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Emotion in social conflict : the interpersonal effects of emotions in negotiations

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CHAPTER 4

***Supplication and Appeasement in Negotiations:
The Interpersonal Effects of Disappointment, Worry,
Guilt, and Regret***

Based on Van Kleef, De Dreu, & Manstead (2004a)

Social interactions can produce conflict at all levels of society. One of the most common and constructive ways of resolving such conflicts and conducting social and economic exchange is by means of negotiation. Negotiation can be defined as a discussion between two or more parties aimed at resolving a perceived divergence of interests (Pruitt & Carnevale, 1993). People may negotiate with a car dealer when buying a new car, work groups may negotiate the allocation of organizational resources, and parents may negotiate with their children about how to spend the holidays. Emotions are inherent to negotiation and social conflict (Davidson & Greenhalgh, 1999), and are crucial to understanding how individuals behave within bargaining situations (Barry, 1999). So far empirical research on emotion in negotiation has almost exclusively focused on the effects of anger and happiness. This chapter focuses on the social effects of emotions related to supplication (e.g., disappointment, worry) and appeasement (e.g., guilt, regret) in negotiation, examining the ways in which negotiators respond to their opponent's emotions.

Emotions in Negotiation

There are multiple definitions of *emotion*, most of which point to three distinct features of emotion: physiological reactions, action tendencies, and subjective experience (Lazarus, 1991). Emotions differ from *moods* in that they are discrete (Russell & Feldman Barrett, 1999), of relatively high intensity and short duration (Barry, 1999; Oatley & Jenkins, 1996), and intentional, that is, directed at an object, person or event (Frijda, 1993; Russell & Feldman Barrett, 1999). In this chapter the term emotion will be used in the sense intended above, whereas *affect* will be used as a superordinate construct that encompasses both moods and emotions (cf. Barry & Oliver, 1996).

Research on emotion in negotiation can be roughly divided into two categories: studies of *intrapersonal* effects and studies of *interpersonal* effects. In the 1980's and 1990's, researchers interested in the role of emotion in negotiation mostly focused on the intrapersonal effects of moods and emotions, investigating the influence of a negotiator's emotional state on his or her own cognitions and behavior. For example, positive affect has been shown to increase concession making (Baron, 1990), stimulate creative problem solving (Isen, Daubman, & Nowicki, 1987), increase joint gains (Allred, Mallozzi, Matsui, & Raia, 1997; Carnevale & Isen, 1986), increase preferences for cooperation (Baron, Fortin, Frei, Hauver, & Shack, 1990), reduce the use of contentious tactics (Carnevale & Isen, 1986), and increase the use of cooperative negotiation strategies (Forgas, 1998). Conversely, negative affect has been shown to decrease initial offers (Baron et al., 1990), decrease joint gains (Allred et al., 1997), promote the rejection of ultimatum offers (Pillutla & Murnighan, 1996), increase the use of competitive strategies (Forgas, 1998), and decrease the desire to work together in the future (Allred et al., 1997).

Recently scientific interest in the role of affect in negotiation has shifted away from the intrapersonal effects of moods and emotions. Recognizing that negotiation is a social phenomenon – negotiators' emotions influence not only themselves, but also their counterparts – several scholars have emphasized the importance of the interpersonal or social effects of emotions in negotiations (e.g., Adler, Rosen, & Silverstein, 1998; Barry, Fulmer, & Van Kleef, 2004; Davidson & Greenhalgh, 1999; Morris & Keltner, 2000; Thompson, Medvec, Seiden, & Kopelman, 2001; Van Kleef, De Dreu, & Manstead, 2004b). The basic premise is that emotions have important social functions and consequences (Frijda & Mesquita, 1994; Keltner & Haidt, 1999; Oatley & Jenkins, 1992; Parkinson, 1996). Most notably, emotions convey information (Carver & Scheier, 1990), for instance about how one feels about things (Ekman, 1993), about one's social intentions (Fridlund, 1994), and about one's orientation toward other people (Knutson, 1996). In this way, emotions can influence not only our own behavior, but also the behavior of others (Levenson, 1994).

In line with this social functions perspective, recent research has demonstrated the pervasive interpersonal effects of anger and happiness in negotiations. In a computer-mediated negotiation task with a simulated opponent, Van Kleef et al. (2004b) provided participants with information about the opponent's emotional state (angry, happy, or no emotion) at three timepoints during the negotiation. They found that participants with an angry opponent placed lower demands and made larger concessions than did participants with a non-emotional opponent, whereas participants with a happy opponent placed higher demands and made smaller concessions (see Chapter 2). Sinaceur and Tiedens (2004) examined the

effects of anger and happiness using a different paradigm and obtained compatible results. In face-to-face negotiations, they instructed one negotiator in each dyad to show either anger or happiness. In keeping with the results obtained by Van Kleef et al., Sinaceur and Tiedens found that participants conceded more to an angry than to a happy counterpart. So results from research using different procedures (i.e., computer-mediated and face-to-face) point to the social impact of emotions such as anger and happiness on negotiation behavior.

Given the pervasive interpersonal effects of anger and happiness on negotiation behavior, it is worth considering whether other emotions have the potential to affect negotiation behavior. According to the social functions perspective, emotions convey information that is likely to influence other people's behavior. For example, Van Kleef et al. (2004b) demonstrated that negotiators concede more to an angry counterpart than to a happy one because anger signals high limits, whereas happiness signals low limits. Obviously, emotions can also convey other important information, the strategic implications and interpretation of which are likely to depend in part on observers' appraisals of the causes of the other's emotions. For instance, in an interdependent situation such as a negotiation, the distribution of resources can be perceived as fair or unfair (e.g., Bazerman, Curhan, Moore, & Valley, 2000; Hegtvedt & Killian, 1999). Research on distributive justice has documented that fair outcome distributions give rise to positive emotions, whereas unfair distributions give rise to negative emotions (e.g., De Dreu, Lualhati, & McCusker, 1994; Loewenstein, Thompson, & Bazerman, 1989). Individuals who receive what they expected or whose outcomes slightly exceed their expectations are likely to experience happiness or satisfaction (Hegtvedt, 1990; Messick & Sentis, 1979; Sprecher, 1992). By contrast, individuals who feel that they are getting too much or too little are likely to experience negative emotions. Emotional reactions that are likely to occur in individuals who feel underrewarded include disappointment, sadness, depression, anger, and resentment (Hegtvedt & Killian, 1999), whereas those who feel overrewarded can be expected to experience guilt (Hegtvedt & Killian, 1999; Homans, 1974), and, if they feel responsible for the other party's misfortune, regret (van Dijk & Zeelenberg, 2002; Zeelenberg, van der Pligt, & Manstead, 1998).

The purpose of the present research is to investigate the interpersonal effects of emotions that may arise as a result of the appraisal that one has taken too much or received too little. Specifically, the focus will be on the interpersonal effects of disappointment, worry, guilt, and regret on demands and concessions in negotiations. Below, I will review research pertaining to these emotions, and I will

build on this research to advance a number of hypotheses regarding the interpersonal effects of these emotions on negotiation behavior.

When One Feels One has Taken Too Much: Appeasement

Emotions such as guilt, shame, embarrassment, and interpersonal regret serve an *appeasement function* (Baumeister, Stillwell, & Heatherton, 1994; Keltner & Buswell, 1997). Of these emotions, guilt is perhaps the most extensively researched. It entails a feeling of self-reproach resulting from the belief that one has done something wrong (Smith, Webster, Parrott, & Eyre, 2002). Baumeister et al. (1994) note that "from an interpersonal perspective, the prototypical cause of guilt would be the infliction of harm, loss, or distress on a relationship partner" (p. 245). The experience of guilt is typically rooted in an interpersonal context, and often (although not necessarily) arises as a result of a perceived transgression, in particular when the individual feels that he or she has violated some expectation or norm (Lewis, 1971; Leith & Baumeister, 1998; Tangney, 1990, 1995, 1999).

Guilt is closely linked with reactions such as regret, self-reproach, repentance, and remorse (Smith et al., 2002), and tends to produce outwardly-focused behaviors aimed at reducing the damage caused by one's behavior (Barrett, 1995; Tangney, 1995). Guilt is associated with perspective-taking, interpersonal sensitivity, and improved relationship outcomes (Baumeister et al., 1994; Leith & Baumeister, 1998). People experiencing guilt tend to engage in behaviors aimed at repairing the social relationship (Baumeister et al., 1994; M. Lewis, 2000). For example, research has shown that transgressions and concomitant guilt increase subsequent helping, compliance, and cooperation on the part of the transgressor (Carlsmith & Gross, 1969; Freedman, Wallington, & Bless, 1967; Ketelaar & Au, 2003). In a similar vein, research has shown that the experience of guilt motivates people to apologize and to make reparations or amends (Friedman, 1985; Hoffman, 1982; Lewis, 1971). Furthermore, when the transgression has an interpersonal character, guilt motivates people to compensate the victim (Berscheid & Walster, 1967; Wallace & Sadalla, 1966). Thus, if the transgressor displays guilt, the victim may see this as an implicit commitment to rectify the transgression by making amends, and as a promise of better treatment in the future (Baumeister et al., 1994; Manstead, 1991).

In an interpersonal context, social transgressions can also cause feelings of regret (Zeelenberg et al., 1998). When the regret is interpersonal in nature, that is, when one regrets a behavior that has inflicted harm on another person (rather than on oneself), it shares a number of characteristics with guilt (Berndsen, van der Pligt, Doosje, & Manstead, 2004; Roseman, Wiest, & Swartz, 1994). Because regret is an aversive state, people are motivated to avoid it, and, once they experience it, to take

action to undo it (Zeelenberg & Beattie, 1997; Zeelenberg, van Dijk, Manstead, & van der Pligt, 2000). Gilovich and Medvec (1994, 1995) refer to this undoing as "behavioral repair work" or "ameliorative behavior." In the case of interpersonal regret, this repair work typically takes the form of apologizing to the person who has been affected by the transgression (Steiner, 2000; Zeelenberg et al., 1998).

Extrapolating these findings to the domain of negotiation, the following general predictions can be advanced. First, a negotiator who deals with an opponent who appears to experience emotions of appeasement (e.g., guilt or regret) is likely to expect the opponent to make up for his or her previous "transgression" (e.g., tough demands) by making a concession. Following this line of reasoning, a negotiator faced with an opponent who seems to be guilty or regretful can be expected to stand firm and wait for the other to make a concession. Second, emotions of appeasement are associated with interpersonal sensitivity and the willingness to appreciate another person's perspective, and they share a number of relationship repairing qualities (Baumeister et al., 1994; Leith & Baumeister, 1998; Steiner, 2000). Guilt and regret can therefore be expected to signal an outward focus and a concern for the other, and to have a beneficial effect on the interpersonal relationship.

When One Feels One has Received Too Little: Supplication

Emotions such as sadness, disappointment, fear, and worry serve a *supplication function* (cf. Clark, Pataki, & Carver, 1996). These emotions communicate dependency and a need for support (e.g., Eisenberg, 2000; Kennedy-Moore & Watson, 2001), and they evoke empathy and helping behavior (e.g., Clark et al., 1996; Eisenberg, 2000; Hill, Weary, & Williams, 1986; Parrott, 1993). Sadness, for example, communicates to the self and to others that one is in need of help (Tomkins, 1963). Expressions of sadness have been demonstrated to increase perceptions of neediness and dependency (e.g., Clark & Taraban, 1991), and to evoke helping behavior in both children (Barnett, Howard, Melton, & Dino, 1982) and adults (Clark, Ouellette, Powell, & Milberg, 1987; Yee & Greenberg, 1998). In a similar vein, crying serves a help-seeking function (e.g., Labott, Martin, Eason, & Berkey, 1991). For example, Cornelius (1984) demonstrated that (involuntary) crying was an effective means of eliciting a positive and desired change in other people's behavior, in this case a shift from conflict to support.

Similar effects on helping behavior have been observed for expressions of worry and fear. Like sadness, worry and fear communicate a need for assistance, and they elicit sympathetic and supportive responses in others (Eisenberg, 2000; Kennedy-Moore & Watson, 2001). For example, a study of reactions to crime victims by Yee and Greenberg (1998) revealed that fear on the part of the victims influences

observers' appraisals of need and increases the inclination to help, especially if the observer and the victim are in a communal rather than an exchange relationship. By the same token, employees who display fear are likely to evoke helpful, supportive responses from coworkers (Côté, *in press*).

In contrast to the interpersonal effects of sadness, and, to a lesser degree, fear and worry, the interpersonal effects of disappointment have not received much research attention. Carver and Scheier (1990) suggested that disappointment signals the relationship between progress toward a goal and expectations regarding one's rate of progress. In other words, disappointment arises when a desired outcome is not achieved (Bell, 1985; Frijda, 1986; van Dijk & van der Pligt, 1997), and as such it is highly relevant to negotiation. Research on the effects of disappointment is sparse, and it has predominantly focused on the intrapersonal consequences of disappointment (e.g., engaging in behaviors aimed at minimizing future disappointment; Bell, 1985; Loomes & Sugden, 1986; see Zeelenberg et al., 2000, for an overview). Timmers, Fischer, and Manstead (1998) reported evidence suggesting that under particular circumstances people may deliberately express disappointment in an attempt to change the behavior of a target person in a direction that would be beneficial for the expresser. I argue that, on the interpersonal level, disappointment is likely to have effects similar to those of other distress-related emotions (e.g., fear, worry, sadness), which have generally been shown to facilitate prosocial behavior aimed at easing the other's pain (Batson, 1987; Barnett, King, & Howard, 1979; Eisenberg, Fabes, Miller et al., 1989; Fabes, Eisenberg, Karbon, Troyer, & Switzer, 1994; Morris & Keltner, 2000).

Based on the above considerations, it can be predicted that a negotiator who is confronted with an opponent who appears to experience emotions of supplication (e.g., disappointment or worry) will try to relieve the other's pain by making concessions. Further, emotions of distress are associated with self-focus and egoistic motivations (Eisenberg, Fabes, Schaller, & Miller, 1989). By reverse analogy with previous research suggesting that appeasement emotions enhance interpersonal relationships because they signal interpersonal sensitivity and concern (Baumeister et al., 1994; Leith & Baumeister, 1998), I argue that supplication emotions may contribute to negative impressions and deteriorated relations because they signal an inward focus and preoccupation with the self.

Experiment 4.1

The purpose of Experiment 4.1 was to investigate the interpersonal effects of emotions related to supplication and appeasement in negotiations. It was predicted that participants with an opponent who experiences disappointment or worry (i.e.,

emotions of supplication) would make smaller demands than would participants with a non-emotional opponent (*Hypothesis 4.1a*), whereas negotiators with an opponent who experiences guilt or regret (i.e., emotions of appeasement) would make larger demands (*Hypothesis 4.1b*). It was also expected that participants with a guilty or regretful opponent would perceive the opponent as more interpersonally sensitive than would participants with a disappointed or worried opponent (*Hypothesis 4.2a*), and that they would develop a more favorable impression of the opponent (*Hypothesis 4.2b*). Finally, I explored whether the effects of the opponent's emotion on participants' impressions of the opponent are mediated by their perception of the opponent's interpersonal sensitivity (*Hypothesis 4.2c*).

Method

Participants and Experimental Design

A total of 84 male and female undergraduate students at the University of Amsterdam participated either in partial fulfillment of a course requirement or for monetary compensation (7 euros, approximately \$8). The experimental design included the opponent's emotion (disappointment vs. worry vs. guilt vs. regret vs. no emotion) as the independent variable, and demand level as the main dependent variable. Participants were randomly assigned to the experimental conditions, and the experimenters were blind to this assignment.

Procedure

For each session, six to eight participants were invited to the laboratory. On arrival participants were welcomed to the experiment, and were seated in separate cubicles in front of a computer. From that point onward all instructions, questionnaires, and experimental tasks were presented on the computer screen. To facilitate the manipulation of the opponent's emotion (see below), participants were led to believe that the purpose of the study was to find out how knowledge about one's opponent's intentions affects negotiation processes in a situation where the negotiating parties cannot see each other. They were then told that they would engage in a computer-mediated negotiation with another participant (whose behavior was in fact simulated by the computer).

Negotiation task. The negotiation task was one previously employed by Van Kleef et al. (2004b; see also De Dreu & Van Kleef, 2004; De Dreu & Van Lange, 1995; Hilty & Carnevale, 1993). The task captures the main characteristics of real-life negotiation (i.e., multiple issues differing in utility to the negotiator, information about one's own payoffs only, and the typical offer-counteroffer sequence). In the current version, participants learned that they would be assigned the role of either

buyer or seller of a consignment of mobile phones, and that their objective was to negotiate the price, the warranty period, and the duration of the service contract of the phones. Participants were then presented with a payoff chart (see Table 2.1 in Chapter 2) that showed which outcomes were most favorable to them, and they were told that their objective was to earn as many points as possible. As can be seen in Table 2.1, Level 9 on *price* (\$110) yielded 0 points and Level 1 (\$150) yielded 400 points (i.e., increments of 50 points per level). For *warranty period*, Level 9 (9 months) yielded 0 points, and Level 1 (1 month) yielded 120 points (i.e., increments of 15 points per level). Finally, for *duration of service contract*, Level 9 (9 months) yielded 0 points, and Level 1 (1 month) yielded 240 points (i.e., increments of 30 points per level). Participants were told, "You can see that the best deal for you is 1-1-1, for a total outcome of 760 points (400 + 120 + 240)." The corresponding payoff table for the other party was not displayed, and participants were told only that it differed from their own.

To enhance participants' involvement in the negotiation task, they were informed that points would be converted to lottery tickets at the end of the experiment, and that the more points earned, the more lottery tickets one would obtain and the greater would be one's chance of winning a 50 euro prize. To emphasize the mixed-motive nature of the negotiation, participants were told that only those who reached an agreement would participate in the lottery. Thus there were incentives both to earn as many points as possible and to reach an agreement.

After a short pause during which the computer supposedly assigned buyer and seller roles to the participants, all participants were assigned the role of seller. They were told that the buyer (i.e., the opponent) would make the first offer and that the negotiation would continue until an agreement was reached or time ran out. Just before the negotiation started, participants learned that an additional goal of the study was to examine the effects of having versus not having information about the opposing negotiator's intentions. They read that the computer had randomly determined that they would receive information about the intentions of the opponent, and that the opponent would not receive information about their intentions.

After these instructions, the negotiation started and the buyer (i.e., the computer) made a first offer. Over the negotiation rounds the buyer proposed the following levels of agreement (for price - warranty - service): 8-7-8 (Round 1), 8-7-7 (Round 2), 8-6-7 (Round 3), 7-6-7 (Round 4), 7-6-6 (Round 5), and 6-6-6 (Round 6). Past research has shown that this preprogrammed strategy has face validity and is seen as intermediate in cooperativeness and competitiveness (De Dreu & Van Lange, 1995). A demand by the participant was accepted if it equaled or exceeded the offer

the computer was about to make in the next round. Thus, for example, if the participant demanded 7-6-6 in Round 4, this demand was accepted by the computer since its next offer (in Round 5) would have been 7-6-6. If no agreement was reached by the sixth round, the negotiation was interrupted (cf. De Dreu & Van Lange, 1995). Following Tripp and Sondak (1992), participants who reached agreement before Round 6 ($n = 8$) were excluded from the sample to allow for repeated-measures analyses. (However, retaining these participants yielded a similar pattern of results.)

Manipulation of the opponent's emotion. As in Chapters 2 and 3, the opposing negotiator's emotion was manipulated in the context of a computer-mediated negotiation where parties could not see each other and communicated via computers (see e.g., De Dreu & Van Kleef, 2004; De Dreu & Van Lange, 1995; Hilty & Carnevale, 1993). Participants were led to believe that the purpose of the study was to find out how knowledge about one's opponent's intentions affects negotiation processes and outcomes. After the first, third, and fifth negotiation rounds, participants received information about "the intentions of the buyer," which contained the manipulation of the buyer's emotion. Participants had to wait for about a minute and a half while the buyer was supposedly asked to reveal what he or she intended to offer in the next round, and why. After this short wait, participants received what appeared to be the buyer's answer. This was presented in a separate box, in a different font, and contained some minor typing errors in order to enhance experimental realism. The buyer's intentions were held constant across conditions and contained the buyer's intended offer for the next round. That is, after Round 1 the buyer wrote "I think I will offer 8-7-7," which would indeed be the buyer's next offer. The buyer's intention information also contained an emotional statement that constituted the experimental manipulation.

The emotion statements were pretested in a pilot study involving 64 psychology students, none of whom participated in the main study. I tested seven statements designed to reflect disappointment, six statements designed to reflect worry, seven statements designed to reflect interpersonal regret, and seven statements designed to reflect guilt. The statements were pretested using a within-participants design. All participants rated a selection of 13 or 14 out of the total of 27 statements, the order of statements being randomized across participants. The statements were distributed in such a way that each was rated by half of the participants. For each statement participants were asked to indicate on a 7-point scale how comprehensible they found it (1 = *very incomprehensible*, 7 = *very comprehensible*) and to what extent they felt it reflected disappointment, worry, regret, and guilt (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *to a great extent*). I then selected the statements that had the highest scores on the emotion they were supposed to reflect and the lowest

scores on the emotions that they were not supposed to reflect, provided that they did not differ with respect to their comprehensibility. I selected three statements for each emotion. All selected statements were rated higher on the emotion they were supposed to express than on the emotions they were not supposed to express according to paired-samples *t* tests ($5.09 < t_s < 18.29$, all $p_s < .001$). Further, one-sample *t* tests showed that there was a significant effect of all statements on the rating of the corresponding emotion ($13.80 < t_s < 18.32$, all $p_s < .001$). Finally, paired-samples *t* tests revealed that the statements did not differ with respect to comprehensibility (all $t_s < 1.12$, *ns*).

After the first negotiation round, participants in the disappointed opponent condition received the following information: "I am pretty disappointed about this," followed by the intention statement "I think I will offer 8-7-7," which was the same for all conditions. In the worried opponent condition, participants read "This worries me quite a lot"; in the guilty opponent condition, participants read "I feel guilty for not having conceded more"; in the regret condition, participants read "I am sorry that I haven't conceded more." In the control condition participants only received the intention statement. After the third and fifth negotiation rounds participants in the experimental conditions again received an emotional statement and an intention, whereas those in the control condition simply received the intention. Table 4.1 displays all statements used in the experiment. (Note that the intended offer always matched the true offer subsequently made by the opponent.)

Dependent measures. The main dependent variable was participants' level of demand in Rounds 1 to 6. In addition, participants completed a post-negotiation questionnaire that contained manipulation checks and items designed to measure their impression of the opponent. To check the adequacy of the manipulation of the opponent's emotion, participants were asked to indicate on a 7-point scale how disappointed, worried, guilty, and regretful they thought their opponent had been during the negotiation. Participants' perceptions of the opponent's disappointment were measured by three items (e.g., "The buyer appeared to be disappointed during the negotiation," 1 = *totally disagree* to 7 = *totally agree*), which were combined into a single index of *perceived disappointment* ($\alpha = .83$). Perception of the opponent's worry was measured using five items (e.g., "The buyer appeared to be worried during the negotiation"), which were averaged into an index of *perceived worry* ($\alpha = .88$). Perception of the opponent's guilt was measured by three items (e.g., "The buyer appeared to feel guilty during the negotiation"), which were combined into an index of *perceived guilt* ($\alpha = .93$). Finally, perceptions of the opponent's regret were measured by three items (e.g., "The buyer appeared to feel sorry during the negotiation"), which were averaged into a scale of *perceived regret* ($\alpha = .91$).

Table 4.1

Statements Used for the Manipulation of the Opponent's Emotion in Experiments 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3

Opponent's Emotion	Statement
After Round 1	
Disappoint.	I am pretty disappointed about this, I think I will offer 8-7-7
Worry	This worries me quite a lot, I think I will offer 8-7-7
Guilt	I feel guilty for not having conceded more, I think I will offer 8-7-7
Regret	I feel sorry that I haven't conceded more, I think I will offer 8-7-7
No emotion	I think I will offer 8-7-7
After Round 3	
Disappoint.	This is going awry, I am very disappointed. I am going to offer 7-6-7
Worry	This is going awry, I am very worried. I am going to offer 7-6-7
Guilt	This is going awry, I feel pretty guilty. I am going to offer 7-6-7
Regret	This is going awry, I regret it. I am going to offer 7-6-7
No emotion	I am going to offer 7-6-7
After Round 5	
Disappoint.	I am going to offer 6-6-6, because I am really disappointed
Worry	I am going to offer 6-6-6, because I am really worried
Guilt	I am going to offer 6-6-6, because I feel very guilty
Regret	I am going to offer 6-6-6, because I am very sorry
No emotion	I am going to offer 6-6-6

Note. Statements were pretested, and have been translated from Dutch. Deliberate typing errors were left out.

Impression of the opponent was assessed using seven items (e.g., "I have developed a positive impression of the buyer," "The buyer seemed honest throughout the negotiation," "I have a good feeling about the negotiation," and "During the negotiation, the buyer made a hostile impression," reverse scored; 1 = *totally disagree* to 7 = *totally agree*). The seven items were combined into a measure of *impression of the opponent* ($\alpha = .79$). I also included three items measuring participants' perceptions of the opponent's interpersonal sensitivity and perspective taking (e.g., "During the negotiation, the buyer took my interests into consideration"; "During the negotiation, the buyer appeared to be preoccupied with him or herself,"

reverse scored). These three items were averaged into an index of the opponent's interpersonal sensitivity ($\alpha = .82$).

Results

Treatment of the Data

The offers made by participants in each round were transformed into an index revealing the negotiator's total level of demand for each negotiation round (i.e., the number of points demanded in that round, summed across the three negotiation issues of price, warranty, and service; see Table 2.1).

Manipulation Check

If the manipulation of the opponent's emotion was successful, an interaction between the opponent's emotion and the participant's rating of their opponent's emotion should be obtained, such that ratings *within* each emotion condition are higher for the corresponding emotion than for the other emotion (i.e., a within-participants manipulation check), and that ratings *between* the emotion conditions are higher for the intended emotion than for the other emotion (i.e., a between-participants check). To test whether this was the case, a 5 (opponent's emotion: disappointment, worry, guilt, regret, no emotion) \times 4 (participant's perception of the opponent's emotion: disappointment, worry, guilt, regret) analysis of variance was conducted, the latter variable being a within-participants factor.

Results showed the predicted interaction between the opponent's emotion and the participants' perception of the opponent's emotion, $F(12, 213) = 31.77, p < .001$ ($\eta^2 = .59$). Means and standard deviations are shown in Table 4.2. As can be seen, participants in the disappointed opponent condition rated the opponent as significantly more disappointed than did participants in all the other conditions. Similarly, participants with a worried opponent rated the opponent as more worried than did participants in the other conditions, and participants with a guilty opponent rated the opponent as more guilty than did participants in the other conditions. Finally, participants with a regretful opponent rated the other as more regretful than did participants in all the other conditions except the guilty opponent condition. Furthermore, paired-samples *t* tests showed that ratings *within* each condition were higher for the intended emotion than for the other emotions ($2.27 < t_s < 11.73$, all $ps < .05$).

Table 4.2

Participant's Perception of the Opponent's Emotion as a Function of the Opponent's Emotion in Experiment 4.1

Perception	Opponent's Emotion				
	Disappointment	Worry	Guilt	Regret	No emotion
Disappointed	5.96 _a (1.25)	4.95 _b (0.96)	4.08 _c (1.06)	3.61 _{cd} (1.14)	2.84 _d (1.29)
Worried	3.23 _{cd} (0.83)	5.94 _a (0.85)	4.79 _b (1.10)	3.88 _c (1.68)	2.54 _d (0.94)
Guilty	1.85 _d (0.85)	2.95 _c (0.82)	5.85 _a (1.39)	4.39 _b (1.85)	2.37 _{cd} (0.82)
Regretful	1.98 _b (1.04)	2.77 _b (0.88)	4.81 _a (1.72)	5.03 _a (1.60)	2.56 _b (0.68)

Note. Ratings of the opponent's emotion were given on a 7-point scale. Means within a row not sharing a similar subscript differ at $p < .05$. Standard deviations are presented between brackets.

Demand Level

Demand level in Rounds 1 to 6 was analyzed using a mixed-model ANOVA with the opponent's emotion (disappointment vs. worry vs. guilt vs. regret vs. no emotion) as a between-participants variable and negotiation round (1 to 6) as a repeated-measures variable. Unsurprisingly, this analysis revealed a significant main effect of negotiation round, $F(5, 355) = 286.28, p < .001$ ($\eta^2 = .80$), indicating that level of demand declined from Round 1 ($M = 677, SD = 63$) to Round 6 ($M = 484, SD = 93$). More important, results yielded a significant effect of the opponent's emotion on average demands, $F(4, 71) = 7.76, p < .001$ ($\eta^2 = .30$), indicating that participants' demands were influenced by their adversaries' emotions (disappointment: $M = 533, SD = 59$; worry: $M = 513, SD = 76$; guilt: $M = 633, SD = 79$; regret: $M = 592, SD = 46$; control: $M = 569, SD = 56$). Finally, the main effects of the opponent's emotion and negotiation round were qualified by a significant two-way interaction, $F(20, 355) = 5.21, p < .001$ ($\eta^2 = .23$). As can be seen in Figure 4.1, the influence of the opponent's emotion became more apparent as the negotiation progressed. In Round 1, there were no differences among any of the conditions. This is hardly surprising, given

that the emotion manipulation only began after this round. From the second round onward, however, the different conditions started to diverge, the effect becoming stronger after each consecutive round. Therefore it was decided to use demands in Round 6 for specific hypothesis tests.

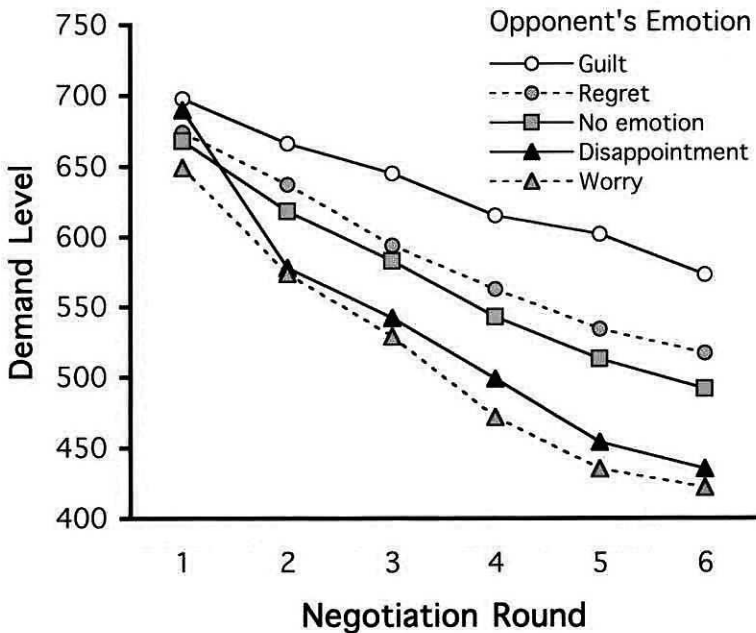


Figure 4.1 - Demand level as a function of the opponent's emotion and negotiation round in Experiment 4.1.

Hypotheses 4.1a and 4.1b were tested using planned comparisons. The means and standard deviations as well as the specific contrasts that were computed to test these hypotheses are shown in Table 4.3. Four contrasts were computed. First, it was tested whether participants made smaller demands to opponents who experienced supplication emotions (i.e., disappointment and worry) than to non-emotional opponents (contrast 1). Second, I examined whether participants responded differentially to disappointed versus worried counterparts in terms of their demands (contrast 2). Third, I examined whether participants made larger demands to opponents engaging in appeasement (i.e., guilt or regret) than to non-emotional opponents (contrast 3). Fourth, it was tested whether participants responded differentially to guilty versus regretful counterparts (contrast 4). In order for Hypotheses 4.1a and 4.1b to be supported, contrasts 1 and 3 should be significant (participants should make lower demands to opponents showing signs of

supplication and higher demands to opponents showing signs of appeasement). Contrasts 2 and 4 speak to the question of whether the two supplication emotions (disappointment and worry) have similar effects on demands, and whether the two appeasement emotions (guilt and regret) have similar effects on demands. The latter two contrasts were computed for exploratory purposes.

Table 4.3

Means, Standard Deviations, and Contrasts Computed to Test Hypotheses 4.1a and 4.1b in Experiment 4.1

	Condition				
	Disappointment	Worry	Guilt	Regret	No Emotion
Demand in	435	422	573	527	492
Round 6	(63)	(85)	(100)	(59)	(70)
Contrast 1*	1	1	0	0	-2
Contrast 2	1	-1	0	0	0
Contrast 3*	0	0	1	1	-2
Contrast 4*	0	0	1	-1	0

Note. Standard deviations are presented between brackets. Contrasts marked with an asterisk are significant at $p < .05$.

In accordance with Hypothesis 4.1a, contrast 1 was significant. Participants made smaller demands to a disappointed or worried opponent than to a non-emotional opponent, $t(71) = 2.89$, $p < .01$. Contrast 2 was nonsignificant, indicating that participants did not make differential demands to disappointed versus worried counterparts, $t(71) < 1$, *ns*. In support of Hypothesis 4.1b, contrast 3 was significant – participants made larger demands to a guilty or regretful opponent than to a non-emotional one, $t(71) = 2.10$, $p < .05$. Unexpectedly, contrast 4 was also significant, indicating that participants made smaller demands to regretful than to guilty counterparts, $t(71) = 2.02$, $p < .05$. These findings clearly support the prediction that negotiators concede more to opponents who experience supplication emotions than to opponents who experience appeasement emotions. Although the supplication emotions disappointment and worry had similar effects on negotiation behavior, the effects of the appeasement emotions of guilt and interpersonal regret were different.

Ratings of Interpersonal Sensitivity and Impression of the Opponent

ANOVA showed that participants' ratings of the opponent's interpersonal sensitivity were influenced by the opponent's emotion, $F(4, 71) = 5.62, p < .001$ ($\eta^2 = .24$). As predicted (Hypothesis 4.2a), planned comparisons revealed that participants with a guilty or regretful opponent judged the opponent to be more interpersonally sensitive ($M = 4.31, SD = 1.36$ and $M = 4.33, SD = 1.39$) than did participants with a worried or disappointed opponent ($M = 3.15, SD = 1.05$ and $M = 2.69, SD = 1.14$), $t(71) = 4.37, p < .002$. Participants with a non-emotional opponent occupied an intermediate position ($M = 3.86, SD = 1.15$) that differed from the disappointment and worry conditions, $t(71) = 2.76, p < .01$, but not from the guilt and regret conditions, $t(71) = 1.22, ns$.

ANOVA also revealed a significant effect of the opponent's emotion on participants' impressions of the opponent, $F(4, 71) = 4.87, p < .002$ ($\eta^2 = .22$). Consistent with Hypothesis 4.2b, planned comparisons showed that participants developed more favorable impressions of opponents who appeared to experience guilt or interpersonal regret ($M = 4.48, SD = 0.99$ and $M = 4.24, SD = 0.87$, respectively) than of opponents who appeared to experience disappointment or worry ($M = 3.19, SD = 1.07$ and $M = 3.78, SD = 0.75$, respectively), $t(71) = 3.64, p < .001$. Again, participants with a non-emotional opponent occupied an intermediate position ($M = 4.02, SD = 0.79$), differing significantly from the disappointment and worry conditions, $t(71) = 2.14, p < .04$, but not from the guilt and regret conditions, $t(71) = 1.28, ns$.

To test the idea that participants developed more favorable impressions of opponents who engaged in appeasement than of opponents who engaged in supplication *because* they perceived the former to be more interpersonally sensitive than the latter (Hypothesis 4.2c), mediated regression analyses were conducted (see Baron & Kenny, 1986). To this end, the opponent's emotion was dummy-coded (0 for worry and disappointment and 1 for guilt and regret). This dummy variable had a significant effect on participants' impressions of the opponent (the dependent variable), $\beta = .45, p < .001$, and on participants' judgments of the opponent's interpersonal sensitivity (the mediator), $\beta = .51, p < .001$. When both variables were simultaneously entered into the regression, a significant effect of interpersonal sensitivity on impression emerged, $\beta = .69, p < .001$, and the originally significant effect of the dummy variable on impression was reduced to non-significance, $\beta = .10, ns$. Furthermore, the reduction of the direct path from the opponent's emotion to participants' impressions of the opponent was significant according to a Sobel test, $Z = 3.74, p < .001$ (see Kenny, Kashy, & Bolger, 1998; for an updated version of the formula see Kenny's website at <http://users.rcn.com/dakenny/mediate.htm>). These

findings indicate that the effect of the opponent's emotion on participants' impressions is indeed mediated by participants' judgments of the opponent's interpersonal sensitivity, thereby corroborating Hypothesis 4.2c.

Discussion

The results of Experiment 4.1 are largely supportive of the predictions advanced in the introduction of this chapter. In line with Hypotheses 4.1a and 4.1b, participants whose opponents apparently experienced emotions of supplication (i.e., disappointment or worry) made smaller demands than did participants whose opponents apparently experienced emotions of appeasement (i.e., guilt or regret). Negotiators who are faced with an opponent who experiences emotions of appeasement appear to anticipate behavioral repair in the form of concessions and stand firm. Conversely, negotiators who deal with a counterpart who experiences emotions of supplication respond to the other's discomfort by making concessions. Thus, supplication and appeasement emotions have unique and theoretically meaningful effects on negotiation behavior. Further, and consistent with Hypotheses 4.2a to 4.2c, participants whose opponents showed signs of appeasement developed a more positive impression of the opponent than did those whose opponents engaged in supplication, because the former were perceived as more interpersonally sensitive than the latter. This finding is in line with the presumed relationship-enhancing functions of expressing guilt and regret.

One finding of Experiment 4.1 was unanticipated. Based on the literature reviewed in the Introduction, guilt and interpersonal regret were expected to have similar effects on demands. However, the present findings suggest that guilt has a stronger effect on demands than does interpersonal regret. A possible explanation for this difference is that, unlike regret, guilt is associated not only with apologizing and making amends but also with increased empathy and perspective taking (Leith & Baumeister, 1998). Compared to regret, guilt is more strongly characterized by thinking about one's transgressions and the damage that was done to others (Roseman et al., 1994). In other words, individuals experiencing guilt tend to be more other-focused, whereas those experiencing regret may be more focused on the self (Berndsen et al., 2004). From this perspective, someone who shows signs of guilt may be expected to be more likely to engage in behavioral repair (i.e., making concessions) than someone who experiences regret.

Experiment 4.2

The results of Experiment 4.1 support the central proposition of the present research: In a negotiation, emotions of appeasement elicit high demands from one's

adversary, whereas emotions of supplication elicit low demands. The objective of Experiment 4.2 was twofold. The first objective was to replicate and extend the findings of Experiment 4.1 by investigating the potential moderating role of interpersonal trust. Trust plays an important role in negotiations, and it is essential to the resolution of mixed-motive conflict (Lindsfold, 1978). It can be defined as "a psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based upon positive expectations of the intentions or behaviors of another" (Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt, & Camerer, 1998, p. 395). Among other things, level of trust has been shown to affect the exchange of information regarding preferences and priorities in negotiations (e.g., Pruitt & Kimmel, 1977), the willingness to cooperate (e.g., Yamagishi, 1986), the attainment of integrative solutions (e.g., De Dreu, Giebels, & Van de Vliert, 1998; Kimmel, Pruitt, Magenau, Konar-Goldband, & Carnevale, 1980), and the desire for future interaction (e.g., Naquin & Paulson, 2003; for a review, see Ross & LaCroix, 1996).

Aside from its specific effects in the negotiation arena, trust has a more generalized influence on the trustworthiness individuals ascribe to others and on their willingness to accept information as sincere and accurate (e.g., Parks, Henager, & Scamahorn, 1996; Rotter, 1980). This has important consequences for negotiators' reactions to their opponent's emotions. Although the effects of trust on responses to other people's emotions have not been the explicit focus of research attention, some indirect evidence exists for the moderating role of trust. For instance, research has shown that the interpersonal consequences of expressions of distress depend on how receivers interpret such expressions (Kennedy-Moore & Watson, 2001). Sometimes recipients respond to these expressions in less than helpful ways because they misread the expresser's intent (Clark, 1993). When observers perceive that the expression is untruthful or manipulative, they are less likely to respond positively. On the other hand, when they view the expressions as trustworthy or at least benign, they are more likely to respond with social helping (Kennedy-Moore & Watson, 2001). In other words, individuals' reactions to others' emotions are likely to be moderated by interpersonal trust.

Variations in trust may be rooted in individual differences or stem from characteristics of the situation (Yamagishi, 1986). The present experiment is concerned with the potential moderating role of individual differences in interpersonal trust. The aforementioned research suggests that a negotiator's decision to adapt his or her demands to the opponent's emotions will be influenced by the focal negotiator's level of interpersonal trust. Negotiators with high levels of trust can be expected to adapt their demands to the opponent's emotional state, whereas those with low trust may not respond differentially to the other's emotions.

To test this idea, the opponent's emotion (guilt vs. disappointment) was manipulated, and participants' level of dispositional trust was measured. It was predicted that individuals high in dispositional trust would make higher demands to a guilty opponent (i.e., an opponent engaging in appeasement) than to a disappointed opponent (i.e., an opponent engaging in supplication). By contrast, individuals low in dispositional trust were not expected to respond differentially to their counterpart's emotions (*Hypothesis 4.3*). Furthermore, it was hypothesized that, compared to high trust participants, low trust participants would be more suspicious about the opponent's emotion, and that they would be more likely to discount the other's emotions rather than incorporate them into their negotiation strategy (*Hypothesis 4.4*).

The second objective of Experiment 4.2 was to shed more light on the process underlying the effects of supplication and appeasement emotions on demand level during negotiations. According to the social functions perspective that was outlined in the Introduction, appeasement emotions such as guilt signal that behavioral repair can be anticipated from the opponent, whereas supplication emotions such as disappointment signal that the other needs help. It seems reasonable to assume that such considerations would affect participants' negotiation objectives and strategy. In this context it is useful to consider the role of the negotiator's *goal* (Kelley, Beckman, & Fischer, 1967; Pruitt & Carnevale, 1993; Siegel & Fouraker, 1960; Zetik & Stuhlmacher, 2002). Among other things, higher goals tend to produce larger demands and greater resistance to concession making (Holmes, Throop, & Strickland, 1971; Kelley et al., 1967; Smith, Pruitt, & Carnevale, 1982; Yukl, 1974a, b). A negotiator who expects to receive compensation in the form of large concessions (e.g., in the case of a guilty opponent) can be expected to adopt higher goals than a negotiator who does not anticipate large concessions (e.g., in the case of a disappointed opponent). Thus, it may be that negotiators concede more to a disappointed opponent than to a guilty one because guilt on the part of the opponent raises the focal negotiator's goals, whereas disappointment lowers them. To examine this possibility, I measured participants' goals and hypothesized that participants interacting with a guilty opponent would adopt higher goals than would those interacting with a disappointed opponent (*Hypothesis 4.5*). Further, it was predicted that the tendency of negotiators to make higher demands to a guilty opponent than to a disappointed one would be mediated by the ambitiousness of their goals (*Hypothesis 4.6*). Finally, I was interested to see whether guilt and disappointment are indeed interpreted to mean that someone has received too much versus too little, as suggested by the literature reviewed in the Introduction. This issue was addressed in an exploratory fashion.

Method

Participants and Experimental Design

Participants were 154 undergraduate students (39 males and 115 females) at the University of Amsterdam. They took part in the experiment for course credit or for monetary compensation (7 euros, approximately \$8). The experimental design included the opponent's emotion (disappointment vs. guilt) and the participant's dispositional trust (high vs. low) as the independent variables, and demand level as the main dependent variable. Participants were randomly assigned to the experimental conditions using a double-blind procedure.

Procedure

The procedure was identical to the one used in Experiment 4.1, with one major exception. In addition to manipulating the opponent's emotion, the participant's level of dispositional trust was measured (see below). As in Experiment 4.1, participants who reached agreement before Round 6 ($n = 6$) were excluded from the analyses (although retaining these participants yielded a similar pattern of results.)

Assessment of trust. Trust was assessed using Yamagishi's (1986) five-item trust scale. Examples of items from this scale are "Most people tell a lie if they can benefit from doing so"; "Those devoted to unselfish causes are often exploited by others"; and "Most people are basically honest" (1 = *totally disagree* to 7 = *totally agree*). The internal consistency of the scale was good ($\alpha = .77$). Following past research (e.g., Parks & Hulbert, 1995), a median split ($Mdn = 4.63$) was performed to classify participants as high or low in trust, yielding 35 to 40 participants per condition. Overall ratings on the trust scale did not differ across the emotion conditions (disappointment: $M = 4.68$, $SD = 0.61$; guilt: $M = 4.65$, $SD = 0.63$), $F(1, 146) < 1$, *ns*. After the assessment of trust participants were presented with a 10-minute filler task (consisting of a number of unrelated scales) to reduce the likelihood of carry-over effects from the trust assessment to the negotiation task. After the filler task, participants proceeded to the negotiation task, which was identical to the one used in Experiment 4.1.

Dependent measures. As in Experiment 4.1, participants' demands in Rounds 1 to 6 were transformed into an index of the participant's total level of demand in each round. Additionally, participants completed a post-negotiation questionnaire, which included a number of items designed to measure participants' goals, their interpretation of the opponent's emotions, suspicion regarding the trustworthiness of the opponent and his or her emotions, discounting of the opponent's emotions, and the manipulation check of the opponent's emotion (the manipulation check

scales were the same as those in Experiment 4.1; disappointment: $\alpha = .85$; guilt: $\alpha = .88$).

Participants' goals were measured using six items, two for each issue (e.g., "On which level of [price / warranty / service] do you strive to reach an agreement?"). Responses could range from 1 (indicating an extremely low goal) to 9 (indicating an extremely high goal; see Table 2.1). The six items were averaged into a single index of participant's goal ($\alpha = .79$).

Interpretation of the opponent's emotions was assessed by two semantic differentials, both of which were introduced by the question "How do you interpret the emotions that the buyer expressed during the negotiation?". The two items participants were asked to respond to were "the buyer has received too much - the buyer has received too little" and "the buyer has offered me too much - the buyer has offered me too little" (both measured on a 7-point scale). Because the intercorrelation between these two items was modest ($r = -.39$) they were analyzed separately.

Suspicion was measured using three items (e.g., "During the negotiation I was suspicious"; "The information I received from the buyer made me suspicious"; 1 = *totally disagree*, 7 = *totally agree*). These items were combined into a suspicion index ($\alpha = .79$). Discounting of the opponent's emotion was also measured by three items (e.g., "During the negotiation I did not take the information about the buyer into account"; "During the negotiation, I paid serious attention to the information I received about the buyer," reverse scored; 1 = *totally disagree*, 7 = *totally agree*), which were averaged into a single index ($\alpha = .67$).

Results

Manipulation Check

The manipulation of the opponent's emotion was checked in the same way as in Experiment 4.1. A 2 (emotion of the opponent: disappointment vs. guilt) \times 2 (dispositional trust: high vs. low) \times 2 (perception of the opponent's emotion: disappointed vs. guilty) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last factor revealed a significant interaction between the opponent's emotion and participants' perceptions of the opponent's emotion, $F(1, 144) = 300.54, p < .001$ ($\eta^2 = .67$). Participants in the disappointed-opponent condition rated their opponents as significantly more disappointed ($M = 5.25, SD = 1.42$) than did those in the guilty-opponent condition ($M = 3.29, SD = 1.16$). Similarly, participants with a guilty opponent rated the opponent as more guilty ($M = 4.56, SD = 1.54$) than did those with a disappointed opponent ($M = 2.21, SD = 0.76$). Furthermore, paired-sample t tests showed that participants in the disappointed-opponent condition rated the opponent as more disappointed than guilty ($M = 5.25$ vs. $M = 2.21$), $t(72) = 15.84, p <$

.001, and that participants in the guilty-opponent condition rated the opponent as more guilty than disappointed ($M = 4.56$ vs. $M = 3.29$), $t(74) = 7.79$, $p < .001$.

Demand Level

Demands in Rounds 1 to 6 were submitted to a 2 (opponent's emotion: disappointment vs. guilt) \times 2 (participant's trust: high vs. low) mixed-model ANOVA with the opponent's emotion and the participant's trust as between-participants variables, and demands in Rounds 1 to 6 as a repeated measures variable. As in Experiment 4.1, I first describe lower order effects, and I then turn to the hypothesized interaction. The anticipated main effect of negotiation round was significant, $F(5, 720) = 413.82$, $p < .001$ ($\eta^2 = .74$), showing that level of demand declined from Round 1 ($M = 643$, $SD = 77$) to Round 6 ($M = 466$, $SD = 91$). Results further showed a significant main effect of the opponent's emotion on average demand, $F(1, 144) = 10.30$, $p < .002$ ($\eta^2 = .07$), indicating that participants' demands were influenced by their adversaries' emotions (disappointment: $M = 521$, $SD = 75$; guilt: $M = 560$, $SD = 84$). This effect was qualified by an Emotion \times Round interaction, $F(5, 720) = 8.48$, $p < .001$ ($\eta^2 = .06$), which showed that the effect of the opponent's emotion on participants' demands increased from Round 1 (disappointment: $M = 641$, $SD = 77$; guilt: $M = 646$, $SD = 78$) to Round 6 (disappointment: $M = 439$, $SD = 80$; guilt: $M = 491$, $SD = 93$).

In line with Hypothesis 4.3, there was a significant interaction between opponent's emotion and participant's trust, $F(1, 144) = 7.67$, $p < .01$ ($\eta^2 = .05$). As predicted, simple-effects analysis revealed that high trust participants made higher demands to a guilty opponent ($M = 586$, $SD = 66$) than to a disappointed one ($M = 510$, $SD = 66$), $F(1, 144) = 16.96$, $p < .001$ ($\eta^2 = .26$), whereas those low in trust did not respond differentially to their counterpart's emotions ($M = 537$ and $SD = 92$ for guilt; $M = 531$ and $SD = 82$ for disappointment), $F(1, 144) < 1$, *ns*. This interaction was further qualified by a significant three-way interaction between the opponent's emotion, the participant's trust, and negotiation round, $F(5, 720) = 2.59$, $p < .03$ ($\eta^2 = .08$), indicating that the interactive effects of emotion and trust became more apparent as the negotiation progressed from Round 1 to Round 6 (see Figure 4.2). Simple-effects analysis revealed a significant Emotion \times Round interaction for high trusters, $F(5, 720) = 8.07$, $p < .001$ ($\eta^2 = .16$), but not for low trusters, $F(5, 720) = 1.74$, *ns*. As can be seen from Figure 4.2, participants with high levels of trust made larger concessions in the course of the negotiation when the opponent experienced disappointment than when the opponent experienced guilt, whereas participants with low levels of trust were not responsive to the opponent's emotional state.

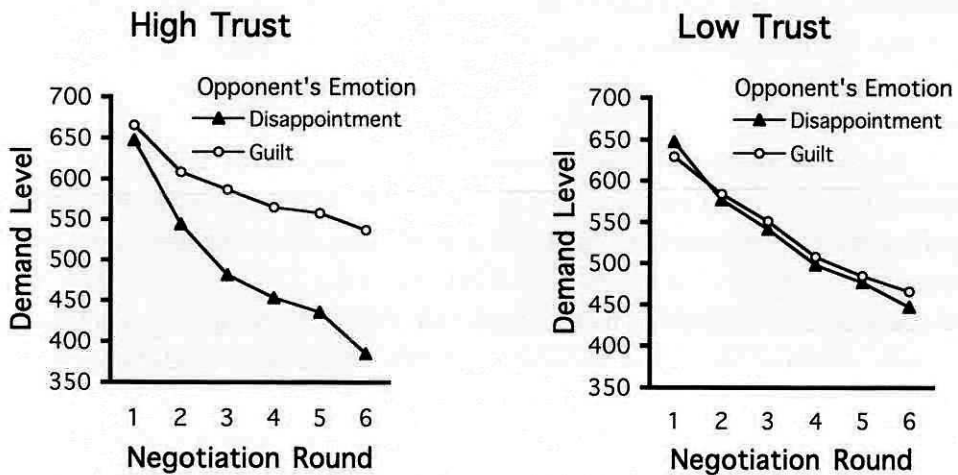


Figure 4.2 - Demand level as a function of the opponent's emotion, participants' trust, and negotiation round in Experiment 4.2.

Interpretation of the Opponent's Emotions

ANOVAs yielded significant main effects of emotion on the two items tapping the participant's interpretation of the opponent's emotion. Participants who negotiated with a guilty opponent tended to interpret the other's emotion as signifying that the other had obtained too much ($M = 3.71$, $SD = 0.97$), whereas those who dealt with a disappointed opponent took the other's emotion to mean that the other had received too little ($M = 4.47$, $SD = 1.17$), $F(1, 144) = 19.33$, $p < .001$ ($\eta^2 = .11$). Conversely, participants with a guilty opponent interpreted the other's emotion as a signal that the other had offered too little ($M = 4.88$, $SD = 1.09$), whereas those with a disappointed counterpart were more likely to believe that the other's emotion revealed that he or she had offered too much ($M = 4.49$, $SD = 1.04$), $F(1, 144) = 5.28$, $p < .025$ ($\eta^2 = .04$). There was no significant effect of trust, and no interaction ($F_s < 1$, ns).

Suspicion and Discounting of the Opponent's Emotions

According to Hypothesis 4.4 low trusters would be more suspicious and more likely than high trusters to discount their counterpart's emotion. In line with this prediction, ANOVA showed a tendency for participants low in trust to be more suspicious ($M = 3.92$, $SD = 1.20$) regarding the opponent's emotions than participants high in trust ($M = 3.50$, $SD = 1.31$), $F(1, 144) = 2.79$, $p < .10$ ($\eta^2 = .02$). Furthermore, low trusters were more likely to discount the opponent's emotion than were high

trustees ($M = 3.14$ and $SD = 1.23$ vs. $M = 2.71$ and $SD = 0.99$), $F(1, 144) = 5.14$, $p < .025$ ($\eta^2 = .04$). There were no effects of emotion, and no interaction ($F_s < 1$, *ns*).

Participants' Goals

In line with Hypothesis 4.5, participants' goals were influenced by the opponent's emotion. Participants who dealt with a guilty opponent reported significantly higher goals ($M = 5.04$, $SD = 0.79$) than did those who dealt with a disappointed opponent ($M = 5.38$, $SD = 0.79$), $F(1, 144) = 7.73$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .05$ (recall that low numbers correspond to high goals; see Table 2.1). A significant interaction between emotion and trust showed that this effect was moderated by the participant's level of trust, $F(1, 144) = 4.63$, $p < .04$ ($\eta^2 = .03$). Means and standard deviations pertaining to this interaction are shown in Table 4.4. Simple-effects analyses revealed that participants with high levels of trust adapted their goals to the opponent's emotion, $F(1, 144) = 11.54$, $p < .001$ ($\eta^2 = .15$), whereas those with low levels of trust did not, $F(1, 144) < 1$, *ns*. This result is consistent with the finding that negotiators' behavioral reactions to their counterpart's emotions are moderated by trust.

Table 4.4

Participants' Goals and Average Demands as a Function of the Opponent's Emotion and the Participant's Trust in Experiment 4.2

	Participant's Trust			
	Low		High	
Emotion	Disappointment	Guilt	Disappointment	Guilt
Goal	4.88 _a (0.86)	4.81 _a (0.70)	5.07 _a (0.67)	4.45 _b (0.82)
Demand	531 _a (82)	537 _a (92)	510 _a (66)	586 _b (66)

Note. Participants' goals ranged from 1 (indicating a high goal) to 9 (indicating a low goal). Demand refers to participants' average demands in Rounds 1 to 6. Standard deviations are presented within brackets. Means within the low and high trust conditions with a different subscript differ at $p < .05$ according to simple-effects analyses.

Mediation Analysis

To investigate whether the interactive effects of the opponent's emotion and the participant's trust on demands were mediated by the participant's goals (as predicted in Hypothesis 4.6), mediated regression analyses were performed, following Baron and Kenny's (1986) procedure. In Step 1 the opponent's emotion, the participant's trust, and their interaction were entered as the independent variables, and demand was entered as the dependent variable. This produced a significant main effect of emotion, $\beta = .24, p < .003$, and an interaction between emotion and trust, $\beta = .22, p < .01$. In Step 2, the same independent variables were used to predict the participant's goals. This, too, yielded a significant main effect of emotion, $\beta = .21, p < .01$, and a significant interaction, $\beta = .17, p < .04$. In Step 3, emotion and goals were simultaneously included in the regression equation to predict demands. This yielded a significant effect of goals on demands, $\beta = .61, p < .001$, and reduced the formerly significant interaction between emotion and trust on demands to nonsignificance ($\beta = .11, ns$). A Sobel test indicated that the reduction of the direct path from the interaction between emotion and trust to demands was significant, $Z = 2.10, p < .04$ (see Kenny et al., 1998). In support of Hypothesis 4.6, these results show that the interactive effect of the opponent's emotion and the participant's trust on demands is fully mediated by the participant's goals.

Discussion

The results of Experiment 4.2 corroborate the present hypotheses. As predicted, negotiators' reactions to their opponent's emotions are moderated by interpersonal trust. Negotiators high in dispositional trust responded with high demands to an opponent who appeared to experience guilt and with low demands to an opponent who appeared to experience disappointment. By contrast, negotiators with low trust did not respond differentially to their opponent's emotions. These findings replicate and extend the results of Experiment 4.1 by showing that negotiators are more likely to act on their opponent's emotions to the extent that they trust the opponent and see his or her emotions as trustworthy and reliable. Questionnaire data also showed that individuals with low trust were more suspicious regarding the trustworthiness of the other's emotions and were more likely to discount them rather than take them into account when forming their negotiation strategy. Furthermore, Experiment 4.2 sheds some light on the processes underlying the interpersonal effects of guilt and disappointment on demands. A mediation analysis revealed that negotiators with high levels of trust made smaller demands to a disappointed opponent than to a guilty one because the other's disappointment led them to lower their goals, whereas the other's guilt led them to

raise their goals. Finally, results pertaining to participants' interpretation of their counterparts' emotions are compatible with the framework that was outlined in the Introduction: Guilt is interpreted to mean that the other has claimed too much, whereas disappointment is taken as a signal that the other has received too little.

The fact that interpersonal trust was measured rather than manipulated might be regarded as a limitation of Experiment 4.2. Although the results are consistent with the predictions, we cannot rule out the possibility that they are caused by some unknown third variable that was not taken into account. Furthermore, the fact that trust was assessed prior to the negotiation task carries with it the possibility that, despite the filler task, participants' responses to the trust scale influenced their behavior in the negotiation task. Another shortcoming of Experiment 4.2 is that there was no non-emotional control condition. Therefore, we cannot draw firm conclusions as to whether disappointment led participants to place lower demands, or whether guilt led them to place higher demands, or both. Although Experiment 4.1 demonstrated that guilt and disappointment elicited significantly higher and lower demands, respectively, compared to a non-emotional control condition, I felt that a replication of this effect would increase confidence in its robustness. I therefore conducted a third experiment in which interpersonal trust was manipulated (through expectations about the opponent's personality, see below), and a control condition was included.

Experiment 4.3

Experiment 4.2 showed that individual differences in dispositional trust moderate the interpersonal effects of supplication and appeasement emotions in negotiations. As noted earlier, variations in trust may also arise from features of the situation and/or the other party (Yamagishi, 1986). Among other things, trust depends on a negotiator's expectations about the other's cooperation or competition. Indeed, trust has been defined as the expectation that the other will cooperate (Pruitt & Kimmel, 1977). Because trusting another person is more risky to the extent that he or she can be expected to take advantage of and exploit the trust (Ross & LaCroix, 1996), people exhibit greater levels of trust in relation to others who are expected to be cooperative than others whom they expect to be competitive (e.g., De Cremer, Snyder, & Dewitte, 2001; De Dreu et al., 1998; Deutsch, 1960; Kee & Knox, 1970; Loomis, 1959; Pruitt & Kimmel, 1977; Rempel, Holmes, & Zanna, 1985; for an overview of bases of trust in negotiation, see Ross & LaCroix, 1996). Based on this research and on the results of Experiment 4.2, It was predicted that negotiators would make higher demands to a guilty opponent than to a disappointed one, but only if they believed that the opponent has a cooperative orientation. If the opponent

was expected to be competitive, the trustworthiness of his or her emotions should be decreased and hence negotiators should not adapt their demands to the other's emotion (*Hypothesis 4.7*).

Method

Participants and Experimental Design

Participants were 94 male and female undergraduate students at the University of Amsterdam who received course credit or monetary compensation (7 euros, approximately \$8) for participating. The experimental design included the opponent's emotion (disappointment vs. guilt vs. no emotion) and the opponent's personality (cooperative vs. competitive) as the independent variables, and demand level as the main dependent variable. Participants were randomly assigned to the experimental conditions, and the experimenters were blind to this assignment.

Procedure

The procedure was the same as in Experiment 4.2, except that trust was manipulated rather than measured. As in the preceding experiments, participants who reached agreement before Round 6 ($n = 2$) were excluded from the analyses (although including these participants in the analyses yielded a similar pattern of findings).

Manipulation of trust. Trust was manipulated by varying participants' expectations regarding the opponent's cooperation versus competition, using a procedure that has been successfully employed in past research (see De Dreu & Van Kleef, 2004; Steinel & De Dreu, 2004; Van Kleef & De Dreu, 2002). At the beginning of the experiment, participants were asked to complete a (fake) "Personality Test." This questionnaire was described as measuring collaboration skills and contained a number of items having to do with cooperation in daily life (e.g., "In the bus, I vacate my seat for older people"; "I enjoy working with other people"; "Love and respect are more important than status and money"; "Winning is everything"; "I like situations in which it is me against someone else"). Participants were asked to indicate their agreement on 5-point Likert scales (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*).

After completion of this personality test, participants received the same instructions as in Experiments 4.1 and 4.2. Participants then learned that on the basis of the personality test each participant had been classified as either "cooperative" or "competitive," and that some participants would receive this information about their opponent whereas others would not. Next, participants read that the computer had randomly selected them to receive their opponent's personality information, but that the opponent would not receive their personality chart. In the cooperative opponent

condition the outcome of the opponent's personality test was presented on the screen with answers allegedly given by the opponent suggesting that he or she was very cooperative. These answers were accompanied by a "general test result" which indicated that the other could best be classified as cooperative. Likewise, in the competitive opponent condition participants were shown answers suggesting that the opponent was very competitive, and the "general test result" showed that the other could best be classified as competitive.

Dependent measures. The manipulation check of the opponent's emotion was the one used in Experiment 4.2. To check participants' expectations regarding the opponent's cooperative versus competitive orientation, they were asked to rate the opponent's personality on five 7-point semantic differential scales (e.g., *cooperative - competitive*, *compliant - bossy*, *dominant - docile*, reverse-scored). These items were averaged into a composite index of judgment of the opponent's cooperativeness versus competitiveness, ranging from 1 = *cooperative* to 7 = *competitive* ($\alpha = .90$). Additionally, participants' perceptions of the opponent's trustworthiness were assessed using three items (e.g., "The buyer is very trustworthy - not very trustworthy," reverse-scored; "The buyer is very unreliable - very reliable"). These items were combined into an index of the opponent's trustworthiness, ranging from 1 = *not very trustworthy* to 7 = *very trustworthy* ($\alpha = .84$).

Results

Manipulation Checks

Opponent's emotion. As in the previous experiments, ANOVA showed the predicted interaction between the opponent's emotion and the participants' perception of the opponent's emotion, $F(2, 86) = 168.30, p < .001$ ($\eta^2 = .80$). Participants in the disappointed opponent condition rated the opponent as significantly more disappointed ($M = 6.00, SD = 0.93$) than did participants in the guilty or non-emotional opponent conditions ($M = 3.91, SD = 1.16; M = 2.81, SD = 1.00$). Similarly, participants with a guilty opponent rated the opponent as more guilty ($M = 5.67, SD = 0.85$) than did participants in the other two conditions (disappointment: $M = 2.22, SD = 1.10$; no emotion: $M = 2.57, SD = 0.89$). Furthermore, paired-samples t tests showed that ratings *within* the emotion conditions were higher for the intended emotion than for the other emotion ($8.13 < ts < 15.82$, both $ps < .001$). The ratings did not differ in the control condition.

Opponent's cooperation/competition and trustworthiness. ANOVA revealed a significant effect of the manipulation of the opponent's orientation on participants' judgments of the opponent's cooperativeness versus competitiveness. Participants in the cooperative opponent conditions rated the opponent as significantly more

cooperative ($M = 3.67$, $SD = 1.08$) than did participants in the competitive opponent conditions ($M = 4.77$, $SD = 1.29$), $F(1, 86) = 19.63$, $p < .001$ ($\eta^2 = .19$). There was no main effect of the opponent's emotion, and no interaction. Results also showed a significant main effect of the opponent's orientation on participants' perceptions of the opponent's trustworthiness, $F(1, 86) = 18.69$, $p < .001$ ($\eta^2 = .18$). Participants who learned that the opponent had a cooperative orientation judged the other as significantly more trustworthy ($M = 5.14$, $SD = 0.98$) than did those who learned that the other had a competitive orientation ($M = 4.17$, $SD = 1.23$). It can be concluded that the manipulation of trust was successful.

Demand Level

Demands in Rounds 1 to 6 were submitted to a 3 (opponent's emotion: disappointment vs. guilt vs. no emotion) \times 2 (opponent's personality: cooperative vs. competitive) mixed-model ANOVA with the opponent's emotion and personality as between-participants variables, and demands in Rounds 1 to 6 as a repeated measures variable. There was again a main effect of negotiation round, $F(5, 430) = 143.22$, $p < .001$ ($\eta^2 = .63$), reflecting the fact that participants' demands declined over time (Round 1: $M = 643$, $SD = 89$; Round 6: $M = 457$, $SD = 103$). Second, the analysis yielded a significant main effect of the opponent's emotion on average demands in Rounds 1 to 6, $F(2, 86) = 4.41$, $p < .02$ ($\eta^2 = .10$). Consistent with the results of the previous experiments, inspection of the means indicated that participants with a disappointed opponent made lower average demands ($M = 505$, $SD = 88$) than participants with a guilty opponent ($M = 556$, $SD = 94$), those with a non-emotional opponent occupying an intermediate position ($M = 541$, $SD = 70$).

Results also revealed a significant interaction between the opponent's emotion and the opponent's orientation, $F(2, 86) = 4.74$, $p < .01$ ($\eta^2 = .10$). As expected, simple-effects analysis revealed a significant multivariate effect of the opponent's emotion in the cooperative opponent condition, indicating that average demands in Rounds 1 to 6 were lower for participants who negotiated with disappointed opponent ($M = 475$, $SD = 52$) than for those who dealt with a guilty or non-emotional opponent ($M = 603$, $SD = 81$ and $M = 558$, $SD = 77$, respectively), $F(2, 86) = 7.73$, $p < .001$ ($\eta^2 = .37$). In the competitive opponent condition, by contrast, there was no effect of the opponent's emotion on demands ($523 < M < 525$), $F(2, 86) < 1$, *ns*.

Finally, the analysis revealed a significant three-way interaction between the opponent's emotion, the opponent's orientation, and negotiation round, $F(10, 430) = 3.84$, $p < .025$, $\eta^2 = .08$ (see Figure 4.3). Consistent with Hypothesis 4.7, simple-effects analysis revealed a significant Emotion \times Round interaction in the cooperative opponent condition, $F(10, 430) = 5.62$, $p < .001$ ($\eta^2 = .22$), but not in the competitive

opponent condition, $F(10, 430) < 1$, *ns*. Planned comparisons of demands in Round 6 revealed that participants with a cooperative opponent made significantly higher demands when the opponent appeared to feel guilty than when the opponent expressed no emotion ($M = 553$ and $SD = 130$ vs. $M = 472$ and $SD = 69$), $t(39) = 2.24$, $p < .03$, and that they made significantly lower demands when the other appeared to be disappointed ($M = 393$ and $SD = 59$), $t(39) = 3.06$, $p < .01$. There were no significant differences in the competitive opponent condition ($439 < Ms < 449$), $ts < 1$, *ns*.

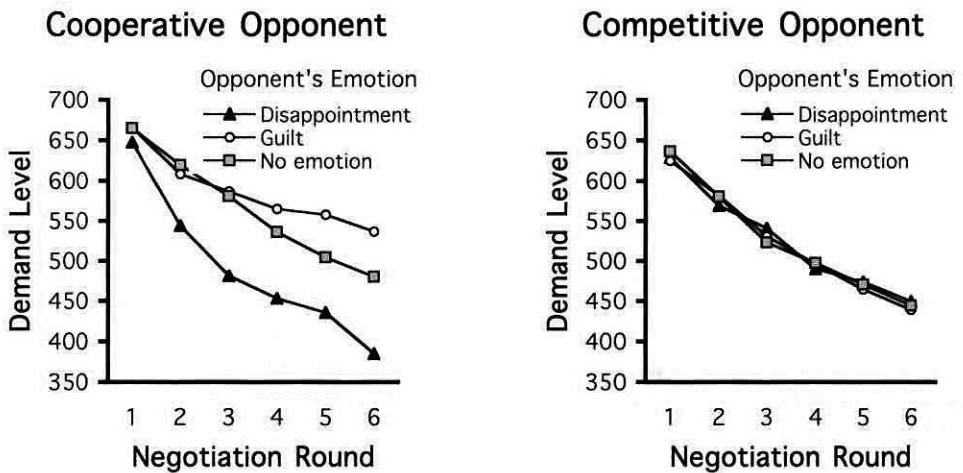


Figure 4.3 - Demand level as a function of the opponent's emotion, the opponent's orientation, and negotiation round in Experiment 4.3.

Discussion

The results of Experiment 4.3 replicate those of Experiment 4.2 using a situational manipulation of trust. Participants who thought that the opponent had a cooperative orientation (i.e., high trust) conceded more to a disappointed opponent than to a non-emotional one, and they tended to concede less to a guilty opponent. By contrast, participants who believed the other to be competitive (i.e., low trust) did not respond differentially to the other's emotions. Thus, consistent with the findings reported in Experiment 4.2, this experiment shows that trust is an important prerequisite for the interpersonal effects of disappointment and guilt to occur. Further, the inclusion of a non-emotional control condition allows for specific conclusions regarding the respective effects of disappointment and guilt. In line with the results of Experiment 4.1, the present data show that participants who expected cooperation made significantly smaller demands to a disappointed opponent than to

a non-emotional one, whereas they made significantly larger demands to a guilty counterpart.

General Discussion

The results of the present experiments support the predictions advanced in the Introduction. In a negotiation, participants whose opponents appeared to experience emotions of appeasement (i.e., guilt or regret) developed a positive impression of their opponents, but they were non-conciliatory in the level of their demands. By contrast, participants whose opponents experienced emotions of supplication (i.e., disappointment or worry) rated their opponents less positively, but they made larger concessions in the course of the negotiation (Experiment 4.1). Furthermore, and in line with the present theoretical framework, the interpersonal effects of guilt and disappointment on demands were mediated by the focal negotiator's goals. Negotiators who dealt with a disappointed opponent lowered their goals and made smaller demands, whereas those with a guilty opponent raised their goals and made larger demands. The data further showed that participants with a guilty opponent believed that the other had claimed too much and offered too little, whereas those with a disappointed counterpart believed that the other had received too little and offered too much (Experiment 4.2). This, too, is consistent with the present theoretical framework. Apparently, emotions of supplication signal that one is in need of compensation, which may lead others to lower their goals and make concessions. Conversely, emotions of appeasement appear to signal that one is willing to compensate one's counterpart, which may lead others to increase their goals and stand firm.

The findings of Experiments 4.1 and 4.2 point to the pervasive effects of emotions related to supplication and appeasement on negotiation behavior and impressions, and the results of these experiments shed some light on the processes underlying these effects. In addition, the present research has identified an important moderator of the interpersonal effects of appeasement and supplication emotions on demands and concessions: interpersonal trust. Experiment 4.2 showed that only negotiators with high levels of trust adapted their goals and demands to their opponent's emotion. Participants with low trust reported more suspicion regarding the opponent's emotions, were more likely to discount them, and did not adapt their goals and demands to the other's emotional state. In Experiment 4.3 interpersonal trust was manipulated by varying participants' expectations regarding the opponent's cooperative versus competitive orientation, and a similar effect was found. Participants who expected a cooperative opponent had high trust and made larger concessions to a disappointed opponent and smaller concessions to a guilty

opponent. By contrast, participants who were led to believe that the opponent had a competitive orientation had low trust and did not respond differentially to the opponent's disappointment versus guilt in terms of their demands and concessions.

Taken together, the results of these three experiments provide strong support for the idea that emotions of appeasement and supplication have the potential to influence negotiation behavior on the interpersonal level. This conclusion has interesting implications for research on conflict and negotiation, and for our understanding of the social consequences of emotions. Below I discuss these implications as well as addressing some of the strengths and limitations of my approach. I conclude by outlining some avenues for future research.

Implications and Contributions

In exploring the interpersonal effects of appeasement and supplication emotions in negotiations, the present work makes a number of important contributions. First, prior research on emotions in negotiation has focused almost exclusively on the role of general positive versus negative affect, or, in a few cases, discrete emotions such as anger, happiness, and compassion (e.g., Allred et al., 1997; Van Kleef et al., 2004b; Van Kleef, De Dreu, & Manstead, 2004c). The present research extends this line of inquiry by examining the effects of guilt, regret, disappointment, and worry. The findings demonstrate that these emotions, like anger and happiness, can have a powerful impact on negotiation behavior. This underscores the recent acknowledgement of the importance of considering affective phenomena in conflict and negotiation, and indicates that scholarly attention should not remain limited to the role of anger and happiness.

Second, the current research indicates that the role of emotion in negotiation cannot be understood by merely classifying emotions as positive or negative. Previous research has explored the interpersonal effects of anger and happiness in negotiations and showed that negotiators tend to concede more to an angry opponent than to a happy one (Van Kleef et al., 2004b, 2004c). Although it is tempting to explain this finding in terms of a positivity-negativity dimension, the present results suggest that it would be unwise to do so. The emotions that were investigated in this research, guilt, regret, worry, and disappointment, are all negative in valence yet they have quite different effects on behavior: The effects of guilt and regret were opposite to those of worry and disappointment. A more fruitful approach then is to adopt a social-functional perspective on emotion, which assumes that emotions have distinct social functions and consequences (e.g., Frijda & Mesquita, 1994; Keltner & Haidt, 1999; Morris & Keltner, 2000). This conclusion

points to the need for more research on the effects of discrete emotions rather than nonspecific positive versus negative affect.

Third, the present findings contribute to a more thorough understanding of the social consequences of expressing guilt, regret, disappointment, and worry. Although all of these emotions have been the subject of research, most of this research has focused on the intrapersonal effects of these emotions on the individual's cognitions and behavior. For example, research on guilt has addressed the question of how the experience of guilt influences the guilty party's behavior, and thereby his or her relationship to the interaction partner. Thus it has been shown that guilt motivates people to make apologies and amends and to compensate the other for one's transgression (see Baumeister et al., 1994, for an overview of this research). Although this research contains an interpersonal component (guilt may affect interpersonal relations), the major focus has been on the impact of guilt on the individual's own motivations and behavior. The present findings move beyond the intrapersonal effects of guilt by showing that interaction partners anticipate compensation from the guilty party by raising their goals and making high demands and small concessions. In similar vein, previous research on regret has established that regret instigates a desire to undo one's actions (e.g., Gilovich & Medvec, 1994, 1995; Zeelenberg et al., 2000). The present research suggests that interpersonal regret may not only affect one's own behavior but also that of others, although the effects of regret appear to be weaker than those of guilt. As suggested earlier, this may be because regret is less strongly associated with empathy and perspective taking than guilt is (Leith & Baumeister, 1998). Individuals experiencing regret may be more focused on the self, whereas those experiencing guilt tend to be more other-focused (Berndsen et al., 2004). Thus, someone who shows signs of guilt can be expected to be more likely to engage in behavioral repair (i.e., making concessions) than someone who experiences regret.

The present findings also increase understanding of the interpersonal effects of worry and disappointment. As is the case with guilt and regret, most previous research on disappointment has adopted an intrapersonal approach, investigating for instance how the experience of disappointment motivates people to minimize future disappointment (see Zeelenberg et al., 2000, for an overview). The current research shows that disappointment can also influence behavior at the interpersonal level: In negotiations, disappointment appears to be effective in eliciting concessions. The same holds for expressions of worry. These findings are consistent with prior research on distress-related emotions such as sadness, which have been shown to facilitate prosocial behavior (e.g., Batson, 1987; Barnett et al., 1979; Eisenberg, Fabes, Miller et al., 1989; Fabes et al., 1994; Morris & Keltner, 2000). Apparently, various

emotions related to distress and supplication have broadly comparable effects on others' behavior.

Altogether, it appears that discrete emotions have distinct and predictable effects in negotiations, which can be conceptualized and understood in terms of the information they provide. For example, guilt (and to a lesser degree regret) informs the adversary that one has taken too much, and it signals that one is willing to compensate for this. Disappointment and worry, on the other hand, inform the other that one has received less than expected, and signal that one is in need of compensation. Because the information conveyed by these and other emotions is similar across situations, parallel effects may be expected in other domains of social interaction.

The identification of trust as a moderator of the interpersonal effects of supplication and appeasement emotions on negotiation behavior constitutes a fourth contribution of the present work. Previous research has demonstrated the important role of information processing motivation in determining the interpersonal effects of anger and happiness on demands and concessions (Van Kleef et al., 2004b, 2004c; see Chapters 2 and 3). Negotiators concede more to angry opponents than to happy ones, but only if they are sufficiently motivated to consider the emotions of the other, and to think about their implications for their own goal attainment. The present research shows that trust has a similar moderating effect on the interpersonal effects of supplication and appeasement emotions. Negotiators tend to give in when the opponent experiences emotions of supplication, but they stand firm when the opponent experiences emotions of appeasement. However, this only holds for negotiators with high levels of trust; those with low trust do not adapt their demands to the other's emotion.

The current findings point to an interesting dilemma facing negotiators who anticipate future interaction. Expressions of disappointment or worry (supplication) can elicit considerable concessions from others, but they may also contribute to a negative impression. By contrast, expressions of guilt and regret (appeasement) may serve to engender a more positive impression, but they may lead others to stand firm and resist concession making. Thus, on the one hand, negotiators may be motivated to express guilt or regret strategically in order to make a good impression and to induce or maintain a positive interpersonal relationship, but this would be at the expense of their personal negotiation outcomes (at least in the short run). On the other hand, they may choose to display disappointment or worry in order to get their opponents to comply with their wishes, thereby inadvertently spoiling the interpersonal climate.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

There are some limitations to these findings. First, there was no face-to-face interaction. The primary purpose of this research was to enhance our knowledge and understanding of the interpersonal effects of discrete emotions in social conflict and negotiation by generating and testing new hypotheses about the effects of supplication and appeasement emotions. In doing this an explicit decision was made to maintain as much experimental control as possible, and a computer-mediated negotiation paradigm was employed to permit a carefully controlled manipulation of the opponent's emotion. As a result, some caution is needed when generalizing the results. At the very least, the present findings pertain to computer-mediated negotiations. Given the pervasiveness of negotiation as a form of social interaction and the increasing popularity of information technologies as communication media, the question of how individuals react to each other's emotions in computer-mediated communication is itself of great theoretical and practical importance (McGrath & Hollingshead, 1994; McKersie & Fonstad, 1997; Moore, Kurtzberg, Thompson, & Morris, 1999). However, considering that this paradigm has previously yielded results that have been replicated in face-to-face settings (Sinaceur & Tiedens, 2004) there is no reason to suspect that the current findings are restricted to the domain of computer-mediated interaction. Future research could shed more light on this issue by investigating the extent to which the interpersonal effects of emotions relating to supplication and appeasement generalize across settings.

A related issue concerns the "cognitive" nature of the emotion manipulation that was used in the present experiments. The fact that verbal manipulations of emotion were used raises the question of whether the findings generalize to settings in which emotions are communicated in a different manner (e.g., nonverbally). One could argue that the effects would be different if people were presented with behavioral rather than cognitive emotion cues. This possibility cannot be ruled out on the basis of the present data. However, previous research on emotions in negotiations has documented similar effects regardless of whether a verbal (Van Kleef et al., 2004b, 2004c) or nonverbal (Sinaceur & Tiedens, 2004) manipulation was used. I therefore see no reason to doubt the external validity of these findings. However, future research is needed to explore this issue in greater depth.

After a decade of research on the intrapersonal effects of moods, and, occasionally, emotions, on the negotiator's cognition and behavior, there has been a recent upsurge of interest in the social effects of discrete emotions in negotiations. This research has begun to document the interpersonal effects of emotions relevant to negotiation and conflict resolution. Although the results are promising, many questions remain unanswered. How does the expectation of future interaction with

the same partner influence the interpersonal effects of different emotions on negotiation behavior? Are there other variables, besides trust and information processing, that moderate these effects? What happens when more than one negotiator expresses certain emotions? What factors determine whose emotions will have the bigger impact? How long can a negotiator effectively continue to employ anger or disappointment as a means of eliciting concessions? Do the effects of these emotions on demands wear off or even backfire in the long run? The investigation of these and other questions will allow the study of emotion in social conflict to continue to advance.

Conclusion

The present research investigated the interpersonal effects of guilt, regret, disappointment, and worry in negotiations. The results showed that negotiators tend to make larger concessions to opponents who experience disappointment or worry (i.e., supplication emotions) than to non-emotional opponents, whereas they make smaller concessions to adversaries who experience guilt or regret (i.e., appeasement emotions). This effect was shown to be mediated by the focal negotiator's goals (negotiators with a guilty opponent adopted higher goals than did those with a disappointed opponent), and moderated by interpersonal trust – negotiators with high levels of trust adapted their demands to their counterpart's emotion, but those with low trust did not. These findings point to the pervasive interpersonal effects of emotions in negotiations, and they stress the need for more research on the role of emotion in conflict and negotiation. Such research promises to enhance our understanding of the negotiation process, of the factors that facilitate or hinder constructive conflict resolution, and of the social consequences of emotions in general.