

Who Respects an Angry Woman Status Conferral, Competence, and Attribution Towards Angry Women Worker in Indonesia

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Abstract: Prior research indicated that men who expressed anger were often perceived as more competent and were granted higher status than women who expressed anger, who were instead viewed as driven by internal factors like personality. This study examined the relationship between expressed emotion, status, competence, and attribution in a professional context in Indonesia. Using a 2x2 between-subject design, 43 males (mean age = 21.74) and 135 females (mean age = 20.59) were randomly assigned to four scenarios. Participants completed questionnaires measuring perceived status ($\alpha=0.857$), competence ($\alpha=0.830$), and internal attribution ($\alpha=0.810$). Findings revealed that angry male targets were rated as more competent than angry female targets ($M = 12.73$ vs. 10.63), with anger attributed more to external factors for men and to internal factors for women. There was no difference in perceptions of status, competence, or attribution in the "no emotion" condition. This study highlighted that in professional contexts, anger can enhance perceived competence for men but not for women, who were seen as less competent and more internally driven when expressing anger. Further research with a more diverse sample was recommended to strengthen effect size and power.

1 INTRODUCTION

Who would be respectful to an angry woman? Several years ago, Brescoll and Uhlmann (2008) attempted to answer this question by referring to previous research on status assignment (Tiedens, 2001) and gender stereotyping (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman, 2001; Rudman, 1998). In a series of experimental studies, they predicted that when men expressed anger at work, this increased the status and respect accorded them, and conversely, respondents reacted differently to angry women. Participants rated angry women as less competent, less worthy of leadership positions, and even

recommended they accept lower pay. This effect was just as strong for female respondents as for male participants, consistent with the notion that norms of female tenderness/kindness were instilled in the culture of the America where the study was conducted (Rudman & Glick, 2001). Further evidence of the low status of angry women has been obtained by several further studies (Gibson, Schweitzer, Callister, & Gray, 2009; Lewis, 2000; Salerno & Peter-Hagene, 2015; Salerno, Peter-Hagene, & Jay 2019; Salerno, Phalen, Reyes, & Schweitzer, 2018), but also got the opposite results by other scientists (Gaertig, Barasch, Levine, & Schweitzer, 2019; Tiedens, 2001).

In the spirit of reviewing previous findings, this research initiative conducted a confirmation

test (Wagenmakers, Wetzels, Borsboom, van der Maas, & Kievit, 2012) on the effects of gender reactions and anger. Researchers used replication to further prove the replication theory building function, and assessed not only the direct reproducibility (with the same method) but also the conceptual robustness for different methods of the observed results (Schmidt, 2009; Simons, 2014). In this study, Researchers added a new measure to Brescoll and Uhlmann's (2008) original design and sampled Indonesians, facilitating the testing of competing theories explaining gender stereotypes. Researchers also collated conceptual replication study designs (Baribault et al., 2018; Landy et al., 2020) to examine the generalizability of findings across different methodological approaches.

The Gender Stereotyping Perspective predicted that female managers suffered backlash and demotion for expressing anger because they have violated implicitly agreed norms (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2008). This refers to the pre-existing literature on anger as a signal of dominance and status. Specifically, this perspective predicts that anger impacts perceived competence and dominance and therefore enhances the status accorded to women and men (Cheng & Tracy, 2014; Cheng, Tracy, Foulsham, Kingstone, & Henrich, 2013; Tiedens, 2001; Tiedens, Ellsworth, & Mesquit, 2000). At the same time, to the extent that expressions of anger are seen as attempts to gain dominance over others through intimidation and coercion, they can signal low warmth and likeability which in turn can negatively impact status conferments (Cabral, Tavares, & de Almeida, 2016; Cheng & Tracy, 2014; Cheng et al., 2013; Clark, Pataki, & Carver, 1996; Gallois, 1993; Knutson, 1996; Labott, Martin, Eason, & Berkey, 1991; Hess, Blairy, & Kleck, 2000; Maner & Case, 2016; Shariff & Tracy, 2009).

Subsequent research predicted that social perceptions will exhibit gender bias in reverse — in other words, more positive judgments of female professionals, and perhaps especially angry ones. This was explained by the Cultural Change Perspective that predicts expressions of anger lead to favorable evaluations of women relative to men, due to increased awareness of gender inequality in the workplace and feminist messages (Garber, 2017; Johnson & Hawbaker, 2018; McCormick-Huhn & Shields, 2021a). One meta-analytic study showed that discrimination against female candidates for male- and neutral-sex jobs has decreased significantly in many countries since

1978 and was not detected in an examination of practices conducted after 2009. Shifts in gender stereotypes have been quite explicit. Over time, as women were rated as more competent than men in a recent US survey (Eagly, Nater, Miller, Kaufmann, & Sczesny, 2020) may further contributed to an increased sense of legitimacy regarding expressions of anger in the workplace by women (Gaertig et al., 2019). The cultural change perspective further predicted that female participants, who were highly receptive to feminist messages and were more likely to support progressive ideologies, provide support to other women, including when they display anger (Kirkman & Oswald, 2019; Kunst, Bailey, Prendergast, & Gundersen, 2019).

Furthermore, national culture could serve as a key moderator of the consequences of emotional expression for workplace status. In a culture that valued group harmony, communicating anger might signal a lack of self-control rather than competence and leadership potential (Kim & Markus, 1999; Meyer, 2014). Consistent with this idea, previous research has found that contrary to initial assumptions that anger facilitated achievement of negotiating goals in Western cultures, it actually backfired in Eastern cultures and contributed to stalemates and unprofitable agreements (Adam, Shirako, & Maddux, 2010). The Cultural Differences perspective argued that the effect of expressions of anger on status assignments was culturally limited. Brescoll and Uhlmann (2008) suggested that not only women but also men might face negative reactions to their anger in Eastern cultures, but have not empirically tested such a pattern relying only on a sample from the United States. So, this research focuses on issues of gender and anger in Indonesian culture, aiming to incorporate the context of cultural differences with previous research.

2 METHOD

2.1 Participant

The population in this survey is adult workers in Indonesia. Sampling technique includes non-random sampling. Characteristics of the sample are adult (18-56 years old) and worker/college students. Researchers decided to use 0.8 effect size to measure whether there will be a large effect or not. Based on the calculation, to acquire

0.8 effect size, 0.8 power(1-β), 0.05 (α), the sample size group needed is 26 subjects for each group. Participants acquired by researchers are 178. We filter all the participants to check if their data is valid by using item survey checks such as, “Gender of the targets that you evaluate is (male/ female)”. If their answers indicated the opposite of their scenarios that they were assigned, then their data will be deleted. After filtering, researchers acquired 159 participants.

2.2 Research Design

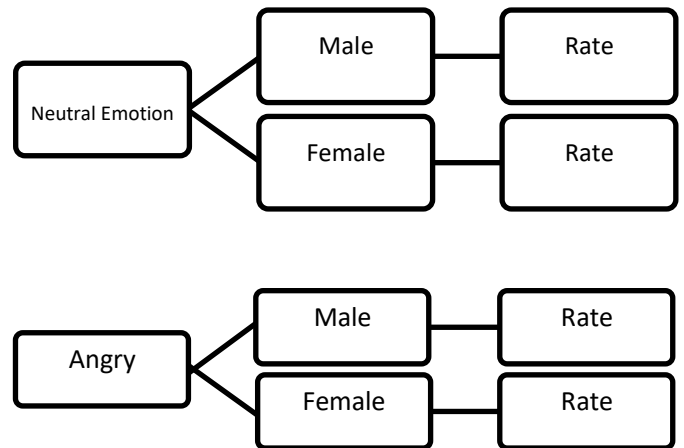
Quantitative experimental 2x2 between subject design was used in this study. Participants were randomly assigned to 4 scenarios. First, male with an angry expression. Second, a female with an angry expression. Third, male with no emotion. Fourth, females with no emotion. In each group, participants were told to view a video, read a text, and sound clip which either a male and female professional showed their anger expression and neutral/ no emotion. After the simulations, participants would fill the questionnaire to measure their perception about status, competence, and internal attribution of both male and female targets. This research design can be visualized by Figure 1.

Researchers created videotapes using a male and female target that adapted to be more proper and equivalent in Indonesian professional context. In all scenarios, the actors in the male and female videotapes were the same person but with different emotional expressions.

2.3 Measurement

After respondents were asked to watch the videotapes, they fill the online questionnaire of Status Conferral, Competence and Attribution about the target they had watched before. The measurement uses 5 items that measure status conferral. Example of items was adapted in Bahasa, “Menurut Anda seberapa besar kekuasaan yang dimiliki orang ini dalam pekerjaan mereka?”. All items were scored on an 11-point scale, ranging from 1 (None) to 11 (very much). Reliability for the scale is 0.857. 5 items were used to measure perceived competence of the targets. Instruction was given in Bahasa, “Harap tunjukkan kesan Anda tentang orang ini!”, All items were scored on an 11-point scale, ranging from 1 (very incompetent) to 11

(very competent). Reliability for the scale is 0.830. For Internal Attribution, the measurement uses 4 items. Example of items was adapted in Bahasa, “Orang ini memang pemarah.” All items were scored on a 5-point scale, ranging from 1 (very



disagree) to 5 (very agree). The scale was based on the original study which was used by Brescoll & Uhlmann (2008).

Figure 1. Research Design

2.4 Data Analysis

Researchers used a T-test Independent sample for each scenario. Software SPSS version 26.0 and Jamovi 2.2.5 is used to conduct the analysis. Researchers also use G Power version 3.1 to calculate effect size.

Independent T-Test techniques are conducted to examine differences between status conferral, competence, and internal attribution in a professional context in Indonesia, among target’s expressed emotion. Testing is done to determine the difference and which of targets that are perceived to have higher status, competence, and internal attribution significantly.

3 RESULT

Table 1 : Mean Ratings of Anger vs No Emotion between Male and Female Targets

Dependent variable	Anger		Neutral	
	Male (M; SD; N; 1- β)	Female (M; SD; N; 1- β)	Male (M; SD; N; 1- β)	Female (M; SD; N; 1- β)
Status conferral	14.27; 3.719; 45; 0.053	14.13; 3.763; 40; 0.053	14.42; 4.215; 38; 0.167	13.56; 3.075; 36; 0.167
Competence	12.73 ; 3.563 ; 45 ; 0.77	10.63 ; 3.542 ; 40 ; 0.77	11.79; 4.369; 38; 0.21	10.69; 3.740; 36; 0.21
Internal Attributions	4.51* ; 2.073 ; 45 ; 0.74	5.85* ; 2.568 ; 40 ; 0.74	4.18; 2.078; 38; 0.41	5.08; 2.298; 36; 0.41

Note : Bold results indicated significant $p < 0.01$

Table 1 presents the mean score for all 4 targets of the dependent measures. We Hypothesized that there would be an interaction between emotion and the target's gender. Specifically, we expected to replicate Brescoll's (2008) finding that an angry man receives higher status, higher salary, and higher competence ratings than angry woman.

3.1 Status Conferral

A 2 (Target's gender : Male vs Female) x 2 (Emotion : Anger vs No Emotion) analysis of independent T- test conducted on the status conferral scores revealed a non-significant interaction. These results appeared in the anger and no emotion situation. There was no difference in status conferral between male and female who expressed anger. This results also with no emotional situation. ($p > 0.01$). The power (1- β) acquired was shown to be consistent with the p value acquired.

3.1.1 Competence

Perceived competence showed a significant interaction between the target's gender and emotion expression. Participants viewed the

angry male as significantly more competent than the angry female ($p < 0.01$, 1- $\beta = 0.77$). However, there was no significant difference in perceived competence in showing neutral emotion between different genders ($p > 0.01$, 1- $\beta = 0.21$).

3.1.2 Internal Attributions

Attributions also showed a significant interaction between the target's gender and emotion expression. As expected, participants attributed the woman's anger more to internal factors (personality, traits) and less to external factors (peer, situation) than the male's anger ($p < 0.01$, 1- $\beta = 0.74$). There was no significant difference in no emotions between male and female ($p > 0.01$, 1- $\beta = 0.4$)

4 DISCUSSION

Expressing anger at work, when compared to neutral or sad expressions, reduces the perception of competence imparted by others, regardless of whether the target is a woman or a man. Consequences of expression of anger, which are assumed to increase perceptions of internal attribution but do not reduce perceptions of their status, may show a lack of primary effect on anger signals given. As such, future studies should maximize the extent to which experimental stimuli map to realistic settings in which gender discrimination actually occurs. At the same time, caution is required because the observed status gap may have limited the abilities of the female and male models included in our video (Monin et al., 2007).

Past findings may not recur because of improvements in research practice in subsequent years which could be due to better design, or because of significant shifts in gender norms and beliefs in the wider society. Schaefer et al's (2022) recent analysis of 44 years of field audits found a significant decrease in discrimination against female job applicants over time, culminating in an overall absence of discrimination starting around 2009 in a sample of mostly economically advanced countries. Brescoll and Uhlmann (2008) original experiment was conducted between 2002 and 2004, which could be the threshold of potential cultural change for some societies. Thus, in addition to the original findings being false positives or highly context sensitive (e.g., limited to a sample of

predominantly female college students, and other very similar populations), one can posit broader cultural shifts in gender norms regarding emotional expression in the workplace that parallel . Future crowdsourced replication initiatives, sampling the broader paradigm of gender discrimination, will speak more powerfully about the overall prevalence and drivers of contemporary gender bias. There are other reasons why researchers might observe better ratings of women compared to men than in past research. Increased social sensitivity regarding gender, together with the widespread dissemination of psychological research through popular books and other media, can lead to research participants guessing on study topics and trying to give “good” answers to avoid sounding sexist. On this view, participant responses do not reflect indigenous cultural evolutions in beliefs about gender, but rather behaviors specific to experimental contexts, or at least situations in which the person feels closely watched (Lerner & Tetlock, 1999). This is explained through a Study Savviness perspective that anticipates the reverse gender bias caused by previous experience when participating in research, learning effects, awareness of research hypotheses, and external motivation to respond without prejudice (Klonis, Plant, & Devine, 2005).

5 CONCLUSION

As shown in this research anger may heighten the perceived competence of an angry man, than angry women in a professional context. Professional women who expressed anger were consistently perceived less competence and their expressed emotions were perceived more to their internal factors (like personality, basic traits), whether the respondent attributes external factors (like condition of peers and environment) as source of their anger. These results show the same pattern with previous research that anger expression may make women less competent, less worthy of leadership positions. This effect was just as strong for female respondents as for male participants, consistent with the notion that norms of female tenderness/kindness. The difference about this research was no difference about perceived status conferral between male and female, nor between anger and neutral emotion.

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