negotiation and conflict management research

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Innovations in Doing Conflict Research: The Legacy of Daniel Druckman

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Abstract

This article celebrates Daniel (Dan) Druckman, the recipient of the 2003 Lifetime Achievement Award of the *International Association for Conflict Management* (IACM), and provides glimpses of his career through the lens of his former graduate students and current colleagues. Our accounts illustrate Dan's teaching philosophy as *teaching by doing*, his long-lasting passion for pragmatic, evidence-based analysis; his innovative application of research methods; and his international outreach. Each narrated experience demonstrates how Dan's holistic understanding of scholarship and his creative teaching, science, and practice have influenced the next generations of scholars. These accounts are integrated with a systematic analysis of Dan's publications to display his persistence in pushing the boundaries of the field by synthesizing variables, building theories, and bridging micro-level interactions to the broader political environment. The article concludes with remarks by Daniel Druckman.

Introduction

Daniel (Dan) Druckman is a scholar with an unusual career path and an exceptional research portfolio. What may be surprising to many people is that he has spent most of his career outside of academia. Dan has published 20 books and over 200 book chapters and articles in 40 different journals. He has advised dozens of students, served on the boards of 11 journals, worked with over 80 coauthors from 11 countries, and has received multiple awards, including two Lifetime Achievement Awards (LAA), in 2003 from the International Association for Conflict Management and in 2016 from the International Biennial on Negotiation in Paris. Dan's full-time academic career started in 1997, when he was 57. In 2001, he was named the Vernon M. and Minnie I. Lynch Professor of Conflict Resolution at the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University. Before accepting this prestigious recognition, he worked for a nonprofit research institute in Chicago (9 years), two private research firms in Bethesda, Maryland (11 years), the National Academy of Sciences in DC (12 years), and an international organization in Vienna, Austria. Since 2005, he has divided his time between George Mason at the Department of

We are grateful for the invitation to write this celebration of Daniel Druckman's work and legacy and would especially like to thank Dan for engaging with us in this project, as well as the Editor and reviewers of NCMR for their guidance. We would like to also thank Asya Iğmen for her editing work on this document.

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Public and International Affairs and several universities in Australia (the University of Queensland, the Australian National University, the University of Southern Queensland, and Macquarie University).

Dan's exceptional career is not defined only by his unusual career path or his prolific research. A social psychologist by training, Dan is a holistic scholar. He has achieved this eminence by linking micro and macro, applying multiple methods, by changing settings, by connecting theory and policy, by building upon past contributions, and by offering directions to the newcomers. The personal accounts below, written by Dan's former graduate students, demonstrate this very rich intellectual creativity.

Procedural and Distributive Justice in Peace Talks, and Negotiation Research Method Innovations—Lynn Wagner

One of my first memories of Dan sticks in my mind as an illustration of his contributions to the conflict analysis and negotiation theory literatures as well as to my own scholarship. I met Dan in Vienna, Austria, at the beginning of the summer of 1991, where we were both involved with the Processes in Negotiation project at the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA). These were heady days to be in Vienna, just as Eastern Europe was undergoing rapid political and economic change. The Soviet Union was still intact (for a few more months), and Dan took advantage of our relative proximity to Moscow by visiting that capital city for a long weekend. On Dan's return, he did not immediately launch into stories about the Kremlin or Lenin's tomb, although he probably had something to say about them. Instead, the story of his weekend focused on how many products were on the shelves in the stores and how many people were buying ice cream at Baskin Robbins.

Dan approaches his vacations as he approaches his research, with a curiosity and deep desire to identify and understand variables that can be assessed to draw greater conclusions about important phenomena, from social and political change in the Soviet Union to the role of justice in the negotiation and implementation of agreements to end civil wars, and most recently to a study of the history of U.S.-Russian summitry. This curiosity about variables and how they are connected extends to the research methods through which the variables can be assessed. The evolution in Dan's use of statistical techniques to assess negotiation and mediation processes is part of the story about Dan's contributions to our field. I am pleased to highlight a few examples of how these attributes have come together in his research.

At IIASA, Dan was studying variables that were hypothesized to influence flexibility in negotiation processes, and he wanted to be able to say something about which of the variables were more important than others. He heard about a pair-comparisons technique that had been used by the Army after World War II to poll its members on the criteria that should be used for bringing home troops—such as whether those who had spent more time overseas should have priority over those who had young babies at home, or vice versa—and, in true Dan tradition, he adapted this technique to his research. Dan designed an experiment using this technique to assess the situational levers of negotiating flexibility. The resulting article (Druckman, 1993) reveals trajectories of variables that lead to agreement or stalemate.

A year after this article appeared, Dan mentioned, in a conversation we were having about my dissertation, that he was working on a meta-analysis of negotiation variables. In typical fashion, Dan set a very big goal for this research: examining the effects of nine variables on compromising behavior and time to resolution through a meta-analysis of published bargaining experiments reported over a 25-year period. The research techniques for meta-analyses were relatively new, but Dan saw an opportunity to move the field forward by combining the work of many into a new analysis of related variables. He was doing this research on 25 years of journal articles. This work was done before journals could be quickly accessed online, however, which meant that he spent many, many hours going through the stacks of journals in the basement of a university library to copy the relevant articles in order to collect the data for this study. The time, dedication, and contribution to the field that his study on determinants of compromising behavior in negotiation (Druckman, 1994) represented was again driven by a curiosity of how to apply the meta-analysis technique to existing experiments and to connect the negotiation literature across

multiple variables to drive our field forward. This study found the strongest effect sizes for the variables of negotiator's orientation, prenegotiation experience, time pressure, and the initial distance between positions.

There have been many other statistical approaches he has used since then, from correlations to multidimensional scaling, and even a research methods book (Druckman, 2005) that is enjoyable to read. But Dan does not rest on his laurels, and true to form, the work that I have been privileged to do with him recently explored the relationship between procedural and distributive justice and durable peace in negotiations following civil wars, and it incorporated new statistical techniques that allowed us to identify relationships among negotiation variables in new ways. We have explored direct and indirect effects of these variables, with serial mediation analyses revealing a time-lagged relationship between the key variables in our study.

As I noted at the beginning, Dan's research has focused on important phenomena, bringing an understanding of international relations to the study of the microprocess of individuals at the negotiation table and broadening out again to develop conclusions that can tell us about the world around us. His work to examine the influence of justice in negotiation processes (procedural justice) on negotiated outcomes (distributive justice) in relation to civil war negotiations (Albin & Druckman, 2012; Druckman & Albin, 2011) has taken on some of the most challenging questions for conflict resolution scholars, and has revealed ways in which equality provisions can be incorporated into the peace agreement and procedural justice can be used in a negotiation to set a war-torn country on the path to peace.

These studies defined the durability of an agreement as many studies in the peace agreement field do: the absence of large-scale violence. But Dan was not satisfied with this conclusion; he wanted to know more about the relationship between procedural justice and distributive justice on the one hand, and durable, societal peace on the other. As a relatively new field of inquiry, though, there were no examples of durable peace indexes, let alone existing data sets with appropriate measures. Dan therefore drew on the literature to develop a new index to measure durable peace. The durable peace index that we constructed for our research consists of four components: reconciliation, security institutions, governance, and economic stability or growth. We tested the durable peace index and found that the durability found in the earlier studies mediates the relationship between the equality provisions in the peace agreements and the longer-term, durable peace (Wagner & Druckman, 2017).

Confident with the durable peace index, we applied it to a 50-case study, to bring new insights and greater generalizability to this research agenda. Applying the process analysis model developed by Hayes (2013), we identified a path from procedural justice during the negotiation itself through the distributive justice elements in the outcome and the short-term stability of the agreement to longer-term durable peace (Figure 1).

Through all of these examples and years of high research productivity, Dan's curiosity about identifying variables and how they connect to one another, and identifying and applying appropriate statistical techniques to help reveal patterns in negotiations, have helped move the field forward. The connections that Dan has built through his research have not only focused on negotiation process and outcome variables. The large number of research collaborators included in his list of publications (over 80 coauthors) attests to the connections that he has formed with multiple colleagues, as he has mentored and explored with other researchers in the quest to identify negotiation variables that can be measured and the connections that can be revealed through systematic research.

Daniel Druckman as a Teacher of Conflict Analysis and Resolution Research Methods—Susan Allen (Nan)

Beyond his contributions as a leading researcher in the field of conflict analysis and resolution, in my account, I focus on Dan's role as a teacher, and particularly his role as a teacher of research methods tailored for research in conflict analysis and resolution. Of course, Dan teaches well when he lectures, but

Figure 1. Lynn and Dan received the "2016 GDN Springer Best Paper Award" during the annual conference for Group Decision and Negotiation. June 23, 2016, Bellingham, Washington, U.S.A.

what stands out to me is his mentorship that comes out when he *teaches by doing*. That teaching takes place in a variety of contexts, not just in research methods courses. Perhaps I can best convey my appreciation for Dan's teaching-by-doing approach with a focus on how Dan taught me to use multidimensional scaling (MDS).

I first met Dan in 1993, when I started graduate work at George Mason University, where he was a faculty member. It was two years before I joined the doctoral program and took courses with Dan. I first encountered his teaching-by-doing approach when I took a course on negotiation with him. The course content focused on negotiation but the class decided to engage in a project, in which they were going to do research on negotiation.

Dan led our negotiation class in analyzing dozens of cases of negotiation. First, we developed a framework for analyzing the cases based on our reading of negotiation theory at the beginning of the course. We constructed this framework with the characteristics of negotiation that were most important based on the literature. Second, we tested our method using two cases to assess our use of the framework and consistency of coding the cases. Third, class volunteers took several case studies home to read and analyze according to the class framework and coding scheme. Fourth, several class members collected the case coding sheets, and they input the data into SPSS. Fifth, Dan led us in conducting analyses of the data using MDS. To do this, a few of us went to his home to use the SPSS program there, as the program was more accessible than university programs at the time. Finally, we returned to class to present our results: several clear types of negotiation based on the similarities and differences of the cases of negotiation that the class had coded.

A few of the classmates then decided to work as a group with Dan after the semester-long course ended to turn the analysis into a journal article. With Dan's guidance, we wrote up the research, addressed minor revisions, and succeeded in publishing the article in *Group Decision and Negotiation* (Druckman, Martin, Allen Nan, & Yagcioglu, 1999). That was just my second experience publishing a peer-reviewed article. Dan guided us not only in using MDS as a method but also in the overall publication process.

After that experience, I began to see many other questions that might be helpfully addressed using MDS. I wrote in a term paper for Dan about the possibility of analyzing the types of conflict resolution initiatives with a similar approach, but at the time I could not find a reasonable data set. I turned my attention to my dissertation, with Dan guiding me on the focused comparative case study method.

Ten years later, when I had become a faculty member at George Mason University myself, I worked with Dan and with doctoral student Jana El Horr to conduct a methodologically similar study of conflict resolution initiatives using a data set compiled by the Alliance for Peacebuilding. Our analysis of characteristics of conflict resolution initiatives showed that *track one and a half* diplomacy does indeed stand out from other types of initiatives as a unique approach. We published that article in *Conflict Resolution Quarterly*, when I was publishing under my previous name Allen Nan (Nan, Druckman, & El Horr, 2009).

Soon after, Dan and I again engaged a group of graduate students in a new MDS project. We analyzed a set of peaceful nations identified by the Global Peace Index. Our analysis showed several types of peaceful nations. We published that research first in a report of the Global Symposium of Peaceful Nations in 2009 (Nan et al., 2009) and then in the Global Peace Index Discussion Paper in 2010 (Nan et al., 2010).

Each of these projects was possible because of Dan's commitment to teaching by doing. Dan excels in this form of mentoring by, among other things: inviting students to his home; hosting meals with his wife, Marj; sharing his excitement about research during courses of the meal; and encouraging students to continue with projects, working through the challenging parts.

Now I'm teaching research methods at George Mason University, using Dan's 2005 textbook, *Doing Research: Methods of Inquiry for Conflict Analysis* (Druckman, 2005). The students appreciate Dan's clarity. But even more, they appreciate that although he has officially retired, he came one evening as a guest speaker to the course (see Figure 2). His commitment to teaching is felt even by those students who meet him only for a few hours. Dan provided comments on the students' research plans. He also presented an overview of how he developed the structure of the *Doing Research* book, highlighting key debates in the field. The class engaged Dan in a lively discussion that went far beyond the textbooks, including examining postpositivist approaches to epistemology, considering the liberal–conservative leanings of conflict resolution professionals, and comparing approaches to teaching research design. Clearly Dan was in his element with my class, recapturing the excitement that I experienced as a student in his classes several

Figure 2. Susan Allen listens as Dan Druckman speaks to her undergraduate course in research methods in conflict analysis and resolution, George Mason University, October 2016.

years earlier. It is my hope that some of this enthusiasm rubs off on my efforts to teach both undergraduate and graduate students in our Conflict Analysis and Resolution program.

Applied Research from the Perspective of a Practitioner Scholar—Mary Jo Larson

I am honored to describe how Dan contributions to the field have influenced those of us who share his interest in crafting research to address problems with real-world consequences. This section shows how Dan encourages the framing of issue-based research, and how a theoretical framework for the analysis of flexibility in multilateral negotiations has been useful for multistakeholder engagement outside of academia.

Dan brings a rare blend of scholarship, commitment and curiosity to the field of conflict analysis and resolution. As a researcher, he has been a pathfinder in contributing perspective to the field (theoretical framing), developing innovative methods of inquiry, and in analyzing the variables that signal movement toward or away from integrative resolutions. Dan's systematic research on critical turning points, which he first observed in U.S. base-rights negotiations (1986), continues to influence the research and practice of next-generation scholars such as Will Hall and Larry Crump.

In his approach to conflict research, Dan describes himself as "more of a problem-focused social scientist than a discipline-focused scientist" (Interview with Botes, 2013; Figure 3). Most of Dan's research has been issue-oriented. Examples include research on critical turning points in U.S. military base-rights negotiations with Spain (1986); framework analysis of political stability in the Philippines (with Justin Green, 1986); lessons from the comparative analysis of U.S. base-rights negotiations with Spain, the Philippines, and Greece (1990); research on turning points in the intermediate nuclear force (INF) negotiations (with Druckman, Husbands, & Johnston, 1991); the analysis of mediation processes in peacekeeping missions (Wall & Druckman, 2003); and the interdisciplinary study on the human dimensions of global environmental change (Stern, Young, & Druckman, 1992).

When I began doctoral studies at George Mason University, I was working full-time and at a midpoint in my career. Through the program in conflict analysis and resolution, I sought pragmatic, replicable tools for improving multistakeholder partnerships that address complex environment and development challenges. In the Peace Corps, I was responsible for overseeing programming and training in Asia and the Pacific, a region that includes low lying coastal nations such as Bangladesh and small island

Figure 3. Dan's interview with Jannie Botes for *Parents of the Field Project* (January 9, 2013) at http://scar.gmu.edu/parents-of-field/daniel-druckman.

communities in Kiribati, Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa. These nations are among the most vulnerable to global climate change.

In 1997, I entered Dan's research methods course, which was fully engaging and yet somewhat intimidating. Dan's career had included over two decades of *think tank* research, with exemplary projects that included complex statistical analyses. Dan soon convinced us that he was more interested in practical *real-world* research results than in theory for theory's sake. With a research background that also included techniques for enhancing human performance, Dan encouraged students to devote themselves to what they really wanted to learn, and to seek and tailor research techniques from a variety of social science disciplines.

In his classes, Dan established clear standards for data collection and analysis, responded to the skills and interests of the students, and ensured that students were "doing what needs to be done" to make a contribution to the field. He encouraged students to apply a "toolbox" of research methods to a wide range of topics and situations. I became particularly interested in learning how multilateral negotiations contribute to the resolution of complex ecological issues, such as global climate change.

Dan encouraged issue-based research with a focus on concepts (such as flexibility, equality and procedural justice), and on the interrelationships among context (perceived situations) and process indicators (such as timing, stages of conflict, situational levers, and turning points). His own research suggests models and multimethod techniques for these analyses. For example, Pamela Chasek's comparative analysis of multilateral environmental negotiations is modeled on Dan's methodology for comparing diverse cases of international negotiations. With Dan on her dissertation committee, Chasek examined the phases and turning points in the negotiating process and then used MDS to compare eleven cases across these characteristics (Chasek, 1997).

As chair of my dissertation committee, Dan provided essential oversight for the pragmatic multimethod research design that emerged. He supported the development of a theoretical framework for the analysis of multilateral negotiations and validated a research design that was easily replicable. The multimethod design included the following: (a) background analysis of primary and secondary sources of information, (b) interviews with expert informants, (c) the development of a theoretical framework, (d) systematic content analysis of formal negotiation documentation, and (e) explanations and understandings.

United Nations conventions and protocols, which are publicly accessible, provided legitimate, meaningful content for background analysis. The potential benefits of content analysis techniques include the integration of theory, data collection, analysis, and interpretation (Druckman & Hopmann, 1991). With a master's degree in applied linguistics, I was familiar with content analysis, a method that transforms verbal information into codes that can be counted, compared, and analyzed.

Challenges of this methodology include identifying appropriate data sets for content analysis. In addition to the 1992 Rio and 1997 Kyoto agreements, I sought examples of high- and low-power preferences. Dan cautioned that researchers influence the choice of documents, such as agreements and position papers, through biased selectivity. To minimize this weakness, he recommended that the position papers be selected with the guidance of expert informants. Following interviews with political leaders from the United States and the Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS), I focused on the 1994 AOSIS position paper for the preferences of a low-power party and the 1996 U.S. position paper (1996) for evidence of high-power preferences.

Framework analysis provides a common vocabulary and a way of focusing on domains (Druckman & Green, 1986). Dan helped me to test a 4×4 draft version of a theoretical framework by allowing me to use a draft version for content analysis in his research methods class. With feedback from graduate students, I clarified definitions to refine a 3×3 version of the theoretical framework, as illustrated below (Figure 4).

The theoretical framework (above) was developed as a tool for the analysis of flexibility in the preferences of the parties as indicated by the content of documents such as position papers and multilateral agreements. Dan described this analytic tool as a useful "general framework of multilateral negotiations"

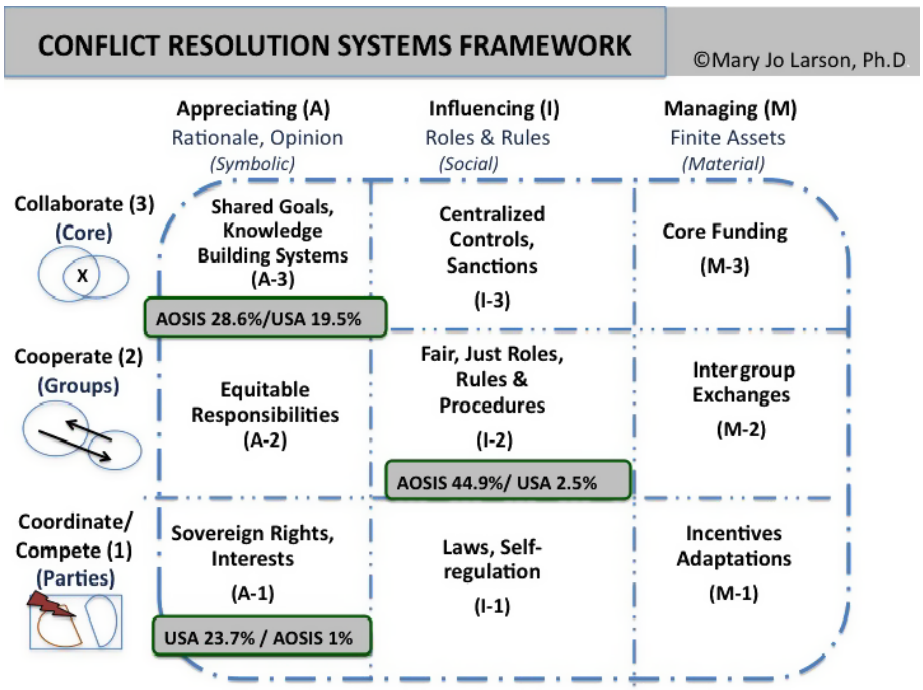

Figure 4. Theoretical framework for analysis of multilateral negotiations.

(Druckman, 2005, p. 40–41). The framework recognizes forms of empowerment (horizontal *x*-axis) and flexibility in preferences (vertical *y*-axis). Using the codes in the framework, such as A-3, I-2, the content of UN agreements and position papers can be coded, counted, analyzed, and illustrated. For example, content analysis may show that a party acknowledges the global threats of climate change (A-3) and yet proposes solutions that give high priority to competitive economic interests (A-1).

Flexibility is a significant conceptual focus of Dan's research and his contributions to the field of conflict analysis and resolution. Flexible (integrative and distributive) behavior is at the heart of the conflict resolution that takes place in negotiations. Within the integrative domain, flexibility is associated with inclusion, trust building, and innovation. Within the distributive domain, flexibility is defined in terms of harmonizing exclusive domains or gaining the largest possible share of whatever value is being divided (Druckman & Mitchell, 1995). Dan's research provides evidence that the complex features of multilateral negotiations offer forms of procedural flexibility that increase negotiators' options (Druckman, 1997).

Through content analysis, the framework for analyzing multilateral negotiations shows how levels of flexibility vary depending on the forms of empowerment under consideration, the contrast between high- and low-power preferences in negotiations, and how levels of flexibility evolve over time. Findings from this dissertation research provided evidence that parties focus on integrative and distributive approaches at different stages of negotiations, with communication of conditions and reframing taking place during early discussions (Druckman & Green, 1986).

Lessons from these studies of multilateral negotiations continue to influence my research and practice, whether advancing flexible approaches to leadership, integrating environmental, social, and governance (ESG) priorities, building flexible transnational partnerships, or advancing the integration of sustainability development goals (SDGs). The pragmatic objectives and methods applied to these projects are strongly influenced by understandings of integrative and distributive interests and approaches at different stages in multiparty negotiations.

Upon reflection, I think of Dan as an invaluable mentor and colleague. As a mentor, Dan is rigorous, inspiring and facilitative. As I struggled to illustrate the negotiation dynamics of multilateral negotiations, for example, Dan proactively suggested that I attend a "Visual Explanation" seminar presented by Edward Tufte. Over the years, Dan's suggestions have led to many insights and turning points, including journal publications, IACM copresentations, and opportunities to teach environmental conflict negotiation in graduate courses and seminars.

Dan's contributions to the field, particularly the flexible, multimethod analyses of complex issues, enabled and challenged those of us who apply theory and research to real-world practice. Energized by Dan's continuing influence, my priority now is to develop a visual explanation that maps both flexible and inflexible power dynamics in multilateral negotiations. For this investigation, I will be turning to Dan, Marj and respected colleagues mentored by Dan for their guidance, encouragement and expert feedback.

Experimental Simulations and Dan Druckman's International Outreach—Nimet Beriker

I first met Dan in 1988, when he was an adjunct professor at the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) at George Mason University.[1] I was part of the first Ph.D. cohort of the Institute, a wondering Turkish graduate student. I first read his work, several years earlier, when I was a master's student at the Middle East Technical University (METU) in Ankara, Turkey, working on a graduate project on cultural aspects of negotiations. This was the mid-1980s, when university libraries in Turkey carried limited resources to assist academic research, and when trying to find a relevant article was like a treasure hunt. I remember finding one particular "Cultural differences in bargaining behavior: India, Argentina and the United States" (Druckman, Benton, Ali, & Bagur, 1976) at METU library that became an essential reading for my graduate research. This article was my first intellectual encounter with Dan. Our first in person meeting, however, was at a welcoming party for the students at ICAR in the fall of 1988. I remember introducing myself to him not knowing that he was the author of the article that guided my research. He shared his name, and we shook hands. Now, I can tell that hand shake was not only a welcoming gesture from a seasoned scholar to a new international student to ICAR, but it was the beginning of a long professional collaboration.

While at ICAR, Dan was interested in data that I had dragged around with me since my master's education in Turkey: verbatim transcripts (in Turkish) of the Lausanne Peace Negotiations (1922–23). Although I was not his research assistant, he introduced me to Bargaining Process Analysis (BPA) and asked me to code the transcripts. This collaboration produced a replication article (Beriker & Druckman, 1991) which looked at different models of reciprocity. The same data set was later used in my doctoral dissertation. We replicated the power configurations of the Lausanne Peace conference in an experimental simulation and coded the real-world transcripts to check on the external validity of our findings (Beriker & Druckman, 1991, 1996).

Independent of our work, as a social psychologist by training, experimental methods have been at the center of Dan's work. Dan considers this method a heuristic device that enables the researcher to evaluate which variables account for negotiation behavior. Through the use of experimental methods, Dan contributed to the field in multiple ways. First, as he explained in Druckman (2011), his studies showed the relevance of laboratory research for understanding real-world elite bargaining. For example, his interest in bargaining strategies began with a simulation experiment on distributive integrative negotiations. Druckman and Bonoma (1976) observed children playing the roles of buyer and seller, and they showed how disappointed expectations for cooperation led bargainers to adjust their concessions, leading to a deadlock. Later, through case study research (Druckman, 1986), he conducted a content analysis of

[1]Now the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (SCAR).

military base-rights negotiations to reveal that negotiators adjusted their offers when expectations for cooperation were disappointed. Lastly, through a multiple-case study (Druckman & Harris, 1990), he concluded that negotiations are influenced by treshold adjustment patterns, as demonstrated in eight cases of international negotiation.

Moreover, Dan's work constitutes some of the first examples of mixed methods in mainstream disciplines such as international relations. For example, Beriker and Druckman (1996) adopted an experimental simulation technique to show how power asymmetry conditions with coalition complexities produced fewer agreements, tougher tactics, more deadlocks, and less satisfaction with the outcome in international peace negotiations than when relative power was symmetrical. The same research included a content analysis of the historical transcripts of the real-world peace conference, which showed similar results.

As stated in Druckman (2011), Dan used the contributions made by experiments to build connections between theory and practice. He used knowledge generated through simulations for practical purposes, such as skill-building trainings. When training diplomats and foreign officers, he introduced research-based knowledge on major themes—such as culture, experience, flexibility, and emotions—in training narratives, and he asked the trainees to assume different negotiating roles. He conducted this training on four continents (Druckman & Robinson, 1998). Another example of the theory–practice connection in his work is reflected in Druckman and Ebner (2007), which examined the efficacy of using simulations in teaching and found that students who designed simulation scenarios learned more about the key concepts compared to those who simply role-played those scenarios (Figure 5).

Finally, Dan's findings from experiments have power to start a conversation with competing and isolated epistemic communities within the conflict resolution field. For example, the question of whether interest- or value-based conflict is harder to negotiate has been addressed through experimental research in Druckman, Broome, and Korper (1988). This research was also a test of John Burton's claim that need-based and value-based conflicts are not negotiable. Druckman et al. (1988) is an interesting attempt, not only because of its findings that supported Burton's views, but mainly because it presents Dan's commitment to pushing boundaries of the field through his unorthodox approach to social sciences research. Burton, as a critical political theorist, was openly critical of negotiation research and positivist inquiry to scientific knowledge, claiming that both of them are power-based approaches that

Figure 5. Peacebuilding training for the NGO representatives working with Syrian refugees. Dan, Marj, and Nimet are sixth, seventh, and eighth from the left in the first standing row. December 15, 2015, Istanbul, Turkey.

serve to preserve the status quo, not change it. Dan and his colleagues, however, supported Burton's arguments via negotiation research and a research technique mostly associated with the positivist tradition. This research continues, most recently with Fieke Harinck at the University of Leiden, with a focus on conditions for resolving value conflicts (Harinck & Druckman, 2017). They discovered that more agreements occur in a value conflicts when bargainers acknowledge their opponent's positive qualities.

My collaboration with Dan took different forms and shapes over the years. Starting the first graduate conflict resolution program at Sabanci University in Turkey in 2000 was the beginning of a decade-long collaboration. Dan's involvement brought high-level international visibility to the program. Dan helped us develop a rigorous curriculum, and he generously shared his resources with graduate students in the program. Due to his efforts, the program became a visiting hub for many prominent CR scholars, including Dean Pruitt, Louis Kriesberg, Terry Hopmann, Benjamin Broom, Dennis Sandole, Raymond Cohen, Ron Fisher, Jim Wall, Paul Diehl, Zeev Maoz, John Darby, D. Marc Kilgour, Bill Donohue, and Cecilia Albin.

Most recently, I have taught research methods in Mardin, Turkey, a medieval town on the ancient silk road and a border city in Southeast Turkey, where students learn how to conduct research through Dan's work. Dan has agreed to serve as a long-distance guest lecturer in our classes and reach out to those students with disadvantaged backgrounds. Daniel is a *sui generis* scholar connecting variables, methodologies, generations, geographies, and most importantly, people around him.

Integrative Summary

It is not easy to sum up Dan's contributions in the confines of one paper. This said, we thought, to illustrate Dan's remarkable contributions to social science research and the field of conflict analysis and resolution, it would be helpful to summarize the dimensions of his *organized eclecticism* using multiple methods. Dan's current resume includes 241 published works and 264 professional presentations including keynote addresses. Based on the publication list, we asked Dan to identify research techniques and approaches that he employed in each of the published studies. He generously collaborated and identified the methods used next to each publication.

We have clustered this work (241 publications) into 15 categories, showing the percentage of articles published in each (see Table 1). The pattern that emerges shows that Dan has moved comfortably between synthesis and analysis as indicated by the frequencies in categories 1 and 2. For Dan, these approaches are intertwined. Synthesis, exemplified by his statistical meta-analysis, frameworks and literature reviews, provides the larger picture. He has been keen on situating his empirical work in the developing literature on the topic. Analysis, exemplified by his experiments and comparative case studies, provides evidence that addresses theory-based hypotheses that emerge from the relevant literatures. Moving between synthesis and analysis, Dan provides the insights needed for building theories. He is a theorist as well as a methodologist: See, for example, his writing on values and interests, turning points, nationalism, group representation, and justice. But, the academic focus of much of his work does not preclude a concern for practice, notably on negotiation skills training, enhancing human performance, pedagogical methods, and more popular applications including op-eds and magazine articles. He has found ways of bridging the three parts of our field—theory, research, and practice. Our survey of Dan's work reveals an astonishing pan-disciplinary reach with contributions that draw on most of the social sciences and include both experiments and case studies: anthropology, economics, international relations, social and experimental psychology, peace and conflict studies, and sociology. Throw in the work on modeling and software development (electronic mediation), and we have a scholar of considerable breadth in our midst. When we asked Dan to suggest an area that captures his main contributions, he offered "experimental sociology."

The energy and understanding behind this tremendous productivity are reflected in Dan's own words written in the prologue to his book, *Doing Research*: *Methods of Inquiry for Conflict Analysis* (2005),

Table 1
Research Techniques

	Number of coded publications	%
1. Synthesis and theory development*	(62)	26
2. Experiments†	(31)	13
3. Critical reviews and edited collections	(25)	10
4. Statistical analysis‡	(19)	8
5. Framework development¶	(18)	8
6. Comparative studies**	(16)	7
7. Theory–practice nexus††	(16)	7
8. Mixed methods‡‡	(9)	4
9. Synopsis of careers	(9)	4
10. Mathematical modeling¶¶	(8)	3
11. Applied techniques***	(8)	3
12. Analytical or enhanced case studies	(7)	3
13. State of the art essays	(7)	3
14. Micro–macro nexus†††	(5)	2
15. Software design and application	(1)	0.5
Total	241	

*Overview of topic articles, overview of chapters, synthesis of book chapters, critical literature surveys, empirical research review, framework-driven research, synthesis of concepts and findings.
†Laboratory experiments, simulation experiments, electronic experiments, scenario experiment embedded in surveys.
‡Event data, historical archival data, pair comparisons, multidimensional analysis, taxonomic analysis of cases, meta-analysis, time series.
¶Typological analysis, taxonomy of types of simulations, framework-driven analysis.
**Archival analysis, comparative case studies, most similar (different) system design, small-n qualitative analysis, cross-cultural comparisons of experiment, cross-cultural comparisons of interview data.
††Application of research findings in practice and research on pedagogy.
‡‡Combined statistical analysis and focused comparison, simulation experiment and content analysis.
¶¶Algebraic modeling, forecasting models, game theory analysis.
***Evaluation research, content analysis, pedagogical analysis.
†††Relation between social psychological and societal–international processes.

> Emphasizing flexible approaches to doing research, I suggest that broad multi-method training would equip students to access methodologies that are suited to a variety of problems. The idea of a "tool kit" is compatible with spiral careers that exhibit thematic coherence in research with flexibility in the way that the themes are studied. This approach to scholarship, which moves away from older disciplinary paradigms, is open to the new ideas that can energize investigators and stimulate growth in theory, research and practice (p. xiv).

The table that identifies research techniques and a quote from the prologue to his book provide a glimpse into his mastery. Further insights are shared by Dan in his answers to three questions. His answers enable him to touch you, current and future scholars, in a personal and meaningful way that will, we hope, continue to inspire great research in perpetuity.

Final Remarks by Daniel Druckman

The Flexibility Theme Runs through much of Your Research. How Did You Develop a Sustained Interest in This Idea?

Growing up in New York City I developed an early interest in prejudice. I wondered why people inside and outside my family circle were judgmental about others not like themselves. This question motivated my interest in studying psychology. My first scholarly exposure to the topic was Gordon Allport's book

on the "Psychology of Prejudice." My second was Milton Rokeach's "The Open and Closed Mind." I learned about Rokeach's research first hand, as a student at Michigan State in his proseminar class. Then, I began graduate school at Duke in sociology. A course on social stratification, taught in 1962 by Ida Harper, provided an opportunity to connect theorizing in sociology with psychology. My term paper for her class on "Social Stratification and Cognition" was an attempt to understand thought processes through the lens of social structure. That paper was a foundation for my continuing career interest in micro–macro linkages and interdisciplinary analysis.

Then off I went for doctoral studies at Northwestern where I was a research assistant on the "Cross-Cultural Study of Ethnocentrism" with Don Campbell and Bob LeVine. That experience was compatible with my early interest in prejudice but, more importantly, changed my perspective from a focus on individuals to groups: Allport and Rokeach studied individual variation in prejudice; the Ethnocentrism project focused on the expression of ethnocentrism by groups or cultures. This shift of focus was evident in my thesis project, later published in Druckman 1968 issue of the *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, titled "Ethnocentrism in the Inter-Nation Simulation." But, admittingly, I slid back to more of an individual focus in my dissertation on simulated collective bargaining. For social psychologists of my generation, a compelling issue was the relative importance of the person, role, and situation, a comparison that would arbitrate differences between Rokeach on dogmatism, Robert Blake and Jane Mouton on group representation, and Bernard Bass **o**n prenegotiation experience. The person (attitude orientation) and situational variables "trumped" the effects of the representative role. This finding was supported by the 1994 meta-analysis discussed by Lynn Wagner.

Flexibility remained a consuming interest in the research conducted in the 1990s, particularly the work at IIASA on situational levers also discussed by Lynn. In this work, I took on an ambitious goal of trying to "pin" (as in IIASA's PIN group) down the features on the negotiating environment that had the strongest influence on flexible behavior in each of four stages of a simulated multilateral negotiation. Interestingly, more flexible decisions occurred when negotiations were at a location far removed from the media spotlight. Further research on the lever approach was reported in an article published in a special issue that I edited with Chris Mitchell in 1995 and in article coauthored with my son Jamie. Eleven authors in the special issue, including Nimet Beriker, analyzed flexibility across a variety of settings with different perspectives. We have learned a lot about the meaning of flexibility and the conditions that influence flexible behavior. Further, I reveled in the recent findings on neuroplasticity, showing how humans adapt, change, and become more skillful across a wide range of tasks, from music to physics. (See my review in PSYCHcritiques of Ericsson and Poole's 2016 book "Peak.")

With all of this research, the question remains: Have I satisfied my childhood curiosity about why people harbor prejudice? The answer is yes and no. Yes in an analytic sense of realizing that prejudice can be understood from the standpoint of the individual (research on dogmatism), the situation (research on situational levers), and groups or cultures (research on ethnocentrism). Linking these three levels continues to be a challenge for researchers. No in a practical sense of doing something about it, particularly in the era of right-wing politics throughout the world.

Which Directions Should Conflict Research Take to Address the Scope and the Depth of the Contemporary Social Challenges and Technological Advances?

Conflict research is directed by both theoretical and practical considerations. Focusing attention on contemporaneous political issues, there are several practical directions for research. Perhaps the most pressing current issue is the policy divide between nationalist (fractionation) and globalist (inclusive) perspectives on world affairs. A sharp turn to the political right in many countries has threatened the viability of historically popular centrist (center left and center right) policies. And, the trend in this direction is growing rapidly. Can conflict research stem the tide? Probably not, but it can be helpful in understanding these developments.

Research on the roots of group attachments demonstrates the ease with which identities are established and the difficulty with which they dissipate through time. However, progress has been made, first, by distinguishing between nationalism (need for enemies) and patriotism (national adulation without casting aspersions at other nations) and, second, developing interventions for satisfying identity needs by focusing only on one's own group (Druckman, 2006). One type of intervention is to prime the joint gains feature of bargaining tasks in which members of the different groups or nations participate. Another is to affirm the other by asking these members to list positive qualities of their competitors. This exercise has been found to reduce value conflicts such as those between nationalists and globalists (Harinck & Druckman, 2017).

Earlier research on superordinate goals and more recent work on the security dilemma provide reasons for hope and worry. A ray of hope shines when divided parties agree on common goals even while acknowledging different values. But, dimness sets in when threats, rationalized as defensive, are viewed by others as preparing for an attack. This dilemma is compounded with the advent of new weapons systems such as those used recently by the United States in Syria and Afghanistan as well as with the promise made by President Trump to modernize and increase the nuclear inventory.

Challenges to peace also come from the dwindling adherence to agreements that terminated civil wars. Examples are the 1994 cease fire agreement following a war between Armenia and Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh and the 1992 agreement to end the civil war between Frelimo and Renamo in Mozambique. The former conflict never moved from the settlement, which kept the former combatants apart, and resolution, which depended on interaction between them. In the latter case, a durable peace agreement could not withstand the slow-developing perceptions of injustice by the Renamo military wing. The distinction between stable agreements and lasting peace, made in my research with Lynn Wagner, provides insights into why agreements may break down over time. However, solutions continue to evade us.

What Would You Be Studying If You Were to Start All Over Again. Why?

My career has been defined as looking forward not backward. No need for me to start over again. The path set in motion with the Duke term paper at age 22 has been followed even when that road was bumpy. I have been steadfast in that trajectory although thrown off course by some of the institutions in which I worked. At times, I adjusted my research agenda to the requirements of the organizations. At other times I did double duty by writing two reports, one for clients and another for the academic journals. The extra work put in amplifies my commitment to doing research. One personal reward has been realizing an aspiration developed early in life. Another reward has been the collaborations and mentoring discussed by my former students and colleagues in this article.

The term paper was a first attempt to connect social structures with cognition: Our thinking is situated in social contexts. Referred to also as links between macro- and micro-levels, I have only recently begun to tease out the connections in empirical research with Lynn Wagner on durable peace. Statistical meditation analysis revealed a path from conversations inside negotiation (micro) to societal-level (macro) peace (see Hayes, 2013, on the techniques). Thus, I have come full cycle from the early aspiration to its realization with the help of new technologies 54 years later! Switching to a political science department 12 years ago contributed to my understanding of the role played by institutions in behavioral change. That connection remains a lacuna in my scholarship as I seek to fulfill my ambition as a pan-disciplinary researcher.

Probably the same with some research challenges remaining to be addressed . . .

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