
C H A P T E R

9 POWER IN NEGOTIATION

In this section, we will focus on the role of power in negotiation. In negotiation, parties often attempt to exert both direct and indirect pressures on the other, in order to advocate their interests and win the conflict. We will define the sources of this pressure as *power*, and the tactics designed to apply this pressures as *influence*. This chapter will review the major sources of power and types of influence used in negotiations.

Power has multiple, often overlapping, or even contradictory meanings. It is often used interchangeably with *leadership*, *influence*, and *persuasion*. And like these concepts, power is multidimensional and complex; thus, before going further, we need to clarify what we mean by the term and how we are going to use it.

Why Is Power Important to Negotiators?

The primary reason that negotiators seek power is because power gives the negotiator some *advantage* or *leverage* over the other party. Negotiators usually use this advantage to secure a greater share of the outcomes or derive their preferred solution. Seeking power in negotiation usually arises from one of two beliefs:

- The negotiator believes she currently *has less* power than the other party. In this situation, she believes the other party already has some advantage that can and will be used in the negotiation process, so she seeks power to balance or offset the power of the other.
- The negotiator believes he *needs more* power than the other party to increase the probability of controlling the process and securing a desired outcome. In this context, one negotiator believes that added power is necessary to gain or sustain an advantage in the upcoming negotiation.

The types of power negotiators seek in these two situations may well be the same, but the likely impact is different. The impact varies depending on whether the negotiator seeks power to create a power balance or imbalance relative to the other, and whether she does so for offensive or defensive strategic purposes. In the first situation, the negotiator who seeks a power balance is doing so to increase the likelihood that each negotiator can achieve his goals. As an offensive strategy, balancing or equalization is likely to be more consistent with a desire to pursue an integrative strategy and achieve either a compromise or collaborative outcome. As a defensive strategy, a negotiator pursues equalization to assure that the other does not obtain an inappropriate or undeserved share of the outcome or settlement. Thus, as a general rule, power equalization is consistent with intentions either to pursue a collaborative outcome or to block the other from gaining a competitive advantage.

In contrast, the negotiator pursuing a power imbalance (enhancement) seeks to gain more power than the other. As an offensive strategy, the negotiator may pursue this option to assure greater control over the division of resources—in short, to competitively win the negotiation. As a defensive strategy, the negotiator usually pursues this end because he fears that the other is also trying to increase his or her power—in order to beat him at his own game. In both cases, negotiators pursue power enhancement for distributive, competitive purposes—to enhance the likelihood of achieving a preferred solution or to gain a disproportionate share of the negotiated outcomes.

As we discuss in this section, there are many forms of power in a negotiation context and hence many ways that negotiators can gain and use power. Moreover, as we will point out, having the potential for power does not necessarily mean that it is used, or used wisely. In general, negotiators who don't care about their power or who have matched power—equally high or low—will find that their deliberations proceed with greater ease and simplicity toward a mutually satisfying and acceptable outcome. In contrast, negotiators who *do* care about their power and who are seeking to match or exceed the other party's power may find that their efforts are highly successful in the short term but also create problematic long-term consequences.

A Definition of Power

In a broad sense, people have power when they have “the ability to bring about outcomes they desire,” or “the ability to get things done the way one wants them to be done.”¹ However, the same people could also be described as having influence, being persuasive, or being leaders. We need some way of separating power from other influence processes that are used in interpersonal relations.

There are many definitions of power. We prefer what may be called a relational definition of power proposed by conflict scholar Morton Deutsch:

An actor . . . has power in a given situation (situational power) to the degree that he can satisfy the purposes (goals, desires, or wants) that he is attempting to fulfill in that

situation. Power is a relational concept; it does not reside in the individual but rather in the relationship of the person to his environment. Thus, the power of an actor in a given situation is determined by the characteristics of the situation as well as by his own characteristics.²

In his discussion of power, Deutsch suggests that there has been a tendency to view power as an attribute of the actor only. This view would ignore that power is derived from the situation or context in which an actor operates. Rather, as Deutsch suggests, when considering the statement "A is more powerful than B," a discussion of power should view it from three distinct perspectives (which are often interrelated):

Environmental power, or 'A is usually more able to favorably influence his overall environment and/or to overcome its resistance than is B'; *relationship power*, or 'A is usually more able to influence B favorably and/or to overcome B's resistance than B is able to do with A'; and *personal power*, or 'A is usually more able to satisfy his desires than is B'.³

In this chapter, we organize our discussion of negotiator power into two stages: *power bases*, or sources, and *influence strategies*. We will refer to power bases as the repertoire of tools available to influence the environment, the other party, or our own desires. We will talk about a number of different bases of power, or types of tools, that are available to a negotiator. *The tools themselves are not power—power is the effective use of those tools in the right way in the appropriate situations.* In this chapter, as we consider the different bases of power, we will essentially be looking at the way each base can be used to gain some advantage or leverage over the environment or the other party.

After discussing the dominant bases of power, we will then turn to a discussion of *patterns (or strategies) of influence*. Influence strategies are the manner in which the tools are put into use, or enacted through a strategy, to accomplish a particular influence objective. We will describe several major influence strategies, each of which uses one or more of the power bases in a different way. In any given negotiation or influence situation, one or more influence strategies may be possible, depending upon the power sources available and the user's preference for using some influence strategies and not others.⁴

Sources of Power

Understanding the different ways that power can be exercised is best accomplished by looking at the various sources (or bases) of power and the ways that they are typically exercised. One well-known typology of power identified five major power bases: reward power, coercive power, legitimate power, expert power, and referent power.⁵ Although many contemporary discussions of power are still grounded in this typology, we will reclassify this list somewhat and add several new sources of power. A summary list of our major sources of power is shown in Table 9.1.

TABLE 9.1 Sources of Power

Information and expert power
Resource control
Legitimate power
Authority
Reputation
Performance
Location in the structure
Centrality
Criticality and relevance
Flexibility
Visibility
Personal power
Attractiveness and friendliness
Integrity
Patience and tenacity
Emotion

Information Power and Expert Power

Within the context of negotiation, information power is perhaps the most common source of power. Information power is derived from the ability to assemble information that can then be used to support the position we want to take, arguments we want to make, or outcomes we desire. This information may also be used as a tool to challenge the other's position or desired outcomes and hence undermine the effectiveness of his negotiating arguments.

Information power refers to the accumulation and presentation of information that will change the other's point of view or position on an issue. Information power and its sources are related to the *message* or *content* strategies of persuasion that we described earlier in the previous chapter. For example, information power can be related to the credibility and trustworthiness of the sender (source) of the message, the content of the message, the structure of the message (particularly in the way that the information is presented), or the style and techniques used in presenting and delivering the message.⁶

Within the context of negotiation, information is the key source of power, at the heart of the process. In even the simplest negotiation, the parties take a position and then present facts, arguments, viewpoints, and data to support that position. I want to sell a used motorcycle for \$1,000; you say it is only worth \$500. I proceed to tell you how much I paid for it, point out what good condition it is in, what the attractive features are, and why it is worth \$1,000. You point out the fact that it is five years old, emphasize the paint chips and rust spots, and comment that the tires are worn and really should be replaced. You also tell me that you

can't afford to spend \$1,000. After 20 minutes of discussion about the motorcycle, we have exchanged extensive information about its original cost and age, its depreciation and current condition, the benefits and drawbacks of this particular style and model, your financial situation and my need to raise cash, and a variety of other factors.

Through the information presented by each side, a common definition of the situation emerges. By the amount and kind of information shared and the way the negotiators talk about it, both parties derive a common (and, hopefully, realistic) picture of the current condition of the motorcycle, its market worth, and the preferences of each side with regard to buying and selling that motorcycle. This information need not be 100 percent true—bluffs, exaggerations, omissions, and distortions of information may occur. I may tell you I paid \$1,800 for the bike when I only paid \$1,500; I may not tell you that the clutch needs to be replaced. You may not tell me that you can actually pay \$1,000 but that you simply don't want to spend that much. (We return to these issues in Chapter 11, when we discuss how lying and deception are used as power tactics.) Nevertheless, the information exchanged, and the common definition of the situation that emerges, serves as a rationale for each side to modify his or her positions and eventually to accept a settlement. Both of us arrive at a mutually satisfactory price—\$800, including a loan of \$200 that I have given you to pay me back over six months. Our feelings of satisfaction come from deciding on the price itself and from also deciding that the price is justified because of the way the other party behaves in the negotiation.

Expert power is a special form of informational power. Expert power is accorded to those who are seen as having achieved some level of command and mastery of specific information. These individuals gain respect and credibility deference based on their expertise. You can establish yourself as an expert in a number of ways. One way is to show off your credentials, such as a university degree or a real estate license. This is why physicians hang their degrees and licenses on their walls, and accountants use the C.P.A. abbreviation after their name and always appear in conservative business dress. So, if credentials can be hung on the wall, why not have the negotiation in your office so they can see the evidence of your expertise? Or if you have written an important article on the subject, give them a copy. Another way is by providing evidence that other people have acknowledged your expertise. People commonly provide references from those who can verify their expertise. Also, you can practice name-dropping, mentioning persons whose expertise is well-known and established. Finally, you can show that you have a level of knowledge worthy of being deemed an expert by rattling off a mass of facts and figures, referencing relevant but obscure bits of critical information, or discussing the pros and cons of a strategy or argument at great length. In fact, a common negotiation technique is the snow job, in which the negotiator inundates the other party with so much information that the other cannot process it all—he thus may be more likely to accept the expert's simplification of this information in a way that promotes the expert's preferred strategy or solution.

Resource Control

The second major source of power in negotiation is control over resources.⁷ People who control resources are powerful because they can allocate and dispense those resources to people who will do what they want and withhold (or take away) those resources from people who don't do what they want.

Resources can be of all types. As already discussed, the most important resources are those which matter most to the target. In an organizational context, some of the most important resources include:

- Money, in its various forms: cash, salary dollars, budget allocations, grants, bonus money, expense accounts, and so on.
- Supplies: raw materials, components, pieces, and parts.
- Time: if the other party is pressured to produce a quick settlement or meet a deadline, control over time can put extreme pressure on the other party.
- Equipment: machines, tools, technology, hardware and software, vehicles, conveyor belts, and the like.
- Critical services: repair, maintenance, upkeep, installation and delivery, technical support, transportation, and so on.
- Human capital: labor power, work teams, staff.

Resource power comes not only from being able to control and dispense resources, but also from the ability to create a resource base in an environment where resources appear to be scarce. Researcher Jeffrey Pfeffer described how political and corporate figures have built powerful empires founded on resource control.⁸ Lyndon Johnson built a major power base during his early years in Congress by taking over the "Little Congress" (a speaker's bureau for clerical personnel and aides to members of Congress) and leveraging it into a major power base. Similarly, Robert Moses, beginning as Parks Commissioner of New York City, built a power empire that resulted in the successful construction of 12 bridges, 35 highways, 751 playgrounds, 13 golf courses, 18 swimming pools, and more than 2 million acres of park land in the New York metropolitan area, making him one of the major power brokers of New York from 1960 to 1990.

To use resources as a basis for negotiation power, we must develop or maintain control over some scarce commodity that the other party wants. Successful control over resources must also assure that the other party cannot get those same resources from someone else—in order to get what she wants, she must deal with you directly. Finally, in dispensing those resources, the power holder must be willing to give them out to others depending upon the other's compliance or cooperation with the power holder's request. Increasing scarcity of resources of all kinds has led to the new golden rule of organizations: "Whoever has the gold makes the rules."

Legitimate Power

There are times when people respond to directions from another, even directions they do not like, because they feel it is proper (legitimate) for the other to tell them and proper (obligatory) for them to obey, even though they do not like what they are being directed to do. This type of power is legitimate power, derived from occupying a particular job title, office, or position in an organizational hierarchy.

Most legitimate power comes from the social structure.⁹ When individuals and groups organize themselves into any form of social system—a small business, a combat unit, a union, a political action committee, or a sports team—they almost immediately create some form of organizational structure and hierarchy. They elect or appoint a leader and may introduce formal rules about how decisions will be made, work divided, responsibilities allocated, and conflicts managed. Without this social ordering, chaos would prevail and group coordination would take forever. The need for a social structure to enhance efficiency and effectiveness, then, creates the basis for legitimate power.

There are several ways to acquire legitimate power. First, it may be acquired by birth. Elizabeth II, as queen of England, has the title of queen and all of the stature this title commands in the structure of the British constitution and the history of the Empire. Yet she has little actual power in terms of her ability to run the day-to-day affairs of Britain. Second, legitimate power may be acquired by election; the president of the United States has substantial legitimate power, derived from the legal structure of the American government. Third, legitimate power is derived simply by being appointed or promoted to some office, job, rank, or organizational position. Thus, by holding the office or title of director or general manager, the person is entitled to all the rights, responsibilities, and privileges that go with that position.

Finally, legitimate authority is also accorded to individuals who hold a position for which we show respect. In many societies, the young listen to and obey older people. People listen to those who occupy highly respected public offices and certain occupations, like the clergy. They do what these people say because they believe that it is proper to do so. Although these power holders also have some reward and coercive power, they seldom, if ever, use it.¹⁰ Legitimate power cannot function without obedience, the “consent of the governed.” If enough British citizens question the legitimacy of the queen and her authority—even given the hundreds of years of tradition and law on which it is founded—her continued rule will be in serious jeopardy. If enough women challenge the pope’s rulings on abortion, birth control, or other social policy, the pope’s authority will erode. When enough people begin to distrust formal authority or discredit its legitimacy, they will begin to defy it and undermine its potential as a power source.

As a result, it is not uncommon for those who hold legitimate power to accumulate other power sources (such as resource control and information) to buttress their power base. With the title of vice president of a company also comes

privileged information and control over financial and human resources. When that vice president needs to implement an organizational decision, she may call on her title, information, and control over resources to get others to comply.

In the context of extending legitimate authority, it is also important to discuss two other derivative sources of power: *reputation* and *performance*. Reputation is the image one develops in an organization, the way people come to talk about and describe a particular individual. Reputation is shaped by what one has done before—performance. If you want to build a reputation for being powerful, then you have to use power, get things done, have an impact on others, and make sure that such accomplishments are made public so that others will know of them. In short, with the acquisition of legitimacy comes resource control and information control. These three sources of power may be used to do a job well, get performance to occur, or have impact. To the degree that you make performance sufficiently visible, others will see it and comment on it. In this way, reputations are derived and employed as a power source—so that when an individual needs to actually exercise power, she may not actually have to use information, resources, or authority but may simply invoke her reputation for using those tools.¹¹ For example, the reputations of Mahatma Ghandi and Martin Luther King were derived from incidents in which they were willing to undergo great personal sacrifice for their causes early in their careers, a reputation that then served them well as they sought to mobilize larger groups of people to bring about broad societal change.

Location in an Organizational Structure

Some individuals become powerful simply by virtue of being in a key position, even though that position does not have a lot of organizational authority.¹² Individuals who are exposed to a large amount of information, who are responsible for collecting vital information and passing it from one place to another, or who do jobs the organization has deemed central to its organizational mission or success can gain power through these activities. Particularly as organizations change to meet the demands of changing markets, environmental conditions, economic turbulence, and worldwide competitive pressures, individuals find themselves in tasks, duties, and functions that become critical to the organization's ability to change or be successful. The job may not have a fancy title, a big budget, or a large corner office, but it can provide significant power by virtue of the information and resource control associated with it.

From an organizational perspective, understanding power in this way is derived from conceptualizing an organization not as a hierarchy, but as a network of interrelationships.¹³ Networks represent key individuals as circles or nodes, and relationships between nodes as lines of transaction. (See Figure 9.1A and B for an example of a network, as compared to an organizational hierarchy.) Individuals who need to interact with each other (or who do interact with each other) in the organization are connected by these lines.¹⁴ In hierarchy terms, position and

FIGURE 9.1A
Formal Organizational Chart

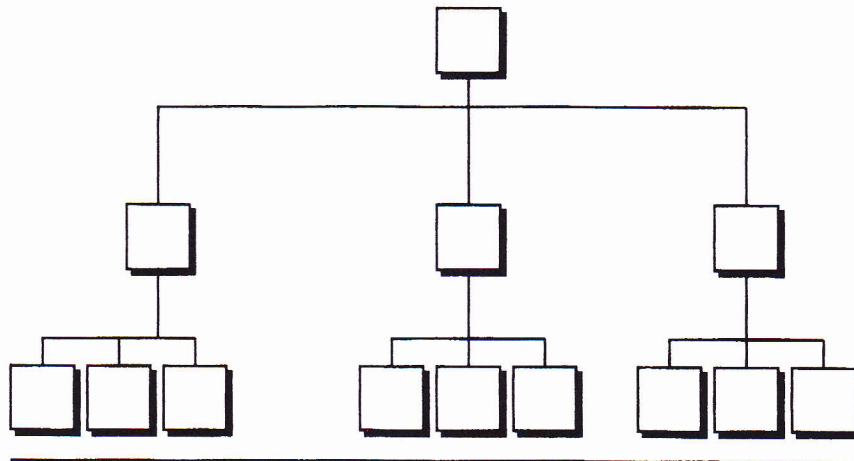
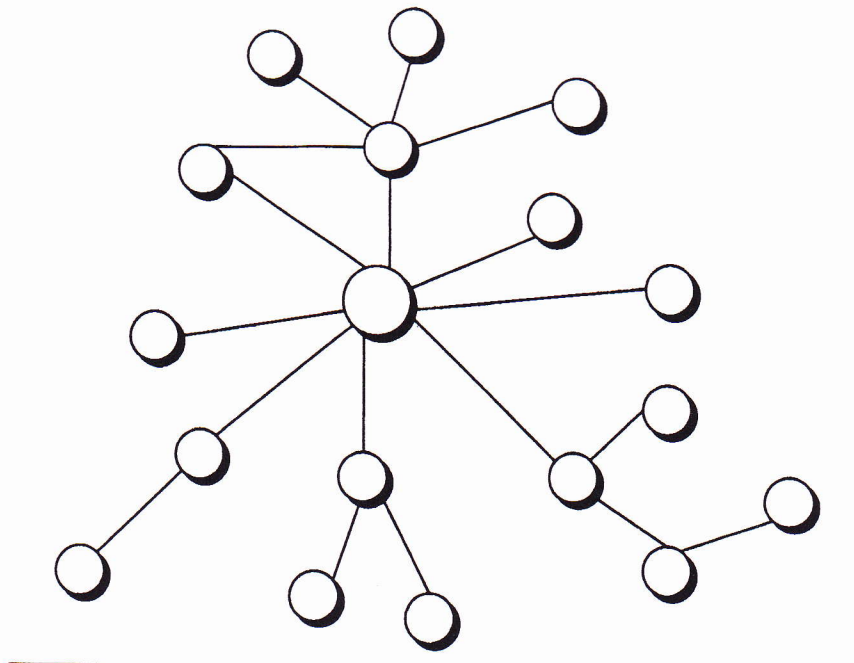


FIGURE 9.1B
Organizational Network



formal authority are directly related to how high up the position is in the hierarchy, and to how many people report to that individual. In network terms, in contrast, power is determined by the following alternative criteria.

Centrality. The more central a position (node) is in a network of exchanges and transactions, the more power that node occupant will have. Centrality may be determined by the amount of information that passes through a node, the number of transactions that occur through the node, or the degree to which the node is central to the flow.¹⁵ Centrality may also simply relate to where one's office is located in the organization—in the hallway where the president walks to lunch or in some back corner where one is never seen.

Criticality and Relevance. A second source of network power is the criticality of the node. Although a great deal of information or resources may not flow through the node, what does flow through it is essential to the organization's mission, major task, or key product. In jobs that are high in criticality, the key person is charged with assembling information from many locations, which brings him or her into frequent contact with important people and requires the key person to integrate the information into a recommendation, action strategy, or decision.

Flexibility. A third source of network power lies in the position's flexibility, or the degree to which the key individual can exercise discretion in how certain decisions are made or who gains access. Flexibility is often related to criticality. A classic example of flexibility is the role of gatekeeper, the person in a network who controls the access to a key figure or group. Anyone who wants to get to the key person has to go through the gatekeeper. If you want to see the boss, for example, you have to get permission and access from the secretary.

Visibility. Finally, nodes differ in their degree of visibility—that is, how visible the task performance is to others in the organization. A negotiator who negotiates with his constituency (or team) in the room has high visibility; if the negotiator gains significant concessions from the other party while being watched, the team will give him a great deal of affirmation.

In summary, the more traditional view of legitimacy as a source of power is that it is derived from the formal title, duties, and responsibilities that accompany an organizational position. However, power can also be derived from one's location in the overall flow of information, goods and services, and personal relationships in that system. Acquisition of power requires the savvy individual to understand which jobs and duties are central, critical, flexible, and visible, since occupants may also use their position to accumulate information, resources, and personal relationships that may be leveraged into further power and influence.

Personal Sources of Power

We come to the last category of sources of power: the personal qualities that an individual brings to the negotiator role that individuals can convert into influence.

Although a large number of personal qualities may contribute to a power base, we will mention the four most important here: personal attractiveness, integrity, persistence, and emotion.

Personal Attractiveness (Friendliness). One critically important attribute that a negotiator can bring is the ability to be friendly and outgoing and to establish a personal relationship with the other parties in the negotiation. The ability to show some direct, personal interest in the other helps to soften the harder edges of some of the other power sources. Friendliness also involves a strong emotional component; warmth, empathy, and caring about others appeals to the moods and feelings of the other party as well as the intellect. Rather than immediately getting down to business, the negotiator uses friendliness to get to know the other negotiator, talks about topics that will put the other at ease, discovers things that they may have personally in common, uses empathy and sensitivity, and establishes a personal relationship with the other.

Emotion. Although emotion is clearly a component of friendliness, other emotions beside warmth, empathy, and compassion enter into negotiation. Fear, anger, or excitement can become an integral part of many negotiations—particularly over issues about which we feel strongly. Emotion combines with persistence to lead to assertiveness and determination.

Emotion is a power source because expressing it sometimes offers a dramatic contrast to our expectations—which is that negotiation should be a cool, calm, rational exchange of information and resources. As we have previously stated, most people expect negotiation to be driven by cold, logical analysis of outcome maximization and economic valuation of alternatives. Yet we also know that negotiators frequently do not behave according to the principles of logic and economic rationality. In addition, when everyone else is being rational, it is frequently the person who expresses strong feelings, gets angry, or makes an impassioned speech in favor of her proposed solution who carries the day.¹⁶ Emotion is a power source when it can be effectively used to win over the other party's heart by appealing to her passions, values, or personal sense of what is right, fair, and just. Union organizers, politicians, and motivational speakers all understand the importance of arousing emotion as a way to persuade someone.

Integrity. A third personal quality is integrity. Integrity is character—the personal values and ethics that ground our behavior in high moral principles. Integrity is the quality that assures people we can be trusted. If people expose their vulnerabilities to us, we usually will not exploit those vulnerabilities when we are attempting to influence them. If people trust us with confidential information, we will not disclose that information to others. Finally, integrity is the quality that assures people that if we make an agreement, we can be trusted to keep that agreement, to abide by its terms and conditions and to follow through on it. If people will trust us with confidential information and expose their vulnerabilities to us, we are likely to establish stronger personal relationships with them and to make

stronger deals.¹⁷ Similarly, if people believe that we can be trusted to follow through and implement our agreements, we are more likely to be able to complete agreements that will benefit us.

Persistence and Tenacity. Finally, persistence and tenacity are also valuable personal qualities in a negotiator. Children are often called great negotiators because they are so wonderfully persistent in pursuing what they want. Saying no to a child does not mean that the child gives up asking; usually, kids find all kinds of creative ways to persist in trying to achieve their objective (the candy bar, the toy, watching the TV show). Another part of success comes from finding new, unique, and creative ways to pursue the same request. Persistent people aren't necessarily doggedly committed to pursuing their goals blindly and rigidly; instead, they also display creativity in finding new ways to pursue the same objective.

In summary, we have considered five major sources of power: information and expertise, resources, legitimacy and formal authority, location within a communication network, and personal sources such as personal attractiveness, emotion, integrity, and persistence. We will now turn to the ways negotiators implement these power sources, or "tools," through various strategies and tactics of interpersonal influence.

The Application of Power: Strategies of Influence

In this section, we examine power in action, which we will call *influence*. Researchers have not reached a consensus on either the number of specifically different influence strategies used or the most meaningful groupings of these strategies.¹⁸ In this section, we propose 10 different influence strategies that may be used in negotiation. Each one draws on one or more sources of power, and each may be effective under specific conditions. Although we describe each one separately, they may be used in various combinations to enhance their strength and impact or to suit the needs of the situation. Let us now consider each in detail. Table 9.2 presents a summary of these influence strategies and ties them to their power bases.

Persuasion

Persuasion is used when the negotiator wants to change the target's mind through information. The agent uses rational arguments, logic, facts, analyses, statistics, scientific studies, reports, data, and any other information that is available to construct a fact-based, logical case. Information and expertise are the primary sources of power used in this influence strategy. Use of the strategy assumes that the information and facts create a compelling logical argument, that the information and facts are not subject to bias or distortion, and that the other is seeking facts and logic and will make a decision based on high-quality information. Persuasion is a very common form of influence, particularly in logical decision making and when exerting influence upward (to a boss).

TABLE 9.2 Influence Strategies and the Power Tools They Use

<i>Influence Strategy</i>	<i>Power Sources Used</i>
1. Persuasion	Information and expertise—information may be derived from position in structure
2. Exchange	Resources
3. Legitimacy	Position in structure—may extend resources
4. Friendliness	Friendliness, attractiveness, and emotion
Ingratiation	More explicit use of friendliness for expedient purposes
5. Praise	“Verbal” resources combined with friendliness
6. Assertiveness	Information combined with persistence and emotion
7. Inspirational appeal	Information combined with emotion
8. Consultation	Information and resources combined with solicitation of others' information and resources
9. Pressure	Information, negative resource control, and emotion
10. Coalitions	Various power tools used to build support among a coalition (information, resources, friendliness) and then use group support as leverage

Exchange

A second influence strategy is exchange, the process of explicitly or implicitly offering resources or favors (promises and assistance) to secure the other's compliance and cooperation. Some authors have said that exchange is the same as *bargaining* in that the user either directly or implicitly suggests a trade—in short, “If I do X for you, will you do Y for me?” Exchange or bargaining relies on resources as the power base, particularly resources that can be translated into rewards for the other—favors, benefits, incentives, treats, perks, and the like. Exchange frequently invokes the use of *promises* and *commitments* as persuasive tools—obligations we are willing to make in exchange for the other's cooperation, compliance, or commitment to give us what we want. These are often negotiated so that I complete my obligation now, but choose not to ask you to complete your obligation until some point in the future. By doing so, we leave a series of chits or other obligations out in our interpersonal marketplace, which we can call back in when we need them.¹⁹ Obligations may be created in several ways—doing favors for people, recognizing and praising them for their accomplishments, helping people out, or paying them individual attention when the job demands do not require it or people do not expect it.²⁰

Legitimacy

The third influence strategy is legitimacy—using the power vested in the organizational position, title, and office and exerting influence by asking people to follow directives derived from that position or title. Legitimacy is effective to the extent that the target believes that the request is derived from the agent's formal authority base, is consistent with that authority, and is also consistent with organizational rules, policies, practices, and procedures. Individuals using legitimacy styles may be more likely to give direct orders; to pull rank and refer to their higher status, title, or position; or to use the trappings of their position, such as a uniform, a title, or an office location (e.g., the big corner office on the senior-executive floor) to reinforce their authority.

As we noted, this tactic is often accompanied by other influence approaches: information that is only available to the office holder, or control of rewards and punishments for compliance or noncompliance. While the exercise of the duties and responsibilities of the office frequently requires certain behaviors, office holders who want to extend these powers sometimes abuse the privileges.²¹ Power holders extend the use of legitimate power beyond the scope and boundaries for which it was meant. The academic dean may let some athletes stay in school, even when they have failing grades, as a favor to the football coach. The banker may actually take a bribe from a businessman and, in exchange, fail to take action on the bad loan. Such behavior is not defined by the role, but occurs because the power enjoyed by the office holder is now being abused. A variation on the use of legitimacy is to suggest that the target should comply because the organization and its higher authorities are really the ones making the request. In this variation, the agent suggests that “the organization would like you to do this” or “those in higher authority in the organization” desire compliance.²²

Friendliness

A fourth influence tactic is to use the power base of attractiveness and friendliness and to create a relationship with the other person. By establishing this relationship with the other person, we hope that the friendship that develops will lead the other to comply simply because friends like each other, help each other out, and do favors for each other. Some friendliness tactics include gaining rapport with others, showing genuine concern and interest for the other person, sharing feelings, expressing liking and appreciation for the other, working hard to understand the other's perspective and preferences, emotionally supporting the other, being loyal to her, and keeping confidences. Listening to others, eliciting contributions from others, and giving them credit for work done or contributions made are also effective interpersonal tactics for building friendships and strong interpersonal relationships.

Using friendliness is a less-effective influence approach when there are time pressures or a decision is needed quickly. Developing a relationship takes time

and must progress at its own pace. In fact, using friendliness as an influence tactic usually requires that the relationship between the agent and the target already exist before the request is made so the relationship can be effectively exploited. If the agent tries to cultivate a relationship very quickly and to use it simply as a vehicle in which to lodge the influence request, it is likely that the target will see the friendliness gestures as superficial and insincere, a perception that will raise the target's defensiveness rather than lower it. This use of "expedient friendliness" is often called ingratiation, or, more colloquially, "kissing up." Ingratiating behavior can be particularly irritating as the agent attempts to use flattery, emotion, and other friendliness tactics to soften up the target before making the request, yet people who are very accomplished at using ingratiation tactics are often so good at it that the target may not realize what is happening until after the deed is done.

Praise or Reinforcement

A fifth influence tactic is the use of verbal praise, encouragement, and affirmation that the other is doing well. Research shows that verbal reinforcement, approval, and praise are highly effective, perhaps as effective as tangible, economic resources, in shaping behavior.²³ This same research has also shown that managers do not use positive reinforcement and praise enough. Too often, managers assume that praise is not necessary for people who are "just doing what they are supposed to do."

It is important for the negotiator to use verbal reinforcement, praising language, and supportive words, gestures, and commentary to reward the target person for desired behaviors. If the other party expresses a view we like, show your approval of that view. If the party makes a favorable concession, express your appreciation for that concession. If he stops advocating a negotiating position that you did not like, affirm that behavior. You can use praise consistently and repeatedly throughout a negotiation, but you should particularly use it at the end, when the parties are summarizing and wrapping up their agreement. Express support and appreciation to the other party for whatever she did that was consistent with our own objectives: cooperation, sharing information, willingness to make concessions, or whatever part she took in shaping the final deal.

Assertiveness

A sixth influence strategy is assertiveness, which is to express what one wants in a strong, forceful style and manner. Assertiveness is information presented in clear, strong, compelling language—a combination of the personal quality of persistence and determination with emotional language that signals that determination. One way to express assertiveness is by making demands, clearly and emphatically stating what you want. You can also demonstrate assertiveness by making unilateral decisions—who will attend a meeting, what the agenda will be, what the issues

are, who gets to speak, and what alternatives will be considered. Assertiveness may work when used selectively but is unlikely to be effective in the long term because of the resistance and resentment it engenders in the other party.²⁴

Inspirational Appeal

A seventh influence tactic is to create an inspirational appeal. This tactic successfully combines information with an emotional message that appeals to the target's idealism, personal values, or hopes and aspirations for the future. In short, inspirational appeals are motivational in the best sense of the term: they inspire people to perform, energize them, and build feelings of strength and confidence that will hopefully lead to superior performance.

Inspirational appeals are often called by other names: pep talks, sales pitches, or motivational speeches. They require several things to be successful. First, the agent must be able to present ideas powerfully, especially by invoking emotions. Speeches are full of these emotional messages as well as the colorful language of symbols, metaphors, word pictures, and phrases that appeal to our values and ideals. Charismatic leaders and motivational speakers understand these language principles well and know how to use them. Second, inspirational appeals must be able to articulate a future—a future state or condition that is significantly better than the present, and a *future that the other party desires*. Finally, inspirational appeals must outline a desired course of action that will supposedly lead to the attainment of the vision or values. Although the inspirational message may be strong on values and emotional content, it must also be translated into a specific course of action that will lead to the objective.

Consultation

As an influence strategy, consultation is the process of involving others in planning a strategy, process, or outcome, or being willing to modify one's own position based on the other's ideas, suggestions, and input. Consultation is not a strategy that is frequently mentioned as an influence tactic. In fact, in many ways, it is redundant with the concept of negotiation because, by definition, negotiation is the process of give and take in order to arrive at an outcome shaped by both sides. Yet it is important to recognize that a consultative influence strategy is empowering because it explicitly solicits and invites the other's input, as opposed to the strategies of persuasion or assertion, which unilaterally direct the other toward particular behaviors and outcomes. Consultation seeks to draw on the other's information, perspective, personal integrity, and self-respect by asking her advice and input. The power of participative decision making in management is drawn directly from the power of consulting others about their preferences rather than unilaterally directing their choices. (Roger Fisher and Scott Brown develop the mnemonic ACBD—Always Consult Before Deciding—as a key way to manage and strengthen an important relationship through consultation.)²⁵

Pressure

We will use the term *pressure* to broadly define the strategic use of information plus sanctions—particularly punishment—to accomplish objectives. By using pressure, an agent makes demands, suggests consequences about what will happen if the demands are not met, engages in frequent surveillance to determine whether the demands are carried out, reminds the other person frequently about what is expected, and eventually may deliver the actual punishment if the demand is not met or not met on time. A sales manager may cut her salesperson's pay for repeatedly failing to achieve sales target projections. An executive may fire her secretary for failing to improve her typing skills. A father may deny his son television privileges for a week because he didn't clean up his room. A supplier may put a late charge on an overdue bill to a customer. And, like reward power and the use of praise, coercive or punishment power can be as effective in verbal form as the withdrawal or denial of tangible resources. If the sales manager berates the salesperson for failing to make target sales quotas rather than firing him, or if the father yells at his son rather than denying him television privileges, the impact may be just as great.

The conditions for the use of pressure are similar to those for the use of exchange and praise: the other party is dependent on the power holder in some way, the agent controls some form of resources which can be denied or taken away from the other party, and the punishment can be administered in a manner that will ensure the other person's compliance. The decision to use pressure is most likely related to the power holder's perception of the willingness of the other party to comply. Sanctions, whether positive or negative, are most likely to be involved when expectations of successful influence are lowest.²⁶

The few empirical studies of power use in negotiation have tended to find that parties with higher power tend to use more pressure tactics, such as threats, and make fewer concessions. Interestingly, when the power distribution between the parties is relatively small, the low-power party also displayed a high level of threat use and power tactics, creating an escalation between the parties that usually destroyed the negotiation.²⁷ At best, pressure tactics produce short-term compliance with requests, but they also are likely to produce high resistance from the other party. As a result, frequent use of pressure tactics leads to very high resistance, in which the agent must consistently escalate the severity of consequences for non-compliance and the willingness to invoke them. It should be clear, therefore, that frequent use of pressure strategies alienates the other party and requires a great deal of coercive pressure to sustain compliance. If possible, therefore, pressure strategies should be used sparingly and selectively because any use is likely to corrode the relationship between the parties, and any frequent use is likely to destroy it.

Coalitions

The last influence tactic is the use of coalitions. In a coalition strategy, the agent enlists the aid or endorsement of a number of other people (who the agent knows,

likes, or respects). The agent then either asks these other people to make direct requests to the other party or suggests to the other party that many people have already endorsed or supported the desired behavioral objective. Coalitions can be used in upward and lateral influence. In upward influence, the subordinate attempts to influence the boss and suggests that a number of other subordinates endorse the action. In lateral influence, the agent suggests that a number of the other party's peers already endorse the desired action and asks the other person to "get on board and be a team player." The agents can use these supporters by simply suggesting that they support the desired action or as go-betweens to approach the other party directly. In the latter case, go-betweens are usually selected because of already-strong friendship relationships with the other party that may now be exploited to change the other party's view or willingness to comply.²⁸

Summary

A great deal has been written on power and its use in organizations, and this literature has been significantly enriched in the past 10 years. However, few of these works have been specifically directed at understanding power in negotiations. We began by stating that power is important to negotiators for different reasons, depending on their intentions. If their intent is to gain some competitive advantage over the other party, then they will seek ways to enhance and use their power to achieve that objective. Thus, negotiators may use power to pursue a competitive objective. In contrast, they may also use power to pursue an integrative or cooperative objective; in this case, power will be sought to balance the power between the parties so they may pursue collaboration on an equal footing. We then discussed the different ways that power could be defined and the implications of these different definitions for a complete understanding of power use in negotiation. Finally, we explored a number of influence strategies that combine various power sources into more explicit strategies in order to exert leverage on the other.

We encourage more research in how these tactics draw on power, when they are used, and under what conditions they are effective so we might enrich this discussion in the future.

End Notes

1. Salancik and Pfeffer (1977).
2. As defined by Deutsch (1973, pp. 84–85).
3. *Ibid.*, p. 85, italics in original.
4. A great deal has been written on power, and we have drawn extensively from some of the best major sources on this subject: Boulding (1989); Cialdini (1993); Cohen and Bradford (1990); French and Raven (1959); Kipnis (1976); Kipnis, Schmidt, and Wilkinson (1980); Kotter (1977, 1985); Mintzberg (1983); Pfeffer (1992); Steward (1989); and Zucker (1991).

5. French and Raven (1959).
6. Scarcity of information can often be a source of power. Cialdini (1993) points out that banning certain types of information, as when information is censored, actually increases the demand for that information.
7. Pfeffer and Salancik (1974), among others, stress that the ability to control and dispense resources is one of the major power sources in organizations.
8. See Pfeffer (1992).
9. See Barnard (1938).
10. See Cialdini (1993) for an excellent discussion on the "illusions of authority."
11. See Tsui (1983, 1984) for a discussion of reputational effectiveness.
12. See Kaplan (1985) for one discussion.
13. See Kotter (1985).
14. Primarily information and resources are transacted, although personal relationships and authority may also be currencies transacted across the network lines.
15. Research by Brass (1984) indicates that being in the center of information flows—the work-flow network, the informal-communication network, and the friendship network—was particularly important to being promoted in an organization.
16. Henderson (1973).
17. Shapiro, Sheppard, and Cheraskin (1992); Lewicki and Bunker (1995).
18. There has been a boom in research and writing on the strategy and tactics of influence in the past 8 to 10 years. Several researchers have performed exhaustive surveys and inventories of the influence tactics managers use (e.g., Kipnis, Schmidt, and Wilkinson, 1980; Keys and Case, 1990; Yukl and Tracey, 1992), and others have written normative treatises on how and when to use these tactics (Cohen and Bradford, 1990; Falbe and Yukl, 1992; Zucker, 1991).
19. In his studies of successful managers and their use of power in organizations, Kotter (1977) emphasizes that a manager must recognize, create, and cultivate dependence among those around her—subordinates, peers, and even superiors—and to convert these dependencies into obligations.
20. Pfeffer and Salancik (1974) stress that one of the major hallmarks of power in organizations is the ability to control and dispense desired resources. Cohen and Bradford (1990) advocate exchange as the medium by which we most successfully get things done in organizations, particularly when we lack formal position authority and titles, and they describe a wealth of other currencies that may be used in effective exchange transactions.
21. See Kipnis (1976).
22. See Kipnis, Schmidt, and Wilkinson (1980).
23. Luthans and Kreitner (1985).
24. See Taetzsich and Benson (1978) for one approach to the effective use of assertiveness.
25. Fisher and Brown (1988).
26. Kipnis (1976) notes that "*praise and rewards* appear to be preferred when the power holder wishes to retain the goodwill of the target person, or when the power holder anticipates that compliance is likely to drop off in the future. *Criticism and*