Self- and Other-Oriented Motivations Associated with Emotional Suppression of Internalized and Externalized Negative Emotions: A Multiethnic Self-Report Study in the Netherlands

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Abstract

We were interested in the motivations associated with emotional suppression, their relationship with negative emotions in self-reported emotional events, and their cross-cultural similarities and differences. Based on a framework of human values (Schwartz, 1994) and internalization-externalization (Krueger & Markon, 2006), we expected in the current study that self-reported motivations to suppress negative emotions are either self- or other-oriented. The sample consisted of 354 Dutch majority members, 319 immigrants from non-Western, and 368 from Western countries. The two-dimensional solution of self- and other-oriented motivations was confirmed. Non-Western immigrants scored higher on other-oriented motivation than Western immigrants, but no interethnic differences were found in self-oriented motivation. Non-Western immigrants scored higher on anxiety, compassion, guilt, and hate compared to Dutch group. Associations of negative emotions with self- and other-oriented motivation were the same in all groups. Sadness was positively related to self-oriented motivation, whereas anger was positively related to other-oriented motivation. We concluded that emotional suppression depends not only on self- or other-orientation but also on the type of emotions (internalized versus externalized) and the relationships are not influenced by ethnicity.

Introduction

We examined motivations underlying emotional suppression of negative emotions, such as anger, sadness, and fear, in various ethnic groups in the Netherlands. Although much research is conducted on emotional suppression and the negative impact of emotional suppression on health (Egloff et al., 2006; Ehring et al., 2010; Gruber et al., 2012; Volokhov & Demaree, 2010), much less research is conducted on why people want to suppress their emotions. There is a clear indication that people are much more motivated to suppress their negative emotions than their positive emotions (Gross & John, 2003; Larsen, 2000). Larsen (2000) suggested that the choice of (not) suppressing negative emotions depends on individual motives. When motivated, individuals can even delay suppression of negative emotions in order to obtain long-term goals (Parrot, 2001). Previous research proposed several reasons for suppressing negative emotions. For example, Tamir, Ford, and Giliam (2012) showed that the preferred emotion regulation strategy is related to the balance between two benefits of an emotion: hedonic (urge to feel good) and instrumental (usefulness of emotions) benefits of the emotion. In other words, negative emotions are more likely suppressed because most of the time these negative emotions make us feel bad or vulnerable. Therefore, we focused not only on the distinction between self-oriented motivation (that refers to self-protectiveness and the urge to feel good) and other-oriented motivation (that refers to other-protectiveness and the urge to make others feel good), but we also addressed interethnic differences and similarities in these motivations, experienced negative emotions, and their relationships within immigrants and majority group members in the Netherlands.

Whether a negative emotion will be suppressed or not depends on individual motivations and also on the sociocultural context, particularly on display rules of emotions that refer to culturally defined rules that specify which emotion should (not) be suppressed in certain situations (Matsumoto, Hee Yoo, & Fontaine, 2008). For example, one of the most important reasons for the observed lower levels of emotional suppression of negative emotions in non-Western, interdependent cultures is that the negative emotions are not always experienced as threatening to social harmony. They often stimulate interconnectedness and therefore such emotions may be not suppressed in these cultures (e.g., Tsai, Knutson, & Fung, 2006). In Western independent cultures negative emotions will be more suppressed, as these can be perceived as negative evaluations of self and own self-esteem. Therefore, people from non-Western cultures presumably predominantly suppress negative emotions that form a potential threat to perceived social harmony (other-oriented motivation) whereas people from Western cultures are more likely to suppress predominantly negative emotions that form a potential threat to own self-esteem (self-oriented motivation).

The question can be raised whether negative emotions would be more associated with self-or other-oriented motivation to suppress emotions. Based on the internalization-externalization dimensional model of emotional disorders (Krueger & Markon, 2006), we can distinguish two types of emotions: internalized (intrapersonal) and externalized (interpersonal). Sadness is an example of an internalized emotion that is commonly bottled up inside of a person and is thus expressed inwards. Sadness is typical for internalized mental health disorders such as depression or dysthymia. People who experience a negative internalized emotion, such as sadness, may be more self-oriented in their motivation to suppress this emotion because experiencing and/or expressing sadness might be opposite to one's self-protective goals. In contrast, anger is an example of an externalized negative emotion that is commonly associated with behavioral disinhibition that is a core characteristic of externalizing disorders such as conduct, attention-deficit/hyperactivity, and antisocial personality disorders (Krueger & Markon,

2006). Additionally, people who experience an externalized negative emotion, such as anger, may be more other-oriented in their motivation to suppress this emotion because expressing such an emotion may challenge the nature of the relationship with the target person. The distinction between self- and other-oriented motivation is rooted in the basic and cross-culturally stable distinction between self- and other-oriented values (Fontaine, Poortinga, Delbeke, & Schwartz, 2008). Analogously, we argue that motivation is based on either self-interests or the interests of other people (altruism). However, the novelty of the current study lies in that we are the first, to our knowledge, to investigate differential emotion-motivation relationships within an interethnic context and to employ internalization-externalization as a possible explanation of differential relationships.

The Present Study

We asked members of several ethnic groups in the Netherlands to report a recent negative emotional event where they suppressed their emotion and to provide their motivation for the suppressing. Previous studies show that emotional suppression of negative emotions occurs more often in non-Western than in Western societies (Gross & John, 2003; Murata, Moser, & Kitayama, 2012) and also more often in non-Western immigrants than in majority group members (Stupar, Van de Vijver, & Fontaine, 2014, 2015). Emotional suppression is found to be related to negative mental health outcomes for both immigrants and majority group members (Consedine, Magai, Cohen, & Gillespie, 2002; Stupar et al., 2014). In order to understand better why suppression of emotions occurs, we focus on the motivations for suppression and in particular on self- and other-oriented motivation. We hypothesize that motivations associated with emotional suppression can be structured in all ethnic groups along two dimensions, namely motivations oriented toward the self or towards others (Hypothesis 1).

Schalk-Soekar, Van de Vijver, and Hoogsteder (2004) showed that the experienced distance immigrants perceive to the Dutch culture was largest in non-Western groups (e.g., Turkish- and Moroccan-Dutch) followed by other Western groups (e.g., Belgians and Germans). Non-Western cultures are usually described as interdependent cultures where people value others and their relationships with others relatively high compared to their own interests, whereas in Western cultures such as the Netherlands an opposite pattern is usually found. Therefore, we expect that other-oriented motivations would be stronger in groups that are culturally more distant from the Dutch majority whereas self-oriented motivations would be stronger in Western immigrants and Dutch majority (Hypothesis 2).

Our emotion assessment is based on the hierarchical organization of the cognitive structure of emotions (Fontaine, Scherer, & Soriano, 2013; Fontaine, Poortinga, Setiadi, & Markam, 2010; Shaver, Schwartz, Kirson, & O'Connor, 1987) where hierarchical cluster analyses confirmed several negative basic emotions categories such as anger, sadness, and fear. Each of these negative basic emotions consists of several subordinate-level categories. For example, sadness consists of subcategories such as gloominess and sadness while anger consists of aggravation and anger. In line with this framework, we asked participants to rate each self-reported emotional episode on several negative emotions (at subordinate level) such as sadness, gloominess, anger, aggravation, anxiety, and terror. We expected that the emotions on subordinate level would structure themselves in distinct factors that represent basic emotions, for example, sadness (sadness/gloominess), anxiety (anxiety/terror), and anger (anger/aggravation). Additionally, non-Western immigrants usually report more depression, anxiety, and mood-related complaints compared to Western immigrants and majority group members (De Wit et al., 2008; Levecque, Lodewyckx, & Vranken, 2007; Stupar et al., 2014). Therefore, we hypothesize that non-Western immigrants would experience more negative emotions compared to other Western ethnic groups (Hypothesis 3).

Considering that negative emotions may be structured along the internalization-externalization dimension (where internalization and externalization are seen as opposite ends of the same dimension), we argue that internalized negative emotions are much more subject to self-oriented suppression motivation whereas externalized emotions are more subject to other-oriented suppression motivation (Hypothesis 4). Finally, we also explored whether the emotions-motivations relationships differ across ethnic groups.

Method

Participants

The data were collected in August 2013 using the Tilburg immigrant panel of Centerdata in the Netherlands. The immigrant panel is an independent part of the LISS panel of the MESS project (Measurement and Experimentation in the Social Sciences; www.lissdata.nl); it is a representative sample of immigrants and majority group members who participate in monthly internet surveys (Scherpenzeel & Das, 2010). Ethnic groups were merged to obtain adequate sample sizes for the statistical analyses and merging was conducted in line with perceived cultural distance (Schalk-Soekar et al., 2004). The sample consisted of 1,041 participants: 354 Dutch majority members, 319 immigrants from non-Western (e.g., Turkish and Moroccan Dutch), and 368 from Western (e.g., Germans and Belgians) countries. Ethnic groups did not significantly differ in their gender compositions. The age varied from 16 to 88 years. Non-Western immigrants were significantly younger ($F(2, 1041) = 43.95$, $p < .001$, $\eta p2 = .08$) and had on average a lower net monthly income ($F(2, 1041) = 20.44$, $p < .001$, $\eta p2 = .04$) than Dutch majority and Western immigrants. Non-Western immigrants were also less educated than both other ethnic groups, ($F(2, 1041) = 10.59$, $p < .05$, $\eta p2 = .01$). Generation status tends to be associated with ethnic background in Dutch samples, as most of non-Western immigrants belong to first-generation migrants (migrants that are born outside of the Netherlands) compared to Western immigrants that belong mainly to the second-generation, $\chi2(1, N = 687) = 22.68$, $p < .001$ (results from Chi-squared test with

only immigrants groups). See Table 1 for more details on all demographic variables.

Table 1
Means, Standard Deviations (in Parentheses) per Ethnic Group and Effect Sizes of Their Differences (Results from MANCOVA)

	Dutch Majority	Non-Western Dutch	Western Dutch	Partial Eta Square (η_p^2)	Cronbach Alpha (Dutch/ Non-Western/ Western)
Migrant generation[1]					
First	-	189 (18%)	151 (15%)	-	
Second	-	130 (12%)	217 (21%)	-	
Gender (frequency)					
Male	165 (47%)	146 (46%)	150 (41%)	-	
Female	189 (53%)	173 (54%)	218 (59%)	-	
Age	49 (1.51)$_{a, b}$	40 (1.45)$_a$	52 (1.52)$_{a, b}$	.08***	
Education level	3.83 (1.47)$_{a, b}$	3.67 (1.55)$_a$	4.03 (1.55)$_{a, b}$	.01*	
Monthly income[2]	1,618 (0-10,007)$_{a, b}$	1,165 (0-4,600)$_a$	2,554 (0-26,863)$_{a, b}$	.04***	
Anxiety/terror	1.52 (.88)$_{a, b}$	1.74 (.85)$_a$	1.56 (.87)$_b$	.01*	.68/.63/.66
Compassion/sympathy	1.50 (.91)$_{a, b}$	1.63 (.82)$_a$	1.45 (.82)$_{a, b}$	.01**	.75/.66/.71
Guilt/shame	1.24 (.74)$_{a, b}$	1.52 (.79)$_a$	1.34 (.76)$_b$	.02**	.65/.58/.61
Hate/humiliation	1.29 (.82)$_{a, b}$	1.60 (.86)$_a$	1.31 (.79)$_{a, b}$	.02***	.70/.57/.74
Sadness/gloominess	2.07 (.88)	2.23 (.83)	2.05 (.83)	.01	.66/.66/.64
Anger/aggravation	2.44 (.85)	2.51 (.83)	2.39 (.88)	.00	.71/.71/.77
Other-oriented motivation	1.84 (.71)$_{a, b}$	1.95 (.70)$_a$	1.79 (.73)$_b$	.01*	.76/.79/.77
Self-oriented motivation	1.84 (.72)	1.97 (.72)	1.86 (.68)	.00	.86/.83/.86

Note. Education level varied from not having education at all (0) to university degree (6).
1Migrant generation and gender are given in frequencies (percentages of total sample).
2Monthly net income is given in Euros (range).
Means with different subscripts are significantly different (Bonferroni post hoc test).
*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Measures

The questionnaires were administered in Dutch as the Dutch proficiency is high among the panel members. Instruments and data can be retrieved from http://www.lissdata.nl/dataarchive/study_units/view/. In all analyses we used the mean scores for each (sub)scale. The internal consistencies (Cronbach's alpha values) ranged from low to high, ranging from .57 to .86 (see Table 1).

The questionnaire was presented online to the panel members and it started with an open-end item regarding the negative emotion eliciting event, where the respondents were asked to describe a recent emotional episode where they suppressed their negative emotions. Two independent research assistants coded each emotional event into two new variables (Stupar et al., 2015): target (whether the emotional occurrence was related to self, partner, family members, friends, or others) and nature (whether the emotional event was related to well-being, social situations, work, education, or relationships). No significant group differences were found in target ($\chi2(18, N = 1041) = 27.62$, ns) or nature ($\chi2(26, N = 1041) = 30.24$, ns). This open-end item regarding the emotional event is followed by the closed-ended questions on experienced negative emotions during reported event and motivations underlying the suppression of these emotions.

Experienced negative emotions were assessed by asking the participants to report the extent to which they experienced 16 negative emotions during the event such as anger, sadness, anxiety, and hate (items adapted from the GRID; Fontaine, Scherer, Roesch, & Ellsworth, 2007; Fontaine et al., 2013). The response categories varied from 1 (completely disagree) to 7 (completely agree). A Confirmatory Factor Analysis confirmed the six-factor solution (hate/humiliation, sadness/gloominess, guilt/shame, anxiety/terror, anger/aggravation, and compassion/sympathy), where scalar invariance was supported across all ethnic groups. Note that we included compassion/sympathy that represents positive emotions as these emotions are important in other-oriented motivation (they are closely related to altruistic feelings). The measurement residuals model was the most restrictive model with a satisfactory fit, $\chi2(193, N = 1041) = 465.306$, $p < .001$, $\chi2/df = 2.411$, CFI = .926. However, four emotions (nervous, restless, hurt, and worried) showed cross-loadings (they loaded similarly on several emotions factors) and therefore we excluded them from further analyses.

Motivation underlying emotional suppression was assessed by asking participants to rate 12 self-developed items based on frameworks of human values (Schwartz, 1994) and internalization-externalization (Krueger & Markon, 2006)[1]. The items referred to the reasons for emotional suppression during the described emotional event and they were scored on a 7-point response scale (from completely disagree to completely agree). We confirmed the two-factor solution using Confirmatory Factor Analysis with seven items related to self-oriented motivation and five items related to other-oriented motivation (see Table 2 for exact CFA-loadings of all items). The measurement residuals model had a satisfactory fit, $\chi2(209, N = 1041) = 593.392$, $p < .001$, $\chi2/df = 2.839$; CFI =

[1]The first version of Motivation underlying emotional suppression scale consisted of 38 items. A Principal Component Analysis confirmed the two-factor solution (self- and other-oriented motivation) in all ethnic groups (between 42% and 45% of the variance explained). Both scales had satisfactory internal consistencies (Cronbach's alpha values varied from .82 to .90). However, 16 items did not differentiate well as they had very low loadings on these two factors (below .3) and had strong cross-loadings. Therefore, we chose the12 best differentiating items and we confirmed the two-factor solution using CFA with seven items related to self-oriented motivation and five items related to other-oriented motivation, as we presented in the manuscript.

.907; scalar invariance was supported across all groups. Both scales had satisfactory internal consistencies (Cronbach's alpha values varied from .76 to .86).

Table 2
Confirmatory (CFA) Factor Analyses Loadings of the Self-and Other-Oriented Motivation Scale

During this situation I suppressed my negative emotions because…	Factor loadings
Self-Oriented Motivation	
I did not want to allow others to enter *my personal life*.	.79
I wanted to protect *my privacy*.	.77
I did not want that others would get to know me better.	.71
I did not want to leave an impression that I *am a weak person*.	.63
I found that others had nothing to do with *how I felt*.	.61
I did not want that the others would *laugh at me*.	.57
I wanted to *protect myself*.	.56
Other-Oriented Motivation	
I wanted to make *somebody else feel better*.	.80
I wanted to *protect somebody else*.	.69
I did not want to make *somebody else feels even worse*.	.67
I wanted to *please somebody else*.	.59
I was afraid that the *situation would become worse*.	.43

Note. Factor loadings are identical across all ethnic groups

Results

Multigroup path model

We tested whether the six emotion factors are differentially related to suppression (two factors, self-and other-oriented motivation) in a multigroup analysis (AMOS); results are presented in Figure 1. As expected, hate/humiliation and sadness/gloominess (both internalized emotions) were not significantly related to other-oriented motivation, and anger/aggravation (externalized emotion) was not related to self-oriented motivation. Compassion/sympathy was the only emotion factor related negatively to self-oriented motivation. The structural weights model was the most restrictive model with a satisfactory fit, $\chi 2(27, N = 1041) = 58.471$, $p < .001$, $\chi 2/df = 2.166$. In this model both the regression coefficients and the correlations between the predictors are the same across groups. In summary, we found support for a model where hate/humiliation, sadness/gloominess, guilt/shame, and anxiety/terror were positively related to self-oriented motivation, guilt/shame, anxiety/terror, anger/aggravation, and compassion/sympathy were all positively related to other-oriented motivation, and compassion/sympathy was negatively related to self-oriented motivation.

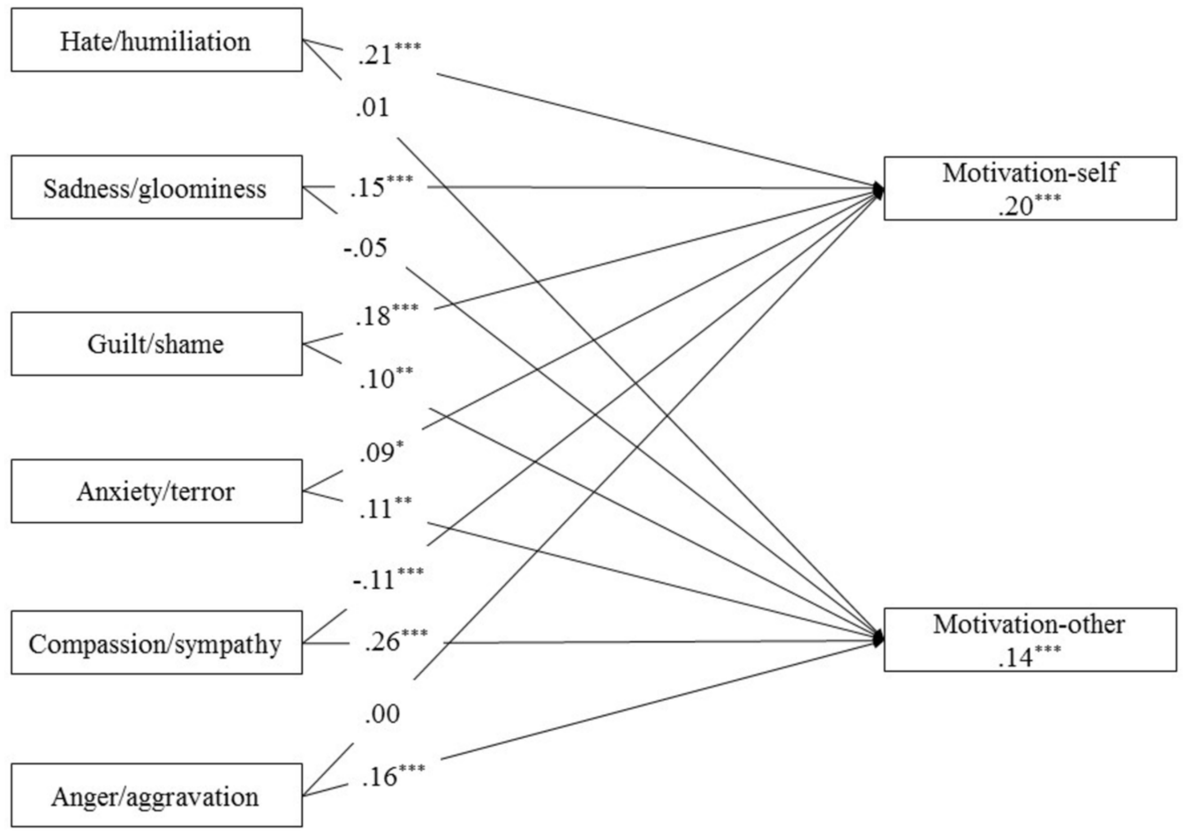

Figure 1
A path model of emotions and motivation underlying emotional suppression

Note. Standardized regression coefficients are given next to the arrows. Numbers below motivation names represent proportions of variance explained.
*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Interethnic differences in means

We conducted a multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) to test interethnic differences (three levels: Dutch majority, non-Western, and Western immigrants) in emotions (six dependent variables: hate/humiliation, sadness/gloominess, guilt/shame, anxiety/terror, anger/aggravation, compassion/sympathy) and motivations underlying emotional suppression (two additional dependent variables: self-and other-oriented motivation), with age, education level, and net month income as covariates. Note that we tested in our pre-analyses gender differences in emotions and self-and other-oriented motivations (per ethnic group by using independent t tests); as we did not find gender differences, we did not add gender as an independent variable in the current analyses. The results showed that the multivariate effect of ethnic group was significant (Wilks'

Lambda = .96, F(16, 1041) = 2.32, p < .01, ηp2 = .02). We found significant interethnic differences with small effect sizes in anxiety/terror (F(2, 1041) = 4.07, p < .05, ηp2 = .01), guilt/shame (F(2, 1041) = 7.41, p < .01, ηp2 = .02), compassion/sympathy (F(2, 1041) = 6.06, p < .01, ηp2 = .01), hate/humiliation (F(2, 1041) = 8.40, p < .001, ηp2 = .02), and other-oriented motivation (F(2, 1041) = 4.58, p < .05, ηp2 = .01). More specifically, non-Western immigrants scored higher on anxiety/terror, guilt/shame, compassion/sympathy, and hate/humiliation than the Dutch majority (non-Western immigrants scored also higher on compassion/sympathy and hate/humiliation than Western immigrants). Finally, non-Western immigrants scored higher than Western immigrants in other-oriented motivation.

Discussion

We investigated whether motivations underlying emotional suppression can be structured along two dimensions, motivation oriented toward self and motivation oriented toward others within an interethnic context (Dutch majority, non-Western and Western immigrants) in the Netherlands. We found support for a two-dimensional structure of motivation underlying emotional suppression, which was in line with previous literature (Hypothesis 1). However, we found only support for the expected interethnic differences regarding other-oriented motivations (Hypothesis 2) where we found the expected differences between non-Western and Western immigrants. This difference was very small, yet significant. We found that suppression of emotions that are self-oriented is not directly influenced by differential sociocultural norms, possibly because the self-orientation has no direct implications for the relationships with others. In addition, it is unlikely that gender moderated ethnicity-motivations relationship as we could not found gender differences in self-and other-oriented motivations in our pre-analyses.

Although the effects of ethnicity were small, we found support for interethnic differences on experienced negative emotions in line with previous literature (Hypothesis 3); non-Western immigrants experienced more negative emotions, such as anxiety/terror, compassion/sympathy, guilt/shame, and hate/humiliation compared to Dutch majority members. Non-Western immigrants scored also high on compassion/sympathy and hate/terror followed by Western-immigrants and Dutch majority. However, groups did not differ on sadness/gloominess and anger/aggravation, which are associated with internalized and externalized emotions, respectively. We speculate that reporting certain emotions is related to their importance within a particular ethnic group. Specifically, sadness/gloominess and anger/aggravation may be important in all cultures as the norms for in particular anger suppression are widely shared (expressing anger is usually perceived as dangerous for the other; Fischer, Manstead, & Rodriguez Mosquera, 1999). Moreover, in most cultures a common reason to suppress anger is legal redress. Emotions such as guilt/shame and compassion/sympathy are more socially engaged emotions (Matsumoto et al., 2008), which may be influenced more by cultural values such as interdependence (interdependency is less valued in Western societies). Therefore, such emotions are less likely to be suppressed in non-Western cultures.

As expected, we found that negative emotions are differentially related with self-and other-oriented motivation (Hypothesis 4). We found strong support for the internalization-externalization framework as some of the negative emotions structured themselves on the very ends of internalization-externalization continuum (these emotions were strongly related either to self-or other oriented motivations), whereas other emotions remained in the middle of this continuum (emotions that were equally strong related to both self-and other motivations). Specifically, we found that the hate and sadness clusters were only positively related to self-oriented motivation, followed by guilt and anxiety clusters that were positively related to both self-and other-oriented motivations, and compassion and anger clusters that were strongly related to other-oriented motivation. That sadness is positively related to self-oriented motivation fits the a priori prediction, as sadness is typically described as an internalized emotion (e.g., Krueger & Markon, 2006). The relationship of the hate/humiliation cluster might at first sight look counter-intuitive, as in both the other is held responsible for negative experiences. However, in both hate and especially humiliation the center of the experience is the self that is being hurt by others, and thus the self needs to be protected. The positive relationship of the guilt/shame cluster with both self- and other-oriented suppression motivations can be accounted for by the fact that these emotions are at the same time social- and self-oriented emotions (Fontaine et al., 2006). They make a person conscious about the social appropriateness and consequences of his behavior, but they also make the person self-conscious. Findings regarding the anxiety cluster relate to previous findings that anxiety is an internalized emotion (e.g., Krueger & Markon, 2006). However, the object of one's anxiety is often a threat to the well-being of others; therefore, the positive relationship between anxiety and other-oriented motivation is not surprising. Finally, both the compassion and anger clusters relate to other-oriented suppression motivation, albeit for different reasons. Anger is an externalizing emotion where blaming others for what happens is characteristic. Additionally, anger leads to harming others if not properly regulated. In compassion one is intrinsically concerned by the suffering of someone else, and one does not want to make this suffering worse by expressing one's own emotions. This applies to both immigrants and majority groups in the Netherlands as we found that the differentiation in emotion-motivation relationships was similar across all ethnic groups.

The current study has some limitations. First, we asked participants to report their personal negative experiences and therefore, our findings that non-Western group experienced more certain types of emotions could be also attributed to a memory effect. It is possible that the participants have more easily recalled certain emotional situations at the moment of data collection. Therefore, we could not draw firm conclusions regarding the interethnic differences in actually experienced emotions. Second, we had to remove

a large number of motivation items from analyses. Use of symmetrical items (e.g., "I wanted to make myself feel better/I wanted to make others feel better") may contribute to stronger distinction between self-and other-oriented motivations where all items could have been included. Finally, our study has a cross-sectional design and therefore no causal inferences about emotion-motivation relationships can be drawn.

The novelty of the current study is that we argue that emotional suppression always occurs in a social context where the relationships between emotions and motivations are identical in all ethnic groups (the underlying mechanisms of emotion-motivations is probably also identical) and that the motivations associated with emotional suppression might be structured along two dimensions, namely self- and other-oriented motivations. Based on insights in clinical psychology (Krueger & Markon, 2006), we argue that internalizing and externalizing emotions are suppressed for different reasons. In other words, suppression of negative emotionality cannot be seen as a single phenomenon affecting all negative emotions in the same way. Emotional suppression (usually assessed as a general tendency to suppress emotions) is known to lead to more psychopathology (Egloff et al., 2006; Ehring et al., 2010; Gruber et al., 2012; Volokhov & Demaree, 2010). We propose that not only general emotional suppression tendency is important in the development of psychopathology, but that motivation underlying the emotional suppression should be taken into account. Considering that the emotions that we explored in the current study are typical for internalized and externalized emotional disorders (sadness for internalized and anger for externalized emotions), we assume that self- and other-oriented motivations might be also in a specific relationship to these disorders. More research on how distinct ethnic groups perceive and regulate the emotions is necessary in order to establish the relationships between differential forms of emotional suppression such as reappraisal, suppression, and social sharing in relation to differential motivations (e.g., self or other) and emotion types (e.g., sadness, anger, and fear).

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