Crisis Negotiation: From Suicide to Terrorism Intervention

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Authors' Biographies

Simon Wells is currently researching communicating with antagonistic people. He is particularly interested in how research can be translated into practice, as Simon is a Crisis Negotiator and was the United Kingdom Course Director for Hostage and Crisis Negotiation. Recently, Simon has been using research and research methods to further our understanding of communicating with individuals involved in terrorist activity, in particular kidnapping and hostage taking.

Paul J. Taylor, Ph.D., uses experimental, archival and field research to better understand why certain people are uniquely effective at gaining cooperation from those who are mistrusting or hostile. Paul is Professor of Psychology at Lancaster University, UK, and Professor of

Human Interaction at Twente University, The Netherlands. At Lancaster, Paul directs Security Lancaster, a University-wide center of excellence for security research that houses 45 staff and the latest in research and training facilities.

Ellen Giebels, Ph.D., is Professor of Psychology at the University of Twente, The Netherlands, and head of the department of Psychology of Conflict, Risk and Safety. In her research, teaching and consulting work, Ellen focuses on conflict management interventions that are conducive to behavioral change and information gathering in domains such as crisis/hostage negotiations, police interviews, witness protection, and work-related abuse.

Abstract

This chapter uses an account of a real-life crisis negotiation to explore what is know about these high-stakes, emotion-fueled interactions. We begin by reviewing literature relevant to four different interaction periods within the case: first impressions and the verbal and nonverbal factors that effect initial exchanges; rapport development and the communicative skills that facilitate information gathering; sensemaking and the frameworks that help negotiators understand the motivations of their interlocutor; and, influence strategies and their impact on moving a perpetrator from antagonism to cooperation. After reviewing these phases, we consider the impact of contextual factors, such as perpetrator's background and type of incident, on the way in which the phases occur. We then conclude by identifying areas ripe for future research. We discuss the need to better understanding influence across cultures, the sensemaking of negotiators over time, and the experiences of victims.

Keywords: crises; communication behavior; first impressions; relationship development; sensemaking; influence.

Terrorism and Crisis Negotiation

At 2:30am on a Thursday morning you accompany the police to a small housing estate in North London where a man is standing on his third-floor balcony. He has a nylon rope around his neck that is attached securely to a washing line hook. He is leaning on the metal fence that separates the balcony from the drop below such that, if he falls or jumps, it is likely that he will decapitate. The man sees you approaching and acknowledges this by asking, "what the f--- do you want?" By this stage of the Handbook you will have read a great deal about negotiation. So, putting what you have read into practice, what would you say or do? Working out your BATNA or calling your favorite professor of negotiation is not an option here; you probably have about 30 seconds before it's too late.

In this chapter we follow the story of the two police officers that attended this incident. We use their story as a lens to explore what research over the last 25 years has taught us about negotiating crises, ranging from interventions to stop a suicide through to negotiations to stop terrorism. These interactions are typically characterized by a set of features that set them apart from traditional business negotiations or the interactions of students in experiments. As Taylor and Donohue (2006, p. 667) note, crisis negotiations are "not embedded in the traditional dynamics of normative thinking and good faith, but on the extreme dynamics of emotional arousal and anxiety. The negotiators must listen carefully, resist the temptation to react defensively, and work to build trust and cooperation." The need for the negotiators to think quickly and manage a set of high stakes can be stressful and challenging.

We examine the story of the two police officers at four time periods during the incident. This allows us to capture different aspects of the dynamics that shape an unfolding crisis. Figure 1 presents these periods along a timeline. Immediately apparent from this timeline is the

importance of the first few minutes of interaction to crisis negotiation. The instant impression

(e.g., first 30 seconds) and opening gambit (e.g., 5-10 minutes) of a negotiator is critical to how a

crisis incident becomes framed and how it then unfolds. This period of the interaction is

typically characterized by extreme emotions and mistrust, with perpetrators struggling for

dominance and protecting their face rather than exchanging information or bargaining (Donohue,

Kaufman, Smith, & Ramesh, 1991). Sometimes, negotiations do not get past this stage. Indeed, a

much cited anecdote in the literature is of the negotiation that lasted hours because the negotiator

did not offer the perpetrator an opportunity to come out; the negotiation continued because the

perpetrator, who has no expectation or 'script' about how the interaction should unfold, did not

realize that surrendering was an option (McMains & Mullins, 2001).

A second noticeable feature of Figure 1, particular in the latter time periods, is the focus

on communication behaviors. This contrasts much of the negotiation literature, which has

tended to focus on the impact of intrapersonal or contextual conditions on outcome rather than

on the content of communication *per se* (Taylor & Donald, 2004)[1]. While understanding the

impact of 'population' variables (cf. Guttman, 1992) is valuable to the development of

negotiation theory, it is knowledge about content that is pertinent for practicing negotiators.

When police negotiators attend an incident they have little control over who they are going to

negotiate with, in terms of individual differences or experience, and little control over the nature

of the bargaining space, in terms of the issues at hand and the background that has led to the

crisis. They also have little influence over the setting in which the negotiations begin, since the

location and timing of the incident are unilaterally set by the other side. They do, however, have

control over what they are going to say. For that reason, most crisis negotiation research and

training is focused on the communicative content of interaction. In the second half of this

[1] For a related discussion of content focused research, see Adair and Loewenstein, this volume.

chapter we outline conceptual frameworks that help negotiators make sense of perpetrator's dialogue, and review research that identifies the kinds of influence message that are effective at educing cooperation.

A third important, though not unexpected feature of Figure 1 is the extent to which the four periods instantiate the stages of interaction proposed by phase models of negotiation. A phase model presents either a descriptive or prescriptive account of how coherent stages of communication fit together over time (Holmes, 1992). In relation to crisis negotiation, one often cited models is the Michigan State Police model, which proposes four phases of development, namely, establishing initial dialogue, building rapport, influencing, and surrender (Donohue et al., 1991; Madrigal, Bowman, & McClain, 2009). A similar, more detailed model is the Behavioral Change Staircase model that was developed by the FBI's Crisis Negotiation Unit (Vecchi, Van Hasselt, & Romano, 2005). This model again emphasizes relationship development during early phases of interaction, which gives way to a focus on influencing the perpetrator's behavior in later phases. The importance of initial dialogue and building rapport map onto the first three snapshots that are presented in this chapter. The problem-solving and influence foci that characterize later phases map onto the fourth influence snapshot presented here. Thus, the principle underlying these models and the snapshots presented in this chapter are alike, and center on defusing the intense emotions of the perpetrator to achieve a calmer, more rational conversation about the issues at hand (Vecchi et al., 2005). Although these emotions may be especially present in suicide interventions and domestic disputes, which are cases often described as 'expressive' in nature, they can also be observed in more instrumental crises, such as kidnappings (Giebels & Taylor, 2009).

First Impressions

What occurred during the first few minutes of the incident in north London is a good example of why first impressions matter in crisis negotiations. The two negotiators attended the incident dressed in civilian suits and long coats. The suicidal man recognized this style of dress as typical of non-uniform police officers and yelled "no comment!" in anticipation that they were going to start questioning his intentions. One of the negotiators stood below the man, leaned on the roof of a nearby car to appear relaxed, and attempted to engage the man in dialogue. This aggravated the man and he shouted abuse at the officer for touching his car. Assessing that the man was familiar with police and unlikely to be quickly persuaded to step down, the negotiators began with a summary of what they could see, as opposed to what was being said: "My name is Dick and I work with the Police to help people who may be considering killing themselves. I can see that you are three floors up, on the wrong side of the balcony, and that you have a noose around your neck. It appears to me that something has happened to you that has made you feel desperate for someone to hear what you have to say..."

A number of features of this opening encounter have their origins in research. For example, by communicating about what can be seen rather than inferring the likely feelings of the perpetrator, Dick is careful to avoid making assumptions or suggesting a degree of familiarity that may cause conflict (Arkowitz, Westra, & Miller, 2008). This is consistent with a wider observation in terrorism research, which is that engagement with those promoting violence is more successful when focused on the act rather than on the underpinning ideology or motivation (Prentice, Rayson, Taylor, & Giebels, 2012). A negotiator can propose alternative, peaceful ways of accomplishing a goal without challenging the perpetrator's underlying belief system. Similarly, Dick selected his words carefully when conveying his reason for talking to the

perpetrator, describing himself as working with the police as opposed to being from the police. Such subtle nuances in language have been shown to have a significant impact on the receiver's perceptions of the communicator (Donohue & Roberto, 1993). In this case, the negotiator hoped that it would reduce the perpetrators sense of being told what to do by an authority figure, thereby re-shaping the role dynamic to one of 'moving with' rather than 'moving against.'

The perpetrator's response was not atypical of what occurs. He responded "F------ right. You bastards have stopped me seeing my kids and are going to put me away." This kind of high intensity 'face attack' is prominent in the language used by perpetrators in crises. For example, Rogan and Hammer (1995) showed that language intensity is highest in the early stages of an incident where the unfamiliar and overwhelming police response can trigger a fight or flight reaction. It also reappeared in prominence later in negotiations when parties reach the 'crunch point' where a decision has to be made (Rogan & Hammer, 1995). Their evidence mirrors that of Bilsky, Muller, Voss, and Von Groote (2005) who, using Gottschalk-Gleser's (1969) language-based hostility scale, showed that references to killing, destruction, and denial all mark periods of escalating conflict between police negotiator and perpetrator. However, critically, the increase in the occurrence of this hostile behavior was driven primarily by changes in perpetrator's dialogue. While it would be easy to respond to a perpetrator's aggression in kind, police negotiators tended to respond to such intensity in an empathic and calm manner. Indeed, such attacks are often an opportunity to learn more about the perpetrator's position, which in turn allows the police to align their dialogue with issues important to the perpetrator (we discuss how they do this in the next section).

Aside from the dialogue itself, a number of other interpersonal dynamics are occurring within this first encounter. When two strangers meet for the first time, it is inevitable that they

will form initial impressions that impact on their expectations and willingness to cooperate. These impressions are made quickly (e.g., within 500ms, Willis & Todorov, 2006) and with minimal effort (Carlston & Skowronski, 2005). For example, experimental studies have shown that smell (Dematte, Osterbauer, & Spence, 2007), sound of voice (Ambady, Bernieri, & Richeson, 2002), and appearance (Willis & Todorov, 2006) each impact the way in which people perceive and react to a speaker. Such social signals may also play a role in crisis negotiations. For example, in their analysis of international aerial hijackings, Donohue and Taylor (2003) report relationships between the use of weapons and the authority's decision to act. In particular, they found a significant negative relationship between the extent to which the terrorists controlled and damaged the scene, as well as used their weapons, and the degree of capitulation by the authorities. Earlier analyses by Friedland and Merari (1992) suggest that these estimations are sensible, since they found a positive relationships between factors such as the degree to which terrorists were armed and their subsequent commitment to the act, reflecting an unwillingness to reach a peaceful resolution at all.

As well as first impressions, there is also compelling evidence that judgments of another's trustworthiness, and ensuing cooperation, is based on thin slice judgments of behavior. As Gladwell (2006) describes in his popular book, thin slicing is "the ability of our unconscious to find patterns in situations and people based on very narrow 'slices' of experience" (p. 23). Such thin slices have been shown to be predictive of later conflict in long-term relationships (Carrere & Gottman, 1999), and can be more accurate than explicit deliberations in judgments about another's intent (Albrechtsen, Meissner, & Susa, 2009). In terms of its impact on negotiation, Curhan and Pentland (2007) showed that conversational engagement, prosodic emphasis, and vocal mirroring during the first 5 minutes of a simulated employment negotiation

predicted an average of 30% of the variance in negotiators' individual outcomes. The link with success is also referenced anecdotally in the crisis negotiation literature. For example, in their demonstration of the value of Verbal Interactional Analysis techniques, Fowler and DeVivo (2001) caution against the use of 'why' questions within the first five minutes of a negotiation, because it may be perceived as a challenge to the perpetrator's legitimacy.

Wilson (2000) expands on the notion of snap judgments and the expectations that these can create by discussing the role of cognitive scripts on people's behavior within a particular environment. In her examination of 160 hijacking and siege incidents, Wilson explored the nature of each incident by coding for the presence and absence of actions (e.g., use of weapons, treatment of hostages) by the terrorists and authorities. She found strong evidence of a consistency in the demands made and resources used by different terrorist groups across their attacks. These consistencies, Wilson argued, can be shown to have social or historic roots. For example, the fact that attacks perpetrated by the Japanese Red Army (JRA) are behaviorally similar to those perpetrated by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) can be traced to the training that the JRA received from the PFLP in the 1970s.

Wilson, Scholes, and Broklehurst (2010) take the analysis of prior incidents one step further by showing that behavior choice depends on the type of victim targeted by the terrorists. Thus, specific kinds of attack are used for specific objectives, suggesting that a degree of planning and goal-driven behavior underlies such incidents. However, as Wilson et al. acknowledge, what is true for organized terrorist attacks may not be true for domestic hostage crises. Many perpetrators of these acts have no script to fall back on because it is the first time they find themselves in such a confrontation. In such a context, they may act according to beliefs about the accepted social roles in such contexts (Canter, 1990) and they may be

responsive to the actions of others. In hostage crises, the understanding of accepted roles may come from past experience with the police or from exposure to media portrayals of negotiations. In such cases, police negotiators may play a 'pro-active' role in guiding the actions of perpetrators in the early stages (Taylor & Donohue, 2006). But they must be careful. Early aggression by the authorities can prompt reciprocal aggression and have devastating effects on the incident outcome (Taylor, 2002a).

Rapport Development

Once the first moments of the crisis negotiation are handled, negotiators must begin a more protracted interaction in which the aim is to promote calm and good rapport. One approach to achieving this, which is emphasized in the hostage negotiation literature, is active listening (Kelley, 1950; Royce, 2005). An active listener begins her or his response to the other party with a paraphrased summary of what the person has said. The Metropolitan Police Service's crisis negotiation course teaches this skill in three parts: focused listening, responsive listening, and communication encouragers. A focused listener pays close attention to the nature and content of what the perpetrator is saying in order to be able to accurately reflect back what it is they are trying to communicate. A responsive listener ensures that the perpetrator is able to say what she or he wishes without being interrupted or forced into changing content as a result of the listener's behavior. A listener using minimal encouragers will communicate positive backfeeds such as "uh-huh," "ok," and "go on" in order to demonstrate to the speaker that she or he is paying attention (Rogers, 1951).

Although active listening might appear a laborious or redundant process, it has a number of advantages. The first is that a summary can show that the other side's opinion and position is being respected. For example, Nugent's (1992; see also Nugent & Halvorson, 1995) case review

showed that listening creates a positive perception on clients and led to better long-term practitioner-client relationships. Similarly, such acknowledgements have been shown to be important to reconciliation in conflict parties who do not feel listened to or understood (cf. Ufkes, Giebels, Otten, & Van der Zee, 2012). A second value of active listening is that it allows for the correction of errors in what the negotiator understands about the situation. A minor mistake is easily corrected, and the negotiator can ensure that she or he builds an accurate understanding of the other's position and thinking over time. A third advantage is that active listening can help dissipate the emotion and confrontation within the incident through a process called emotional labeling (Kennet, 2009). This technique relies on the negotiator observing the speaker's emotions, as displayed through intonation, word use, and body language, and then commenting on them. Consider the following short exchange that occurred in the London incident:

> Perpetrator: "Just get back and leave me alone"

> Negotiator: "I can't go back because you are angry"

> Perpetrator: "I am not angry I just want to be left alone."

By using a response that acknowledged a particular emotion (i.e., anger), the police negotiator learns a little more about the affective basis for the perpetrator's behavior (Van Hasselt et al., 2005).

The use of active listening is related to another apparent predictor of negotiation success, mimicry. The term mimicry refers to occasions when one person matches the speech patterns, facial expressions, postures, gestures, and mannerisms of their interlocutor (Chartrand, Cheng, & Jefferies, 2002; van Baaren, Holland, Kawakami, & van Knippenberg, 2004).[2] For example,

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[2] Mimicry is also discussed in the following chapters of this volume: MARA and WENDI, can you confirm the coauthors of Dan's chapter + any others?

Swaab, Maddux, and Sinaceur (2011) examined the outcome of online negotiations in which one party mimicked the language behavior of the other. They found that early mimicry was conducive to the mimicry of positive emotional language, which was associated with higher individual gain for the mimicker. By contrast, late mimickers tended to mimic language that was more accommodating of the other negotiator. Thus, the behavior of late mimickers served only to reduce the extent to which they protected their own interests. Taylor and Thomas' (2008) analysis of crisis negotiations showed a similar positive outcome for negotiators who were able to maintain mimicry across the interaction. They examined the degree to which police negotiators and perpetrators matched one another's language style across six periods of interaction as a function of whether the incidents ended in a surrender (successful) or required tactic intervention (unsuccessful). They found that, in comparison to successful negotiations, unsuccessful negotiations were characterized by dramatic fluctuations in the degree of style matching across time, with negotiators and perpetrators periodically falling 'out of sync.' In analyzing dialogue at the turn-by-turn level, Taylor and Thomas further uncovered how successful negotiators managed to maintain synchrony. Compared to their unsuccessful counterparts, the successful negotiators achieved greater coordination of turn taking, reciprocation of positive affect, and greater matching of language focused on the present rather than the past, and on alternatives rather than competition.

In recent unpublished work, Taylor and Conchie (2009) extended this finding by examining four levels of language mimicry in 18 crisis negotiations. Specifically, they measured lexical matching (i.e., common word choice), syntactic matching (i.e., common structuring of language), semantic matching (i.e., common matching of meaning) and situational matching (i.e., common framing of the situation). By examining these four levels of matching across 6 periods

of interaction, Taylor and Conchie showed that early periods of interaction were driven by mimicry of basic lexical and syntactic form, rather than any coordination of strategic motivations or goals. The higher language levels of semantic and situational matching only came to the fore during later stages of interaction when negotiators began to deal with the substantive issues surrounding the crisis. This is some of the first evidence to suggest that cooperation emerges from a bottom-up process of synchrony as much as it does a top-down coming together of cognitive representations of the conflict and its possible solutions (cf. Fusaroli et al., in press). It reinforces the importance of language choice and the behavior that techniques such as active listening promote.

Sensemaking

Over the next two hours of the north London incident, without making one suggestion as to how the man could recover his marriage or regain his job, the male took the noose off his neck, stepped inside the premises, and began talking through a door. These conversations centered not on the past but on the future, and on what options might allow the man to make his life more tolerable. This period of the interaction presented two challenges for the police negotiators. The first is that they had to work hard to make sense of the perpetrator's dialogue in order to understand his underlying motivations and goals. The second is that they had to present pertinent issues in a persuasive way in an effort to alter the perpetrator's attitudes and/or behaviors (cf. Gass & Seiter, 1999). The issue of influence is considered in the next section. This section considers conceptual accounts that provide frameworks for helping negotiators make sense of the actions of the perpetrator.

A great deal of research in crisis negotiation has sought to better understand the types of goals or issues that drive crises toward and away from resolution. For example, studies using

Relational Order Theory (Donohue, 2001; Donohue & Roberto, 1993) focus on how the relational dynamic between negotiators play out along dimensions of affiliation and interdependence. These studies show that crisis negotiations are characterized by a unique paradox of low affiliation but high interdependence, with both parties needing to find a way to interact with a disliked other party. Other research recognizes the importance of identity to crises and uses facework theory to better understand how utterances attack, defend and restore a person's identity or face. For example, Rogan and Hammer (1994) found that a hostage crisis ending in suicide contained more instances of the perpetrator attacking self-face than found in the other crises that they examined. Finally, some research focuses on the substantive nature of bargaining in crisis negotiation. For example, Pruitt (2006) discusses how substantive issues that are often identified by Western governments as non-negotiable may still be subject to 'negotiation' in secret backchannel talks. He showed that success in these interactions depends on the ability of both parties to manage the dissociation between the front-stage and the back-stage interactions.

According to Taylor (2002b, see also Bilsky et al., 2010; Taylor & Donald, 2004; 2007), each of these three foci of dialogue—the relational, identity, and substantive—reflects a different motivational goal or frame that will dominate interaction at any one particular time (Drake & Donohue, 1996). Each frame plays a more or less important role in the interaction depending on the current focus of each negotiator. The key for police negotiators is to align their framing of the incident with that of the perpetrator (Taylor, 2002b). For example, it is not useful to be making substantive offers when the perpetrator's primary concern is for their personal identity and the shame the incident will bring to his or her family. Equally, it is not useful to continue emphasizing trust and the need for mutual understanding when the perpetrator's concern has

switched to sorting out how the incident is going to end. By focusing on an inappropriate frame, a negotiator is in danger of making the perpetrator feel misunderstood or unvalued, which may lead to further conflict spiraling and heightened emotions (Hammer & Rogan, 1997). Thus, a key skill for a police negotiator is being able to make sense of the perpetrator's dialogue and match his or her motivational goal.

Taylor (2002b) proposed making sense of these variations in language using three distinctions, which form a cylinder model. The spine of the cylinder differentiates a negotiator's overall orientation to interaction as either avoidant, competitive, or co-operative. An avoidant orientation is characterized by retractions from substantive discussion and a refusal to accept responsibility for events in the crisis (Sillars, Coletti, Parry, & Rogers, 1982). This orientation may occur either because of the overwhelming nature of the situation, or because of a strategic wish to stonewall the negotiation's progress (Wang, Fink, & Cai, 2012). A competitive orientation is expressed by behaviors that attack the other party's position (e.g., demands, threats) or credibility (e.g., personal attacks), while simultaneously restoring a personal position through positional arguing, boasting, and the rejection of compromises (Wilson & Putnam, 1990). These behaviors often form the bulk of interaction in hostage crises where the natural response to being surrounded is to push back—a phenomenon that Donohue and Taylor (2007) identify in many asymmetric negotiations and characterize as the "one-down effect." Finally, a cooperative orientation is associated with behaviors such as concessions, compliments, and messages aimed at building relationships (Donohue & Roberto, 1993). These behaviors often create a calmer, more normative discussion that leaves behind some of the unpredictability of crisis (Donohue et al., 1991).

Negotiators adopt one of these three orientations to pursue a variety of different concerns or goals. The second distinction proposed in the cylinder model characterizes these goals as driven by substantive, identity, or relational concerns. At any one point in time, a police negotiator may focus on gaining the release of hostages by using bargaining techniques such as appealing to the perpetrator's better nature and making offers of mutual exchange. This would be reflective of an substantive focus because the negotiator is using cooperative offers, concessions and information exchange to achieve an instrumental goal. By contrast, a perpetrator may use behaviors such as justifications, repeated interruptions, profanity, and insults to increase their power and personal self-worth. This behavior is less focused on an instrumental goal and more focused on attacking the police negotiator's identity while supporting self identity. Finally, a negotiator may respond to these insults though dialogue that empathizes with the perpetrator's position and identifies points of commonality (Donohue, 2001). These messages are principally motivated by relational goals. Critically, an individual can pursue each of these motivational goals while adopting an avoidant, competitive or cooperative orientation to dialogue, creating nine communicative frames for understanding crisis interaction that form the cylinder model.

The final distinction, which was identified earlier in this chapter, is the intensity to which individuals communicate about a particular issue. The intensity of a negotiator's messages is an aspect of the interpersonal process that is easily overlooked when examining utterance content from a transcript without the original recording. High intensity dialogue includes anger and threats, profanity, obscure metaphors, and dramatic changes in paralinguistic cues that reflect a "deviat[ion] from neutrality" (Bowers, 1963). Such intensity has been found to be associated with threat conviction (Hamilton & Stewart, 1993), emotional stress (Bradac, Bowers, &

Courtright, 1979), and relational affect (Donohue, 2001). For example, relentlessly threatening action if a demand is not met signifies a high degree of concern for a substantive issue that is unlikely to dissipate until some form of agreement is made about the issue. Thus, language intensity focuses negotiators on one particular motivational goal, such that intensity often needs to be reduced before negotiations can move on to another issue or goal (Taylor, 2002b).

So how do police negotiators go about identifying the motivational frame of a perpetrator? One driver of their success is the use of active listening, as discussed above. However, according to Ormerod, Barrett, and Taylor (2008), they also show a sensitivity to the 'status' of the interaction at any one time. Ormerod et al. found that police negotiators and perpetrators match one another's communicative goals and orientations for sustained periods, with this matching increasing over time for crises that end in the perpetrator surrendering, but decreasing over time for those that end violently. Part of this divergence in matching appeared to be due to the fact that, in successful incidents, police negotiators were more likely to switch their language style to that of the perpetrator. In the terms of Giles and Coupland's (1991) Communication Accommodation Theory, the police negotiators constantly adapt to the communication of the hostage taker in order to maintain or decrease the social distance and increase the amount of cooperation. They also varied the extent to which they talked or listened to the perpetrator at any one time. In successful resolutions, police negotiators reduced the amount they spoke by over 40% during transitional periods where the motivation frame of the perpetrators' speech and their own speech was not aligned. The negotiators appeared to recognize that they were no longer in sync with the perpetrator, and so held back from taking a dominate role in interaction in an attempt to retune their sense of the perpetrator's communication.

Influence Skills

Alongside listening and good communication, it is ultimately necessary for police negotiators to dissuade perpetrators from continuing their course of action. This they must do through effective influence and persuasion. There is considerable social psychological research on the contextual, personal, and message factors that define an influential message (Chaiken & Trope, 1999). Early work was grounded in the elaboration likelihood model (Petty & Wegner, 1999), and the distinction between a heuristic driven 'System 1' and rational 'System 2' level of information processing (Chen & Chaiken, 1999). It was also heavily influenced by Cialdini's (2007) identification of six principals of influence. For example, Cialdini showed that people are more likely to take a particular course of action when they believe others are also doing so; a principal referred to as social proof. Similarly, Freedman and Fraser (1966) showed that asking homeowners to display a leaflet in their window two weeks before asking them to place a billboard in their garden significantly raised the level of compliance to the billboard request; a principal referred to as commitment and consistency.

In crisis negotiation research, a number of authors have sought to identify effective influence strategies. Perhaps the most comprehensive is Slatkin (2010), who identified 26 'stratagems' that he defined as "verbal techniques employed by a negotiator to advance the negotiations and promote a resolution." Derived from his professional experience and a review of the negotiation literature, these tactics represent concrete instances of arguments such as appealing to a higher authority, lowering expectations, the 'Yes' set (i.e., getting a used to responding in the affirmative) and good cop—bad cop. However, it is not clear which if any of the stratagems are supported by positive outcomes in previous incidents, or indeed tested in any experimental or case study analysis. The absence of such evidence is undoubtedly driven by the

difficulties of obtaining for analysis sufficient transcriptions of incidents in which the stratagems were used. Equally, and perhaps more importantly, it may reflect a difficulty of isolating within an interaction the impact of one stratagem, given that even a few minutes of dialogue will contain the use of multiple tactics in a number of combinations.

One exception to the absence of empirical studies of influence comes from research by Giebels and colleagues. They have examined the use of influence in crisis negotiation using the "Table of Ten," a framework of ten influence tactics that was initially formulated from interviews with European negotiators and subsequently verified through an analysis of dialogue in Dutch and Belgian crisis negotiations (Giebels, 2002; Giebels & Noelanders, 2004). The Table of Ten distinguishes between tactics that are primarily connected with the sender and his or her relationship with the other party (relational tactics), and tactics that are primarily connected with the content of the message and the information conveyed to the other party (content tactics). Specifically, the Table identifies three relational tactics that involve the police negotiator demonstrating empathy for the perpetrator's situation (Being kind), identifying commonalities between self and perpetrator (Being equal), and enhancing personal expertise and trustworthiness (Being credible). It identifies seven content tactics that range from encouraging a perpetrator to rationally evaluate their position (Rational persuasion), warning a perpetrator of possible consequences (intimidation), and appealing to the perpetrator's feelings and emotions as a way to engender cooperation (Emotional appeals). Table 1 summarizes the tactics that comprise the Table of Ten. They serve as an example of the kinds of communicative codes that are examined in crisis negotiation research.

A number of studies have evaluated the relative use of these strategies and their relationship to peaceful outcomes. For example, Giebels and Noelanders (2004; see also Giebels

& Taylor, 2012) found that siege, kidnap and extortion cases were dominated by instances of Being kind, Direct pressure, and Rational persuasion. However, there were also notable differences, with extortion cases characterized by greater use of aggressive strategies such as Intimidation, and sieges characterized by greater use of Emotional appeals and efforts to promote Credibility. Furthermore, Kamphuis, Giebels, and Noelanders (2006) compared the use of influence strategies in three negotiation phases (initial encounter, problem-solving, and resolution) for relatively effective and ineffective crisis negotiations. They found that, in the initial as well as problem-solving phase of interaction, police negotiators used the strategy Being equal more often when they were effective. Similarly, and particularly for expressive type of incidents, the moving away strategy of Imposing a restriction was used less in effective than in ineffective negotiations. Finally, in the closure phase of interaction, Kamphuis et al. showed that Legitimizing was positively associated with success in expressive cases, but negatively associated with success in instrumental cases. Of course, such differences require further examination. Yet they tentatively highlight the challenge that police negotiators face in selecting the most effective influence strategy at any one point in time. This is true whether it be a suicide intervention in a housing estate or a kidnapping of a wealthy businessman in the financial district.

The challenge associated with seeking the appropriate influence tactic is made clear by research on cross-cultural interactions. This research has shown how the norms and values that characterize an individual's cultural background can have a substantial effect on how they interpret messages and how they make strategic choices when negotiating. For example, Adair and Brett (2005) compared a group of negotiators from high-context cultures (e.g., Japan, Russia), whose communication is often implicit and reliant on social expectations, with a group

of negotiators from low-context cultures (e.g., Germany, United States), whose communication is explicit with meaning transmitted through the message itself. They found that complementary sequences, in which both negotiators' messages are alike (e.g., both cooperative) but not identical, play a more central role for high-context communicators. Arguably, this is because the increased diversity of communication provides the flexibility needed to manage the indirect relational nature of the expected interaction.

Giebels and Taylor (2009) also examined the differences across high-context and low-context communicators but in the high-stakes context of hostage negotiation. They found that high-context hostage takers were less likely to engage in persuasive arguments or to respond to them positively, and that high-context perpetrators were more likely to reciprocate threats, particularly when they were made about self. This, they argue, is because high-context communicators expect strategic sequences to emphasize relational and identity issues over the exchange of rational arguments, such that they fail to engage in the persuasive sequences and respond negatively when the identity dynamic is challenged. The findings of Giebels and Taylor (2009) are consistent with subsequent findings of Beune, Giebels, and Taylor (2010). In the context of police interviewing, Beune et al. found that rational arguments were more effective in eliciting case-related personal information from low-context suspects than from high-context suspects. Furthermore, they showed that high-context rather than low-context suspects responded negatively to police acts of Being kind and Intimidation, particularly when those messages were directed towards the social group rather than toward self.

Structural Factors

So far in this chapter we have explored the literature relating to crisis negotiations through the lens of a single case. Although many of the issues we describe are likely to be

common to various forms of crisis negotiation, an interesting issue to consider is the extent to which different types of perpetrators and different types of threats change the dynamics that are encountered. They may do so, for example, by making one phase more or less salient during the unfolding interaction, or by opening up new issues or phases not yet considered in this chapter.

One of the most longstanding attempts to categorize the variations observed in crisis negotiations is provided by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. They distinguish among incidents that are instrumental and incidents that are expressive (Van Hasselt et al., 2005). In instrumental crises, the nature of the interaction is far more business like, with hostages being used by the perpetrators as 'bargaining chips' that can be traded for something that they desire. In expressive incidents, the interaction is driven by emotion and a need to counsel a perpetrator toward an alternative peaceful resolution of their crisis or predicament. Thus, while each of the four stages described above will occur across both kinds of incidents, the nature of what is important will change, as will the general communicative style of the negotiators.

An example of how the expressive versus instrumental nature of a crisis can shape an interaction is provided by Harvey-Craig, Fisher, and Simpson's (1997) examination of UK prison sieges. They coded the occurrence and non-occurrence of 30 behaviors by perpetrators within each siege, such as the nature of the threats made, the degree of agitation and mood swings, the type of weapons used, and so on. They examined these data by identifying clusters of the kinds of behaviors that occurred within a single incident. They found that correlates of expressive prison incidents (e.g., those involving suicide threats) were not substantive demands or persuasive discussion, but physical and verbal aggression, and discussions around family issues. The sensemaking and influence that occurs in these expressive incidents is thus focused

more around issues relating to self-esteem and affiliation than it is the substantive concerns of conceding to a set of demands around food and living standards.

In their analysis of terrorist negotiations, Donohue and Taylor (2003) took a different approach to the comparison of interaction types. They compared the use of tactics by terrorists and governments both as a function of contextual parameters, namely whether the incident was a hijacking or barricade-siege, and as a function of ideology, namely whether the terrorist was motivated by a nationalist-separatist, social-revolutionary, or religious fundamentalist ideology. In comparing the dynamics of incidents across these distinctions, Donohue and Taylor showed that aerial hijackings involved more overt power strategies than barricade-siege incidents, which were more likely to include aspect of bargaining for certain outcomes. Similar differences were observed across ideological background. Terrorists with a religious fundamentalist ideology typically engaged in more violence and less compromising strategies than terrorists with other ideological backgrounds.

Interestingly, Dechesne (2012) has recently shown that such 'structural' differences in the behavior and motivations of terrorist groups may be reflected, in part, in the organizational name that they choose to rally behind. For example, in comparison to nonviolent radical groups, those groups associated with violence tend to have names that refer to militancy, speak against a social reality rather than for a political change (e.g., 'liberation' vs. 'fatherland'), and speak for action and combat rather than debate (e.g., 'guerrilla' vs. 'congress'). Note that one factor that is not amongst these differences is a reference to Islam and Nationalism. Despite these concepts often being the focus of counter-terrorism efforts (Prentice et al., 2012), these terms are not typically associated with violent political engagement. Based on this kind of analysis, Dechesne proposes

a metric—a T-value—that serves to predict the extent to which the behaviors of a terrorist group are likely to be centered on violence or aggressive dialogue.

Future Directions

There are many issues of theoretical and practical importance that are ripe for research in the crisis negotiation field. At a fundamental level, the extent to which findings from experimental research and other domains transfer to the unique context of crisis is far from understood. Indeed, issues such as individual's long-term investment in identity and the significant consequences of failure provide compelling reasons to suspect that crisis negotiations are qualitatively different from interactions in other contexts (Donohue & Taylor, 2008). Exploring these similarities and differences will require inventive use of field data and experimental simulations. If transcripts are to be used, it will also require a significant effort on the part of the researchers to demonstrate their value and gain the trust of the police forces with whom they collaborate. However, the value of this research to developing our theoretical and practical understanding of crisis negotiation is significant. In the remainder of this section, we outline three areas where we feel contributions will have the most impact.

One area where knowledge continues to be limited is in relation to the dynamics of cross-cultural interactions. This is a particularly pressing shortcoming given the increasingly global nature of policing in the twenty-first century (Giebels, 1999). To some extent it may be possible for crisis negotiators to draw on the available experimental research on cross-cultural negotiations (e.g., Gelfand & Dyer, 2000). However, such work has two limitations. The first is that it has tended not to examine the communicative process of interaction as it occurs over time, which makes it difficult to extrapolate what if anything the negotiators did (as opposed to the contextual determinants) to influence the interaction's outcome. For example, in an analysis of

act frequency, a negotiation that is characterized by relational development in the first half of the interaction and bargaining behaviors in the second half of the interaction will look identical to one in which bargaining dominates the first half and relational development dominates the second half. However, these two interactions will be very different qualitatively. Fortunately, there are now analytical techniques, such as phase analysis (Holmes, 1997), t-pattern analysis (Magnusson, 2000), and proximity coefficients (Taylor, 2006), which allow for more appropriate examination of the relationships among behaviors within an interaction sequence.

The second, perhaps more critical limitation is that research has tended to draw on comparisons of students from the US and from Asian countries. The challenges faced by the police are more wide-ranging than this, both in terms of breadth (i.e., the number of different cultures encountered) and in terms of depth (i.e., the variance within cultures, perhaps across communities). Thus, there is a significant need for more nuanced analyses of the communicative dynamic across different cultures. The recent analysis of Moroccan suspects by Beune et al. (2010) is an early example of this kind of research. It will be important for such research to strike a balance between providing more details of cultural variation on the one hand, and not regressing into a reductionist quagmire on the other. This will require the development of richer theoretical models than the dichotomous frameworks (e.g., between low- and high-context, tightness and looseness) that dominate the current literature (see chapter xxx for an example of a more detailed framework).

A second area ripe for future research is the development of our understanding of negotiator sensemaking. Almost all of the existing research on crisis negotiation has sought to understand how negotiator communication impacts on the dynamics and outcome of an interaction. Far less research has sought to gain a better understanding of how the negotiator or

perpetrator understands, predicts and responds to the actions and inferred beliefs of their interlocutor. The accuracy of a negotiator's sensemaking is critical as it dictates the choice of responses in terms of how they frame their message and the tactics that they use. Consider, for example, an incident in which the police negotiator attributes a perpetrator's anger to his demands not being met rather than to his fear of being shot by the overbearing firearms team. In attempting to address the demands issue, the negotiator may use instrumentally framed communication, which is likely to be an appropriate response to somebody who has a concern about their substantive goals. However, in this scenario, such a response may jar with the perpetrator's framing of the conflict, making it less effective than if the negotiator had recognized and responded to the identity threat posed by the firearms.

The importance of studying sensemaking is demonstrated in Sillars, Roberts, Leonard, and Dun's (2000) analysis of partners' *in vivo* thoughts during marital conflict. Sillars et al. videoed couples arguing and then replayed this recording to each partner, asking them to describe their thoughts and feelings as experienced across the interaction. Overall, spouses viewed their partner's communication in less favorable terms than their own. In particular, there was a negative correlation between the extent to which husband/wives believed they were acting in a confrontational manner; what one perceived as positive engagement the other often interpreted as confrontational. Husbands, in particular, perceived their messages as being far more cooperative than independent judges who rated their language use. Thus, interactants in conflict build opposing interpretative frameworks of what is being discussed, and it is important to begin to understand how this can impact the ability of crisis negotiators to affect a positive outcome. To attain this better understand will likely require elaborate methodologies, such as the

one used by Sillars et al., in which a negotiator's cognitions are captured alongside what she or he says.

A third area ripe for further research relates to the victims of crisis negotiation. Crisis negotiations are unique situations because human lives are used as some kind of bargaining chip in order to fulfill the demands of the perpetrators. This may involve one's own life, such as in the north London attempted suicide case, but often it also involves the lives of others who are captivated and used as leverage. Traditionally, the focus in hostage research has been on the way in which people deal with victimization, particularly in terms of dealing with its post-incident effects such as the development of a Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD; van der Ploeg & Kleijn, 1989). Recently, Giebels, Noelanders and Vervaeke (2005) have argued that, because hostages and perpetrators are typically collocated during an incident, the psychological state and behavior of the hostage is likely to directly influence the process and outcomes of the negotiation. That is, whether or not hostages are being emotional, rational, quite, or loud, is likely to have an impact on the perpetrators and their dealings with the police. Similarly, whether or not hostages decide to help or hinder the perpetrator, consider confronting them, or try to escape, all likely influences the negotiation process. In an initial effort to explore this possibility, Giebels et al. conducted semi-structured interviews with victims of siege and kidnapping incidents to draw out their experiences and their implications for crisis negotiations.

Giebels et al.'s interviewees reported both negative and positive feelings towards their captors, particularly after some time had passed. There was little evidence to suggest such positive feelings were the result of a "psychological artifact" (i.e., Stockholm syndrome); rather they resulted from normal social processes. One of Giebels et al.'s main findings regarding such processes was the remarkable difference in what victims of sieges and kidnappings experienced.

While both reported feelings of helplessness and fear, the experience of uncertainty and isolation was much stronger for victims of kidnappings than for victims of sieges. In large part this was because the visible police actions and media attempts to cover the incidents led the siege victims to feel as though they were at the center of events. In contrast, kidnap victims were usually cut off from the outside world, which left them uncertain about the degree to which people were aware of the kidnapping and trying to help. This isolation also led them to report more issues around identity, especially when the kidnapping was protracted across weeks and months. These findings suggest that getting proof of life—a request by the police to see evidence that the victim is still alive—is not only important tactically but also psychologically: it may be the first sign of the outside world the victims encounter in a long time. Furthermore, the specific form may also be chosen in a way that it is able to provide moral support and reinforce the victim's identity.

Conclusions

In the end, the north London crisis was resolved peacefully. Other than one instance when an inappropriate use of humor resulted in the male going back to the balcony and place the noose around his neck, the male came out of his flat and was taken to hospital. An important factor contributing to this positive result was that the negotiators moved through the four stages identified in Figure 1: from the initial conscious effort to create a good first impression and set expectations about how the interaction was going to progress, to later stages where the interaction dynamic was more normative and dependent on the content of what was said. As research continues to refine our understanding of these stages, so negotiators in London and elsewhere will become better equipped to deal with crisis and those who threaten life.

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Table 1: The Table of Ten influence tactics

| Tactic	Description of behavior
Being kind	All friendly, helpful behavior
Being equal	Statements aimed at something the parties have in common
Being credible	Behavior showing expertise or proving you are reliable
Emotional appeal	Playing upon the emotions of the other
Intimidation	Threatening with punishment or accusing the other personally
Imposing a restriction	Delay behavior or making something available in a limited way
Direct pressure	Exerting pressure on the other in a neutral manner by being firm
Legitimizing	Referring to what has been agreed upon in society or with others
Exchanging	Give-and-take behavior
Rational persuasion	Use persuasive arguments and logic
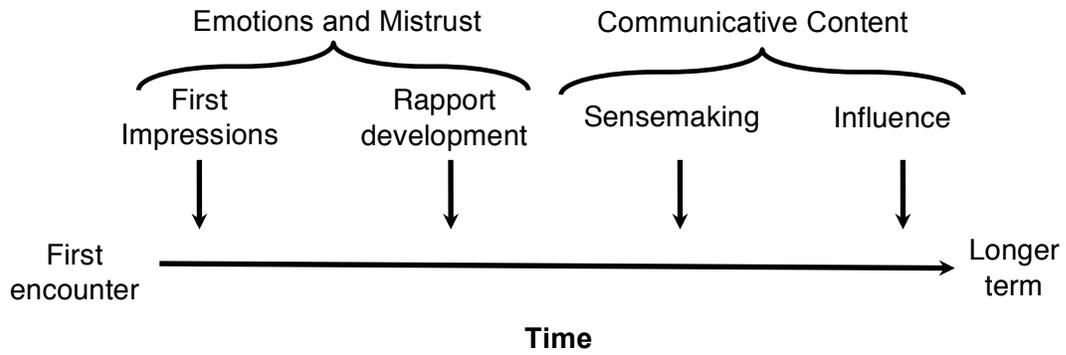
Figure 1. A schematic overview of the interpersonal skills relevant to communicating with antagonistic individuals