THE ROLE OF PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS IN INTERNATIONAL MEDIATIONS

A Thesis
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
in
The Department of Political Science

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August 2002

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents research on the influence of psychological factors on the outcome of mediation attempts. The research utilizes a base-line model as proposed by Bercovitch, where mediator strategy and mediation outcome result from antecedent contextual inputs and the current mediation process. In addition to these established factors, relevant psychological variables are tested through the Med97 dataset. The case list consists of mediation attempts determined by the involvement of a single mediator and a single negotiator for each side, which allows for the investigation of the effects of the mediator's and the negotiator's psychological characteristics. The psychological characteristics investigated in this paper are derived from Hermann's work on traits and Walker et al.'s work on the operational code. Variables are coded using Profiler Plus, a software program that does automated coding.

The analyses demonstrate that some of the psychological variables tested have significant effects on mediator strategy and mediation outcome. Mediator self-confidence, task focus, and distrust reach either a traditional level of significance or a suggestive level of significance for explaining mediator strategy or mediation outcome. These tests suggest that future mediation research should incorporate appropriate psychological variables in order to properly model the interpersonal dynamics of mediation.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH QUESTION

International mediation events garner newspaper headlines and catch the public's attention whenever these events occur. Especially in the changing post-Cold War world with ethnic and independence movements erupting in many areas, mediation provides a needed conflict management tool for most of the disputes. Mediation has been employed in a variety of disputes, from the Middle East conflict and the Balkans, to the ethnic and territorial disputes of some African countries.

While mediation is widely accepted, the process is far from routine. International mediation is a unique process that does not follow any set formula for when, where, or how it is conducted. In only a few instances is mediation required due to association with a non-governmental organization or international treaty. Mediation occurs when a third party offers conflict management services and the disputing parties request or accept these services. This convergence of interactions is not easily accomplished because countries do not normally deal with other countries through third parties.

Due to the non-routine nature of mediation, a reservoir of mediators for international conflicts does not exist. Instead, governmental bureaucrats and elected officials are employed as mediators, but their positions generally do not include mediation activities. Even though history books have associated Kissinger's tenure as Secretary of State as a mediator due to his shuttle diplomacy in the Middle East, these instances are rare compared to his daily state department functions. Since mediation is rare for each governmental official, any individual cannot have any plans for conducting mediation events.

Thus, the non-routine nature of mediation and the participants' unfamiliarity with mediation creates a situation in which the particular personalities involved have a critical impact on the mediation and its outcome. Would the Camp David Accords have come about if Gerald Ford was president instead of Jimmy Carter? Even if the Accords were negotiated under Ford, any agreement would be much different than the Camp David Accords that the world knows today due to the lack of Carter's initiative and brainstorming during the summit. A person's psychological characteristics will be important in understanding mediation because an individual will not have templates for conducting mediation thereby forcing the mediator to rely on his traits for interacting with other participants. While the government of each state will attempt to achieve particular goals through mediation, how those goals will be accomplished will depend on the interaction of the participants.

Even though the importance of the individuals involved in mediation events seems established, no scholarly investigation of the influence of personality on mediation has been undertaken. Mediation research as a whole is relatively new compared to other fields of international relations research, and the research on mediation that has taken place concentrates on the characteristics of the states or the conflict in order to understand mediation outcomes. If individuals do guide the course of mediation based on their characteristics and not a state's attributes, then these scholarly works have overlooked an important research avenue.

This paper will begin to fill this gap in the scholarly literature by investigating the influence of the psychological attributes of participants on mediation events. This research will be inductive in approach because of the lack of previous research that

directly pertains to the psychological determinants of mediation. In such a situation, the research will assimilate findings and conjectures from mediation research and political psychology research to guide the paper's design and execution. Since the research will be inductive, the goal of the paper is not to find iron-clad relationships through rigorous hypothesis testing; instead, the goal of the paper is to discover psychological attributes that will be fruitful for future research.

Many previous researchers realized that mediation is an act of states, but even though the states involved in the dispute color the proceedings of a mediation event, a compromise will be the result of individuals. A contradiction appears from this statement: individuals matter for mediation, but most studies collect data concerning the state and not the individuals. This level of analysis presents difficulties for understanding the interpersonal dynamic that seems to sustain the functioning of mediation. While some variables in previous mediation research deal specifically with the individual level of analysis, most of these variables define the individual within the scope of an organization or the apparatus of the state. Bercovitch and Houston (2000, 178) understood this limitation when they stated:

> The process and effectiveness of negotiations and mediation efforts are related primarily to the integrative potential of the parties to the dispute, that is, the level of concern they have for each other relative to their own interests. But this cognitive-psychological approach to explaining disputants and their behavior is not possible in the analysis of large events data set.

With this limitation in mind and hopes of overcoming it, the present research will combine the state level data with individual level data, which is concerned primarily with the psychological characteristics of the parties involved in mediation events. The combination of data allows for the exploration of the following substantive research

questions: What is the effect of the cognitive attributes of mediators on the choice of strategy and the mediation's outcome? How will the psychological traits of the mediator and of each negotiator impact the outcome of a mediation event?

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The management of international conflict may take many forms from good offices to arbitration; however, mediation is used more often than any other form. According to Bercovitch and Jackson (1997, 37), mediation has been successful 39.9 % of the times that it was used for conflict management. Yet, the term mediation has become a catchall category in which mediation has been used to describe a myriad of third party interventions into international conflicts. In some instances, mediation is used to refer to, "a process of conflict management where disputants seek the assistance of, or accept an offer of help from, an individual, group, state, or organization to settle their conflict or resolve their differences without resorting to physical force or invoking the authority of the law" (Bercovitch and Langley 1993, 671). Other researchers have relied on a broader interpretation of mediation, as with Wall and Lynn (1993, 161) when they state "mediation is third-party assistance to two or more interacting parties." While these two definitions do not represent the numerous definitions of mediation, they do provide for an understanding of the important elements in mediation events.

First, mediation is a process. Mediation involves a dynamic relationship between all parties involved in the management of an ongoing dispute. As mediation progresses, the parties exchange information and influence each other's positions, and simultaneously, each phase of the mediation process will influence the others in a reciprocal manner (Bercovitch and Houston 2000, 171). Second, mediation consists of parties in conflict that are assisted by some third-party in order to determine how to structure continuing relationships between the parties. Finally, the disputants maintain their primacy by having the final decision on whether or not to accept a mediated

settlement; in contrast, arbitration consists of a third party intervening in a conflict in order to determine and impose a solution on the disputing parties. The international political system consists of sovereign states without an over-arching source of authority (Morgenthau 1958, 47), and this environment necessitates agreements and understandings to prevent pervasive conflict. As such, mediation offers the possibility of respecting the sovereignty of states to decide their fates without imposition of solutions.

The basic understanding of mediation as presented in the above paragraphs is the result of the case studies conducted in the infancy of international mediation research. These early studies were dense with information, which included descriptions of how states and their representatives interacted during all phases of mediation. The wealth of information gathered and the number of conjectures presented by the researchers created problems for hypothesis formation and theory building. Each paper on mediation touted the importance of particular variables over others due to the unique factors important for the case or cases under review (Druckman 1973; Fisher 1972). Problems arose from the amount of important factors and contradictions among works that emphasized different aspects of the mediation process (Fisher 1972, 72; Touval and Zartman 1989).

Young's (1967, 1972) works on third party conflict management attempted to accumulate most of the information known about the factors influencing mediation. In these papers, Young described the mediation process and the number of factors that influenced each component of mediation and the outcome. By describing the mediation process, Young hoped to discern the confluence of events and factors that would generate the most effective outcome. Even though Young concentrated on the characteristics and interactions with the mediator, he devoted some time to the discussion of how the

disputants influence mediation. The appreciation of the different sources of influence on mediation helped to create new niches for research, and more importantly, Young's research provided a basis for future works that would accumulate and assimilate the mediation research.

Beginning in the middle 1980s, Bercovitch (1986, 1989) began assimilating the current knowledge about international mediation, which had not been attempted since the time of Young. This endeavor resulted in the formulation of the contingency model of international mediation. The contingency model (Bercovitch and Langley 1996, 673; Bercovitch and Houston 2000, 173) accounts for the multiple influences on mediation attempts, as well as the fact that most of the components of mediations have reciprocal effects on other components of the mediation process.

The model consists of three distinct phases: antecedent mediation context; current management process; and, consequent mediation outcome. The antecedent phase is composed of three subcomponents. First, the pre-existing context of mediation refers to the characteristics of the conflict and the attributes of the parties in dispute. Next, the concurrent mediation context consists of the characteristics of the mediator and of the mediation environment. Finally, background information about the mediation event refers to expectations that the disputants may form as a result of previous mediations (Bercovitch and Houston 2000, 172). The components of the antecedent phase influence the mediation process. The current mediation phase describes the strategies and techniques chosen by the mediator in order to bring about a solution to the conflict at hand. The third phase of the contingency model is the outcome of the mediation event and it is directly and independently influenced by the antecedent context and the current

mediation process, as well as indirectly influenced by the context via the mediation process. As a final note of the interactions inherent to this model, the consequent phase interacts with the other two phases in future mediation endeavors. Figure 1 provides a visual depiction of the contingency model and the causal flow of the variables.

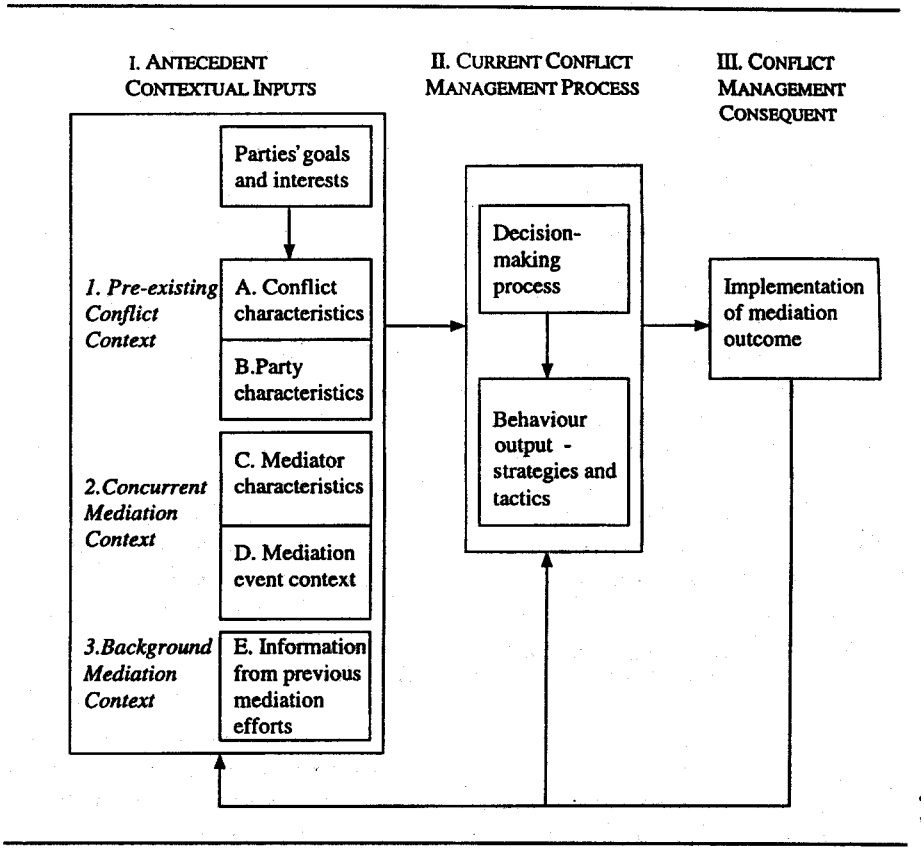

Figure 1: A Contingency Model of Mediation Behavior

(Bercovitch and Houston 2000, 173)

The contingency model is an improvement over the early studies on mediation because it does not inherently focus on one explanatory factor. The model incorporates many possible independent variables, as well as the reciprocity that occurs in mediation

among different parts of the process. While the contingency model provides an overall picture of mediation, a researcher can focus attention on a particular group of variables through the model's separation of the mediation process into component parts. A brief review of the scholarly literature will be given for each contingency model variable used in the present research.

The pre-existing conflict context consists of the conflict characteristics and the party characteristics. Previous research by Young (1967, 1972) and Zartman (1985) suggests that the intensity of the dispute can severely limit or aid the possible success of mediation. The conflict characteristics will be represented by the variable conflict intensity. Young states that disputes are ripe for mediation when the conflict is drawn-out and casualties are high. This situation provides an incentive for disputants to come to the mediation table because one or both sides cannot endure the costs of war any longer. However, Rubin (1980, 382) speculated and Bercovitch et al. (1991, 13) found through cross-tabulations that "[m]ediation is more likely to be accepted and to be successful, in low intensity disputes." Low intensity disputes have not progressed to a point that allows for a multitude of subjective factors, such as the emotions or moral justifications of violence, to enter into the decision style of leaders; however, as these subjective factors increase, the possibility of misperceptions of the other side and even miscommunication of vital information increases (Bercovitch and Houston 2000, 177). Thus, an increase in conflict intensity involves an increase in cognitive barriers to understanding the actions and positions of the other party, and the existence of these obstacles requires the mediator to begin a dialogue of understanding between the negotiators in order to establish common goals and bases for compromises.

The party characteristic variable comes from the works of Young (1972) and Bercovitch et al. (1991, 11), both of which suggest that the power differential between the disputants will determine if a country is willing to settle a dispute or not, such that smaller power differentials between disputants may result in a more successful mediation outcome. A conflict characterized by one powerful party and one weaker party may not be amenable to reconciliation because the stronger adversary would be more inclined to use its resources to impose concessions on the weaker state and not to offer compromises (Bercovitch 1989, 290). When a conflict involves parties of differing levels of power, a mediator will have to actively manage the mediation in order to compel the stronger of the two parties to participate in mediation and entertain compromises since the possibility exists for the stronger party to impose its conditions on the weaker party.

The concurrent mediation context contains the mediator's characteristics and the mediation event context. Bercovitch and Houston's work demonstrated that the mediator's previous relationship with parties was a significant variable in mediation research. The previous relationship between a mediator and the negotiating parties can help to establish the acceptance of the mediator and the mediator's power in the mediation event. Bercovitch and Houston (2000, 181) argue that, "[w]hen an ongoing relationship or alliance exists between the mediator and the parties, factors such as common bonds, history, experiences, values, and interests all act to establish a degree of familiarity, rapport, understanding, trust, and acceptability of a mediator." The increase in the bonds between the mediator and the parties provides for channels of communication between all involved in the mediation event, thereby freeing the mediator to use more active strategies to direct the course and content of the mediation.

In recent research, the mediation environment has a great explanatory power; the surroundings in which a mediation event takes place may hamper or support the exertion of a party's power. In a similar manner, a mediator may be able to control the flow of information and the structure of the mediation agenda in an environment conducive to the mediator's strengths (Young 1967). For instance, initially the United States would not recognize the Palestinian Liberation Organization as a full negotiating party to the Washington Round of negotiations on the Middle East in the early 1990s. The American control over who would contribute to the Washington Round made a tremendous impact on the course of negotiations, so much so that PLO and Israeli negotiators had to go outside of the US framework in order to negotiate the Oslo Accords. Thus, the physical surroundings of the mediation event can impart conditions that facilitate the use of power resources by either the mediator or the negotiators. In an environment that favors one party over the other, a mediator would have to expend a large amount of energy and resources to overcome the bias.

The background mediation context incorporates the information from previous mediation efforts, and the expected mediation duration variable is based on a participant's appreciation of the duration of previous mediation events. Previous mediations act as an educational lesson for the parties, such that the parties may learn to hold out for concessions or to raise their demands as mediations linger (Wall and Lynn 1993, 179). Some research related to expected duration posits that mediation events may have lower levels of success when the conflict persists over a long timeframe and is accompanied by numerous mediation attempts. Bercovitch et al. (1991, 13) reported that mediation became less successful when the number of previous mediation attempts

increased. The track record of multiple mediation attempts leads the negotiating parties to anticipate unsuccessful mediation outcomes because "expectations create dispositions that lead actors to notice certain things and to neglect others, to immediately and often unconsciously draw certain inferences from what is noticed, and to find it difficult to consider alternatives" (Jervis 1976, 145). In the mediation event, these low expectations manifest low levels of motivation and resource allocation. In addition, as one or both parties attempt to exercise mediation-prolonging stances, mediators may curtail these postures through active strategies as a way of forcing an agenda of negotiation on the parties.

Traditional international relations' studies investigate a country's national interest as a motivation for involvement and support in international endeavors such as war. For instance, the Gulf War represented a vital interest to the United States due to Kuwait's supply of oil for the operation of American industries, and this perception of the crisis contributed to the level of U.S. involvement in the conduct of the conflict. Closely related to the idea of national interest in international relations is the concept of an issue in the field of mediation research. "Issues in conflict refer to the underlying causes of a dispute" (Bercovitch et al. 1991, 14). The rank ordering of issues from lowest to highest importance is difficult, which resulted in many authors recreating how an issue is conceptualized. Bercovitch and Langley (1993, 677) define an issue as either being tangible or intangible, such that tangible issues represent conflicts over territory or monetary amounts that are easily divided and converted into useful items for disputants. Intangible issues are those over ideology or ethnicity that cannot be traded between disputants because most of these issues represent either articles of faith or zero-sum

conditions. Regan and Stam (2000) transform Bercovitch's issue variable into a dichotomous variable representing a low or high stakes issue for the disputants. Regan and Stam (2000, 255) find that disputes of high stakes are associated with longer conflict durations because the disputants are willing to put forth extra effort in order to gain the prize of the conflict.

The work of Bercovitch and Houston (2000, 177) demonstrates that longer conflict durations are associated with a mediator's use of a communication-facilitation, less active strategy; thus by extension of this work and the findings of Regan and Stam, high stakes issues will lead to a mediator using a less active strategy. Bercovitch and Langley (1993, 686) found that tangible issues are strongly correlated with low fatalities, and low fatalities are then associated with successful mediation outcomes. Being that high stakes issues are intangible issues, it is reasonable to expect that high stake issues are associated with high fatalities and unsuccessful mediation outcomes.

When the dependent variable is the mediation outcome, the mediator's strategies will be incorporated as a control variable. As an independent variable, this variable will be operationalized as a trichotomous variable, taking on the values of communication-facilitation, procedural, and directive strategies. The particular strategy chosen by a mediator is important for the conduct and outcome of mediation because the tactics utilized by a mediator will guide the mediation process in the direction the mediator understands to be best for the parties' goals, the mediator's goals, and the resolution of the conflict (Touval and Zartman 1989, 126). Bercovitch et al. (1991, 16) found that directive strategies have a greater propensity to be associated with successful mediation outcomes.

The works on the contingency model are grounded in the statistical analysis of the components' effects on mediation. The use of statistical techniques allows for the assessment of each component's effect on the dependent variable, thus allowing for researchers to wade through the mounds of factors that early works proposed as important.

Yet, the incorporation of statistical analysis did not eliminate all problems associated with the beginnings of mediation research. While the use of statistics did provide a way to determine the influence of a variable, most of the statistical analysis could not assess multiple variables' simultaneous effects on the dependent variable. Even with quantitative data, some research faltered due to poor conceptualization and murky operationalization (Bercovitch and Houston 2000, 189). In addition, many theoretically interesting variables could not be tested because data was unavailable. Thus, some early studies (Druckman 1973; Bercovitch 1986) suggested the importance of psychological factors for the mediation process, but no data existed to test these researchers' ideas.

Scholarly research has progressed to the point of understanding and explaining mediation events through the context surrounding these happenings. Yet, mediation involves more than just the environment; it is shaped by the individuals sitting across from each other arguing over cease-fires or terms of settlement. This is the point where the political psychology research is most helpful. The political psychology literature has been important in other fields of international relations, such as conflict and cooperation (Suedfeld and Tetlock 1977) and decision-making (Hermann 1980; Janis 1982). The variables tested in much of the political psychology research are important for

international relations, and since mediation is a foundation of international cooperation and conflict, it follows that political psychology should be helpful in understanding international mediation.

The scholarly literature on mediation is growing every year, but few papers offer statistical analyses of hypotheses. Compounded with this lack, no research on mediation has included a rigorous analysis of psychological determinants of mediation behavior or outcome. Even though the political psychology literature offers some suggestions for the effect of psychological traits in mediation, no paper provides evidence to base the present paper. This gap in the scholarly literature provides a great opportunity for research endeavors, but the lack of previous research does not provide assistance in hypothesis formation.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN

The contingency model forms the basis for the present research in that it takes into account multiple factors and intertwining relationships in describing the mediation process. Psychological factors can easily be placed in the antecedent contextual component of the contingency model. First, the personal attributes of the negotiators may be analyzed in the pre-existing conflict context with the party characteristics. Next, the personal attributes of the mediator may be analyzed in the concurrent mediation context with the mediator's characteristics. The rest of this section will describe how psychological factors are incorporated into the contingency model.

In order to conduct an analysis of the effects of personal characteristics on the mediation process, appropriate cases had to be identified. The Med97 dataset compiled by Bercovitch and associates provides a comprehensive listing of all international disputes from 1945 to 1995. Two datasets were constructed from the Med97 dataset, one containing 28 cases and the other containing 7 cases. The first dataset contains information on the mediator's characteristics and the smaller dataset contains information for the mediator and both negotiators.[1] The mediators included in the second dataset have been incorporated into the first dataset, also. This case selection represents a marked reduction from the Med97 selection of cases, but availability of materials can dictate the course of research at critical moments.

Most of the previous work on mediation (Bercovitch et al. 1991, Bercovitch and Houston 2000) has emphasized the importance of the mediator for the successful conclusion of a mediation event or for the choice of strategy. Yet, many of these studies

[1] The list of individuals involved in the mediations and the speeches used for analyzing personal traits are located in Appendices B and C.

did not investigate the theoretically proposed and empirically ignored role of a mediator's personality in the execution of a mediation event. In order to account for this shortcoming, the first dataset contains contingency model variables and psychological variables for mediators. This dataset will be used to investigate the strategy and the outcome dependent variables.

The second dataset consists of the contingency model variables and psychological variables for mediators and a negotiator for each disputant. While the number of cases limits this set for statistical analysis, the dataset offers advantages that are relevant to the working theory proposed by this paper. In any mediation, the personal attributes of all parties involved will influence the event, not just the mediator's psychological characteristics, especially since the negotiators have to agree to propositions and compromises. In addition, the mediation event is conceptualized as a dynamic environment where interpersonal relationships affect the exchange of information and the perceptions of the parties. For these reasons, the inclusion of the personal attributes of the negotiators in the second dataset is paramount for the proper modeling of this paper's theory. The smaller dataset will be used to investigate the outcome dependent variables.

The acquisition of data about psychological characteristics is not easily done with international leaders. The options are either sitting the leaders down in a room to answer a battery of questions, or using a content analysis technique to study them from a distance (Hermann 1999, 1). Content analysis techniques utilize the documentary evidence of what leaders say as a way of classifying the types of images and ideas that are expressed through speech. Not only does this technique allow for the analysis of a wide range of

possible data sources, content analysis is also cost efficient since the cost of interviewing all appropriate world leaders is prohibitive.

The focus on leaders' thoughts and traits as expressed through verbal evidence presents unique complications. Young and Schafer (1998, 67) note that "[e]ven though all texts flow from cognitions, including those that are lies, the relationship between a leader's statements and his or her underlying cognition is rarely straightforward." As a theoretical justification of content analysis techniques, Weintraub (1986, 290) notes that "grammatical surface manifestations of personality which can be observed and objectively recorded" are valid indicators of an individual's traits because personality is evidenced by how a person constructs and communicates images and ideas through the selection and placement of words and phrases.

Most researchers rely on a methodological justification for the connection between cognition and documentary evidence; the debate in the literature tends to focus on the differences between prepared and spontaneous materials. Prepared materials may present the most complications for the connection between cognition and statements because more time and effort may go into writing a speech in order to create particular images that the leader wishes to convey to an audience. Also, leaders may not write their statements; instead, a speechwriter may construct the images that are being examined in the recorded statements of a leader. Spontaneous materials provide a way around the intentional construction of images for a leader. In an interview setting, a leader is on his own, and because of the on-the-spot nature of the interview, a leader will rely on his personal knowledge and cognitions to answer unplanned questions. The methodological

dilemma would seem to be solved if only spontaneous material were used in conducting research on personality characteristics.

The present paper will utilize trait based psychological constructs that, if we are to follow the example of researchers who developed these constructs, should be analyzed using spontaneous materials. Unfortunately, finding materials for a majority of the individuals involved in the Med97 dataset cases became a dilemma. One solution is the United Nations' documents, which include numerous types of prepared and spontaneous documents. The United Nations' documents are referenced with the use of the AccessUN database, which is an internet based search engine for the documents published by the United Nations. This database spans the years from 1966 to 2001, and it includes citations for a number of different types of documents. This paper's research requires that any documents used must consist of verbal utterances, and some of the documents contained in the UN files do not meet this requirement. Thus, many documents, such as forms, reports, and summary reports, could not be used in the research; however, provisional verbatim records of UN meetings and interviews provide the types of documents to be analyzed in this paper.

In order to establish a causal sequence, the independent psychological variables should precede the dependent variables. The Med97 dataset provides a date for when each mediation event occurred, and materials were collected from this date stretching back six months. Why six months? The timeframe is an arbitrary methodological device to limit *a priori* the possibility of instability in the personalities under review. If the timeframe for collecting materials is unlimited, speeches could be collected from a person in his younger days that may be in marked contrast to his attitudes and cognitions

at the time of the mediation. In some instances, materials could not be found for particular individuals involved in mediations.

The speeches will be analyzed with the aid of Profiler Plus.[2] Profiler Plus is a computer based text analysis software. The software program is based on a word or phrase as the coding unit, and it includes dictionaries of significant words for each psychological construct that will be tested in this paper. After performing counts of the particular words found in each dictionary, Profiler generates a score for that speech for each of the psychological variables under investigation. If an individual has more than one speech for a case, a composite score is calculated from the scores for each speech. Each psychological variable is calculated by specifying a percentage of two components, for example task-oriented and affect-oriented words are the two components for the variable Task Focus.[3] To calculate the composite, each variable's component scores are added together from all relevant speeches; then, a variable's proportion equation is computed based on the new totals. This process arrives at one score for each individual for each psychological construct. The benefit of arriving at a composite score in this manner, as opposed to a simple averaging of speech scores, is that shorter speeches are not disproportionately weighted in the final analysis.

Profiler Plus offers many advantages for the researcher. First, content analysis schemes are typically very time and resource consuming. With the power of the desktop computer, the time and manpower required for content analysis is dramatically reduced. In addition, Profiler Plus reaches an intercoder reliability score of 100% that assures the

[2] Available from http://www.socialscienceautomation.com.
[3] Task Focus = (task words) / ((task words) + (affect words))

researcher that scores for speeches are not arbitrary results of coders' lack of knowledge about the coding scheme.

The psychological variables have not been extensively tested in political science research, and this situation presents a unique conundrum due to the limitations of the present research. The scholarly literature on psychological traits does not provide evidence for how a trait will manifest in a mediation context. At the same time, general ideas can be construed from the political psychology research as to how a particular trait might impact mediation; yet, research on the psychological traits can support hypotheses that are bi-directional. Due to this situation, the present research needs to be exploratory in order to discover how the variables will impact mediation.

An inductive approach to the research offers benefits and adjustments to the analysis of mediation. Since previous research can support hypotheses in either direction for some psychological variables, any choice for how a variable will impact the dependent variables can be arbitrary. This is not to say that the analysis will be conducted and then a theory will be constructed to fit the evidence. On the contrary, expected relationships are presented in the next section as guides for interpreting the analyses and evaluating the argument presented in the paper. In order to evaluate the expected relationships, two-tailed significance tests will be conducted. The use of two-tailed tests allows for the appreciation of important relationships between independent and dependent variables, even if these relationships are in the opposite direction from the expectations. Last, an exploratory approach could use traditional levels of significance for interpreting the statistical results. These levels of significance are most appropriate for hypothesis testing, but these levels are too restrictive in light of the limited number of

cases and the hope of finding all relevant relationships. For this reason, relationships will be significant at the traditional levels of significance, but relationships will be suggestive if they cross a p <.25 threshold. The suggestive level adds a layer of analysis that can aid in future research because it will recommend variables to pay attention to when formulating new hypotheses.

The Variables

Two datasets will be analyzed in this paper: the first dataset (n = 28) will present psychological variables of mediators and context variables as explanatory factors for the strategy choice of mediators and mediation outcome; the second dataset (n = 7) will demonstrate the connections between psychological variables of negotiators and the outcome of mediation events. The models will be analyzed using a Logit regression technique when the dependent variables are dichotomous and ordered Logit regression will be used with the categorical, polychotomous dependent variable. The components of each model will be discussed in this section along with conceptualizations, operationalizations, and expected relationships.[4]

Dependent Variables

Mediator strategies refer to the particular behaviors exhibited by mediators in the process of conflict management. A strategy is a broad category of behavior that can be typified into one common theme. Different authors (Touval and Zartman 1989, 126; Carnevale 1985, 97; Wall and Lynn 1993, 166) have proposed different categories of mediator behavior, but most depictions of strategy rely on a continuum that runs from passive to active mediator behavior. The classification scheme used in this paper follows the work of Bercovitch and Houston (2000, 175), and these authors classify strategies as

[4] See Appendix A for a list of variables, conceptualizations, and operationalizations.

either communication-facilitation, procedural, or directive. Bercovitch and Houston's work found that communication-facilitation and directive strategies were used the most often by mediators, and the researchers decided to collapse the scheme into a dichotomous variable so as to clarify the meaning of the variable. Thus, the strategy dependent variable will eliminate the procedural category, thereby creating a variable of low (communication-facilitation strategy) and high (directive strategy) activism by the mediator.

The outcome variable can be defined in two ways: an incremental measurement of mediation outcomes or a binary success-or-failure measure. This paper will explore both options for defining mediation outcome. The first operationalization will be a categorical variable comprised of four measures: unsuccessful, cease-fire, partial settlement, and full settlement. This variable emphasizes the impact of mediation on behavior (Bercovitch et al. 1991, 9):

> Mediation is defined as fully successful when it is given credit for making a great difference to or settling a dispute. It is partially successful when its efforts initiate negotiations and some dialogue between the parties. Mediation success is limited when it achieves only a ceasefire or break in hostilities. It is unsuccessful when it has no discernible impact on the dispute.

The second outcome variable is defined in a manner consistent with previous research conducted by Bercovitch and Langley (1993) where they collapsed the outcome variable into either success or failure. Failure is defined in the same way as an unsuccessful outcome (see above definition), and success occurs whenever the parties reach a cease-fire, partial settlement or full settlement.

Independent Variables: Contingency Model

The control variables consist of the variables of the contingency model. As described previously, the contingency model consists of three phases, which each contain subcomponents. Since the datasets employed in this research do not have degrees of freedom to waste on testing all theoretically interesting variables at once, the variables that will be used to represent each component will be taken from previous studies, such as Bercovitch and Houston (2000) and Bercovitch and Langley (1993). Due to the discussion of these variables in the literature review section, only the operationalizations and expected relationships will be described for the control variables.

Conflict intensity is defined as the level of hostilities reached between the disputing parties, and this variable is operationalized as the number of fatalities per month for a particular conflict. The variable can assume the following values: 0 – 500 fatalities per month (0); 501 – 1,000 (1); 1.001 – 10,000 (2); or, 10,001 + (3).

> A high level of conflict intensity will require the mediator to assume a low activism strategy.
>
> A low level of conflict intensity will result in a more successful outcome for the mediation event.

A party's power is measured by Bercovitch in a similar manner to the Cox-Jacobson Scale whereby a party's power is measured on five components: Gross National Product, military spending, Gross National Product per Capita, territory, and population. A party's scores on each of these measures are added together to determine a party's overall power score. The power disparity variable is determined by measuring the power of each party and then calculating the absolute value of the difference between the power of party A and party B.

A high level of power disparity will result in the mediator using a high activism strategy.

A low level of power disparity will lead to a greater probability of a successful outcome for a mediation event.

The mediator's previous relationship with the parties describes the presence of an ongoing relationship between the mediator and one or both parties involved in the mediation. This variable can assume the following values: no previous relationship with either party (0); a mediator may share a common political or economic alliance with only one of the parties (1); or, a mediator may belong to the same bloc or regional organization as both parties (2).

An increase in the number of previous relationships between the mediator and the negotiators will lead to the use of an active strategy by the mediator.

An increase in the number of previous relationships between the mediator and the negotiators will lead to a higher likelihood for a successful mediation outcome.

The mediation environment consists of the physical environment in which conflict management takes place. A dichotomous variable is created to signify a neutral or biased mediation environment, and this new variable is based on the operationalization presented by Bercovitch and Houston (2000). If a mediation event takes place in either party's territory, the mediation environment variable is coded as being biased (0); if a mediation event takes place in a mediator's or some other neutral territory, the mediation environment is coded as being neutral (1).

As the mediation environment becomes less neutral, a mediator will employ an active mediation strategy.

When the mediation environment is less neutral, there is a greater likelihood for an unsuccessful mediation outcome.

The expected duration variable is defined as the length of time elapsed since initiation to the end of the previous mediation event. The expected mediation duration variable is coded as 1 day (0), 2 to 3 days (1), 1 to 2 months (2), or 3+ months (3).

As the expected duration of a mediation event increases, the mediator will likely utilize a more active strategy.

As the expected duration of a mediation event increases, then the likelihood of a successful outcome will decrease.

The issue of a conflict refers to the underlying causes of a dispute. A conflict's issue may represent either a low stakes or high stakes dispute for the parties. The variable is operationalized as low stakes issue (0) or high stakes issue (1), and this categorization is based on the Med97 dataset classification of issues.

A high stakes issue will result in a mediator's use of a less active strategy.

A high stakes issue will lead to a less successful mediation outcome.

The three possible mediator strategies are communication-facilitation, procedural, and directive. Communication-facilitation strategies consist of mediators providing information to the parties and not controlling the mediation process. Procedural strategies involve the mediator exerting more control over the mediation process, possibly through the publication of information to outside sources or the selection of the environment of the mediation event. Last, directive strategies describe instances when the mediator takes an active part in the bargaining process through offering incentives and ultimatums for the acceptance and implementation of a solution. Communication-facilitation strategies are coded (0), procedural strategies are coded (1), and directive strategies are coded (2).

Mediators who use more active strategies will increase the probability of reaching a successful outcome.

Independent Variables: Mediator Psychological Attributes

The variables that are used to assess a psychological approach to mediation research come from many scholars' works in the field of political psychology, and the traits selected for investigation have been found to be relevant for explaining foreign policy behavior (Hermann 1980, 8). The operationalizations used in this paper come from Hermann's (1999) handbook, *Assessing Leadership Style: A Trait Analysis*. No assumptions are made about how the psychological variables may interact to form an overall psychological profile for an individual. Each individual is unique and the constellation of psychological constructs may interact in different patterns and manners for each person, thereby proving any attempt to hypothesize interrelationships difficult at best.

Need for power is a motivation defined by Hermann (1987, 7) as "a concern for establishing, maintaining, or restoring one's power; the desire to control, influence, or have an impact on other persons or groups." These characteristics foster feelings of happiness and vigor in the intense, competitive, and conflict-prone environment of international politics (Winter and Stewart 1977, 48). Leaders who exhibit a high need for power tend to involve their countries in conflict. In a mediation event, a negotiator who exhibits a high need for power will tend to result in a stalemate; mediators who demonstrate a need for power will use the mediation event as a chance to exert their leverage, which can be beneficial for overcoming stalemates or complications created by the negotiators. The power motivation provides a psychological push to the mediator to control and direct the mediation, and the reinforcing emotional gratification from this control can aid in a successful mediation conclusion. Need for power is measured by

assessing if the verbs used by a speaker exhibit a presence or need for power; verbs that exhibit the power motivation are coded "P" and those that do not are coded "OP". A speech's score for need for power is determined by the proportion (P/(P + OP)).

Mediators who have a high need for power will be prone to use an active strategy.

Mediators with a high need for power will result in a more successful outcome.

Belief in control "is a view of the world in which leaders perceive some degree of control over the situations they find themselves in; there is a perception that individuals and governments can influence what happens" (Hermann 1999, 13). An individual who tries to influence the sequence of events believes that his actions matter, and because of this intuition, people high in belief of control are less likely to compromise or accept other people's ideas. A mediator with a high belief in control will be certain of their ideas for resolving a conflict, which results in the mediator taking more actions to in act these ideas. This commitment of convictions will act as the mediator's motivation for accomplishing a successful outcome. Verbs in a document are coded as "IC" if they exhibit a speaker identifying himself or herself with being responsible for initiating the action contained in a verb (Hermann 1987, 6). If this condition does not hold for a verb, the verb is coded as "OC". A score for a particular document is the proportion (IC/(IC + OC)).

Mediators with a high belief in control will use active strategies.

Mediators with a high belief in control will have a higher probability of successful outcomes.

Hermann (1999, 20) defines self-confidence as "one's sense of self-importance, an individual's image of his ability to cope adequately with objects and persons in the environment." Self-confidence is a variable of how the individual appraises his actions in

a particular context. High self-confidence in a mediator will result in the mediator appreciating new information about his position with regard to the parties, conflict, or mediation event. Mediators with high self-confidence will appreciate the new information because they will understand their limitations and strengths within the mediation context, and from this knowledge, the mediator will know when he has the best ideas for the conflict management (Hermann 1999, 21). The mediator's assurance in his ability to conclude the mediation provides an emotional support to the mediation endeavor through the creation of a positive environment for the conclusion of the conflict. The self-confidence variable focuses on the pronouns me, I, mine, myself, and my. When these pronouns suggest that the subject is an instigator, authority figure, or recipient of a positive reward, the pronoun is coded as "SC"; if the conditions are not met, the pronoun is coded as "OSC". A document's self-confidence score is the proportion (SC/(OSC + SC)).

> Higher levels of self-confidence for a Mediator will result in the use of an active strategy.
>
> Mediators whose self-confidence is high will result in more successful mediation outcomes.

Conceptual complexity is "the degree of differentiation which an individual shows in describing or discussing other people, places, policies, ideas, or things. The more conceptually complex individual can see varying reasons for a particular position, is willing to entertain the possibility that there is ambiguity in the environment, and is flexible in reacting to objects or ideas." (Hermann 1987, 12). This psychological construct describes how flexible an individual will be to new information and how that information is processed. For instance, a conceptually simple individual will tend to see

the world and classify information in stark dichotomies, while a conceptually complex individual will appreciate the variations of incoming information. Research using the conceptual complexity variable has demonstrated that individuals who exhibit high levels of complexity tend to be more open to multiple sources of information, are flexible in their responses to contextual stimuli, and they are prone to accept the prospects of negotiation, cooperation, and compromise (Young and Schafer 1998, 85; Hermann 1999, 22). In the context of mediation research, mediators with higher levels of conceptual complexity will have greater capabilities for determining the proper course of action to manage a mediation. Thus, a high complexity mediator can appreciate when a mediation requires an active or passive mediator in order to reach a compromise between the parties. In contrast, a low complexity mediator would merely apply one kind of strategy be it right or wrong for the mediation. Also, the ability to appreciate when to adopt different strategies will result in a high complexity mediator attempting various strategies and tactics, and the mediator's use of a complementary strategy for the conflict can lead to a successful outcome. Coding for conceptual complexity relies on words that display the individual appreciating different degrees of understanding the surrounding context, or words that demonstrate the individual only taking into account a very limited number of categories for appreciating the surrounding environment. The score for a document is calculated from the proportion of high complexity words divided by the summation of high and low complexity words (HC/(HC + LC)).

> Mediators high in conceptual complexity will use a more active strategy.
>
> Mediators high in conceptual complexity will tend to result in more successful outcomes.

Political leaders may be classified along a continuum of task completion, with one node representing a leader's propensity to focus on completing objectives and solving problems, and the other node represents a leader's tendency to concentrate on building morale within a political group (Hermann 1999, 24). Leaders who emphasize the morale building goal of politics will attempt to foster relationships of camaraderie, and this focus on the needs of individuals in the group will support the allocation of leadership responsibilities and free-flow of information and opinions. Individuals who occupy the other end of the spectrum concentrate on finishing tasks and accomplishing goals; mediators high in task focus will push the negotiators to reach solutions. Through the use of active strategies, high task mediators will want to reach some kind of goal, which increases the possibility of a successful outcome. "In coding for task orientation, the focus is on individual words – words that indicate work on a task or instrumental activity [task words] and words that center around concern for another's feelings, desires, and satisfaction [affect words]" (Hermann 1987, 17).[5] The score for a document is calculated by the proportion of task oriented words divided by the sum of task oriented words and affect words: (T/(T + A)).

Mediators with a low task focus will tend to use less active strategies.

Mediators with a high task focus will lead to more successful outcomes.

The ingroup bias variable refers to a worldview where one's own group occupies a central role in the functions of the environment. Individuals who rank high on this variable tend to view the world as a zero-sum game of "us" and "them", and these individuals do not appreciate the faults of his group, only the positive qualities are acknowledged (Hermann 1999, 29). Mediators who exhibit a high ingroup bias will tend

[5] The author for clarification adds bracketed phrases.

to use zero-sum rationales, which will produce friction in the negotiating parties due to proposed compromises benefiting one party at the expense of the other. Therefore, a higher level of ingroup bias will lead to less success. In addition, Hermann (1999, 30) notes that leaders that are low in ingroup bias tend to use interactions to solve international conflict, such as diplomacy and conferences. This correlation means that mediators low on ingroup bias will use a less active, communication strategy. A document is investigated for this variable by coding words as "self" that refer to the author or the author's group in a positive light. The code "other" is applied to words or phrases that refer unfavorably to an outgroup. The ingroup bias variable is a proportion of words that indicate self, divided by the summation of self and other words (S/(S + O)).

Mediators with a low ingroup bias will tend to use a less active strategy.

Mediators with a high ingroup bias will result in less successful outcomes.

"Distrust of others involves a general feeling of doubt, uneasiness, misgiving, and wariness about others – an inclination to suspect the motives and actions of others" (Hermann 1999, 30). Individuals who are distrustful call into question the motives of others, and due to this sense of paranoia, these individuals are less willing to share information or compromise. A mediator who is high on distrust will "not rely on others but do things on their own in order to prevent any sabotage of what they want done" (Hermann 1999, 31). Since the distrustful mediator will be wary of any new information, he will forego using communication strategies and will concentrate on using active strategies for accomplishing their views of the mediation outcome. The coding of the distrust variable focuses on nouns and noun phrases that refer to others, and the coder investigates if the speaker views the other with concern or doubt. The score for a

document is calculated from the percentage of times that a speaker demonstrates distrust toward others (D/(D + ND)).

Mediators who are low on distrust will tend to use less active strategies.

Mediators who are high on distrust will lead to more successful mediation outcomes.

Independent Variables: Negotiator Psychological Attributes

The second dataset will investigate the interpersonal dynamic involved in the give-and-take of mediation events. This dataset utilizes the psychological attributes of mediators and negotiators in order to explain mediation outcomes. In addition, the second dataset includes the same contingency model variables as the first dataset.

In some instances, the psychological variables present interesting contradictions in the expectations for negotiators and mediators. The presence of the psychological attribute in negotiators may lead to behavior patterns that are different than when the same attribute is present for a mediator. While a recapitulation of each psychological variable will not be presented in this section, some justification will be presented for the difference in hypotheses for the mediators and negotiators.

When need for power is exhibited in a negotiator, conflict will ensue in the mediation event because this person will not be willing to compromise his positions. This unwillingness to compromise will lead to a stalemate.

A negotiator who exhibits a high need for power will reach a less successful outcome.

A belief in control will make a negotiator less likely to compromise or even accept other people's ideas because he will be sure that his position is the right position.

The cognitive rigidity of the negotiators bolsters the conflict-producing elements of the parties' relationship thereby hampering the mediation process.

> A negotiator who exhibits a high belief in control will result in a less successful mediation outcome.

A high degree of self-confidence will result in the acceptance of new information about the other side and the conflict. The negotiator's self-confidence can then lead to a more successful outcome because he understands the state's position and his negotiating position. This greater understanding precludes the negotiator from making frivolous demands or unreasonable compromises that cannot be maintained.

> A negotiator who is high in self-confidence will result in a more successful outcome.

The presence of a high level of conceptual complexity in a negotiator will allow that person to appreciate others' issues, positions, and beliefs. This appreciation provides for a greater number of chances for compromise due to more flexibility in a negotiator's positions and through the greater knowledge of what is open for compromise.

> A negotiator high in conceptual complexity will lead to a greater likelihood for a successful mediation outcome.

When a negotiator has a high level of task focus, he will push the group to accomplish the goals of mediation and reach concrete solutions.

> A negotiator high in task focus will tend to result in more successful outcomes.

A high level of ingroup bias in a negotiator will produce rigid views of his group that may not be open for compromise. In particular, negotiators with a high level of ingroup bias will only acknowledge positive feedback about his group and negative feedback about the outgroup while filtering positive information about the outgroup and

negative information about his group. This situation leads to less successful outcomes due to rigidity of viewpoints and misperceptions.

> A negotiator who exhibits high ingroup bias will have a greater likelihood to reach an unsuccessful outcome.

A high level of distrust in a negotiator will create paranoia in that person to the point that he views all offers of compromise with suspicion, thereby hampering the mediation process.

> A negotiator who is high on distrust will result in an unsuccessful outcome.

Discussion of Research Issues

The present research will investigate the role of personal, psychological characteristics in international mediation events. In order to analyze the substantive research questions posed by this paper, many adjustments have been made in order to bridge the present endeavor to previous research and data collection. These adjustments lead to methodological issues that must be understood before any conclusions about the research may be stated.

First, the addition of psychological variables to the Med97 dataset leads to a substantial reduction in the number of cases that could be studied. This reduction in the number of cases complicates the statistical analysis because in some instances not enough cases will exist in order to test a full model of all the relevant variables. In addition, the reduction in the number of cases limits the external validity of the research to those instances where mediation consists of a mediator and a negotiator from each disputant (no more than a total of two negotiators). The decrease in the number of cases investigated by this study places limits on the applicability of the findings to a wide

number of mediation events. However, the research design does contain other benefits that will help to establish its importance for understanding mediation events.

Next, the research has been constructed in such a manner as to provide for some comparison with previous research (Bercovitch and Langley 1993; Bercovitch and Houston 2000). By incorporating the psychological variables into the contingency model of mediation, these variables can be assessed relative to the previous findings that used similar models. While a comparison will be possible, a direct one-to-one comparison between the present statistical models and those proposed by Bercovitch and associates cannot be accomplished; the main obstacle to this comparative process is the fact that the models rely on different cases and different explanatory variables

The inductive approach used in this paper is not wholly conducive to creating results to compare with previous research. Instead, the inductive approach will aid in creating future avenues of research and helping to guide scholars toward fruitful research questions. This is not to say that the present research will not adhere to rigorous statistical methods or relax causal assumptions. The exploratory tone of this paper will search for statistically significant relationships while not ignoring possibly important relationships that could be noteworthy for future research.

Finally, the present research demonstrates the need for the variables under investigation to be complementary to the arguments that supports the model. Specifically, the contingency model suggests the importance of many different types of variables, but the operationalizations of some variables do not correspond with the theory. The psychological variables speak directly to this problem in that the variables introduced by this research are directly related to the mediator's characteristics, a

component identified by many researchers as paramount for understanding mediation. However, the previous data collection has focused on qualities of the mediator that depend for definition on a relationship with others. While it is understandable why this oversight has been committed in past research (lack of resources and time), new advancements in the technology of content analysis provide the ability to correct the incongruence between theory and application.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

Bivariate Models

Table 1 presents the results of bivariate analyses where the dependent variable is mediator strategy. The larger dataset is used to investigate the control and psychological variables' independent impacts on strategy.

Table 1

Mediator Dataset, n = 24
Bivariate analysis with Mediator Strategy as dependent variable
Logit Regression

Variable	B	SE	p	X^2	Pseudo R^2	Hypothesized Direction
Conflict Intensity	.3478	.4262	.4145	.688	.039	(-)
Power Disparity Raw	-.0024	.0853	.9774	.001	.000	(+)
Previous Relations	2.3179	1.0189***	.0229	6.974**	.35	(+)
Med. Environment	6.4396	36.6598	.8606	.744	.045	(+)
Expected Duration	-.3957	.5453	.4681	.529	.03	(+)
Issue	-1.4345	1.187*	.2269	1.776	.099	(-)
Need for Power	1.2018	2.9772	.6865	.166	.01	(+)
Belief in Control	-1.2101	2.7095	.6552	.204	.012	(+)
Self-Confidence	-5.0438	3.3403*	.1310	3.427*	.185	(+)
Conceptual Comp.	4.4455	5.8232	.4452	.62	.035	(-)
Task Focus	7.4771	4.6474**	.1076	3.105*	.169	(+)
Ingroup Bias	3.0119	4.0634	.4586	.555	.032	(+)
Distrust	-27.704	32.0745	.3877	.949	.054	(+)

*: $p < .25$, **: $p < .10$, ***: $p < .05$

The statistical analysis relies on logit regression, which generates occasionally confusing information about the relationships between the variables. For example, the coefficient for mediator's task focus is interpreted in the following manner: a one unit change in mediator task focus leads to a 7.4771 unit increase in the log-odds ratio of the mediator strategy. To aid in sorting through the information, the discussion of the findings will examine of the general relationships between the independent and dependent variables.

A mediator's previous relationship with the parties and mediator's task focus are significant predictors of mediator strategy. As a mediator's previous relations with the parties increases, the mediator is more likely to use an active strategy. Likewise, as a mediator's task focus increases, the mediator is more likely to use an active strategy. These two variables are in the expected direction, which suggests that the expectations should be considered as hypotheses for future research.

The influence of a mediator's task focus is clearly seen in the case of Carter and his mediation between Egypt and Israel. Carter, who scored over one standard deviation above the mean with a task focus of 0.811, went to great efforts to bring both countries together at Camp David, and his persistence to reach a solution continued throughout the negotiations.[6] Carter's use of an active strategy involved the offer of foreign aid and the formulation of compromises for both sides.

The issue of a conflict and mediator's self-confidence reach a suggestive level of significance. As a mediator's self-confidence increases, a mediator is more likely to use a less active strategy. This variable performs in the opposite direction than expected. An increase to a high stakes issue for a conflict will lead to a mediator using a less active strategy. Since the issue variable performs in the expected direction, this expected relationship will be valuable to include as a hypothesis in future studies. However, the unexpected direction for the self-confidence variable creates a need to reanalyze the expected relationship. While the variable is suggestively related to the mediator strategy variable, the direction of the coefficient may mean that future hypotheses need to be reformulated to incorporate this negative relationship.

[6] The average score on task focus for the n = 28 dataset is 0.59457 with a standard deviation of 0.10961.

Logit regression does not provide a R^2 statistic like Ordinary Least Squares regression; however, other goodness-of-fit statistics are available, and these pseudo R^2 statistics can be interpreted in a similar manner as the OLS goodness-of-fit measures. The models for mediator's self-confidence, mediator's task focus, and mediator's previous relations with the parties respectively perform better than the other bivariate models in that they explain more variance in the dependent variable, as seen through these variables' relatively large pseudo R^2s.

The dataset of mediator and negotiator psychological characteristics proved to be too small for the proposed analysis of mediation outcome. Originally, this dataset was created to investigate how a negotiator can impact the outcome of mediation events. The outcome dependent variables did not vary enough (or at all for the dichotomous outcome variable) to allow for the analysis of bivariate relationships. To prevent the information in the dataset from going to waste through disuse, bivariate models were tested with the mediator's strategy as the dependent variable and the negotiator psychological variables as independent variables. Since these statistical tests were not theoretically developed in the previous section no expected directions are used to guide the interpretation of the data.

One other point needs to be discussed before the statistical analysis for this dataset is presented. In the original Med97 dataset, the disputants were coded as being party A or party B, and these codings were used to determine how the psychological scores for the negotiators were to be entered into the present dataset. This dataset construction presents some unique obstacles for the present analysis. The classification of a disputant as either party A or B is clearly random, which means any separation of

negotiators into categories will result in arbitrary statistical results. One approach to solving this dilemma is presented in Table 2.[7]

Table 2 reports the results of bivariate analyses for a dataset that uses the negotiator as the unit of analysis, thereby increasing the cases to 14. The belief in control over the environment variable exhibits a suggestive relationship with mediator strategy. An increase in the negotiator's belief in control of the environment results in a mediator using an active strategy. Thus, when a negotiator thinks he can control the events of mediation in their favor, the mediator will use an active strategy to redirect the mediation to be favorable for a compromise on both sides. In addition, the belief in control of the environment describes more variance in the dependent variable than any other psychological variable included in this dataset. Future mediation studies that investigate the interplay between mediators and negotiators should include the belief in control of the environment variable. The use of the negotiator as the unit of analysis provides some evidence of the interpersonal dynamic between mediator and negotiator for accomplishing the goals of mediation.

Table 2

Negotiator Dataset, n = 14
Bivariate analysis with Strategy as dependent variable

Variable	B	SE	p	X^2	Pseudo R^2
Need for power	7.4198	7.3951	.3157	1.109	.109
Belief in Control	10.2231	6.8622*	.1363	2.573*	.241
Self-Confidence	3.4582	3.8008	.3629	.859	.085
Complexity	8.8117	9.8448	.3708	.886	.088
Task	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Ingroup Bias	-7.3274	13.7727	.5947	.338	.034
Distrust	-4.9582	26.4094	.8511	.037	.004

*: $p < .25$, **: $p < .10$, ***: $p < .05$

[7] Another dataset was constructed using the averages of negotiator A and B's scores for the psychological constructs. No relevant findings were discovered using this dataset.

When the dependent variable is the mediation's outcome, two operationalizations of this variable are investigated. Table 3 contains the results of the bivariate analyses with the dichotomous mediation outcome variable. The table shows that a mediator's self-confidence is a significant predictor of the mediation outcome, and the mediator's previous relations with the parties reaches a suggestive level of significance. Thus, as a mediator's self-confidence increases, there exists a greater likelihood for a successful outcome; likewise, an increase in the number of previous relations the mediator has with the disputants will lead to a greater likelihood of a successful outcome.

Table 3

Mediator Dataset, n = 27
Bivariate analysis with Mediation Outcome in two categories as dependent variable
Logit Regression

Variable	B	SE	p	X^2	Pseudo R^2	Hypothesized Direction
Conflict Intensity	-.1307	.3691	.7233	.126	.006	(-)
Power Disparity	-.0048	.0828	.9538	.003	.000	(-)
Previous Relations	.7752	.6511*	.2338	1.483	.073	(+)
Med. Environment	-7.7771	36.6593	.8320	1.974	.099	(+)
Expected Duration	-3.953	.5006	.4297	.629	.031	(-)
Issue	.7732	.8623	.3699	.805	.04	(-)
Strategy	-.0073	.4455	.9868	.000	.000	(+)
Need for Power	2.9929	3.0856	.3321	1.015	.05	(+)
Belief in Control	.4676	2.5202	.8528	.034	.002	(+)
Self-Confidence	4.2774	2.5891**	.0985	4.135***	.194	(-)
Conceptual Comp.	5.5564	5.7132	.3308	1.039	.052	(+)
Task Focus	3.4810	3.8748	.3690	.848	.042	(+)
Ingroup Bias	-3.4905	4.5556	.4436	.662	.033	(-)
Distrust	-12.507	23.0493	.5874	.315	.016	(+)

*: $p < .25$, **: $p < .10$, ***: $p < .05$

During the Yugoslavian Civil War of the early 1990s, Lord Owen mediated between the major sides of the ethnic dispute. Over the years of his mediation, Lord Owen's self-confidence (0.333, about a half standard deviation above the mean score of

.23407) provided him with the emotional basis to continue conflict management in the face of growing tensions and violence. Owen was confident in his ability to appease all sides and to find a solution to the problems confronting the Yugoslavian states.[8] Thus, he continually reworked different settlement plans and brokered cease-fires in order to reach moments in which more meaningful settlements could be obtained (Stitkovac and Udovicki 1995, 191). Owen's above average self-confidence aided him in brokering a cease-fire (coded a success for the dichotomous outcome variable) between Karadzic and Krajisnik even while the violence of the civil war escalated.

The findings reported in Table 4 are the results of the multinomial logit regression for the mediation outcome dependent variable when it is defined in four categories. The results are different than traditional logit results in that a coefficient is calculated for each category of the dependent variable except for the last category. The last category acts as a reference for the other categories. In traditional logit, the results are always compared to the other value of the dependent variable, but in multinomial logit, one reference category is chosen as a way to standardize the interpretation of each variable's effects.

Table 4

Mediator Dataset, n = 27
Bivariate analysis with Mediation Outcome in four categories as dependent variable
Multinomial Logit Regression

Variable	B	SE	p	X^2	Pseudo R^2	Hypothesized Direction
Conflict Intensity				3.236	.13	(-)
DV=0	-.673	1.188	.321			
DV=1	-.446	1.242*	.129			
DV=2	-1.515	1.316*	.249			

(Table continued)

[8] Maass (1996, 255) gives an unflattering account of Owen's mediation behavior during the conflict. Maass does not discuss Owen's personality in political psychology terms, but the traits described by Maass fit the description of a self-confident individual.

(Table continued)

Power Disparity				.49	.021	(-)
DV=0	-.07842	.16	.624			
DV=1	-.132	.193	.493			
DV=2	-.06476	.18	.719			
Issue				4.763	.187	(-)
DV=0	17.379	1.289***	.000			
DV=1	17.172	1.607***	.000			
DV=2	19.657	.000	.			
Previous Relations				6.996*	.263	(+)
DV=0	-20.786	1.159***	.000			
DV=1	-19.908	1.274***	.000			
DV=2	-20.969	.000	.			
Med. Environment				3.473	.143	(+)
DV=0	-1.8×10^{-8}	3843.41	1.00			
DV=1	-16.459	3354.80	.996			
DV=2	-1.9×10^{-8}	.000	.			
Expected Duration				2.329	.095	(-)
DV=0	.551	1.263	.662			
DV=1	-.302	1.341	.822			
DV=2	.826	1.419	.560			
Strategy				.184	.008	(+)
DV=0	-.344	1.099	.754			
DV=1	-.482	1.186	.685			
DV=2	-.29	1.199	.809			
Need for Power				1.163	.049	(+)
DV=0	-.493	7.32	.946			
DV=1	3.131	8.007	.696			
DV=2	2.456	8.138	.763			
Belief in Control				2.087	.086	(+)
DV=0	-4.607	6.327	.466			
DV=1	-7.262	7.011	.300			
DV=2	-1.608	6.715	.811			
Self-Confidence				5.02	.196	(-)
DV=0	-2.313	5.681	.684			
DV=1	3.093	5.627	.583			
DV=2	1.032	5.805	.859			
Conceptual Complexity				1.781	.074	(+)
DV=0	-11.038	15.956	.479			
DV=1	-2.606	16.682	.876			
DV=2	-10.0	16.921	.555			
Task Focus				1.162	.049	(+)
DV=0	-4.522	10.261	.659			
DV=1	-2.663	10.835	.724			
DV=2	.962	11.183	.723			
Ingroup Bias				.822	.035	(-)
DV=0	9.412	17.039	.587			
DV=1	6.312	17.843	.724			
DV=2	6.388	18.029	.723			
Distrust				4.14	.164	(+)
DV=0	-55.349	43.318*	.201			
DV=1	-87.275	58.131*	.133			
DV=2	-106.114	70.108*	.130			

*: $p < .25$, **: $p < .10$, ***: $p < .05$

For the bivariate analyses presented in Table 4, several variables are of interest. The issue of a conflict and mediator's previous relations with the parties demonstrate significant relationships with the mediation outcome. Interestingly enough, both variables have relationships with the dependent variable in opposite directions than hypothesized. Increases in mediator's previous relations with the parties leads to less successful mediation outcomes, but an increase in the stakes of a conflict will result in an increase in mediation success. The conflict intensity and mediator distrust variables reach a suggestive level of significance, and the coefficient for mediator distrust is in the opposite direction than expected. An increase in either conflict intensity or mediator distrust will result in a lower probability of a successful outcome. For the mediation outcome as the dependent variable, the issue of a conflict and a mediator's previous relations with the parties should be included in future studies due to their high level of significance. Also, both conflict intensity and mediator distrust would be interesting to investigate.

Multivariate Models

The multivariate models represent attempts to construct parsimonious combinations of explanatory variables. These models are atheoretical in that no specific hypothesis is used to justify why a particular system of variables explains the dependent variables. The lack of a theory is a detriment and an aid at the same time. By not having a theory, the multivariate models are "fishing expeditions", or in other words, the data can create the justification for examining the relationships. While looking at the environment and trying to construct a theory is not in itself bad, this research style can lead to ad hoc changes in a theory in order to conform to any changes observed in future

studies. The ad hoc changes can be detrimental to the scientific approach in that these changes allow the theory to apply and explain all possibilities thereby eradicating a theory's falsifiability.

With all of this said, an inductive approach in data analysis can be fruitful. By creating different models of interesting variables, the atheoretical analysis helps by furthering understandings about which variables could be important and robust in future analyses. Given the limited size of the datasets used in this paper, no grand theory of mediation can be tested. For instance, a statistical model would lack enough degrees of freedom for proper analysis of every component in the contingency model. This limitation helps to justify the ad hoc nature of the analyses presented in this section.

Table 5

Mediator Dataset, n = 24
Multivariate logit regression analysis with strategy as the dependent variable

Variable	B	SE	p	X^2	Pseudo R^2
				10.135**	.478
Task Focus	4.8561	5.6559	.3906		
Self-Confidence	-4.8706	4.1366*	.2390		
Previous Relations	1.8597	1.3329*	.1630		

*: p < .25, **: p < .10, ***: p < .05

The first multivariate model utilizes the mediator dataset with mediator strategy as the dependent variable. When mediator's task focus, mediator's previous relations with the parties, and mediator's self-confidence are combined into a single model, some of the qualities from the bivariate models no longer appear. Only mediator self-confidence and mediator's previous relations with the parties reach a suggestive level of significance. As a mediator's self-confidence increases, the mediator is less likely to use an active strategy, controlling for the effects of the other two variables. An increase in

the number of relations between the mediator and the parties will result in a mediator using an active strategy, *ceteris paribus*.

Table 6 lists the results of a model of mediator's self-confidence, mediator's previous relations with the parties, and the mediation environment with the mediation outcome as the dependent variable. The mediator's previous relations with the parties and mediator's self-confidence are significant predictors, but the mediation environment is not an important predictor of the mediation outcome variable. Thus, as the number of relations that the mediator has with the disputants rises, the odds of a successful outcome rise, controlling for the effects of other variables; in addition, when a mediator becomes more confident, a successful outcome is more likely. Finally, it would strain credulity to infer that a more neutral environment would lead to a less successful outcome.

Table 6

Mediator Dataset, n = 26
Multivariate logit regression analysis with mediation outcome in two categories as the dependent variable

Variable	B	SE	p	X^2	Pseudo R^2
				8.937**	.395
Self-Confidence	5.3811	3.2317**	.0959		
Previous Relations	1.3226	.7634**	.0955		
Med. Environment	-7.7859	36.6631	.8318		

*: p < .25, **: p < .10, ***: p < .05

The final two models reported in Tables 7 and 7.1 use the mediator dataset to model the mediation outcome in four categories. These models describe the dependent variable as a function of the issue of a conflict, mediator's previous relations with the parties, and mediator self-confidence or mediator distrust. In both models, only the issue of a conflict is a significant predictor of the dependent variable. A change to a high stakes issue results in a lower likelihood of a successful outcome, controlling for other variables. The significance of the issue variable in tandem with the lack of significance

of the other variables suggests that the traditional international relations' concern with a country's national interest, or what is at stake in a dispute, does predominate the proceedings of a mediation attempt.

Table 7

Mediator Dataset, n = 27
Multivariate, multinomial logit regression analysis with mediation outcome in four categories as the dependent variable

Variable	B	SE	p	X^2	Pseudo R^2
				20.567**	.615
DV=0					
Issue	-125.142	2.155***	.000		
Previous Relations	-87.883	2376.116	.970		
Self-Confidence	-118.448	3499.103	.973		
DV=1					
Issue	-124.225	2.439***	.000		
Previous Relations	-85.941	2376.116	.971		
Self-Confidence	-112.7	3499.102	.974		
DV=2					
Issue	-121.665	.000	.		
Previous Relations	-85.773	2376.116	.971		
Self-Confidence	-114.333	3499.103	.974		

*: $p < .25$, **: $p < .10$, ***: $p < .05$

The multivariate models do not present an overall coherent picture of the proper modeling of mediation. While this limitation was understood from the outset, some general findings can be reported. First, combinations of the contingency model and psychological attributes tend to perform well in statistical analyses. Also, as evident from the limited models of the smaller dataset, the personal attributes of the negotiators are important for understanding the interpersonal dynamic created in mediation. Finally, the variables have varying effects when paired with other variables, but issue and mediator self-confidence have a consistent influence on the dependent variables.

Table 7.1

Mediator Dataset, n = 27
Multivariate, multinomial logit regression analysis with mediation outcome in four categories as the dependent variable

Variable	B	SE	p	X^2	Pseudo R^2
				15.865*	.513
DV=0					
Issue	-23.076	2.155***	.000		
Previous Relations	-33.017	4259.582	.994		
Distrust	-1279.889	181369.71	.994		
DV=1					
Issue	-22.734	2.391***	.000		
Previous Relations	-31.946	4259.582	.994		
Distrust	-1317.048	181369.71	.994		
DV=2					
Issue	-19.658	.000	.		
Previous Relations	-31.24	4259.582	.994		
Distrust	-1323.454	181369.72	.994		

*: $p < .25$, **: $p < .10$, ***: $p < .05$

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

This paper began by stating the question: do the psychological characteristics of the individuals involved in mediation have an impact on the process and outcome of mediations? The research questions resulted in the examination of existing theories and works on mediation, gathering of data from disparate sources, and an attempt to formulate and support a psychological approach to mediation research. Even with the accumulated data, the answer to the research question remains elusive.

Some general findings do standout from the analyses performed for this paper. First and most important for this paper, the psychological characteristics of the individuals involved in mediation influence the outcome and process of mediation events. Yet, the psychological variables were not always significant, and many of the variables never reached a suggestive level of significance while other variables demonstrated levels of significance and suggestiveness across multiple models. The most notable of the consistently important psychological variable is the mediator self-confidence variable. For the mediator strategy dependent variable, an increase in the mediator's self-confidence results in a greater likelihood to use a less active strategy. In addition, an increase in the mediator's self-confidence results in a more successful mediation outcome. Other psychological variables demonstrated important relationships with a dependent variable, and these variables could be helpful for future hypothesis formation and model building.

Another finding demonstrated by this paper is the importance of the contingency model for a psychological approach to mediation research. While the paper emphasizes the importance of psychological characteristics as important for mediation, this assertion

can only be made with the understanding that individual psychology stands among many factors in determining behavior. The research shows that a mediator's previous relations with the parties and the issue of a conflict are significant, albeit not consistent, predictors of mediation strategy and mediation outcome. The expectation for a mediator's previous relations with regards to mediator strategy was confirmed; an increase in the number of relations a mediator has with the disputants will lead to the mediator using an active strategy. Yet, the expected relationships for the issue of a conflict and a mediator's previous relations were not in the expected direction for mediation outcome. Instead, higher-stake issues lead to a more successful mediation outcome and an increase in the mediator's previous relations with the disputants results in a less successful outcome. These unexpected relationships should be used as bases for future hypotheses.

Finally, even though few analyses utilized the mediator and negotiator dataset, the tests indicate that a negotiator's psychological characteristics are important factors in determining a mediator's strategy.

Since this paper proposed a argument through an inductive investigation, what can future researchers of mediation concentrate on when constructing models for their works? The analyses presented in the present paper do not unequivocally support all the psychological expectations tested. Yet, the research does confirm the importance of incorporating some psychological variables in future models of mediation research. The psychological variables chosen for future studies will depend on the research question at-hand and the data collected, but all research should realize that without the psychological characteristics of the mediator and the negotiator, the theory will suffer from model misspecification.

Future research should incorporate the findings of the present paper, but the limitations of the results must be kept in mind in order to guard against any haphazard glorification of research. To begin, the findings deal with only 28 mediation events in which only one mediator and one negotiator from each disputing party participated. This small dataset considerably limits the generalizability of the findings. While the findings may not be applicable to all instances of mediation, the research program outlined in this paper can be used to investigate many instances of mediation. Thus, future research on mediation would do well to take the findings of this research as general understandings of how the psychological constructs affect mediation events.

Also, the multivariate models reported are not the only possible combinations. To be certain, a full multivariate model that would test the contingency model side by side with the psychological variables was not possible due to the small number of cases. This inability to test all theoretically interesting models necessarily means that most models suffer from model misspecification, and an inductive approach to creating the multivariate models resulted in the disregard of this error. However, this research attempted to control for some relationships while testing the psychological variables as a way of accommodating rigorous statistical analysis in a small-n dataset.

The last caveat to the findings of the research concerns data gathering. The investigation of the psychological characteristics of mediators and negotiators was limited in finding speeches for the principals involved in mediations, as well as by the type of data gathered by previous scholars. The individual data was mainly gathered by searching *Keesing's Archives* and United Nations' documents. Many of the negotiators were identified through *Keesing's*, but the United Nations' documents lacked appropriate

materials for many mediation participants. An expansion of sources would probably increase the number of cases and eliminate outlier problems. In turn, the increase in the number of cases would allow for a better statistical analysis through properly specified models.

The other data problem encountered during the research concerns the predominance of categorical data in mediation research. As mentioned in the literature review and research design sections, many of the contingency model variables could not be used or were modified due to the categorical nature. The quantification of the variables important in mediation case studies marked a vast improvement in the understanding of causality in mediation events. Yet, the operationalization of the categorical variables does not allow for regression analysis. The findings for these variables illustrate the importance of re-conceptualizing variables in order to test for their effects while controlling for other variables.

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APPENDIX A VARIABLES

Dependent Variables

Mediator Strategy - A broad category of behavior by the mediator that can be classified by a common theme, ranging from less to more active. A less active strategy consists of mediators providing information to the parties and not controlling the mediation process (coded as 0). A more active strategy consists of the mediator offering incentives and ultimatums for the acceptance and implementation of a solution (coded as 1).

Outcome - The result of mediation efforts in terms of altering the behavior of the disputants. The first outcome variable is polychotomous. "Mediation is defined as fully successful when it is given credit for making a great difference to or settling a dispute" [coded as 3]; "It is partially successful when its efforts initiate negotiations and some dialogue between the parties" [coded as 2]; "Mediation success is limited when it achieves only a ceasefire or break in hostilities" [coded as 1]; and, "It is unsuccessful when it has no discernible impact on the dispute" [coded as 0] (Bercovitch et al. 1991, 9).

The second outcome variable is dichotomous. Mediation is successful (coded as 1) if a full settlement, partial settlement, or ceasefire occurs, as defined by the previous operationalization. Mediation is not successful if the "no discernible impact on the dispute" results from the mediation event (coded as 0).

Control Variables

Conflict intensity -- The level of hostilities reached between disputing parties. Intensity is operationalized as the number of fatalities per month for the conflict: 0 - 500 (0); 501– 1,000 (1); 1,001 – 10,000 (2); 10,000 + (3).

Power disparity - The difference between one party's power resources and the other party's power resources. First, the index of power for a party is determined by measuring the party's placement on five power resources. After scores are determined for a party on each scale, then the scores are added to create an index score for the party. Finally, the absolute value of the difference between two parties' power scores is calculated in order to arrive at a power disparity variable.

The measure of the power of a disputing party is a modified version of the Cox-Jacobson Scale. The power index score for a nation is calculated by adding its scores on the following measures. All currency-based measures are in US dollars at current prices. Since the purpose of the modified scale was to compare states at a particular point in time, it was felt unnecessary to convert figures to constant prices, as was done in the original.[9]

[9] This variable's operational definition is found in Appendix 4 of the Med97 codebook.

GNP

Score	$Billion
1	0-0.9
2	1-3
3	4-6
4	7-9
5	10-19
6	20-29
7	30-39
8	40-59
9	60-99
10	100-199
11	200-499
12	500+

Military Spending

Score	$Million
1	0-9
2	10-50
3	51-100
4	101-250
5	251-500
6	501-750
7	751-1,000
8	1,001-5,000
9	5,001-10,000
10	10,001-25,000
11	25,001-50,000
12	50,000+

GNP per Capita

Score	$
1	0-199
2	200-599
3	600-999
4	1,000-4,999
5	5,000-9,999
6	10,000+

Territory

Score	Km^2
0	0-50,000
1	50,001-200,000
2	200,001-500,000
3	500,001-900,000
4	900,001-2,500,000
5	2,500,000+

Population

Score	Millions
1	0-1.9
2	2-19
3	20-59
4	60-99
5	100-249
6	250+

Mediator's previous relationship with parties – The presence of an ongoing relationship between the mediator and one or both parties involved in the mediation. This variable can assume the following values: no previous relationship with either party (0); a mediator may share a common political or economic alliance with only one of the parties (1); a mediator may belong to the same bloc or regional organization as both parties (2).

Mediation environment - The physical environment in which conflict management takes place, which is operationalized in the following manner: A disputant's territory (0); mediator's territory (1); neutral site other than mediator's territory (2); composite of the mediator's territory and the neutral site such that a mediation event may revolve around

several different environments (3). A dichotomous variable is created by coding scores of 1, 2, and 3 as (1) and a code of zero remains the same.

Expected mediation duration - The length of time from the initiation to the end of the previous conflict management attempt. This variable is coded as 1 day (0); 2 to 3 days (1); 1 to 2 months (2); 3+ months (3).

Mediator strategy - A broad category of behavior by the mediator that can be classified by a common theme, ranging from less to more active. A less active strategy consists of mediators providing information to the parties and not controlling the mediation process (coded as 0). An moderate active strategy consists of mediators controlling certain aspects of the mediation, such as the mediation environment and the mediation agenda (coded as 1). A more active strategy consists of the mediator offering incentives and ultimatums for the acceptance and implementation of a solution (coded as 2).

Issue of a conflict – An issue refers to the underlying causes of a dispute. A case's issue is differentiated as representing either low stakes or high stakes for the disputants, and the determination of the stakes is based on the Med97 coding for the type of issue in a conflict. Originally, a conflict is defined as one of the following categories: territory (1); ideology (2); security (3); independence (4); resources (5); or ethnic (6). From this classification, cases that are coded as territory or independence are recoded as (1) for high stakes, and all other codings are recoded as (0) for low stakes.

Psychological Variables

Need for power – A concern for establishing, maintaining, or restoring one's power; the desire to control, influence, or have an impact on other persons or groups. A document's score is determined by calculating the percentage of times that the verbs in that document exhibit the speaker identifying with behaviors that attempt to establish, maintain, or restore his or her power.

Belief in control – A view of the world in which leaders perceive some degree of control over the situations they find themselves in; there is a perception that individuals and governments can influence what happens. Verbs in a document are coded as exhibiting a belief in control if they indicate a speaker identifying himself or herself with being responsible for initiating the action contained in a verb. A document's score is the percentage of times that the belief in control verbs are used in the material.

Self-confidence – One's sense of self-importance, an individual's image of his or her ability to cope adequately with objects and persons in the environment. When the pronouns me, I, mine, myself, and my suggest that the subject is an instigator, authority figure, or recipient of a positive reward, the pronoun exhibits self-confidence. A document's self-confidence score is the percentage of times the self-confidence pronouns are used in the material.

Conceptual complexity – The degree of differentiation which an individual shows in describing or discussing other people, places, polices, ideas, or things. Words are coded as either indicating high or low complexity, and a document's score is calculated from the proportion of high complexity words divided by the sum of high and low complexity words.

Task focus – Leaders tend to perform two ideal type functions in a group: task completion or group morale building. These functions can be arranged on a scale whereby individuals can occupy positions on this scale that blend the two extremes. Task words in a document are coded as indicating work on an instrumental activity, and affect words are coded as indicating a concern for the feelings of others. A document's score is determined by the proportion of task words divided by the sum of task and affect words.

Ingroup bias – A worldview where one's own group occupies a central role in the functions of the environment. Words or phrases are coded as indicating an ingroup bias if modifiers are positive, favorable, or indicate a need to maintain group cohesion. A document's score is the percentage of times in the material that phrases refer to an ingroup bias.

Distrust – A general feeling of doubt, uneasiness, misgiving, and wariness about others. Words or phrases are coded as indicating distrust if the speaker shows a concern about others or if the actions of others could be harmful to the speaker. A document's score is calculated as the percentage of times that the speaker exhibits distrust toward others.

APPENDIX B MEDIATOR SPEECHES

Dispute #	Mediator	Date	Conflict	Parties
24	Waldheim	5-2-79	Korean War	N.Korea/S.Korea

Had talks with Pres. Kim (N. Korea) and Pres. Park Chung Hee (S. Korea).
21 Mar 1979 A/AC.115/PV.416
26 Feb 1979 A/AC.109/PV.1134
11 Dec 1978 A/33/PV.77
8 Dec 1978 S/PV.2106

83 Mahgoub 8-24-67 N.Yemen:Royalist Rebellion
Egypt/S.Yemen
Mahgoub (Sudanese PM) mediated between Nasser and Faisal.
5 Jul 1967 A/PV.1549
21 Jun 1967 A/PV.1530

142 Kissinger 10-31-73 Yom Kippur War Israel/Egypt
Mrs. Golda Meir (PM Israel) and Mr. Ismail Fahmy (FM Egypt).
24 Sep 1973 A/PV.2124

142 Carter 9-5-78 Yom Kippur War Israel/Egypt
Pres. Sadat and Mr. Begin.
10 May 1978 A/33/96
25 Apr 1978 A/33/86

142 Vance 2-21-79 Yom Kippur War Israel/Egypt
Dr. Mustpha Khalil (Egypt) and Mr. Moshi Davan (Israel).
29 Sep 1978 A/33/PV.14
29 Sep 1978 S/PV.2087
27 Jul 1978 S/PV.2082

143 Kissinger 1-20-74 Israel-Syria Israel/Syria
King Hussein and Pres. Assad.
9 Nov 1973 S/11091
24 Sep 1973 A/PV.2124

145 Waldheim 2-13-77 Cyprus Conflict
Turkey/Cyprus
Pres. Makarios and Rauf Denktash.
14 Dec 1976 S/PV.1979
8 Dec 1976 A/31/PV.93
10 Sep 1976 S/PV.1955

145 Perez de Cuellar 9-10-84 Cyprus Conflict
Turkey/Cyprus
Javier Perez de Cuellar mediated between Denktash and Kyprianou.

29 Feb 1984 S/PV.2519

145 Perez de Cuellar 10-15-84 Cyprus Conflict
Turkey/Cyprus
Mediated between Kyprianou and Denktash.
15 Oct 1984 A/AC.115/PV.553

145 Perez de Cuellar 11-26-84 Cyprus Conflict
Turkey/Cyprus
Mediated between Kyprianou and Denktash.
25 Oct 1984 A/C.1/39/PV.12
2 Nov 1984 A/39/PV.44

145 Perez de Cuellar 1-17-85 Cyprus Conflict
Turkey/Cyprus
Mediated between Denktash and Pres. Evren (Turkey).
20 Dec 1984 A/39/PV.97
20 Dec 1984 A/39/PV.96
6 Dec 1984 A/39/PV.83
29 Nov 1984 S/PV.1809
2 Nov 1984 A/39/PV.44
25 Oct 1984 A/C.1/39/PV.12
15 Oct 1984 A/AC.115/PV.553

145 Boutros-Ghali 10-28-92 Cyprus Conflict
Turkey/Cyprus
Boutros Boutros-Ghali mediated between Pres. Georgios Vassiliou and Denktash.
3 Aug 1992 A/46/PV87

145 Boutros-Ghali 3-30-93 Cyprus Conflict
Turkey/Cyprus
Mediated between Denktash and Glafkos Clerides.
9 Mar 1993 A/AC.109/PV.1412
11 Mar 1993 A/AC.115/PV.661
26 Mar 1993 A/AC.115/PV.664
18 Jan 1993 A/AC.183/PV.192
23 Dec 1992 A/C.1/47/PV.18
22 Dec 1992 A/47/PV.82
16 Dec 1992 A/47/PV.76
30 Nov 1992 S/PV.3144
11 Nov 1992 A/47/PV.52
29 Oct 1992 A/47/PV.39

153 Saud al Faisal 1-8-84 Lebanese Civil War
Muslims/Christians

Prince Saud al Faisal mediated between Dr. Elie Salem (Lebanese FM) and Khaddam
(Syrian FM).
4 Oct 1983 A/38/PV.16

182 Perez de Cuellar 5-21-91 Afghanistan War
USSR/Afghanistan
Perez de Cuellar mediated between Pres. Janibullah and Gulbuddin Hekmatyar.
22 Mar 1991 A/AC.115/PV.647
21 Mar 1991 A/AC.109/PV.1377
23 Feb 1991 S/PV.2977
29 Nov 1990 S/PV.2963
4 Jan 1991 A/45/PV.68

182 Algabid 7-5-94 Afghanistan War
USSR/Afghanistan
Hamid Algabid (Sec. Gen. of OIC) mediated between Pres. Rabbani and Hekmatyar.
27 Apr 1994 S/PV.3370

183 Waldheim 8-2-80 Kampuchea-Vietnam
Kampuchea/Vietnam
Waldheim mediated between Mr. Nguyen Co Thach and Gen Prem Tinsulanoud.
13 Jun 1980 S/PV.2230
14 Apr 1980 S/PV.2213
11 Mar 1980 A/AC.109/PV.1164

194 Eliasson 1-89 Iran-Iraq War Iraq/Iran
Jan Eliasson mediated between Tariq Aziz (Iraq) and Velayati (Iran).
23 Jun 1988 A/AC.115/PV.617

194 Perez de Cuellar 2-11-89 Iran-Iraq War Iraq/Iran
Perez de Cuellar mediated between Aziz and Velayati.
16 Jan 1989 A/43/PV.85
23 Dec 1988 A/43/PV.74
23 Nov 1988 A/43/PV.56
1 Nov 1988 A/43/PV.38
1 Nov 1988 A/C.1/43/PV.18
20 Oct 1988 A/AC.115/PV.621
17 Aug 1988 A/42/PV.114
11 Aug 1988 S/PV.2823

194 Perez de Cuellar 4-20-89 Iran-Iraq War Iraq/Iran
Perez de Cuellar mediated between Aziz and Velayati.
23 Nov 1988 A/43/PV.56

1 Nov 1988 A/43/PV.38
1 Nov 1988 A/C.1/43/PV.18
20 Oct 1988 A/AC.115/PV.621
16 Jan 1989 A/43/PV.85
11 Nov 1988 A/AC.131/PV.520
23 Dec 1988 A/43/PV.74

194 Perez de Cuellar 7-3-90 Iran-Iraq War Iraq/Iran
Perez de Cuellar mediated between Aziz and Velayati.
26 Apr 1990 A/S-18/PV.1

204 Perez de Cuellar 5-6-82 Falkland Islands War Argentina/UK
Perez de Cuellar mediated between Thatcher and Argentinean FM.
14 Apr 1982 A/AC.115/PV.492
1 Mar 1982 A/AC.109/PV.1205
27 Jan 1982 A/AC.115/PV.488
15 Dec 1981 A/36/PV.98

255 Owen 4-25-93 Yugoslavian Civil War
Yugoslavia/Croatia
Lord Own mediated between Karadzic and Momcilo Krajisnik (Bosnian Serb Assembly
Speaker).
6 Jan 1993 S/25050
24 Dec 1992 S/25015
13 Nov 1992 S/PV.3134

264 Rafsanjani 2-1-91 Gulf War Iraq/Kuwait
Pres. Hashemi Ali Akbar Rafsanjani (Iran) mediated between Hussein and Bush.
17 Aug 1990 S/21556

265 Yeltsin 2-20-92 Negorno Karabkh Conflict
Azerbaijan/Armenia
Boris Yelstin mediated between Azerbaijani Pres. Ayay Mutalibov and Armenian Pres. Levon Ter-Petrosyan.
31 Jan 1992 S/PV.3046
31 Jan 1992 CD/1123

266 Diria 7-10-92 Rwanda Invasion
Rwandan Rebels/ Rwanda
Ahmed Hassan Diria mediated between Boniface Ngulinzaira and FPR rep. Pasteur Bizimungu.
3 Oct 1991 A/46/PV.14

274 Piriz-Ballon 4-18-95 TadjikistanConflictTadjikRebels/
TadjikistanRamiro

Piriz-Ballon (UN special envoy) mediated between Mahmadsaid Ubaydulloyev and Haji Aklar Turandjonyonda.
22 Oct 1994 S/1994/1201

281 Kozyrev 6-29-94 Yemen Civil War S.Yemen/N.Yemen
Andrei Kozyrev mediated between Muhammad Salim Basindwah (North FM) and Salim Salih Muhammad (Member of South presidential council).
21 Jun 1994 S/1994/732
8 Feb 1994 S/1994/138

APPENDIX C MEDIATOR AND NEGOTIATOR SPEECHES

Dispute #	Mediator	Date	Conflict	Parties
145	Perez de Cuellar	9-10-84	Cyprus Conflict	Turkey/Cyprus

Javier Perez de Cuellar mediated between Denktash and Kyprianou.
29 Feb 1984 S/PV.2519

Denktash

3 May 1984 S/PV.2531
4 May 1984 S/PV.2534
11 May 1984 S/PV.2538
11 May 1984 S/PV.2539

Kyprianou

3 May 1984 S/PV.2531

153	Saud al Faisal	1-8-84	Lebanese Civil War	Muslims/Christians

Prince Saud al Faisal mediated between Dr. Elie Salem (Lebanese FM) and Khaddam
(Syrian FM).
4 Oct 1983 A/38/PV.16

Khaddam

29 Sep 1983 A/38/PV.9

Salem

3 Oct 1983 A/38/PV.14
6 Sep 1983 S/15953
18 Jul 1983 S/PV.2456

194	Eliasson	1-89	Iran-Iraq War	Iraq/Iran

Jan Eliasson mediated between Tariq Aziz (Iraq) and Velayati (Iran).
23 Jun 1988 A/AC.115/PV.617

Aziz

20 Jun 1988 A/S-15/PV.20
13 Jun 1988 S/19935
12 Dec 1988 S/20319
7 Nov 1988 S/20264
6 Nov 1988 A/43/PV.17
20 Aug 1988 S/20140

Velayati

16 Dec 1988 S/20335

30 Nov 1988 S/20304
31 Oct 1988 S/20254
4 Oct 1988 A/43/PV.14
3 Aug 1988 S/20085
25 Jul 1988 S/PV.2818
4 Jul 1988 S/19979
25 Jul 1988 S/20058
7 Aug 1988 S/20094
15 Dec 1988 S/20350

194 Perez de Cuellar 2-11-89 Iran-Iraq War Iraq/Iran
Perez de Cuellar mediated between Aziz and Velayati.
16 Jan 1989 A/43/PV.85
23 Dec 1988 A/43/PV.74
23 Nov 1988 A/43/PV.56
1 Nov 1988 A/43/PV.38
1 Nov 1988 A/C.1/43/PV.18
20 Oct 1988 A/AC.115/PV.621
17 Aug 1988 A/42/PV.114
11 Aug 1988 S/PV.2823

Aziz

3 Jan 1989 A/43/PV.78
12 Dec 1988 S/20319
7 Nov 1988 S/20264
2 Feb 1989 S/20443
6 Oct 1988 A/43/PV.17
20 Aug 1988 S/20140

Velayati

16 Dec 1988 S/20335
4 Oct 1988 A/43/PV.14
29 Dec 1988 S/20363
15 Dec 1988 S/20350
29 Nov 1988 S/20304
31 Oct 1988 S/20254

194 Perez de Cuellar 4-20-89 Iran-Iraq War Iraq/Iran
Perez de Cuellar mediated between Aziz and Velayati.
23 Nov 1988 A/43/PV.56
1 Nov 1988 A/43/PV.38
1 Nov 1988 A/C.1/43/PV.18
20 Oct 1988 A/AC.115/PV.621
16 Jan 1989 A/43/PV.85
11 Nov 1988 A/AC.131/PV.520

23 Dec 1988 A/43/PV.74

Aziz

18 Apr 1989 S/20597
27 Feb 1989 S/20492
3 Jan 1989 A/43/PV.78
12 Dec 1988 S/20319
7 Nov 1988 S/20264
2 Feb 1989 S/20443
6 Oct 1988 A/43/PV.17

Velayati

6 Mar 1989 S/20501
16 Dec 1988 S/20335
29 Dec 1988 S/20363
15 Dec 1988 S/20350
29Nov 1988 S/20304
31 Oct 1988 S/20254

194 Perez de Cuellar 7-3-90 Iran-Iraq War Iraq/Iran
Perez de Cuellar mediated between Aziz and Velayati.
26 Apr 1990 A/S-18/PV.1

Aziz

25 May 1990 A/AC.131/323
12 Jan 1990 A/S-16/PV.2
10 Jan 1990 S/21070

Velayati

2 May 1990 A/S-18/PV.2
15 Mar 1990 CD/PV.543
19 Jan 1990 A/S-16/PV.5

264 Rafsanjani 2-1-91 Gulf War Iraq/Kuwait
Pres. Hashemi Ali Akbar Rafsanjani (Iran) mediated between Hussein and Bush.
17 Aug 1990 S/21556

Bush

5 Oct 1990 A/45/PV.14

Hussein

1 Feb 1991 S/22188

VITA

Josh grew-up in the suburbs of New Orleans, and now resides in New Orleans while preparing to attend culinary arts school in London, England. Before he decided to pursue a career in cooking, Josh attended Louisiana State University as an undergraduate, and he received two Bachelor of Arts degrees in History and Political Science. After graduation, Josh married the love of his life and then attended Louisiana State University for graduate school in Political Science.