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ANGER STEREOTYPES OF ASIAN AMERICAN WOMEN AND MEN IN THE
WORKPLACE: AN INTERSECTIONAL PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

Anger in the workplace can be perceived differently, depending on the background of the expresser. I sought to learn about Asian Americans are perceived in the workplace in relation to anger displays. This study uses an intersectional lens to examine how stereotypes about race, gender, and emotion benefit or hinder the expresser. Race and gender are often studied in anger research, but very seldom are they studied simultaneously. I conducted a 2 (race) X 2 (gender) X 2 (emotion) between-subjects design with 283 participants. Given stereotypes of low expressivity of anger and emotionality for Asian Americans, the following hypotheses were tested: (1) Angry Asian Americans will be rated as having lower likelihoods of emotionality and anger expression than White Americans; (2) Asian American women will receive significantly more backlash for displaying anger than White women and men and Asian American men; and lastly, (3) Angry Asian American women will viewed as the least desirable to cooperate compared to angry White women and men and Asian American men. Hypothesis 1 was not supported as no significant race and/or gender main effects or interactions were found. Hypothesis 2 was not supported for Asian American women, but there was a main effect of emotion such that angry targets received more backlash. Lastly, Hypothesis 3 was not supported as Asian American men were found to be the least desirable to cooperate with.

Keywords: *anger, negotiation, Asian American, women, backlash*

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Anger Stereotypes of Asian American Women and Men in the Workplace

While displaying emotions in the workplace may seem unprofessional, research has found that anger displays can benefit the expresser in negotiation settings where emotions may be likely to arise (Sinaceur & Tiedens, 2006). Masculine emotions, such as anger, have also been found to contribute to higher levels of perceived interpersonal influence in the workplace (Ragins & Winkel, 2011). Furthermore, anger displays in the workplace have been found to be related to perceived competency in the workplace (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2008). When it comes to emotion displays in the workplace, men are typically the focus of the study in which the findings cannot be generalized to women. In fact, there has been research that women who display anger typically are seen as less competent than men when display anger (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2008).

There is little research on the effects of race on evaluation of anger displays in the workplace, especially for Asian Americans. Some research has found differences in perceptions of anger displays between Whites and East Asian men such that East Asian men are more successful than White individuals when displaying anger (Adam & Shirako, 2013). Additional research has indicated that Asians are stereotyped as a feminine race (Galinsky et al., 2013), yet this conflicts with the findings of the East Asian male targets examined in Adam and Shirako (2013). It is important to note that gender of the targets of Galinsky and colleagues (2013) was not specified while Adam and Shirako (2013) had only male targets across all studies. As a

result, Adam and Shirako (2013) only provides context for Asian American males which makes it is still unclear if these findings can be generalized to Asian women. Thus, there are still gaps in our understanding of the intersection of race and gender for anger displays in the American workplace.

This study seeks to understand how race and gender stereotypes and anger displays will affect individuals of a particular race *and* gender through an intersectional lens, especially for the understudied Asian American woman. Understanding the norms for gender and race will allow for a deeper understanding of the reactions and stereotypes that participants may have about Asian Americans. Research about anger displays and related emotion stereotypes will be examined below. First, I will examine the literature on gender differences as well as race differences for Asians and White individuals. Then, I will examine intersectionality as it pertains to race, gender, and emotion stereotypes and its importance to this research study.   Lastly, I will examine the consequences of anger displays and how the consequences differ based on the intersectionality Asian American women and men as well as White women and men.

Gender Stereotypes for Anger

Men have been more frequently studied and associated with anger than women. Anger is a trait that has typically considered to be masculine (Ragins & Winkel, 2011). While women are considered to be more emotionally expressive across several emotions, women are not associated with anger nearly as much as men are (Plant et al., 2006). This may explain why most research about anger as a tool in the workplace has mainly examined men. Sinaceur and Tiedens (2006) found that anger displays during negotiations benefited the expresser by allowing them to acquire more concessions, such as more money from a client, than when they did not display anger. Yet, upon closer examination of the research materials in Sinaceur and Tiedens (2006),

the negotiator was always male. Additional research has found that masculine characteristics are associated with higher levels of interpersonal success in comparison to feminine characteristics, most specifically in the workplace (Ragins & Winkel, 2011). It may be possible for women to use anger as a tool since anger can benefit men in negotiations – although it is unclear how acceptable it is for women to display masculine emotions such as anger in the workplace. Thus, additional research is needed to determine whether anger as a workplace tool is as beneficial for women, as it has shown to be for men in prior research studies, when they are not expected to display anger as often as men.

Most anger in the workplace research typically neglects gender, unless it actively examining gender differences between men and women. When both men and women are examined for their emotion displays in the workplace, research has found that anger displays during negotiations benefit men whereas the same anger displays hinder women (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2008). According to Shields (2005), this would be due to research that "correct" and "appropriate" displays of emotions predict higher levels of success than emotions that are "incorrect" and "inappropriate" to display which is determined by culture. In fact, research has found that women face backlash when displaying anger because they are deviating from the expectation that women should be warm, communal, and nice (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004; Agar, 2004). Some researchers would indicate that men benefit from anger as a tool since it is seen as another way to be assertive, a masculine trait (Plant et al., 2006). As for women, displaying anger may come off as an instance of reaffirming the feminine stereotype of being overemotional rather than the masculine trait of assertiveness (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2008). Thus, women may not reap benefits from displaying anger in the workplace because of stereotypes and norms for women to be feminine which does not align with masculine traits such as anger.

Stereotypes of White and Asian Americans for Anger

There are different norms for emotional displays for different cultural groups. What is thought to be typical of one group, may not be typical for another and thus may be perceived and judged more harshly. As of 2013, Asian Americans consist of only 5.3% of the United States population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). This raises the question as to how members of different racial groups perceive one another in the United States, especially for minority groups who may have different norms than White Americans. Cheng and Thatchenkery (1997) indicated that it is likely that Asian Americans are understudied in the workplace since the "model minority" stereotype indicates that they are successful and do not face problems that other minority groups may face. Additional gaps in the literature are explored below.

Research has found that White individuals are more emotionally expressive in all emotions, including anger, than Asian Americans according to self-report ratings (Matsumoto, 1993) and physiological ratings (Mauss et al., 2010). However, since Asian Americans are a minority, there is a strong likelihood that they will be perceived differently from other races, despite still being American and sharing American norms to some extent (Li & Karakowsky, 2001). Oyserman and Sakamoto (1997) argue that Asian Americans are perceived differently from White Americans, since successful Asian Americans are perceived to follow the "model minority" stereotype, rather than being "successful Americans". Other researchers would agree as it has been observed that Asian Americans and White Americans view the "model minority" differently. Asian Americans view it as being a nerdy overachiever with a perfect GPA whereas White Americans view the model minorities as communal and docile workers that will do anything that is asked without question (Cheng & Thatchenkery, 1997). As a result, Asian

Americans view the "model minority" stereotype to be associated with success where White Americans view it as Asian Americans being docile and presumably unassertive.

The norms and stereotypes for Asian Americans and White Americans can give some insight as to how these two groups interact with one another. Adam and his colleagues (2010) found that White, Asian, and Asian American negotiators receive more concessions when they display an appropriate level of anger; however, what was considered as an appropriate level, by targets and participants, of anger differed by race. Another study was conducted to examine racial differences between White Americans and East Asians and found that East Asians were able to use anger as a tool more effectively than White Americans (Adam & Shirako, 2013). According to Adam & Shirako, (2013) there was a stronger reaction to cooperate from participants with the angry East Asian negotiator because the anger display was deviant from the norm of showing minimal emotions in Asian culture. While East Asians and Asian Americans may share similar values for emotional expressions, it is unlikely that they are exactly the same. However, Durik and colleagues (2006) would indicate that Asian Americans are more likely to have a mixture of emotional display values from both Asian and American culture since they are not exclusively one or the other. Because Asian Americans are a minority in the United States, they are prescriptively stereotyped by other Americans to display emotions in a similar way to Asians (Berdahl & Min, 2012). As a result, when Asian Americans do display anger, it will be seen as effective just as Adam and Shirako (2013) found for East Asians.

Gender and Emotion for Asian Americans: An Intersectional Perspective

Race and gender stereotypes influence how masculine or feminine an intersectional identity is perceived. To start, race stereotypes are gendered and stereotypes about gender are racialized such that the Asian race is stereotyped to be feminine (Galinsky et al., 2013; Powell &

Graves, 2003). Further evidence for the feminization of the Asian race is rooted in the model minority stereotype. Research has found that White Americans view Asian Americans as "model minorities" is that they are passive, communal, and willing to work without question – traits that are more stereotypically feminine (Cheng & Thatchenkery, 1997; Plant et al., 2006). We are then left with the Asian American male who is successful in using anger as a tool in workplace negotiation, something inherently masculine, yet has a feminine racial identity. The research on anger displays in the workplace so far has examined gender and race as variables independent from one another. For instance, men benefit more from anger displays than do women (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2008) and Asian men benefit more than White Americans (Adam & Shirako, 2013; Adam et al., 2010). From this information, one could surmise that Asian American men will benefit the most in comparison to Asian American women as well as White women and men. However, it is not that simple. Fortunately, intersectionality provides insight as to how this is possible when Asian American men have a femininely stereotyped racial identity.

According to intersectionality theory (Crenshaw, 1989), individuals are a part of a hierarchy of power in which their degree of power, or lack thereof, is determined by the intersection of their different identities such as race and gender (Shields & DiCicco, in press). In other words, the identities an individual may hold, such as race and gender, combine to form a greater, inseparable identity with a more nuanced portrait of an individual than race or gender portray alone. In our patriarchal society, masculine traits are valued more than feminine traits, thus masculine intersectional identities wield more power than feminine intersectional identities. The success of the Asian American male can be explained by intersectionality such that Asian American male's intersectional identity is more holistically masculine than it is feminine.

Because research is lacking for the intersection for race and gender, there is a possibility that not all Asian Americans benefit from anger displays, especially if the targets so far have only been male. Proponents of intersectionality would pose that it is still possible that Asian American women may be hindered as minorities and as females. With an intersectional lens, I argue that Asian American women have a hyper-feminized intersectional identity compared to their White counterpart because of their female gender and femininely stereotyped Asian American race. The intersectional identity of Asian American women lacks any level of masculinity and thus lacks power that comes with masculinity. Thus, it is important to examine anger displays in the workplace in a way that addresses the intersection of race and gender to have a more complete understanding of anger as a tool in negotiations.

Deviation from Gender, Race, and Emotion Stereotypes: When Does Backlash Occur?

Cultural norms and stereotypes for Asian Americans have an impact on how they are perceived in American society. Research on gender differences of actual anger and general emotion expression in Asian Americans has revealed that there are minimal, if any, differences (Durik et al, 2006). The stereotypes provide a different perception of Asian Americans, however. Since Asian American women have both femininely stereotyped gender and racial identities, there is a strong possibility that they are hindered in more ways than one when they display anger, a masculine trait, because it is antithetical to their hyper-feminine intersectional identity. This can be explained by the findings of Rudman and Winkel (2011) that individuals who deviated from their prescribed gender norm (i.e. men being feminine; women being masculine) typically face negative consequences. Asian American men displaying anger in the workplace may not be perceived as deviant behavior since their intersectional identity has some degree of masculinity. In contrast, displaying anger in the workplace could be perceived as

deviant behavior from the prescribed hyper-feminine intersectional identity that Asian American women have. Since masculine traits in the workplace are associated with higher levels of interpersonal success than feminine traits (Ragins & Winkel, 2011), Asian American women may face backlash, in terms of lesser interpersonal success and/or lesser perceived competence, when they attempt to exhibit a masculine trait such as anger due to their feminine racial and gender identities even more so than their White counterparts.

The Present Study

The present study seeks to understand the impact of expressing anger for Asian American and White women and men in the workplace. With the current literature available, questions still remain about the status of the Asian American woman.   Do Asian American women benefit as much as Asian American men do or are they seen as more closely related to the White women and less competent in addition to receiving greater backlash?

Hypothesis 1: Asian Americans will be rated as having lower likelihoods of emotionality and anger expression than White Americans. According to Matsumoto (1993), Asians and Asian Americans display general emotions and anger less often than their White counterparts. Thus, anger displays would be perceived as significantly stronger signals, especially coming from a race that expresses general emotions infrequently in comparison to White Americans. I argue that novel anger displays give the impression that Asians are more urgent and require immediate action, otherwise they would not typically happen with Asian Americans. As a result, those perceiving the anger would be more willing to concede. An instance of this is when Adam and Shirako (2013) found that East Asians were able to garner more concessions than their White counterparts when displaying anger. This is presumably because it is unexpected and novel for the "model minority" which garners a stronger reaction and perception of the anger.

Hypothesis 2: *Asian American women will receive significantly more backlash for displaying anger than White women and men and Asian American men.* For individuals who are expected to display feminine traits such as Asian Americans and women, displaying a masculine trait such as anger as an attempt for interpersonal success and/or competency will backfire and result backlash, or lesser interpersonal success and lesser perceived competence. Since Asian American women have a more feminized intersectional identity than White women, I surmise that they will face greater backlash since Asian American women have no masculinity associated with their intersectional identity. Asian American men are still able to be successful with anger displays because their intersectional identity still has some degree of masculinity and power associated with the masculinity.

Hypothesis 3: *Angry Asian American women will be rated as the least desirable to cooperate with in comparison to angry White women and men and angry Asian American men.* Angry Asian American women will be perceived the least desirable to cooperate with because the anger display is seen as antithetical to their hyper-feminized intersectional identity. I argue that participants will be more likely to cooperate with individuals that act in accordance to their perceived intersectional identity.

Chapter 2

Methods

Participants

Three hundred and forty-five (345) participants from Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) were recruited. Nineteen participants who were suspicious of the study's purpose (i.e., who mentioned stereotypes, racism, or sexism) were excluded. In addition, 42 participants were excluded for failing to pass target gender manipulation checks. The final sample consisted of 283 participants. From the final sample, 154 (54.4%) were male, 128 (45.2%) were female, and 1 (0.4%) declined to answer. The self-reported racial identity of participants was as follows: 120 White (42.4%), 73 Asian (25.8%), 53 indicated Other (18.7%), 18 Latino (6.4%), 13 Black (4.6%), 3 Multiracial (1.1%), and 1 Native American (0.4%). Two participants declined to answer. Participants had work experience that ranged from 1 to 40 years with the average work experience being approximately 11 years.

Materials

This study had a 2 (Emotion: anger, neutral) X 2 (Target Race: White, Asian American) X 2 (Target Gender: male, female) between-subjects design. There were two scenarios in which the target expressed either anger or neutral emotions during a workplace negotiation with the target being one of four race/gender intersections. Participants read one of the eight different negotiation scenarios that were created in which the target was negotiating a major contract with a generic client over technology services.

Race and gender were manipulated through the brief description given before the transcript. Race was manipulated through the common Asian last name "Chen" and the common White last name "Miller". Gender was manipulated through the common American female name "Jessica" and the common American male name "Michael" as determined by the most common baby names of 1980 ("Popular", n.d.). 1980 was chosen since those individuals would be in the desired working age range of 23-25 with a year or two of working experience today. Typically, Asian Americans have a combination of a common American first name and a common Asian last name (i.e. Jessica Chen, Michael Chen). Thus, there were four main targets for each of the emotion conditions such that the White man was Michael Miller, the White woman was Jessica Miller, the Asian American man was Michael Chen, and the Asian American woman was Jessica Chen and each were presented as either angry or neutral.

Work experience for each target was 2 years. This was indicated by providing information that each target had worked at the company for two years in their current position and had received their undergraduate degree (as their highest level of educational attainment) in 2012.

The scenarios were presented as a phone transcript (see Appendix A) to allow for the presence of emotions without being too forced. The negotiation was developed to convey a workplace interaction in which the target could be perceived as angry or neutral. Each transcript had one of the four targets participating in a negotiation with a client in either an angry or neutral manner. Scenario 1 included anger as a condition with cues such as frustrated sighs and a strained voice (e.g. "[strained voice]", "I can't believe this"). Scenario 2 was neutral and contained no emotional cues. Situational factors were controlled for since the paths and outcomes of the negotiations in both emotion conditions were the same.

Dependent Measures

The full list of dependent measures can be viewed in Appendix B.

Likelihood of Emotional Expressivity. These four items were adapted from Adam &
Shirako (2013) to measure two stereotypes of general emotion expression and anger expression
amongst Asian Americans and White Americans (e.g. "Asian Americans are likely to be
emotionally expressive"). Items were measured on a 7 point Likert scale from 1 (*Not at all*) to 7
(*Extremely*).

Perceived Likeability/Sociability. Participants were asked to rate how likeable and/or
social the targets were (e.g. "How much do you think this person's coworkers value him/her?").
Five items were measured on a 7 point Likert scale from 1 (Not at all) to 7 (Very much).

Perceived Appropriateness of Emotions. Participants were asked to rate how
appropriate each of the emotions displayed by the target were during the negotiation. This
related to social norms and stereotypes that the participant may have for the representative (e.g.
"If I were in the place of the Tech Incorporated representative, I would show a similar amount of
emotion"). Four items were measured on a 7 point Likert scale from 1 (*Not at all*) to 7 (*Very
true*).

Perceived Competence. Participants indicated how competent the target was within
their occupation (e.g. "Do you think that this person will get a promotion in within the next
year?"). Each of the five items were measured on a 7 point Likert scale from 1 (*Not at all*) to 7
(*Very much*).

Participant's Intention to Cooperate. These four items were adapted from Adam &
Shirako (2013). Participants were asked how comfortable they would be in continuing the
negotiation after reading the representative description and phone transcript (e.g. "I would be

comfortable negotiating with this Tech Incorporated representative") on a 7 point Likert scale from 1 (*Not at all*) to 7 (*Very much*).

Exploratory Measures

Additional exploratory measures were examined to see if participants perceived additional emotions aside from anger in either the anger or neutral transcript. Furthermore, salary was examined as a potential case for backlash in what was perceived as an appropriate salary for each individual.

Beliefs about other Emotions. Participants were asked to what extent each of the following emotions were present in the negotiation scenario: anger, frustration, sadness, resignation, and contempt. All emotions were single items. Anger and frustration were combined for statistical analysis. Items were measured on a 7 point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Not expressed) to 7 (Extremely expressed).

Expected Salary. This was measured for the emotion expresser and was adapted from Dicicco (2013): "If the average salary of those who work in this industry is $75,000 per year, how much do you think this employee makes per year?".

Procedure

Participants completed an online survey for $0.75 on Amazon's Mechanical Turk. In order to qualify for the survey, participants needed to be U.S. citizens for 1+ year(s) as well as have at least 1+ year(s) of full-time working experience. The survey took less than 15 minutes to complete. Participants were told that the researchers were interested in negotiations and how factors may hinder or complement the negotiation between an employee and client. Participants read a short description about the target's name, education level, and work experience before reading the negotiation scenario between the target and a client. Participants then rated their

impressions of the target and were asked if they had any comments about the study (suspicion check). Brief questions about the negotiators were asked as a manipulation check (indicating which emotion the target express, if any) as well as demographic information about the participant. Participants that correctly guessed the hypothesis of the study, submitted an erroneous or irrational response (e.g. indicating the number of personal work experience as >2000 years), or failed to identify the correct gender of the person they read about were omitted from the final sample. Participants were then directed to a page that thanked them for their time and debriefed them on the purpose of the study.

Chapter 3

Results

Manipulation Check. To ensure that the anger condition was seen as more angry than the neutral condition perceived anger was analyzed through a 2 (Target Race: Asian American; White American) x 2 (Target Gender: Female; Male) x 2 (Target Emotion: Anger; Neutral) between-subjects ANOVA. There was a main effect of emotion such that angry targets were rated to display higher levels of anger and frustration ($F(1, 274) = 135.35$, $p < .001$; $\eta p^2 = .33$; $M = 4.41$, $SD = .13$) than neutral targets ($M = 2.22$, $SD = .11$) which indicates that the manipulation check was effective.

Hypotheses. Major findings are summarized below in relation to my hypotheses. Non-significant results are summarized only as they relate to the hypotheses. Exploratory findings and correlations are reported after the hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1: Asian Americans will be rated as having lower likelihood of emotionality and anger than White Americans.

I conducted two paired t-tests to compare Asian Americans and White Americans. Results from both paired t-tests supported the hypothesis. The first paired samples t-test indicated that there was a significant difference in ratings for Asian American emotionality ($M = 4.32$, $SD = 1.53$) and White emotionality ($M = 4.81$, $SD = 1.25$; $t(281) = -4.12$, $p < .001$). A second t-test was conducted to compare Asian American and White anger expression. The final paired samples t-test indicated that there was a significant difference in ratings for Asian

American anger expression ($M = 4.09$, $SD = 1.46$) and White anger expression ($M = 4.88$, $SD = 1.37$; $t(281) = -6.69$, $p < .001$).

Hypothesis 2: Asian American women will receive significantly more backlash for displaying anger than White women and men and Asian American men

Backlash is defined as lower scores of (a) likeability and sociability, (b) appropriateness of emotions, and (c) competency in the workplace with coworkers and clients. I conducted a 2 (Target Race) x 2 (Target Gender) x 2 (Target Emotion) between-subjects ANOVA for each of these dependent measures. The hypothesis was not supported since no effects of target gender or race were observed.

There was a significant main effect of expression for each of the three measures, with neutral targets perceived as more likeable and sociable ($F(1, 274) = 47.41$, $p < .001$; $\eta p^2 = .14$; $M = 5.18$, $SD = .12$) than angry targets ($M = 4.03$, $SD = .11$). Neutral targets were rated to display more appropriate emotions in the negotiation scenario ($F(1, 275) = 51.10$, $p < .001$; $\eta p^2 = .15$; $M = 4.97$, $SD = .13$) than the angry targets ($M = 3.73$). Neutral targets were rated as more competent ($F(1, 274) = 49.55$, $p < .001$; $\eta p^2 = .15$; $M = 5.19$, $SD = .12$) than angry targets ($M = 4.07$, $SD = .11$). Angry targets received more backlash than neutral targets. No interactions were significant for any of the three variables.

Hypothesis 3: Angry Asian American women will be rated as the least desirable to cooperate with in comparison to angry White women and men and angry Asian American men.

I conducted a 2 (Target Race) x 2 (Target Gender) x 2 (Target Emotion) between-subjects ANOVA for participant's intention or desire to cooperate with targets. There was a main effect of emotion such that neutral targets were perceived as more desirable to cooperate with ($F(1, 275) = 44.45$; $p < .001$; $\eta p^2 = .08$; $M = 5.02$, $SD = .12$) than angry targets ($M = 4.22$, $SD = .11$).

In addition, there was a significant interaction between target race and gender for intention to cooperate, $F(1, 275) = 3.78$, $p = .05$; $\eta p^2 = .01$). White men were rated to be more desirable to cooperate with ($M = 4.87$, $SD = .15$) whereas Asian American men were perceived to be the least desirable to cooperate with ($M = 4.35$, $SD = .17$).

Exploratory Variables

Beliefs about other Emotions. Beliefs about the degree of expression of other emotions (sadness; resignation; contempt) in the transcript were also measured as exploratory variables. Each emotion was analyzed through a 2 (Target Race) x 2 (Target Gender) x 2 (Target Emotion) between-subjects ANOVA. There was a main effect of emotion for both sadness and resignation. Angry targets were rated as displaying higher levels of sadness ($F(1, 274) = 5.99$, $p = .02$; $\eta p^2 = .02$; $M = 2.23$, $SD = .11$) than neutral targets ($M = 1.84$, $SD = .12$). Angry targets were also perceived to have higher levels of resignation ($F(1, 274 = 16.75$, $p < .001$; $\eta p^2 = .06$; $M = 3.24$, $SD = .14$) than neutral targets ($M = 2.41$, $SD = .15$). This main effect of emotion was moderated by an interaction of gender and race, $F(1,274) = 5.27$, $p = .02$; $\eta p^2 = .02$. For White Americans, women were believed to show higher levels of resignation than men (women: $M = 2.90$, $SD = .20$; men: M = 2.47, SD = .19); for Asian Americans, men were perceived to show higher levels of resignation than women (men: M = 3.12, SD = .21; women: M = 2.71, SD = .22). Angry targets were rated to have higher levels of contempt (F(1, 273) = 23.19, p < .001; ηp2 = .08; M = 3.54, SD = .14) than neutral targets (M = 2.59, SD = .14). No other significant main effects or interactions were obtained.

Expected Salary. Participants were told that the average person in the position earned $75,000 annually. Salary was analyzed through a 2 (Target Race) x 2 (Target Gender) x 2

(Target Emotion) between-subjects ANOVA. There were no significant main effects or

interactions. Mean salary in dollars is displayed in Table 1.

Table 1. Mean Salary in Dollars by Target Race and Gender by Emotion Condition

	Asian American Man	**Asian American Woman**	**White Man**	**White Woman**
Neutral	$76,016.13 ($28,186.89)	$76,250.00 ($15,730.66)	$76,926.32 ($25,135.54)	$79,806.45 ($25,662.45)
Anger	$72,121.21 ($27,786.86)	$75,705.88 ($29,128.27)	$77,866.28 ($25,540.49)	$68,918.92 ($16,760.37)

Note: N = 274. Standard deviations are in parentheses.

Correlations

Correlations of the primary dependent measures for target race and gender are displayed

in Tables 2 and 3. Table 2 has correlations for Asian Americans while Table 3 contains

correlations for White Americans. Correlations within the tables are separated by gender. All

correlations were significant (all ps < .01).

Table 2. Correlations of Dependent Measures by Gender for Asian Americans

		Female Targets			
		Likeability and Sociability	*Appropriateness of Emotions*	*Competency*	*Intention to Cooperate*
Male Targets	*Likeability and Sociability*	-	.75**	.82**	.82**
	Appropriateness of Emotions	.76**	-	.72**	.68**
	Competency	.77**	.63**	-	.88**
	Intention to Cooperate	.63**	.46**	.73**	-

Note: **All correlations were significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)

Table 3. Correlations of Dependent Measures by Gender for White Americans

		Female Targets			
		Likeability and Sociability	*Appropriateness of Emotions*	*Competency*	*Intention to Cooperate*
Male Targets	*Likeability and Sociability*	-	.58**	.82**	.82**
	Appropriateness of Emotions	.64**	-	.52**	.61**
	Competency	.90**	.70**	-	.81**
	Intention to Cooperate	.86**	.69**	.93**	-

Note: **All correlations were significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)

Chapter 4

Discussion

The goal of this research was to examine the perception of anger in relation to race and gender, specifically for Asian Americans. In Hypothesis 1, I predicted that Asian Americans would be rated as angrier than their White counterparts in a negotiation scenario. Hypothesis 1 was not supported. For Hypothesis 2, I predicted that Asian American women would receive more backlash for displaying anger than the other targets due to their hyper-feminized intersectional identity. Hypothesis 2 was not supported; angry targets received more backlash than neutral targets regardless of race or gender. Lastly, Hypothesis 3 predicted that Asian American women would face lower levels of intention to cooperate from others. Hypothesis 3 was not supported. However, there was a significant interaction between target race and gender for intention to cooperate, such that Asian American men were rated the least desirable to cooperate with. Exploratory findings and correlations were also examined.

The racial composition of the participant sample may be a contributing factor to the inconclusive findings for the hypotheses. This study was originally designed to examine the perceptions that Americans, primarily White, have of Asian Americans in the workplace. The recruitment for the study required American citizenship of one year or more to ensure that participants had a sense of American norms for race, gender and emotion because MTurk, the recruitment tool, can be used internationally. Greater efforts should have been made to control the participants recruited for the study since less than half of the sample was White (n=120,

42.4%) which was much less than anticipated and approximately a quarter of the study population was Asian American (*n*=73, 25.8%) which was much higher than expected. The low proportion of White participants and high proportion of Asian participants may be a potential factor in the statistically inconclusive findings. Asian Americans may have more positive perceptions of their in-group Asian American members than White Americans which may have reduced the ratings of backlash for Asian Americans overall. The sample size for the White and the Asian American participants was too small to test whether evaluation of the angry targets differed by racial ethnicity of participants.

I first hypothesized that Asian Americans would be rated to have less emotionality and anger expression than White Americans. The findings for Hypothesis 1 were significant and consistent with the findings of Matsumoto (1993) that Asian Americans were rated to have less emotionality and anger expression than White Americans. It has been over twenty years since the original Matumoto (1993) findings and the Asian American population has had time to grow and become more common, though not necessarily integrated, in American society. Yet, the significance of Hypothesis 1 indicates that stereotypes about Asian Americans from the 90s are still true today.

Because emotionality stereotypes were hypothesized, I also explored a few additional emotions aside from anger as exploratory variables. Some significant findings that surfaced were that anger is often perceived to occur concurrently with other emotions and that there is an interaction of race and gender for resignation and anger. Most of the literature examined so far has examined anger primarily as an isolated emotion. Anger expression is not perceived as an isolated emotion, but one that often occurs concurrently with other emotions. Anger and resignation, in particular, are affect by race and gender simultaneously. Given the stereotypes

that women are typically rated to display resignation for frequently than men (Plant et al., 2006), resignation should be considered in future anger research for race and gender as a potential measure related to competency. The interaction of race and gender indicates that there are different emotions associated with different intersections of race and gender. Given that the emotions associated with race and gender vary (Plant et al., 2006; Matsumoto, 1993), it is important to also examine what emotions are being perceived in addition to anger to understand why certain intersections of race and gender are more rated to have more positive traits (i.e. higher scores of likeability and sociability; higher scores of competency) than others.

Interpersonal skills are often rated as necessary skills in the workplace for success (Chesebro, 2014). Furthermore, research has found that stereotypically masculine traits are correlated with interpersonal success (Ragins & Winkel, 2011); yet, women may not display stereotypically masculine traits regularly. Because anger is considered to be a masculine emotion (Plant et al. 2006), I hypothesized that anger displays in workplace negotiations would result in backlash, lower scores of interpersonal measures, for Asian American women, in particular for having a feminized intersectional identity that is antithetical to anger. My findings did not support Hypothesis 2. Across all of the dependent measures for interpersonal skills, angry targets received more backlash than neutral targets, regardless of target race or gender. Perhaps this was because participants did not pay close enough attention to the target race and gender provided, or those cues were not strong enough. Target names were manipulated for race and gender so that participants could rate them after reading the transcript. Yet, many participants were unable to correctly indicate the race of their designated target at the end of the study, despite seeing the manipulated target name several times. It is possible that participants may not

have rated the targets based on their names but only the angry or neutral transcript they

remembered.

Although the primary findings did not support the hypothesis, likeability and sociability,

appropriateness of emotions, and competency were good measures of interpersonal backlash

because they were negatively correlated with anger and frustration as well as other emotions

such as resignation and contempt. Due to the high level of correlation (all rs > .80) amongst for

likeability and sociability, appropriateness of emotions, and competency, I combined the three

dependent measures into one interpersonal scale to examine if any significant findings could be

found with a stronger scale. There was no statistical difference when I measured interpersonal

skills as three separate scales (likeability and sociability; appropriateness of emotions;

competency) or as one interpersonal skills scale since I obtained the same results.

Because interpersonal skills are related to workplace success and anger, I hypothesized

that participants would be less willing to continue to work with individuals with lower ratings for

interpersonal scores, or backlash. Furthermore, I hypothesized that Asian American women

would receive the most backlash and therefore be the least desirable to cooperate with. My

hypothesis was not supported in that that angry Asian American women were not the least

desirable to cooperate with. In fact, I found that angry Asian American men were the least

desirable to cooperate with instead. In addition, White men were the most desirable to cooperate

whereas women of both White and Asian backgrounds were at neither extreme. My original

hypothesis was based on the findings of Adam and Shirako (2013) and Ragins and Winkel

(2011) who found that participants were more willing to concede to angry Asian negotiators and

that anger used successfully could be an indicator of strong interpersonal skills, respectively. I

had assumed that greater concessions through anger could also be an indicator of desirability to cooperate with, but that is not necessarily the case.

Salary was the final exploratory variable that I examined. While the results for salary, were not statistically significant, it is interesting to note the trend in expected salaries provided by participants after being cued that the average worker made $75,000 annually. Only White men made more money in the anger condition compared to the neutral condition. In addition, all other targets made less money in the anger condition.

Limitations and future directions

There are few studies that examine race and gender through an intersectional lens, much less together, especially for Asian Americans. Racial composition of the study population is likely to have had a great impact on the findings, with nearly a quarter of the subject pool identifying as Asian American, and should be taken into account for future studies by practicing stricter study prerequisites. The racial proportions of the subject pool were not representative of the United States and may be attributed to the use of MTurk as a recruitment tool. Furthermore, the values of the Asian American participants were not examined as to how much they adhered to Asian or American values which can influence how they perceive other Asian Americans. Future studies that have Asian Americans should consider using the Asian Values Scale (Kim, Atkinson, & Yang, 1999) as a measure to pinpoint the degree to which an Asian individual adheres to Asian versus American values since values may affect perceptions of others. This study primarily examined stereotypes, perceptions, and participants' intentions to further cooperate with the target based on the transcript. While the transcript was made to be as realistic as possible, the results of this study cannot be generalized beyond an experimental lab setting.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

The research findings did not support all of my hypotheses. All of the hypotheses were developed based on two findings from previous research: (1) that race and gender influence perceptions of anger displays; and (2) that a feminized intersectional identity was antithetical to anger and would result in backlash. Hypothesis 1 was supported for Asian and White American emotionality and anger expression, but additional results showed that actual ratings and perceptions did not support the intersectional feminized identity that I had proposed for Hypotheses 2 and 3.

While not all of my hypotheses were not supported, the study does point to the important of examining gender and racial ethnicity simultaneously. My hypotheses were made using information about independent groups of race and gender since there was little literature about the intersection of race and gender in workplace anger displays. Adam and Shirako (2013) found that Asians were more effective with anger negotiations while Brescoll and Uhlmann (2008) found that men were more successful than women. As a result, my hypotheses were made using assumptions that were found independently for race and for gender. To reduce the literature gap on the intersection of race and gender, I introduced intersectionality as a way to more holistically examine and test results about people with multiple identities that interact with one another and cannot be separated. Yet, the results of my study were insignificant when testing anger through an intersectional lens, despite being significant for other researchers when they examined independent groups.

Appendix A

Transcript

You have been working at your company for a few years now as a project manager. One of your latest projects is to hire an IT company to update your company's servers and website to the latest technological standards. You have been given $90k as a reasonable price range for this project.

You have heard from fellow project managers in the company about Tech Incorporated and decide to inquire about developing a contract with Tech Incorporated for your project. You will be evaluating the negotiation from the perspective of a client.

Tech Incorporated prides itself on customer service and typically provides a brief description of their representatives to clients to give the clients some background of who they will be interacting with.

(Only one name and the respective description were displayed as either angry or neutral).

Target Race and Gender	Descriptions
Asian American Male	*Name:* Michael Chen *Description:* Michael graduated with his undergraduate degree in 2012. He has been working at Tech Incorporated for the past two years as a Client Specialist.
Asian American Female	*Name:* Jessica Chen *Description:* Jessica graduated with her undergraduate degree in 2012. She has been working at Tech Incorporated for the past two years as a Client Specialist.
White Male	*Name:* Michael Miller *Description:* Michael graduated with his undergraduate degree in 2012. She has been working at Tech Incorporated for the past two years as a Client Specialist.
White Female	*Name:* Jessica Miller

	Description: Jessica graduated with her undergraduate degree in 2012. She has been working at Tech Incorporated for the past two years as a Client Specialist.

Please read the following transcript, transcribed from a conversation over the phone, about the interaction between the representative and the client.

(*This is the anger transcript. Remove emotional cues in brackets for the neutral transcript*).

Jessica Chen: Hello, how may I help you today?

Client: Our company is looking to bring our website servers up to date and we wanted to see to what extent that you could help us.

Jessica Chen: I am glad that you have inquired with Tech Incorporated! One of our most popular services is website upgrades.

Client: It has been a while since our website servers were last updated so we will need to coordinate a time for them to be updated. Would it also be possible for Tech Incorporated to provide training on how to work with the new servers for our employees?

Jessica Chen: We would most certainly be able to provide training after upgrading the website servers so that you can be self-sustainable once we have updated the servers.

Client: What is the estimated cost for the website server for a medium sized company?

Jessica Chen: To allow for the server training for a medium sized company and the server upgrade would approximately be $120k for the project. It may range to be more or less and an exact figure will be determined after we conduct a consultation. How does that sound?

Client: We are actually intending on spending approximately $90k on this project.

Jessica Chen: Tech Incorporated has the best service in our industry so $120k for a job well done truly is not too much to ask for quality service. In addition, a consultation will provide a more precise amount for the cost of our services.

Client: I suppose that it could be considered, but there will have to be a significant reduction in price for our company to continue considering your services at that price.

Jessica Chen: It may be possible to reduce price of the service. [*strained voice*] I am telling you that it is unlikely to go much lower than that, however.

Client: We do not intend to spend much more than $90k.

Jessica Chen: [*angrily*] I will offer $115k as a price. It may not be possible for us to work together to update your website servers unless you are willing to increase your willingness to pay a higher price.

Client: Perhaps we could try for $100k? For a company of your size and reputation, we would expect that you would be more willing to work with clients in order to ensure the success of your company.

Jessica Chen: [*distantly*] This is getting to be difficult. [*normal voice*] As I've said, we need the monetary resources in order to provide the best service possible. I will offer $110k.

Client: That is the offer you are providing for a first time client?

Jessica Chen: [*strained*] The final offer will be $105k.

Client: That sounds ideal. Will you be sending me details on when someone will come by for a consultation?

Jessica Chen: Yes, I will be sending an e-mail to you with more information on how to sign up for a consultation time that works best for you and your company.

Client: I will keep an eye out for it.

Jessica Chen: Thank you. Good-bye.

Appendix B

Dependent Measures

Likelihood of Emotional Expressivity (adapted from Adam & Shirako, 2013)

Scale: (1 – Not at all; 7 – Extremely)

Please use the following scale to indicate how much you agree with each of the

statements below about each cultural background:

People from this culture are likely to be emotionally expressive:

Asian Americans

European Americans

People from this culture are likely to express emotions such as frustration and anger.

Asian Americans

European Americans

Perceived Likeability/Sociability

Scale: (1 – Not at all; 7 – Very much)

Given the information from the phone transcript, please answer the following questions:

1. I would be comfortable negotiating with this Tech Incorporated representative.
2. How much do you think that this person's coworkers value this him/her?
3. I would enjoy working with this person.
4. I would feel comfortable working with this person.
5. This person would work well with others.

Perceived Appropriateness of Emotion

Scale: (1 – Not at all; 7 – Very true)

Given the information from the phone transcript, please answer the following questions:

1. If I were in the place of the Tech Incorporated representative, I would show a similar amount of emotion.
2. The amount of emotion displayed was appropriate for the situation.
3. The negotiation was more effective because the amount of emotion that was displayed.
4. Most people would display the same amount of emotion in this situation.

Perceived Competency

Scale: (1 – Not at all; 7 – Very much)

Given the information from the phone transcript, please answer the following questions:

1. "If the average salary of those who work in advertisement is $75,000 per year, how much do you think this employee makes per year?" (Dicicco & Shields, in review)
    a. Continuous variable response
2. Do you think that this person will get a promotion within the next year?
3. I would have acted similarly to Tech Incorporated representative in this situation.
4. Most people would want to be as effective as the Tech Incorporated representative in this situation.
5. This person gets what needs to be done.
6. This person is effective at what he/she does.
7. The way in which Tech Incorporated representative acted was appropriate for the situation.

Intention to Cooperate (adapted from Adam & Shirako, 2013)

Scale: (1 – Not at all; 7 – Very much)

Given the information from the phone transcript, please answer the following questions:

1. If the negotiation continued, (Adam & Shirako, 2013)
    a. …I would have a flexible and cooperative attitude towards the representative
    b. …I would try to meet the needs of the representative
    c. …I would try to be sure our disagreement didn't cause the representative too much stress
    d. …I would consider the representative's feelings

Perceived Emotions

Scale: (1 – Not expressed; 7 – Extremely expressed)

Given the information from the phone transcript, please answer the following questions:

1. Please rate the extent to which you think the Tech Incorporated representative expressed the following emotions during the negotiation with client (Adam & Shirako, 2013):
   a. Anger
   b. Frustration
   c. Sadness
   d. Resignation
   e. Contempt

Expected Salary adapted from Dicicco (2013)

If an average worker in this field made $75,000 per year, how much do you think that this person makes?

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ACADEMIC VITA

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EDUCATION

The Pennsylvania State University	University Park, PA 16802
B.S. in Psychology, Business Option	*Graduation: May 2015*

- Minor in Sexuality and Gender Studies
- Schreyer Honors College and Liberal Arts Paterno Fellowship   Dean's List: 7/7
- Education 100% self-financed

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

Gender and Emotion Interdisciplinary Psychology Lab	University Park, PA 16802
Research Assistant	*Aug. 2013 – Present*

- Process data and orders for the Workshop Activity for Gender Equity Simulation (WAGES)
- Conduct original empirical research on the perceptions of gender, race, and emotion in the workplace and their impact on perceived workplace performance

Alcohol and Skin Cancer Projects Prevention Research Lab	University Park, PA 16802
Team Leader; Research Assistant	*Mar. 2012 – Oct. 2014*

- Led and train a team of three research assistants to collect field data on alcohol related behaviors each semester
- Promoted survey retention rates through phone calls with hundreds of subjects
- Created data codebooks, perform data entry, and perform data checking for discrepancies over hundreds of variables and hundreds of subjects
- Organized journal articles, grants, and surveys through online databases such as EndNote

Social Vision and Interpersonal Perception Lab	University Park, PA 16802
Research Assistant	*Aug. 2012 – Aug. 2013*

- Organized and reviewed necessary documents in order to request drugs through the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) such as oxytocin for lab studies
- Generated studies by finding stimuli and manipulating it to the needs of the study using PsychoMorph and/or Photoshop
- Tested and ensured the feasibility of studies in addition to collecting data by running participants

LEADERSHIP EXPERIENCE

Schreyer Honors College	University Park, PA 16802
Leadership Lessons Curriculum Development and Teaching Assistant	*May 2014 – Present*

- Develop curriculum and assignments of a leadership course for freshmen honors students
- Coordinate with distinguished Penn State alumni to speak about leadership to students

Schreyer Honors Orientation (SHO TIME) Director	*Dec. 2013 – Dec. 2014*

- Directed, planned, and implemented a three-day orientation for 300+ first-year honors students
- Supervised 90+ Orientation Leaders across 6 teams to ensure the success and feasibility of events
- Designed newsletter program to improve communication, transparency, and camaraderie among 110+ faculty members and Orientation Leaders

- Crowdfunded $2,500 for the orientation service project to package 10,000+ meals for those in need

Penn State Residence Life   University Park, PA 16802
Resident Assistant   *Aug. 2013 – Present*
- Supervise a co-ed floor of 30+ first-year residents to ensure community standards are maintained
- Serve on rotational on-call duty to resolve issues in a building of 350+ residents
- Coach 30+ residents in academic, professional, and personal matters

New Student Orientation Resident Assistant   *May 2014 – Aug. 2014*
- Represented Residence Life during orientation for 8,000+ first-year American students
- Connected 1,000+ first-year international students to the Penn State and Residence Life communities

Co-facilitator for The Role of the Resident Assistant: Theory and Practice   *Jan. 2014 – May 2014*
- Facilitated class discussions on Resident Assistant policies, procedures, and pathways to success
- Evaluated 15+ candidates on whether or not they would be successful as a Resident Assistant

HONORS AND SCHOLARSHIP

Ready to Succeed Scholarship	*Jan. 2015 – Present*
Liberal Arts Honors Thesis Enrichment Grant	*May 2014*
Phi Beta Kappa, *Member*	*May 2014 – Present*
Psi Chi, International Honor Society in Psychology, *Member*	*Nov. 2013 – Present*
National Residence Hall Honorary, *Member*	*Nov. 2013 – Present*
Jack and Frances Tsui Honors Scholarship	*Aug. 2012 – Present*
Schreyer Honors College Academic Excellence Scholarship	*Aug. 2011 – Present*
Paterno Fellows Professional Development Scholarship	*May 2013*
Carlton and Sandra Miller Scholarship in Educational Equity	*Aug. 2012 – May 2013*
Schreyer Honors College International Study Scholarship	*Jul. 2012 – Aug. 2012*
John J. and Carol L. Rooney Trustee Scholarship	*Aug. 2011 – May 2012*

ADDITIONAL ACTIVITIES

Asian/Pacific-islander American Caucus (APAC)   University Park, PA 16802
Distinguished Committee Member   *Sept. 2014 – Dec. 2014*
- Led cultural sensitivity activities for general body members
- Contributed to the organization of the annual spring cultural show by securing a prominent Asian American figure for the spotlight

LeaderShape   Milroy, PA 17063
Participant   *Sept. 2014 – Dec. 2014*
- Selected to participate in a week-long leadership workshops with 60 other Penn State student leaders

Global Engagement and Leadership Experience (GELE)   Howard, PA 16841
Participant   *Feb. 2014*

- Selected to participate in a weekend-long leadership conference about cultural sensitivity and global citizenship with 40 students

Liberal Arts Envoys   University Park, PA 16802
Member   *Dec. 2013 – Dec. 2014*
- Served as an ambassador for the College of the Liberal Arts for prospective students and alumni through phone calls, tours, and informational events
- Assisted with the first annual Careers for the Liberal Arts to empower current Liberal Arts students to explore different career paths and network with alumni

Embedded Study of Vietnam & Cambodia   University Park, PA 16802
Student   *Mar. 2013 – May 2013*
- Participated in an intensive case study class on Vietnam and Cambodia

Psychology Department Diversity Brown Bag Committee   University Park, PA 16802
Undergraduate Representative   *Nov. 2012 – May 2013*
- Planned series of professional development workshops and research lectures
- Attracted public interest and voice opinions and suggestions from the undergraduate body

Penn State IFC/Panhellenic Dance Marathon (THON)   University Park, PA 16802
Committee Member   *Oct. 2013 – Feb. 2013*
- Enforced rules and regulations for the safety of several thousand people

Schreyer Honors College India Volunteer Abroad   New Delhi & Achrol, India
Student; Volunteer   *Jul. 2012 – Aug. 2012*
- Participated in cultural exchange with undergraduates at the Shri Ram College of Commerce
- Taught English as a Second Language (ESL) to 40+ children of various ages
- Stimulated cultural exchange through daily interaction with the children and staff

FreshSTART   University Park, PA 16802
Team Leader   *Mar. 2012 – Oct. 2012*
- Led team of 15+ incoming freshmen and transfer students on a service trip

Penn State Filipino Association (PSFA)   University Park, PA 16802
Member   *Aug. 2011 – Dec. 2012*
- Performed traditional Filipino tinickling dance at several events
- Served on media committee to develop and promote the annual spring cultural show

J.C.Penney   Exton, PA 19341
Customer Service Specialist   *May 2012 – Aug. 2013;*
- Managed all incoming customer calls and the customer service desk   *Nov. 2011 – Jan. 2011;*
- Coached new hires in each of the eight departments   *Aug. 2010 – Jul. 2011*