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## The positive outcomes of ‘Socially Sharing Negative Emotions’ in workteams: A conceptual exploration

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## ABSTRACT

In this conceptual paper, we argue that Socially Sharing Negative Emotions (SSNE) could lead to positive outcomes beyond an individual level. SSNE is an intentional verbal communication where both a sharer, who experienced the original affective event, and team members, who noticed the emotional distress of a potential sharer, could be an initiator. Although SSNE has received little attention in the literature to date, it is a relatively common and beneficial process in the workplace. The goal of this paper is therefore to explore *how/when* SSNE can be effective for members of a team. ‘How’ SSNE could be functional will be examined by looking at the overall process of SSNE, and the question of ‘when’ will be explored in line with boundary conditions influencing the effectiveness of SSNE. We specify testable propositions to guide future research and consider boundary conditions for such SSNE to occur. As many boundary conditions could be time constrained, the main SSNE context taken into consideration in this paper is a newly formed team. Our exploration of SSNE highlights positive functions of negative emotions which contribute outcomes at an inter-personal and/or a group level where SSNE takes place.

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The experience of work is saturated with emotions (cf. *Affective Events Theory* (AET); Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996). Emotions arise as the result of specific appraisals (Frijda, 1986; Lazarus, 1991) in that events estimated as favorable elicit positive affective states, while events estimated as unfavorable tend to elicit negative affective states (Lazarus, 1991). As the emotions tend to linger, being exposed to an emotional condition motivates many people to seek social contact (e.g. Fitness, 2000; Gable, Gonzaga, & Strachman, 2006; Rimé, Philippot, Boca, & Mesquita, 1992). In the past two decades, there has been increased emphasis on the value of understanding emotional processes in the workplace (e.g., Bono, Foldes, Vinson, & Muros, 2007); however, most of this research has dealt with non-verbal affective communication (e.g. facial and behavioral expression): *Emotional Labor* (EL; Hochschild, 1983); *Emotional Display* (ED; Grandey, 2000); *Emotional Contagion* (EC; Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, 1994); *Crossover* (Westman, 2001).

Our study takes a different direction: we explore the effects of the intentional exchange of verbal communication during *Socially Sharing Emotions* (SSE). SSE occurs when individuals openly communicate about the circumstances of affective events and the

accompanying feelings (Rimé, Finkenauer, Luminet, Zech, & Philippot, 1998) and this has been observed in individuals of both sexes, all ages, and across cultures (cf. Pennebaker, Zech, & Rimé, 2001). We suggest that understanding its impact on employees’ behaviors and attitudes has important implications, both for enriching theory as well as informing practice, as we expect that SSE would create social integration between participants resulting from social contacts. This is the process explored further in this paper.

We hold that, in the course of typical workdays, when people socially share emotions, *Socially Sharing Negative Emotions* (SSNE) and *Socially Sharing Positive Emotions* (SSPE) are likely to take place concurrently. At the same time, in developing the conceptual frameworks in this paper, we acknowledge the different causes and action tendencies of positive and negative emotions (Frijda, 1986; Lazarus, 1991) and pay particular attention to SSNE. Our focus on SSNE stems from the fact that while it has been widely accepted that positive emotions foster social integration (cf. Fischer & Manstead, 2008), the positive effects of negative emotions have been considerably less studied. For example, although the notion of capitalization (Langston, 1994) has well captured the merits of SSPE, especially for a sharer, the effects of shared negative emotions between interactants, are not as clear. Some argue that shared

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negative feelings inhibit social integration (Hareli & Rafaeli, 2008), whereas others argue that such effect may depend on the fact whether negative feelings emerge from within the group itself (Fischer & Manstead, 2008).

Therefore, while we adapt the functional approach of SSNE (cf. Keltner & Haidt, 1999), the goal of this paper is to explore *how/when* SSNE could be effective for members of a team and, more specifically, a newly formed team. 'How' SSNE could be functional will be examined by looking at the overall process of SSNE, and the question of 'when' will be explored in line with boundary conditions influencing the effectiveness of SSNE. We will adapt theories of sensemaking (Weick, 1995) and motivation (i.e. need theory: Maslow, 1943) to explain behaviors such as SSNE. These theories are useful because they support the idea of satisfying the need for social contact and making sense of situations, especially when the situations are adverse or uncertain and cause negative emotions. One of main reasons that we focus on a newly formed team is because many of the boundary conditions influencing the dynamics of SSNE may be time-sensitive. In addition, a newly formed team tends to go through more episodes of negative emotions because team members are not familiar with each other's behavior and expectations. These initial emotional experiences tend to linger and influence the involvement of team over time (Yang, 2014). As such, while there are different dynamics between a new team and an extant team, it is quite common in today's ever-changing business environment to form new teams, such as specific project-based teams for example.

This paper attempts to offer several important contributions. We join in a recent research stream that looks at potentially positive consequences arising from negative emotions (i.e. Lindebaum & Fielden, 2011), and complements asymmetric negative views on negative emotions during interpersonal interactions (cf. Fitness, 2000). We also extend our understanding in coping and reappraisal beyond intrapsychic emotional process and action of a sharer (Carver, Scheier, & Weintraub, 1989; Lazarus, 1991), to the interpersonal social exchange and the active role of interactants (e.g. team members). Moreover, this paper contributes to the discussion on positive functions of being authentic with one's emotions (be they positive or negative) during social contacts at work.

This article proceeds as follows. First, we discuss the concept of SSE and SSNE in detail, starting by defining SSNE and then differentiating it from other emotional concepts. We then look at roles of both a sharer and team members and illustrate processes that occur during SSNE. We also explain how the process of SSNE could lead to social integration. We also consider boundary conditions that influence the overall process of SSNE. As the process of critical theoretical review unfolds in the paper, we develop a set of empirically testable propositions concerning SSNE at work. We also acknowledge that team tenure may play a role in the process and we situate our discussion of SSNE effects on social integration within the context of a new team, while arguing that, in more mature teams, other factors including team climate would influence more the degree to which SSNE takes place.

## 1. Socially Sharing Negative Emotions

We define SSNE at work as 'an intentional exchange of verbal communication of negative emotions and emotion-eliciting events between two or more participants who adopt their roles as an initiator or respondents'. This definition: 1) focuses on the *intentional* use of SSNE, 2) encompasses a broad *range* of emotions rather than discrete negative emotions (cf. Frijda, 1986; Lazarus, 1991), being comparable with research of SSPE (i.e. capitalization), and 3) specifies *active* engagements of participants.

An initiator could be either a sharer who went through affective

events at first hand or team members who noticed and asked about the emotional state of a (potential) sharer, following the emotional display of the sharer. Respondents respond to the initiation of SS(N)E by engaging in communication. For example, SSE could take place when an individual (the initiator) starts talking to his colleagues about his frustration with his failed contract with a client. SS(N)E could also occur when a team member (the initiator) asks his/her colleague how he is doing noticing that his/her colleague looks despondent. In both situations, when interactants (the colleagues or the (potential) sharer) answer to the initiation by socially sharing their understanding, reinterpretations and feelings of the original event, they become respondents of SS(N)E.

As SSE is a purposeful exchange between participants, the role of team members as respondents become quite important for the successful SSE (Rimé, 1995). The notion of *capitalization* (Langston, 1994) illustrates how an initiator of SSPE amplifies the original 'positive emotions' by approaching and sharing emotions. The degree of capitalization (i.e. the success) depends on how respondents react to the initiator, in that the more reactive the respondents is in terms of giving social supports, the higher capitalization occurs during SSPE (Reis et al., 2010). *Social comparison theory* (Festinger, 1954) posits that people acquire information for evaluating beliefs, abilities, and experiences from others, especially others whose response is deemed relevant. Team members make for ideal respondents at work because they are exposed to and are aware of the organizational environment (cf. Meisiek, 2002) and studies show that employees are likely to share their affective experiences at work (e.g. Fitness, 2000; McCance, Nye, Wang, Jones, & Chiu, 2013). Therefore, team members are important during SSE, not only in amplifying the original positive emotions during SSPE, but also in *mitigating* the original negative emotions during SSNE, which is one of main purposes of SSNE in the first place (the point will be discussed further in this paper).

Support seeking behaviors, in the service of *emotion focused coping* (EFC: Lazarus & Folkman, 1984), may explain the motivation of a sharer of SSNE. In addition, motivational theory, especially Maslow's need theory, may explain why the sharer would initiate SSNE. According to need theory, there is a hierarchy of needs ranging from physiological to self-actualization needs. Here, both safety needs and social needs, as lower level and also partly basic needs, may relate to the behavior of SSNE. First of all, SSNE may satisfy the social need of having friendly and supportive co-workers, especially given the vulnerable status of the individual. Moreover, the main causes of negative emotions could be a threat to safety (e.g. identity, dignity, respect, etc.). While a fight or flight response is both a physiological (Walter, 1932) and a psychological reaction to a threat to survival (which is associated with negative emotions), SSNE is an attempt to fight or overcome, which could satisfy the safety need.

In a similar vein, SSNE is similar to *sensemaking*, which is the process by which people give meaning to experience (Weick, 1995). Sensemaking is a social activity in that plausible stories are preserved, retained or shared (Maitlis, 2005). At the same time, sensemaking "occurs in the service of maintaining a consistent positive self-conception." (Weick, 1995, p23) and participants of SSNE share an evolving product of conversations, which may concern developing and maintaining identity (Currie & Brown, 2003). Sensemaking, via communication and discussions with team members, offers opportunities to gain a different perspective of troublesome episodes, to lessen the associated emotional arousal, to replenish one's self-worth, and other resources (Pennebaker, 1990). On the other hand, empathetic reaction to a person in distress (cf. Parkinson, 1997) could explain when team members as observers at first, become initiators of SSNE (e.g. by reacting to emotional display).

SSE in the form of gossip (Rimé et al., 1998), during which a sharer, who experienced the affective events at first hand, is not involved (e.g. hearsay) falls outside the interests of our paper. At the same time, as emotions tend to linger, we expect SSE to be repeated over time with different participants (Rimé et al., 1998) and also note SSE may not be necessarily constrained only amongst team members in a team, especially when, over time, they become familiar with other coworkers outside of a team. However, we look at SSNE in the context of a new team where team members do not yet have meaningful relationships with each other. This is due to the fact that while contextual issues (e.g. boundary conditions in this paper) influence a new team and an on-going team differently, no-previous-interactions in a new team would allow illustration of effectiveness of SSNE with fewer restrictions from certain contexts including attribution bias.

## 2. Differentiating SSNE from other concepts

In this section we aim to convince the reader of the utility of exploring SSNE as a separate concept by demonstrating how it differs from other related affective constructs. Feedback loops, subsequent levels of analysis as well as the question of who can be an initiator help to differentiate between EFC (*Emotion Focused Coping*; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984) and SSNE. EFC strategies, as intrapsychic coping strategies, occur 'within individual and intra-personal level.' EFC may explain the motivation of 'a sharer' to initiate SSNE as a form of support seeking behavior; however, this is where the EFC model stops as it does not consider specifically the role of interactants. On the other hand, SSNE considers *equally* the role of sharer and the role of team members either as an initiator or as respondents, and SSNE is only enacted at a group level. Consequently, while outcomes of EFC are confined to the individual level (e.g. individual's well-being), in our analysis, the outcomes of SSNE may extend to the group level; e.g. SSNE influences interactants to form a group (cf. Raghunathan & Corfman, 2006). This aspect of SSNE makes it especially interesting in an organizational context.

Furthermore, in the same vein, we argue that SSNE does not merely equate to 'venting', which is another form of EFC strategies. Venting, as the mere expression of negative emotions without expecting feedback from others (cf. Brown, Westbrook, & Challagalla, 2005; McCance et al., 2013), may trigger SSNE when a team member (an initiator) asks a (potential) sharer about his/her affective events causing venting (cf. Parkinson, 1996). Therefore, rather than being similar to SSNE, venting may be a precursor for sharing negative emotions (cf. Johnson, 1977).

Crossover explains how emotions from the work domain may influence interactions with family members (mainly spouse) in the non-work domain, or vice versa (Westman, 2001). As our focus here is on emotion-eliciting events at work that drive SSNE, the source or content of the shared negative emotions could come from outside work as well. Furthermore, even though our discussion in this paper deals with SSNE in the context of a new work-team, interactants may also engage in SSNE outside work, sharing work-related events with friends and family members. Both crossover and SSNE deal with inter-personal processes. However, crossover explains how negative emotions from one life domain are transmitted from one person to another in other domains, potentially resulting in negative outcomes such as emotional distress of interactants (Westman & Vinokur, 1998). SSNE, on the other hand, focuses on explaining how negative emotions could be *mitigated* during the socially sharing process and also bring about positive outcomes between interactants.

Related to crossover is *Emotional Contagion* (EC), which occurs as observers 'catch' others emotions through an automatic (non-conscious), continuous, synchronous non-verbal mimicry process

(Hatfield et al., 1994). *Emotional Display* (ED) expressed primarily via non-verbal signals such as facial expressions, body language, and tone rather than words (Mehrabian, 1972), may result in EC. SSNE, however, involves cognitively effortful processes requiring conscious initiation and maintenance of verbal communication, making it quite distinct from displays of emotion that happen automatically and unconsciously.

Finally, the *Emotional Labor* concept (EL; Hochschild, 1983) argues that workers engage in emotional acts in exchange for pay or salary. EL tends to bring the discrepancy between internal feelings and displayed emotions to the surface. For example, service industry employees have to smile at customers, regardless of what they actually feel inside. There may be a certain degree of EL for team members when they have to respond to the initiation of SSNE, especially when they are not sympathetic to the initiators or the situations (this issue is discussed later as a boundary condition). However, SSNE, when it is unpaid, is usually a voluntary engagement between participants with low or no EL. In this case, surface-level emotions are more likely to truly reflect internal feelings.

Having described the basic concept of SSNE and differentiated it from related affective constructs, we turn to describe the SSNE process in more detail.

## 3. Socially sharing of negative emotions and collective reappraisal

Studies suggest that negative emotions induce stress (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984), depleting mental resources (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996). Due to their signaling function, negative emotions may also prompt intensive analysis of details of the situation to explore their implications for one's goals, well-being, and behavioral responses (Carver et al., 1989; Lazarus, 1991). This may involve *reappraisal* (Gross, 1998) of changing the interpretation of the key features of the event, so that the event engenders different emotions than before.

On the other hand, it is argued that the more intense and disruptive the emotional experience, the more people engage in SSNE to find a new constructive meaning in negative experiences as a way to mitigate the original negative emotional impact (Rimé, Philippot, Boca, & Mesquita, 1992; Rimé, Finkenauer, Luminet, Zech, & Philippot, 1998). Seeking emotional support is likely to coincide with seeking instrumental supports (e.g. Aldwin & Revenson, 1987; Carver et al., 1989). When a sharer's primary appraisals are addressed to participants, a complete picture of emotion becomes apparent (*a sharer's reappraisal*) (Parkinson, 1997). At the same time, team members engage in *perspective taking* of a sharer to entertain the sharer's point of view (Davis, 1983; Hatfield et al., 1994) and to join the reappraisal effort of the original events by a sharer.

During such process of SSNE, the notion of reappraisal could extend to interpersonal and/or group level where participants exchange and reconstruct affective events together (i.e. *collective reappraisal*). Theories of *social comparison* (Festinger, 1954) and *social information processing* (Chen, Takeuchi, & Shum, 2013; Salanick & Pfeffer, 1978) argue that people develop new insights into people's attitudes at work by comparing consequences from their actions with their colleagues. A group/team, as a part of their conversational post mortem, gives each other permission to reframe issues in a way that individuals find it difficult to do by themselves (cf. Heath & Jourden, 1997). By asking questions about the event and expressing a feeling about the event, participants build their understanding of an issue and present an alternative appraisal of the situation (cf. Parkinson, 1996; Parkinson & Simons, 2012). Eventually, they find a new constructive meaning and also share positive reinterpretation of negative experiences to mitigate



the original negative emotional impact (cf. Carver et al., 1989). Sensemaking could also help to illustrate the process of collective reappraisal where team members make sense of and interpret the emotions of other people, which influence their own emotions and behaviors as well as the processes and outcomes of the involved organizational dyads, or teams (Hareli & Rafaeli, 2008).

At this point, the question arises whether team members will always engage in perspective taking, leading to collective reappraisal during SSNE. Perspective taking relates to helping behaviors (Savitsky, Van Boven, Epley, & Wight, 2005), which team members may not be always motivated to do. We discuss both when team members are initiators as well as respondents of SSNE. When team members act as initiators of SSNE the dynamics are more straightforward. As SSNE is a purposeful behavior for initiators, when team members are initiators, they interact with a (potential) sharer in a concerned empathic manner (cf. Parkinson, 1997) and is more likely to be *willing and ready* to offer support.

Turning to the case when team members act as respondents of SSNE, we note that studies show that when people inform others about difficult circumstances, listeners tend to provide comfort and reassurance (cf. Taylor, 2007). Empathy is a universal response, considered by some as evolutionarily innate, where a person reacts to others in need or who are observed suffering a discomfort (e.g., Duan & Hill, 1996). Thus, it is a common response by a listener who encounters those who express negative emotions following upsetting events (e.g. Weick, 1995). However, study also shows that compassion depends on the attribution of suffering as an external or internal cause (cf. Weiner, 1985) in that people feel compassion for others when the suffering is attributed to an external cause. Attributional judgment further depends on the relationship with each other (Parker & Axtell, 2001), which determines reactions of a team member during SSNE.

Given the absence of existing meaningful relationships at the early phase of a new team's development, we suspect that there may be the *suspension* of the attribution process within a new team. In fact, workgroup members tend to hold positive views toward each other in a new team based on the same membership (cf. swift trust: Yang, 2014). Especially, when it comes to work-based events, if something is significant to a sharer, then there is a chance that it will also be significant for team members who encounter similar events at work (e.g., Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996). Considering all these, the emotional reactions of the sharer are usually difficult to ignore, and often demand interpersonal response (Parkinson, 1996). This suggests that in fact it is very hard for team members to distant themselves and not react when directly faced with a sharer in distress. Although the reactions of team members as respondents and subsequent SSNE may still depend on his/her individual factors (to be further discussed later as boundary conditions influencing SSNE), our discussion so far leads us to our first proposition.

**Proposition 1.** *During socially sharing negative emotions, participants are likely to involve in collective reappraisal and sensemaking by exchanging their interpretation and opinions, while team members engage in perspective taking and a sharer engages in reappraisal of the original negative emotions and of the emotion eliciting events.*

While collective reappraisal during SSNE is object (event)-directed, this reappraisal could also bring person-directed effect between participants including self-disclosure, perceived similarity and affect reinforcement. Interactions during SSNE involve mutual sharing of private or sensitive information (Altman & Taylor, 1973) as negative emotions such as anxiety reveal the vulnerability of a sharer expressing it (cf. Parkinson & Simons, 2012). *Disclosure* also occurs as a reciprocal sharing process (Jourard, 1971) and team members are likely to present their personal feelings and stories by

engaging perspective taking and further collective reappraisal. Self-disclosure during SSNE occurs when sharers reveal their vulnerable and/or intimate status by communicating unpleasant incidents and private feelings. Respondents also disclose their personal anecdotes in an attempt to make the sharers feel that they are not alone in experiencing such adverse situations.

Furthermore, when empathic experience with another's emotions (Lazarus, 1991) and perspective taking during SSNE take place, it evokes not only positive attributions to the initiator's behavior (McCance et al., 2013) but also enables people to suspend judgment as it dissolves the barrier between self and others (cf. Pavlovich & Krahnke, 2012). Perspective taking increases the sense of psychological closeness by creating a sense of similarity or of self-like (Galinsky & Ku, 2004). It is also suggested that through the social interactions, interactants make common valuations where previously there were differences (cf. Hosking & Fineman, 1990). Collective reappraisal and sensemaking would help participants prime common group membership and discover *perceived similarity* of holding an attitude similar to the other's (e.g. frustration from injustice at work). During the process of exchanging their feelings and reactions, participants of SSNE become sympathetic to each other and realize that they share similar values (by reacting and feeling in similar ways).

Finally, an increasing body of research indicates that helping can improve the affect of the person engaging in the behaviors as well as the recipient (e.g., Grandey, Tam, & Brauburger, 2002; Salovey, O'Leary, Stretton, Fishkin, & Drake, 1991). Receiving help is associated with higher levels of positive affect (e.g., Grandey et al., 2002). Obtaining team members' support further signifies the success of the goal oriented support seeking behaviors which also gives rise to positive affects for a sharer. At the same time, the team members during SSNE may experience positive feeling as De Waal (2006) argues that empathy and the desire to relieve the suffering of others is hardwired into our genetic make-up. Neuro-cognitive studies also illustrate that the act of helping is associated with pleasure and reward (cf. Pavlovich & Krahnke, 2012). These positive affects experienced by interactants will elicit further positive affects between participants (i.e. *affect-reinforcement*: Byrne & Neuman, 1992) during SSNE. In other words, repeated SSNE and subsequent helping behaviors, in addition to relieving the original negative emotions, eventually lead participants to feel that the group is generating broadly positive feelings.

**Proposition 2.** *Self-disclosure, perceived similarity and affect-reinforcement between participants are likely to occur during the process of socially sharing negative emotions.*

Next, we continue to discuss a possible positive outcome of SSNE in a team where SSNE take place.

#### 4. Socially shared negative emotions contributing to social integration between interactants

Self disclosure, perceived similarity and affect reinforcement should increase perceived attractiveness between interactants (Sluss & Ashforth, 2007). Individuals are also attracted to people based upon the extent to which they elicit positive affect (Byrne & Neuman, 1992; Kemper, 1984) and it leads to more positive judgments about the quality of their relationships (affect-as-information theory: Schwarz & Clore, 1983). As such, opening up to one's team member via SSNE can improve interpersonal relationships and social integration at work (Pennebaker et al., 2001; Rimé et al., 1998). Social integration is an umbrella construct that comprises aspects of how people are positively linked to one another and to a group, including cohesion, identification, and interpersonal attraction (Dineen, Noe, Shaw, Duffy, & Wiethoff, 2007).

When a sharer gets listened to through interactants' empathic listening and perspective taking activities, he/she feels validated and relieved. Such validation is central to the development of intimacy following self-disclosure (Reis & Shaver, 1988) as empathic responses of team members would help a sharer feel secure and accepted, minimizing the need for self-protection (cf. Murray, Holmes, & Collins, 2006). Active engagements by team members communicate the importance of the event as well as of relationship with a sharer (cf. Gable et al., 2006). During the process of reappraisal and perspective taking, congruence of opinions engenders a sense of belonging, psychological closeness as well as the dynamic qualities of relationships (Hosking & Fineman, 1990; Raghunathan & Corfman, 2006).

The norm of reciprocity (Gouldner, 1960) and interaction ritual chains (Goffman, 1967) explain how joint activities like SSNE produce a common focus, a sense of group affiliation, and an emotional uplift. For example, a sharer of SSNE will become an active respondent when this time's respondents as team members become next time's initiators of another SSE. As team members interact over time, SSNE often becomes a shared event which is bidirectional in nature, switching their roles with different interactants as well, while most team members regularly slip in and out of the roles of help seeker and helper (cf. Flynn & Brockner, 2003). Theories of social exchange also explain how SSNE could be a framework for understanding emotional dynamics via ritual and symbolic communication (cf. Lawler & Yoon, 1996). Shared affective experiences such as SSNE may fulfill a rudimentary role in bringing people together as a cohesive social unit (cf. Parkinson, Fischer, & Manstead, 2005).

**Proposition 3.** *Effective process of Socially Sharing Negative Emotions is more likely to lead to social integration amongst participants in a new team.*

So far, we have illustrated how SSNE could evolve effectively in mitigating the original negative emotions and further leading social integration amongst participants in a new team. However, in reality, not all SSNE may be as effective as has been illustrated so far. Certain contexts can impact SSNE and the propositions presented earlier. Hence, the need to explore possible boundary conditions, which strengthen or weaken the overall process and/or outcomes of SSNE. For example, as individuals may not react in the same way when responding to SSNE, this initial process will influence the involvement and consequences of SSNE differently. The boundary conditions here would be different attitudes and/or personality, which result in different reactions to SSNE.

## 5. Boundary conditions during SSNE

Functional theories highlight the role of context in shaping the effects of emotions (e.g., Elfenbein, 2007; Fischer & Manstead, 2008). This may be even more so for SSNE as the effects of negative emotions are particularly sensitive to contextual factors (Knight & Eisenkraft, in press). Our aim here is not to suggest an exhaustive mapping of all contexts but to illustrate boundary conditions relevant to SSNE by considering some of the individual and situational factors influencing participants and subsequent outcomes of SSNE. In addition, while we have illustrated how SSNE may bring about social integration in a new team, we also argue for the possibility of a reverse relationship in on-going teams.

### 5.1. Individual factors

In our model of SSNE, we expect that both team members' perspective taking and a sharer's reappraisal make joint efforts which contribute to collective reappraisal and further social

integration in a new team. However, even though negative emotions signal a request for emotional support or practical help enacting subsequent social contacts in general (cf. Coyne, 1976; Hess et al., 2000; Parkinson & Simons, 2012), not all social interactions are equally successful in meeting the implicit goals they serve (cf. Parkinson & Simons, 2012). Team members may not 'show' the expected empathy contingent on internal individual factors of a sharer and/or team members.

For example, personality traits refer to patterns of thoughts, feelings, and actions (McCrae & Costa, 1991), so they reflect what people are like. *Affect infusion model* (Forgas, 1995) predicts that individual dispositions may override the influence of mood states. Individuals high in negative affectivity are distressed, anxious and dissatisfied and tend to focus on negative aspects of their lives and social surroundings (Larsen & Ketelaar, 1989) and therefore, may initiate habitual expressing of negative emotions. Furthermore, relentless anxiety of a sharer, despite repeated efforts at reassurance and support, may become frustrating for team members (cf. Parkinson & Simons, 2012). In this case, team members may attribute the causes of a negative event more to a specific sharer and therefore do not show much empathy in responding to the initiation of SSNE by the sharer.

**Proposition 4a.** *Individual factors of a sharer, such as negative affectivity, influence the process of Socially Sharing Negative Emotions (SSNE), in that team members may not be responsive to the initiation of SSNE by the sharer.*

In another case, a sharer may prefer to engage in internal coping strategy rather than external support seeking behavior and may not be willing to share his private emotions. In this case, a (potential) sharer may refuse to react to team members' initiation of SSNE. People tend to adopt certain coping tactics as relatively stable preferences, derived from personality, or for other reasons (Carver et al., 1989). People with high experiential avoidance (e.g. Sloan, 2004) or low dispositional trust (e.g. Van Kleef, De Dreu, & Manstead, 2006) may also prefer internal emotional regulations to SSNE, after negative events. Similarly, men in general are expected to respond to SSNE to a lesser degree in order not to advertise their failure (cf. Gable et al., 2006; Hareli, Sharabi, & Hess, 2011).

**Proposition 4b.** *Individual factors of a sharer, such as stable coping strategy, experiential avoidance (EA), dispositional trust (DT), and gender influence the process of Socially Sharing Negative Emotions (SSNE), in that the sharers with internal coping strategy, high EA, low DT or male would be less responsive to initiation of SSNE by team members.*

Team members' characteristics could also moderate the overall process of SSNE. Research suggests that employees high in self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977) and locus of control (Devine, 1989) engage in pro-social behaviors and these individuals may be active in helping and making a sharer feel better. Similarly, empathic individuals (Lazarus, 1991) and those with high *Emotional Intelligence* (EI: Mayer & Salovey, 1997) are adept not only at gauging the emotions of others, but also at perspective taking. For example, EI suggests that people differ in their abilities to decode, understand, and regulate emotions. The assumption here is that these team members may be able to initiate SSNE, and also more able to take into consideration of the perspective of others. In addition, studies argue that gender effects in socially sharing of emotions, where females are expected to be emotionally more reactive to negative emotions, with the exception of anger (cf. Hareli et al., 2011; Rose, Carlson, & Waller, 2007). These characteristics of team members could enhance the process of collective reappraisal during SSNE.

**Proposition 5a.** *Individual factors of team members such as high self-efficacy, self-control, dispositional empathy, emotional intelligence as well as female gender may enhance the process of Socially Sharing Negative Emotions (SSNE) in that the team members with high level of these characteristics could become not only initiators of SSNE but also become active respondents during SSNE increasing both effectiveness and frequencies of SSNE within a team.*

On the other hand, team members with low EI may (intentionally or unintentionally), engage in passive or destructive response signaling that the event is not significant, or that a sharer's emotions are not of concern to team members (cf. Gable et al., 2006). The sharer in this case, may not be able to mitigate the original negative emotions, but reversely, may be more frustrated and stressed. Similarly, certain personal dispositions including trait affectivity and ruminative tendencies of team members may, on the long term, bring on more negative EC (emotional contagion). For example, despite of greater relationship quality, high level of co-rumination or negative EC is quite common amongst female friends (Rose et al., 2007). What this means is that high level of female composition in a team may contribute to prolonged rumination from SSNE. When such rumination persists, team members may experience interpersonal dynamics of depression (cf. Coyne, 1976) which may eventually lead to emotional deviance, detachment (Fineman, 1993) and helplessness (Carver et al., 1989). While the reason for rumination amongst female friends but not male friends is not clear, it may be that females may focus more on the damage done and on negative feelings than on the steps necessary for goal pursuit (cf. Brown et al., 2005).

**Proposition 5b.** *Individual factors of team members such as low emotional intelligence (EI), high negative affectivity (NA) as well as gender (female) may reduce the overall effectiveness of SSNE such that in a team with high a proportion of team members with low EI, high NA and females, SSNE may not be effective in mitigating the original negative emotions.*

## 5.2. Situational factors

Given that we situate SSNE in a team dynamics context, our choice of situational conditions focused on team and/or organizational climate variables. For SSNE to take place, a sharer has to reveal intimate and sensitive information associated with their negative emotions. This means the sharer should feel safe enough to expose his/her vulnerable-self during SSNE. Moreover, the sharer should have some level of confidence that support can be obtained. These perceptions may be defined by the environments and climates of a team (and/or an organization) where interactions are based (Biglan, 2009). These perceptions in turn, may also determine how much and with whom to share negative emotions. Similarly, while help seeking bears the risk of appearing to be inadequate or incompetent (Flynn & Lake, 2008), if the team environment is one where you must protect yourself in the face of fierce competition, a (potential) sharer is less likely to engage in SSNE.

A team and an organization can facilitate or hinder compassionate responses since such context can influence emotion interpretation and the reactions within. Study shows for shared affective experiences to bring people together, a necessary precondition is that people approach one another with a baseline affiliative stance, rather than a competitive one (Hess & Fischer, 2013). As the effects of group negative emotions on social integration may also depend on the fact whether it is caused from in-group or out-group (Knight & Eisenkraft, in press), high competition and low supportiveness within a team may be the direct cause of negative emotions. In addition, due to cognitive resources depletion effects, over-stressed

team members would be less motivated and less able to pay attention to the emotions of others (Hareli & Rafaeli, 2008).

Furthermore, even when team members engage in SSNE under conditions of high competition and low support, an attempt at collective reappraisal may not yield alternative interpretations against the perceived inability to change the situation (cf. Blenkinsopp, 2007). Studies show that when situations are controllable, active coping strategies predominate, whereas when situations seem less controllable, alternative strategies predominate (Scheier, Weintraub, & Carver, 1986). Extending this point to interpersonal SSNE, when team members feel that they cannot change the environments causing negative effects (e.g. unsupportiveness), SSNE may turn into mutual venting where negative EC and feeling of hopelessness become dominant. Perspective taking itself may not exhibit instrumental support, although it is related to affective support (cf. Devoldre, Davis, Verhofstadt, & Buysse, 2010). That is, even though SSNE may still lead to some level of positive interpersonal outcomes amongst participants, negative effects from validating the existing views of bad events (cf. Reis et al., 2010) may be stronger.

**Proposition 6.** *The situational factors of a team and/or an organization, including level of competitiveness and supportiveness would influence socially sharing of negative emotions (SSNE) such that a team/organization with high levels of competition and low levels of supportiveness, a) both a sharer and team members would engage in SSNE to a lesser degree; b) SSNE may not be effective in mitigating the original negative emotions.*

## 6. Temporal consideration and socially sharing of negative emotions

In this paper, we approach SSNE as a process that gives rise to certain group processes, which we labeled social integration, among interactants in a new team. That is, SSNE could enhance social integration between team members and encourage them to interact more dynamically with each other (Simon, 1973). Such positive social processes create, over time, a positive team climate that may also support subsequent occurrences of SSNE. Thus, in our model, the relationship between SSNE and team climate depends on the temporal variable of team tenure. Accordingly, in newer teams, where team climate is weak or has not been yet established, SSNE helps to bring about social integration processes which, if maintained over time, creates a positive team climate. In more mature teams, extant team climate will determine the frequency, quality and breadth of SSNE occurrences (i.e., how often they occur; how sensitive the topics shared are and how many team members engage in SSNE).

This is because in an ongoing team, some contextual factors become more pertinent with time and the history of interactions may color members' appraisals, influencing the process of SSNE. For example, individual factors contributing attribution process (P4a) and risk of rumination (P5b) as well as situational factors contributing low engagement of SSNE and negative EC (P6) will become more of an issue for an on-going team. Therefore, P3 presented earlier may be more relevant for a new team whereas the direction from team climate to SSNE (P7 as below) becomes more relevant for an ongoing team. That is, members of existing groups are especially attuned to one another's emotional responses (Barsade & Knight, 2015) with positive team climate, and are thereby more at ease in engaging affective communication such as SSNE (and SSE).

**Proposition 7.** *Team climate influences the frequency, quality and breadth of Socially Sharing Negative Emotions (SSNE) in that, in a team with a high level of positive climate, SSNE are likely to be shared*



more often, more deeply and by more members.

In Fig. 1 we illustrate the SSNE process in the context of a new workteam, from the original emotional experiences, to the process and the consequences of SSNE. We show how SSNE could give rise to interpersonal relationships and further group-level attitudes within a new team when SSNE occurs. We also look at the boundary contexts that should be considered during the different stages of team development. In the model presented in Fig. 1, we map the propositions (P1 to P7) presented in our paper in an attempt to lay a basis for subsequent research programs.

## 7. Discussion

Intrigued by comments such as “although it is clear that positive emotions foster positive social interactions, the evidence concerning negative emotions is less clear-cut” (cf. Fischer & Manstead, 2008: 464; Gable et al., 2006), we have focused here on functional aspects of SSNE. We view SSNE as an intentional exchange of verbal communication between participants, which could offer an opportunity to sensemaking during which the participants put forward the efforts to reappraise the original negative events together. The process of SSNE also allows participants to experience self disclosure, perceived similarity and affect reinforcement. Such social contacts and collective activities subsequently mitigate the original negative emotions and also give rise to the positive function of social integration within a team where SSNE take place. While we are cautious about the claim that SSNE will always bring about collective reappraisal (i.e. considering boundary conditions), the goal of this paper is to draw attention to the positive function of SSNE as interpersonal activities.

### 7.1. Implications for research and future studies

Our model demonstrates how, perhaps counter-intuitively, sharing negative emotions may lead to positive outcomes in

teams by increasing members' self-validation and emotional attachment among individuals. Attraction based on negative emotions is interesting in that it is contrary to the conventional understanding of reactions to such emotions (c.f. Kemper, 1984). Furthermore, one of our core contributions is using the process of SSNE to illustrate that what matters is not only the nature of emotions per se, but rather *how* emotions are shared. We argue that negative emotions shared during SSNE actually trigger collective efforts to make sense of events, and allow participants to experience self disclosure, perceived similarity and affect reinforcement. Our approach corresponds to recent voices that caution against overly simplistic associations of negative emotions with negative outcomes (c.f. Lindebaum & Jordan, 2012).

Social influence (Schoenewolf, 1990) and emotional cycles (Hareli & Rafaeli, 2008) are processes in which a person influences the emotions or behavior of another person through the conscious or unconscious induction of emotion states and behavioral attitudes. Both EC (emotional contagion) and SSNE are processes of social influence and emotional cycle in that an individual influences the emotions of another person through induction of emotional states. However, even though there might be temporary EC and emotional depletion at the beginning (McCance et al., 2013), conscious reappraisal and sensemaking by team members during SSNE would mitigate a negative EC within a team. That is, while EC brings convergence toward the original emotions, SSNE may be able to break the unconscious spiral of EC and to serve the positive functions of bringing about social integration in a team. The examination of SSNE would yield a complementary and holistic view of social influence of negative emotions in a group. The *reciprocal interpersonal influence of emotions* (Hareli & Rafaeli, 2008; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989) could occur during the passive process of mimicking or EC, and also of active reinterpretation of emotions by interactants (SSNE), resulting in possible different outcomes.

Concurrently, our work sheds light on how a group can be formed by examining the interpersonal process as well as group

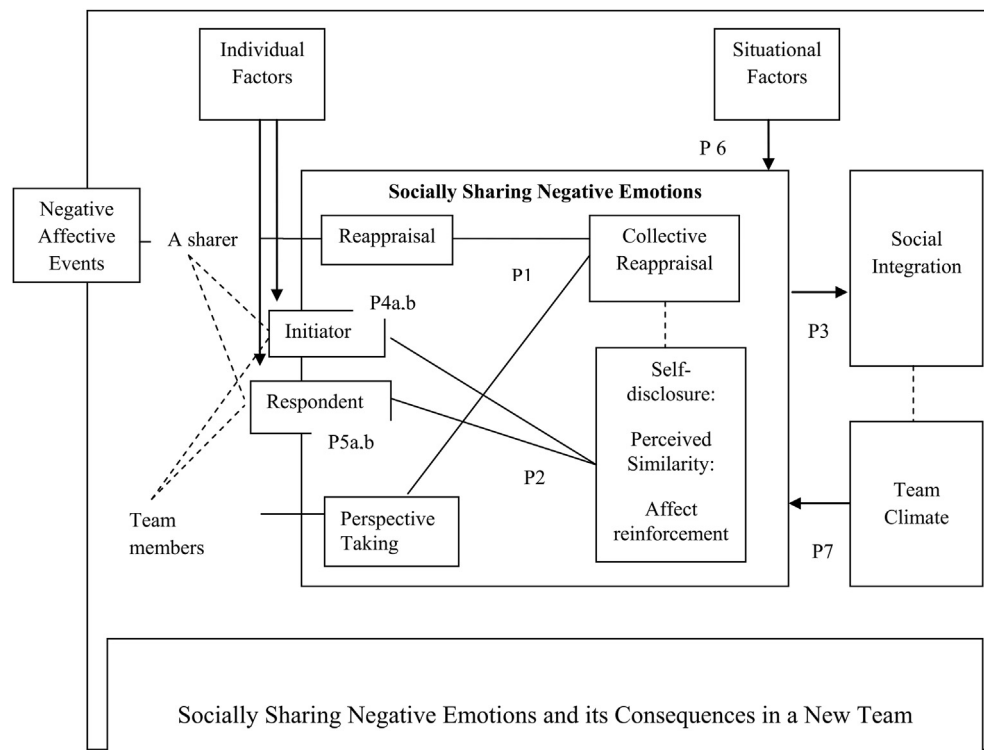


Fig. 1. Socially Sharing Negative Emotions and its consequences in a new team.

attitudes that have arisen during SSNE occurrences in a group/team. While extant notion of EFC focuses on intrapsychic experiences within individual after negative events, our exploration of SSNE emphasizes the role of interactants and by doing so, extend our discussion to involvement of affective communication at interpersonal and group level contributing to social integration within a team. Even though we do not argue that SSNE is the only mechanism influencing group formation, affect reinforcement and collective reappraisals during the process of SSNE illustrate how a group can be formed in a new team. Concurring with Elfenbein's concern that appraisal theories of emotion are underutilized (Elfenbein, 2007), our illustration of SSNE bring our attention to the (re)appraisal of emotions beyond intra-personal to inter-personal and further group level.

This paper also highlights the merits of being authentic with one's (sometimes negative) emotions during inter-personal affective communication. Social functional perspectives suggest that shared feelings tend to emerge as a primitive mechanism of social connection, binding individuals together into a group (Fischer & Manstead, 2008; Keltner & Haidt, 1999). At the same time, the process of collective reappraisal and sensemaking of emotions during SSNE emphasizes the importance of verbal communication in processing emotions. Our approach is somewhat different from the traditional notion of the centrality of non-verbal cues in understanding emotions (Mehrabian, 1972). Emotions are not just felt during the original incidents but many of them are reappraised and communicated in words afterwards.

Even though our focus here is SSNE; we expect that, at work, SSPE and SSNE arise concurrently as affective communication takes place. However, the dynamics of interpersonal engagements after experiencing positive emotions versus negative emotions could be quite different, in terms of the sharer's motivations and the subsequent role of respondents. For example, the activation of envy during SSPE (Scinta & Gable, 2005), may hinder connectedness (social integration) between interactants, especially given the fact SSE at work tends to occur amongst those who are exposed to a similar environment and who may compete for the same resources (cf. Gable et al., 2006; Tse & Dasborough, 2008).

In pursuit of parsimony, as well as being in line with research on SSPE (as part of SSE), we elected to work here with a range of emotions rather than differentiating the roles of discrete negative emotions. However, we note that different emotions can trigger various interpersonal processes (Parkinson et al., 2005) and may influence the process of SSNE differently. For example, sadness is likely to elicit empathy and social support (and more initiations of SSNE by team members), while embarrassment is likely to deflect the attention of others away from a potential sharer (Keltner & Buswell, 1997) (and less initiations of SSNE by team members). Also, while both shame and guilt are self-directed negative emotions (Frijda, 1986) with different causes (character and behavior respectively), reactions to and subsequent collective reappraisal with a sharer may evolve differently during SSNE. In addition, high-arousal emotions (anger, excitement), and low-arousal emotions (sadness, guilt) are predicted to evoke different reactions (mimicking and emotion interpretation respectively) (Hareli & Rafaeli, 2008). Since a goal-incongruent (negative) event is likely to elicit multiple emotions, rather than a single discrete emotion (Frijda, 1993), exploring discrete emotions may not be an easy task but certainly worth further investigation.

While we used specific propositions in our attempt to offer an actionable model for future empirical research, we acknowledge the inherent challenges involved in examining emotions in real life environments and, perhaps even more so, when negative emotions are studied. We believe that extensive case studies (e.g. Fitness, 2000) and/or daily diary studies (e.g. Reis et al., 2010) could be

used to understand the intrapsychic intentions and behavioral engagement of a sharer as well as of team members during SSNE (especially for P1, P2). In addition, surveys adapting, among others, perspective taking scales (e.g. the Interpersonal Reactivity Index: Davis, 1994) at the individual level and coping questionnaires (Folkman & Lazarus, 1988) measured at the group level (cf. reference shift: Chan, 1998), could be conducted in looking at multi-level processes (P1). Reflecting collective reappraisal suggested in this paper, scales could be developed as well (cf. theoretical principles: Aldwin & Revenson, 1987) in addition to attempts to code or quantify observable SSNE events. Longitudinal studies from the beginning of an early team formation could yield insights about the causality relationships between SSNE and outcomes as well as the effects of boundary conditions proposed in this paper (P1-7). Also, disclosure of negative emotions caused from private spheres, at the beginning of team formation, could risk being considered as a personality with negative affectivity (P4a), as disclosing information about oneself is less effective in the early stages of the relationship (Collins & Miller, 1994). Therefore, research should examine the contents as well as subsequent outcomes of SSNE over time. It would be equally interesting to compare the overlap between informal groups of SSNE and formal groups along the different stages of team development.

## 7.2. Implications for practice

For a group to be successful, communication at the early stages of group formation may be used to learn how to anticipate each other's needs and therefore connect individual members' goals to group goals (Campion, Medsker, & Higgs, 1993). Also, this is the stage of team development where team members experience the most negative emotions since they are not familiar with each other's expectations and behaviors (Yang, 2014). SSNE in such cases would be very useful as it allows team members not only to relieve negative emotions, but also to communicate their individual reactions to these interactions. The process of openly sharing each other's values and expectations via SSNE would allow team members to get to know and adjust their behaviors, which ultimately facilitates the development of group norms. Furthermore, the practices of collective reappraisal and sensemaking during SSNE within a team may underpin team learning.

The role of leader becomes important in a newly formed team. Scholars have highlighted the critical role that leaders play in managing emotional dynamics (e.g., Sy & Choi, 2013). The concept of affect management refers to the process of calibrating team members' emotional levels (George, 1990). Any team activities implemented in a manner that builds cohesion, breaks tension, vents frustration, or manages stressful situations are considered forms of affect management (Marks, Mathieu, & Zaccaro, 2000). Considering these arguments as well as the benefits of SSNE, a manager could encourage team members to be open in sharing their experiences during initial and on-going interactions within the team. In addition, while a leader should take care to resolve issues in order to avoid SSNE turning into a venting exercise, a leader's attentive listening during SSNE could also enhance the feeling of justice (i.e. voice) for team members.

A team manager could take advantage of social integration, an outcome of SSNE suggested as in this paper. The fact that social integration enhances group performance has been supported by a substantial body of empirical evidence (e.g., Beal, Cohen, Burke, & McLendon, 2003). Likewise, workplace friendships help employees obtain mutual support, improve the workplace atmosphere and improve communication (Stinglhamber, De Cremer, & Mercken, 2006; Tse & Dasborough, 2008). As individuals are interconnected and embedded within the social structure of an



organization (Randel & Ranft, 2007), the voluntary and informal process of SSNE could be very effective in promoting friendship formation as it increases positive affect within a group. SSNE at work also provides an outlet for voicing one's emotional turmoils and promotes health and well-being (Rimé et al., 1998) whereas chronic inhibition of emotions can produce stress-related physical and psychological problems (e.g. theory of inhibition: Pennebaker, 1985). A workplace that allows for emotional authenticity enables employees to sense their own power and they may help employees manage the emotions required of their performance (Fineman, 1993).

Finally, as Emotional Intelligence (EI) affecting the process of SSNE can be taught, such training could be considered at a team level. If team members are better equipped with EI and frequently engage in SSNE, these SSNE exchanges could create a chain reaction of obligations and exchange rituals of helping each other within a team and an organization. Initial individual altruistic behaviors could give rise to stable pro-social behaviors at group level (Brief & Motowidlo, 1986), and empathetic and prosocial behaviors during SSNE could be extended from a dyad, to a group and then to an organization level.

## 8. Conclusion

We have argued Socially Sharing Negative Emotions (SSNE) could lead to positive outcomes beyond individual level. We looked at SSNE within a team and argued that the active role of team members allows mitigation of the original negative emotions. During the active process of exchanging understanding and re-interpretations of the events, a sharer and team members involve in the appraisal and the perspective taking respectively, and also contribute to collective reappraisal or sensemaking together. SSNE also allows participants to experience self-disclosure, perceived similarity and affect reinforcement, as well as further social integration in a team.

The examination of SSNE highlights the potential merits of an intentional exchange of verbal communication of negative emotions at work. Emotional sharing contributes to the most basic relationships that humans forge, and shared feelings influence group functioning (Knight & Eisenkraft, in press). SSNE could play a significant role in workplace relations, as sharing dynamics can facilitate the formation of new relationships, as well as strengthen existing ones. One of the main contributions of this work is exploring SSNE, a relatively novel notion within the organizational concept, and highlighting its pro-team attributes.

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