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Emotion Work at Work: The Effects of Race and Employment Status on Emotion Management in Women*

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the impact of race and employment status on the degree of women's emotion management. Drawing on Hochschild's theory of emotional labor and feeling rules as well as Kanter's theory of tokenism, I hypothesize that nonwhite women as well as employed women will report higher levels of emotion management than white women or unemployed women. I utilize data from the 1996 General Social Survey, due to their special module on emotions from that year. After creating a female-only subset and an Emotion Management Scale, which includes data from several questions from the emotion module, I run a regression analysis controlling for respondents' age and years of education. Unlike previous qualitative studies, my bivariate and multivariate findings suggest that neither the respondent's race nor their employment status are significant factors in how they score on the Emotion Management Scale. Even though the hypothesis is not supported, the findings do indicate that the theories still hold validity and that it is possible for emotion management to be measured quantitatively.

Emotion Work at Work: The Effects of Race and Employment Status on Emotion Management in Women

The Office is a well-known and highly beloved comedy television series depicting a modern office in Scranton, Pennsylvania. The cast is made up of a diverse group of characters, one of which is a young Indian American woman named Kelly Kapoor. Kelly is a naïve yet thoughtful character who is often belittled by her coworkers or dismissed as being overly emotional and unprofessional. She is quick to make decisions, almost all reckless, based on her emotions. By straying from accepted emotional behaviors for her identity, Kelly is ostracized, manipulated, and exploited by her coworkers.

Today more than ever, more women are employed and occupy careers that place them within traditionally white, male-centric institutional spaces, particularly in the professional workplace and higher education. Even though many of these institutions pride themselves on their diversity and inclusion strategies, like employing more women and people of color, the social stratification that exists within these organizations serves to keep white males in positions of power and places restrictions and guidelines on the behaviors and emotional expressions of their employees (women and minorities in particular) (Barreto, Ellemers, and Fiske 2010; Goodwin, Operario, and Fiske 1998; Kanter 1977). One of the strategies applied is the intense emotion regulations inflicted on marginalized identities that places these individuals in contradictory and paradoxical emotional constraints.

There is a lack of quantitative research in the field of sociology that takes an intersectional approach in exploring emotion management strategies as well as the different expectations among women from many racial backgrounds in professional spaces. Because the social world is made up of individuals with many intersecting identities (i.e. not one specific

identity a person holds provides the guidelines and restrictions for which they live), understanding how emotion management exists in white women and women of color in predominantly white male-centric institutional spaces can provide evidence for how social stratification is reinforced on a micro-level; micro-social interactions serve to reinforce the dominant and discriminatory ideologies of the macro-social world (Ridgeway and Kricheli-Katz 2013; Turner 2010). Hopefully this research can not only bring to light this stratification but also show how interpersonal interactions serve to reinforce social hierarchies.

Based on the literature, there are two main arguments on race, gender, and emotion management in the workplace. The first argument is that women of color experience greater emotion management than white women because women of color hold more oppressed identities and thus more behavior rules and restrictions (Durr and Wingfield 2011; Froyum 2013; Harlow 2003; Wingfield 2010). The second argument is that white women experience emotion management more than women of color because white women are considered the “standard” for their gender and are thus more overtly aware of the restrictions placed on them (Ispa-Landa and Thomas 2019; Remedios and Snyder 2018).

There is a misconception in social research, as well as in everyday thinking, that the various social groups an individual belongs to are separate; by compartmentalizing all the identities that person carries, one ignores the nuanced and multifaceted ways lived experience is influenced by these identities. A person’s lived experience is heavily influenced not only by the location of their identities within the social hierarchy, but also by the complex and often contradictory ways their identities converse with one another (Christofferson 2018; Collins 2015; Ridgeway and Kricheli-Katz 2013; Wallin-Ruschman et al. 2020). There has been research to suggest that the more marginalized identities a person holds, the more stereotypes and behavior

expectations are placed upon them (Brescoll, Okimoto, and Vial 2018; Harlow 2003). Therefore, because marginalized identities are under threat in white, male-centric institutionalized spaces, I hypothesize that nonwhite women as well as employed women will report greater emotion management than white women or unemployed women.

LITERATURE REVIEW

What are the relationships among gender, race, and employment on emotion management? Many past studies have observed that marginalized groups are required to manage impressions of themselves to fit the dominant narrative, which ultimately requires the management of emotions by that marginalized individual (Brescoll et al. 2018; Harlow 2003). By exploring existing literature that focuses on the convergence of emotions, emotion work, intersecting identities, stereotypes, and white institutionalized spaces, three central themes are compiled. These themes are intersectionality, emotion work at work, and stratification reinforcement.

Intersectionality

Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989), a critical race scholar and lawyer, named the concept “intersectionality” to describe the lack of legal protections for black women in the United States. More specifically, Crenshaw noticed discrimination law essentialized gender discrimination as white women’s struggles and essentialized race discrimination as black men’s struggles (Crenshaw 1989). Thus, the black woman was not protected under discrimination laws because she simultaneously fit into both as well as neither category of woman or black. The term has evolved since its inception in 1989; it is now used more colloquially and has been broadened to describe the various identities of all people as well as the social relationship that exists between identities (Christoffersen 2018; Dhawan and Castro Varela do Mar 2016; Wallin-Ruschman et al.

2020; Yoder and Aniakudo 1996). Thus, for the purposes of this study, Patricia Hill Collins's (2015) definition of intersectionality will be used. She redefines intersectionality as, "the critical insight that race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, ability, and age operate not as unitary, mutually exclusive entities, but as reciprocally constructing phenomena that in turn shape complex social inequalities" (Collins 2015:2). Explicitly taking an intersectional approach to this study will hopefully be able to further break down the intersecting effects of, as well as the relationship between, race and gender on emotion management. In other words, an intersectional lens can help bring to light how the differing guidelines and interactions of various identities influence one's lived experience, particularly in the workplace.

What makes intersectionality and the interplay of identities so powerful yet complex, is that social value is placed on these identities (race, class, gender, religion, sexual orientation, etc.) which in turn serves to organize individuals within a broader social hierarchy. Because, as stated above, a person is made up of more than one identity, they may belong to none, one, or many marginalized communities (Collins 2015; Ispa-Landa and Thomas 2019; Remedios and Snyder 2018; Ridgeway and Kricheli-Katz 2013; Salerno et al. 2019); each of which comes with its own set of (often conflicting) behavior rules, expectations, and stereotypes. Even though all human beings are prescribed several identities, academia, as well as the greater population, views social categories as distinct and separate (Maroto, Pettinicchio, and Patterson 2019; Ridgeway and Kricheli-Katz 2013; Yoder and Aniakudo 1996) when they are in fact in conversation with one another, complicating the hierarchy and providing stratification expectations that are in constant conflict. For example, a queer white man holds dominant status both in his race and his gender, but not in his sexual orientation. Thus, that man knows privilege and can simultaneously benefit from his maleness and whiteness while also face discrimination for being of a

marginalized sexual orientation. In theory, it is expected that the more marginalized identities a person holds, the greater number of social and behavioral expectations and restrictions are placed on them and they will thus experience greater tension and increased behavioral binds (Crenshaw 1989; Durr and Wingfield 2011; Froyum 2013; Harlow 2003; Kanter 1977; Wingfield 2010).

Individuals who hold minority identities are faced with the constant threat of tokenism, especially in the workplace or any male-centric, white institutionalized space (Kanter 1977; Yoder and Aniakudo 1996; Zimmer 1988). Those of a subordinate group become visible in dominant space, especially if there are only a few members of that subordinate group; dominant groups have the authority to control the culture of the institution and such members of subordinated groups are not seen as coworkers or equals but merely representatives of their subordinated social group (Kanter 1977). This heightened visibility leads to both extreme amounts of pressure placed on those who hold marginalized identities and forces them to perform according to the dominant group's wishes. This management of self often requires members of the subordinated group to feel alienated from their coworkers and work environment, creating further emotional consequences (Kanter 1977; Yoder and Aniakudo 1996; Zimmer 1988).

Ridgeway and Kricheli-Katz (2013) take this theory and narrow it down by outlining how model identities are formed and perceived in social contexts. In interpersonal interactions, individuals identify the race, gender, etc. of the other and subconsciously attribute generalizations based on that group's prescribed stereotypes (Crenshaw 1989; Kanter 1977; Ridgeway and Kricheli-Katz 2013). For instance, if a social event of mainly men had small numbers of women in attendance, those women would quickly be identified as an "other" identity and stereotypes would be triggered and expected.

These identities are thus compartmentalized and essentialized, so that a prototypical ideal becomes a model for that social group (Kanter 1977; Ridgeway and Kricheli-Katz 2013). With white men always as the dominant identity, the prototype for a social group becomes whoever strays the least from the dominant ideal. For example, white men would be the prototype for both white and man, white women would be the prototype for women, and black men would be the prototype for black (Ridgeway and Kricheli-Katz 2013). With the prototype defined, easily identifiable, and categorizable, it is theorized that they will be stereotyped to a larger degree (Ispa-Landa and Thomas 2019; Remedios and Snyder 2018; Ridgeway and Kricheli-Katz 2013).

Because of this, the theory suggests a prototypical identity will feel more salient of their marginalized identity (or identities) and are thus more likely to manage themselves to fit in to the dominant setting. In other words, those with prototypical identities will be sorted into a social category much quicker and the corresponding stereotypes will be expected (Ispa-Landa and Thomas 2019; Kanter 1977; Remedios and Snyder 2019; Ridgeway and Kricheli-Katz 2013; Salerno et al. 2019). Those who align with this school of thought argue that white women experience greater stereotyping than women of color because it is much easier to place white women into gender and race categories. According to the theory, white women experience more restrictions or binds, particularly in relation to emotion management, because they are the considered the “ideal type” and thus a quickly identifiable model for women as a gender group (Ispa-Landa and Thomas 2019; Remedios and Snyder 2019; Ridgeway and Kricheli-Katz 2013; Salerno et al. 2019). Even though this is a well-known argument (Ispa-Landa and Thomas 2019; Remedios and Snyder 2019; Ridgeway and Kricheli-Katz 2013; Salerno et al. 2019), the majority of research on impression management, stereotypes, and emotions refutes this theory

and supports otherwise (Brescoll 2018; Durr and Wingfield 2011; Froyum 2013; Harlow 2003; Maroto et al. 2019; McKenzie et al. 2019; Wingfield 2010; Yoder and Aniakudo 1996).

Emotion Work at Work

The theoretical construct of emotional labor has been used by many scholars to analyze the emotion regulation of service workers and employees who interact with others face-to-face on a daily basis, and particularly how women are affected by this emotion regulation to a greater degree than men (Cox 2016; Evans and Moore 2015; Froyum 2013; Hochschild 2003; Wang et al. 2018). Arlie Hochschild conceived this theory by examining female service workers and their emotion management strategies, as well as the expectations from their (almost always male) employers for those women to perform specific emotions. She also theorized that certain feeling rules exist in every social environment and these rules dictate emotional guidelines and expectations; these feeling rules are reinforced through interpersonal interactions (Hochschild 2003). When a feeling rule does not align with a genuine feeling, an individual must manage their emotions to present the expectation (Cox 2016; Hochschild 2003). Hochschild (2003) concluded that the more often a person does this, the less a person is in tune with their own, genuine feelings and is thus more concerned with performing ingenuine expected feelings.

There are scholars who have applied Hochschild's theoretical concept to their own research. Harlow (2003) studied African American professors and how they managed their emotions in the classroom. She found that black professors believed that they did not think their race mattered in respect to their profession, but that they also felt that their students placed them into a racial category and were mindful of this immediately when they stepped in the classroom. For these professors, they reported having to present themselves as more "qualified" or "knowledgeable" in order to ease the racial stereotypes (Harlow 2003). In particular, many black

female professors in that study reported the stress they endured while trying to teach a class of white students and manage their perceptions of her. In other words, she struggled to be an affective professor and to control the stereotypes she felt were being placed on her by her students because of her race and gender (Harlow 2003). Harlow's study is a clear example of how white institutions, like universities, are places in which marginalized identities are forced to engage in emotion work.

Emotion work is much more common for women in the workplace than it is for men (Cottingham, Erickson, and Diefendorff 2015; Wang et al. 2019). In general, women are expected to engage in emotional displays more often than men (Cottingham et al. 2015). This is not just the case for women; there are more feeling rules prescribed to people of color than there are for white people because of the stereotypes placed on them (Remedios and Snyder 2018). In the workplace, displaying any emotions or displaying the wrong emotions can be seen as detrimental for a number of reasons. Often times, workplaces try to present themselves as "professional" environments (Froyum 2013), meaning there is little room for displaying any kind of behavior that could be seen as unprofessional, including improper emotional expressions. And if that workplace does require for emotions to be displayed, it is often very specific, very definitive emotions that are called upon and expected.

For example, Froyum (2013) studied workers at a non-profit organization that aimed to help students from low-income areas. The lower level volunteers at the organization, most of which were women of color, were encouraged to build relationships with the students in the program. This required the volunteers to produce feelings of connectedness and show themselves as emotionally open to forming these relationships (Froyum 2013). In Ispa-Landa and Thomas's (2019) study of female principals, they found that stereotypes on typical feminine emotions and

attributes (warmth, kindness, approachability) made it very difficult for some female principals to exert their authority. It is not uncommon in the workplace for marginalized identities, like women or people of color, to experience binds and contradictions in the emotions that are expected of them (Durr and Wingfield 2011; Froyum 2013; Harlow 2003; Ispa-Landa and Thomas 2019; Wang et al. 2018; Wingfield 2010).

Stratification Reinforcement

As described above, interpersonal interactions are shaped by the assumed biases and stereotypes of various social identities and the context of that specific interaction. (Brescoll et al. 2018; Cox 2016; Goodwin et al. 1998; Harlow 2003; Turner 2010; Wingfield 2010). This stereotype threat is particularly salient for members of marginalized social groups. Everyday social interactions directly correlate with reinforcing and maintaining social inequality, and this is especially true for emotions (Kanter 1977; Turner 2010). Members of dominant groups use strategies, like stereotyping, to both hold on to their power and to remind the subordinated other of their subordinated status (Barreto et al. 2010; Goodwin et al. 1998; Kanter 1977).

It is important to note that individuals are not born with these implicit biases but are socialized to believe in and to reinforce the dominant ideologies imbedded in them (Barreto et al. 2010). An extremely effective strategy for maintaining these ideologies is stratification through stereotyping. By stereotyping others, the identity in the dominant position places labels or behavior markers on members of marginalized identity groups. These markers provide a method of control for members of dominant identities as well as effectively reminding all social groups why some groups are dominant, and others are subordinated (Goodwin et al. 1998; Kanter 1977). In other words, inflicting stereotypes reminds individuals why a social hierarchy exists, that

people lower on the hierarchy are inherently flawed, and dominant identities deserve their power and influence (Brescoll et al. 2018; Brown 2019; Goodwin et al. 1998; Turner 2010).

The emotion management that individuals with marginalized identities face is for the reinforcement of an existing stratified social hierarchy (Hochschild 2003; Turner 2010). Most workplaces, particularly those considered “professional” are traditionally white, male institutionalized spaces. The culture of whiteness and maleness has been engrained into these spaces since their inception. In order to maintain dominance while also allowing the space to be accessible for those with marginalized identities, employees must either conform to the hegemonic values, one being emotion management, (Turner 2010; Wingfield 2010) or they must perform their stereotype to alleviate a threat to a disrupted social order (Brescoll et al. 2018; Kanter 1977). When, for example, women try to move themselves up the hierarchy by taking authority positions in these institutions, they are often received with intense negative backlash or outright rejection (Brescoll et al. 2018). Constant reminders of the rules put in place for the “outsiders” in a white institutional space are played out through interpersonal interactions (Turner 2010; Wingfield 2010).

Previous literature supports two opposing arguments for emotion regulation by marginalized groups in white institutionalized spaces. The first argument, the one informing the hypotheses, is that the more marginalized identities a person carries, the more behavioral and emotional stereotypes and restrictions are prescribed to them and thus, they will experience greater emotion regulation (Crenshaw 1989; Durr and Wingfield 2011; Froyum 2013; Harlow 2003; Wingfield 2010). The second argument asserts the opposite; individuals with fewer or only one marginalized identity will experience higher levels of emotion management because they are the “prototype” of that group and will be held to a stricter behavioral standard (Ispa-Landa and

Thomas 2019; Remedios and Snyder 2018; Ridgeway and Kricheli-Katz 2013). This study aims to find more evidence supporting the first argument. The literature also outlines the different levels and strengths of stratification that exists for people depending on positionality and context, particularly in relation to emotions.

METHODS

Data Source and Sample

The data used in this study were derived from the 1996 General Social Survey (GSS) conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) at the University of Chicago (Smith et al. 1996). Beginning in 1972, the GSS surveyed Americans almost yearly until 1994. The GSS now surveys Americans bi-yearly to collect data on attitude trends and behaviors across many demographics and backgrounds. The data are collected using interviews and are then coded into a public quantitative data set. These interviews are conducted in-person and intended to last around 90 minutes.

The respondents for the GSS 1996 survey were randomly selected, English-speaking, non-institutionalized adults ages 18 years or older. The survey consisted of standard core questions asked in every survey for all participants and then the sample was split and asked specific questions related to that year's split-ballot module. The response rate for the 1996 GSS was about 76 percent. For more details on the GSS, their survey design, and sampling methods, refer to the GSS website or the GSS codebook (for further information, please visit:

<https://gss.norc.org/get-documentation>).

For the purposes of this study, the data were derived from the 1996 GSS survey because of a particular module conducted exclusively in 1996. This module specifically asked questions about respondents' feelings and emotions. This study used GSS data to examine the relationship

between emotion management and race among employed women. The unit of analysis for this dataset is the individual, and the 1996 GSS sample consisted of 2904 respondents. A subset of the sample was created to eliminate missing data or irrelevant cases. The subset only includes respondents who reported their gender as female. There were 1619 female respondents in total, but because the dependent variable was derived from a split-ballot measure, meaning it was only asked to a fraction of the respondents, the final sample size for this study was 397.

Variables

The dependent variable for this study is called the Emotion Management Scale. This variable is a scale created by five existing variables with possible scores range from six to 25. The Cronbach's alpha for the Emotion Management Scale is 0.65, indicating that the scale is moderately reliable.

The first question included in the scale pertained to a respondent's discomfort showing their feelings. The respondents were given the following statement, "I am not afraid to show my feelings," and were asked if they "strongly agree" (1), "agree" (2), "neither agree or disagree" (3), "disagree" (4), or "strongly disagree" (5). For this question, the higher a respondent scored, they less they were comfortable showing their feelings (i.e. higher levels of emotion management).

The second question in the scale regarded the respondent's willingness to show anger. The respondents were prompted with, "When I am angry, I let people know," and were asked if they "strongly agree" (1), "agree" (2), "neither agree or disagree" (3), "disagree" (4), or "strongly disagree" (5). Similar to the coding schema for the previous question, the higher a respondent scored, the less comfortable they were showing their anger, and thus reported higher levels of emotion management.

The third question included in the Emotion Management Scale was about keeping emotions to oneself. Respondents were given the statement, “I keep my emotions to myself,” and were asked if they “strongly agree” (1), “agree” (2), “neither agree or disagree” (3), “disagree” (4), or “strongly disagree” (5). For this question, I reverse recoded the answer categories so that the higher the value, the more the respondent reported keeping their emotions to themselves.

The fourth question included in the Emotion Management Scale pertained to not upsetting others. Respondents were given the statement, “I often don’t tell my friends something that I think will upset them,” and were asked if they “strongly agree” (1), “agree” (2), “neither agree or disagree” (3), “disagree” (4), or “strongly disagree” (5). I reverse recoded the answer categories so that the higher the value, the more the respondent reported keeping upsetting things from friends.

The final question included in the Emotion Management Scale was in regard to being pleasant with others. For this question, the respondents were given the statement, “I try to be pleasant so that others won’t get upset,” and were asked if they “strongly agree” (1), “agree” (2), “neither agree or disagree” (3), “disagree” (4), or “strongly disagree” (5). I reverse recoded the answer categories so the higher the value, the more the respondent reported being more pleasant with others. Thus, in the Emotion Management Scale, the higher a respondent scored, the more they reported managing their emotions.

The first independent variable was the race of the respondent. Unless the respondent’s race was unequivocally clear to the interviewer, the respondent was asked, “What race do you consider yourself?” and was provided with the options “white,” “black,” or “other.” In 1996, the GSS coded all races that were not white or black as “other,” so for the purpose of this study, the races examined were white, black, and other. I dummy recoded the race variable as white (1) and

combined “black” and “other” into nonwhite (0). Thus, the two racial categories for this study were white and nonwhite.

The second independent variable was the employment status of the respondent. Respondents were asked to answer the following question, “Last week were you working full time, going to school, keeping house, or what?” The possible answers were “working full time,” “working part time,” “temporarily not working,” “unemployed or laid off,” “retired,” “school,” “keeping house,” or “other.” For the purpose of this study, I recoded and condensed “working full time” and “working part time” to be employed (1) and all other answer categories to be unemployed (0). Thus, the two employment categories for this study are employed and unemployed.

In this study, I controlled for two variables. The first control variable was the age of the respondent. I chose to control for age because older individuals tend to be of more prestigious or authoritative positions at their workplaces. They also have been in the workforce longer, meaning they could be more impacted by their own emotion management. The GSS does not sample anyone under age 18 and codes all ages 88 or older together. Therefore, the range of respondent’s ages was between 18 and 88 or older.

The second control variable was education. I chose to control for education because, generally speaking, the more years of education one has, the more likely one is to have a “professional” career. Much of the literature I reference examined women and/or people of color in professional fields (like white-collar work or academia). For this variable, the respondents were asked how many years of school they have completed. The 1996 sample ranges from zero years of schooling to 20 years of schooling. And as stated above, after the deletion of missing data and accounting for these variables, the final sample size used was 397.

FINDINGS

Univariate Findings

Table 1 displays the means, medians, and standard deviations for all the independent, dependent, and control variables. Figure 1 shows the frequency distribution for the first independent variable, race. Figure 1 and Table 1 both show that about 20 percent of the respondents in this sample are nonwhite and about 80 percent of the respondents are white. Figure 2 shows the frequency distribution for the second independent variable, employment status. Both Figure 2 and Table 1 show that about 40 percent of the sample is unemployed and about 60 percent of the sample is employed.

[Insert Table 1 about here]

[Insert Figure 1 about here]

[Insert Figure 2 about here]

Figure 3 illustrates the frequency distribution for the dependent variable, the Emotion Management Scale. As displayed in both Table 1 and Figure 3, the average score on the Emotion Management Scale is slightly less than 15 (14.92) on a six to 25 point scale, thus suggesting a normal frequency distribution. The standard deviation for the Emotion Management Scale is almost halfway between three and four (3.523), meaning that the majority of respondents score between 11 and 18 on the scale.

[Insert Figure 3 about here]

Figures 4 and 5 display histograms for the control variables. Figure 4 shows the frequency distribution for the first control variable, age. According to Table 1, the average age of the respondents is between 43 and 44 (43.50). Table 1 also indicates that the standard deviation for respondent's age is almost 17 years (16.83). Figure 5 displays the frequency distribution for

the second control variable, years of education, and according to Table 1, the average years of education reported by the respondents is between 13 and 14 (13.58).

[Insert Figure 4 about here]

[Insert Figure 5 about here]

Bivariate Findings

Table 2 displays a correlations matrix of the independent variables (race and employment status), the dependent variable (the Emotion Management Scale), and the control variables (age and years of education). The bivariate results reveal that there is not a statistically significant relationship between either race and emotion management or employment status and emotion management. But, the relationship between the control variables and the Emotion Management Scale are significant at the $p < .05$ level.

[Insert Table 2 about here]

Table 2 shows that there is not a statistically significant relationship between race ($r = .091$) or employment status ($r = -.089$) on how a respondent scores on the Emotion Management Scale. Although, the control variables do yield significant results. There is a weak and positive statistically significant relationship between the respondent's age ($r = .230$) and their score on the Emotion Management Scale at the $p < .05$ level. This indicates that the older a respondent is, the more likely they are to score highly on the Emotion Management Scale. There is also a very weak and positive statistically significant relationship between a respondent's level of education ($r = .136$) and their score on the Emotion Management Scale at the $p < .05$ level. This means that the more years of education that an individual has, the more likely they are to score highly on the Emotion Management Scale.

There is a very weak and positive statistically significant relationship between a respondent's age and their race ($r = .105$) at the $p < .05$ level, which suggests that white respondents are more likely to be older than non-white respondents. A similar relationship is seen between a respondent's race and their years of education; there is a very weak and positive statistically significant relationship between a respondent's race and years of education ($r = .145$) at the $p < .05$ level, indicating that white respondents are more likely to have more years of education than nonwhite respondents. Lastly, there is a weak (to moderate) and negative statistically significant relationship at the $p < .05$ level between a respondent's employment status and their age ($r = -.292$). This finding shows that older respondents in this data set are less likely to be employed than younger respondents.

Multivariate Findings

A multivariate regression was run to further examine the relationship between race and employment status on a woman's emotion management. As seen in Table 3, the regression shows some significant findings. First, the regression equation is significant at the $p < .05$ level ($F(4, 392) = 7.161$). Also, the regression findings reveal that just under seven percent (.068) of the variance in scores on the Emotion Management Scale can be attributed to the independent (race and employment status) variables and control (age and years of education) variables.

[Insert Table 3 about here]

According to the regression coefficients, neither of the primary independent variables are of statistical significance at the $p < .05$ level. Because these results are not statistically significant, I cannot say with confidence that either the race or the employment status of women in this sample are significant factors on how she scores on the Emotion Management Scale.

In fact, employment status has such a non-significant effect that the standardized regression coefficient for employment status is almost zero ($\beta = .001$). But this is not reflected in the results for the respondents' race. Even though the regression analysis reveals that my hypothesis cannot be supported, it is possible that race could be statistically significant at a different probability level. The regression reveals that the actual p value for whiteness is .086 and the standardized regression coefficient for whiteness is fairly close to .1 ($\beta = .086$), suggesting that a respondent's race, and in particular her whiteness, would be statistically significant on the $p < .1$ level.

Even though the regression results show the primary independent variables yield non-significant results, both of the control variables (age and years of education) do yield statistically significant results, each of which is significant at the $p < .05$ level. For every additional year of education, respondents tend to score .129 points lower on the Emotion Management Scale. And for every additional year of age, respondents score on average .042 points higher on the Emotion Management Scale. According to the standardized coefficients (β) seen in Table 3, age has the most significant and the strongest effect ($\beta = .199$) on how a respondent scores on the Emotion Management Scale, followed by their years of education ($\beta = -.108$).

Given that the independent (race and employment status) variables are not statistically significant and the control (age and years of education) variables are statistically significant, these results reflect the bivariate analysis. Also, because the relationships between the independent variables and dependent variable are non-significant, these findings do not support my hypothesis.

DISCUSSION

This study attempted to better understand how a woman's race and employment status affect her levels of emotion management. I hypothesized that women of color as well as employed women would score higher on the Emotion Management Scale than white women and unemployed women. The bivariate and regression results indicated that there is no statistical significance in the relationships between race and emotion management, or employment status and emotion management.

Informed by Hochschild's (2003) theoretical concept of emotional labor, Collin's (2015) interpretation and redefinition of intersectionality, and Kanter's (1977) theory on tokenism, I expected that employed members from marginalized groups, like women or people of color, needed to conform to white, male-centric institutions and that this would require members from these groups to engage in emotion regulation, suppression, and management strategies to assimilate to the dominant narrative of the institution (in this case, the workplace).

Several qualitative studies have found that members of marginalized groups feel frustrated by the emotional binds placed on them in a professional setting based on their identities (Durr and Wingfield 2011; Froyum 2013; Harlow 2003; Ispa-Landa and Thomas 2019; Wingfield 2010). Harlow (2003) researched professors of color and found that the female professors reported experiencing stereotype threat and paradoxical behavior restraints when teaching white students. Froyum (2013) found that volunteers of color at a non-profit run by white administrators were simultaneously forced to display positive emotions in some settings while also forced to repress negative emotions aimed at their supervisors, ultimately making the volunteers feel defeated and disheartened. These studies and theories revealed an underworking of emotion expectations and emotion policing for members of subordinated groups in order to

maintain the oppressive social hierarchy and to keep dominant groups in power (Barreto et al. 2010; Hochschild 2003; Kanter 1977; Turner 2010; Wingfield 2010).

Contrary to several theoretical concepts and qualitative studies that examined emotion management among employed women and employed people of color (Durr and Wingfield 2011; Froyum 2013; Harlow 2003; Hochschild 2003; Ispa-Landa and Thomas 2019; Kanter 1977; Wingfield 2010), my quantitative analysis did not suggest that there is a significant difference among women of various races and employment statuses on their degree of emotion management. Even though a woman's whiteness was approaching significant, that variable did not yield significant results in this study. And, not only was employment status not a significant variable, but it was so non-significant that the standardized coefficient was almost zero; these results are surprising given all the theories to suggest otherwise.

Unlike the independent variables, the control variables did yield significant results. Both a respondent's years of education and their age were significant factors. Older respondents reported higher scores on the scale, suggesting that older women experience a high degree of emotion management. Studies from previous literature, particularly studies that examined female employees over time, found that both their frustrations with the institution and their emotion management strategies increased as time passed (Ispa-Landa and Thomas 2019). My findings support these claims as older women tend to score higher on the Emotion Management Scale.

Limitations

There are a few limitations to this study. First and foremost, the sample size is small at 397 respondents. With a sample size that small, I was hesitant to increase my number of controls variables because I did not want to reduce my sample size any further. For instance, I intended to add other controlling variables, like income, but doing so decreased my sample size

substantially. With a larger sample, I could have been able to survey more nonwhite women, as white women were the overwhelming majority in this sample. Also, the dataset that this study utilized is quite old as it is from 1996. Even though social trends tend to evolve slowly, it is likely that the cultural, academic, political, and social climate of the United States today varies from that of 1996; therefore, these findings are reflective of a different moment in American history and culture.

Another limitation lies in the dependent variable. I created a scale for emotion management by combining the responses from five questions from the GSS module on emotions and feelings. The GSS is a general survey and is not designed specifically for the purposes of studying emotion management. In an ideal world, I would have generated a scale from not only more questions, but also with survey questions that were designed to study emotion management.

Lastly, I want to acknowledge and highlight the vulnerability this kind of research requires from the respondents. Answering questions on emotions and reflecting on one's own emotional behaviors and experiences is not and cannot be easy. It is understandable and possible that these respondents were not comfortable sharing their experiences with their interviewer because they did not want to put themselves in an unsafe space physically, psychologically, or emotionally. If I were to replicate this study, I would like to have a more recent sample, a larger sample size, generate more specific questions to create a more accurate scale, and ensure to cultivate a safe environment for the respondents to answer the questions.

Future Research

My findings suggest that theories like emotional labor or tokenism are unfounded, yet I suggest that quantitative analysis conducted using existing questions may not be the best method

to either evaluate these concepts or to test my hypothesis. In the future, researchers should either consider using qualitative methods to examine the relationship between gender, race, employment, and emotion management, or to ensure that respondents can answer quantitative questions designed to survey emotion management in a safe environment. Creating an environment where the participants feel safe being vulnerable is crucial for not only the wellbeing of the respondents but also for the accuracy of the data.

CONCLUSION

What are the effects of race and employment status on the degree to which women engage in emotion management? Relying on Arlie Hochschild's theoretical concepts of emotional labor and feeling rules, I predicted that women of color and employed women would report managing their emotions more than white or unemployed women. Using General Social Survey data from 1996, because of the special module on emotions conducted exclusively in that year, I combined the responses of five survey questions to create an Emotion Management Scale. I used this scale to test the relationship of the independent variables of race and employment status while controlling for age and years of education. Unlike past studies, most of which used qualitative methods of data collection, the bivariate and multivariate findings of my quantitative analyses revealed that there is not a significant relationship between a woman's race or employment status on the degree to which she engages in emotion management.

Even though my results show a non-significant relationships between race, employment status, and emotion management, that does mean this study is itself non-significant. By yielding significant results between age, education, and emotion management, as well as a relationship between race and emotion management that approaches significant, this study reveals that it is possible to measure emotion management using quantitative methods.

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Table 1. Means, Medians, and Standard Deviations for Variables ($N = 397$)

Variable	Mean	Median	S.D.
Race	.80	1.00	.402
Employment Status	.60	1.00	.490
Emotion Management	14.92	15.00	3.523
Age	43.60	40.00	16.830
Years of Education	13.58	13.00	2.947

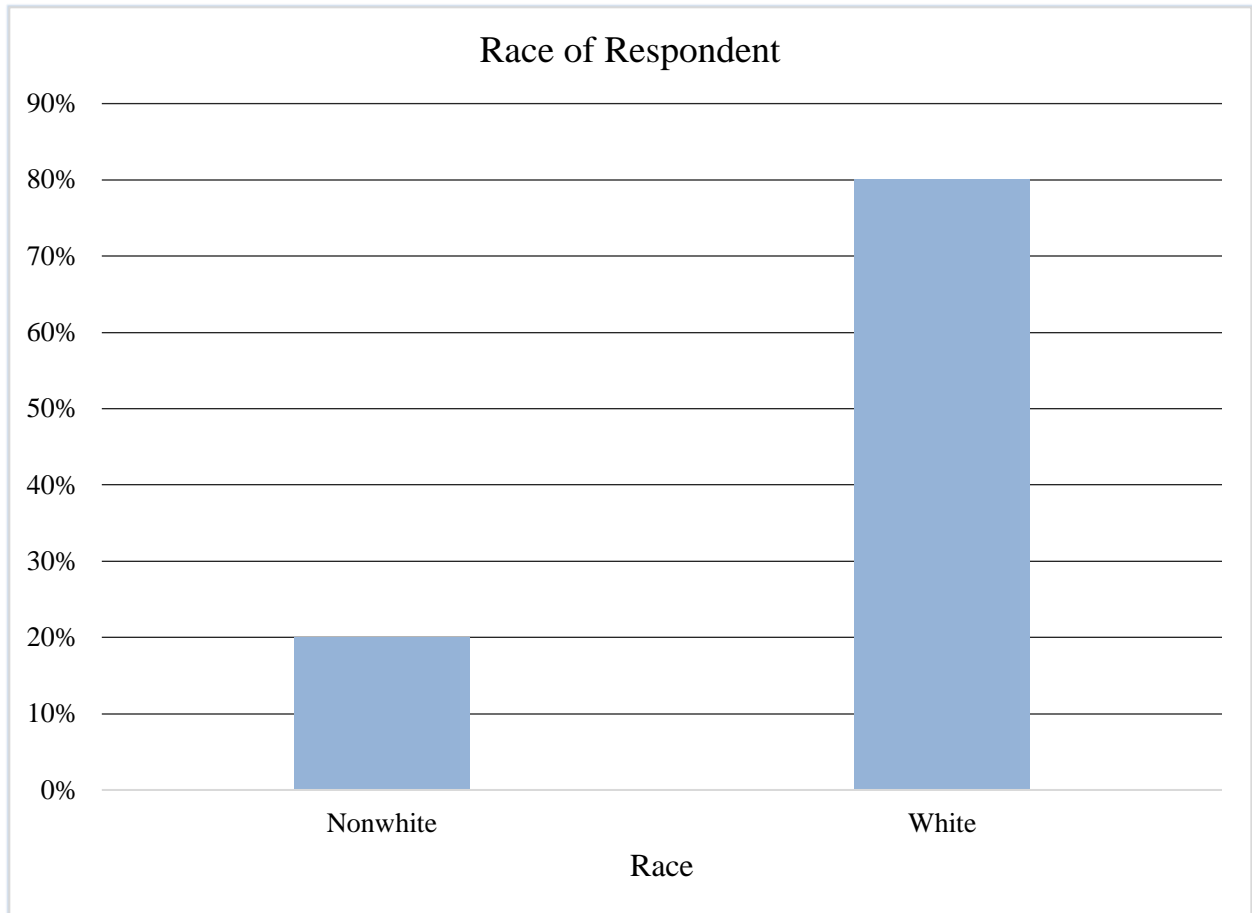


Figure 1. Bar Graph of Respondent's Race.

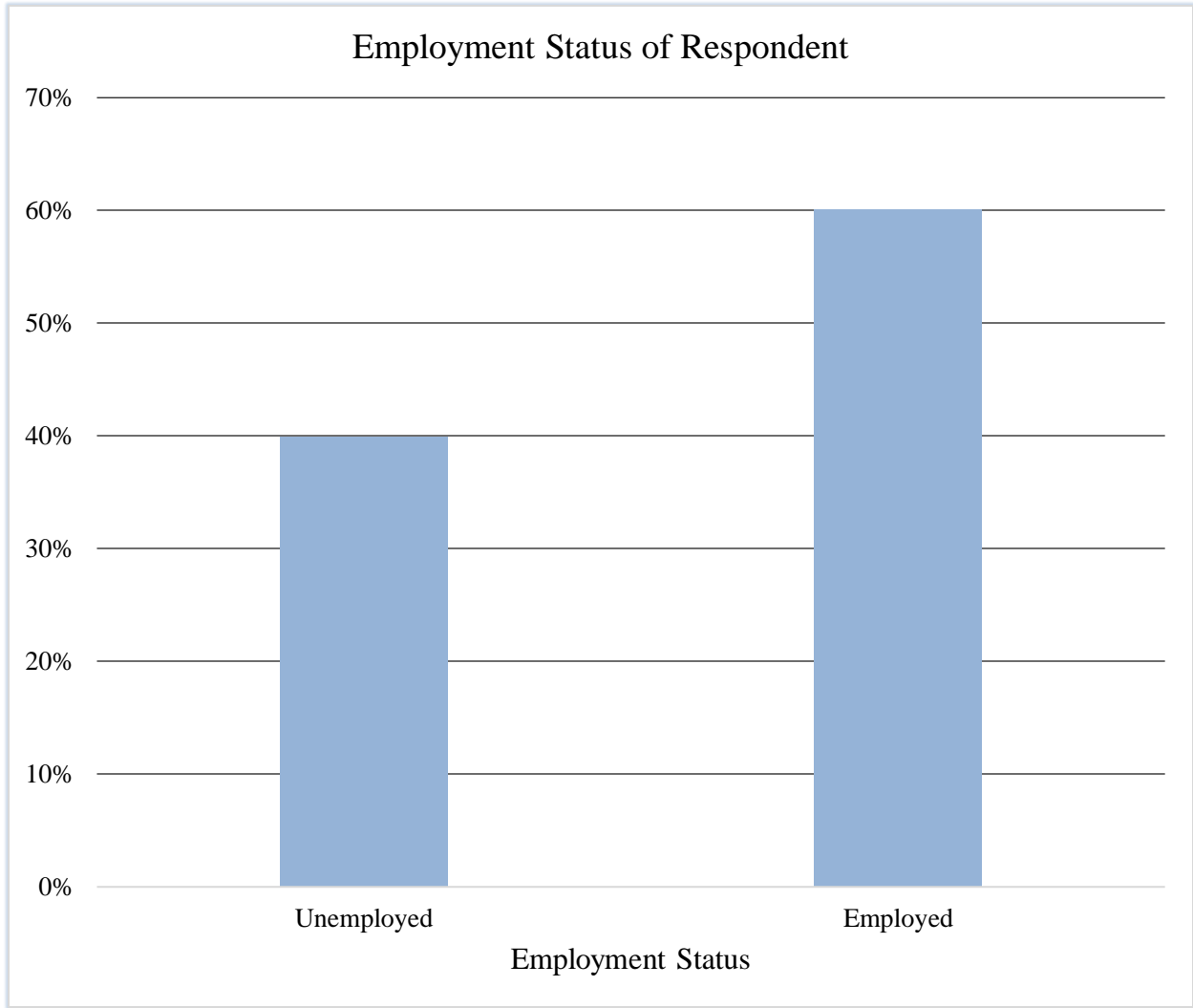


Figure 2. Bar Graph of Respondent's Employment Status.

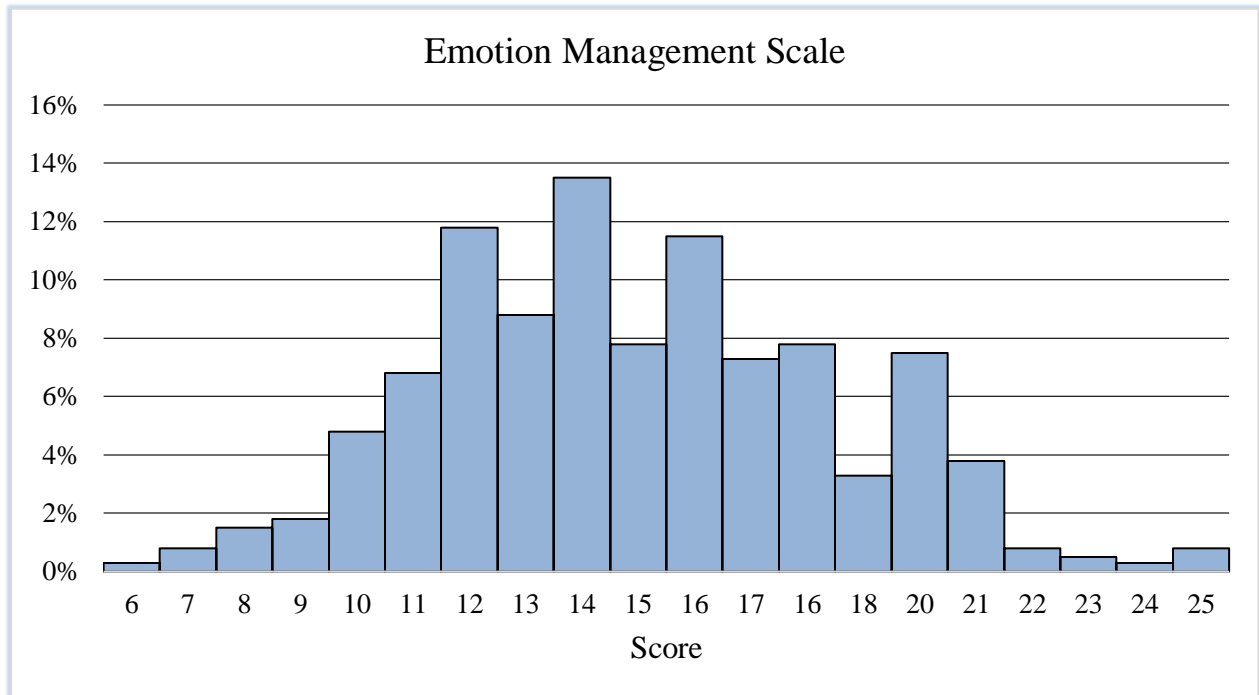


Figure 3. Histogram of Scores on the Emotion Management Scale.

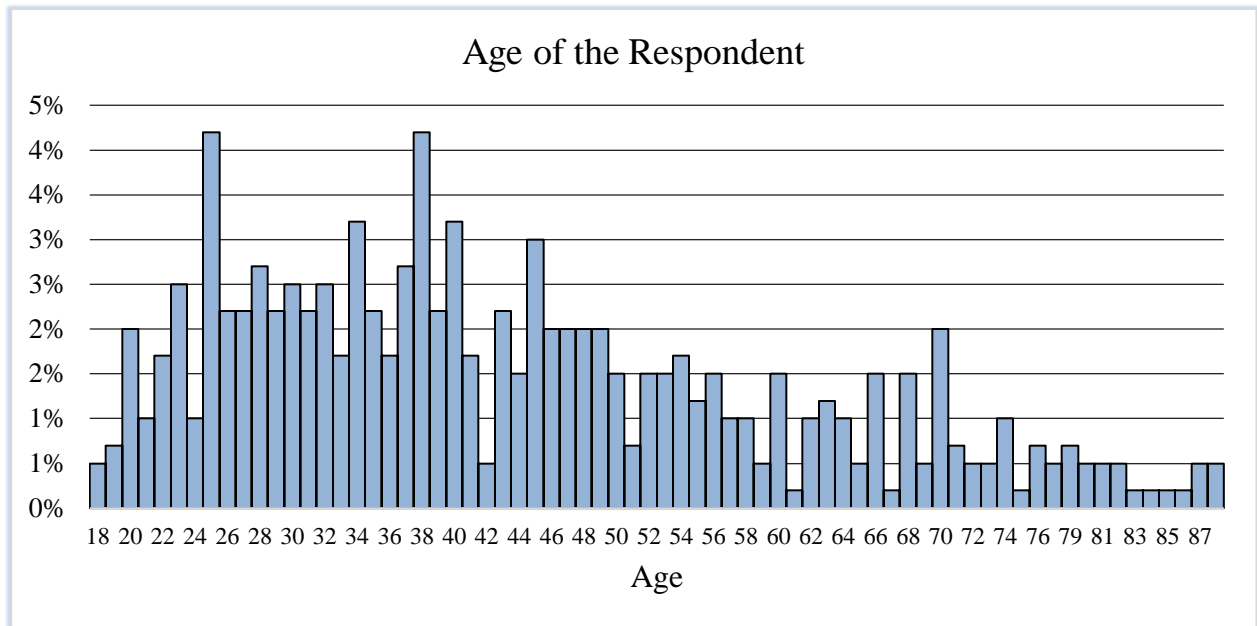


Figure 4. Histogram of Respondent's Age.

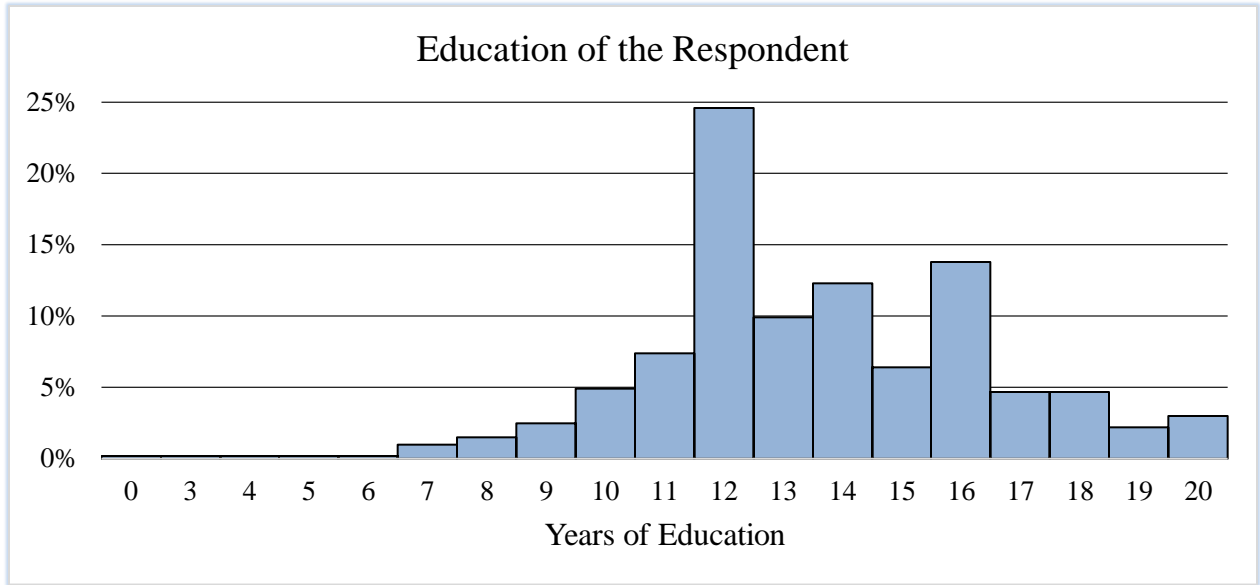


Figure 5. Histogram of Respondent's Years of Education.

Table 2. Correlations (r) Between Emotion Management and Four Variables (Listwise deletion, two-tailed test, $N = 397$)

Variable	White	Employed	Age	Years of Education
Emotion Management	.091	-.089	.230*	-.136*
White		.069	.105*	.145*
Employed			-.292*	.351*
Age				-.205*

* $p < .05$, $N = 397$

Table 3. Regression of Emotion Management on Four Variables ($N=397$)

	<i>b</i>	β
White	.752	.086
Employed	.006	.001
Age	.042	.199*
Years of Education	-.129	-.108*
Constant	14.251*	

* $p < .05$; $R^2 = .068$; $F(4, 392) = 7.161^*$