

Ethnicity and Gender Stereotypes of Emotion

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Abstract In three studies we investigated gender stereotypes of emotions among four ethnic groups in the U.S., using persons from these groups as informants about their own groups. European Americans' reports of stereotypes were compared to those of African Americans (Study 1), Hispanic Americans (Study 2), and Asian Americans (Study 3). The examination of group differences was interpreted based on variations across ethnicities in norms concerning emotional expression and gender roles. Overall, gender stereotypes of emotion were evident among all ethnic groups studied, but European Americans' gender stereotypes were the most gender differentiated. For example, European American stereotypes held that men express more pride than women do, but African Americans' stereotypes of pride for men and women did not differ. Similarly, whereas among European Americans, women were stereotyped to express much more love than men do, the gender difference was smaller among Hispanic Americans and Asian Americans. These different norms may pose challenges for inter-cultural interactions, and they point to the importance of considering both gender and ethnicity simultaneously in the study of emotions.

Keywords Ethnicity · Gender stereotypes · Emotional expression

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A wide literature has accumulated to address the definitions, perceptions, and consequences of gender stereotypes. Gender stereotypes are inferences about the personal characteristics and behaviors concerning males and females (Fiske & Neuberg, 1990). Studies of gender stereotypes have documented an array of domains in which women and men are prescribed to behave differently. A burgeoning area of investigation is directed more specifically to gender stereotypes of emotion (e.g., Brody, 1999; Plant, Hyde, Keltner, & Devine, 2000). This area includes research on individuals' beliefs about the extent to which women and men express and experience specific emotions. Although considerable work has been done on gender stereotypes of emotion, what is known now has been derived from largely European American samples, leaving unanswered the question of whether these stereotypes are the same among other racial or ethnic groups.¹

There is some cross-cultural research on gender differences in individuals' emotional behaviors, or observed differences between males and females in emotional expressions. It is interesting that the studies revealed larger gender differences in emotional responses among European American samples than among other samples (Frymier, Klopff, & Ishii, 1990; Zahn-Waxler, Friedman, Cole, Mizula, & Hiruma, 1996). However, the studies did not examine gender stereotypes about emotion, and therefore the results cannot speak to the question of whether individuals from different cultural backgrounds hold different gender stereotypes about emotional expression. In the series of studies reported here we examined gender stereotypes of emotions within four

¹ We recognize the difficulties surrounding the terms "ethnicity" and "race" and the rarity with which either occurs in a pure form. We use the term ethnicity because our focus is on the experiences of individuals who identify themselves with particular ethnic classifications.

ethnic groups in the United States (European American, African American, Hispanic American, and Asian American).

It is important to investigate ethnic variations in gender stereotypes of emotion for three reasons. First, from the perspective of basic science, it is essential to delineate the boundaries of research findings, in this case the extent to which research on European Americans' stereotypes of emotions can be generalized to other groups within the U.S. Second, stereotypes have been identified as having prescriptive as well as descriptive qualities (Fiske & Neuberg, 1990). In this way, assumptions about gender and emotional expression can affect social situations by the way individuals interpret, label, predict, and react to the emotional behaviors of others. Beliefs about the emotional lives of people of various ethnicities are likely to influence both within- and cross-ethnicity interactions. For example, expressing anger is a stereotype violation for European American women (Plant, Hyde, Keltner, & Devine, 2000). If expressing anger is normative for women of another ethnic group and they display this gender-appropriate anger when interacting with European Americans, the latter may react negatively to what is a stereotype violation for them, although not for the actors. Third, the identification of ethnic variations in gender stereotypes of emotion can be a useful tool for understanding gender stereotypes more generally because emotions are at the core of motivated behavior. For example, the source of variance between ethnic groups in beliefs about women's (versus men's) nurturance might be rooted in differences in beliefs about expressions of love and sympathy. In this way, gender stereotypes of emotion might be found to help classify and understand gender stereotyped behavior more generally.

In the following sections, we review research on gender stereotypes of emotion. Then we lay out two theoretical approaches to help identify dimensions on which ethnic groups can differ and that might explain emergent group differences in stereotypes about gender and emotion. Cultural stereotypes that are specific to each focal group are summarized with respect to the ethnic groups under investigation in each of our three studies.

Gender stereotypes of emotion

The belief that females are more emotional than males at a general level, without distinguishing among specific emotions, has been one of the most enduring gender stereotypes (Birnbau, Nosanchuk, & Crull, 1980; Brody & Hall, 1993; Johnson & Shulman, 1988; Rosenkrantz, Vogel, Bee, Broverman, & Broverman, 1968; Ruble, 1983; Spence & Helmreich, 1978; Williams & Best, 1990). However, attention to specific emotions reveals a more complex pattern. Some researchers have identified differences between broad

classes of emotions. For example, Johnson and Shulman (1988) reported that people believed women to be more likely than men to display communal, emotions (e.g., sympathy) and men to be more likely than women to display self-oriented emotions (e.g., anger, envy).

Data from studies on stereotypes of specific emotions are fairly consistent. Fabes and Martin (1991) found that women are believed to express love, sadness, and fear more often than men and that men are believed to express anger more often than women. Furthermore, college students who rated line drawings of emotionally expressive faces identified sad and happy faces as more feminine and angry faces as more masculine (Birnbau, Nosanchuk, & Crull, 1980).

Plant and colleagues (2000) conducted a broad investigation of gender stereotypes of emotion. In their first study, participants indicated the extent to which they believed that women and men were stereotyped to express and experience 19 different emotions. Fourteen of the 19 emotions were found to be gender stereotyped. Men were believed to express and experience anger and pride more than women do, and women were believed to express and experience awe, distress, embarrassment, fear, guilt, happiness, love, sadness, shame, shyness, surprise, and sympathy more than men do. Amusement, contempt, disgust, interest, and jealousy were not gender stereotyped. Furthermore, the researchers found many similarities between ratings provided by women and men. This study's sample, however, was composed almost exclusively of European American participants, and the researchers treated American culture as homogeneous. The current studies were designed to extend this research by examining the extent to which gender stereotypes of emotion among individuals from other ethnic groups in the U.S. are similar to or different from those reported among European American samples.

Theoretical perspectives

Although it has been hypothesized that everyone who shares a culture has knowledge of the same stereotypes (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981), there is ambiguity about this in the case of ethnic minority groups within a larger society. We contend that, although there may be some consensus regarding stereotypes if the focus is on American culture in general, there are likely to be variations when the focus is on specific ethnic groups. The challenge in understanding such variations in gender stereotyping across ethnic groups within the U.S. lies in identifying some of the dimensions on which ethnic groups vary and determining how the dimensions might relate to gender stereotypes of emotion. The two dimensions we believe are important with regard to these issues are norms about gender roles and cultural values of individualism versus collectivism (Fischer & Manstead, 2000).

Norms about gender roles

Theory about gender roles with respect to agency and communion suggests that gender stereotypes are enmeshed with beliefs about the social roles that individuals occupy (Spence & Helmreich, 1978). For example, information that individuals draw from interactions with those of higher or lower status is tied at least in part to the roles each person occupies (Eagly & Steffen, 1984; LeVine & Campbell, 1971). Eagly and Steffen (1984) elaborated on this idea for gender stereotypes; they suggested that the stereotypes ascribed to men reflect their greater power, and, similarly, the stereotypes ascribed to women often reflect their lesser power. More specifically, gender stereotypes arise from beliefs about women and men who occupy traditional gender roles. In most societies women are more responsible for childcare, and men are more responsible for economic provision. Consistent with this, broad personality differences have been ascribed to each gender, which suggest that women tend to be more communal and men more agentic (Block, 1973; Carlson, 1971; Spence & Helmreich, 1978). These traits have been associated with emotional expression among both women and men (Brody, 1999; Grossman & Wood, 1993). Communion has been associated with sympathy and the expression of more sadness, guilt, fear, jealousy, and less anger (Bander & Betz, 1981; Bem, Martyna, & Watson, 1976; Brody, Hay, & Vandewater, 1990; Dillon, Wolf, & Katz, 1985; Kopper & Epperson, 1991; LaFrance & Carmen, 1980; Shaffer, Pegalis, & Cornell, 1981). In contrast, agency has been associated with the expression of less fear and shame, but more disgust, anger, and happiness (Brody, Hay, & Vandewater, 1990).

Most of the emotions related to communion and agency are consistent with the gender stereotypes of emotion reviewed previously, which have been documented within primarily European American samples. Although it is important to point out that both traits are present in women and men, communion is more closely associated with the traditional feminine role of mother and caregiver, whereas agency is more closely associated with the traditional masculine role of father and provider (Brody, 1999). Glick and Fiske (1996) posited that there are residues of Victorian culture still present in modern European American culture. Instead of acting on their own accord, women of the Victorian era were expected to be taken care of by men, whereas men were expected to provide for and to protect women. They suggested that the patterns of interaction among European American men and women often support the idea that women are to be pure, child-like, and passive and that men are to be strong and competent. Consistent with this, gender stereotypes of emotion reported by European American samples suggest that considerable gender differentiation exists in European American culture and that men are believed to express more

pride and anger, whereas women are believed to express more emotions such as love, sympathy, fear, and sadness (Plant, Hyde, Keltner, & Devine, 2000).

If we assume that stereotypes are related, at least in part, to the roles that various groups are believed to occupy in society, we would expect beliefs about emotion to be more differentiated by gender in cultures in which roles for women and men are more distinct. For example, gender stereotypes within Hispanic American culture are hypothesized to center around the masculine ideal of machismo and the feminine ideal of marianismo (Espin, 1986). According to these ideals, men are expected to be authoritative, aggressive, and dominant, whereas women are expected to be loving (but not sexual), passive, and subservient (Espin, 1986). Given that both Hispanic and European American cultures can be traced to traditions that emphasize gender differentiation, we might expect gender stereotypes of emotion to be similar in these two groups. In contrast to European American and Hispanic American ethnic groups in the U.S. African American culture might encourage less gender differentiated stereotypes of emotion due to the social and economic history of African Americans in the U.S. For example, the percentages of African American women and men in the paid labor force are more similar to each other (72% and 77%; respectively) than are those of European American women (73%) and men (88%), Hispanic American women (63%) and men (86%), and Asian American women (68%) and men (86%) (Bureau of Labor Statistics). Less gender differentiation in working roles might increase people's perceptions of agency in African American women. Consequently, African American women might be thought to have agentic as well as communal qualities. In terms of stereotypes of emotion, we might expect that African American's gender stereotypes of emotion would be less differentiated than those of other ethnic groups.

Individualism and collectivism

A second approach to understanding variations in stereotypes across ethnicities in the U.S. comes from theory on general classifications of cultures along a continuum from individualistic to collectivistic (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1972). Markus and Kitayama (1991) conceptualized the difference between individualist and collectivist cultures within the framework of self-construals. This approach suggests that people of individualistic cultures have independent self-construals. In this way, they strive for autonomy and define themselves separately from others based on their own traits, abilities, motives, and values. In contrast, people from collectivist cultures maintain interdependent self-construals, which render them more likely to perceive situations and emotions as situationally and interpersonally bound. Consistent with an interdependent

philosophy is the notion that people experience emotions as a social reality and interpret them in relation to others and in terms of social versus individual worth (Mesquita, 2001).

We expected that the cultural values associated with individualism and collectivism would be related to ethnic group variations in stereotypes of emotion. For example, collectivist values might be associated with beliefs that everyone in a culture (independent of gender) expresses more of emotions that reinforce social networks, such as sympathy, love, and shame, and less of emotions that might interrupt social networks such as anger, pride, and contempt (Kitayama & Markus, 1994). In terms of this continuum, European American culture is considered to support more individualistic values, whereas African American, Hispanic American, and Asian American cultures are considered to support more collectivist values.

In summary, ethnic variations in gender stereotypes of emotion are likely to be related to the degree to which each ethnic group conforms to differentiated gender roles and norms about emotion that are related to individualism and collectivism. The data on gender stereotypes of emotion that have been conducted previously are from primarily European American samples. Individuals in those samples were reporting on a culture that holds both pronounced gender roles and individualistic values. We believe that it is worth widening the scope to determine whether other ethnic groups in the U.S. report similar or different gender stereotypes.

The current research

The purpose of this research was to survey gender stereotypes of emotion among four ethnic groups in the U.S.: African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, and European Americans. In the three studies reported here, reports from European Americans were compared with those of African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Asian Americans, respectively. We decided to make comparisons against European American stereotypes in order to tie our studies to those of previous researchers. We do not mean to imply that European American standards are the norm against which other ethnic groups should be compared. Rather, if differences are found between European Americans and members of the other ethnic groups, this research will help to situate the previous research within a more heterogeneous cultural context and serve as an initial corrective to the assumption that gender stereotypes of emotion found in European American samples hold true for other ethnic groups in the U.S.

Given that our primary aim was to extend prior work by Plant et al. on gender stereotypes of emotion, we used methodology similar to that used in their study. However, cross-cultural research presents particular challenges.

Specifically, all questionnaires were presented in English, rather than in translations to various languages. Emotions words are very specific to particular languages and accurately translating them into other languages is difficult, if not impossible (Ortony & Turner, 1990; Russell, 1991; Wierzbicka, 1994). An obvious drawback of requiring that participants respond to questionnaires written in English is that English fluency is associated with a certain level of acculturation. Thus, our results should be interpreted accordingly.

We sought to extend research on gender stereotypes of emotion to other ethnic groups in the U.S., within a culturally sensitive theoretical framework. If gender stereotypes of emotion among African Americans, Hispanic Americans, or Asian Americans are either more or less differentiated than those among European Americans, then we would expect to find interactions between ethnic group and the target's gender. The emotions for which we hypothesized variations, and the direction of these effects, are detailed before each study is described.

Study 1

African American culture and European American culture have coexisted in the U.S. for centuries, although a social and economic divide continues to exist. Moreover, researchers have identified some differences between these groups on the cultural dimensions of interest in the present research. First, African American culture, in contrast to European American culture, includes more collectivist values and supports community practices characterized by interdependence (Higginbotham & Weber, 1992; Oyserman, 1993; Oyserman, Gant, & Ager, 1996; Oyserman & Markus, 1993). This suggests that emotions focused on preserving social networks might be more ubiquitous in African American than in European American cultures.

Within these cultures, alongside either collectivist or individualist values, are norms about gender roles, and gender role differentiation might be less pronounced among African Americans than European Americans. Specifically, whereas 77% and 72% of African American men and women, respectively, are in the paid labor force, 88% and 73% of European American men and women, respectively, are in the paid labor source (Bureau of Labor Statistics). Consistent with this, African American women are believed to be more agentic than European American women, (Niemann, Jennings, Rozelle, Baxter, & Sullivan, 1994), and thus might be stereotyped to express more emotions associated with agency.

We hypothesized interaction effects for anger and pride—the agentic emotions—because African American women and men might be stereotyped to express similar amounts

of these emotions. In contrast, European American women were hypothesized to be rated as less likely to express these emotions than European American men. Similarly, if we assume that agency is associated with less fear, distress, shyness, awe, and surprise, then we would also predict less disparity between the genders among African Americans than among European Americans.

Whereas African American women are believed to be more agentic than European American women, European American women are stereotyped as more caring than either African American women or men (Niemann, Jennings, Rozelle, Baxter, & Sullivan, 1994). Therefore, we hypothesized that European Americans would report that women in their ethnic group express a great deal more love and sympathy than men do. African Americans' reports of these emotions are hypothesized to show less gender disparity because African American women are not believed to be as extreme on these dimensions.

In addition, five emotions previously found to be gender stereotyped (embarrassment, guilt, happiness, sadness, and shame; (Plant, Hyde, Keltner, & Devine, 2000)) were hypothesized here to evidence gender stereotypes among both African American and European American participants.

Five other emotions have revealed no gender stereotypes among primarily European American samples (amusement, contempt, disgust, interest, and jealousy; (Plant, Hyde, Keltner, & Devine, 2000)). To our knowledge, no existing research has addressed the expression of these emotions among African Americans. Therefore, we hypothesized that gender differences would not emerge for these emotions among African Americans.

Method

Participants

A total of 104 participants were recruited: 51 African Americans (25 men, 26 women), and 53 European Americans (24 men, 29 women). Participants were approached while waiting at bus depots and airports in four Midwestern cities in the United States.² Recruitment of participants in locations such as these has been conducted successfully in previous research (e.g., Bennett & Powell, 1980). Mean ages for African American and European American participants were 29.3 and 32.8 years, respectively. Means of participants' highest number of years of education for their mothers and fathers, respectively, were 13.2 and 13.4 for African American participants, and 13.6 and 14.0 for European American participants. No significant differences emerged between ethnic groups on any

² Systematic differences between data collection sites emerged on ethnicity, gender, mother education, and age. These details are available from the authors.

of these demographic variables. Participants were recruited during the summer and fall of 1998, and they were paid \$5 for their participation. An additional 53 persons were approached but refused to participate.

Materials and procedure

Potential participants were approached by either a European American or African American experimenter, depending on their ethnicity, and were asked to participate.³ Because ethnicity is to some extent subjective, potential participants were approached based on their physical appearance, and then were given a written screening questionnaire to determine their self-defined ethnicity and eligibility. Participants reported their ethnic heritage among the following options: African American, Asian American, Hispanic, White, Biracial, or Multiracial. If they indicated one of the last two categories, they were asked to specify with which group they identified more. Participants were also asked their age, their mother's and father's highest level of education, and whether English was their first language. If potential participants reported that their ethnic group was African American or European American, fell within the age range of 18 to 52 years, and indicated that English was their first language, they were asked to participate. Individuals who reported that they were biracial or multiracial and who specified that they identified most with being African American were also included in the sample.

Following informed consent procedures, eligible participants completed a written questionnaire that asked them to report their beliefs about the extent of gender stereotypes in their culture concerning the expression and experience of 19 emotions.⁴

The Emotion Stereotype Questionnaire was almost identical to that developed by Plant and colleagues (2000), except that it asked participants to report their knowledge about gender stereotypes of emotions within their own ethnic group. The 19 emotions were amusement, anger, awe, contempt, disgust, distress, embarrassment, fear, guilt, happiness, interest, jealousy, love, pride, sadness, shame, shyness, surprise, and sympathy. The directions on questionnaires given

³ In the planning of this study it was presumed that a European American female experimenter would collect data from both European and African American informants. However, the European American experimenter encountered a much higher refusal rate from African Americans than from European Americans. An African American female experimenter was added; she encountered a much lower refusal rate from African Americans than did the European American experimenter, and subsequently she collected all data from African American participants.

⁴ Although we asked participants their beliefs about emotional experience as well as expression, here we only report the results for emotional expression. Analyses of beliefs about experience are generally similar to those for expression, and are available from the authors.

to African Americans stated: “We are not asking about your personal beliefs, or whether you believe these generalizations are accurate. We instead want your opinion about the beliefs among African Americans.” The equivalent questionnaire for European American participants asked them specifically about beliefs among Whites. For each emotion (e.g., anger), participants responded to two questions concerning emotional expression: “How often are *men* believed to *express* anger?” and “How often are *women* believed to *express* anger?” Participants responded to each question on a scale from 1 (*never*) to 7 (*very frequently*).

Results

Overview of analyses

A set of mixed-model, 2 (participant’s ethnicity: African American, European American) \times 2 (gender of target: female, male) ANCOVAs were conducted. The second factor was a within-participant factor because everyone rated stereotypes for both women and men. Age was used as a covariate because age has been identified as an important variable in emotion research (McContha, Lightner, & Deaner, 1994).⁵ Because of the large number of analyses conducted, alpha was set at .01. It is important, however, to mention that a Bonferroni correction would place the alpha level lower, at .003. Considering the generally low statistical power in many psychological studies (Maxwell, 2004), and upon reviewing the effect sizes (Cohen’s *d*, see Table 1) we decided that setting alpha at .003 would obscure robust effects. Therefore we interpret effects significant at the .01 level, but also indicate which effects were significant at the .001, and consequently met the more stringent criterion set by the Bonferroni correction.

First, the ANCOVAs revealed main effects of ethnic group for the expression of anger, distress, jealousy, and shame (see Table 1). For all of these, African Americans rated these emotions higher than European Americans did. The effect on anger is consistent with prior research, which indicates that African Americans report greater expressed anger than European Americans (Matsumoto, 1993). The effect on shame was qualified by an interaction with target gender and will be discussed below.

Main effects of gender emerged for eight emotions previously found to be gender stereotyped among European American samples. These emotions were fear, guilt, love, sadness, shame, shyness, surprise, and sympathy, all of which were believed to be expressed more by women than men. It is interesting that six emotions previously identified as gender stereotyped (i.e., awe, distress, embarrassment, happiness,

anger, and pride) did not reveal main effects of target gender in the present analyses. With the exception of happiness, the effect sizes that compared gender within ethnic group evidenced larger differences among European Americans than among African Americans. This suggests that these emotions were less gender stereotyped among African Americans than among European Americans, although only one of these emotions (embarrassment) revealed a significant interaction effect.

Four significant interactions effects emerged; these were for the expression of disgust, embarrassment, interest, and sadness (see Table 1). First, embarrassment and sadness were previously identified as gender stereotyped among European American samples. The nature of these interactions for embarrassment and sadness, respectively, revealed greater effect sizes among European Americans (Cohen’s $d = 1.63$, $d = 1.88$) than among African Americans ($d = 0.61$, $d = 0.86$). Although individuals of both ethnic groups believed that women express more of these emotions than men do, the effects for European Americans were much larger than those for African Americans. More specifically, Tukey’s HSD revealed that European American women were stereotyped to express embarrassment the most, and European American men were stereotyped to express it the least, whereas African Americans’ ratings for both genders fell in between. In comparison, the post hoc tests on the sadness effect suggest that low ratings for European American men drove the interaction. Whereas both African American and European American women were stereotyped to express high levels of sadness, European American men were stereotyped to express very little sadness. African American men were rated between these points.

It is interesting that interaction effects emerged for two emotions previously not found to be gender stereotyped: disgust and interest. African American women were stereotyped to express more of both disgust and interest than African American men were ($d = .54$), whereas there was less difference between stereotypes of European American men and women (mean $d = .20$).

Discussion

Overall, main effects for target gender revealed patterns similar to those found in previous research (Plant, Hyde, Keltner, & Devine, 2000). However, interactions between target gender and ethnicity generally indicated more differentiated gender stereotypes among European Americans than among African Americans. Specifically, stereotypes of European American men suggest that they are expected to express very little distress, embarrassment, and sadness.

One notable case in which African American informants reported greater gender disparity than did European American informants was for expressions of interest; women

⁵ Full analyses of participant gender effects are available from the authors.

Table 1 Means, standard deviations, and effect sizes of participants' reports of gender stereotypes of the expression of emotions by ethnicity of participant (E) and gender of target (G), study 1

Emotion	Ethnicity of participant and gender of target rated						<i>F</i>		
	African American (<i>n</i> = 51)			European American (<i>n</i> = 53)					
	Men	Women	<i>d</i>	Men	Women	<i>d</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>E</i> × <i>G</i>
Amusement	4.84	5.45	0.38	5.08	5.17	0.07	0.01	0.09	1.63
	1.74	1.49		1.37	1.31				
Anger	5.82	5.25	−0.36	5.32	4.09	−0.74	11.75***	3.81	2.57
	1.40	1.76		1.49	1.84				
Awe	3.78	4.08	0.17	3.46	4.58	0.73	0.01	0.76	5.20
	1.74	1.81		1.61	1.45				
Contempt	4.22	4.29	0.05	4.17	3.75	−0.25	2.06	0.20	1.56
	1.68	1.55		1.65	1.66				
Disgust	4.22bc	5.04a	0.48	4.62ab	4.13c	−0.32	0.88	0.76	13.85***
	1.93	1.51		1.47	1.61				
Distress	4.73	4.98	0.15	3.47	4.68	0.75	9.87**	2.83	5.96
	1.76	1.61		1.58	1.63				
Embarrassment	2.92c	3.90b	0.61	2.43d	4.57a	1.63	0.06	5.26	13.24***
	1.38	1.81		1.08	1.53				
Fear	2.71	4.61	1.23	1.83	4.85	2.10	2.89	26.70***	5.44
	1.42	1.66		1.16	1.73				
Guilt	2.75	3.90	0.75	2.11	4.10	1.42	1.24	22.56***	5.44
	1.37	1.73		0.91	1.88				
Happiness	4.59	5.69	0.71	4.72	5.37	0.47	0.27	0.28	1.38
	1.64	1.45		1.28	1.51				
Interest	4.41b	5.25a	0.59	4.75b	4.64b	−0.07	0.35	0.76	7.36*
	1.50	1.35		1.48	1.64				
Jealousy	5.06	5.53	0.28	4.34	4.42	0.04	11.39***	2.44	1.17
	1.79	1.57		1.86	1.75				
Love	3.94	6.08	1.35	3.34	5.64	1.46	4.56	25.48***	0.01
	1.86	1.31		1.45	1.70				
Pride	5.20	5.00	−0.12	5.28	4.08	−0.85	2.88	4.91	6.17
	1.67	1.60		1.50	1.34				
Sadness	3.51b	4.84a	0.86	2.49c	4.91a	1.88	5.47	7.68*	8.07**
	1.58	1.51		1.05	1.52				
Shame	2.96	4.06	0.67	2.13	3.45	1.01	11.29***	16.31***	0.10
	1.54	1.73		1.14	1.47				
Shyness	2.73	3.43	0.39	2.72	4.28	1.06	1.32	9.01**	3.26
	1.69	1.96		1.34	1.61				
Surprise	3.78	5.02	0.98	3.64	4.00	0.98	0.21	13.30***	0.01
	1.14	1.38		1.29	1.48				
Sympathy	3.47	5.69	1.43	2.81	5.52	1.80	2.20	16.77***	1.09
	1.76	1.35		1.40	1.60				

Note. Ratings were made on a scale from 1 (never) to 7 (very often). Mean values are not corrected for their relationship with participant age. Cohen's *d* was calculated to compare reports for female and male targets, within ethnic group. Means with differing letters differ greater than Tukey's Honestly Significant Difference, at the .05 level.

p* < .01; *p* < .005; ****p* < .001.

were expected to display more interest than were men. Perhaps the reason why African American women are stereotyped to express more interest is related to the belief that they are active in multiple life roles (e.g., both work and family). Moreover, they might be stereotyped to show more interest because African American women are thought to invest themselves in educational opportunities to a greater extent

than African American men are. For example, 672,000 U.S. Black men and 1,178,000 U.S. Black women were enrolled in higher education in 2001 (National Center for Education Statistics, 2003). Interest has generally been found not to be gender stereotyped in previous studies of using primarily European American informants (Plant, Hyde, Keltner, & Devine, 2000), and thus this finding documents a gender

stereotype among African Americans that has gone undetected in research with primarily European American samples.

Study 2

Collectivistic values can take different forms in different cultures, and Hispanic culture has been described as more collectivistic than American culture, but this is largely rooted in the notion of *simpatia*. *Simpatia* refers to the ideal within Hispanic cultures that social relations should be pleasant, smooth, and harmonious (Triandis, Marin, Lisansky, & Betancourt, 1984). Great value is placed on maintaining respect for others as well as for oneself. For this reason, Hispanic Americans might report higher levels of harmonious emotions than European Americans. Moreover, if Hispanic American men as well as women express these emotions, then gender differences for these stereotypes might be smaller among Hispanic Americans than among European Americans.

It is important, however, to note that *simpatia* plays itself out alongside differentiated expectations regarding the behaviors of women and men, specifically within the marianismo-machismo distinction described previously (Espín, 1986). According to these ideals, men are expected to be authoritative, aggressive, and dominant, whereas women are expected to be loving (but not sexual), passive, and subservient (Espín, 1986). Consistent with the notion that Hispanic American culture might support traditional gender roles, labor statistics for Hispanic Americans indicate that 86% of Hispanic American men and 63% of Hispanic American women (compared with 88% of European American men and 73% of European American women) are in the paid labor force (Bureau of Labor Statistics).

These two sets of cultural values may compete, and this is particularly the case for men. According to *simpatia*, men are expected to behave harmoniously with others, whereas according to machismo, men are expected to be aggressive and dominant. Thus, we have competing hypotheses concerning gender stereotypes within Hispanic American culture. Hispanic American men may be stereotyped to express the emotions associated with *simpatia* or with machismo. Hispanic American women, in contrast, are hypothesized to be stereotyped to express the emotions consistent with *simpatia* because those are also associated with marianismo.

Due to the paucity of research in this area, no previous studies were found that addressed ethnic similarities or differences on stereotypes of seven other emotions previously found to be gender stereotyped (Plant, Hyde, Keltner, & Devine, 2000). Therefore we hypothesized gender differences, but not ethnic variations, for reports of awe, distress, fear, guilt, shame, shyness, and surprise. Furthermore, simi-

lar to hypotheses in Study 1, there was no reason to predict gender differences for the two emotions not related to *simpatia* and previously not found to be gender stereotyped (i.e., interest and jealousy).

Method

Participants

A total of 98 participants were recruited: 40 Hispanic Americans (20 men, 20 women), and 58 European Americans (27 men, 31 women). Participants were recruited at bus depots and airports in two Midwestern cities, a Multicultural Center on a university campus, and at a Hispanic community festival.⁶ Mean ages revealed no significant difference between Hispanic American ($M = 29.3$) and European American ($M = 33.7$) participants. Means of participants' highest number of years of education for their mothers and fathers, respectively, were 11.9 and 12.6 for Hispanic American participants, and 14.2 and 14.3 for European American participants. These means revealed significant differences between ethnic groups for both mother's education, $t(90) = 3.02$, $p < .01$, and father's education, $t(90) = 2.24$, $p < .05$. Participants were recruited during the summer of 1999, and they were paid \$5 for their participation. A total of 30 people refused an invitation to participate.

Materials and procedure

Potential participants were approached by a European American or Hispanic American female experimenter and asked to take part in a psychology study in exchange for \$5. Ethnicity of participant and experimenter were matched as much as possible, except at the Hispanic Festival at which participants approached the experimenters at a booth. Potential participants first completed a written screening questionnaire. Eligibility was determined based on requirements similar to those used in Study 1, except that participants were selected for Hispanic rather than African American heritage. In addition, participants for whom English was not their native language were included in the sample provided they rated their English fluency as 3 (*good*) or higher on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (*poor*) to 5 (*excellent*). The Emotion Stereotype Questionnaire was modified to be specific to Hispanic Americans. The procedure was identical to that used in Study 1 except that experimenters explicitly pointed out to participants the researchers' particular focus on knowledge of gender stereotypes of emotion rather than personal endorsement of the stereotypes. Although we did not have reason to believe that this was a problem in Study 1,

⁶ Systematic differences between data collection sites emerged on ethnicity. These details are available from the authors.

participants varied in how carefully they read the directions. Therefore, this change was implemented to ensure that participants were aware of this aspect of the study.

Results

A series of 2 (participant ethnicity) \times 2 (gender of target) ANCOVAs were conducted on the 19 emotions.⁷ The second factor was within-participants, and age was used as a covariate. As in Study 1, alpha was set at .01.

First, the analyses revealed two main effects of ethnic group (see Table 2). Hispanic Americans were stereotyped to express more of both pride and shame than were European Americans. These effects reveal the complexity that might emerge when collectivism meets machismo. Both emotions support the idea that, in collectivist cultures, emotional experiences are contextualized in relation to other people (Kitayama & Markus, 1994). However, the stereotype that Hispanic Americans express more pride than European Americans do might be driven by the high reports of pride among Hispanic American men. Pride is consistent with the masculine ideal of machismo. Similarly, the feminine ideal of marianismo might be driving the effect for shame because, according to that ideal, women should be modest. These main effects of ethnic group, however, were not qualified by interactions with target gender.

Second, 11 main effects of target gender were significant. Women were stereotyped to express more embarrassment, fear, guilt, happiness, love, sadness, shame, surprise, and sympathy than men were, whereas men were stereotyped to express more anger and pride than women were. These effects are consistent with previous research. However, awe, distress, and shyness did not reveal main effects of target gender, although these had been found to be gender stereotyped in previous research (Plant, Hyde, Keltner, & Devine, 2000). Similar to the results found in Study 1, it appears that the smaller effect sizes that compared gender among Hispanic Americans (range from $d = 0.43$ to $d = 0.83$ for these emotions), relative to European Americans (range from $d = 1.03$ to $d = 1.42$ for these emotions), revealed attenuated effects for Hispanic Americans, although an interaction between target gender and ethnic group was found only for distress.

Seven interactions between target gender and ethnic group emerged. Although both ethnic groups reported large gender differences on the female-stereotyped emotions that revealed interaction effects (distress, embarrassment, fear, love, sadness, and surprise), these interactions stemmed from European Americans' reports of larger gender differences (range from $d = 1.13$ to $d = 2.71$) than were found in Hispanic Americans' reports (range from $d = 0.43$ to $d = 1.15$). For all

of these emotions European American men had the lowest means, European American women had the highest means, and Hispanic men and women fell between those points. Notably, one emotion for which an interaction was found did not fit this pattern (disgust, previously not found to be gender stereotyped). Among Hispanic Americans, women were stereotyped to express more disgust than men were ($d = .30$), whereas among European Americans, men were stereotyped to express disgust more than women were ($d = -.62$).

Discussion

Gender stereotypes for different emotions show considerable similarity between Hispanic Americans and European Americans. These findings suggest that the norm of *simpatia* did not override the norm of machismo in stereotypes of Hispanic American men. However, interactions between ethnicity and target gender did emerge for seven emotions. The effect sizes revealed somewhat more gender stereotyping among European Americans than among Hispanic Americans. These findings counter beliefs that Hispanic culture is more highly gender-differentiated than European American culture.

It is interesting that there were two main effects of ethnicity; Hispanic Americans were stereotyped to express more of both shame and pride. It is difficult to disentangle the influences of *simpatia* and marianismo-machismo. One interpretation is that *simpatia* might lead to beliefs about emotional expression of shame and pride because these emotions are defined in relation to others. Another interpretation, consistent with the marianismo-machismo distinction, is that ratings for women increased stereotypes of shame for Hispanic Americans, whereas ratings for men increased stereotypes of pride.

Study 3

As discussed previously, cultures can be described along a continuum from collectivist to individualistic (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). This is particularly striking in comparisons between the cultures in the United States and in Asian countries. The U.S. is situated far out on the continuum in the individualistic direction, whereas Asian countries are situated in the collectivist direction. Therefore, Asian American culture is likely to be a hybrid of individualistic and collectivist values, whereas European Americans are more likely to value individualism.

Similar to the norms associated with Hispanic American culture described in Study 2, Asian American culture discourages the expression of emotions that might undermine group cohesion (Matsumoto, 1993). Consistent with this, Asian Americans rate emotional displays of

⁷ Full analyses of participant gender effects are available from the authors.

Table 2 Means, standard deviations, and effect sizes of participants' reports of gender stereotypes of the expression of emotions by ethnicity of participant (E) and gender of target (G), study 2

Emotion	Ethnicity of participant and gender of target rated						F		
	Hispanic American (n = 40)			European American (n = 58)			E	G	E × G
	Men	Women	d	Men	Women	d			
Amusement	4.78	5.08	0.20	4.76	5.10	0.27	0.10	0.49	0.01
	1.66	1.44		1.35	1.22				
Anger	5.50	4.00	−0.96	5.04	3.47	−1.01	2.71	10.61**	0.01
	1.56	1.58		1.52	1.57				
Awe	3.49	4.27	0.51	3.23	4.46	1.03	0.10	4.72	2.01
	1.45	1.63		1.20	1.21				
Contempt	4.05	4.00	−0.03	4.53	3.60	−0.64	0.44	2.23	5.89
	1.54	1.49		1.51	1.38				
Disgust	3.71b	4.22ab	0.30	4.63a	3.79b	−0.62	1.31	0.27	9.51**
	1.54	1.83		1.34	1.39				
Distress	3.62b	4.31	0.43	3.04c	4.67a	1.13	0.11	5.93	6.68*
	1.59	1.60		1.41	1.47				
Embarrassment	2.62c	3.63b	0.69	2.28c	4.74a	2.21	4.55	13.09***	16.19***
	1.33	1.60		0.83	1.40				
Fear	2.43c	4.19b	1.09	2.14c	4.84a	2.32	1.04	29.31***	6.98*
	1.64	1.60		0.94	1.39				
Guilt	2.73	3.97	0.79	2.44	4.21	1.51	0.01	7.03*	1.17
	1.50	1.65		0.87	1.48				
Happiness	4.64	5.21	0.42	4.61	5.21	0.47	0.07	7.11*	0.14
	1.38	1.36		1.37	1.15				
Interest	4.30	4.41	0.07	4.25	4.82	0.39	0.74	4.05	2.03
	1.45	1.48		1.66	1.34				
Jealousy	4.76	4.70	−0.03	4.54	4.53	−0.01	0.21	0.01	0.01
	1.97	1.96		1.92	1.50				
Love	4.42b	5.54a	0.71	3.37c	5.61a	1.73	3.71	10.89***	10.71**
	1.76	1.43		1.33	1.26				
Pride	5.73	4.38	−0.96	5.33	3.65	−1.31	6.82*	11.05***	1.02
	1.33	1.50		1.33	1.23				
Sadness	3.03c	4.55b	1.15	2.45d	5.35a	2.71	0.36	21.72***	15.23***
	1.28	1.37		0.90	1.25				
Shame	2.81	4.13	0.81	2.10	3.38	1.23	8.48**	15.02***	0.18
	1.71	1.52		0.85	1.23				
Shyness	2.76	4.14	0.83	2.58	4.49	1.42	0.19	5.19	2.10
	1.57	1.77		1.31	1.39				
Surprise	3.65b	4.68a	0.68	3.19c	4.77a	1.38	0.64	15.49***	6.32*
	1.49	1.55		1.04	1.25				
Sympathy	3.65	5.79	1.49	2.86	5.70	2.79	4.01	26.07***	4.88
	1.55	1.32		0.88	1.16				

Note. Ratings were made on a scale from 1 (never) to 7 (very often). Mean values are not corrected for their relationship with participant age. Cohen's *d* was calculated to compare reports for female and male targets, within ethnic group. Means with differing letters differ greater than Tukey's Honestly Significant Difference, at the .05 level.

* $p < .01$; ** $p < .005$; *** $p < .001$.

amusement, anger, contempt, disgust, fear, happiness, sadness, and surprise as less appropriate than do European Americans (Matsumoto, 1993).

Furthermore, because Asian culture is associated with interdependent views of the self, emotions that promote the self as independent and distinct from others are discouraged over emotions that derive their meaning from

relations with others. Markus and Kitayama (1991) labeled the former ego-focused emotions (e.g., pride and anger). In contrast, the expression of other-focused emotions (e.g., sympathy and shame) reifies the self through social relations (Lutwak, Razzino, & Ferrari, 1998; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). An exception to this, however, is the expression of love. In the context of romantic relationships

(and outside of marriage), expressions of love may suggest sexual lavishness or immodesty, against which there are strong norms against in some Asian countries (e.g., China (Okazaki, 2002)).

We hypothesized that the norms that restrict emotional expression as described above would prevent large gender discrepancies from emerging for Asian Americans relative to European Americans. Therefore, we expected to find interactions between ethnicity and target gender for emotions previously found to be gender stereotyped that were related to Asian cultural norms (anger, awe, distress, pride, fear, happiness, sadness, shame, surprise, love, and sympathy). Given the norms of sexual restraint in some Asian countries (especially outside of marital relationships), we hypothesized that Asian Americans' ratings of love would be lower overall than those for European Americans (Ruan, 1991) In addition, we hypothesized that European Americans would report stereotypes that reflected greater expression of love than would Asian Americans and that a main effect for ethnic group, as well as an interaction effect, would emerge for this emotion.

We also hypothesized main effects for ethnicity on ratings of amusement, contempt, and disgust, in the absence of effects for target gender because, although these emotions should be related to collectivism versus individualism, they were not found to be gender stereotyped in previous research (Plant, Hyde, Keltner, & Devine, 2000) Furthermore, we predicted gender of target effects, but not ethnicity effects, to emerge for the expression of embarrassment, guilt, and shyness. We did not have reason to predict gender of target or ethnicity differences to be present for the expression of interest and jealousy (Plant, Hyde, Keltner, & Devine, 2000).

Method

Participants

Participants were 117 Asian Americans (57 men, 60 women) and 79 European Americans (41 men, 38 women). The Asian American sample showed considerable diversity in country of origin: Korean ($n = 36$), Chinese ($n = 33$), Hmong ($n = 15$), Japanese ($n = 5$), Filipino ($n = 5$), Vietnamese ($n = 5$), Thai ($n = 4$), Indonesian ($n = 3$), and Pacific Islander ($n = 1$). Ten respondents did not specify country of origin.⁸

⁸ There is considerable heterogeneity within all U.S. ethnic groups (including European Americans) in terms of country of origin, immigration, and acculturation; however, with our aim to collect data from community samples, we wanted to make the questionnaire as brief as possible. With this in mind, and with a concern that we would not have sufficient sample size to analyze specific variations within ethnicity, we excluded many details concerning ethnic background. That said, participants' countries-of-origin were in-

The mean age for Asian American participants ($M = 23.9$) was higher than that for European American participants ($M = 21.5$), $t(194) = -2.13, p < .05$. Means of participants' highest number of years of education for their mothers and fathers, respectively, were 13.7 and 15.7 for Asian American participants and 15.2 and 15.8 for European American participants. Means for mother's education, $t(186) = 3.60, p < .01$, but not father's education, differed by ethnic group. Participants were recruited during the Fall of 1999 and Spring 2000 as in Studies 1 and 2 (e.g., airports and bus depots, 38%) or from the university student pool (62%).⁹ Respondents were offered either \$5 (for the community sample) or extra credit toward their Introductory Psychology grade (for the college student sample).

Materials and procedure

Potential community participants were approached by a European American female experimenter and asked to take part in a psychology study. Potential participants first completed a written screening questionnaire. Eligibility was determined based on the same requirements as those used in Study 2, except that participants were selected for Asian American heritage, and the Emotion Stereotype Questionnaire was tailored for Asian Americans.

The procedure was identical to that used in Study 2 among the part of the sample collected from the community (38%), except that we also asked participants to report their country of origin. The remaining 62% of the sample were undergraduate psychology students. They were contacted by phone to participate and took part in the study in small groups.

Results

We conducted a series of 2 (participant ethnicity) \times 2 (gender of target) mixed-model ANCOVAs, with repeated measures on the second factor, on participants' reports of gender stereotypes for the expression of each of the 19 emotions. Age was also included as a covariate in each analysis.¹⁰

Main effects of target gender emerged for 11 emotions (see Table 3). Overall, women were believed to express more embarrassment, fear, guilt, love, sadness, shame,

cluded in this study because it was of particular interest to one of the co-authors.

⁹ Systematic differences between data collection sites emerged on ethnicity, mother education, father education, and age. These details are available from the authors.

¹⁰ Interactions between age and gender of target emerged in analyses on ratings of fear, pride, sadness, and sympathy. Details regarding these effects are available from the authors.

Table 3 Means, standard deviations, and effect sizes of participants' reports of gender stereotypes of the expression of emotions by ethnicity of participant (E) and gender of target (G), study 3

Emotion	Ethnicity of participant and gender of target rated						F	E	G	E × G
	Asian American (n = 117)			European American (n = 79)						
	Men	Women	d	Men	Women	d				
Amusement	4.25 1.54	4.54 1.56	0.19	5.10 1.25	5.13 1.17	0.02	25.69***	0.29	1.72	
Anger	4.23b 1.69	3.51c 1.49	-0.45	5.29a 1.34	3.61c 1.50	-1.18	13.83***	29.91***	15.95***	
Awe	3.56bc 1.43	3.74b 1.47	0.12	3.33c 1.44	4.58a 1.27	0.92	4.07	0.66	21.83***	
Contempt	3.56 1.37	3.46 1.31	-0.07	4.27 1.45	3.92 1.43	-0.24	15.49***	0.18	1.03	
Disgust	3.48d 1.38	3.79c 1.63	0.21	4.70a 1.36	4.27b 1.55	-0.29	30.30***	0.31	10.49***	
Distress	3.33c 1.50	3.86b 1.33	0.37	3.33c 1.52	4.52a 1.36	0.83	4.89	5.41	7.55*	
Embarrassment	2.78c 1.31	4.00b 1.47	0.88	2.48d 1.08	4.30a 1.33	1.51	0.01	23.91***	8.18**	
Fear	2.38c 1.23	4.25b 1.54	1.35	1.97d 0.89	4.86a 1.31	2.62	0.76	94.52***	20.89***	
Guilt	2.81b 1.22	3.77a 1.59	0.68	2.48c 1.05	4.03a 1.47	1.23	0.10	17.01***	7.85*	
Happiness	4.45 1.36	5.09 1.43	0.46	4.78 1.05	5.38 1.13	0.58	4.35	1.36	0.01	
Interest	4.43 1.34	4.25 1.44	-0.13	4.43 1.44	4.75 1.46	0.22	3.00	0.45	5.28	
Jealousy	3.68 1.90	4.29 1.67	0.34	4.18 1.84	4.37 1.52	0.11	2.91	3.05	1.94	
Love	3.37c 1.64	4.53b 1.75	0.69	3.34c 1.32	5.58a 1.24	1.75	9.41	38.05***	24.66***	
Pride	4.97 1.50	3.87 1.55	-0.72	5.23 1.34	3.79 1.29	-1.10	0.53	51.73***	3.36	
Sadness	2.65c 1.22	4.44b 1.53	1.30	2.48c 1.03	5.02a 1.21	2.27	3.05	103.22***	13.79***	
Shame	2.56b 1.30	3.40a 1.51	0.60	2.30b 0.86	3.61 1.41	1.15	0.01	27.09***	6.41*	
Shyness	3.53 1.58	4.86 1.56	0.85	2.84 1.39	4.23 1.32	1.02	17.69***	20.26***	0.06	
Surprise	3.47c 1.29	4.45b 1.47	0.71	3.33c 1.14	4.91, 1.22	1.34	1.11	25.13***	9.71**	
Sympathy	3.38c 1.34	5.24b 1.51	1.31	2.97d 1.07	5.76a 1.06	2.61	0.06	94.55***	21.11***	

Note. Ratings were made on a scale from 1 (never) to 7 (very often). Mean values are not corrected for their relationship with participant age. Cohen's *d* was calculated to compare reports for female and male targets, within ethnic group. Means with differing letters differ greater than Tukey's Honestly Significant Difference, at the .05 level.

p* < .05; *p* < .005; ****p* < .001.

shyness, surprise, and sympathy than were men, whereas men were stereotyped to express more anger and pride than were women. Although the direction of these effects was consistent with previous research conducted largely on European American participants, nine of these effects were qualified by an interaction with ethnic group. Three emotions did not reveal main effects of target gender, although previous research had suggested gender stereotypes. However, two of

these emotions (awe and distress) revealed interactions between target gender and ethnic group; these interactions will be explained below.

Five main effects of ethnic group emerged. These were for stereotypes of amusement, anger, contempt, disgust, and shyness. Two of these also revealed interactions with target gender (anger and disgust), and they will be explained below. The main effects of ethnic group on amusement and

contempt indicated that European Americans are stereotyped to express more of these emotions than are Asian Americans. In contrast, Asian Americans are stereotyped to express more shyness than European Americans.

Finally, interactions between ethnicity and target gender emerged for 12 emotions, including anger, awe, disgust, distress, embarrassment, fear, guilt, love, sadness, shame, surprise, and sympathy. In every case except for one (disgust) larger effect sizes that compared gender of target were evident from the European American sample than from the Asian-American sample. It is interesting that for disgust, the effects of target gender across the two samples were in different directions. Whereas European American men were stereotyped to express more disgust than European American women, Asian American women were stereotyped to express more disgust than Asian American men.

Discussion

In addition to the main effects of target gender that replicate previous research (Plant, Hyde, Keltner, & Devine, 2000), interactions of ethnicity and gender of target also emerged, which indicates that gender stereotypes of emotion are somewhat more pronounced among European Americans than among Asian Americans. European American women were stereotyped to express the most awe, distress, embarrassment, fear, guilt, love, sadness, shame, surprise, and sympathy. European American men were stereotyped to express the most anger and disgust. Stereotypes of Asian American men and women fell between those of European American men and women.

Main effect differences across ethnicity, in the absence of interactions, also emerged, which indicate that Asian Americans believe that they are stereotyped to express less amusement and contempt, and more shyness than are European Americans.

General discussion

The results of these studies reveal that gender stereotypes of emotions are not confined to European American culture. Main effects of gender indicate that, across ethnic groups, women were consistently stereotyped to express and experience more fear, guilt, love, sadness, shame, surprise, and sympathy than were men. However, interactions between target gender and ethnicity also emerged, and these reveal an overall pattern of more differentiated gender stereotypes within European American culture than within the other cultures. European American women were stereotyped to express a great deal of the stereotypically feminine emotions,

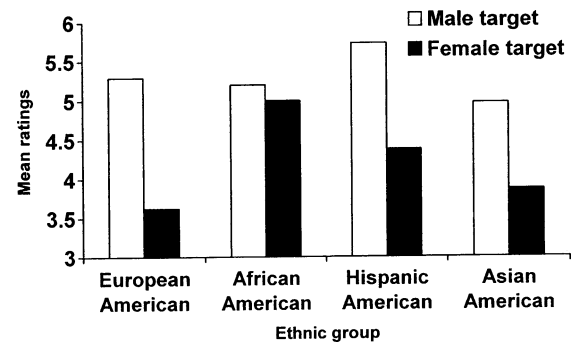


Fig. 1 Mean ratings of stereotypes of men's and women's expressions of pride within ethnic group. Ratings could range from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very frequently), and the mean for European American participants is the grand mean across the three studies

whereas European American men were stereotyped to express very little of these emotions, and the converse was the case with stereotypically masculine emotions. It is also interesting to note that the stereotypes reported by the three samples of European American informants were remarkably similar, and they replicated the results of Plant et al. (2000).

The primary aim of this research was to determine the extent to which gender stereotypes of emotions reported by European Americans varied from those reported by African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Asian Americans. Because previous research has included almost exclusively only European American participants, it was previously impossible to know whether it was appropriate to generalize those findings to other ethnic groups within the U.S. Our results reveal that, although gender stereotypes of emotion are fairly robust across ethnic groups, somewhat larger gender differences emerged for stereotypes reported by European American informants than informants from other ethnic groups. To illustrate this point, Fig. 1 depicts the mean stereotype ratings for female and male targets' expressions of pride provided by informants from each ethnic group. Although African American men and women are rated similarly, the other ethnic groups rated men as stereotyped to express pride more often than women, and the largest disparity is among European Americans. Figure 2 shows mean stereotype ratings for the expression of love. Although a gender disparity is evident among all ethnic groups, European Americans again exhibit the largest difference. It is interesting that the stereotype of *women's* expressions of love among Asian Americans is virtually equal to that of *men's* expressions of love among Hispanic Americans. This finding is consistent with cultural norms described above; expressing love is more consistent with cultural expectations for Hispanic Americans than for Asian Americans.

Stereotypes of several emotions appear to be particularly gender differentiated among European Americans. If stereotypes of emotions are related to gender stereotypes more

generally, it is likely that gender stereotypes among European American samples may be more differentiated than is the case among other ethnic groups.

Implications

The importance of recognizing variations in gender stereotypes of emotions across ethnicity is apparent when we consider interpersonal interactions that involve individuals from different ethnic backgrounds. If norms within individuals' own ethnic culture are used as guides for emotional behavior, people may inadvertently violate the stereotypes of others if they do not share the same ethnicity. For example, among African Americans women are stereotyped to express the same amounts of pride as men do. In contrast, European American women are believed to express less pride than European American men or African American men or women. Therefore, if an African American woman expresses pride to the extent that is acceptable for her among African Americans, European Americans might criticize her behavior as inappropriate and, in this case, as overly confident or arrogant. This could also occur for expressions of anger among African American women.

Similarly, the emotional behaviors of a European American man might be interpreted as cold by Hispanic Americans if he fails to display the amount of love that is consistent with Hispanic Americans' beliefs about men's emotional expression. In contrast, among Asian Americans, women are stereotyped to express less love than European American women do. In this way, an Asian American woman might be considered cold by European Americans if she does not express as much love as is consistent with the European American stereotype for women. A promising area for research involves an examination of whether individuals do indeed use norms based on their own culture when they evaluate emotional expressions of individuals from other ethnic

groups (see Williams, McCandies, & Dunlap, 2002) for a discussion.

Inter-ethnicity contact also affords positive opportunities for individuals to express themselves among others who have varied expectations regarding emotional expression. In particular, European American men might feel freer to express their emotions openly when interacting with individuals from other ethnic groups who believe emotional expression among men is more normative. Concerns European American men might feel about expressing emotions characterized as feminine by European Americans (e.g., love, happiness, sadness, sympathy) might be lessened in a context composed of Hispanic Americans, for whom expression of these emotions by men is more normative. In this way, multiculturalism may dismantle some of the more extreme gender stereotypes that have emerged in European American culture.

Limitations

Recent theorizing suggests that individualism and collectivism concern the quality as well as the quantity of emotional experience (Dien, 1999; Rodriguez Mosquera, Manstead, & Fischer, 2000).

We used the conceptual distinction of collectivism versus individualism as a tool with which to understand variations across ethnic groups in the amount of expressed emotion associated with each gender. Although this is helpful for understanding some gender stereotypes of emotional expression, we need to recognize that the nuances of emotional life within collectivist and individualist cultures are complex, and they are not fully captured by differences in the rated magnitude of emotional expression. Recent theorizing suggests that it is useful to identify how cultural norms affect the ways in which emotions are experienced and expressed rather than the degree to which they are experienced and expressed (Mesquita, 2001; Rodriguez Mosquera, Manstead, & Fischer, 2000). The amount of emotional expression (or extent to which an emotion is believed to be expressed, in this case) might mask subtle nuances in the ways emotions are experienced and understood in individualistic and collectivistic cultures. In the present studies we were able only to address beliefs about the amount of emotional expression rather than these more subtle distinctions, and these data indicated, for example, that European Americans and Asian Americans have similar stereotypes about the expression of happiness. However, it is premature to conclude that gender stereotypes concerning the expression of happiness are the same across these cultures. The stimuli that elicit happiness and how happiness is understood among individuals in these different ethnic groups might vary dramatically across ethnicity, although the net magnitude did not vary (Rodriguez Mosquera, Manstead, & Fischer, 2000). Moreover, cultures vary in the extent to which emotions are typically expressed

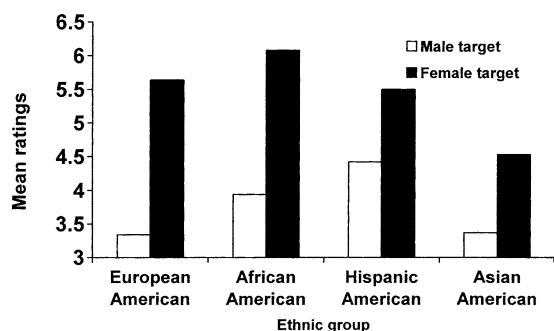


Fig. 2 Mean ratings of stereotypes of men's and women's expressions of love within ethnic group. Ratings could range from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very frequently), and the mean for European American participants is the grand mean across the three studies

verbally versus non-verbally (see (Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1988; LaFrance & Mayo, 1978), for reviews). In the current studies, we surveyed participants about stereotypes of emotional expression in general, therefore leaving unanswered the question of whether these relationships would change if the mode of emotional expression were specified. These distinctions highlight the need for more work in this area in order to unpack the complex aspects of emotional expression that are likely to affect gender stereotypes of emotion.

Future research

To our knowledge, we were the first to investigate gender stereotypes of emotion among ethnic groups within the U.S. Although this is a healthy first step, the present studies leave many questions unanswered. First, it will be important for future researchers to replicate the effects found in these studies, and to include ethnic groups not studied here (e.g., Native Americans). By doing so, we will be able to understand more fully gender stereotypes of emotions within American culture.

In addition, an examination of the moderators of the effects reported here would be a promising direction for future research in this area. For example, endorsement of stereotypes across ethnic groups might vary depending on the specific countries from which individuals or their ancestors immigrated. The classifications used in the studies reported here were fairly broad, such that we were not able to analyze differences based on country of origin. However, previous research has revealed some variation in cultural values (e.g., humility, emotional self-control) endorsed by Asian Americans whose countries of origin differ (Kim, Yang, Atkinson, Wolfe, & Hong, 2001). It might be fruitful in future research to examine stereotypes of emotion as they relate to more specific cultural values such as these.

Variations within ethnic group, such as socioeconomic status (SES) and acculturation, might also affect gender stereotypes of emotion. For example, level of acculturation might decrease individuals' familiarity with or adherence to stereotypes endorsed within their own ethnic groups. This is consistent with research that suggests that individuals' expressions and interpretations of emotion can change as individuals from various cultures spend time together (Liem, Lim, & Liem, 2000). Therefore, the length of time individuals have lived in the U.S. and the extent to which they interact with members of their own and other ethnic groups might change the effects seen here. Regarding SES, Flannagan and Perese (1998) compared the emotional references made among European American, African American, and Mexican-American mother-infant dyads. Although they did report some variations across ethnicity, the largest differences between mother-daughter and mother-son dyads de-

pendent on SES. Among high SES European American and Mexican-American dyads, mother-daughter interactions involved many more emotional references than mother-son interactions. However, this difference was much smaller among low SES dyads. An examination of variables such as these is likely to lead to a better understanding of gender stereotypes of emotion across ethnicities within U.S. culture.

Conclusions

These studies were the first attempt at identifying gender stereotypes of emotion within major ethnic groups in the United States. Gender stereotypes were evident in all four ethnic groups studied here—African American, Hispanic American, Asian American, and European American. However, the gender differences reported by European American respondents were consistently larger than those reported by any of the other ethnic groups. Research on gender stereotypes that includes primarily European American respondents should be interpreted with caution because it may be telling only part of the story about gender stereotypes within the U.S.

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