

Warmth and Competence and the Communication of Anger and Sadness:

Investigating an Emotion-Stereotype Content Matching Hypothesis

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Word count (excl. appendix): 8678

Abstract

Research shows that social groups as well as emotions can be stereotypically categorized on dimensions of warmth and competence. In the present study, I argue that a match between group stereotype and communicated emotion can lead to more perceived trustworthiness of a person and more positive conflict intentions in an observer. In an experiment with manipulation of stereotype content (cold and competent versus warmth and incompetent) and emotions (anger versus sadness), results provide support for both a warm and incompetent stereotype and sadness leading to more trustworthiness, and a cold and competent stereotype and anger leading to, opposite of the hypothesis, more negative conflict intentions. Furthermore, sadness was found to be more appropriate than anger, especially when communicated by a warm stereotype. Additionally, results show that because anger is perceived as less appropriate, it leads to more negative conflict intentions. I discuss these findings considering previous studies and present implications for theory and practice. Overall, the results of this study are the first attempt to examine the emotion-stereotype matching hypothesis. Future studies should further investigate how it influences communication of emotions and conflict behavior.

Keywords: anger, sadness, communication, stereotype matching, conflict intentions

Abstract

Onderzoek toont aan dat zowel sociale groepen als emoties geëvalueerd kunnen worden op basis van warmte en competentie. Aan de hand van een experiment waarin ik stereotype (koud en competent versus warm en incompetent) en emotie (boosheid versus verdriet) manipuleerde, beargumenteer ik dat een match tussen deze twee kan leiden tot meer betrouwbaarheid en positieve conflict intenties. Uit de resultaten blijkt dat zowel het warm en incompetente stereotype als de emotie verdriet leidt tot meer betrouwbaarheid. In tegenstelling tot de hypothese, leidt een koud en competent stereotype en de emotie boosheid tot negatieve conflict intenties. Ook tonen de resultaten dat verdriet gezien wordt als gepaster dan boosheid, vooral als het gecommuniceerd wordt door een warm en incompetent stereotype. Tot slot is er gevonden dat boosheid tot meer negatieve conflict intenties leidt, omdat het wordt gezien als minder gepast. Het huidige onderzoek is de eerste in het bestuderen van de emotie-stereotype match. Vervolgstudies zouden zich kunnen richten op het uitbreiden van het onderzoek op bijvoorbeeld de effecten van deze match op conflictgedrag.

Kernwoorden: boosheid, verdriet, communicatie, stereotype matching, conflict intenties

Warmth and Competence and the Communication of Anger and Sadness:

Investigating an Emotion-Stereotype Content Matching Hypothesis

The notion that stereotypes influence our judgements, behavior, and emotions is not new. Popular stereotypes, portrayed in literature and media, are for example: the ‘happy housewife’, which leads women to ignore their own desires for self-actualization and replacing them with this gender role (Asemah, Edegoh, & Ojih, 2013); ‘The Dumb Jock’ stereotype, which leads student-athletes to think that others indeed perceive them to have lower academic performances (Winiger & White, 2008); and ‘The Angry Black Woman’ stereotype, which leads women to be perceived as aggressive, angry and dominant (West, 2008). This final example suggests that stereotypes reach further than only influencing our evaluation of an individual, but also influences our perception of emotions. Namely, the perception of what anger means is affected by its attachment to the stereotype of black women. In addition, research implies that both social groups and emotions can be stereotypically categorized. Specifically, this study distinguished two dimensions, warmth and competence, which have a strong influence on how we evaluate individuals (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2006) and on the evaluation of emotions (Celik, Storme, & Myszkowski, 2016; Timmers, Fischer, & Manstead, 1998). For example, regarding the evaluation of individuals (see figure 1), Asians, Jews and rich people are perceived as more competent, whereas welfare recipients, Turks and poor Blacks are perceived as less competent. Regarding warmth, elderly, Christians and housewives are perceived as warmer, whereas Arabs, rich people and Asians are perceived as lower in warmth (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu 2002). Concerning emotions, anger can be evaluated as a cold but competent emotion, whereas sadness can be evaluated as a warm but less competent emotion (Timmers et al., 1998). It is, however, not clear how the two would interact. In other words: How would a cold and competent person that communicates a warm and incompetent emotion be evaluated? And would someone who is perceived to be cold and competent and then communicates a cold and competent emotion be perceived differently? Specifically, this study aims to investigate how the match between the stereotype content and the stereotyped emotion would affect our communication of emotions.

Emotions

Emotions help us adapt to our environment and situations that are important for our wellbeing (Scherer, 2005). According to Jones (2000) emotions consist of three components: cognitive, physiological, and expressive. The first component consists of an emotional reaction that usually results after change in the environment. That change is evaluated and the

resulting emotion reflects the appraisal of that change. Scherer (2005) argues that this only occurs when an event is relevant, as “we do not get emotional about things and people we do not care about” (p.701). The second component is the feeling that an emotion diffuses through your whole body when experiencing it. The last component is the actual behavioral response after the cognitive and physiological experience. Identifying these components makes it easier to distinguish emotions from feelings, which have no cognitive component, and moods, which last longer and are less intense (Jones, 2000).

Despite the fact that emotions are fundamentally social, most studies on emotions do not research social interactions (Fischer & Van Kleef, 2010). However, Fischer and Van Kleef (2010) argue that emotions are a social movement, as they change the way people view a person or relationship that is the object of our emotion. For example, being angry at someone makes you feel different about that person in comparison with situations where we experience no specific emotion. In addition to the within-person and between-person effects of emotion, much can be said about third-party observers. Hareli and Rafaeli (2008) mention that emotions are a process of social influence and thus also directly affects third-party observers. For example, when you observe an aggressive scene, it can leave you feeling frustrated and anxious (Hareli & Rafaeli, 2008). This effect of social influence is also proven by Celik and colleagues (2016), who argue that expressed emotions indeed influence both interaction partners and observers.

According to Izard (2011) there are both negative and positive basic emotions. She argues that positive basic emotions (e.g. joy) influence our evaluation of events and people. This determines how we feel and act in these situations. Negative basic emotions (e.g. fear) occur less and are specifically meant for challenging and threatening situations in which we must rely on automatic behaviors (Izard, 2011). This study focused on the impact of two negative emotions, anger and sadness. Studies have shown these emotions are closely related, for example, they are both negative and are often experienced, and people often struggle in choosing to express either anger or sadness in situations where it is crucial to express an emotion to safeguard oneself from threat (Celik et al. 2016). Several studies focus on these emotions, such as those that compare the effectiveness of anger and sadness based on gender (Timmers et al. 1998), place the emotion anger in a negotiation context (Van Kleef & Côté, 2007) or study anger in negative evaluation interactions (Celik et al. 2016).

Anger and sadness communicate different behavioral intentions (Celik et al. 2016). Where anger shows dominance, toughness and motivation to affirm one’s strength, sadness expresses the need for nurturance and friendliness. A study by Timmers and colleagues

(1998) shows that expressing anger produces behavior that helps build competence, whereas expressing sadness produces more communal behaviors (e.g. helping). As Frijda (2000) mentioned “Emotional behavior as well as felt emotions strongly suggest a certain prominence of urges to act, desires, or motive states” (p.72). Thus, emotions gear us into action. This proves to be especially relevant in conflict situations. A study by De Vos, Van Zomeren, Gordijn, and Postmes (2013) revealed that communicating group-based anger in a conflict between two groups increased empathy and decreased destructive conflict intentions in the target group towards the group communicating the anger. Empathy is important in this process as it is often seen as the first step towards solving problems (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). According to an additional study by De Vos, Van Zomeren, Gordijn, and Postmes (2016) with low stake conflicts, this is especially salient when the out-group was treated unfairly and when there was high out-group consensus concerning the communicated anger (i.e., the anger was shared by the whole group). The perceived unfairness of the situation, and the whole group sharing the emotion, makes it more appropriate to communicate the emotion of anger.

Stereotypes

Besides the influence emotions have on our actions (Frijda, 2000), our behavior is also guided by stereotypes. Stereotypes are an implicit, unconscious socially shared set of beliefs, which guide our judgement and behavior towards other individuals (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). To this definition, Hilton and Von Hippel (1996) add that stereotypes are “beliefs about the characteristics, attributes and behavior of members of certain groups” (p. 240). A great deal of research has been done on the concept of stereotypes. For example, in a literature review, which focuses on factors that influence the development and application of stereotypes, Hilton and Von Hippel (1996) identify four reasons why stereotypes exist: to justify the status quo or the need for social identity, to make information processing easier, to simplify demands of the perceiver, and to respond to different environmental factors. They also found that motivation and affect both determine ‘how’ and ‘when’ stereotypes occur.

Adding to the research on stereotypes, Kunda and Thagard (1996) distinguish the term stereotype from the term individuating information, which is all the additional information that is available about an individual. For example, what their family circumstances are, how they behave themselves and what personality traits they have. Based on this distinction, Kunda and Thagard (1996) constructed the Parallel-Constraint-Satisfaction Theory of Impression Formation, which suggests that together, stereotypes and individuating information form impressions. When testing this theory, they concluded that stereotypes

affect the interpretation of traits and behavior, especially when combined with ambiguous individuating information. Uhlman, Brescoll, and Machery (2010) added that there is no rational thinking involved in the motivation behind stereotypic thinking. However, when your motivation is to be accurate in your judgement, in most cases this leads to lower stereotypical thinking because people rely more on the individuating information that is available instead of relying on stereotypes. Stereotypes have a predominantly prescriptive function. For example, another form used for stereotypes are 'display rules', which are "cultural norms regulating how, when and where emotions can be expressed by males and females in any particular culture" (Lewis et al., 2010, p.396). In the case of anger and sadness, according to these display rules, sadness is considered to occur more in women and anger more in men. This example is an emotion-specific stereotype, however, stereotypes are found on a wide range of dimensions.

According to Abele and Bruckmüller (2014), research on stereotypes have resulted in the aggregation of two dimensions: warmth and competence. Although these dimensions have been referred to in different terms, they both represent the basic needs of (1) forming and maintaining social connections and (2) pursuing goals and manifesting skills and accomplishments (Abele & Bruckmüller, 2014). The first need represents the term warmth, and the latter represents competence. Additional to these needs, warmth symbolizes: friendliness, helpfulness, and trustworthiness, whereas competence symbolizes: intelligence, skill, and efficacy (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2006). Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, and Xu (2002) set out to merge the evaluations of warmth and competence from the impression of individuals to stereotypes of specific groups. Their Stereotype Content Model (SCM), shown in figure 1, displays the different stereotyped groups categorized by the degree of evaluated warmth and competence.

Overall, warmth is judged before competence and weighs heavier in affective and behavioral reactions (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2006). In addition, Fiske, Cuddy and Glick (2006) mention that the degree of warmth predicts whether the impression is positive or negative. Following this information, the degree of competence determines how positive or how negative this impression is. These impressions form the base of stereotypes mentioned in the SCM. Cuddy, Glick, and Beninger (2011) state that these stereotypes are habits of our minds that influence our perception of the people surrounding us. For example, some are perceived as useless and incompetent (e.g. elderly), and some as cold and unkind (e.g. rich people). Additionally, Cuddy, Glick, and Beninger (2011) mention that high warmth stereotypes are perceived as non-competitive and likable, which minimizes conflict. They also

propose that judgements based on these stereotype parties arise through nonverbal behaviors (NVB). NVB for warmth are: eye contact, nodding, smiling, leaning in and having relaxed hand gestures. Leaning backwards, pointing and a tense posture signals coldness. According to Cuddy, Glick, and Beninger (2011), the nonverbal behaviors for competence are similar to behaviors related to dominance and anger. For example, an expanded posture and open limbs. Incompetence is signaled by a submissive posture (e.g. averting eyes), which is similar to the nonverbal signs of sadness (Lewis et al., 2010).

Celik and colleagues (2016) mentioned that anger shows dominance and affirms one's strength. On the other hand, sadness shows nurturance and friendliness. Additionally, anger produces more competent behavior, whereas sadness produces more communal behavior (Timmers et al., 1998). Taken together, the research on the SCM and the research on anger and sadness, show that it can be argued that the emotion anger coincides with the dimensions cold and competence and sadness with warmth and incompetence. The following sections explore this further, leading to my main matching hypotheses.

Effective Communication

To examine how the match between stereotype content and stereotyped emotion affects communicating those emotions, various measures are used to assess the effectiveness of communication.

Trustworthiness. According to Gambetta (2000), the definition of trusting someone is when one feels that cooperating with that person will be beneficial to them. There are various ways people determine whom to trust. Hargie (2010) mentions that people do this based on previous experiences and on second-hand stories. Cuddy, Glick, and Beninger (2011), on the other hand, mention that the judgement of warmth determines the degree of trust, on which one decides to approach or avoid a person. When a person is high in competence and high in warmth, that person is not only trusted (warm) but also respected (competent) (Fiske & Dupree, 2014). Staying within the dimensions of warmth and competence, Hargie (2010) states that within the credibility of a person trust counterbalances competence "If someone is perceived to be highly competent but untrustworthy, their credibility rating drops dramatically" (p. 371). According to these studies it can be concluded that stereotypes based on warmth and competence can play a major role in determining whether to trust someone.

Concerning emotions, Liu and Wang (2010) found that expressing anger increases distrust. Distrust is different from low trust, as it is a negative expectation instead of the absence of positive expectations. This distrust by cause of anger, can lead to more negative conflict intentions, such as withholding information in negotiations (Lui & Wang, 2010). On

contrary, Celik and colleagues (2016) mention that sadness expresses the willingness for further interaction and trust, which demonstrates the role sadness plays in trust and forming and maintaining relationships.

Conflict Intentions. There are several ways one can act within in conflict. Horney (1945), for example, argues that some people have the urge to help, others prefer to avoid any confrontation and that there are some people that tend to react hostile. A study by Ufkes, Otten, Van Der Zee, Giebels, and Dovidio (2012) proves that stereotypes can influence these conflict intentions. They found that when perceiving the outgroup as less warm, it leads to anger and more forceful reactions in conflict. When perceiving the outgroup as less competent, it leads to contempt and avoiding of conflict.

In literature on the effect of emotions on conflict, there is some inconsistency on the interpersonal effects of anger. Some studies mention that being confronted with anger induces fear, generates a negative impression of the opponent, leads to less willingness for further interaction and leads to less satisfaction of the interaction (Van Kleef, De Dreu, & Manstead, 2004a; Van Kleef, De Dreu, & Manstead, 2004b; Kopelman, Rosette, & Thompson, 2006). Literature on the effects of anger in a conflict setting show that expressing anger in conflict lowers the resolution of a conflict because it provokes an angry response (Friedman et al, 2004). On the other hand, studies show that it can also have positive effects on conflict behavior (e.g., De Vos et al., 2013; 2016). These positive effects, are for example the result of the appropriateness of the situation where anger was communicated. In research of the effects of sadness in conflict, Sinaceur, Kopelman, Vasiljevic, and Haag (2015) found that expressing sadness in negotiations, leads to conceding more towards the expresser. However, these positive conflict intentions only arise when the expression of sadness is perceived as appropriate.

Appropriateness. Appropriateness is described as the feeling of something making sense in a certain situation (Shields, 2005). Regarding emotions, Shields (2005) mentions that an emotion is expressed appropriately when it is “correct for the situation and in correct proportion to the evoking circumstances” (p.7). Thus, the context of a situation determines the appropriateness of an emotion. For example, when one starts crying because someone calls them names, it would be perceived as more appropriate as to when one expresses sadness when a person tries to cooperate with them. Schipman, Zeman, Nesin, and Fitzgerald (2003), in their study on emotional development in children, mention that it is crucial for children to learn when an expressing an emotion is appropriate and what the cultural rules are on how to express an emotion appropriately. In this study, they examined different strategies for emotion

interaction and found that verbalization of anger and sadness was the most appropriate strategy for expressing emotion.

Van Kleef and Côté (2007) investigated appropriateness in a conflict setting. They tested a model that proposes, among other things, that the appropriateness of communicated anger within a negotiation setting determines whether the target competes or cooperates. They found that anger, when perceived as inappropriate, can be ineffective during conflict and even have a negative effect, such as demanding more from the opponent. In contrast, when perceived as appropriate, communicating anger results in more cooperation in negotiations. This corresponds with the findings by De Vos and colleagues (2016), which showed that communicating anger in conflict results, when perceived as appropriate, in more empathy. It also is similar to the study by Sinaceur and colleagues (2015), which found that sadness, when perceived as appropriate, leads to more positive conflict intentions.

Present Study

The present study examines whether the effectiveness (i.e. trustworthiness, conflict intentions, appropriateness) of a communicated emotion (i.e. anger or sadness) depends on the match with an individual derived from a stereotyped group based on research done by Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, and Xu (2002). This study, however, does not focus on the content of the message, but on the person that communicates the emotion. Therefore, it aims to answer the question of whether the evaluation of the communicator influences the perceived effectiveness of the emotion that they communicate.

Furthermore, trustworthiness and conflict intentions are used as a measure of effectiveness. Regarding trustworthiness, it is expected that when the stereotype matches with the communicated emotion, the person communicating that emotion will be perceived as more trustworthy and vice versa. As for conflict intentions, it is expected that when the stereotypes of the person and the communicated emotion match, it results in more positive conflict intentions (e.g. searching for a solution or talking it out) in comparison with negative conflict intentions (e.g. acting out or wanting payback). Additionally, the measure of appropriateness is expected to have a mediational effect. According to Alter and Opperheimer (2009) the intuitive sense of ‘feeling right’ increases trustworthiness, liking, and perceived truth. All in all, due to the match between stereotype and emotion, the emotion is perceived as more appropriate, which leads to an increase in trustworthiness and positive conflict intentions. On the contrary, when the stereotype is incongruent with the communicated emotion, the emotion is perceived to be less appropriate, which leads to the person being

perceived as less trustworthy and to a decrease in positive conflict intentions and an increase in negative conflict intentions.

These hypotheses were investigated in an experiment in which the stereotype and emotions were manipulated. This resulted in four scenarios after which participants answered questions regarding the outcome measures.

Method

Participants and Design

The experiment included 329 participants (226 women; $M_{\text{age}}=25.85$; $SD=8.04$), acquired through several social media platforms and websites. The final sample, excluding participants that did not complete the questionnaire, consisted of 194 participants (dropout 41%, missing at random). The substantial dropout of participants mainly occurred after being assigned with a condition and starting with the first questions. Various comments on the questionnaire stated that participants did not receive enough context in the scenario to be able to answer the questions to their liking. Further explanation can be found in the discussion.

The experimental design was a 2 (stereotype content: warm and incompetent vs. cold and competent) X 2 (communicated emotion: anger vs. sadness) with trustworthiness, conflict intentions, and appropriateness as dependent variables. Participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions, resulting in cells ranging from 44 to 52.

Procedure

Upon entering the online questionnaire participants received a short welcome text including an informed consent.

Manipulation. To manipulate the stereotype content and the communicated emotion, participants read one of four hypothetical scenarios. In all scenarios, the participants were presented with an interaction between a male, either elderly (warm and incompetent) or rich and Asian (cold and competent), and another unspecified person. During that brief interaction, the male stereotype communicated either anger or sadness to the other person, without the participant, acting as a third-party observer, knowing the reason behind this. The scenario purposefully minimized context, to ensure the manipulation of emotion and the projection of the stereotype.

Outcome Measures. After being presented with a scenario, participants filled in several questions, with items measured by a 7-point Likert scale (1= Strongly Disagree, 7= Strongly Agree), on how effective the communication of the actor was. The first scale, based on Van Kleef and Côté (2007), measured appropriateness of the emotion ($\alpha=.77$) (e.g. “I found the emotion of the portrayed man appropriate”). The second scale, based on

McCroskey and Teven (1999), measured trustworthiness of the actor ($\alpha=.87$), for example “You can trust the portrayed man”. A final set of scales measuring conflict intentions was divided into four subscales each containing four items. The first three subscales based on Horney (1945): moving away (e.g. “To what extent would you want to avoid the portrayed man”), moving against (e.g. “To what extent would you go against the portrayed man?”), and moving towards the person ($\alpha=.94$) (e.g. “To what extent would you want to help the portrayed man?”). The fourth subscale, based De Vos and colleagues (2013), measured ‘doing nothing’ (e.g. “To what extent would you leave the conflict situation between the two people unchanged?”). Due to convergent patterns in the results on the three subscales ‘moving away’, ‘moving against’ and ‘doing nothing’, these were combined into one negative conflict intentions scale ($\alpha=.83$).

Following these questions, participants filled in a manipulation check for the communicated emotion. This was measured by indicating on two 7-point Likert scales how much anger and sadness they perceived in the presented scenario. A second manipulation check, based on Campbell (2015), was presented to analyze the perceived stereotype by presenting different synonyms for warmth ($\alpha=.90$) and competence ($\alpha=.79$) (e.g. capable, friendly, able, kindly). Participants could fill in how much of each term they perceived in the presented scenario. Participants then entered their age, gender and ethnic background and had the possibility to leave their thoughts on this study. Lastly, the participants were thanked for their participation and debriefed about the goal of the study.

Results

Manipulation Checks

A 2x2 ANOVA on the manipulation check of perceived anger revealed only the intended main effect of emotion, $F(1,154)=105.31, p=.000, \eta_p^2=.41$. Participants in the conditions where the actor communicated anger, perceived the communicator as angrier ($M=5.66, SD=0.99$) compared to conditions with the emotion sadness ($M=3.56, SD=1.51$). The manipulation check of perceived sadness revealed the intended main effect of emotion $F(1,154)=117.22, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.43$. Participants in the conditions where the actor communicated sadness, perceived the communicator as sadder ($M=6.28, SD=0.97$) compared to when the actor communicated anger ($M=4.22, SD=1.38$).

The 2x2 ANOVA on the manipulation check of perceived warmth showed the intended main effect of the stereotype, $F(1,154)=9.61, p=.002, \eta_p^2=.06$. The results showed that participants in the conditions with a warm and incompetent stereotype perceived the actor

as warmer ($M=4.89$, $SD=0.83$) in comparison to the cold and competent scenarios ($M=4.43$, $SD=0.96$). Additionally, the results show a significant main effect of emotion, $F(1,154)=17.22$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=.10$. Within the conditions with a warm and incompetent stereotype, sadness was perceived as warmer ($M=5.08$, $SD=0.83$) compared to anger ($M=4.68$, $SD=0.78$).

The manipulation check of perceived competence showed comparable results. It showed the intended main effect of stereotype, $F(1,154)=5.82$, $p=.017$, $\eta_p^2=.04$. In the cold and competent conditions, participants indeed perceived the actor as higher in competence ($M=4.57$, $SD=0.73$) compared to conditions with a warm and incompetent stereotype ($M=4.27$, $SD=0.74$). Additionally, the results showed a significant main effect of emotion, $F(1,154) = 7.73$, $p=.006$, $\eta_p^2=.05$. Specifically, anger was perceived as more competent ($M=4.71$, $SD=0.63$) in comparison with the emotion sadness ($M=4.41$, $SD=0.81$). Thus, as expected, anger coincides with being a more competent emotion. Both the results on the warmth and on the competence manipulations support the studies by Celik and colleagues (2016) and Timmers and colleagues (1998), which mention that sadness is an overall more warmer emotion compared to anger and anger is overall more competent in compared to sadness.

Trustworthiness

A 2x2 ANOVA with trustworthiness as the dependent variable showed only a marginally significant main effect on stereotype, $F(1,172)=3.86$, $p=.051$, $\eta_p^2=.02$. Participants perceived the actor within the warm and incompetent conditions as more trustworthy ($M=4.78$, $SD=0.98$) in comparison to the conditions with a cold and competent stereotype ($M=4.49$, $SD=0.89$). This difference is visually represented in figure 2 and in table 1. No main effect was found for emotion, $F<1$, $p>.05$.

Conflict Intentions

A 2x2 ANOVA on the combined scale of negative conflict intentions showed a significant main effect of emotion, $F(1,156)=4.83$, $p=.029$, $\eta_p^2=.03$. The communication of anger led to more negative conflict intentions of the participant ($M=3.20$, $SD=0.75$) in comparison to the communication of sadness ($M=2.90$, $SD=0.88$). The results also showed a significant main effect on stereotype, $F(1,156)=8.84$, $p=.003$, $\eta_p^2=.05$. Specifically, a cold and competent stereotype led to more negative conflict intentions ($M=3.26$, $SD=0.78$) when compared to the condition of a warm and incompetent stereotype ($M=2.86$, $SD=0.83$), which is also visible in figure 3.

Additionally, the results revealed a marginal significant interaction effect $F(1,156)=3.07, p=.082, \eta_p^2=.02$. Inspection of the means suggest that this is especially the case within the condition with a cold and competent stereotype communicating anger, which results in more negative conflict intentions than the other three conditions ($M=3.49, SD=0.68$) (see table 1). A planned 1 vs. 3 contrast revealed that the anger and the cold and competent condition is indeed significantly different from the other three conditions ($M=2.12, SD=1.23$). This comparison was statistically significant, $t(156)=3.19, p=.002$ with a medium effect size, $d=.51$. No significant effects were found for the conflict intention ‘moving towards’, F 's < 2, p 's > .05.

Appropriateness

A 2x2 ANOVA with appropriateness as the dependent variable showed a significant main effect of emotion, $F(1,190)=10.39, p=.001, \eta_p^2=.05$. The results showed that sadness was perceived as more appropriate ($M=5.11, SD=0.84$) compared to anger ($M=4.73, SD=0.75$), regardless of the stereotype. These means are also represented in table 1.

Supporting our hypotheses, a post hoc analysis with a planned comparison revealed a marginally significant effect of sadness within the warm and incompetent conditions, $p=.085, 95\% CI = [-.610, .040]$. Meaning that there is a small effect that shows that sadness is perceived specifically as appropriate when communicated by a warm and incompetent person, compared to a cold and competent person (see figure 4). Contrary to expectations, the results showed no support for anger being perceived as more appropriate when communicated by a cold and competent person.

Mediation Analyses

Due to inconsistent findings on the main effects on appropriateness and trustworthiness, there was no basis for a mediation analysis to investigate the hypothesis that appropriateness mediates the interaction effect of the stereotype of the actor and the communicated emotion on trustworthiness. Nevertheless, a mediation analysis with the PROCESS Macro Tool for SPSS and SAS (2016) was used to investigate whether appropriateness mediates the main effect of emotion on negative conflict intentions. Results indicated that the indirect coefficient was significant, $95\% CI = [-.2672, -.0511]$ meaning that the reason that communicating anger leads to more negative conflict intentions than sadness, is because it is deemed less appropriate.

Discussion

This study explored the effect a match between stereotype and emotion has on communicating these emotions. I developed an experiment in which these stereotypes and

emotions were manipulated to fully examine the effectiveness of the communication. This study proposed that this match between stereotype (i.e. warm and incompetent or cold and competent) and communicated emotion (i.e. sadness or anger) would result in a higher trustworthiness of the person communicating and more positive conflict intentions in the observer. Additionally, it was hypothesized that appropriateness would have a mediational effect. Specifically, when a match occurs, the emotion would feel more appropriate and 'right' (Alter & Oppenheimer, 2009) leading to more trustworthiness and more positive conflict intentions.

The results provide partial support for some hypotheses, while deviating from them in other areas. For example, the results suggest that anger, as well as a cold and competent stereotype, leads to more negative conflict intentions. This is specifically the case when combined, thus when anger is communicated by a cold and competent stereotype. In addition, findings on the mediation of appropriateness suggest that this combination leads to more negative conflict intentions, because the communicated anger is perceived as less appropriate. These results confirm several studies that suggested the same direction. This is, however, opposite to my hypothesis and contradicts the presented studies by De Vos and colleagues (2016) and Van Kleef and Côté (2007). Their studies both underline the interpersonal effects communicating anger can have within a conflict on behavior and found that it leads to more positive conflict intentions in the receiver of the communication.

One possible explanation for this result is that the studies by De Vos and colleagues (2016) and Van Kleef and Côté (2007) had a clear context of injustice. The study by De Vos and colleagues (2016) used interactional justice (how fair people are treated) to indicate mistreatment. By communicating anger, the outgroup signaled that they were being mistreated which made their communication of anger seem more appropriate. The study by Van Kleef and Côté (2007) used procedural injustice, which means how fair outcomes are decided. In conditions where participants thought there was concern regarding previous mistreatment of their opponents, the communication of anger was perceived as more appropriate. In both these studies, only when anger is perceived as appropriate it leads to positive conflict intentions. In my experiment, the absence of indication whether the communicator was mistreated or that any injustice had occurred could have led to perceiving the communication of anger as less appropriate than expected, leading to more negative conflict intentions. The lack of perceived injustice or mistreatment my study could also explain why the results revealed that sadness was perceived as more appropriate compared to anger.

Another possible explanation for the negative results on conflict intentions can be found in research done by Lin, Kwan, Cheung and Fiske (2005), which found that people indeed display more negative behaviors, emotions and attitudes towards Asian Americans categorized as cold and competent. By communicating anger, which shows dominance and toughness (Sinaceur & Tiedens, 2006), this already negative judgement could be even more emphasized. The negative attitudes towards this stereotype could also explain the results on trustworthiness, which reveal that people with a warm and incompetent stereotype are perceived as more trustworthy compared to people with a cold and competent stereotype. Additionally, the negative behavioral intentions towards a cold and competent stereotyped group are also visible in the 'Behavior from Intergroup Affect and Stereotypes Map', also known as the BIAS Map (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007). This map, shown in figure 5, is derived from the Stereotype Content Model (SCM) originally formulated by Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, and Xu (2002). In short, the SCM, shown in figure 1, categorizes out-groups based on the dimensions of warmth and competence. The BIAS-Map predicts behavior in social interactions within the context of warmth and competence stereotypes. It specifically shows that when confronted with a cold and competent stereotype, the behavior towards that person is in between 'passive facilitation' and 'active harm'. This means that when confronted with this stereotype, the typical emotional reaction is that of envy. In an additional study, Cuddy, Fiske and Glick (2007) examined whether the emotion anger mediates the relation between envy and active harm. Their results support their proposition that anger would indeed lead to more active negative behavior instead of passive facilitation.

Though contrary to what was expected from the studies on interpersonal and intergroup effects of communicating anger within conflict, a second look at the literature related to cold and competent stereotypes and anger (e.g. the BIAS-Map) reveals that the current findings are mostly in line with past findings: Being confronted with a person conforming to a cold and competent stereotype, especially when they are angry, increases negative conflict intentions. Additionally, the current study found that a warm and incompetent stereotype is perceived as more trustworthy and sadness in combination with this stereotype is perceived as more appropriate, both also proven in past studies.

Implication of the Findings

Theoretical Implications. One of the implications of this study is to bridge the gap between two strands of research. The first strand regarding stereotypes of warmth and competence and the second strand regarding emotions, and how they fit within the warmth and competence dimensions. The present study aimed to combine these and has found that

there is indeed a connection. This not only gives insight in the effect of these stereotypes, but also how it affects the communication of emotions. For example, I found that sadness and anger indeed coincide with the presented dimensions. This gives a solid base for future studies that wish to use this match between stereotype and emotion. Furthermore, this study confirms that people within the warm and incompetent stereotype are perceived as more trustworthy, which adds to literature on the effect of stereotypes. This study also showed that communicating sadness is perceived as more appropriate than communicating anger, which is an interesting addition to the literature on the communication emotions. Combined, this study adds to all three topics and gives insight into how far stereotypes of warmth and competence reach.

Additionally, this study adds to literature on conflict intentions. Extensive research has yet to produce consistent findings on this topic. There are studies that suggest anger leads to negative conflict intentions when communicated in conflict settings, and there are studies that state the opposite. The current study revealed findings in line with the first, particularly that when a person is categorized as cold and competent and communicates anger, the person observing has more negative conflict intentions.

Applied Implications. According to Fiske, Cuddy and Glick (2006), the warmth of a person is judged within a split second. These judgements on warmth carry more weight in behavioral and affectional reactions, and after this initial judgement, approach or avoidance tendencies follow directly (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2006). Research on warmth and competence clearly reveals its importance. The dimensions help us, for example, determine whether someone is friend or foe (Cuddy, Glick, & Beninger, 2011), and have consequences on our behavior and emotions (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007). It therefore proves how beneficial it can be to know not only people that have these judgements about you, but that you have these judgements about others as well. Knowing these effects of the judgements of warmth and competence can be applicable in daily business life, but also in personal environments. This study found that having a warm and incompetent stereotype leads to more trust. This knowledge, among other things, can help you at work when negotiating, but also when you are applying for a loan at the bank, for example by taking more notice of your nonverbal behavior. The study also found that being categorized as cold and competent can lead people to have negative behavioral intentions towards you. Knowing that you have this effect on people can benefit you when in conflict with someone, or when trying to pitch an idea to your boss. For example, when having a cold and competent stereotype communicating anger is perceived as less appropriate. It would therefore be beneficial to emphasize any

injustice or mistreatment to change that perception of appropriateness of anger, resulting in a higher chance of alleviating the conflict.

Limitations and Future Direction

The present study has several limitations. First, the study made use of positive scales, such as the measurement of trustworthiness. The results, however, showed that there was more leeway on the negative scales. This is particularly apparent on the conflict intentions scales. All three negative scales had significant effects, whereas the positive scale (moving towards) had no effect. The most recent study by De Vos and colleagues (2017), gives a possible explanation for this limitation. Their study shows that depending on the context, either positive or negative conflict intentions are more suitable to capturing the actual influence. Furthermore, I primarily focused on the 'nice' feeling of a proposed match between stereotype and emotion, even though research on stereotypes usually is more along the lines of judgements on achievement (Winiger & White, 2008), prejudice and racism (e.g. Uhlman et al., 2010), and the (negative) influence of stereotype threat (Lewis, Sekaquaptewa, 2016), on, for example, ability (Appel & Kronberger, 2012). My advice for future research is to either take account of several different context or to focus more on negatively framed scales to provide a better test for the match hypothesis.

Another drawback of the study was the significant dropout rate. Further inspection revealed that participants mostly dropped out after being presented with a scenario. Participants reported that they missed context to be able to continue the study, which led them to feel frustrated. However, for this research it is crucial to have a lack of context to increase experimental control, and to fully examine the effect of the stereotypes to minimize unforeseen factors of influence. Despite the dropout rate, the manipulation checks showed that the scenarios did have their intended effect. This means that context was not per se a limitation, but for future research the reactions of participants on this study can be considered to reduce minimization of the sample size. In addition, in this study the manipulations of the study were written scenarios. Although this is a method frequently used by researchers, it is unclear whether our findings are applicable in real-life interactions. Nevertheless, it gives a good insight in possible reactions in natural situations. Future studies could expand the study to more face-to-face settings, not only to obtain more real-life applicability but to also intercept possible negative reactions on the lack of context.

Future research can be conducted plentifully along several lines, especially as to broadening the factors of influence. For example, research could be directed towards the influence of communicating specific emotions and relating them to gender stereotypes. Kelly

and Hutson-Comeaux (1999) conducted a study based on differences between appropriateness of expressing emotions in women and men and proposed that this is related to context. Their results show interesting findings in the differences between the expression of anger and sadness between genders. Specifically, that in interpersonal context, overreaction on sad and happy events were more appropriate when coming from women. Within an achievement context those overreactions were more appropriate coming from men. Regardless of context, an angry overreaction was always more appropriate coming from men. This study implies that not only gender can influence the perception of emotion, but also the context in which the emotion occurred. Furthermore, Rudman and Glick (2008) indicate that the warmth dimension is perceived as more feminine, and the competence dimension as more masculine. Based on this literature and the current findings on the match hypothesis, one could speculate that when women communicate sadness, it would be perceived as more appropriate, leading to more positive conflict intentions compared to women communicating anger. On contrary, men would be perceived as more appropriate when communicating anger compared to sadness. Additionally, one could speculate that when observing an interaction in an achievement setting, anger could result in more positive conflict intentions when communicated by a man as opposed to a woman. In an interpersonal setting, the opposite might be true.

Another possibility for future research is to use uncertainty avoidance. Baker, Meyer, and Chebat (2013) hypothesized that uncertainty avoidance, which is the degree people feel comfortable in surprising or new situations, moderates the relationship between feeling and expressing emotions. Even though their results did not support this hypothesis, it can be interesting to further study this topic regarding, in my case, the communication of emotions. One could propose that, when the observer of a communication scores high on uncertainty avoidance, being more nervous when presented with a surprising situation, it would moderate how that person would evaluate the communication they just observed.

Conclusion

When someone communicates an emotion, evaluations of this person and their message depends on several factors. In the present study, I focused on stereotype content (i.e., the person being either warm and incompetent, or cold and competent) and the type of emotion (i.e., anger or sadness) they communicated. Specifically, I hypothesized that a match between stereotype content and emotion would prove beneficial to conflict. Supporting this hypothesis, results showed that a warm and incompetent stereotype matched with sadness increased perceived appropriateness of the emotion, which was associated with reduced

negative conflict intentions. Going against this hypothesis, results showed that a cold and competent stereotype with anger match decreased perceived appropriateness, which was associated with increased negative conflict intentions. The findings of the study suggest the potential importance of the connection between stereotypes based on warmth and competence, and communicating emotions. As such, this study represents the first attempt to investigate specifically how stereotype content and emotion stereotypes interact and future research is needed to determine when people should actively approach or avoid expressing emotions in line with their stereotype.

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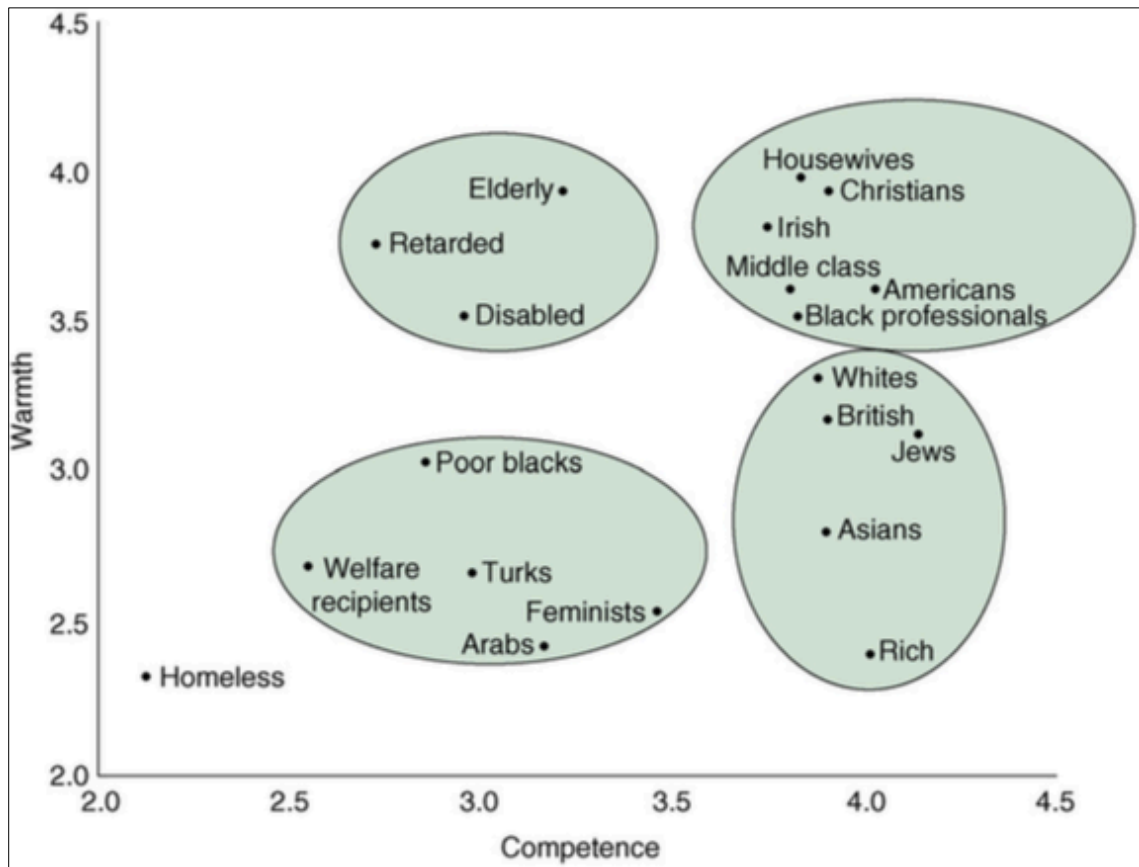


Figure 1. Stereotype Content Model by Fiske, Cuddy and Glick (2006).

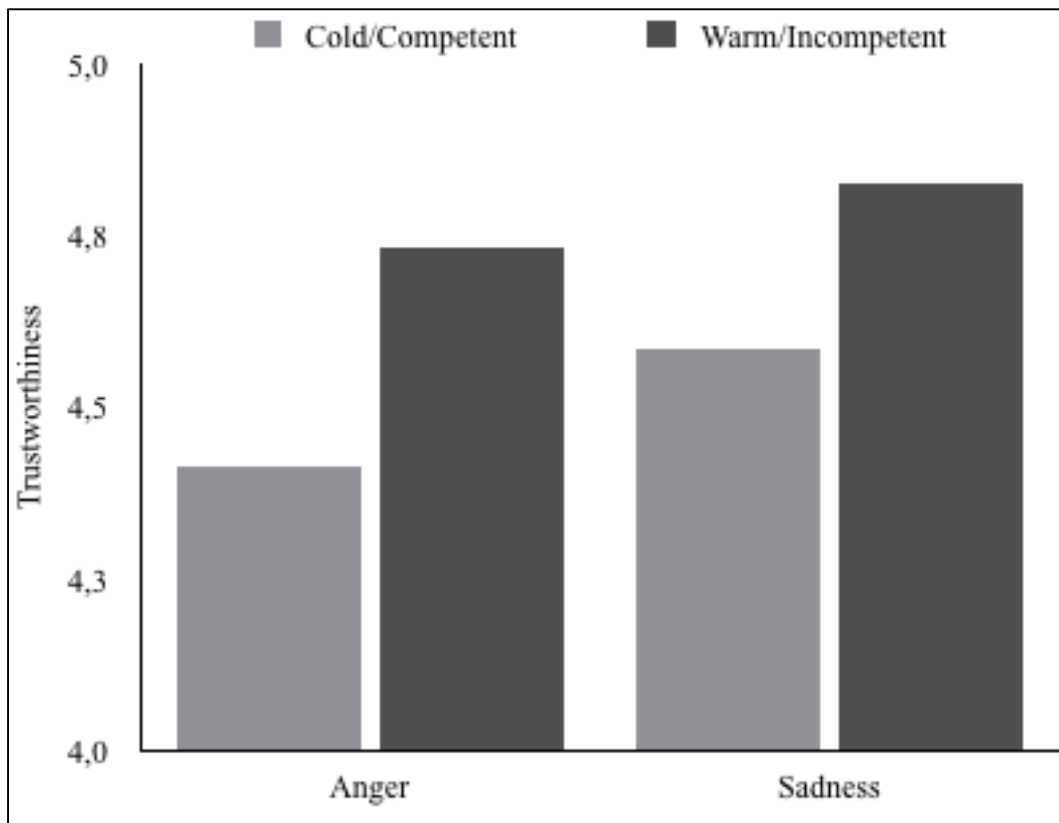


Figure 2. Means of Trustworthiness of the actor as a function of the Emotion and Stereotype of the Actor.

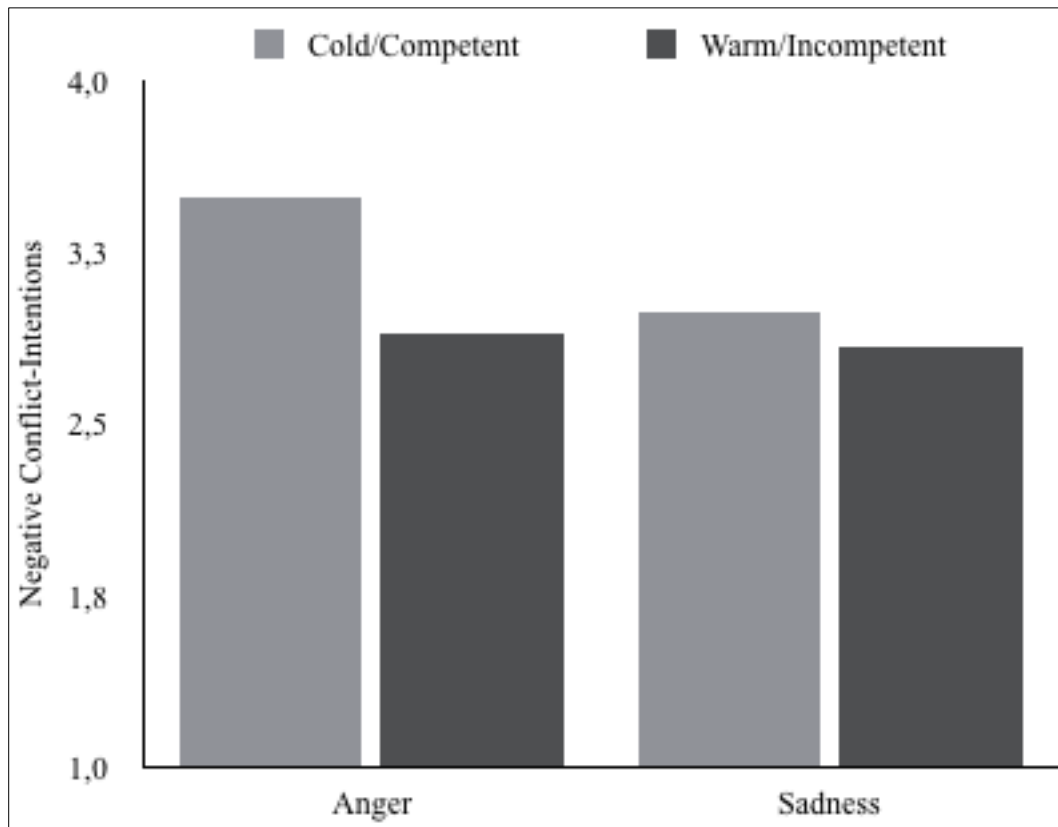


Figure 3. Means of Negative Conflict-Intentions as a function of the Emotion and Stereotype of the Actor.

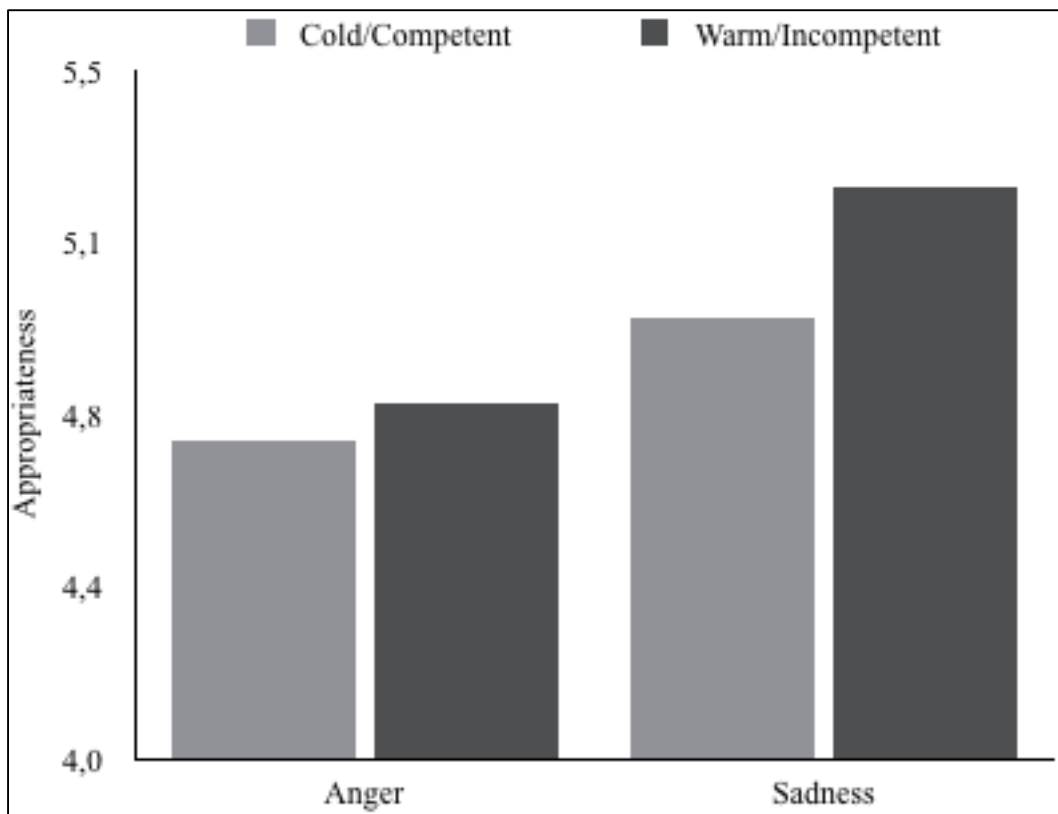


Figure 4. Means of Appropriateness of the communicated emotion as a function of the Emotion and Stereotype of the Actor.

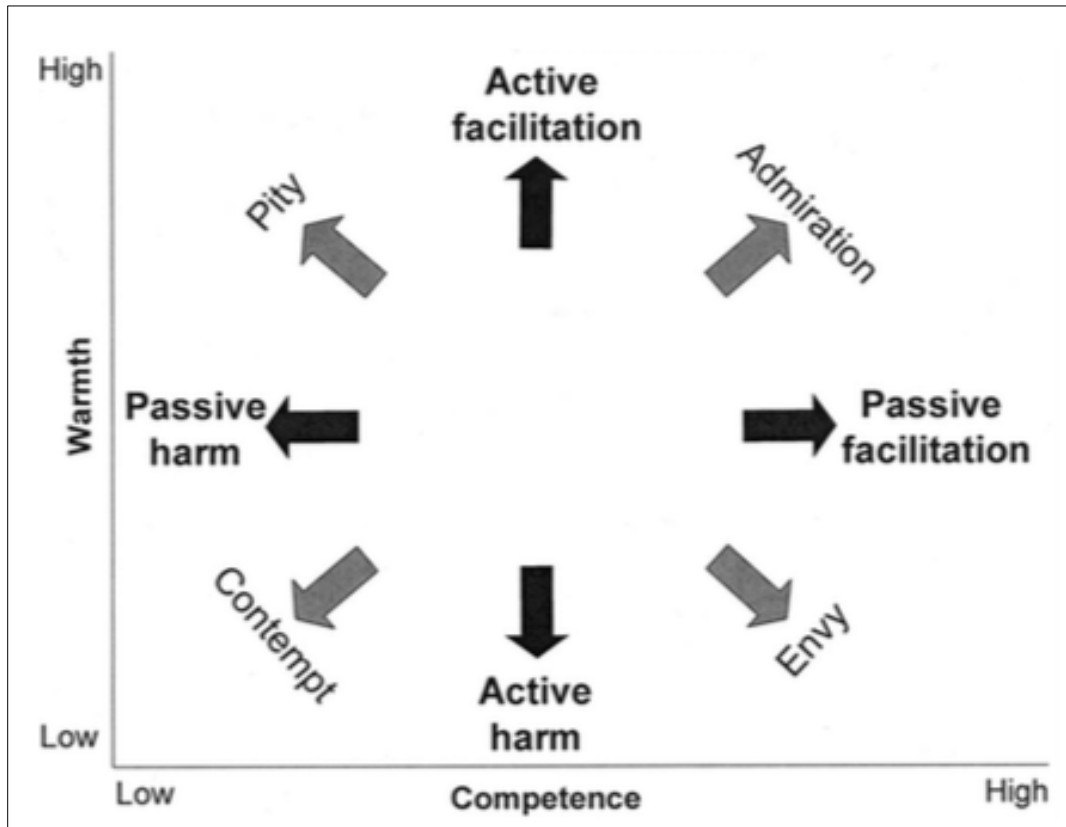


Figure 5. The BIAS-Map of Discriminatory Behavioral Tendencies towards the Stereotype Content (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007).

Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations of the Dependent Variables as a Function of the Communicated Emotion and Stereotype of the Actor.

Variable	Anger/ Competence		Anger/ Warmth		Sadness/ Competence		Sadness/ Warmth	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Trustworthiness	4.41	0.73	4.73	0.77	4.58	1.06	4.83	1.15
Negative Conflict Intentions	3.49	0.68	2.89	0.71	2.99	0.80	2.84	0.94
Appropriateness	4.69	0.84	4.77	0.66	4.96	0.85	5.24	0.82

Appendix

Welkom bij dit onderzoek!

Het onderzoek bestaat uit een eenmalige vragenlijst van maximaal 10 minuten. De vragenlijst zal een situatie schetsen waarin een emotie wordt gecommuniceerd, over deze situatie krijg je enkele vragen die je zo eerlijk mogelijk dient te beantwoorden. Denk er niet te lang over na, jouw eerste ingeving is vaak het best.

Jouw antwoorden zijn geheel anoniem en worden uitsluitend voor dit onderzoek gebruikt. Je mag ten alle tijden jouw deelname aan het onderzoek beëindigen. Als je klikt op “ik wil deelnemen” dan start de vragenlijst en geef je daarbij toestemming voor het gebruik van jouw antwoorden voor het onderzoek.

Heb je dringende vragen of opmerking, dan kan je mailen naar:
d.l.c.elkhuizen@uu.nl

Alvast hartelijk bedankt voor je deelname!

Dit onderzoek wordt uitgevoerd door Dominique Elkhuizen, masterstudent op de Universiteit van Utrecht.

- Ja ik wil deelnemen

Hieronder volgt een situatie waarin je een gesprek tussen twee mensen observeert. Probeer je zo goed mogelijk in te leven in die situatie.

De verdrietige oude man

Je loopt over straat en ziet verderop twee mensen staan die met elkaar in gesprek zijn. Er is duidelijk iets aan de hand dus je loopt naar hen toe om te horen waar het over gaat.

Eén van de twee personen is een niet opvallend geklede oudere man van rond de 75. Je ziet dat hij duidelijk aangeslagen is en zijn verdriet niet kan verbergen. Het is je niet duidelijk waarom hij zich zo voelt, maar hij lijkt van zijn gelijk overtuigd. Als je dichterbij komt hoor je hem het volgende zeggen:

“Het maakt mij zo verdrietig dat je me op deze manier behandelt. Ik snap echt niet waarom je dit doet en mij zó bedroefd wilt hebben...”

Hierna draait de oude man zich om en ziet hij jou staan.

De boze oude man

Je loopt over straat en ziet verderop twee mensen staan die met elkaar in gesprek zijn. Er is duidelijk iets aan de hand dus je loopt naar hen toe om te horen waar het over gaat.

Eén van de twee personen is een niet opvallend geklede oude man van rond de 75. Je ziet dat hij duidelijk aangeslagen is en zijn boosheid niet kan verbergen. Het is je niet duidelijk waarom hij zich zo voelt, maar hij lijkt van zijn gelijk overtuigd. Als je dichterbij komt hoor je hem het volgende zeggen:

“Het maakt me echt kwaad dat je me zo op deze manier behandelt. Ik snap echt niet waarom je dit doet en mij zó woedend wilt hebben!”

Hierna draait de oude man zich om en ziet hij jou staan.

De boze Aziatische Man

Je loopt over straat en ziet verderop twee mensen staan die met elkaar in gesprek zijn. Er is duidelijk iets aan de hand dus je loopt naar hen toe om te horen waar het over gaat.

Eén van de twee personen is een Aziatische man, gekleed in een duur pak van een jaar of 40. Je ziet dat hij duidelijk aangeslagen is en zijn boosheid niet kan verbergen. Het is je niet duidelijk waarom hij zich zo voelt, maar hij lijkt van zijn gelijk overtuigd. Als je dichterbij komt hoor je hem het volgende zeggen:

“Het maakt me echt kwaad dat je me zo op deze manier behandelt. Ik snap echt niet waarom je dit doet en mij zó woedend wilt hebben!”

Hierna draait de Aziatische man in het dure pak zich om en ziet hij jou staan.

De verdrietige Aziatische man

Je loopt over straat en ziet verderop twee mensen staan die met elkaar in gesprek zijn. Er is duidelijk iets aan de hand dus je loopt naar hen toe om te horen waar het over gaat.

Eén van de twee personen is een Aziatische man, gekleed in een duur pak van een jaar of 40. Je ziet dat hij duidelijk aangeslagen is en zijn verdriet niet kan verbergen. Het is je niet duidelijk waarom hij zich zo voelt, maar hij lijkt van zijn gelijk overtuigd. Als je dichterbij komt hoor je hem het volgende zeggen:

“Het maakt mij zo verdrietig dat je me op deze manier behandelt. Ik snap echt niet waarom je dit doet en mij zó bedroefd wilt hebben...”

Hierna draait de Aziatische man in het dure pak zich om en ziet hij jou staan.

In hoeverre zou jij de omschreven man willen ontwijken?

Helemaal niet			Neutraal			Heel erg
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

In hoeverre zou jij de omschreven man willen uitsluiten van je eigen sociale netwerk?

Helemaal niet			Neutraal			Heel erg
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

In hoeverre zou jij situaties waarin dit soort mannen aanwezig zijn uit de weg willen gaan?

Helemaal niet			Neutraal			Heel erg
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

In hoeverre zou jij de confrontatie met de omschreven man willen opzoeken om je frustratie af te reageren?

Helemaal niet			Neutraal			Heel erg
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

In hoeverre zou jij ruzie willen maken met de omschreven man om je frustratie af te reageren?

Helemaal niet			Neutraal			Heel erg
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

In hoeverre zou jij de omschreven man willen inpeperen om je frustratie af te reageren?

Helemaal niet			Neutraal			Heel erg
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

In hoeverre zou jij de omschreven man terug willen pakken om je frustratie af te reageren?

Helemaal niet			Neutraal			Heel erg
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

In hoeverre zou jij de situatie voor de omschreven man willen laten voor wat hij is?

Helemaal niet			Neutraal			Heel erg
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

In hoeverre zou jij niks willen doen om de omschreven man tegemoet te komen?

Helemaal niet**Neutraal****Heel erg**

In hoeverre zou jij de conflictsituatie tussen de twee personen onveranderd willen laten?

Helemaal niet**Neutraal****Heel erg**

In hoeverre zou jij de omschreven man zijn eigen zaakjes laten oplossen?

Helemaal niet**Neutraal****Heel erg**

De volgende vraag gaat over welke emotie er in de situatie werd gecommuniceerd.

Geef de hand van een 7-punts schaal aan in hoeverre je denkt dat de stelling van toepassing is.

In hoeverre was de omschreven man in de situatie boos?

Helemaal niet			Neutraal			Heel erg
O	O	O	O	O	O	O

In hoeverre was de omschreven man in de situatie verdrietig?

Helemaal niet			Neutraal			Heel erg
O	O	O	O	O	O	O

In hoeverre denk je dat de omschreven man uit de situatie doorgaans is?

Capabel	Helemaal niet			Neutraal			Heel erg
	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Competent	Helemaal niet			Neutraal			Heel erg
	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Intelligent	Helemaal niet			Neutraal			Heel erg
	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Welwillend	Helemaal niet			Neutraal			Heel erg
	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Zelfverzekerd	Helemaal niet			Neutraal			Heel erg
	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Oprecht	Helemaal niet			Neutraal			Heel erg
	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Vriendelijk	Helemaal niet			Neutraal			Heel erg
	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Efficient	Helemaal niet			Neutraal			Heel erg
	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Bekwaam	Helemaal niet			Neutraal			Heel erg
	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Betrouwbaar	Helemaal niet			Neutraal			Heel erg
	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Warm	Helemaal niet			Neutraal			Heel erg
	O	O	O	O	O	O	O

Tot slot nog enkele algemene vragen.

Wat is je geslacht?

- Man
- Vrouw

Wat is je leeftijd?

Wat is je etnische achtergrond?

- Aziatisch
- Afrikaans
- Marokkaans
- Kaukasisch (Nederlands, Belgisch, Engels, Frans, Duits, Amerikaans etc.)
- Turks
- Antilliaans
- Latijns-Amerikaans

Waar ging het onderzoek over?

Eventuele opmerkingen:

Klik door naar de volgende pagina om het onderzoek af te ronden en jouw antwoorden te versturen.

Dit waren alle vragen van het onderzoek. Vergeet niet hieronder je antwoorden in te sturen door te klikken op “Ik ben klaar met het onderzoek”

Het doel van dit onderzoek is om te bestuderen in hoeverre stereotypes op basis van warmte en competentie een invloed hebben op hoe mensen emoties communiceren. Wil je de uiteindelijke abstract van het onderzoek ontvangen, vul dan hieronder je emailadres in.

Dankjewel voor je deelname!