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**DECISION-MAKING AND HEURISTICS IN BUSINESS  
RELATIONSHIPS**

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Management Decision

# DECISION-MAKING AND HEURISTICS IN BUSINESS RELATIONSHIPS

## ABSTRACT

### Purpose

Based on previous research on decision-making and in particular on the use of heuristics, the purpose of this guest editorial is to improve our understanding of the factors that underpin managers' interaction behavior.

### Design/methodology/approach

In this paper the authors review alternative frameworks in conceptualizing managerial decision making and compare these with key characteristics of business-to-business contexts, where multiple decisions are to be taken interactively in search of reciprocal adaptation.

### Findings

The authors observe that decision making in business relationship has been overlooked and that given the interdependences characterizing the business context, its understanding requires a different perspective than rationalistic systematic decision-making. The use of heuristics in decision making in business relationships appears to be instrumental for developing a new framework of *interactive decision-making*, a fruitful avenue for further research.

### Originality/value

This guest editorial is among the few attempts to conceptually examine the use of heuristics in business relationships and to contribute developing a framework for interactive decision-making.

**Keywords:** Relationships; Heuristics; Decision-making; Interactions; Business Networks; Adaptive Behavior.

## 1. Introduction

What is the state-of-the-art research work on decision-making and heuristics in business relationships? Research in networks of business relationships evidence the existence of continuous relationships between individually important customers and supplier organizations (Håkansson and Waluszewski, 2007; Ford and Mouzas, 2013a; Ford *et al.*, 2017). As organizations are embedded in networks of interorganizational relationships (Halinen and Törnroos, 1998), there are some pervading consequences for the development of businesses and their economic performance. Hitherto research shows that developing business relationships takes place in a context characterized by complex interdependences and involves interaction between organizations (Baraldi *et al.*, 2024; Ford and Mouzas, 2013b). The economic relevance of business relationships derives from the actual and expected cost and revenue consequences for the businesses involved which, in turn, arise from solutions related to combining resources, coordinating activities, and connecting actors between the organizations involved. Past research also suggests that the solutions that emerge in customer supplier relationships originate in behaviors of managers as actors within and across organizations and that the interdependent business network structures result from interactions in dyads between single actors and interaction among all involved actors collectively (Ford *et al.*, 2017).

Past research, particularly within the business marketing, has approached the actor dimension of interorganizational business relationships in an ambivalent way, conceptualizing the business actor at individual and organizational level (La Rocca, 2013). Yet our understanding of factors that shape the actual behavior of actors in business relationships is incomplete (Guercini *et al.*, 2014). Theorizing actors' behaviors within the management context remains mostly rooted in a conception of managerial action as 'rationalistic' in that it assumes that rational choice (sensible conduct) is a matter of anticipating future consequences of choosing among

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3 alternatives. This conception of managerial decision-making has a normative implication that  
4 the “best” decisions flow from systematic decision-making where systematic analysis foregoes  
5 the choice among the available courses of action.  
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12 Nonetheless, a parallel development of different streams in conceptualizing managerial  
13 decision-making suggests that other factors such as emotions, rules and norms (March, 1994;  
14 Sloman, 1996) are important factors which shape actors’ actual behavior; and hence, the actual  
15 scope for systematic decision-making in management remains rather limited (Bettis, 2017).  
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17 Among the alternative frameworks to explain managers’ cognition and behavior there is the  
18 research stream on the use of *heuristics in decision-making* (e.g., Gigerenzer and Brighton,  
19 2009; Gigerenzer and Gaissmaier, 2011) which suggests that avoiding a systematic decision-  
20 making might be a sign of ‘adaptive rationality’ leading to better outcomes than the rationalistic  
21 systematic decision making (Gigerenzer and Selten, 2002; Luan *et al.*, 2019; Ehrig *et al.*, 2021).  
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23 The scope for the use of heuristics in business relationships has also been evidenced in some  
24 past studies in the Industrial Marketing and Purchasing (IMP) perspective (e.g. Guercini *et al.*,  
25 2014, 2015). In these studies, it was noted the importance of heuristics in the processes of  
26 formation of judgments and choices of the actors in the interaction, adopting a positive view  
27 about the role played by them for the realization of these processes (Cavarretta, 2021; Guercini  
28 and Lechner, 2021).  
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49 Given the limited research and understanding of the interaction processes in business  
50 relationships (La Rocca *et al.*, 2017; Mouzas, 2024), we see the need and opportunity for  
51 improving our understanding of the interaction processes in business relationships and, in  
52 particular, the need and opportunity for improving our understanding of the factors that  
53 underpin managers’ interaction behavior. There seems to be a need to go beyond, to use the  
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3 terms of Argyris and Schön (1996), the theories “espoused” to those that actually are “theories-  
4 in-use” by managers (Zeithaml *et al.*, 2020), when interacting both within and across  
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6 organizational boundaries. With this special issue we aim to stimulate further research towards  
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8 that end.  
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## 14 **2. Approaching decision-making in business relationship settings**

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16 While our knowledge about business actors’ engagement in collaborative relationships with  
17 information sharing facilitated by modern telecommunication is extensive (Batt and Purchase,  
18 2004; Claro and Claro, 2010; Smirnova *et al.*, 2011; Najafi-Tavani *et al.*, 2018; Crick and Crick,  
19 2020), our knowledge of how actors shape heuristics and rules for interactive decision-making  
20 and how actors jointly reach a consent that enables actors to adapt within business relationships  
21 remains very limited. Theorizing actors’ behaviors remains hitherto ‘rationalistic’ and presumes  
22 that actors make autonomous rational choices (Bettis, 2017). Such conception of managerial  
23 decision making has a normative implication that the ‘best’ decisions flow from systematic  
24 decision making where systematic analysis foregoes the choice among the available courses of  
25 action (Guercini *et al.*, 2014; 2015; La Rocca *et al.*, 2017).  
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42 The idea of resource dependence and thus *resource interaction* is central to the IMP approach  
43 (Baraldi *et al.*, 2012; Baraldi *et al.*, 2024; Prekert *et al.*, 2022). Organizations embedded in  
44 networks of business relationships are interdependent, relying on each other for resources, such  
45 as information, expertise, and capabilities. Yet we know very little about the way that actors  
46 *own and control resources* (Baraldi and Strömsten, 2009). Actors’ entitlements to resources  
47 appear to be critical when it comes to innovation and transformation processes in business  
48 networks, as they decisively influence interactive decision-making (Baraldi and Strömsten,  
49 2009; Mouzas, 2022). Taking a network perspective on interconnected business relationships ,  
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3 interactive decision-making has been conceptualized as the exchange of information,  
4 experiences, and insights to enhance the collective understanding of the involved network  
5 actors. Learning is integral to making better and more informed decisions for the future. Firms  
6 are embedded through various forms of continuing business relationships, collaborations,  
7 partnerships, and strategic alliances, and because of this *interactive decision-making* appears to  
8 be an inescapable feature of an interconnected business landscape, where multiple business  
9 actors engage in discussions, share information, and collectively make decisions to address  
10 shared challenges. Interactive decision-making is thus particularly relevant in the context of  
11 modern business environments in which firms need to deal with multiple stakeholders. The IMP  
12 approach to business markets provides us with valuable insights that enrich our understanding  
13 of interactive decision-making by emphasizing the connectivity among 1) actors 2) resources  
14 and 3) activities in networks of business relationships and the resultant ongoing nature of  
15 decision processes within dynamic and continuously evolving environments (Håkansson and  
16 Johanson, 1992; Halinen and Törnroos, 1998; Ford and Mouzas, 2013b; Ford, Mattsson and  
17 Snehota, 2017; Baraldi *et al.*, 2024).  
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40 The key features of interactive decision-making are still little discussed in the literature and our  
41 knowledge on the subject is still very limited. However, some elements of interactive decision-  
42 making in business networks can be recognised. Firstly, *collaboration between business actors*.  
43 Decision-making involves active participation and collaboration among various stakeholders in  
44 the business network (Smirnova *et al.*, 2011). This may include suppliers, customers, partners,  
45 and other relevant stakeholders such as the government or governmental organizations (Claro  
46 and Claro, 2010; Smirnova *et al.*, 2011). Secondly, *real-time communication*: Facilitated by the  
47 modern forms of telecommunication, interactive decision-making involves real-time  
48 communication tools and platforms that enable the exchange of information and ideas among  
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3 network participants. This allows for quick responses to changing circumstances and the ability  
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5 to adapt decisions accordingly. Thirdly, information sharing. Business actors nowadays appear  
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7 to share more relevant data and insights than in the past. This may include market information  
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9 and trends, performance metrics, technological specifications and other critical aspects that  
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11 exert influence on the decisions made. Fourth point, *heuristics and rules*. The multiplicity of  
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13 contingencies and bounded rationality make extensive information gathering impracticable and  
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15 lead to the adoption of behaviors based on *rule based decision-making and heuristics*  
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17 (Gigerenzer and Selten, 2002; Guercini *et al.*, 2015). Meetings are conducted under conditions  
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19 of limited time, incomplete information, resulting in a context typically suited to the use of  
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21 heuristic decision-making models that may perform better under certain conditions than  
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23 decision models that employ more information (Gigerenzer and Gaissmaier, 2011; Guercini  
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25 and Lechner, 2021). Another element is given by *joint consent*. Decision-making in business  
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27 networks is realistically conceived not as atomistic choices but as *joint consent* reached through  
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29 negotiation, give-and take process of compromises and agreements (Ford and Mouzas, 2013a;  
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31 Mouzas and Ford, 2018). Finally, *adaptation within relationships*. As businesses operate in  
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33 networks of interconnected relationships, firms will adapt their products, services and process  
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35 to account for the needs of their customers and suppliers (Brennan *et al.*, 2003; Hallén *et al.*,  
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37 1991). However, the theme of *adaptation within relationships* appears in approaches that  
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39 suggest the existence of ecological rationality as an explanation of the performance of heuristic  
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41 decision-making models (Todd and Gigerenzer, 2012). These aspects naturally have  
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43 connections with each other and in turn do not claim to define a complete and exhaustive  
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45 picture. They can, however, represent a useful framework for exploring the characteristics of  
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47 interactive decision-making processes.  
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### 58 **3. The role of heuristics in business relationships**

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3 Given the embeddedness of actors in interconnected business relationships, , the idea of  
4 individual decision-making may appear inadequate both descriptively and prescriptively.  
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6 Decision-making is often associated with the theme of individual rationality. What is rational  
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8 is sometimes seen as equivalent to 'intelligent' or 'successful', at other times is seen as equivalent  
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10 to 'cold calculation' and 'materialistic', or 'sane', while non-rational, irrational reasoning is being  
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12 perceived as 'insane'. Following an approach outlined by March (1994), we distinguish between  
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14 a 'procedural rationality' and a 'substantive rationality', where the former is associated with a  
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16 class of procedures for making choices (Simon, 2000). Rational theories of choice assume that  
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18 decision-making processes are consequential and preference-based, whereby a rational  
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20 procedure is one that pursues a consequential type of logic in which expectations and  
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22 preferences are considered on the basis of criteria for choosing between alternatives (March,  
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24 1994, pp. 2-3).

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33 The inadequacy of approaches to human rationality that do not consider the contextual  
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35 embeddedness of the decision is well illustrated by Simon when he uses the famous scissors  
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37 metaphor (Marewski *et al.*, 2024), whereby “human rational behavior (and the rational behavior  
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39 of all physical symbol systems) is shaped by a scissors whose two blades are the structure of  
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41 task environments and the computational capabilities of the actor” (Simon, 1990, p. 7).  
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43 Observing decision-making processes in the real world, the model of bounded rationality  
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45 (Simon, 1957; Cyert and March, 1963) was soon linked to the theme of adaptation (Selten,  
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47 1990). The concept of bounded rationality was examined to describe the type of rationality  
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49 adopted by individuals when faced with conditions in which not all alternatives are known, not  
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51 all consequences are considered and not all preferences are evoked at the same time (Simon,  
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53 1957). More recently, the debate on the effectiveness of heuristic decision rules offers further  
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3 useful elements for the study of decision processes under conditions of uncertainty, contextual  
4 adaptation and ecological rationality (Gigerenzer, 2022; Luan *et al.*, 2019).  
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10 In the context of business networks, the interdependence between actors, resources, and  
11 activities occurs over time (Halinen and Törnroos, 1995; Halinen *et al.*, 2012; Halinen *et al.*,  
12 1999) and thus necessitates a reworking of the theme of decision-making, in which the  
13 interactive dimension assumes a central role. The assessment of what can be understood as  
14 effective behavior cannot disregard the interdependence between actors. In the interactive  
15 context, the consequences of the decisions of each actor are affected by conditions of  
16 uncertainty resulting from interdependence with the decisions of the other actors. This condition  
17 characterises interactive decision-making in which the interdependence between actors assumes  
18 centrality (Guercini *et al.*, 2022).  
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33 Interactive decision-making reflects the interdependence between actors in the interaction  
34 process rather than the atomistic decision-making. In the context where several actors are  
35 interdependent, decision-making processes can achieve higher levels of effectiveness through  
36 communication skills and trust in the sharing of respective interests (interactive rationality?).  
37 To see how heuristics support interactive decision-making, one must start with their definition.  
38 To a first approximation, heuristics are seen as forms of rule-based decision making (March,  
39 1994) and as 'rules of thumb', or simple rules adopted on the base of experience, or as cognitive  
40 shortcuts that emerge when information time and data processing capabilities are limited  
41 (Newell and Simon, 1972). In fact, the issue of definition presents a certain problematic nature  
42 with regard to the concept of heuristics. March (1994, p. 12-13) places heuristics among the  
43 simplification processes, along with editing, decomposition and framing. In this framework,  
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3 heuristics occur when "decision makers recognise patterns in the situations they face and apply  
4 rules of appropriate behavior to those situations" (March, 1994, p. 13).  
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10 Heuristics are part of rule-based decision-making processes (March, 1994; Brennan and  
11 Buchanan, 2008). There are thus different levels of processing heuristics (rules for solving  
12 problems, rules for finding other rules, etc.), different origins (learned, innate) and different  
13 languages of representation and processing (narratives, algorithms, etc.). The term heuristics is  
14 employed in various disciplines (psychology, philosophy, economics, etc.) and perhaps owes a  
15 certain degree of ambiguity and heterogeneity of meanings to this as well (Chow, 2015). The  
16 ambiguities lie in various aspects (Guercini, 2023a). For instance, the same literature that  
17 discusses heuristics as a source of biased decision-making recognises that they are widely  
18 adopted in the behavior of human actors (Tversky and Kahneman, 1974; Sloman, 1996; Thaler  
19 and Sustain, 2008). Heuristics are seemingly simple solutions that are, however, adopted to  
20 tackle complex problems; they are a response for decision-makers who seek guaranteed results  
21 to ill-defined-problems (Simon, 1973). The reason why people resort to heuristic decision-  
22 making models does not only depend on human cognitive limitations, but also on the fact that  
23 heuristics have been tested and are considered to be effective with respect to a given task  
24 environment (Guercini, 2019). We could therefore see them as simple decision-making models  
25 that are effective, and which therefore beat selection at least temporarily.  
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#### 49 **4. Studies selected for this special issue**

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51 The topic of decision-making in business relationships is broad and apparently relatively  
52 unexplored both empirically and conceptually. This special issue has selected conceptual and  
53 empirical studies (both qualitative and quantitative) with the aim to contribute to the further  
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3 development of the domain. This special issue includes seven papers that are summarized in  
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5 the following paragraphs.  
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9 The first paper in this issue, “Choice architecture and techniques: Developing a comprehensive  
10 taxonomy to test applicability in business relationships” by Robert Münscher (2024), develops  
11 an evidence-based conceptual framework for exploring the applicability of choice architecture  
12 in business relationships. From a methodological point of view, the authors have systematically  
13 reviewed empirical studies of choice architecture in various fields to identify choice architecture  
14 techniques. In a second step, the major resulting categories of techniques have been discussed  
15 for applicability to business relationship contexts. The authors found that managerial decision-  
16 making is potentially influenced by changes to choice contexts that: 1) provide additional  
17 information from outside the choice context, 2) facilitate a particular way of comparing options,  
18 3) present options in new ways, 4) rework the choice set for instance by adding options, and 5)  
19 create internal states that push toward a target choice. The paper’s contribution to the debate of  
20 heuristics in business relationship revolves around the concept of choice architecture to business  
21 relationships (Guercini, 2023b). In particular, the authors propose a taxonomy of choice  
22 architecture techniques to guide the exploration of choice architecture effects in business  
23 relationships.  
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44 The second paper in this issue, “Exploring the heuristics behind the transition to a circular  
45 economy in the textile industry” by Olga Dziubaniuk, Maria Ivanova, Jennie Kaipainen and  
46 Monica Nyholm (Dziubaniuk *et al.*, 2024), explores managerial decision making in the context  
47 of circular economy (CE) transition in the textile industry. In such business environments,  
48 managerial decisions regarding CE may depend not only on normative behavior but also on  
49 heuristics that guide their choices. Since business relationships for textile circularity require  
50 interactions between business actors, this study explores how managerial heuristics are shaped  
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3 in the CE transition within the textile industry and their impact on actors' interactions within  
4 business relationships and networks. The findings of this qualitative study indicate that  
5 managerial decisions promoting circularity can be influenced by factors predominant in: i) the  
6 business and regulatory environment, ii) managers' experience and knowledge obtained during  
7 interactions within business networks and, iii) the internal strategic approaches of business  
8 organisations. This study identifies adaptation, experience, interaction and strategy heuristics  
9 that may be utilised by managers in making decisions in the context of uncertainty, such as the  
10 industrial transition to a CE. This study expands the knowledge of heuristics applied to  
11 managerial decision making in interacting business firms and institutional organisations aiming  
12 to facilitate textile recycling and proposes a heuristics toolbox.  
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27 The third paper in this issue, "Incorporating a partner's strategic value into a fast-and-frugal  
28 heuristic for decision-making" by Franck Marle and François Robin (Marle and Robin, 2024),  
29 deals with decision making process in situations where partners are engaged in high  
30 involvement relationships. The authors have adopted a three-step approach by using, first,  
31 twelve past case studies, then proceeding with theory building and in the final step testing their  
32 proposition by employing an ongoing case study. By doing so, the study aims to propose a  
33 decision-making process adapted to the specific context of Claim Management situations,  
34 implying partners engaged in a high involvement relationship. The study's propositions were  
35 formulated as follow: P1) Partner's Strategic Value is an influential decision parameter that  
36 must be incorporated into Claim Management-related decision-making processes in high-  
37 involvement relationships, P2) The Fast-and-Frugal Heuristic is adapted to the intense,  
38 interactive, and iterative nature of the Claim Management context. Authors' final proposal is  
39 an assembly of the two elementary proposals (P1 and P2) to assist decision-making in iterative,  
40 intensive, and interactive Claim Management contexts. In the context of high-involvement  
41 business relationships and Claim Management, this study introduces the importance of  
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3 selecting an appropriate decision methodology and integrating a strategic decision parameter  
4 (Partner's Strategic Value) into an operational decision-making context. Furthermore, the  
5 principle of considering decision parameters in a specific sequence corresponds to the iterative  
6 and interactive nature of the Claim Management processes.  
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13 The fourth paper in this issue "Smart heuristics in business relationships: Towards a typology",  
14 by Jochen Reb and Nilotpal Jha (Reb and Jha, 2024), starts with the assumption that volatile  
15 and uncertain environments call for simple and robust strategies to form and manage  
16 relationships, as rational choice theory approaches to utility maximization are not suitable under  
17 such conditions (Gigerenzer, Reb and Luan, 2022). Building on a recent stream of research that  
18 begun to investigate the role of heuristics in business relationships (Guercini *et al.*, 2014; 2022),  
19 the authors developed an integrative typology of heuristics in business relationships that could  
20 guide understanding of and future research on *relational heuristics* – the confluence of  
21 heuristics and business relationships. The authors discuss heuristics from different categories  
22 of the typology, examining their role in establishing new and maintaining existing business  
23 relationships (relational context heuristics) and exploring the impact of business relationships  
24 on heuristics (relational information heuristics). The present paper makes contributions in three  
25 main areas: 1) better understanding heuristics by categorizing them; 2) contributing to an  
26 emerging literature on the role of heuristics in business relationships and 3) offering a practical  
27 framework for making sense out of simple strategies.  
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49 The fifth paper, "Exploring the role of heuristics in buyer-supplier relationship dynamics", by  
50 Poul Houman Andersen and Susanne Åberg (Andersen and Åberg, 2024), explores the role of  
51 heuristics in the reassessment of relationship events and how it influences perceptions of  
52 commitment, fairness and relationship value. The authors address the question of how heuristics  
53 interrelate with decision makers' evolving interpretations of commitment, fairness and  
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3 relationship value in a specific buyer-supplier relationship. The paper presents data (from  
4 interviews, presentations meetings, and secondary data) from a longitudinal study of an  
5 evolving buyer-supplier relationship involving a multinational supplier of fast-moving  
6 consumer goods and a medium-sized and highly specialized supplier. The paper shows that a  
7 buyer's unexpected behavior can lead to a reassessment of commitment, fairness and  
8 relationship value. However, heuristics can delay relationship reassessments, thus extending  
9 the relational turning point. The case shows that heuristics have a preserving quality and that  
10 the effect of transformative events only slowly changes the perception of value of the  
11 relationship. In this change process, the link between commitment, perceived fairness and  
12 heuristics is crucial. The paper contributes to the understanding of business relationship  
13 dynamics and, more specifically, on how relational events in a buyer-supplier relationship  
14 change the supplier commitment and perception of fairness, and how heuristics change  
15 accordingly.

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34 The sixth paper, "Anchoring effect in corporate social behaviors: Evidence from donations and  
35 pollution" by Qian Li and Jianan Wang (Li and Wang, 2024), examines the role of the anchoring  
36 effect, including internal anchor formed by prior experience or external anchor produced by  
37 similar external practices of industrial competitors and investor networks in the decision-  
38 making of corporate social behaviors (CSBs). From a methodological point of view, this paper  
39 sets corporate donations and pollutions as examples of CSBs, and conducts an empirical study  
40 through the data of A-share listed companies between 2010 to 2020 in China. This paper found  
41 that both internal and external anchoring effects exist in CSBs. In addition, when internal and  
42 external anchors appear simultaneously, they will have the same intensity and promote each  
43 other. This paper adds to the literature on the motives for CSBs and links cognitive and social  
44 psychology with strategic decisions and provides managerial implications for firms and  
45 managers.

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3 The seventh paper in the issue, “Bounded subadditivity in management decisions” by Nicola  
4 Bellè, Paola Cantarelli and Paolo Belardinelli (Bellè *et al.*, 2024), focuses on the effects of  
5 bounded subadditivity on organizational decision-making. The possibility and the certainty  
6 effects have important ramifications for effective planning and resource allocation. The authors  
7 have tested the bounded subadditivity principle in an online randomized experiment with 3980  
8 employees. The authors have detected a certainty effect (upper subadditivity), whereby  
9 professionals are willing to devote a disproportionate number of hours to a project when their  
10 contribution transforms the success of the initiative from possible to certain rather than  
11 increasing the likelihood of success by the same percentage points. Results show no evidence  
12 of the possibility effect (lower subadditivity), whereby workers would be inclined to devote a  
13 disproportionate effort when their contribution turns a sure failure into a possible success rather  
14 than simply increasing the likelihood of success by the same percentage points. The authors  
15 observe a rational tendency to try harder in the face of a greater increase in the probability of  
16 success, but only far from the limits of the probability spectrum and not close to the limits.

## 37 38 **5. Conclusion**

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40 Extant literature on decision-making is rich and long-standing. Yet our understanding of the  
41 interactive nature of decision-making and our knowledge of the use of heuristics in business  
42 relationships is quite limited. This special issue addresses this gap by publishing world-class  
43 research that challenges the conventional wisdom of atomistic, rational, and independent  
44 decision-making. This collection of new research moves beyond individual business actors,  
45 broadens our perspective on multiple rationalities and patterns of how decisions are made in  
46 business relationships and invites us to embrace the idea of heuristics in exploring the  
47 complexity of decision-making when globally operating firms interact with each other.  
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3 This special issue attempted to explore this phenomenon from different perspectives and  
4 research streams and add to our body of knowledge. In so doing, we hope to foster research  
5 with a multidisciplinary approach on several themes that we expect to advance the  
6 understanding of behaviors and cognition in business networks such as: how interaction  
7 behaviors concur to creating value in business relationships; what factors shape the actual  
8 choices in customer supplier relationships; actual “theories in use” and “espoused theories”  
9 guiding managers’ behaviors in customer supplier relationships; how managers learn from  
10 interaction experience; what is the role of norms, rules and heuristics in interaction behaviors  
11 of managers; the scope for alignment of goals and agendas of the interacting managers; the  
12 significance of contrast and conflict in interaction; the interplay of interaction behaviors at  
13 individual and collective level. This is only a sample of topics that, if addressed with  
14 methodological approaches adequate for researching in the interactive business landscape  
15 (Abrahamsen *et al.*, 2017), could contribute to make of *interactive decision-making* an  
16 interesting object of future research and could lead to the development of a specific analytical  
17 framework.  
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