Chapter 4
Trust and Managing Conflict: Partners in Developing Organizations

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Although conflict and trust have often been considered incompatible, recent studies indicate that managing conflict cooperatively and trust can reinforce each other. This chapter uses recent research to understand how cooperative goals strengthen trust and how trust promotes open-minded discussions that help protagonists resolve their conflicts constructively. These open-minded discussions very much contribute to making industrial relations practices effective. Trust is defined as expectations that another person will promote one's goals. Cooperative goals strengthen trust as collaborators understand that they can promote their own goals by helping others reach their goals. Trust is critical for fostering open-minded discussions that result in strengthened relationships and mutually beneficial resolutions. In contrast, competitive goals are a basis for suspicious expectations that fosters closed-minded interaction that in turn results in fragmented relationships and deadlock or imposed decisions. Considerable research identifies various strategies that managers and employees have to develop cooperative goals, trust, and open-minded discussions. Then they are empowered to manage their conflicts directly and constructively with each other as they resolve their grievances, negotiate compensation, and in other ways strengthen the work relationships between employees and managers.

Organizations foster the coordination among diverse people and groups to accomplish tasks that individuals working alone cannot. But coordinating diverse people is challenging. Industrial relations (IR) researchers have forcefully argued that conflict pervades organizations, in particular employees have their own interests and goals that are not only different but often are at odds with management's (Boxall 2014; Burgess et al. 2014; Buttigieg et al. 2014; Macneil and Bray 2014). To develop fair organizations, employees should be able to voice their frustrations and concerns and work for arrangements that further their interests (Budd 2004).

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Recognizing that harmonious, cordial industrial relations is a critical basis for industry and economic development (Premalatha 2012), IR researchers argue that grievance and complaint handling systems should be used to resolve injustices and frustrations (Kougiannou et al. 2015; Whalen 2008). Managers and employees must manage many conflicts for organizations to meet needs for efficiency and profit while supporting employee wellbeing and integrating demands from internal and external stakeholders (Boxall 2014; Greer et al. 2013). This chapter argues that managers and employees need to manage their conflicts cooperatively to use IR procedures effectively and realize IR values.

Trust is widely recognized as facilitating coordination but there is uncertainty about how trust can be developed when many organizations experience severe divisions and conflicts. This chapter uses the theory and research on cooperative and competitive approaches to managing conflict to identify the conditions and dynamics by which trust can be developed. It argues that cooperative goals provide a strong basis for trust that in turn helps managers and employees discuss their conflicts open-mindedly, resulting in strengthened relationships and mutually beneficial resolutions. It reviews research to identify practical ways that managers and employees can strengthen their cooperative goals, trust, and open-mindedness. Cooperatively managing conflict and trust are not only compatible but reinforce each other in making teams and organizations fair and effective.

The chapter has six sections. Arguing that common definitions of trust and conflict frustrate understanding how they can reinforce each other, the first section defines trust as expectations of goal facilitation and suspicion as expectations of goal frustration. The second part shows that common definitions of conflict as opposing interests confound conflict with competition and defines conflict as incompatible activities. The third section outlines the theory of cooperative and competitive approaches to managing conflict and identifies how it helps develop our understanding of how cooperative goals promote trust that encourages open-minded discussions and constructive conflict. The fourth part describes how trust and suspicion can very much affect how stable cooperative and competitive approaches are. The fifth part summarizes research on how managers and employees can strengthen cooperative goals, trust, and open-minded discussion abilities that together contribute substantially to constructively resolved conflict and effective industrial relations. The final section argues that recent research has documented that the cooperative goals develop trust and constructive conflict applies to China despite common theorizing that avoiding conflict is very useful in China.

Defining Trust

The idea that conflict and its management can contribute to trust seems contrary to the main currents of organizational behavior and industrial relations theorizing. Trust is associated with warm relational bonds and positive affect where people value each other and listen carefully and work together cooperatively and productively whereas conflict is associated with frustration, hostility, and competition

(Kougiannou et al. 2015). This chapter argues that influential definitions of trust and conflict contribute to the conclusion that trust and conflict are inimical. Unconfounded definitions of trust and conflict help develop an understanding how they can reinforce each other.

Trust is a popular term with strong, positive connotations. Mirroring the complexity and power of the term trust, researchers have suggested that trust has several dimensions. This chapter argues that trust can be usefully defined as expectations of assistance (Deutsch 1962; Huff and Kelley 2003). In goal interdependence terms, trust is the expectation of goal facilitation. Colleen trusts Raymond to the extent that Colleen believes that Raymond will promote her goals.

This section argues that defining trust as expectations of facilitation restricts the definition to one dimension and thereby contributes to the theorizing on trust. Although one dimension, the definition of expectations of goal facilitation is very central to common definitions of trust. Indeed, widely accepted definitions of trust suggest the conditions that result in expectations of goal facilitation.

Defining Trust with Several Dimensions

Mayer et al. (1995) argued that people trust others when they consider them to have capabilities and characteristics needed to implement their commitments, have a positive intention toward the trusting person, and are committed to principles of fairness and honesty. McAllister (1995) defined affect-based trust as high emotional involvement with feelings of genuine caring and concern for the trusting person's welfare. Cognition-based trust involves perceptions that the other person is responsible, reliable, and competent, such as beliefs that people approach their jobs with professionalism and dedication. People trust others when they know they will respond caringly, reliably, and constructively when they share their problems. In their review of literature, Ferrin et al. (2008) found researchers defined trust as perceived ability, perceived integrity, positive and confident expectations, and trusting actions.

Researchers have theorized that a willingness to accept vulnerability is central to trust (Ferrin et al. 2008; Mayer et al. 1995). Trust involves risk-taking, as positive expectations may not be fulfilled (Mayer et al. 1995). Rousseau et al. (1998) argued that trust occurs when people have positive expectations, but only when the trusting person feels vulnerable and that vulnerability was not exploited. Balliet and Van Lange (2013) argued that trust has been associated with situations where people are vulnerable because they have incompatible interests; trust is particularly important when others might reasonably be expected to pursue their goals at the expense of others.

Ferrin and Gillespie (2009) concluded that the best approach is to consider trust as a family of concepts rather than impose a definition. Each study should then explicitly adopt a definition from among several common ones. However, there are shortcomings with this open approach to defining trust. Discussions and theorizing about trust can be confusing as people easily slip from one dimension of trust to

another; they are unsure whether others consider trust as meaning positive expectations, ability, benevolence, or integrity, or a combination. When trust significantly predicts to outcomes, it can be unclear which dimension of trust should be considered the antecedent. Using the same term but meaning different things frustrates communication and theorizing.

Trust as Expectations of Goal Facilitation

We realize that defining trust as expectations of assistance may seem too narrow and that this definition seems not to capture the full meaning of when people use the term. Defining trust as expectations of goal facilitation has the advantage though that it restricts trust to one dimension and thereby contributes to communication and the development of the empirical base for the antecedents and outcomes of trust. In addition, trust defined as expectations of assistance has powerful effects on interactions and outcomes. This section argues that widely adopted definitions of trust include conditions that develop expectations of goal facilitation. However, the conditions that promote trust should be documented through research rather than assumed in the definition.

Definitions of trust have emphasized that trust occurs when people believe the trusted others are capable, competent, reliable, caring, and concerned (Mayer et al. 1995; McAllister 1995). These perceptions, we hypothesize, very much strengthen the expectation of goal facilitation. Knowing that people have both the capacity and the motivation to assist us, we are likely to expect goal facilitation. We expect others to help us when we believe they care for us and have the abilities and intention to follow through on commitments.

Defining trust as expectations of goal facilitation also recognizes that trust involves vulnerability. Colleen expects assistance from people she depends upon and can impact her goals. But she also realizes that though she expects Raymond to promote her goals, he may not, leaving her frustrated. Expecting assistance recognizes dependence and vulnerability. Raymond can choose to help or frustrate her goals, or in behavioral terms, can increase or decrease her costs and benefits (Thibaut and Kelly 1959). Trust as expectation of goal facilitation derives from recognizing dependence on others and therefore vulnerability to them.

It may be that the more vulnerable people believe that others might adversely affect their goals, the more significant the role of trust. However, as with other antecedents of trust, the effects of the degree of vulnerability on trust should be studied rather than assumed in the definition of trust.

Defining trust as expectations of goal facilitation is an elegant solution that improves communication. Though it is one dimension, expectations of assistance play a very powerful role in groups and organizations. The following sections develop the understanding that trust very much affects the dynamics and outcomes of relationships, in particular conflict management, and thereby the effectiveness of teams and organizations.

Suspicion as Expectations of Goal Frustration

Trust is sometimes also considered in terms of the absence of suspicion. However, researchers have argued that trust should be defined and measured independently from suspicion (Lewicki 2014). This chapter defines suspicion as expectations of frustration. Colleen suspects Raymond to the extent that she believes Raymond will frustrate her goals.

Trust and suspicion are distinct variables, though normally negatively correlated: An increase in expectations of facilitation usually decreases expectation of goal frustration. Although we typically do not expect people to facilitate our goals and frustrate our goals equally, we certainly can expect both facilitation and frustration in that the person may harm as well as help us. After making a mistake, we may expect our teammate will help by forgiving us but we might also suspect that she will frustrate us by blaming us. Trust and suspicion are often unrelated; for example, we typically do not much trust or suspect people we do not know. The relationships between trust and suspicion should be studied and documented, not assumed in their definitions.

Defining Conflict

Conflict pervades organizations and comes in many kinds and sizes (Gelfand et al. 2012). Conflicts can involve two persons or many countries. Conflict can be exciting and stimulating or traumatizing and depressing. Personalities, situations, and ideas all have an impact on the frequency and outcomes of conflict. Employees may look forward to the excitement of conflict, then in other situations they sacrifice their interests to avoid conflict. As with trust, it has proved difficult to define such a pervasive and important phenomenon as conflict.

Prominent social psychological and organizational scholars have proposed that conflict arises from opposing interests involving scarce resources and goal divergence and frustration (Mack and Snyder 1957; Pondy 1967; Schmidt and Kochan 1972; Lewicki et al. 1997; Rubin et al. 1994). However, defining conflict as opposing interests confounds conflict with competition defined as incompatible goals and leads to believing that conflict is always a "war" of one against another as they fight to see who will win and who will lose.

Deutsch (1973) has provided the unconfounded definition of conflict as incompatible activities; one person's actions interfere, obstruct or in some way get in the way of another's. Conflict occurs when one person's ideas, information, expectations, and preferences are incompatible with those of another as they seek an agreement. People in conflict discuss the pros and cons of their different views.

Cooperative and Competitive Approaches to Conflict

Research has demonstrated that it is not so much conflict itself that affects outcomes, as it is how partners discuss and deal with their conflict (De Dreu and Gelfand 2008). Deutsch (1973) theorized that how individuals believe their own goals are related very much affects the nature of relationships and interaction that they develop. Specifically, beliefs about how goals are related have been found to very much affect how conflicts are dealt with and thereby their consequences (Deutsch et al. 2014; Tjosvold et al. 2014).

Types of Interdependence

The theory of cooperation and competition assumes that individuals—and groups and organizations—pursue goals that they expect will promote their interests and values. However, they are interdependent in that the accomplishment of each individual's goals is affected by the actions of others that may facilitate or frustrate each other's goal accomplishment (Deutsch 1949, 1962; Johnson 1970; Johnson and Johnson 1989, 2005; Johnson et al. 2012). People reach very different conclusions about their interdependence, specifically how their goals and self-interests are related to each other. Cooperative and competitive interdependence have been found to very much affect the dynamics and outcomes of conflict management (Deutsch et al. 2014).

Cooperation exists when individuals perceive that they can reach their goals if and only if others with whom they are cooperatively linked also reach their goals—that is, there is a positive relationship among goal attainments. Collaborators then tend to promote each other's efforts to achieve their goals because, as they promote another's goals, they also promote their own.

Competition occurs when individuals perceive that they can obtain their goals if and only if the others with whom they are competitively linked fail to obtain their goals—that is, there is a perceived negative interrelationship among goal attainments. Therefore, they obstruct each other's efforts to achieve their goals because such obstruction makes it more likely that the obstructer will achieve his or her goals.

Goal Interdependence, Trust, and Open-Minded Discussion

This section argues that goal interdependence very much affects trust and suspicion that in turn affect how open-minded protagonists are in expressing their own views as well as listening and understanding others. The more open-minded the

Fig. 4.1 Open-minded discussion dynamics
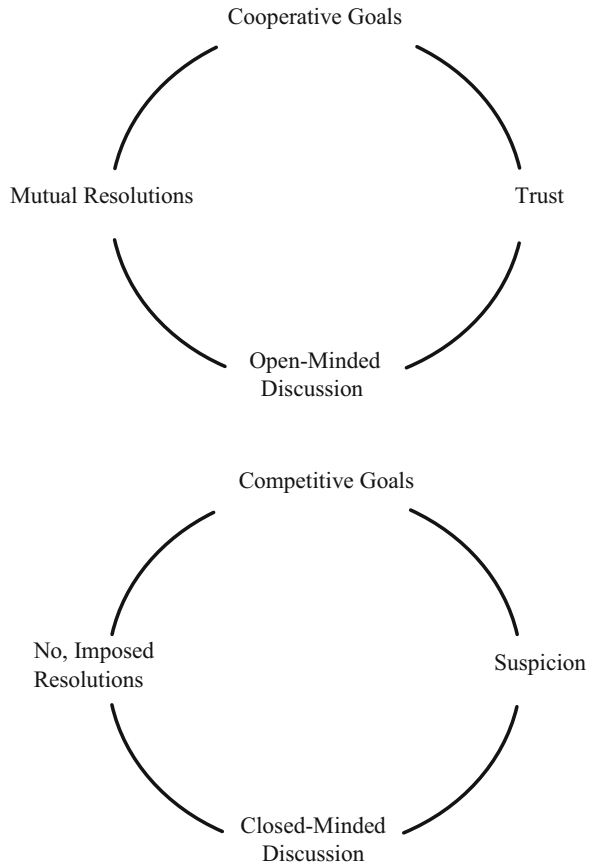
interaction is between protagonists, the more likely they will manage their conflicts constructively by agreeing to high quality, mutual resolutions and strengthening their relationships (Tjosvold et al. 2014) (Fig. 4.1).

Cooperative Goals for Trust

Cooperative goals provide a solid foundation for trust because protagonists understand that can move toward their own goals by facilitating the goals of others (Tjosvold 1986). Recognizing that they have cooperative goals gives protagonists concrete evidence that they can trust each other; Colleen expects Raymond to facilitate her goals because then he simultaneously promotes his own goals.

Trust for Open-Mindedness

Studies suggest that cooperative goals and trust have constructive effects because they lead protagonists to discuss issues open-mindedly and constructively (Alper et al. 2000; Chen et al. 2005; Tjosvold 2008; Tjosvold et al. 2006). They are open with their own views, open to those of others, and open to new solutions that can resolve the conflict for mutual benefit.

Open-mindedness involves the search for evidence against one's favored beliefs and ideas and to weigh such evidence impartially (Cegarra-Navarro and Sánchez-Polo 2011). In open-minded discussion, protagonists develop and express their own views directly to each other. They want others to understand their position and to include their aspirations in any agreements. To supplement their own openness, protagonists also seek to understand opposing views; they listen and try to understand each other's position and arguments as they work to combine their ideas into new agreements acceptable to all. Evidence indicates that these aspects of openness are reinforcing and together constitute open-minded discussion (Tjosvold 1990; Tjosvold et al. 1992; Tjosvold and Halco 1992).

Open-minded protagonists ask questions for more information and understanding of opposing views. They put themselves in each other's shoes to understand each other (Johnson 1967; Johnson 1971a, b). Understanding other views creates an uncertainty about their own position, helping them be more open to consider alternative resolutions. Open-minded discussion helps protagonists develop and evaluate alternative resolutions so that they can implement the one they believe is most useful. They develop full, effective participation and mutual influence that leads to creating mutually beneficial resolutions (Tjosvold 1987; Tjosvold and Field 1983).

Many researchers, though they may employ various terminologies, have found that open-minded discussion is a foundation for constructive outcomes for managing conflict (Follett 1940; Pruitt and Carnevale 1993; De Dreu 2007; De Dreu et al. 2000; De Dreu et al. 2008; Rahim 1983, 1995; Johnson et al. 2006; Tjosvold 1985). In discussing open-mindedly, protagonists express their needs, feelings, and ideas. They let each other know what they want and believe is valuable so that they can develop resolutions that to the extent possible help both of them reach their goals.

For example, management and union representatives with cooperative goals felt they could rely on each other, convey an intention to work for mutual benefit, and express their opposing views directly to each other, and combined their ideas. With this open-minded discussion, they developed creative, quality solutions and used their resources efficiently (Tjosvold et al. 1999; Tjosvold and Morishima 1999). They resolved their grievances with positive feelings, satisfied both union and management, and improved procedures that would help them resolve future grievances.

With trust, protagonists confidently express their own views because they believe that the other will want to know and use them to help them accomplish their mutual goals. They also work to understand and integrate each other's ideas as they seek to develop resolutions beneficial to the other as well as themselves. Trust then plays a critical role in translating cooperative goals into mutually beneficial resolutions by fostering open-minded discussion.

Suspicion and Closed-Mindedness

Protagonists may conclude that their goals are competitive in that one's successful goal attainment makes others less likely to reach their goals. Then they treat conflict as a win-lose contest in that they want solutions good for themselves at the expense of the other's interests. Based on their understanding that their goals are competitive, they suspect others will frustrate their goals as this frustration helps them move toward accomplishing their own goals. Consequently, they discuss issues closed-mindedly (Alper et al. 2000; Chen et al. 2005; Tjosvold, 2008).

They are cautious in expressing their views fully because they believe that the other might use that information against them. They may overstate their own position to get their way and demand that others agree with their position. They are wary of integrating the other's ideas because doing so might help the other and harm themselves. Assuming others will not reciprocate openness and concessions and may even obstruct their efforts, protagonists are often inflexible. Their closed-minded discussions result in deadlocks or imposing a solution by the more powerful. Competitive goals result in destructive conflict resolution by fostering suspicion that in turn promotes closed-minded discussion.

Instability in Cooperative and Competitive Conflict Approaches

Cooperative goals, trust, open-minded discussion and the outcomes of mutually beneficial resolutions and stronger relationships are mutually reinforcing as are competitive goals, suspicion, closed-minded discussion, imposed decisions, and fragmented relationships (Deutsch 1973). However, these cycles can de-stabilize, even replace each other. Although goal interdependence has powerful effects on trust and suspicion, other conditions also affect trust and suspicion and thereby how open-mindedly and constructively protagonists discuss their conflicts.

Cooperative Become Competitive Conflict

Even when goals are cooperative, protagonists can become suspicious of each other and interact in closed-minded ways. Indeed, researchers have concluded on the basis of experimental studies that cooperative environments can be difficult to maintain (Kelly and Stahelski 1970; Komorita and Parks 1995). Observers have identified significant challenges to maintaining cooperative systems, such as project teams, worker cooperatives, kibbutz, alliances, and organizations (Hackman 1990; Tajfel 1981). Despite cooperative goals based on common tasks, shared identity, and espoused common goals, protagonists can suspect the others will not facilitate their goals and consequently discuss their views closed-mindedly, resulting in low quality solutions and relationships.

In support of this reasoning, considerable research has investigated the impact of conflict strategies by identifying the extent that they strengthen cooperative or competitive goals (Deutsch et al. 2014; De Dreu and Gelfand 2008). Employing closed-minded strategies convey that protagonists believe their goals are competitive. Studies suggest that such strategies as controlling influence attempts, dismissive comments, making very high demands, and failing to listen can intensity perceived competitive goals and suspicious and lead to unresolved issues and fragmented relationships (Tjosvold et al. 2014). For example, threats that communicate a lack of respect can convince the protagonists that they have to compete over who will be respected; they increase their suspicion that they will try to frustrate each other's goals and are unable to reach mutually beneficial resolutions (Tjosvold 1974). Cooperative goals do not ensure trust, open-mindedness, and constructive conflict.

Trust with Competitive Goals

Competitive goals, though evidence for being suspicious, do not mean that protagonists cannot interact open-mindedly with each other. Indeed, in their meta-analysis of social dilemma research, Balliet and Van Lange (2013) found strong support for their hypothesis that trust can be developed even when persons have the competitive goals of opposing interests. Highly trusting people can discuss issues open-mindedly and forge mutually advantage resolutions despite incompatible interests. They can use open-minded strategies to discuss their conflict that helps them emphasize that they also have cooperative as well as competitive interests and can reach mutually beneficial solutions (Deutsch et al. 2014).

Cooperative and Competitive Conflict Cases between Supervisors and Employees

We have interviewed managers and employees on incidences when they managed conflict with each other to supplement experimental and survey data. This section describes two cases that illustrate cooperative and competitive approaches to managing conflict between employees and their supervisors.

Cooperative Approach

Mr. Lai (names are fictitious) was a construction manager who used traditional ways to place decoration, like using screws to hang mirrors. However, his foreign supervisor insisted that they use glue. Believing the screws would last longer,

Mr. Lai did not want to accept his supervisor's suggestion but he also did not want to offend him. Finding the cafeteria a good time to talk, Mr. Lai decided to explain the reasons informally and sat together with the supervisor, discussing about the differences between foreign managers and Chinese employees, using their case as an example. They elaborated their own positions while listening carefully to each other. Together they considered the whole construction style, the customer's requirement, and evaluated the advantages and disadvantages of both solutions, they found it was better to use different ways according to different materials. The way the supervisor discussed their different views made Mr. Lai feel respected, giving him the confidence to develop a quality relationship with the supervisor. In his mind, he was lucky to work with a gentleman who was open-minded and trustworthy, providing him with chances to describe his thoughts.

Competitive Approach

Mr. Hu, a salesman for a healthcare company, had nearly completed negotiation with a customer for a big order when his supervisor re-plotted their selling regions. According to the plan, Mr. Hu had to pass the customer to his colleague who would then receive any commission. Thinking he had contributed to the business, Mr. Hu was unwilling to follow the supervisor's plan and appealed for compensation, but the supervisor emphasized the overall situation. To compromise, Mr. Hu suggested that he either finish the negotiation or pass the case to his colleague, but should share the commission with the colleague. However, the supervisor believed all employees should follow the company's regulations unconditionally. Believing the supervisor would never care for his benefit, Mr. Hu introduced the customer to another company from which he received the commission in a backhanded manner. Finally, Mr. Hu was fired for his betrayal, and the supervisor was demoted for contributing to the lost business.

Developing Constructive Conflict Management

Employees, supervisors, unions, and management are confronted with many and sometimes very difficult conflicts. But these conflicts can solve problems and strengthen relationships if they are managed effectively (Tjosvold and Tjosvold 2015). Research supports this chapter's analysis that developing cooperative goals, trust, and open-mindedness are direct, reinforcing, and powerful ways to empower employees and managers to deal with their conflicts constructively (Chen and Tjosvold 2007; Coleman et al. 2013; Hempel et al. 2009; Tjosvold 1999, 2007, 2008). This section summarizes research suggesting how managers and employees can develop cooperative goals, trust, and open-mindedness.

Strengthening Cooperative Goals

Research studies and professional practice suggest that developing cooperative goals empowers people to manage their conflicts constructively (Johnson et al. 2014). Indeed, there are direct and powerful ways to help protagonists realize that their goals are cooperative. The stronger and more overlapping the evidence, the more likely that people will believe that their important goals are cooperative.

Common Tasks

Managers can form employees into teams and ask the team as whole is to accomplish a task. The team should make one set of recommendations, develop and produce a new product, or solve a problem. Each team member signs off on the team's output, indicating that she has contributed and supported it. Factory workers, call center employees, and others who work primarily on individual tasks can combine their individual output to form a group average each week. They commit themselves to improving others' as well as their own output.

Tasks should be challenging to make it easier for protagonists to recognize that they cannot succeed working individually but need the combined consideration and effort of all team members to succeed. Challenging tasks that are probable, but difficult to achieve have been found to engage achievement needs. Then members can demonstrate that they have accomplished a task at a high level and have the internal feeling of being effective.

Roles to Divide Up the Work

Managers and employees can develop roles for individuals. Roles identify the major activities and tasks for the group to succeed and then distribute them to individuals and sub-groups; everyone knows what he or she should get done and how it complements the work of others.

Roles formalize the division of labor that is a central element of organizations. Managers and employees recognize and clarify how their roles are complementary. The team leader, assistant leader, researcher, and secretary discuss how their responsibilities supplement each other so that they recognize no one can be highly effective unless others do their jobs.

Reward Individuals Based on Joint Performance

Managers and employees understand that their own individual rewards depend upon joint progress. Everyone is rewarded or no one is rewarded. Intangible rewards can also be very powerful. Leaders appreciate and recognize joint success. The company newsletter describes their accomplishments and contributions. Protagonists throw a party to show that they appreciate each person's contribution to their joint success.

Promoting Trust

In addition to documenting the value of trust (Huff and Kelley 2003; Shockley-Zalabak et al. 2000), definitions and research on trust suggest how trust can be developed. Selecting and including people who are oriented to being trusting has long been thought useful, but can be difficult to implement. This section argues that managers and employees can develop trust by strengthening their personal relationships, appreciating each other's abilities, and recognizing their vulnerability.

Personal, Caring Relationships

Researchers have argued that caring, personal relationships are critical aspects of trust (Ferrin et al. 2008; Mayer et al. 1995; McAllister 1995). Knowing protagonists as individuals build feelings that they can count on each other whereas they are leery of those they do not know. Partners can discuss their experiences, feelings, and values and engage in "small talk" about family and themselves to strengthen personal relationships. Expressing warmth, friendliness, and concern further help collaborators believe that they will feel accepted, valued, and supported. They can communicate caring by responding to each other's special needs, celebrating their personal victories, and supporting them in times of crisis. Social gatherings such as Friday afternoon social hours, reward celebrations, and holiday parties encourage feelings of trust.

Appreciating Capabilities

Researchers have argued that recognizing the resources and abilities of each other is central to trust (Ferrin et al. 2008; Mayer et al. 1995; McAllister 1995). Getting to know others should highlight recognizing each other's skills and resources and how they can be applied so that to the extent possible they all reach their goals. They can

discuss how they have used their abilities to further each other's goals. They can give each other positive feedback about how they have used their abilities to help each other.

Vulnerability

Researchers have proposed that a willingness to accept vulnerability where they recognize that the other might exploit them is part of trust (Balliet and Van Lange 2013; Ferrin et al. 2008; Mayer et al. 1995; Rousseau et al. 1998). Recognizing that they are dependent upon each other, they understand that their goals can be frustrated as well as facilitated. They reveal to each other how they need each other's assistance to accomplish their goals.

Develop Open-Minded Skills

Managers and employees can develop the skills and procedures of open-minded discussion. It has four mutually reinforcing aspects: Develop and express own ideas, question and understand other views, integrate and create new ideas, and agree and implement a solution (Johnson et al. 2006; Tjosvold 1985). These dynamics suggest the challenges of discussing issues open-mindedly and how managers and employees can develop their skills to discuss conflict constructively.

Develop and Express Own Views

Expressing one's own needs, feelings, and ideas very much contributes to open-minded discussion. Collaborators need to know what each other wants and believes is valuable in order to develop resolutions that they all believe are mutually beneficial and constructive. A climate that helps team members feel safe to speak their minds very much contributes to teamwork (Edmondson, 2012).

To strengthen expression of own position, team members can learn to research their position, present the best case they can for it, and defend it vigorously. They learn to be effective advocates, persuasively presenting the best case possible for their positions. However, expressing own position needs to be supplemented with openness to the other's position.

Question and Understand Other Views

Conflict is an opportunity to know opposing positions as well as to develop and express one's own. Listening and understanding opposing views as well as defending one's own makes discussing issues more challenging but also more rewarding.

Collaborators learn to refute the opposing positions but in ways that foster more discussion. They point out weaknesses in each other's argument to encourage each other to develop and express their positions by finding more evidence and strengthening their reasoning. They identify weaknesses in the other's position while communicating that they want the other to strengthen the defense of his or her position.

Collaborators become less certain that their original position is adequate and complete and seek to understand opposing views. They learn to ask questions for more information about the logic and evidence supporting opposing views. They act on their curiosity by stop defending their own position to ask questions about other views (Tjosvold and Johnson 1977, 1978).

Role reversal asks team members to put themselves in each other's shoes and to present the opposing arguments as comprehensively and convincing as they can (Johnson 1967; Johnson 1971a, b). These re-statements of the opposing views communicate that the protagonists are listening to each other as well as deepening their understanding of the opposing position.

Integrate and Create Solutions

The creation of new alternatives lays the foundations for genuine agreement to a solution that team members accept and implement. Open-minded discussion helps them develop and evaluate alternative resolutions so that they can implement the one they believe is most effective. They also may develop more confidence in their relationships as they have exchanged views directly and show that they are trying to understand and integrate each other's ideas so that all benefit.

Collaborators may though have to engage in repeated discussions to reach an agreement or indeed they may be unable to create a solution that is mutually acceptable. They may, for example, be unconvinced that the evidence warrants modifying their original positions. They may have to continue to discuss their opposing views until they develop a mutually beneficial resolution.

Agree and Implement Solutions

Open-minded discussion has been found to contribute to the full, effective participation and mutual influence (Tjosvold 1987; Tjosvold and Field 1983). Laboratory and field experiments have shown that individuals involved in cooperative, controversial participation reach agreement and carry out that agreement (Richter and Tjosvold 1980; Tjosvold and Deemer 1980).

Teams and organizations can develop supportive norms and patterns to help team members be open with their ideas, open to other views, and integrate them. Managers and employees understand that they should seek the best reasoned judgment,

not winning; they criticize ideas, not people; they listen and learn everyone's posi-
tion, even if they do not agree with it; they differentiate positions before trying to
integrate them; and they change their mind when logically persuaded to do so.

Cooperative Goals and Trust for Conflict Management in China

The theorizing that cooperative goals develop trust and open-minded discussion that
contribute to effective industrial relations practices and organizations may seem to
be applicable in the West, but much less to Asian and other traditional societies.
Indeed, commentators have argued that Asian organizations have not embraced
Western style industrial relations with their emphasis on participation and open con-
flict management. For example in China, enterprise-level trade unions, rarely func-
tion as representatives of employee interests because they depend on the Chinese
government and employers (Kim et al. 2014; Liu et al. 2011). Employee efforts to
organize trade unions must join the All- China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU),
the monopoly trade union approved by the Chinese government (Taylor et al. 2003).
In Malaysia, trade unions have little influence on human resource management
practices and workplace issues.

Indeed, it is often argue that Chinese develop trust and relationships through
avoiding conflict. However, recent research using a variety of research methods,
indicate that cooperative goals, trust, and open-minded discussions reinforce each
other and contribute to making Chinese organizations effective. Studies also show
that Chinese values such as social face and collectivism can be skillfully applied to
promote open-minded conflict.

In an experiment (Tjosvold and Sun 2001), Chinese participants with coopera-
tive goals were committed to mutual benefit, were interested in learning more about
the opposing views, considered these views useful, came to agree with them, and
tended to integrate them into their own decisions. They were more attracted to the
other protagonist and had greater confidence in working together in the future than
participants in the competitive condition.

Field studies provide evidence that these and other experimental findings apply
to organizations in China. Chinese team members that discussed issues coopera-
tively and openly took risks effectively, innovated, and recovered from their mis-
takes (Tjosvold and Yu 2007). Supply chain partners in China that relied on a
cooperative, open-minded approach to conflict, rather than competitive or avoiding
approaches, had developed just relationships and thereby strategic advantage and
innovation (Tjosvold et al. 2010). In Chinese top management teams, executives
that relied on cooperative rather than competitive and avoiding conflict were rated
by their CEOs as effective and their organizations as innovative (Chen et al. 2005).

Research also indicates that other Chinese values can be applied so that they
strengthen cooperative goals, trust, and open-mindedness (Tjosvold et al. 2014).

For example, Chinese protagonists who valued collectivism, compared to individualism, felt cooperative, confident that they could work together to make decisions, asked questions, demonstrated that they understood the opposing arguments, accepted these arguments as reasonable, and combined positions to create an integrated decision (Tjosvold et al. 2010).

Experimental studies indicate that social face concerns, when expressed by confirming the face of protagonists, promote cooperative conflict (Tjosvold 1977; Tjosvold and Sun 2000, 2001). Emphasizing their cooperative goals, protagonists whose face was confirmed, compared to affronted, were interested in hearing more of the other's arguments, and worked to integrate and accept them. Results from field studies also indicate that confirmation of social face helped Chinese people discuss their frustrations cooperatively and productively (Tjosvold et al. 2003).

Chinese values, when skillfully applied, can be foundations for cooperative goals, trust, and open-mindedness (Tjosvold et al. 2014). More direct research is needed, but it seems that Chinese valuing relationships can develop open-minded discussion and constructive conflict and thereby contribute to effective industrial relationships.

Concluding Comments

Managing conflict constructively contributes to effective industrial relations that meet the demands of profit while supporting employee wellbeing over the long-run (Boxall 2014). Industrial relations professionals and researchers recognize that employees should have a voice in their work lives where they pursue just resolutions to their grievances, bargain collectively, and in other ways further their interests even if those interests are different from management (Boxall 2014; Burgess et al. 2014; Budd 2004; Kochan 2005; Macneil and Bray 2014).

Similarly, human resource management professionals and researchers recommend moving away from practices that try to control employees and embrace practices that involve and gain employee commitment (Chang et al. 2014) Not fully appreciated is that to exercise voice to develop fair organizations that engender commitment requires a great deal of constructive conflict management (De Dreu and Gelfand 2008; Deutsch et al. 2014; Tjosvold 1991). Without constructive conflict management, grievances fester and unjust, inadequate practices continue to frustrate (Tjosvold et al. 1999; Tjosvold and Morishima 1999). Employees have reasons to withdraw rather than commit to the organization.

Trust and conflict are recognized as vital ideas for understanding collaboration but also often thought to work in opposition. As research has shown that conflict is pervasive and potentially constructive, we need to understand how trust and conflict can reinforce and support each other. Otherwise, trust is apt to be considered irrelevant for the demanding, conflictful workplace. Trust may be relegated to being a nice sounding platitude rather than appreciated as a vital contributor to collaboration and developing effective organizations.

Studies document that trust can help partners manage their conflicts and that effectively managed conflict can strengthen trust. Indeed, people who open-mindedly use their conflicts for mutual benefit very much strengthen their trust of each other in that they have shown that they are committed to finding ways to facilitate each other's goals. Managing conflict competitively confirms suspicion where partners conclude that they want to frustrate each other's goals.

This chapter used the theory of cooperation and competition to develop our understanding of how cooperative and competitive goals, trust, and open-minded discussion reinforce each other (Deutsch 1973; Tjosvold 1986). The stronger the cooperative goals, the higher the trust and the more likely protagonists will open-mindedly consider each other's ideas; this open-mindedness helps protagonists integrate their views to develop mutually beneficial resolutions.

Theorizing on the links between goals, trust, and open-mindedness have important practical implications. Team members and other collaborators can develop a shared understanding of the kind of teamwork they want to develop (Tjosvold and Tjosvold 2015). They can apply research identifying various direct ways to strengthen their cooperative goals, trust, and open-mindedness. They are then prepared to manage their conflicts so that they resolve issues and make and implement high quality decisions that contribute to fair, high commitment, and productive organizations good for employees and for managers and customers.

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