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The Journal of Conflict Management (JOCM) is a peer-reviewed multi-disciplinary academic journal providing researchers and practitioners with a scholarly venue to share information across the broad spectrum of conflict management. Thanks to generous support from Sullivan University, JOCM is freely available online without subscription or download fees.

Journal of Conflict Management -- ISSN 2165-4492
From The Editorial Board:
The Nature of Conflict

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The butterfly’s beauty was vaguely visible in the shroud of society. For her alone it was an adventure big enough for both of us. Time has done nothing but saturate our minds with inspiration. An eye for natural and a heart that doesn’t waver to protect it. Separation has allowed us to flourish into amorphous balls of existence. Splendor, aptitude, customs, passion are we now rich with the more wholesome our companionship will be. An eternal friendship that lies on top of a connection, a bond, a tie, a link, a river which flows, guides us to an unknown region...

(Author Unknown)

The articles selected for this our second JOCM publication speak of metaphor, conflict analysis models, and the interplay of intelligence and personality. Humans have evolved a unique knack for conceptualizing and giving rational expression to complex and natural phenomenon. We are in a constant quest to make meaning and one-up nature. Models are developed to represent order from seeming chaos. Many seek to analyze and control natural social behavior with fixed systems that artificially freeze the cyclic and interconnected expression of conflict, change and life itself.

In wisdom and fallibility, humankind is part of a beautifully designed living system, vast, and interconnected to all other living things. To separate from this truth causes some to feel disconnected and discounted in the world. Others spend time chasing the illusion of control to order a sense of chaos. Paying attention to connections between actors and experiences and the influence one has on the other is at the heart of a peaceful existence and loving human experience. One part of a personal story is influenced, shared and layered onto the next, with lessons learned at the feet of conflict rich and textured.

It is no accident that noticing and accounting for connections and relationships where others see roadblocks and enemies is also the essence of managing conflict and change. Though often shrouded in metaphor and buried in layers, the fundamental human need is to belong. Without connection as a condition of life, the chrysalis withers, infant’s cries go unanswered, nations fall, buds drop, and great boulders are rendered as mere crystals. To trust the order of things is to trust the unseen process of life itself.

Nature might be considered the inspiration and essence of the common mediator’s mantra “trust the process”. Mediators mimic nature’s own processes to encourage conflicting parties to engage one another through discomfort, disagreement and impasse to the “aha” of creative problem solving with mutually satisfying and sustainable results. Early problem solving models prioritized control over trust, and institutionalized neutrality over multi-partiality (Wing, n.d.). Well intended mediators trained to impose structure down to the equity of parties’ pencil points and paper pads, while pretending it possible to leave their own personal stories at the door.

Neutrality was enforced and is still guarded today as a staple in resolution processes from dialogue to adjudication, along spectrums that miss their roots in restoration and social justice (Schrage and Thompson, 2009). Today these manmade notions of control and neutrality continue to wan as newer resolution models including transformational and social justice mediation honor
the natural connections between multi-partiality, community, and justice. Imbedding restorative justice and social justice as foundational in a resolution process deepens time honored values of empowering all people, creating fair and collaborative win-win solutions, and resolving conflicts at the lowest and most effective interpersonal levels; all in a physically and emotionally safe and just context. The use of ground rules often gives voice to shared expectations related to safety, privacy, active listening, creative problem solving, future focus, and agreement follow through. The words “ground rules” themselves prove oddly appropriate nods to the ironic partnership of Mother Nature and human nature. The irony travels well with the notion of authentic neutrality.

The renewed vigor of spring, as U.S. weather patterns warm and the earth greens and buzzes with frenzied new life is an ideal time to reconsider the cyclic and sustained order of things, and to take heart that the nature of conflict is itself interconnected in complex and lasting ways, even when the universe seems random and at odds with coexistence. To honor this awareness opens us to not only trust the process in conflict and change management practice, but to trust order within a seemingly chaotic world. Interconnections, internally and one to another, are the deep and lasting building blocks that support all life. We share the ultimate common ground of earth, and are only as removed from fellowship to our fellow living organisms as our cognitions and illusions of control, models, symbols and expressions in metaphor allow us to be. Here then, a brief reflection of the nature of conflict through common metaphor to shape a shared path into spring.

**The Nature of Conflict is Like …**

**… an Iceberg**

Conflict is rich with nature as metaphor. Humans have a unique capacity to distance themselves from authentic meaning even while trying desperately to be understood. We hide behind poetic nuance, at once inviting others to dig deeper and to stay away. As suggested by the popular “conflict is like an iceberg” metaphor used across mediation models, those in conflict often float a safe expression just above the water line demarking what feels safe from what feels vulnerable. This assertion positions them in conflict and anchors a claim to being “right”, while all the while tamping down beneath the surface, a vast store of the true self; a self-layered and molded by personality, emotions, interests and needs, perceptions, expectations and unresolved past issues. (Cloke and Goldsmith, 2011). People universally long to find interconnection to one another, yet have evolved complex systems and riddled verbal and nonverbal language that serve to keep us apart. These manmade efforts may seem to keep heads above water, but treading water seldom results in finding a shared foothold. Popular authors John Kotter and Holger Rathgeber (2005) engage the iceberg metaphor in “Our Iceberg is Melting” to explore eight steps to successfully navigate change through a fabled tale of Emperor Penguins adrift on an ill-fated iceberg.

**… a Crystal**

It serves a similar metaphor to note the recent discovery of an “Oz Crystal” in Western Australia. The crystal is some 4.4 billion years old, and too tiny to be seen by the naked eye. “The crystals formed just tens of millions of years after an early proto-Earth was melted by a violent impact with a Mars-size object. The crash created the moon and turned our young planet
into a red ball of molten rock.” ((Greenfieldboyce, 2014, line 4). This bright rock has since crusted into the layers of planet earth, leaving intact, that tiny bit of crystal. It can be said that today’s land masses and the life onboard fit together and share connections as fine as that first crystal, despite artificial borders, boundaries and watery divides. Humans as living entities are connected at the core of being, a truth taken less for granted when positions soften and melt away to expose common ground. The Oz Crystal seems aptly named to mimic the fantastical Emerald City’s “Wonderful Wizard of Oz” himself. The children’s tale by L. Frank Baum’s follows Dorothy as she searches for an illusive Wizard to transport her home, only to find that what she and her unlikely companions searched for – belonging, wisdom, courage and heart – was in them all along.

… a Butterfly

Making connections between science, math, nature, conflict and chaos might seem a stretch until we consider MIT Professor Edward Lorenz. Now deceased, Lorenz, is known as the father of chaos theory, thanks to an early paper he authored in 1972. His now infamous theory hypothesized that interconnections in weather can be likened to the mere flap of a butterfly’s wing that sets molecules of air in motion, in turn moving others and others still, until a distant weather event like a tornado or hurricane builds unforeseen on the other side of the planet (Andrews, A. 2010; MIT News, 2008). While scientists scoffed, the theory grew wings in popular culture, and conflict practitioners later adopted the concept as metaphor. Kenneth Cloke and Joann Goldsmith found the butterfly effect an apt expression of the subtle influences that grow from personal effort to global impact in the “international culture of resolution”:

We think of this as a conflict resolution ‘butterfly effect,’ in which every tiny effort at resolution ripples outward to produce a subtle, yet cumulatively positive effect on a local level in our families and workplaces, and on a global scale in the cultures and attitudes of people toward their conflicts and the resolution process. (2011, p. 8)

When students are challenged to test the butterfly effect in safe and personal ways, they net positive results. It seems that one person really can influence and model constructive conflict transformation even in a destructive or avoidant culture of conflict, often with a single, cumulative gesture towards building understanding, collaboration and reconciliation.

… an “Apple”

Ask a teen, “Who invented the World Wide Web?” and she may venture a guess that flirts with Facebook’s Mark Zuckerberg or Apple guru Steven Jobs. More likely she will text “IDK”, code for “I don’t know” (eye roll icon imbedded). In reality, apple little “a” is closer to the truth. The internet’s social network may trace back to the early 1970s when “dial-up” technology began a fast and steady evolution into today’s manmade wired world but the Oz Crystal is 4.4 billion years old. Readers might do the math. The social network of today did not invent twitters and tweets any more than man invented the capacity to turn energy into thought, thought into intent, and intent into action. Living beings are hard wired by nature to make connections, internally and one to another in order to relate, communicate, and survive. We are fundamentally
parts of a whole that work in harmony, tandem or friction with notably different constructive and destructive results.

… Disease

In the absence of order in a living thing, connections and systems seem to fall away with often tragic results. Firsthand field studies include a mother in law’s journey into Alzheimer’s disease and a sister’s lost battle to Lou Gehrig’s disease (ALS). Alzheimer’s disease diminishes the brain section by section and synapse by synapse like the deepening shadow of a storm, until connections and systems are short circuited and gray matter fades away, irretrievable. Confusion devolves into chaos rendering the victim lost within themselves, untethered to reality without conscious connection to time, space, memory or loved ones. In ALS, the body’s systems are turned against one another for similarly unknown and untreatable reasons, unhinging the mind-body network and robbing the patient of directing mental intent into physical expression. ALS proves unnaturally cruel by destroying the body while leaving the mind and spirit to bear helpless witness to its own undoing. It seems we cannot exist without maintaining parts of the whole within internal and communal systems. Failed reconciliation of conflicting parts of the whole often proves destructive; even terminal.

A Conclusion and Beginning: Connecting Biomimicry, Sustainability and the Nature of Conflict

Many humans show a renewed respect for nature in the quest for sustainable futures. Sustainability itself has become a field of practice and inquiry, with themes that transcend manmade creation and exploitation. Often likened to a three legged stool, sustainability models represent the balanced relationship between environmental, human and financial resource interests (Willard, 2010). In other words, if the proverbial iceberg melts, humankind will “sink or swim together” (Deutsch, 2006, p. 24). A heavy fiscal leg alone will drop like a rock rather than serve as life boat or paddle.

Biomimicry is another field revolutionizing human creation by simply returning our attention to the study of nature’s own timeless prototypes. Notable efforts include building structures improved for height, strength and airflow inspired by beehives, spider webs and sea sponges. The beak of a kingfisher provides a blueprint for crafting the head of the Japanese bullet train for faster, quieter speed. New fabrics block the elements of sun and rain courtesy of weather screening textures found in nature. Solar panels track the sun because sun flowers did it first. Pesky burrs from the burdock plant prompted the development of Velcro to hold things together (Longwood Gardens, n.d.; Paige, D., 2014).

The point is that if humankind mimics things with great success, we mimic processes too. Mimicking nature as a sustainable process is the same stuff that informs the flight pattern of snow geese, migration of salmon and dance of the honey bee. A quick peek at plant life suggests similar evolutionary supports for mutual survival including the tiered layers of the forest, climate adaptations, renewal after fire, and parasitic to host partnerships. Living things are hard wired for coexistence. We share an earth diverse with systems and cycles as fundamental as those that transform living synapses of nature’s creation, the brain, into the internet. There are great lessons there, with Mother Nature as teacher.
The human experience does not want for company, context or pattern. When systems fail, life as we understand it on earth is compromised individually and to extinction. The nature of conflict invites us out into the world, not only to lift awareness but to return us to entangled roots deep within a rich, supportive and shared medium. As suggested by the unknown author whose words preface this reflection, it is a fool’s errand to shroud the beauty of the butterfly under the weight of society. The butterfly is inspiration and adventure enough. We are not “amorphous balls of existence” separated from this ball of earth; rather mother earth is the heart and soul of what it means to exist. Living beings are companions with “an eternal friendship that lies on top of a connection, a bond, a tie, a link, a river which flows, guides us to an unknown region…” Regardless of how we conceptualize a personal faith, living things are all interconnected and we might ultimately find comfort and constructive resolution in our own lives and conflicts, by simply trusting the process.

Authors note: In addition to teaching conflict management and mediating special education disputes, I draw inspiration from the outdoor classroom as a seasonal educator at Longwood Gardens in Kennett Square, Pennsylvania. Themes connecting conflict as it relates to biomimicry and sustainability were inspired by professional development opportunities and unpublished lesson materials created by Longwood Gardens’ Education Department. More fundamentally, my personal reflections on the nature of conflict are informed by nature herself, as I walk through the gardens and introduce children to a shared common ground.

References

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MAPCID:
A Model for the Analysis of Potential Conflict in Development

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Abstract

Local communities often enter into conflict with the organization responsible for implementing a development project. These conflicts are caused by differences in interests, values, and expectations, and have a negative impact on the continuation and results of development initiatives. Although there has been significant improvement in the nexus of conflict resolution and development, there is still a need for site-specific analytical tools that are able to capture the diversity, complexity, and dynamism of communities. This paper presents the Model for the Analysis of Potential Conflict in Development (MAPCID) which allows practitioners to analyze conflict as an intrinsic part of local development. It transcends a static view of conflict by capturing the dynamics between organizations and local communities during a development project. By following this model, the practitioner analyzes seven levels of conflict drivers, stimulates the continuous alignment of power, culture, and goals, and enables timely participation of both parties in the development process. The promising use of MAPCID is demonstrated through the examination of a conflict between large-scale and small-scale gold miners in Suriname.

Introduction: The Nexus between Conflict and Development

Scholars in the conflict resolution field are increasingly studying conflict in development projects. Generally, development is considered to be longer term assistance that builds or develops a local community’s economy and infrastructure. However, it is common for donors and development organizations to influence the types of programs which frequently lead to conflicts with the community. In many of these cases the community was not part of the program’s selection or decision process (Zelizer, 2013). Practitioners are motivated to find new ways of effectively managing development interventions while minimizing conflict with local communities. There is some improvement in how conflict practitioners approach these
challenges, but there remains a great need for effective conflict analysis tools that may be used at each step of development projects.

Over the last two decades, the development paradigm changed from top-down assistance provided by development organizations to local communities, to more collaborative processes between these parties (O’Brien, 2007). Scholars are now realizing there are differences in power, interests, values, decision-making ability, and expectations of outcomes between communities and development organizations (Barron, Diprose, & Woolcock, 2007; Oishi, 1995). This disparity led to the gradual marginalization or social exclusion of local poor people.

With this paradigm shift, models for analyzing conflict in development projects are introducing additional measures of participation from the local level. One approach from the organization called Responding to Conflict applies a large set of conflict assessment tools to gain a holistic picture of conflict at the local level. The Canadian International Development Agency has a different approach; they use a set of guiding questions which requires the community to actively participate in gathering indicators on conflict and setting strategic goals for peace building (Kiplagat et al., 2004). Both tools focus primarily on conflict interventions to address the needs of the organization. Communities are then encouraged to analyze the incongruity between existing community structures and the project rather than approaching conflict as a localized, integrated, and dynamic process (Mac Ginty & Williams, 2009; Sharoni, 1996; Uvin, 2002).

Conflict scholars Johan Galtung (1996) and John Paul Lederach (2003) address the structural differences in reality between local and global parties. These practitioners see conflict mitigated by transforming the power balance and creating a long-term relationship between the parties. This conflict transformation framework “tends to provide few practice guidelines for practitioners and does not tend to offer a structure for deciding what theories, intervention processes, practice models or techniques to employ in particular conflicts” (Hansen, 2013, p. 16). Practice models are needed for a better understanding and handling of reality differences to narrow this gap in the conflict resolution field.

In this article we explore conflict as inherent to development. In using the term conflict, we mean the incompatibility between local and global parties in the process of defining long-term interests and goals in development. We present the Model for the Analysis of Potential Conflict in Development (MAPCID) for two reasons: (1) to systematically analyze and guide the process of integrating the community in the development process; and (2) to prevent intractable conflict by providing a set of tools to identify and transform conflict before and during the development intervention.

**The Model for the Analysis of Potential Conflict in Development (MAPCID)**

The point of departure for MAPCID analysis is that it examines the interaction of a donor, a community, and a development organization operating in a system. Having a systems approach enables the study of the conflict as a whole, while at the same time it also allows for the investigation of details with regard to the interaction between parties. Such an approach gives a richer understanding of the causes of intractable conflict and the possible interventions a practitioner can take (Li, Zhu, & Gerard, 2012).

In the MAPCID system, the donor, as the provider of aid, is driven to facilitate social change at the community level. The community, the recipient of aid, consists of members bound together by history and place who continually negotiate differences in their aspirations and goals
by interacting with the other parties in the system. The development organization, the third
element, feels mandated to execute activities for the wellbeing of the community. Such
organizations may be private companies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), or
government agencies (GOs).

Each of the three parties in the system has a different interest in the development project.
Donor, development organization, and community undergo alignment and realignment of their
interests through each phase of the development process. Alignment of interests are often
accompanied by conflict, may be incidental, or can become intractable. Incidental conflict is
considered healthy and fosters relationships between the parties (Fiki & Lee, 2004). We assume
the community has sufficient assets to manage this type conflict by themselves, based on their
social capital (organizations, networks) and human capital (leadership, identity). Yet long term,
intractable conflict requires outside intervention; without such intervention the development
activity could be constrained (Brennan & Israel, 2008).

MAPCID is specifically developed for analyzing (potential) intractable conflict in each phase
of the development process. We assume a large power difference between the community and
the development organization, and this unevenness in power typically results from differences in
values, knowledge and financial resources. Situations with large power differences exist
predominantly in developing countries where local communities live in poverty and are
struggling to get their basic needs met. A conflict practitioner can holistically analyze the context
of the development project and recommend interventions to transform the conflict. Then, the
poor community can become empowered by participating in the project.

In the beginning of the development project, each party establishes an individual goal (Figure
1). For example, in a mining area in Suriname, hundreds of small-scale mining entrepreneurs and
one multinational are engaged in gold mining. Both parties have an individual goal of earning
money from extracting gold; yet, only the multinational has been granted concession rights by
the government for mining. The multinational financially and logistically assists the
community members in executing development activities and at the same time allows the small-scale miners
to mine on the concession. Thus, the multinational is the development organization also
abbreviated here as DO. The DO’s actions are steered by their headquarters, which in this case
acts as the donor.

MAPCID is designed for programming that is based on the local context and needs. We
assume the local community has enough agency and interaction with the DO to generate options
of development, and they are able to adjust these when necessary (Jones, 1998). The local
community can thus create an individual goal and engage in integrative negotiation with the DO
to convert this into a shared goal. The community and DO each undergo transformation; both
want to improve their future situation and reach their full potential with the development
intervention.

To illustrate a shared goal we turn to the Suriname small-scale gold miners and DO who
work together in using safe mining practices. Typically, small-scale miners use poisonous
mercury to separate gold from the soil because safer techniques are too expensive for their tiny
operations. The DO is concerned about small-scale miners using environmentally unsafe mining
techniques, and initiated a project to collaborate with the miners over using safe mining
techniques on the land. Through this effort they exchanged knowledge, tested values, and
challenged strategies to learn about each other’s reality. In the end, the community, as the lower
power party, became empowered as seen in Figure 1.
MAPCID is a systematic process of analysis which progresses through seven conflict assessment levels (Figure 2). By following the seven levels, the amalgamation of donor, DO, and community takes place in a timely manner allowing conflict to be analyzed and consequently transformed. Based on the analysis outcome of each level, a conflict practitioner can make a decision whether or not to move the development initiative forward.

The analysis starts at the first level by reviewing the support structure which facilitates the interaction between the DO and community. The support structure is a precondition for all parties to participate in the development initiative. The first level is achieved when effective communication occurs, there is a level of awareness for social change and a system for social learning and cooperation between parties is in place.

In the second level we evaluate the community’s access to basic human needs to survive such as food, shelter, clothing, water, air and security. After these basic needs are met, the community does not have to worry about survival and can start thinking about development. The third level analysis is accomplished once the community is self-maintaining and employs cultural norms for participating in the project. After reaching this level, the community is socially and economically prepared for entering into development.
In levels four, five, and six we analyze how the development project is introduced by the DO and gradually integrated within the community. In the fourth level, the DO steadily builds the project on the community’s existing structure and systems. This level is completed once a suitable match is made between the community and the project. Level five analyzes the community’s potential for developing innovative ideas and integrating them into the project. Then, the community takes full ownership and works side-by-side with the DO to craft a path towards reaching the shared goal. In level six, we analyze how the DO follows up and provides feedback on the activities planned by the community. Once the DO has a system for providing this type of support, the community can effectively progress towards reaching the shared goal. In level seven, the integration of community and DO is complete; the community has reached their goal and becomes empowered.

The entire system of community/DO/donor is often interrupted by outside forces. The system interacts with an outside environment, more specifically with the policy and institutional context. Institutions implementing national policies make available human, financial and legal resources that are felt at the local level. These measures can either stimulate or hinder the development path of the community, for example, the lack of vocational schools can prohibit building capacity necessary for supporting local development initiatives.

![MAPCID Model](image)

*Figure 2: Model for Analysis of Potential Conflict in Development MAPCID*
Using the Model
Case Study: Small-Scale and Large-Scale Gold Miners in Suriname

The use of this model is demonstrated by a case study of a conflict between large-scale and small-scale miners near the village of New Koffiekamp in Suriname, South America. The analysis starts with gaining some understanding about the system and its components namely, the community, donor, and DO. Then, the system is placed in a specific conflict assessment level after which the analysis can start. The analysis is carried out by answering guiding questions for each level and collecting this information into the MAPCID matrix. The matrix gives an overview of potential problems in the interaction between parties for each level. It serves as a basic template for the practitioner to design interventions for managing (potential) conflict.

Positioning the System

The MAPCID analysis falls within a paradigm of critical theory. Research within this paradigm uncovers (hidden) power relationships and focuses on promoting the knowledge and values of the lower power party (Willis, 2007). The MAPCID analysis uses qualitative methodology to provide a contextual understanding of the conflict including the environment in which the conflict takes place, relevant history of the parties, importance of the conflicted issue, evolvement of the conflict, type of development project, and the views of parties on the development project.

For data collection, we visited the Nieuw Koffiekamp site occupied with large-scale and small-scale mining operations in June 2011 and January 2014. We purposely used multiple sources of evidence for conducting the analysis in order to triangulate the data and construct a valid analysis. Data collection was conducted in three ways: (1) non-structured interviews, (2) direct observations, and (3) document review.

Non-structured Interviews

Non-structured interviews with local small-scale miners and the women living in the mining area or in nearby towns were conducted to get their perception of the conflict. Among the people interviewed were men working in small-scale mining (15), young women living close to the mine (2), women running the cantina in the small scale mining camp (2), representatives from a local small-scale mining association (2), men from the Nieuw Koffiekamp village located near the mine (4) and one older woman who was a village matriarch. Interviews with the large scale mining company included experts on environmental issues (1) and community relations (3). Interviews with two scientists (mining engineer, anthropologist) provided information on the physical and socio-economic conditions of the area. Interviews were conducted in the local languages with translation by experts with more than ten years of experience working in community development in Suriname (including lead author). Additional information about environmental policy and regulations was gathered through numerous interactions with experts from the National Institute for Environment and Development (3) and the Office of the Ordering of the Goldmining Sector (2) residing under the Cabinet of the President in Suriname.
Direct Observations

Direct observations on the site including the actual mining operation, housing, stores, recreational activities, and transportation equipment were witnessed. These observations were made by a conflict researcher familiar with the site and context of the conflict. Additional information was gathered by conflict researchers who had a novel interpretation of the conflict since it was their first visit to the site. These two groups analyzed data daily through a reflective process and wrote their findings in a journal.

Document Review

The document review included both academic and non-academic literature. We studied journal articles and research reports to get some insight in the history, policy context, and characteristics of the community and DO. Journal articles were selected focusing on socio-economic conditions and decisions (De Theije & Heemskerk, 2009; Heemskerk, 2002), risk perception (Heemskerk, 2001; Peplow & Augustine, 2007) and the role of women in small-scale mining (Heemskerk, 2003). Research reports emphasized the mining context (Algemeen Bureau voor de Statistiek in Suriname & Conservation International, 2010; Buursink, 2005; Cambior, 2002; Healy & Heemskerk, 2005; Plantprop, 2003; World Wildlife Fund Guianas & Ministry of Natural Resources Suriname, 2011), conflict (CEDLA, 2013; Smith, 2012) and land rights (Del Prado, 2006; Inter American Development Bank, 2011; MacKay, 2002) Additionally, we researched local newspaper archives (Redjokromo, 2005; Poetisi, 2008; De Ware Tijd, 2013a; De Ware Tijd, 2013b) to acquire information about repeated escalation of the conflict.

Using the collected data, we constructed a narrative on the background information. The narrative included relevant information from various sources needed to analyze the nature of the interaction between parties (Table 1). Once the narrative analysis was completed, then each party was positioned at a specific conflict assessment level in the model. Returning to the Suriname example, the DO is interested in making profits on their investment and increasing their stock value while looking for win-win ways to assist the community in upgrading their mining techniques. Consequently, the DO is located on level five: Analysis of the potential for Innovation. At this level, the DO considers the community a stable and self-motivated entity able to expand with technological innovation (Sutz & Arocena, 2006).

On the other hand, the community believes they are owners of the land but have been suppressed by the central government for more than 150 years both during and after colonialism. The community feels entitled to retrieve gold for their own livelihood and development. Thus, the community fights for their basic needs and is not willing to lose. The community is located on level two: Basic human needs analysis.

MAPCID considers both the progress of the community and the DO. To overcome the power difference, the total system is placed on the level that coincides with the party with the lowest power: in the Suriname example, the system is located in level two.
Table 1: Background to the conflict between small- and large scale gold miners in Suriname

Suriname, located at the northern coast of South America, is the 17th richest country in the world in terms of natural resources. These resources are located in the soil of standing tropical rainforest that comprises approximately 85 percent of the country’s land area. For more than 150 years, the tropical forest has been inhabited by independent communities of indigenous peoples and runaway slaves from West-African descent called maroons. These groups make up 0.4 percent and 10.8 percent of the half a million people living in Suriname respectively (Algemeen Bureau voor de Statistiek in Suriname & Conservation International, 2010). Both indigenous peoples and maroons are using the forest lands for their subsistence, most importantly for construction materials, medicines, and food.

Gold is one of the natural resources extracted since the 1700s. In the last thirty years, the popularity of the sector increased after a civil conflict and the influx of Brazilian gold miners into Suriname. Today approximately twenty-thousand small-scale gold miners are active in the Suriname forest of which 75 percent are migrants from Brazil (De Theije & Heemskerk, 2009). In addition, another twenty thousand local people provide services to the gold mining sector in transportation, vending goods, and other services, e.g. prostitution.

The gold deposits are located in the eastern part of Suriname, predominantly inhabited by maroons. The maroons control travel within and from their land (Heemskerk 2002). Although the government is the legal owner of all land in Suriname, maroons strongly believe they are entitled to exploit the underground and aboveground resources. The maroons argue that the land is essential for their livelihood and have maintained sustainably for over 150 years. Maroons are in conflict with the government in regards to land rights (Inter American Development Bank, 2011). On several occasions the government has granted rights to logging and mining concessions to third parties within the lands inhabited by maroons without consulting them first. As a result, the Organization of American states ruled against the government to grant titling and rights to maroons (Del Prado, 2006). However, land rights still remain to be settled and a feeling of uncertainty exists between the maroons and international investors.

In particular uncertainty exists in Brownsweg, a cluster of six villages resettled as a result of a hydro dam construction in the 1960s. Brownsweg has approximately 6000 inhabitants of whom 20 to 30 percent are involved in small-scale gold mining. The village of Nieuw Koffiekamp (NK) with approximately 500 inhabitants heard they need to relocate once again (MacKay, 2002), because as it is located in an exploration concession for gold granted to a Canadian multinational by the government. The local villagers ignored the government’s wishes to relocate and have complained they would be prohibited from continuing small-scale mining in the concession.

In 2001, the government granted the exploitation and by 2005 tension between the company and the local miners from NK rose during the first year of operations. The company’s strategy was to support the community with development projects such as building a school and training center, as well as supporting income generation activities. The company also initiated training for the miners to recover mercury, a toxic substance released into the environment (Redjokromo, 2005). However, tension reached a highpoint when the government recruited armed security men to guard the company against rebellious miners as called for which the government and company’s contract. By October 2008 the conflict escalated because the NK miners moved closer to the mine operations, and two small miners were injured during the forced removal (Poetisi, 2008). Since then, small eruptions of conflict are evident (De Ware Tijd, 2013a; De Ware Tijd, 2013b).

Since the escalation in 2008, the company chose to handle the conflict differently by temporarily allowing the small-scale gold miners on their concession. The company was desperate to find ways to move away from their negative image and began to interact with NK through a small miner’s organization. At present, the small-scale mining activities are encroaching on the company’s operation and are a serious environmental and safety concern. Therefore, the company wants to implement development projects for the NK community and where miners use environmentally safe and healthy techniques. With this NK miners will adhere to company policy and will coexist in the concession area. The implementation of these so-called development projects have been problematic. Historically NK miners have been using “hit and run” practices to make a living so development projects that envisage long-term goals are not their primary interest.
Level-Specific Analysis

Now that the system is placed at a specific conflict assessment level, the practitioner analyzes each previous level until reaching the level in which the system is placed; for the Suriname case the analysis stops at level two. Each level is analyzed by answering a set of guiding questions with the collected data. These questions capture important information for identifying potential conflict drivers which will be organized in the MAPCID matrix described in the next section.

Level 1: Analyzing the Support Structure through Communication, Awareness, Social Learning and Cooperation

Communication

Communication is the ability of the community and DO to send and receive messages in any form in which they have a mutual and true understanding of the message. Sending and receiving a message can occur in different forms: direct/indirect, verbal/nonverbal, narratives (stories and metaphors), and symbols (ceremonies, rituals, art, clothing). Communication is needed for the community and DO to discuss their shared goal and mitigate the potential for conflict. It is important that the DO should not use communication as a coercive measure in negotiations with the community.

Our concept is based on the communicative action theory by Jürgen Habermas (1984). His theoretical concept of communication refers to an unequal status and power between parties and the absence of cultural freedom expressed in distortions in understanding, truth, sincerity, and rightfulness (Habermas, 1984; Ritzer, 2008, p. 292). In Habermas’ view there is an inability to communicate between the community—which operates in a normative way—and the DO—whose operation is based on a system of bureaucratic rules and guidelines. To get a better understanding about power differences and conflict in communication, the guiding questions are:

1. How do the parties normally communicate? What is the most effective way of communication between the parties?
2. What barriers exist to communication between the parties? (frames, language, dialogue)
3. Who should communicate with whom to promote effective communication between the parties?

These questions guided the communication analysis for the Suriname case study.

Communication is mainly verbal between the DO and community. The primary languages used are the national language Dutch (written) and the local language Sranan Tongo (mostly verbal). Cell phone communication has improved the dissemination of information throughout the area, especially between villagers. However, cell phone communication depends on the availability of electricity and communication towers, and since many areas do not have electricity hence access, communication becomes challenging. For those areas that have no cell phone capability, information moves from person to person between villages. The DO has hired community liaisons to improve communication with the community. The main barrier to communication between parties is the imbalance of power: the DO possesses more expert knowledge and legitimacy. Other barriers to communication are caused by differences in values about mining resulting from their respective cultures, more specifically, the community sees mining as a means to survive for the short term while the DO focuses on long term income sustainability.
Awareness

Awareness is the ability of a DO to sensitize itself by becoming familiar with the community’s culture, history, and political system. Culture is defined as the beliefs, values, behavior, and material objects that constitute a people’s way of life. The DO, as the larger power party, needs to find ways to increase their awareness in order to prevent a wrong interpretation of the community. Increased awareness of the community potentially will enhance its understanding and prevent potential conflict between parties.

MAPCID’s concept of awareness is based on the theoretical analysis of culture developed by Kevin Avruch (2006). Avruch argues cultural analysis should include a continuous interpretation of the observations that one makes (Avruch & Black, 2001). Accordingly, the DO should undergo a cultural awareness process by being sensitive to change. We can assess the awareness level about the community with the following guiding questions:

1. Have the parties previously been open to cultural change? Under what circumstances were they open to cultural change? How can the community be stimulated for cultural change?
2. How do the parties normally respond and adapt their behavior to new circumstances/choices?
3. What are the barriers to understanding the cultural change in the community? (learning, interaction)

Revisiting the Suriname Example

Compared to the rigid multinational, the community has less difficulty responding to new circumstances since they have been adapting to change for centuries. For example, the local community easily learned more advanced and lucrative methods for extracting gold from Brazilian miners. However, one self-defeating barrier to social change is the lack of empowered women in the community. Women are dependent on men for their livelihood, and they have limited means of making money except for support services to the small-scale mining operations and the production of small household or agricultural products. Frequently the males have multiple partners/wives in different villages making it difficult for the men to provide financial support for all their partners and their offspring.

Social Learning

Social learning is the creation of a system to collaboratively learn and achieve the shared goal. Social learning occurs when new information and knowledge is processed, adopted as one’s own, and infused into the project. The DO always has more knowledge (and power) about the project since they initiated it. It is crucial that the DO does not force its point of view upon the community; instead they need to develop a common understanding and basis for joint action. Only then conflict can be mitigated.

Our concept of social learning operates from an elicit framework developed by John Paul Lederach (1995). His theoretical model proposes a bottom-up training process in which groups are socially empowered to participate and make a change. Social learning can be a transformative process when it is “iterative and continuous that is thought to enhance the flexibility of the socio-ecological system and increase its ability to respond to change” (Johnson et al., 2012, p. 9). The concept of social learning is described extensively in international development and is a means to promote participation of less powerful groups in development
processes. The guiding questions for analyzing the potential for social learning between parties are:

1. Have the parties previously received training about a subject? Did it make a positive or negative contribution to the process? How can it be improved?
2. How do the parties normally learn? (epistemology) What is the most effective way for parties to continue the learning process?
3. What is the preferred mode of knowledge transfer? (oral, written) What could block the transfer of knowledge between parties? What could block the generation of new knowledge? (lack of resources, sensitivity)

In the Suriname study, the parties have diverse learning styles. The obvious learning style demonstrated by the small-scale miners is experimentation. They will adopt a new methodology for goldmining after seeing that it potentially can gain more profit. The DO uses scientific concepts and knowledge obtained from other companies or studies. The difference in educational levels is a barrier in social learning. Since education ceased during the civil war from 1986-1992, new knowledge is difficult to generate. Many elementary schools were destroyed, and the teachers fled to the capital city. Today, the majority of students are sent to boarding schools in the capital city away from their families. Once a child leaves the village to become educated, rarely does he or she return. Yet, other students need to attend schools a distance away requiring them to travel from their villages early in the morning. Additionally, there is lack of adult education opportunities which contributes to the knowledge gap as well.

Cooperation

Cooperation stems from the community and DO working together respectfully and accepting the other. Respect includes the adherence to the community’s culture. Acceptance means acknowledgment of and talking from the other’s point of view and then adopting it as one’s own. Respect and acceptance are imperative between the community and the DO for mutual decision making. Cooperative action in decision-making does not mean forcing a decision on the other without agreement because this is how conflict is instigated.

MAPCID’s concept of cooperation is grounded in the work of conflict theorist Morton Deutch (2006). Deutch’s analysis discusses cooperation as a system, and it rests on three processes: substitutability refers to accepting the activity of others in fulfilling one’s needs; attitude refers to the tendency to respond in an evaluative manner; and inducibility discusses the willingness to accept another’s influence—to do what he or she wants. These processes should occur simultaneously to mitigate conflict between the community and DO. If both the community and DO can adhere to substitutability, attitude, and inducibility, we assume there is a system in place that promotes collaboration.

The guiding questions for analyzing potential for conflict in the system of cooperation between parties are:

1. Have the parties previously cooperated successfully? What is their most preferred mode of cooperation? (substitutability, attitude, inducibility)
2. How do the parties normally cooperate with others? (topics, norms) How can they be empowered to cooperate?
3. What barriers exist to cooperation between parties? (information, social-structure, transparency)
The Suriname situation teaches us that small-scale miners and the DO have previously cooperated with traffic control. Community members and the DO also worked collaboratively on a few successful community projects such as constructing a water system and an athletic field. The large-scale mine operator introduced new business opportunities for the community by selling byproducts of the mining process such as crushing large stones into gravel. The company also buys locally grown agricultural produce for its cafeteria and seems to prefer substitutability. Barriers that exist for cooperation between the community miners and the large-scale operator are: distrust in information sharing, resource disparity, and a discrepancy between the methods used by the western-oriented DO and traditionally living community.

Level 2: Basic Human Needs Analysis

Human need analysis draws from Abraham Maslow’s hierarchy of needs. Maslow (1943) notes human motivation stems from their needs. Once a need is satisfied, then the subsequent need in the hierarchy can be met. Human needs are more than food, water, and shelter; there are nonphysical elements that individuals are innately driven to attain and which are needed for human growth and development, such as recognition and belonging (Burton, 1990).

In addition, Burton (1990) argues needs, rather than interests, are the root of protracted conflicts. His theory provides a basis for understanding the sources of conflict and designing conflict resolution interventions. It is important to the success of intervention that the people in the community have access to their most basic survival needs such as food, shelter, water, air, and security.

The guiding questions for the basic human needs analysis are:
1. Does the community have uninterrupted access to their basic needs? Are these needs met in a sustainable manner? Does the community have any unmet human needs?
2. What value does the community place on basic needs of food, shelter, water, clothing, air, and security? (low, medium, high) How does this differ from that of the DO?
3. What strategies do the parties have to ensure the sustainability of the community’s basic needs? (hierarchy, protocols)
4. What barriers are present that may prevent them from having ongoing access to their basic needs? (limited or lack of resources)

Reexamining the Suriname example, the responses to the guiding questions reveal that the community does not have continuous access to safe food, clean drinking and bathing water, and electricity, all of which are basic needs. The mercury used by small-scale gold miners spills into the creeks, and most villages do not have a running water supply system so the contaminated river is their main source of water. In addition, the mercury run-off in the river builds up in local fish, the main supply of protein for the village men and women.

The DO emphasized the lack of regulation to govern small-scale gold mining operations and presented challenges to educating miners about safer methods of mining which are less harmful to the environment. Beginning in 2013, the government developed mining training centers in the interior to raise awareness and educate miners about the benefits of and procedures for using environmentally safer gold mining techniques. These centers provide educational programs at the community level that teach about long-term health risks from the unsafe use of mercury. Additionally, it is hoped that through such programming, trust will be built and the community will gain the capacity to understand and embrace the long term costs-benefits of environmental
sustainability. Yet, regardless of these efforts of the DO and the government, there is no immediate focus on aiding the community in fulfilling their basic needs of safe food and water.

Thus far, we have analyzed the Suriname case study up to level two which is where the system subsists. As the system moves up through the model during the development project, the practitioner adds one level at a time by answering the level-related guiding questions upon reaching level seven.

Next, we will discuss the theoretical concepts and corresponding guiding questions of levels three through seven.

**Level 3: Community Maintenance, Ownership and Identity Participation**

**Maintenance**

Maintenance is the capacity of the community to preserve an internal system which sustains their livelihood. Maintenance, usually a long-term process, needs to be managed from the inside. Choices for maintenance are generated at the household level and are based on “social organization, such as networks, norms and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for social benefit” (Adhikari & Goldley, 2009, p. 185).

The international development field describes maintenance as one of the communities’ livelihood strategies. MAPCID’s concept builds on the community’s social responsibility to its members to provide their basic needs and moreover, to promote community cohesion for the future. When communities are expected to actively participate in development activities, their daily patterns of performing maintenance tasks can be interrupted leading to their withdrawal or conflict (Dorward et al., 2011).

The guiding questions for analyzing the potential conflict for maintenance in development projects are:

1. Does the community have the ability to develop structures for moving beyond maintenance and entering into development? (cognitive and bridging capital, commitment, cohesion, leadership, level of organization, dispute resolution, network, goal setting)
2. What value does the community place on maintenance? (low, medium, high) How does this differ from that of the DO?
3. How has the community successfully maintained itself in the past? What is their preferred system for maintenance?
4. What barriers exist to maintenance of the community? (status, power, attitude, resources)

**Ownership**

Ownership occurs when the community takes responsibility for their own actions and its outcomes. Development projects last over the long term if the community takes some level of responsibility over the fate of the project. If ownership does not occur, projects may fail or become unsettled because of (unnecessary) disputes and conflicts (Daftary, 2010).

The community development literature demonstrates that ownership can be promoted when communities have a voice and take responsibility for emerging problems (Gibson & Woolcock, 2008; Lachapelle, 2008; Msukwa & Taylor, 2011). MAPCID’s focus of ownership is to have
shared responsibility between the community and the DO, enabling them both to work towards reaching the shared goal.

The guiding questions for analyzing potential conflict of ownership in development projects are:

1. Has the community previously demonstrated ownership? (voice, engagement, transparency, accountability, empowerment, decision-making)
2. What values does the community place on ownership? (low, medium, high) How do they differ from those of the DO?
3. What decisions does the community normally make to create and visualize ownership? Who is involved in that decision-making?
4. What barriers exist to creating ownership in the community? (social structure, hierarchy)

Identity Participation

Identity Participation is the ability of the community to take part in the decision-making of the development project without losing their identity. Identity participation is not only information sharing or engaging in dialogue, but also involves the alignment of the community’s goals through participation in the decision-making process (Simpson & Gill, 2007). Shared decision making respects identity and prevents passiveness, withdrawal, or conflict. Furthermore, shared decision-making also improves project sustainability (Bigdon & Korf, 2004).

Identity participation builds on the work of development practitioner Robert Chambers (1997). He created methods allowing for a marginalized community to become an informed participant in the development project. In this context, participation is deemed to be an empowerment tool and occurs when there is a bottom-up approach; shared power by involving the whole community instead of individuals and opening space for learning by using visual aids (p. 154).

The guiding questions for analyzing potential conflict related to identity participation in development projects are:

1. Does the community have experience with participation in projects? What is the most effective way for them to participate?
2. What value does the community place on participation? (low, medium, high) How does this differ from that of the DO?
3. How was participation previously promoted in the community? What is the community's preferred way of creating effective participation?
4. What barriers exist to creating community participation? (gender, age, knowledge, status, identity, time)

Level 4: Analysis of Existing Structures and Systems

Structures and Systems

Structures are the complex set of socio-economic links and patterns existing in the community. Systems are the interacting components of the structures. Analyzing the systems and structures of the community is critical for successful development projects. When the DO understands and includes the community's customs, values, and norms within their plans, the interaction of systems and structures occurs (McGee, Gullon, & Gunton, 2010). If a project is
incompatible to existing community systems, positive interaction does not occur thus, making conflict inevitable.

The concept of structures and systems originates from Talbot Parsons’ Structural Functionalism Theory. According to Parsons (2003), social change can only materialize when the development project is planned congruently with the cultural system of the community. The system can neither be so radically different from the normal functioning of the community actors or personalities involved, nor upset the fairly stable integration of the culture. The community must have a number of members who strive to act in harmony with their roles’ requirements in the development system (Parsons, 2003).

The rationale for this concept is to coordinate the systems of community and DO through the shared goal. Creating shared goals emanates from the social conflict theory of Louis Kriesberg (2003). Kriesberg believes social change is a function of the discrepancy between the goals of the parties. In his theory, the formation of goals is as a way to “achieve greater integration include attaining equal opportunities for educational and occupational positions, become assimilated, imposing conformity, or converting the other side” (p. 77). Furthermore, when the DO and community have achieved their shared goals, it is less likely they will enter into conflict (Kriesberg, 2003).

The guiding questions for analyzing potential conflict related to building on existing systems in development projects are:

1. Does the community have experience planning projects? How are ideas gathered and then incorporated into the planning process?
2. What values does the community place on its own systems? (low, medium, high) How do they differ from those of the DO?
3. How do the parties create understanding and set value in the planning process? How is this expressed in the planning process? (protocols)
4. What barriers exist to cultural-sensitive planning in the community? (gender, age, knowledge, status)

Level 5: Analysis of the Potential for Innovation

Innovation

Innovation refers to the community and DO creating new tools and processes for improving existing systems to achieve a shared goal. Innovation is a beneficial way for the community to adapt to the continuously changing environment and has the potential to promote community well-being, especially when it is linked to economic growth (Buchanan, Cole, & Keohane, 2011; Papaioannou, 2011). If innovations are kindled, the DO can seek a protracted and sustainable improvement of the development process thus, lessening the potential for conflict (Aubert, 2010).

Innovation in marginalized communities is directly connected to social entrepreneurship. Social entrepreneurship assumes that when there is an organizational or power shift, people will automatically start looking for alternatives and become inventive (Mulgan, Tucker, Ali, & Sanders, 2007). Innovation should build on the capacities of the community and their assets (Alvord, Brown & Letts, 2004; Cassiolato, Couto Soarez, & Lastres, 2008). It should be encouraged and employed so it enhances the people’s livelihoods rather than work against it. In
this level, the following questions guide the analysis of the potential for innovation that the
system possesses:

1. Do the parties have experience with developing new processes and goods? How do the
   parties create and reinforce new innovations? (protocols)
2. What value does the community place on innovation? (low, medium, high) How does this
differ from that of the DO?
3. How do the parties define their long-term innovation goals in order to secure
   sustainability? (competence, politics)
4. What barriers exist to innovation among the parties? (aspirations, power, knowledge,
   outside pressure)

Progress and Development

Progress and development are a result of innovation. At this stage, the community
continuously grows and develops to reach the shared goal. The community and DO are believed
to become a stable fusion that can problem-solve and expand (Sutz & Arocena, 2006). This
concept builds on the principles of sustainable development. Sustainable development is that
which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to
meet their own needs (United Nations, 1987). Projects should meet and progress and be
measured across three criteria simultaneously to achieve sustainable development: economic
development, social development, and environmental protection.

The guiding questions for analyzing the potential conflict related to progress in development
projects are:

1. Do any of the parties have experience with development? How do parties cope with or
   overcome the challenges they face?
2. What value does the community place on development? (social, economic,
environmental) How does this differ from that of the DO?
3. What strategies do the parties have to assure progress and development that result in
   needed change but do not create conflict? (protocols)
4. What are the barriers to progress and development among the parties? (technology,
capacity, interest)

Level 6: Follow Up, Feedback and Guidance Analysis

Follow Up

Follow up occurs when the DO checks in with the community to evaluate their
transformation and efforts toward achieving the shared goal. Follow up is indispensable to
empowering the community, the lesser power party in the relationship. It also safeguards smooth
transformation of both the community and DO and therefore, contributes to potential conflict
prevention.

Following the transformative model of Bush and Folger (2005), the concept focuses on
improving the interaction between parties. Each party discusses their own goals and effectively
listen to the other party’s interests. In MAPCID, the DO encourages discussion with the
community and offers recognition of the community’s past, present, and future endeavors.
The guiding questions for analyzing potential conflict related to follow up in development projects are:

1. How have the parties previously been involved in the follow up process? What is the preferred way of follow up to promote partnership and create trust?
2. What value does the community place on follow up? (low, medium, high) How does this differ from that of the DO?
3. How can follow up be promoted? What is needed to encourage integrity and trust, as well as fortify relationships between the parties? (protocols)
4. What are the barriers to follow up between the parties?

Feedback

Feedback occurs when the DO shares results discovered during the follow up with the community. Feedback is a pre-phase for providing true guidance to the community. Feedback should be delivered using the constructive critique method: a process whereby the sender’s critique starts with a positive statement, followed by the actual critique itself, and then concludes with a positive statement to ensure it is received effectively by the receiver.

The skilled facilitator approach by Swartz (2002) provides reinforcement for the feedback concept. This approach integrates theory into practice and creates a value-based, systemic method to community facilitation. In the same line of thinking, the DO serves as a teacher-facilitator and helps the community to improve their development process until they become self-facilitating. The community then receives positive and negative feedback in a neutral manner thereby encouraging open discussions and further promoting the community’s empowerment.

The guiding questions for analyzing the potential conflict related to providing feedback in development projects are:

1. How have the parties previously been involved in giving feedback? What is their preferred way of giving feedback? (communication)
2. What value does the community place on feedback? (low, medium, high) How does this differ from that of the DO?
3. How can feedback be promoted to make sure all of the community's concerns are addressed?
4. What barriers exist to the giving and receiving of feedback?

Guidance

Guidance is given by the DO offering alternatives based on their knowledge and experience supporting the community’s empowerment. Guidance is also based on the principles of recognition and empowerment, the main elements of the transformative mediation model of Bush and Folger (2005). In MAPCID, guidance is a necessary act of free discussion between parties, rather than locking communities in formal structures that may inhibit true guidance (Beck & Purcell, 2010).

The guiding questions for analyzing the potential conflict related to guidance in development projects are:

1. How has the community previously been advised? What is the preferred mode of guidance for the community?
2. What value does the community place on guidance? (low, medium, high) How does this differ from that of the DO?
3. How can guidance be improved to assure transparency and collaboration between parties? (strategies)
4. What are the barriers to guidance of the community? (worldview, pride, resistance)

Level 7: Empowerment Analysis

Empowerment is a self-awareness process enabling local people to analyze their own situations, take control, gain confidence, and make their own decisions (Chambers, 1997). In the model we envision the community undergoing a transformation process to become empowered. The main goal of this transformation process is to address the needs and values of the community so they may claim power and justice at the local level (Bigdon & Korf, 2004). We assume that transformation includes changes in the structure of the relationship between the community and the DO.

The guiding questions for analyzing empowerment are:
1. How does a community define empowerment? Does it differ from that of the DO?
2. What value does the community place on empowerment? Does it differ from that of DO?
3. Are there any barriers present that would prevent members of the community reaching empowerment?
4. What strategies do the community and DO have to ensure the sustainability of their empowerment?

Environment

The environment is the aggregate of conditions or influences surrounding and affecting the development project. Systems that interact with the environment survive through change (Constantino & Merchant, 1996). The guiding question for the environment analysis is: How does the outside environment influence the interaction between donor, DO, and community? (antagonistic, synergistic).

Returning to our Suriname example, the community lives in the “interior” of Suriname. The interior has been stigmatized by the coastal Surinamese people as the place for runaway slaves. Living in the interior is generally primitive and uncomfortable due to the absence of electricity and running water. Hence, most teachers do not want to work in the interior of Suriname which directly contributes to the poor education level of the average community members. Poor education levels are negatively affecting the interaction between the parties. Another negative factor is the lack of environmental legislation: the government has no method of controlling the current operations of small-scale miners as well as poor infrastructure to measure pollution into the environment. Small-scale miners are not encouraged to cooperate to keep the area clean. As mentioned, numerous factors from the surrounding environment have a negative impact on the system. Each of these factors may potentially cause conflict.

The MAPCID Matrix

The information gathered through the level analysis is organized in the MAPCID matrix. The matrix offers an overview of the (potential) conflict drivers between parties undergoing
development. For our Suriname case study, we developed the matrix of community and DO engaging in gold mining which is illustrated in Figure 3. The matrix demonstrates a developmental gap between the parties; the DO is already executing activities on level five, for example, promoting technological innovations for safe mining, while the community still is on level two and is struggling for their basic needs. Presently, the parties do not have a shared goal.

The MAPCID matrix provides a basis for reflecting on interventions that balance power and contribute to conflict-reduced development. The DO employs relatively more power (expert and legitimate power) and to balance this power, the system needs to move to the level of the lowest power party: level two. The task of the conflict practitioner is to close the gap between levels two and five through interventions. Interventions are developed at each level when there is a disconnect between DO and community which should ultimately lead to alignment of interests and power so that parties can create a shared goal.

Reviewing the Suriname case study, the conflict practitioner can bridge levels two to three with several interventions. Promoting maintenance can be simulated with sustainable agricultural projects where the mining company buys products from the women in the community. Initiating a collaborative cartography project can bring important cultural elements to the forefront leading to increased ownership with the community. Identity participation can be improved by creating an equity platform for discussing value and communication differences, plus giving voice to the community. Similarly, when the system exists in level three, the conflict practitioner wants to make sure the project is built on the existing system in order to move to level four. Potential interventions include more efficient mining techniques and culturally acceptable alternatives to small-scale mining such as a wood processing factory accompanied by a vocational school set up to support it.

Thus, the practitioner systematically answers the guiding questions and suggests interventions as the system moves up the levels. While progressing through the levels, the community and DO can negotiate further project development towards reaching the shared goal in level seven. Sometimes negotiation may stall because there is a discrepancy between the community and DO. The system may return to a lower level allowing a “loop back” (Figure 2). To illustrate, in the interior of Suriname, a development organization wanted to improve the existing water system in a community. The organization introduced technological devices (Global Positioning System, abbreviated GPS) for mapping the locations of the existing water system in the village. The organization was aware that a group of men in the community had already been trained in using GPS devices, so they motivated the men to use GPS to mark the water pits and connectors in the village. At this stage of development, the system exists in level four (Building on Existing Structure and Systems) since the organization is building on the existing GPS knowledge in the village.

Unexpectedly the women felt excluded from this project because culturally they are responsible for providing clean water to their families. To resolve this problem, the system needs to return to level three (Community Maintenance, Ownership, and Identity Participation) and find a way to facilitate the women’s participation in the process. Only then does the development process align with the cultural requirements of the community. As the example illustrates, the community dynamic is captured by going backward, allowing a “loop back” in the system levels. The flexibility of going backward in the conflict assessment model enables the practitioner sufficient time for thorough analysis of the system and management of (potential) conflict (Constantino & Merchant, 1996).
Figure 3: The MAPCID Matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MAPCID Levels of Analysis</th>
<th>DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION</th>
<th>COMMUNITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Level 1: Support Structure</strong></td>
<td>Large-Scale Mining Company</td>
<td>Maroon Community including Small-scale Miners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>Written communication in Dutch Liaison exists between parties.</td>
<td>Verbal communication Limited proficiency in Dutch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awareness</td>
<td>Limited understanding community culture Aware of community adaptive capacity</td>
<td>Aware of power imbalance Response measures company unclear Lack of empowered women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning</td>
<td>Use of technical language Initiate knowledge transfer because of higher educational level</td>
<td>Limited opportunities for training Poor affinity of educated youth for area Learning through experimentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperation</td>
<td>Cooperative efforts on traffic and other projects Legally own the gold resource Lack of regulation of gold mining practices</td>
<td>Acceptance of new industry development with mining by products Distrust company because of alliance with government Establishment of organization by goldminers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Level 2: Meeting Basic Human Needs</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Experience mercury contamination of water and food Place high value on water and food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Level 3: Degree of Community Participation and Ownership</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Maintenance</td>
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<td>Ownership</td>
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<td>Identity Participation</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Level 4: Capacity to Build on Existing Structures</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Level 5: Trend towards Innovation and Progress</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Innovation</td>
<td>Alternative mining techniques</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Progress</td>
<td>Knowledge transfer on safe mining techniques</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Level 6: Feedback, Follow up and Guidance</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Feedback</td>
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<tr>
<td>Follow up</td>
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<td>Guidance</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Level 7: Empowerment</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>The Environment</td>
<td>Lack of environmental legislation</td>
<td>Stigmatized development in living area of communities</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Conclusion: MAPCID as a Tool for Development Practitioners

MAPCID is a conflict analysis tool specifically designed for development processes. These processes are characterized by a power difference between parties and complex dynamics that have proven to change over time. MAPCID encourages conflict practitioners to analyze at each phase of the development process, and then urges small interventions that promote the power balance. Compared to existing conflict assessment tools MAPCID is different. One such tool is the Social Cubism model developed by Byrne and Carter (1996) which focuses on the relationship between parties and how it may change over time, in terms of demographics, religion, history, economic factors, political factors, and psychocultural factors. Social cubism is specially designed to analyze the relationship for deeply rooted structural conflicts which is notably different than development projects which last just several months or a few years.

Another tool used by conflict practitioners is Wehr’s conflict mapping methodology (Wehr, 1979). The tool uses a systematic collection of information about the parties, their values, and the dynamics between them. Similar to MAPCID, Wehr’s conflict mapping uses a systems approach consisting of the parties and the outside environment. Its focus is on the interaction between the parties, including triggers and specifics contributing to polarization. MAPCID goes one step further and enables conflict practitioners to capture dynamics not just when problems begin to emerge but before the conflict commences. The preventive approach of MAPCID allows practitioners to identify potential conflict and transforms it with interventions throughout the different phases of the development process.

Development organizations from Germany (GTZ), the United Kingdom (DFID), the United States (USAID), and other countries have designed several conflict mapping tools aimed at risk assessment for their investment (Kiplagat et al., 2004). When compared to MAPCID, these tools view conflict from the interest of the donor. In contrast, our model positions the community as the focal point and enables the conflict practitioner to intervene by making sure the community is effectively engaged in the development process.

MAPCID assumes that a micro setting will promote sufficient and equitable dialogue. Ruth-Heffelbower (2002) understands from experience that constructive dialogue, clear intentions, and equity maintenance are the most important factors in promoting peace in development. Only then will the views of the less powerful be included and the power balance maintained. Because MAPCID promotes all of these factors, it can be used by practitioners as a tool to assess and manage power differences. If the power balance cannot be restored by the parties, the conflict practitioner should intervene and try to engage the less powerful party in the initiative. It is the job of the conflict practitioner to promote dialogue and ensure transparency and equity in the conversation. The practitioner takes a transformative point of view, checks in and steers the conversation (Bush & Folger, 2005).

Limitations of MAPCID

MAPCID is specifically designed for the practitioner analyzing intractable conflict in only one system of donor, DO, and community. If more than one development activity is introduced in a community, the conflict practitioner should do several sets of MAPCID analysis at the same time. One limitation of this approach is that systems often interact with each other. These interactions can provide (hidden) triggers that attribute to growth and escalation of conflict.
We developed the model based on the most frequently occurring conflicts in developing societies using literature, observations, and our own field experience. However, not all development projects may be suited for MAPCID, for example, projects without large power difference between community and DO/donor. One such project might be road construction in a relatively “well established” neighborhood. In that case, the community has enough voice and resources to self-regulate conflict, and third party intervention becomes unnecessary.

We assume that conflict practitioners can use MAPCID in all kinds of situations of large power differences in development. Outside the development field, the model is difficult to use because we assumed that communities have the ability to set goals and negotiate to improve their future. In other fields this may not be the case. For example, in the field of organizational conflict, organizations have hierarchical structures that may hinder parties developing a well-defined path of improvement. Furthermore, in the field of international conflict, MAPCID also might not be applicable because shared goals are difficult to set. This type of conflict is characterized by repetitive cycles of conflict over time in which parties may constantly change their goals.

Practitioners can use MAPCID to analyze conflict at the local level. Further research is needed on how to expand the model to regional levels. This might be achieved by including more stakeholders in the models’ environment concept. Outside stakeholders are then considered as forces to influence the system either positively or negatively.

The authors thank all of the communities that have been hospitable and shared their wisdom. We extend special thanks to Dr. Elena Bastidas, who guided us through the creation-process and gave us the unique opportunity to experience development first hand, reflect back, and create the model during several field courses. We appreciate Dr. Michele Rice for her enthusiasm and constructive feedback to our paper. Thanks to Nova Southeastern University, especially Dean Honggang Yang of the School of Humanities and Social Sciences, for giving students an opportunity to experimentally learn from new cultures in study abroad courses. Finally, we offer very important thanks to our families and peers that supported us during this project.

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Born and Raised: Intelligence and Personality Matter in Negotiations

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Abstract

The prevailing opinion is that negotiators are “made, not born.” Multiple studies have concluded that cognitive ability and the Big Five personality traits likely have no impact on negotiation outcomes. Other studies report mixed or inconclusive results. This meta-analysis shows that, in certain circumstances, cognitive ability and certain personality traits have an important effect on negotiation outcomes. These effects are stronger for more complex negotiations where joint outcomes are the goal. We argue that firms should consider cognitive ability and personality measures in selecting and training negotiators.

Introduction

“It is an axiom of this book that negotiators are made, not born.”  
(The Practical Negotiator, Zartman & Berman, 1983)

Negotiation, whether explicit or implicit, is an important part of almost all jobs, from the lawyer who advocates on behalf of their client to the mechanic who discusses the costs and benefits of potential repairs with their customer. Entire industries of for-profit negotiation training programs have arisen, and top business programs offer courses in negotiation, all in recognition of the importance of negotiations at work. Much of the instruction offered is predicated on the idea that great negotiators are not born, but made (there would be little incentive to take the course otherwise). However, we know that cognitive ability (Schmidt, 2002) and the Big Five personality dimensions (Barrick & Mount, 1991) play an important role in job performance. It would therefore stand to reason that these inherent traits might have an effect on negotiations success.

The empirical literature is mixed on whether great negotiators are “born” or “raised.” Many recent empirical studies on negotiation have generally reported that cognitive ability and the Big Five personality dimensions (extraversion, conscientiousness, openness to experience, emotional stability, and agreeableness) have no significant impact on negotiation success. We set out to test these findings through the use of meta-analytical techniques.

While there are not a large number of published meta-analyses in negotiations, a good meta-analysis can have great impact on our knowledge of the field. For example, many empirical studies indicated there was no conclusive difference in how men and women negotiate. Two
meta-analyses investigated these faulty conclusions and proved that there are real differences (Walters, Stuhlmacher & Meyer, 1998; Stuhlmacher & Walters, 2006).

Given the importance of the Big Five and cognitive ability to work performance in general, (Barrick & Mount, 1991; Schmidt, 2002), it is reasonable to believe that these factors may have meaningful relationships with negotiation outcomes in the real world. Meta-analysis is the correct methodological choice to analyze these existing empirical studies, to determine if sampling error, measurement artifacts, and incomplete analyses have adversely impacted our ability to understand how personality and cognitive ability influence negotiation outcomes. We propose that organizations may be able to take advantage of both traits and training to select the best negotiators and train them well (Fulmer & Barry, 2004).

**Theory and Hypotheses**

**The Big Five Personality Dimensions**

Negotiations such as those examined in management studies are typically dyadic exchanges in which the parties may engage in two processes, creating value (also known as “expanding the pie,”) and then claiming value (also known as “dividing the pie”). A purely distributive negotiation consists of a set amount of value (a “fixed pie”), and each negotiator sets out to claim as much for him or herself as possible, at the cost of the other. An integrative negotiation consists of both creating and claiming value. The goals of an integrative negotiation could be to claim the maximum value for oneself, or to create the maximum value for both parties (e.g. where the negotiators are both members of one firm). While it is generally held that the parties should create value before claiming value in an integrative negotiation, in reality, both processes occur multiple times during a negotiation. The parties continually send signals to each other about their intentions, willingness to bargain, and positional strength. The negotiator’s internal game is a cognitive decision-making process (Ma, 2008) of deciding what offers to make and what signals to send. These cognitions are not only influenced by the negotiator’s personality, but also filtered through it as they are transmitted to the negotiating partner. The negotiator’s personality may determine how the negotiator forms a strategy for the exercise and how they form outcome preferences (Ma, 2008). A negotiator’s personality may also affect important aspects of negotiation behavior, such as competitiveness, collaborativeness, win-lose orientation, trust, yielding, and face-saving (Ma, 2008). These differences in approach could be associated with differences in negotiation outcomes.

The Big Five are well-established and valid measures of personality that are useful in examining complex behaviors and outcomes (Judge & LePine, 2007; Ma, 2008). As described by Costa & McCrae (1992; see also Barrick & Mount, 1991), the Big Five (and descriptive characteristics) include conscientiousness (dutiful, responsible, achievement-oriented), emotional stability (calm, secure, unemotional), extraversion (outgoing, gregarious, energetic), agreeableness (trusting, honest, considerate), and openness to experience (creative, artistic, intellectual). Each of these traits could be expected to have positive effects on negotiation success. For instance, an individual high on openness to experience might be able to brainstorm more creative solutions in a complex negotiation, thereby creating value. A person high on conscientiousness might proceed more dutifully through a negotiation exercise, being careful to explore all areas of potential value. A person who is more emotionally stable might be better able to deflect or ignore hardball tactics by a negotiation partner, and proceed toward a
successful resolution of the conflict. A person who is more agreeable might build more trust in a negotiation, inducing higher concessions from the other side. A person who is more extraverted might be able to extract more information from the person he/she is negotiating with.

Empirical studies have examined various traits on negotiations, from emotional intelligence to Machiavellianism, with varying results. Because of the strong body of literature and theoretical background underlying the Big Five, we chose to limit our meta-analysis to these traits. Some of the negotiations literature holds that personality traits have little to do with negotiation outcomes (Thompson, 1990), while other studies show that the Big Five may have an effect. For example, Barry and Friedman (1998) found that agreeableness and extraversion are negatively associated with success in distributive negotiations. The first finding, on agreeableness, is intuitive, as a highly agreeable person might tend to yield to their partner. The second finding, on extraversion, may seem less so. However, as Barry and Friedman point out, the gregariousness of an extrovert may lead them to overdisclose information in a competitive negotiation. Antonioni (1998) found a positive relationship between agreeableness and extraversion with successful integrative negotiation outcomes. Other studies find very small correlations between the Big Five and outcomes. The majority of empirical studies failed to find statistical significance in these relationships and thus accorded little value to the importance of personality.

Perhaps because of the mixed empirical results, researchers have not developed strong theory about which of the Big Five traits should impact negotiations, and how that should occur. However, because the Big Five have been shown to have considerable effect in many areas of job performance, we expected to find generally positive relationships between these traits and negotiation success, where the situation was right for the traits to have an impact. Even an incremental gain in understanding the relationship between personality and negotiation outcomes would be important, as an individual negotiator might handle millions of dollars’ worth of negotiations each year for a company. If the inconsistent empirical results on personality and negotiations can be clarified, this could result in a great deal of utility to businesses in selecting negotiators. Therefore, we hypothesize: Hypothesis 1: The Big Five personality traits will have a positive correlation with negotiation success for all negotiation types.

Meta-analysis is an ideal method to explore the reported relationships between personality traits and negotiation outcomes, and to report any moderators. Some of the samples used in the empirical studies are idiosyncratic as compared to the business world as a whole. For instance, many studies report only one or two nationalities of negotiators, and often, one group is associated with an individualistic culture (e.g. the United States) and the other is associated with a more collectivist culture (e.g. China and Japan). Some studies use only student samples, and some use only experienced negotiators. By using meta-analysis, we can examine these samples together, weighted appropriately for size and corrected for measurement error, to determine effects across all samples. This will allow our results to generalize more aptly across real-life business settings, which are rarely so homogenous.

**Cognitive Ability**

As mentioned previously, cognitive ability is a very important predictor of work success (Schmidt, 2002). It also predicts many other important life outcomes, including educational attainment, delinquency and criminal behavior, socio-economic status, and health outcomes (Gottfredson, 1997). Therefore, it is surprising that studies have reported near-zero (Barry &
Friedman, 1998) or even negative (Kong & Bottom, 2010) correlations between cognitive ability and negotiation success. Other studies have found positive correlations between cognitive ability and outcomes, where success was measured by joint utility or how integrative the final agreement is (Barry & Friedman, 1998; Antonioni, 1998).

While non-findings in this relationship are puzzling, negative correlations are even more so. How is it possible that being less intelligent would lead to better outcomes in a cognitive process such as negotiation? Prior research tells us that intelligence should be an asset in any business transaction (Schmidt & Hunter, 1998). We would expect more intelligent negotiators to make fewer errors in judgment, and to have a more rational decision-making process (Fulmer & Barry, 2004). One possibility is that some of the existing studies failed to detect a relationship between cognitive ability and negotiation outcomes due to sampling error or measurement error. In this case, meta-analytic techniques should help us determine whether these findings can be corrected.

Another possibility is that the studies have failed to take into account certain moderators between cognitive ability and negotiation outcomes. Barry & Friedman (1998), for example, found a difference in the correlation between intelligence and outcomes when the negotiation was distributive versus when it was integrative. However, they downplayed this finding after doing post-hoc analyses that showed one of the parties typically claimed most of the value created in the integrative negotiation (even though individual economic gain was not the primary goal of the exercise). They noted that this value claimed was primarily correlated with the opponent’s cognitive ability. They stated that how the negotiators interacted with the problem was more important than how they interacted with each other or how intelligent the negotiators were. Because cognitive ability has been shown as an important determinant of success in various areas of business and life in general, we chose to use meta-analysis to resolve the apparent discrepancy regarding intelligence and negotiations.

In examining the effect of cognitive ability in negotiations, we must be mindful that not all negotiating situations will require the same level of cognitive involvement. The typical negotiations class at the MBA level might build from very simple distributive negotiations in the early weeks to complex, multi-party, integrative negotiations in the final weeks. There is a well-established pool of negotiation cases used by many instructors, which list the time and skills needed for each exercise. In these authors’ experience teaching negotiations, the truly skillful negotiators often do not emerge from the pack until the later exercises. Based on these ideas, we would expect cognitive ability to have a positive relationship with negotiation outcomes in more complex (e.g. integrative) negotiations. A consistent finding of a positive relationship between cognitive ability and outcomes would be useful in the selection and training of negotiators. Therefore, we hypothesize: Hypothesis 2: Cognitive ability will have a positive relationship with negotiation success for all negotiations types.

Theoretical Moderators

We believe that a negotiator’s cognitive ability and personality may interact with the kind of outcome sought to influence what is measured as “success” for that negotiation. For instance, a more intelligent or conscientious negotiator may not rush to claim all the “pie” they can in a first negotiation if they reason that they may have repeat negotiations with a partner. We expect that a negotiator’s personality may have more salience in a more complex (e.g. integrative) negotiation. Several studies examining joint outcomes of integrative negotiations have shown positive effects of the positive Big Five traits. Other studies state that positive traits may have a
negative effect in distributive negotiations (e.g. extraversion is a liability because it leads to early anchoring: Barry & Friedman, 1998). However, it is important to realize that from a practical standpoint, most distributive negotiation exercises are shorter and less complex than integrative negotiations. Trait activation theory (Tett & Guterman, 2000) tells us that a person may not make a behavioral expression of a trait until they are in a situation that arouses trait-relevant cues. For example, an aggressive person may not always act aggressively, but will do so when confronted by another aggressive person. In the studies reviewed for this analysis, it may be that individuals who possess higher levels of Extraversion, Agreeableness, or other traits do not express these traits unless they find the negotiation sufficiently complex and engaging. A negotiator’s positive or negative personality traits may not be very important in a simple distributive negotiation, where the goal is essentially to meet between two price points. We expect that the negotiator’s personality may interact with the goals of the negotiation, and have a greater effect in more complex situations. Therefore, we hypothesize: Hypothesis 3: The Big Five personality traits will interact with negotiation type, such that the Big Five will have a stronger positive relationship with negotiation success in more complex, integrative negotiations.

A more intelligent negotiator should be better able to understand the complexity of an integrative negotiation. Thus, a more intelligent negotiator should be able to create more integrative potential or a better joint outcome if that is the stated goal. Thus, we would expect a negotiator’s cognitive ability to be more salient in more complex, integrative negotiations (Fulmer & Barry, 2004) than in simple, distributive negotiations.

In integrative negotiations, the negotiator may be required to “think on their feet,” craft or abandon coalitions, or adapt to changing information (Fulmer & Barry, 2004). A more intelligent negotiator should better be able to determine the underlying or hidden interests of their negotiation partner, leading to better joint outcomes (Fulmer & Barry, 2004). While cognitive ability is not a trait per se, it is reasonable to extrapolate that a tendency to use one’s powers of advanced cognition will be activated by a more challenging or engaging puzzle, such as a negotiation requiring joint outcomes and value creation. Thus, we expect that negotiators higher in cognitive ability will have better outcomes overall, and better outcomes in integrative negotiations than in distributive negotiations. Therefore, we hypothesize: Hypothesis 4: Cognitive ability will interact with negotiation type, such that cognitive ability will have a stronger positive relationship with negotiation success in more complex, integrative negotiations.

Methods

We analyzed our data using the Hunter and Schmidt (2004) meta-analysis random-effects method. Meta-analyses synthesize the findings of many small sample individual studies. Thus, the findings of meta-analyses are more precise and stable than primary studies alone (Schmidt, Shaffer, & Oh, 2008). The Hunter and Schmidt (2004) meta-analysis method is a random-effects model, which is preferable over fixed-effects models (Hunter & Schmidt, 2000). Fixed-effects models often show Type I biases in significance tests for mean effect sizes and moderator variables, and may generate confidence intervals for effect sizes narrower than their nominal width (Hunter & Schmidt, 2000). The Hunter and Schmidt (2004) method allows us to correct for the bias created by measurement error and the random variation created by sampling error. Reliabilities of our independent variables were primarily reported as coefficient alpha.
correct for measurement error, we used Hunter and Schmidt’s method (2004) along with the corrections suggested by Schmidt, Le, and Ilies (2003) when dealing with individual differences variables. More information about the variables in our studies and the corrections made will be found below.

Description of the Database

We reviewed both published and unpublished literature from the 1970’s through 2012 for articles on personality and negotiations to locate as many studies as possible for this analysis. In addition, we searched for any negotiation articles that reported correlations between cognitive ability and negotiation outcomes. We searched Google Scholar, Web of Knowledge, EBSCO, PsycINFO, and ABInform. Our keyword search included, but was not limited to, these keywords: Big Five, five factor model, FFM, personality, individual differences, cognitive ability, negotiations, and negotiation outcomes. We also searched the Social Science Research Network for working papers or unpublished manuscripts. We reviewed the reference sections of reviews and book chapters on the topic of personality and negotiations to find any studies we overlooked in the electronic searches. Finally, we sent a call for unpublished studies, works in progress, or raw data to both the OB listserv of the Academy of Management and the HR Division listserv. In order to be included, the study had to have measureable negotiation outcomes corresponding to our dependent variables (individual economic gain, joint gain, or integrativeness) correlated with any of the Big Five traits and/or cognitive ability. Studies which lacked these correlations, used unquantifiable dependent variables, or consisted solely of theory or review, were not included. Each of the studies were coded by the first author. We also coded information on the Big Five measure used, its reliability and descriptive statistics, its correlation with several dependent variables (economic gain, joint utility, and integrativeness). We also coded information regarding potential moderators and reliability measures for independent and dependent variables.

To check the reliability of coding, the first and second authors both coded all studies from the sample and we computed percentage agreement between raters for the relevant quantitative data. We had 460 pieces of information for agreement comparison, and found that the two raters agreed on 458 pieces of information, for an agreement rate of 99.6%. The discrepancy between the two raters was based on two miscoded values (one by each rater) which were resolved after discussion. The final database included 14 samples and 148 correlations across 1,920 negotiators or negotiation dyads. Studies included in our meta-analysis are marked with an asterisk in the references section.

Range Restriction and Corrections for Measurement Error

We carefully decided whether we should correct for range restriction in our studies. Range restriction is a statistical artifact of the measurement process. It arises where researchers can only measure data from a restricted population, but wish to generalize results to the general population (Schmidt, Oh, & Le, 2006). Range restriction has the effect of attenuating, or dampening, the reported results of actual relationships. Because of this, effect sizes are often underestimated (Schmidt, et al. 2006). However, using the Hunter-Schmidt meta-analysis procedures, researchers can correct for the effects of range restriction (Schmidt, et al. 2006).
In this study, we are attempting to draw inferences about actual business negotiation behavior. Thus, we were hoping to find studies which sampled actual experienced negotiators, or at least businesspeople for whom negotiation was a part of their job. Unfortunately, the vast majority of negotiations studies are conducted as experiments, often with undergraduate or graduate students. We were only able to locate one article which measured personality and behavior of business negotiators. However, of the student samples, many were at least MBA students, who may have had some work experience. Fulmer & Barry (2004) noted that range restriction can be a problem when measuring cognitive ability with the GMAT exam, because resultant samples are drawn from students already admitted to business schools who are above average in cognitive ability. Because our target population was businesspeople, we made the decision that the samples in our studies, which included primarily businesspeople-in-training (MBA students), did not justify a correction for range restriction. If our samples had heavy numbers of specialized negotiators (attorneys, contract administrators, etc.) we would have strongly considered a correction for range restriction.

Our correlations of interest are between the personality and cognitive ability variables and negotiations outcome variables. In most cases, reliabilities were reported for the Big Five personality measures as coefficient alpha. One study did not report reliabilities for these measures, and so we conducted a meta-analysis of the remaining studies to determine an appropriate mean value for each of these measures, and used that value. The mean alpha reliabilities reported were as follows: Extraversion = .89, Agreeableness = .79, Conscientiousness = .85, Emotional Stability = .86, and Openness to Experience = .84. These reliabilities were corrected in the meta-analysis for the known overestimation of reliability given by coefficient alpha (Schmidt, Le, & Ilies, 2003). Our cognitive ability measures were taken from the Graduate Management Aptitude Test (GMAT) and the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT). There is some debate in the literature about the reliability and validity of these tests. Unreliability in these measures could lead to attenuated relationships being reported between cognitive ability and performance measures in negotiations. Therefore, we used corrections for attenuation based on test reliabilities reported by the test manufacturers. The reliability of the GMAT composite is reported as 0.92. Reliabilities for various subparts of the SAT (but not the composite) are reported, so we performed a meta-analysis of these subparts and found a composite reliability of 0.91 for this test. These values were also corrected for their known overestimation of reliability (Schmidt, Le, & Ilies, 2003). Because no measures of reliability for negotiations outcomes were available, we did not correct for measurement error in any of the dependent variables. We do note that negotiations with the goal of individual economic gains are shorter in duration than joint outcomes negotiations. This may mean that the individual economic gain outcomes reported contain more unreliability in the measure, thereby reducing their correlations with cognitive ability and the Big Five traits. Because we did not correct any of the dependent variables for measurement error, all meta-analytic correlations in Table 1 should be viewed as underestimates.

Certain studies reported more than one dependent variable (e.g. joint utility, integrativeness) that was related to a measure of the negotiators’ joint outcomes. Where these constructs were conceptually similar, we combined them into our joint outcomes variable by using the average correlation of the related items from the studies. This was done in order to ensure statistical independence of the meta-analysis. Ideally, we would have computed composite correlations (Hunter & Schmidt, 2004), but interrelations between the component correlations were not reported in the underlying studies.
Results

We made our meta-analytic calculations using the software package developed by Schmidt & Le (2004). In Table 1, we present results for predictor-criterion combinations across a variety of negotiation types and outcomes. We first report results for all negotiation outcomes. Then, as appropriate for our moderator analysis, we report predictor-criterion relationships by subgroups and performed separate meta-analyses for each group (Hunter & Schmidt, 2004). In our Table 1, we report mean observed correlation ($\bar{r}$); mean true score correlations ($\bar{\rho}$); standard deviation of the true score correlation (SD $\rho$); and the 80% credibility intervals and 95% confidence intervals for the mean true score correlations. When the 95% confidence interval around the true score correlation does not include zero, the mean true correlation is taken to be meaningfully non-zero, whether it be positive or negative. Where 95% confidence intervals do not overlap between subgroups, we assume the presence of a moderator variable. In terms of generalizability, when the 80% credibility interval does not include zero, then we know that 80% of the individual correlations in the population will be nonzero, and we consider the results generalizable to the population.

When we group all negotiations together, there is little support for a relationship between the Big Five traits and negotiation outcomes. The effect sizes are small, and only one of the 95% confidence intervals excludes zero (Emotional Stability; 95% CI: [.05, .11]). Therefore, the results from this part of Table 1 are inconclusive as to whether a relationship exists between the Big Five and negotiation outcomes as a whole. Therefore, Hypothesis 1 was not supported.

Our next finding relates to the effect of cognitive ability on negotiation outcomes. In the first part of Table 1, we find that cognitive ability does have a positive association with negotiation outcomes ($\bar{\rho} = .14$) with a confidence interval that excludes zero (95% CI: [.05, .25]). The 80% credibility interval, however, does not exclude zero. Therefore, we find that while cognitive ability does appear to have an overall positive effect on all negotiation outcomes in our sample of studies, this result may not be generalizable to the population. Thus, Hypothesis 2 was supported, but we urge caution in interpreting this result.

We next examine whether the relationship between the Big Five and negotiation outcomes is moderated by the goal of the negotiation (individual economic gain, i.e. distributive, versus joint outcomes, i.e. integrative). There are considerable differences in correlations between Big Five traits and negotiation outcomes between the two subgroups. In the first subgroup, individual economic gain, there are weak negative or zero correlations between Agreeableness, Emotional Stability, Openness to Experience and Conscientiousness and outcomes. In each of these cases, the 95% confidence interval excludes zero. Extraversion has a negative correlation with negotiation outcomes ($\bar{\rho} = -.17$), and its 95% confidence interval also excludes zero. Therefore, in the first subgroup, our results suggest that Agreeableness, Emotional Stability, Openness to Experience, and Conscientiousness do not have a positive relationship with negotiation outcomes where success is measured as individual economic gain. We also found that Extraversion has a negative relationship with individual economic gain in these negotiations. In the second subgroup, in which the goal of the negotiation is a favorable joint outcome, we obtained different results. All of the Big Five traits have a positive association with joint outcomes (Extraversion, $\bar{\rho} = .20$, Agreeableness, $\bar{\rho} = .17$, Emotional Stability, $\bar{\rho} = .16$, Openness to Experience, $\bar{\rho} = .18$, Conscientiousness, $\bar{\rho} = .15$), although the 95% confidence intervals for Openness to Experience (95% CI: [.00, .36]) and Conscientiousness (95% CI: [.00, .30]) do include zero. The 80% credibility intervals include zero for Openness to Experience (80% CrI: [-.05, .41]),
Conscientiousness (95% CI: [-.04, .34]), and Extraversion (95% CI: [-.01, .41]) and thus these relationships may not be wholly generalizable. The 95% confidence intervals for Agreeableness, Emotional Stability, Openness to Experience, and Conscientiousness do not overlap between the two subgroups, indicating that the negotiation goal did moderate the relationships. Therefore, Hypothesis 3 was supported.

Table 1: Effects of Personality and Cognitive Ability on Negotiation Outcomes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>( \bar{r} )</th>
<th>( \bar{\rho} )</th>
<th>SD ( \rho )</th>
<th>80% CV ( \rho )</th>
<th>95% CI ( \rho )</th>
<th>% Var.</th>
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<td>.08</td>
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<td>.14</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.14</td>
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Note. k = number of correlations; N = combined sample size;  \( \bar{r} \) = sample-size weighted mean uncorrected correlation;  \( \bar{\rho} \) = estimated true-score correlation; CV = credibility interval; CI = confidence interval; % Var = Percent variance in corrected correlations attributable to all artifacts.

Finally, we found that negotiation goal moderates the relationship between cognitive ability and outcomes. Cognitive ability has a strong positive association with negotiation success (\( \bar{\rho} = .33 \)) when joint outcomes are the measure of success, compared to a weak positive association for individual economic gains (\( \bar{\rho} = .06 \)). In each case, the 95% confidence intervals excluded zero (95% CI: [.02, .10] for economic gain; .95% CI: [21, .45] for joint outcomes). The 80% credibility interval for joint outcomes also excludes zero (80% CrI: [.19, .46]), indicating this finding is generalizable to the population. Therefore, Hypothesis 4 was supported.
To provide further clarity, we conducted relative weights (RW) analyses (Johnson, 2000) on the joint outcomes criterion. RW analyses provide an estimate of the proportion of the total $R^2$ accounted for by each predictor in the model. Because the Big Five are moderately to highly correlated with each other (Mount, Barrick, Scullen, & Rounds, 2005), RW analyses provides a better estimate of the relative importance of each trait in relation to each other and to cognitive ability. For the Big Five intercorrelations, we used those meta-analytically derived in Mount, et al. (2005). For the correlations between the Big Five and cognitive ability, we used those derived in Judge, Jackson, Shaw, Scott, & Rich (2007). As shown in Table 2, the Big Five and cognitive ability jointly accounted for 17% of the variance in joint negotiation outcomes, with the Big Five accounting for about 7% of the variance and cognitive ability accounting for about 10% of the variance. In terms of the individual relative weights, only Agreeableness (RW = .014; $%R^2 = 8.1\%$), Openness (RW = .011; $%R^2 = 6.5\%$), Conscientiousness (RW = .012; $%R^2 = 7.2\%$) accounted for over 5% of the explained variance in joint outcomes. In sum, cognitive ability was more strongly related to positive joint negotiation outcomes than the Big Five.

Table 2: Relative Weights Analysis Predicting Joint Outcomes

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<tr>
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<td>Conscientiousness</td>
<td>.012</td>
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<td>Cognitive Ability</td>
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<td>60.1%</td>
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<td>Total FFM</td>
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<td>Total $R^2$</td>
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</table>

Note. $N = 264$. Intercorrelations between the FFM are from Mount, Barrick, Scullen, & Rounds (2005). Correlations between cognitive ability and the FFM are from Judge, Jackson, Shaw, Scott, & Rich, 2007. RW = relative weight (Johnson, 2000); %RW: Percentages of relative weights were calculated by dividing individual relative weights (RWs) by their sum (Total $R^2$) and multiplying by 100. RWs add up to $R^2$ and %RWs add up to 100%, respectively.

Discussion

Our major objective for the meta-analysis was to determine the nature of the relationships between the Big Five personality traits and cognitive ability with negotiation success. One prevailing opinion in existing empirical research and reviews is that good negotiators are “made, not born” (Zartman & Berman, 1983) and that personality and cognitive ability have little effect on negotiating skill. Our results suggest that cognitive ability has an important effect on negotiation success where the goal is a favorable joint outcome for the parties. Agreeableness and Emotional Stability, and possibly Extraversion, also have positive effects on joint outcomes.

The most important finding is that regarding cognitive ability. Our results showed that this ability was more important when the negotiation required consideration of a joint outcome. This supports the theoretical rationale that cognitive ability will become more salient when the situation demands more cognitive processing, as in the case of a more complex negotiation. Cognitive ability did not have a strong effect in negotiations calling only for individual economic gain. One reason could be that these negotiations are shorter, less complex, and require less
learning, adapting, and thinking on one’s feet. In these situations, we believe negotiators may not have been stimulated to unleash the potential of their greater cognitive ability. As a practical matter, the business world offers very few zero-sum, individual gain negotiations. More intelligent negotiators should have a significant advantage in real-life negotiations.

Our findings regarding personality traits are also important. In our overall (non-moderated) analysis, there were small correlations for the Big Five traits with negotiation outcomes. In accordance with findings indicating that Extraversion may lead negotiators to anchor their bids early, Extraversion had a negative effect on outcomes in the overall analysis and in the individual economic gain situation. More importantly, when joint outcomes were the goal, Extraversion had a fairly strong positive relationship with outcomes. This makes sense, as the Extraversion trait is more likely to be activated in a more complex, interactive negotiation where the negotiator needs to communicate to determine his or her partner’s needs. An extroverted negotiator should be more likely to ask probing questions to uncover interests.

Some authors have theorized, without much evidence, that Agreeableness should be a liability in negotiations. We show that this is not necessarily the case. While Agreeableness has a weak negative effect on outcomes for individual economic gain, it has a stronger positive effect on joint outcomes ($\hat{\rho} = .17, 95\% \text{ CI: } [0.06, .28]$). Again, Agreeableness is more likely to be activated in a joint outcome negotiation, and Agreeableness would be useful in successfully conducting a long, complex negotiation while keeping the other party at the table. Emotional Stability is another trait that has been conceptualized as unimportant in negotiations. Our findings in the overall group and the individual economic gains group show a weak positive and weak negative effect, respectively. However, in joint outcomes negotiations, we find that Emotional Stability has a stronger positive effect on success ($\hat{\rho} = .16, 95\% \text{ CI: } [0.16, .16]$). We expected to find that Conscientiousness, and possibly Openness to Experience, would have a positive effect on joint outcomes. While we did find positive effects ($\hat{\rho} = .15, \hat{\rho} = .18$, respectively) the 95% confidence intervals and 80% credibility intervals for each of these included zero. It is possible that additional moderators exist. For example, Fulmer & Barry (2004) suggested that emotional intelligence may help negotiators identify emotions of their negotiating partner, which could interact with Conscientiousness to help negotiators achieve desired outcomes. It is also possible that our small number of studies for these variables ($k = 4$) was insufficient to test for moderators of these relationships.

Implications for Theory and Practice

This meta-analysis has important implications for the negotiations literature. First, our results contribute to theory development in the stream of research around negotiations by responding to debates in the literature (Klein & Zedeck, 2004). Specifically, we have synthesized the literature to show the relationships between important negotiator characteristics and multiple negotiation outcomes. While doing so, we have highlighted important moderators that merit future research in this literature. Additionally, we have applied trait-activation theory (Tett & Burnett, 2003), a widely-used theoretical perspective (e.g., Li, Liang, & Crant, 2010), to the realm of negotiations.

An entire industry survives on the assumption that great negotiators are made, not born. While we do not dispute the effectiveness of negotiations training and practice, our meta-analysis shows that personality and intelligence are important, too. We take no position on whether an intelligent, extroverted, agreeable, and emotionally stable (but untrained) negotiator is superior to a trained negotiator with lower levels of these positive traits. However, as companies select
employees for negotiation roles, we do advise that they consider selecting more intelligent employees who test higher on Extraversion, Agreeableness, and Emotional Stability. This is good practice on multiple levels, as these employees would likely already be demonstrating higher job performance (Barrick & Mount, 1991; Schmidt, 2002), and thus would be good choices to represent the company in negotiations. Also, employees with higher cognitive ability should be able to better learn and apply negotiations training (Colquitt, LePine, & Noe, 2000). Finally, once these employees have been trained and are deployed into negotiations, they should have a meaningful advantage over counterparts from other companies who have not undergone this selection process.

**Limitations and Future Research**

The present study has its limitations, as do all studies. First, the number of empirical studies available which examined the Big Five traits and cognitive ability on negotiation outcomes is small compared to some other meta-analyses (k = 14). There is no accepted “magic” (Arthur, Bennett, Edens & Bell, 2003) or “minimum” number of studies for a meta-analysis (Rosenthal, 1995). Some methodologies require a minimum of 10 studies (Chetty & Hamilton, 1993), or 5 data points (Arthur, et al. 2003) which our study surpasses. However, it could be argued that the relatively small number of studies creates issues of validity and reliability. However, there are good reasons for the size of our sample, beginning with our stringent inclusion criteria. We intentionally limited our search to articles that explicitly used the Big Five and psychometrically valid measures of cognitive ability (Wonderlic, GMAT, and SAT). These measures, particularly the Big Five, are relatively recently defined constructs. We did find articles from before the 1970s which used different, and less valid, measures of cognitive ability and personality traits. We chose not to force these studies into our analysis. These older measures were so dissimilar that we could not readily adapt them to our measures of the Big Five and cognitive ability. Additionally, we note that our overall sample size of participants is very good (up to 1,949 for certain correlations). We also reported confidence intervals and credibility intervals for each of our effect size measures, and interpreted these findings in the Results section. This allows the reader to make educated decisions concerning the reliability and validity of each finding.

We considered additional reasons that there are relatively few recent empirical studies on personality, cognitive ability, and negotiations. Much of the prevailing literature and many review articles, until now, have stated that the Big Five and intelligence do not play an important role in negotiation success. Therefore, researchers may have been primed to make these findings, or they may have been discouraged from doing new studies on this topic. Also, teaching negotiations is big business, whether at the university level or in private courses. Those who sell negotiation training stand to benefit from the idea that training, rather than personality traits and cognitive ability, matter most in negotiations. While negotiation training is very important, and no doubt effective in most cases, our meta-analytic results show that personality and cognitive ability also matter in negotiations. Thus, researchers may be motivated to explore the issue further. We have also provided a framework for moderators that may allow researchers to set up appropriate experiments on individual economic gain and joint outcomes. We also call for researchers to utilize samples of more experienced negotiators, such as actual businesspeople. Many companies have a stable of employees familiar with negotiation, in the marketing, sales, and legal departments. There is nothing inherently wrong with a student sample, particularly in a graduate business school, but it
would be helpful to see how these traits affect situations where the negotiators are more familiar with the negotiation process.

Another possible criticism is that, with the exception of the cognitive ability finding, our correlations are considered to be only between “small” and “medium” under Cohen’s effect size conventions. However, as Judge & LePine (2007) point out, “the same is true of virtually any meaningful predictor of broad, complex criteria such as job performance” (p. 332). Negotiation success is a broad, complex criterion, as shown by the various dependent variables in our studies which attempt to measure it. We should also be mindful that, as in selection, an incremental advantage in negotiation is directly tied to economic advantages that could be quite large. If a negotiator bargains over billions of dollars during his or her career, and has a “small to medium” advantage due to personality and intelligence, this could translate into millions of dollars of utility to his or her company. If the negotiator engages in high-stakes deals in law or politics, this incremental skill could literally mean the difference between life and death for their constituencies. Therefore, it is misleading to use a purely numerical heuristic without examining the larger context.

In conclusion, we believe our meta-analysis represents an important next step in how businesses should select negotiators. Some negotiators may be born, some may be made. But, if companies can select the best “born” negotiators, and train them to become better, they may be able to claim considerable advantage.

References


SAT Reliabilities:  [http://research.collegeboard.org/content/sat-data-tables](http://research.collegeboard.org/content/sat-data-tables)

### Appendix 1:

**Main Codes and Input Values for the Primary Studies Included in the Meta-Analyses**

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<th>r</th>
<th>$r_{xx}$</th>
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Mediators and Metaphorical Analysis: A Phenomenological Study and Integrative Theory of Family Mediators

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Abstract
Florida family court mediation programs are assessed predominantly with quantitative analyses. A phenomenological approach using metaphorical analysis has unveiled the unique experiences, rich descriptions, and meaning-making of a group of family mediators. Metaphors are considered to be representations of the mental models with which individuals see the world. They typically emerge instinctively and automatically, which make them significant forms of communication analyses. This study is stage two of a two-stage study. Stage two included phenomenological interviews of 22 family mediators and expanded on the earlier stage one study (Storrow and Georgakopoulos, 2013). Stage two revealed that court connected family mediators often described their approaches as being “unique” and private family mediators often expressed negative appraisals in the form of metaphors regarding court staff mediators. Six metaphorical themes emerged in the current study including the following: (1) control, (2) cognition/logic, (3) movement/change, (4) balance, (5) communication, and (6) gender. Together with stage one, this study reflected a contribution to the field of conflict resolution and analysis as it enhanced our understanding of court connected family mediators and allowed us to discover what perceptions were held by private family mediators. Implications of this study were provided.

Introduction
The state of Florida has a comprehensive system for certifying family mediators for court appointed cases (Florida State Courts Dispute Resolution Center, 2011). Florida Supreme Court family mediation certification includes training, observation, ethical standards, and continuing education. The mediation certification program of the Florida Supreme Court has long been acknowledged as a pioneer and model court connected program in the nation and around the world. This study is phase two of a two part study. Specifically this study explored the conflict metaphors of a group of family mediators. The reader is encouraged to review stage one of this complementary study, which was a qualitative content analysis of 85 statewide questionnaires. The earlier study set a foundation for the 22 phenomenological interviews in this research (Storrow & Georgakopoulos, 2012). The current study involved phenomenological interviews and expanded our understanding of the way a group of family mediators experienced mediation.
The metaphor is a fundamental way of making sense of life (Lawley & Tompkins, 2000). Debra Kolb’s (1994) book, *When Talk Works: Profiles of Mediators*, used interviews to explore mediation styles across mediation fields. In this study, we limited the scope to court-based family mediators. Interviews captured rich descriptions of mediators’ *lived experiences*, or what Dilthey described as the immediate, pre-reflective-consciousness of life (1985). Van Manen (1990) explained lived experience as, for example, when a teacher stands in front of a class it may be difficult for them to forget that children are “looking at them.” However, the teacher eventually “forgets” the presence of an audience and becomes more immediately and naturally present in the activity. Setting and creating a comfortable, informal interview environment was essential in capturing the essence of participant meaning making in the phenomenological process.

**Origins of Phenomenology**

The origins of phenomenology can be traced back to Immanuel Kant (1781) and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1807). The word *phenomena* comes from the Greek meaning *become illuminated* or *appearance* (Groenwald, 2004). Metaphors are not only linguistic tools used to describe, but they structure future perception and action (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). In this study, the phenomenon of being a Florida family mediator was envisioned through each mediator’s “life world” or human experience (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Interviews were carefully crafted with openness, so we could support mediators in exploring their authentic orientations (Costelloe, 1996; Porter, 1995). In phenomenology, the process of analysis also resides in the concept of *epoché*. Epoché requires the elimination of suppositions, basing knowledge on intuition and essence, as opposed to empirical knowledge (Moustakas, 1994). We separated out the mediators’ experiences from our own biases and assumptions by being reflective throughout the process.

**Metaphorical Coherence**

Metaphorical coherence is defined as perceptions that fit into existing metaphorical concepts (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). There is a *systematicity* which, according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), relates to the idea that metaphorical expressions are linked together through underlying concepts. Shen and Balaban (2000) demonstrated that in natural language there is little apparent coherence, but metaphorical coherence may be identified within a single discussion topic such as mediation.

In the book *Metaphors We Live By*, metaphorical coherence is seen as structuring our perceptions and understanding of the world, all while guiding our actions and decision making (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). For example, as infants we may see liquid or formula poured into a bottle, associating the rising level of liquid as being good and the disappearance of liquid as being bad. Metaphors often emerge with positive or negative valences that have been formed from past experiences. They are reaffirmed each time we see an increase producing a good result, developing circuitry in the brain and eventually a habitual reaction. This meta-metaphor is applied to a variety of areas such as emotions, as in feeling *on top of the world* or being *down in the dumps*. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), world views are built upon conscious and unconscious concepts we hold. For example, holding a perception that *conflict is a war between*
two opposing sides or successful mediation ends in settlement becomes a natural association through socialization processes, dominant cultural narratives, and personal experiences.

**Reasons to Conduct a Phenomenological Study**

Judges increasingly refer complex court cases to mediation to achieve consensual, cost effective, and timely resolution (Phillips, 2001; Moore, 2003; Fisher, 1991). Divorce is a complex process and phenomenology can explore that complexity. There has been research comparing divorce stages to the Kubler-Ross (1969) stages of grief; therefore, divorce may be a stressful experience for parties. The rationale for this study was to explore family mediators’ experiences from their own perspectives. Mediators play paramount roles when parties have difficult conversations about parenting plans, equitable distribution, alimony, child support, and everything else involved in family matters. This study focused on family mediators’ experiences to better understand a mediator’s impact, influence, and role within the family mediation context.

**Goals of this Study**

The three goals of this study were to (1) understand the mediators’ essential natures, (2) discover practitioners’ experiences within an institutionalized system, and (3) explore how mediators learn and integrate new concepts. As an existential phenomenological study, there was no attempt to fit data into pre-existing theoretical concepts. Our goal was to discover what personal theories-in-use mediators described when they were asked “what it is like being a family mediator?” We were open to the theory or theories that would emerge from participants’ perspectives.

**Literature Review**

**Phenomenological Research Design**

Institutionalized forms of mediation have been criticized for fostering a less personal approach which could dehumanize the process (Alfini, et al, 1994). Phenomenology gave us the opportunity to explore essential human experiences of mediators in these institutionalized contexts, which led to the introduction of the research question - *RQ1: What is the essential nature of family court mediators?* Buber (1970) stated that when a culture is no longer centered on living relational processes, it freezes into the *It-world*. It is broken only by “intermittently eruptive, glowing deeds of solitary spirits” (Buber, 1970, p. 103). We wanted to understand how these mediators reaffirmed or challenged the mediation system. This unexplored area gave rise to research question two, which follows - *RQ2: What is the essence of how family court mediators practice?*

Patterns of metaphorical coherence mirror structures of relationships, organizations, and society (Turner, 1996). Metaphors answer the mundane through relational statements that emerge naturally and instinctively. Since cultural assumptions, values, and attitudes are not always concepts of which we are consciously aware (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), research question three was constructed to tap into this unknown area and follows - *RQ3: How do family court based mediators perceive, predict, interpret, and apply their experiences to their personal and*
professional lives? Culturally influenced metaphors build coherent systems which are used to conceptualize experience (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), so understanding how mediators interacted with their environment led us to the following research question - *RQ4: What metaphors do family mediators use for the mediation process and the system(s) within which they practice?*

**Family Mediation Styles and Models**

The study of mediation styles has been historically difficult to measure and conceptualize. Kressel (2000) stated that a mediator’s style “refers to a cohesive set of strategies that characterize the conduct of a case” (p. 535). Two dimensions used to define mediator style are a mediator’s *neutrality* and *normative style* (Greenhouse, 1985). Interestingly, although child-focused (CF) mediation is common in court based family mediation, child-inclusive (CI) family mediation is not. McIntosh, et al. (2008) found that the agreements reached by the CI group were significantly more durable and half as likely to instigate new litigation. We were interested in how mediators might accommodate or justify the court’s institutionalized approaches, considering that other approaches may be more successful. According to Silbey and Merry (1986), mediator strategies or styles grow out of systemic assumptions about the nature of conflict, conflict resolution processes, and mediators’ particular capacities and skills. These interactive influences led us to address the question – *RQ5: Do the mediators have ethical dilemmas or internal conflicts/challenges?* Court connected mediators do not function in a vacuum or in isolation, as they are part of a system that contains embedded institutionalized structures and powers. It was interesting from the onset of this study to see if mediators identified system influences on their mediation styles.

**Critique of Past Methods**

In a twelve year study by Emery, et al. (2005), comparing 35 mediation families and 36 litigation families, family mediation was shown to help parents see the need for cooperation regarding their children, even if this was not possible during the time of separation. Family mediation’s most important contribution was that already contentious relationships avoided further adversarial conditions, such as going to court (Emery, et al., 2005). It is important to understand mediators’ impact and efficacy since mediation skills may be valuable to many areas of society where conflicts abound.

Studies by Irving and Benjamin (1995) and Kressel, et al. (1994) indicated that the organizational setting, private or public, has had a profound influence on mediator orientation. According to these studies, private mediators used listening, whereas, court mediators focused on facts and issues. Debra Kolb’s (1994) book, *When Talk Works: Profiles of Mediators*, used extensive qualitative interviews to examine the practice of mediation across several different industries. These in-depth interviews were among the most revealing descriptions of the variation of mediator styles and world views. These studies did not, however, analyze how these styles might emerge from individual or systemic metaphors.
Phenomenological Methodology and Rationale

Phenomenological research is rooted in the philosophical perspectives of Edmund Husserl (1983), as well as Heidegger (1962), Sartre (1958), and Merleau-Ponty (as cited in Creswell, 1998). Researchers have searched for essential, invariant structures or “essences,” which comprise the underlying meaning of experience (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Cresswell, 1992). Our study was based on Heidegger’s existential phenomenological approach and acknowledged the concept of mediator being as a relational one. Mediation may not be as one court mediator described, “a candy in a box of chocolates” – one of several equal process choices. It was interesting for us to explore if mediators acknowledged their relationships with systems, or for that matter, what forms of influence they conceived to impact their perceptions and practice styles. The voices of mediators as meaning-making agents were essential to this study. The proceeding discussion underscores the methods and processes that we undertook in this phenomenological study to bring light to mediators’ experiences.

Methods and Processes

An “anti-method” approach with an emphasis on the researcher as the instrument is at the core of phenomenological study (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). According to Van Manen (1990), phenomenology cannot be used to prove that one thing is more effective than another. For example, phenomenology is not deterministic, so we cannot conclude from it that one mediation style is more effective than another (Van Manen, 1990). Our goal for this research was merely to transform the lived experience of this group of mediators into a textual representation of essence. The focus was to better understand the essence of being a family mediator from the perspectives of mediators themselves.

Participants and Site

Florida’s family mediation certification structure and our long-standing experiences as local mediation practitioners made the state an appropriate research site. Participants were Florida Supreme Court family certified mediators with substantive experience. Of the twenty-two participants, thirteen were female and nine were male, a ratio similar to the demographics of all Florida Supreme Court certified mediators (Florida State Courts Alternative Dispute Resolution Center, 2011). There were twenty Caucasians born in the United States and two Hispanics born outside of the United States. Fourteen were married, three were divorced, one was single, and four were of an unknown marital status. The group’s age range was approximately 33 to 80. This participant group was advantageous since individuals in the group had some similar characteristics and life events. We sought in-depth analysis of each individual, but explored a composite group understanding as well (Baker, et al., 1992). Mediators were not selected for the purpose of generalizing to others, but reflected the level of variation that exists within the certified group of mediators in Florida. This diversity was important in order to discover mediators’ experiences within this group (Cannon, Higginbotham, & Leung, 1988). Mediators were treated as co-authors, co-creators, participants, and co-researchers. This shared, participatory role gave family mediators voice and authority to share their authentic stories.
Researchers

With our collective experiences of over thirty years of experience in the field of conflict resolution and mediation, we knew that we had to be reflective about our personal backgrounds and experiences because they could serve as either tools or swords. As such, we were mindful of our own personal biases and assumptions throughout the process. We made adjustments to our approaches, especially in the earlier phases when we constructed the phenomenological questions. We used “clean” or neutral language and constructed open rather than leading questions. In the course of the interviews and analyses, we bracketed our experiences regularly and consistently engaged in reflexivity about who we were and what we were asking and inferring. We regularly used skills associated with a skilled mediator such as checking-in, paraphrasing, and actively listening to our participants, and we did much the same when engaging in the textual analyses of the transcripts. It was helpful that we constructed meaning by honoring participants as meaning-making agents who we acknowledged as owning their realities, experiences, and narratives.

Data Collection Processes

Interviews

Data collection included approximately half hour, informal interviews in person or by phone. We recorded, took field notes, and then transcribed the data. We used a denaturalized process, focusing on metaphors and content, rather than accents or involuntary vocalization (MacLean, et al, 2004). Determining the number of interviews depended upon the quality and saturation of the metaphorical themes that emerged in analysis, along with established averages from past phenomenological research.

Analyses

Analysis included a double coding approach, a process in which two independent researchers compared results. We utilized Clark Moustakas’ (1994) modification of the van Kaam method of analysis to explore our set of transcriptions. Analysis began with 22 original transcripts, with the goal of understanding the mediators’ essential experiences. We “horizontalized” the data, meaning that every relevant expression for each individual was listed and assigned equal value (Moustakas, 1994). After all meanings were exhausted, we identified recurring meanings or “invariant constituents” for each participant in spreadsheet columns. Finally, the invariant constituents and their overarching themes were checked against the whole set of transcripts to see if they were compatible and relevant. The shared themes were referred to as the composite categories for the entire group. We continually looked to the part (individual’s original transcript) and to the whole (group’s shared composite themes) (Kvale, 2000). As co-researchers, we independently followed these steps, concluding with separate structural and textural descriptions and conclusions. At the conclusion of the double coding process, we reviewed the results and discussed discrepancies until we agreed with the placement of all items and amended themes into organized categories. As coders we placed most items in the same categories; however, when ambiguity surrounded the placement of an item in a category, we discussed the
item in order to reach an agreement on its placement. Categories that were the same or similar were merged and unique categories remained intact.

Ethics

Confidentiality was addressed in the study via consent forms and secure record keeping. Informed consent letters presented participants with clear details about what would happen in the study and how results would be used. We answered participants’ questions and concerns prior to their engaging in the study. In terms of reciprocity, we allowed participants to share their experiences with the public by giving them a voice and we hope this information may benefit mediators, mediation programs, and mediation managers.

Results

Uniqueness

Many mediators stated in interviews that they had “unique” approaches that came from their distinctive life experiences. This was often based on their divorce experiences, though a few credited their successful marriages. It was unclear how mediators concluded their approaches were unique, as they generally stated they had not observed other mediators. For example, two experienced mediators described techniques that included settling small issues first and then moving to larger ones. They stated it allowed them to build momentum based on small agreements. This is an approach used commonly in narrative mediation (Winslade & Monk, 2000; Fisher & Ury, 1983), but the mediators described it as a singularly unique process which they had developed based on long time practice. One mediator called it his “ra ra” approach, stating he was a “kind of cheerleader for the process.” Several common approaches were frequently described as unique tools resulting from many years of trial and error.

Private and Court Staff Mediators

Another common theme included private mediators using unfavorable metaphors regarding court staff mediators. Each admitted however, that their observation of court staff mediators was limited or in the distant past. One private mediator compared court program mediation to “public transportation…you get a ride on the bus,” whereas private mediation is like “Hertz Rent-a-Car ... you get a working vehicle to get you from here to there.” This was explained as being due to court staff mediators having to complete mediations within two hours and their lack of mediation skills. She continued, “… it’s like public transportation; you get a ride on the bus; it just doesn’t work if you’ve got a lot of baggage. It’s okay if it’s all you can get.” Private mediators did not know whether court staff mediators could adjourn and continue, or do multiple sessions in a day. When we asked one private mediator if they thought there was an incentive for parties to cut mediation short due to hourly fees in private mediation, she acknowledged that parties may curtail their discussion to reduce cost. Private mediators often articulated a stereotype of court staff mediators and their “assembly line” process, a lack of sophistication, and inability to deal with complex divorces. Private mediators often expressed assumptions about staff mediators, but did not understand the actual processes and procedures that staff mediators followed. This
was evident in their own responses that signaled uncertainty about how staff mediators performed mediation sessions.

Fields of relationships within private mediator practice groups, may reinforce the “rightness” of similar styles, relegating court staff mediators to being inferior or even unethical. Florida family court staff and private mediators exist in slightly different relationship fields and compete for divorce mediation cases, though both practice under the same rules, statutes, and certification.

**Six Invariant Constituents**

After horizonalizing the data, giving equal weight to all metaphors, we identified six invariant constituents – (1) control, (2) cognition / logic, (3) movement / change, (4) balance, (5) communication, and (6) gender. To a lesser degree, we found the themes of collaboration and emotion. One mediator, who was also a program manager, expressed many of these themes within an overarching context of safety and security.

1. **Control**

An example of the predominant theme of control was when a private mediator stated, “I try to keep people here…I wouldn’t want to adjourn because it’s difficult to get them back.” Although this statement was initially surprising, many private mediators believed it was their responsibility to do whatever they could to achieve settlement. Another private mediator stated regarding settlement, “… that is what the parties came for.” This presupposition may be similar to the understanding that an agreement is good and no agreement is bad. It also may be associated with a problem solving approach, based on providing a “successful mediation” to the “paying client,” emerging from a preconception of the parties’ goals of settlement. One private mediator candidly stated that they liked to be “…known to settle so I can get repeat business (from attorneys).” Though these statements came predominantly from private mediators, it has been traditionally court mediators who have been associated with settlement focused styles (Alfini, 1994). Court staff mediators did allude to the “judges’ preferences for settlement,” but none stated that their jobs might be endangered due to a low settlement rate. Settlement focused processes that are repeated over time become institutionalized and may affect how mediators’ process disconfirming information, even with a facilitative approach to mediation. Preference for settlement may support a need to control the process to achieve a desired outcome or a sense of competition within the field.

Control was also expressed as a dislike of animalistic or regressive behavior. Several mediators described mediation parties as “fighting animals” or “spoiled children.” There was a preference among problem solving mediators for logical, calm discourse over regressive, emotional behavior. These mediators framed animalistic or childish behavior as being an obstacle to rational, effective dialogue and resolution. Control of emotion was cited most frequently by private mediators and highly experienced mediators in both groups through metaphorical concepts such as “pulling” and “pushing.” Three of the newer mediators stated having little interest in controlling parties. Mediators who were most experienced asserted greater control of their interviews, requesting longer story telling opportunities and occasionally attempting to interview the researchers. Only very experienced mediators asked to make
precursory statements, similar to a mediator’s opening statement, regarding their mediation approaches prior to beginning the interview questions and were more likely to use control metaphors throughout.

2. Cognition and logic

Another invariant constituent included cognition and logic. Mediators said they wanted to promote parties’ “learning” or “seeing beyond their own interests.” This theme was especially common to mediators who used a “business” metaphor for mediation, focusing on logical motivations with outcomes based on each party’s best interest. The problem solving approach was frequently stated as an effective way to get to settlement. They used engineering related statements such as “structuring the process” or “generating possible solutions.” These mediators described a more active role using targeted questions to help parties understand new concepts. They did not favor emotionality as it was seen as an obstacle to “productive” discussion. Some business-styled mediators openly acknowledged their discomfort with emotionality in mediation, with one stating, “If you want the warm and fuzzies, you need a different kind of mediator.”

Having conducted many family mediations ourselves, we wondered how a mediator could address underlying conflict issues without encountering some emotionality.

Mediators who cited a learning or education based approach to practice often discussed their own learning. They described their transformation as practitioners as “I don’t do that anymore” and “I’ve learned through time...” Revelation through experience over time was expressed frequently by mediators who focused on cognition and logic.

3. Movement and change

Movement or change was often characterized as a journey. These mediators perceived themselves as a guide, such as a “miner with a lighted hat” or “tour guide.” Some discounted the value of being overly sympathetic or “dealing with sensitive issues.” A preference for moving forward seemed less compatible with the time needed for catharsis and emotional issues which might slow progression toward settlement. Phrases such as “cut and run, or “buck up and move forward” described a process in which emotional issues were secondary to “getting to the other side.” We wondered if structures such as court program mediation timeframes might have contributed to a focus on movement forward, though journey metaphors were found in both court staff and private mediators.

Divorce mediation was described by one court staff mediator as “people in a boat on the water who must row together, working together to get to shore.” Other metaphors included, “there’s some end in sight” and “the light at the end of the tunnel.” The mediator was often the person who was to help parties “navigate to the other side of the water” and “reach solid ground.” One mediator suggested divorce mediation was like “… miners in a dark mine shaft. The mediator had the lighted safety hat and could help light the way for parties to find their way out of darkness.” The mediator was the “giver of light or direction” and parties were often “lost” or “adrift.” We, as researchers, were not confident that the mediator could know the lives of the parties as well as the parties themselves, but we did acknowledge that parties look to mediators for direction and support.
The mediators who used guide metaphors for the parties’ journeys often perceived themselves as “experts” in conflict resolution and that parties could benefit from their level of experience. As researchers and mediators, we became consciously aware of our own preferences for a mediator to see themselves not so much as an expert, but as more of a skilled facilitator of the parties’ learning and potential resolution. We felt somewhat uncomfortable in interviews hearing some mediators discuss at great length their expert ability to guide parties. Our personal beliefs as phenomenological researchers were that parties were the experts in their own lives, but they could benefit from new skills and fresh perspectives to manage conflict.

4. Balance

Balance was expressed through metaphors such as being “neutral,” dichotomy such as “yin and yang,” “circles” or “cycles,” “harmony,” and even “juggling.” Balance seemed a likely concept to encounter since mediators balance issues of impartiality. Different metaphorical concepts emerged, such as cyclical balance which was revealed in metaphors such as “bring things back to whole,” “wholeness is up to the parties,” and “it just spirals.” A mediator who said she continually has to “juggle” activities particularly stressed having both balance and agility. We considered that if someone juggles or handles many tasks, they may not spend a great deal of time with any one thing, but must pass items through their hands quickly. She stated she may “bring something up” in mediation multiple times, and this repeating and directionality of statements reaffirmed her juggling metaphor. We would have been interested in observing her in mediation and wondered if she moved through issues in a circular fashion, as opposed to settling each issue sequentially. Balance oriented mediators said they had an exceptional ability to multitask, but included accident metaphors such as “missed our meeting” and “I missed an email.”

5. Communication

Communication was described as a “tool” that empowered parties. One mediator liked to use humor to “keep it light.” Several mediators stated they were “active listeners” and used reframing techniques often. Communication oriented mediators said they used separate sessions early and often. Two private mediators said that they usually conducted the entire mediation in this way. One mediator who liked to use this shuttle diplomacy approach cited communication as an important skill. Communication was a part of negotiating the settlement as well, since parenting plans often required parents to identify communication strategies.

6. Gender

Four mediators identified gender as very significant. An older male mediator and two Hispanic female mediators specifically stated a desire to protect female parties, giving examples where husbands tried to take advantage of their wives. Two in this subgroup said that they found themselves “wanting to help the wife” and “going into an advocate position for the wife.” One Hispanic female mediator stated that since women “give birth and do most of the work regarding children, they (women) tend to expect more rights,” adding that this was a Latina concept. The older male mediator said that “nowadays women are resentful if they have to support their
husbands for a while.” He also said he found himself “leaning toward the female.” A younger male mediator stated that women are generally the weaker negotiators in mediation and often need “special attention” to balance power. The notions of gender and benevolent sexism were significantly present in this study.

Research Questions and Results

Research Question 1: What is the essential nature of the family court mediators?

Mediators described similar approaches between the way they addressed conflict in their personal and professional lives. They generally cited communication as an important way to resolve conflict. One of the frequent metaphorical concepts was a mediator as a guide for the parties’ journey, which requires their effort and work. This reminded us of the metaphor of the “American dream” – work hard and you will get “there.”

As shown in Table 1 below, Florida Supreme Court certified family mediators are not as diverse a population as Florida’s population (Florida State Courts Alternative Dispute Resolution Center, 2011). Family certified mediators are shown to have self-reported fewer Hispanics and African Americans. These demographics may support particular mental models and fields of relationships for both court and private mediators that are different from those of parties.

Table 1. Comparison of Florida Population and Florida Supreme Court Family Certified Mediators

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<th>Florida Population</th>
<th>Florida Supreme Court Family Certified Mediators</th>
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<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>16</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
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<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reported Other</td>
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Note: U.S. Census Bureau website. (2011). 2010 United States Census http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/12000.html; does not include all categories reported.


Some mediators in this study described themselves simply as “mediators.” When using this description, they looked downward or smiled as though they were embarrassed. We asked one mediator why she was smiling, and she said she thought it was an “almost grandiose concept,” but that she believed it fit. We asked another mediator to what well-known mediators he would compare himself. He said he wasn’t “MLK or Jesus,” but kind of like the mediators he had known in his own life – his mother, and his brother. Some described themselves in terms of an “energy force,” including the “the consummate juggler.” One mediator spoke with great energy.
and said she has juggled at least a dozen things simultaneously and “rarely drops anything.” Another mediator said she was “calm, yet explosive” and “a match that is ready to ignite.”

**Research Question 2: What is the essence of how family court mediators practice?**

Some especially intuitive mediators described family mediation as *sound*, as in an “orchestra.” “Each party plays an instrument” and the “mediator is the conductor.” Music ranged from soft and pleasant, to abrasive and dissonant. One eloquent court staff mediator likened mediation to “the gentle, quiet voice of reason in a world of cacophony.” In each of the sound metaphors, it was the mediator who was the “conductor” or “producer of harmony.” We wondered if there were ever times where parties had the ability to conduct, with the mediator being a musician or audience. As researchers, we also began to consider dynamics of the beginning, middle crescendo, and end of mediation as a metaphorical “composition.” These dynamics might create a flow to mediation much like a symphony or story arc, with a rise and fall of energy.

Another common mediation metaphor was that of a *journey*. One mediator described family mediation as “people in a row boat in the middle of a lake. They are trying to row to shore, and are not working together, but against each other. There are waves crashing into the boat and murky sea monsters under the water.” Mediators described mediation as moving “through a tunnel” or “down a road.” We wondered if these mediators might move through mediation in a linear fashion and if there would be substantial focus on getting to a destination.

Metaphorical concepts such as *conducting music, facilitating a journey,* and *a force of energy,* were considered in terms of the process choices they supported. Repetition of these concepts create metaphorical coherence. It may be beneficial for mediators to observe each other to see how differing metaphorical concepts influence process. Court staff tended to describe mediation styles in terms of “harmony,” “music,” or “emotion.” Private mediators more often described their style as a “business,” “problem solving,” “rational discussion,” or “a journey.”

**Research Question 3: How do family court-based mediators perceive parties and apply their experiences to people in their personal and professional lives?**

Some mediators described parties as being “hostile,” “like animals,” “blaming,” and “battling.” Others stated there is “so much anxiety and hatred” and “vindictiveness.” One mediator said, “Parents are like children.” Another stated, “Most often they are like spoiled children, fighting over foolish things that symbolize some kind of power or control. People regress when they are feeling threatened and hurt. There’s a sense of loss during divorce that causes relationships to deteriorate.” These negative concepts, which were mirrored in the part one, questionnaire study, highlighted distinct differences that mediators perceived in their parties compared with themselves.

Mediators predominantly said they used similar approaches to resolving conflict in their personal lives. They had learned important skills in mediation that were helpful in resolving disputes with family and friends. Several initially responded saying, “I don’t have any conflicts
with friends, family, or coworkers.” However, after brief consideration, all recalled at least one example. Solutions were discussion-based, while accommodating the other person’s comfort level with discourse. Several mediators preferred conflict avoidance, especially with co-workers or people they did not know well.

**Research Question 4: What metaphors do family court mediators use for the systems within which they practice?**

Staff mediators tended to describe their programs as being a “structure,” “family,” or “ship.” “Family” was used in the context of close relationships and a “ship” indicates purpose. Private contract mediators who did some work for court programs, used program metaphors such as “a tree with many branches” which is organic and connected, but lacking the humanness of a “family” or strategic purpose of a “ship.” One private mediator stated “a mixed bowl of fruit,” which she elaborated to include diversity and randomness. For a mediator to see themselves as part of a coherent structure with purposeful, interdependent, and human bonds may require a greater sense of association than merely contracting. Future research should investigate the effect of professional relationships cultivated in a closed, supportive court program, as opposed to those in the more free and creative private mediator field.

**Research Question 5: What are some of the mediators’ ethical dilemmas or internal conflicts?**

Mediators indicated a variety of ethical challenges, ranging from confidentiality to empowering parties without giving legal advice. This research question, more so than any other question, generated journey and movement metaphors. For example, mediators stated, “we run into ethical problems,” “an issue we’ve been confronted with,” and “redirecting conversation to facts and fact patterns.” There was almost a reluctance to stay in the same place as the ethical dilemma, which caused the mediator to want to “move away” from it. Some ethics metaphors also had the element of delineation such as, “blurs the line between confidentiality and the administrative part of it” or “crossing the line.”

Cultural ethical dilemmas were identified by both Hispanic mediators. One mediator described a Latin couple fighting over back alimony and child support. The mother conceded and the mediator had to “fight the urge to push the mother to go after the money” she believed the woman was owed. This mediator then began to explain aspects of motherhood and being a Latina. She explained that in the Latin culture, “women tend to do most of the household work and take care of their men.” She further explained that children live at home longer and the mother takes care of them until they leave home. There seemed to be a specific understanding that arose from the mediator’s cultural experiences, grounded in the relationships between mothers and children, and especially sons.

Three themes or meta-metaphors emerged:

1. Mediator as Educator
A theme of education emerged and parties were perceived as being at a disadvantage due to not “being in the field (of conflict resolution).” Problem solving mediators tended to use statements related to learning and understanding. Business model mediators also included educating parties so they could make “good business decisions.” Mediators who stressed metaphors about education reported that their personal learning derived from their professional practice. Mediators used statements such as, “I see the world much differently” and “I have evolved over the years.” Mediators referenced terms such as “getting them to learn how to deal with these problems,” “teach,” “train people and educate them,” and “their way of thinking.” Mediators indicated that parties were different from themselves in regards to their lack of knowledge about dispute resolution. There were few references to parties as experts or knowledgeable in their own lives and disputes.

2. The Journey Metaphor

There were a variety of journey metaphors such as a “road” or “path,” “rowing a boat,” “running away,” and “moving toward something.” Some of the most contentious issues involved decisions about children, including exchange and where they will live. Mediators who used a boat metaphor stated the parties “want to get to shore,” but they “have trouble rowing together.” They fight each other and “sometimes even hit each other with the oars.” The “future is on solid ground, they’re moving forward” and “they’re gonna get somewhere that it’s gonna be safe again.” These are coherent metaphors regarding a journey in which the future is a solid and positive place to be. Helping parties make difficult decisions regarding their children may be supported by considering that children are not standing on the shore, but also clinging to the boat, “on the open waters.” The journey metaphor is hopeful, but requires collaborative work and personal agency, with consideration of how that work affects children.

3. Otherness

Otherness was identified in terms of private versus court staff mediators, mediators being different from parties, separation between the parties, and differences between mediation and the court. Mediators who used otherness metaphors tended to value mediation as an educative tool. They also recognized their own learning obtained through their practice. “Boundaries” and “crossing lines” were frequent metaphors used regarding differences in ethical concepts of mediation rules and practice.

We observed an apparent distinction between private and court staff mediators. Court mediators were often mental health professionals or they had social service backgrounds, whereas the private mediators were more often attorneys or business people. The sense of otherness might be reduced by identifying and bridging this difference during combined trainings, observations, or discussion forums with both staff and private mediators.

Discussion

This study facilitated a deeper understanding of the experiences of these family mediators. This is important because mediators articulated through metaphors an awareness of having provided a valuable service to their parties, preferable to litigation. This awareness of their own expertise and
parties’ lack of it, according to several theories, may have contributed to negative metaphors and otherness regarding parties. Considering the emotionality that parties in divorce may demonstrate, mediators also had a sense that judges would like mediation to produce good quality, lasting agreements. Structurally, this initially establishes differing objectives of parties and the institutionalized process since parties are concerned more with their rights at the beginning of disputes (Huo, Lind, & Tyler, 1999). And mediation, as practiced in the United States, is frequently defined by impartiality which may further contribute to the “separateness” of parties and mediators, similar to professional or clinical detachment (Moore, 2003).

The study helped us discover more clearly how mediators selected approaches, not solely based on logical strategic choice, but on their own pre-existing concepts and external social systems. Applying Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) concepts to systems theory, mediators’ layered responses indicated that process was influenced by systems and reinforced by metaphorical constructs. This leads to a call for continuing education to address these influences, as opposed to merely skill building. Mediator constructs emerged from previous personal experiences, world views, mediation experiences, belief systems, values, status, systems, program structures, and spiritual concepts. Therefore, the practice field may benefit by greater emphasis on good critical reflection, discourse between mediator groups, and observation of other family mediators.

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), gatekeepers of resources are also instituted through metaphorical constructs. With complex divorce processes, it is important to ensure that mediators have sufficient time in mediation or they feel comfortable in adjourning mediation to address the outstanding issues of the dispute. If mediation is rushed to fit an artificial timeframe, mediators may rely on short cuts such as metaphorical constructs which can disadvantage minority parties or those dissimilar from themselves.

The impact of judges’, attorneys’, and parties’ objectives on mediators supported structuration theory’s cautions regarding “natural” redundant actions established in rules and best practices. Mediators are situated in history, repeating activities, reinforcing social structures, and connecting themselves to each other through these redundant acts. Structuration theory states that “all structural properties of social systems … are the medium and outcome of the contingently accomplished activities of situated actors” (Giddens, 1984, p. 91). The institutionalized family mediation process has a repeated structure that may vary, but contains many of the same elements – intake, opening statement, parties’ opening statements, discussion, caucus, and memorialization of the agreement. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), the metaphors we live by, whether cultural or personal, are partially preserved in ritual. This study has revealed that there is benefit to frequently and honestly examining these rituals, as opposed to merely performing and assessing them quantitatively.

The current study revealed two distinct fields of relationships, court staff and private practice mediators, with private mediators frequently stating negative metaphors regarding court staff mediators. Structuration theory demonstrates that without disconfirming experiences, negative predispositions can be repeated and entrenched. It may be helpful for mediator training to increase focus on emotional intelligence and empathy in order to emphasize human factors and process complexity (Moore, 2003). We suggest this sort of collaborative training and developing a professional, institutionalized communication network for private and court staff mediators. This may weaken in-group and out-group forces, supporting a more cohesive professional environment.
Habitus and field theory also speak to these separate relationship fields and was initially established by Marcel Mauss (1936), and further elaborated by Max Weber (1947), Edmund Husserl (trans., 1983), and Pierre Bourdieu (1985). Habitus is the mental model people use to deal with the world which is similar to metaphorical concepts. Field is the web of social relations and forces that exist in a particular social strata or situation. Fields of relationships in court and private mediation not only reinforce common metaphors, but determine access to mediation business, and influence levels of diversity (McEwen & Milburn, 2007). The separation of fields further alienates practice groups and inhibits maturation of practice.

Habitus and field theory posits that mediators may have communication norms that are different from those of parties. Mediation communication for people in divorce can involve unstructured, emotional discussion (Schreier, 2002). According to Umbreit (1997), most conflicts develop within a larger emotional and relational context characterized by powerful feelings of disrespect, betrayal, and abuse. Lund (2000) has shown that training to understand and manage strong emotions helps a mediator build tolerance for expression of emotion, reduction of stress, increased patience and promotion of settlement. An interesting future study might include mediators’ first experiences with emotional conflict to discover how fields of relationships influence their approaches to emotionality, perceptions of parties, and mediation outcomes.

Ting-Toomey (1988) further showed that persons from different cultures have varying ways of negotiating conflict. Florida’s diverse population may contribute to cultural differences in negotiation styles, and especially for mediators who have a low context, resolution focused, logical approach to mediation as a business or journey. Including the benefits of conflict, such as disclosure and transformation, may also increase strategic mediators’ valuation of emotionality.

Mediators’ metaphors regarding regression, loss, and power can be examined through George Herbert Mead’s (1956) symbolic interactionism theory. A theory derived from American pragmatism, people are seen as products of their social environments, but also have the ability to be creative and purposeful. In the current study, it was interesting to discover how mediators drew from cultural experiences and how these perceptions elevated the importance of relationships and influenced expectations. The focus on meaning-making had special importance in this discussion because symbolic interactionism provided a lens for how mediators interpreted themselves as actors on the stage, parties as co-actors, mediation sessions as the setting, and mediation events as outcomes.

Theoretical Integrative Model of Systems (TIMS) for Understanding Phenomena: Being a Family Mediator within an Institutionalized System

What emerged from this study was a layering model for how to understand this group of family mediators. This research of family mediators was part of a two stage study (Storrow & Georgakopoulos, 2012). Stage one was conducted using qualitative content analysis and stage two was conducted using phenomenological interviews. In considering the two resulting sets of metaphorical data, an integrative interpretive theoretical framework organically emerged as being instructive. According to metaphorical coherence, there is a confirming influence on significant learning when metaphors are similar across these layers or a disconfirming influence when they are not. Development of a synergistic layered model was not a goal of this study, but
it emerged from the repeated discovery of metaphors residing in layers of mediators’ experiences. The resulting model found in Figure 1, the Theoretical Integrative Model of Systems (TIMS), provides an interpretive model for understanding the phenomenon of being a family mediator. Metaphorical concepts emerged and revealed mediators’ notions about the following: (1) essential experience of “being” a family mediator, (2) mediator style or approach, and (3) mediator learning. These metaphorical concepts were influenced and supported by a number of factors as seen in Figure 1 below.

Systems theory (item 4 in Figure 1) includes external and structural influences including processes, rules, and statutes, as demonstrated through institutional symbols, goals, and values. This environment enables and enforces structuration theory’s (item 3 in Figure 1) “natural” redundant actions. These recurring actions follow rules and best practices. Ritualized actions are rewarded by the system and strengthen it. This includes opening statements, discussion, caucus, memorialization of agreements, and other acts. Habitus and field theory (item 2 in Figure 1) identifies the mental models which emerge from the language and behavior valued in particular fields of practice, such as the legal or mediation fields. These mental models become accepted reality and a lens through which mediators do continual meaning making. Each mediation introduces new metaphorical concepts which must be interpreted and either assimilated or rejected, depending on their coherence and value added. Symbolic interactionism theory (item 1 in Figure 1) reveals the most personalized form of meaning making. It is the mediator’s experience, followed by interpretation, which generates a response. It constitutes the observed behaviors or “style” of the mediator. The TIMS model identifies these four distinct items at which training and support may be particularly effective.

Although the results of this study cannot be extended to other groups, the TIMS model can facilitate other qualitative researchers to understand similar phenomena in which there are institutionalized layers of metaphorical concepts shaping practice. Each layer contributes to
coherent metaphorical understandings, leading to broadly accepted reality. Future research with facilitators, negotiators, ombudsmen, or teachers would be an interesting extension to this research. Quality assurance in mediation programs can be further enhanced through metaphorical analysis and pursuit of the goals in this study – better understanding of mediators’ essential experiences, overarching systems, and educational needs.

**Implications of the Research**

With divorce and separation of parents on the rise in contemporary society, generations of children will grow up in different environments compared to earlier generations. There is an increasing demand for mediation programs to assist families in individualized restructuring after divorce. Therefore, it is vital that we improve our understanding of mediators and their processes if we want to design responsive mediation programs and training. Metaphors regarding mediation guide perceptions of people, ethical dilemmas, conflict, difference, and challenges. Each mediation program has some procedural variance, so it is important to understand additional structural influences such as length of mediation session, availability of adjournment, training, and observation. We recommend more experience-based training including survey feedback, inclusive training across mediator practice fields, and systematic observation or co-mediation with facilitated debriefing. Instituting regular qualitative assessment in addition to quantitative assessment can identify the complex nature of mediation. This study is a contribution in this vein as it has presented a qualitative perspective of mediators in regard to understanding the major factors influencing a mediator’s essence of being, mediator styles (approaches), and mediator learning.

**Future Directions**

Existential phenomenological research should be conducted beyond this set of mediators. Additional forms of metaphors may be explored in future studies so as to present a comprehensive set of metaphors related to this area. Extensions to this study could spawn theoretical development towards understanding family mediators and their experiences. Also, since mediators have a significant bearing on the mediation process and parties’ perceptions of mediation, it is recommended that researchers further investigate the metaphors used by court connected mediators and private mediators. Ultimately, the study calls for future research utilizing metaphorical analysis as a credible and formidable qualitative method in the exploration of other phenomena in the field of conflict resolution.

**References**


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Volume 2, Number 1

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