


Peacemaking at the Workplace: A Systematic Review

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Abstract

Research on third party interventions in conflict has mostly focused on formal interventions by professional mediators or supervisors. Studies on informal and voluntary third party interventions by peers or someone else in a nonhierarchical position are very limited. The aim of this systematic review is to investigate empirical studies on peacemaking to (a) define the concept; (b) search for scales that measure peacemaking; (c) and identify outcomes of peacemaking. In total, our search led to 713 unique hits of which 12 were retained based on the predefined selection criteria. Based on the findings from the reviewed articles, we propose a definition of peacemaking and identify four components of peacemaking: relational, procedural, emotional, and content help. This study contributes to the current conflict management literature by focusing on informal and voluntary helping behavior in the context of conflicts (instead of formal interventions), while linking the literature on organizational citizenship behavior and research on third party interventions in the context of conflict. In practice, peacemakers play a crucial role in solving conflicts constructively and contribute as such to both individual and team functioning.

Introduction

Conflicts are inevitable, also at the workplace. How conflicts are managed is highly related to organizational performance as well as to individual and team well-being (Alper, Tjosvold, & Law, 2000; De Dreu, Van Dierendonck, & Dijkstra, 2004; Meyer, 2004). Next to constructive behaviors by conflict parties themselves, interventions by third parties are a common method for conflict resolution (Fisher, 2016; Römer, Rispens, Giebels, & Euwema, 2012). Such third party help can reduce negative outcomes of interpersonal conflict in organizations, for example emotional exhaustion, absenteeism, and increased turnover intentions (Giebels & Janssen, 2005).

In practice, we see that direct supervisors, managers, and human resources managers intervene regularly in workplace conflicts (Benharda, Brett, & Lempereur, 2013; D'Cruz & Noronha, 2010; Nugent & Broedling, 2002; Siira, 2012). Sometimes professional mediators are hired to mediate interpersonal conflicts or cases like bullying (Doherty & Guylar, 2008; Fox & Stallworth, 2009), discrimination (Green, 2005; McDermott & Ervin, 2005), and business-to-business conflicts (Rome, 2002), bringing short-term

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as well as long-term benefits to both individuals and organizations (Bollen & Euwema, 2013). In addition to these (often) formal third parties, peers might intervene spontaneously and informally in conflicts among their colleagues, although this behavior is not part of their contractual obligations. These “peacemakers” listen to disputants, help them express their feelings, identify real interests, and even help them reach mutual understanding (Alberts, Heisterkamp, & McPhee, 2005). By doing so, they contribute to a harmonious work environment in which lower levels of interpersonal workplace conflict are present (Kaur, 2014). Such helping behavior can be seen as a natural response in teams where colleagues experience a positive interdependence. Organ was one of the first authors referring to “peacemaking” as a component of organizational citizenship behavior (OCB) (Organ, 1990). Even though OCB has been widely studied, the aspect of peacemaking has received very little attention.

This conceptual review aims to expand the existing theory on third party interventions in conflict by shedding light on the informal actions of colleagues who voluntarily help their peers in times of conflict. Such peacemaking behaviors are usually neglected in current conflict management theories (Roche & Teague, 2014). In doing so, we integrate research on helping behavior at work (OCB) and third party interventions in conflict.

To get an overview of research on peacemaking, previous related studies on the topic were reviewed aiming to provide a clear definition of peacemaking, different measures to it, as well as its outcomes. Therefore, a systematic conceptual review was conducted to provide us “an overall picture of the evidence . . . to direct future research efforts” (Petticrew & Roberts, 2008, p. 21). The following research questions guided this systematic review:

- (1) What are the characteristics of peacemaking? And how to define this behavior?
- (2) Are there validated measures or scales to assess peacemaking?
- (3) What are the outcomes of peacemaking?

First, we focus on terminology used in previous research to describe peacemaking at the workplace to gain insight into peacemaking and its benefits. In the Results section, the research questions described above are elaborated on. This is followed by a discussion of the main results, limitations of this study, and possible areas for future research.

Theoretical Framework

Peacemaking as OCB

The theory development on *peacemaking* in a workplace setting dates back to 1990, with Organ identifying it as one of the dimensions of OCB, and defined it as “actions that help to prevent, resolve or mitigate unconstructive interpersonal conflict” (Organ, 1990, p. 96). This definition was later elaborated: “Peacemaking occurs when someone notices that a conflict (perhaps a conflict that started out as work-related and civil) is on the verge of developing into a personal war between two or more parties. The peacemaker steps into the breach, giving people a chance to cool their heads, helping the antagonists save faces, and helps discussants get back to considerations of impersonal issues” (Organ, Podsakoff, & MacKenzie, 2005, p. 25).

This second description elaborates possible helping behaviors, without necessarily being complete. The initial definition raises some critical reflections. First, the definition seems narrower than the situation of this construct would imply. For example, in asymmetric conflicts where one person experiences high levels of conflict yet the other perceives little or even no conflict (Jehn, Rupert, Nauta, & Van Den Bossche, 2010), the behaviors described above would not apply. Instead, actions such as trying to give emotional support to only one side of the conflicting parties could save both from a potential fight. Second, in line with mediation research, more strategies could be adopted by third party peacemakers than the ones referred to in the definition (e.g., Calkins, 2006; Jameson, Bodtker, & Linker, 2010;

Khachaturova & Poimanova, 2015; Moore, 2014a). Third, implicit in the definition of peacemaking are the characteristics of OCB (Organ, 1988, p. 6), that is, discretionary behavior by an employee which is not directly or explicitly recognized by the formal reward system. Therefore, peacemaking behavior should be considered as (a) voluntary and (b) toward others, where the peacemaker has no authoritative power. While Organ's definition does not specify the relationship between disputants and peacemaker, we exclude managers who intervene in their subordinates' conflict as peacemaker as this is part of their job rather than exhibiting OCB.

Organ's definition of peacemaking overlaps with other dimensions of OCB. For example, altruism refers to the voluntary action to help others with a work-related problem (which includes conflict-related problems); cheerleading focuses on words and gestures that encourage and reinforce coworkers' accomplishment and professional development (which could be a soothing strategy for conflicting parties); and courtesy subsumes all the foresighted gestures of helping someone else prevent the creation of problems (which again includes conflict-related problems) (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Paine, & Bachrach, 2000). In short, when work problems are mingled with interpersonal conflict, these constructs will more or less get into the realm of peacemaking. As a result, peacemaking, together with *altruism*, *cheerleading*, and *courtesy*, has been shown empirically to load on a broader construct named "helping behavior" (Organ et al., 2005, p. 26; Podsakoff et al., 2000) which refers to the behavior of "voluntarily helping others with, or preventing the occurrence of, work-related problems" (Podsakoff et al., 2000, p. 516). In this broader construct, peacemaking can be understood and studied as all the helping behaviors that deal with conflict-specific issues in the workplace. Till now however, most research on OCB investigated helping behavior in general, rather than in the specific context of conflict. For example, many scholars adopted the scale of helping from Van Dyne and LePine (1998) where there is no item describing helping with colleague's interpersonal conflicts (i.e., peacemaking).

When defining peacemaking, typologies for helping behavior can also be relevant for peacemaking. Chou and Stauffer (2016) classified helping behavior from the recipient's perspective into *unsolicited proactive helping*, *unsolicited reactive helping*, and *solicited reactive helping*. In line with Chou and Stauffer (2016), we differentiate three forms of peacemaking. In the case of *unsolicited proactive peacemaking*, a colleague may decide to facilitate a discussion between colleagues when minor irritations are hindering their decision making. Alternatively, one may also decide to step into a conflict between colleagues as emotions are running high (*unsolicited reactive peacemaking*) or one may be asked (in)directly by (one of the) colleagues for support or help (*solicited reactive peacemaking*).

Peacemaking and Third Party Interventions at the Workplace

The concept "peacemaking" originated first in the military context and is usually studied in combination with "peacebuilding" (Hogan, Frey, Kim, & Clements, 2018; Kuttner, 2017). The sixth secretary-general of the United Nations (UN) defined peacemaking as "action to bring hostile parties to agreement, essentially through such peaceful means as those foreseen in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations" (Boutros-Ghali, 1992, p. 204).

In the organizational context, the term "peacemaking" is not widely used and even less studied. One reason to this might be that scholars tend to focus more on general concepts such as "third party interventions (or consultation)" defined as "the facilitative and diagnostic actions of an impartial third party consultant in helping antagonists understand and constructively deal with the negative aspects of their conflict" (Fisher, 2016, p. 67). Here, it is not clear whether this help is voluntarily or not, and what kind of (hierarchical) position the third party occupies. Consequently, third parties can be professional mediators, ombudsmen or conflict coaches, managers, as well as employees (Goldman, Cropanzano, Stein, & Benson, 2008; Jameson, 2001; Roche & Teague, 2014). When considering these roles, most research on third parties has focused on external and internal mediators (Bollen, Euwema, & Munduate, 2016a; Kressel, 2006; Moore, 2014b; Poitras, 2010; Slaikeu & Hasson, 2012). Recently, *conflict coaching* has gained

more attention (Gross, 2010). This involves a coach working one on one with only one of the conflict parties to help the disputant better understand the nature of the conflict and develop relevant strategies and tactics to solve the conflict (Brinkert, 2006, 2016; Jones, 2016). Conflict coaching differs from workplace mediation, as coaching does not necessarily involve all parties in a conflict. Research on mediation and conflict coaching has focused on formal interventions exhibited by conflict experts. However, both “mediation” and “coaching” could be very well and in fact are often behaviors exhibited by colleagues as well, in a nonprofessional and informal way. In our daily lives, privately and at work, people spend quite some time helping each other to manage conflict, through talking individually (informal coaching) as well as talking to all conflicting parties (informal mediation). Both elements can be considered therefore as peacemaking which is useful for improving conflict management in family, organizational, and societal settings (Boulding, Clements, Morrison, & Strimling Yodsampa, 2016; Gross, 2016).

In practice, people in management positions are often expected to act as third parties in employees’ conflict (Butts, 2016; Chi, Friedman, & Yang, 2009; Poitras, Hill, Hamel, & Pelletier, 2015). They can mediate by focusing on constructive communication, negotiation, and problem-solving skills (Butts, 2016; Colvin, 2014), but sometimes also impose a settlement thanks to their authority. Research on the role of leaders in conflicts and their management has been increasing in recent years (Arnold, 2007; Chi et al., 2009; Kozan, Ergin, & Varoglu, 2007, 2014; Morgeson & DeRue, 2006; Poitras et al., 2015; Römer, 2017; Römer et al., 2012; Siira, 2012; Way, Jimmieson, & Bordia, 2014, 2016). For example, leader’s third party conflict behavior was found to be significantly related to employees’ stress experiences and job satisfaction (Römer et al., 2012). Kozan et al. (2007, 2014) identified six intervention strategies that managerial third parties can engage in mediation, arbitration, motivating, restructuring, distancing, and educating strategy.

Among all the third party roles in workplace conflict, interventions by regular employees are the most informal ones. Peers have no formal authority over the disputants, and so, their motives to either help or stay out of the conflict may vary. However, they do have their personal interests, such as the wish for a peaceful and working environment, and might personally get annoyed by conflicts among their team members. Also, individual and team productivity and performance might be hampered by team conflicts, especially when interdependence is high (Jehn, Rispens, Jonsen, & Greer, 2013). So, there are strong drivers for colleagues to act when their team members get into destructive conflict.

One aspect that received attention in the context of peer interventions is siding. Siding is a major issue not only in teams and among colleagues, but for all third parties involved in conflict. Group members have a strong tendency to side when confronted with conflict in their group (Yang, Van de Vliert, & Shi, 2005, 2007, 2009; Yang, Van de Vliert, Shi, & Huang, 2008). Siding is one of the main characteristics of conflict escalation (Jehn et al., 2013; Lee, Gelfand, & Kashima, 2014). Also, for third parties such as managers and professional mediators, siding is considered a risk. Therefore, as a characteristic of peacemaking, we might define that this is behavior where a peer remains impartial when intervening in the conflict, to prevent further escalation through actual or perceived siding (Yang et al., 2007, 2009).

Concluding, peacemaking can be seen as an important aspect of helping behavior which is related to OCB. At the same time, it is also related to third party interventions in the specific context of conflict such as mediation (by external or internal mediators).

Method

Literature Search Procedure

The search required articles to be (a) published in peer-reviewed journals from 1990 onwards (b) published in English, and (c) focusing on workplace conflicts between direct colleagues. Following topics were excluded: international peacemaking, military peacemaking, interorganizational conflicts, bullying, sexual harassment, as well as peacemakers who have authoritative power over disputants or can be

defined as conflict party themselves. Empirical studies were identified through searches of electronic databases accessible through the authors’ university library. The literature search was conducted in March 2017 using the following databases: EBSCOhost and Web of Science which contain several databases such as Academic Search Premier, MasterFILE Elite, Business Source Elite, EconLit, SSCI, and MEDLINE. In addition, PsycINFO database was used (including PsycArticles) since it is the most complete resource for articles in the field of psychology and is not included in the former two. The following search terms were used: (a) peacemak*, prosocial, third party interven*, organi*ational citizenship behavior, and resolution; (b) organi*ation OR workplace; (c) conflict OR dispute; and (d) NOT politic*. The symbol “*” is used to broaden the search by finding words that start with the same letters. For example, “intervene*” may refer to and select “intervene,” “intervener,” “intervenor,” and “intervention.” All four parts were integrated into Boolean search mode within the title, abstract, keywords, and text.

The searches resulted in an initial hit of 825 articles in total, after a screen for duplications 713 unique articles were identified. An overview of the number of sources delivered by and selected for each search term and database is found in Table 1.

The selection was conducted in two steps. First, the title and abstract of each article were scanned. Titles or abstracts that were not relevant for the subject under study, not referring to any of the terms describing third party interventions in the conflict between disputants, or referring to elements that did not meet the selection criteria, such as work–home conflict, were excluded. After this, 117 articles were retained for further examination. Then, two reviewers discussed for each article whether it should be retained for further analysis. During the screen, we found that although the search term “organizational citizenship behavior” generated most hits (see Table 1), hardly any articles studied conflict-related OCB (i.e., peacemaking). Instead, many tend to examine the (mostly negative) relationship between (interpersonal) conflict in the organization and OCB in general (Chung, 2015; Grant & Patil, 2012; Kaur, 2014; Lu, Zhou, & Leung, 2011; Ng & Van Dyne, 2005; Rispens, 2009; Rispens, Greer, Jehn, & Thatcher, 2011; Salami, 2010; Tjosvold, Hui, & Yu, 2003) and vice versa (Kaur, 2014). In these articles, OCB measures usually do not address peacemaking or conflict-related behaviors. For example, Kaur (2014) reported that higher levels of interpersonal helping would lead to lower levels of interpersonal conflict among the employees, yet no conflict-specific helping is mentioned in the text or the measures. The search term “third party intervene*” generated the most relevant hits to our research questions. However, formal interventions (e.g., mediation and managerial intervention) dominate this field. In the remaining articles, the identification of the third party is sometimes vague. For example, in the work of Sheppard, Saunders, and Minton (1988), a mixed group (consisting of managers, parents, and college students) were asked to recall their last intervention in a conflict; however, they did not specify their relationship with the disputants. Therefore, we cannot include them in our study. After excluding the nonempirical studies, only eight articles were selected.

Table 1
Nonunique Results of Literature Search

Search term	EBSCOhost	WOS	PsycINFO
peacemak*	99	5	11
Prosocial	34	27	26
third party interven*	44	20	9
organi*ational citizenship behavior	43	293	20
resolution	98	35	15
extra-role	8	34	4
Total per database	326	414	85
Total			825

Note. Each search term was coupled with the following: AND organi*ation OR work*place; AND conflict OR dispute; NOT politic* during the search.

Given that the concept of peacemaking at the workplace is still under development and because of the limited amount of studies in the field, the snowballing technique was additionally applied (Patterson et al., 2010). The references of the sources found deemed relevant (eight articles) were examined to find more important studies on third party interventions by peers in conflicts of colleagues. These again were judged based on their title, abstract, and, if necessary, further reading. In this way, four additional empirical articles were found. Although some of them studied mainly managerial interventions (Benharda et al., 2013; Brett, Tinsley, Shapiro, & Okumura, 2007) or conflict management in general (Jameson, 2001; Morrill & Thomas, 1992), they all referred also to peer interventions in conflict. Finally, the entire search yielded a total of 12 empirical studies.

Summarizing the Included Studies

Table 2 shows the overview of the selected articles in alphabetical order. The summary includes authors, research questions, sample information, research variables and method, relevant findings, and the quality rating of the study.

Results

Characteristics of Peacemaking

The articles reviewed inform us on when, how, and with whom peacemaking takes place from the perspective of both disputants and peacemakers. Interestingly, in none of the studies, the term “peacemaking” was used to refer to a peer who intervenes as a third party in a workplace conflict between colleagues. Instead, the following concepts were used: “peer-role mediators,” “third parties without formal authority,” “third parties who are peers,” “peer third party,” or “third party who has no authoritative decision-making power.”

More specifically, Morrill and Thomas (1992) identified “third party mobilization” as one of the seven behaviors that employees can engage in when involved in conflict. “Third party mobilization” refers to the possibility to turn to a third party either for representation against an opponent or for settlement (representative negotiation, settlement). In their perspective, the third party (including peers) can also be invited to help (i.e., solicited reactive helping) and has the right to either accept or refuse this invitation which makes this behavior voluntary. Arnold and O’Connor (1999) referred to informal peer interventions as one of the “dispute resolution mechanisms” in organizations, as opposed to formal grievance procedures. Looking at specific behaviors of peacemaking, Volkema, Bergmann, and Farquhar (1997) examined the use and impact of third party discussions when involved in a workplace conflict. They found that 78.0% of the professionals had discussed their conflict with coworkers. During the informal discussion, the helper often engaged in activities such as listening, problem exploration, and reality testing with the seeker. This behavior can be defined as one-sided or unilateral peacemaking (which is similar to informal conflict coaching) since the third party only talks with one conflict party. Kozan and Ergin (1999) found that peers act as third party in workplace conflicts almost as often as supervisors. While supervisors are invited to intervene when conflicts escalate or get out of control, peers usually get involved in the initial phases of the conflict and do this on their own behalf. Jameson (2001) showed that immediate supervisors (95.1%), HR or personnel (66.5%), and peers (58.3%) are the most common third parties in workplace conflict. According to Giebels and Yang (2009) who studied third party intervention “as an extension or elaboration of the conflict management process that involves an acceptable third party who has no authoritative decision-making power” (Giebels & Yang, 2009, p. 345) and thus including peers, three types of third party help (peacemaking) can be distinguished: relational, procedural, and emotional help. Relational help from a third party (peer) is aimed at maintaining or restoring harmony within

Table 2
Overview Articles

Authors	Samples	Methodology	Roles	Intervention type	Intervention outcomes	Rating
1 Arnold and O'Connor (1999)	191 psychology students in the U.S.A	Scenario-based simulation, pre- and postnegotiation questionnaire	Ombudsperson (expert mediators) versus peer third parties (nonexpert mediators)	Give recommendations (integrative, compromising, or unintegrative)	Peer third parties were perceived to be less credible than expert third parties.	Low
2 Benharda et al. (2013)	97 three-person groups of French MBA students	Scenario-based simulation, postnegotiation questionnaire	Supervisor third parties (with authority to impose an outcome) versus peer third parties (without authority to impose an outcome)	Help disputants facilitate an outcome	Female peer third party facilitates an outcome both acceptable to disputants and met organizational interests, more than male and female third party roles with authority. Peer third parties made the conflict decision less frequently than supervisor third parties and were perceived to have less power and influence.	Intermediate
3 Brett et al. (2007)	519 managers from the U.S.A, Japan and China	Scenario-based simulation, survey	Superior third parties versus peer third parties	Help disputants facilitate an outcome	Peer third parties engage in more participatory decision making and facilitate decisions that break with precedent, whereas supervisor third parties engage in more autocratic and conservative decision making.	High
4 Conlon, Carnevale, and Murnighan (1994) and Conlon, Carnevale, and Ross (1994)	222 undergraduate students in the U.S.A	Scenario-based simulation, questionnaire	Supervisor third parties (with authority to impose an outcome) versus peer third parties (without authority to impose an outcome)	Make suggestions, facilitate an agreement	Boss role/supervisor third parties ended their intervention negotiation (either by imposing settlements or by opting to leave the negotiation) more quickly and repeated their proposals more than peers; Peers sent more compromising suggestions, less pressing and imposed messages than supervisors.	Low

Table 2
(continued)

Authors	Samples	Methodology	Roles	Intervention type	Intervention outcomes	Rating
5 Conlon, Carnevale, and Ross (1994)	261 business students in the U.S.A	Scenario-based simulation, questionnaire	Superior third parties (with authority to impose an outcome) versus peer third parties (without authority to impose an outcome)	Give suggestion (integrative, compromising, unintegrative, favorable, or unfavorable/no offers)	The potential of a third party to impose a settlement influenced disputant perceptions of power and desire for third party involvement, but had only weak effects on communication processes and little effect on offer proposals.	Low
6 Giebels and Yang (2009)	93 students and 71 bank employees, from Netherland and China	Scale development and validation	Disputants	Nonsubstantive third party help, that is, relational help, procedural help, and emotional help		High
7 Jameson (2001)	571 MBA and non-MBA students, and other working students in the U.S.A	Survey, focus group interviews	Disputants	Give advices, help disputants talk to each other, act as intermediary, listen to and investigate all sides, provide a solution		High
8 Karambayya et al. (1992)	MBA candidates and executive program participants in the U.S.A	Scenario-based simulation, questionnaire	Superior third parties versus peer third parties	Autocratic behaviors (e.g., impose own ideas for settlement) versus mediational behaviors (e.g., try to incorporate disputants' ideas)	Peer third parties were less likely to behave autocratically than third parties with authority; When peer third parties behaved autocratically, impasses were more likely to be the result; Judgments of procedural justice were positively associated with mediational behavior and negatively associated with autocratic behavior; Judgments of third party fairness were also positively associated with mediational behavior.	High

Table 2
(continued)

Authors	Samples	Methodology	Roles	Intervention type	Intervention outcomes	Rating
9 Keashly and Newberry (1995)	85 undergraduates in Canada	Scenario-based simulation, questionnaire	Supervisor third parties versus peer third parties	Process control, content control, and outcome control	Where the third party makes final decision, disputants prefer supervisor than coworker as someone who has the position and authority; where disputants make final decision, they prefer third party from coworker.	Intermediate
10 Kozan and Ergin (1999)	435 employees in Turkey	Questionnaire and factor analysis	Disputants	Autocratic, motivational, educational, restructuring, mediational, giving opinion, procedural marshal styles	Superiors use incentives or authority to resolve conflicts, peers listened more and gave advice; When peers and supervisors mediated the disputants saw process and outcome as fair.	High
11 Morrill and Thomas (1992)	619 employees in the U.S.A	Scale development and validation	Disputants	Help negotiate a solution or disagreement, act as a "go-between," help make a decision		Intermediate
12 Volkema et al. (1997)	396 professionals in the U.S.A	Questionnaire	Disputants	Third party discussion, listen to the disputant, help explore problem and reality testing	The later in the sequence of behaviors that discussion with coworkers first occurred, the greater the perceived intensity of the conflict; Discussions with coworkers will lower the subsequent level of assertive behavior in interpersonal conflict at work.	High

the relationship of conflicting parties. Procedural help focuses on structuring the conversations, distinguishing main from side issues, and outlining procedures to follow in order to handle the conflict. Third parties can also provide emotional help by, for example, expressing a willingness to listen or by letting parties vent their emotions (Giebels & Yang, 2009).

Table 3 shows a summary of the reviewed articles that may help us to describe peacemaking behavior at the workplace. First, we recognize that peacemaking can be either unilateral or bilateral. In unilateral peacemaking, the peacemaker helps only one of the conflict parties. In bilateral peacemaking, the peacemaker works sometimes separately with the disputants (as an intermediary) and sometimes in joint meetings or a combination of both.

Peacemaking can refer to different types of help. In line with Giebels and Yang's (2009) taxonomy for nonsubstantive help, we differentiate between relational, procedural, and emotional help. In addition, substantive, or content help is mentioned by two other authors (Jameson, 2001; Kozan & Ergin, 1999), where peacemakers offer possible solutions or advice to help solve the conflict. Research on substantive or content help regularly has been using scenario-based simulation methods to investigate the effects of peers' suggestions or recommendations to disputants' appreciations (Arnold & O'Connor, 1999; Conlon, Carnevale, & Murnighan, 1994; Conlon, Carnevale, & Ross, 1994; Keashly & Newberry, 1995).

Measuring Peacemaking or Related Behaviors

Four studies used validated scales to measure third party behavior in workplace conflict as perceived and assessed by the disputants.

Morrill and Thomas (1992) identified seven behaviors in the *Disputing Process Instrument* (DPI) which is an instrument that assesses organizational conflict management. One of the seven behaviors of employees is "third party mobilization" and refers to the level to which employees seek for help from a third party in their conflict. This third party could be either a superior or peer, or someone inside or outside the organization. This scale measures the extent to which people turn to a third party, however not the specific behaviors of third parties.

Focusing on third party behaviors, Karambayya, Brett, and Lytle (1992) identified two types of such behaviors: autocratic and mediational. They report that people with formal authority over disputants are more likely to behave autocratically than peers intervening in the conflict as a third party, and peers use more mediational behavior. This last finding is also shown by other research (Brett et al., 2007; Conlon, Carnevale, & Murnighan, 1994). Based on Karambayya et al.'s (1992) work, Kozan and Ergin (1999) elaborated seven-third party behaviors. Rephrasing them here, these are autocratic, mediational, restructuring, educating, motivating, giving opinion, and procedural help. Peers were mostly *giving opinions*, while the other behaviors were used considerably less. More recently, Giebels and Yang (2009) developed a scale that measures three types of nonsubstantive third party help: relational help, procedural help, and emotional help. The third party here refers to someone who has no authoritative decision-making power (including peers).

Outcomes of Peacemaking

Three major outcome variables could be found in the articles reviewed: disputants' perception of justice and satisfaction (with the third party, the peacemaking process, and/or result), disputants' behavior toward each other after the peacemaking intervention (better or worse), and the result of the conflict. These outcomes are also included in Table 3.

Karambayya et al. (1992) found that when peer third parties behave autocratically, impasses were more likely to happen, and disputants' perceptions of procedural justice were negatively affected. In contrast, when peers showed mediational behavior, this related positively to disputants' judgments of procedural justice, as well as third party fairness. Keashly and Newberry (1995) state disputants expect the peer

third party to have noticeable, however limited involvement in the predecision and outcome stages. Bernharda et al. (2013) found that supervisors acting as third party are perceived to have more power and influence, compared with peers, and tend to make more unilateral decisions to resolve the conflict. In

Table 3
A Framework of Peacemaking

Peacemaking happens...	Descriptions from reviewed articles
When	<p>A person—without formal authority over the conflicting parties—helps voluntarily in a conflict/dispute between two or more others:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Spontaneously offers help in conflict (unsolicited) (Kozan & Ergin, 1999); ● Is asked by both disputants to intervene (solicited) (Morrill & Thomas, 1992); ● Is asked by one disputant (solicited) (Morrill & Thomas, 1992; Volkema et al., 1997).
With whom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Both disputants (not necessarily at the same time); ● One of the disputants.
How	<p>Unilateral peacemaking</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Third party discussion/sensemaking with one of the disputants (Volkema et al., 1997): expressing a willingness to listen to one’s side of the story and let disputant vent emotions; help one explore the problem; make sense of a dispute; act as sounding board for reality testing <p>Bilateral peacemaking</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Talk to both parties individually to help them solve the problem on their own (Jameson, 2001); ● Act as a “go-between” to help one party discuss a complaint with the other and help negotiate one’s disagreement with the other party (Morrill & Thomas, 1992); ● Bring the disputants together to discuss the conflict (Keashly & Newberry, 1995). <p><i>(Relational help)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Foster a harmonious relationship between disputants (Giebels & Yang, 2009); ○ Contribute to a peaceful resolution to the conflict (Giebels & Yang, 2009); ○ Maintain a peaceful interaction with the disputants (Giebels & Yang, 2009); ○ Make sure that disputants treat each other respectfully (Giebels & Yang, 2009); <p><i>(Procedural help)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Make sure that both parties interact in a productive manner (Keashly & Newberry, 1995); ○ Listen to disputant’s point of view investigate all sides (Jameson, 2001; Kozan & Ergin, 1999); ○ Ensure equal time for both to state their case (Keashly & Newberry, 1995); ○ Suggest possible areas that may need exploration (Keashly & Newberry, 1995); ○ Outlining procedures to follow and generate alternatives on how the discussion could proceed (Keashly & Newberry, 1995); ○ Help the parties talk directly to each other to help them solve the problem on their own (Jameson, 2001); ○ Structure the conversations, distinguishing main from side issues, and identify the important statements (Giebels & Yang, 2009); ○ Try to incorporate disputant’s ideas (Kozan & Ergin, 1999); <p><i>(Emotional help)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Let parties vent their emotions and let off steam (Giebels & Yang, 2009); ○ Show understanding for their situation (Giebels & Yang, 2009); ○ Express willingness to listen to parties (Giebels & Yang, 2009); ○ Identify the most important feelings of the conflict parties (Giebels & Yang, 2009); <p><i>(Content help)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Provide own advices or ideas (Jameson, 2001; Kozan & Ergin, 1999); ○ Propose a solution (Jameson, 2001; Kozan & Ergin, 1999).

Table 3
(continued)

Peacemaking happens. . .	Descriptions from reviewed articles
Key features	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No formal authority (Giebels & Yang, 2009); • Voluntary, can be solicited or unsolicited reactive help (Kozan & Ergin, 1999; Morrill & Thomas, 1992); • Neutral standpoint (Benharda et al., 2013); • More compromising, less pressing and imposed suggestions to disputants, less autocratically, more participatory decision making (Arnold & O'Connor, 1999; Brett et al., 2007; Conlon, Carnevale, & Murnighan, 1994; Conlon, Carnevale, & Ross, 1994; Karambayya et al., 1992; Kozan & Ergin, 1999).
Outcomes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disputants' judgment of procedural justice and third party fairness is more positive (Karambayya et al., 1992); • Disputants' perception of third party's power and influence is smaller (Benharda et al., 2013); • Usually disputants get to made the final decision (Benharda et al., 2013; Brett et al., 2007); • The solution is less conservative (Karambayya et al., 1992) and meets both disputants' and organizational interest more with female peacemaker (Benharda et al., 2013); • The subsequent level of assertive behavior is lower (Volkema et al., 1997).

line with this, Brett et al. (2007) indicated that peer third parties engage in more participatory decision making and facilitate decisions. Benharda et al. (2013) claimed that compared to female third parties with authority and male third parties, female third parties without authority (peacemakers) are best able to facilitate an outcome that is acceptable to the disputants and meets the organizational interests. Arnold and O'Connor (1999) found that peers who voluntarily intervene in conflict are perceived as less credible than ombudspersons.

Volkema et al. (1997) observed disputants' actual behavior during the intervention. Perceived conflict intensity appeared greater when disputants waited longer to seek help from a third party. Discussing with a peer about conflict will lower the subsequent level of assertive behavior in interpersonal conflict at work (Volkema et al., 1997).

Discussion

This study contributes to the current conflict management literature by focusing on informal and voluntary helping behavior in interpersonal conflicts, a subject so far understudied. Two lines of research are connected: OCB literature and literature on third party interventions.

In practice, peacemakers play a crucial role in solving conflicts constructively since their help is sometimes more desired than the help of people who intervene formally such as supervisors, managers, ombudspersons, or mediators (Conlon, Carnevale, & Ross, 1994). Next to this, peers are often more approachable and may intervene in a more harmonious and facilitative way. In this way, we include an extra resource in the organization's conflict management system.

With this systematic conceptual review, we wish to (a) define peacemaking; (b) search for scales that measure peacemaking; (c) and identify outcomes of peacemaking. In total, 12 empirical studies were selected and analyzed.

Defining Peacemaking

We observed that none of the reviewed articles refer to the term peacemaking, nor did they recognize it as an OCB, extra-role, or prosocial behavior although it has been defined like this by Organ (Organ,

1990; Organ et al., 2005). Within the OCB literature, peacemaking is a hardly investigated part of helping behavior. We believe this to be an omission, given the major impact conflicts have in teams, among colleagues, and in organizational climate and performance generally.

Even though there is no shared definition of peacemaking, several descriptions refer to similar characteristics (shown as key features in Table 3): no formal authority, voluntariness, neutrality, and constructive conflict management (mediational style). Based on these, we propose a new definition of peacemaking: *A peacemaker is a person who helps in a conflict between two or more others, on a voluntary basis, without formal authority over the conflicting parties, acts impartial, and works with either one or more of the parties to solve the conflict constructively.*

This definition refines Organ et al.'s definition (2005, p. 25) by putting more emphasis on the nonauthoritative status, voluntariness and neutrality of the peer third party, and giving more room to the different types of third party behavior. Also, with this definition, peacemaking is not restricted to specific conflict parties or levels of escalation. We also see peacemaking in helping a supervisor reflect on conflict with others (either another supervisor or another team member). Also, peacemaking can be seen and investigated in more private relations (such as sports clubs, groups of friends, or families). Many people voluntarily act as informal mediators frequently in these private spheres. As Elise Boulding claimed, peacemaking originates from families (E. Boulding, 1989) and is commonly seen as a community-based practice (Boulding, 2017; Boulding et al., 2016).

In the literature on peer third parties, two different types of peacemaking can be distinguished. First, we differentiate solicited and unsolicited peacemaking from the recipients' (i.e., disputants') perspective, respectively whether the disputants seek help from third party or not and second unilateral and bilateral peacemaking based on the coverage of help, respectively when a peacemaker helps only one of the disputants or helps both disputants together (or separately). In line with the idea of caucus in mediation (Calhoun, 2004; Calkins, 2006), peacemakers can choose to help only one of the disputants (at a time). This could be especially true or valuable in asymmetric conflicts where not all conflict parties have the same awareness of the (severity of) conflict (Kluwer & Mikula, 2003).

From Four to Five Aspects of Peacemaking

Looking at the specific behaviors that characterize peacemaking, we distinguished so far four aspects: relational help, procedural help, emotional help, and content help. These four aspects are also recognized as important characteristics of mediator support (see, Moore, 2014a; Poitras & Le Tareau, 2009) which is in line with the idea that peer third party interventions tend to be mediational (Karambayya et al., 1992).

The specific behaviors of each aspect are shown in Table 3. For relational help, peacemakers work on restoring a peaceful and harmonious relationship with and between disputants (Giebels & Yang, 2009). This can be achieved, for example, using humor to divert the topic and to mitigate the tension (Norrick & Spitz, 2008). Procedural help is, for example, offered by proposing to meet in a peaceful time and space ("let's have a coffee together") or ensuring time for both disputants to state their case, outlining procedures, and as such structure the conversations. Emotional help refers to the willingness to listen to disputants' complaints and showing empathy for their situation; content help is about providing suggestions and possible solutions.

Above the four, a final important aspect of peacemaking is the neutrality of the peer. Partiality tends to be acted out easily in any of the four previously mentioned aspects of peacemaking, especially in cases of unilateral peacemaking. A peer might offer more empathy and ear to one party (emotional help) or might come with suggestions for solutions in favor of one party (content help). Either of these will be perceived by the less favored party or both conflict parties as taking sides. Siding is a high risk for non-professional third parties (Yang, Li, Wang, & Hendriks, 2011; Yang et al., 2007) and it is one of the main characteristics of conflict escalation (Jehn et al., 2013; Lee et al., 2014). Staying neutral in the conflict,

and not becoming party, is an important quality and according to some authors might even a prerequisite for making peace (Khachaturova & Poimanova, 2015; Wall & Chan-Serafin, 2014). Therefore, we propose to add neutrality as a fifth aspect of peacemaking, which is at another level compared to the other four. That is, peacemaking first of all requires that the peer has an attitude and behavior aimed at helping conflicting parties, without siding. This should be visible in each aspect of peacemaking behavior. This is represented in Figure 1.

Measuring Peacemaking

We found four validated scales that measure third party conflict behaviors. These scales were used to describe behavior by managers, supervisors, and peers, as perceived by the disputants. None of the measures solely focused on third party interventions by peers. The OCB scales as far as known to us (Farh, Earley, & Lin, 1997; Lee & Allen, 2002; Lievens & Anseel, 2004; Morrison, 1994) hardly address peacemaking, and if so, this is limited to a few general items (Podsakoff, Ahearne, & MacKenzie, 1997; Podsakoff & MacKenzie, 1994). Therefore, there is need for a measurement of peacemaking behavior.

Morrill and Thomas (1992) investigated the disputants' willingness to seek help from a third party in conflict. Therefore, the items are not very relevant for assessing peacemaking behavior. Karambayya et al. (1992) distinguished third party behaviors as either autocratic or mediational, the latter one being more typical for peers. Mediational behavior is, however, a very broad categorization and does not offer much insight into specific behaviors. Kozan and Ergin (1999) proposed seven-third party behaviors. The items cover behaviors that could be characterized as procedural, emotional, and content help. Giebels and Yang (2009) measured three types of third party help (relational, emotional, and procedural) which inspired us in the conceptualization of peacemaking. However, as they were only focusing on the nonsubstantive help, the substantive help (contentwise help) should also be included in the measurement of peacemaking. The definition and the framework in Table 3 provide us a foundation to develop a peacemaking scale in the future. Although neutrality of the peacemaker is one of the key features and argued above as a preliminary condition of peacemaking, none of the current measures includes this. To supplement our knowledge of peacemaking, literatures such as mediation are also suggested to be referred to while developing the scale. Bollen, Euwema, and Munduate (2016b) differentiate three levels to investigate mediation behaviors: styles, strategies, and tactics. Therefore, the conceptual clarity on the level of peacemaking measurement is important.

Outcomes of Peacemaking

In general, we found that most studies are concerned with disputants' perceptions of justice and satisfaction (with the third party, the peacemaking process and result), disputants' behavior, and the peacemaking result (e.g., usually disputants get to made the decision, the solution meets both disputants' and

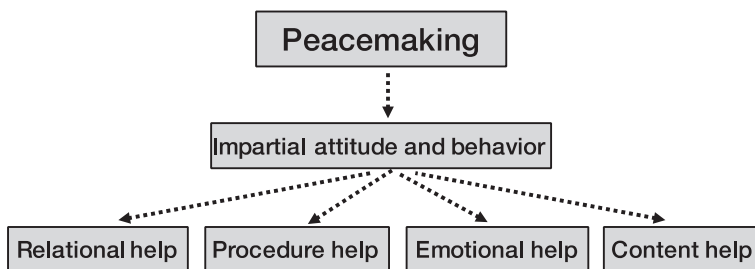


Figure 1. Peacemaking and its aspects.

organizational interest with female peacemaker, and the solution is less conservative). Among them, the concept of disputants' perceptions of fairness or justice is studied extensively in the third party intervention literature (Cropanzano, Byrne, Bobocel, & Rupp, 2001). Surprisingly, hardly any study investigated ultimate outcomes of peacemaking in terms of conflict resolution or changing conflict behaviors. In other words, we hardly know anything about effects and effectiveness of informal third party interventions (peacemaking) so far.

Limitations and Future Research

The 12 reviewed articles provided valuable yet limited insights for voluntary peer intervention (peacemaking). In this section, we explore opportunities for future research in this field.

It is remarkable that the number of empirical studies on peacemaking at the workplace is limited, and over half of the reviewed articles date back to years before 2000. One explanation could be that research on third party interventions in workplace conflicts in general is underdeveloped (Bollen & Euwema, 2013), and if third party conflict management is studied, most attention goes to more formal interventions, such as mediation or supervisory behavior.

When we look at the methodologies used in the articles reviewed, we found mostly descriptive analysis. Seven articles are experimental studies with student samples. Ideally, more empirical research needs to be conducted in a real workplace setting. It could be assumed that peacemaking might be more common in small- and medium-sized organizations than larger-sized organizations, as conflicts tend to be handled more informally without recourse to a systematic procedure in smaller organizations (Colvin, 2014).

When it comes to antecedents of peacemaking, the current studies did not offer much insight. Our review brings back to live Organ's (1990) early work on peacemaking as OCB and particularly helping behavior (Organ et al., 2005) and can inform us on both antecedents and consequences of peacemaking such as personality (Li, Liang, & Crant, 2010), leadership (Sparrowe, Soetjijto, & Kraimer, 2006), team cohesiveness, cooperative norms, and performance (Ng & Van Dyne, 2005). Before doing this, a validated scale of peacemaking should be developed. Suggestions are given in the Discussion section.

Finally, peacemaking is not limited to the workplace. People act as peacemakers maybe even more among their families, friends, and communities (Boulding et al., 2016; Gross, 2016). An interesting line of research is to see to what extent peacemaking at work is related to peacemaking behaviors in other settings such as at the private context at home or between friends. Another intriguing question is whether and to what extent peacemaking is related to personality traits or characteristics. This points at an interesting question: are there "natural born peacemakers"?

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