personal experience* when discussing issues in dialogue can convey a personal involvement with the topic, can indicate its centrality to the speaker, and can indicate a sufficient trust in either the other party or at least in the setting to allow one to express personal reflections” (p. 96).

Sharing stories seem impactful because they are face-to-face, vivid, emotional, and sincerely told personal experiences that may touch the hearts of the listeners and open minds. Sharing stories offer participants something concrete, specific and tangible that tends to make stories easier to engage with as a starting point for understanding the other’s experience and the greater conflict context than does sharing general facts and information. It seems much more difficult for people to comprehend the meaning and impact of facts like six million Jews were murdered and thousands fled or hid to survive during the holocaust than it is to comprehend the meaning and impact of the holocaust through personal stories. This may be why the diary of Anne Frank is so powerful and continues to be widely read. This may be why the Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C. gives each visitor a booklet of one Jewish victim, which includes his/her picture and a brief biography to read and reflect on as they pass through the exhibit. The personal story of the victim makes the exhibit much more powerful and educational.

For stories that are of painful experiences, the impact on the listener is often surprise and shock at hearing these stories, and pain and empathy with the speaker and the other group. These personal stories help reveal the other’s humanity and

commonality—“they have pains, sorrows, fears, feelings, thoughts, and experiences just like me.” Listening to the other’s stories and feeling the other’s pain and humanity helps the listener begin to feel a personal connection and bonding with the other and helps to build a feeling of trust and safety that the other isn’t out to hurt them. Stories also increase the listeners’ understanding of the other by helping them be more willing and able to listen, reflect, and think about the other’s experiences, perspectives and feelings with an open mind.

The power of personal stories may be related to people’s tendency to match other’s people’s emotions. Hatfield, Cacioppo and Rapson (1994) refer to this tendency as *emotional contagion* and as something that develops in early childhood. When others are sad, we become sad. When others are happy, we become happy. When others are angry we become angry, and so on. The same dynamic may be operating when we listen to other’s personal stories. We may connect with the emotions they are expressing, be it fear, pain, happiness, and so on. Through this process, we may begin to empathize with the other, which may help lead to shift.

Stories have contexts, characters, plots, actions, and outcomes that draw the listener into the story. Research suggests that stories are effective because they are easy to follow, engaging, and are more likely to be remembered than other forms of written or oral communication (Martin & Powers, 1983, cited in Hansen & Kahnweiler, 1993).

Listening to the other’s stories may help penetrate people’s habituated system of denial, denigration, and distance from the other. The listener tends to be drawn closer to the storyteller. The individual stories create the opportunity to develop a shared story that

is a more whole, inclusive and complex picture of the conflict that recognizes everyone's fears and pains of the past as well as their hopes and dreams for the future.

Although none of the interviewees described an adverse impact of sharing stories, there may be times that sharing stories and uncovering these deep emotions does not have the desired effect. Individuals do not all respond in the same way or to the same degree while listening to other's stories. There are situations in which sharing stories may be harmful rather than helpful. For example, I have observed one workshop on prejudice and racism that used storytelling about painful experiences as a way to increase empathy and reduce prejudice among the participants that resulted, however, in some storytellers feeling regretful and angry afterwards. The workshop was different from the interventions described by the interviewees in this research in several ways. The primary difference was that the storytelling process was unilateral, rather than a shared process in the context of dialogue or mutual learning. Only a few people were asked to stand in front of the group (40 people sitting in theatre-style seats) to tell their story and once they finished, they were thanked, given a little encouragement by the facilitator, and sat back down. There was no dialogue, little genuine emotional support or acknowledgment, and the topic then moved to another part of the agenda rather than exploring and dealing with the stories and raw emotions that were surfaced and floating in the room. While many of the listeners felt touched by the stories and vowed to fight prejudice, some of the storytellers later told me they felt used by the process.

My observation of this workshop reminds me that storytelling is a powerful, but delicate process that is best used as part of a genuine dialogue. More research is needed

to explore the possible negative outcomes of storytelling and the optimal conditions and timing for storytelling.

Personal Stories and Acknowledgment

Listening to each other's personal stories often leads individuals and groups to express acknowledgment to the other side. Acknowledgment is another key factor that facilitates shift. The role of acknowledgment has received more attention in the conflict resolution literature than personal stories (e.g., Montville, 1993, 1995; Kraybill, 1988; Pearson, 1990). Pearson (1990) found that the most significant statements in problem-solving workshops that seemed to shift the climate, relationships and negotiations were those that included some form of acknowledgment. Pearson (1990) suggests the power of acknowledgment can be explained by Tajfel and Turner's (1986) social identity theory. This theory posits that until different groups acknowledge each other's identity and experiences, they are often locked into a social comparison process that results in the need to assert one's own group's superiority over the other group. Pearson asserts that acknowledgment validates the other's group worth and therefore diffuses the necessity for social comparison at the identity level. This suggests that deep insecurities underlie social identity theory and the social comparison process. Once the different groups acknowledge each other, this boosts their individual and collective sense of self-esteem and identity reducing the need to deny and denigrate the other.

Many scholars and practitioners have discussed the need for acknowledgment between identity groups to achieve reconciliation and conflict resolution. What has been

less clear in the literature and research has been what leads people and groups to acknowledge others in the first place. This research sheds some light on that and suggests that sharing personal stories may be one process that encourages acknowledgment of the other.

Sharing personal stories and expressing acknowledgment seem to be impactful because they touch participants emotionally and meet their psychological and identity needs in some way. Given the important role of emotions in this process, the next section focuses on the positive power of emotions.

Individual Factors

The Positive Power of Emotions

One of the most interesting findings is the constructive role that emotions – being touched emotionally – played in facilitating shift. Participants felt touched emotionally through three routes: (1) being touched by something someone else said, such as a personal story or acknowledgment, (2) being touched by getting in touch with one's own deeply buried experiences and feelings, especially pain and fear, and (3) being touched by observing the other getting in touch with their experiences and emotions. Being touched is connected to feeling the other's pain, empathizing with the other, personal bonding, trust-building, and feeling acknowledged in some way. Being touched is also connected to seeing the other's humanity and seeing common ground with other. Being touched emotionally seems to help open the participants' hearts and minds to the self and other making shift more likely.

Possible reasons why being touched emotionally helps facilitate shift is found in the literature review on psychotherapeutic approaches to shift and the role of emotions in problem-solving presented in Chapter 2. Emotions are linked to our values, human needs, goals and what is meaningful to us. Emotions enable decision-making and problem-solving. In order to change how we see ourselves, others, our conflicts and the world in general, we have to change our underlying emotion schemes. Surfacing and attending to participants' emotions helps them to understand their own and each other's needs, values, goals and behaviors. By bringing these emotion-schemes to conscious awareness, they become accessible to new input and change and can be used as a basis for reflection, choice, and action. Introspection and reflection is a powerful transitional vehicle for "unfreezing" parties' adversarial frames and moving them into integrative frames (Fisher, 1990). This research shows that it is when participants reflect on their own experiences and on what others say that new information, thoughts and feelings are able to penetrate their pre-existing affective-cognitive structures or emotion schemes, which is an important step towards changing personal emotion schemes, hence attitudes and relationships.

When people are engaged in conflict, especially protracted or violent conflict, or conflicts that attack their identity, they have intense emotions that often fuel the perpetuation of conflict. However, this research suggests that feeling, revealing and dealing with emotions, one's own and others' — whether pain, grief, anger and fear, or joy, love and hope — can also be a source of personal connection, trust-building, empathy, understanding and common ground, and is important for changing attitudes and

relationships. The implication of this is that intervenors need to welcome the emergence of strong emotions during interventions and carefully facilitate their exploration with participants.

All the factors that were identified by the dialogue participants and intervenors as facilitating shift worked in a dynamic, interactive process that spiraled toward reconciliation and a vision of the possibility of a shared, peaceful future. The next section described this interactive process.

The Shift Process

There is a dynamic, reciprocal interaction between the different factors of shift. The individual level and transactional level factors are related to each other in six phases of shift, while the situational level factors are generally ongoing aspects of the process that facilitated shift. Table 9 (p. 208) clearly shows that shift occurs in Phase 3 and Phase 6 of the shift process and is facilitated by transactional factors in the first and fourth phase, and individual affective and cognitive reactions and processes in the second and third phase. Figure 3 (p. 217) illustrates the dynamic and cyclical nature of the shift process.

The definition and conceptualization of shift in this research contrasts with Druckman's (2001) model of turning points. Since we describe similar types of phenomena (change), it seems useful to compare our approaches. Druckman's analysis is based on international security, trade and political negotiations. His process model of turning points includes three components: (1) three *precipitants* – external events outside

of the negotiations, internal procedural and internal substantive suggestions or events; (2) two types of *turning points* – more abrupt or less abrupt changes in the negotiation process, (3) two types of *consequences* – direction of negotiations toward or away from positive outcomes (escalation, de-escalation). Druckman's model is presented in a linear format, although a negotiation may include more than one turning point in an overall negotiation process. These turning points emphasize process/behavior changes and their impact on moving towards or away from reaching agreement on substantive issues.

In contrast to Druckman's model, my research is based mostly on intergroup dialogue groups. My process model of shift developed in Chapter 5 has six phases of shift, including (1) several categories and subcategories of *precursors* of shift divided into *triggers* and *accelerators*, (2) several types of positive *shift* (affective, cognitive, relationship, behaviors, agreements), and (3) two types of *consequences/results* of shift (movement towards reconciliation and movement towards conflict resolution) (see Table 9, p. 208 for triggers, accelerators, shifts). The triggers, accelerators, and shifts in the different phases interact in a dynamic, reciprocal shift process (see Figure 3, p. 217). The different types of shift are also more or less abrupt (sudden) shifts, dramatic or incremental shifts, and reflect shift at different levels of analysis — intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup and total group, although the lines between these levels remain somewhat fuzzy. The shifts in my research primarily emphasize relationship/attitude changes (including new behaviors) and their impact on moving towards reconciliation, and to a lesser extent on reaching agreements towards resolving substantive issues.

While there are differences in emphasis and complexity between Druckman's model of turning points and the process model of shift that I propose, these two models may be complementary. Further research is warranted to integrate these models and test this new model on a wide variety of intervention efforts. The result may be a more comprehensive model of shift and turning points useful for analyzing different types of conflicts.

The results of shift and the shift process are movement towards reconciliation and conflict resolution. The next section describes the relationship between shift, reconciliation and conflict resolution.

The Relationship Between Shift, Reconciliation and Conflict Resolution

As stated earlier, conflicts include at least three interrelated components: substance/issues, process/behaviors, and relationships/attitudes. The interrelatedness of these components suggests that change in any one of these components in a positive direction influences the other components as well. The primary focus in this research has been on changing attitudes and relationships and identifying what factors helped facilitate this change. All the interviewees described their intervention processes as resulting in some level of attitude change, and improved relationships and behaviors among participants and groups, albeit perhaps not to the same degree among all participants and groups.

The question then is what impact did the change in attitudes and relationships in these small intervention groups have on the substantive issues in the conflict or the larger

conflict context outside the group? This is the “so what?” question. Changed attitudes and relationships among the intervention group members may be little consolation if they cannot be transferred to impact the larger conflict context and real needs remain unmet with no foreseeable improvement in the near future. Some intervenors and dialogue participants cautioned it is insufficient to just change attitudes and relationships, and a few said this may border on being unethical, unless one also focuses on changing the substantive issues in the conflict (including structural and institutional issues). While changing attitudes and relationships may be key to long-term conflict resolution, they are also only part of the puzzle.

Part of the difficulty in assessing the impact of attitude change and reconciliation on resolving substantive issues is that not all the intervention groups (in the film and interviews) were designed or expected to resolve a particular conflict or set of issues. As it turns out, several of the film participants, dialogue groups and third party intervenors' groups were or are involved in problem-solving activities to varying degrees. Further, all the interviewees believe the shifts experienced within and between individuals and groups led to initiatives that had a positive impact on the conflict. These initiatives and their impact may be as modest or limited as “changing a few minds and hearts” to as significant and far-reaching as shaping peace agreements between warring factions engaged in brutal violence. Following are a few examples of the impact of these groups on their conflict:

- Pro-life/pro-choice dialogue groups – (1) changed state legislation to make adoption easier, (2) reduced community polarization due to action projects

and ripple effects of dialogue participants (especially community leaders) sharing their learnings with constituents.

- **Race/ethnic dialogues – (1) improved police-community relations by influencing police training and tactics, increasing monitoring of police behavior, (2) improved intergroup relations by co-presenting workshops on race and racism to help facilitate change in others.**
- **Jewish-Palestinian dialogue groups – (1) improved economic, health and educational opportunities in Israel and Palestine through fundraising, (2) improving intergroup relations in the U.S. and abroad by sponsoring joint educational outreach, workshops and presentations, and (3) provided support to help establish additional dialogue groups worldwide.**
- **Intervenors – (1) reconciliation between churches, community groups, and long-time rivals, and (2) joint statements of agreements and steps for resolving conflicts, which in many cases, influenced and shaped negotiated agreements at official governmental or Track 1 levels.**

It is clear from the interviews that the participants and intervenors believe they had or were making important contributions to resolving their conflict. How much, how often and how this occurs is the subject for future research.

The experiment shows that the more participants improve their attitudes toward the other, the more positive their expectations of the negotiation climate and negotiation outcomes. Greater positive attitudes are slightly related to greater willingness to

compromise and to use cooperative rather than competitive negotiating strategies. Thus, the participants changed their affective, cognitive and behavioral intentions in the same direction. However, since there were no actual negotiations, I cannot claim that improved attitudes led to improved conflict resolution processes and outcomes.

In conclusion, the studies suggest that improved attitudes and relationships will have a positive impact on resolving substantive issues. However, further research is needed to further clarify how improved attitudes and relationships impact resolving substantive issues.

Practical Conclusions: Implications for Intervenor

What do the findings suggest to intervenors for facilitating shift and conflict resolution? Many of the findings have been well-articulated in the conflict resolution literature and are relatively common in practice. These include:

- searching for common ground
- encouraging perspective-taking, reframing
- joint activities such as analyzing the problem or visioning the future, and joint action projects
- intervenor functions and roles, such as managing the process and attendant facilitation skills (e.g., reflective listening, insightful questions), and facilitator leadership roles and functions, such as providing new ideas, concepts, theories, and examples from other conflicts to help participants better understand each other, their conflict and see new possibilities

- various characteristics and conditions of the intervention (e.g., face-to-face, informal, small groups).

The following suggestions focus on less well-known factors that seem to facilitate shift, including focusing on emotions and related ethical issues, facilitating cognitive dissonance, encouraging personal reflection, personalizing the intervention process, encouraging acknowledgement, utilizing experiential activities, awareness of factors and indicators of shift, and spreading new stories to the masses.

Help Participants Feel, Reveal and Deal with Emotions

One clear conclusion is the important and positive role of emotions for facilitating the shift process. Thus, emotions have important implications for intervenors and shift from two perspectives. First, intervenors need to help participants feel, reveal and deal with emotions such as pain, grief, fear and the feelings of victimhood in order to help participants overcome the constraints to peacemaking these emotions and feelings create.

Second, intervenors can help participants develop feelings such as caring, compassion and personal connections with the other in order to create new attitudes and relationships. On the one hand, there are emotions that need to be worked through, and on the other hand, there are emotions that need to be nurtured. Rather than trying to manage and control participants' emotions, intervenors need to utilize emotions as opportunities for growth, healing and change. This takes a skillful facilitator to ensure the process is safe and constructive for participants.

Ethical Issues

If emotions are key to shift, reconciliation and conflict resolution, are conflict resolution practitioners prepared to deal with strong emotions? There has long been a distinction by practitioners that we are not therapists; conflict resolution is not therapy. However, this research suggests the line may be fuzzier than imagined.

The practical implications of the needs of participants suggest that conflict resolution practitioners, at least those who want to work in deep-rooted conflicts where physical and psychological trauma are the by-products, may need to receive specialized training in psychotherapeutic approaches. At a minimum, these practitioners need to work in partnership with people who have this training and expertise. It would be unethical for intervenors to unleash strong emotions and open deep wounds if they were not prepared to deal with them appropriately. This may explain the hesitance in the past for uncovering such deep emotions. However, the research suggests that reconciliation in part depends on this. Therefore, practitioners need to either get additional training or team with trained practitioners.

Facilitate Cognitive Dissonance

Similar to the potential positive role of strong emotions is the potential positive role of cognitive dissonance. It is when people are confronted with something new that opportunities for learning and change arise. Intervenors need to look for opportunities to recognize, carefully create and facilitate dealing with cognitive dissonance, or a psychological crisis, in order to challenge firmly entrenched attitudes, beliefs and

assumptions. When people are surprised or interested by what they hear the other say or by their experiences in the group, or they are confused because of conflicting feelings, thoughts and beliefs, these new experiences may provide opportunities for shift.

Help Participants Reflect on their Experiences

When participants experience strong emotions or cognitive dissonance, they may simply respond by molding their new experiences to match pre-existing attitudes, beliefs, and assumptions. To minimize this tendency, intervenors can play an important role in encouraging participants to reflect on their new experiences (emotions, thoughts, events) and the meaning these have for them. It is through the reflection process that new meaning and learning may develop, making shift possible.

Personalize the Intervention Process

Intervenors need to include transactional processes that help participants personalize the conflict. This does not mean having the process degenerate into mere personal attacks and blaming. It does mean having participants share their personal feelings, perspectives and meanings as well as experiencing the other's feelings, perspectives and meanings. The reason personalizing the discussion seems to be so effective is because it triggers the types of emotional reactions, cognitive dissonance, perspective-taking and the motivation to reflect on these experiences that seem necessary for shift to occur. Other transactional processes are also very effective, such as "walks

through history,” role reversals, and other experiential exercises that help individuals share their own world and experience the other’s world.

Encourage Acknowledgment of the Other

Acknowledgment is another key trigger of shift. There are several ways that people may express acknowledgment to the other, including: (1) directly through verbalizing belief, understanding, agreement, recognition, responsibility, apology and so on, and (2) more indirectly via reflective listening, which conveys at least understanding of the other, and via working together on action projects, which conveys recognition and validation of the other’s needs and concerns and the participants’ joint needs and concerns. In most cases, people are spontaneously motivated to acknowledge the other, generally following the sharing of personal stories or engaging in other experiential activities. Intervenors may also invite people to acknowledge the other. Given the importance of acknowledgment, intervenors need to find mechanisms to encourage their expression (direct or indirect). However, any form of acknowledgment must seem sincere which means it cannot be forced. Since acknowledgment seems to flow from other events and intrapersonal shifts, the surest way to facilitate acknowledgment is to design the process to include personal stories and other experiential activities that would lead to the types of intrapersonal shifts that would motivate people to acknowledge the other.

The facilitator can also teach participants to use reflective listening skills in order to ensure that people are really listening to each other and to create opportunities for learning and acknowledgement via reflective listening. At a minimum, accurate and

sincere reflective listening conveys that people have heard and understood each other. Intervenorors are commonly taught reflective listening skills. It seems clear that it would be useful to teach participants these skills as well.

Include Time for Socializing and Rituals

Intervention processes need to include opportunities for socializing and rituals to occur. The simple act of sharing meals, going on hikes, talking about each other's families, and ordinary chit-chat may play an important role in humanizing the other, providing shared experiences, opportunities for discovering common ground, and helping participants form personal connections, better understanding and trust. Symbolic rituals, such as praying together and celebrating each other's holidays, may also play an important role towards shift. Socializing and rituals encourage participants to experience each other in non-conflict-related contexts that enable them to see the other beyond rigid and limited labels and identities in order to discover shared identities and similarities.

Be Aware of Factors and Indicators of Shift to Further Shift

The research indicates that shift, as a process and outcome, is observable. Intervenorors can use observable verbal and nonverbal indicators that shift is occurring, may occur, or has occurred at different levels of analysis in order to capitalize on that observation in-the-moment to help facilitate the shift process further within and between individuals and groups. There is nothing more frustrating than wasted opportunities.

Therefore, facilitators need to be aware of indicators of shift to take advantage of these opportunities.

Spreading New Stories to the Masses

The value of small group dialogues and personal stories is clear. However, not everyone has the opportunity to participate in these processes directly. A challenge for participants, in both Track 1 and Track 2 processes, is how to capitalize on their shift in the intervention group and spread what they learn to their constituents and people in general. One approach may be for participants to share their new stories with others through the media and other communication channels. People, especially leaders, have long used stories to inflame anger, dehumanize the other, create, escalate and perpetuate conflict. Therefore, leaders may be able to use the same technology and techniques to spread new stories. The challenge will be to make these new stories as “sensational” and “exiting” as the past harmful stories so they capture the attention, imagination, hearts and minds of the listeners, and motivate them to new kinds of behaviors.

Methodological Reflections

There are strengths and weaknesses for each of the individual methods in the research. The research benefited from the use of inductive and deductive approaches and multiple methods of data collection and analysis in order to “triangulate” and verify discoveries about a very complex phenomenon – shift, or attitude and relationship change. The observation of an actual dialogue group captured on film provides a glimpse

of shift happening and the opportunity to develop initial ideas about what factors and processes facilitate shift. However, the edited film provides only a portion of a real dialogue, which prevents making definite conclusions. Further, the analysis of the film relies on observers, who often made unverifiable assumptions about what they were observing.

The interviews attempt to verify the assumptions and conclusions drawn from the first study by simply asking people who had experienced shift what factors facilitated shift. The interviews provide first-hand micro-perspective accounts by dialogue participants of what they believe led to their personal shifts and to shifts in the relations between individuals and groups in their dialogue. The third party intervenors' reflections on shift add additional understanding of the shift process from a more macro-perspective based on their observations of the whole group, their ability to draw conclusions from having observed multiple intervention groups, and their knowledge of the literature on intergroup conflict resolution dynamics and processes. The interviews also included three participants from *The Color of Fear* film who identify the same events in the film as shift as the observers and gave largely the same reasons for those shifts, thereby providing some support for the observers' assumptions and conclusions drawn in Chapter 4.

The interviews provide rich stories and examples of shift to further analyze shift beyond the perceptions and opinions of those interviewed. The results show a convergence between what people believe happened and what is illustrated via their examples of shift. There is also general agreement between the dialogue participants and the intervenors of factors that facilitated shift. The interviews provide a description of the

phenomenon and reveal patterns in both the factors that lead to shift and the process of shift itself.

The weaknesses of the interviews come from the time lag between people's experiences or observations of shifts and the interview. People had to rely on memory, which can be faulty, and were often unable to provide complete details of events. It was also extremely difficult for people to reflect upon exactly *what* caused their shifts and *why*. People often spoke in generalities, which was why their specific examples of shift were so important in order to "fill in the gaps" and develop a more comprehensive picture of the shift process. There were times, however, when interviewees were able to recall specific events that led to shift quite vividly. Research on memory by Linton (1982) suggests that events are most remembered as distinct episodes when they are salient, strongly emotional, relatively unique, and signify a turning point, beginning of a sequence, or are instrumental in later activities. Subsequent research confirmed these findings and found that the greater the emotionality of the events, the more they were remembered (Wagenaar, 1986). Research on memory suggests that the most detailed memories by the participants and intervenors were those incidents that reflected the most dramatic and sudden shifts. Thus, the shifts that the participants and intervenors recounted were likely the most important shifts they experienced or observed. The research on memory also supports the conclusion that affect is key to shift.

A second weakness of the interviews is that while the interviewees offered several factors they believed facilitated shift, I did not ask them to rank order these factors beyond asking, "What were the *most important* or *key* factors that led to shift?" Thus, it is

difficult to make definite conclusions about what leads to shift beyond relying on frequency data of what factors were reported by the most people. The assumption that frequency suggests importance needs verification. Finally, the interview data was collected from a non-random sample of dialogue participants, which calls into question any generalizability of the results. In addition, there was no comparison between “shifters” and “non-shifters.” All the participants had experienced shift to some degree, although some people much more than others. Therefore, it is impossible to determine that the factors identified as facilitating shift are the only factors necessary for shift to occur. Another possibility is that the factors found important for facilitating shift in this research may be present in other intervention groups that do not experience shifts. There may be other factors that distinguish between processes that lead to shift versus no-shift.

The third study uses a simulation with a random sample of undergraduate students to test specific hypotheses that emerged from the first two studies. While the hypothesis supports the results of the first two studies, there are limitations to experimental studies. As described in Chapter 6, the primary weakness of experimental studies is they are not representative of “the real world.” A simulated dialogue that relies on written text is nothing like a real dialogue between people interacting face-to-face. By trying to isolate variables in order to identify specific relationships between them, the very act of isolating variables takes them out of their natural context, which raises doubt about their meaningfulness and the generalizability of results. However, the results of the experiment converge to some degree with the results of the previous studies, suggesting the results may be valid and generalizable.

The use of different methods to study the same phenomenon is useful for developing a more comprehensive understanding of shift and the shift process. The results and conclusions remain qualified and conceptually somewhat unintegrated. The data does not provide the means for clearly linking all the factors identified. The factors identified as facilitating shift and the model of the shift process presented in Chapter 5 remain a proposal for the content and process of shift that needs to be further explored, tested and refined.

Future Research

Many unanswered questions warrant further research. This section presents some questions and areas for research.

1. Given the limitations of the methodologies employed, would the model of the shift process and its components and factors, accurately describe every shift in attitudes and relationships in any type of intervention? Are there missing factors? Two types of research are needed. One is research that compares processes that lead to shift versus no-shift might shed light on these questions, or *cross-intervention* studies. Further, individuals within a particular intervention process may experience different degrees of shift, which suggests there are individual level factors (e.g., personal 'ripeness') or group level factors (e.g., power distribution) missing in the model. Therefore, additional research is needed for *within-intervention* analysis. The interviews suggest that the intensity of emotions felt, the degree of perspective-taking, the degree of cognitive dissonance, the open-mindedness of participants, and the degree of acknowledgment

experienced by individuals may help answer questions about differences in degrees of shift between individuals within the same intervention process. These factors may be a useful starting point for future research to explore whether they actually account for differences in the degree of shift experienced by individuals or groups.

2. As mentioned earlier, research is needed to whether Druckman's model of turning points can be integrated with my process model of shift. The result may be a more comprehensive and explanatory model of shift (and turning points).

3. When exactly will shift happen? While the shift model identifies the factors and processes likely to lead to shift, it does not predict exactly when or at what point in time shift(s) will occur. Again, the role of emotionality or degree of perspective-taking, cognitive dissonance or acknowledgment may help explain when shift will occur.

Perhaps there other factors that will help predict the "tipping point" to shift.

4. The studies identify several types of transactional events that seem to trigger shift, especially personal stories for intrapersonal shift and acknowledgment for interpersonal and intergroup shift. Does everyone need to actively participate in these transactional processes or does merely being present for them (e.g., listening to stories but not telling one) facilitate shift? There is evidence that as more individuals in the intervention participated actively in these transactional events (e.g., everyone tells their story, everyone apologizes), the greater the synergistic effects of these transactional events in the group. However, it is unclear exactly why this seems to be the case. The interviews suggest several possible reasons, including reciprocity norms, the psychological need to tell one's individual story and be heard, the perspective-taking,

empathy, commonalities and emotionality that emerge in listening to multiple people's stories, and the general need for everyone to share equally in the process. More research is needed to explore these factors.

5. Another question related to storytelling is whether there is an optimal order for the storytelling? In the pro-life/pro-choice dialogues, the storytelling process generally alternated between pro-life and pro-choice individuals taking turns. In the intervenor's example of the conflict resolution process between five churches in Africa, the storytelling took place sequentially by group, with one group finishing all their stories before the next group told their stories. In the end, the results seemed to be the same. Both processes led to shift. However, there may be differences that additional research would uncover.

6. In terms of acknowledging the other, what is the difference in impact, if any, when participants offer group-based acknowledged (e.g., yes, we hurt you) or individual-based acknowledged (e.g., yes, I hurt you)?

7. Given that any intervention includes a mix of transactional events that may occur relatively simultaneously or sequentially, are there differential effects of these different transactions and is there an optimal sequencing of different types of events in the design of the intervention? For example, the interviews in Chapter 5 suggested that personal stories should precede focusing on "rational" discussion. Many participants said they were "more ready" to discuss substantive issues after they had built relationships. Of course, in reality, there is rarely a neat distinction between these two processes. Many of

the intervenors also discussed the importance of “timing” their activities just right, but did not offer clues as to how to identify when the timing is right for certain activities.

Chapter 6 compared the effects of personal stories with the effects of rational explanations and found that personal stories were much more impactful in facilitating shift than the explanations. The combined approach was more impactful than either approach alone, which is congruent with previous research (Druckman & Broome, 1991). Further, there was some evidence suggesting that personal stories should precede rational explanations to achieve maximum impact. Similar analyses could be conducted to compare other transactional events. For example, are some experiential exercises more effective than others? Is there an optimum sequence to different exercises? Some intervenors suggested using a joint action project as a vehicle for bringing groups together. Is beginning an intervention with a joint action as effective as beginning with personal stories?

8. I was initially interested in researching sudden and dramatic shifts like the one I observed in the police-youth dialogue, described in chapter 1. While the intervenors were able to describe such sudden and dramatic shifts, the majority of dialogue participants described a gradual shift process, or series of little shifts towards bigger shifts. One explanation for this difference may be that the intervenors could reflect on multiple interventions to come up with examples of dramatic shifts, while the dialogue participants were recounting their experiences in only one intervention. Previous research on international negotiations found most turning points in international negotiations were characterized by abrupt or sudden changes (as opposed to gradual changes) in the

negotiation process (Druckman, 2001). The distinction between sudden and gradual shifts warrants further research.

9. What is the durability of shifts that take place within or during interventions processes, especially the longer participants are away from the process and other participants? Do shifts decrease or increase in the strength over time? What factors may help to maintain and deepen shifts over time?

10. What is the impact of power differences between individuals/groups in terms of the type of factors that facilitate shift, the types of shift experienced, and the results of shift? The interviews suggest that hearing personal stories may be the most important factor that facilitates shift among high-power individuals/groups, and that receiving acknowledgement may be the most important factor that leads to shift for low-power individuals/groups. This is an intuitive observation and needs further research.

11. Finally, there are unanswered questions about the relationship between intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup shifts, and total group shifts. The majority of data collected focused on intrapersonal and interpersonal shifts. It was not clear under what conditions these intrapersonal and interpersonal shifts constitute intergroup shifts. For example, the majority of dialogue participants described their personal shifts. Their most significant shifts were in relation to an individual or individuals from the “other side.” They also perceived that everyone in their group experienced shift, albeit perhaps to different degrees, and that their group as a whole had experienced shift. At best, the data suggest that as more individuals shifted intrapersonally, that led to shifts that are more interpersonal. Conversely, as interpersonal relationships changed, individuals changed.

As more intrapersonal and interpersonal shifts occurred, this snowballed into intergroup and group-level shifts. However, while participants and intervenors talked about these different levels of shift and the relationship between these levels, the relationship between these levels is still unclear and warrants further research.

The significance of this research is that shift does indeed happen. We can often observe it and feel it. Although there are several limitations to this research and many unanswered questions, I believe this research contributes to a better understanding of shift, the shift process, ways of thinking about shift, and what we as intervenors can do to help facilitate shift. While we still cannot *make* shift happen, we can certainly create the conditions in which it is more likely to happen. This research contributes to that endeavor. Whether shift comes dramatically and suddenly or incrementally and gradually, it is a rewarding experience for both participants and intervenors and gives us hope for a better future.

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APPENDIX A. PHASE 1: QUESTIONNAIRE

SURVEY: *THE COLOR OF FEAR*

There are two goals of this survey: (1) to explore whether any turning points, or “shifts,” took place within and between the men who participated in the weekend inter-ethnic dialogue retreat featured in *The Color of Fear*, and, if yes, the impact of these turning points or “shifts” on the men and their relationship; and (2) your reactions to the film. Please explain your answers as detailed as you can. Thank you!

1. Your Sex: _____
2. Your race/ethnicity: _____
3. What impact did the film have on you, if any? Did you experience any turning points or shifts? Please Describe?
4. Describe any key turning point(s), or shifts, you observed within and/or between the men (or a particular man) in the film. Where these negative or positive turning points?
5. How do you know these were turning points? (e.g., what indicators - verbal/nonverbal statements, behaviors, emotions - did you use to identify these as turning points?)
6. What led to these turning points?
7. What role did emotions play in leading to the turning points? Were these emotions positive/negative, mild/intense?
8. What role did information play in leading to the turning points? Was the information old/new, given once/repeated?
9. Did anyone say, ask or do anything that led to the turning points?
10. Did anything else play a role in these turning points? Please describe.
11. What impact did these turning points have on the men?
 - a. Their thoughts (assumptions, beliefs, perceptions, understanding) about themselves, the other men, and their relationship?
 - b. Their emotions/feelings toward themselves, the other men, and their relationship?
 - c. Was the impact mild or intense?
12. As you were watching the film:
 - a. What were you thinking generally and at the turning points? Why?
 - b. What emotions were you feeling generally and at the turning points? Why?

Please use the 5-point scale for answering the following questions.

	Not/Nothing at All (Negative)	1	2	3	4	Very Much (Positive)
13. How emotionally intense were the turning points in the film for you?	1	2	3	4	5	
14. Overall, how emotionally intense was watching this film for you?	1	2	3	4	5	
15. How much new information did you gain from watching the film?	1	2	3	4	5	
16. How much information presented in the film contradicted or was different from what you believe(d)?	1	2	3	4	5	
17. How much greater understanding of <u>your</u> race/ethnic group did you gain from watching the film?	1	2	3	4	5	
18. How much greater understanding of <u>other</u> race/ethnic groups did you gain from watching the film?	1	2	3	4	5	
19. How much did your assumptions, beliefs, perspectives about other race/ethnic groups change?	1	2	3	4	5	
20. Were these changes in a negative or positive direction?	1	2	3	4	5	
21. How much did your emotions/feelings about other race/ethnic groups change?	1	2	3	4	5	
22. Were these changes in a negative or positive direction?	1	2	3	4	5	
23. Before you watched this film, were your attitudes and feelings toward other race/ethnic groups negative or positive?	1	2	3	4	5	
24. Do you feel more negative or positive about the future of race/ethnic relations in the U.S.?	1	2	3	4	5	
25. Additional comments on the film?						

Please put completed survey in envelope marked SURVEY.

If you would like a summary of my dissertation results (available about Spring 2000), please complete this section, tear off and put in envelope marked RESULTS

Name:

Address:

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP!!

APPENDIX B. PHASE 2: LIST OF THIRD-PARTY INTERVENORS INTERVIEWED

All intervenors gave me permission to list their names in an appendix.

Name	Relevant Positions & Organization(s) (at time of interview or related to interview)
Mohammed Abu-Nimer, Ph.D.	Professor, School of International Service, American University
Nane Alejandro	Director, Barrios Unidos Santa Cruz, CA
Byron Bland, Ph.D.	Associate Director, Stanford Center on Conflict & Negotiation, Stanford Law School; Associate Scholar, Center for International Security & Arms Control
Frank Blechman	M.S. Coordinator & Clinical Faculty, Institute for Conflict Analysis & Resolution, George Mason University
Benjamin Broome, Ph.D.	Professor, Department of Communication, George Mason University
John Davies, Ph.D.	Senior Associate, Center for International Development & Conflict Management, University of Maryland
Louise Diamond, Ph.D.	President, Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy
Frank Dukes, Ph.D.	Associate Director, Institute for Environmental Negotiation, University of Virginia
Robert Harris, Ph.D.	Conflict Resolution Specialist, Fairfax County Public Schools, VA
Mary Jacksteit	Co-Director, Network for Life & Choice, Search for Common Ground
John L. Johnson, Ed.D.	Process Work DC; Fellow, A.K. Rice Institute
Edward Kaufman, Ph.D.	Senior Associate, Center for International Development & Conflict Management, University of Maryland; Executive Director, Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace, Hebrew University
Adrienne Kaufmann, Ph.D.	Co-Director, Network for Life & Choice, Search for Common Ground
Ron Kraybill, Ph.D.	Professor, Conflict Transformation Program, Eastern Mennonite University
John McDonald, J.D.	Chairman, Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy; retired U.S. Ambassador and career diplomat

Christopher Mitchell, Ph.D.	Professor, Institute for Conflict Analysis & Resolution, George Mason University
Joseph Montville	Director, Preventive Diplomacy, Center for Strategic & International Studies; retired U.S. career diplomat
Bob Myers	Board of Directors & Facilitator, Multicultural Community Services; retired U.S. Foreign Service
Dennis Sandole, Ph.D.	Professor, Institute for Conflict Analysis & Resolution, George Mason University
Harold Saunders, Ph.D.	Director of International Affairs, Kettering Foundation; retired National Security Council Staff and Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs (key member of U.S. team that mediated five Arab-Israeli agreements, 1974-79).
Lisa Schirch, Ph.D.	Associate Professor, Conflict Transformation Program, Eastern Mennonite University
Julie Vallario	Community Developer, Prince George's County Government Human Relations Commission, MD
Lee Mun Wah	Stir Fry Seminars & Consulting; Producer & Director of <i>The Color of Fear</i>
Wallace Warfield, Ph.D.	Assistant Professor, Institute for Conflict Analysis & Resolution, George Mason University

APPENDIX C. PHASE 2: INTERVIEW PROTOCOLS

Phase 2: Interview Schedule for Dialogue Participants

- **Explain purpose of research and interview:** Basically, I want to better understand how, why, when and under what conditions individuals and groups experience a positive *shift* -- a fundamental change in their perceptions, attitudes, understandings, feelings and behaviors toward themselves, the other party and the conflict situation -- that paves the way for reconciliation and conflict transformation. I use the term “shift,” but others may use terms like turning points, breakthroughs, “ahas”, transformation, etc.
- **Give example of shift from police-youth dialogue I facilitated.**

Use the following questions as a guideline or framework for discussion rather than a linear question-and-answer format.

1. **Please describe the intergroup dialogue, etc. in which you participated.**
 - a. What motivated you to participate in the group?
 - b. Describe the dialogue initiative:
 - (1) When, where, how long, the people/groups involved, how many
2. **What are your experiences with shift?**
 - a. Did you experience shift? If yes, please describe. Tell me your stories, examples.
 - b. At what level of analysis did you experience shift--intrapersonal, interpersonal, intragroup, intergroup, and/or the dialogue group level?
 - c. How would you characterize your experience of shift (e.g., intellectual experience, emotional experience; degree of shift)?
 - d. What are the indicators of shift? What makes you think shift happened?
 - e. What do you think led to those shifts?
 - f. What was the impact/outcome of those shifts (e.g., on you, the individuals and groups involved, your relationship, the conflict in specific/general)? Paint a before and after picture.
3. **What factors about the dialogue process facilitated shift?**
 - a. Type of participants (demographics, how many) and their motivation for participating?
 - b. Context and Logistics of the intervention (e.g., conflict situation, location, timing)
 - c. What conditions or characteristics of the intervention facilitated the shift? (e.g. structure, goals, norms, groundrules, etc)?
 - d. What happened--the topics, procedures and activities?
 - e. Was there anything the facilitator said or did that facilitated the shift?
4. **What factors in the dialogue group dynamics and interactions facilitated the shift?**
 - a. Did the dialogue group evolve in certain pattern or stages? How did the group change over time?
 - b. Describe the intergroup dynamics and how these changed over time.
5. **Is there anything else you'd like to add that would help me understand your dialogue group, the shifts you've experienced, and what you think facilitates shift?**

Phase 2: Interview Schedule for Third-Party Intervenor

- **Explain purpose of research and interview:** Basically, I want to better understand how, why, when and under what conditions individuals and groups experience a positive *shift* -- a fundamental change in their perceptions, attitudes, understandings, feelings and behaviors toward themselves, the other party and the conflict situation -- that paves the way for reconciliation and conflict transformation. I use the term "shift," but others may use terms like turning points, breakthroughs, "ahas", transformation, etc.
- **Give example of shift from police-youth dialogue I facilitated.**

Use the following questions as a guideline or framework for discussion rather than a linear question-and-answer format.

1. **What are your experiences with and perspectives on shift?**
 - a. Have you seen shifts happen? If yes, please tell me a story(ies) of shift.
 - b. How would you characterize the participants' experience of shift (e.g., intellectual experience, emotional experience; degree of shift; temporary/longterm)?
 - c. What are the indicators of shift? What makes you think shift happened?
 - d. What, at the individual, interpersonal and intergroup level, do you think led to those shifts (e.g., impactful statements or interactions, new information, experiential activities, emotional experiences, empathy, storytelling, self-disclosure, joint analysis, acknowledgement, risk-taking, responsibility-taking, apology, forgiveness)?
 - e. What was the impact/outcome of those shifts (e.g., on the individuals and groups involved, their relationship, their conflict; cognitive/affective/behavioral changes; short-term/long-term)?
2. **What factors about the dialogue process facilitated the shift? Describe the dialogue.**
 - a. Type of participants (demographics, how many) and their motivation for participating?
 - b. Context and logistics of the intervention" (e.g., conflict situation, location, timing)
 - c. What conditions or characteristics of the intervention facilitated the shift? (e.g. structure, goals, norms, etc.?)
 - d. What roles and functions did you perform that may have facilitated shift?
 - e. What procedures, strategies or activities did you use that facilitated shift?
3. **What factors in the dialogue group dynamics and interactions facilitated the shift?**
 - a. Did the dialogue group evolve in certain pattern or stages? How did the group change over time?
 - b. Describe each group's internal (intragroup) dynamics and processes and how these changed over time (e.g., changed social identity boundaries, cohesion, conformity, norms).
 - c. Describe the intergroup dynamics and how these changed over time (e.g., intergroup anxiety, trust, competitive versus cooperative behavior; win/lose to win/win; healing).
 - d. Was there something about the intragroup, intergroup, and dialogue group dynamics and interaction that facilitated the shift?
4. **Is there anything else you'd like to add that would help me understand your work, the shifts you've observed, and what you think facilitates shift?**

APPENDIX D. PHASE 2: PROCESS TRACING METHODOLOGY

The approach included the following steps:

1. Extracted all examples from NUD*IST and placed them in an Excel spreadsheet with each example in successive rows. The primary reason for using Excel rather than NUD*IST was that while NUD*IST does enable one to conduct data analysis to ascertain the sequence of events, this is really only possible if the data is presented in a linear sequential manner. However, the participants rarely communicated in a linear “cause-effect” fashion as they recounted their examples. Rather, many of their descriptions jumped around and reflected spiral, circuitous communication styles. I had to “piece together” and reorganize these descriptions to identify both the linear and simultaneous sequence of events in order to compare the examples with one another. One limitation of this process is I may have inadvertently lost or manufactured data and connections in the examples. To minimize this potential, I used the constant comparative method (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) across different examples from the same participant to validate my interpretation of each of the examples provided by each particular participant. I also used each participant’s general discussions of the precursors of shift to understand their descriptions of the examples and validate my interpretation of what happened. In other words, when “de-constructing” each participant’s examples, I used the totality of what they said in the interview to “piece together” the data into a linear sequence. As a result, using Excel for this analysis seemed easier than using NUD*IST.
2. Each example was divided into its component precursors (the 26 factors that facilitated shift) and corresponding codes established during the general analysis of precursors in the previous section. The analysis of specific examples also revealed additional facilitators of shift that I did not consider in my analysis of general precursors in the

previous section. These new factors related to statements or behaviors made by the participant towards the other that they thought caused a shift in the other, which in turn caused a shift in them. For example, 'appeal to values' was included as a transactional communication strategy. Several of the intervenors and participants, especially the Palestinians, talked about appealing to the other's values (e.g., justice, fairness) to get the other to change their hearts and minds. However, for those appeals (direct or indirect appeals) to work, someone must have the values (individual level) that other's are trying to appeal to in the first place, which is why I also kept it as an affective factor at the individual level in Phase 2.

3. I put each precursor in a linear time sequence by placing each precursor and its code in successive columns. In some cases, there was more than one precursor reported as occurring simultaneously. If this was the case, all these precursors were listed in the same column but in separate rows. The number of precursors per example ranged from 1 to 13, with the average being 6 per example. The number of columns per example ranged from 1 to 9. Again, this means that several of the precursors occurred simultaneously. This step resulted in an initial Spreadsheet #1 of examples of shift and their component precursors and codes in a linear sequence.
4. The initial spreadsheet was read several times to discern any trends and patterns in the sequence of events. An initial intuitively identified pattern emerged. I found 5 potential "phases"¹ in the shift process, alternating between transactional level and individual level "causes and effects," culminating in two sets of results. Having only 5 "phases" meant that some of the 26 precursors of shift occurred in the same order in the shift process. For example, 'personal stories' and 'facts, information' were both coded as

¹ I used the term "phases" rather than other terms, such as "steps," to convey the amorphous boundaries between phases. This will become clearer in the discussion of results.

Phase 1 to represent that either communication strategy could precede Phase 2. The phases included: Phase 1-Transactional Level (communication strategy, shared activities); Phase 2-Individual Level reactions; Phase 3-Transactional Level (acknowledgement); Phase 4-Individual Level reactions; Phase 5-Results/Shift.

5. There were some factors that seemed linked to another factor rather than independent factors and were designated with a '+' sign. For example, 'sincerity' and 'risk' were linked with 'communication strategy' and with 'acknowledgement.' In other words, what was important to the listener was not only the content of the other's message, but also the manner in which the message was delivered – the perceived sincerity and/or intent of the message and messenger—or the perceived risk taken by the speaker.
6. Each of the 26 precursors were recoded a number from 1-5 with 1 being the first phase or event in the sequence and 5 being the last phase in a series of events, or the *result* of the shift process. I noticed several factors were described as factors that facilitated the shift process in general rather than as a direct precursor of shifts. These factors were: 'facilitator/leader,' 'characteristics of dialogue,' 'role of emotions,' and 'time.' I coded these as Phase X to represent their presence throughout the shift process. The result of this coding was Spreadsheet #2.
7. In looking at Spreadsheet #2, I found that the majority of precursors did in fact follow my intuitive sense of the sequence of events. In other words, the majority of precursors coded as Phase 3 tended to follow rather than precede precursors coded as Phases 1-2; precursors coded as Phases 4 tended to follow rather than precede precursors codes as Phase 1-3 and so on. This did not mean, however, that Phase 1 was always followed directly by Phase 2, or Phase 2 was always followed directly by Phase 3, and so on. Oftentimes, the participants' descriptions did not provide a complete description of what happened. Something coded as Phase 1 could be followed immediately by something coded as Phase 5 for example. Or, someone's example might start with something

coded as Phase 3, followed by Phase 4 then Phase 5. What was important to me was that the sequence should be in ascending rather than descending order regardless of what phase the example began with. While the coding scheme seemed relatively accurate, there were also some inconsistencies where higher numbered items preceded lower numbered items. So, I continued the analysis of the model.

8. Next, I compared Spreadsheet #1 and #2 to identify the reason for the inconsistencies. I found several problems. First, there were several differences within general categories of precursors. For example, within the general category of 'shared activities,' the subcategories or specific activities of 'socializing, rituals' tended to precede Phase #2 whereas 'joint action projects' followed Phase #2. I also discovered differences within the affective and cognitive categories of precursors. For example, the specific affective factor of 'felt other's pain, empathy' followed the transactional category of 'communication strategy' (especially 'personal stories'), while the affective precursors of 'feel understood, recognized... good, meaningful' followed the transactional category of 'acknowledgement.' Accordingly, I subdivided the affective precursors and recoded specific affective precursors to reflect their place in the sequence. Some affective factors were coded as Phase #2, some as Phase #4, and some as Phase #5. Finally, I realized that "results" actually occurred in two places: after Phase #4 in Phase #5, but also after Phase #2. This was the case since some examples referred only to the effects of listening to a personal story or engaging in some shared activity. Other examples referred only to being acknowledged by the other and the result of that acknowledgment. As a result of these findings, I added another phase resulting in 6 Phases (plus Phase X) as follows: Phase 1-Transactional Level (communication strategy, shared activities); Phase 2-Individual Level reactions; Phase 3-Results/Shift; Phase 4-Transactional Level (acknowledgement, shared activities); Phase 4-Individual Level reactions; Phase 5-Results/Shift.

9. I repeated the analysis processes described above using the new coding scheme on the 46 examples of shift from the Jewish and Palestinian participants and found the coding scheme was “accurate” and consistent in describing the flow of events in the shift process. Then I applied the final coding scheme to a sample of participants from the other conflict cases and a sample of intervenors to see whether the pattern would be supported. The results were as expected—consistent.
10. The coding scheme and phases are presented in Table 5-4. To convey that the borders between phases and categories of “causes” are overlapping and porous, the borders of the table are wavy lines instead of straight lines.

APPENDIX E. PHASE 3: HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY OF CYGNUS

Up to 1900	Cygnus controlled by many different countries, including Graustarkia and Ruritania.
1900-1960	Cygnus is under the control of a colonial power, Lausania.
1960	Cygnus wins independence following guerrilla warfare against Lausania. Negotiations among Graustarkia, Ruritania and Lausania led to agreement that provided for the independence, security and governmental structure of Cygnus.
1960-1974	Increasing political tensions and occasional interethnic violence.
July 1974	Coup by Graustark extremists overthrow the more moderate Graustark president and legislators. Ruritania invades Cygnus.
August 1974	Cease-fire agreements reached after Ruritania illegally controls 37% of Cygnus. Thousands of Graustarks were murdered, tortured, raped, and made refugees.
February 1975	Ruritan leadership announces a separate Ruritan territory and the "Line" as the official border between Ruritans and Graustarks on Cygnus.
August 1975	Population exchange agreement results in emigration of 180,000 Graustarks from east of the Line and 20,000 Ruritans from west of the Line.
November 1983	Declaration of Independence by <i>de facto</i> government of the "Ruritan Republic of East Cygnus." Talks break down and no agreements are reached.

APPENDIX F. PHASE 3: PERSONAL STORY

Ruritan Negotiator's Personal Story

I want to tell you my family's history and then maybe you will understand the situation from my perspective. My father's family came to western Cygnus 350 years ago. They came from Ruritania looking for a better life for their children. I come from a family of farmers. My ancestors had a little farm that my father inherited. We raised milk cows, goats, sheep and chickens, and grew some vegetables. My family lived and worked on the same land for 350 years. We loved the land. We loved our village. The farm was passed down through my father's family generation after generation until my father, the oldest in his family, and my mother took over the farm in the 1950s. My father's two brothers and their families also lived and worked on the farm. All our families lived in little houses next to each other. We lived on the edge of our village. It was a tight-knit community. We all took care of each other. We had our family, friends. I was so happy there.

I was very young when Cygnus got independence from Lausania. I remember by parents were very happy. They knew that some Graustarks wanted to unify with Graustarkia, but my parents had some personal friends who were Graustarks. They lived in a nearby village and my parents often traded goods with them. My parents hoped the moderate Graustarks, like the ones they knew, would prevail and that our two people would live in peace together.

Unfortunately, radical Graustarks started attacking Ruritans. I was 6 years old when Graustarks attacked our village one freezing winter night in December 1963. Around midnight, a large group of Graustark paramilitary soldiers charged into our village and ran down the streets shooting randomly. I woke up immediately and heard gunshots and people screaming. My father and mother gathered all us children into a bedroom closet and

tried to keep us quiet and calm. I could hear smashing windows outside. Then three or four Graustark soldiers broke into our house shouting obscenities and yelling. We were upstairs in the bedroom and I could hear them smashing our furniture and dishes downstairs. Then I heard footsteps coming up the stairs. I was so scared. One of the soldiers found where we were hiding, pointed a gun at us and made us all kneel with our hands over our heads. I was so scared and confused. I didn't understand what was happening and why. The soldier grabbed my mother's wedding ring off her finger, took my father's watch, then grabbed my 15-year old sister. My father grabbed her back and the soldier started screaming and hitting my father in the face with the butt of his rifle. My older brother, just 18 years old, grabbed the soldier trying to get the gun away from him. The soldier yelled something and another soldier came and saw my brother struggling with the first soldier. He shot my brother in the back and leg, but he was still alive. My mother screamed, my other brothers and sisters and I were crying. The soldiers then ran back downstairs to the living room and they dragged the blazing logs from our fireplace and threw them at the curtains. I thought they wanted to burn our house down. I could see through the window that other people's houses were on fire too.

The soldiers finally left and we quickly grabbed some clothes and ran out of the house. My father, with blood running down his face from the cuts on his face, carried my injured brother. When we got out to the street I could see Ruritan villagers running from their homes. Many of the women were still in their night clothes and bare feet. Graustark soldiers hit people with their rifle butts and shot many people. We ran into our barn and hid behind the stacks of hay. But, then the Graustark soldiers broke into our barn and machine-gunned the cows, goats, and sheep. They threw the hens into the air and blasted them with bullets as they squawked and fluttered, their pathetic bodies exploding in a cloud of feathers. They set our barn on fire too so we ran to our uncle's house. But, the

Graustarks were making everyone leave the village. We were forced out into the freezing cold. My brother, he died in my father's arms as we walked several hours in the freezing cold weather to the next Ruritan village hoping it would be safe there and we could get him medical help. But, he never made it. The next village had suffered the same disaster. We had no place to go, we became refugees in our own country, living in tents. Then a year later, we were forced to leave our homeland and go to the eastern side of Cygnus. At least we were safe there, but all we wanted was to go back home. We lost everything. No one should have to suffer what my family and I have suffered; what so many of my friends have suffered. Now, all I want is a fair agreement and to live in peace.

APPENDIX G: PHASE 3: RATIONAL EXPLANATION

Ruritan Negotiator's Rational Explanation

Let me explain to you our history and then maybe you will understand the situation from our perspective. First of all, the current conflict started in 1963 not in 1974 as you have presented. But, let me go back further. Both the Ruritans and Graustarks have lived on Cygnus for hundreds of years. Ruritans have been a peaceful agricultural people living mostly on the eastern side of Cygnus. The Graustarks, a more industrialized people, have lived mostly on the western side. We lived relatively peacefully together all over Cygnus for many years. However, the Ruritans have always been a minority group on the island. Only 20% of the people on Cygnus are Ruritans and we have often had to fight to keep our land and rights throughout history. We were oppressed for hundreds of years and then the colonial period of Lausania's control of 1900-1960 was also very difficult for us. We also constantly feared the radical Graustark groups who have continually threatened to take over control of Cygnus and unify Cygnus with Graustarkia, where your ancestors came from. During the colonial period, Graustarks engaged in many violent fights against the Lausanian colonialists, as well as Ruritan civilians. These efforts have been supported by Graustarkia, which has continually tried to take over our sovereignty and annex Cygnus under their control.

We welcomed the independence of Cygnus from Lausania in 1960 and our new freedom. We celebrated the agreements reached between Graustarkia and Ruritania and were very happy about our co-equal partnership under the new constitutional government and independence agreement. We thought that finally our two peoples would be equal and free.

But within three years it became obvious that your side did not want a co-equal partnership with us. It was obvious by your actions. In December 1963, the Graustark National Guard aided by Graustarkia started attacking Ruritan villages and civilians and illegally taking over the government and stripping the Ruritans of our constitutional powers. It became obvious that your leaders wanted to either control all of Cygnus or unify with Graustarkia--either way we would be left with almost nothing and no security. Your demands were strictly illegal according to the independence agreement, which guaranteed the co-equal partnership between Graustarks and Ruritans. In order to help the radical Graustarks achieve their goals, Graustarkia sent thousands of troops to Cygnus to fight and control Ruritans. By the time we had a cease-fire in August 1964, the Graustarks had destroyed 103 Ruritanian villages and over 1,000 houses and shops. Over 25,000 Ruritans, almost a fourth of our people, were forcibly uprooted from their homes and became refugees. Thousands of innocent people have been killed by Graustark soldiers since 1963. And despite the cease-fire, Graustarkia continued to send troops to Cygnus. By spring of 1965, Graustarkia had illegally stationed more than 20,000 troops in Cygnus and continued to exploit and oppress the Ruritans. The situation was intolerable, but we showed restraint while seeking a political settlement.

Then, in July 1974, radical Graustarks in the National Guard, led by Graustarkian mainland troops, staged an illegal coup and took over the government and installed as president a well-known terrorist who was responsible for many of the Ruritan deaths in 1963-1964. We feared the worst because we believed the extremists were now in control and that they would take control of all the land by any means. We thought you wanted to ethnically cleanse us from your areas and dominate us on what little land we had left. That is why Ruritania sent troops to Cygnus in 1974--they merely wanted to protect the Ruritans living on Cygnus and to protect the sovereignty and independence of Cygnus and restore the

constitutional government. The internationally recognized independence agreement clearly stated that Lausania, Graustarkia and Ruritania could use military means to protect the independence and state of affairs of Cygnus--and that's simply what Ruritania did. Ruritania sent troops to Cygnus only after Lausania refused to intervene and protect the Ruritans. Without Ruritania's help, I do not think we would have survived.

So, as you can see, Ruritania's sending troops to Cygnus was not illegal, as you have claimed. After the Ruritanian military came to help us in 1974, we gained control of 37% of Cygnus, which represented the land where almost 90% of the Ruritans had lived for centuries. Now, you may ask why did we need 37% of the land if we were only 20% of the population? First of all, Ruritania wanted to ensure that we had enough territory to safeguard the rights and well-being of Ruritans on Cygnus. And, you must keep in mind that we are still mostly farmers. Our villages and farms are spread out. We need more land to farm than does a person who lives and works in an industrialized city. This is very reasonable.

So, this is our perspective of the conflict. The situation has been peaceful since 1974 and we want to keep it that way. If we look at all the issues carefully, you will see that what we want is very fair.

APPENDIX H. PHASE 3: PRENEGOTIATION QUESTIONNAIRE

Based on the background information on the conflict and what you just heard in the dialogue, take a minute to imagine what you would be thinking and feeling right now. Answer the following questions keeping these feelings and thoughts in mind.

1. Circle the number on each scale below that best describes your perceptions of your opponents.

Very Fair	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Unfair
Very Dogmatic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Logical
Very Involved	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Detached
Very Trusting	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Suspicious
Very Practical	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Idealistic
Very Demanding	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Compromising
Very Rational	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Emotional
Very Effective	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Ineffective
Very Tactical	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Spontaneous
Very Hostile	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Friendly
Very Easy To Understand	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Difficult To Understand
Very Predictable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Unpredictable
Very Similar To Us	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Different From Us
Very Intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Ignorant

Very Emotional	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Unemotional
Not at All Trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Trustworthy
Very Caring of Us	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Uncaring of Us
Very Sincere	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Insincere
Very Trusting of Us	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not At All Trusting of Us
Likes Us Very Much	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Dislikes Us Very Much
Understands Us Very Much	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Misunderstands Us Very Much
Very Threatening	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Peaceful

2. Indicate your expectations of the communication climate in which the negotiations will take place in terms of the following factors:

Very Open	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Mistrustful
Very Antagonistic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Cooperative
Very Rational	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Emotional
Very Futile	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Productive
Very Friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Hostile
Very Emotional	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Unemotional

3. Indicate how you feel about your opponents:

Very Positive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Negative
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4. Indicate the extent to which you feel uncertain about how the negotiation process will go:

Very Uncertain	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Certain
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5. Indicate the extent to which you believe your side is responsible for the current conflict.

Very Responsible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not At All Responsible
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6. Indicate the extent to which you forgive your opponents for the suffering of your family.

Completely Forgive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Do Not At All Forgive
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7. Indicate the extent to which you like the Ruritans.

Dislike Very Much	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Like Very Much
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8. Indicate the extent to which you would characterize the military actions of the Graustarks as offensive versus defensive:

Offensive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Defensive
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9. Indicate the extent to which you care about the well-being of the Ruritans.

Care Very Much	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Do Not Care At All
----------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	--------------------

10. Indicate the extent to which you believe your opponents are responsible for the current conflict.

Very Responsible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not At All Responsible
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11. Indicate the extent to which you believe the Graustarks are victims in this conflict.

Not At All Victims	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Much Victims
--------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-------------------

12. Indicate the extent to which you believe the Ruritans want a fair agreement with Graustarks.

Very Fair	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not At All Fair
-----------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-----------------

13. Indicate the extent to which you feel compassion for the Ruritans:

No Compassion At All	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Much Compassion
-------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-------------------------

14. Indicate the extent to which you believe your opponents have legitimate concerns:

Very Legitimate Concerns	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	No Legitimate Concerns At All
-----------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----------------------------------

15. Indicate the extent to which you believe the Graustarks have been justified in your actions since 1960.

Very Justified	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not At All Justified
-------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-------------------------

16. Indicate the extent to which you believe the Ruritans are victims in this conflict:

Very Much	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not At All Victims
--------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-----------------------

17. Indicate the extent to which the Ruritans believe your side has legitimate concerns:

Very Much	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not At All
-----------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	------------

18. Indicate the extent to which you empathize with how the Ruritans feel in this conflict:

Not At All	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Much
------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-----------

19. Indicate how well you understand your opponent's perspectives:

Not At All	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Well
------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-----------

20. Indicate how well you understand why your opponent's have acted as they have in this conflict:

Very Well	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Well at All
--------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	--------------------

21. Indicate the extent to which you would characterize the military actions of the Ruritans as offensive versus defensive:

Offensive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Defensive
-----------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-----------

22. Indicate the extent to which you believe the Ruritans have been justified in their actions since 1960.

Very Justified	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not At All Justified
-------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-------------------------

23. Indicate the extent to which you believe Graustark and Ruritan Cygnians will one day be able to truly get along on Cygnus:

Strongly Believe	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Do Not At All Believe
---------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	--------------------------

24. Indicate the amount of respect you have for the Ruritans:

No Respect At All	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Much Respect
----------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----------------------

25. Indicate how willing you would be to invite the Ruritan negotiators to your home:

Very Willing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not At All Willing
--------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-----------------------

A. For each issue, circle the option which you believe represents the agreement you are likely to reach. Refer to the issues and options on pages 7-8.

Issue 1: Territorial Jurisdiction

Options: A B C D E

Issue 2: Relocation of Refugees and Restitution

Options: A B C D E F

B. For each issue, circle the option that represents your desired outcome regardless of what you expect the outcome to actually be.

Issue 1: Territorial Jurisdiction

Options: A B C D E

Issue 2: Relocation of Refugees and Restitution

Options: A B C D E F

C. For each issue, circle the option that indicates how far you are willing to go (how much are you willing to compromise) to reach an agreement.

Issue 1: Territorial Jurisdiction

Options: A B C D E

Issue 2: Relocation of Refugees and Restitution

Options: A B C D E F

Go to next page.

1. Indicate the extent to which you believe the conflict is very complex:

Very Complex	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Simple
-----------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----------------

2. Indicate the extent to which you expect a satisfactory resolution of the issues through negotiation:

Very Satisfactory	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Unsatisfactory
----------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	------------------------

3. Indicate the extent to which you believe your preferred solutions are compatible with those solutions you believe will be preferred by your opponent:

Very Incompatible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Compatible
----------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	--------------------

4. Rate the practicality of your preferred solutions:

Very Practical	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Impractical
-------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------

5. Indicate the degree of commitment you feel toward the solutions which you will defend:

Very Committed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Uncommitted
-------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------

6. Indicate how important it is for you to obtain a favorable outcome in the negotiations (e.g., better than your opponents):

Very Important	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not At All Important
-------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-------------------------

7. Indicate the extent to which you view this situation as a win-lose competition, with each side committed to a position; or as a win-win problem-solving experience, in which both sides are attempting to cooperate so that an agreement can be reached:

Win-lose Competition	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Win-win Cooperation
-------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	------------------------

8. Indicate the degree to which you are willing to compromise your positions when you start negotiating:

Very Willing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Unwilling
-----------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-------------------

9. Indicate the degree to which you believe your opponent is willing to compromise his or her positions:

Very Willing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Unwilling
-----------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-------------------

10. Indicate the extent to which you feel uncertain about the way your opponent will behave during the negotiations:

Very Uncertain	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Certain
-------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-----------------

11. Indicate the extent to which you are able to identify with (get into) the Graustark role you are being asked to play in this simulation:

Strongly Identify With Role	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Can not Identify at All With Role
-----------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

12. Indicate the extent to which you think the issues used in the simulation are realistic:

Very Realistic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Unrealistic
-------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------

13. Indicate the extent to which your position will be defensible in a debating forum:

Very Defensible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Very Defensible
--------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	------------------------

14. Indicate the extent to which you were affected emotionally by the statements by the Ruritan negotiators.

Very Much	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not at All
--------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------

15. Indicate the extent to which the Ruritan negotiator's statements made a big impact on you.

Very Big Impact	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	No Impact At All
--------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------

16. Indicate the extent to which the Ruritan negotiator's statements influenced your attitudes toward them in a negative or positive direction.

Very Positive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Negative
------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	------------------

17. Indicate how helpful each of the following techniques would likely be in resolving the issues:

(a) an actual prenegotiation dialogue to assist both sides in getting to know and understand each other.

Helpful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Useless
---------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------

(b) the presence in the negotiations of a professional mediator:

Helpful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Useless
---------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------

18. What impacted you most in determining your attitudes toward the other side?

19. What did you think and feel about the Ruritan statements made during the dialogue?

Prenegotiation Strategy Planning

Your role as a representative of the Graustark government is to get the best agreement possible for your people in the upcoming negotiations with the Ruritan negotiators. You are currently strategizing and preparing for these negotiations. Please take the next **15 minutes** to plan the best way for you to achieve Graustark priorities. Please use the page below to outline/map out your strategy. You may want to consider the following factors in designing your strategy:

1. Define the problem from the Graustark perspective.
2. Define the problem from the Ruritan perspective.
3. Decide what your desired outcomes are on the issues of:
 - a. Territorial jurisdiction in Cygnus
 - b. Payment of restitution and relocation of refugees
4. Decide on your bottom line on these issues.
5. Define what you think are the desired outcomes of the Ruritans on the two issues.
6. Define what you think and feel about the Ruritans.
7. Define your expectations of the negotiating climate.

Given your desired outcomes and bottom line, what you believe about the Ruritan perspectives and preferred outcomes, what you think and feel about them, and your expectations of the negotiating climate, plan a negotiation strategy that you think would be most effective in reaching an agreement that achieves your goals. In other words, what would you say and do in the negotiations? Would a cooperative or competitive strategy be most effective with the Ruritans?

Describe your strategy below (and next page if necessary).

Participant Demographic Information

Age _____

Sex ____F ____M

Ethnicity _____

Country of Birth _____

Please use the remainder of this page to make any additional comments.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Berenike (Nike) Carstarphen was born October 30, 1959 in Cologne, Germany. She moved to the United States with her family in 1964 and is a U.S. citizen. She graduated from the University of Houston-Clear Lake with a Bachelor of Business Administration in 1982 and a Master of Business Administration in 1988. She worked in the business arena for fifteen years before changing careers. She completed her Master of Arts in International Affairs, with a specialization in international peace and conflict resolution, in 1992.

Since 1990, Nike has worked as a facilitator, trainer, and researcher in peacebuilding and conflict analysis, intervention and evaluation with international, national and local governmental and non-governmental organizations, multicultural communities and educational institutions. Her specialties include conflict resolution education and training, community building, and intergroup and intercultural relations in the U.S. and abroad. She has worked with policy makers, NGO leaders, community activists, at-risk youth, educators and police. In 1999, Nike helped found the Alliance for Conflict Transformation, Inc. (ACT), a non-profit organization dedicated to building peace.

Nike has taught conflict resolution courses at American University and George Mason University and has published articles in *Negotiation Journal* and *Teaching and Change*, among others.