The Effect of expressing Emotions on perceived Individual and Group Social-status

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Abstract

Previous research implicates that people ascribe higher status to someone who expresses anger in contrast to sadness. The present study is a conceptual replication and based on above findings and the prototypicality theory it is argued that this will also apply within an organizational setting. An employee communicating emotions will influence the perceived individual status, with anger increasing status and sadness decreasing the status. Moreover, an employee of high-status would be more prototypical of the organisation and therefore emotions are expected to have an effect on the perceived status of the organisation. Results indicated that anger increases the perceived status of an employee of low-status. Marginal effects were found for emotions on perceived group status, with anger resulting in higher status in comparison to sadness. These findings provide valuable information to effectively handle communicating emotions. The present study gives insights to how employees affect the name and perception of the organisation. Researching the effect of emotions on group status is new to the literature and results suggest that further research is needed.

Keywords: Emotion, anger, sadness, individual status, group status, prototypicality

Abstract

Eerder onderzoek heeft aangetoond dat mensen hogere status toeschrijven aan iemand die boosheid uit, in tegenstelling tot bedroefdheid. De huidige studie is een conceptuele replicatie en op basis van bovenstaande bevindingen en de prototypicaliteit theorie wordt verondersteld dat dit ook binnen een organisatorische context zal gelden. Een werknemer die emoties communiceert zou de waargenomen groepsstatus beïnvloeden, waarbij boosheid leidt tot een hogere status en bedroefdheid tot een lagere status. Bovendien zou een medewerker van hoge status meer prototypisch zijn binnen de organisatie en daarom wordt verwacht dat de emoties die deze communiceert de waargenomen groepsstatus beïnvloeden. Resultaten toonden aan dat boosheid de waargenomen status van een werknemer met lage status verhoogt. Er werden marginale effecten gevonden voor emoties op waargenomen groepsstatus, met boosheid resulterend in hogere status in vergelijking met bedroefdheid. Deze resultaten bieden handvaten voor de toekomst om effectief om te gaan met het communiceren van emoties. De huidige studie geeft inzicht in de mate van beïnvloeding die een werknemer kan hebben op de naam en perceptie van de organisatie. Onderzoek naar het effect van emoties op groepsstatus is nieuw in de literatuur en resultaten suggereren dat verder onderzoek nodig is.

Trefwoorden: Emotie, boosheid, bedroefdheid, individuele status, groepsstatus, prototypicaliteit

The Effect of expressing Emotions on Perceived Individual and Group Social-status

The 9th of November 2017 will go down in history as the day the 45th president of the US was elected; Donald Trump. Trump is said to be the manifestation of people's anger, he is open in his emotions, and people relate to this. Anger is one of the most powerful political emotions used (Searles & Mattes, 2015). Weeks (2015) concluded that the emotion anger increases the likelihood that people process information in a partisan way, while communicating anxiety decreases this likelihood. This could have helped Trump in his victory. In short, communicating emotions play a central role in creating relations and it can result in power for the expresser (Shaver, Schwartz, Kirson & O'connor, 1987; Hareli & Rafaeli, 2008). Observing these emotions brings up associations and assumptions about the individual communicating, such as information about status or degree of power (Knudson, 1996; Aguinis, Simonsen, & Pierce, 1998; Tiedens, 2001). Not much is known about the extent to which this perceived individual status influences the status of groups this person is part of; for instance, does Trump's anger, which is associated with greater status (reference), affect the perceived status of the group he is part of (e.g. Republicans or America), and under what conditions does this status conferral occur?

The present study will focus on the associations and assumptions that come along when communicating emotions, and in which way this affects perceived status. Two specific emotions conveyed in communication will be addressed, with anger increasing perceived status and sadness resulting in a lower perceived status. The assigned status of the person communicating the emotion will be manipulated with either someone of high-status or low-status, for instance by being a manager. The study conceptually replicates previous research by illustrating that people confer more status to targets that express anger than to targets that express sadness (Tiedens, 2001). Moreover, this study aims to extend these findings by investigating to what extent assigned status is likely to transfer to the group level, depending on the assigned status of the expresser.

Emotions

The present study aims to understand the effects of communicating emotions. Emotions are complex; they are part of the very process of interacting with the environment (Frijda & Mesquita, 1994). Emotions always confer information, for instance about how we feel about certain things (Ekman, 1993), about social intentions (Fridlund, 2014), and about someone's orientation towards others (Knutson, 1996). The social-functional approach to emotion focuses on how one's individual emotional displays may influence others' cognitions, impressions, and behaviour (Van Kleef et al., 2009). This approach was

researched in a simulation of teamwork experience related to many real-life organizational settings. The basic premise of this approach is that emotional expressions have important social functions and consequences; they provide information to observers, which influences not only the behaviour of those experiencing the emotions, but may also influence the observer's own behaviour (Van Kleef et al., 2009; Van Kleef, 2009). The idea that behaviour is influenced by emotions of others is not new, but there has been a recent upsurge in research about how emotions affect social relations. Researchers agree that emotions play an essential role in regulating social interactions (Frijda & Mesquita, 1994; Morris & Keltner, 2008).

In this study, the focus lies on two specific emotions, anger and sadness. Research has demonstrated that these emotions are closely related; both are negative and often experienced at the same time (Celik, Storme, & Myszkowski, 2016). Appraisal theorists illustrated that, to understand which specific emotion a person feels in response to a situation, we first need to know how someone interprets the situation along the dimensions relevant to emotions. Appraisal theories of emotion suggest that emotions can tell a story about the individual experiencing the emotion (Hareli & Rafaeli, 2008). Building on these stories people may not only react emotionally, but may also draw inferences about emotive agents. According to the appraisal theory, anger arises when a person's goals are being frustrated and he or she blames someone else for it (Smith, Haynes, Lazarus & Pope, 1993). It is associated with perceptions of certainty and individual control (Lerner & Keltner, 2001). Sadness arises when someone faces irrevocable loss and has low coping potential. Observers of sadness displays may conclude that the expresser is in need of help, which can lead to an offer of assistance (van Kleef et al., 2009). Furthermore, an agent presumed to be experiencing anger may also be presumed to have been let down, disobeyed or offended by someone (Tiedens, 2001), which could enable him or her with high power (Hareli & Rafaeli, 2008). Knowledge of an agents' emotion can therefore lead others to presume other things about the agent. Research presents us that emotions of others can cause inferences and attributions of three types: the credibility of the agent, the competence of an agent, and the social status or power of an emotive agent. The current research will focus on the last one. Agents' emotions seem to influence others' assumptions about power and status; anger for example, is viewed as high power and sadness as low power (Hareli & Rafaeli, 2008).

The influence of emotions can be direct, on the individual who is the object or the cause of the emotion, but also indirect on people who observe the agent's emotion. For example, if an agent displays anger, it may have a direct effect on the target of anger, but it can also have an indirect effect on bystanders or third party observers, whether this is

intentional or inadvertent (Hareli & Rafaeli, 2008). Moreover, emotions can have an effect on larger social entities, such as a group or a team (Hareli & Rafaeli, 2008). Observations of agents' emotions can bring up associations and assumptions about the observed individual, such as information about status or degree of power (Knudson, 1996; Aguinis, Simonsen, & Pierce, 1998; Tiedens, 2001), thus leading to various attributions or assumptions that stretch the meaning of an emotion (Hareli & Rafaeli, 2008). Frost, Dutton, Worline and Wilson (2000) suggest that factors within an organisation can hinder or facilitate responses, suggesting the importance of context to the interpretation of emotions and which reaction it evokes. Agents' emotions may evoke emotions in others, who are not direct targets or even witnesses of the emotion. Non-involved third-party observers can become aware of the emotions of agents and feel certain emotions even if they have not interacted in a direct way with the agent (Hareli & Rafaeli, 2008).

Status

Expectations about emotional states that characterize social positions, like anger or sadness, may affect perceptions of people's status (Tiedens, Ellsworth, & Mesquita, 2000). Status is referred to as the differentiation of prestige and deference among individuals. People of higher status are usually associated with greater power, with power referring to the control and influence of others (Conway, Fazio, & Mayman, 1999). People of high-status positions behave and express themselves differently than people of low-status positions. An individual in a high-status position will generally speak and interrupt others more often than people in low-status positions (Tiedens et al., 2001). Someone's behaviour will probably reflect both people's expectations about their behaviour and consequences of their social status. That is, social status creates a certain behavioural pattern, which differs with the perceived low or high-status, but there are also expectations about how these people in high or low-status positions should behave (Tiedens et al., 2000). People of high-status are assumed to think and feel one way, whereas those in low-status positions are assumed to think and feel another way. For instance, people in high-status positions are likely to feel anger in response to negative outcomes, whereas people in low-status positions are likely to feel sadness and guilt. This expression of thoughts and feelings could influence perceptions of rightful status (Mondillon et al., 2005).

Observers of these communications also confer more status to targets that express anger than to targets that express sadness (Tiedens, 2001). This is because anger expressions create the impression that the emotive agent is competent. People tend to believe that high-status people are more competent and intelligent than people with low-status (Tiedens et al.,

2000). This evaluative effect is quite robust as illustrated by the meta-analysis of Georgesen and Harris (1998). Negotiation opponents who display anger are perceived as tough (Sinaceur & Tiedens, 2006) and having ambitious goals (Van Kleef et al., 2004). Because of behavioural patterns it also works the other way around, if a person is considered highly competent, they will be expected to be angry or proud, whereas a person, who is considered to lack necessary skills and abilities, will be expected to be sad, guilty, and appreciative (Tiedens et al., 2000). People who display anger are presumed to hold a higher organisational status in comparison to displays of sadness or guilt (Oatley, Keltner, & Jenkins, 2006).

Others' expectations influence and can even determine the behaviour of high and low-status individuals; individuals who are inconsistent with expectations for someone of their status can be confronted by negative reactions. These expectations may contribute to the interactional styles of people and their status. Information about others' likely emotional responses may influence our perceptions, feelings, and behaviour (Tiedens et al., 2000).

Besides social status, group membership is also an important dimension of in-group relations. The nature of in-group processes can differ based on one's own group membership (Losin, Cross, Iacoboni & Dapretto, 2014). Group members vary in the extent to which they embody what the members in the group have in common and what differentiates them (Steinel et al., 2010). Group membership can be used to determine who is part of one's in-group or out-group. The social status of a person is a hierarchical association with both the in-group and out-group in comparison (Losin et al., 2014).).

Prototypicality

Some group members possess characteristics that are more in line with the characteristics of the group; these members can therefore be considered as more prototypical of the group (Van Kleef, Steinel, & Hofman, 2013). Group members who strongly match the group prototypes can be referred to as prototypical group members. Other group members, who are less prototypical examples are referred to as peripheral group members. Prototypical group members have a relatively stable and secure membership in a group, whereas peripheral members have an insecure and uncertain position (Van Kleef et al., 2013). These peripheral group members are not only viewed as lower status, they also experience greater degrees of invisibility, greater insecurity about fitting in, and less positive feelings about the group (Leavitt, Covarrubias, Perez & Fryberg, 2015). It also works the other way around; high-status people are perceived to be significantly more prototypical of the group in comparison to low-status people, even when they did not belong to any of these groups (Rubin, 2012). A prototype provides information about what the descriptive and prescriptive

norm is (Kessler et al., 2010). Even moods of leaders, whether positive or negative, can transfer to group members (Sy, Côté, & Saavedra, 2005). All organizational leaders do not only lead groups, but are also members of the organization and the groups within, therefore share one or more group memberships with the people they lead. The leader's prototypicality of the group should be tied to the status of the group, because individuals that are more prototypical of the group are usually more influential members within the group (Van Knippenberg, & Van Knippenberg, 2005; Lipponen, Koivisto & Olkkonen, 2005).

Moreover, research of Kessler and colleagues (2010), states that, according to the in-group projection model (Wenzel, Mummendy, & Waldzus, 2008), we can assume that relative in-group prototypicality influences group evaluation. The in-group projection model is "the perception, or claim, of the in-group's greater relative prototypicality for the superordinate group" (p.337), which indicated that in-group prototypicality not only predicts, but also influences intergroup emotions. On these grounds it can be assumed that prototypical group members exemplify group normative behaviour and reflect what members of the in-group have in common and what sets them apart from the out-group (Turner et al., 1987).

I can argue based on these statements that a leader of high-status, when communicating emotions, can be seen as more prototypical, as to someone of low-status, for the attitude of the organisation towards the target of the emotion.

The Present Study

The experiment will focus on the communication of anger and sadness, and how this will affect the perceived status of employees working within an organisation. Due to the research of Rubin (2012), and Van Knippenberg and Van Knippenberg (2005) about prototypicality, I argue that communication of anger and sadness will simultaneously affect the status of the organisation as a whole. As a moderator, the variable "status" will be manipulated. The person communicating will be of either high-status or low-status, represented by an intern and a manager respectively. This takes place in a context of conflict, where both emotions anger and sadness are intense, since a conflict can bring out intense emotional emotions (Steinel, Van Kleef, & Harinck, 2008). Of the range of emotions that arise in conflict, anger is perhaps the most prominent and pervasive (Allred, 1999). In this way the emotions should be seen as more appropriate in the situation described.

The results will give insights in the extent to which employees can affect the company's name and people's perception of the organisation. An emotion can activate a stereotype, which can affect the perception of the organisation and how people would act within the organisation. It is important to illuminate some of the challenges people face when

trying to live up to expectations of their role within the organisation, and the emotions they should or should not express.

The current study investigates two hypotheses related to two levels of status: individual and group status. In general, I expect that that emotions communicated by an individual of high-status would affect both their perceived individual and the perceived group's status, whereas emotions communicated by an employee of lower status affect only their perceived individual status. The first hypothesis is a conceptual replication of the study of Tiedens and colleagues in 2000, by looking at how the communication of anger and sadness will affect individual status. I predict to find that both an intern and a manager will be perceived as having a relatively lower individual status when they communicate sadness rather than anger. The second hypothesis extends prior research by looking at how the communication of anger and sadness would affect group status. I predict that the communication of either emotions, anger or sadness, from an employee of low status will not influence the perceived status of the organisation. In contrast, the communication of emotions from an employee of high-status will influence the perceived status of the organisation, with anger increasing the status and sadness decreasing the status. An interaction effect will be expected to find between the communicated emotion and assigned individual status on perceived group status, which I expect is mediated by prototypicality of the employee with regard to the organisation, with an individual of high-status being perceived as more prototypical.

Method

Participants and Design

Dutch-speaking adults between the ages of 15 to 67 participated in the study ($N = 249$). In total 30 people, missing at random, were excluded because they did not complete the questionnaire. The final sample consisted of 229 participants. The sample was diverse in age with an average of 26.02 years ($SD = 9.14$), gender (78.2% female), and education (55.5% university student, 18.5% HBO student, 26% no student). The experiment was done online, through a convenience sample. This study consisted of four conditions in a 2 (employee status: high vs low) x 2 (communicated emotion: anger vs. sadness) between-participant design. Participants were randomly assigned to the experimental conditions using a double-blind procedure, resulting in cells ranging from 53 to 60.

Procedure

After filling out an informed consent, participants were instructed to carefully read a scenario about a conflict situation between two fictitious companies using a vignette

methodology.

Newspaper task. Participants read one of four newspaper articles. Each of the articles outlined a situation whereby two fictive organisations, Prefor and Metix, had a partnership with each other. The articles described a situation of a conflict between organisation Prefor and Metix. Metix did not communicate about a technical mistake they had made, the ending and the consequences of this mistake were unclear. A spokesperson, called Jeroen de Bruijn, from Prefor communicated about the miscommunication, while expressing the emotion. Here, both status, and emotion were manipulated. Status was manipulated by describing Jeroen de Bruijn as either a company manager or an intern within the organisation. Emotion was communicated by having Jeroen de Bruijn express either anger or sadness about the miscommunication. Participants were asked to read the newspaper article carefully, as they would be required to answer a series of questions about it.

Status scale. Participants filled out two measurements related to the status participants ascribed to the employee and the organisation as a whole (2 items each). All responses were assessed on 7-point Likert scales (1= *very disagree*, 7= *very agree*). An example of item related to individual status: "I think that Jeroen de Bruijn has a high reputation within the organisation Prefor" (r_s = .87, p < .001). The second scale will measure the items related to the company's status (r_s = .73, p < .001). An example is "I think that the organisation Prefor has a high reputation in society"[1].

Prototypicality Scale. Additionally, participants filled out a measure of prototypicality, investigating the extent to which the participant perceived the intern/manager to be a prototypical member of the group. This scale was adapted from the leader prototypicality measure used by Van Knippenberg and Van Knippenberg (2005) and consisted of six items (α = .89). "Jeroen de Bruijn is representative of the employees within the organisation Prefor" (From 1= *Not at all*, to 7= *Very Much*).

Representative Scale. The last presented scale was a representative scale of Hajek, Villagran and Wittenberg-Eyles (2007). All responses on this scale were assessed on a 7-point Likert scale from 1 (*Not at all*), to 7 (*Very Much*). One of four questions was: "How representative is Jeroen de Bruijn of the organisation Prefor?" (α = .88).

Having completed the scales, participants were presented with several 7-point Likert scale control questions and a few demographic questions. The control questions measured if the manipulation was successful: "To what extent did Jeroen de Bruijn express the emotion anger (sadness) in the newspaper?" and "To what extent is Jeroen de Bruijn taking up a low or high position within the organisation Prefor?"

After answering all the questions, participants were thanked for their participation and debriefed about the purpose of the study. Preliminary analyses revealed three participants who were outliers on three of the dependent variables. After careful consideration, I decided to exclude them from the main analyses, resulting in a final sample size of 226 participants[2].

Results

Analysis

Manipulation check. Three manipulation checks were executed. First, a 2x2 ANOVA on the manipulation check for anger illustrates a significant main effect for communicated anger, $F(1, 221) = 151.13, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .41$. Participants experienced more anger in the anger conditions ($M = 6.01, SD = 0.96$) than in the sadness conditions ($M = 4.04, SD = 1.41$). Second, a 2x2 ANOVA on the manipulation check for sadness illustrates a significant main effect for sadness, $F(1, 221) = 186.67, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .46$. Participants in the sadness condition experienced more sadness in the sadness conditions ($M = 5.55, SD = 1.15$) than in the anger conditions ($M = 3.23, SD = 1.40$). Thirdly, a 2x2 ANOVA on the manipulation check for position illustrates a significant main effect for low or high position, $F(1, 221) = 112.47, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .34$. Participants in the high-status condition experienced the manager as having a higher position in the organisation ($M = 5.05, SD = 1.09$) than in the low-status condition ($M = 3.22, SD = 1.51$). This main effect was qualified by a significant interaction effect, $F(1, 220) = 4.990, p = .026, \eta_p^2 = .022$. Simple main effect analyses revealed that an intern, who expresses anger, is perceived to have a higher position in the organisation ($M = 3,47, SD = 1.56$) than when he expresses sadness ($M = 2.94, SD = 1.42$), $F(1, 220) = 4.555, p = .034$. No significant simple main effect was found for the company director, $F(1, 220) = 1.030, p = .31$. Consequently, all manipulations were successful.

Status scale. A 2x2 ANOVA on individual status revealed only a main effect of status, $F(1, 222) = 189.27, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .46$. Participants estimated a higher status for the manager ($M = 5.30, SD = 1.15$) than for the intern ($M = 2.97, SD = 1.40$), see Table 1. However, this main effect was qualified by a marginally significant interaction effect $F(1, 222) = 3.182, p = .076, \eta_p^2 = .014$. Simple main effects analyses revealed a marginally significant effect, illustrating that when participants read about an intern, they perceived him to have a higher status when communicating anger ($M = 3.17, SD = 1.50$) rather than sadness ($M = 2.75, SD = 1.27$), $F(1, 222) = 3.102, p = .080$, see Table 1 and Figure 1. The contrast for the manager was non significant, $F(1, 222) = 0.566, p = .45$. This illustrates that expressing either anger or sadness does not have much influence on perceived individual status of

someone of high-status. This is consistent with part of the expectations.

Another 2X2 ANOVA on group status revealed a marginal main effect of anger and sadness, $F(1, 222) = 3.225$, $p = .074$, $\eta_p^2 = .014$. Participants estimated a higher status for the organisation when communicating anger ($M = 4.39$, $SD = 0.97$) than when communicating sadness ($M = 4.13$, $SD = 1.15$), this is in line with the expectations (See Table 1 for the means and standard deviations per assigned status). In contrast, and contrary to expectations, no interaction effect of group status on both anger and sadness was found $F(1, 222) = 0.307$, $p = .58$.

Prototypicality scale. A 2x2 ANOVA on prototypicality revealed only a main effect of status, $F(1, 222) = 30.42$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .12$. Participants estimated a higher prototypicality for the manager ($M = 4.40$, $SD = 1.02$) than for the intern ($M = 3.64$ $SD = 1.06$), see Table 1 for the means and standard deviations per emotion. In contrast with the hypothesis no interaction effect of prototypicality on status and the emotions was found $F(1, 222) = 0.246$, $p = .62$.

Representative scale. A 2x2 ANOVA on representativeness revealed only a main effect on status, $F(1, 222) = 27.59$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$. Participants estimated a higher representativeness for the manager ($M = 4.31$, $SD = 0.98$) than for the intern ($M = 3.62$, $SD = 0.99$), see Table 1 for the means and standard deviations per emotion. No interaction effect was found $F(1, 222) = 0.005$, $p = .94$. By contrast, the expectations were not supported.

Since the interaction effect of prototypicality on emotions was not significant, no moderate mediation analyses were conducted to test the mediation of prototypicality between anger or sadness and group status.

Table 1

Means and Standard deviations of the dependent variables per independent variable.

	Anger				Sadness			
	High-status		Low-status		High-status		Low-status	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Individual status	5.21	1.23	3.17	1.50	5.39	1.06	2.75	1.27
Group status	4.40	0.83	4.43	1.10	4.11	1.20	4.15	1.12
Prototypicality	4.34	1.15	3.65	1.10	4.46	0.93	3.63	1.02
Representativeness	4.34	1.02	3.67	1.05	4.28	0.98	3.58	0.93

Note. All variables were measured on a 7-point Likert scale.
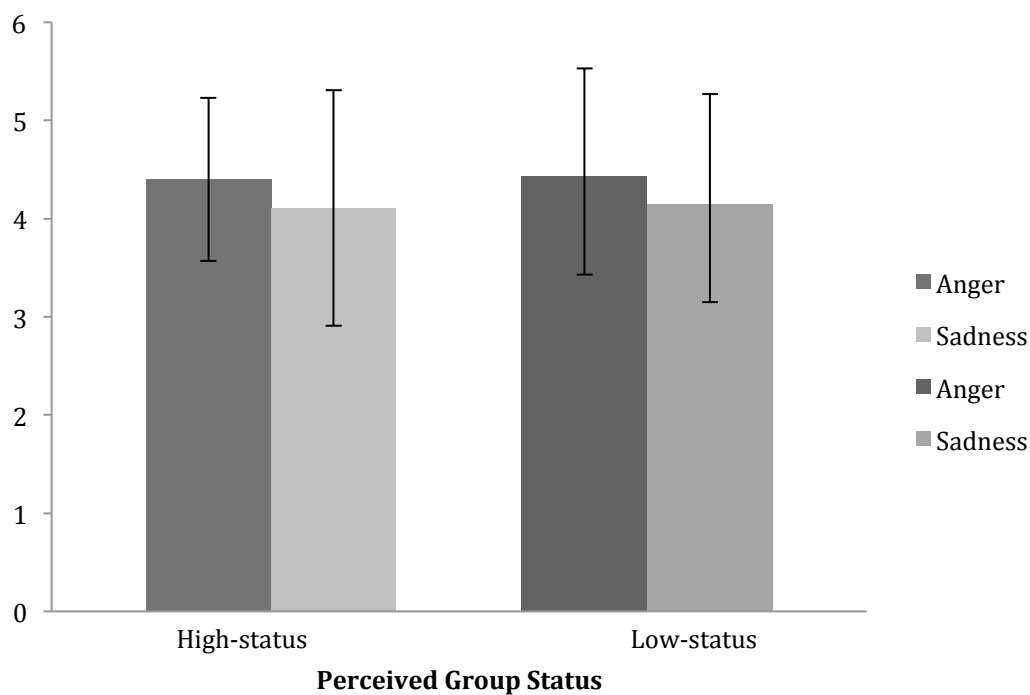

Figure 1. Estimated means of perceived group status when someone of high-status or low-status is expressing anger or sadness.

Discussion

Building on prior research that demonstrated the influence of emotions on perceived status (Tiedens et al., 2000), the present study set out to examine the potential mechanism by which emotions can predict not only perceived individual status, but also organisational status. I argued based on prototypicality theory that the more prototypical a person is, the more influence his actions have on the perception of the organisation (Rubin, 2012; Van Knippenberg & Van Knippenberg, 2005). Moreover, with anger having a positive effect on status and sadness having a negative effect on status. The results lent preliminary support for the hypotheses, and can be seen as a promising first step into this existing literature.

Theoretical and practical implications

Theoretical implications. In this study an effect on individual status was found, a person of low-status is perceived to have a higher status when communicating anger in comparison to sadness. This effect is in line with the hypothesis and the research of Tiedens and colleagues (2000). Tiedens and colleagues (2000) found that the emotion anger had an increasing effect on perceived status; in contrast to the decreasing effect of sadness. Additionally, a marginal effect was found for emotions on group status. The communication of anger, compared to sadness, increased the perceived status of the organisation, regardless of which employee expressed it. Because there was no control condition, it cannot be concluded whether it was anger increasing or sadness decreasing perceived status. What can be argued is that both emotions score above the midpoint on the scale and that anger may be perceived as more appropriate in the setting portrayed, because it is closely related to competence (Tiedens et al., 2000). Sadness produces more communal behaviours (Timmers, Fischer & Manstead, 1998), which is not that interesting in a business partnership. This is consistent with the previous implications; the emotion anger has an effect on the third person, and it indicates that the emotion anger helps with transferring individual status to group status. On the same note, the stereotype content model of Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, and Xu (2002) can give insight in the stereotypes that come along. The model predicts behavior within the context of warmth and competence, suggesting that for high-status, competitive groups, the positive stereotype of their competence acts jointly with the negative stereotype of low warmth. In contrast, the positive stereotype of warmth acts jointly with the negative stereotype of low competence. Therefore, in this organizational setting both anger and competence were needed, whereas sadness and warmth were not.

In contrast with previous research, communicating anger or sadness did not give a significant effect on perceived status for the manager. Sadness even resulted in a slightly

higher mean, which was not significant. No conclusions can be drawn from this, but it can be an entry for further research. An important point to highlight is that the research of Tiedens and colleagues (2000) did not include assigned status, which could have made the results contrary to the expectation. In their manipulation two people, with no background information, were the expressers of anger or sadness. It is possible that the word manager already included social rules and could have made the difference in comparison to present research.

To illustrate, Lewis (2000) demonstrates that communicating anger by Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) evoked fear and nervousness in others, while displays of sadness elicited fatigue and low enthusiasm. Furthermore anger may indicate lack of emotional control, which is consistently related to leader ineffectiveness. Lewis (2000) therefore argues that emotions in general will be considered as poor judgement on the part of the leader. This is due primarily to the fact that expressing anger and sadness will be seen as not fitting in a leader role (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987), representing lack of emotional control (Cherniss et al., 1998) and self-confidence (Kirkpatrick en Locke, 1991). This may explain why anger did create a higher status for the intern and it did not create higher status for the manager. For the manager both sadness and anger indicate lack of emotional control and self-confidence.

Moreover, people who express anger are seen as dominant, competent, strong, and smart, but they are also seen as less warm, nice, and friendly (Clark Pataki, Carver, 1996; Gallois, 1993). Anger can also enhance task-oriented characteristics, competent, strong and smart. Sadness, on the other hand, seems to enhance socio-emotional characteristics, how you handle your own, and emotional feelings of others and can result in an impression of the expresser being likeable, warm, and nice (Tiedens, 2001). All together evidence suggests that negative emotions create complex social impressions that are neither entirely negative nor entirely positive. A question that is inherent in these findings is whether people ascribe status to someone they like or to someone they think is competent. Existing literature on this issue is inconclusive. Tiedens (2001) compares status attainment to a popularity contest where liking matters implies that expressions of sadness are a more fulfilling response to negative events. On the other hand expressions of competence are weighted more heavily in decisions about who deserves status, so expressing anger should be more effective. In present study only for the manager, anger did not increase perceived status. Thereby, in this case, likability may have won over competence. Likewise, it explains the little difference between the effect of anger or sadness on perceived status, because sadness is related to communal skills.

Other studies on anger showed the same, anger could be an unlikeable emotion for someone of high-status. Anger can result in creating a bad impression of not wanting to solve conflict. In a study about coalition formation participants disliked parties who expressed anger in the process, which often led them to exclude angry parties from the coalition (Van Beest, Van Kleef, & Van Dijk, 2008). The manipulation in the present study was built around a coalition between two organisations. A manager communicating anger can confer not wanting to solve the conflict and with that create a bad impression. Social problem solving is referred to as a form of leadership, whereby leaders should use their knowledge to solve the problem (Mumford, Zaccaro, Harding, Jacobs, & Fleishman, 2000). In this case, waiting to hear from the other party might not be seen as being pro-active in solving the problem, which could have influenced the perceived status of the manager.

Practical implications. The findings have implications for the effect of emotions on third party observers. It implies that expressions of emotions not only say something over yourself but potentially also about the groups you belong too, such as the company you work at. Sometimes expressing emotions can be beneficial, for instance anger, when you are of low-status, because it creates a higher perceived status. Sometimes expressing emotions is unhelpful, for instance sadness because it can influence the image of an organisation negatively. Moreover people of high-status may experience disadvantageous when expressing anger.

Limitations and future research

Limitations. Though these preliminary results paint an interesting picture, there is reason to be cautious about generalizations of these findings.

First, Inspection of the means of several scales illustrated that a large amount of respondents opted for the midpoint of the scales, indicating no strong opinion in either direction. This was also reflected by the comments received from the participants. These comments revealed participants' feelings that it was hard to make an impression of a short article without much background knowledge. Brescoll & Uhlmann (2008) concluded that people view a man's anger as a response to objective, external circumstances. This could suggest that the conflict context within the manipulation was not permitting the expresser to be this angry. Anger predicts behaviour and actions that are intended to improve anger-inspiring situations and threat. Anger is, therefore, an important social cue for predicting the behaviour of others (Adams, Ambady, Macrae, & Kleck, 2006) not seeing or understanding the angry glare coming from, for instance, your boss could lead to negative consequences (Ratcliff, Bernstein, Cundiff & Vescio, 2012). Further, expressions of anger tend to be

unacceptable except under fairly circumscribed condition (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995). In the manipulation a high-status person was conveying anger or sadness towards another organisation. Whether one of both organisations was of higher status was not known. Neither was the person conveying an emotion towards a person, but towards an organisation without knowing who was responsible or what was going on at the other organisation. A manager portraying this intense emotion can be greater than the incident asked for and therefore explain the high amounts of responses in the midpoint of the scale.

Another limitation of the present study is that the manipulation was done through a vignette methodology. Vignettes have been criticised, because they represent a reality that is different from the more stimulus rich and interactive environment of actual emotional interactions. Vignettes would not be suited to assess how people would really react in a given social situation (Parkinson & Manstead, 1993). Additionally, this could explains the large amount of scores at the midpoint of the scales, being the manipulation did not cover enough information to make a good estimation about the expresser and environment surrounding the expresser. However, for this study, lack of context was crucial; by having less information you minimize bias and thereby increase experimental control.

Furthermore looking at the scale values of prototypicality and representativeness, although the effect of status is significant, an intern of low status is still seen as being above average on both scales. In the research of Lipponen and colleagues (2005) more prototypical group members are seen as more influential and high-status people significantly seen as being more prototypical of the group in comparison with low-status people. This could imply that although there was a significant difference in status, low-status group was not successfully manipulated. This is further corroborated with the fact that 64% of the respondents were students and either in this position or soon going to be in this position. Consequently the respondents may have thought that an intern is in a learning position and can grow to a higher position within the organisation. Anger can therefore increase the likeliness of the higher position, due to the fact of self-fulfilling prophecy (Watzlawick, 1984). Anger leads to more status for the intern, which, in turn, increases the status of the intern by making the intern live up to the expectations.

Suggestions for future research. In the present study both assigned status and emotion have been manipulated. The current experiment finds evidence that emotion has an effect on perceived individual status, in line with the results of Tiedens and colleagues (2000). Additionally, this study showed an effect for anger on perceived group status. Future research should try to delve deeper into how group status is influenced by individual factors,

for example focussing more on emotions conveying competence versus warmth. Emotions of others can cause inferences and attributes of three types: the credibility of the agent, the competence of an agent, and the social status or power of an emotive agent (Hareli & Rafaeli, 2008). The present study focussed on the last, for future research it should be interesting to focus on competence. According to Abele and Bruckmüller (2011) the terms warmth and competence represent two basic needs, with warmth forming and maintaining social connections, and competence pursuing goals and manifesting skills and accomplishments. In the workplace higher status people who do (versus who do not) display anger are perceived to be more competent (Lewis, 2000). Usually when judging social groups, many people are judged as high on one dimension and low on the other dimension, which could have important implications for affective and behavioral reactions (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007) Moreover, people tend to believe that high-status people are more competent and intelligent than people with low-status (Tiedens et al., 2000). According to the stereotype content model, it is expected that anger will create more status in comparison to friendliness (Fiske et al., 2002). Building on these studies, someone expressing anger, linked to competence, should have more effect on the transfer of individual status to group status in comparison to an emotion to warmth, like empathy or friendliness. At the same time, I argue that if the focus would be on a different domain, related to communal skills, instead of status, friendliness or kindness would increase the transfer of emotions to group level.

Another interesting follow-up research could build on the findings of assigned status and emotions on perceived status. For someone of high assigned status, anger did not have an increasing effect on perceived status; contrarily sadness had an increasing effect. Exploring this effect outside of an organizational setting could have different implications for perceived status. Emotions, in particular anger, can be seen as not fitting in a leader role (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987; Van Beest, Van Kleef, & Van Dijk, 2008). Creating a situation where people are in first contact, for instance new to the neighbourhood, and a conflict occurs where both parties express anger or sadness. One described as already living there for a long time and one as being new can indicate assigned status. Expected to find is anger increasing the status and sadness decreasing, because in this case no leader role will be assigned.

Conclusion

As Frijda and Mesquita (1994) concluded in earlier research, "Emotions are complex, structured phenomena"(p. 51). The present study reveals the effects of assigned status and emotions on the perceived status of an individual and group. It investigates whether expressing anger helps or hurts perceived status. An expresser of low-status communicating

anger, in comparison to sadness, increases perceived status. Thus, it helps to express anger if you are the lower status counterpart. Although not all hypotheses were fully confirmed, an interesting addition to the literature was found. A positive effect providing an increase in perceived group status, when expressing anger. These new findings add to our knowledge of how emotions influences group status, specifically if one wants to increase group status, expressing anger would be a better idea than sadness. However, further investigations are needed into this topic. If it is a fact that Donald Trump transfers status by communicating anger, I cannot say with all certainty. Nevertheless there is evidence that Trumps emotions could be an interesting way for the United States of America to achieve higher status.

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Footnotes

[1] Originally the status scales consisted of three items, but the wording of one question caused some problems and was a bad fit, so it was subsequently excluded from the analyses

[2] The data was still not normally distributed, after excluding the outliers. This is mainly due to data being distributed around the centre of the scale. There is relatively not much spread. However there is no mentioning of skewness. I tested the results with transformed scales as well as the general ANOVA's, but there were no huge differences in outcomes. This is why I decided to report the regular ANOVA's.

Supplement 1

Condition 1

Communicatieprobleem zorgt voor boosheid bij bedrijfsleider Prefor.

Februari 12, 2016. De bedrijfsleider van Prefor laat weten *"Ik ben bijzonder boos dat Metix ons niet meteen heeft ingeschakeld over de gevolgen van de technische problemen en het maakt me echt kwaad dat het zo is verlopen"*.

Na 7 jaren samenwerking gaat het op 11 februari fout. Er waren technische fouten bij Metix niet door gecommuniceerd naar Prefor, waardoor de site er 4 uur lang uit lag en klachten opstapelden bij Prefor. Van de kant van Metix is nog niks gezegd over de eventuele vergoeding. Bedrijfsleider van Prefor, Jeroen de Bruijn, reageert kwaad *"De fout ligt voor mij duidelijk bij Metix, ik vind het heel erg dat dit niet duidelijk naar ons gecommuniceerd wordt"*. Wat voor een effect dit heeft voor het gevolg van de samenwerking blijft onduidelijk. *"Ik kan alleen zeggen dat ik woedend ben en dat dit nog een staartje krijgt"*.

Condition 2

Communicatieprobleem zorgt voor boosheid bij stagiair Prefor.

Februari 12, 2016. Een stagiair van Prefor laat weten "*Ik ben bijzonder boos dat Metix ons niet meteen heeft ingeschakeld over de gevolgen van de technische problemen en het maakt me echt kwaad dat het zo is verlopen*".

Na 7 jaren samenwerking gaat het op 11 februari fout. Er waren technische fouten bij Metix niet door gecommuniceerd naar Prefor, waardoor de site er 4 uur lang uit lag en klachten opstapelden bij Prefor. Van de kant van Metix is nog niks gezegd over de eventuele vergoeding. Een stagiair bij Prefor, Jeroen de Bruijn, reageert kwaad *"De fout ligt voor mij duidelijk bij Metix, ik vind het heel erg dat dit niet duidelijk naar ons gecommuniceerd wordt"*. Wat voor een effect dit heeft voor het gevolg van de samenwerking blijft onduidelijk. *"Ik kan alleen zeggen dat ik woedend ben en dat dit nog een staartje krijgt"*.

Condition 3

Communicatieprobleem zorgt voor bedroefdheid bij bedrijfsleider Prefor.

Februari 12, 2016. De bedrijfsleider van Prefor laat weten *"Ik ben bijzonder bedroefd dat Metix ons niet meteen heeft ingeschakeld over de gevolgen van de technische problemen en ik vind het echt akelig dat het zo is verlopen"*.

Na 7 jaren samenwerking gaat het op 11 februari fout. Er waren technische fouten bij Metix niet door gecommuniceerd naar Prefor, waardoor de site er 4 uur lang uit lag en klachten opstapelden bij Prefor. Van de kant van Metix is nog niks gezegd over de eventuele vergoeding. De bedrijfsleider van Prefor, Jeroen de Bruijn, reageert verdrietig *"De fout ligt voor mij duidelijk bij Metix, ik vind het heel erg dat dit niet duidelijk naar ons gecommuniceerd wordt"*. Wat voor een effect dit heeft voor het gevolg van de samenwerking blijft onduidelijk. *"Ik kan alleen zeggen dat ik bedroefd ben en dat dit nog een staartje krijgt"*.

Condition 4

Communicatieprobleem zorgt voor bedroefdheid bij stagiair Prefor.

Februari 12, 2016. Een stagiair van Prefor laat weten *"Ik ben bijzonder bedroefd dat Metix ons niet meteen heeft ingeschakeld over de gevolgen van de technische problemen en ik vind het echt akelig dat het zo is verlopen"*.

Na 7 jaren samenwerking gaat het op 11 februari fout. Er waren technische fouten bij Metix niet door gecommuniceerd naar Prefor, waardoor de site er 4 uur lang uit lag en klachten opstapelden bij Prefor. Van de kant van Metix is nog niks gezegd over de eventuele vergoeding. Een stagiair bij Prefor, Jeroen de Bruijn, reageert verdrietig *"De fout ligt voor mij duidelijk bij Metix, ik vind het heel erg dat dit niet duidelijk naar ons gecommuniceerd wordt"*. Wat voor een effect dit heeft voor het gevolg van de samenwerking blijft onduidelijk. *"Ik kan alleen zeggen dat ik bedroefd ben en dat dit nog een staartje krijgt"*.

Supplement 2

Presented with the answer-options in the same order as the scales appeared in the study.

Individual Status Scale

-Ik denk dat Jeroen de Bruijn veel aanzien heeft in de organisatie Prefor.

7-point Likert scale: (1= *"helemaal mee oneens"* , 7= *"helemaal mee eens"*)

-Ik denk dat Jeroen de Bruijn een hoge status heeft in de organisatie Prefor.

7-point Likert scale: (1= *"helemaal mee oneens"* , 7= *"helemaal mee eens"*)

-Ik denk dat Jeroen de Bruijn veel respect krijgt binnen de organisatie Prefor.

7-point Likert scale: (1= *"helemaal mee oneens"* , 7= *"helemaal mee eens"*)

Group status Scale

- Ik denk dat de organisatie Prefor veel aanzien heeft in de samenleving.

7-point Likert scale: (1= *"helemaal mee oneens"* , 7= *"helemaal mee eens"*)

- Ik denk dat de organisatie Prefor een hoge status heeft in de samenleving.

7-point Likert scale: (1= *"helemaal mee oneens"* , 7= *"helemaal mee eens"*)

- Ik denk dat de organisatie Prefor veel respect krijgt in de samenleving.

7-point Likert scale: (1= *"helemaal mee oneens"* , 7= *"helemaal mee eens"*)

Prototypicality Scale

- Jeroen de Bruijn is representatief voor de werknemers binnen de organisatie Prefor.

7-point Likert scale: (1= *"helemaal mee oneens"* , 7= *"helemaal mee eens"*)

- Jeroen de Bruijn vertoont gelijkenis met de andere medewerkers van de organisatie Prefor.

7-point Likert scale: (1= *"helemaal mee oneens"* , 7= *"helemaal mee eens"*)

- Jeroen de Bruijn is een goed voorbeeld van het type mensen dat werkzaam is binnen de organisatie Prefor.

7-point Likert scale: (1= *"helemaal mee oneens"* , 7= *"helemaal mee eens"*)

- Jeroen de Bruijn is karakteristiek voor de organisatie Prefor.

7-point Likert scale: (1= *"helemaal mee oneens"* , 7= *"helemaal mee eens"*)

- Jeroen de Bruijn komt veel overeen met andere werknemers van de organisatie Prefor .

7-point Likert scale: (1= *"helemaal mee oneens"* , 7= *"helemaal mee eens"*)

- Jeroen de Bruijn belichaamt de groepsnormen van de organisatie Prefor.

7-point Likert scale: (1= *"helemaal mee oneens"* , 7= *"helemaal mee eens"*)

Representative Scale

- Hoe representatief is Jeroen de Bruijn voor de organisatie Prefor?

7-point Likert scale: (1= *"helemaal niet"* , 7= *"heel erg"*)

- Hoe sterk lijkt Jeroen de Bruijn op andere werknemers binnen de organisatie Prefor?

7-point Likert scale: (1= *"helemaal niet"* , 7= *"heel erg"*)

- Hoe typerend is Jeroen de Bruijn in het algemeen voor werknemers van de organisatie Prefor?

7-point Likert scale: (1= *"helemaal niet"* , 7= *"heel erg"*)

- In hoeverre is Jeroen de Bruijn net als andere mensen binnen de organisatie Prefor?

7-point Likert scale: (1= *"helemaal niet"* , 7= *"heel erg"*)

Control questions

- In hoeverre uitte Jeroen de Bruijn in het krantenbericht de emotie boosheid?

7-point Likert scale: (1= *"helemaal niet"* , 7= *"heel erg"*)

- In hoeverre uitte Jeroen de Bruijn in het krantenartikel de emotie bedroefdheid?

7-point Likert scale: (1= *"helemaal niet"* , 7= *"heel erg"*)

- Hoeveel status heeft Jeroen de Bruijn in het krantenartikel binnen de organisatie Prefor?

7-point Likert scale: (1= *"helemaal niet"* , 7= *"heel erg"*)

- In hoeverre betrok Jeroen de Bruijn een lage of hoge positie binnen bedrijf Prefor?

7-point Likert scale: (1= *"heel laag"* , 7= *"heel hoog"*)

Demographical questions

- Wat is je leeftijd (in jaren)?

(Open question)

- Ben je een man of een vrouw?

("man", "vrouw")

- Ben je een student bij een universiteit ?

("Ja", "nee bij een HBO", "nee, geen student meer")

- Heb je dyslexie?

("Ja", "Nee")

- Is Nederlands je moedertaal?

("Ja", "Nee")

- Wat denk of vermoed je dat dit onderzoek probeerde te meten?

(Open question)

- Heb je nog verdere op- of aanmerkingen over het onderzoek en/of suggesties ter verbetering?

(Open question)