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Sympathy or distress? The moderating role of negative emotion differentiation in helping behavior

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Abstract

Past research has documented the many psychological and behavioral benefits of negative emotion differentiation, that is, the degree to which one can identify, distinguish, and describe specific negative feeling states. Drawing on Affective Events Theory, we argue that negative emotion differentiation affects how individuals react to a need-laden affective event (i.e., being in a situation where one is asked for some assistance). Specifically, we posit that individuals high in negative emotion differentiation will be more adept at interpreting their negative emotions as arising from others' needs (i.e., moral emotions) and regulating them through helping behavior. We tested this basic premise in two studies conducted in East Asia – a field study involving working adults in a general work setting and a quasi-experiment involving a student sample. In both studies, we examined the role of negative emotion differentiation in how individuals respond to negative emotions facing a need-laden affective event. The results supported our predictions, as high negative emotion differentiation weakened the negative relationship between general negative emotions and subsequent helping behavior (Study 1) and strengthened the positive relationship between negative moral emotions and helping behavior (Study 2). Theoretical and practical implications are discussed.

Keywords Negative emotion differentiation · Negative emotions · Feeling sympathetic · Helping · Hong Kong · China

Some people are adept at identifying the discrete emotion that captures their felt emotional experiences (e.g., anxious, angry, sad). Others, however, may only be able to describe their experiences as being good or bad. Since the term was first coined

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by Barrett et al. (2001), emotion differentiation – an individual difference in the ability to distinguish among discrete emotions (Barrett et al., 2001; Demiralp et al., 2012; Seo & Barrett, 2007) – has been associated with a multitude of beneficial psychological and behavioral outcomes, including enhanced decision making (Li & Ashkanasy, 2019), social adjustment (Smidt & Suvak, 2015), psychological adjustment (e.g. less drug abuse), and emotion regulation (Kashdan, Barrett, & McKnight, 2015; Kashdan, Ferssizidis, Collins, & Muraven, 2010). For example, individuals who are high in emotion differentiation are less likely to turn to alcohol abuse (Kashdan et al., 2010) or utilize aggression in coping with anger (Pond et al., 2012).

Much of the extant work on emotion differentiation points to its important role in identifying and regulating negative emotions. Existing studies have identified situations wherein negative emotions are likely to guide behaviors and reported that negative emotion differentiation helps individuals better understand and cope with those difficult emotions (Demiralp et al., 2012; Kashdan et al., 2015; Pond et al., 2012). In effect, negative emotion differentiation helps individuals better handle negative emotion (e.g., distress, anxiety, anger) by helping them choose an emotion regulation strategy that is more beneficial, social, and healthy (Kashdan et al., 2015).

Negative emotion differentiation has particular relevance to organizational contexts because different types of negative emotions are associated with different action tendencies. Negative emotions, such as anger or fear, motivate individuals to avoid or attack the source of the negative emotion (Lazarus, 1991a; Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996). Therefore, negative emotions have helped humans stay away from or even eliminate external threats and have enhanced well-being by increasing the likelihood of self-serving behaviors (Cacioppo, Gardner, & Berntson, 1999; Elliot, Eder, & Harmon-Jones, 2013; Lang, 1995). A subset of negative emotions, however, has served a different purpose. Moral emotions – emotions related to others' welfare (Haidt, 2001, 2003) – can orient individuals to act in ways that enhance the wellbeing and survival of others (Bartlett & DeSteno, 2006; Haidt, 2003). While not all moral emotions have a negative valence such as gratitude and elevation (Haidt, 2003), the majority of moral emotions discussed in the literature are negative in valence and encourage a prosocial action tendency rather than a self-serving action tendency (Eisenberg, 2000; Haidt, 2001, 2003; Tangney, Stuewig, & Mashek, 2007).

The action tendencies of general negative emotions and moral emotions may manifest in conflicting behavioral tendencies when explaining helping behavior in organizations. In an organizational setting where there are others who are in need or may be suffering, the pressure to offer aid is present (Cain, Dana, & Newman, 2014; Flynn & Bohns, 2012). Employees may feel compelled to help their colleagues (Lin, Savani, & Ilies, 2019); such citizenship pressure have been associated with negative outcomes such as work-family conflict, work-leisure conflict, job stress, intention to quit (Bolino, Turnley, Gilstrap, & Suazo, 2010), and citizenship fatigue (Bolino, Hsiung, Harvey, & LePine, 2015). It has been suggested that such pressure is exacerbated in Asian cultures, where the provision of helping is associated with job security, opportunity and commitment (Hewlin, Kim, & Song, 2016; Li, Ahlstrom, & Ashkanasy, 2010), and thus compulsory citizenship behavior is generally more expected (Farh, Earley, & Lin, 1997; He, Peng, Zhao, & Estay, 2019; Pan, Rowney, & Peterson, 2012). Research has also shown that such situations are more likely to be unpleasant ones (Batson et al., 1987; Cain et al., 2014; Cameron & Payne, 2011), leading to negative affective states, such as distress, sympathy, and even third-party anger (Batson, 1998; Cain et al., 2014; Haidt, 2001, 2003; Nelissen & Zeelenberg, 2009).

Negative emotion differentiation has particular relevance to helping behavior because, as noted above, being exposed to others who are suffering or in need of help and being under the pressure to aid others is an unpleasant experience (Batson et al., 1987; Cain et al., 2014; Cameron & Payne, 2011). Thus we propose that ability in negative emotion differentiation is a key individual difference determining the extent to which the individual responds to the negative emotions experienced while being exposed to others in need. Individuals high in negative emotion differentiation will be able to make the distinction between specific moral emotions as opposed to more general negative emotions. Since moral emotions can be managed by engaging in prosocial behaviors (Haidt, 2003), individuals who are adept at identifying moral emotions will be more likely to use the regulatory strategy of helping others in reaction to negative emotions. Meanwhile, individuals who are unable to identify moral emotions will be more likely to resort to a more primal regulatory strategy of dealing with negative emotions, such as avoiding or even attacking the source of negative emotions (Lazarus, 1991a; Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996).

This paper explores this proposition by examining the moderating effect of negative emotion differentiation on the relationship between negative emotions and helping behavior. We tested this premise in two studies – a field study involving working adults in a general work setting in Mainland China and also a quasi-experiment involving a student sample in Hong Kong. We predict that negative emotion differentiation will weaken the negative relationship between general negative emotions and helping behavior (Study 1), while it will strengthen the positive relationship between negative moral emotions and helping behavior (Study 2).

This paper contributes to the literature in several ways. First, it contributes to the emotion differentiation literature by bringing in morality as a relevant dimension of emotion that can be distinguished from other types of negative emotions. Existing negative emotion differentiation studies only look at how individuals differentiate valence and activation of emotions (Barrett et al., 2001; Kashdan et al., 2015, 2010; Pond et al., 2012; Seo & Barrett, 2007; Smidt & Suvak, 2015), while ignoring another important aspect of emotions – the extent to which they relate to others' welfare. Moral emotions and hedonic emotions have different behavioral tendencies, even when they are both negative (Haidt, 2003), making emotion differentiation of particular importance to individuals and organizations (cf. Li, Ashkanasy, & Ahlstrom, 2014).

Second, this work contributes to the helping and prosocial behavior literatures by introducing emotion differentiation as a critical factor in tipping the scale of altruism. To date, this literature has mostly focused on prosocial motivation (Grant, 2008; Grant & Shin, 2012) or the direct effect of affective experiences on discretionary behaviors, usually centering on the role of positive affect (George, 1990; George & Bettenhausen, 1990; Lee & Allen, 2002; Williams & Shiaw, 1999). Individual differences in translating emotions into helping has received less attention. This study extends the scope of this literature by integrating negative affect, and showing how *negative emotions can actually assist in helping behavior*, further unpacking this key process through the moderating role of emotional differentiation.

Third, the current study contributes to the negative affect literature by introducing emotion differentiation as a critical factor in understanding the nuanced relationship

between negative emotions and workplace behavior. Negative affect has previously been associated with the dark-side outcomes, such as lack of trust and withdrawal (Kiefer, 2005), counterproductive work behavior (Yang & Diefendorff, 2009), and interpersonal aggression (Hershcovis et al., 2007). Our study introduces negative emotion differentiation as key to determining the regulation strategies used in response to negative emotions, including the possibility of resolving their negative emotions through positive, prosocial discretionary behaviors.

Theory

Negative emotion differentiation

Emotion differentiation, also called emotion granularity, is defined as the ability to make a more fine-grained, nuanced distinctions between similar emotions (Barrett et al., 2001; Seo & Barrett, 2007). Individuals high in emotion differentiation are aware of and also able to classify experiences into discrete emotional categories, and identify, distinguish, and describe specific feeling states (Pond et al., 2012), which does not come easy to everyone. For example, in Kashdan et al.'s (2010) interviews with survivors of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, one person described the feeling as changing from sadness to anger due to the inability to act upon the sadness, whereas another person could only identify a general feeling of bad, failing to specify whether it was "anger, confusion, or fear." In short, emotion differentiation captures the individual differences in the specificity of one's emotional experiences with potentially different responses (Barrett, 2004).

Although many individuals experience their emotions intensely, not everyone can identify what they are feeling with precision and clarity (Gohm & Clore, 2000). Some individuals tend to treat their emotional experiences in a discrete, differentiated fashion, while others rate their emotional experiences simply on a pleasant-unpleasant dimension. The more differentiated people's emotions are, the better they are at calibrating their behavioral responses to the demands of specific situations (Barrett et al., 2001). Although individuals report both positive and negative emotions (Parrott, 1993), the greatest need for emotion differentiation typically exists when there are high levels of negative emotions, which involves the need to adjust one's current emotional state or activity (Pratto & John, 1991), as the failure to respond to a negative signal may lead to potential harm.

Being able to regulate negative emotions has been associated with a multitude of benefits, including improved psychological well-being, financial success, and better health conditions (Campbell-Sills & Barlow, 2007; Gallo & Matthews, 2003; Gross & Thompson, 2007). Yet negative emotions are found to be more difficult to regulate than positive emotions as the experience of regulating negative emotions is not instantly rewarding (Gross & John, 2003; Nezlek & Kuppens, 2008). Therefore, identifying and understanding factors that have implications for the regulation of negative emotions, such as negative emotion differentiation, has both theoretical and practical value.

Need-laden affective events in the workplace elicit negative emotions

Workplace events elicit affective reactions in employees which subsequently influence attitudes and behaviors (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996). Affective Events Theory describes these events as 'negative-inducing' events when the events elicit negative affective reactions. Examples include experiences of abusive supervision (Mitchell, Vogel, & Folger, 2015), trust-betrayal (Joskowicz-Jabloner and Leiser, 2013), psychological contract breach or violation (Matthijs Bal & Smit, 2012; Zhao, Wayne, Glibkowski, & Bravo, 2007), inequity (Scheer et al., 2003), injustice (Barclay & Kiefer, 2014; Weiss et al., 1999), and unethical decisions (Cianci et al., 2014).

A less understood negative-inducing event is when an employee is placed in a situation to help others. We refer to such a situation as a *need-laden affective event* (i.e., instances where an individual is in a situation with the discretion to help another person in need). While helping, in general, has a positive connotation (Chen, Lee, & Ahlstrom, 2021), research has shown that being in a position to help may also be perceived as an unpleasant event (Batson et al., 1987; Cain et al., 2014; Cameron & Payne, 2011). Both the social psychology (Batson, 1990) and moral psychology (Haidt, 2001, 2003) literatures suggest that the emotional reaction to a need-laden affective event involves a negative valence. For example, Moral Foundations Theory (Haidt, 2001, 2003) proposes that individuals respond to the violation of or threat to fundamental moral values (fairness, care, or loyalty) with an automatic and emotional reaction that involves strong flashes of moral emotions (e.g., third party anger, sympathy, guilt, shame), that subsequently drive individuals' moral judgements. A need-laden affective event in the workplace is likely to involve threats to moral values such as fairness (e.g., somebody is or will be treated unfairly), care (somebody was or will be in distress), or loyalty (somebody in the same social group needs support). Therefore, need-laden affective events are apt to lead to judgments driven by emotions, oftentimes involving moral emotions. Similarly, Batson et al. (1987) suggests that individuals respond to others' need with emotionally-laden reactions such as empathic feelings. Batson further suggests that being exposed to others' distress is a distressful situation (Cain et al., 2014) and elicits a negative affective state in the observer (e.g., DAAD distress at another's distress; Batson & Shaw, 1991).

In sum, exposure to the need or suffering of others can produce pressure to offer aid (Cain et al., 2014; Flynn & Bohns, 2012). Prosocial behavior entails costs and such need-laden events are likely to lead to negative affective reactions such as distress, sympathy, guilt, or third-party anger (Batson, 1998; Cain et al., 2014; Haidt, 2001, 2003). Yet most people do want to help (Melamed et al., 2020) and the management of ensuing negative emotions is important in this regard.

Negative emotion differentiation and appraisal of need-laden affective event

Affective Events Theory (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996) states that two processes occur following an affective event: Primary appraisal of the event and secondary appraisal of the emotional meaning. During primary appraisal, the individual

evaluates the relevance of the event to the self. During secondary appraisal, the individual interprets the meaning of the experience.

Since a need-laden affective event places a pressure to engage in sacrifice of self-interest, it is likely to be appraised as a highly relevant event to the self during primary appraisal. Secondary appraisal involves the interpretation of the affective state. Since negative emotion differentiation is an ability to identify, distinguish, and describe emotions (Barrett et al., 2001; Pond et al., 2012), it will have a direct implication for how individuals interpret and regulate their negative emotions in reaction to a need-laden affective event.

According to Weiss and Cropanzano (1996), the secondary appraisal stage involves evaluation of the affective state based on the dimensional structure of emotions. Traditionally, the primary dimensions of emotions include the valence (positive vs. negative) and arousal (high vs. low) (Russell, 1989, 2003; Tellegen, Watson, & Clark, 1999). A dimension not captured in the circumplex model of affect, and that is relevant to need-laden affective events, is the self-other dimension. Also referred to as the level of disinterestedness by Haidt (2003), this dimension captures the extent to which the focal individual has low or no stake in the situation. For example, happiness and fear both are low in disinterestedness because both capture the affective states that signal a preferable or threatening situation to the self (Haidt, 2003). On the other hand, compassion or sympathy pertain to affective situations that are oriented towards others' needs or upholding some moral values. Haidt (2003) characterizes these emotions that are high in disinterestedness as moral emotions.

We maintain that negative emotion differentiation will enable individuals to differentiate emotions along the self-other focus (disinterestedness) dimension, such that they will be able to distinguish moral emotions from other general negative emotions. In the secondary appraisal stage of a need-laden affective event, individuals who are low in emotion differentiation will only be able to identify and describe a general positive or negative feeling without being able to further identify the exact emotion they are experiencing. These individuals will exit the secondary appraisal stage with the conclusion that they feel unpleasant.

On the contrary, individuals who are high in negative emotion differentiation will be able to categorize the felt emotions, identify the source of emotions, and develop the strategy to cope with them (Barrett et al., 2001; Demiralp et al., 2012; Seo & Barrett, 2007). In responding to a need-laden affective event, instead of concluding with a general negative valence, these individuals will have a more fine-tuned evaluation of their negative emotions. Indeed, Erbas et al., (2016) find that higher levels of negative emotion differentiation lead to higher empathic accuracy of others. This result suggests that individuals who are high in negative emotion differentiation will be able to accurately recognize that their affective experience originates from other people's need for help, allowing them to differentiate moral emotions from other negative emotions. This is in line with Cameron, Payne, and Doris, (2013) findings that individuals higher in emotion differentiation are better at dissociating incidental negative emotions and moral judgments, such that disgust induced through priming did not affect the moral judgment of an unrelated target's counter-normative behaviors.

Helping as a coping mechanism of moral emotions

The role of negative emotion differentiation in the context of need-laden affect events is critical because different discrete emotions are associated with different regulatory strategies and action tendencies (Gross & Thompson, 2007). Individuals generally prefer to maintain or achieve a pleasant affective state, and avoid an unpleasant state (Lang, 1995; Russell, 1989; Watson & Clark, 1984). As individuals have the basic motivation to eliminate a negative tone by resolving the source of unpleasantness (Folkman & Lazarus, 1988; Lazarus, 1991a), negative emotions, in particular, tend to signal situations requiring coping efforts to forestall or minimize a threat or harm (Lazarus, 1991b). For example, even emotions that are subset of fear such as panic, anxiety, and phobia, are associated with different dangers or situations, and behavioral motivations in coping with them (Nesse, 1990).

On the other hand, moral emotions, most of which are negatively valenced, have prosocial action tendencies (Bartlett & DeSteno, 2006; Haidt, 2001, 2003), despite the negative tone (Eisenberg, 2000; Haidt, 2001, 2003; Tangney et al., 2007). For example, moral emotions such as empathy (Batson, 1998), sympathy, guilt (Folger & Salvador, 2008), and third-party anger (Nelissen & Zeelenberg, 2009) are associated with prosocial behaviors (Batson, 1998; Barrett, et al., 2001; Eisenberg, 2000). Scholars have explained these prosocial action tendencies through an evolutionary perspective, in that they have evolved to maintain the interest of the collective (Haidt, 2008; Haidt & Joseph, 2004).

Moral emotions, therefore, have been associated with other-centric behaviors such as prosocial behavior (de Hooge, Breugelmans, & Zeelenberg, 2008; Eisenbeiss, van Knippenberg, & Fahrbach, 2015), and organizational citizenship behavior (Spence et al., 2014). These outcomes can be explained in terms of emotional coping mechanisms (Folkman & Lazarus, 1991a; Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2007), in that the behavioral coping strategies in response to moral emotions are different from those to general negative emotions. Whereas emotions such as fear or anxiety will lead individuals to engage in fight or flight coping mechanisms to cope with the external threats and reduce the negative states, moral emotions such as guilt, compassion, and empathy are likely to present other prosocial behaviors, namely helping, as a coping mechanism for relieving the negative affective state. Indeed, research has documented that engaging in the act of helping brings about feelings of joy and happiness (Batson, 1990; Dunn et al., 2008), which may in turn help to reduce negative feelings (Smith et al., 1989). In longitudinal field studies, volunteering to help, giving to, and benefiting others have been associated with reduced depression and enhanced psychological well-being (Greenfield & Marks, 2004; Penner et al., 2005).

Therefore, in reacting to a need-laden affective event, the ability to make sense of the distress arising from the pressure to aide others (Nesse, 1990) is of particular relevance, as it may lead to two opposing action tendencies. Individuals who are low in emotion differentiation will behave in accordance with the approach-avoidance mechanisms of negative emotions. That is, because their appraisal is based on the basic emotional dimension of negative valence, they will behave in ways that avoid or eliminate the source of negative emotions. In the context of a need-laden event,

these individuals will find a quick and easy way to avoid the situation or distance oneself from the source of need.

Individuals who are high in emotion differentiation, on the other hand, are apt to notice that the source of the negative emotion is another person's need and conclude that their emotional experience is a more specific discrete emotion (i.e., moral emotion). In the context of a need-laden affective event, these individuals will be cognizant of the fact that the negative emotions, while unpleasant, can be eliminated by helping. We propose:

Proposition: *Negative emotion differentiation will allow individuals to distinguish moral emotions from general negative emotions, increasing their likelihood of responding to need-laden events with helping behavior.*

We sought to test this proposition using two studies – a field study involving working adults in a general work setting (Study 1) and a quasi-experiment involving a student sample (Study 2) – each with different operational hypotheses deriving from our proposition.

Study 1

In Study 7, we tested our proposition as an interaction between general negative emotions and negative emotion differentiation. The proposition, that negative emotion differentiation will allow individuals to respond differently to negative emotions elicited by need-laden affective events, suggests that the relationship between negative emotions and helping will differ for those who are high versus low in negative emotion differentiation. When facing a need-laden affective event, the negative emotions elicited by the event will typically be associated with avoiding the source of distress (i.e., less helping; Batson & Shaw, 1991; Cain et al., 2014). However, individuals with high emotion differentiation will be more likely to detect the other-centric nature of the negative emotions they are experiencing, noticing the experience as moral emotions. As moral emotions are likely to elicit a prosocial 'approach' behavior tendency (Haidt, 2001, 2003), those who can tease out the other-centric aspect of their affective experience will be less likely to be influenced by the 'avoid' motivation (Cain et al., 2014; Haidt, 2001, 2003), and identify helping as the appropriate coping mechanism. Therefore, the negative relationship between negative emotions and helping behavior tends to be weaker for those high in negative emotion differentiation. On the contrary, moral emotions are less likely to be detected if individuals are not adept at differentiating negative emotions, and respond with the 'avoid' action tendencies associated with general negative emotions. Therefore, our hypothesis in study 7 is:

Hypothesis 1 Negative emotion differentiation will moderate the relationship between negative emotions and helping, such that the negative relationship is mitigated for individuals with high negative emotion differentiation.

Methods

Participants and procedures

The hypotheses were tested using a sample of 220 working adults based in Mainland China. Participants were recruited through an online survey company. The average age of the participants was 30.9 years (SD = 5.92). Fifty-five percent of them were female. They worked in various organizations throughout China representing a wide range of industries with the most frequent being banking and finance (23%), informational technology (18%), and manufacturing industry (14%). Participants' average work experience was 8.25 years (SD = 4.17), and 83% of the respondents obtained Bachelor's degrees or above.

Respondents who agreed to participate in the survey received a link to the online questionnaire. The first page of the questionnaire contained the informed consent form and information explaining the purpose of the survey. The participants were free to leave at any stage of the survey.

Measures

Following translation/back-translation procedures (Brislin, 1986), we had the survey instruments translated from English to Chinese and back-translated by two professional translators (Brislin, 1986). Where there were discrepancies, researchers in the field of management who are bilingual were invited to ensure the validity of the measures.

Helping behavior To capture individuals' general tendency to engage in helping behavior at the workplace, we used Lee and Allen, (2002)'s 8-item OCBI scale. Respondents were asked to rate how accurate the statements described the situation at work on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = not accurate at all, 5 = very accurate). Sample items were "Adjust your work schedule to accommodate other employees' requests for time off," and "Assist others with their duties." The reliability was 0.80.

Negative emotion differentiation We utilized measurement procedures of previous studies (Demiralp et al., 2012; Ekman et al., 1972) to measure individuals' level of emotion differentiation. The survey used 14 items, including pictures and news titles to induce mixed emotions. To capture the variance in the recognition of emotions on the self-other dimension, pictures were chosen to vary on the level of need of others. Participants were asked to look at these items one at a time and rate on a 4-point Likert scale (not at all = 1, little = 2, much = 3, a great deal = 4) to indicate the degree to which each of 11 emotion adjectives described their emotional state. There were seven negative-emotion adjectives (sad, anxious, angry, frustrated, ashamed, disgusted, and guilty) and four positive-emotion adjectives (happy, excited, alert, and active). Following previous studies (Demiralp et al., 2012), we calculated for each participant the Pearson's correlations between all possible pairs of negative emotions and calculated (Tugade, Fredrickson, & Feldman Barrett, 2004) and the average of the Fisher's z-transformed correlations to capture negative emotion

differentiation for each participant. We then subtracted the score from 1, such that larger values the better the person distinguished between various categories of emotional experience when describing his or her feelings (measurement items are listed in 24).

Negative emotions We used negative affectivity as a proxy measure of the general negative emotions experienced by the participants, following prior studies that have used trait affectivity to capture experienced affect (Barsade, Ward, Turner, & Sonnenfeld, 2000; Jeong & Korsgaard, 2021; Kaplan, Bradley, Luchman, & Haynes, 2009; Kim et al., 2013). Negative affectivity is a predisposition to experience negative affective states (Watson & Clark, 1984; Watson & Tellegen, 1985) and influence employees' moods at work (Grandey, Tam, & Brauburger, 2002; Judge and Ilies, 2004), as well as affective responses to workplace events (George, 1990). Given the established connections between this trait and experiences of negative emotions (Costa & McCrae, 1980, Larsen and Ketelaar, 1991), the magnitude of emotional response to negative events at work can be approximated by negative affectivity (Larsen & Ketelaar, 1991). Participants were instructed to indicate how frequently they have felt specific emotions during the past few weeks (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). They were then presented with 10 adjectives adapted from Watson et al., (1988)'s PANAS Scale. Respondents were asked to rate themselves on a 5-point Likert scale. Sample items are "Distressed," "Upset," and "Scared." The reliability was 0.91.

Control variables We controlled for participants' gender, depression, and the length of time (number of minutes) they spent on the survey as control variables. *Gender* was included because research shows that gender roles have been associated with social norms governing helping behavior (Eagly & Crowley, 1986) and there has been gender difference reported for empathic concern or sympathy (Feshbach, 1982). *Depression* is generally associated with affective experiences (Gallo & Matthews, 2003) and reduced helping behavior (Aderman, 1972). We therefore controlled for depression, which was measured by a 9-item short-form of the Beck Depression Inventory-II (Beck, Steer, Ball, & Ranieri, 1996) on a 4-point Likert scale. Sample items are "I feel down, depressed, or hopeless," and "I have little interest or pleasure in doing things" (Cronbach's α was .86). *Time spent on survey* was included to control for survey effort (Korsgaard et al., 2010; Stango & Zinman, 2019). All variables used in the analysis were standardized before they were included in the equation.

Results

Means, standard deviations, Cronbach's alphas and correlations are presented in Table 1. Generalized linear regression was administered to test the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 1 stated that the relationship between negative emotions, as measured by negative affectivity and helping behavior will be moderated by negative emotion differentiation. We regressed helping behavior on negative emotions, emotion differentiation, and the interaction term, controlling for gender, depression, and the number of minutes they spent on the survey. Regression results, summarized in Table 2, showed that the interaction between

Table 1 Descriptive statistics and correlations of study 1

	Mean	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5
1. Helping behavior	4.00	0.49	**.80**				
2. Negative emotions	2.87	1.25	-.55**	**.91**			
3. Negative emotion differentiation	0.44	0.25	.14*	-.28**			
4. Gender	0.45	0.50	0.00	.05	-.12		
5. Depression	0.66	0.49	-.48**	.66**	-.35**	.11	**.86**
6. Time	11.50	1.32	.18*	.13	-.31*	.17*	.34**

N=220. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 2 Linear regression results for the interaction effect of negative emotion differentiation on negative emotions and helping behavior

Variable	Helping behavior								
	Step 1			Step 2			Step 3		
	b	*S.E.*	*T*	*b*	*S.E.*	*t*	*b*	*S.E.*	*t*
Gender	-0.00	0.05	-0.02	0.003	0.05	0.06	-0.01	0.05	-0.10
Depression	-0.30***	0.03	-10.46	-0.17***	0.04	-4.66	-0.17***	0.04	-4.76
Time	0.19***	0.03	6.54	0.17***	0.03	6.12	0.19***	0.03	6.51
Negative emotions				-0.18***	.03	-5.16	-0.17***	0.03	-4.93
Negative emotion differentiation				0.01	0.03	0.51	0.01	0.03	0.51
Negative Affectivity * Negative emotion differentiation							0.05*	0.03	2.07
ΔR^2				.07*					.01*

N=220; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

negative emotions and emotion differentiation was significant ($b = .05$, $S.E. = 0.03$; $p = .04$; $95\%CI = (0.002, 0.10)$, providing support for hypothesis 1. Figure 1 depicts the simple slopes for the interaction. The slope of negative emotions on helping behavior was weaker when emotion differentiation was high (1 SD above the mean, $b = -0.12$, $S.E. = 0.04$, $p = .009$, $95\%CI = (-0.21, -0.03)$), and stronger when emotion differentiation was low (1 SD below the mean, $b = -0.22$, $S.E. = 0.04$, $p < .0001$, $95\%CI = (-0.30, -0.14)$). The pattern of interaction was consistent with our prediction. Therefore, hypothesis 1 was supported.

Discussion

The purpose of the current study was to test if the ability to differentiate between negative emotions could influence employee reactions to negative emotions in a general work setting. Consistent with our prediction, the results of the study showed that negative emotions reduced individual tendency to help their coworkers, but this relationship was weaker among individuals with higher emotion differentiation.

However, the study is limited by the research design. Most notably, we did not directly induce or measure the experience of negative emotions due to the difficulty in directly tapping into instances where individuals are experiencing negative emotions arising in actual need-laden events at work. Along with the cross-sectional nature of the data, there are questions of the validity of measurements and reverse causality. To address these limitations, we conducted Study 2, which was administered in a controlled environment where the participants were exposed to a need-laden event and their emotional reactions were directly measured.

Study 2

In Study 13, we tested our proposition as an interaction between negative moral emotion and negative emotion differentiation. We have argued that negative emotion differentiation helps individuals give meaning to a specific moral emotion experience and adopt helping behavior as the corresponding coping strategy. Among the negative moral emotions, sympathy, a typical moral emotion associated with another person's difficulties or misfortunes (Haidt, 2003), has been identified as an antecedent of helping behavior (Batson et al., 1987; Eisenberg et al., 1989). Sympathy is defined as "an emotional response, elicited by the emotional state or situation of the other person, that is not identical to the other's emotion and involves feelings of concern or sorrow for the other person" (Miller & Eisenberg, 1988, p. 325). It is categorized as a negative emotion, as typical expressions of individuals who feel sympathetic are "I feel bad for" and "I feel sorry for," which carries a clear negative valance (Eisenberg et al., 1989; MacEvoy & Leff, 2012). Research has also found that sympathy is indexed by facial sadness (Eisenberg et al., 1989) and is closely associated with self-reported distress, which individuals tend to diminish through helping (Batson et al., 1987). While the underlining mechanism may be that individuals have a general motive of diminishing one's own distress (Gross, 1998), we maintain that individuals who are high in

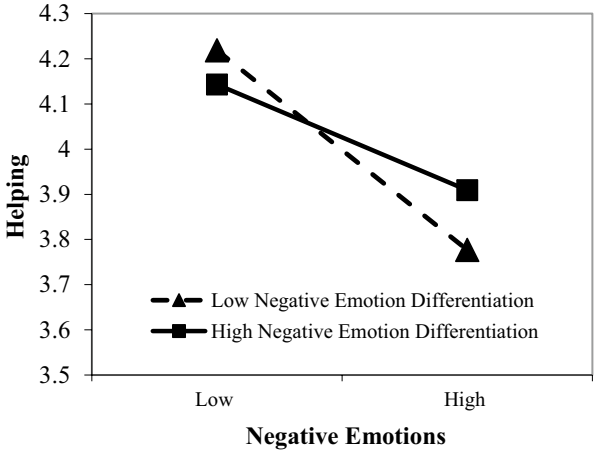

Figure 1. Study 1: Interaction of negative emotion differentiation and negative emotion

emotion differentiation will be more apt to understand that the feeling of sympathy can be regulated through active helping. However, for individuals low in emotion differentiation, the negative valence of sympathy will override and blind them from the behavioral option of helping as an emotion regulatory strategy thereby leading them to help less. Therefore, we hypothesize:

Hypothesis 2 Negative emotion differentiation will moderate the relationship between feeling sympathetic and helping, such that the positive relationship is stronger for individuals with high negative emotion differentiation.

Methods

Participants and design

Participants were undergraduate students who were enrolled in an introductory business course in a public university in Hong Kong. The study involved three rounds of data collection with a behavioral measure of helping. The class size was 91, with 87 students participating in the first round, and 65 in the second round. Complete data were available for 61 matched responses yielding a response rate of 67%. The average age was 18.5, and 31% of the participants were male.

Procedures

The study consisted of three rounds of data collection. In the first round, a paper-and-pencil questionnaire was administered to measure negative emotion differentiation, and other control variables including negative affectivity, depression, and demographic information.

The second round took place two weeks. We had a confederate who went to the same class and created a need-laden affective event before asking for participants' help on a follow-up survey (Korsgaard et al., 2010). A confederate first introduced herself as a doctoral student who was collecting data for her dissertation, and then instructed the participants to complete a three-part online survey on the spot through a present link. The participants were asked not to proceed to the next part without the confederate's instruction. The first part of online survey involved a dummy task where the participants were presented with a series of photographs of everyday objects (e.g., lamp, chair) and were asked to rate each object on a given neutral attribute (e.g., large-small).

After all the participants completed the first part, the confederate told the participants that the second part was missing due to some technical problems with the online survey. She portrayed herself as a doctoral student who needed this survey data to graduate on time to get a job and pleaded for participants' help to answer the second part questions after class through a follow-up link.

After some pleading, the confederate then asked the participants to proceed to the remaining part of the online survey, which asked participants to rated their felt negative emotions on a 5-point Likert scale. At the end of the survey, the participants

were given a choice to participate in a follow-up survey for the confederate's dissertation by providing their email addresses as the willingness to help.

The third round of data collection was administered for those who consented to help. The link to a follow-up survey was sent to the participants on the same day. The survey contained several pages of tedious and mentally taxing problems. At the end of each page, participants could choose to end the study or continue to the next page. As a result, participants were free to exit the survey at any time.

Measures

Helping behavior A composite index of helping behavior, adapted from a previous work on helping behavior (Korsgaard et al., 2010), was created as a function of agreeing to participate in the follow-up survey and the degree of actual participation in the survey. Agreement to participate in the follow-up survey was coded as "1" with disagreement as "0." The degree of actual participation was measured by the number of online questions completed (from 1 to 37). We standardized and averaged the scores to obtain a measure of helping behavior that captures both intention and effort. Because the distribution was skewed, we added 1 to the score to obtain a positive value to be square-rooted to obtain the final helping index.

Negative emotion differentiation We used the same 14 items used in Study 7 to measure respondents' negative emotion differentiation.

Feeling sympathetic We used three items (sympathetic, bad, and sorry) that are most commonly used to express a state of feeling "sympathetic" (Eisenberg et al., 1991; MacEvoy & Leff, 2012). We asked the participants to rate the degree of feeling sympathetic, bad, and sorry on a 5-point Likert scale. The Cronbach's α was .67.

Control variables We controlled for participants' major, gender, negative affectivity, and depression (Beck et al., 1996); The Cronbach's alpha was .80. Academic *major* was controlled for because the confederate was from a business school and we expected that the students with business majors might have a stronger motivation to help the experimenter than those with non-business majors due to relational demography (Tsui et al., 1992). Therefore, we dummy coded participants' study major (Business majors as 1 and non-business majors as 0) and controlled for its effect. *Negative affectivity* was included as a control variable so that we can tease out the effect of transient moods from discrete negative emotions (Watson & Clark, 1984). It was measured by five items (irritable, nervous, afraid, frustrated, and angry) from a short form of the PANAS (Watson et al., 1988). The Cronbach's α was 0.75.

Results

Means, standard deviations, Cronbach's alphas and correlations are presented in Table 3. Generalized linear regression was administered to test the hypotheses.

Table 3 Descriptive statistics and correlations of study 2

	Mean	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Helping behavior	0.92	0.40							
2. Feeling Sympathetic	1.73	0.63	.03						
3. Negative Emotion differentiation	0.48	0.28	-.07	-.03					
4. Major	0.67	0.47	.16	.12	-.08				
5. Gender	0.31	0.47	-.07	-.25	-.22	.09			
6. Negative affectivity	2.40	0.68	.19	.03	.03	.05	.09		
7. Depression	0.74	0.48	-.07	.28*	-.19	.27*	-.02	.45***	

*Business major=1, non-business major = 0; Male =1, Female = 0; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$*

Hypothesis 2 stated that the relationship between feeling sympathetic and helping behavior will be moderated by negative emotion differentiation. We regressed helping behavior on feeling sympathetic, negative emotion differentiation, and the interaction term, controlling for gender, major, negative affectivity and depression. Regression results, summarized in Table 4, showed that the interaction between feeling sympathetic and negative emotion differentiation was significant ($b = .13$, $p = .0491$; *95% CI* = (0.0005, 0.2516)), providing primary support for the hypothesis. Figure 2 depicts the simple slopes for the interaction. The slope of feeling sympathetic on helping behavior was positive when emotion differentiation was high (one SD above the mean, $b = 0.15$, *S.E.* = 0.08, $p = .06$), and negative when emotion differentiation was low (one SD below the mean, $b = -0.11$, *S.E.* = 0.08, $p = 0.15$). Thus, the pattern of interaction was consistent with our prediction. Therefore, hypothesis 2 was supported.

Discussion

The purpose of Study 2 was to address the limitations of Study 1 and directly test the proposed psychological processes for negative emotion differentiation moderating the effect of negative emotions on helping. Consistent with our prediction, the results of Study 2 showed that negative emotion differentiation moderated the relationship between feeling sympathetic and individual helping behavior, in such a way that the relationship was positive only among individuals with higher emotion differentiation.

While the use of student sample and a small sample size makes the findings vulnerable to the question of external validity, together with Study 1, the findings provide support for our general proposition that negative emotion differentiation impacts how individuals appraise and regulate their negative emotions in coping with need-laden affective events with helping.

General discussion

This paper has proposed and examined the role of negative emotion differentiation in individuals' response to a need-laden event in a general work setting, as well as in a controlled quasi-experimental setting. Consistent with our predictions, the findings

Table 4 Linear regression results for the interaction effect of negative emotion differentiation on feeling sympathy and helping behavior

Variable	Participation								
	Step 1			Step 2			Step 3		
	b	*S.E.*	*t*	*b*	*S.E.*	*t*	*b*	*S.E.*	*t*
Major	.19	.11	1.73	.19	.11	1.70	.28*	.11	2.43
Gender	-.11	.11	-1.01	-.13	.12	-1.14	-.16	.11	-1.40
Negative affectivity	.13*	.06	2.21	.14*	.06	2.39	.17***	.06	2.94
Depression	-.11	.06	-1.86	-.13*	.06	-2.10	-.17**	.06	-2.66
Feeling Sympathetic				.02	.05	0.34	.02	.05	0.33
Negative emotion differentiation				-.06	.05	-1.17	-.06	.05	-1.19
Feeling Sympathetic * Negative emotion differentiation							.13*	.06	2.33
ΔR^2	.12			.02					.08*

Business major=1, non-business major = 0; Male =1, Female = 0; N = 62*; * p* < .05*; ** p* < .01*; *** p* < .001

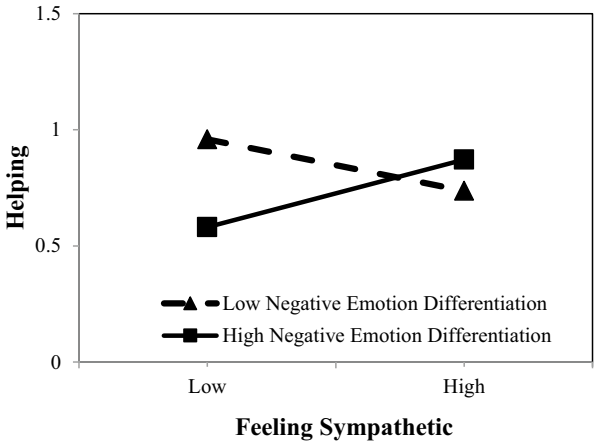

Figure 2. Study 2 : Interaction of negative emotion differentiation and feeling sympathetic

revealed that negative emotion differentiation mitigated the negative relationship between negative emotions and helping behavior, such that the relationship was weaker when negative emotion differentiation was high rather than low (Study 1). In addition, feeling sympathetic increased individual helping behavior among individuals with high negative emotion differentiation, while this relationship was not present among those with low negative emotion differentiation (Study 2).

Contributions

This study contributes to the literature in several aspects. First, it contributes to the helping and prosocial behavior literature by expanding our understanding of the relationship between negative emotions and employee helping behaviors. Discretionary behaviors, such as helping behavior, contributes to organizational efficiencies, but the influence of negative emotions on these behaviors are still unclear. Same has been true with other outcomes, where much attention has focused on the role of positive affect (George, 1990; George & Bettenhausen, 1990; Lee & Allen, 2002; Williams & Shiaw, 1999). This study unpacks the previously neglected relationship between negative affect and helping behavior and addresses this imbalance caused by over-emphasis on positive affect. It not only provides a plausible theoretical basis, but also offers managers with directions for cultivating and promoting helping behavior in the workplace. Such key performance roles of management are well understood to encourage firm performance and economic growth (Eldor, 2016; Tomizawa, Zhao, Bassellier, & Ahlstrom, 2020), and is particularly important to organizations in developing economies (Khosravi, Yahyazadehfar, & Sani, 2021).

Second, this work contributes to the emotion differentiation literature by bringing in morality as a relevant dimension of emotion that can be distinguished from other types of negative emotions. The results collectively corroborate Barrett et al. (2001)'s finding that high emotion differentiation people can go beyond general terms of pleasant or unpleasant in presenting their feelings, and further attribute the source of negative moral emotions to negative contextual cues and adopt effective regulatory strategies. Moreover, this study provides insights into how the competing behavioral tendencies arising from different types of negative emotions – basic versus moral – are resolved. By introducing emotion differentiation into the picture, this paper highlights an important but neglected dimension of emotions – disinterestedness – that distinguishes the two types of negative emotions, leading to competing action tendencies (Haidt, 2003),

Finally, it adds to the literature on the affective mechanisms of workplace behaviors. Existing emotions research has relied on individual differences heavily relies on the "big five" framework and traits that describe individual tendencies (e.g., negative affect). Others rely on a broad multi-dimensional construct of emotional intelligence to understand an individual's use of emotions in the workplace (George, 2000; Salovey & Mayer, 1990; Tugade & Fredrickson, 2004; Wong & Law, 2002). This paper identifies and introduces emotion differentiation as a specific and important individual trait that influences how emotions translate into workplace behaviors.

Practical implications

This study also offers insights to managers and their organizations. The results shed light on employee psychological well-being and organizational efficiency. For employees, being cognizant of their negative emotion differentiation may help them understand their own tendencies of regulating emotions and resolving situations that elicit negative emotions. It is of particular importance in the Chinese context where

employees are more likely to be subjected to the pressure to engage in citizenship behavior due to the cultural heritage of valuing benevolence, consideration, and reciprocity within a hierarchical structure (Farh et al., 1997; Pan et al., 2012). Meanwhile, traditional Chinese culture discourages the expression of emotions with the philosophical belief that excessive emotions tend be the sources of disruption to harmony (Chen, Cheung, Bond, & Leung, 2005). Therefore, accurately recognizing their emotional state and identifying the source of negative emotions is more likely to lead individuals to recognize a wider range of effective copying strategies, such as helping others. Indeed, research finds that helping others serves as a remedy for negative emotional states (Grant & Sonnentag, 2010).

For organizations, workplace helping behavior is vital for operational efficiency and performance (Abid et al., 2018; Baker et al., 2006; Barasch, Levine, Berman, & Small, 2014), especially for contemporary business where teams have become the fundamental functional unit and jobs and tasks are interdependent. Knowledge of emotion differentiation can thus equip managers and human resource specialists with additional strategies and tools to promote individual and team performance, specifically through employee selection, training, job design and the encouragement of innovation (Eldor, 2016; Wang, Ahlstrom, Nair, & Hang, 2008). Given that negative emotion differentiation can be efficiently measured, as demonstrated in the current study, organizations can benefit from identifying and selecting individuals with an appropriate level of emotion differentiation. In addition, research evidence shows that emotion differentiation can also be a state (Cameron et al., 2013). This implies that emotion differentiation may be induced through organizational interventions, training, or job design. For example, Kashdan and colleagues (Kashdan et al., 2015) found that emotion differentiation is related to one's emotion vocabulary, indicating that organizations could utilize training to expand employees' emotion vocabulary and teach them to describe and identify their emotions in a nuanced and contextual manner. In addition, managers are recommended to enrich followers' emotional knowledge by explaining the causes, contexts, and sequences of actions though daily communications, which may benefit the organization by promoting instances of helping behaviors along with other positive outcomes of emotion differentiation.

Limitations and future research

Although we conducted two studies – a field study and quasi-experiment – that generated complementary findings, there are a few limitations to note. First, the results from Study 1 were based on a study that used a single-source correlational design. Additionally, while the temporal gap between the measurement of the independent variables and the dependent variable, together with a behavioral measure of helping, rather than self-report, was adopted to strengthen causal inference in Study 13, the findings are vulnerable to the question of external validity. Future research could cross-validate the results in a more controlled experimental setting.

In addition, while we propose a theoretical model where individuals interpret and appraise their emotions, we confined the interpretation of the measurement items that we presented to the participants. That is, the labeling of negative moral emotions were not derived from the individuals as a result of the interpretation of their emotions, rather, they rated their emotions based on the adjectives that they were exposed to. While the

results supported the hypothesized effects, this calls for more research on the emotional labeling process and measurement of emotions (Edwards et al., 2020; Starr et al., 2020).

Finally, given the importance of labeling of emotions in this research, the language with which the study was conducted may have affected our findings. Feeling sympathetic could indicate different things in different cultural background and it might not encompass such a multitude of mixed negative emotions varying in the level of other-orientation. Future studies may want to pay special attention to the role of language and culture in the interpretation process of emotions.

Conclusion

Employees often face workplace situations that trigger negative emotions. One such situation is a need-laden affective event when helping behaviors are called for. Our research shows that experiencing negative emotions is not always a bad thing. Particularly, our results offer primary evidence that an employee with a high level of negative emotion differentiation will be able to detect the moral element in experienced negative emotion and then adopt *helping* as a behavioral strategy to regulate the negative emotions. We hope that these findings can help explain the complex and nuanced relationship between affect and workplace behavior and suggest an important and novel way of better managing the emotion-behavior relationship and encouraging the employee helping behaviors that are so crucial to firm performance and employee well-being.

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Appendix 1 Measurement for negative emotion differentiation

Please look at the pictures or news titles in the left column and indicate the degree to which each of 11 emotion adjectives described your current emotional state. For example,

	Not at all	Little	Much	A great deal
sad	1	2	3	4
anxious	1	2	3	4
angry	1	2	3	4
frustrated	1	2	3	4
ashamed	1	2	3	4
disgusted	1	2	3	4
guilt	1	2	3	4
happy	1	2	3	4
excited	1	2	3	4
alert	1	2	3	4
active	1	2	3	4

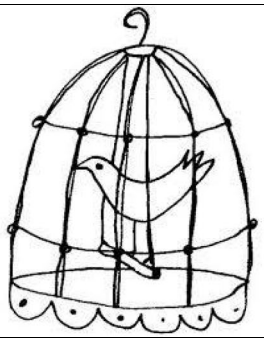
If you saw the clock and feel a great deal of anxiousness and a little bit of alert at the moment, then you will circle “4”for “anxious” and “2”for “alert”, and “1”for the rest of the adjectives that you have no feelings for.

Now please rate the following pictures carefully.

1		Not at all	Little	Much	A great deal
	sad	1	2	3	4
	anxious	1	2	3	4
	angry	1	2	3	4
	frustrated	1	2	3	4
	ashamed	1	2	3	4
	disgusted	1	2	3	4
	guilt	1	2	3	4
	happy	1	2	3	4
	excited	1	2	3	4
	alert	1	2	3	4
	active	1	2	3	4

2		Not at all	Little	Much	A great deal
	sad	1	2	3	4
	anxious	1	2	3	4
	angry	1	2	3	4
	frustrated	1	2	3	4
	ashamed	1	2	3	4
	disgusted	1	2	3	4
	guilt	1	2	3	4
	happy	1	2	3	4
	excited	1	2	3	4
	alert	1	2	3	4
	active	1	2	3	4

3		Not at all	Little	Much	A great deal
	sad	1	2	3	4
	anxious	1	2	3	4
	angry	1	2	3	4
	frustrated	1	2	3	4
	ashamed	1	2	3	4
	disgusted	1	2	3	4
	guilt	1	2	3	4
	happy	1	2	3	4
	excited	1	2	3	4
	alert	1	2	3	4
	active	1	2	3	4

4		Not at all	Little	Much	A great deal
	sad	1	2	3	4
	anxious	1	2	3	4
	angry	1	2	3	4
	frustrated	1	2	3	4
	ashamed	1	2	3	4
	disgusted	1	2	3	4
	guilt	1	2	3	4
	happy	1	2	3	4
	excited	1	2	3	4
	alert	1	2	3	4
	active	1	2	3	4

5	Not at all	Little	Much	A great deal

	sad	1	2	3	4
	anxious	1	2	3	4
	angry	1	2	3	4
	frustrated	1	2	3	4
	ashamed	1	2	3	4
	disgusted	1	2	3	4
	guilt	1	2	3	4
	happy	1	2	3	4
	excited	1	2	3	4
	alert	1	2	3	4
	active	1	2	3	4

6		Not at all	Little	Much	A great deal
	sad	1	2	3	4
	anxious	1	2	3	4
	angry	1	2	3	4
	frustrated	1	2	3	4
	ashamed	1	2	3	4
	disgusted	1	2	3	4
	guilt	1	2	3	4
	happy	1	2	3	4
	excited	1	2	3	4
	alert	1	2	3	4
	active	1	2	3	4

7		Not at all	Little	Much	A great deal
	sad	1	2	3	4
	anxious	1	2	3	4
	angry	1	2	3	4
	frustrated	1	2	3	4
	ashamed	1	2	3	4
	disgusted	1	2	3	4
	guilt	1	2	3	4
	happy	1	2	3	4
	excited	1	2	3	4
	alert	1	2	3	4
	active	1	2	3	4

8		Not at all	Little	Much	A great deal
	sad	1	2	3	4
	anxious	1	2	3	4
	angry	1	2	3	4
	frustrated	1	2	3	4
	ashamed	1	2	3	4
	disgusted	1	2	3	4
	guilt	1	2	3	4
	happy	1	2	3	4
	excited	1	2	3	4
	alert	1	2	3	4
	active	1	2	3	4

9		Not at all	Little	Much	A great deal
	sad	1	2	3	4
	anxious	1	2	3	4
	angry	1	2	3	4
	frustrated	1	2	3	4
	ashamed	1	2	3	4
	disgusted	1	2	3	4
	guilt	1	2	3	4
	happy	1	2	3	4
	excited	1	2	3	4
	alert	1	2	3	4
	active	1	2	3	4

10	Not at all	Little	Much	A great deal

埃塞俄比亚波音 737 空难 3 月 10 日，埃塞俄比亚航空公司一架波音 737 客机从首都亚的斯亚贝巴起飞后不久坠毁，机上 157 人全部遇难，其中包括 8 名中国公民。	sad	1	2	3	4
	anxious	1	2	3	4
	angry	1	2	3	4
	frustrated	1	2	3	4
	ashamed	1	2	3	4
	disgusted	1	2	3	4
	guilt	1	2	3	4
	happy	1	2	3	4
	excited	1	2	3	4
	alert	1	2	3	4
	active	1	2	3	4

11		Not at all	Little	Much	A great deal
	sad	1	2	3	4
	anxious	1	2	3	4
	angry	1	2	3	4
	frustrated	1	2	3	4
	ashamed	1	2	3	4
	disgusted	1	2	3	4
	guilt	1	2	3	4
	happy	1	2	3	4
	excited	1	2	3	4
	alert	1	2	3	4
	active	1	2	3	4

12		Not at all	Little	Much	A great deal
	sad	1	2	3	4
	anxious	1	2	3	4
	angry	1	2	3	4
	frustrated	1	2	3	4
	ashamed	1	2	3	4
	disgusted	1	2	3	4
	guilt	1	2	3	4
	happy	1	2	3	4
	excited	1	2	3	4
	alert	1	2	3	4
	active	1	2	3	4

13	Not at all	Little	Much	A great deal

sad	1	2	3	4
anxious	1	2	3	4
angry	1	2	3	4
frustrated	1	2	3	4
ashamed	1	2	3	4
disgusted	1	2	3	4
guilt	1	2	3	4
happy	1	2	3	4
excited	1	2	3	4
alert	1	2	3	4
active	1	2	3	4

14

	Not at all	Little	Much	A great deal
sad	1	2	3	4
anxious	1	2	3	4
angry	1	2	3	4
frustrated	1	2	3	4
ashamed	1	2	3	4
disgusted	1	2	3	4
guilt	1	2	3	4
happy	1	2	3	4
excited	1	2	3	4
alert	1	2	3	4
active	1	2	3	4

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