WHEN WORK AND FAMILY MERGE: UNDERSTANDING INTRAGROUP CONFLICT EXPERIENCES IN FAMILY FARM BUSINESSES

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ABSTRACT

Family farms experience conflict in the everyday operation of the farm (Weigel & Weigel, 1990). However, family farm members rarely bring up conflicts to the other party; rather, they keep their frustration to themselves or wait until things boil over. Waters (2013) noted family farm members avoid bringing up any conflict or issues, with one son noting "basically, dad says we're doing this and I say okay" (Waters, 2013, p. 30). It is in this communicative environment that a business functions, attempting to remain profitable, while maintaining family bonds that are the foundation of the business itself.

This project used intragroup conflict theory to explore the dynamics of everyday conflict in family farm businesses. Intragroup conflict theory presents four types of conflict (task, relational, process, and status) that influence group outcomes differently (Jehn, 1997). The first focus of this project was how these four conflict types influence three important outcomes for family farm members: job satisfaction, communication satisfaction, and profitability. Only status conflict significantly predicted all three outcomes variables for family farm members. Additionally, this project furthered intragroup conflict theory by exploring two potential antecedents for intragroup conflict: emotional intelligence (awareness of own and management of own) and family communication patterns (conversation orientation and conformity orientation). Conformity orientation significantly predicted task, process, and status conflict in the model. These findings were discussed in light of the previous theoretical work in family businesses, then in the family farm context specifically.

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...for my family, my club, my community, my country, and my world.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

In the past year, the challenges associated with farming have been on the front page of many popular publications. A recent *Newsweek* article highlighted the extreme pressure and struggles farmers face, and noted farmers are two times more likely to commit suicide than members of the general public (Kutner, 2014). The reason for this: most farmers are described as "extremely self-sufficient and independent" (Kutner, 2014, p. 2), competitive (Rosmann, 2013), focused on maintaining dignity and face, and keeping problems private (Carlin, 1992). These characteristics are part of family farm culture, and influence how family farm members interact in family farm businesses. Rosmann (2013) highlighted many of these characteristics during his discussion of family farm conflict. In many family farm conflict interactions, Rosmann (2013) noted phrases such as "I'm a better farmer than he is," "He doesn't work as hard as I do," and "Dad feels sorry for him" (Rosmann, 2013, p. 1) dominated the conversation, and tinged business decisions with family relationships. This melding of family and work relationships can make working on a family farm challenging.

One example of this is the story of father and son farmers Tony and Adam Azevedo. Tony started Double T dairy in 1973, and Adam joined in 2006. However, working together presented challenges, especially when Adam pushed for new farming practices and techniques, which Tony dismissed. After years of trying to work together, things fell apart. Tony sold the cattle and closed Double T dairy. But it was not only the business that failed; family relationships were destroyed: "neither man will walk the thousand yards that separates their two houses in order to make peace" (Johnson, 2014, p. 1). When asked to give advice to other farmers working with their children, Tony "aims his fingers at his head like a pistol and shoots"

(Johnson, 2014, p. 2). Adam stated family farms are great if you have it paid off and are the one in charge.

The combination of family and work relationships present many challenges for family farm members running a businesses. Family farm members work together daily to run and manage the family farm business that sustains them. To understand this family business context requires understanding the family that created it (Taylor, Norris, & Howard, 1998). With the prominent role family farms play in the United States, and in society as a whole, it is paramount help to improve family farm communication in order to help these organizations thrive and survive, especially when dealing with everyday conflicts.

Purpose of the Study

This project focused on conflict in family farm businesses. Family farm members experience conflict in the everyday operation of the farm (Weigel & Weigel, 1990). However, family farm members rarely bring up conflicts to the other parties; rather, they keep their frustration to themselves or wait until things boil over. Waters (2013) noted family farm members avoid bringing up any conflict or issues, with one son stating "basically, dad says we're doing this and I say okay" (Waters, 2013, p. 30). It is in this communicative environment that a business functions, attempting to remain profitable, while maintaining the family bonds that are the foundation of the business itself.

Intragroup conflict theory was used as the guiding theoretical framework to explore conflict in this setting. Intragroup conflict theory presents four distinct types of conflict that influence outcomes differently. *Task conflict* reflects the issues and concerns groups raise about the assigned task, whereas *relational conflict* refers to the personality and interpersonal disagreements that emerge during interaction (Jehn, 1995). *Process conflict* refers to logistical

issues and management, along with managing and coordinating with people (Jehn, 1997; Pelled, 1996), whereas *status conflict* refers to "disputes over people's relative status positions in their group's social hierarchy" (Bendersky & Hays, 2012). Task and process conflict can positively impact group performance if handled appropriately, whereas all four forms of conflict negatively impact group member satisfaction.

This project had two goals for understanding conflict interaction among family farm members. First, to confirm and refine how conflict types influenced specific outcomes, and second to explore two potential antecedents for intragroup conflict types. In regards to the first goal, Jehn (1997) argued that each type of conflict has a different influence on task and relational outcomes. Two recent meta-analyses (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003; de Wit, Greer, & Jehn, 2012) pointed to the negative impact of conflict on two common outcomes: performance and satisfaction. Conflict has a predominantly negative impact on performance and satisfaction, though part of that impact depends on whether the conflict is resolved and the conflict's intensity (Bendersky et al., 2010; De Dreu & Weingart, 2003; de Wit et al., 2003; Jehn & Bendersky, 2003). However, with satisfaction, research tends to focus on overall satisfaction instead of specific aspects of satisfaction. This project explored the difference between job satisfaction and communication satisfaction during conflict experiences. This project also expanded the definition of group performance by focusing on profitability. For family farm businesses, performance is based on their ability to maintain profits and support their family, making profitability a useful measure of performance (McDonald & Marshall, 2013).

The second goal for the project was to explore two potential antecedents for conflict: emotional intelligence and family communication patterns. In regards to emotional intelligence, Jehn (1995, 1997) described conflict as an emotional experience. Gayle and Preiss (1998) asked

participants to recall a recent conflict with coworkers and found the participants' emotions during the conflict scenario come back when recalling the situation. Conflict interaction requires participants to assess and manage their emotions, referred to as emotional intelligence. Emotional intelligence is the ability to read, assess, evaluate, and respond to the emotions of ourselves and others (Salovey & Mayer, 1990). Previous research has pointed to the benefits of high emotional intelligence during conflict situations (Goleman, 1998; Lenaghan, Buda, & Eisner, 2007). However, for family farms, the cultural norms of keeping problems private and avoiding any discussion of emotions can increase the likelihood of conflict situations to boil over into heated, personal debates.

The second conflict antecedent is family communication patterns. Family communication patterns are the stable patterns of interaction families create (conversation), which help the family create a shared identity and worldview (conformity). The family communication patterns individuals learn influence how they interact in the workplace, especially when working with family members (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002b). For family farms, members create the shared communication patterns in a culture valuing privacy, competition, and independence, which influences how members communicate during conflict. Previous research noted families with open communication norms are able to address and resolve conflicts (Beck & Ledbetter, 2013), and members of family businesses with open communication are more satisfied and involved (Carmon, 2010). Furthermore, many family farms value tradition with limited openness to new ideas and approaches (Waters, 2013). Conflict emerges when family farm members, especially parents and children, disagree on how to run the family farm.

The remainder of this chapter discusses the context for this project: family farms. First, a brief discussion is presented on the economic state of family farms in the United States, focusing

on small family farms as the largest segment. Second, the prevailing cultural values and roles associated with family farms are introduced. Finally, conflict in family farms is discussed, including how family farm conflict fits in with and differs from other family business conflict.

Family Farms in the United States

Farming in the United States is decreasing. Since 1840, the percentage of people working in agriculture dropped from 70% to 2%, with the United States losing over 95,000 farms between 2007 and 2012 (Klein & Locke, 2014). The majority of these farms are family farms. Family farms are operations where "the principals are related by kinship or marriage, business and family relationships overlap, and control of business normally passes from one generation to another within the family" (Taylor et al., 1998, p. 553). Family farms represent an idealized, romantic lifestyle that still appeals to a large portion of the population (Hayes, 2013). Rather than focusing solely on making a profit, family farms also focus on providing for the family and finding a way to prepare for the future of the farm itself (Douwe van der Ploeg, 2013).

Economics

According to the United States Department of Agriculture, a family farm is "any farm organized as a sole proprietorship, partnership, or family corporation. Family farms exclude farms organized as nonfamily corporations or cooperatives, as well as farms with hired managers" (United States Department of Agriculture [USDA], 2010, p. 1). Based on the 2010 census of agriculture, there are currently two million family farms in the United States, representing 96% of total farms, and they produce 79% of all agricultural goods (USDA, 2010). The majority of family farms are considered small family farms (91%), with gross income of less than $250,000 (USDA, 2010). The number of small farms is growing, with small farms being responsible for the majority of all agricultural land in the United States (USDA, 2010).

Small farms are able to grow by incorporating off-farm income (USDA, 2010). Off-farm income is income family members generate for the family through off-farm jobs, and accounts for approximately half of the total household income for farms producing less than $349,999 in sales (Klein & Locke, 2014). Since 1997, the number of farmers who list farming as their primary occupation has dropped to 50% (Knutson, 2014). Increased reliance on off-farm income has created numerous types of family farms. Briggeman, Gray, Morehart, Baker, and Wilson (2007) presented six categories of United States farms, determined by income sources. Two categories characterize farms as ruralpolitan, meaning families rely on income from both off-farm and farm sources. Single-income ruralpolitan farms' primary income source is the operator's off-farm income; in double income ruralpolitan, both spouses work off the farm. Active senior farms represent the aging farming community with farmers primarily working on the farm, and off-farm income from Social Security and other pensions. Farm operators with off-farm spouse income have an operator who works primarily on the farm and a spouse who works off the farm, and traditional farms have both spouses spending a significant amount of time working on the farm. Finally, in commercial farms, the operator works on the farm and the spouse not involved with the farm. The majority of farms in the United States fall into active seniors (24.4%), followed by double (23.5%) and single (22.3%) income ruralpolitans (Briggeman et al., 2007).

Family Farm Culture

The cultural values associated with farming are attractive to many individuals. Though farming economics can make it challenging to make ends meet, many people are driven to find ways to make it work. For one farmer, working off the farm allowed him to support his family and maintain their family cultural identity. What brought him back? "I pretty much have a

passion for it" (Knutson, 2014, p. 1). This passion is embedded in the farming culture, and is bringing other people back to the farm. The increase of small farms can be traced to this cultural pull. "In most cases, people with off-farm jobs who get into farming aren't doing it just for the income. They're doing it for the lifestyle" (Knutson, 2014, p. 1). The culture surrounding farming is taught from a young age, and remains attractive for many people.

Focus on family

Part of the appeal of farming culture is the focus on family. Family farms tend to be handed down from generation to generation, with a strong desire to keep the land in the family. "Farms proudly advertise the number of generations who have lived on the same land; signs are hung on the side of barns to commemorate the 100th continuous year of business within the same family" (Hayes, 2013, p. 1). Knowing the family farm has been and will continue to be a part of the family is a source of pride for farmers. Primary for family farms is the connection to the land. The land is more than an asset (Hayes, 2013) or a resource to use (Douwe van der Ploeg, 2013), but is tended in order to provide for the next generation. "When Mom and Dad made a choice to buy a farm, they weren't buying a retirement asset. They were securing a resource for the family and its subsequent generations" (Hayes, 2013, pp. 2-3). Many family farmers work on the farm and tend the land in order to provide for the family, both now and in the future.

Family farms largely rely on family members as employees for the business, often times leading to multiple generations working together and managing the family farm. Some families experience generational issues when parents and adult children are working together on the farm. The dual relationships of coworker and family lead family farm members to question how best to handle conflict and difficult conversations (Weigel & Weigel, 1990). In many situations, the word of the older generation holds more weight. The older generation tends to retain control of

the farm until they retire or die, and they rarely incorporate the insight of their adult children into farm decision making (Waters, 2013; Zimmerman & Fetsch, 1994). Farming also remains a largely patriarchal culture, which presents challenges for women in agriculture. For example, Marotz-Baden and Mattheis (1994) found daughters-in-law can face the most stress in family farms because of confusion over their role in farm decision making.

Characteristics of family farmers

Along with the strong connection to the land and family, family farm culture is associated with the following key personality characteristics: a strong work ethic, perseverance, satisfaction in working hard, tolerance for adversity, independence, and connecting with nature (Burns, 2012; Goetzman, 2010; Rosmann, 2013). These shared characteristics create a culture among farmers for "independent operating, self-reliance, repayment of debts, maintenance of dignity, and keeping problems private" (Carlin, 1992, p. 135), and also foster a competitive spirit (Rosmann, 2013). Farmers generally avoid seeking help and avoid talking about issues with anyone, including other family members (Carlin, 1992; Kutner, 2014). During the farm crisis in the 1980's, many farmers lost homes, farms, and livelihoods, but rarely discussed these problems until the stress was too great (Carlin, 1992). More recently, the suicide rate worldwide has increased among farmers based on these stressors. A *Newsweek* cover story from 2014 highlighted this problem. Farmers "have an innate drive to work on the land and produce food for their families and communities…farmers take significant risks to satisfy that drive, and if they are unsuccessful, they develop a deep sense of failure" (Kutner, 2014, p. 5). This agrarian imperative affected farmers' mental health, especially during times of increasing costs and low prices (Kutner, 2014), as farmers kept farming and avoided asking for help at any cost (Farhang, 2014).

Though farmers tend to be self-reliant (Carlin, 1992), they also show concern for other farmers. Farming communities value friendliness, community, and family connection and support (Trussel & Shaw, 2009). Farmers are also largely isolated in rural communities and on their individual farms, meaning family members rely on each other for entertainment and friendship, and build strong family bonds (Trussel & Shaw, 2009). If farmers do seek support or encouragement during down times, they do so from fellow farmers and rural community members. Organizations such as Farm Rescue step in to assist farmers facing health issues by organizing other volunteer farmers to help with planting or harvest, oftentimes without the farmer's knowledge. Though farmers tend to be competitive, there is an unspoken bond among farmers to help each other out whenever possible (Farhang, 2014).

Conflict in Family Farms

Weigel and Weigel (1990) noted family businesses are challenged by the question "When does one deal with someone as a family member and when as a coworker or business partner?" (p. 449). The dual roles, dual responsibilities, and the melding of work and nonwork life present many challenges, especially in terms of conflict (Memili, Chang, Kellermanns, & Welsh, 2015; Shepherd & Haynie, 2009). Conflict in family businesses tends to escalate, can quickly shift to the personal level (Frank, Kessler, Nosé, & Suchy, 2011), and is complex because of the multiple relationship levels and the potential for conflict to bleed over into those relationship levels (Harvey & Evans, 1994). Davis and Harveston (2001) found substantive (task) conflict in family businesses increased when more family members were involved, and when there was more social interaction between members. Task conflict in family businesses impacted performance negatively, and decreased as more family members were involved in the family business (Kellermanns & Eddleston, 2007). Performance also decreased in family businesses when

relationship conflict is present (Kellermanns & Eddleston, 2004). For family businesses to thrive and survive, managing relationships and conflict is vital.

In terms of conflict, family farms are unique when compared to other family businesses. Family farm businesses reflect a lifestyle "based on beliefs about living and working on the farm" (Taylor et al., 1998, p. 553), and rarely incorporate new members to the operation except through marriage. As a result, farms are five times more likely to be passed on to the next generation than a nonfarm family businesses (Taylor et al., 1998). The context is also important for understanding family farm businesses. Regional and cultural expectations, the structure of the family farm, and the structure of the family influence decision making (Rossier, 2005). The combination of family and business dynamics with the characteristics of farm culture create a unique organizational environment for conflict.

Previous research points to a variety of conflicts for family farms: working as a team, coordinating decision making, prioritizing the farm over family (Weigel, Blundall, & Weigel, 1986), role incongruity, succession planning, and sibling rivalry (Hedlund, Berkowitz, & Bennett, 1980). Though succession planning is often a time of conflict for family farm members (see Pitts, Fowler, Kaplan, Nussbaum, & Becker, 2009; Taylor et al., 1998; Taylor & Norris, 2000), conflict occurs in many other situations as well. Farm based publications and groups regularly publish guides and suggestions for how to resolve everyday conflict in family farms, usually focused on improved and increased communication (Rosmann, 2013). Rosmann (2012) argued family farm conflict comes from two cultural values: competitiveness and sibling rivalry. "Successful farmers tend to be highly competitive. Predecessors who were less industrious, inventive, competitive and lucky usually were less able to pass along opportunities to own land to their successors" (p. 1). Furthermore, the preference for implicit, passive communication leads

family farms to rely on assumptions and nonverbal agreements, leaving many conflicts unresolved for family farm members (Kaplan, Nussbaum, Becker, Fowler, & Pitts, 2009).

Summary and Preview

This project explored how family farm members navigated conflict interaction by exploring how two individual traits, emotional intelligence and family communication patterns, influenced conflict communication, and in turn how conflict communication influenced family farm member satisfaction and family farm profitability. Conflict occurs in daily farm interaction as members negotiate whether and how to approach issues with family farm members, which in turn impacts how the business is able to thrive (McDonald & Marshall, 2013). This project explored the conflict experiences of family farm members and how these experiences impacted the family farm business as a whole.

The remainder of this dissertation describes the process used to complete this project. Chapter two is an extensive review of literature regarding intragroup conflict theory, emotional intelligence, and family communication patterns. Chapter three describes the methodology used for the study, including a discussion of the recruitment process and quantitative approaches taken. Chapter four discusses the results from the study, and chapter five discusses the results of this study in the context of prior literature, practical and theoretical implications, and future research directions.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Though succession planning is a clear point of contention for family farms (Pitts et al., 2009), conflict in everyday interaction affects how farms function. The cultural characteristics and communicative norms create a dynamic environment for conflict to occur. This project delved into the family farm business context to understand intragroup conflict between family farm members. This project had two goals: first, to confirm and refine the relationship between intragroup conflict types and three outcomes (job satisfaction, communication satisfaction, and profitability); and second, to explore the role of emotional intelligence and family communication patterns as antecedents for intragroup conflict types. As a whole, intragroup conflict was framed as a mediator between two antecedents (emotional intelligence and family communication patterns), and three outcomes (job satisfaction, communication satisfaction, and profitability).

This project took a group perspective to family farm businesses. A group communication perspective allows exploration at multiple levels, including individual, dyadic, and multiple others (Poole, 1998). This study focused on the individual level by learning how individual family farm members perceive intragroup conflict interaction within the family farm business. Exploring family farm businesses as groups also considers the influence of interaction among family farm members in creating the culture and communication norms. Traditionally, family communication research focuses on dyadic communication in families (e.g., parent-child, sibling-sibling, spouse-spouse; Beck, Miller, & Frahm, 2011). However, the dyadic focus misses the nuances and influence of communication among multiple others, and the exponentially greater number of interactions that can occur between members (Beck et al., 2011). Additionally, families are the first group individuals are exposed to, and serve as a site for socialization

(Fitness & Duffield, 2004). Families teach members communication patterns and emotional rules that influence how individuals interact with the world (Green, 2007). Part of these rules are family communication patterns, which are learned from multiple others in the family, and not from a single dyadic relationship. These norms stay with individuals as they interact in other situations, including at work (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2006b). The family communication patterns learned by family farm members influence how they interact with their family, along with how they interact in the family farm business, which may in turn affect the profitability of the business.

This chapter provides an overview of the literature guiding this project. First, intragroup conflict theory is introduced as the primary theoretical framework, followed by a discussion of various conflict outcomes, focusing specifically on satisfaction and performance as the relevant outcomes for this project. Originally conceptualized by Jehn (1995, 1997), intragroup conflict theory presents four conflict types (task, relational, process, and status) that each impact group communication and outcomes differently. Most research explores how conflict affects outcomes, both directly and indirectly, but not the antecedents for conflict. This study considered two important antecedents for conflict: emotional intelligence and family communication patterns (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003). The remainder of the chapter outlines the antecedents for intragroup conflict; emotional intelligence as a perspective for understanding emotion management, and family communication patterns research as a way to understand the communicative norms created and used by families. Hypotheses for both parts of the project are presented after the related literature, and are summarized at the end of the chapter.

Theoretical Framework: Intragroup Conflict Theory

Intragroup conflict, defined as conflict occurring between group members, occurs as group members work together on a task. Family farm members work together to keep the farm running and to accomplish daily tasks. This requires members to coordinate action and organize effort in order to keep the family farm profitable and moving forward. However, often times this leads to conflict as members have different ideas about how to best to proceed (Waters, 2013). The conflict that emerges in this situation can impact family farm member satisfaction, and family farm business profitability. Intragroup conflict theory provides theoretical lens for understanding the conflict that occurs among family farm members. This section provides an overview of intragroup conflict theory by highlighting prior research on conflict types (task, relational, process, and status conflict), along with discussing how the conflict types influence outcomes and each other.

As individuals interact to make decisions, plan, or socialize, differences in goals and expectations can lead to frustration, disappointment, anger, and ultimately conflict. De Dreu and Gelfand (2008) defined conflict as "a process that begins when an individual or group perceives differences and opposition between itself and another individual or team about interests and resources, beliefs, values, or practices that matter to them" (p. 6). This definition characterizes conflict in two important ways. First, conflict is defined in terms of perceived differences. Conflict situations arise when individuals *sense* a difference between parties, even if the other party is unaware of this difference (DeChurch, Mesmer-Magnus, & Doty, 2013; De Dreu & Gelfand, 2008). Second, conflict is a process. Conflict as a process recognizes the role of communication as the process that connects inputs and outcomes. The perceived differences

about interests, resources, or values serve as inputs to the conflict, where communication is the process that moves those inputs to outcomes.

Conflict can occur in different ways based on the content of the conflict. Guetzkow and Gyr (1954) originally explored and divided conflict into two types. Substantive conflict was conflict "rooted in the substance of the task which the group is undertaking" (p. 369), whereas affective conflict came out of personal and emotional issues that emerged from the group's interaction. Guetzkow and Gyr (1954) found both types of conflict delayed the meeting, and arose at different points during group interaction. Substantive conflict emerged during task-discussions, and affective conflict emerged when members were focused on individual goals, including status and dominance. Both conflict types impacted groups differently, with substantive conflict helping promote group consensus, and affective conflict hindering consensus (Guetzkow & Gyr, 1954).

Building from substantive and affective conflict, later defined as task conflict and relational conflict, researchers further explained conflict by adding two new types. Process conflict refers to logistical issues and management, along with managing and coordinating with people (Behfar, Mannix, Peterson, & Trochim, 2011; Jehn, 1997; Pelled, 1996), whereas status conflict refers to "disputes over people's relative status positions in their group's social hierarchy" (Bendersky & Hays, 2012). These four types of conflict describe different types of conflict content, and each impact group task and relational outcomes differently (Jehn, 1995). Intragroup conflict theory research focuses on the individual impact of each conflict type (task, relational, process, and status) on group outcomes.

Task Conflict

Guetzkow and Gyr (1954) defined task (substantive) conflict as "rooted in the substance of the task which the group is undertaking" (p. 369), or in other words, conflict derived from the group's agenda. Task conflict includes the issues and concerns groups raise about the assigned task (Behfar et al., 2011; Jehn, 1995), along with critical evaluation and assessment of those ideas (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003). Discussions leading to task conflict focus on the specific content and issues related to the task as opposed to questions of how to coordinate work on the task (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003). Task conflict can occur in any group. Research has predominantly focused on task conflict in task-oriented groups; however relational groups still experienced task conflict (Beck & Raile, 2012).

Task conflict largely has a positive impact on task outcomes, especially when it allows for thorough discussion of topics (Behfar et al., 2011; Simons & Peterson, 2000). Groups with task conflict saw increased effort, increased group-problem solving, increased communication, enhanced task focus (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003), and an increased commitment to the task (Behfar et al., 2011). Higher levels of task conflict also allowed groups to share ideas and suggestions regarding the task, increased the potential for assessment and evaluation of ideas (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003), and enhanced information sharing and group performance (Bendersky et al. 2010; Jehn & Bendersky, 2003). This allowed task conflict to have a positive impact on performance, productivity, and creativity (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003), as well as emergent states (trust, respect, and cohesion; Jehn, Greer, Levine, & Szulanski, 2008). Jehn et al. (2008) noted groups that experienced task conflict in positive ways were able to talk openly about ideas and suggestions based on the increase in emergent states. Furthermore, Jehn (1995) found groups that

believed they were capable of resolving task conflicts benefitted from the discussion, along with groups where task conflicts were deemed important.

Task conflict tends to negatively impact relational outcomes for groups, including satisfaction and intent to remain (Jehn, 1995). Generally, groups who experienced task conflict ended up distracted from the task at hand, and had poorer performance and lower satisfaction with the group (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003; Shah & Jehn, 1993). Groups also experienced lower performance when task conflict occurred at the end of the project when decisions could not be easily altered or changed (Jehn & Mannix, 2001). However, researchers quickly noted the need for moderate levels of task conflict. Task conflict can increase the problem solving capabilities of groups, which is beneficial for group performance in that groups can critically discuss and analyze ideas. As a result, researchers adopted a curvilinear picture of task conflict, with a moderate level of task conflict being ideal for group performance and outcomes (Jehn, 1995; De Dreu, 2006). This curvilinear relationship is beneficial for groups, allowing for greater innovation, and improved functioning and effectiveness (De Dreu, 2006).

DeChurch & Marks (2001) found that how task conflict is handled determines whether it has a positive or negative impact. Passively handled task conflict had a negative impact, whereas actively addressed task conflict had a positive impact (DeChurch & Marks, 2001). Though task conflict can have a negative impact on the group, as Behfar et al. (2011) and Greer & Jehn (2007) noted, task conflict about specific details can help generate better ideas and lead to a positive impact on the group. The type of task can also play an important role. Jehn (1995) found task conflict regarding routine tasks (consistent type of work) had a negative impact on group functioning, whereas task conflict about non-routine tasks did not have the same negative impact, and actually helped the group function better. Task conflict became problematic for

routine task groups since it distracted the group from their daily work duties, whereas non-routine task groups were able to be creative and explore alternative ways to approach the task at hand (Jehn, 1995).

Task conflict in groups can potentially affect groups in both positive and negative ways. De Dreu and Weingart (2003) found task conflict negatively affects satisfaction and performance, though the curvilinear model points to a midpoint where conflict is most beneficial (De Dreu, 2006). More importantly, task conflict is linked closely with relational conflict. Groups that experienced task conflict without relational conflict avoided the drop in group performance (de Wit et al., 2012). Being able to use task conflict in constructive ways (i.e., critically discussing ideas, problem solving, increasing information sharing) allows groups to handle problems. Finding the balance between constructive and destructive task conflict relies on managing other types of conflict during problem solving.

Relational Conflict

The other type of conflict proposed by Guetzkow and Gyr (1954) is relational conflict. As defined by Jehn (1995), relational conflict "exists when there are interpersonal incompatibilities among group members, which typically includes tension, animosity, and annoyance among members within a group" (pg. 258). Relational conflict is difficult to separate from other conflict types based on the emotionality contained in all messages (Jehn, 1997; Jehn et al., 2008), and since it can be a consequence of poorly handled task or process conflict (Greer & Jehn, 2007). The emotional dimension of relational conflict makes it unique, since group members are able to separate emotions from both task and process conflict (Jehn et al., 2008). Relational conflict negatively affected group experiences by distracting members, limiting

cognitive processes, decreasing ability to share and assess new information, and decreasing cooperation, communication, and commitment in the group (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003).

Past studies indicated relational conflict has a consistent, overall negative impact on groups (de Wit et al., 2012). Relational conflict had high negative correlations with performance outcomes (e.g., productivity, creativity, and performance), along with relational outcomes (e.g., satisfaction, commitment, working together in the future, and intent to remain in the group; De Dreu, 2006; De Dreu & Weingart, 2003; Jehn, 1995, 1997; Jehn & Bendersky, 2003; Jehn et al., 2008). In low performing groups, relational conflict increased throughout interaction (Jehn & Mannix, 2001). How relational conflict was managed also affects group performance (De Dreu & Van Vianen, 2001). Groups that avoided handling relational conflict had increased team function and effectiveness, whereas collaborating and contending approaches decreased team function and effectiveness (De Dreu & Van Vianen, 2001). Part of the relationship between performance and relational conflict depends on norms in the group. Groups that explicitly discussed norms for handling relational conflict were able to increase performance (Behfar, Peterson, Mannix, & Trochim, 2008). However, open communication about relational conflict lowered performance since the conflict was brought to the forefront and was still present (Behfar et al., 2008). Group performance was negatively impacted when groups simultaneously experienced relational and process conflict (de Wit et al., 2012).

Some studies found no relationship between relational conflict and performance (Jehn, 1995; Behfar et al., 2011), and focused more on the negative impact relational conflict has on relational outcomes. In a meta-analysis, De Dreu and Weingart (2003) noted relational conflict had a negative relationship with satisfaction. Jehn (1995) found relational conflict led to lower satisfaction and liking in the group, and group members were more likely to leave and withdraw

from the group. In addition, the negative emotions associated with relational conflict negatively affected emergent states, and led to more relational conflict (Jehn et al., 2008). Simons and Peterson (2000) discussed the connection between trust and relational conflict, finding task conflict was perceived as relational conflict (i.e. personal attack) when there were low amounts of intragroup trust.

Relational conflict affects groups differently, though most groups experience some sort of relational conflict. High performing groups still experienced relationship conflict, but largely at the end of the group timeline since team members were more interdependent (Jehn & Mannix, 2001). This higher interdependence may increase the negative impact of relationship conflict (Jehn, 1995). In addition, relational conflict tends to lave long lasting effects. Relational conflict early in group interaction was related to more conflict later on (Greer, Jehn, & Mannix, 2008; Jehn & Bendersky, 2003). Relational conflict takes away from the group's time and resources to deal with task issues (Jehn, 1995), and can be a consequence of poorly managed task or process conflict (Behfar et al., 2011). De Dreu and Van Vianen (2001) found groups that avoided dealing with relational conflict had higher performance since the focus remains on the task and process issues facing the group.

Relational conflict has a stronger negative impact on groups than task conflict. Groups with a low correlation between task and relational conflict were able to maximize the benefits of task conflict and minimize the negative effects of relational conflict (de Wit et al., 2012). Interpersonal incompatibilities that emerged during group discussion led to relational conflict, which in turn negatively impacted group performance and satisfaction (Bendersky et al., 2010; De Dreu & Weingart, 2003). These interpersonal incompatibilities can quickly lead to other types of conflict, making relational conflict detrimental to groups (de Wit et al., 2012).

Process Conflict

Process conflict focuses on "conflict about how task accomplishment should proceed in the work unit, who's responsible for what, and how things should be delegated" (Jehn, 1997, p. 540). Whereas task conflict focused on problem solving and decision making regarding the group task, process conflict is a distinct form of conflict regarding planning and resource allocation, and occurs in separate conversations from the task-content discussion (Jehn, 1997). Pelled (1996) highlighted how group discussions about goals, priorities, and work responsibilities led to conflict in groups. Though Pelled (1996) defined this as a subset of task conflict, Jehn (1997) introduced process conflict as unique type of conflict.

Process conflict in groups and organizations tends to have a negative impact on group outcomes (Behfar et al., 2011; de Wit et al., 2012; Greer et al., 2008). Process conflict increased claim and blame behaviors when members felt personally attacked and felt the group is unfair (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003). Furthermore, process conflict can elicit emotions related to personal value and worth as groups discuss allocation of resources, which can lead to arguments becoming personal (Greer & Jehn, 2007) and distracting the group from the task at hand (Greer et al., 2008). Behfar et al. (2011) found a strong link between process and relational conflict because of the disruptive behavior and perceptions of injustice that emerged during discussion. Disruptive behavior and perceptions of injustice can challenge how much members value each other, leading to potential negative interpersonal attributions. Greer and Jehn (2007) noted a positive relationship between process conflict and negative affect led to decreased group performance. The emotional dimension of process conflict negatively affects group member trust and commitment (de Wit et al., 2012), and permeates the remaining group discussion (Greer et al., 2008). Early process conflict, even if resolved and handled well, leaves lingering emotion

which can lead to other types of conflict emerging later during group discussion (Greer et al., 2008).

Though process conflict has a predominantly negative impact on groups (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003), it can positively influence group discussion. Process conflict helps open up discussion about group norms and expectations (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003; Jehn & Mannix, 2001), along with reevaluation of processes and standards during the life of the group (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003). Resolving process conflict can be linked to helping groups build trust, respect, and cohesion among members (Jehn et al., 2008). Groups who can resolve process conflict minimize the negative impact of process conflict on emergent states (Jehn et al., 2008).

In their overview and testing of process conflict, Behfar et al. (2011) divided process conflict down into two segments (logistical and contribution) in order to better explain the conflict experience in groups. Logistical conflict emerged from discussions about coordination of resources and how to approach the task. This can include disagreements about effectively organizing and utilizing group resources, assigning member responsibilities, and scheduling group time. These types of disagreements have the potential to distract the group from accomplishing the task, and can decrease clarity of the task. Behfar et al. (2011) found logistical conflict negatively affected task-related outcomes (i.e., performance and coordination). Though previous research reported process conflict has a positive influence on team performance, Behfar et al. (2011) explained it may be a result of lower logistical conflict where groups were able to resolve issues about timing and resources.

Whereas logistical conflict focuses on how groups approach the task, contribution conflict involves dealing with group members who are not pulling their weight or completing their portion of the task (Behfar et al., 2011). Groups experiencing contribution conflict are faced

with group members who are not meeting expectations, are not participating in the task work, and/or are violating group norms. Contribution conflict leads to frustration in groups, in that group members are drawing comparisons based on their effort and the results of the work. Behfar et al. (2011) found contribution conflict affected more of the people-related or psychosocial aspects of group interaction, specifically group satisfaction.

Process conflict reflects group norms related to task performance and delegation of responsibilities (Bendersky et al., 2010). With a predominantly negative effect on group performance and outcomes, process conflict acts similarly to relational conflict by bringing up interpersonal frustrations with task contributions and duties (Behfar et al., 2011). However, process conflict can open up discussions about group norms and expectations, similar to how task conflict can open up discussion about solutions (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003).

Status Conflict

Status conflict is the newest type of intragroup conflict. Organizational scholars and previous research emphasized the importance of status in an organization and group members' desire to receive recognition and gain higher status in their group or organization (Schein, 1977; Zhou, 2005). Bendersky and Hays (2012) introduced status conflict to measure this phenomenon. Status conflict focuses on arguments over social positions and status in the group, including behaviors such as asserting dominance, asserting legitimacy or competence, and devaluing the contributions of others in comparison to your own (Bendersky & Hays, 2012). Whereas task and process conflict focus on issues related to the group task at hand, status conflict functions differently in that focuses on the social hierarchy of the group. As a result, status conflict tends to be longer lasting, affects the entire structure of the group, and can lead to more competitive behaviors in groups because of the benefits of higher status in the group (Bendersky & Hays,

2012). Status conflicts also involve multiple group members, either as allies or bystanders to support the group hierarchy changes (Bendersky & Hays, 2012).

Bendersky and Hays (2012) noted status conflict most commonly co-occurred with other conflict types, primarily relational, with only 10% of status conflicts occurring by themselves. Status conflict is tied closely to relational conflict with its focus on the social hierarchy in the group, and they tend to occur together (Bendersky & Hays, 2012). Bringing up status conflict issues affected group performance by decreasing information sharing among members, and increasing negative attributions about other group members (Bendersky & Hays, 2012). Furthermore, status conflict has a relationship with task conflict. Groups with lower levels of status conflict had a positive relationship between task conflict and group performance, whereas higher levels of status conflict led to poor group performance (Bendersky & Hays, 2012).

Moderators

The four conflict types are the foundation for intragroup conflict theory. They point to different dynamics at play during any group conflict experience. However, intragroup conflict theory goes further by explaining how the conflict types influence group outcomes. Assuming a direct link between conflict type and outcome simplifies group experiences and negates the potential role of other individual and group variables. In articulating intragroup conflict theory, Jehn (1997) pointed to the importance of moderators in the relationship between conflict types and outcomes, including high potential for resolution, norms accepting of conflict, and little emotionality. Further research has explored other moderators in the conflict – outcome relationship. Jehn and Bendersky (2003) highlighted numerous moderators, including amplifiers (strengthen positive and negative effects; interdependence, diversity, norms, conflict management processes), suppressors (weaken positive and negative effects; task routineness),

ameliorators (strengthen positive and weaken negative effects; positive emotions, interest-based third parties), and exacerbators (strengthen negative and weaken positive effects; negative emotions). Two meta-analyses (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003; de Wit et al., 2012) explored task type and organizational level as moderators in the relationship between conflict and group outcomes. For task type, De Dreu and Weingart (2003) noted conflict was more disruptive in routine task discussions, though de Wit et al. (2012) did not find task type played a role. Organizational level did play a significant role in the conflict – outcome relationship. Specifically, task conflict positively impacted performance more in upper management teams than lower level teams (de Wit et al., 2012).

Some researchers pointed to the relationship between conflict types as an important moderator. Research has pointed to the potential for conflict types to lead to one another (Behfar et al., 2011), and to the co-occurrence of conflict types (Behfar et al., 2011; Bendersky & Hays, 2012; Pelled, 1996). Simons and Peterson (2000) found high levels of intragroup trust reduced the correlation between task and relational conflict, and De Dreu and Weingart (2003) noted weak correlations between task and relational conflict lessened the negative impact of task conflict on performance. High correlations between task and relational conflict led to negative outcomes (satisfaction and performance; De Dreu & Weingart, 2003; de Wit et al., 2012), though upper management teams were better able to prevent task conflict from shifting into relational conflict (de Wit et al., 2012). In groups without this high correlation, task conflict was less likely to be emotional, escalate, or negatively impact group performance (de Wit et al., 2012).

Outcomes

Intragroup conflict theory originally focused on group performance as an outcome. In addition to the moderators mentioned earlier, Jehn (1997) placed intragroup conflict types into a

model to explain how each individual conflict type impacted group performance. For optimal group performance, Jehn (1997) proposed for moderate task conflict, no relationship conflict, and low levels of process conflict. Group performance remains the primary task outcome, with satisfaction added as an important relational outcome for group members. Generally, conflict reduces satisfaction for group members by increasing tension, antagonism, and distracting group members from the task at hand (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003). Research exploring intragroup conflict theory primarily uses satisfaction and performance as outcome measures in order to highlight how conflict types influence both task and relational outcomes. These two outcomes are addressed below.

Satisfaction

Satisfaction refers to how content and happy individuals are with their group experience, and represents a relational outcome for groups. In general, intragroup conflict negatively affects group member satisfaction (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003; de Wit et al., 2012). In terms of task conflict, most studies point to task conflict decreasing satisfaction (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003). de Wit et al. (2012) found task conflict had a weaker negative influence on satisfaction than relational and process conflict. For relational and process conflict, satisfaction decreases as group conflict increases. Both relational and process conflict led to blaming behaviors and personal attacks in groups (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003), which negatively affected how satisfied group members were with the group. Status conflict may also lead to these same behaviors as group members argue over position and power in the group.

Measurement of satisfaction tends to rely on universal measures of team member satisfaction. Some studies used specific scales to measure satisfaction, including attitudes toward other members, intent to remain (Jehn, 1995), and job satisfaction (Beck & Raile, 2012). Most

studies use one to four individual items to measure universal satisfaction with the group (DeChurch & Marks, 2001; De Dreu & Van Vianen, 2001; Jehn et al., 2008). These questions focus on individual group member satisfaction with the relationships or with the decision made, and are then aggregated to a group level measure (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003). However, satisfaction can occur on multiple levels. For example, an employee may dislike their job and daily tasks (job satisfaction), but enjoy the people they work with and the interactions they have at work (communication satisfaction) (Gregson, 1991). Therefore, this study looked at intragroup conflict types in relation to two types of satisfaction: job satisfaction and communication satisfaction.

Most family farm members choose to return and work on the family farm because of the lifestyle and values associated with it (Knutson, 2014), which can potentially lead to higher satisfaction. However, working with family members can be stressful and cause conflict when deciding how best to run the farm (Rosmann, 2012; Waters 2013). The family farm characteristics of independence, self-reliance, and competition can quickly escalate conflicts, and turn conflict personal. As previous conflict literature noted, increased personal attacks and blaming behaviors decrease satisfaction (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003), and the presence of intragroup conflict generally lowers group satisfaction (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003; de Wit et al., 2012). Based on the overall negative link between intragroup conflict types and general satisfaction in the literature, the following hypotheses are posed regarding the family farm context:

H1a: Task conflict will decrease family farm member job satisfaction.

H1b: Relational conflict will decrease family farm member job satisfaction.

H1c: Process conflict will decrease family farm member job satisfaction.

H1d: Status conflict will decrease family farm member job satisfaction.

H1e: Task conflict will decrease family farm member communication satisfaction.

H1f: Relational conflict will decrease family farm member communication satisfaction.

H1g: Process conflict will decrease family farm member communication satisfaction.

H1h: Status conflict will decrease family farm member communication satisfaction.

Performance

For most team situations, performance is an important outcome that determines how effective the group has been. As a measure of task effectiveness, performance focuses on how well the group was able to accomplish their assigned task. De Dreu and Weingart (2003) summarized different ways to measure performance, including decision quality, product quality, production quality, and team effectiveness. Performance measurements rely on how group members or supervisors evaluate the effectiveness of the team, with supervisor evaluations preferred (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003). Furthermore, performance measurements are constrained since intragroup conflict research focuses on task groups during a set time frame, where a specific goal or outcome can be accomplished.

Conflict in family farms is complex since both family and work relationships are involved, and the conflict can easily spill over into the family environment. Though de Wit et al., (2012) noted conflict had a higher negative effect on relational versus performance outcomes, conflict still negatively affected performance. For task conflict, the curvilinear model highlights the importance of maintaining a moderate level of conflict to maintain strong performance (De Dreu, 2006). Though De Dreu and Weingart (2003) found a negative relationship between task conflict and performance, de Wit et al. (2012) found no conclusive evidence for a positive or negative relationship between task conflict and performance.

However, previous studies noted task conflict has a negative impact on performance in the family business context. Kellermanns and Eddleston (2007) found more task conflict in family businesses negatively impacted performance. Furthermore, McDonald and Marshall (2013) found families experiencing conflict, which they conceptualized as task conflict, lowered profits for the family farm business. Though intragroup conflict literature is inconclusive on the relationship between task conflict and performance, the family business literature points to a negative relationship. Based on the previous family business conflict literature, the following hypothesis is posed for task conflict in the family farm context:

H2a: Task conflict will decrease family farm profitability.

Relational, process, and status conflict all have negative relationships with performance since they distract the group from the task at hand (Behfar et al., 2011; Bendersky & Hays, 2012; De Dreu & Weingart, 2003). Relational and process conflict are the most detrimental for group performance (de Wit et al., 2012). Groups dealing with relational, process, and status conflict struggle with completing the task, which in turn affects their performance overall. Relational conflict negatively impacts performance in the family business setting (Kellermanns & Eddleston, 2007), with process and status potentially doing the same. For family farms, the tendency for conflict to escalate and turn personal elicits many of the strong emotions previously tied to relational, process, and status conflict (Jehn et al., 2008; Jehn & Bendersky, 2003). This strong emotional link, along with the general negative relationship between intragroup conflict types and performance, leads to the following three hypotheses for the family farm context:

H2b: Relational conflict will decrease family farm profitability.

H2c: Process conflict will decrease family farm profitability.

H2d: Status conflict will decrease family farm profitability.

Summary

Intragroup conflict theory provides a nuanced picture of group conflict. Each type of conflict affects group outcomes differently, and are an important part of understanding group dynamics. In a family business setting, intragroup conflict plays out similarly to group settings. In general, family farm profitability decreases when they experience conflict (McDonald & Marshall, 2013). Task conflict negatively affects performance, with process conflict leading to strong performance when mediated by high family communication (Kellermans & Eddleston, 2007). Furthermore, family relationships are the foundation of the business, leading to increased emotion and potential for relationship conflict (Kellermans & Eddleston, 2004). Understanding conflict types in family farm businesses provides a picture of how family farm members deal with conflict situations.

Intragroup Conflict Antecedents

The second goal for this project is to explore the role of intragroup conflict antecedents. Intragroup conflict research focuses on the relationship between conflict types and outcomes. However, research rarely addresses antecedents for intragroup conflict. Groups rely on norms to guide behavior and interaction, and these norms become part of the group context that is crucial for understanding the emergence of conflict episodes. Jehn and Bendersky (2003) highlighted important antecedents for conflict types, including emotions and communicative norms. Therefore, this study explored two potential antecedents for intragroup conflict relevant to the family farm context: emotional intelligence and family communication patterns. Emotional intelligence, represented by awareness and management of an individual's emotions, and family communication patterns, represented by conversation and conformity, represent two aspects of

communicative norms built into the family farm business, and inevitably impact how conflict is handled by family farm members.

Emotional Intelligence

Any organization requires employees to coordinate action in order to accomplish a goal, with the task as primary focus. As a result, emotions are viewed as an impediment to organizational function and success (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995). However, in Sandberg's 2013 best-selling book *Lean In*, she advocated against a task, rational driven perspective for organizational life. Instead, she called for authentic emotions in the workplace. "Instead of putting on some kind of fake 'all-work persona', I think we benefit from expressing our truth, talking about personal situations, and acknowledging that professional decisions are often emotionally driven" (pg. 89). Choosing to incorporate emotions into the workplace does not mean any emotional display is acceptable. Emotions must be managed intelligently (Sieben & Wettergren, 2010), expressed appropriately, and communicated with a recognition of other people's positions and views (Kramer & Hess, 2002). This can be complicated in family businesses when family relationships mix with business.

All families are complex networks of multiple interdependent relationships. The various relationships among family members influence how they communicate, and how they share emotion with each other. Children learn emotion rules first from their family, which guides how they emotionally interact with the rest of the world (Fitness & Duffield, 2004). Families represent an environment rich with emotional disclosure. Family members are more likely to express emotion in their family relationships than in other relationship, and are more likely to express extremes of emotion (Fitness & Duffield, 2004). The safety of family allows members to express their deepest needs and vulnerabilities, along with emotional extremes such as jealousy,

competition, anger, happiness, or joy. In family businesses, working with family members may elicit these same emotional extremes as family members work together. Managing those emotions and using them in positive ways becomes important for family business members in order to accomplish the required organizational tasks. Part of successful emotion management is utilizing emotional intelligence (Fitness & Duffield, 2004).

Emotional intelligence represents a communication competency that individuals use during interaction (Waldron, 2012). Compared to general intelligence, emotional intelligence is seen as a subset of social intelligence which focuses on the capability to manage and understand other people (Salovey & Mayer, 1990), and as the ability to get along with people in general (Myers & Tucker, 2005). Salovey and Mayer (1990) defined emotional intelligence as "the ability to monitor one's own and others' feelings and emotions, to discriminate among them and to use this information to guide one's thinking and actions" (p. 189). Furthermore, they framed emotional intelligence as important for humans in that it allows people to appropriately interact with the world. Inappropriate emotions, whether too many or not enough, raise questions in people's heads, and create negative impressions of those people. For Salovey and Mayer (1990), emotional intelligence reflected a new picture of intelligence, focusing specifically on three mental processes that influence how emotion information is processed: appraisal and expression of emotion in the self and others, regulation of emotion in self and others, and utilization of emotion.

Salovey and Mayer's (1990) emotional intelligence mental processes

Figure 1 models the emotional intelligence framework, focusing on how individuals balance between expressing and experiencing the emotions of self and others. The first dimension of emotional intelligence focuses on how individuals can express and assess their own

Figure 1. Emotional intelligence model showing relationship between self and other emotions. Adapted from "Emotional Intelligence as Organizational Communication," by D. S. Dougherty, and K. J. Krone, 2002, *Communication Yearbook, 26*, p. 208, Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc. Copyright 2002 by the International Communication Association.

emotions, along with the emotions of others (Salovey & Mayer, 1990). Emotion in the self requires individuals to both verbally and nonverbally find ways to express the emotions they are feeling. People must their own emotional information, and then find a way to share those emotions with others. The second dimension focuses on understanding emotion in others. This also relies on the nonverbal interpretation of emotion in others in order to facilitate interpersonal interaction and relationships (Salovey & Mayer, 1990). Assessing the emotions in others allows people to craft messages and behaviors in appropriate ways.

Second, emotional intelligence requires regulating emotions in the self and others. The regulation of emotion focuses on how individuals react and respond emotionally to the context

they are in (Salovey & Mayer, 1990). Regulating emotion in the self focuses on how we change and adapt our emotions to the situation through a mood regulatory system. The impulse to change emotion can come from specific people, activities, or memories. Humans also regulate emotion in others. Through impression management, humans are able to alter emotional responses from other people, and elicit strong reactions from their audience (Salovey & Mayer, 1990). Through the regulation process, individuals can regulate emotion to help meet individual goals and to help enhance others' moods, and to manipulate people (Salovey & Mayer, 1990).

Finally, utilizing emotional intelligence allows individuals to adapt during problem solving. Emotions influence cognitive processing, and play a role in our ability to problem solve. Individuals high in emotional intelligence are better able to harness their emotions and use them in positive ways (Salovey & Mayer, 1990). Higher levels of emotional intelligence help individuals adapt to events, and increases creative thinking during problem solving. With emotional intelligence, people are able to critically think through alternatives and find unique solutions. Emotional intelligence allows individuals to redirect attention to the most important stimuli and emotions at the time. Through this process, individuals can focus away from intense emotions and reprioritize their demands (Salovey & Mayer, 1990). Finally, utilizing emotional intelligence allows people to use emotions as motivation for future behaviors and actions. Positive moods and emotions can increase confidence, whereas negative emotions can help motivate towards better outcomes (Salovey & Mayer, 1990).

Dougherty and Krone's (2002) communicative perspective on emotional intelligence

Though the emotional intelligence profile provides insight into the cognitive process associated with emotions, there are challenges to the framework. Fineman (2004) questioned the reliance on self-report measurements, predominantly quantitative methodologies, and abstract

situations for measurement. Furthermore, Dougherty and Krone (2002) advocated for a communicative perspective on emotional intelligence. Research on emotional intelligence functions from a psychological perspective, and misses the communicative elements inherent to emotional intelligence. As Salovey and Mayer (1990) presented, communication, both verbal and nonverbal, was a key aspect of emotional intelligence. The communicative element to emotional intelligence becomes central for Dougherty and Krone's (2002) reevaluation of the emotional intelligence construct.

Emotional intelligence (along with other aspects of social intelligence) relies on interaction between parties and consideration of the social context (Dougherty & Krone, 2002). However, the dichotomy of self and other is not enough to measure emotions. Human beings experience emotions (one aspect), but have a choice on whether to express (communicate) those emotions or not. These dichotomies interact to create four dimensions of emotional intelligence. Managing experienced emotions and managing expressed emotions capture how human beings engage with their own emotions, and managing others' experienced emotions and managing others' expressed emotions highlight how human beings react to the emotions of others (Dougherty & Krone, 2002). Finally a moral component with constructive and destructive emotional intelligence notes how human beings can use emotions in positive and negative ways (Dougherty & Krone, 2002).

Managing experienced emotions is the most commonly researched aspect of emotional intelligence, including how individuals shift the context to reframe their emotions. For organizations, managing expressed emotions is important for work environments. Most organizations have expectations for emotional expression at work (Fiebig & Kramer, 1998), making emotional intelligence helpful for new employees joining an organization. Furthermore,

some jobs require specific emotional displays, termed emotional labor in that organizations control how emotions are displayed (Hochschild, 1983; Putnam & Mumby, 1993). In these situations, employees must balance their experienced emotion with what the organization deems appropriate expressed emotion.

In addition to managing emotions in self, individuals manage the emotions of others (Dougherty & Krone, 2002). Individuals can read and manage experienced emotions in others as a part of any interpersonal interaction. Reading experienced emotions means interpreting and identifying the emotions others are experiencing. To do so, individuals empathize with others by understanding the emotions others are experiencing, along with considering the organizational context. Managing the experienced emotions of others includes "shaping others experiences of a set of given emotions" (Dougherty & Krone, 2002, p. 213), and includes being able to shift the emotions of others and how they are feeling at the time. Second, individuals can manage others' expressed emotions. Research in this area focuses primarily on how organizations manage the expression of emotions by employees, through managerial rules and cultural control. Organizational culture creates rituals and unwritten rules for how individuals can display emotions in organizations, and promotes specific emotional displays that influence the organizational climate (Dougherty & Krone, 2002).

Finally, Dougherty and Krone (2002) introduce a moral dimension to emotional intelligence. A moral dimension to emotional intelligence recognizes the potential for emotional intelligence to be used in both constructive and destructive ways. Using emotional intelligence constructively allows individuals to create a positive sense of community among individuals, as well as appropriately incorporating emotion into organizational decision making. Constructively using emotions in organizations allows individuals to bring their authentic selves to work by

recognizing emotion as important for building relationships and community. Alternatively, emotional intelligence can be used in destructive ways. Emotional labor can harm an individual's connection with their true emotions (Hochschild, 1983). Emotional intelligence can also be used destructively by individuals through manipulation and to maintain power. Downplaying other people's comments, terrorizing other employees, and making threats are ways individuals manipulate and attempt to maintain power over employees and coworkers (Dougherty & Krone, 2002).

Emotions and conflict

Studying emotions and organizations requires recognizing that emotions serve as the impetus for communicative action and specific behaviors. Emotions are felt by individuals in organizations based on interpretations of the environment, and these feelings in turn drive how people decide to act and behave (Ashkanasy, Härtel, & Zerbe, 2000). From this perspective, it is possible to see how emotions can influence conflict interactions. Pondy (1967) introduced a model of organizational conflict including felt conflict, defined as the affective dimension of conflict. Pondy noted organizational members may have positive or negative feelings towards a conflict situation, which leads organizational members to find a way to cope. Additionally, Gayle and Preiss (1998) noted conflict episodes were embedded with emotions, and lingering memories of the episode could quickly recall the felt emotions. Jordan and Troth (2004) found any conflict is embedded with emotion based on the threat to individual goals. As a result, any conflict situation requires members to find ways to cope with emotions.

Emotions are a key variable during conflict experiences. Jehn (1997) pointed to emotion as crucial in defining "individuals' subjective interpretation of reality and reactions to current situations" (p. 532). Conflict episodes elicited strong emotions, primarily negative emotions such

as anger, frustration, hatred, and jealousy (Jehn, 1997). The connection between conflict and emotions also plays out in organizations. Any conflict episode is bound to impact organizational behavior, relationships, and productivity, but the emotional aspect of these conflict episodes is rarely considered (Gayle & Preiss, 1998). Conflict experiences elicit strong emotions, many of which stick with people after the conflict has been resolved, which affects their future organizational interactions (Gayle & Preiss, 1998). As a result, emotion can be viewed as "an impetus for and byproduct of social conflict" (Barry, 1999, p. 94).

During conflict episodes, individuals with higher levels of emotional intelligence were better able to handle conflict situations (Goleman, 1998). Higher levels of emotional intelligence allow family farm members to better understand and express their emotions, and to read the emotions of other family members. For conflict occurring in groups, the ability to read and manage emotions has a positive impact on group function and conflict experiences. Group members with high emotional intelligence tended to use collaborative resolution strategies, and avoided the dissatisfaction associated with unresolved conflict (Jordan & Troth, 2004; Smith, Heaven, & Ciarrochi, 2007). In this sense, emotional intelligence helps group members communicate productively in order to help resolve conflicts and continue with the task at hand. The increased communication competence associated with high emotional intelligence helped groups navigate conflict episodes more effectively (Goleman, 1998; Lenaghan et al., 2007).

For conflict occurring in groups, the ability to read and manage emotions has a positive impact on group function and conflict experiences. Group members with high emotional intelligence had fewer task and relational conflicts, lower conflict intensity, longer conflicts (Ayoko, Callan, & Härtel, 2008), and avoided the dissatisfaction associated with unresolved conflict (Smith, Heaven, & Ciarrochi, 2007). Jordan and Troth (2004) explored emotional

intelligence and conflict resolution in work teams. Groups with higher levels of emotional intelligence (based on individual member's pooled emotional intelligence) performed better on a problem-solving task. Furthermore, emotional intelligence influences how individual group members decide to approach conflict. Groups with higher emotionally intelligent individuals tended to use collaborative conflict resolution strategies, whereas lower emotional intelligence level groups tended to use forcefulness and avoidance (Jordan & Troth, 2002; Jordan & Troth, 2004).

This study focused on the emotional intelligence dimensions associated with the self. Individuals' awareness and management of their own emotions are the intelligences that individuals enter conversations and interactions with, and influence how they approach conflict, whereas awareness and managing others depends on the situation at hand. Salovey and Mayer's (1990) distinction between self and other highlights the different aspects of emotional intelligence individuals bring to interaction. Through awareness and management of own emotions, individuals come into conflict situations with a set of skills they can use to negotiate conflict scenarios. First, awareness of own emotions focuses on how in tune individuals are with their current feelings (Jordan & Lawrence, 2009). Individuals' with high self-emotional awareness are able to avoid the emotional extremes associated with conflict, and are able to communicate more effectively with their other group members (Jordan & Lawrence, 2009). Second, an individual's ability to manage their own emotions allows them to communicate and navigate conflict effectively. As groups work together, changes in goals, membership, or time pressures elicit strong emotions that can impede group performance (Jordan & Lawrence, 2009). Self-regulation of emotions is essential to managing conflict, which in turn impacts performance.

Both self-awareness and self-management are skills individuals have to help them navigate conflict scenarios.

Studying emotional intelligence and conflict typically takes one of two approaches. Some studies focus on emotional intelligence as precursor to conflict style or behaviors, whereas others focus on conflict mediating the relationship between emotional intelligence and outcomes (Troth, Jordan, & Westerlacken, 2014). This study embraces the second approach. Troth et al. (2014) outlined a theoretical perspective and propositions on the relationship between intragroup conflict and emotional intelligence. "Emotional management and awareness skills (encapsulated by the emotional intelligence construct) are key competencies in the productive interactions that occur between individuals, especially those exchanges involving conflict" (Troth et al., 2014). These propositions formed the basis of the hypotheses for this study.

First, Troth et al, (2014) posited higher emotional intelligence leads to productive task conflict, and low levels of relationship and process conflict. When individuals enter a conflict situation, higher emotional intelligence helps promote task performance as individuals' lean towards collaborative and compromising styles of conflict resolution. This study focused on the individual dimensions of emotional intelligence. More specifically, this study focused on the emotion regulation individuals' use during conflict situations. Troth et al. (2014) outlined emotion regulation approaches to intragroup conflict. Emotional regulation refers to the emotional intelligence dimensions of individual awareness and management. In emotion regulation, Troth et al. (2014) highlighted two strategies: antecedent-focused and response-focused. Antecedent-focused strategies allow members to reframe the situation before emotions become full blown responses, whereas response-focused strategies guide individual's emotion modification after full blown emotional responses. These two strategies guide conversation

during conflict, with Troth et al. (2014) proposing antecedent-focused strategies help strengthen the positive relationship between task conflict and outcomes, and response-focused strategies strengthening the negative relationship between relational and process conflict, and outcomes.

With the ideas from Troth et al. (2014) in mind, the following hypotheses are posed based on the intragroup conflict types. First, with regards to task conflict, higher emotional intelligence leads to moderate levels of task conflict are beneficial for groups since groups remain focused on the task at hand (Jehn, 1997; Troth et al., 2014). Furthermore, higher emotional intelligence aids in preventing task conflict from becoming relational or process conflict, and increases the relationship strength between task conflict and outcomes. In the family business context, conflicts often shift from task to relational conflicts quickly (Frank et al., 2011). Family farms experience this as well, as members balance work and family relationships, and figure out how to keep the farm running. Similar to the previous literature, family farms that are able to stay focused on the problem and issues at hand, rather than personal or other topics, can resolve conflicts quickly. As a result, the following hypotheses regarding emotional intelligence and task conflict are posed for the family farm context:

H3a: Higher awareness of own emotions will increase family farm member task conflict.

H4a: Higher management of own emotions will increase family farm member task conflict.

Relational conflict is strongly linked with emotions, especially with the relational content contained in many messages sent between group members (Jehn, 1997). For family farm settings, where conflicts tend to escalate and turn personal very quickly (Frank et al., 2011), the ability to manage emotions appropriately can help prevent some of the negative impacts of relational conflict. With regards to emotional intelligence, relational conflict is reduced and

managed appropriately when group members have high emotional intelligence (Troth et al., 2014). For individual members who are able to manage their own emotions appropriately, relational conflict decreases when conflict remains focused on the task (Troth et al., 2014). With higher emotional intelligence, family farm members can reduce relational conflict and potentially prevent some of the extreme emotional responses common to conflict (Rosmann, 2012). As a result, the following hypotheses are posed for the family farm context:

H3b: Higher awareness of own emotions will decrease family farm member relational conflict.

H4b: Higher management of own emotions will decrease family farm member relational conflict.

In terms of process conflict, higher emotional intelligence allows group members to successfully navigate the strong emotions associated with process conflict. Troth et al. (2014) explain process conflict's negative impact on group performance can be avoided with higher emotional intelligence. As family farm members experience process conflict, they face discussions regarding how to accomplish farming tasks. In a culture that values the word of the older generation, and a culture that values operating how they have for generations, process conflicts can elicit many emotions as younger individuals try to modernize and find new, effective ways to farm (Waters, 2013). Troth et al. (2014) points to high emotional intelligence allowing group members to avoid the negative effects of process conflict on outcomes, which is beneficial for family farms. Therefore, these hypotheses are posed for the family farm context:

H3c: Higher awareness of own emotions will decrease family farm member process conflict.

H4c: Higher management of own emotions will decrease family farm member process conflict.

Finally, in regards to status conflict, previous research has highlighted strong links between status and relational conflict (Bendersky et al., 2010; Bendersky & Hays, 2012). Status conflicts over power and position in the group can elicit strong emotional reactions from members, and can lead to negative attributions about other group members (Bendersky & Hays, 2012). Additionally, status conflict has similar impact on outcomes as relational conflict, including decreasing team performance. Status is important in family farm businesses. Older family members are given higher status because of their age and experience, and get the final word on decisions regarding the farm (Waters 2013; Zimmerman & Fetsch, 1994). Furthermore, the nature of family farm members to be competitive brings stats conflict to conversations. As Rosmann (2013) noted, many family farm member conflicts include phrases like "I'm a better farmer than he is" or "He doesn't work as hard as I do". Because of the emotional similarity between relational and status conflict, the following hypotheses are posed for the family farm context:

H3d: Higher awareness of own emotions will decrease family farm member status conflict.

H4d: Higher management of own emotions will decrease family farm member status conflict.

Summary

Emotional intelligence is an important communication skill people have for interacting with others. Individuals with higher levels of emotional intelligence are able to adapt during problem solving, and can help keep the group focused on the task at hand (Salovey & Mayer,

1990). This holds true for families with high emotional intelligence, where families respect and respond to the needs and opinions of others, and hold other family members in mutual regard (Fitness & Duffield, 2004). For family members, the ability to refocus away from intense emotions to the task at hand can help them deal with task and process conflicts before they turn into relational conflicts (Yang & Mossholder, 2004). The link between emotional intelligence and conflict types can provide insight into how an individual's emotion management skills influence conflict situations.

Family Communication Patterns

In exploring family farms, Taylor et al. (1998) noted "a family business cannot be understood without understanding the family that created it" (p. 554). Part of understanding the family includes understanding how family members communicate with each other. As discussed in chapter one, most family farms rely on implicit communication (Pitts et al., 2009). The communication patterns children learn at an early age from their families stay with them and influence how they interact in work situations, including during conflict (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002b). For family farms, the family communication patterns carry over into everyday work interaction and influence how the family farm is able to thrive.

Family communication patterns present one perspective for understanding family interaction. McLeod and Chaffee introduced family communication patterns as a way to explain how mass media messages are processed by families (Koerner & Schrodt, 2014). In doing so, they noted families develop fairly stable patterns of interacting with each other, which help create a shared family identity and worldview. More recently, work by Koerner and Fitzpatrick (2002a, 2002b) revised family communication patterns to better capture and explain the communicative norms developed by families through interaction. In doing so, they measure how

families approach two aspects of interaction: conformity and conversation. This section briefly introduces the original family communication patterns framework, then explains the revised family communication patterns perspective predominantly used in communication research today.

Family communication patterns

As media researchers, McLeod and Chaffee (1972) were interested in how mass media messages were processed by families and shared with family members, inevitably leading to the creation of social reality. McLeod and Chaffee argued these patterns emerged through the process of co-orientation. In co-orientation, people create a shared interpretation and perspective of the world through focusing on the same object and communicating to form those beliefs and attitudes (Koerner & Schrodt, 2014). First, families develop a concept orientation. The concept orientation deals with creating a shared perception about the physical characteristics of the object, including properties, characteristics, and outcomes (Koerner & Schrodt, 2014). Second, families create a shared socio orientation. The socio orientation focuses on how families create an understanding of that object based on the opinion of one family member, instead of the object itself. Though the concept and socio orientations highlighted differences in how families communicate, the revision from Fitzpatrick and others (e.g. Ritchie 1991, 1997) incorporated a communication perspective to family communication patterns theory.

Revised family communication patterns

Revised by Ritchie and Fitzpatrick (1990), family communication patterns (FCP) explains how families make sense of the world through two orientations. Instead of the concept and socio orientations from McLeod and Chaffee, Richie and Fitzpatrick (1990) introduced two orientations that describe family communication: conformity and conversation. Conformity

orientation refers to the homogeneity of beliefs, attitudes, and values in the family. This comes out of McLeod and Chaffee's socio orientation since communication is based on conforming to the beliefs and ideas of one individual (i.e. the parent; Schrodt, Witt, & Messersmith, 2008). Families with high conformity tend to focus on uniformity of beliefs and attitudes, and stress conformity through conflict avoidance and interdependence between family members (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002b). High conformity families have very traditional structures, and prioritize family above anything else. On the other hand, low conformity families encourage individuality among family members and are more accepting of alternative beliefs and attitudes (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002b). Low conformity families allow individual members to explore their personal interests and have less cohesive and structured families (Koerner & Schrodt, 2014).

Conversation orientation is the second orientation and addresses the open communication climate in families (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002a). Families with an open communication climate have frequent and high levels of interaction between family members, and openly share their activities, thoughts and feelings with each other (Koerner & Schrodt, 2014). High conversation families involve everyone in decision making processes, use a democratic approach, and discuss a wide range of topics and ideas (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002b). Conversely, low conversation families have little interaction between family members. Few topics are discussed with all members, and members very rarely share ideas, attitudes, or feelings with one another in conversation (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002b). Furthermore, low conversation families rarely seek the opinion of other family members when making decisions and rely on the parents for most decisions and beliefs (Koerner & Schrodt, 2014).

The two FCP orientations create four family communication classifications. The four classifications are displayed in Figure 2. Consensual families are high in conversation and high

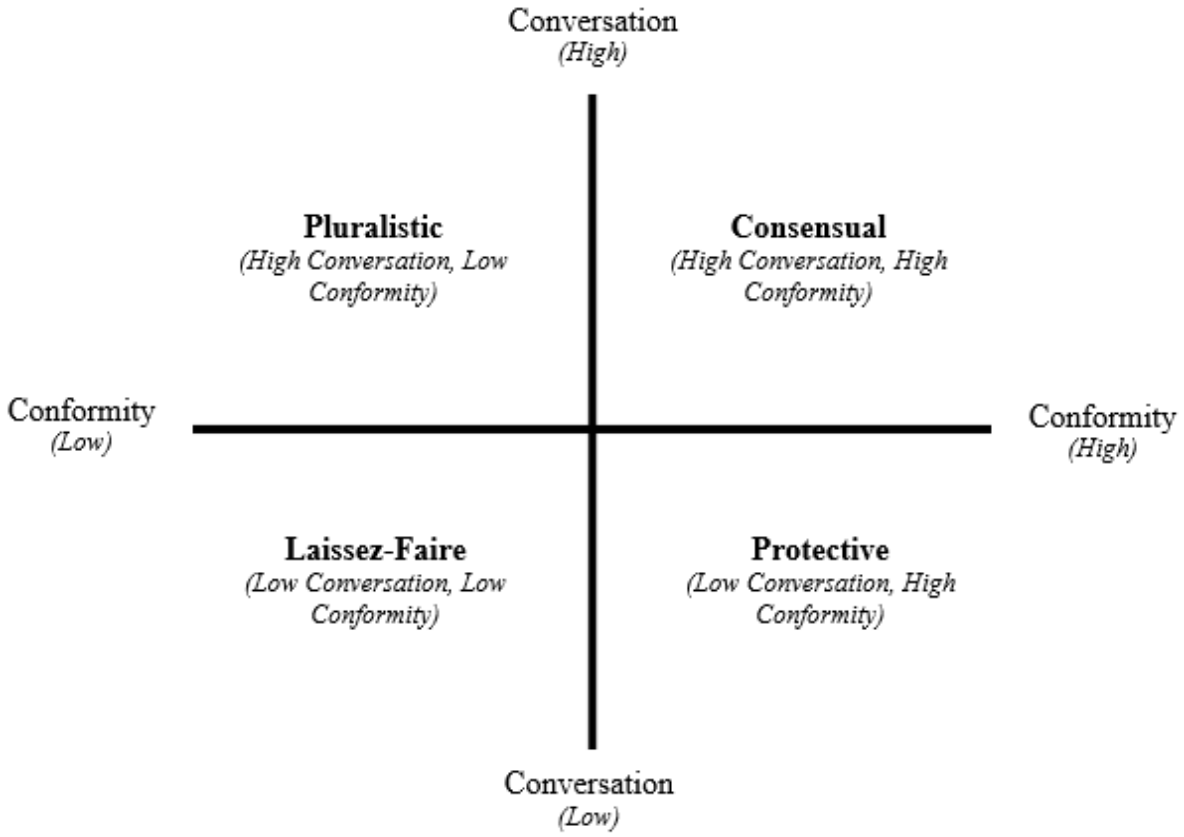

Figure 2. Family communication patterns model with conversation and conformity axes. Based on Figure 4.1 from "Family Communication Patterns Theory: A Social Cognitive Approach," by A. F. Koerner, and M. A. Fitzpatrick, 2006, in D. O. Braithwaite, and L. A. Baxter (Eds.), *Engaging Theories in Family Communication: Multiple Perspectives*, p. 57, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications. Copyright 2006 by Sage Publications Inc.

in conformity. These families have open conversation and discussion about new ideas, and maintain hierarchy and conformity among family members (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002a). Parents in consensual families are interested in their children's ideas and beliefs, but ultimately believe they should have the final say in decision making for the family (Koerner & Schrodt, 2014). To balance this tension, parents tend to discuss with children their beliefs and attitudes in the hopes of children adopting the same system (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002b). Pluralistic families are high in conversation and low in conformity. These families tend to have open conversations about a wide range of topics, with parents not focused on controlling their

children's opinions or attitudes about topics (Koerner & Schrodt, 2014). Every family member is involved in these conversations and is welcome to have their own opinions about various topics (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002a).

Protective families are low in conversation and high in conformity. These families focus on parental authority and show little concern for conversation about topics and ideas in the family (Koerner & Schrodt, 2014). Parents are the decision makers in these families, and see no reason to talk to children about the reasoning for decisions or to include them in the process (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002b). Children in these families tend to see little value in talking to family members, and question their decision making abilities (Koerner & Schrodt, 2014). Finally, laissez-faire families are low in both conversation and conformity. These families have very few interactions, and are limited in scope (Koerner & Schrodt, 2014). This leads to poor family connections and little interest in what is going on with family members. Furthermore, laissez-faire parents encourage all family members to make their own decisions, and have little interest in the decisions made by their children (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002b).

Research using family communication patterns provides insight into a variety of family level characteristics. In general, conversation and conformity are inversely related to each other, and the conversation orientation has a positive impact on families and individual members (Schrodt et al., 2008). Both conversation and conformity are associated with parent-child interactions about conflict, power, aggression, deception, religion, and shopping. Higher levels of conversation are linked to higher empowerment among children, and can help enhance individual health and well-being (Schrodt, et al., 2008). Furthermore, family communication patterns provide insight into workplace communication. Fitzpatrick (2014) noted many

organizational communication patterns follow the conversation and conformity orientations, and can be informed by an understanding of the family communication patterns structure.

Family communication patterns and conflict

In general, family communication patterns impact conflict experiences. Families are the environment where individuals first learn how to manage conflict (Dumlao & Botta, 2000). Most research points to connections between family communication patterns and specific conflict management styles. High levels of conversation in families led to collaborative, accommodating, and compromising conflict approaches (Beck & Ledbetter, 2013; Dumlao & Botta, 2000). Protective families (low conversation, high conformity) tended to avoid or accommodate during conflict (Dumlao & Botta, 2000; Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 1997), though Beck and Ledbetter (2013) found pluralistic families tended to avoid conflict. Furthermore, Beck and Ledbetter (2013) found high conversation favored collaborative, accommodating, and compromising conflict styles, whereas high conformity led to avoidance, accommodating, and competing styles.

Additionally, learned family communication patterns persist into future situations, including work experiences (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002b). In the family business environment, these family communication patterns carry over and influence the daily business operations. The learned family communication pattern influences conflict experiences. Families high in conversation tended to avoid relationship conflict in family businesses, whereas high conformity prevented conflict, including productive task conflict (Sciascia, Clinton, Nason, James, & Rivera-Algarin, 2013). Family communication patterns influenced the success of that family business (Carmon, 2010), with the conversation orientation positively linked to family satisfaction and involvement with the family businesses.

With the importance of communication in the emergence of conflict (Pondy, 1967), family communication patterns likely influence the emergence of different conflict types. Family communication patterns are communicative norms for the family, focusing specifically on conversation and conformity. The family communication patterns learned at an early age influence work experiences, especially when working with family members (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002b). Family communication patterns influence the success of that family business (Carmon, 2010). The conversation orientation is positively linked to family satisfaction and involvement with the family business. Open communication in families (high conversation) leads families to address and resolve conflicts (Beck & Ledbetter, 2013). The open conversation norms in farm families would allow them to talk about issues and to handle conflicts productively when they do arise (Rosmann, 2013). As a result, the following hypotheses regarding conversation and conflict are posed:

H5a: Higher conversation will increase family farm member task conflict.

H5b: Higher conversation will increase family farm member relational conflict.

H5c: Higher conversation will increase family farm member process conflict.

H5d: Higher conversation will increase family farm member status conflict.

In regards to conformity, families higher in conformity and lower in conversation tend to avoid conflict (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 1997). More importantly, the dynamics of family farm culture stress conformity among family members. Many two generation farms still rely on the father as primary decision maker, even when the younger generation has taken over ownership (Zimmerman & Fetsch, 1994). This dynamic plays out in everyday interaction for family farms. The expectation is for the farm to continue operating how it "has for generations", with the patriarch making decisions (Waters, 2013). This is evident in daily farm interactions, with many

members of the younger generation lamenting they do whatever dad says, and are not able to incorporate new ways of operating into the business. Family farms stress conformity in how the business is run, keeping things very close to how they have been run for generations. This push for conformity in how the business is run decreases conflict among family farm members, especially in two generation farms. Therefore, the following hypotheses are posed:

H6a: Higher conformity will decrease family farm member task conflict.

H6b: Higher conformity will decrease family farm member relational conflict.

H6c: Higher conformity will decrease family farm member process conflict.

H6d: Higher conformity will decrease family farm member status conflict.

Summary

The conformity and conversation orientations represent two different dynamics of family communication patterns. High conversation increases interaction between family members, whereas high conformity stresses homogeneity in attitudes, values, and beliefs (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002b). As families interact, they create and follow these patterns of interaction, which follow them through their lives (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002b). Conflict interactions in families follow these patterns, and these patterns influence how conflict gets resolved. Koerner and Fitzpatrick (1997) found families higher in conformity and lower in conversation tend to avoid conflict. For family farms, the learned family communication patterns influence the family relationships, along with the work relationships as family members work together. Family farmers tendency to be competitive (Rosmann, 2013), independent, and self-reliant (Carlin, 1992) become a part of the learned family communication patterns, as evidenced by the story of the Azevedos from chapter one. The cultural values associated with family farms are engrained

in the learned family communication pattern, and these patterns become part of the social fabric of the family business.

Review of the Project and Hypotheses

The focus for this project was to understand how conflict functions in an applied context: family farm businesses. Family farm businesses present a unique context for communication. Work and family blend together, which raises questions on when to treat someone as family and someone as employee (Weigel & Weigel, 1990). Part of the challenge in this is dealing with conflict. Rosmann (2013) paints farmers as extremely competitive and argumentative. The traits that help family farms survive are the same that drive competitive behavior: tolerance for adversity, willingness to take risks, and independence (Rosmann, 2013). These traits, passed on through generations, create conflict in family farms as individuals work with people who share the same traits. Combining the family business dynamic with these cultural traits creates a unique environment for understanding conflict experiences.

The first goal of this project was to confirm and refine the relationship between intragroup conflict types and outcomes, specifically job satisfaction, communication satisfaction, and profitability. Part of the struggles faced by family farmers is to balance between family relationships and business ventures. This includes balancing individual family farm member satisfaction, along with family farm profitability. In order to explore how intragroup conflict types impact outcomes for family farms, the following hypotheses were posed:

H1a: Task conflict will decrease family farm member job satisfaction.

H1b: Relational conflict will decrease family farm member job satisfaction.

H1c: Process conflict will decrease family farm member job satisfaction.

H1d: Status conflict will decrease family farm member job satisfaction.

H1e: Task conflict will decrease family farm member communication satisfaction.

H1f: Relational conflict will decrease family farm member communication satisfaction.

H1g: Process conflict will decrease family farm member communication satisfaction.

H1h: Status conflict will decrease family farm member communication satisfaction.

H2a: Task conflict will decrease family farm profitability.

H2b: Relational conflict will decrease family farm profitability.

H2c: Process conflict will decrease family farm profitability.

H2d: Status conflict will decrease family farm profitability.

The second goal for this project was to explore two potential antecedents for intragroup conflict types: emotional intelligence and family communication patterns. Family farm members develop emotional intelligence and learn family communication patterns from their family members, and these traits stay with them in work situations. When family members are working with other family members, these learned traits become part of the business culture and structure, and influence how the family farm members deal with family farm business conflicts. The following hypotheses for emotional intelligence were posed:

H3a: Higher awareness of own emotions will increase family farm member task conflict.

H4a: Higher management of own emotions will increase family farm member task conflict.

H3b: Higher awareness of own emotions will decrease family farm member relational conflict.

H4b: Higher management of own emotions will decrease family farm member relational conflict.

H3c: Higher awareness of own emotions will decrease family farm member process conflict.

H4c: Higher management of own emotions will decrease family farm member process conflict.

H3d: Higher awareness of own emotions will decrease family farm member status conflict.

H4d: Higher management of own emotions will decrease family farm member status conflict.

In regards to family communication patterns, the following hypotheses were posed regarding conversation and conformity:

H5a: Higher conversation will increase family farm member task conflict.

H5b: Higher conversation will increase family farm member relational conflict.

H5c: Higher conversation will increase family farm member process conflict.

H5d: Higher conversation will increase family farm member status conflict.

H6a: Higher conformity will decrease family farm member task conflict.

H6b: Higher conformity will decrease family farm member relational conflict.

H6c: Higher conformity will decrease family farm member process conflict.

H6d: Higher conformity will decrease family farm member status conflict.

Finally, in order to explore the indirect effects between all of the variables of interest, structural equation modeling was used. Structural equation modeling helped accomplish three goals. First, structural equation modeling allows for simultaneously testing of relationships between variables, eliminating potential error issues with multiple tests. For this mediated model, simultaneous measurement can highlight how all of the variables impact each other at once.

Second, this project is interested in two antecedents for intragroup conflict: emotional intelligence and family communication patterns. Both of these are learned from experience, especially experience with family (Goleman, 1998; Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002b). With families being a primary source of learning for children, there is potential for a relationship between learned emotional intelligence and family communication patterns. Structural equation modeling highlighted the main effects between these antecedents and conflict types, along with potential indirect effects between emotional intelligence and family communication patterns. Finally, Bendersky et al. (2010) raised questions about the four factor structure for intragroup conflict. Structural equation modeling helped with analyzing the relationship between the intragroup conflict items to clarify how best to describe intragroup conflict. Based on the hypotheses and research questions posed, and these goals, the model in Figure 3 was tested.

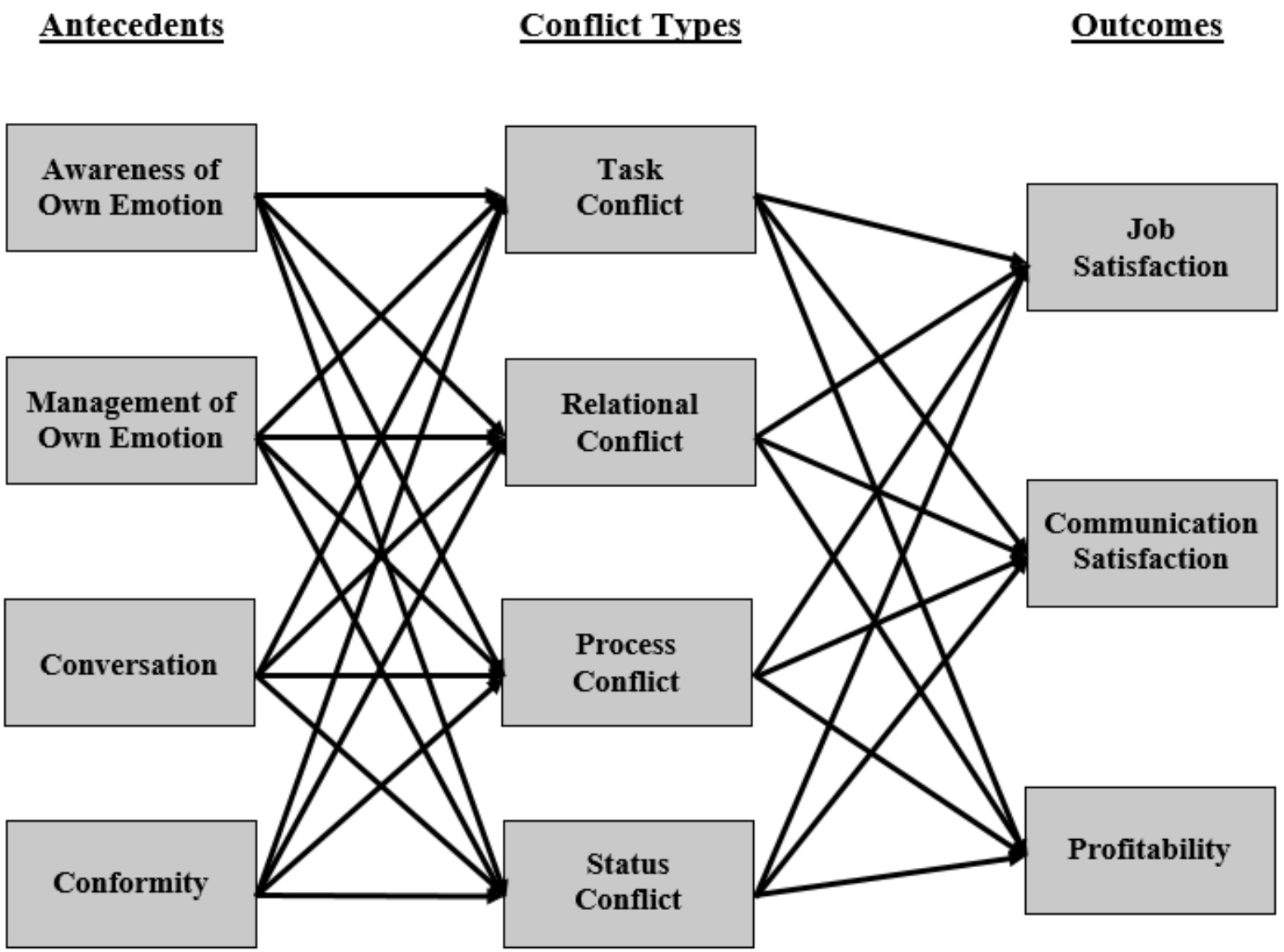

Figure 3. Proposed model based on the hypotheses and research question outlined in chapter two.

CHAPTER THREE: METHOD

This project focused on intragroup conflict in family farm businesses. In order to learn more about conflict in this unique business context, two approaches were used. The first explored how individual traits, emotional intelligence, represented by awareness and management of own emotions, and family communication patterns, represented by conversation and conformity, could predict intragroup conflict types. As discussed in chapter two, it was hypothesized that emotional intelligence and family communication patterns influenced the emergence of intragroup conflict types. The second approach explored how conflict types influenced specific outcomes. Chapter two outlined profitability as a performance outcome for family farms, and job satisfaction and communication satisfaction as relational outcomes. This chapter outlines the methodological approach for this project. It begins with a discussion of the procedure and sample for the project, followed by information about the measurement and analysis plans.

Sample

Participants were current employees (full- or part-time) on family farms located in the United States. In order to focus on family farms, the definition of family farm from the USDA was used: "any farm organized as a sole proprietorship, partnership, or family corporation. Family farms exclude farms organized as nonfamily corporations or cooperatives, as well as farms with hired managers" (USDA, 2010, p. 1). In addition to this definition, participants needed to be engaged in farming with other family members, either siblings or parents. This limited the participant pool to farms that include multiple family members in the daily operation and decision making of the family farm business.

A total of 204 family farm members participated in this study. Their average age was 25.63 (*SD* = 11.33), ranging from 18 to 67 years. The majority of participants were male (*n* = 110, 53.90%), with 93 females (45.60%) and one individual who chose not to report their biological sex. Participants had worked on the family farm for an average of 12.94 years (*SD* = 9.76), with a range of 6 months to 50 years. Family farms membership ranged in size from two to 26 members (*M* = 8.34, *SD* = 3.64). The majority of these members were parents (*n* = 195, 24.87%), followed by siblings (*n* = 176, 22.53%), spouses (*n* = 140, 17.92%), other relatives including aunts and uncles, nieces and nephews, grandparents, cousins, and in-laws (*n* = 136, 17.41%), and children (*n* = 134, 17.16%). The primary output for these family farms was crops (*n* = 100, 49.00%), followed by beef (*n* = 44, 21.60%), dairy (*n* = 38, 18.60%), and other (*n* = 15, 7.50%).

Procedure

Data were collected through an online survey of family farmers. Initial participants were recruited through a snowball sampling procedure using Facebook and email. Snowball sampling relies on the researcher finding eligible participants, and then recruiting more participants through the original participants (Singleton & Straits, 2003). Using snowball sampling allowed the researcher to share the survey with a wide range of participants. To start the snowball process, an open-ended question at the end of the survey asked participants to provide email addresses of other potential participants they knew, or to forward the link via email or Facebook to individuals working on family farms. The survey link was also posted on the researcher's Facebook page to recruit family farm members.Additional recruitment occurred in two ways. First, specific agricultural agencies and representatives were targeted for participation. These agencies were contacted by the researcher based on suggested contacts from other participants in

the survey, or for their role in sponsoring specific family farm events. The survey link was also provided to individual contacts the researcher had in agricultural agencies. These individuals were asked to use Facebook or email to provide the link to their local farm contacts.

Second, participants were recruited through connections at an upper Midwest university. Emails went out to the student body through the Institutional Review Board listserv inviting students to participate. In order to target students who matched the participation criteria, the email was also sent to students and faculty in the College of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Natural Resources. Finally, the survey was sent to two different classes to recruit participants for the survey. An agribusiness class with many family farm members was contacted to participate, and a large student research pool associated with a required first year class. Both of these courses offered class credit for students to participate in the survey.

Measurement

For the purpose of this study, a survey was used to measure family farm member attitudes and norms regarding conflict. The survey was distributed through SurveyMonkey, an internet-based questionnaire that made the survey easily accessible to the participants of interest. The recruitment letter was included as the first page of the survey, along with informed consent per Institutional Review Board requirements. This allowed participants to read about the project before participating. The survey used six modified demographic questions from the UDSA Census of Agriculture, then established scales for each construct of interest. The demographic questions included age, sex, years worked on the family farm, what the primary farm output is, and the number of family members involved in the day-to-day operation of the farm. More information about each scale is included below, and a copy of the instrument can be found in the Appendix.

As a part of the data cleaning, missing data cases were identified. Participants who dropped out part way through the survey, or did not complete an entire scale were dropped from analysis. A second wave of data cleaning focused on missing data for single items. Any individuals with two or more missing values on a particular scale were eliminated from the study. Participants with missing data on single scale items (n = 39) were identified and within-participant mean imputation was used after recoding. This procedure calculates a mean score based on the participant's responses on that scale in order to fill in the missing value (Harel, Zimmerman, & Dekhtyar, 2008). This method was chosen since it best represents the participant's sentiment regarding the measured construct.

Since the survey relied on established scales, Cronbach's alpha values were used to establish reliability for the items. To test the validity of the selected scales, CFA was used. CFA tests are used to indicate any measurement issues, including potential cross loadings between survey items. To achieve sufficient fit, the following guidelines provided by Schumacker and Lomax (2010) were used, including a χ^2, an incremental fit index (CFI), and two badness-of-fit indices (RMSEA and SRMR). General rules for these fit indices include a non-significant χ^2, CFI greater than or equal to .90, a RMSEA lower than .08, and a SRMR less than .05. Additionally, the relative χ^2 was used to measure model fit. The relative χ^2 reflects the adjusted χ^2 value based on the χ^2 divided by the degrees of freedom, and should be less than two (Ullman, 2001). The model was deemed to have good fit if three of the fit guidelines were met.

Intragroup Conflict

Task, relational, and process conflict items from Jehn (1995) were used. Participants were asked to rate a series of statements on a seven-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree). To measure task conflict, three items were used (e.g., My family members often

had conflicting opinions about the task we were doing; My family experienced conflict of ideas). Reliabilities for the task conflict scale have been acceptable across studies (Beck & Raile, 2012; Beck & Paskewitz, 2013), with a reliability of $\alpha = .90$ in this sample. Three items were used to measure relational conflict (e.g., My family members often got angry while working in this team; My family members experienced emotional conflict). Reliabilities for the relational conflict scale have been acceptable across studies and was acceptable in this study ($\alpha = .87$). The scale for process conflict included three items from Jehn (1995) (e.g., My family members had disagreements about who should do what; My family members disagreed about resource allocation). This scale showed appropriate reliability ($\alpha = .88$). Finally, the status conflict items from Bendersky and Hays (2012) were used. Status conflict was measured with four items including "My family members frequently take sides during conflicts" and "My family members disagreed about the relative value of members' contributions". This scale was reliable ($\alpha = .92$).

A confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was run to test the validity of the intragroup conflict items. The four subscales were submitted to a CFA with the 13 items specifying a four-factor solution: task, relational, process, and status. The CFA resulted in poor fit (χ^2 [59, N = 204] = 146.63, $p < .001$, CFI = .96, RMSEA = .09, SRMR = .04, relative $\chi^2 = 2.49$). Standardized residual covariances (SRCs) were in the acceptable limits, though modification indices (MIs) pointed to problems with process item three. MIs called for correlated error terms between process item three and the conflict subtypes, which violates CFA expectations (Schumacker & Lomax, 2010). Process item three was removed from the analysis, and model fit improved (χ^2 [48, N = 204] = 105.09, $p < .001$, CFI = .97, RMSEA = .08, SRMR = .03, relative $\chi^2 = 2.19$). Though the relative χ^2 shows room for improvement, the remaining fit indices show acceptable fit for the data.

Emotional Intelligence

In order to measure emotional intelligence, the Workgroup Emotional Intelligence Profile (WEIP-S) short scale was used (Jordan & Lawrence, 2009). The original Workgroup Emotional Intelligence Profile was a long scale, which Jordan and Lawrence (2009) shortened to work for longer surveys. The scale includes four subcategories of emotion management: awareness of own emotions, management of own emotions, awareness of other's emotions, and management of others' emotions. For this survey, the two subscales regarding awareness and management of own emotions were used. The awareness of own emotions scale used four items (e.g., I can explain the emotions I feel to other family members; I can talk to other members of my family about the emotions I experience), and had a reliability of $\alpha = .93$. Four items were used to measure management of own emotions ($\alpha = .80$) and included items such as "I respect the opinion of family members, even if I think they are wrong" and "I give a fair hearing to fellow family members' ideas." All of the items use a seven point Likert type scale from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7). A confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was run to test the validity of the awareness of own and management of own emotions subscales. A CFA with the eight self-focused emotional intelligence items specifying a two-factor solution (awareness of own and management of own) did not fit the data (χ^2 [19, N = 204] = 58.88, $p < .001$, CFI = .97, RMSEA = .09, SRMR = .03, relative $\chi^2 = 2.68$). MIs called for a correlated error term between awareness of own two and three, which was added to the model. The resulting model showed acceptable fit (χ^2 [19, N = 204] = 58.88, $p < .001$, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .06, SRMR = .03, relative $\chi^2 = 1.73$).

Family Communication Patterns

The Revised Family Communication Patterns instrument was used to measure family communication patterns (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002a; Ritchie & Fitzpatrick, 1990). The scale had items for both conversation and conformity orientations. The conversation subscale included 15 items (e.g., I really enjoy talking with my family, even when we disagree; In our family we often talk about our feelings and emotions). Participants were asked to respond to items using a seven-point Likert type scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7). The conformity subscale used 11 questions including "In our farm, my parents usually have the last word" and "When anything really important is involved, my parents/guardians expect me to obey without question". The conformity scale also used a seven-point Likert type scale. Both scales have been reliable across past studies (Ritchie, 1991; Ritchie & Fitzpatrick, 1990; Schrodt et al., 2008). Reliabilities were acceptable in this study for conversation (α = .91) and conformity (α = .84).

Validity of the Revised Family Communication Patterns scale was tested using CFA. All 26 conversation and conformity items were submitted to a CFA specifying a two-factor solution. The results showed adequate fit (χ^2 [298, N = 204] = 707.05, p < .001, CFI = .81, RMSEA = .08, SRMR = .08, relative χ^2 = 2.37). Based on the SRMR and CFI scores, the model has room for improvement. Subsequent CFA tests were conducted with a single modification each time to identify the best model fit. SRCs on the first CFA test indicated potential issues with conformity item 11 with most values higher than 1.96 (Schumacker & Lomax, 2010), and MIs point to cross loading. Item 11 was removed and a second CFA resulted in similar fit (χ^2 [274, N = 204] = 612.68, p < .001, CFI = .84, RMSEA = .08, SRMR = .08, relative χ^2 = 2.24). The second set of MIs and SRCs highlighted issues with conversation item five and nine. Based on higher SRC

values, item five was removed (χ^2 [251, N = 204] = 550.13, p < .001, CFI = .84, RMSEA = .08, SRMR = .07, relative χ^2 = 2.19), followed by item nine based on remaining issues (χ^2 [229, N = 204] = 483.42, p < .001, CFI = .85, RMSEA = .07, SRMR = .07, relative χ^2 = 2.11). This round of MIs showed conversation item 10 loaded on the conformity scale and was removed (χ^2 [207, N = 204] = 438.66, p < .001, CFI = .85, RMSEA = .07, SRMR = .07, relative χ^2 = 2.11). Subsequent CFA tests identified conformity item one as problematic, loading strongly with conversation items, and was removed (χ^2 [188, N = 204] = 399.60, p < .001, CFI = .87, RMSEA = .08, SRMR = .07, relative χ^2 = 2.13). Based on the SRCs and MIs, conformity item six loaded with conversation items and was removed (χ^2 [169, N = 204] = 349.68, p < .001, CFI = .87, RMSEA = .07, SRMR = .06, relative χ^2 = 2.07). MIs and SRCs indicated further revision, with conversation item 11 having the most issues. The item was removed, and the model fit improved (χ^2 [151, N = 204] = 278.69, p < .001, CFI = .90, RMSEA = .07, SRMR = .06, relative χ^2 = 1.85). Though the model fit statistics are appropriate, conversation item one does not demonstrate salience in this model (r = .38). The item was removed, and model fit improved (χ^2 [134, N = 204] = 238.05, p < .001, CFI = .91, RMSEA = .06, SRMR = .06, relative χ^2 = 1.78). With the CFI, RMSEA, and relative χ^2 all showing acceptable fit, the remaining items were used for analysis. This resulted in 10 conversation items, and eight conformity items.

Satisfaction

Satisfaction was measured in two different ways. Gregson (1991) challenged researchers to move past singular satisfaction items and to begin exploring specific types of satisfaction. Job satisfaction and communication satisfaction represent two different aspects of satisfaction. First, job satisfaction was measured using the abridged Job in General scale, which is part of the Job Descriptive Index (Ironson et al., 1989). Russell et al. (2004) created the abridged version of the

scale from Ironson et al. (1989) to shorten the scale while maintaining validity. To measure job satisfaction, participants were asked to rate eight job descriptors (e.g. good, poor, excellent) to indicate low satisfaction (0) to high satisfaction (3). In testing the abridged version, Russell et al. (2004) found a reliability of $\alpha = .87$.

Second, communication satisfaction was used to assess how family farm members feel about communication in the family farm business. Downs and Hazen (1977) created the Downs-Hazen Communication Satisfaction Questionnaire (CSQ) to measure communication satisfaction in organizations. The CSQ is broken into eight categories to represent different communicative dimensions of organizational life: personal feedback, supervisory communication, co-worker communication, organization integration, corporate communication, communication climate, media quality, and supervisor communication. A version of this scale was used for this project. The subscales of personal feedback (e.g., Information about how I am being judged; Extent to which supervisors know and understand the problems faced by subordinates), supervisory communication (e.g. Extent to which my supervisor listens and pays attention to me; Extent to which my supervisor is open to ideas), and communication climate (e.g. Extent to which the organization's communication makes me identify with it or feel a vital part of it; Extent to which the people in my organization have great ability as communicators) were used based on their applicability to the family farm business context. Each scale has five items, and uses a seven-point Likert type scale (1 =strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree). Reliability for the subscales is well established (Crino & White, 1981; Downs, 1994; Mueller & Lee, 2002), ranging between .80 and .90. In this population, the reliabilities were acceptable for all three scales: personal feedback ($\alpha = .90$), supervisory communication ($\alpha = .93$), and communication climate ($\alpha = .93$). These three subscales were used as parceled indicators for communication satisfaction.

A confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was run to test the validity of the two satisfaction scales. A two factor CFA model with the job satisfaction items, and the communication satisfaction parcels (personal feedback, supervisory communication, and communication climate) resulted in acceptable fit (χ^2 [43, N = 204] = 88.28, p < .001, CFI = .96, RMSEA = .07, SRMR = .05, relative χ^2 = 2.05). All of the items were used as indicators for the two types of job satisfaction.

Profitability

Family farm profitability was measured based on asking participants to compare their farm to other farms in the same industry (i.e. beef, dairy, crops). The scale used four items (net profit, growth of value, cash flow, and sales) to have participants compare their farm's performance to others. The scale reliabilities ranged from α = .76 to .86 (Naldi, Nordqvist, Sjoberg, & Wiklund, 2007; Wiklund & Shepherd, 2003). A seven-point Likert type scale ranging from (1) much worse than competitors to (7) much better than competitors was used. Reliability for this scale was acceptable (α = .86). The CFA validity test showed poor fit (χ^2 [8, N = 204] = 10.17, p = .006, CFI = .97, RMSEA = .14, SRMR = .03, relative χ^2 = 5.09). With the large RMSEA and relative χ^2 values, potential modifications were explored. SRCs indicated a possible covariance between performance item two and performance item four, so a correlated error term was added. The revised model showed good fit (χ^2 [9, N = 204] = .001, p = .97, CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = .00, SRMR = .00, relative χ^2 = .001).

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

This chapter describes the results from the study. Structural equation modeling (SEM) was used for analysis. Compared to regression testing, SEM presents greater opportunities for exploring mediating and moderating relationships between variables (Little, Rhemtulla, Gibson, & Schoemann, 2013). Though Baron and Kenny's mediation method allowed for analysis, SEM provides more parsimonious results by simultaneously testing relationships instead of multiple regression tests (Little et al., 2013). SEM combines CFA and path analysis in order to analyze both the measurement and structural models (Schumacker & Lomax, 2010). Including the CFA model in the full SEM analysis allows researchers to explore whether error and misspecification in the model is coming from measurement issues (i.e. items are not measuring what they are intended to) or structural issues (i.e. faulty relationships between variables) (Schumacker & Lomax, 2010). The results for both the measurement and structural models are presented below. The correlation and covariance matrices are available upon request. The sample to parameter ratio for this study was 2.17 to 1.

Measurement Model

The first stage of data analysis was a complete CFA test using all items and scales. Each individual scale was tested for reliability using CFA test results in chapter three. To test the reliability between scales and the measurement for the entire study, all scales were included in the measurement model CFA using AMOS 22. Following the guidelines for model fit outlined in chapter three, this measurement model did fit the data (χ^2 [df = 1267, N = 204] = 1883.03, p < .001; CFI = .91; RMSEA = .05. SRMR = .06, Relative χ^2 = 1.49). The final factor loadings can be found in Table 1 and Table 2.

Table 1

Measurement Model Final Regression Loadings for Antecedents and Intragroup Conflict

Scale	Item	Std. Weight	C.R.	*p*
Awareness of Own Emotion	OWNA 1	.84	-	-
	OWNA 2	.92	17.38	< .001
	OWNA 3	.87	15.60	< .001
	OWNA 4	.92	17.85	< .001
Management of Own Emotion	OWNM 1	.77	-	-
	OWNM 2	.66	8.90	< .001
	OWNM 3	.63	8.41	< .001
	OWNM 4	.78	10.44	< .001
Conversation	COV 2	.45	-	-
	COV 3	.49	5.14	< .001
	COV 4	.67	5.99	< .001
	COV 6	.62	5.78	< .001
	COV 7	.61	5.74	< .001
	COV 8	.70	6.09	< .001
	COV 12	.70	6.10	< .001
	COV 13	.79	6.39	< .001
	COV 14	.65	5.90	< .001
	COV 15	.76	6.29	< .001
Conformity	COF 2	.79	-	-
	COF 3	.56	7.58	< .001
	COF 4	.48	6.35	< .001
	COF 5	.49	6.47	< .001
	COF 7	.50	6.66	< .001
	COF 8	.65	8.78	< .001
	COF 9	.59	7.91	< .001
	COF 10	.63	8.52	< .001
Task Conflict	TASK 1	.78	-	-
	TASK 2	.91	14.16	< .001
	TASK 3	.90	14.56	< .001
Relational Conflict	REL 1	.74	-	-
	REL 2	.87	12.31	< .001
	REL 3	.86	12.08	< .001
Process Conflict	PROC 1	.88	-	-
	PROC 2	.90	15.16	< .001
Status Conflict	STAT 1	.82	-	-
	STAT 2	.87	14.98	< .001
	STAT 3	.89	15.54	< .001
	STAT 4	.84	14.27	< .001

Note. Dashes indicate items constrained to 1.00 for analysis based on the ULI convention.

Table 2
Measurement Model Final Regression Loadings for Outcomes

Scale	Item	Std. Weight	C.R.	*p*
Job Satisfaction	rJSAT 1	.75	-	-
	rJSAT 2	.52	7.12	< .001
	rJSAT 3	.56	7.67	< .001
	rJSAT 4	.48	6.58	< .001
	rJSAT 5	.75	10.51	< .001
	rJSAT 6	.63	8.75	< .001
	rJSAT 7	.81	11.32	< .001
	rJSAT 8	.60	8.27	< .001
Communication Satisfaction	tSC	.89	-	
	tCC	.94	20.59	< .001
	tPF	.87	17.42	< .001
Performance	PERF 1	.86	-	
	PERF 2	.66	9.54	< .001
	PERF 3	.83	12.33	< .001
	PERF 4	.69	10.07	< .001

Note. Dashes indicate items constrained to 1.00 for analysis based on the ULI convention.

Structural Model

After completing the CFA, the full model was tested by incorporating the structural aspects. In order to resolve underidentification issues with the structural model, parcels were used in order to reduce the number of free parameters. Parcels are mean scores for two or more conceptually or methodologically similar indicators, and have four primary benefits: models are more parsimonious, fewer chances for correlated residuals and dual loadings, and reductions in sampling error (Little, Cunningham, Shahar, & Widaman, 2002). Using parcels in this study increased parsimony by decreasing the number of free parameters to estimate, which also reduced the chance for misfit from the complex model. Parcels were created for the scales that had more than four indicators in the study, which included conversation, conformity, and job satisfaction. For the conversation and conformity scales, parcels were created based on item order, resulting in three parcels each. Because of the correlated error term from the CFA on the conformity scale, the error terms were allowed to correlate between the three conformity parcels.

The job satisfaction scale was split into two parcels based on the wording of items. Positively worded items were grouped together into one parcel, and negatively worded items into another parcel. The final SEM was tested using the parcels. Based on the fit guidelines outlined in chapter three, the model showed acceptable fit (χ^2 [df = 590, N = 204] = 1026.59, p < .001; CFI = .93; RMSEA = .06. SRMR = .06, Relative χ^2 = 1.69). However, squared multiple correlations (SMCs; R^2) showed collinearity. Collinearity occurs when two or more variables in a model measure the same thing (Kline, 2011). Numerous methods exist for handling collinearity, including combining variables into one factor, eliminating variables, or increasing sample size (Kline, 2011). For this study, the second approach was used based on theoretical assumptions.

In order to determine which conflict type to eliminate from the model, two separate models were posed. One model eliminated task conflict, and one model eliminated relational conflict. AIC scores, a model parsimony fit measure, were used to determine which model best fit the data. Both the task (χ^2 [432, N = 204] = 790.12, p < .001, CFI = .92, RMSEA = .06, SRMR = .10, relative χ^2 = 1.83, AIC = 982.12) and relational (χ^2 [432, N = 204] = 820.99, p < .001, CFI = .91, RMSEA = .07, SRMR = .10, relative χ^2 = 1.90, AIC = 1012.99) models showed acceptable fit, but the task conflict model had a lower AIC score, indicating better fit. Therefore, relational conflict was removed from the final model. Again, collinearity was an issue with the communication climate indicator. This indicator was removed from the model, and acceptable fit with no collinearity issues was achieved (χ^2 [402, N = 204] = 728.73, p < .001, CFI = .92, RMSEA = .06, SRMR = .09, relative χ^2 = 1.81). The results for individual hypotheses are discussed below and are shown in Figure 4.

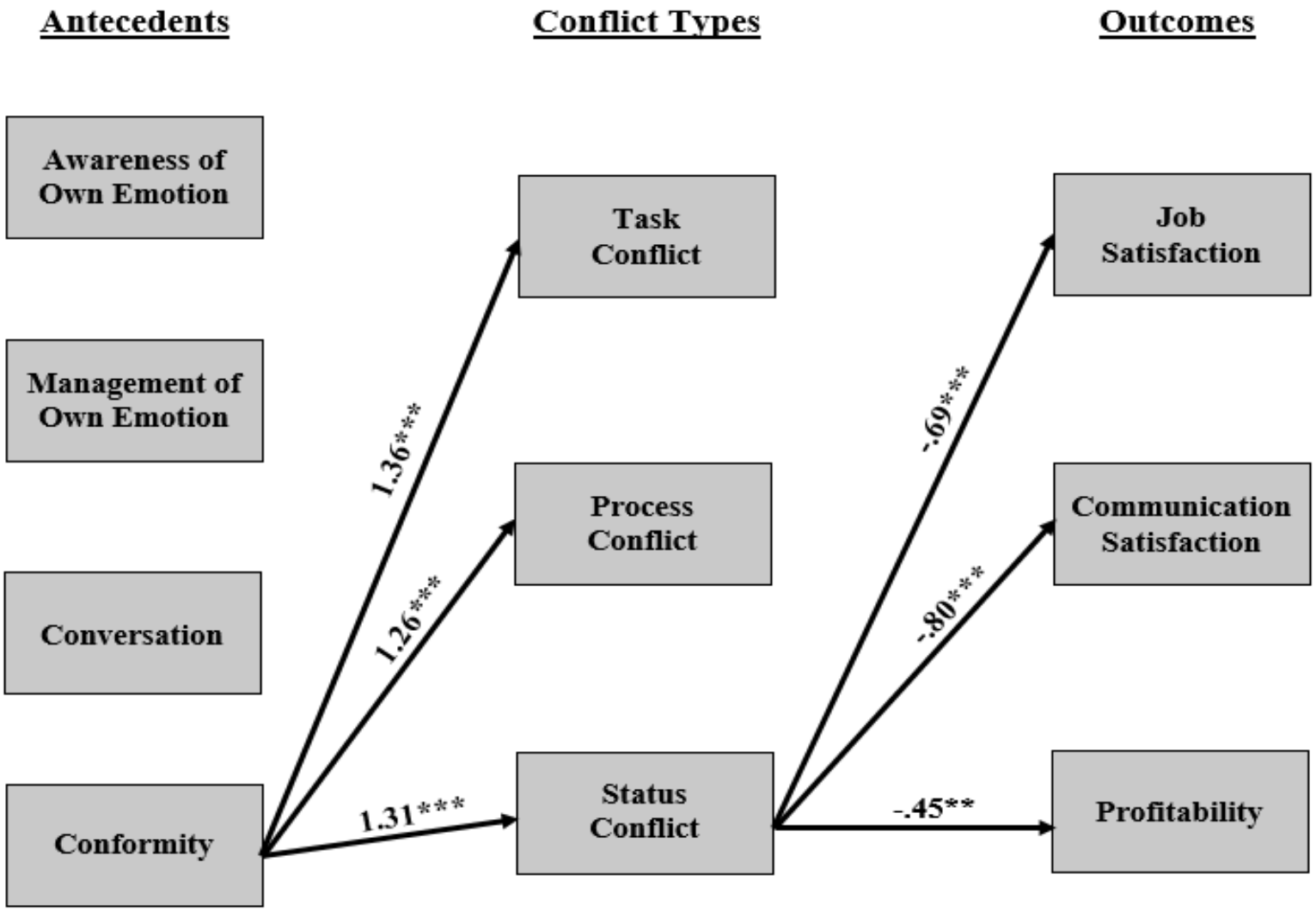

Figure 4. Final model with significant standardized regression loadings from SEM. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

Hypotheses Results

Since relational conflict was removed from the model, the related hypotheses are not discussed. Implications and discussion regarding collinearity between task and relational conflict is covered in chapter five. A summary of the findings can be found in Figure 4 and Table 3. Table 4 displays the means and standard deviations for the constructs used in the study. The construct means in this study provided insight into how family farm members feel regarding conflict. In regards to the antecedents, awareness of own emotion (M = 4.72, SD = 1.28) and management of own emotion (M = 5.35, SD = 0.86) both showed moderate levels of emotional intelligence among family farm members. Additionally, the conversation scores (M = 4.81, SD = 1.03) showed somewhat open communication norms for the family farm members,

Table 3
Structural Model Loadings for Hypothesized Relationships

	Predictor	Outcome	Std. Weight	C.R.	*p*
H1a	Task Conflict ⟶	Job Satisfaction	.06	.44	.66
H1e		Comm. Satisfaction	.20	1.82	.07
H2a		Profitability	.14	1.06	.29
H1c	Process Conflict ⟶	Job Satisfaction	.25	1.77	.08
H1g		Comm. Satisfaction	-.02	-.21	.84
H2c		Profitability	.15	1.11	.27
H1d	Status Conflict ⟶	Job Satisfaction	-.69	-4.03	<.001
H1h		Comm. Satisfaction	-.80	-6.10	<.001
H2d		Profitability	-.45	-2.92	.003
H3a	Awareness ⟶	Task Conflict	-.06	-.19	.85
H3c		Process Conflict	-.04	-.14	.89
H3d		Status Conflict	.22	.79	.43
H4a	Management ⟶	Task Conflict	.65	2.15	.03
H4c		Process Conflict	.51	1.84	.07
H4d		Status Conflict	.38	1.37	.17
H5a	Conversation ⟶	Task Conflict	.29	.85	.40
H5c		Process Conflict	.25	.79	.43
H5d		Status Conflict	-.01	-.03	.98
H6a	Conformity ⟶	Task Conflict	1.36	4.25	<.001
H6c		Process Conflict	1.26	4.30	<.001
H6d		Status Conflict	1.31	4.38	<.001

Note. Hypotheses regarding relational conflict were not analyzed based on collinearity issues between task and relational conflict.

Table 4
Means and Standard Deviations for Construct Scales

	Construct	Mean	Standard Deviation
Antecedents	Awareness of Own Emotion	4.72	1.28
	Management of Own Emotion	5.35	0.86
	Conversation	4.81	1.03
	Conformity	3.55	1.05
Conflict Types	Task Conflict	4.09	1.44
	Process Conflict	3.80	1.36
	Status Conflict	3.55	1.52
Outcomes	Job Satisfaction	2.68	0.44
	Communication Satisfaction	4.83	1.09
	Profitability	4.43	1.00

Note. $N = 204$. *LL* = lower limit; *UL* = upper limit. All of the scales used a seven point Likert type scale except for Job Satisfaction which used a three point scale.

whereas conformity scores ($M = 3.55$, $SD = 1.05$) showed lower levels of conformity among family farm members. Mean scores for the intragroup conflict types showed higher amounts of task conflict ($M = 4.09$, $SD = 1.44$) than process conflict ($M = 3.80$, $SD = 1.36$) and status conflict ($M = 3.55$, $SD = 1.52$). Finally, outcome scores were all high. Job satisfaction ($M = 2.68$, $SD = 0.44$) was extremely high on the three point scale, whereas communication satisfaction ($M = 4.83$, $SD = 1.09$) and profitability ($M = 4.43$, $SD = 1.00$) were moderately high.

The first set of hypotheses focused on the relationship between conflict types and outcomes. Hypotheses 1a through d focused on the relationship between conflict types and job satisfaction. Regression weights indicated that both task ($\beta = .06$, C.R. = .44, $p > .05$) and process ($\beta = .25$, C.R. = 1.77, $p > .05$) conflict did not significantly predict job satisfaction. H1d predicted status conflict would decrease job satisfaction, and it was supported ($\beta = -.69$, C.R. = -4.03, $p < .001$). In regards to communication satisfaction, similar results were found. H1e regarding task conflict ($\beta = .20$, C.R. = 1.82, $p > .05$) and H1g regarding process conflict ($\beta = -.02$, C.R. = -.21, $p > .05$) were not supported, whereas H1h regarding status conflict was supported ($\beta = -.80$, C.R. = -6.10, $p < .001$).

Hypotheses 2a through d dealt with the relationship between conflict type and profitability for the family farm business. H2a asked about the relationship between task conflict and family farm profitability, and no significant results were found ($\beta = .14$, C.R. = 1.06, $p > .05$). H2c and d dealt with process and status conflict, and findings were similar to the satisfaction results. H2c was not supported by the data, with no significant relationship between process conflict and profitability ($\beta = .15$, C.R. = 1.11, $p > .05$). Status conflict decreased family farm profitability ($\beta = -.45$, C.R. = -2.92, $p < .001$), which supported H2d.

The remaining hypotheses explored antecedents for conflict types, focusing on emotional intelligence (awareness and management of own emotion) and family communication patterns (conversation and conformity). Hypotheses 3a through 3d addressed the role of awareness of own emotions as a predictor for conflict types. None of these hypotheses were supported. Awareness of own emotions did not significantly predict task conflict ($\gamma = -.06$, C.R. = -.19, $p > .05$), process conflict ($\gamma = -.04$, C.R. = -.14, $p > .05$) or status conflict ($\gamma = .22$, C.R. = .79, $p > .05$). Hypotheses 4a through 4d dealt with management of own emotions. H4a stated higher management of own emotions would positively predict task conflict, which was supported ($\gamma = .65$, C.R. = 2.15, $p = .03$). H4c for process conflict ($\gamma = .51$, C.R. = .1.84, $p > .05$) and H4d for status conflict ($\gamma = .38$, C.R. = 1.37, $p > .05$) were not supported.

In regards to family communication patterns, H5a through 5d predicted higher conversation would positively predict each conflict type. These hypotheses were not supported. Task conflict (H5a; $\gamma = .29$, C.R. = .85, $p > .05$), process conflict (H5c; $\gamma = .25$, C.R. = .79, $p > .05$), and status conflict (H5d; $\gamma = -.01$, C.R. = -.03, $p > .05$) cannot be predicted from a family farm member's conversation score. Conformity scores were a significant predictor for the three conflict types, though in the opposite direction than hypothesized. H6a, H6c, and H6d all stated

higher conformity scores would negatively predict conflict types, which was not found in this data. Higher conformity scores positively predicted task conflict (H6a; $\gamma = 1.36$, C.R. = 4.25, $p < .001$), process conflict (H6c; $\gamma = 1.26$, C.R. = 4.30, $p < .001$), and status conflict (H6d; $\gamma = 1.31$, C.R. = 4.38, $p < .001$).

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

This project explored how conflict functions in family farm businesses. Just like every organization, family farm members experience conflict in the everyday operation of the business (Weigel & Weigel, 1990). Intragroup conflict theory was used as the guiding framework to explore the relationship between conflict types and specific outcomes and antecedents. First, the project explored how intragroup conflict types predicted three specific outcomes (job satisfaction, communication satisfaction, and profitability). Second, the project tested two potential predictors for intragroup conflict types (emotional intelligence and family communication patterns) and how these individual traits influence communication behavior during group conflict. This chapter covers the general findings from the study. The findings are discussed in the framework of family farm members in order to focus on the family farm business context. Next, the theoretical and practical implications are presented, followed by limitations and future research directions.

Family Farm Members and Conflict Outcomes

Status Conflict

The first set of hypotheses explored the relationship between intragroup conflict types and three specific outcomes: job satisfaction, communication satisfaction, and profitability. Status conflict was the only significant predictor for profitability (H2d). In general, any conflict reduces performance for any group (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003; de Wit et al., 2012), and specifically profitability for the family farm business (McDonald & Marshall, 2013). Bendersky and Hays (2012) also noted status conflict negatively impacts group performance. They argued that the negative impact may be explained by the diminished information sharing that occurs in groups. As groups work together, information sharing is what allows groups to make good

decisions and utilize task conflict positively, and avoid some of the negative effects of relational and process conflict (Bendersky & Hays, 2012). In their study, Bendersky and Hays (2012) also noted when status conflict was included as a main effect, the other types of conflict did not influence group performance. The situation was replicated in the present study, as status conflict was the only significant predictor for family farm profitability when considering all conflict types.

In regards to job and communication satisfaction, the present study confirmed Gregson's (1991) findings. Though overall satisfaction scales and measures are common with intragroup conflict theory, Gregson (1991) argued job satisfaction and communication satisfaction are distinct, and that they should be examined separately. The present CFA confirmed a difference between job satisfaction and communication satisfaction. Status conflict negatively predicted both job satisfaction (H1d) and communication satisfaction (H1h) for family farm members. Furthermore, status conflict had a stronger, negative impact on both satisfaction outcomes than on profitability. Bendersky and Hays (2012) found status conflict often co-occurred with relational conflict and had many of the negative emotions associated with relational conflict. De Dreu and Weingart (2003) and de Wit et al. (2012) both noted relational conflict tends to have a stronger negative impact on satisfaction than performance because of its emotionality. Status conflict had the strongest negative impact on the two satisfaction outcomes, showing a similar pattern to previous research on relational conflict.

Status conflict is likely very important in the family farm setting. Status conflict refers to "the relative level of respect each member receives from others" (Bendersky & Hays, 2012, p. 323), and the tensions created may lead to more competitive behaviors. Competitiveness is inherent to family farms, and is fostered among farmers as families struggled for generations to

maintain the family farm in order to pass it on to the next generation (Rosmann, 2013). For family farms, status conflict may be important as family farm members compete for positions with the family farm business and in securing their place for the next generation. Additionally, status conflict may stem from uncertainty in the relative position family farm members have in the business. In-laws and women often struggle to identify their specific role in family farms (Marotz-Baden & Mattheis, 1994; Zimmerman & Fetsch, 1994), and many family farms maintain a strong generational hierarchy that privileges the voice of the older generation, even if the older generation does not have a formal position (Waters, 2013).

Task Conflict

Task conflict was not a significant predictor for any of the outcomes (H1a, H1e, H2a). Though part of this may be related to status conflict diminishing the influence of other conflict types (Bendersky & Hays, 2012), previous studies with task conflict are inconclusive regarding the positive or negative impact it has on performance (de Wit et al., 2012). Past family business research indicated a negative relationship between task conflict and outcomes (Kellermanns & Eddleston, 2007; McDonald & Marshall, 2013), but that was not supported in the current study. Previous literature indicated a strong negative relationship between task conflict and satisfaction outcomes (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003), which was not supported in the present data set. For family farm members, task conflict may not be as prevalent since members are familiar with what tasks need to be accomplished in the day to day operation of the farm. The autonomous nature of farm work may mean family farm members are able to accomplish daily tasks without a lot of coordination with other family farm members. Furthermore, as a family business, family farm members have worked together for a long period of time (M = 12.94 years) and are likely comfortable working with each other in the day to day operations.

Another issue may be the collinearity between task and relational conflict. The first SEM model indicated strong collinearity between task conflict (R^2 = .997) and relational conflict (R^2 = .998), which shows these two variables are measuring the same construct. Theoretically, task and relational conflict represent two forms of conflict (Guetzkow & Gyr, 1954). Task conflict refers to disagreements over the assigned task or ideas the group is working on, whereas relational conflict refers to conflict occurring over personality differences and interpersonal incompatibilities (Jehn, 1995). However, strong correlation between task and relational conflict is not uncommon. De Dreu and Weingart's (2003) meta-analysis revealed correlations between task and relational conflict ranging from .19 to .84. In studies where task and relational conflict were highly correlated, task conflict tended to have a stronger negative impact on performance and satisfaction outcomes, but the impact of relational conflict did not change (de Wit et al., 2012). Before removing relational conflict from the SEM model, task conflict positively predicted all three outcomes, whereas relational conflict negatively predicted all three outcomes. Once relational conflict was removed, the influence of task conflict on outcomes disappeared, with status conflict's influence remaining unchanged. For groups with strong relational bonds, conflict experiences may play out differently when both task and relational conflict occur. As previous studies have noted, exploring the moderating effect of the relationship between conflict types may be important for understanding intragroup conflict interactions (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003).

One other reason for the strong collinearity between task and relational conflict may be a result of the study context. Whereas other studies focus on intragroup conflict occurring in decision making groups, the current study explored conflict in a naturally occurring task and relational group. Family farm members are immersed in a complex network of relationships

where they must balance business and task relationships, along with family relationships (Weigel & Weigel, 1990). De Dreu and Weingart (2003) noted the task groups are working on influences how strongly conflict types impact outcomes. In most groups, the task type (decision-making groups, project teams, and production teams) did not influence the impact of conflict, except for decision-making groups where relational conflict has a stronger negative effect. However, family farm businesses represent a context where both task and relational goals are important. In essence, task goals are relational, and relational goals are task. Beck and Paskewitz (2013) found relational conflict had no significant impact on outcomes in fraternities and sororities, where tasks and relationships are both important. With task work melding with family relationships, it is possible that task and relational conflict meld together for family farm members. As the example from chapter one demonstrates, the dissolution of a family farm is often also the dissolution of the family. When family farm members face conflict, Weigel and Weigel's (1990) question of "when does one deal with someone as a family member and when as a coworker or business partner?" (p. 449) accurately captures the intertwined nature of conflict in this context.

Process Conflict

Finally, the remaining conflict hypotheses predicted process conflict would have a negative relationship with all three outcomes (H1c, H1g, H2c). The data did not support these hypotheses. Previous research indicated process conflict should have negative relationship with satisfaction since it increases strong, negative emotions about other group members (Behfar et al., 2011; Jehn & Bendersky, 2003). Process conflict also tends to be one of the most detrimental types of conflict for group performance since it distracts the group from the task at hand (Greer et al., 2008). The lack of significant results here may be a feature of the family farm context. First, though family farm members do disagree regarding issues facing the business, they rarely

bring these up. As Carlin (1992) noted, family farm members experienced high amounts of stress and emotional strain during the farm crisis of the 1980s, but did not bring up these issues to other people until the strain was too great. This is not to say that negative emotions do not occur; the cultural expectations for privacy and self-reliance may encourage family farm members to keep emotions to themselves and to not bring up any problems or conflicts. A second possible reason may be the strong generational linkages and pride found in the family farm culture. Many family farms still give precedence to the voice of the older generation in how to run and manage the farm (Waters, 2013). The cultural norm of siding with the older generation may influence how process conflict can occur, especially if family farms continue to do things because "dad says we're doing this" (Waters, 2013, p. 30).

Family Farm Members and Emotional Intelligence

Hypotheses 3 and 4 attempted to predict intragroup conflict types from two dimensions of emotional intelligence: awareness of own emotions and management of own emotions. None of these hypotheses were supported by the data. Though the propositions in Troth et al. (2014) presented emotional intelligence as strongly linked with conflict types, part of this may be due to a moderator effect. Awareness of own emotions (H3a through d) and management of own emotions (H4a through d) both focus on how individuals are able to communicate and manage their emotions during specific situations. The present study explored emotional intelligence as a precursor to conflict, and how individuals attempt to read and manage their own emotions in general. However, conflict situations emerge and proceed differently, and emotional intelligence may be a stronger moderator between the occurrence of specific conflict types and outcomes. One proposition from Troth et al. (2014) proposed that individual, group, and organizational level factors moderate the relationship between emotional intelligence and conflict. The current

project placed the individual level factors (conversation and conformity) as predictors for conflict types. Exploring how the relationship conflict types and outcomes are moderated by emotional intelligence and other variables may provide insight into the dynamics at play in this context.

Additionally, the hypotheses focused on how emotional intelligence can help family farm members manage the emotional highs and lows that come with conflict. However, this is based on family farm members choosing to share their opinions and thoughts with other family farm members. As Carlin (1992) and Kutner (2014) noted, many farmers choose to keep problems private and avoid bringing up issues with family farm members. Family farm culture endorses keeping things quiet until they are unbearable (Carlin, 1992). Even though strong emotional outbursts tend to occur more in families than in other contexts (Fitness & Duffield, 2004), family farm members may employ more emotional management techniques in order to maintain the work and family relationships that are central to family farm life. As mentioned earlier, family relationships are paramount for family farm members. And though families may show more emotional extremes with their family members, the dual relationships of work and family may change family farm members' enactment of emotional management in order to maintain both relationships.

Family Farm Members and Family Communication Patterns

The final set of hypotheses predicted the relationship between the conversation and conformity orientations, and intragroup conflict types. Hypotheses 5a through d regarding the conversation orientation were not supported. Families high in conversation orientation have open communication norms, which helps them communicate better during conflict scenarios and avoid relationship conflict (Beck & Ledbetter, 2013; Sciascia et al., 2013). However, this study found

the conversation orientation did not predict what types of conflict emerge in family farm businesses. Previous research pointed to strong links between the conversation orientation and conflict resolution styles, with families higher in conversation tending to use collaborative, accommodating, and compromising styles (Beck & Ledbetter, 2013; Dumlao & Botta, 2000). The conversation orientation may be a better indicator of how family farm members approach conflict interactions rather than conflict types. As Rosmann (2013) and Carlin (1992) noted, family farm members tend to avoid bringing up issues or problems until the stress is too great, pointing to potential avoiding behaviors in family farm businesses. It is also possible that conversation orientation serves as a moderator between conflict types and outcomes. Carmon (2010) found conversation orientation was positively linked to family satisfaction in family businesses. However, in family farm businesses, the prevailing cultural norms of privacy and silence limit how open family farm members are to talking about problems and conflicts that occur. The cultural dynamics at play may impact family farm member satisfaction when they are not able to talk about issues or conflicts that arise. Further work may want to explore conversation orientation as a moderator on the conflict – outcome relationship.

Hypotheses 6a through d predicted higher conformity scores would negatively predict intragroup conflict types. These paths were significant, but in the opposite direction predicted. Higher conformity orientation scores positively predicted task, process, and status conflict among family farm members. Previous research indicated higher conformity scores led to families avoiding conflict (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 1997). Though avoiding conflict can help avoid current problems, choosing to avoid conflict also allows latent conflict to build, which can lead to more destructive conflict in the future (Waters, 2013). In the family farm context, strong generational and patriarchal ties may lead to higher conformity in the family farm and more

conflict. Higher conformity can increase conflict among family farm members as the younger generation tries to introduce new techniques and ways for modernizing the family farm. Waters (2013) noted new technology is a primary source of conflict among different generations in the family farm, with the younger generation wanting to incorporate new ways of managing and operating the farm. Often, the older generation avoids changing farm practices, and attempt to keep things the way they always have been done (Waters, 2013).

Theoretical Implications

The current project provides further information regarding status conflict as an intragroup conflict type. Bendersky and Hays (2012) introduced status conflict as a fourth intragroup conflict type to measure and assess how group members battle for social positions, status, and prestige in the group. In their original work, status conflict most often co-occurred with other conflict types, most commonly relational. With relational conflict removed, it was possible to explore how status conflict worked when only considering task and process conflict. Bendersky and Hays (2012) focused on the relationship between status conflict and performance. Their findings regarding the negative relationship between status conflict and performance were replicated in this study. The current project also explored the relationship between status conflict and satisfaction outcomes, with status conflict exerting a negative influence on family farm member communication and job satisfaction. The further understanding of status conflict provided in the present project helps advance intragroup conflict theory by highlighting how status conflict influences satisfaction outcomes, and how status conflict functions in a relational group context.

Second, this study provides more information about the relationship between all four intragroup conflict types. The present study found strong collinearity between task and relational

conflict, with all conflict types showing correlations higher than .60. Previous studies noted strong correlations between task and relational conflict changed the relationship between conflict types and outcomes (de Wit et al., 2012). Bendersky and Hays' (2012) findings regarding co-occurrence of relational and status conflict point to some potential blending of conflict types, and meta-analyses recognize the importance of the relationship between intragroup conflict types as moderators in the conflict – outcome relationship (De Dreu & Weingart, de Wit et al., 2012). Additionally, Bendersky et al. (2010) found evidence for only task and relational conflict, with sub-categories to capture nuances of conflict. Further research into how intragroup conflict types interact and relate to each other can help refine the theory, and highlight how conflict plays out in groups.

Collinearity between task and relational conflict also points to differences in conflict interaction in the family farm context. Traditionally, intragroup conflict theory research focuses on task-oriented, decision making groups (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003). However, more and more research is looking towards natural groups as an important context. As the current study showed, in groups where relationships are just as important as the task, it can be challenging to separate task conflict from relational conflict. Stohl and Putnam (1994) argued for the importance of studying natural groups as an important setting where the general assumptions of task-focused groups do not apply. In other natural group settings, conflict distinctions may be blurred (Beck & Paskewitz, 2013). Previous research has highlighted how task and relational lines can be blurred when the relationships and personal connections shared among group members become an important goal for the group, rather than the decision or task at hand. In groups where relationships, commitment, and connection with the other members is important, intragroup conflict types play out differently (Beck & Paskewitz, 2013; Beck & Raile, 2012).

This study further shows group dynamics change and work differently in groups with a strong relational tie or goal.

Whereas previous intragroup conflict theory research focuses on the relationship between conflict types and outcomes, the current study advances theory by exploring antecedents for intragroup conflict types. Though previous work has highlighted the importance of emotional intelligence as a precursor for intragroup conflict types (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003; Troth et al., 2014), it was not supported in the current study. The results of this study raise questions about the relationship between emotional intelligence and intragroup conflict experiences, as the self-focused emotional intelligence aspects did not predict intragroup conflict types. However, this may strengthen Jehn and Bendersky's (2003) claim that emotions predict, mediate, and moderate the conflict experience. Rather than using emotional intelligence, exploring positive and negative emotions may provide a better picture of how emotions influence intragroup conflict experiences (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003). Additionally, the present study focused only on the role of self-focused emotional intelligence. Finding how all four emotional intelligence types (awareness of own emotion, management of own emotion, awareness of other emotion, management of other emotion) can help clarify how emotional intelligence plays out in conflict situations.

Family communication patterns were also used as predictors for intragroup conflict. For any group, communicative norms influence how group members discuss and handle conflict, which inevitably impacts group outcomes. In family businesses, the communicative norms created by the family carry over into the work situation, and impact how family business members communicate with each other (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002b). Perceived family conformity patterns were significant predictors for intragroup conflict types in the present study. Creating patterns of high conformity in family farm businesses increases conflict that potentially

decreases satisfaction and profitability for the family farms. Additionally, families are where members first learn how to handle conflict (Dumlao & Botta, 2000). The conflict interaction patterns family farm members learn at a young age may be passed down through generations, and likely carry over into the family farm business. The findings in the present study highlight the connection between conformity and conflict types, and provide evidence for interpersonal family dynamics carrying over into family business situations.

The current study also explored the relationship between intragroup conflict and three new outcomes: job satisfaction, communication satisfaction, and profitability. First, the project furthered Gregson's (1991) work on differentiating satisfaction types. Job satisfaction and communication satisfaction represented two different aspects of family farm member satisfaction. Previous research often utilized global satisfaction measures for group outcomes (De Dreu & Van Vianen, 2001). However, individual group members' satisfaction with their job or group may be completely different from their satisfaction with the communication that occurs in the group. The CFA showed job satisfaction and communication satisfaction were two different concepts, providing evidence for communication scholars to explore the nuances and different dimensions of satisfaction in groups. This study also introduced a new measure of group performance. Economics research has focused on profitability as an important outcome for family farm businesses (McDonald & Marshall, 2013). Using profitability as an outcome measure for family farm businesses best represented performance for these groups. With a focus on building a strong family farm that could provide for their family now and in generations to come, using profitability captured the true performance of these businesses, and may be a more accurate measure of group performance for future studies.

Practical Implications

Family farm businesses face many challenges as they coordinate action to accomplish everyday farm tasks. Previous family farm conflict research has focused on succession planning as a contentious time for family farm members. Though succession planning is a struggle as family farm members determine how to pass the farm on to the next generation (Pitts et al., 2009), conflict in everyday interactions impacts farm profitability and bonds between family members. For family farm members, status conflict and conformity orientation proved to be important variables in maintaining satisfaction and profitability for the family farm business. As family farm members work together, establishing clear roles for members may help reduce status conflicts when decisions are made. With status conflict as a mediator between conformity and the outcomes, reducing conformity in family farms can help reduce status conflict, and improve satisfaction and profitability. Encouraging family farm members to be open to new ideas and approaches, along with respecting the insight of all members, can help family farm businesses avoid destructive status conflicts.

The present study found higher levels of conformity led to increased amounts of task, process, and status conflict. Family farm culture places family as the center of farm life. Running and maintaining the family farm is about building an asset for the family in future generations, and doing whatever is needed to make that happen (Waters, 2013). The strong ties to patriarchy and running the farm how it has always been run further stress conformity among family farm members, which in turn increases conflict among these members. The family farm member characteristics of independent operation, self-reliance, maintenance of dignity, and competitive nature (Carlin, 1992; Rosmann, 2013) feed into the conformity norms found to increase conflict. Family farm members that focus on being independent operators, self-reliant, and competitive

build a culture of conformity in encouraging their other family farm members to fit the mold and operate in the same mentality. For extension and farm agents, helping family farm members find ways to reduce conformity by fully discussing topics and being open to change can help alleviate some of the conflicts that occur during the everyday operation of the farm.

Status conflict is also important for family farm members to consider. This study showed status conflict was a significant negative predictor for job satisfaction, communication satisfaction, and profitability for the family farm business. Most family farms are started not solely as a money making business, but as a source of pride for the family in future generations. Part of maintaining the family farm for future generations will be for family farms to find ways to handle status conflict. As Rosmann (2013) noted, family farm conflict tends to be laden with status comments including "he doesn't work as hard as I do" and "I'm a better farmer than he is." Outlining the positions of family farm members in the business may help alleviate some status conflict. It is also important to consider the family hierarchy when dealing with status conflicts. Family farm culture gives precedence to the voice of the older generation, even if that family farm member has passed the farm on to the younger generation (Waters, 2013). When determining the position of family farm members, considering the family hierarchy may help reduce status conflict as certain members are recognized for their longstanding role in the business.

One challenge to most of these findings is the important role of the family farm culture. Research shows culture is very difficult to shift, and it may be more challenging when it is a shared culture between family and work. The personal characteristics of family farmers are woven into the fabric of family farm life, and become traits passed on from generation to generation. As Rosmann (2013) noted, the competitive farmers are the ones who have survived

to pass the farm on to the next generation. For true change to occur in family farm businesses, the culture and personality characteristics of family farmers may need to be reevaluated. This may require more self-reflection among family farm members regarding working with family, and more training for extension and farm agents working with these family farm businesses in order to help them understand how to open communication channels and effectively deal with conflict. Family farm members tend to keep problems private and avoid conflict, which can lead to more detrimental conflict later on (Waters, 2013). It is crucial to find ways to shift family farm member norms and expectations in order to maintain profitability and satisfaction for family farm businesses.

Limitations and Future Directions

One limitation of the present study is the elimination of relational conflict from the final model. Though collinearity between task and relational conflict is not uncommon in intragroup conflict research (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003; de Wit et al., 2012), eliminating it from the model here did not provide information about the influence of relational conflict among family farm members, especially when previous research noted status conflict often co-occurred with relational conflict (Bendersky & Hays, 2012). The collinearity in this study between task and relational conflict may be a feature of the relational context, in that for family farm members, maintaining the relationships are a crucial part of the task. Further work with the intragroup conflict types in natural and relational group settings can help refine and strengthen the theoretical framework established by Jehn (1995; 1997). Another potential reason for collinearity is the sample to parameter ratio. Increasing the sample size may also resolve the collinearity issues between task and relational conflict.

Another limitation in the current study is the focus on individual perceptions about family farm business conflict. How family farm members from the same family perceive conflict or how specific family farm businesses handle conflict and issues that arise may influence outcomes. Future research looking at group level effects or using multi-level modeling would provide insight into how different family farm members perceive conflict in the same family farm business. This is very important with status conflict as the significant negative predictor for all three outcomes. Different status positions with in the family farm business may generate different perceptions of intragroup conflict types. Taking into account the specific position and status family farm members have may provide insight into the specific dynamics at work.

Additionally, the current project focused specifically on the family farm business context. Though this context is extremely important, the findings may not generalize to other family business settings. The unique characteristics and dynamics of family farm culture may influence how conformity influences conflict types, and how status conflict is able to exert an influence over specific outcomes. Previous research has explored family communication patterns and family business satisfaction, but few studies have looked at intragroup conflict experiences and emotional intelligence in family businesses. This project provides a starting point for exploring these topics, and can help future researchers delve more into the dynamics and features of family businesses in general.

Future research should also look at the communicative strategies used during conflict situations. The current study focused on retrospective self-reporting of conflict in family farm businesses. Previous findings point to conversation orientation as a predictor for satisfaction outcomes (Carmon, 2010). Exploring how family farm members talk about conflict may influence the group outcomes. Using Rahim's (1983) styles for handling conflict may be a way

to capture how family farm members discuss conflict and how communication can influence the relationship between conflict types and outcomes. Furthermore, Pitts et al. (2009) found a number of dialectical tensions present during succession planning discussion with family farm members. Using a similar approach to everyday conflict may provide insight into how family farm members discuss and resolve conflicts that arise.

Summary

The current project focused on conflict in family farm businesses. Conflict is inherent to the everyday operation of family farms (Weigel & Weigel, 1990), but family farm members rarely bring up conflicts to the other party; rather, they keep their frustration to themselves or wait until things boil over (Waters, 2013). In order to explore intragroup conflict in this unique context, the present study explored how conflict influenced three new outcomes (job satisfaction, communication satisfaction, and profitability), and tested four predictors (awareness of own emotions, management of own emotion, conversation orientation, and conformity orientation) for conflict. Through surveys with family farm members (N = 204), the project found that conformity orientation was the only significant predictor for intragroup conflict types. Furthermore, only status conflict significantly predicted the three outcome variables. For family farm members, the strong cultural norms for independence and competitiveness drive up conformity, and also increase status conflict as family farm members jockey for position in the family farm.

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APPENDIX: SURVEY INSTRUMENT

NDSU **North Dakota State University**

Department of Communication

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When Work and Family Merge: Understanding Communication Experiences in Family Farm Businesses

This study is being conducted by Stephenson J. Beck, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Communication, North Dakota State University, 338 Minard Hall, Fargo, ND, 58105, (701) 231-9770; and Emily Paskewitz, doctoral candidate at North Dakota State University.

Why am I being asked to participate in this research study? Because you are currently working in a family farm business, we desire your input. We want individuals to be open and honest about their experiences in family farm businesses in order to better understand how communication flows in the family farm business. All survey data is anonymous, and we do not ask identifying information other than basic demographic data (examples: age, sex).

What is the reason for doing the study? Family farms represent a huge portion of agriculture today. For families running these farms, there are times when things are stressful or conflicts arise. When researchers explore communication issues in family farm businesses, they focus on succession planning. However, communication problems come up during the everyday work

experiences. Since few studies have looked at conflict during every day work on the family farm, we are interested in learning more about communication during these conflict experiences in order to help make family farms function better.

What information will be collected about me? You will be asked a variety of questions about your current work experience. There are 87 questions to the survey. The majority are close-ended questions where you will check a box. Some are open-ended questions, which will allow you to type your thoughts for us to see.

Where is the study going to take place, and how long will it take? Please complete this survey when it is convenient on a computer of your choice. It is advised that you select a computer that ensures your privacy. The survey will take roughly 20-30 minutes.

What are the risks and discomforts? There is minimal to no risk in completing this survey. If you feel discomfort, you may stop taking the survey at any time. Please know that all responses are anonymous and cannot be traced back to you.

What are the benefits to me? There may be benefits to taking this survey. Personally, it may allow you to reflect on your current work experiences, and this may lead to positive future behaviors. However, you may not experience any personal benefits.

What are the benefits to other people? The results of this survey will help provide insight into how conflict plays out for family farms. Part of this project is focused on finding ways to help family farm businesses work better and to help find ways to improve communication.

Do I have to take part in the study? Your participation in this research is your choice. If you decide to participate in the study, you may change your mind at any point and stop participating.

What will it cost me to participate? There is no cost to taking this survey.

Who will see the information that I give? Data will be investigated by the two researchers conducting this project. Since the data does not contain identification of participants, there is no risk that personal information will be revealed. Participants will remain anonymous throughout.

Will I receive any compensation for taking part in this study? There is no compensation for participating in this study.

What if I have questions? Before you decide whether to accept this invitation to take part in the research study, please ask any questions that come to mind. Later, if you have any questions about the study, you can contact either researcher: Stephenson J. Beck at stephenson.beck@ndsu.edu (701-231-9770) or Emily Paskewitz (emily.paskewitz@ndsu.edu).

What are my rights as a research participant? You have rights as a participant in research. If you have questions about your rights, or complaints about this research, you may talk to either researcher or contact the NDSU Human Research Projection Program by:

Telephone: 701-231-8908 or Toll Free 1-855-800-6717

Email: ndsu.irb@ndsu.edu

Mail: NDSU HRPP Office, NDSU Dept. 4000, PO Box 6050, Fargo, ND 58108-6050

The role of the Human Research Protection Program is to see that your rights are protected in this research; more information about your rights can be found at: www.ndsu.edu/research/irb.

Documentation of Informed Consent: (You may print a copy of this consent form to keep) You are freely making a decision whether to be in this research study. Clicking on the yes button means that:

1. **You have read and understand this consent form**
2. **You have had your questions answered, and**
3. **You have decided to be in the study.**

_____ Yes

_____ No

Demographic Information

1. What is your age?
2. What is your sex? Male Female Prefer not to respond
3. What state are you from?
4. How many years have you worked with the family farm (round to the closest half year)?

5. How many generations has the farm been in the family?
6. How many family members are involved in the day to day operations of the farm (include any siblings, parents, spouses, or other blood relatives)?

    _____ Siblings

    _____ Parents

    _____ Spouses

    _____ Other relatives (please specify)
7. Which of the following is the primary output from your family farm:
    a. Dairy
    b. Beef
    c. Crops
    d. Other: Please describe
8. How would you describe your role in your family farm?
9. How would you describe the daily communication that occurs in your family farm?

The following survey will ask about your day to day experiences on the family farm. Please think about your everyday interactions with your family coworkers as you respond.

Intragroup Conflict

Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements. [Seven point Likert-type scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree].

Relational

1. My family members experienced relationship tension that was not related to the task.
2. My family members often got angry while working in this team.
3. My family members experienced emotional conflict.

Task

4. My family members experienced conflict of ideas.
5. My family members frequently had disagreements about the task we were working on.
6. My family members often had conflicting opinions about the task we were doing.

Process

7. My family members had disagreements about who should do what.
8. My family members experienced conflicts about task responsibilities.
9. My family members disagreed about resource allocation.

Status

10. My family members frequently take sides (i.e. formed coalitions) during conflicts.
11. My family members experienced conflicts due to members trying to assert their dominance.
12. My family members competed for influence.
13. My family members disagreed about the relative value of members' contributions.

Emotional Intelligence

Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements. [Seven point Likert-type scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree].

14. I can explain the emotions I feel to family members.

15. I can discuss the emotions I feel with other family members.
16. If I feel down, I can tell family members what will make me feel better.
17. I can talk to other members of the family about the emotions I experience.
18. I respect the opinion of family members, even if I think they are wrong.
19. When I am frustrated with fellow family member, I can overcome my frustration.
20. When deciding on a dispute, I try to see all sides of a disagreement before I come to a conclusion.
21. I give a fair hearing to fellow family members' ideas.
22. I can read fellow family members 'true' feelings, even if they try to hide them.
23. I am able to describe accurately the way others in the family are feeling.
24. When I talk to a family member I can gauge their true feelings from their body language.
25. I can tell when family members don't mean what they say.
26. My enthusiasm can be contagious for members of my family.
27. I am able to cheer family members up when they are feeling down.
28. I can get fellow family members to share my keenness for a project.
29. I can provide the 'spark' to get fellow family members enthusiastic.

Family Communication Patterns

Think about how your family members communicate with each other on a daily basis. Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements. [Seven point Likert-type scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree].

30. In our family we often talk about topics like politics and religion where some persons disagree with others.

31. My parents/guardians encourage me to challenge their ideas and beliefs.
32. My parents/guardians often say something like, “You should always look at both sides of an issue.”
33. I usually tell my parents/guardians what I am thinking about things.
34. I can tell my parents/guardians almost anything.
35. In our family we often talk about our feelings and emotions.
36. My parents/guardians and I often have long, relaxed conversations about nothing in particular.
37. I really enjoy talking with my parents/guardians, even when we disagree.
38. My parents/guardians like to hear my opinions, even when they don’t agree with me.
39. My parents/guardians encourage me to express my feelings.
40. My parents/guardians tend to be very open about their emotions.
41. We often talk as a family about things we have done during the day.
42. In our family we often talk about our plans and hopes for the future.
43. My parents/guardians often say something like, “You’ll know better when you grow up.”
44. In our family we often talk about our plans and hopes for the future.
45. My parents/guardians often say something like “Every member of the family should have some say in family decisions.”
46. My parents/guardians often ask my opinion when the family is talking about something.
47. My parents/guardians often say something like, “My ideas are right and you should not question them.”
48. My parents/guardians often say something like, “A child should not argue with adults.

49. My parents/guardians often say something like, “There are some things that just shouldn’t be talked about.”
50. My parents/guardians often say something like, “You should give in on arguments rather than risk making people mad.”
51. When anything really important is involved, my parents/guardians expect me to obey without question.
52. In our home, my parents/guardians usually have the last word.
53. My parents/guardians feel that it is important to be the boss.
54. My parents/guardians sometimes become irritated with my views if they are different from theirs.
55. If my parents/guardians don’t approve of it, they don’t want to know about it.
56. When I am at home, I am expected to obey my parents’/guardians’ rules.

Profitability

57. In the 2013 fiscal year, what was the total business profit for your farm (round to the nearest hundred)?
58. In the 2013 fiscal year, what was the total off-farm profit for your family (round to the nearest hundred)?

The following are four areas used to measure performance. For each of them we want to know if you think that your outcome during the past three years has been better, worse, or equal to that of other farms in your industry. [Seven point Likert type scale from much worse to much better].

59. Net profit (i.e., sales minus operational costs)

60. Growth of the farm's value

61. Cash flow

62. Development of sales

Satisfaction

Think of your job in general. All in all, what is it like most of the time? For each word or phrase, use the following scale to describe your job: Yes; No; Can't Decide.

63. Good

64. Undesirable

65. Better than most

66. Disagreeable

67. Makes me content

68. Excellent

69. Enjoyable

70. Poor

Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements. [Seven point Likert-type scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree].

71. How satisfied are you with working on your family farm?

72. Are you glad to be a part of your family farm?

Think of your job in general. All in all, what is communication like most of the time? For each word or phrase, use the following scale to describe your job. [Seven point Likert-type scale from very dissatisfied to very satisfied].

73. Information about how my job compares with others
74. Information about how I am being judged
75. Recognition of my efforts
76. Reports on how problems in my job are handled
77. Extent to which bosses know and understand the problems faced by workers
78. Extent to which family farm communication motivates and stimulates an enthusiasm for meeting its goals
79. Extent to which the people in my family farm have great ability as communicators
80. Extent to which family farm communication makes me identify with it or feel a vital part of it
81. Extent to which I receive in time the information needed to do my job
82. Extent to which conflicts are handled appropriately through proper communication channels
83. Extent to which my boss listens and pays attention to me
84. Extent to which my boss offers guidance for solving job related problems
85. Extent to which family farm communication is interesting and helpful
86. Extent to which my boss is open to ideas
87. Extent to which the amount of supervision given me is about right

Thank you for participating in our survey. If you know of other people who would qualify and be willing to complete this survey, please indicate their email address below in order for the researchers to share the survey link with them. Or, feel free to send the survey to them yourself.

_____

_____

_____