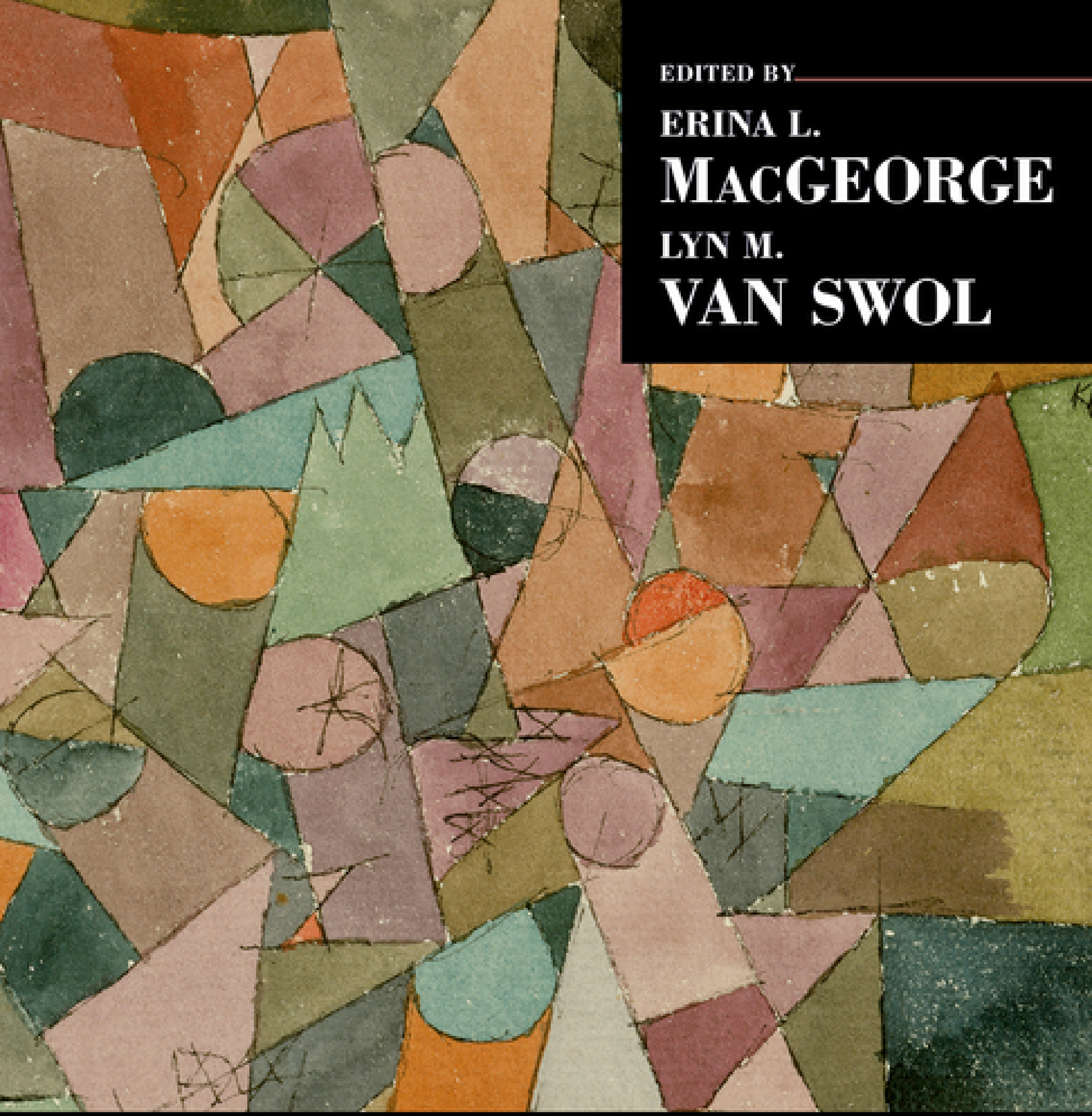

EDITED BY

ERINA L. MACGEORGE

LYN M. VAN SWOL

The Oxford Handbook *of* ADVICE

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

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Edited by

ERINA L. MacGEORGE

and

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—Erina L. MacGeorge

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—Lyn M. Van Swol

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INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1

ADVICE ACROSS DISCIPLINES AND CONTEXTS

ERINA L. MACGEORGE AND LYN M. VAN SWOL

In 1995, we were both graduate students at University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Erina worked with Daena Goldsmith, who was developing her work on advice, social support, and facework (see Goldsmith, 1992, 1994), and Lyn worked with Janet Sniezek, who with Tim Buckley (Sniezek & Buckley, 1995) laid the groundwork for further work on advice in the Judge Advisor System paradigm. Erina would use her work with Goldsmith as the foundation for her later development of advice response theory (Feng & MacGeorge, 2010; MacGeorge, Feng, Butler, & Budarz, 2004; MacGeorge, Guntzviller, Hanasono, & Feng, 2016), and Lyn would expand insight into the utilization of advice using the Judge Advisor System (Sniezek & Van Swol, 2001; Van Swol, 2009, 2011; Van Swol & Ludutsky, 2007). Erina was in the Speech Communication (now the Communication) department, housed in Lincoln Hall across 6th Street from the Psychology building, where Lyn worked. So much attention to advice in one square block! Yet despite studying the same topic, in the same place, at the same time, we never met in graduate school. We didn't connect until years later, after we both became tenured professors in communication departments and discovered each other's work in the literature.

Our experience illustrates the common problem of academic disciplines becoming siloed and missing opportunities for cross-fertilization from other fields, even when scholars study the same topic in buildings literally across the street from each other. Each of us has found our work increasingly enhanced by attending to the diversity of work on advice, starting with bridging differences in our own paradigms (Van Swol, MacGeorge, & Prahl, 2017) and branching out to connect with work in more distant domains (MacGeorge, Smith, Caldes, & Hackman, 2016; Prahl, Dexter, Braun, & Van Swol, 2013). This Handbook is our attempt to provide the scholarly community with what we have found so valuable for ourselves: the interdisciplinary exchange of ideas about advice.

Diversity Across Disciplines and Contexts

As we first discovered in our own research endeavors, and more fully appreciated when we sought authors to contribute chapters, advice is consequential in almost every imaginable social and cultural context. Thus, it has been studied in many different academic disciplines, including communication; social, organizational, and clinical psychology; business; sociology and sociolinguistics; law; education; and medicine and public health. These disciplines examine advice in its many relational and professional settings, including friendship and romance, family, healthcare, counseling, education, business, law, and government. Further, scholars examine advice as exchanged across the many media we use to communicate and by people of diverse cultures.

Given this range, there is also unsurprising variation in how advice is conceptualized—or more concretely, the shape that advice and advising takes in particular contexts. Advice varies in its content (from relationship problems to medical treatment decisions to business processes to governmental policies), specificity (from indicating which answer is correct for a given problem to suggesting a broad orientation toward future actions), and directiveness (from "You should do this!" to highly implicit recommendations). Correspondingly, advisors and recipients vary in their status and relationship relative to each other, and in the motivations and goals that inform their advice seeking and provision. Advisors differ in how much they are constrained by a set of professional ethics, institutional guidelines, or agreed "best practices" within their communities. Recipients may have little input into the advice they are given, or may participate actively in "co-constructing" the envisioned course of action. Relevant outcomes from advice run the gamut from increased individual coping capacity and relational closeness to organizational productivity and creativity and the development of economic policies that affect entire countries.

This diversity of disciplines, theoretical perspectives, and applied concerns has resulted in a considerable array of methods applied to studying advice, each with utility for particular research questions (see also MacGeorge, Guntzviller et al., 2016). These methods also reflect differences in how advice research developed within different disciplines. Some research relies on case studies that detail how advice works within a specific context or historical example, or features a systematic analysis of best practices as articulated by expert advisors in a particular domain. The study of advice in certain contexts (e.g., law or government) has often used this approach. Other scholarship attends in a detailed way to the specifics of the discourse in advice interactions, with recordings in the field (or sometimes in the lab) that are later transcribed for close review. Linguists have historically studied advice using this discourse analytic approach. Some work features the experimental manipulation of a small number of theoretically derived variables in a controlled environment to examine causal influences on advice outcomes. Traditionally, social and organizational psychology and related fields like organizational behavior have relied on this experimental approach to the study of advice. Some research relies on questionnaires that assess experiences of past advising interactions, or elicit imagined responses to hypothetical scenarios. Researchers in communication, often with a focus on supportive communication, have relied heavily on this type of methodology. And still other research examines networks of advice seeking and giving with measures of who seeks advice from whom and how frequently. Organizational communication and social network researchers interested in transactive memory have often studied advice from this approach. Given the methodological differences and the diversity of focus (i.e., supportive communication in close relationships versus decision making in work organizations) in different domains, lines of research on advice have often developed quite separately across disciplines.

Drawing together work with this kind of disciplinary, methodological, and contextual scope is risky. One might reasonably harbor concerns that what scholars study under the umbrella term *advice* is not actually consistent enough for a successful interdisciplinary conversation such as the one represented in this volume. Fortunately, our vision for this Handbook was supported by substantial shared understanding across authors of what advice "is," and the broad functions it serves. We address this collective view of the phenomenon briefly in the following section.

Definitional and Functional Coherence

Across disciplines and research paradigms, the definition and operationalization of advice vary. Communication scholars are apt to describe it as a message that makes a recommendation about what to do, think, or feel in response to a problem (MacGeorge, Feng, & Thompson, 2008). Sociolinguists and discourse analysts often reference Decapua and Dunham's (1993) description of advice as "opinions or counsel given by people who perceive themselves as knowledgeable" (pp. 19). Social psychologists working in the Judge Advisor System paradigm usually conceptualize advice as recommendation in favor of a specific action from one person (the "advisor") to another person ("the judge") who needs to make a decision. Despite this definitional variation, the phenomenon of advice is generally recognized as having a set of prototypical characteristics. (We are indebted in this formulation to prior scholarship addressing definitions and conceptualizations, including Bayraktaroğlu, 2001; Cross, Borgatti, & Parker, 2001; Dalal & Bonaccio, 2010; Limberg & Locher, 2012; Searle, 1969; Wierzbicka, 2012). The elements we identify here overlap to some degree, and their order of presentation does not necessarily indicate importance or centrality.

Prototypical Advice

A first prototypical element of advice is a focus in the message or interaction on the target's *action*. In this respect, advice is akin to a speech advocating policy (MacGeorge et al., 2004). The action might be largely cognitive (e.g., make a decision) or more overtly behavioral (e.g., pursue a relationship). Messages that address attitudes or values may (of course) also influence action, but advice addresses a target's behavior, not just his or her perspective.

A second prototypical element is a focus on the *future*. If an action has already taken place, messages may analyze or criticize, but past action is not susceptible to being "advised." This is not to say that recommendations for future action can't be accompanied by discussion of past actions; indeed, this is probably quite common insofar as past experiences provide guidance for the future (MacGeorge, Guntzviller, et al., 2015). But advising is fundamentally future-focused.

The third element is the speaker's actual or apparent *intention* that the message or interaction guide the target's future behavior. The ambiguity inherent in "actual" versus "apparent" is necessary to capture variation in intention and message output, since speakers may conceivably produce discourse that is hearable as advising by a recipient or observers without necessarily recognizing or owning the goal of influence. It is probably also possible for individuals to "read" advice into discourse that was not intended as such and that does not appear to observers as representing an advising intention. However, this latter occurrence is outside the prototype for advice (and goes unaddressed in this volume).

The fourth element is that the influence attempt is made in the context of a *problem* or issue that makes intentional guidance for future action relevant. This problem or issue may be identified by either the speaker or the target, and there may be disagreement about whether there is a problem or issue to be addressed (MacGeorge et al., 2015). However, in the absence of an exigent problem or issue, the message or interaction is better regarded as another form of persuasion or influence rather than advice (see Dillard & Knobloch, 2011).

A fifth element characteristic of advice is the intention (again, either actual or apparent) to *help* the recipient with the problem or issue. Motivations for advising can be complex (see Chapter 3) and involve benefits for the advisor (see Chapter 12). However, recommendations that are recognizable as motivated by ulterior motives, lacking in utility, or observably harmful for the recipient do not fit well within the prototype.

A sixth element is that advice is—in the prototypical case—a *one-to-one* phenomenon, involving a unitary source and a unitary recipient. To paraphrase MacGeorge et al. (2004), advice is a policy speech for an audience of one. Even scholars who focus on advice networks in organizations (see Chapter 6) study the aggregation of many person-to-person advising connections. The extent to which advice is prototypically "single speaker, single recipient" is also illustrated by exception in "masspersonal" advice on social media (see Chapter 18). Here, messages from one source to one target are viewed by a larger audience—but are still generally addressed to a single recipient.

Finally, a seventh element characteristic of advice is a disparity of *expertise* between sources and recipients, such that the source has (or at least claims; see Chapters 2 and 8) more information, experience, skill, or wisdom than the recipient. The disparity may be small, temporary, illusory, or disputed, but advising generally relies on a source's (usually implicit) claim to expertise that the recipient lacks.

Beyond identifying the phenomena of interest in this Handbook, this prototype analysis is useful for distinguishing advice from related communication concepts, such as persuasion and emotional support. For example, although advice is rightfully regarded as a form of persuasive communication (e.g., Dillard & Knobloch, 2011; see also Wilson, Aleman, & Leatham, 1998), other forms of persuasion are not necessarily prompted by the exigence of a problem, and they need not represent any helpful intention with regard to the recipient. In fact, persuasive communication can involve an intention to benefit the advisor at the expense of the advisee—and is frequently generated in the absence of any real need. (Notably, this positions word-of-mouth advertising at the fuzzy border of the prototype, since it may be offered either with or without a "problem" to which the advertising responds; see Chapter 17). Similarly, although advice is undeniably a way of providing social support (or a form of supportive communication; see MacGeorge, Feng, & Burleson, 2011), advising is a behavior distinct from providing emotional support or comforting. Emotional support involves an effort to relieve distress caused by a problem (see Burleson, 2003) rather than influencing future action toward solving the problem. Further, providing emotional support does not necessarily involve a disparity of expertise, since a support provider may express sympathy or concern for a support recipient without claiming (implicitly or explicitly) differential knowledge, experience, skill, or status. Advice and emotional support behavior often co-occur in supportive interactions (MacGeorge et al., 2017; see also Chapter 9), and advice may affect a recipient's emotional state (just as emotional support may influence a recipient's choice of action). Nonetheless, conflating advice with emotional support invites theoretical imprecision and inappropriate standards of evaluation for advice (MacGeorge et al., 2017).

Functions of Advice

Considering how advice is connected to persuasion and emotional support points directly to two of the most recognizable functions served by advice. First, as noted in the prototype analysis, advice functions as social influence, directing advisees toward a course of action recommended by the advisor. In some cases, this is a novel or distinctive course of action, whereas in others, the advice may simply confirm what the recipient already intended to do (Guntzviller & MacGeorge, 2013; MacGeorge et al., 2008). Regardless, the influence function is characteristic. Second, also represented in the prototype, advice serves as a form of helping or social support. Advisees face cognitively and emotionally challenging problems. The receipt of advice can assist with tackling these problems. From the advisor's perspective, giving advice can be a way of helping—whether as a kind friend, supportive colleague, competent and attentive professional, or team player in an organization. The social influence and social support functions can (and probably often do) combine in complex ways for advisors and advisees. For example, advisors' intent to provide social support could intensify the goal of persuasion, such that advisors who want their advice to help advisees may consequently seek to make their advice as persuasive as possible. However, to the extent that recipients perceive advisors as having a strong persuasive goal, the supportive function of the advice may be weakened (Guntzviller & MacGeorge, 2013).

Scholars who study advice at the level of messages or interactions tend to focus on the support and influence functions, but those who examine advice in relationships and organizations point to a set of additional and connected functions that build on these two. Specifically, advice functions to build (or detract from) status for advisors and advisees, create and sustain relationships, and build social capital. Providing advice serves as a claim to status, whether as a trusted intimate, knowledgeable expert, or experienced veteran. It can enhance the advisor's reputation and self-esteem. Over time, advice can contribute to the development of stronger relationships, whether friendship, familial, or professional (MacGeorge & Hall, 2014). Friendships or sibling relationships may be sustained through mutual exchange of advice, whereas other kinds of relationships depend on a largely one-way flow of advising (e.g., lawyer-client, doctor-patient, or mentor-mentee). In addition, exchanging advice strengthens social capital by developing reciprocal obligations and network ties that one can return to in the future. When seeking advice, the advisee builds a connection and learns more about the advisor's areas of expertise and skills. Using this connection builds its strength rather than depletes it. In other words, repeated interaction strengthens the bonds, and advisees are likely to continue seeking advice from the same advisors in future interactions (Yuan, Carboni, & Ehrlich, 2014). Similarly, the advisor builds social capital by providing advice, makes connections, and engenders obligations that can help with further social or organizational work goals.

One reason to highlight the multifunctional character of advice is to encourage scholars to attend to functions that are not ordinarily emphasized in their disciplines and contexts of interest. To the extent that a particular function is naturally apparent in a particular context, or is emphasized within a research paradigm, other functions and related outcomes may be underexplored, with consequences for both theory and practice. For example, communication scholars have tended to focus on the support and influence functions (see MacGeorge, Guntzviller et al., 2016). In the process, they have frequently emphasized negative interpersonal outcomes associated with the social influence function, especially threats to identity and self-esteem that stem from being advised in ways that are perceived as bossy or critical (Goldsmith, 1992, 1994; Goldsmith & MacGeorge, 2000). Certainly, these negative outcomes deserve consideration, and they may be especially relevant in close relationships and when advice touches on highly personal matters (Van Swol et al., 2017). However, research in other domains and disciplines highlights more positive outcomes connected to other functions (e.g., status, relationship maintenance, and social capital), and these deserve broader exploration. Correspondingly, scholars who tend to focus on these higher level functions of advice may benefit from closer consideration to what advice is "doing" at the level of the interaction, especially insofar as interpersonal outcomes could interfere with higher level functions.

Handbook Overview

This Handbook is organized into two major sections, followed by a conclusion section with two chapters. The first major section is comprised of five chapters focused on theory and method at different levels of analysis. Thus, there are successive chapters focused on advice recipients, advisors, messages and interactions, intimate relationships, and groups and networks. Each chapter reviews relevant theory and method, prescribes directions for future research, and identifies best practices for advising. The second major section includes 13 chapters, each highlighting advice in a specific context or application: families, helplines, psychotherapy, healthcare, education, mentoring, workplaces, law, business, government, advertising, social media, and across cultures. Finally, the Handbook concludes with two chapters, the first a reflection encouraging greater attention to the ethics of advising and the second focused on identifying cross-cutting themes to guide the community of advice scholars. Here, we briefly introduce and overview each chapter.

Theory and Method

In Chapter 2, "Advice Recipients: The Psychology of Advice Utilization," Lyn M. Van Swol, Jihyun Esther Paik, and Andrew Prahl review research within the experimental paradigm of the Judge Advisor System, in which one or more advisors provide advice to the judge who has ultimate responsibility for making the decision. This research focuses on factors that influence when a judge or advice recipient is more or less likely to utilize advice, and it usually requires judges to make a decision about a task with a correct answer in order to measure how much the judge improves the decision by accepting advice. Because advice can help balance out judges' biases, judges who use advice, even from advisors with no greater expertise than themselves, should experience improved decision outcomes. Yet overwhelmingly, judges fail to incorporate advice enough and forgo the benefits of advice, something researchers have labeled egocentric discounting (Yaniv & Kleinberger, 2000). Factors such as high judge confidence or power, confirmation bias, or lack of trust can reduce utilization of advice. This chapter concludes with suggestions to improve advice utilization and advice outcomes. For example, simply averaging the advice with one's initial decision has been shown to improve decision quality, provided the advisor lacks ulterior motives and is at least as competent as the decision maker. Overall, the chapter highlights a recurring theme in this Handbook that advice recipients often underutilize rather than overutilize advice, to their detriment.

In Chapter 3, "How the Other Half Thinks: The Psychology of Advising," Hayley Blunden and Francesca Gino examine advice from the perspective of advisors rather than advice recipients. Research in psychology (and allied areas such as communication) has traditionally focused on advice recipients and given much less attention to the motivations of advisors, or the consequences of giving advice for the advisor. (Methodology has contributed to this gap, insofar as advice in experimental research is often created by the experimenter so that there are actually no advisors to study, or participants are compelled by experimental procedures to give advice so that their motivations become irrelevant.) Giving advice can be risky and cognitively demanding, and Blunden and Gino explore when advisors may be motivated to provide high-quality advice or may be intrinsically motivated to offer advice. In addition, advisors must make decisions about what advice to give. One finding highlighted in this chapter is that advisors often give advice that is different than what they themselves would do. Giving advice also has positive and negative consequences for the advisor, such as reputational costs and benefits, and these consequences likely differ by whether the advice provided has been solicited or not. Overall, this chapter fills a gap in the literature and provides a strong roadmap for much-needed additional research examining advisors.

Chapter 4, "Advice Messages and Interactions," underscores the theoretical value of integrating disparate research paradigms. As Lisa Guntzviller explains, both conversation analysts and supportive communication scholars study advice messages and interactions. However, conversation analysts have provided detailed descriptions of these phenomena in naturally occurring interactions, whereas communication scholars have used survey and laboratory methods to address how message and interaction features influence recipient outcomes. The chapter extensively reviews the insights on advice available from each paradigm, and then makes the case for integration, with reference to theories and research programs that have begun in this direction. In particular, Guntzviller urges greater attention by researchers to the influence of advice recipient behavior (as opposed to advisor behavior) and interaction sequence on advice outcomes.

Chapter 5, "Advice in Intimate Relationships," focuses on an intriguing lacuna in research on advice. Sara E. Branch and Elizabeth Dorrance Hall observe that although considerable research examines advice that is given in close relationships, such as romantic relationships and friendships, the influence of the relationship context on the advice and its outcomes is rarely emphasized. To promote investigation of advice as it functions within relationship contexts, the authors explore theories from relationship science, including interdependence theory, relationship turbulence theory, attachment theory, and confirmation theory. Each theory suggests mechanisms by which relational cognitions influence advising processes and outcomes; individually and collectively, they provide ample direction for future research. The authors also derive from each theory intriguing recommendations for more effective advising in relationships.

In Chapter 6, "Advice in Groups and Networks," Lyn M. Van Swol and Andrew Prahl highlight the importance of expertise recognition when seeking an advisor and the influence of social costs on reticence to advise. Groups often fail to use new information that members may present to advise a group decision, but framing a contribution to a group as advice and making the advisor's expertise more salient can help group members integrate new information into the group discussion. Many potential advisors are reluctant to present advice, especially to more senior organizational members, about problems. Having an organizational culture that values contributions from others, and being able to trust organizational superiors to accept problems brought to them, can help increase offering of advice. In addition, expertise recognition is important in large organizations where navigating diverse areas of expertise is challenging in seeking advice. Research on transactive memory examines how organizations can increase expertise recognition ability to improve performance. The role of technology with social media or organizational intranets can be especially helpful to provide a centralized expertise directory.

Contexts and Applications

In Chapter 7, "Advice in Families," Cassandra Carlson Hill reviews the limited research on advising in families. The majority of this research has examined parents advising their children, including "emerging adult" and adult children. Carlson Hill's synthesis emphasizes that advice is one of the most common forms of support that family members give each other, and that who advises whom is often predicated on assumed expertise. For example, mothers and fathers may be sought out for different advice based on assumed expertise, and older siblings often offer more advice than younger siblings. Carlson Hill also reviews work indicating that the role of advisor and the type of advice given vary greatly through the lifespan, and that the roles of advisee and advisor can switch as parents age and children grow up and take on the role of advisor. Since research on advising in families is limited, Carlson Hill presents ways to expand it, capitalizing on developed theories such as advice response theory or family systems theory.

Chapter 8, "Advice Giving and Advice Resistance on Telephone Helplines," reviews conversation analytic research on advice as given on helplines, such as those for mental health and child protection. Alexa Hepburn, Jonathan Potter, and Chloe Shaw begin by describing helplines as a context for advising, overviewing conversation analytic method, and discussing normativity (prescribing future action) and knowledge asymmetry (between advisors and advisees) as key dimensions of advising interactions. They then synthesize research identifying approaches to advice delivery in the helpline context, along with research on how helpline callers resist the advice they are given. A unique feature of this chapter is a discussion of how researchers can influence the institutional practice of advising by providing training grounded in detailed analysis of advisors' actual discourse.

Chapter 9, "Advice Giving in Psychotherapy," addresses the complex issue of therapists giving advice in the context of professional psychological counseling. Changming Duan, Sarah Knox, and Clara Hill review positions on advice offered by dominant theoretical perspectives in psychotherapy, including psychoanalytic, humanistic, and behavioral approaches. They then synthesize empirical research on the frequency and outcomes of advice in psychotherapy, with special attention to research on therapeutic "homework," cultural differences in expectations and outcomes for advice, and family therapy. The authors provide an extended "best practices" discussion, grounded in Hill's influential three-stage model of therapy. They also advocate for additional research on advice in therapy in place of "wars among the theoreticians," and correspondingly propose several directions for investigation and methodological innovation.

In Chapter 10, "Advice from Healthcare Professionals," Jonathan D'Angelo and Anne-Lise D'Angelo examine factors that affect utilization of advice from a healthcare professional. Highlighting a theme that is recurrent throughout this Handbook, healthcare advice has the potential to substantially improve health decisions and life outcomes, but it is often underutilized. Source, message, and receiver factors all play a role in affecting advice utilization. For example, patient reactance or lack of patient-centered communication can reduce advice utilization. Motivational interviewing is highlighted as a technique to improve advice utilization, and motivational interviewing echoes other suggestions throughout the Handbook that advice is most well received when the advisor spends time learning about the receiver and their values and challenges, and when the advising process is collaborative. Ideally, the patient can provide his or her own advice in response to the healthcare practitioner's questions. A unique challenge in giving healthcare advice is that the patient and healthcare practitioner often have short and infrequent interactions, putting a lot of pressure on the advisor to develop trust and understanding of the patient in a short amount of time. Finally, as the authors point out, work in this context has been largely atheoretical and overly reliant on survey methodology, so there are many opportunities for work with new methodologies and for theoretical advancement.

Chapter 11, "Advice in Education," draws together wide-ranging research on advice in educational contexts, including studies of academic counseling, professional supervision (of teachers-in-training), peer tutoring, and parent-teacher conferences. Drawing from studies that emphasize analysis of naturally occurring interactions, Hansun Waring and Gahye Song illuminate the challenges of advising in these contexts, noting that advisors must manage tensions between clarity and politeness, development and assessment, and guidance and autonomy. The chapter highlights similarities and differences in these challenges across the different types of educational advising, considers practical implications of existing research for educational advisors, and points to important directions for future research, including a focus on the management of tensions, greater attention to the behavior of the advisee, and greater use of video data.

In Chapter 12, "Advice in Mentoring Relationships in Organizations," SuJin Son and Do-Yeong Kim start from the observation that despite the essential relevance of advising communication in mentoring relationships, very little research has had this focus. Accordingly, the authors begin by overviewing research on mentoring relationships in organizations, and then develop an analysis of factors that are probable influences on advising processes between mentors and mentees, weaving together research on advice with research on mentoring relationships. Among the highlights of this chapter are insights into mentor and protégé characteristics and relational characteristics as potential influences on advising outcomes. Noting the paucity of research directly focused on advice in mentoring, the chapter also provides specific guidance for future studies, recommending greater attention to mentors' motivations, outcomes of advice taking from mentors, attention to alternative forms of mentoring (e.g., peers and groups), and more experimental and longitudinal studies.

In Chapter 13, "Advice in the Workplace," Silvia Bonaccio and Jihyun Esther Paik highlight a Handbook theme that advice is defined by both its informational and its social qualities. They note that advice in the workplace is more than a recommendation or information, but also has relational aspects and has to respect the face and autonomy of the recipient. Further, another Handbook theme highlighted in this chapter is that advice improves decisions, especially when advice offers a perspective that diverges from that of the decision maker. Yet advice is often underutilized, even in the workplace. Bonaccio and Paik note factors that can increase workplace advice utilization, especially expertise and trust. In addition, especially in a workplace setting, offering advice is beneficial because it helps raise one's profile and is linked to positive perceptions of job performance. Thus, advice is beneficial to both advisors and recipients. The authors also discuss how paid advice is often used and appreciated more than free advice, even if the advisor does not have more expertise. Finally, still another Handbook theme highlighted is that unsolicited advice insinuate lack of confidence and damage relationships, and that offering unsolicited advice is tricky and must be managed in ways to both illustrate the advice giver's good intentions and expertise and the receiver's competence and autonomy.

In Chapter 14, "Advice in the Lawyer-Client Relationship," Michael S. McGinniss addresses this central element of lawyers' professional practice from several perspectives. The chapter begins by considering the American Bar Association's Rules of Professional Conduct as they apply to advising, and it subsequently reviews models for lawyer-client counseling, including traditional or "authoritarian," client-centered, and collaborative decision making. Building from a discussion of methods for studying lawyer-client advice—and the significant challenges inherent in focusing on this highly protected discourse—McGinniss reviews relevant research from psychology, sociology, economics, linguistics, communication, and legal counseling. Recommendations for best practice are included not only for lawyers but for clients as well, and the chapter speaks inspiringly to the potential for the lawyer-client relationship to "contribute to human flourishing, both for their own lives and for the benefit of their communities."

In Chapter 15, "Business Advice: A Demonstrability Perspective," Bryan L. Bonner, Nathan L. Meikle, Kristin Bain, and Daniel Shannahan apply the concept of demonstrability to the ability to recognize high-quality advice. Demonstrability is a concept from group decision-making theory that examines when groups are likely to recognize high-quality information that a member possesses, and this chapter highlights Handbook themes of expertise recognition and creating a culture in which sharing advice is encouraged. Three characteristics are important for recognizing high-quality advice: sharing a conceptual system for understanding the advice, advisors having the motivation and ability to share their expertise, and advisees being motivated and able to consider and benefit from advice. The chapter illustrates the benefit of cross-disciplinary application of theories—in this case, using group theories to understand advice. In addition, by applying the concept of demonstrability to two case studies of advice in business settings, craft brewing and travel hacking, the chapter illustrates how advice can be beneficial toward solving "wicked problems" common in business that are "complex, multidimensional, dynamic, prone to bias, and have potentially important implications."

In Chapter 16, "Advice in Government and Policy Making," Jeswald W. Salacuse examines the role of advice in government policy making, especially within the General Secretariat at the European Union. Advisors often play an underappreciated role in influencing government policy, and examining this process more directly can help advisors become more effective and policy makers choose advisors more wisely. A key theme of this chapter also highlighted in others of this volume is that advising works best as a relationship in which trust and loyalty develop. The role of a relationship between an advisor and advisee is sometimes overlooked in research on advice, where longitudinal factors are hard to examine. Relationships can be either formal or develop informally. Salacuse highlights three types of relationships that can develop between the advisor and advisee: servant, director, and partner. Most advisors prefer a partner relationship, in which both take ownership of the process. This highlights another theme—namely, that having both advisor and advisee participate in the process of advice often leads to better outcomes. Finally, given the public nature of government decisions, choice of advisor takes on another dimension that has been underappreciated in other domains: The choice of advisor by a government official sends signals to the public or other governments about how the government official will approach the decision.

Chapter 17, "Word-of-Mouth Marketing," reviews the extensive research on evaluations of goods and services exchanged informally between consumers. As Jill Sweeney observes, word of mouth (WOM) has substantial applied interest for organizations seeking profit. Simultaneously, it is of interest to advice researchers, since it represents a particular, not entirely prototypical, form. After discussing the characteristics of WOM (and its digital form, eWOM) relative to advice, the chapter addresses a series of myths about WOM and the research that provides an evidentiary basis for refuting those myths. The synthesis of research also includes motivations for WOM, with a strong focus on referral programs. Scholars interested in WOM will find direction for further research, including suggested adaptations to existing methods, and marketers seeking to use WOM will find reflections on best practices.

In Chapter 18, "Advice Communication in Cyberspace," Bo Feng, Xun Zhu, and Yining Zhou Malloch examine the "masspersonal" advice given in chat forums and online communities. While there is one advice seeker with masspersonal advice, there is often more than one advisor, because the online query can be viewed and answered by many people. Further, the advice exchange is archived in the website and can be viewed by others interested in the exchange or who may be facing similar problems. This ability for the exchange to be viewed by many others is one characteristic that sets online advice apart from other types of advice. In addition, online advice affords more opportunity for anonymity and for interaction among similar others facing the same problem. Understanding the process of advice giving online, and how it differs from offline advice, is a challenge the authors emphasize. For example, face concerns of the recipient when giving advice is a theme highlighted in several Handbook chapters. But for online advice, face may become less salient, as requests for advice are often very direct and advice givers have less relational information or social cues about the recipient to frame the interaction.

In Chapter 19, "Advice Across Cultures," Bo Feng and Hairong Feng explicate influential theoretical perspectives on culture; review research findings on cultural similarities and differences in advice seeking, provision, and response; and offer practical guidance for advising in intercultural contexts. Material emphasized in this chapter includes the extent to which culture shapes what we recognize as advice and how we are expected to respond to it, especially how cultural dimensions such as individualism and collectivism shape how we seek, offer, and respond to advice. The chapter also foregrounds alternative theoretical approaches for understanding advising behavior and addresses limitations of existing methods, while calling for innovations in these areas. Importantly, Feng and Feng contend that positive impact from advice will result from sensitivity to the cultural characteristics of interactional partners merged with advice-giving practices that are relevant across cultures.

Conclusions

Chapter 20, "Reflections on Advice and the Ethics of Communication," is the first of two concluding chapters. In this essay, Stephen Howard Browne observes that because advice deals with human well-being, it is necessarily of ethical concern. However, most of the chapters in the Handbook do not deal directly with advising ethics. Accordingly, the author offers an introduction to analyzing advice from an ethical perspective, and a primer on four ethical perspectives as they apply to evaluating advice: deontology, consequentialism, virtue, and care. Content from Handbook chapters is used for illustration throughout, and suggestions are made to encourage an ethical focus in research on advice.

Chapter 21, "Advice: Communication with Consequences," provides our editorial conclusion, which highlights integrative themes arising from multiple chapters and suggests areas for theoretical synthesis across levels of analysis and diverse domains of content and theory. In addition, we summarize the range of methods used to study advice and make suggestions for methodological synergy and advancement. Finally, we highlight some of the best practices for giving advice as identified by the chapters in this volume, and then end with a reflection on the relationship between theory and application.

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PART I

THEORY AND METHOD

CHAPTER 2

ADVICE RECIPIENTS

The Psychology of Advice Utilization

LYN M. VAN SWOL, JIHYUN ESTHER PAIK,
AND ANDREW PRAHL

"To profit from good advice requires more wisdom than to give it."

(Wilson Mizner)

Many decisions are made with input from others, whether direct suggestions, information, or social support. While much of the research in judgment and decision making has focused on individual decisions made without input from others, and much of the research in group decision making has focused on decisions that groups reach consensually, many decisions are made somewhere between these two extremes. People often involve others in the decision-making process, but still make decisions individually (Sniezek & Buckley, 1995). Advice is important, because many complex decisions require knowledge and experience beyond that possessed by the decision maker.

In this chapter, we address psychological factors that affect how and when people do or don't seek and utilize advice from others. We then address special cases of receiving advice; these include when the advice recipient has more power than the advisor and when the advice is provided by an algorithm. Finally, we conclude with suggestions for advice recipients to maximize their ability to use advice to make high-quality decisions.

Conceptualizing and Operationalizing Advice in the Judge Advisor System

Most research in social psychology and organizational behavior that has examined the psychology of advice recipients has used the method known as the Judge Advisor

System (JAS; Sniezek & Buckley, 1995; for reviews, see Bonaccio & Dalal, 2006; Bonaccio & Van Swol, 2013). In a JAS, the research participant is a "judge" who receives advice from one or more advisors but has ultimate responsibility for making the decision. The JAS approach builds from the work of Vroom and Yetton (1973), who proposed that organizational decisions can be made by a group, after consulting others, or autocratically. In this chapter, we use the terms *advice recipient, judge,* and *decision maker* interchangeably.

Typically, in JAS research, advice is conceptualized and operationalized as a recommendation of a particular option among decision alternatives. Although advice can take other forms, ranging from information on the decision alternatives to criteria for making a choice (for a review, see Chapter 13), this approach mirrors much real-world advice. One universal characteristic of advice is that it is primarily instrumental; advice is offered to help deal with a problem (Feng & MacGeorge, 2006) or a decision task (Bonaccio & Dalal, 2006). Advice also is typically regarded as prosocial; that is, advisors offer advice because they care about the recipient (Goldsmith & Fitch, 1997).

In most JAS research, a judge makes an initial judgment (although see later discussion in this chapter of cued judges; Sniezek, Paese, & Switzer, 1990), receives advice from one or more advisors, and then makes a postadvice judgment that may or may not be revised in light of the advice. Often, the advisor and the judge are asked to assess their confidence in their judgment as well (e.g., Van Swol & Sniezek, 2005; Yaniv, 2004b). Judges' initial decisions or estimates can then be compared to their postadvice estimates to determine whether they utilized the advice. If the decision or problem has categorical alternatives (e.g., Which river runs through Dresden, Germany? A. Rhine. B. Cologne. C. Elbe. D. Danube.), then the amount that the decision maker matches the advisor, usually calculated over multiple questions, can be used to determine advice utilization. One problem with this method is that in cases where the judge initially agreed with the advice, one cannot determine the influence of that advice, except on whether the agreement increases the judge's postadvice confidence. If the decision or problem is a numerical estimate (e.g., What is the length of the Elbe River?), then a measure of advice utilization is used. Although various methods exist, the most common is a variation of the Weight-of-Advice measure (WOA; e.g., Harvey & Fischer, 1997; Yaniv & Foster, 1997). WOA is computed by subtracting a judge's initial estimate from his or her final estimate and then dividing that value by the advisor's initial estimate minus the judge's initial estimate. Although WOA (and related measures) provide a clear, continuous measure of utilization, there are several disadvantages, such as lower bounds of zero and no accounting for the relativity of advice shifts (i.e., shifting 80% of the way to an advisor's estimate may not be psychologically "twice as much" as a judge who shifts 40%; see Bonaccio & Dalal, 2006, for a review of advice utilization formulas).

There are several methodological variations for experiments using the JAS method. For example, researchers may have participants receive a simple written advice recommendation without any elaboration, either from a real or a fictitious advisor, or judges and advisors may actually interact, either face to face or through writing, with the ability to elaborate with justifications (e.g., Savadori, Van Swol, & Sniezek, 2001; Van Swol, 2011; Van Swol & Sniezek, 2005). Decision makers may interact with one advisor or with two or more advisors (e.g., Van Swol, 2009; Van Swol & Ludutsky, 2007), and they may interact with the same advisor for every problem (e.g., Gino & Schweitzer, 2008; Soll & Mannes, 2011; Van Swol & Sniezek, 2005) or with varying advisors over trials (e.g., Harvey & Fisher, 1997; Schultze, Rakotoarisoa, & Schulz-Hardt, 2015). In addition, judges may receive feedback from the experimenter about the quality of advice (e.g., Yaniv & Kleinberger, 2000) or may have to determine the quality of advice on their own. Judges may or may not have a monetary incentive to make a high-quality decision (e.g., Soll & Larrick, 2009). Typically, advice is compulsory and given to the decision maker without asking whether or not the advice is wanted, but other studies have examined optional advice, solicited advice, or even rejected, but still given, advice (e.g., Fitzsimons & Lehmann, 2004; Gardner & Berry, 1995; Van Swol, MacGeorge, & Prahl, 2017; Van Swol, Prahl, MacGeorge, & Branch, 2017).

The methods used have several limitations. First, due to the use of "one-shot, one-hour" experiments, the longitudinal influence of advice, or the delayed use of advice, is understudied. Second, advice is usually given anonymously by strangers, or fictitious estimates are supplied by the experimenter. Thus, the influence of relationship on advice utilization has not been studied, and few studies have varied the type of social interaction (e.g., face to face vs. communication through writing) to examine its impact (for exceptions, see Van Swol, 2011; Van Swol & Sniezek, 2005). Finally, many of the experiments use samples of convenience, and hence factors affecting the utilization of professional, expert advice have not been given extensive research attention.

Seeking and Utilizing Advice

Most JAS research has focused on factors that affect the seeking and utilization of advice by advice recipients. Although people often seek out advice when faced with problems and decisions, there are factors that impede solicitation as well as those that impede utilization. We discuss these issues along with factors that increase advice seeking and use.

Failure to Seek Advice

Advice recipients may view seeking advice in terms of benefits and costs. If costs outweigh benefits, they will likely forgo getting advice. Seeking advice often increases the time needed to make a decision, as one may need to find advisors and then listen to and process the advice. In addition, in some cases, people may need to pay for advice (Gino, 2008). Besides time and money, seeking advice also has reputational and face costs. Seeking advice may signal to others that one lacks competence in the subject area (Shapiro, 1983) and can threaten positive face, which is one's need to appear competent and likable to others (Brown & Levinson, 1987). In addition, seeking advice also threatens one's negative face, which is the need to be perceived as autonomous and acting independently (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Seeking advice may also carry an element of obligation. One may feel a responsibility to accept and use advice one has asked for. Thus, people may not seek advice in order to avoid incurring that obligation (Nadler, 1991). Finally, when seeking advice, one may need to share the details of the problem to others, and especially for private and personal problems, this may make people reluctant to seek advice (Van Swol, Prahl, et al., 2017).

In order to seek advice, people have to perceive the need. Decision makers who are overconfident in their expertise or ability are less likely to see advice as necessary. Overconfidence is the sense of knowing more than one knows or perceiving more confidence in one's abilities than one's actual abilities warrant (Sniezek & Buckley, 1995). Overconfident people are likely to perceive themselves as more accurate than others (e.g., Larrick, Burson, & Soll, 2007; Moore & Healy, 2008) and are less likely to seek or utilize advice (Gino & Moore, 2007; Harvey & Fischer, 1997; Soll & Larrick, 2009). In addition, decision makers with more expertise are less likely to seek or use advice (Yaniv, 2004b).

The old saw states, "If you want something done right, then do it yourself." This illustrates a problem with seeking advice. Because the advice recipient is delegating work and responsibility to the advisor, the advisor becomes an agent to the advice recipient or principal, and this relationship is subject to agency problems (Eisenhardt, 1989). Specifically, the agent may have different goals and interests than the principal, and agents often look out for their own interests rather than those of the principal (Sappington, 1991). For example, financial advisors may have motives to provide advice that brings them the highest commission, not necessarily the advice that is most beneficial to the advice recipient. One solution to agency problems is to align the incentives of the principal and agent (Sappington, 1991). In our example, aligning the agent and principal would involve the agent who is giving financial advice being paid based on the performance of the principal's financial investments. The more that the advice recipient sees the advisor's goals and interests as aligned with his or her own, the higher the recipient's trust and willingness to seek and accept advice (Tan & Lee, 2015). Conversely, perception of agency problems reduces advice solicitation and utilization.

Failure to Use Advice When It Is Given

When given advice, even high-quality advice, decision makers often underutilize it. In addition to the factors already discussed as influences on advice seeking, there are additional reasons why people fail to use advice they are given. Research on confirmation bias has consistently found that people often reject information and opinions that may not support their initial opinion. Moreover, research on egocentric discounting shows that decision makers often overweight their own opinion in comparison to advice. Emotions, solicitation of advice, and power also affect advice utilization.

Research on cueing demonstrates the influence of confirmation bias. Cueing studies examine what happens when a decision maker encounters suggested alternatives, even if they are randomly chosen, before he or she has been able to make an independent judgment (Ronis & Yates, 1987; Sniezek et al., 1990). Cued decision makers tend to be more confident in their decisions than independent decision makers, because cued decision makers have only focused on information supporting the preselected advised alternative and lack evidence in support of other alternatives. Their lack of information processing contributes to their confidence in the chosen action and can increase utilization of advice in comparison to independent judges (Sniezek & Buckley, 1995; Sniezek et al., 1990). Independent decision makers who encounter advice after they have already made a decision will be subject to confirmation bias and may discount advice that is inconsistent with their independent judgment. Research on confirmation bias has found that people will often stick with their initial judgment even when encountering unambiguous information that their initial judgment was faulty (Ross, Lepper, & Hubbard, 1975). While the conflict between the initial decision and advice can reduce decision-maker confidence in comparison to that of a cued decision maker (Sniezek et al., 1990), an independent decision maker is much less likely to use advice than a cued decision maker, especially as that advice differs from his or her initial judgment.

Research on egocentric advice discounting (Yaniv, 2004a; Yaniv & Kleinberger, 2000) has found that judges overweight their own opinions in comparison to advice, and this often leads to less accurate decisions. One reason egocentric discounting occurs is because advice recipients perceive their perspectives and opinions to be superior to those of advisors. A second reason is that advice recipients have access to the evidence in support of their own internal reasoning but often lack access to the reasoning behind advice, and this difference in knowledge can fuel the advice recipients' weighting their own judgment more heavily. Minson, Lieberman, and Ross (2011) found that having an advice recipient discuss the problem with the advisor and reach a consensual opinion before making an individual decision increased utilization of advice, possibly because it allows more access to the advisor's reasoning. Forming preadvice opinions (vs. suspending judgment postadvice) exacerbates egocentric bias and hampers final decision accuracy (Yaniv & Choshen-Hillel, 2012). Recipients who formed prior opinions weighted their own estimates significantly more than multiple advisors' estimates and had higher confidence than those who suspended the judgment until after viewing advisors' estimates.

Although most research on advice recipients has used an individual as the recipient, Minson and Mueller (2012) found that when the recipient is a dyad, they are less willing to utilize advice than an individual advice recipient. It appears that dyads engage in more egocentric discounting, because collaboration increases confidence, and hence reduces the perceived value of outside information (although see Schultze, Mojzisch, & Schulz-Hardt, 2013, for a different interpretation of the data).

Egocentric discounting increases the more the advisor disagrees with the advice recipient (Yaniv, 2004b; Yaniv & Milyavsky, 2007). The likelihood of advice recipients to disregard contrary advice and attribute it to bias and error increases the more the advice disagrees (Minson et al., 2011). This finding is similar to that of research on social influence showing that group members have less influence the farther their opinion is from that of others in the group (Davis et al., 1997). In fact, trimming extreme opinions is not a bad idea; the problem is that recipients judge extremity of opinion egocentrically (Yaniv & Milyavsky, 2007). Yaniv and Milyavsky (2007) distinguished between egocentric trimming (i.e., dropping advice furthest from one's own opinion) and consensus-driven trimming (i.e., dropping advice furthest from the group's consensus) and found that advice recipients were more likely to engage in egocentric trimming, although consensus-driven trimming yielded better accuracy. This is unfortunate, considering that advice is often the most useful when it disagrees with the advice recipient and falls on the other side of the correct answer than the advice recipient's initial estimate (Minson et al., 2011); simple averaging or taking the median in these instances is especially useful when given no information about the quality of advice (Minson et al., 2011; Yaniv & Milyavsky, 2007). However, Yaniv (1997) found evidence that when information about the precision of advice is available, using the information and weighting precise information more is a better strategy than simple averaging or trimming.

Advice recipient emotions, even emotions incidental to the problem or advice, can also affect utilization of advice. Advice recipients who feel anger, even if it is not directed at the advisor, are less likely to use advice. In contrast, advice recipients who feel gratitude, again even if it is not directed at the advisor, are more receptive to advice (Gino & Schweitzer, 2008). De Hooge, Verlegh, and Tzioti (2014) note that positive emotions directed at others (e.g., gratitude) can increase advice receptiveness, because the emotion conveys that the advice recipient's and advisor's motivations are aligned, while emotions that are negative and directed at others (e.g., anger) can reduce receptiveness. Conversely, positive self-directed emotions (e.g., pride) can decrease advice receptiveness, whereas negative self-directed emotions (e.g., shame or anxiety) can increase advice receptiveness. Anxiety lowers advice recipients' confidence, which makes them more receptive to advice (Gino, Brooks, & Schweitzer, 2012).

Advice recipients are more likely to use solicited than unsolicited advice (Fitzsimons & Lehmann, 2004; Van Swol, MacGeorge, et al., 2017). However, definitions of these concepts vary. The majority of judge advisor research has actually examined what Van Swol, MacGeorge, et al. (2017) label *guaranteed advice*. Guaranteed advice is automatically provided to the advice recipient without asking whether it is wanted or not. Hence, scholars use the more passive term *advice recipient* and not *advice seeker*. Guaranteed advice could be considered unsolicited advice, and it is different from the advice recipient seeking out advice (i.e., soliciting advice) or the advisor asking if it is acceptable to provide advice and getting an affirmative response from the advice recipient (i.e., permitted advice). In addition, an advice recipient can reject the overture of advice, but the advisor may provide the advice anyway (imposed advice). Van Swol, MacGeorge, et al. compared utilization intentions for guaranteed, permitted, and imposed advice. Participants had lower intentions to use imposed advice and rated it as lower quality than guaranteed or permitted advice, but few differences were found between guaranteed and permitted advice. Providing unwanted advice threatens the recipient's positive and negative face and likely engenders psychological reactance to reclaim his or her autonomy (Deelstra et al., 2003).

Finally, advice recipients who have more power are less likely to utilize advice (See, Morrison, Rothman, & Soll, 2011; Tost, Gino, & Larrick, 2012). We examine this in depth later in this chapter as a special case, because powerful people's failure to use advice can have significant consequences.

Factors Increasing the Seeking and Using of Advice

Although many factors predispose underutilization of advice, people can feel the need to accept and use advice if given, even when the advisor has less experience or lower competency (Gino et al., 2012; Harvey & Fischer, 1997; Yaniv & Kleinberger, 2000) or when the advice recipients are told the advice is useless, random, or implausible (Schultze, Mojzisch, & Schulz-Hardt, 2017). Advice recipients may use a token amount of advice due to social pressure (Harvey & Fischer. 1997). Advice can also function a bit like gifts; it may be seen as impolite to completely reject advice (Cialdini, 1984). Celen, Kariv, and Schotter (2010) found that decision makers are more likely to follow advice for a specific action from a person than if they simply observed the person engaging in the same action; the giving of advice may increase the willingness of the recipient to follow it over more passive observational learning. Alternatively, advice may provide an anchor that unintentionally affects subsequent judgment, even if the advice is useless or randomly generated (Schultze et al., 2017).

Often, however, people seek advice because it can improve judgment, especially when the advisor brings needed expertise to the decision. Provided the advisor lacks ulterior motives and has at least equal competency as the judge, advice improves judgment in comparison to initial preadvice judgments (e.g., Gino & Schweitzer, 2008; Sniezek, Schrah, & Dalal, 2004; Soll & Larrick, 2009). People can recognize signals of advice quality (Biele, Rieskamp, & Gonzalez, 2009; Luan, Sorkin, & Itzkowitz, 2004; Yaniv & Kleinberger, 2000) and are more likely to use advice from advisors with expertise and experience (e.g., Feng & MacGeorge, 2006; Harvey & Fischer, 1997; Soll & Larrick, 2009; Yaniv & Kleinberger, 2000; Yaniv & Milyavkey, 2007). Judges are also more likely to use advice on more difficult tasks and less likely to use advice on easy tasks (Gino & Moore, 2007; Schrah, Dalal, & Sniezek, 2006).

In addition, judges are more likely to seek out advice from advisors who offer judges information they do not know than information to which they have already been exposed (Van Swol & Ludutsky, 2007). In line with this, recipients show differential weighting of advice from dissimilar advisors compared with advice from similar advisors depending on task type, contrary to the common prediction that similar advisors would gain more liking and compliance (Gino, Shang, & Croson, 2009). Recipients utilized advice from similar advisors more when the estimation task was about their own behavior, but utilized advice from dissimilar advisors when the task was about another's behavior, as recipients find these dissimilar advisors more informative.

Given that judges may assume more expertise and accuracy when an advisor has higher confidence, it is not surprising that judges are more likely to utilize advice from more confident advisors (e.g., Phillips, 1999; Sniezek & Buckley, 1995; Sniezek & Van Swol, 2001; Van Swol & Sniezek, 2005; Yaniv & Foster, 1997). Researchers have found a relationship between confidence and accuracy. However, this relationship is sometimes weak, and these advisors are also often overconfident (Erev, Wallsten, & Budescu, 1994; Van Swol & Sniezek, 2005). Other research has found that advisors may inflate confidence assessments to persuade the judge to accept advice, especially when advisors have ulterior motives to gain acceptance of their advice (Van Swol, 2009). Overall, confidence is such a strong predictor of accepting advice that the tendency to use confidence as a proxy for expertise has been labeled the *confidence heuristic* (Price & Stone, 2004).

In addition to confidence, advice recipients also are influenced by trust. Because advice recipients are often taking a risk in depending on advice, trust is important to bridge this risk and uncertainty (Sniezek & Van Swol, 2001). The need for trust for advice utilization is especially important with tasks that do not have a demonstrably correct answer and are based more on value judgments (Van Swol, 2011). For tasks with correct answers (e.g., trivia or math questions), advice recipients are more likely to rely on expertise and confidence to determine whether to accept advice, although advisor confidence has been found to increase trust as well (Sniezek & Van Swol, 2001; Van Swol & Snizek, 2005). For judgmental tasks without a correct answer, trust in an advisor is based more on similarity of values (Van Swol, 2011). When recipients have uncertainty about an advisor's intentions, trust based on the advisor's integrity matters more than trust in competence. Jodlbauer and Jonas (2011) pointed out that given advisors with specialized expertise recipients themselves lack, recipients may be suspicious about whether advisors are using the expertise to help the recipients or themselves. The researchers found that while three different dimensions of trust (competence, benevolence, and integrity) mediate between advisor identity (profit vs. nonprofit organization expert) and acceptance of advice, trust in advisor integrity played the strongest mediating role.

Professional practitioners of consulting advice (Maister, Green, & Galford, 2001) have emphasized that trust in advisor is *the* most important factor in advice utilization. In professional practice, trust is often about relationships, reciprocity, and caring. Maister et al. (2001) note that clients often have to build trust in a professional advisor the same way they would develop trust for any other relationship, with processes like listening, engaging, and commitment. Yet research on the psychology of advice recipients has often failed to focus on relationship development between recipient and advisor, because such relationship development is a longitudinal process not easily captured in experimental research.

There are still other reasons for seeking and using advice. Decision makers may utilize advice more often for more important or risky decisions, possibly to share responsibility (Harvey & Fischer, 1997). As Adélaïde-Édouard le Lièvre (2006) said, "When we ask for advice, we usually look for an accomplice" (p. 47). Seeking advice may also increase commitment from the advisor. Liu and Gal (2011) found organizations that sought advice from customers were able to increase customer closeness and willingness to buy (for-profit firms) or donate (nonprofit firms). They theorized, and found, that seeking advice helps the advisor take the perspective of the advice recipient, which can increase empathy and relational closeness. Interestingly, the effect of advice giving increasing closeness to the advice recipient did not hold when advisors were paid for their advice, suggesting that this positive effect of advice may only occur in communal, and not in exchange, relationships. Advice can also be used to confirm one's initial opinion to bolster confidence or provide justifications, either to oneself or others (Bonaccio & Van Swol, 2013; Kennedy, Kleinmuntz, & Peecher, 1997; Schultze et al., 2015). Confirming advice increases recipient confidence. More specifically, when the task has a correct answer, agreement from a dissimilar advisor boosts confidence more than that from a similar advisor; however, when the task is based on a value judgment, agreement from a similar advisor boosts confidence more (Goethals & Nelson, 1973).

Finally, advice can be sought to facilitate learning and improve performance on related problems. For example, Biele et al. (2009) found that participants given advice on gambling problems with different payoff distributions improved later performance on similar problems. Advice helped them to detect better solutions, and this learning transferred. The ability for advice to facilitate learning has been confirmed in other studies (Celen et al., 2010).

In summary, although recipients often disregard advice, there are situations when advice is beneficial and sought out. In the next section, we provide an in-depth review of two special circumstances surrounding advice. First, powerful advice recipients are more likely to disregard advice. Because powerful people are often making highly consequential decisions, their disregard for advice deserves closer examination. Further, insight into the challenge of advising the powerful provides insights for why anyone may reject advice. Second, we examine utilization of computer and algorithmic advice. This type of advice is often of higher quality than human judgment and is becoming more common for highly consequential decisions (Murdoch & Detsky, 2013), yet recipients are less likely to use it (Prahl & Van Swol, 2017).

Receiving Upward Advice: The Problem of Recipient Power

Upward advice refers to advice that is offered to leaders by their subordinates. That is, subordinates are advice givers, and leaders are recipients. Upward advice giving is not rare in organizations that employ a consultative decision-making system, where any member of the organization can offer ideas, information, or opinions about the decision, which is ultimately made by leaders, who are expected to incorporate members' suggestions (Cordery, 1995). Ideally, a consultative decision-making system should work by subordinates' disclosive and candid upward communication and the leader's respect for subordinates' input. Nonetheless, most organizations suffer from leaders' unwillingness to solicit and follow advice (e.g., Detert & Burris, 2007) and from employee silence (e.g., Milliken, Morrison, & Hewlin, 2003), with the latter often resulting from the former. Leaders, assuming a higher position in the hierarchy than subordinates, possess more power than subordinates to control resources to be allocated to subordinates and to make and authorize decisions (Morrison & Rothman, 2008). In the case of upward advice, a mismatch occurs between power differential and expertise differential—at least in that particular knowledge domain—such that the powerful (i.e., the recipients) lack knowledge that the less powerful (i.e., the advisors) possess. As discussed below, leaders can benefit from taking subordinate advice, but there are risks.

Risk and Rewards of Seeking and Taking Upward Advice

Rewards of taking upward advice include many of the benefits of general advice taking, such as better quality decisions through debiasing (Schulz-Hardt, Jochims, & Frey, 2002) and prevention of potential negative outcomes like wasting resources or endangering lives (e.g., Tompkins, 2004). Rewards more specific to upward advice taking include being able to stay informed about conditions in different parts of an organization (Gaines, 1980; Glauser, 1984), which in turn gives the leader resources to offer their own superiors, as well as positive evaluation from subordinates (Walumbwa & Schaubroeck, 2009) and the resulting enhanced relationship with subordinates (Wayne, Shore, & Liden, 1997). Benefits of leaders' explicitly seeking upward advice include signaling to subordinates that leaders are willing to receive advice (Detert & Burris, 2007), thereby reducing subordinates' concern that they might threaten leaders' face by offering unwanted advice (Goldsmith, 2000), and the actual opportunity for subordinates to engage in upward advice giving (Fast, Burris, & Bartel, 2014).

Despite the benefits, high social costs are present as well for leaders. If leaders seek and take advice too frequently from subordinates, they may be viewed as incompetent by subordinates as well as by their own superiors (Shapiro, 1983), which may threaten their authority and standing in the organization (Burris, 2012). Seeking advice may also highlight or reveal leaders' mistakes. In addition, leaders run risks of negative emotions resulting from the threatened self-esteem or face, such as embarrassment (Goffman, 1967), when taking advice. When receiving advice from subordinates, leaders' concerns for face could be amplified, since leaders are generally expected to be more knowledgeable and competent than their subordinates (Morrison & Rothman, 2008).

Why Don't the Powerful Seek or Use Advice?

Many subordinates possess useful upward advice. However, potential advice recipients may be especially unlikely to solicit or use such advice due to their power. We propose two different accounts for the phenomenon of the powerful not seeking and using advice as much as they should: overconfidence and ego defensiveness. First, power