Chapter Six

Mediation Styles

Introduction

In this chapter attention is turned from how individuals conceptualize their role as a mediator to how they describe their style of mediation. Once again, of interest were how understandings of style might vary and how they were linked to contextual factors. Divergence in meaning with commonly used terms was also under examination. In this latter quest, a similar pattern to the discussion in Chapter 5 - that respondents did not always attribute the same meaning when using the same word, was found. Differences in how male and female mediators described their style were also striking. Men tended to use more problem-solving characterizations while women used more relational terms. That being said, half of the women and half of the men in this study describe their style as facilitative. Another of the other insights from the analysis of mediator style was that respondents report they typically change their style of mediation depending, for the most part, upon the nature of the parties.

The literature cites many differences in mediation styles that have their basis in an individual's ideological views. Two examples of differing sets of ideologies are represented in the following discussion. Communicative mediators assume that "relationship is the primary context of interest in mediation and that a communication perspective is essential to understanding

the generative synergy of communication and relationship; the interrelation of relationship and communication is a central foci of the mediation process" (Jones, 1994:27). Settlement mediators, on the other hand, operate from an individualist set of ideologies and "want to find a substantive outcome that will result in a deal; substantive matters organize their practice" (Kolb, 1994:471). This emphasis on communication or settlement to distinguish different approaches to mediation has been characterized in various bi-polar typologies that have been discussed throughout this dissertation, most notably in Chapter 2.

The descriptions of mediator styles collected in this study were organized into three broad types for coding purposes: 1) facilitative, 2) problem-solving and 3) relational. The facilitative[57] style code included responses that emphasized the management of process. The problem-solving style code emphasized the settlement of disputes. Both these style descriptions resemble the settlement style described by Kolb (1994). The relational style code is similar to Jone's (1994) communicative style as respondents made considerable reference to communication and rapport-building. Similar to the findings in Chapter 5, which examined respondents'

[57] The "facilitative" style is not to be confused with the "facilitative" role found in Chapter 5. While I would have preferred to use different labels to distinguish style and role, the word *facilitative* was used in the descriptions provided by respondents to questions about role and style to such an extant that it would have been inappropriate to use other labels. This serves to strengthen the conclusion that mediation terms are used interchangeably but with different meanings attached to them.

conceptualization of their role, there is not a single meaning associated with respondents' descriptions of their style.

The majority of the sample indicated that their styles have been influenced by their "experience as a mediator" (90%) and their "life experience" (82%). To a lesser degree, "continuing education and training" (65%), "initial training" (60%), and "professional background" (57%) also influenced the development of their style. This finding is consistent with what has been written about how mediators ground their approach in ideological views (Bush and Folger, 1994), and research which shows that mediators are influenced by past experience, instruction and training (Wall and Lynn, 1993). Religion and experience as a disputant in mediation were deemed to have little or no impact on their style.

While most authors would agree that no mediator is fixed in one approach to the exclusion of the other, there does seem to be a general assumption that individuals can be characterized as having one mediation style which impacts most regularly on their practice choices. This chapter challenges this idea because it shows that, in their minds at least, respondents believe they use different styles of mediation depending upon the circumstances of the conflict situation. One respondent put it this way:

> [I] *tend to respond to the personalities of the disputants. If I assess they need more structure because of emotions being high I give them structure. If I sense a need to be more*

facilitative I will. If my first choice of transformative mediation does not seem to help us move I will settle for settlement. [312/F/C/SS][58]

One of the noteworthy findings in this chapter on style is that most (79%) respondents report that they typically use more than one style of mediation. The characteristics of the disputing parties are what most frequently cause respondents to change their style - one third (34%) of responses indicated this reason[59]. Characteristics of disputants include such factors as age, gender, language, human needs, and the number of participants in the mediation session. This finding did not differ when cross-tabulated with gender, educational background, dispute sector or length of time mediating, with one exception. Newcomer males indicated that the "dynamics" (57% of responses) of the mediation session would cause them to change their style; their second most frequently occurring response was "nature of the participants" (43% of responses).

I. Differentiating Mediation Styles

Respondents were asked to describe in an open-ended question format their typical style of mediation. Six coded factors were generated from the responses given by respondents using the method of grounded

[58] Attribution codes refer to case number/gender/dispute sector/educational background.

[59] "The next most frequently occurring response was "dynamics" (18% of responses), followed by the "nature of the dispute" (14% of responses), and "impasse" (12% of responses). Dynamics" refers to what is going on in the mediation room, time constraints, communication patterns, and the preparedness of the parties or their counsel. "Nature of the dispute" includes reference to issues

theory. The categories included 1) directive 2) facilitative 3) relational 4) non-directive 5) problem-solving and 6) transformative. A frequency analysis showed that the "facilitative" factor (48% of responses) was by far the most frequently occurring response. It was followed by "problem-solving" and "non-directive" factors (each had 15% of responses). Describing their style as "facilitative" is consistent with many respondents' description of their role as a mediator.

To increase cell size and enable further analysis of how respondents describe their style of mediation, the six coded factors were recoded into three factors. The new categories became: 1) problem-solving (includes the directive and problem-solving factors), 2) facilitative (includes the facilitative factor), and 3) relational (includes the relational, transformative and non-directive factors). Each of these three styles is described below. It is worth noting at the outset that respondents' descriptions of their style shows a similar pattern of convergence in language but divergence in meaning to that which was found in the analysis of the facilitative role in Chapter 5.

The Facilitative Style

The majority of respondents who had their definition of style coded as "facilitative" actually used the word *facilitative* in their description, however,

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(financial or involving children), purpose of the session, or degree of conflict. "Impasse" refers to the inability to move forward, as well as use of threatening, controlling or other poor behavior.

they did not always attribute the same focus to this style of mediation. In some instances the facilitative style appeared to have an educative goal, in others it was more personally and emotionally attentive, and in still others it had more to do with the management of process. This latter focus on process was included in respondents' descriptions more often than any of the others, suggesting that mediators who describe their style as facilitative understand this style to be one which attends to process. Three examples of defining one's style with process-focused meanings follow:

> [I] *follow the process which I have first explained; go with the flow afterwards if needed, but always come back to the process to look for common goals; look to the content and the relationship at the same time.* [25/F/F/SS]
>
> [I am] *facilitative in surfacing issues; challenging (through questions) in exploring the issues; hands off when the parties are dialoguing in non-blaming ways.* [230/M/W/SS]
>
> [I am in] *control of process but facilitate information sharing and discussion; facilitative, not evaluative but interventionist* [267/F/W/SS]

This definition can be contrasted with ones where individuals believe their style to be more emotionally attentive – both in their personal manner and in relation to the parties.

> [I] *guide process firmly but allow parties to deviate from stated agenda when it means the real issues are outside the agenda; carefully manage the emotional climate and power displays; verbalize my insights; understanding, trust and integrity are goals for me.* [41/F/W/SS]
>
> [I am] *easy going, relaxed, calm; oftentimes facilitative but ready to be directive* [325/M/C/SS]

Two examples of attributing an educative goal to the facilitative mediation style are:

> [I am] *very facilitative but will educate the parties about choices and alternatives often.* [170/M/F/SS]
>
> [I am] *an empathetic teacher who is trying to facilitate the students learning* [6/M/F/SS]

Then again, some respondents included many of these goals in their description of the style of mediation as evidenced in the following description:

> [I am] *facilitative.* [I] *focus on both problem solving and techniques associated with problem solving as well as relationship building and the development of empathy between the parties*. [I am] *genuine and non-directive.* [143/F/W/SS]

It is apparent that for mediators the word "facilitative" has several meanings. In Chapter 5, we saw that it was used to conceptualize the mediator role, and now in this chapter it is being used to describe a style of mediation (Table 22).

Table 22. Contrasting the Facilitative "Style" with the Facilitative "Role"

FACILITATIVE "STYLE"	FACILITATIVE "ROLE"
Process Attention is focused on controlling the process.	Process Attention given to managing process.
Personally Attentive Attention is given to being personally attentive and to dealing with emotions.	Communication Attention given to enhancing communication and understanding between parties.
Educate Attention is given to educating the parties through provision of information and modeling of behaviours.	Resolution Attention given to reaching a settlement and resolution to the dispute.

In conceptualizing their “role” as facilitative, respondents used it to emphasize attending to process, to communication, and to resolution. Similarly, when describing their “style” as facilitative, respondents were also referring to process-related acts. In addition to attending to process, respondents had a tendency to describe their “facilitative” style as being emotionally and personally attentive, and serving an educative function. They talked considerably less about communication and even less, if at all, about resolution. As with role definition, we find diversity in how respondents understand their actions. Looking at what they said, lends further support to the notion that while mediators use similar words, they often mean different things by them.

The Problem-Solving Style

The “problem-solving” style category included reference to problem solving and settlement. The following is an example of a settlement focused problem-solving style.

> [I am] *settlement based - process related to specified issues on agreed agenda reaching resolution.* [200/M/F/L]

Quite interestingly, respondents also combined “problem-solving” with being therapeutic when describing their style.

> [My style is a] *combination of problem solving and therapeutic -- most of my clients want to find solutions/make decisions and they may want to process some feelings (or doing so helps with solutions.)* [354/F/F/SS]

> [I am] *problem-solving, solution focused; when necessary will use a more therapeutic approach until parents are ready to mediate issues.* [7/M/F/SS]

The above examples indicate a tendency for respondents to attribute different emphasis regarding the 'problem-solving" style. That being said, it does seem true that the emphasis is toward the settlement of problems.

The Relational Style

Respondents who were coded as having a relational style mentioned more "people-focused" activities than "problem-focused" tasks. They may have also made reference to "*magical moments*" in mediation, to *being transformative*, and to *making a personal connection to the parties* in the mediation. Examples of conceptualizing one's role in relational terms follow.

> [I am] *as neutral and balanced as possible, calm, continuously optimistic, curious, focused, inspiring hope, unhurried, trying to find the rhythm and place and space of participants* [101/M/C/SS].

> [I am] *conversational,* [I] *focus on relationship and underlying "wounds",* [I am] *low key,* [I use] *humor when appropriate* [131/M/W/L]

The above two are examples of how respondents understand their style as understand as needing to make a personal connection with the parties. A transformative understanding of the relational style is contained in the following example:

> [My style is] *transformative,* [I] *aim to find magical moments were true understanding of the other point of view is reached and where parties passionately suggest they would do things differently next time; build in opportunities for empathy"* [312/F/C/SS].

And finally, having a style that helps parties to understand each other is another emphasis of the relational style:

> *getting underneath what they say and eliciting meaning, depth, layers and helping them help each other* [318//F/B/SS]

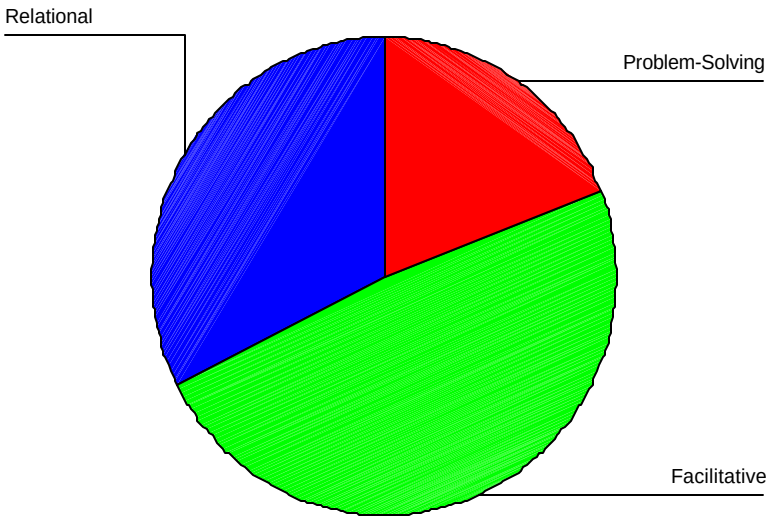
The relational style emphasizes the personal connection between the mediator and the parties to the mediation. It also is attentive to transformation by helping parties achieve understanding.

Looking at these three broad categories of mediator styles leads us to reach similar conclusions to that which has been found in other parts of this dissertation, namely, that there is not a single understanding for many of the words used by mediators. Nor does it appear that only two opposing sets of understandings exist as might be expected based on the extant literature. Examination of how respondents' descriptions of their style are linked to contextual factors is the next item of analysis. It will show that gender, dispute sector and educational background are connected to differences in how mediators conceptualize their role.

Connecting Style to Contextual Factors

Almost half of respondents described their style as “facilitative” (48%), followed by “relational” (33%) then “problem-solving” (19%) (Diagram 11).

Diagram 11: Mediation Styles



Source: C. Picard, *A Survey of Mediation in Canada*, 1998

The majority of men used “problem-solving” concepts to describe their style. The majority of women tended to use “relational” language (Table 23). This finding concurs with Maxwell’s (1992) conjecture that there are male and female mediation styles. That being said, close to half of the men and half of the women in this study described their style as “facilitative”.

Table 23. Gender and Mediation Style

	PROBLEM-SOLVING	FACILITATIVE	RELATIONAL	TOTAL
MALE	69% (11)	43% (17)	37% (10)	46% (38)
FEMALE	31% (5)	58% (23)	63% (17)	54% (45)
TOTAL	100% (16)	100% (40)	100% (27)	100% (83)

83 valid cases; 5 missing cases.
Source: C. Picard, *A Survey of Mediation in Canada*, 1998

Analysis revealed that dispute sector also has an association to how respondents describe his or her mediation style. Slightly more than half (52%) of the respondents working in the community sector use “relational” concepts to describe their style. Men (60%) in the community this sector had a slightly stronger tendency to use “relational” concepts than women (50%). Both veterans (56%) and newcomers (55%) in the community sector used relational concepts to describe their style as a mediator. In each of the other three sectors (family, business and workplace) “facilitative” was the more common description of style. This latter tendency was more dominant in the workplace sector (68%) and least dominant in the business sector (40%). Close to half (45%) of family mediators described their style using “facilitative” concepts. When gender and years mediating are added to the equation other factors stand out. For instance, in the business sector almost two-thirds of newcomer men use problem-solving concepts to describe their style, the remainder uses more facilitative language (Table 24). This is in contrast to one-quarter of veteran men who use problem-solving language. They use

more facilitative and more relational concepts to describe their style. Veteran women are more relational than either facilitative or problem-solving, whereas newcomer women used both facilitative and relational language.

Table 24. Mediators Style, Dispute Sector, Experience and Gender

		COMMUNITY	FAMILY	BUSINESS	WORKPLACE	Total
NEWCOMER MEN	Problem-Solving		50% (1)	60% (3)		31% (4)
	Facilitative	40% (2)	50% (1)	40% (2)		39% (5)
	Relational	60% (3)			100% (1)	31% (4)
	Total	100% (5)	100% (2)	100% (5)	100% (1)	100% (13)
NEWCOMER WOMEN	Problem-Solving		20% (1)			5% (1)
	Facilitative	57% (4)	40% (2)	50% (1)	60% (3)	53% (10)
	Relational	43% (3)	40% (2)	50% (1)	40% (2)	42% (8)
	Total	100% (7)	100% (5)	100% (2)	100% (5)	100% (19)
VETERAN MEN	Problem-Solving		33% (2)	23% (3)	40% (2)	29% (7)
	Facilitative		33% (2)	46% (6)	60% (3)	46% (11)
	Relational		33% (2)	31% (4)		25% (6)
	Total		100% (6)	100% (13)	100% (5)	100% (24)
VETERAN WOMEN	Problem-Solving	11% (1)	29% (2)	20% (1)		16% (4)
	Facilitative	33% (3)	57% (4)	20% (1)	100% (4)	48% (12)
	Relational	56% (5)	14% (1)	60% (3)		36% (9)
	Total	100% (9)	100% (7)	100% (5)	100% (4)	100% (25)
	TOTAL	100% (21)	100% (20)	100% (25)	100% (15)	100% (81)

81 valid cases; 7 missing cases.
Source: C. Picard, *A Survey of Mediation in Canada*, 1998

Educational background also appears to have an association with style. Whereas one-third (30%) of respondents with law or business backgrounds used “problem-solving” language, one third (35%) of

respondents with social science backgrounds used “relational” language to describe their style. That being said, both groups used “facilitative” concepts the most often.

As has just been seen, differences in respondents’ descriptions of their style are linked to gender, sector and educational background. As a general comment and not to stereotype, women working in the community sector and those with social service backgrounds tend to conceptualize their style of mediation to be “relational” more so than other groups. These findings are not surprising given what sociological studies of gender say about the relational nature of women (Gilligan, 1982). Others have also written that women are inclined to enhance integration between disputants (Dewhurst and Wall, 1994), that there are gendered perceptions of the mediator role (Weingarten and Douvan, 1995), and that there are male and female mediation styles (Maxwell, 1992).

II. The Use of Caucus

Carrying on with this discussion of mediation style, one of the distinguishing and contested characteristics of a mediator’s style today is the extent to which they hold private meetings, called caucuses, in relation to joint sessions. It seemed prudent in this analysis of mediator styles to ascertain differences in respondents reporting on their use of caucus, as well as links to the four contextual factors used throughout this research.

The value of using caucus sessions is a subject of controversy (Pruitt, 1995), and various writers have touched upon reasons for, and against, the use of private sessions (Blades, 1984; Kolb, 1983; Markowitz and Engram, 1983). Some mediators prefer to hold most of the mediation in caucus because they believe that parties will be freer to speak, that it helps to keep emotions from escalating, and that they can be more directive in moving parties to an agreement. Other mediators keep the parties together for as long as possible and use it as a strategy only when parties appear stuck and unable to move forward in the negotiation process. Still other mediators discourage any use of caucus because they believe it denies the parties the opportunity to learn to engage in creative discussion of their differences and joint problem-solving. A good example of these differences is that, whereas labor mediators caucus with the parties as a strategy to build trust, family mediators avoid the use caucus for fear that private meetings would create mistrust (Markowitz and Engram, 1983). This next section looks at how the use of caucus might be connected to differences in how mediators understand their role, and to how they describe their style.

Frequency of Caucus, Role and Style

The majority (88%) of respondents use a caucus model of mediation. Groups with the highest incidence of reporting they “frequently” caucus (as

opposed to “rarely” or “occasionally”) include men (38%)[60], especially newcomer men (55%); respondents with law or business backgrounds (35%)[61], and those in the business sector (50%)[62]. When contextual variables are clustered, other patterns emerge[63] (Table 25). The business sector is the only sector where both newcomer and veteran men and women “frequently” caucus. In the workplace sector we find the reverse – both veteran and newcomer men and women report that for the most part they caucus “rarely”.

Table 25. Frequency of Caucus by Clusters

SECTOR	NEWCOMER MEN	VETERAN MEN	NEWCOMER WOMEN	VETERAN WOMEN
FAMILY	R 50% O F 50% (n2)	R O 75% F 25% (n4)	R 40% O 60% F (n5)	R 17% O 83% F (n8)
BUSINESS	R O 25% F 75% (n4)	R O 50% F 50% (n2)	R 9% O 55% F 36% (n11)	R 20% O 20% F 60% (n5)
WORKPLACE	R 100% O F (n1)	R 50% O 50% F (n4)	R 40% O 20% F 40% (n5)	R 75% O F 25% (n4)
COMMUNITY	R 33% O 33% F 33% (n3)	R 43% O 57 F (n7)	R O F (n0)	R O 86% F 14% (n7)

Code: R =rarely; O = occasionally; F = frequently. 72 valid cases; 16 missing cases.
Source: C. Picard, *A Survey of Mediation in Canada*, 1998

[60] Eighteen percent (18%) of women said they caucus “frequently’.
[61] This is in contrast to nineteen percent (19%) of respondents with social science backgrounds.
[62] The breakdown in the other sectors is workplace (21%), family (12%) and community (12%).
[63] While the cell size in the clustered groups is small, the patterns that do emerge are worth noting and exploring in future research.

The use of caucus is also connected to how respondents understand their role. More than half (57%) of mediation trainer-practitioners who report that they caucus “frequently” understand their role as “facilitating process”. The same is true for those who (46%) who caucus “occasionally”. Individuals who “rarely” caucus understand their role as “facilitating communication” (39%), or “facilitating communication and process” (39%).

There is also a connection between frequency of caucus and reported descriptions of style (Table 26). Of those respondents who say they “rarely” caucus, two-thirds describe their mediation style as “facilitative”. They were followed by respondents who describe their style using more “relational” terms. Respondents who caucus “occasionally” also describe their style as “facilitative” and “relational”. Respondents who caucus “frequently” are mixed in the use of concepts to describe their style. They are also the only group to use “problem-solving” terms when describing their style of mediation.

Table 26: Mediator Style and Frequency of Caucus

STYLE	RARELY	OCCASIONALLY	FREQUENTLY	TOTAL
PROBLEM-SOLVING	7% (1)	15% (5)	37% (7)	19% (13)
FACILITATIVE	67% (10)	47% (16)	32% (6)	47% (32)
RELATIONAL	27% (4)	38% (13)	32% (6)	34% (23)
TOTAL	100% (15)	100% (34)	100% (19)	100% (68)

68 valid cases; 20 missing cases
Source: C. Picard, *A Survey of Mediation in Canada*, 1998

These findings show that mediators who report that they caucus "frequently" have a tendency to define their "facilitative" role as "facilitating process" and to describe their style of mediation as "problem-solving". On the other hand, individuals who "rarely" caucus are more apt to describe their "facilitative" role as "facilitating communication" and describe their style as "facilitative". It can be drawn from this that respondents use caucuses more frequently if they see mediation as a problem solving process than if they see it as a vehicle for improving communication. This conclusion is consistent with distinctions made in the literature about problem-solving approaches versus communicative approaches. This discussion move to why individuals call a caucus and how this relates to contextual factors.

Reasons for Calling a Caucus and Contextual Factors

Respondents report that they use a caucus for three general purposes: 1) to generate information (50% of responses), 2) to manage the mediation process (34% of responses) and 3) to deal with emotions and safety issues (17% of responses)[64]. Unlike Markowitz and Engram's (1983) findings, which compared labour dispute mediation with divorce mediation, mediators in this study did not mention building credibility and trust with the parties as a reason to caucus. Both men (74% of responses) and women (70% of responses)

[64] The category "manage process" includes reasons such as breaking impasse, confronting parties and improving communication. "Emotional issues" includes reference to power and safety concerns, as well as emotions. "Generating information" included reference to checking-in with parties, gathering, providing and clarifying information, as well as parties requesting to meet with the mediator.

said that they mostly caucus to “generate information”. They also reported that they caucus for different reasons. Close to half (40%) of the responses given by women indicated that they caucus for “emotional or safety issues” while only six percent (6%) of men’s responses indicated this as a reason they call a caucus; men are more likely to caucus to “confront parties” (38% of responses).

Both veterans (80% of responses) and newcomers (60% of responses) say they caucus to “generate information" (Table 27). Newcomer men, however, said that they would caucus to “manage the mediation process” (68% of responses). Veteran men (86% of responses) and women (74% of responses) as well as newcomer women (65% of responses) say they caucus to “generate information”.

Dispute sector is linked to why individuals use caucus. Community (71% of responses) and family (56% of responses) mediators say they caucus to “manage process”, whereas business (96% of responses) and workplace (77% of responses) mediators report that they caucus primarily to “generate information”. As might be expected given the nature of the cases they mediate, family mediators more so than any other sector report that they caucus to deal with “emotional issues”.

Educational background is also connected to their use of caucus. The most frequently occurring response in each of the three educational contexts was “information generating”. Individuals with social science backgrounds were, however, more likely to caucus for “emotional or safety issues” (36% of responses) than individuals with law (13% of responses) or business backgrounds (9% of responses). This latter finding is linked to gender. More of the responses from women (50% of responses) with social science backgrounds indicated that they would caucus for “emotional or safety issues” than responses from men with law (7% of responses) or business (0%) backgrounds. That being said, women with social science backgrounds (50% of responses) commented more frequently that they would caucus for “emotional or safety issues” reasons than women from the legal (22% of responses) or business sectors (20% of responses).

Table 27. Reasons for Calling a Caucus

REASONS TO CAUCUS	GENDER	DISPUTE SECTOR	EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND	EXPERIENCE
PROCESS	Men	Community Family		Newcomer Men
GENERATE INFORMATION	Both	Workplace Business	Business Law Social Science	Newcomers Veterans Newcomer Men Newcomer Women
EMOTIONAL AND SAFETY ISSUES	Women	Family	Social Science Women	

Source: C. Picard, A Survey of Mediation in Canada, 1998

Conclusion

Mediators in this study describe their style of mediation differently, and these differences are linked to contextual factors. Male respondents have more of tendency to use “problem-solving” concepts to describe their style of mediation while women respondents use more “relational’ terms. “Relational” language is also more prevalent among community mediators; respondents working in the other three sectors tended to describe their style as “facilitative”. Respondents with law or business backgrounds used more “problem-solving” concepts to describe their style, while those with social science backgrounds used more “relational” terms.

Mediators also claim that their style changes depending, for the most part, on the parties, and to a lesser extent, the nature of the dispute, and the dynamics in the room. One might conclude from this finding that we may be able to predict an individual’s mediation style if we know the profile of the mediator and their clients. Further exploration of this conclusion is beyond the scope of this study. This topic would, however, make for an interesting area of study for another project. This insight is likely to be of use to mediation consumers wanting to engage the skills of a mediator. It is also useful information to those who assign cases to mediators. Furthermore, the information may be of use to policy makers assigned the task of deciding who can and cannot mediate in particular forums. On the other hand, finding that mediators try to accommodate different dimensions in a mediation session

might suggest that rigid guidelines about the form of mediation should not be created. Instead, it might be best to affirm the diversity of mediation practices in order to encourage that mediation services are available for a range of conflict situations and for individuals from different cultures, socio-economic classes, as well as other social groups.

In the following chapter, a framework for understanding mediation is presented. This framework was developed from the data relating to mediators' roles, orientations and styles presented in Chapters 5 and 6. This data was then organized on a matrix table (Appendix B). Chapter 7 discusses how the contextual variables interact with each other. It concludes that an individual's understanding of mediation has advanced beyond the bipolar descriptions often presented in the literature. This suggests that more elaborate analytical tools are needed to understand the increasingly complex nature of mediation.