


Logics and Logistics for Future Research: Appropriately Interpreting the Emotional Landscape of Multicultural Negotiation

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Abstract

To invigorate future teaching and research, this article discusses theoretical approaches and empirical opportunities to better understand emotional dynamics in negotiation settings across cultural contexts. We adopt a culturally informed *logic of appropriateness* (Kopelman, 2009) to shed light on emerging and underexplored topics in this domain. The goal of this article is to inspire scholars worldwide to engage in rigorous empirical investigations of the antecedents, consequences, mechanisms, boundary conditions, and evidence-based strategies in the combined domain of negotiation, culture, and emotion through research, teaching, and practice.

Advancing cultural competence in negotiation necessitates a nuanced understanding of how thoughts, feelings, and behaviors reflect systems of beliefs, values, and norms characteristic of groups of people. To invigorate future teaching and research of negotiation across diverse cultural contexts, this article draws on existing theoretical frameworks and empirical findings of emotion in these settings to highlight key areas for innovative future research. At the Culture and Negotiation Conference in April of 2018, sponsored by the *Dispute Resolution Research Center* (DRRC) of the Kellogg School of Management (see Gelfand and Brett, 2019), we designed and facilitated a session that brought together junior and senior colleagues passionate to collectively brainstorm ideas about the future of negotiation, culture, and emotion research. Drawing on the expertise of participants, our goal was to formulate novel practice-oriented research questions. The success of this article, which captures the theoretical foundations and essence of our discussion, hinges on you, the reader, being inspired to innovate as you engage in negotiation, culture, and emotion scholarship, whether through research, teaching, or practice.

In this article, we first ground our discussion at the intersection of negotiation, culture, and emotion scholarship. We demonstrate that research accounting for all three domains in tandem is a nascent and promising area of research. Furthermore, we articulate theoretical assumptions that may help us better

We thank the participants at the Kellogg DRRC conference on culture and negotiation held in April of 2018 for collaborating to develop the research questions articulated in this manuscript. We are grateful to Jeanne Brett and Michele Gelfand for convening the conference and energizing scholars to generate discussions that challenge us to expand negotiation research and practice globally. We appreciate the editorial guidance of Michael Gross and the NCMR editorial team, as well as our colleagues who provided feedback and insights that helped us develop this article: Hajo Adam, Smadar Cohen-Chen, Jozefien De Leersnyder, and Hillary Anger Elfenbein.

understand systematic differences in behavior in negotiation contexts. Specifically, we propose that although negotiation research has historical roots in decision making and economics, a *logic of rationality* has not been as informative for understanding behavior in cooperative and competitive negotiation settings as a *logic of appropriateness* (Kopelman, 2009; March, 1994; Weber, Kopelman, & Messick, 2004). A culturally informed logic of appropriateness (Kopelman, 2009; Kopelman, Hardin, Myers, & Tost, 2016) provides a conceptual lens that illuminates what might be considered acceptable behavior, and is therefore insightful when seeking to understand nuanced emotional dynamics that emerge in the context of negotiation processes and outcomes. Grounded in this conceptual lens, we identify areas for promising future research at the intersection of negotiation, culture, and emotion, and highlight numerous empirical considerations, or *logistics*, to help articulate concrete research questions for scholars to pursue. Finally, the article turns to you, the reader, to spark research projects that transform our discussion of logics and logistics into theoretically and methodologically rigorous empirical work that paves the path to a better understanding of negotiation, culture, and emotion.

The Research Intersection of Negotiation, Culture, and Emotion

The common theme of the conference and of this special issue of *Negotiation and Conflict Management Research (NCRM)* is to explore constructs of interest in the study of negotiation and culture. We set out to explore the intersection of negotiation, culture, and emotion research (see Figure 1). This intersection brings together the richness of three distinct domains of scholarly literature, as well as streams of research that typically focus on two domains at a time. Despite ever-growing interest in each of these separate domains, the unique intersection of all three has scarcely been studied (see Figure 2). Our intent is not to generate a comprehensive review of these three domains, but to build on the limited existing studies at this unique intersection (e.g., Kopelman & Rosette, 2008; Liu, 2009) to draw attention to research opportunities that explore negotiation, culture, and emotion together.

In exploring potential new areas of research on emotion in the context of culture and negotiation, it is important to address the fundamental theoretical assumptions, or *logics*, that ground research on culture and negotiation. Decision-making research, including on negotiation, is based

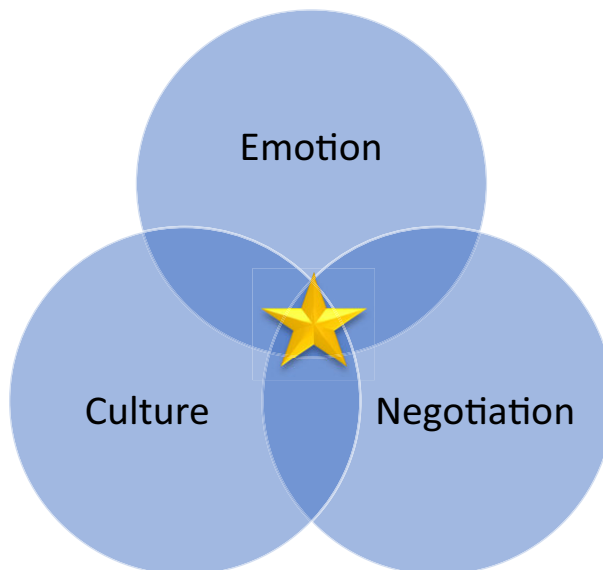


Figure 1. Conceptual overlap of research domains.

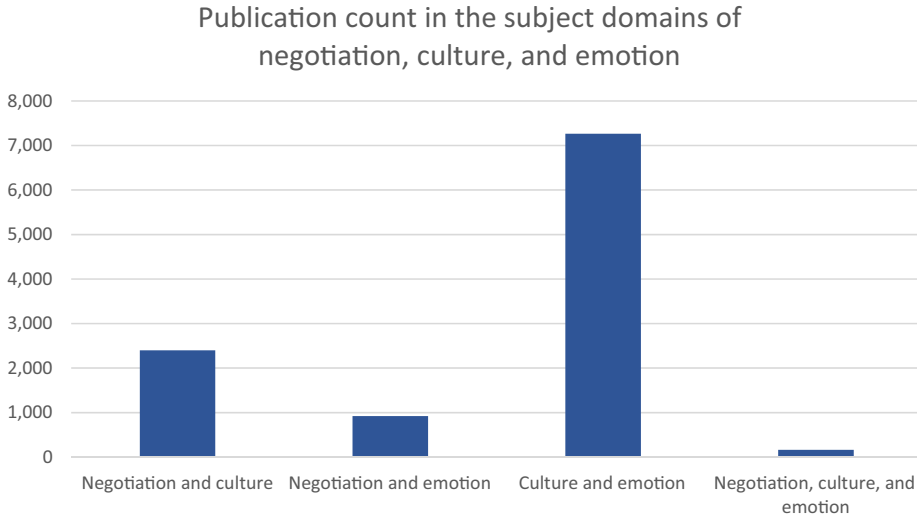


Figure 2. Publication count on the topics of negotiation, culture, and emotion. Data are based on a Web of Science search on September 7, 2018, and including the search terms *emoti**, *cultur**, and *negotiat** in the subject domains of Business & Economics, Psychology, Communication, and International Relations.

on assumptions that are not always explicitly articulated when theorizing and developing hypotheses. Assuming that negotiators' behavior aligns with economic self-interest reflects a *logic of rationality*, yet this is not the only, nor necessarily the most relevant, logic for understanding behavior in socially interdependent interactions.

What might be viewed as rational by one person, or in one culture, might not be perceived as rational by another person, or in another culture. Building on ideas developed by Jim March (1994), a *logic of appropriateness* provides a theoretical framework that helps understand behavior in cooperative and competitive socially interdependent interactions (Weber et al., 2004). What is considered appropriate, rather than rational, is not only philosophically illuminating but helps to explain consistent gaps between experimentally observed patterns of behavior and predicted rational behavior. Specifically, a culturally informed *logic of appropriateness* suggests that rather than asking "what is rational?" behavior in cooperative and competitive settings reflects a four-dimensional conceptual question: "what does a person like me (identity) do (rules) in a situation like this (recognition) given the culture (group)?" (Kopelman, 2009; Kopelman et al., 2016).

In this theoretical framework, culture is considered a unique conceptual factor that helps understand behavior in cooperative and competitive social interactions, such as negotiation. Culture is one of four dimensions—identity (e.g., leader), rules (e.g., heuristics for how to divide resources), recognition (e.g., situational cues of power), and group culture (e.g., values)—which theoretically inform what people consider appropriate, and therefore, how they behave in socially interdependent settings. For example, in one culture, a leader may value the importance of group goals, recognize power cognitively as cuing social responsibility while emotionally as feeling humble, and endorse inverse equity norms that forego individual profits. In a different culture, a leader may value individual goals, recognize power cognitively as reflecting personal achievements that are deserving of increased self-worth while emotionally feeling proud, and endorse equity norms that maximize individual profits. Adopting a culturally informed *logic of appropriateness* framework provides a theoretical lens through which differences in beliefs, values, and norms and the systematic variability of how people think, feel, and behave in negotiation can be understood (Kopelman, 2009; Kopelman et al., 2016).

Grounded in this logic and theoretical assumptions, what people consider to be appropriate is fundamental to understanding emotional dynamics in the context of culture and negotiation. Dynamics, such as whether and to what degree negotiators display emotion, how a displayed emotion is perceived, and how relational emotional dynamics influence negotiation processes and outcomes, are better understood by examining these questions through the lens of a logic of appropriateness. With this logic in mind—that is, highlighting contextually grounded *appropriateness* rather than universal *rationality*—we set out to explore opportunities for future research at the crossroads of negotiation, culture, and emotion.

Inspiring Research Questions

Grounded in this logic, to articulate and explore the *logistics* of innovative future research questions, we invited participants who attended our session at the conference to consider what might be the most intriguing domains of focus at the intersection of negotiation, culture, and emotion. Our goal was to seed concrete proposals for future research that articulates novel questions which are theoretically grounded, build on past empirical findings, focus on well-defined independent and dependent variables, and develop operationalized hypotheses to be rigorously tested. To launch the conversation, we asked session participants to consider what inspires them personally. We invite you, the reader, to reflect on this question for a moment. What sparks your curiosity or touches you personally given your background and experience? Your personal passion is bound to sharpen your research questions and energize your academic journey.

To explore the construct of emotion and ideas for future research, we considered broadly how culture is measured or operationalized in research on negotiation processes and outcomes. When studying culture in the context of negotiation, the research literature has focused predominantly on comparisons of intracultural dyads (e.g., U.S.–U.S. vs. Japan–Japan) and intercultural dyads (e.g., U.S.–Japan) simulating business negotiation (e.g., Adair, Okumura, & Brett, 2001; Brett & Okumura, 1998). The literature has also considered multicultural settings (Kopelman et al., 2016). Across these research settings, culture is present, whether it manifests through variance within cultures or between cultures. This research has focused on differences in cultural values (what is important?) and cultural norms (what is considered normative behavior?) to explore how culture impacts negotiation. Negotiators from different cultural groups differ with respect to beliefs, values, and norms, and these differences impact negotiation goals and strategies (for a review, see Brett, 2007; Gelfand & Dyer, 2000), which are impacted by emotional dynamics (Kopelman, Rosette, and Thompson, 2006; Van Kleef, De Dreu, and Manstead, 2004), and in turn influence negotiation outcomes (Adam, Shirako, & Maddux, 2010; Kopelman & Rosette, 2008; Liu, 2009).

The ideas that surfaced at our think tank session are presented in this article to inspire you as a scholar to pursue them empirically, as well as inspire your own innovative research questions about negotiation, culture, and emotion. Whether expanding theory, exploring moderators or mediators, innovating methodologically, or proposing novel variables, the goal of the following research topics and questions is to suggest productive paths where future research might be steered. For each research topic, we discuss broad themes for future work and specific research questions. The research topics and questions are not intended to be comprehensive. They reflect the conversation of a group of scholars during a few hours on a Friday afternoon in Evanston on the beautiful Northwestern University campus. As you read through the following topics and questions raised during our session, consider, for example, how they tie into your research, if they motivate a new project for you or one of your students, or perhaps they spark a different, personally relevant, question you are excited to pursue.

Cultural Norms for Emotion Expressions in Negotiation, and the Effects of Subsequent Intrapersonal Felt Dissonance versus Consonance

Individuals who express an emotion that may be perceived by themselves or others as inappropriate—or express an emotion that is perceived as appropriate but with inappropriate intensity—are likely to feel

dissonance as a result of their expression. What effect does this dissonance have? Imagine you are trying to negotiate for compensation from a firm after it failed you in terms of customer service. Should you express anger? If so, how intensely should you express your anger? How will this expression be received? From the perceiver's perspective, the perceived appropriateness of an anger expression in a given context, which varies across cultures, shapes how expressed anger influences the interaction, such that expressions considered more appropriate receive larger concessions from counterparts (Adam et al., 2010). Further, appropriateness perceptions are also influenced by the intensity of the expressed emotion. For example, research has demonstrated that the impact of emotional expression intensity on customer service employees depends on the cultural value of power distance (Glikson, Rees, Wirtz, Kopelman, & Rafaeli, 2019). Specifically, this research demonstrated that low power distance customer service representatives compensate higher intensity anger more (driven by perceived threat), whereas high power distance representatives compensate lower intensity anger more (driven by perceived appropriateness). When threat perceptions are mitigated for low power distance individuals, they too compensate lower intensity anger more, demonstrating the importance of different behavioral patterns resulting from what is considered (in)appropriate in a given context.

For the expresser, non-normative expressions are likely to cause dissonance, irrespective of the financial outcome in a situation such as a customer service failure setting. For example, an individual from a culture typically seen as less expressive or in which anger is usually not expressed in negotiation (independent of differences in power distance) may feel guilt for expressing anger. This would especially be likely if, for example, in a customer service failure scenario, the customer expressed higher anger than actually felt, because this expression is both unusual and of unusual intensity in this socio-cultural context. Alternatively, in another setting, a seller may feel remorse after having unfairly influenced a buyer to agree to a purchase despite the fact that there was a serious flaw with the product—but the buyer was swayed by the seller's expression of positivity. Moreover, although these two examples involve emotion regulation for self-interested reasons, there may also be situations in which masking or exaggerating an emotion for the benefit of another person may similarly cause the expresser distress. For example, imagine masking satisfaction at the conclusion of a negotiation to prevent the counterpart from feeling taken advantage of. As we know from the emotional labor literature, even "positive" emotion regulation, such as expressing happiness to create a positive experience for others, can lead to burnout and other negative effects on the expresser (Grandey, 2003).

Building on this reasoning, we suggest several paths for future research. Broadly, emotions both shape and are shaped by the social context in which they take place. That is, emotions change as the context changes and are typically congruent with the context in terms of the appraisals, action readiness, and other aspects of an emotion that are commonly associated with that emotion in that culture (Mesquita & Boiger, 2014). Given that individuals' reactions to, and potential outcomes depending on, felt consonance/dissonance are likely to be influenced by what is considered normative in that cultural context, studies of the effects of emotional dissonance and consonance should explicitly account for cultural expression norms. In support of this argument, research on ideal affect, or emotional states that people value and desire to feel, demonstrates that preference for these states is culturally bound, and begins even in childhood (Tsai, Louie, Chen, & Uchida, 2007). Further, cultural values have been shown to be stronger predictors of typically felt and/or expressed emotion than they are of attitudes or behaviors, which are related but relatively more distal outcomes of cultural values (Taras, Kirkman, & Steel, 2010). For example, Americans have been shown to want to focus on negative affect less and positive affect more than do Germans, and this focus influences how they express sympathy to others (Koopmann-Holm & Tsai, 2014). Thus, a German expressing more positive affect in a sad situation may feel more dissonance than an American. Added to this is the evidence that people also have different emotional expression expectations for in-group (e.g., same culture) versus out-group (e.g., different culture) members (Beau-pré & Hess, 2003), meaning that felt dissonance is also likely to differ depending on whether one's negotiation partner is in- versus out-group. Overall, it is plausible that individuals may feel guilt or simply

exhausted (see Liu & Roloff, 2015) as a result of the dissonance of having (not) expressed emotion to pursue what they perceived at the moment to be appropriate.

To test these ideas empirically, researchers would benefit from explicitly measuring expressers' felt dissonance versus consonance in a negotiation. Potential dissonance or consonance captured immediately following an emotion expression episode could have a different impact depending on cultural norms for what is considered appropriate to express, as well as how intensely emotion should be expressed. Researchers may also explore and measure how this dissonance/consonance influences downstream outcomes, such as well-being, relational satisfaction, or even performance in a subsequent negotiation. To accomplish this, empirical measures should also account for lagged effects due to reflection and rumination. It is possible that expressers may not feel dissonance or guilt until some time has passed and they have been able to reflect on their prior actions. Furthermore, because such feelings may also depend on both individual and cultural differences in emotional complexity, these differences should be accounted for empirically in future work.

Specifically, to explore the topic of dissonance and consonance, future research investigations of negotiation and culture should include measures of both emotional granularity and tendencies to feel complex emotion. At an individual level, people differ in their emotional granularity, or the specificity with which they feel and can differentiate among various emotions, which is positively associated with their ability to regulate emotion in productive ways (Barrett, Gross, Christensen, & Benvenuto, 2001). Individuals also differ in their experience of emotional ambivalence, or the simultaneous feeling of conflicting emotion such as happiness and sadness (Larsen, McGraw, & Cacioppo, 2001), which is often associated with feelings of dissonance (feeling torn and conflicted; e.g., Aaker, Drolet, & Griffin, 2008). Importantly, although emotional ambivalence is often considered a subjectively negative experience leading to inflexible thinking, paralysis, or negative engagement with others, it can also lead to a host of beneficial outcomes, such as increased openness to alternative perspectives and improved decision making (Rees, Rothman, Lehav, & Sanchez-Burks, 2013; Rothman, Pratt, Rees, & Vogus, 2017). Similarly, at a cultural level, research has also found cultural differences in both emotional granularity and in tendencies to feel complex emotions (i.e., ambivalence; Bagozzi, Wong, & Yi, 1999; Grossman, Huynh, & Ellsworth, 2016).

Thus, depending on cultural differences in preferred emotional states, individual differences in emotional granularity, and variations in other motivators across both cultures (e.g., the value of harmony) and individuals (e.g., the desire to win), and who the negotiation partner is, people are likely to vary in how much dissonance or consonance they feel as a result of their emotional expressions in negotiation. Overall, our discussion of intrapersonal felt dissonance suggests that in negotiation contexts, culture may play a role when examining relationships between appropriate emotion regulation, appropriate emotion expression, subsequent felt dissonance or consonance, and additional downstream effects. This area is ripe for exploration.

Cultural Norms for Expressivity and Intensity, and Resulting Interpersonal (Mis)Communication in Negotiation

Building on the above discussion of intrapersonal felt dissonance, we next turn to the closely related question of how cultural norms for expressivity, including the intensity of expressed emotion, influence *interpersonal* communication. Emotional expressions have long been acknowledged to have social functions, in that they serve as indicators to another person of the expresser's intentions, goals, and motivations in that moment (Keltner & Haidt, 1999; Oatley & Jenkins, 1992; Van Kleef, 2009, 2010). At a more fundamental level, Scherer (1988) draws on Bühler's (1934) Organon model to argue that expressions of emotion—particularly vocal ones—involve symbol, symptom, and signal functions for the perceiver. That is, an expression serves as a symbol or reference to what is happening (e.g., an expresser's exclamation upon receiving good news), relatedly, a symptom of the state in which the expresser is (e.g., feeling joy at the news), and finally as a signal or appeal to the perceiver to elicit a response (e.g., to react

similarly enthusiastically to the expresser's news). Importantly, Scherer (1988) emphasizes that such vocalizations are governed by both "push" (i.e., automatic physiological responses) and "pull" (i.e., external factors such as the expresser's assumptions about display rules or the perceiver's expectations as influences on the expresser's actions) forces. These "pull" factors are likely to include a host of culturally and contextually specific factors, including norms for what emotion are acceptable to express, as well as when and to what extent they are appropriate and thereby acceptable.

Considering emotional expressions as a form of interpersonal communication in culturally influenced negotiation scenarios suggests several paths for future work. Although, as we noted above, research has examined how cultures differ in terms of what types of emotion are considered ideal or preferred in a given context (Tsai et al., 2007; see also Mesquita & Boiger, 2014), it does not fully address the question of why and how cultures differ in terms of expressivity norms. Furthermore, it does not explore how these norms influence negotiation processes and outcomes. For example, what determines how expressive (on average) people in a culture are, and how does expressivity manifest interpersonally in negotiation scenarios? Some scholars have argued that expressivity has an evolutionary cause, in that expressivity can signal cooperative intentions and trustworthiness (Boone & Buck, 2003). Particularly, when groups are heterogeneous, or individual members of a group come from many different cultures, accurately communicating nonverbally increases in importance (Rychlowska et al., 2015). Such reasoning aligns with the notion that emotional expressions serve an important evolutionary social function to help perceivers know how to react to a situation (Fridlund, 1994).

This interpersonal lens on culturally specific norms for expression and expressivity in negotiation suggests several specific directions for future work. Considering a logic of appropriateness, imagine smiles of identical intensity, but displayed by either a negotiator from a highly expressive or a less expressive culture. How does a negotiation partner decipher the intended meaning of the expression; that is, does the same intensity from a less expressive partner indicate that the emotion is actually extremely strong, while that intensity from a more expressive partner should be viewed as less indicative of how the partner really feels? Supporting this notion, Adam and Shirako's (2013) findings demonstrate that individuals react differently to expressions of anger in negotiation depending on their knowledge of expressivity stereotypes. Beyond cultural differences, how does a perceiver react differently to an expresser depending on what both parties know about the contextual norms (Adam & Brett, 2015)? For example, how much does it matter whether it is considered appropriate to display that emotion, and at a lower or higher intensity level (Adam & Brett, 2018; Cheshin, Amit, & van Kleef, 2018), particularly by someone in a specific role or position (see Callister, Geddes, & Gibson, 2017), in a given situation? Overall, along with intrapersonal felt dissonance, how cultural expressivity norms influence interpersonal communication—and the impact of miscommunication—in negotiation remains a promising area for future research.

Mindfulness of Emotion as both Detrimental and Beneficial

Beyond intrapersonal dissonance and interpersonal (mis)communication, there are likely to be broader effects of paying attention to one's own and others' emotions in culturally embedded negotiation situations. Overall, mindfully navigating emotional dynamics—appropriately aligning emotion in the moment—constructively impacts the negotiation process, as well as economic and relational outcomes (Kopelman, 2014; Kopelman & Mahalingam, 2014). In general, mindfulness, or accepting the present moment without judgment, is considered helpful, with its benefits including improved well-being and other positive individual, relational, and organizational outcomes (see Glomb, Duffy, Bono, & Yang, 2011, for a review). However, research has not yet fully explored the potential downsides to mindfulness in terms of its effects on decision makers in organizations, or negotiators' attention to their and others' emotions. There may be an interesting cultural dynamic at play when considering the potential

downsides of mindfulness, depending on whether it is viewed through a collectivistic lens that deemphasizes interpersonal boundaries with others and the environment, or a culturally individualistic approach that highlights the self as separate from others.

Paradoxically, a culturally individualistic approach to mindfulness may lead to increased attention and unhelpful rumination. For example, research could explore whether, in a tense negotiation situation for negotiators from some cultures, paying too much attention to one's own or the other party's emotion in the moment as emotions are felt or expressed detracts from one's ability to engage in problem-solving in real time. When a person's ability to devote sufficient cognitive resources is decreased, their ability to resolve the negotiation might be diminished (Daly, 1991; Fisher, Ury, & Patton, 1991). As such, it is plausible that, if mindfulness prompts a negotiator from an individualistic culture to inappropriately focus (even nonjudgmentally) on their own anger, this could detrimentally distract them. Similarly, if trying to be aware of and focused on the moment leads a collectivistic negotiator to attend too much to the other person's anger and what it means for the broader social context, then this increased attention on the other person's emotion may lead to unintended and harmful reciprocal emotional reactions from the negotiator, potentially leading to avoidable impasse (Friedman et al., 2004; Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, 1994). In contrast, mindfully attending to a counterpart's expression of hope that the situation can improve could promote helpful reciprocal attitudes from the perceiver around compromising or creatively resolving conflict. Specifically, experiencing hope, a future-oriented emotion which enables imagining a better future (Stotland, 1969), has been shown to successfully promote compromise in conflict (Cohen-Chen, Crisp, & Halperin, 2015; Cohen-Chen, Halperin, Crisp, & Gross, 2014; Saguy & Halperin, 2014) and out-group expression of hope is associated with a willingness to make concessions in conflict situations (Cohen-Chen, Crisp, & Halperin, 2017; Leshem, Klar, & Flores, 2016).

Thus, mindfulness may have both beneficial and detrimental influences on negotiation, depending on the cultural background of the negotiator, the emotion attended to, and the appropriateness of interpersonal and cognitive processes triggered by the pursuit of acceptance and nonjudgmental attention. Individual and cultural differences, such as emotion granularity, as well as individuals' emotional intelligence skills in terms of recognizing and managing their own and others' emotions (see Côté, 2014, for a review), are all likely to shape the impact of mindfulness and emotion on negotiators' processes and outcomes. The question of how to maximize the well-documented benefits of mindfulness for emotional equanimity while minimizing the potential downsides remains open, and is particularly relevant in the context of cross-cultural negotiation.

Implications of Differences Between the Expresser's and the Perceiver's Perspective on Emotion Displayed in Negotiation

Although individuals may be mindfully observing their own and others' emotions in the present moment without judgment, and the expressions and their intensity may be culturally appropriate, how exactly individuals recognize specific emotions in that cultural context will also shape how the negotiation process unfolds, as well as the resulting outcomes. Recognition of one's own and others' emotional expressions is a critical component of emotional intelligence (Côté, 2014), yet interpreting another person's emotional expressions can be rife with equivocality and uncertainty. Consider the smile, which is considered universally representative of the basic emotion of happiness. Individuals have also been shown to smile when they are feeling angry, embarrassed, submissive, dominant, miserable, fearful, listening, or contemptuous (Hess, Beaupré, & Cheung, 2002), or smile to mask another, often negative emotional expression (Perron, Roy-Charland, Chamberland, Bleach, & Pelot, 2016). This makes the work of a perceiver to interpret even the simplest of expressions far from a straightforward task. Moreover, recent findings have challenged the notion that basic expressions, such as the smile or frown, are truly universal. Instead, there may be "emotion dialects" that create differences in how prototypical expressions appear

across cultures and that, in turn, create challenges in recognizing emotion from out-group members (Elfenbein, 2013; Elfenbein & Ambady, 2003). Adding to this complexity, cultures also differ in terms of which parts of the face—the eyes or the mouth—are most commonly focused on when perceiving another person's expression (Yuki, Maddux, & Masuda, 2007). Together, these findings highlight that in negotiation, despite our best intentions, we may speak a different emotional language than our counterparts.

Thus, related to the questions explored above about emotional (mis)communication and mindful attention to expressed emotion, the extent to which differences in what an expresser intends to convey versus what a perceiver observes and interprets—and how this (dis)agreement may influence negotiation processes and outcomes—remains a fascinating and challenging area to explore across cultures. Future research on the effects of various discrete emotions in negotiation should account for how emotions are expressed and how these expressions are interpreted, depending on a negotiator's cultural competence. What emotion is intended to be expressed by a negotiator may not be what is perceived by the other person, no matter what degree of cultural familiarity and mindfulness is at play, and this (mis)match may have important consequences depending on cultural similarities and/or differences between negotiators and what is considered appropriate in a specific context.

Culture as the Dependent—Not just the Independent—Variable

An underlying assumption of the questions posed above has been that pre-existing cultural values and norms shape how emotion influences negotiation. However, it is also intriguing to explore how culture itself is shaped. We suggest that future research consider culture as a dependent variable, not only as an antecedent to understanding behavior. Considering culture as a dependent variable is possible since culture is not only an *a priori* phenomenon. Culture also emerges, as groups and organizations establish norms for interactions and general expectations of how work typically happens in that setting, influenced by the larger cultural context (Kashima, 2018; Sanchez-Burks & Lee, 2007). That is, the perceived appropriateness of emotional dynamics in a negotiation setting may be both impacted by antecedent cultural values and norms, as well as impact the development of cultural values and norms. Put simply, as people join new groups, they both adapt to the culture as well as impact the culture.

Considering culture as a dependent variable opens up diverse paths for future research. Cultural adaptation suggests that for a newcomer to a particular group, organization, or region, understanding how emotion influences negotiation in multi-faceted settings is likely less than straightforward. For example, how should a new employee from a different regional background, and perhaps also with little prior work experience in the industry, negotiate a job offer? How would the newcomer, with little experience with regional, industry, or organizational norms for emotional expression, gauge whether and to what extent to express friendliness versus toughness in the negotiation? Moreover, how can the new employee learn to recognize, and effectively adapt to, a unique team or organizational culture that may differ from larger cultural or industry trends about emotion expression (Barsade & O'Neill, 2014)? Interestingly, individuals' emotional experiences and expressions can be conceptualized as reflecting repertoires of multiple specific emotions that are considered typical and appropriate in a particular cultural context; conceptualizing emotion as a set or repertoire helps us understand how people adapt and thrive (see Mesquita, Boiger, & De Leersnyder, 2016, for a review). Over time, individuals are also likely to become more attuned to and adept at both experiencing and expressing culturally appropriate repertoires of emotion (De Leersnyder, Mesquita, & Kim, 2011; see also Taras et al., 2010). However, over time, newcomers may also influence the group's culture in return. To the extent the newcomers bring with them diverse values and norms around emotional dynamics, these might impact what the group they join endorses in the future as appropriate emotional experiences and dynamics.

Furthermore, considering the situation in which all individuals are effectively newcomers broadens the scope of this research area to the formation of groups. Given individuals' abilities to develop culturally specific emotion repertoires, when new groups form, how does the way in which they negotiate create an entirely new culture around emotional repertoires and appropriateness of emotional dynamics? What determines how discrete emotions are (or are not) experienced, expressed, and interpreted in this new culture? How do cultural expectations around collegiality and advocacy for coworkers, or, on the other hand, reactions to insults, influence downstream emotional culture and relationships (Shafa, Harinck, Ellemers, & Beersma, 2014; Stickney & Geddes, 2016)? Overall, future research exploring team, organizational, industry, and regional cultures would benefit from focusing both on how emotional dynamics influence outcomes in negotiation and how emotional dynamics in negotiation impact culture, and thereby shape a logic for what is appropriate, at the group level.

The Increasing (and Potentially Problematic) Role of Technology

Related to each of the research areas proposed above is the question of how information technology—particularly rapid changes in how individuals do (not) communicate face-to-face—is likely to influence the intersection of emotion, culture, and negotiation. As individuals increasingly interact via technology for everyday events, including negotiation, it is important to continue to unpack how ever-changing communication media influence negotiation processes and outcomes.

There has been a flurry of research examining how emotions are (mis)communicated via email and other technological interfaces, through both text and emoji (Byron, 2008; Byron & Baldrige, 2005; Glikson, Cheshin, & Van Kleef, 2018). Some research has demonstrated that interpersonal processes of emotion, such as emotional contagion and persuasion, work in similar ways for virtual as well as in-

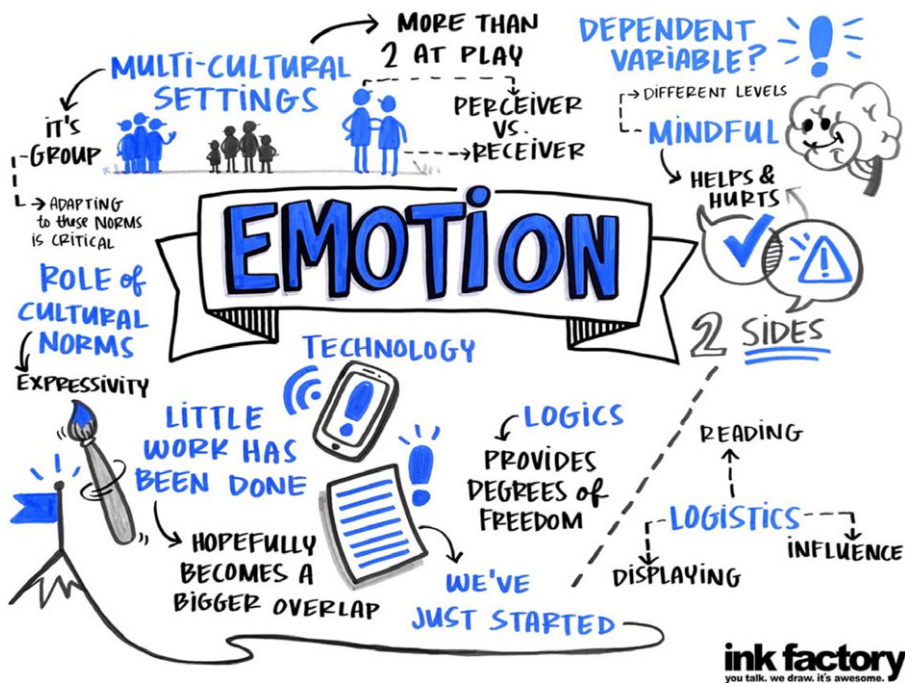


Figure 3. Art capturing conversation at the April 2018 Kellogg DRRC Conference.

person teams (Cheshin, Rafaeli, & Bos, 2011; Van Kleef, van den Berg, & Heerdink, 2015), including in negotiation contexts (Barasch, Levine, & Schweitzer, 2016). It is interesting to note that cultural differences in what parts of the face are attuned to in emotion recognition and interpretation (Yuki et al., 2007) are reflected in different cultural norms for expressing various emotions via emoticons, which can similarly emphasize either the eyes or the mouth via simple text stroke changes (e.g., using ^_^ vs. :) for a smile).

In light of these emerging streams in the literature, future research could explore specific ways that individuals can successfully navigate expressing emotion effectively and in a culturally nuanced manner when negotiating through technology. This is especially important given work showing that technologically mediated emotional expressions and other emotional information are arguably likely to be misinterpreted, often negatively (Byron, 2008), which could, in turn, unintentionally influence the first impressions people form of others (Fong & Mar, 2015; Glikson et al., 2018). It may be possible, for example, for firms to develop training programs specifically for helping employees navigate expressing emotion through technology as they interact and negotiate with coworkers, customers, and others, particularly given generational, industry, and other macro-level differences in prototypical rates of adoption, use, and trust in technology versus face-to-face communication.

Finally, given the degree to which technology is present in our daily lives, it is imperative to explore the plethora of discrete emotions relevant to negotiation. Not only anger and happiness but also less studied emotions such as anxiety (Brooks & Schweitzer, 2011; Rosette, Kopelman, & Abbott, 2014) and sadness (Sinaceur, Kopelman, Vasiljevic, & Haag, 2015) are relevant to understanding cross-cultural communication via information technology. Future research will help understand whether, and to what degree and intensity, expression of discrete emotion is considered culturally appropriate when communicated face-to-face and via information technology.

Moving Forward: Sparking Your Passion to Innovate

Our goal in this article was both to capture a unique experience we shared with participants at the 2018 Culture and Negotiation Conference and to broaden that conversation globally to scholars pursuing research at the intersection of negotiation, culture, and emotion. We have highlighted a conceptual *logic* that emphasizes *appropriateness* over *rationality* when considering research questions around emotion in the context of cooperative and competitive patterns of behavior that play out in negotiation in a global and culturally diverse economy. We explored empirical *logistics* and raised questions to promote research that further illuminates the emotional landscape of a culturally informed approach to negotiation. As you consider your next research project, we invite you to engage in conversations with colleagues, seek new collaborations, and challenge one another to craft innovative research questions that are theoretically grounded, methodologically sound, and provide relevant insights for teaching and practice globally.

Together, we seek to appropriately interpret the emotional landscape of multicultural negotiation and understand how emotion can be a resource for resolving disputes and negotiating mutually beneficial business opportunities in a global economy. As you explore ideas for future research, consider how innovative research questions will help us understand the mechanisms at play at the intersection of negotiation, culture, and emotion. An artistic representation of our discussion at the conference (see Figure 3) may further spark your creativity as you reflect on culture and emotional dynamics in negotiation settings. As local and global social interactions become increasingly diverse, these trends create ample opportunities for productive exploration of how individual and cultural differences in emotion experience, expression, and interpretation are likely to influence negotiation processes and outcomes. We hope to inspire innovative research pursued with passion and rigor that offers pragmatic insights for teaching and practice.

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