However, there are also serious problems with this strong laboratory research tradition. Most of our conclusions about what is effective in *complex* negotiations have been drawn from studies using this same limited set of *simple* bargaining games and classroom simulations. However, we should reasonably question whether such extensive prescriptions are fully accurate or appropriate, given that most negotiation research has been conducted with parties who have no existing relationship, while most actual negotiations occur between people who are in a relationship with the other party. More importantly, parties to an actual negotiation may have a significant past history with each other and may well expect to continue to work together in the future.

One group of researchers critical of the dominance of laboratory-based approaches to studying negotiation offered some examples:

> A recently married couple discusses whose parents they will be spending Christmas vacation with. [The marketing giants] Procter & Gamble and Wal-Mart discuss who will own the inventory in their new relationship. [The accounting/consulting firm] Price Waterhouse discusses a cost overrun with an extremely important audit client. Members of a new task force discuss their new roles only to discover that two of them wish to serve the same function on the task force. Each of these discussions could be modeled quite well as a single issue, distributive negotiation problem. There are two parties: A single, critical dimension and opposing positions. A great portion of each discussion will entail searching for the other's walkaway point and hiding of one's own. But the discussions are also more complicated than the single distributive problem. (Sheppard and Tuchinsky, 1996a, pp. 132–3)

These authors argue that researchers have been too quick to generalize from simple research studies ("transactional negotiations") to negotiating in complex relationships. There are several ways that an existing relationship changes negotiation dynamics:

1. *Negotiating within relationships takes place over time*. In Chapter 3, we noted that one way to turn a distributive negotiation into an integrative one is for the parties to take turns over time in reaping a benefit or reward. Within a relationship, parties can do this easily. Husband and wife can agree to visit each other's parents on alternate holidays. Negotiators in a laboratory bargaining game cannot agree to do this because their relationship ends when the game is over. Hence, time becomes an important variable in negotiating within relationships; understanding how parties package or trade off issues over time may be a critical tool for managing difficult one-off situations.
2. *Beyond discussion of issues, negotiation is a way to learn more about the other party and increase interdependence*. In a transactional negotiation, the parties seek to get information about each other so they can strike a better deal. The short time span of a transaction requires a party to either act simply on their own preferences or to gather small bits of information about the other before deciding how to act. In a relationship, gathering information about the other's broader ideas, preferences, and priorities is often the most important activity to finding commonality; this information reveals the other's thinking, wishes, work habits, and so forth, enhancing the party's ability to coordinate activities and improve the ongoing relationship. In short, in a transactional negotiation, the most important issue is usually the deal; in a relationship negotiation, the most important issue is preserving or enhancing the

relationship. If given a choice between cleaning the kitchen or paying the bills (based on the job alone), I might readily choose the kitchen; but if my spouse has very strong preferences about "her" kitchen and how it should be cleaned, I will readily accommodate to bill paying. As we point out later in this chapter, learning about the other's preferences is central to developing trust, which is often the glue that holds relationships together, particularly in difficult circumstances.

3. *Resolution of simple distributive issues has implications for the future*. While time can be an asset, it can also be a curse. The settlement of any one negotiation issue can create undesired or unintended precedents for the future. How Procter & Gamble handles one inventory question may have implications for how similar inventory questions are handled in the future. Alternating holiday visits to their parents in the first two years does not mean the married couple can never change the visitation schedule or that they have to take turns on every other issue in their marriage on which they disagree. But they may have to discuss explicitly when certain precedents apply or do not apply and explain their decisions to others.

   The results of these negotiations may also shift the power and dependence dynamics in their future relationship. The more the parties learn about each other, the more they may become vulnerable or dependent on each other. For example, if Acme Company is having a difficult time with a challenging manufacturing problem, it may decide to form a strong relationship with one of its very large customers, Battle Corporation, which knows how to solve the problem because of its experience with similar problems involving other suppliers. But Battle may insist that Acme sell its entire product inventory to Battle in order to make sure that Battle can benefit from helping Acme with its problem. Acme is now in a dependent relationship; Battle now has significant power over Acme and Acme may be vulnerable if the demand for its product shifts, if technology changes, or if Battle begins to try to control other strategic issues in Acme's business. This is not an uncommon problem for relatively small firms who supply goods or services to much larger companies, such as to a Walmart or to the big auto makers; in these situations, the entire business viability of the supplier may depend on the whims of its one very large customer (Sheppard and Tuchinsky, 1996b; Yoshino and Rangan, 1995). These dynamics can create reputation problems for both Acme and Battle, and we explicitly address the impact of reputations later in this chapter.

4. *Distributive issues within relationship negotiations can be emotionally hot*. If one party feels strongly about the issues or the other acts provocatively, the parties can become angry with each other. Expressing that anger clearly makes negotiating over other issues difficult (we discussed how emotion affects negotiation in Chapter 6). The parties may say things they don't mean, make hurtful comments, cut off discussions, and even refuse to speak further. At a minimum, the parties may have to cool off or apologize before they can proceed. In extreme cases, the parties can continue feuds for years, carrying their emotional baggage from one fight to another without ever creating the space for the parties to talk about issues important to the relationship. Many failed negotiations that end up in the courts—from small-claims cases and failed marriages to major organizational and international disputes—share a common

Authority The principle of authority is quite simple: People with authority have more influence than those without authority. Researchers have long been interested in the effects of authority figures on human behavior. Stanley Milgram's (1974) classic studies of obedience to authority suggest that people will go to great lengths when their behavior is legitimized by an authority figure. Most people will obey the orders of a person wearing a uniform, even if there is no war or apparent emergency. This, too, is an effect of the principle of authority.

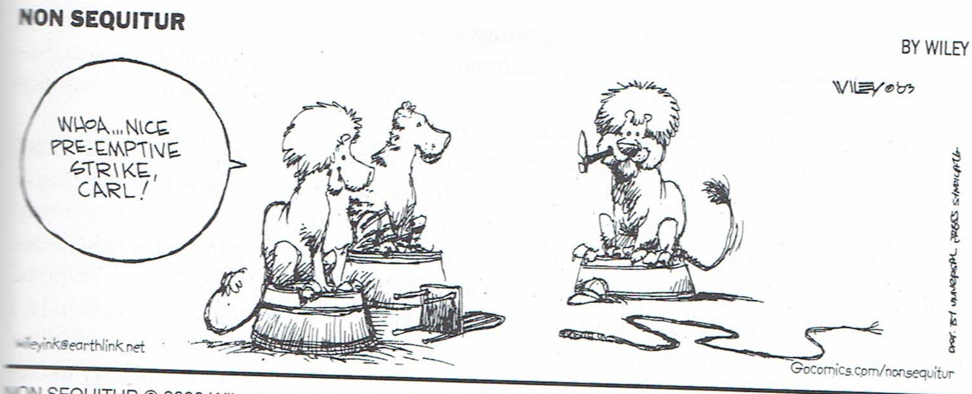
In negotiation, the principle of authority can be used in many ways. Cialdini (2009) observes that the use of a title, such as *doctor* or *professor,* gives the user more authority and thus more influence. A friend of one of the authors uses the title *doctor* whenever ordering airline tickets. He found out early in his career that airlines would telephone doctors when there was a flight delay but would ignore the other passengers. This simple illustration shows the esteem with which some titles (or positions) are held in society. Cialdini also suggests that authority is more than position; it can also lead to attributions of expertise. He tells the story of a waiter who, regardless of what patrons order, recommends something else on the menu that is cheaper because the original dish "is not as good tonight as it normally is" (p. 194). In doing so, the waiter establishes his authority for later (more expensive) advice about the meal, such as expensive desserts (and perhaps also induces diners to reciprocate his generous advice when it's time to leave a tip).

Authority can take different forms and yield different outcomes. Researchers have distinguished between two broad uses of authority in influence-seeking: (1) authority based on a person's personal expertise or credibility and (2) authority based on a person's legitimate position in an existing social hierarchy (Cialdini and Goldstein, 2004). The first form—expertise—has been labeled a "soft" influence tactic, whereas the second form—authority derived from one's position—is a "harsh" tactic (Koslowsky, Schwarzwald, and Ashuri, 2001). Koslowsky and colleagues, in a field study of influence behavior among nurses and their supervisors, found that subordinates' compliance with requests and job satisfaction were higher when supervisors relied more on the use of soft tactics. These findings seem to suggest that establishing your personal expertise is preferred to highlighting differences in positional power, especially if the goal is not just short-term compliance, but longer-term relational benefits as well.

Cialdini (2009, pp. 191–92) offers the following advice for dealing with authority figures who may have influence over you. Ask two questions: "Is this authority truly an expert?" and "How truthful can we expect this expert to be?" The first question invites you to verify that the person really does have expertise in the situation and not just the appearance (title, attire) of expertise. The second question brings into focus the motive of the alleged authority. If someone, like the waiter just described, gives you some negative information before another suggestion, he or she may in fact be manipulating you into thinking that he or she is honest when this is not the case.

Aspects of Context That Foster Peripheral Influence

Finally, we explore aspects of the situation beyond the message itself and the sender of the message that create opportunities to pursue the peripheral route to influence. Five strategies are discussed: reciprocity, commitment, social proof, scarcity, and reward and punishment.



Reciprocity The norm of *reciprocity* has been studied for years by philosophers, anthropologists, sociologists, and other social scientists. This norm suggests that when you receive something from another person, you should respond in the future with a favor in return. Reciprocity usually means a favor is "paid back" to the individual who gave you something in the first place, although the popular notion "pay it forward" captures the idea that as recipient of a favor you can "repay" to others instead. The reciprocity norm is thought to be pan-cultural in that groups around the world appear to respect it (Gouldner, 1960). We alluded to the reciprocity norm in the previous section when discussing personal attractiveness of sources and some receiver factors.

The norm of reciprocity plays an important role in negotiations. Negotiators give concessions and expect concessions in return. When they treat the other party politely, they expect a corresponding politeness. The norm can also be used to obtain compliance from another negotiator. For instance, negotiator A does a small favor for negotiator B and later asks for a larger favor from B in return. The net advantage goes to A. Although one may think that the norm of reciprocity should apply only to favors of the same size, this does not appear to be the case. Many sales pitches rely on giving the consumer a small gift early in an exchange and then asking for a large concession from the consumer later. In parts of Africa, particularly Nigeria, there is a custom of giving a small gift, called *dash,* to a potential customer soon after he or she has walked into a shop—before there has ever been a chance to identify the customer's needs. The shopkeeper will claim, legitimately, that it is a gift, no strings, yours to keep even if you turn and walk out of the shop at this minute. Knowing human nature, however, the shopkeeper does not really expect this to happen and is rarely disappointed. The shopkeeper knows that people like to receive gifts and will develop positive feelings toward those who give them. Those who leave without buying often give the gift back, even though they know it is "free."

Similar opportunities exist in other negotiation situations. A compliment, such as a reference to the other party's positive behavior in a prior encounter, will make that person feel good and set the scene for him or her to act positively in return. Giving a quick concession on an issue that the other party wants will both please that party and create the implicit obligation for him or her to do the same. Too often negotiators begin by holding every

There is evidence that differences in the nature of situations affect the tendency of negotiators to use pressure tactics. For example, compared with those with low power, parties with high power tend to use more pressure tactics, such as threats, and make fewer concessions (Michener, Vaske, Schleiffer, Plazewski, and Chapman, 1975). With relatively small power differences between the parties, the low-power party becomes more likely to also use threats, creating an escalation between the parties that can destroy the negotiation (see also Vitz and Kite, 1970). Obviously, being in a low-power position makes a negotiator vulnerable to threats: It will often seem as though the easiest way to respond is simply to comply with the threat maker's demand. It is important to keep in mind, however, that the lower-power party does have other options available short of outright defiance. For instance, a person can seek to delay the interaction, stall for time, engage in passive resistance (e.g., simply not respond), or comply only minimally ("work to rule," in labor parlance) with the threatener's demands.

Lastly, there is also evidence that the use of pressure tactics varies cross-culturally. Tinsley (2001) found that negotiators from cultures that place a higher value on social hierarchy (Japanese, in this study) were more likely to use pressure tactics than negotiators from cultures having a greater emphasis on egalitarianism in society (Germans and Americans). Another study's findings (Giebels and Taylor, 2009) suggest that the use of persuasive arguments (rather than pressure tactics) are preferred in individualistic cultures (such as the United States), with pressure tactics more likely in collectivist societies that emphasize relational harmony over individual fulfillment. (We consider the role of culture in negotiation in depth in Chapter 16.)

Section Summary In this section, we examined several ways that persuaders can use the peripheral route to achieve influence. We discussed factors related to the message itself, characteristics of the message source, and aspects of the influence context that can result in influence. That last piece—context—is especially important because it complicates the influence situation, requiring the effective influence seeker to attend to additional social factors beyond just his or her relationship with the individual influence target. An example is the added complexity involved in seeking influence as part of negotiations that occur in large organizational settings (see Box 9.4).

Influence targets are particularly susceptible to peripheral forms of influence to the extent that they are unmotivated and/or unable to pay careful attention to the argumentative substance of the influence-seeker's message. Effective negotiators realize that a big part of their task is persuading the other party to view the situation as they do. Strategies that underlie peripheral routes to influence are an important part of a negotiator's arsenal for doing just that.

The Role of Receivers—Targets of Influence

We close this chapter with a discussion of the person who is the target of influence. Influence targets should not think of themselves as passive recipients who merely "consume" a persuasive message and then make an up-or-down decision whether to "buy" it or not. There are two prominent aspects to the influence target's role and options. First, targets should avoid becoming defensive and direct their energy instead toward ways to gain a great

Influence in Organizations

BOX 9.4

Michael Watkins (2001) discussed how influence operates when it occurs in the specific context of large organizations. He offered five key goals for effective persuasion in these settings:

1. *Mapping the influence landscape.* It is important to pinpoint who needs to be persuaded and what methods to employ to effectively influence the other party. Within an organization or social network, it is important to attend not just to the target of influence, but also to subgroups or coalitions that support the target. This also involves neutralizing opposition to your position.
2. *Shaping perceptions of interest.* An influencer can use framing techniques and persuasive strategies to influence others' beliefs about what they want. Successful persuasion can change a person's incentives in the negotiation, therefore facilitating desired outcomes. Compensation plans, mission statements, strategic plans, annual budgets, and the like are powerful media for influencing incentives in an organization.
3. *Shaping perceptions of alternatives.* Influencing another's perceptions of alternatives to an agreement is also a powerful form of persuasion. This may involve focusing the target's attention on alternatives that highlight the value of your position, rather than those that detract from it.
4. *Gaining acceptance for tough decisions.* It is important to lay a framework within the organization for the acceptance of difficult decisions and their outcomes. When members of an organization feel involved in the decision-making process and perceive that process as fair, they are more likely to accept tough decisions.
5. *Persuading at a distance.* Because organizations are large and it is impossible to persuade one-on-one with all members, it is important to be able to persuade from a distance. Establishing reliable channels of communication, communicating important themes and messages through speeches and memos, and learning how to appropriately and creatively communicate an idea are important for mass persuasion in an organization.

Source: Adapted from Michael Watkins, "Principles of Persuasion." *Negotiation Journal 17,* no. 2 (2001), pp. 115–37.

understanding of the goals and interests driving the other party's influence attempts. Second, there are a number of ways that negotiators who find themselves on the receiving end of persuasive messages and strategies can resist the attempts at influence. We discuss each of these two aspects of the target's role in turn.

Understanding the Other's Perspective

Negotiators on the receiving end of influence-seeking gambits will be much better equipped to make sound decisions about whether or not to be persuaded—and less likely to dig in and become defensive—if they have a thorough and nuanced understanding of where the other party is coming from. We present here three suggestions for achieving that kind of understanding.

Explore the Other's Point of View Negotiators frequently give very little attention to the other party's opinions and point of view. This is unfortunate because it is very much to your advantage to understand what the other party really wants, how things look to him, and

The pursuit of influence certainly can stem from and capitalize on power in the sense that if you have leverage over someone because of, say, your position of authority or your ability to confer rewards, you can use those things to influence—to get the other person to see or do something your way. But it is crucial to emphasize at the outset of this chapter that *achieving successful influence does not necessarily require having power over the individual(s) you seek to influence.* As we shall see, there are multiple routes to influencing someone else's attitudes or behavior, some of which benefit from having formal or informal power over the target of influence, but many of which don't.

People differ widely in their ability to use influence effectively. Some believe the ability to persuade is something with which people are born—you either have it or you don't. Although the natural persuasive abilities of people do differ, persuasion is as much a science as a native ability; everyone has the opportunity to get better at it. Our aim in this chapter is to discuss a variety of influence tools that are available to the savvy negotiator. To set the stage, we begin with an organizing framework that defines influence seeking in two broad categories that correspond to two different social–psychological avenues for achieving influence.

Two Routes to Influence: An Organizing Model

One way to think about how people are influenced by others is to draw upon a traditional model of communication that focuses on the content and characteristics as the *message* that a sender wants a receiver to believe, accept, or understand. For a long time, this was the traditional way that psychologists analyzed influence and persuasion: Effective influence occurs when a person is exposed to, pays attention to, comprehends, retains, and acts in accordance with the content of a message. Researchers later came to understand, however, that people can be influenced—their attitudes and behaviors can be changed—without them having to understand, learn, or retain the specific information contained in a message (Petty, Briñol, and Tormala, 2002). In fact, people can be influenced even when they are not actively thinking about the message itself (Petty and Briñol, 2008). This is not to suggest that the content of influence-seeking messages, like those used by negotiators to try to get the other side to see things his or her way, aren't important—they certainly are in many situations. It is, however, simplistic to think of influence only in terms of the verbal content of persuasive messages aimed by an influence seeker at an influence target.

An alternative way—the approach we choose here—is based on a more contemporary understanding of how influence and persuasion work. This approach, developed first in a stream of research by Richard Petty and John Cacioppo (1986a, 1986b),[1] suggests that there are two general paths by which people are persuaded:

- The first path occurs consciously and involves thinking actively about an influence-seeking message and integrating it into the individual's previously existing cognitive structures (thoughts, intellectual frameworks, etc.). Petty and Cacioppo labeled this path to persuasion the *central route,* which "occurs when motivation and ability to scrutinize issue-relevant arguments are relatively high" (1986b, p. 131).
- The second route to persuasion, the *peripheral route,* is characterized by subtle cues and context, with less active thought and cognitive processing of the message.

Persuasion via the peripheral route is thought to occur automatically (i.e., out of conscious awareness), leading to "attitude change without argument scrutiny" (Petty and Cacioppo, 1986b, p. 132). Because the information is not integrated into existing cognitive structures, persuasion occurring via this route is likely to last a shorter time than persuasion occurring via the central route (Petty and Cacioppo, 1986b). A simple example of peripheral-route persuasion is the listener who is convinced by the impressive credentials of the speaker rather than by the arguments the speaker is actually presenting.

For clarity of presentation, we represent elements from both paths in a single diagram (Figure 9.1). Many of the common elements used to increase leverage are part of the central route: the structure and content of the message or the relationship between sender and receiver. However, several influence strategies are designed to persuade through the indirect or peripheral route, such as enhancing the attractiveness and credibility of the source, invoking the principle of reciprocity (you should do something for me because I did something for you), or drawing on appeals to popularity (you should think this way because many others do).[2] The remainder of this chapter addresses the approaches to influence presented in Figure 9.1. We organize this discussion according to the distinction between central and peripheral routes to influence.

The effective use of influence, whether within a negotiation context or in other social settings, may be determined in part by an individual's stylistic talent as a "salesperson" or accomplished communicator, but we take the position that an understanding of the human psychology of influence is at least as important, if not more so. The negotiator who grasps the principles developed in this chapter will have at his or her disposal tools of influence that make it possible to elicit from others desirable and strategically useful attitudes and behaviors. Effective influence is not just a way for negotiators to claim more value for themselves; it can also help to persuade the other party to see possibilities for joint benefit and to increase the other party's satisfaction with the deal that does ultimately result (Malhotra and Bazerman, 2008).

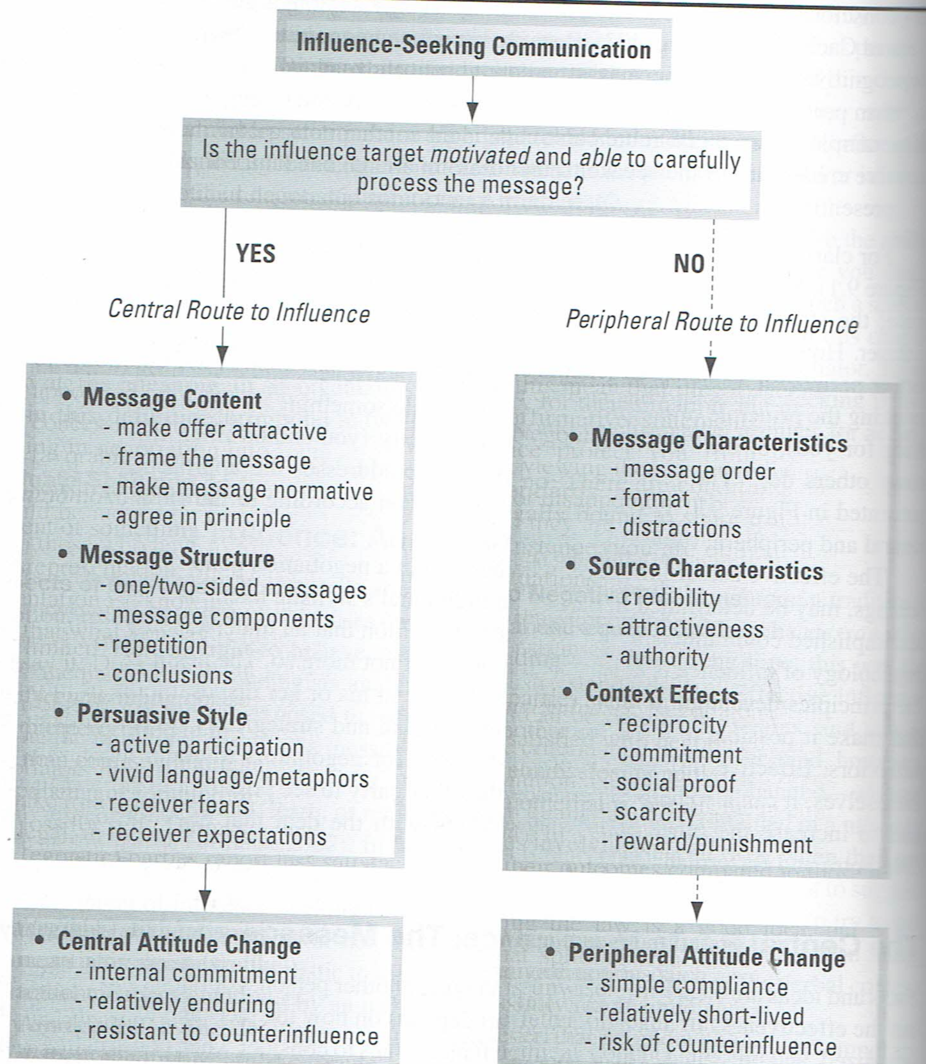
The Central Route to Influence: The Message and Its Delivery

Facts and ideas are clearly important in changing another person's opinions and perceptions, but the effectiveness of a persuasion effort depends on how the facts and ideas are selected, organized, and presented. There are three major issues to consider when constructing a message: the *content* of the message (the facts and topics that should be covered), the *structure* of the message (how the topics and facts should be arranged and organized), and the *delivery style* (how the message should be presented).

Message Content

When constructing arguments to persuade the other party, negotiators need to decide what topics and facts they should include. In this section, we discuss four questions negotiators need to consider when constructing persuasive arguments: (1) how to make offers attractive to the other party, (2) how to frame messages so the other party will say yes, (3) how to make messages normative, and (4) how to obtain agreements in principle.

FIGURE 9.1 | Two Routes to Influence



Make the Offer Attractive to the Other Party In structuring the message, negotiators should emphasize the advantage the other party gains from accepting the proposal (Michener and Suchner, 1971). Although this may seem obvious, it is surprising how many negotiators spend more time explaining what aspects of their offer are attractive to themselves than identifying what aspects are likely to be attractive to the other party. Experienced negotiators ensure that the other party understands what he or she will gain by accepting an offer. To do this well, negotiators need to understand the other party's needs.

Section Summary In summary, negotiators need to take care when they construct a message to persuade another party to their point of view. Assuming the target of influence is motivated and able to pay attention to the persuasive appeal, then messages that are well reasoned, evidence-based, and logical will successfully persuade (Crano and Prislin, 2006). Aspects of the message content, message structure, and delivery style can all influence the extent to which a message meets these criteria and hence is persuasive. In other words, how one says something can be as important as what one has to say, and if the other party is not persuaded by the arguments, then perhaps the negotiator did not construct the message effectively. When messages are well crafted and influence does successfully occur through the "central route," the change in the target's attitudes is more likely to be long lasting and resistant to counterinfluence (Petty, Haugtvedt, and Smith, 1995).

Peripheral Routes to Influence

Thus far, we have focused on organizing the structure and content of the message in order to create leverage through the "central" route to influence (refer back to the left-hand side of Figure 9.1). In this section, we consider ways that a person can influence others through the "peripheral" route (the right-hand side of Figure 9.1). In such cases, the receiver attends less to the substance of persuasive arguments and is instead susceptible to more "automatic" influence through subtle cues. This usually occurs when the target of influence is either *unmotivated* or *unable* to attend carefully to the substance contained within a persuasive message (Petty and Briñol, 2008). As we suggested earlier, persuasion that occurs through the peripheral route is less likely to bring about real attitude change, more likely to last a shorter time, and more vulnerable to counterinfluence (Petty et al., 1995).

In our discussion of peripheral routes to influence we draw in part on the work of psychologist Robert Cialdini (2009), who argues that this type of persuasion can work almost automatically, like an eye blink or a startle response. Cialdini spent many years investigating why people comply with requests that, upon further reflection, they would rather not have agreed to. His research represents a skillful blend of laboratory investigation and observation of "compliance experts" such as salespeople, fund-raisers, and marketing and advertising experts. The insights that emerge are useful not only for achieving successful influence in negotiation and other contexts, but also for avoiding being a "victim" of these persuasive traps.

Our discussion of peripheral routes to influence considers three sets of strategies: message aspects, attributes of the persuader (the message "source"), and elements of the influence context.

Aspects of Messages That Foster Peripheral Influence

When targets of influence are unmotivated or unable to pay close attention to the influence seeker's message, they are susceptible to being influenced by message elements that exist apart from the actual arguments involved. We discuss three such elements here: the way in which the influence seeker chooses to order those arguments, the format through which arguments are conveyed, and the use of distraction to interfere with the target's ability to think effortfully about the arguments in play.

Message Order In preparing a persuasive argument, negotiators usually have one major point, piece of information, or illustration that is particularly important or compelling. Where should it be placed in the message? At the beginning? In the middle? At the end? Research tells us one thing clearly—do not place the important point in the middle of the message (Bettinghaus, 1966). In performance appraisal a common practice is to sandwich negative feedback in the middle between opening and closing comments that are more positive and upbeat. In this way, the negative feedback is conveyed but not emphasized—which helps soften the critical blow to the person being evaluated—but it may not be as persuasive if the goal is to get that person to internalize the criticism and change his or her behavior in the future.

So when the goal is persuasion, should important information be at the beginning or at the end? When the topics are familiar, interesting, or controversial to the receiver, the important points should be made early, exposing the receiver to the *primacy effect:* The first item in a long list of items is the one most likely to be remembered. Thus, the negotiator should state messages that are attractive to the receiver early, before they present something the receiver may not want to hear. In contrast, when the topic is uninteresting, unfamiliar, or not very important to the receiver, the most critical point should be placed at the end of the message to take advantage of the *recency effect:* The tendency for the last item presented to be the best remembered. The recency effect should be considered when the message is likely to be contrary to the receiver's current point of view (Clark, 1984).

Format In our discussion of communication (Chapter 7), we addressed how negotiation is affected by the communication channels through which it can occur (face-to-face, telephone, e-mail, etc.). The same goes for influence, where certain arguments or appeals may be more or less effective depending on the channel in use or the format of the presentation (Barry and Fulmer, 2004). One way that a choice of message format can induce peripheral influence is if it elicits a snap judgment regarding the legitimacy of the argument. For instance, Herb Cohen (1980) suggests that written rules carry more weight than those given verbally. Thus, a principle could be seen as more credible or believable, and hence more likely to be adopted, if it is in a policy manual or the fine print of a contract than if it is merely expressed orally. A recent study by Guadagnoa and Cialdini (2007) found gender differences in the effectiveness of persuasion through different communication channels. Compared with men, women in the study were less receptive to persuasive messages sent by e-mail unless there was a prior relationship with the sender. Women also reported less liking for the communicator when e-mail was the vehicle for the influence attempt.

Distractions One factor that makes the persuasion process complex is that people start to defend themselves against being influenced as soon as they suspect that someone is trying to persuade them. As they listen, part of their attention might be devoted to what is being said, but a large portion is also devoted to developing counterarguments (Brock, 1963; Festinger and Maccoby, 1964). Persuasion efforts are more effective if they can reduce the other party's efforts to develop defensive counterarguments. One way to do this is to have a *distraction* occur at the same time the message is sent. Distractions apparently absorb the effort that the other party normally would put into building counterarguments and leave the listener "vulnerable to the message appeals" (Reardon, 1981, p. 192). In other words,

Relationships among Reputation, Trust, and Justice

Not only are various forms of justice interrelated, but reputations, trust, and justice all interact in shaping expectations of the other's behavior. For example, when one party feels the other has acted fairly in the past or will act fairly in the future, he or she is more likely to trust the other (see Lewicki, Wiethoff, and Tomlinson, 2005). An extensive analysis of research that studied relationships over time has shown that interactional justice was the most significant predictor of subsequent trust; procedural and interpersonal justice were significant predictors of how trustworthily the other would behave in the future (Colquitt and Rodell, 2011). We would also predict that acting fairly leads to being trusted and also enhances a positive reputation. Conversely, several theoretical and empirical works have shown that when parties are unfairly treated, they often become angry and retaliate against either the injustice itself or those who are seen as having caused it.[14] Unfair treatment is likely to lead to distrust and a bad reputation. Trust, justice, and reputation are all central to relationship negotiations and feed each other; we cannot understand negotiation within complex relationships without prominently considering how we judge the other (and ourselves) on these dimensions.

Section Summary In this section, we examined three core elements common to many negotiations within relationships: reputations, trust, and justice. Not only are these elements essential, but they also feed each other. Trust issues are central to relationships. While some amount of trust exists in market-transaction negotiations, trust is more critical to communal-sharing relationships in which the parties have some history, an anticipated future, and an attachment to each other. In addition, justice concerns are absolutely central to negotiation in relationships. Negotiations between many parties—husband and wife, business partners, or nations such as those in the Middle East—focus heavily on both fair solutions to distribution problems and fair processes for resolving those disputes. Finally, past evidence of trust and fairness—either from our own experience or from the experience of others—strongly shapes whether negotiators have a positive or a negative reputation, which in turn determines how negotiators shape their approach to us in the future.

Not only are these elements critical to relationships, but as pointed out, building a relationship may be an essential critical component of being successful in negotiation. For one company's approach to building relationships in order to enhance sales, see Box 10.4.

Repairing a Relationship

There are many steps to repairing a relationship. Trying to overcome a bad reputation, rebuilding trust, or restoring fairness to a relationship are much easier to talk about than to actually do! Fisher and Ertel (1995), discussing processes that lead to effective integrative negotiations, suggest the following diagnostic steps one can take when seeking to improve a relationship:

1. *What might be causing any present misunderstanding, and what can I do to understand it better?* If the relationship is in difficulty, what might have caused it, and how can I gather information or perspective to improve the situation?
2. *What might be causing a lack of trust, and what can I do to begin to repair trust that might have been broken?* Trust repair is a long and slow process. It requires adequate explanations for past behavior, apologies, and perhaps even reparations.

BOX 10.4 JetBlue Apologizes

On February 14, 2007 (Valentine's Day in the United States), airline JetBlue suffered a major crisis. Two inches of snow and ice at New York's JFK airport led to 1,000 flight cancellations, massive delays, and passengers stranded on planes for up to nine hours. The event received massive media visibility, and it took almost a week for JetBlue to resume normal operations. While other airlines also suffered service disruptions because of the storm, JetBlue received most of the visibility for the breakdown—largely because, in its seven-year history, it had inspired much higher expectations of good treatment from its loyal customers.

JetBlue founder and CEO David Neeleman was faced with the challenge of how to repair the public's trust in a way that would strengthen the strong brand identity that the company had created. In the week following the crisis, he appeared in every local and national news media. He accepted responsibility for bad decisions and organizational problems. He apologized repeatedly, promised refunds for stranded passengers, and promised to fix the problems that created the disaster. He also introduced a customer "bill of rights." Two weeks after the meltdown, 43 percent of a sample of people visiting JetBlue's website said the airline was still their number-one favorite.

In a time when most airlines enjoy very little customer confidence, Neeleman's successful handling of the crisis has been highlighted as an example of creating a trustworthy brand identity—and being able to sustain it in a time of crisis. Bruce Blythe, CEO of Crisis Management International, sums it up well: "The single most important thing that a company needs to show in a crisis is that it cares. That's not a feeling. It's a behavior."

Here is an abbreviated text of JetBlue's apology, which is considered by many to be a "gold standard" for a good apology:

> Words cannot express how truly sorry we are for the anxiety, frustration, and inconvenience that you, your family, friends, and colleagues experienced…JetBlue was founded on the promise of bringing humanity back to [our industry], and making the experience…happier. We know we failed to deliver on this promise last week. You deserve better—a lot better—and we let you down.

Source: Summarized from Chuck Salter, "Lessons from the Tarmac," *Fast Company*, May 2007, pp. 31–32.

3. *What might be causing one or both of us to feel coerced, and what can I do to put the focus on persuasion rather than coercion?* How can we take the pressure off each other so that we can give each other the freedom of choice to talk about what has happened and what is necessary to fix it?
4. *What might be causing one or both of us to feel disrespected, and what can I do to demonstrate acceptance and respect?* How can we begin to appreciate each other's contributions and the positive things that we have done together in the past? How can we restore that respect and value each other's contributions? (See one example in Box 10.5).
5. *What might be causing one or both of us to get upset, and what can I do to balance emotion and reason?* How can we surface the deeply felt emotions that have produced anger, frustration, rejection and disappointment? How can we effectively vent these emotions, or understand their causes, so that we can move beyond them? These *are* important questions. If the relationship problem is not significant or long lasting, the parties may be able to work them out on their own. If the problem has persisted for a time, or the breakdown creates serious costs for one or both sides, third parties will probably have to intervene (see Chapter 19).