

Cooperation and Conflict within Groups: Bridging Intragroup and Intergroup Processes

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Whereas intragroup processes and intergroup relations are often assumed to reflect discrete processes and cooperation and conflict to represent alternative outcomes, the present article focuses on intergroup dynamics within a shared group identity and challenges traditional views of cooperation and conflict primarily as the respective positive and negative outcomes of these dynamics. Drawing on the ideas, theories, and evidence presented in other articles in this volume, we (1) consider the dynamic tension between stability and change that exists within hierarchical groups; (2) discuss the different perspectives that advantaged and disadvantaged subgroups within a larger group have regarding this tension; (3) propose that cooperation and conflict should be viewed as developmental processes in the life of a group; (4) suggest that constructive resolution of conflict depends upon whether subgroups manage to satisfy the different needs of each group, and (5) conclude by discussing the personal, social, and policy implications of this perspective.

The study of intragroup processes has been traditionally pursued in ways independent from research on intergroup relations, both theoretically and empirically. Work on intragroup processes has emphasized the importance of leadership, influence, and power within groups, loyalty, cohesiveness, cooperation, and performance (e.g., Beal, Cohen, & Burke, 2003; Chen, Kirkman, Kanfer, Allen, & Rosen, 2007; Levine & Moreland, 2002). Work on intergroup relations has focused on social identity, symbolic and realistic conflict between groups, and interventions that can reduce intergroup conflict (LeVine & Campbell, 1972; Pettigrew

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& Tropp, 2006; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Increasingly, however, theorizing from one line of inquiry has been extended to the other. For example, Worchel, Coutant-Sassic, and Wong (1993) considered how intergroup orientations can systematically influence processes associated with stages of group development and maturation. Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), a prominent theory of intergroup relations, has been applied to understand leadership within a group (Hogg, 2001) and group productivity (Worchel, Rothgerber, Day, Hart, & Butemeyer, 1998). This volume of the *Journal of Social Issues* is framed in terms of understanding “intragroup conflict and cooperation,” but its theoretical foundation is a fusion of intragroup and intergroup processes.

Although the articles in this volume all speak faithfully to different aspects of intragroup conflict and cooperation, each article points to the need to understand the relationship between intragroup dynamics and intergroup relations. In particular, relations between two subgroups that belong to and interact within the same society (e.g., Whites and Blacks in the United States) or organization (e.g., racial and ethnic diversity in work teams), which is so prevalent in today’s multicultural societies, blur the distinction between intergroup and intragroup processes. Under these conditions, intergroup and intragroup processes are highly interwoven. The present article thus focuses on intergroup dynamics within a shared group identity and challenges traditional views of cooperation and conflict primarily as the respective positive and negative outcomes of these dynamics.

Gaining a better understanding of the dynamics that are typical of these social structures (i.e., subgroups within the same superordinate group) is of particular importance because groups, such as nations and work organizations, are increasingly becoming racially and ethnically diverse. As King, Hebl, and Beal (this volume) report in this volume, “Every modern assessment of the demographic composition of the American workforce suggests that the prototype of a White male employee is becoming more and more antiquated . . . women already comprise at least half of all personnel employed in management, professional, financial, education, health services, and leisure and hospitality fields . . . Furthermore, census projection data suggest that by the year 2020, more than 14% of the American workforce will be Hispanic, and 11% Black and 6% Asian (Tolbert, 2002)” (pp. 261–262). In practice, thus, groups are commonly composed of different subgroups.

Besides its practical significance, understanding the relationship between intragroup dynamics and intergroup relations is also of theoretical value. Once groups are recognized as consisting of members who have different social identities, understanding social dynamics requires a synthesis of intragroup and intergroup theories. For instance, emphasizing the common within-group identity of East and West Germans during reunification improved attitudes and relations between these two groups, but it was also associated with increased bias toward people of other European nations (Kessler & Mummendey, 2001). Thus, a process that increased intragroup harmony led to potential intergroup tension. Taken

together, the articles in this volume all contribute to such a theoretical and practical synthesis.

Drawing upon the work presented in this volume, we begin our analysis by first identifying a dynamic tension between stability and change that exists within hierarchical groups. We then discuss the different perspectives that advantaged (majority) and disadvantaged (minority) subgroups within the larger society have regarding this tension, as a consequence of their relative position in the larger group's hierarchy. We then propose that the traditional view equating cooperation and conflict with the positive and negative outcomes of intergroup relations is an oversimplification because it fails to address the different perspectives of minorities and majorities. We suggest, instead, that cooperation and conflict should be viewed as developmental processes in the life of a group, reflecting the dynamic tension between stability and change. Furthermore, sometimes the former is not an adaptive process whereas the latter is, because it allows the voice of disadvantaged groups to be heard, which potentially benefits society as a whole. We conclude by discussing the social and policy implications of our perspective.

Dynamic Tension between Stability and Change

Several different theories, presented in the articles of this volume, discuss the conservative nature of group structure. Structure is a defining element of a group (e.g., as compared to the simultaneous presence of individuals), and there are a number of forces that tend to maintain and reinforce this structure. Studies of animal societies (e.g., Wittemyer & Getz, 2007) as well as of human groups (e.g., Worchel & Shackelford, 1991) demonstrate the critical value of differentiated roles to effective group functioning. Groups whose members have well-defined, accepted, and complementary roles are better able to manage scarce resources (Harris, 2006), more effective in routine activities (Peterson, Mitchell, Thompson, & Burr, 2000), and better able to respond to unexpected situations (Firestone, Lichtman, & Colamosca, 1975). All members thus potentially benefit from these coordinated efforts. An effective structure that facilitates group performance and success, and brings associated rewards and resources to the group, would seem likely to be quite stable.

Yet differentiation of roles within groups is almost inevitably associated with hierarchical structure of that group as a whole. As Alexander, Chizhik, Chizhik, and Goodman (this volume) observed in their article in this volume, "Early on in the formation of groups, hierarchies of power and prestige become readily apparent. Such inequalities develop even in groups where members are of equal status at the outset of group interaction" (pp. 366–367). Moreover, hierarchy within groups is not simply a status ordering of individuals; it often involves coalitions of group members (subgroups) and represents power differentials among these subgroups. Far-reaching cross-cultural evidence demonstrates that such power

disparities between subgroups are characteristic of human societies, regardless of their era, culture, or form of government (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Current examples include relations between immigrants and members of host countries in Europe, between Whites and racial minorities in the United States, and between different castes in India.

Because hierarchies, almost by definition, benefit some individuals and subgroups more than others, those higher and lower in status tend to have different orientations with regard to the structure of the relations within the group. Those higher in the hierarchy tend to be motivated to support the status quo; those lower in the hierarchy (i.e., with disadvantaged status) are typically more motivated for change in the social structure. Therefore, the interplay between these two opposing forces (i.e., preservation vs. change of the status quo) is evident in most hierarchical social structures.

Several authors in the current volume address the forces of stability that serve to maintain the established hierarchy within groups. Alexander et al. (this volume) report, "Once hierarchies of power and prestige are set into place, research suggests that they are viewed as legitimate and highly resistant to change . . . Valid and helpful suggestions from low-status members are likely to be ignored, devalued, or discounted" (p. 367).

The articles in the current volume identify a number of converging mechanisms that create, support, and reinforce hierarchy within groups. To explain these dynamics, Alexander et al. (see also Shelly & Shelly, this volume) draw upon status characteristics theory (Wagner & Berger, 1993) and expectation states theory (Berger, Rosenholtz, & Zelditch, 1980; Fisek, Berger, & Norman, 1991). Alexander et al. explain, "According to these theories, diffuse characteristics, such as race, gender, and age, and specific characteristics relevant to the task at hand (e.g., expertise, problem solving ability) lead to expectations for individual group members which in turn affect reactions to them. Individuals who possess qualities deemed essential to productivity or personal attributes valued by society emerge as leaders, while those lacking valued qualities join the rank and file of the group . . . Assuming that these characteristics are reasonably apparent and mutually perceived by most group members, these expectations quickly lead to status hierarchies at the very outset of interaction" (p. 367).

Status characteristics theory and expectation states theory portray the process of hierarchy formation and preservation as a relatively dispassionate and rational one, involving the generalization of status relations outside the group to relations within the group. In contrast, social dominance theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) proposes a more motivational process and points to the role of ideology in the formation and maintenance of hierarchy. Consistent with social dominance theory, Levin, Sinclair, Sidanius, and Van Laar (this volume) note that when social hierarchies exist within a group, dominant groups are motivated to protect their advantaged status and systematically resist the social movement of groups of

disadvantaged status. Thus, within a society or organization there is frequently a tension between the orientations of members of lower-status groups (disadvantaged/minority groups) and those of higher-status groups (advantaged/majority groups) toward the hierarchical relations representing the status quo.

Advantaged and Disadvantaged Group Members' Perspectives

Interpersonal and intergroup orientations reflect complex, often mixed motives (e.g., involving self-interest and moral and justice-based concerns; Tyler, 2005), and therefore that under some circumstances members of advantaged and disadvantaged groups may share perceptions and motivations in support of the social hierarchy (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost, Burgess, & Mosso, 2001; O'Brien & Major, 2005; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). However, research often identifies systematic differences between groups that reflect group-based goals and orientations toward the status quo. Thus, members of advantaged groups are more tolerant and supportive of group-based hierarchy than are members of disadvantaged groups, and are more likely to endorse ideologies that legitimize group-based inequality (see the article by Levin et al., this volume). In contrast, disadvantaged group members display greater support for ideologies that delegitimize hierarchy (e.g., endorsement of human rights, humanitarianism) and have been found to have a significantly higher desire for egalitarian changes in the status quo between the groups (e.g., Saguy, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2008; Saguy & Nadler, 2006; Saguy & Tausch, 2008). Such differences were theorized to reflect the different social realities (e.g., disparities in economic security, political power, and opportunities for social advancement) typically experienced by members of advantaged and disadvantaged groups (Demoulin, Leyens, & Dovidio, 2009).

In general, the same motivations for power and resources that underlie advantaged group members' motivation to maintain the status quo also form the basis of a disadvantaged group members' desire for social change (see also Jacobs, Christensen, & Prislín, this volume). Blumer (1958) posited that people have a basic motivation to maintain or gain a relatively advantaged position for their group. According to the group position framework, once members of dominant groups feel a threat to their group's power, they will be motivated to defend their status and remove the threat. Members of disadvantaged groups, conversely, will be motivated to change the status quo to improve their group's position. Similarly, realistic group conflict theory (LeVine & Campbell, 1972) posits that group members are driven by their desire to possess and maintain control over valued resources. Therefore, the disadvantaged group will compete to gain resources and status, whereas the advantaged group will act against any threat to their resources.

The article by Jacobs et al. (this volume) in this volume nicely illustrates the difference between the perspectives of advantaged and disadvantaged subgroup members in their development and application of the Fair Group Procedures Scale.

Furthermore, it points to the underlying motivations responsible for this difference. The authors identify four distinct constructs, representing the quadrants of equality-proportionate influence dimension and a social desirable–undesirable dimension, which characterize the process of decision making in groups. Specifically, they suggest that factional decision-making procedures “can be labeled as “majority rule” (a socially undesirable proportionality rule), “one-person–one-vote” (a socially desirable proportionality rule), “group equality” (a socially desirable equality rule), and “minority veto” (a socially undesirable equality rule).”

As predicted, majority (advantaged) and minority (disadvantaged) group members had systematically different preferences for the strategies: “members of ethnic minorities preferred the group equality strategy more than members of the ethnic majority. Furthermore, there was a trend for ethnic majority members to prefer the majority rule strategy more than ethnic minority members” (Jacobs et al., 2009, p. 392). In addition, a manipulation of status stability revealed the functionality of these preferences. Participants who began as high-status group members, but lost support during the course of the session, decreased their endorsement of proportionality strategies while increasing endorsement of equality strategies. In contrast, participants who began their experience in the low-status condition, but then gained status, displayed the reverse pattern. The authors concluded, “These differences between ethnic groups highlight the subjective nature of fairness . . . That one’s social identity is related to fairness perceptions echoes the basic contention of self-categorization theory: The phenomenological experience of reality is rooted in one’s social groups” (p. 392).

Beyond different perceptions of fairness, the group-based orientations toward the hierarchy of those relatively high and low in status are also manifested in their social interactions. One way in which these differential orientations are reflected is in the content of speech. For example, high status is associated with more “organizing speech,” which directs the group’s efforts on a task (see Shelly & Shelly, this volume). In addition, when interacting with lower-status group members, higher-status group members tend to avoid discussing certain topics that might threaten the legitimacy and stability of their advantaged position. Indeed, members of advantaged groups may strategically choose to promote messages that obscure and draw attention away from group-based power (Jackman, 1994; Ruscher, 2001; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; van Dijk, 1993). For example, research on public discourse reveals how U.S. mainstream media focus on the benefits of a color-blind society as opposed to directing attention toward issues of racial disparity (e.g., Daniel & Allen, 1988; see also Ruscher, 2001). This emphasis demonstrates the use of a common category (i.e., all Americans as opposed to Whites and Blacks) as a way to deflect attention from group-based hierarchy (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2007).

Members of disadvantaged groups, in contrast, are more likely to focus on topics that lead to questions about the legitimacy of the existing social structure and

encourage a change in the status quo. For example, a major tool used by the Civil Rights Movement in the United States was to explicitly challenge the legitimacy of racial oppression (King, 1964). Similar forms of nonviolent resistance, such as India's struggle for independence and South Africa's struggle to throw off apartheid, were aimed at raising public awareness and attention to the illegitimacy of the status quo.

We have found converging evidence for these different power-based preferences across both laboratory and field settings. One study (Saguy et al., 2008, Study 1) directly manipulated the power, or position, of laboratory groups ostensibly based on differences in perceptual style, by giving one group control over resources valued by members of both groups (distribution of research credits). The dependent measures were participants' desire for a change in group-based power in the study and their desire to talk about topics related to group differences in power within the experimental context (e.g., "Discussing the negative aspects of having only one group to make the allocation decisions") or about topics addressing commonalities between the groups in the anticipated intergroup interaction (e.g., "Discussing things I have in common with other people in this study, either underestimators or overestimators").

As we predicted, participants in the low-power group wanted to talk about group differences in power more than did participants in the high-power group, and this effect was mediated by their greater motivation for change in group-based power. No differences between the groups in the desire to talk about commonalities were found, but, as we predicted, high-power group members wanted to talk about commonalities more than about power differences between the groups, whereas low-power group members wanted to talk about commonalities and differences to the same extent. We conceptually replicated these results in a study (Saguy et al., 2008, Study 2) that compared the responses of members of real groups differing in social status and power, Israeli Jews distinguished by their ethnic heritage (Ashkenazim and Mizrahim). This latter intergroup context can be also conceptualized as two subgroups (high and low in status) within a larger group/society.

In general, these studies converge to reveal that hierarchical relations in a group systematically lead to different preferences and strategies for members of advantaged subgroups, who are motivated to maintain the status quo, and for members of disadvantaged subgroups, who desire to alter the status quo to improve their subgroup's position. These different motivations contribute to tension within the larger group that can possibly escalate into conflict. Yet such conflict may result in a benefit for the group or society as a whole. Allowing the disadvantaged group's voice to be heard, even at the expense of what seems to be a temporary loss of intergroup cooperation, may, in the long run, create a reservoir of distinct resources and perspectives upon which the society may draw in times of need. We consider this possibility in the next section.

Cooperation and Conflict as Developmental Processes

In their article, Chizhik, Shelly, and Troyer (this volume) describe the traditional view regarding conflict and cooperation: “Conventionally, cooperation has been seen as adaptive in group problem solving, while conflict has been seen as maladaptive” (p. 252). We agree the traditional portrayal of cooperation and conflict is an oversimplification that obscures the fact that (1) as King et al. (this volume) suggest, cooperation and conflict are best viewed as “processes” rather than outcomes and (2) these processes make complementary contributions to group function and development.

Our working premise is that rather than automatically endorsing the intuitive perception of cooperation as a “good” result and conflict as a “bad” one, it is valuable to consider potential influences of these processes in a more comprehensive way. In intragroup and intrasocietal conflicts, cooperation is often achieved at the expense of silencing disadvantaged groups, whereas conflict can be a process that recognizes dissent, allows the expression of minority views (see Crano & Seyranian, this volume) and increases the diversity of ideas and perspectives available within the group. Support for our premise comes from studies that demonstrate that allowing the minority’s voice to be heard ultimately contributes to the group as a whole.

Troyer and Youngreen’s (2009) article in this volume directly shows that under certain conditions dissent expressed by the minority voice can lead to more creative solutions to problems. They identify the “interesting paradox” in the role of negative evaluations for group functioning. Troyer and Youngreen observe, “negative evaluation helps groups avoid flawed solutions and helps them identify the virtuous characteristics of solutions and the detrimental characteristics. This sorting function can also facilitate synergistic and novel solution strategies. On the other hand, negative evaluation generates a risk of very serious personal consequences in groups through status loss” (p. 414). They therefore propose that to resolve this dilemma, “risks can be diminished to the extent that evaluations are depersonalized” (p. 414). Indeed, in an empirical test of this hypothesis, they found that depersonalized negative evaluations of ideas, but not of the person proposing the idea, led to more creative ideas (but not more ideas overall) produced in a group problem-solving task. Thus, when a disadvantaged group expresses criticism of the status quo, this might encourage the group as a whole to develop synergistic and novel strategies to improve the situation and resolve conflicts constructively.

Two articles in the current volume further illustrate the potential contributions of subgroups to the larger group. King et al. (2009) describe the complexity of this issue. They outline the apparently conflicting findings for the effect of diversity on workgroups, when these effects are considered solely as outcomes: “On one hand, some data indicate that diverse groups perform better than or equivalent to homogeneous groups over an extended period of time On the other hand,

similar studies found no relationship between diversity and performance . . . or even that heterogeneity in groups can decrease cohesion, increase conflict, and interfere with task performance A series of researchers have reviewed these general findings Each of these reviews concludes that consistent, overarching linkages between diversity and group processes and outcomes are, at best, elusive” (p. 256).

However, as King et al. (2009) further argue, the role of diversity (e.g., different advantaged and disadvantaged perspectives) may be better understood by considering both the processes that lead to group performance and morale and the conditions under which the group is operating (i.e., understanding moderating factors and mediating mechanisms). They propose, for example, that the effects of diversity may be shaped by the longevity of group relationships, the type of diversity in question, and/or the nature of the outcomes assessed. Harrison, Price, Gavin, and Florey (2002), for instance, found that diversity inhibited positive social interaction processes in early stages of group formation but ultimately facilitated effective group functioning over time.

The article by Alexander et al. (2009) in this volume identifies another potential critical moderating element, the nature of the task at hand. In particular, Alexander et al. distinguished between closed- and open-structured tasks: “Closed-structured tasks are characterized by a clearly articulated problem and an obviously correct solution, whereas open-structured tasks are characterized by many possible solutions. In closed-structured tasks, the single solution is objectively correct or incorrect. Conversely, the many possible answers to an open-structured task can be subjectively evaluated as good or poor solutions to the problem Open-structured tasks, where several better or worse solutions are possible, encourage a broad range of suggestions from group members and may provide more opportunities for the contributions of lower-status group members. In turn, open-structured tasks may establish an environment in which higher-status group members are more likely to value these contributions from their lower-status counterparts” (p. 369). In a set of elegant experiments, they found that open-structured tasks magnified the amount of divergent thinking and influence low-status confederates evinced. Consistent with this finding, diverse groups are better at solving complex problems that require divergent thinking (Antonio et al., 2004) and attending to a broader range of relevant information in analysis of issues (Sommers, 2006). As Alexander et al. (2009) conclude, “groups run the risk of losing out on valuable inputs and perspectives when the contributions of lower-status members are devalued or ignored. When group members fail to offer or consider unique information, group performance and decision quality are prone to suffer” (p. 367).

We therefore propose that even the potentially “negative consequences” of diversity (e.g., on a group’s morale because of conflict) should be viewed as a process potentially leading to the development of a better society or organization. On the individual level, development is often described as a series of

stages marked by a conflict that one needs to overcome (Erikson, 1959; Freud, 1938). Similarly, studies at the interpersonal level reveal that relationships are often strengthened by periodic conflict that ultimately leads to forgiveness and reconciliation (McCullough, 2001; Ripley & Worthington, 2002). We suggest, thus, that conflict can similarly represent a healthy developmental stage on the societal or group level because it has the potential to bring about the diversity inherent in the group as a whole. For example, although different identities and perspectives within a group may arouse conflict that interferes with immediate task performance, the process of conflict and subsequent reconciliation can ultimately enhance feelings of shared fate and solidify common group identity (see also Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000).

We schematically summarize the major points we have presented thus far in Figure 1. We have proposed that, due to the privileges enjoyed by advantaged groups within a hierarchical social structure, these subgroups typically have hierarchy-enhancing motivations, that aim to reinforce the prevailing hierarchy. This motivation is manifested in strategies that obscure subgroup disparity and inequities. While maintaining the status quo, the disadvantaged (minority) group's voice is systematically muted or ignored. Stability of subgroup relations (or "cooperation") may be achieved, but the potential of diversity for complex problem solving and adaptability to new circumstances is substantially sacrificed.

In contrast, disadvantaged groups commonly exhibit hierarchy-attenuating motivations, with the goal of changing the status quo. In expressing their views and exerting their influence, members of minority groups are heard, but often at the expense of tension and conflict between subgroups. Yet such conflict should not necessarily be viewed as an ultimate outcome, but rather as a process leading to a healthy developmental progress, which is eventually beneficial for society as a whole. The Civil Rights Movement in the United States in the 1960s and the Women's Liberation Movement in the 1970s represent these types of "healthy" conflicts.

Whether or not intragroup conflicts prove to be constructive, eventually producing social change and/or strengthening the larger group, depends on whether the subgroups respond positively and reciprocally to the other subgroup's needs aroused by the tensions. We explore, in the next section, how these group needs can be addressed.

Addressing Group-Based Needs

Our discussion thus far has emphasized the different orientations that advantaged and disadvantaged group members bring to their relations and reviewed the work that points to the advantages of diversity. In this section we integrate these two elements by arguing that an organization/society that acknowledges and addresses its subgroups' needs (a process that can be facilitated through diversity)

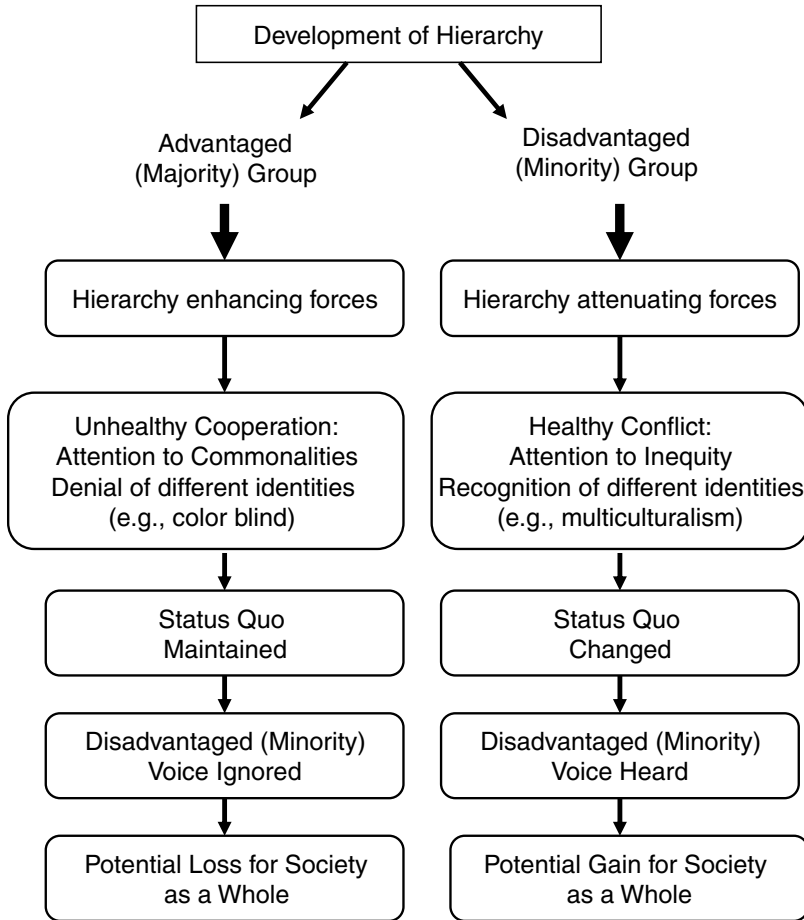


Fig. 1. Proposed view of conflict/cooperation between subgroups within a superordinate group.

can more effectively manage tension among its subgroups. Such management requires responsiveness to the different perspectives, goals, and, ultimately, needs of the different subgroups. For example, when group morale is considered, the morale of *both* advantaged and disadvantaged groups needs to be addressed, rather than equating the group as a whole with the satisfaction of the advantaged group.

A good illustration for the need to address both groups when considering group cohesion comes from work on the needs-based model of reconciliation (Nadler & Shnabel, 2008; Shnabel & Nadler, 2008). This model proposes that

in order to induce parties' willingness to reconcile, the differential psychological needs of the advantaged and disadvantaged subgroups need to be satisfied. Unsatisfied needs of either group will cause the relations to be unstable and negative. Specifically, within a hierarchical structure, members of disadvantaged groups typically experience feelings of powerlessness, lack of control, and loss of their honor (Scheff, 1994), which pose a threat to their identity as capable and influencing. In contrast, when confronted with the facts about the social hierarchy and their privileged position in it, members of advantaged groups are likely to suffer from a threat to their identity as acceptable and moral. Therefore, whereas disadvantaged group members are likely to experience an enhanced need to increase their sense of power, advantaged group members are likely to experience an enhanced need for acceptance. From a broader perspective, these impaired emotional resources can be subsumed under the human need for power and status and the human need for social acceptance and belongingness, two needs that constitute the core of interpersonal experience (Bennis & Shepard, 1956).

These different needs are manifested in the goals that members of the different subgroups have during intergroup interactions: whereas members of disadvantaged groups have the goal of being respected, members of advantaged groups have the goal of being liked (Shelton, Richeson, & Vorauer, 2006). These different goals correspond to the different needs for power and acceptance within the needs-based model. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, members of disadvantaged groups have a stronger preference to speak about the power inequalities between the groups than do advantaged group members. Discussing power inequalities can implicate the responsibility that the advantaged group has in creating injustice thus admitting its "moral debt" toward the disadvantaged group. This, in turn, empowers the disadvantaged group (Minow, 1998). Drawing attention to commonalities, in contrast, blurs the boundaries between the groups and thus satisfies the advantaged group's need for moral acceptance by the disadvantaged group.

It is suggested, thus, that for social interactions to succeed in promoting reconciliation, they must satisfy the unique psychological needs of both subgroups. That is, the disadvantaged group should feel empowered by the advantaged group, and the advantaged group should feel accepted by the disadvantaged group. Perceiving that the other group is attempting to satisfy the needs of one's own group in turn stimulates reciprocal responses to address the needs of the other group. Solely focusing on cooperation (i.e., stressing commonalities, mutual acceptance and empathy) may seem intuitively appealing. Yet it will satisfy only the needs of the advantaged group and fail to address the disadvantaged group's need for recognition and empowerment. In contrast, raising issues of conflict and inequality should be done in a way that will not make the advantaged group feel totally condemned and rejected.

In the next sections we consider the specific implications of these processes, along with the insights and evidence presented in the articles of the current volume.

Practical Implications

We have put forward two fundamental arguments in our article. First, we have proposed that the dynamics between subgroups belonging to the same superordinate group reflect both intragroup and intergroup processes. Second, we have argued that cooperation and conflict should not be interpreted as opposite outcomes, one good and the other bad, but as developmental processes that are important for long-term group functioning, creativity, and stability. In this section, based on the central premise that it has long-term value for a group to have minorities speak and be heard, we outline strategy and policy implications for individuals and groups.

Individual action. Several of the articles in this volume are in the tradition of “minority influence” research (Moscovici, Lage, & Naffrechoux, 1969; Nemeth, 1986). Minority influence involves the introduction of opinions or ideas that are inconsistent, potentially contrary, to those held by the majority in a group. The article by Crano and Seyranian (2009) offers an insightful, comprehensive review of this literature, highlighting theoretically integrative frameworks (e.g., Crano’s, 2001, leniency contract) for understanding these processes. Moreover, they illustrate with concrete examples how the expression and acceptance of minority views within a group can enhance the acknowledgment in evaluation and effectiveness in problem solving for juries, work teams, and organizations. They also describe how the expressions of minority views can produce an extended group perspective on issues and facilitate understanding across group lines (e.g., the orientation of Israelis toward Arabs; Maoz, 2000).

Although minority influence can facilitate the emergence of novel solutions in problem-solving groups, both the ideas and the people presenting them are negatively evaluated, in a way that further undermines their status in the group. The question, then, is: What are the most constructive and beneficial ways through which minority influence can be achieved despite these negative responses? Classic research in this area indicates that minority views have to be voiced clearly, consistently, and unwaveringly while reflecting rational arguments amenable to central processing. As Crano and Seyranian (2009) also point out, minorities are very salient in these contexts. Their ability to capture attention in the group can enhance their impact on the group. However, if their contribution is interpreted as representing inappropriate status enhancing behavior, reactance is likely to be aroused. Thus, to reduce the likelihood of reactance among those high in power,

people of lesser power often attempt to exert their influence in subtle and indirect ways (Meeker & Weitzel-O'Neil, 1985).

An alternative approach involves strategic timing of minority influence attempts. Minority influence is more readily accepted in the discussion and problem-solving stages of group tasks than the implementation stage (Van Dyne & Saavedra, 1996). Thus, to take advantage of the diversity of resources within a group, organizations can clearly segment the stages of task activity to allow minority input at points in which others will be most receptive. Yet Troyer and Youngreen, in their article in this volume, propose an alternative intervention. They note that negative evaluation can be important for distinguishing good ideas from bad ones and helping to refine ideas into their most effective form. To benefit maximally from both the elicitation of minority views and negative feedback without jeopardizing people in vulnerable positions, Troyer and Youngreen advocate, and support with data, creating policies or structures that dissociate the feedback about ideas from reactions directed at the source. Using such strategies may enhance the opportunity for minorities to express their opinions, even if they are negative or critical, without increasing the threat of reactance from the majorities' side. The articles in this volume, thus, provide valuable guidance, rooted in theory and data, for ways that foster creativity while minimizing the threat of reactance to minority influence.

One fundamental insight offered by integrating intergroup theoretical perspectives in the study of intragroup processes is that group dynamics may only partially be explained, and thus only incompletely addressed, by individual actions and interventions. As the articles in this volume by Jacobs et al. and by King et al. emphasize, social identity plays a crucial role in group processes, and thus policies need to consider intergroup dynamics as well as interpersonal exchange. The next section, thus, outlines how organizational and social policies can acknowledge and address intergroup relations within the context of a larger group connection and function.

Organizational and social policies. The articles within this volume relate to different groups (e.g., nations, companies, and informal entities), each having its unique culture, values, and history. Yet whether it is to promote cooperation in an immediate context or manage conflict constructively for the long-term benefit of the group, all of the articles converge on a central point: the perspectives of disadvantaged minority groups need to be recognized and respected. Thus, informed by data and theory, we outline four basic principles to guide organizational and social policies.

First, and most basically, organizations and individuals should not be afraid of conflict when it arises or of the externalization of the differences in identities. Policies based on the denial of differences (e.g., "color-blind" policies) are often motivated by a desire to avoid conflict (Schofield, 1986). These policies can

prevent both sides from expressing their authentic identities, thus reducing the chances for a genuine intergroup dialogue and consequent exchange of ideas. The active denial of these issues may result in an increased anxiety and decreased performance as cognitive resources are exerted and ultimately depleted in efforts to avoid recognition of group differences (Shelton et al., 2006). There are greater long-term benefits for managing the conflict than for avoiding it.

Second, organizations and individuals should acknowledge the fact that disadvantaged and advantaged group members are likely to have different perspectives, preferences, and goals. The experience of these gaps between members of disadvantaged and advantaged groups is often overwhelming, because both groups tend to project their own attitudes and feelings onto the other group (Pearson et al., 2008). The mere understanding that these divergent perspectives are a common phenomenon may reduce uncertainty, limit miscommunication and misperception, and decrease some of the anxiety aroused, while promoting genuine attempts to understand the other's perspective. Creating institutionalized forums in which members of different groups may openly express their differential views may provide a valuable outlet enabling the discussion of these gaps.

Third, the disadvantaged group's need for power should be acknowledged. Due to their social role, disadvantaged groups experience an enhanced need for power, which can be manifested in several ways, such as respect, pride, status, or admission of the injustice caused to the disadvantaged group. Yet advantaged group members too often patronizingly dismiss this need of disadvantaged group members, perceiving them as too sensitive for issues of respect or historical injustice. In other instances, implemented policies fail to attend to the particular basic needs of disadvantaged groups in a way that truly empowers them. When help is given, it is often assistance that increases the dependency of the disadvantaged group rather than promotes its autonomy (Jackson & Esses, 2000; Halabi, Dovidio, & Nadler, 2008; Nadler, 2002). In contrast, policies aimed at creating social change in a way that advances the status of disadvantaged groups, such as establishing offices responsible for promoting diversity or empowering minorities through mentoring, are significantly more effective for diversifying the proportion of traditionally disadvantaged group members in management positions than are programs designed mainly to increase cultural competence or awareness (Kalev, Dobbin, & Kelly, 2006). Indeed, disadvantaged group members show greater trust and group commitment within an organization when they feel that their subgroup identity is respected (Huo & Molina, 2006; Huo, Molina, Sawahata, & Deang, 2005).

And fourth, the advantaged group's need for acceptance should be acknowledged. Advantaged group members enjoy many privileges in society due to their relative power. Therefore, disadvantaged group members are often reluctant to express empathy toward members of advantaged groups, even when they experience emotional distress (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005; Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007).

Nevertheless, the advantaged groups' needs should not be neglected. In particular, because changes in social structures are likely to evoke high levels of threat among advantaged group members (Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006) it is important that when changes to the status quo take place, advantaged group members will not feel rejected but rather liked and validated morally. Minorities should let majorities feel that they are viewed as their partners in change rather than their enemies.

Summary and Conclusions

This issue of the *Journal of Social Issues* is dedicated to Michele G. Alexander. All of the articles in it relate to topics in the area of intragroup processes and intergroup relations about which Michele cared deeply and to which she made important scholarly contributions. Her scholarly interests revolved around issues concerning cooperation and conflict within and between groups.

In the present article, we attempted to theoretically integrate the different articles in this volume in a way that challenges the traditional perspectives that (1) view intragroup and intergroup processes as independent and (2) oversimplify conflict as a negative outcome and cooperation as a positive event in relations within and between groups. We proposed that because of the differentiated roles that are essential to group functioning, hierarchies are created within groups. Sidanius and Pratto (1999) argue that all human societies are hierarchically organized; not only are individuals organized hierarchically by status (see Shelly & Shelly, 2009), but also subgroups within a group are differentiated by status (see Levin et al., 2009). Consequently, these subgroups develop different perspectives on group processes, with different views on what represents basic principles such as fairness (see Jacobs et al., 2009). Thus, as Chizhik et al. (2009) suggested in the initial article in this volume, intragroup processes and intergroup relations are intimately intertwined. Each of the articles in this volume brought unique theoretical and empirical perspectives to some aspect of status relations between individuals and subgroups within teams, organizations, and society.

Each of the articles also addressed the prevailing tension within groups between forces to preserve the status quo and those pushing toward social change. Attempts at minority influence (see Crano & Seyranian, 2009) and racial and ethnic diversity within organizations and societies (see King et al., 2009) often increase pressures for change and thus arouse countervailing attempts to maintain the status quo. Each article, however, further raises critical questions about the intuitive dichotomy of cooperation as positive and conflict as negative. We are not naïve; we acknowledge that conflict can often have adverse impact on both group performance and morale (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003; see also Troyer & Younggreen, 2009). But evidence that diversity raises tensions and may be perceived to be disruptive of "normal" group functioning (Putnam, 2007) does not necessarily mean that it has a negative effect on the group. Rather, its effect

depends on what outcomes are assessed, and its impact needs to be considered over time (see King et al., 2009) and across different contexts (see Alexander et al., 2009).

We emphasize that many conflicts that may arise from the different perspectives and motivations of those higher or lower in the group hierarchy can lead to the healthier development of the group, greater creativity in problem solving (see Troyer & Youngreen, 2009), and to both fairer processes and outcomes within the group. Cooperation, in contrast, when it is achieved at the expense of silencing disadvantaged groups and stifling the expression of minority views can have detrimental effects. It can contribute to distrust and impair coordination within the group, sustain unfair processes and inequities, and deny the group as a whole of their potential contribution of having diversity in views, talents, and priorities. Seeing beyond these oversimplifications is a vital step toward advancing the capabilities of organizations and societies to cope with the challenges of a complex and rapidly changing environment.

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