

Ethnic and Gender Differences in  
Emotional Experience and Expression

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Running head: ETHNIC DIFFERENCES IN EMOTIONS

### Abstract

How universal are the emotions that men and women from a variety of cultural and ethnic groups experience and express in their close love relationships? In this study, 144 men and 307 women of Caucasian, Chinese, Filipino, Hawaiian, and Japanese ancestry were asked about their ideologies as to how people ought to deal with strong emotions in their close relationships, how often they themselves felt a variety of emotions, and how they dealt with such feelings. Finally, they were asked how satisfied they were with their close relationships.

Men and women, regardless of ethnic group, seemed to possess different emotional ideologies. Women tended to favor direct expression of emotion; men favored emotional management. Men and women experienced much the same emotions in their relationships, but men were more muted in their expression of feelings. There was no evidence that existing differences had an impact on men and women's relationship satisfaction, however.

Ethnic groups did differ in emotional ideology, the extent to which they experienced a variety of emotions in their close relationships, and the way they dealt with strong emotions. Again, there was no evidence that such differences effected relationship satisfaction, however.

### Ethnic and Gender Differences in Emotional Experience and Expression

Do men and women and different ethnic groups possess different ideologies as to how people ought to deal with emotions in close relationships? Are there crucial differences in the way men and women from a variety of ethnic groups feel and in the way they say they feel? Does the way people deal with their emotions affect their satisfaction with their close relationships? This study was designed to find out.

The first step was to select a list of representative emotions.

#### A Taxonomy of Emotions

Many psychologists have attempted to provide a taxonomy of the "basic emotions". Researchers generally have little trouble classifying emotions as positive vs. negative in feeling tone (See Arnold, 1960; Carlson & Hatfield, in press; Davitz, 1969; Frijda, 1986; Plutchik & Kellerman, 1980; or Zajonc, 1980.) What theorists disagree about is just how many specific emotions there are. Theorists have proposed an array of "basic emotions" [See taxonomies beginning with Descartes (1667) and Spinoza (1663) and continuing through Darwin (1872) to McDougall (1921), Davitz (1969), Ekman (1982), Izard (1972) and Plutchik & Kellerman (1980)]. Some theorists [such as Averill]

(1983) and Kemper (1978)] argue that emotions are "social constructions"; thus there could be an indeterminate number of emotions. In designing this research, we finally settled on a taxonomy proposed by Sprecher (1985), who outlined a list of emotions that have been found to be important in love relationships, the domain of this paper:

Positive Emotions

Joy  
Love  
Sexual excitement

Negative Emotions

Anger  
Anxiety  
Depression  
Fear  
Frustration  
Grief  
Guilt/Shame  
Hate  
Hurt  
Jealousy  
Loneliness  
Resentment

How might one expect men and women from various ethnic groups to differ in the extent to which they experience and express such emotions in their close relationships?

A. Ethnic Group Differences:

There is considerable debate as to whether various ethnic groups differ in the emotions they feel and express in close relationships. Most theorists assume that all humans feel the same basic emotions. From Darwin (1872) on, scientists have assumed that there is a continuum of expression from lower animals to humankind [See Andrews (1962), Chevalier-Skolnikoff (1973), Lutz & White (1986) and Scherer (1979)]. For example, Rosenblatt et al. (1976) observe:

At least in dim outline, the emotional responses of people in almost any culture resemble those of people in almost any other.

Studies of preliterate and literate cultures suggest that people probably do feel the same basic emotions and express them, at least facially, in much the same way. [See Easton (1985), Ekman (1982), Izard (1972), Rapson (1980), Rosenblatt et al. (1976), or Yamamoto, et al., (1969)].

A few theorists argue that there are ethnic group differences in what people feel. They contend that different ethnic groups possess genetic, structural, or hormonal differences that influence the frequency and intensity of their emotional experience. Still others argue that diverse cultural values powerfully shape people's tendency to experience or display strong emotions [See Church (1986), Capuz (1973 and 1978), Frijda (1986), Lutz & White (1986), Marsella (1981), Pilkonis & Zimbardo (1979), and Sechrest (1969)]. This paper will explore these questions.

Hypothesis 1 proposes that the various ethnic groups will differ in how they think people ought to deal with strong emotions in close relationships.

Hypothesis 2 proposes that ethnic groups will differ little in the emotions, positive or negative, they actually feel in their intimate relationships.

Hypothesis 3 proposes that ethnic groups will differ substantially in how they express their emotions, positive or negative.

Hypothesis 4 proposes that existing differences in the way men and women and various ethnic groups deal with their emotions will have little impact upon relationship satisfaction. So many factors have been found to influence relationship satisfaction (See Ickes, 1984), that we expect little relationship between cultural style and relationship satisfaction.

#### B. Gender Differences:

[The focus of this paper is not on gender differences. However, since men and women are socialized so very differently in different cultures, one must consider possible gender differences and gender x ethnic group interactions, at least in passing.]

A variety of theorists have proposed that men may experience or express less emotion, positive or negative, in their close love relationships than do women. They have suggested five reasons for these differences:

(1) Perhaps men think close relationships are less important than do women:

Many theorists have argued that men and women differ in how focused they are on love vs. work. For example, Firestone (1970) observes: "Men can't love. . . That women live for love and men for work is a truism." (p. 126-127). Dinnerstein (1977) says:

It has often been pointed out that women depend lopsidedly on love for emotional fulfillment because they are barred from absorbing activity in the public domain. This is true. But it is also true that men can depend lopsidedly on participation in the public domain because they are stymied by love. (p. 70)

According to this logic, we might expect women to react more emotionally to a relationship's ups-and-downs while men would react more emotionally to the events in their work lives.

(2) When men and women describe their love relationships, they may be describing different events. Sprecher (1985) argues that "His marriage" and "her marriage" might be very different entities; the female role might be more rewarding and more frustrating than is the male role.

(3) Men and women may vary in how aware, or how honest, they are about what they feel. It is more acceptable for women to be emotional (Pleck & Sawyer, 1974). Thus, men may try to suppress their emotions, so they will not appear to be "weak", even to themselves.

Or, men may merely be reluctant to admit, even on an anonymous questionnaire, how emotional they really are.

(4) Men may be conflict avoiding; women conflict confronting.

There is some evidence that men and women may react very differently in their closest relationships in times of conflict (Peplau, 1983). In America, men generally have the most power; they can often afford to act with the quiet confidence that, in the end, things will go their way. Women often have to develop a wide variety of techniques for gaining influence. Kelley *et al.* (1978) studied young American couples' stereotypes as to how men and women behave during conflicts and actual couples reports as to what each one is likely to say and do during such conflicts. The reports were much the same. Women were expected and reported to cry and sulk and to criticize the man for lack of consideration of her feelings and for insensitivity to his effect on her. Men were expected and reported to show anger, to reject her tears, to call for a logical and less emotional approach to the problem, and to give reasons for delaying the discussion. Kelley and his colleagues conclude that men are conflict-avoidant; they find it upsetting to deal with emotional problems. Women are conflict-confronting; they are frustrated by the avoidance and ask that the problem and the feelings associated with it be confronted. Raush, Barry, & Hertel (1974) found that in role-play situations, husbands tried to resolve conflict and restore harmony; wives appealed to fairness and guilt or were cold and rejecting. The researchers



spectulated that "women, as a low power group, may learn a diplomacy of psychological pressure to influence male partners' behavior". (p. 153).

(5) Perhaps men are simply less emotional than are women in all situations: In all societies, people have very definite ideas about how men vs. women should think, feel, and act (See Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974 or Tavris & Offir, 1977). For example, Broverman et al. (1972), found that men and women of widely varying ages, religions, and educational levels, perceive men to be the rational, competent, and assertive sex. They perceive women to be warm and emotionally expressive. When we examine the scientific evidence, however, it appears that most assumed gender differences exist more in fantasy than in fact [Unger & Siiter (1974) or Maccoby & Jacklin (1974)].

On the basis of the preceeding arguments, we proposed the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 5, proposes that men and women will differ in how they think people ought to deal with strong emotions in close love relationships.

Hypothesis 6, proposes that men and women will differ in the emotions, positive and negative, that they experience and express in their close relationships.

Hypothesis 7 proposes that any gender differences that do exist will have little impact on relationship satisfaction.

Of course this study can only begin to explore these complicated questions. The best one can hope for is merely to get some hints as to ethnic and gender differences that might exist, so that more sophisticated studies--which assess emotional experience and expression objectively--can be conducted. This study is a necessary first step, however.

#### Method

##### Subjects:

Researchers who wish to use scales standardized on an English language speaking population face the dilemma of whether to interview an English-speaking multi-cultural population (thereby losing the distinctness of geographically separate groups) or to translate the scales into a variety of languages and interview native language speaking cultural groups (thereby losing linguistic comparability). This study surveyed an English speaking multi-cultural society (Hawaii). [See Easton (1985) for a discussion of the pros and cons of this decision.]

The sample consisted of 144 men and 307 women from the University of Hawaii's Manoa, Leeward and Windward campuses. Subjects' average age was 23; they ranged in age from 17-52.

Students were from a variety of ethnic groups<sup>1</sup>: 30.1% identified themselves as Caucasian, 7.1% as Chinese, 15.0% as Filipino, 5.8% as Hawaiian, and 25.4% as Japanese. Groups too small in number to be included in the sample were Blacks (1.3%); Korean (.9%); Samoan (.4%);

South Asian (.2%), and a large number of subjects of mixed ethnicity (13.6%).

Subjects were from an array of religious groups. These were Catholic (42.4%); Protestant (15.6%); Buddhist (6.5%); Jewish (.4%), Mormon (2.0%), "Other" (20.8%) and "None" (12.3%)

Subjects varied greatly in educational background: .4% had completed the eighth grade, 39.6% had completed high school; 3.6% had additional vocational/technical training; 55.5% had completed at least one year of college; and 1.9% had received an M. A. or other advanced degree.

Dating and marital status: In the original sample, 6% of men and women were not even casually dating. (These subjects were discarded from the sample). In the final sample, 57.4% of subjects were dating, 9.3% were living together; 6.2% were engaged, 22.0% were married and 5.0% indicated their status as "other".

#### Measures:

The questionnaire included measures of the following variables:

##### 1. Demographic Items:

Subjects' age, education, religion and ethnic background was assessed. In addition, subjects were asked where they, their parents, and their grandparents had been born. On the basis of this information, an acculturation score could be calculated. This was done in the following way: A subject born in the United States received three points. For each parent born in the U. S., the subject

received two additional points; for each grandparent, one point. The highest acculturation score a subject could receive was 11. Ethnic groups varied in how recently their families had come to Hawaii and the United States. The most acculturated groups were the Blacks ( $M=10.33$ ) and Hawaiians ( $M=9.46$ ). The next immigrants were the Caucasian's ( $M=9.03$ ), Japanese ( $M=7.99$ ), and Chinese ( $M=6.06$ ). Last to arrive were the Filipinos ( $M=2.99$ ) and all others ( $M=6.34$ ).

## 2. Ideology:

Our first step was to determine whether or not the various ethnic groups differed in their beliefs as to how people ought to deal with strong emotions in close relationships. Subjects were asked to complete two measures [These scales were placed in Section IV, the last section of the questionnaire, to insure that a reminder of cultural norms would not shape subjects' reports of their own feelings and behavior].

(a) Honesty vs. Management of Emotions. Scale #1 was designed to assess whether subjects believe honest expression or emotional management is most appropriate in close relationships.<sup>2</sup> Scale #1 was constructed in the following way: Researchers contacted students of Caucasian, Chinese, Filipino, Hawaiian, and Japanese ancestry and, with their help, assembled a list of 29 cultural truisms--truisms which either advocated honest expression of emotion (i.e., "Honesty is the best policy") or argued that, in order to protect oneself, one's

partner, or the relationship, one should shade the truth (i.e., "If you can't say something nice, don't say anything at all").

Subjects were asked to indicate to what extent they agreed with each of these 29 statements on a 5 point scale, ranging from (5) "Agree completely", to (1) "Disagree completely. A total score was calculated by summing the scores for the 8 items advocating honesty, weighting that total by 2.63, and subtracting the scores for the 21 items advocating emotional control. The higher the score, the more honest the subjects feel one ought to be in close relationships. (Possible scores range from +84 to -84).

Scale #2 was designed, not just to assess whether a group believed in emotional management, but what kind of management one believed in.

(b) A Belief that One Should Exaggerate, Be Honest, or Play-Down Emotions.

Logically, one could possess almost any set of beliefs as to the proper way to deal with strong emotions: One might believe in a passionate life and assume that one ought to exaggerate one's feelings, positive and negative. One might believe that one ought to try to exactly describe one's feelings; or that one ought to accentuate positive feelings and mute negative ones; or that one might try to remain calm, cool, and collected, in all settings. In Scale #2, subjects were given a list of the basic 15 emotions:

Here are some more beliefs people have as to how one should deal with strong emotions in intimate relationships. We have listed 15 emotions. With each emotion are three statements. Please choose the statement with which you most agree.

The three statements were carefully constructed "truisms". The first truism urged people to exaggerate their feelings. The second advised honest expression. The third warned them to play down their feelings. Here is an example:

\_\_\_Exaggerate your anger or be pushed around

ANGER: \_\_\_Meet anger face to face

\_\_\_A soft answer turneth away wrath.

Subjects received 1 point each time they assumed one ought to exaggerate an emotion, a 0 each time they assumed one ought to be honest, and a -1 each time they assumed one ought to play down emotions. Thus, the higher the score, the more subjects are assuming that people ought to play up vs. minimize their feelings. Possible scores ranged from 15 to -15. A 0 indicates the group favors complete honesty.

The first measures, then, assessed how people thought they ought to behave. The next step was to determine whether the various ethnic groups in fact differed in the emotions they experienced and expressed:

### 3. Emotions Experienced in Close Relationships.

Subjects were asked: "During the past month, how often (if at all) have you experienced the following emotions in your love

relationship?" Then followed the basic emotions--anger, anxiety, depression, fear, frustration, grief, guilt/shame, hate, hurt, jealousy, joy, loneliness, love, resentment, and sexual excitement. Possible answers ranged from (1) "Never" to (9) "Extremely often".

#### 4. Emotions Expressed in Close Relationships.

A next scale was designed to assess how often subjects expressed each of the 15 basic emotions in their close relationships. Subjects were told: "What we feel and what we show may be two different things. During the past month, how often have you actually expressed the following emotions in your closest love relationship?" Then followed a list of the 15 basic emotions. Subjects were asked to indicate their reactions on the same scale they used in the previous section.

#### 5. Assessing Differences Between Emotions Experienced vs. Expressed:

People can try to manage their emotions in two different ways. Firstly, they can pretend to feel what they don't feel. . .or deny feeling what they do feel. (Such strategies should be revealed in reports of the frequency with which various emotions are felt vs. expressed). Or, people can manage things a bit more subtly--they can give their partner a hint as to what they feel but tone down their emotional expression. (Such strategies should be revealed in reports of the intensity with which various emotions are felt vs. expressed.)

(a) Frequency of Emotions Felt vs. Shown: In Section I of the questionnaire, subjects were asked to indicate how often during the past month they had felt vs. expressed 15 different emotions. The next step was to calculate a trio of difference scores: 1. How often positive emotions were felt vs. expressed. 2. How often negative emotions were felt vs. expressed. 3. How often all emotions were felt vs. expressed.

(b) Intensity of Emotions Felt vs. Expressed: In Section II of the questionnaire, subjects were asked:

It is difficult to decide just how honest to be in close relationships. Sometimes we want to let our partners know exactly how we feel and find out just how they feel. At other times, we decide honesty should be tempered by practicality.

Consider the following list of emotions. Think, for a moment, about the very last time you felt each of these feelings for your date or mate. How did you react?

\*Did you exaggerate your feelings? (Did you reassure him/her of your love, when you really did not feel very loving? Or did you pretend to be angry to get what you wanted?)

\*Were you completely honest?

\*Did you play down your feelings? (Were you too shy to express your love? Did you insist you were not so mad as you really were?)"



Subjects were asked to recall the last time they had felt each of the basic 15 emotions, and asked to indicate how they had acted on a scale which ranged from: (4) "Greatly exaggerated how intensely I felt" though (0) "Was totally honest", to (-4) "Completely hid my feelings".

#### 6. Relationship Satisfaction

How well the various strategies for dealing with emotion worked in close relationships was assessed via a straightforward question: "How satisfying is your current relationship? Possible answers ranged from (1) "Not at all satisfying to (9) "Extremely satisfying.

## Results

### Gender Differences

Let us begin by examining the impact of gender on ideology and emotional experiences and expression. (These results are relatively straightforward.)

#### 1. Ideology:

Hypothesis 5 proposed that men and women, from a variety of cultures, should differ in how they think people ought to deal with strong emotions in close relationships. The data provide strong support for this hypothesis. (In fact, as we shall soon see, gender differences seem to have a greater impact than ethnic differences in influencing ideology.)

Women seem to believe that it is best to express ones' feelings honestly; men are more likely to believe that it is best to manage one's feelings. Scale #1 assessed the extent to people advocate emotional honesty vs. management of feelings in close relationships. In Table 1 we see that women are more likely to believe that "honesty is the best policy" than are men. ( $F = 30.22$ , 4 and 370 d.f.  $p = .001$ ). Scale #2 was designed to assess whether people believe that intimates should exaggerate, honestly express, or play down their strong emotions. From Table 2 it is evident that both men and women agree that one should "tell it like it is" when feelings are positive ( $F = .06$ , n.s.). When feelings are negative, however, although both men and women agree that people should probably shade things a bit, men are more likely to stress the importance of emotional control than are women ( $F = 11.93$ ,  $p = .001$ ).

Insert Tables 1 and 2 about here

## 2. Gender Differences in Emotional Experience vs. Expression:

Hypothesis 6 proposed that men and women will differ in the emotions, positive and negative, that they experience and express in their close relationships. As we can see from Table 3A men and women do not seem to differ in how emotionally they feel about their close relationships. Both men and women feel positive and negative emotions equally often ( $F_s = 1.47$  and  $.00$ , respectively. )

Tables 3B and 3C indicate that men and women do differ in how willing they are to express these strong feelings--positive and

negative--to their mates, however. Women express their emotions, positive and negative, more frequently than do men ( $F_s = 7.05, p = .01$  and  $4.41, p = .01$ ).

Insert Table 3 about here

We secure identical results when we ask men and women whether they exaggerated their feelings, expressed them honestly, or minimized their expression (See Table 4). Both men and women express positive emotions with equal intensity ( $F = 1.59$ ); men try to tone down the expression of their the negative emotions, however ( $F = 3.47, p = .06$ ).

### 3. Relationship Satisfaction:

Although men and women appear to have different strategies for dealing with emotions, they seem equally satisfied with their relationships. ( $F = 1.76, 1$  and  $361$  d.f. n.s.).

### Ethnic Group Differences

The impact of gender on ideology and on emotional experience and expression is much more difficult to summarize.

#### 1. Ideology:

Hypothesis 1 proposed that members of the various ethnic groups would differ in their beliefs as to how one ought to deal with strong emotions in intimate encounters. The data suggests that Caucasians, Chinese, Filipinos, Hawaiians, and the Japanese do possess different ideologies as to how people ought to deal with strong emotions in intimate relationships.

Scale #1 asked people whether they believed people ought to express their feelings honestly or manage their strong emotions. In Table 1, we see that ethnic groups do differ in how convinced they are that "honesty is the best policy" in close relationships. Caucasians seem to be the most enthusiastic advocates of direct, honest expression; the Chinese seem to be the most convinced that people do best if they manage their emotions ( $F=3.60, 4 \text{ and } 370 \text{ d.f., } p = .05.$ )

Scale #2 asked members of the various ethnic groups more specific questions; should one exaggerate, honestly express or play down positive and negative emotions? When we move to a sharper focus, a somewhat different picture emerges (See Table 2). This time we see that it is the caucasians who believe that one should play up exaggerate positive feelings ( $F = 2.44, 4 \text{ and } 332 \text{ d.f., } p = .05$ ). All ethnic groups are convinced, and equally convinced, that people ought to minimize the expression of negative emotions in close relationships ( $F= 1.06, \text{ n.s.}$ ).

## 2. Ethnic Differences in Emotional Experience vs.

Expression:

Let us now examine, not of how members of various ethnic groups think they ought to behave, but to how they actually do feel and behave (See Tables 3-5). Hypotheses 2 and 3 proposed that members of the various ethnic groups should vary little in the emotions they felt in their close relationships; they should differ far more in how they expressed their emotions, however.

Let us begin by focusing on the positive emotions. In Tables 3A and 3B, we see that, when asked how often they felt a variety of emotions during the last month, members of the various ethnic groups reports are very similar (See Table 3A). Members of the various groups are also equally likely to expressing these positive feelings (See Table 3B). Almost all ethnic group members report that they experienced positive feelings for their mates slightly more often than they expressed them (See Table 3C). (Again, there are no ethnic difference in how often positive emotions were felt vs. shown ( $F = 2.02$ ). It is hard to know just why people did not always express their positive feelings for their mates. Perhaps dating couples felt shy about expressing their joy, love, or sexual interest in the other. Perhaps marrieds simply took each other for granted. But perhaps people simply forgot how they responded. For we see that, in Table 4, when subjects are asked how intensely they responded the last time they felt a positive emotion, most people report that they either "accentuated the positive" or expressed their feelings honestly. (Again, there are no ethnic differences in how subjects responded;  $F = 1.50$ .)

Let us now examine how ethnic group members respond when their feelings are more negative. In Table 3A, we see that men and women in the various ethnic groups do differ in how often they experienced negative emotions in their love relationships during a given month. The Japanese were more likely than members of other

groups to report feeling negative emotions in their love relationships; the Caucasians least likely to report such emotions (See Table 3A). Groups also differed in how frequently they reported their negative feelings to their mates. This time it was the Filipinos who were most likely to reveal negative feelings; Caucasians were least likely to report such emotions (See Table 3B).

In Table 3C, we see that members of all the ethnic groups tended to experience negative feelings more often than they expressed them. Ethnic group members did not differ in how often they experienced vs. expressed negative feelings, however (See Table 3C;  $F = .59$ ). The ethnic group members were also were equally likely to try to hide the intensity of their negative feelings (See Table 4;  $F = 2.15$ ).

### 3. Relationship Satisfaction:

Hypothesis 4 proposed that existing differences in the way ethnic group members deal with emotions should have little impact on relationship satisfaction. It does appear as if members of the various ethnic groups are equally satisfied with their relationships ( $F = .80$ , 4 and 361 d. f.).

## Discussion

The preceding data suggest that gender may be more important than ethnicity in shaping people's emotional ideology, emotional experience, and habits of emotional expression. Women of many cultures seem more convinced that direct, honest, communication

works best; men tend to be persuaded that somewhat more emotional management is necessary. Men and women may share roughly the same sorts of emotional experiences in their relationships, but they differ in how freely they express their feelings. Men tend to express their positive and negative emotions less frequently and less intensely than they are experienced. Women tend to be somewhat more direct in their emotional expression.

It is less clear clear how ethnic groups differ from one another in emotional ideology, experience, and expression. Members of the various ethnic groups do appear to possess somewhat different ideologies as to how men and women should behave in their close relationships.

Caucasian men and women, for example, seem pulled in two different directions: On one hand, they are strong advocates for the philosophy that one ought to "accentuate the positive" in order to make relationships work. Caucasians are more likely than members of other groups to think that intimates ought to be careful to express at least as much love, joy, or sexual interest as one is feeling. Ethnic groups do not differ in how they think people ought to deal with negative emotions; everyone believes that people ought to refrain from expressing negative emotions.

On the other hand, Caucasians are more likely than members of other ethnic groups to believe in total honesty in close relationships. (This dual philosophy reminds one of the perplexing instructions

generally given to contestants in beauty pageants: "Always smile" and "Be yourself").

One might expect that in the end, some combination of tact and honesty--a sort of blending of the various ethnic group philosophies--may become the universal ideal. Some historians have argued that the American concern with clear, direct, and honest expression arose out of necessity. America has long been a "melting pot." This cultural mixing is likely to increase. In Hawaii, during the last 10 years, for example, 60% of the marriages have been inter-ethnic (See Rapson, 1980). Rapid developments in communication and transportation insure that cultural contacts will continue to increase. Such cultural pluralism may force members of all ethnic groups to be more direct in their communication. When two people come from the same culture, communication can be subtle, indirect, non-verbal, and ritualized. . . Couples can read each other's glances, fill in the silences. When intimates come from very different cultures, however, such communication begins to falter. Couples must begin to explain themselves. It is possible, then, that in the future the various ethnic groups will become more similar in their belief in open communication, tempered with tact.

The research has also documented the fact that the various ethnic groups differ marginally in the emotions they experience and express in their close relationships. The fact that the various ethnic



groups differ in the way they deal with emotions, however, does not seem to effect relationship satisfaction.

This study provides some encouragement to social psychologists who wish to explore gender and ethnic differences in emotional experience and expression. This single study is not without serious flaws, of course. In subsequent research, social psychologists will surely want to explore not just what people claim they feel, but to see what more objective suggest they might be feeling. Such measures include electromyographic measures of facial expression, measures such as the FACS or FAST indicators (Hager & Ekman, 1983), chemical analyses, and measures of heart rate, respiration, and skin conductance. Researchers will want to observe real behavior via tape recording and videotapes. Such ambitious projects must, however, await the future.

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## Footnotes

1. The way we label ethnic groups is, of course, controversial. We consulted with the East-West Center, Honolulu, HI in order to be sure we utilized those ethnic group labels that are preferred by the groups themselves.
2. We would like to point out, that when we talk about "honesty" vs. "management" of feelings, we are not assuming that honesty is good and management is bad. In all cultures, the "honest" expression of emotion may sometimes be viewed with admiration; at others it may seem rude, obscenely demonstrative, insensitive, immature, unsubtle, dangerous, or simply inappropriate.

Table 1  
 Ideology: The Extent to which Ideology Supports  
 Honest Expression vs. Management

	<u>How Honest?</u> <sup>1</sup>
<u>Gender</u>	
Men	9.71
Women	17.27
<u>Ethnic Group</u>	
Caucasian	18.02
Chinese	11.39
Filipino	12.20
Hawaiian	14.53
Japanese	13.78
<u>Analysis of Variance</u>	
Main Effect Gender	d.f. 1
Main Effect Ethnic	4
Interaction	4
Total	370

30.22 (p=.001)  
 3.60 (p=.01)  
 .85

<sup>1</sup>The higher the number, the more the group's ideology stresses honesty.



Table 2

Ideology: The Extent to Which Ideology Supports Exaggeration, Honest Expression, or Playing Down of Emotions<sup>1</sup>

	<u>Positive Emotions</u>	<u>Negative Emotions</u>	<u>All Emotions</u>
<u>Gender</u>			
Men	.02	-1.30	-1.28
Women	.02	-.47	-.46
<u>Ethnic Group</u>			
Caucasian	.21	-.78	-.57
Chinese	.07	-1.32	-1.25
Filipino	-.09	-.17	-.25
Hawaiian	-.04	-.58	-.63
Japanese	-.11	-.78	-.89
<u>Analysis of Variance</u>	<u>d.f.</u>		
Main effect Gender	1	11.93 (p=.001)	9.43 (p=.002)
Main effect Ethnic	4	1.06	.62
Interaction	4	3.44 (p=.01)	3.22 (p=.01)
Total	332		

<sup>1</sup>The higher the number, the more the group's ideology supports exaggeration. 0=Total honesty.

Table 3: Ethnic and Gender Differences in Frequency of Emotional Experience/Expression

A. Emotions Felt <sup>1</sup>		Positive Emotions	Negative Emotions	All Emotions
<u>Gender</u>				
Men		7.14	3.77	4.46
Women		7.33	3.78	4.49
<u>Ethnic Group</u>				
Caucasians		7.29	3.51	4.27
Chinese		6.97	3.95	4.55
Filipinos		7.16	4.24	4.83
Hawaiians		7.49	4.01	4.71
Japanese		7.35	3.73	4.46
<u>Analysis of Variance</u>				
	<u>d.f.</u>			
Main effect Gender	1	1.47	.00	.05
Main effect Ethnic	4	.72	2.86 (p=.02)	2.77 (p=.03)
Interaction	4	.30	.29	.35
Total	373			

Table 3 (Continued)

B. Emotions Shown)		Positive Emotions	Negative Emotions	All Emotions
<u>Gender</u>				
Men		6.76	3.11	3.86
Women		7.25	3.45	4.22
<u>Ethnic Group</u>				
Caucasians		7.16	2.99	3.83
Chinese		6.70	3.75	4.34
Filipinos		7.23	3.94	4.63
Hawaiians		7.46	3.59	4.39
Japanese		6.96	3.25	3.99
<u>Analysis of Variance</u>				
	d.f.			
Main effect Gender	1	7.05 (p=.01)	4.41 (p=.01)	6.25 (p=.01)
Main effect Ethnic	1	1.05	5.77 (p=.001)	5.43 (p=.001)
Interaction	4	.54	.47	.39
Total	373			

Table 3 (Continued)

C. Difference between Emotions Felt/Shown<sup>2</sup>

			<u>Positive Emotions</u>	<u>Negative Emotions</u>	<u>All Emotions</u>
<u>Gender</u>					
Men			-.39	-.66	-.59
Women			-.08	-.33	-.28
<u>Ethnic Group</u>					
Caucasians			-.12	-.52	-.44
Chinese			-.27	-.20	-.22
Filipinos			+.07	-.30	-.20
Hawaiians			-.03	-.42	-.33
Japanese			-.39	-.48	-.46
<u>Analysis of Variance</u>					
	<u>d.f.</u>				
Main effect Gender	1	5.42 (p=.02)		4.84 (p=.03)	6.48 (p=.01)
Main effect Ethnic	4	2.02		.59	.81
Interaction	4	.75		.66	.83
Total	373				

<sup>1</sup>The higher the number, the more often an emotion is felt or shown

<sup>2</sup>A positive number indicates the Ss are exaggerating their feelings. A 0 = honest expression. A negative number indicates that Ss are minimizing their feelings.

Table 4 Ethnic and Gender Differences in Intensity of Emotional Experience/Expression<sup>1</sup>

		Positive Emotions	Negative Emotions	All Emotions
Gender				
Gender				
Men		.02	-1.06	-.85
Women		.16	-.84	-.63
Ethnic Group				
Caucasians		.05	-1.05	-.83
Chinese		.28	-.69	-.51
Filipinos		.11	-.64	-.49
Hawaiians		.59	-.93	-.61
Japanese		.05	-.96	-.75
Analysis of Variance	d.f.			
Main effect Gender	1	1.59	3.47 (p=.06)	4.62 (p=.03)
Main effect Ethnic	4	1.50	2.15 (p=.07)	2.07
Interaction	4	.25	1.42	1.21
Total	369			

<sup>1</sup>A positive number indicates that Ss are exaggerating their feelings. A 0 = honest expression. A negative number that Ss are minimizing their feelings.