Asian American Men's Gender Role Conflict: An Investigation of Racism-Related Stress

by

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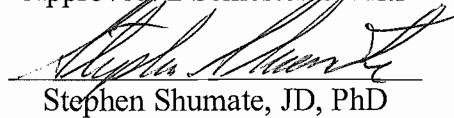

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this quantitative, correlational study was to examine the potential for a relationship between gender role conflict and racism-related stress in a sample of Asian American men (*N*=19). Instruments included the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS), Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory (AARRSI), and a demographic questionnaire. Samples were drawn from two medium size Midwestern Universities. The two samples were combined and random sampling was not used. Using a Pearson's *r* coefficient of correlation it was found that total scores on the GRCS and AARRSI were significantly related. The AARRSI subscale of Sociohistorical Racism-Related Stress was also found to be significantly related to the GRCS subscale of Success, Power, and Competition.

To date, there has not been a study which utilizes both the AARRSI and GRCS. Previous research has explored how Asian cultural values and racial identity impact Asian American men's gender role conflict. The findings of this study suggest that racism-related stress is also an

important aspect of Asian American men's experienced gender role conflict. The implications of the study are that subsequent research into Asian American men's gender role conflict will need to further explore the impact of racism-related stress, along with other promising constructs, such as racial identity. Differences in theoretical constructs (e.g., racism-related stress, racial identity) are discussed relative to the findings of this and other studies, along with recommendations for future research into Asian American men's gender role conflict.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ABSTRACT ii

List of Tables vii

Chapter I: Introduction 1

Statement of the Problem 7

Research Hypotheses 7

Definition of Terms 7

Assumptions and Limitations 9

Chapter II: Literature Review 10

Asian American Culture 10

Historical and Contemporary Racism 12

Racial Microagressions 15

Racism-Related Stress 17

Gender Role Conflict Theory 18

Review of Current Research in Asian American Men's Gender Role Conflict 23

Racial Identity and Racism-Related Stress 26

Racial Identity Theory 26

Summary 28

Chapter III: Methodology 29

Sample Design 29

Instrumentation 30

Data Collection Procedures......32

Data Analysis......33

Limitations......33

Summary......34

Chapter IV: Results......35

Sample Demographic Characteristics......35

Descriptive Statistics......38

Hypothesis 1......39

Hypothesis 2......39

Summary......41

Chapter V: Discussion......42

Hypothesis 1......42

Hypothesis 2......44

Limitations......45

Recommendations......47

References......50

Appendix A: Gender Role Conflict Scale......57

Appendix B: Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory......60

Appendix C: Demographic Questionnaire......62

Appendix D: Contact Email......63

Appendix E: Consent to Participate Form......64

List of Tables

Table 1: Participants demographic information..37

Table 2: Descriptive statistics for Gender Role Conflict Scale and Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory..39

Table 3: Pearson Correlations of Gender Role Conflict and Asian American Racism-Related Stress Total Scales and Subscales..41

Chapter I: Introduction

It has been suggested that the study of men and masculinity represents an important aspect of multiculturalism research within the fields of counseling and psychotherapy (Liu, 2005). Liu (2005) suggests that as a result of the socialization of masculinity, "men are socialized in a specific culture, with values, norms, customs, and expectations, to which men must adhere" (p. 685-686). Furthermore, the socialization of hegemonic masculinity precipitates the marginalization and oppression of others, who may not fall within its culturally bound tenets (Cheng, 1999). Thus, gender is seen not as strictly the result of essential biology, but as a result of social constructs that are multifaceted, complex, and therefore experienced in varying degrees (Cheng, 1999; Levant, 1996; O'Neil, Good, & Holmes, 1995). Understanding within group differences and the sociopolitical forces that perpetuate the marginalization of others on the basis of gender, race, and ethnicity is essential to the study of multiculturalism. Thus, the psychological study of masculinity

> Questions traditional norms of the male role (such as the emphasis on competition, status, toughness, and emotional stoicism) and views certain male problems (such as aggression and violence, devaluation of women, fear and hatred of homosexuals, detached fathering, and neglect of health needs) as unfortunate but predictable results of the male role socialization process (Levant, 1996, p. 259).

Concomitant to the study of masculinity is not only the exploration of the negative effects of masculinity on men, but also the collateral effects on women, children, and the larger society (O'Neil, 2008).

Over the past twenty-five years, the study of men and masculinity has slowly begun to receive the support it deserves in the field of counseling and psychotherapy research. Rooted in

feminist studies of womens' oppressive gender roles in the 1970's and the need to understand the interaction of gender role socialization and sexism in men's lives, the study of male gender role conflict (GRC) has emerged as a potential theoretical explanation (O'Neil, 1981). Research has suggested that men may experience psychological distress as a result of straining or violating traditionally sanctioned gender roles (Pleck, 1995). Developed by O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman (1986), the empirical study of GRC refers to the "psychological state in which socialized gender roles have negative consequences on the person or others" (O'Neil, Good, & Holmes, 1995, p. 155). To study the effects of GRC, O'Neil and colleagues developed the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS; O'Neil, et al., 1986), which measures men's subjective conflicts between traditional gender roles and situational variables.

The GRCS measures psychological strain and conflict in four separate domains (O'Neil et al., 1986). The first domain is labeled *success, power, and competition* (SPC), and refers to a man's need to exert power and control over others. A man's *success* may be defined by wealth or other accomplishments, while *power* speaks to his ability to exert control and influence over others. *Competition* is then a man's need to concur another en route to a relative higher social standing and a greater sense of self-worth. The second domain is labeled *restrictive emotionality* and refers a man's inability to express emotion, which can also manifest as prohibiting others the right to express emotion. The third domain of the GRCS is labeled *restrictive affectionate behavior between men*, which refers to men's experienced difficulty in expressing affection and intimacy towards both men and women. The fourth and final domain of the GRCS is labeled *conflict between work and family*, and refers to men's difficulty in balancing work and family obligations. The degree to which a man experiences GRC may depend on many variables, such as ones' culture and life experiences. While the amount of scholarly literature on masculinity and

GRC has increased, there remains a relative paucity of studies examining the masculinities of men of color in the United States (Liu, 2002; O'Neil, 2008).

In the United States men of color continue to be marginalized and subverted by dominant White culture and more specifically, White definitions of masculinity. The marginalization of men of color refers to the unequal, peripheral, or disadvantaged treatment of others on the basis of perceived differences (Cheng, 1999). While there may be a continuum of masculinities, not all definitions of "masculine" have been accepted by the dominant culture. The masculinity socially inculcated and reinforced on its members by the dominant culture refers to *hegemonic masculinity*.

Attributes of hegemonic masculinity include domination, emotional control, competitiveness, stoicism, and aggressiveness (Cheng, 1999). In order to maintain its superiority as the dominant gender performance, hegemonic masculinity must prove itself by controlling others. This is often manifested by aggressive and controlling attitudes or behavior towards gender performances that are feminine or approximate feminine. The device of "control" can also be seen in the attribute of emotional stoicism, which stipulates that a man can not openly display acts of emotion such as crying or affection for another. While there are a wide range of masculinities, those that do not embody the attributes of the dominant gender performance are subverted. A man's status as either dominant or marginalized is many times contingent upon hegemony (Cheng, 1999). Currently, there are few studies which explore the effects of hegemonic masculinity coupled with issues such as racism that are inherent in the lives of men of color (Liu, 2002).

As a group, Asian American men have received relatively little attention in the scholarly literature pertaining to GRC (Liu, 2002). While studies have specifically explored GRC in Asian

American males (Kim, O'Neil, & Owen, 1996; Liu, 2002; Liu & Iwamoto, 2006), further research is needed to address other variables related to masculinity that are unique to the growing population of Asian American males. Over 13.5 million U.S. residents define their race as Asian or Asian in combination with another race (United States Census Bureau, 2005). Of the 13.5 million Asian-American residents, 8.7 million were born in Asia with 1.7 million born in China. As a group Asian Americans comprise approximately 5 percent of the total national population. With the expected continued growth of this population segment and their underutilization of mental health services, there is a resulting need for the mental health profession to incorporate the knowledge and skills needed to provide culturally sensitive services for Asian American clients (Chin, 1998; Sue & Sue, 2003).

Historically, Asian Americans have faced marginalization, racism, inimical legislation, and anti-Asian sentiments despite their large population and long history in the U.S. (Young & Takeuchi, 1998; Sue & Sue, 2003). In some cases, such as the 1882 Chinese Exclusionary Act and the anti-miscegenation laws of the 1880's, racism and anti-Asian sentiment has taken the form of government legislated laws and ordinances directed at the constitutional rights of Asian Americans. In a less conspicuous vein, racism has operated as the ideological expression of hegemonic masculinity (Espiritu, 1997). In the past, Asian American men have had their masculinity denigrated on the basis of White definitions of masculinity. For example, Asian American men were once portrayed as "hyper-masculine" as a result of anti-miscegenation laws, which did not allow Asian women to enter the country or the interracial coupling of Asian men and White women. However, in more recent history they have been portrayed as emasculated, docile, and asexual eunuchs hired to fulfill domestic labor. Thus, Asian American men have had to contend with a masculinity that is at once emasculated and hyper-masculine (Chua & Fujino,

1999; Espiritu, 1997; Liu, 2002). These emasculated characteristics have been perpetuated by the current model minority myth, which sees Asian American males as passive and docile.

As with all forms of marginalization and oppression, Asian American men experience psychological distress as they traverse the cultural landscape. The sequelae of experienced racial discrimination are an increase risk of mental illness and disruption of overall psychological well-being (Chakrabory & McKenzie, 2002). While overt racial hatred or "old fashioned" racism (Sue, et al., 2007b) has seen a decline since the post civil rights era, a more sinister and impalpable form of racial discrimination has taken its place. This contemporary version of racism has been termed *modern racism* (McConahay, 1986, as cited in Sue, et al., 2007b), *symbolic racism* (Sears, 1988, as cited in Sue, et al., 2007b), and *aversive racism (*Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002, as cited in Sue, et al., 2007b) by different researchers. Modern and symbolic racism are typically expressed indirectly through the adherence to traditional American values, such as individualism and self-reliance. While this form of racism perpetrates the oppression of others, it is not seen as racist or otherwise marginalizing by the perpetrator. Like modern and symbolic racism, aversive racism operates under the guise of benignity and social idealism. Aversive racism occurs when Whites, who may otherwise espouse an accepting and egalitarian orientation, harbor unconscious negative feelings towards people of color (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000, as cited in Sue et al., 2007b). Given the covert nature of these forms of racism, they tend to go unnoticed by the perpetrator and leave the victim questioning the occurrence.

More recently, Sue and colleagues (2007a) labeled this more subtle contemporary form of racism *racial micro-aggressions*. After observing that more subtle and aversive forms of racism "may have significantly more influence on racial anger, frustration, and self-esteem" (Sue et al., 2007b, p. 272), Sue and colleagues developed a taxonomic classification in order to capture its

many manifestations. Defined as "brief, everyday exchanges that send denigrating messages to people of color" (Sue et al., 2007b, p. 273), racial microaggressions have emerged as a potential precipitating factor in minority mental health. The stress that is precipitated by both racial microaggressions and more overt forms of racism has been termed racism-related stress (Liang, Li, & Kim, 2004).

Racism-related stress refers to psychological stress resulting from the direct or indirect experience of racism (Liang, Li, & Kim, 2004; Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996). Furthermore, and as with more everyday forms of stress, racism-related stress taxes the person's internal resources and threatens the person's well-being (Harrell, 2000). Thus, racism-related stress has the potential to affect the victims' psychological well-being, self-esteem, and overall life satisfaction (Liang, Li, & Kim, 2004). While studies have confirmed the existence of these deleterious effects (Fang & Meyers, 2001), there remains an incomplete literature that speaks to the effects of racism-related stress on Asian Americans.

While researchers have begun building a literature that speaks to both Asian American men's GRC and racism-related stress, almost nothing in the extent literature examines their potential relationship to one another. For example, to what degree might a man's experience with racism-related stress be related to the degree in which he experiences gender role conflict? In a study on GRC done by Liu, Rochlen, and Mohr (2005), 31% of the participants were Asian American. In this study, as with others (e.g., Liu & Iwamoto, 2006), it was found that GRC was associated with higher levels of psychological distress, which suggests that Asian American men also experience psychological distress as a result of straining traditional gender roles. Furthermore, other studies have also found that Asian American's experience with racial discrimination has a negative effect on psychological functioning and psychological distress

(Alveraz, Juang, Liang, 2006; Lee, 2003). However, the extent and nature of distress related to racial attitudes remains unclear (Liu, 2002). Thus, the current study seeks to investigate the degree to which gender role conflict and racism-related stress are related to one another. By providing further data on this relationship, we can further our understanding of the dynamics of racism and gender, thereby improving our knowledge for both psychological intervention and further research possibilities.

Statement of the Problem

The current study examines the following research question: Does a relationship exist between Asian American men's gender role conflict and racism-related stress? The current study is exploratory in nature and has sought to only provide data on the potential relationship between data sets. Data has been collected using two separate internet based inventories and a demographic questionnaire administered during the summer academic semester, 2008.

Research Hypothesis

The specific hypotheses for the research question were:

Hypothesis #1. There will not be a significant relationship between total scores on the Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory (AARRSI) (AARRSI; Liang, Li, & Kim, 2004) and the Gender Role Conflict Scale (O'Neil et al., 1986).

Hypothesis #2. There will not be a significant relationship between subscale scores on the Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory and subscale scores the Gender Role Conflict Scale.

Definition of Terms

Gender Role Conflict. The study of "the psychological state in which socialized gender roles have negative consequences on the person or others" (Good, O'Neil, & Homes, 1995, p. 155).

Hegemonic Masculinity. Masculinity which is social inculcated and reinforced on its members by the dominant society or culture.

Asian American Men. Other studies have not found significant within group differences in Asian American male samples (Alverez & Helms, 2001; Liu, 2002; Liu, Rochlen, & Mohr, 2005; Shek, 2005), thus ethnicity is not directly controlled for in the present study. Shek (2005) found that her hypothesis of no relationships between demographic variables, racial identity statuses, and gender role conflict was partially supported, with only one difference occurring between East Asian Americans and Multi-ethnic Asian American men. While this difference is noted in her study, it was suggested that this finding was limited in generalizability. Also, Alvarez and Helms (2001) only found a significant between-group difference in one of their instruments subscales. Thus, for the rest of their dependent measures they collapsed demographic groups. Furthermore, Liu (2002) conducted a one-way analysis of variance (MANOVA), which indicated a non-significant omnibus effect of ethnic groups on the combined dependent variables of racial identity, GRCS, and the Male Role Norms Inventory (MRNI: Levant & Fischer, 1998). Liu and Iwamoto (2006) provided further rational for the collapsing of Asian sub-cultures for research purposes, as other researchers have done (Lee, 2005; Liu, 2002). They noted that the term "Asian American" has come to represent a racialized generalization, which minimized between group differences and maximizes similarities. Finally, Liu, Rochlen, and Mohr (2005) "found no evidence that acculturation and gender-role conflict are affected by specific Asian American

ethnicity" (p. 101-102). For the purposes of this study the term "Asian American men" refers to the racial encapsulation of all Asian sub-cultures.

Assumptions and Limitations of the Study

The current study will use a sample comprised exclusively of University students. Thus, the generalizability of the study's results may be reduced to as a result of the limitations of the sample. Furthermore, it is assumed that the sample size will be sufficient enough to warrant the generalization of significant findings. The researcher also acknowledges that the study does not include other variables (e.g., acculturation, enculturation, psychological distress) which would strengthen the overall design. However, the scope of this study precludes other relevant variables and thus will necessitate recommendations for further research. This study also utilizes basic correlation statistics (e.g., Pearson's r), which cannot show cause and effect or directionality. Thus, the study is limited in its explorative scope and cannot be used to substantiate the full relational nature of the variables. Further research will be needed to substantiate the findings of this study.

Chapter II: Literature Review

This chapter contains a review of the relevant scholarly literature on Asian American men, gender role conflict (GRC), and racism-related stress. First, the chapter provides a general overview of Asian American culture followed by specific considerations for Asian American men. Next, the chapter contains a review of the historical and current contextual nature of racism experienced by Asian American males. The chapter then provides a brief historical account of GRC, followed by a current overview of the study of GRC in Asian American males. Finally, the chapter explores the use of racial identity measures in Asian American masculinity research.

Asian American Culture

Given the large population and vast cultural variations, there are many within group differences in Asian American culture (e.g., spirituality, language, cultural practices, and acculturation) (Sue & Sue, 2003). For instance, there are over 40 distinct subcultures within the general Asian American ethnic conglomeration (Sandhu, 1997). As a group, Asian Americans tend to subscribe to a collectivistic societal or group orientation. This stands in direct contrast to the individualistic or autonomous orientation of most White Americans. Asian American culture stipulates that it is much better to first think of the group (e.g., family, village) rather than of a person's own self interest. Thus, many Asian Americans growing up in the United States may have to contend with a bicultural strain of having to accommodate traditional collectivistic values to a dominant culture. This collectivistic societal orientation informs family members of their duty to serve both the larger community and ones' immediate family. While a collectivistic orientation broadly describes Asian culture, it should be noted as a caveat that this and other general stereotypes discussed in this section do not preclude individual differences and variation.

Given the inherent heterogeneous nature of Asian Americans as a group and individual differences in generational status, brief attention will be given to the terms *acculturation* and *enculturation.* Acculturation can be defined as the "cultural assimilation, learning, and adoption of cultural patterns of the host group" (Kim et al., 1996, p. 96). Thus, the more a person comes into continuous contact with, and accommodates the beliefs and practices of a host culture, the more that person is said to have acculturated. Conversely, enculturation can be defined as the degree to which a person retains the beliefs and practices of their native culture. While many Asian American men may share the same observable phenotype (e.g., Asian features) and specific Asian cultural background (e.g., Hmong), there may be great differences in cultural orientation practices based on individual levels of acculturation and enculturation.

In many Asian American cultures, filial piety is often an implicit and explicit expectation of all family members (Sue & Sue, 2003). Thus, it behooves a family member to uphold family values and beliefs before setting out to fulfill individual needs. Upholding the status of the family may also result in keeping personal or familial difficulties within the confines of the family unit. Emphasis on family may also extend to not bringing shame to family, and restricting affective behavior for the purposes of honoring family. Thus, a collectivistic orientation may preclude Western styles of individually focused talk therapies or expressing emotions of personal difficulties in general. Furthermore, traditionally oriented Asian American families have been organized in a patriarchal hierarchy, with the father or older male exercising most of the decision making authority in the family. This hierarchical organization places children in a subordinate position relative to the adults in the family. Thus, deference to authority figures has been associated with traditional Asian culture.

Historical and Contemporary Racism

Historically, Asian Americans had to traverse an American landscape that placed many laws and ordinances in their path towards success and fulfillment. Most notably, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 suspended the immigration of Chinese for a period of nearly ten years. During this same time period many Chinese men were brought to the United States as laborers during the 1849 gold rush and the building of the transcontinental railroad (Young & Takeuchi, 1998). After the Exclusion Act was established the Chinese population consisted of more than 90% males. A major function of the Exclusion Act was to deny the immigration of the families and wives of Chinese men. The anti-miscegenation laws of the 1880's further limited the interracial marrying or coupling of Chinese men and White women. It is at this point that Asian men were perceived as sex crazed and hyper-masculine bachelors susceptible to perpetrating sexual crimes on White women. The perceived threat of hyper-masculine, avaricious Asian men precipitated the Yellow Peril stereotype, which feared Asian domination of white interests (Espiritu, 2008)

Viewed as unable to culturally assimilate, Asian men were feared to epitomize the Yellow Peril stereo type, which viewed Asian men as calculating villains endeavoring to conquer the world (Espiritu, 2008). Racial stereotypes, such as the Yellow Peril, that fall along gender lines represent salient features in the articulation of racism. The covert purpose of the stereotypical definitions of gender is to define the person of color as an outsider. While the face of racial and gendered stereotyping has changed for Asian American men, the Yellow Peril represents a long standing and ever evolving apprehension towards what is seen as different or exotic.

The Yellow Peril stereotype can be seen as an outgrowth of the view that Asian Americans are perpetual foreigners. In this regard, Asian Americans are seen as unable to assimilate and "personal house guests in the house of America" (Wong, 1993, p. 6). The Yellow Peril stereotype also perpetuated the belief that Asian Americans were a military, labor, sexual, and miscegenational threat to White America (Espiritu, 2008). As a result of the miscegenation laws and the resulting overpopulation of men, Asian men were seen as morally degenerative threats, especially to White women. As with other Asian American stereotypes (e.g., Fu Manchu, Model minority), the yellow peril stereotype was especially fueled by popular media from the 1840's to the 1940's. During this time period many novels were written that depicted Asian men as opium smoking criminals endeavoring to adulterate pure American values and culture. The labeling of Asian men as exotic and crafty malefactors gained special prominence after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. As it had done during the previous century, the popular media fanned the American public fear of Asians with numerous propaganda films and print media.

As evidenced by the Yellow Peril stereotype, post 1880's racism toward Asian American's, while at times manifesting in overt actions (e.g., WWII internment camps), began evolving into ideological and cultural resistance (Espiritu, 1997). As a concomitant of the Exclusion Act and anti-miscegenation laws of the 1880's, Asian American men faced a dominant culture that erroneously viewed their sexuality as either emasculated or hyper-masculine, and therefore dangerous to White women. This marginalization of masculinity continues to this day as Asian American men are considered improper suitors for White women. These ideological limitations on Asian American masculinity carry, as Espiritu (1997) suggested, "a covert political message, legitimizing a masculinized Anglo American rule over a submissive, feminized Asia"

(p. 96). The subtle process of legitimizing a covert racial and masculine hierarchy has transformed the face of racism; resulting in an evolved, but no less pernicious form of racism.

More subtle forms of racism and marginalization directed at Asian Americans have also extended to public education (Young & Takeuchi, 1998). Like other persons of color, segregation and separate-but-equal laws in the schools have significantly affected Asian Americans. For example, in 1906 Asians living in California were restricted from attending schools with a majority White student body, which resulted in Asian American students being forced to attend schools in inner city China-towns. To this day many Asian American students are marginalized as a result of limited English language proficiency, even though civil rights laws state that each student, regardless of language barriers, is entitled to an equal educational opportunity. Discrimination on the basis of race can also be found in higher education where there is significant lack of Asian American faculty members (Young & Takeuchi, 1998). As the face of racism continues to evolve, more subtle expressions of hegemony and ethnocentrism continue to result in the same ill effects that have plagued persons of color for eons.

The most recent permutation and perhaps the most subtle expression of marginalization and racism can be observed in the model minority myth. The model minority myth can be traced back to the beginning of the civil rights movement in the 1960's (Mok, 1998). As the civil rights movement of the 1960's gained national prominence, Asian Americans were depicted as minorities to be emulated by other minority groups. It was suggested that through hard work, determination, and family values, persons of color could "make it" in society (Sue & Sue, 2003). Thus, Asian Americans were used as barometers by which other minority groups could be measured and subsequently found to be lacking in personal and group qualities.

The view of Asian Americans as "model minorities" has also been anecdotally supported by observations that Asian Americans have demonstrated achievement in educational, financial, and occupational arenas (Wong & Halgin, 2006). Furthermore, it is suggested that in comparison to other racial groups, Asian Americans account for lower crime rates. As a result of their collective success and achievement, the erroneous conclusion has been drawn that Asian Americans are not confronted with the same prejudicial and racial attitudes as other minority groups (Alveraz, Juang, & Liang, 2006). The result of such an erroneous label has been a wide spread subversion of the reality of experienced racism by Asian American's (Wong & Haglin, 2006). While the model minority myth suggests that Asian Americans are immune to the effects of racism, "widespread prejudice and discrimination continue to take a toll on their standard of living, self-esteem, and psychological well being" (Mok, 1998, p. 72).

Racial Microagressions

While many overt examples of racism resound in American history and continue in contemporary American culture, a more insidious and impalpable form of racism may prevail as the most psychologically damaging. This insidious form of racism has been labeled "racial microaggressions" by researchers (Sue et al., 2007b; Pierce, Carew, Pierce-Gonzalez, & Willis, 1978) and refers to the daily occurring and less overt racism experienced by people of color. First used by Pierce in 1970, the term microaggressions can be defined as "brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults to the target person or group" (Sue et al., 2007b, p. 273). While the effects of traditional overt racism are obvious to many, "this contemporary form of racism is many times over more problematic, damaging, and injurious to persons of color than overt racist acts" (Sue, 2003, p. 48, as cited in Sue et al., 2007a).

The result of experienced racism and racial microaggessions is a repercussive effect on mental health and self-esteem (Harrel, 2000; Boeckmann & Liew, 2002; Asamen & Berry, 1987).

Because of the nature of microagressions, they many times occur outside of the conscious awareness of the perpetrator and may even be well intentioned (Sue et al., 2007a). In order to adequately describe the various manifestations of racial microagressions, Sue and collegues (2007b) devised a nomenclature and taxonomy which includes three forms. In their review of the literature, Sue and collegues found that microaggressions can be broadly categorized into *microassults*, *microinsults*, and *microinvaildations*. Microassults can be defined as "an explicit racial derogation characterized primarily by a verbal or nonverbal attack meant to hurt the intended victim through name-calling, avoidant behavior, or purposeful discriminatory actions" (Sue et al., 2007b p. 274). An example would be a White person referring to a Black colleague as "colored". Microinsults can be defined as communication that conveys insensitivity towards racial background or ethnic heritage. For example, a White supervisor may say to an Asian American colleague, "Wow, how were you able to get a job in management"? While seemingly benign, the question implies the covert message of racial inferiority. Finally, microinvalidations can be defined as "communications that exclude, negate, or nullify the psychological thoughts, feelings, or experiential reality of a person of color" (Sue et al., 2007b, p. 274). A salient manifestation of microinvalidation can be seen in the seemingly egalitarian statement "we are all people, regardless of race". Statements such as this invalidate the reality of people of color and suggest to the victim that racism is not a part of their reality.

To expand on these three broad categories of racial microaggressions, Sue et al. (2007b) further diversified and consolidated their taxonomy to include nine common manifestations. The *Alien in own land* occurs when persons of color (typically Asian Americans and Latinos) are

assumed to be foreign born (e.g., how long have you lived in the US?). The *ascription of intelligence* occurs when White people assign intelligence to a person of color based on their apparent ethnicity (e.g., ascribing excellence in math or science to Asian Americans). The *color blindness* microaggression occurs when a White person makes statements towards persons of color that suggest that they do not see color or ethnicity (e.g., I do not see skin color). The *criminality/assumption of criminal status* microaggression occurs when a person of color is assumed to have committed a crime or to be otherwise dangerous on the basis of their race or ethnicity. A *Denial of individual racism* occurs when Whites deny the reality of racism in the lives of persons of color (e.g., Asian Americans do not experience racism). The *myth of meritocracy* occurs when White persons deny that race can and does play a role in life success. Many times *pathologizing cultural values/communication style* occurs when it is assumed that hegemonic cultural/communication values are ideal. The *second-class citizen* microaggression occurs when Whites are given preferential treatment over persons of color (e.g., Whites being seated first at an establishment). Finally, *Environmental microaggressions,* unlike the aforementioned examples, occur at the systematic or environmental level (e.g., a building being named after prominent Euro-White men). The results of racial microaggrestions are and more traditional forms of racism are negative psychological and physical consequences for the victims (Sue et al., 2007b).

Racism-Related Stress

In their Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory, Liang et al., (2004) proposed three broad areas or subscales of racism-related stress specific, but not necessarily exclusive, to Asian Americans. The first is *Sociohistorical Racism*, which reflects Asian Americans awareness of historical or institutional forms of racism. For example, an Asian American student may notice

that there is a paucity of Asian figures presented in history text books. The second area is defined as *general racism*, which addressed experiences of being stereotyped by others (e.g., all Asians are smart). The third area is defined as *perpetual foreigner racism*, which suggests that all Asian Americans are foreign born. Thus, Asian Americans experience varying degrees of stress as a result of overt and microaggressive racism.

It is the stress that results from the aforementioned overt and microaggressive racism that becomes problematic and toxic for Asian Americans and other persons of color. In general, stress "occurs when the relationship between a person and an environment is perceived and appraised by the individual to be harmful and that demands a response that is more than he or she is capable of providing" (Liang et al., 2004, p. 104). Thus, stress may develop out of traumatic events, chronic exposure to strain, or daily hassles (Alverez, Juang, & Liang, 2007). Here we find a distinction between racism and racism-related stress, in that the former may precipitate the later. Thus, racism-related stress may be defined as "a psychological response specifically resulting from direct or indirect exposure to racism" (Liang et al., 2004, p. 104). While studies have found the impact of racism to be detrimental to self-concept and overall psychological health (Wong & Halgin, 2006; Boeckmann & Liew, 2002; Asamen & Berry, 1987), there has not been a study which looks at the relationship between racism-related stress and the masculine role in Asian American males.

Gender Role Conflict Theory

Prior to the 1970's it would have seemed as though research pertaining to the psychology of men and masculinity had escaped the scrutiny of empirical research. It was not until Joseph Pleck's *The Myth of Masculinity* (1981) that researchers began to seriously investigate and describe the nebulous construct of masculinity. Prior to Pleck's publication, masculinity had been

understood *a la* gender role identity theory, which was riddled with patriarchal and traditional sex role determinism (Levant & Pollack, 1995). The gender role identity theory assumed that people have an inherent need to "identify" with traditional gender roles. The degree to which people were able to successfully assimilate "masculine" or "feminine" characteristics dictated the robustness of personality. From this essentialist biological perspective, the theory suggested that failure to securely identify with traditional masculinity could lead to homosexuality, hypermasculinity, and negative attitudes towards women (Levant & Pollack, 1995). In other words, there was a universal masculine identity that fit for every man; and every man must successfully integrate this gendered identity within their emerging personality. In contrast to the prevailing theory, Pleck posited that:

> gender roles are contradictory and inconsistent; that the proportion of persons who violate gender roles is high; that violation of gender roles leads to condemnation and negative psychological consequences; that actual or imagined violation of gender roles leads people to overconform to them; that violating gender roles has more severe consequences for males than for females; and that certain prescribed gender role traits (such as male aggression) are too often dysfunctional (as cited in Levant & Pollack, 1995, p. 3).

Pleck's book turned what had been the prevailing thinking about gender since the 1930's on its head. By postulating that gender roles are stereotypical, socially constructed, and result in psychological consequences; Pleck had ushered in the *gender role strain* paradigm, which has precipitated a robust and growing literature on the psychology of men.

What precipitated as a result of Pleck's redoing of gender, via the gender role strain theory, were three broadly defined categories of how gender role socialization can have negative effects on males and others (Pleck, 1995). One line of inquiry proposed that the socialization process leading towards the fulfillment of the male gender role is traumatic (i.e., gender role

trauma argument). Another line of inquiry proposed that the gender role expectations of masculinity, even when viewed as desirable, have negative or dysfunctional side effects for males and others surrounding them (i.e., gender role dysfunction argument). Finally, a third line of inquiry emerged from Pleck's (1981) observation that the proportion of males who violate gender roles is high. Within this line of inquiry it was suggested that as a result of the incongruence men experience from not meeting masculine expectations, they experience negative psychological consequences (i.e., gender role discrepancy theory). The gender role discrepancy theory has lead to a robust empirical literature, most notably including the Gender Role Conflict (GRC) paradigm (O'Neil et al., 1986).

The basic premise from which the gender role discrepancy theory operates is that gender roles, being socially constructed, carry with them expectations and norms that any given male may or may not fit to different degrees (Pleck, 1995). Failing to meet the unrealistic demands of traditional masculinity then leads to negative judgments by others and internalized negative judgments of self. While seemingly radical in its departure from contemporary gender theory (i.e., gender role identity), the notion that gender roles are in large part socially and culturally bound was not new. In the 1940's, Margaret Mead had proposed this very idea with the publication of her book *Sex and Temperament in Three primitive Societies* (1935). In her book, Mead shared her observations of men and women from vastly different cultures. Apropos of the gender role strain paradigm, she noticed in particular that in some cultures men appear to perform Western definitions of feminine gender roles, while women in other cultures would perform masculine gender roles. The salient theme of Mead's work was that cultures differ drastically in their definitions of ideal gender role characteristics and performances. While others (Garnets & Pleck, 1979) had suggested that sex role strain leads to negative psychological consequences, the

patterns associated with sex role strain and its consequences had not yet been identified. The pattern of men's gender role discrepancy, along with its psychological correlates, quickly became the focal point of James O'Neil (1986) and his colleague's research. However, O'Neil and his colleague's became interested in "not *whether* gender role discrepancy exists for [men], but the extent to which, *if* a gender discrepancy did exist, they would experience it as stressful" (as cited in Pleck, 1995, p. 15, italics original).

O'Neil's early work on the psychology of men and masculinity focused on methods for explaining sexist propensities that seemed a salient theme in many men's lives (O'Neil, Good, & Holmes, 1995). Prior to the publication of the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS; O'Neil et al., 1986) and related theory, O'Neil had theorized that based on the premise of gender socialization, there must be a relationship between the family and political system that lead to the devaluation of women. Furthermore, he proposed, as Pleck had in 1981, that sexism occurs in the lives of men, just as it does in the lives of women. Thus, GRC emerged as a theoretical construct used to conceptualize the effects of sexism in men's lives, which included concomitant effects on others.

Building on the premise that GRC occurs when "rigid, sexist, or restrictive gender roles result in personal restriction, devaluation, or violation of others or self" (O'Neil, Good, & Holmes, 1995, p. 167), the GRC construct expanded to include four levels of manifestation which tend to occur within six contexts. GRC is experienced on a (1) cognitive level when a man's thinking about their masculinity is characterized by restrictive or stereotyped attitudes (O'Neil, Good, & Holmes, 1995). On an (2) affective or emotional level, GRC is experienced when men have an emotional reaction to masculine or feminine gender roles. In an interpersonal context, GRC can be experienced (3) behaviorally as a result of how men interact with others. Finally, GRC can manifest as (4) unconscious conflicts between masculine and feminine gender roles,

which by their nature are below awareness level. Given that people vary in their developmental experiences with gender roles and cultural context (e.g., generational, class, ethnicity, etc.), the specific degree and level in which GRC is experienced by a given individual is idiosyncratic (O'Neil, Good, & Holmes, 1995).

The four levels of GRC described by O'Neil, Good, and Holmes (1995) tend to occur in six common contexts: when they (1) violate culturally sanction gender norms; (2) strive to fulfill or fail to fulfill gender role norms; (3) experience incongruence with their real self and ideal gendered self; (4) when they devalue or violate themselves; (5) when they are devalued or violated by others; and finally when they (6) devalue, restrict, or violate others based on culturally sanctioned gender role stereotypes. Thus, men may experience GRC on any level (e.g., affective) directly or indirectly, within these six common contextual circumstances. Having built a theory of male gender role conflict based on the aforementioned levels and contexts of manifestation, O'Neil and colleagues next developed an inventory which could capture and empirically describe the degree of conflict experienced by a given man.

The Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS) developed by O'Neil and his colleagues (1986) resulted from a direct effort to empirically assess men's conflict and related stress in given situational contexts. Using a 37 item questionnaire, the GRCS assesses four separate patterns of men's gender role conflict, which represent the four subscales of the inventory. The specific patterns measured within the GRCS were found using factor analysis and represent the levels and patterns discussed previously. The patterns include (1) *success, power, and competition;* (2) *restrictive emotionality;* (3) *restrictive affectionate behavior between men; and* (4) *conflicts between work and family relations.* The pattern of success, power, and competition refers to men's worries about personal achievement, authority, and establishing superiority (O'Neil, Good,

& Holmes, 1995). The pattern of restrictive emotionality refers to men's difficulties in expressing one's feelings and emotions to another, while the pattern of restrictive affectionate behavior between men refers specifically to men's difficulties expressing thoughts and feelings to other men (O'Neil, Good, & Holmes, 1995). Finally, the pattern of conflicts between work and family relations refers to men's difficulties in balancing career and family obligations and, as with each pattern of GRC, results in negative consequences in physical and mental health (O'Neil, Good, & Holmes, 1995). Research using the GRCS has continued to increase since its arrival in 1986, which has led to more than 230 studies over the last 25 years (O'Neil, 2008).

Review of Current Research in Asian American Men's Gender Role Conflict

To date, studies have used various combinations of measures in an attempt to best describe the construct of Asian American GRC (Liu, 2002). Past studies investigating Asian American men's GRC have explored the relationships between acculturation, Asian cultural values, self-esteem, racial identity, prejudicial attitudes, male role norms, and psychological distress (Kim, O'Neil, & Owen, 1996; Liu, 2002; Liu & Iwamoto, 2006). While there has been some success in describing the relationship between the various measures and GRC (e.g., Asian values and GRC), there remains a need to investigate the efficacy of new and existing constructs, such as the relationship of racism-related stress and GRC. This section reviews the current literature pertaining to Asian American men's GRC.

Kim and colleagues (1996) reported through the use of the Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA; Suinn, Rickard-Figueroa, Lew, & Vigil, 1987) that the more acculturated Asian American men were the more they tended to experience GRC in the areas of success, power, and competition. Acculturation was defined as the "cultural assimilation, learning, and adoption of cultural patterns of the host group" (Kim et al., 1996, p. 96). Kim and

colleagues also reported the tendency for more acculturated men to experience less GRC in the area of emotional restriction. However, researchers have pointed out that the SL-ASIA measure has had mixed criterion-related and convergent validity (Ponterotto, Baluch, Carielli, 1998; as cited in Liu, 2002) and does not assess for the effects of racism on Asian American male GRC. The dominant role espoused by hegemonic masculinity highly values success, power, and control. Thus, it may have been for these Asian American men that as they became more acculturated to the dominant society, they also tended to take on that societies gender role performance.

In another study Liu (2002) examined the potential effects of racism on GRC using the People of Color Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (POCRIAS; Helms, 1995), the GRCS (O'Neil et al., 1986), and the Male Role Norms Inventory (MRNI; Levant & Fischer, 1998). The author noted that racism may tend to confuse the identity of Asian American men. Stereotypes such as the model minority and the asexual overachiever may have a profound effect on Asian American men's sense of masculinity. The author pointed out that Asian American men are left with the difficult choice of rejecting, accepting, or simultaneously rejecting and accepting White hegemonic masculinity. Citing that Kohatsu (1992) suggested racial identity as better measure of racism effects on levels of GRC, the POCRIAS was used in an attempt to measure the effects of racism in their study.

Using a sample of 323 college students, Liu (2002) found moderate correlations between POCRIAS, GRCS, and MRNI. Furthermore, the author found that the POCRIAS could moderately predict the measures on the MRNI and GRCS. The author noted that although the study was able to moderately assess Asian American male's racial identity and their awareness and comfort with racism, it was not capable of assessing for Asian American cultural values and beliefs. Thus, the author suggested that the degree to which Asian American men recognize

themselves as racial human beings and therefore susceptible to racism may be more peripheral to their construct of masculinity. The author recommended that future studies utilize measures of Asian Cultural values as a means of addressing Asian American masculinity.

In order to investigate the role Asian cultural values have on Asian American men's masculinity, Liu & Iwamoto (2006) went on to utilized the Asian Values Scale (AVS; Kim, Atkinson, & Yang, 1999), GRCS (O'Neil et al., 1986), Brief Symptom Inventory-18 (BSI-18; Derogatis, 2000), and the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Inventory (RSE, Rosenberg, 1965). The authors suggested that the AVS might capture the degree to which Asian American males subscribe to Asian cultural values and practices. The degree to which a person subscribes to or accepts the indigenous cultures values and beliefs can be defined as enculturation. The authors hypothesized that Asian cultural values such as restricting emotion, deference to authority, filial piety, and avoidance of shame, among others, may have a profound impact on Asian American men's masculinity.

Liu & Iwamoto (2006) found that the AVS (Kim, Atkinson, & Yang, 1999) had a stronger relationship to the GRCS (O'Neil et al., 1986) subscales than did racial identity. Those who endorsed items on the AVS tended to have a higher score on the GRCS subscale of restrictive emotion and higher on levels of overall psychological distress, as measured by the Brief Symptom Inventory-18 (BSI-18; Derogatis, 2000). The authors suggested that Asian cultural values concerning masculinity approximate those of the dominant cultures. A unique finding in the study showed that despite GRC in the area of restrictive affectionate behavior between men, psychological distress, and high levels of endorsement on the AVS, men in this sample reported positive levels of self-esteem. The authors suggest that these men may feel they are correctly

adhering to their cultural definitions of gender roles and as a result they may retain a positive sense of self-esteem.

Racial Identity and Racism Related Stress

While the aforementioned studies have provided insight into the unique nature of Asian American masculinity, none have clearly and explicitly described the role racism plays in shaping these men's masculinity. While Kim et al., (1996) did investigate the relationship between acculturation and gender role conflict; the effects of racism and racial identity were not addressed. Using the Cultural Identity Attitudes Scale (Helms & Carter, 1990) Kohatsu (1992) found that in a sample of 267 college students Asian American men were more aware of racism than Asian American women. Thus, it could be that experiences with racism may have a more prfound on Asian Aerican men. In a more recent study Liu observed Asian American men's awareness of racism and racial identity, but did not investigate the stress related to racism. While Liu (2002) suggested that Asian cultural beliefs are more important in understanding Asian American masculinity, it may be that racism-related stress has more profound influence.

Racial Identity Theory

One way to address a person of color's awareness of racism is through the use of racial identity theory (Helms, 1995). Developed by Helms (1990), racial identity theory can be defined as "an individual's continual, and at times, highly conflictual assessment of the people who comprise his or her externally ascribed reference group as well as the people who comprise other racial groups" (Thompson & Carter, 1997, p. 15). Racial identity theory speaks to the degree to which a person of color has become aware of their and others racial indoctrination, a la self-exploration and examination, and has come to re-define and understand personal racial dilemmas and how they affect their relationships with others (Thompson & Carter, 1997).

Racial Identity theory suggests that persons of color develop a healthy sense of racial identity by progressing through stages of greater awareness, described as statuses (Thompson & Carter, 1997). Each status reflects how a person of color thinks, feels, and acts in response to experienced racism. During the *Conformity* status a person of color rejects his or her own culture of origin's beliefs and practices in favor of dominant White culture. In the second status of *Dissonance*, persons of color begin to question their disposition towards both dominant White and minority groups, as they begin to develop an awareness of racism. In the third status of *Resistance* and *Immersion*, persons of color become fully aware of the racism in their lives. Thus, during this status a person of color may try to extirpate any effects of racism, while completely immersing themselves in their culture of origin. During this status there can also be a tendency for persons of color to dichotomously categorize minority and White culture as "good" and "bad". Finally, during the status of *Internalization* it is suggested that a person of color has developed a positive sense of self, which enables him or her to work against the forces of racism without denigrating any culture.

Liu (2002) found that the statuses of dissonance, immersion and resistance, and internalization were significant predictors of gender role conflict attitudes. His study also suggested that while gender role conflict is a measure of distress within the context of gender role behaviors; dissonance, immersion and resistance, and internalization may suggest the presence of other nuanced aspects of racial identity. Further analysis suggested that racism plays a central role amongst Asian American males; however, racial identity alone was not able account for much of the variance in the study. Thus, a more precise and exclusive measure of racism-related stress may precipitate a greater ability to account for the nuanced effects of racism in Asian American

masculinity. While the People of Color Racial Identity Attitude Scale (Helms, 1995) incorporates broad developmental categories, it does not speak to the impalpable but direct effects of racism.

Other studies have further questioned the validity of the POCRIAS and its applicability to Asian Americans (Alvarez & Helms, 2001; Chen et al., 2006). In a study of 188 Asian American university students Alvarez and Helms (2001) found that the Dissonance status was related to a low awareness of racism. They also found that the status of Internalization/Integration was related to a low awareness of racism. While the low awareness of racism noted in the Dissonance status is somewhat reflective of Helm's (1995) racial identity model, the evidence of low awareness of racism during the status of Internalization/Integration is incongruous with the model. While Alvarez and Helms (2001) suggested this finding may be indicative of a response set by participants (e.g., social desirability), the results may suggest that the POCRIAS is not an ideal instrument to use with Asian Americans.

Summary

While the literature on Asian American men continues to grow, there remains a relative paucity of studies examining the nuances of Asian American men's experience in navigating both the stresses of adhering to culturally bound ideals of masculinity and enduring both profound and microaggressive racism. Asian American men have a long and rich history in the United States, which has included their personal struggle to define the masculine gender role. While researchers have begun to investigate how the racism in these men's lives interacts with their internalized sense of masculinity, our understanding is still quite limited. As Liu (2002) discovered in his study, inventories such as the POCRIAS have not been able to account for much of Asian American men's GRC. Furthermore, it may be that the POCRIAS, by only assessing ego strength, does not assess or account for the psychological stress experienced by people of color as a result

of racist experiences. Thus, the AARRSI may better explore the potential for a further and perhaps more significant relationship between racism-related stress and GRC.

Chapter III: Methodology

The purpose of this study was to answer the following research question: Does a relationship exist between Asian American men's gender role conflict and racism-related stress? This chapter describes the selection of participants, instrumentation, data collection procedures, data analysis, and limitations of the current study. The research subject section describes the sample used in the current study. The instrumentation section first describes the Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory (Liang et al., 2004), including what is currently known about its validity and reliability, followed by a description of the Gender Role Conflict Scale (O'Neil et al., 1986), including what is currently known about its validity and reliability. The data analysis section describes the statistical procedures used in this study. Finally, the limitations section describes methodological limitations of the current study.

Sample Design

The current study targeted Asian American men age 18 and older. The current study uses a sample of Asian American men attending two medium sized Midwestern universities. The sample can be described as a regionally convenient sample and does not include randomization. The participants were self-identified as Asian American men age 18 or older. Based on a recommended 30 participants per variable, a sample of 204 Asian American college men was requested through both Universities' Multicultural Student Affairs offices, which included all known self-identified Asian American men currently attending both Universities. A full description of the sample is provided in chapter IV, which includes information on racial and ethnic background, generational status, age, and the response rate of those sampled.

Instrumentation

Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory

The Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory (Appendix A) (AARRSI; Liang et al., 2004) is a 29 item questionnaire designed to assess Asian Americans' racism-related stress. AARRSI items are scored on a 5-point Likert scale: 1 (*This event never happened to me or someone I know);* 2 (*This event happened but did not bother me*); 3 (*This event happened and I was slightly bothered*); 4 (*This event happened and I was upset*); and 5 (*This event happened and I was extremely upset*). The AARRSI is divided into three subscales: (a) Socio-historical Racism measures a person's experience with historical racism (e.g., You are told that Asian Americans have assertiveness problems); (b) General Racism measures Asian Americans' experiences with racial stereotyping (e.g., Someone tells you that they heard that there is a gene that makes Asians smart); and (c) Perpetual Foreigner measures Asian Americans' experience with the perception that all Asian Americans' are foreign and nonresidents of the United States (e.g., Someone told you that "you speak English so well"). Subscale scores are calculated by dividing the total subscale score by the number of items in each subscale. Possible scores will range from 1-5, with higher scores indicating higher levels of racism-related stress.

Studies have shown the following alpha coefficients for the three subscales (Li, Liang, & Kim, 2001; Liang et al., 2004; cited in Chen et al., 2006): Sociohistorical Racism .82-.93, General Racism .75-.88, and Perpetual Foreigner .84-.88. Concurrent validity has been established through positive correlations with the Minority Status Stress Scale (Smedley, Myers, & Harrel, 1993), Schedule of Racist Events (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996), Perceived Racism Scale (McNeilly et al., 1996), and the Cultural Mistrust Inventory (Terrel & Terrel, 1981). Discriminant validity has also

been established with the AARRSI not being correlated to Asian cultural values (Chen et al., 2006).

Gender Role Conflict Scale

The Gender Role Conflict Scale (Appendix B) (GRCS; O'Neil et al., 1986) is a 37 item questionnaire designed to measure four dimensions of GRC (Appendix B). The GRCS is divided into four subscales: (a) Success, Power, and Competition (SPC); (b) Restrictive Emotionality (RE); (c) Restrictive Affectionate Behavior Between Men-Homophobia (RABBM); and (d) Conflict Between Work and Family Relations (CBWFR). Items are scored based on a 6-point Likert scale with scores ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 6 (strongly disagree) and 6 being the total possible score. Subscale scores are calculated by totaling each respective subscale score and dividing by the number of items in the subscale. Total scores on the measure are calculated by adding all individual items scores and dividing by 37.

The GRCS has been shown to be a stable measure of psychological stress for males (Good et al., 1995). It has also been demonstrated that the four factors or subscales are stable and reliable (Moradi, Tokar, Schaub, Jome, & Serna, 2000). Specifically, internal consistency for the instrument has ranged from .80 to .87 (Good et al., 1995). The coefficient alphas for each subscale were demonstrated to be: .92 for the total score, .88 for SPC, .89 for RE, .92 for RABBM, and .79 for CBWFR (Good et al., 1995). The reliabilities have been demonstrated to be: .90 for the total score, .84 for SPC, .82 for RE, 81 for RABBM, and .77 for CBWFR (Good et al., 1995).

Demographic Questionnaire

Demographic questions (Appendix C) were modified based on Shek's (2005) study of Asian American college men's gender role conflict, racial identity, and self-esteem in order to provide a more detailed description of participants. Included in the questionnaire were questions

on race, ethnicity, age, and generational status. The demographic questionnaire did not ask participants to provide names; however, the study is considered confidential rather than anonymous due to the use of personal demographic questions and email.

Data Collection Procedures

The Universities' Multicultural Student Affairs offices were contacted to generate a list of 204 self-identified Asian American students. Email invitations (Appendix D) were sent July 10, 2008 to both Universities simultaneously, with a brief introduction to the study, link to the web survey, notice of the selectivity of the survey, and contact information for further questions. A two week deadline was given for participants to complete the survey. Follow-up emails were sent approximately one week after the initial survey was sent out. A final email was sent two days before the survey was to be closed, in order to boost response rates.

Surveys were created through the researcher's University online survey tool, SelectSurvey. All data was collected and stored on a secure server, which is monitored by the University. Prior to clicking on the survey hyperlink, participants had to read a consent form (Appendix E). The consent to participant form included a list of expectations and contact information for the researcher, the researcher's advisor, and the University's Internal Review Board administrator. After students read the consent form, they could then click on the hyperlink at the bottom of the page, which took them to the web-based survey.

The order of instruments in the survey was as follows: (a) demographic questionnaire, (b) Asian-American Racism-Related Stress Inventory (AARRSI), and the (c) Gender Role Conflict Scale (GCRS). The researcher did not utilize any procedural rational in putting one inventory before or after the other, given that there was not a sensitive dependent variable to be measured.

After participants completed the survey, they were once again provided with the researchers contact information and invited to inquire about final data analysis.

Data Analysis

All data were collected through a web-based survey tool, which allowed for the data to be imported into SPSS. Descriptive and frequency statistics were calculated in order to provide a more detailed description of participants. An independent samples *t*- test was used to determine whether or not there was a significant difference between Asian American men of different generational statuses. A Pearson *r* correlation coefficient was utilized as the main statistical procedure, which was used to measure the strength of relationship between total and subscale scores between the GRCS and AARRSI.

Limitations

Although the study attempted to generate a representative sample, there are several limitations of the study. The study uses a sample of 19 Asian American men, which is well below the suggested 30 participants per variable. Thus, the generalizability of the results is significantly limited. Given that the study uses a small regionally convenient sample; randomization was not used, which further limits the generalizability of the study. Furthermore, the study's small regional sample may not be representative of all Asian American ethnic groups (e.g., South Asian, East Asian).

There were also limitations through the limited use of statistical procedures. The study uses descriptive statistics and a Pearson *r* correlation coefficient. A Pearson *r* coefficient of linear correlation measures the strength of a relationship between two variables (Newmark, 1992). The limitations of using a Pearson *r* coefficient of linear correlation are as follows: (a) a cause-and-effect relationship cannot be established; and (b) when computed on the basis of sample data,

strong correlations can be a result of chance, rather than the nature of the relationship between two variables. Thus, in order to predict or otherwise further describe the nature of a significant correlation between two variables, further statistical procedures would need to be utilized (e.g., linear regression); (c) Another statistical limitation to the study is the use of Cronbach alphas to determine the internal consistency for all instruments used. Cronbach alphas are calculated to determine the internal consistency reliability for a given instrument. Cronbach alphas were not calculated for either the GRCS or AARRSI, which may call into question the reliability of the instruments used in the current study.

A final limitation to the study is the instrumentation used. While the AARRSI was developed specifically for the use with an Asian American population, the GRCS was normed on White men, which may limit its use with a people of color population. However, past studies have utilize the GRCS with a people of color population, including Asian American men (e.g., Kim, O'Neil, and Owen, 1996; Liu, 2002; Liu & Iwamoto, 2006). Thus, while the use of the GRCS may be limited in its use with Asian American men, past studies suggest that it is a valid instrument for the current study sample.

Summary

The purpose of this study was to answer the following research question: Does a relationship exist between Asian American men's gender role conflict and racism-related stress? Asian American men from two medium sized Midwestern Universities were selected to complete an online survey, which included instruments that measured gender-role conflict and racism-related stress, as well as a demographic questionnaire. This chapter has summarized the methods used in this study, including the participants, instrumentation, and data analysis. The remaining

chapters present analyses and findings of the study, discussion of the results, limitations, and conclusions.

Chapter IV: Results

The purpose of this study was to answer the following research question: Does a relationship exist between Asian American men's gender role conflict and racism-related stress? The chapter provides the results of the analyses, which include sample demographic characteristics, descriptive statistics and the results of the two hypotheses tested.

Sample Demographic Characteristics

A preliminary analysis was conducted to compare scores of Asian American men who reported their generational status as 1 and 1.5 and those that reported their generational status as second generation or more. An independent samples *t*- test was conducted to determine whether or not there was a significant difference between these two groups of men. The t-test showed there was not a significant difference between 1 – 1.5 generational status and second generation status. However, there was an effect for Restrictive Emotionality, $t\ (17) = 2.54, p = .02$, with 1-1.5 generational status men ($N = 7$) scoring slightly higher. There was also an effect for total GRCS scores, $t\ (17) = 1.92, p = .072$, with 1-1.5 generational status men ($N = 7$) scoring slightly higher. While the test did not reveal a significant difference, the scores may suggest that 1-1.5 generational status men experience different levels of gender role conflict. The relatively small sample size ($N = 19$) may have also contributed to a lack of findings.

Of the 204 students sampled, 32 electronically returned their surveys, which resulted in an initial response rate of 16.3%. Of the initial 204 students sampled, six were discarded as a result of being misidentified as male, and two email addresses came back as undeliverable, which resulted in a final sample pool of 196 Asian American men. Of the 32 students who returned

surveys, 13 were discarded because their survey was only partially completed. The final sample consisted of 19 Asian American men, which resulted in a final response rate of 10.3%.

Some possible reasons for the low response rate include: (a) relatively small, regionally convenient sample; (b) lack of relationship with the researcher; (c) emotional nature of the survey questions (i.e., emotional reactions to sexual and racial experiences); (d) lack of a prize or reward for returning completed surveys; and (e) possible technical difficulties viewing and/or completing the survey.

Participants were given a choice of identifying as 50% Chinese and European (n= 1), Asian American (*n* = 14), Bi-/Multi-racial (*n* = 3), or Thai/Norwegian (*n* = 1). In addition to racial background, ethnic data were also collected by regional groupings: (a) Chinese (*n* = 1), (b) Dad is Thai and Mom is Laotian (n = 1), (c) Hmong (*n* = 8), (d) Indonesian (*n* = 1), (e) Japanese (*n* = 2), (f) Korean (*n* = 3), (g) Laotian (*n* = 1), (h) Thai (*n* = 1), and (i) Vietnamese (*n* = 1). The vast majority of participants identified as Hmong (42.1%), with Korean (15.8%) and Japanese (10.5%) being the next two largest groups. As a result of the small sample size, the two data sets from both Universities were collapsed into a single data set, consisting of 19 students. The mean age of participants (*n* = 19) was 22.83 years, with a range of 19 – 29 years (Table 1).

The majority of participants identified themselves as second generation Asian American, being born in the U.S. with parents who had immigrated to the U.S. The breakdown of generational status is as follows: (a) 1.5 generation (31.6%) – foreign born but raised primarily in the U.S. (immigrated at age 12 or younger); (b) 1st generation (5.3%) – foreign born and immigrated to the U.S.; (c) 2nd generation (42.1%) – born in the U.S.; parents immigrated to the U.S.; (d) 3rd generation (10.5%) – born in the U.S.; parents born in the U.S.; (e) 4th generation or higher (10.5%) – born in the U.S.; parents, grandparents (or more) born in the U.S. Given the

small sample size and the nature of the hypotheses, generational status did not receive any further statistical analysis (Table 1).

Table 1
Participants' demographic information

Variable	*n*	%
Race		
50% Chinese, and European	1	5.3
Asian American	14	73.7
Bi-/Multi-Racial	3	15.8
Thai/Norwegian	1	5.3
Ethnic Background		
Chinese	1	5.3
Dad is Thai and Mom is Laotian	1	5.3
Hmong	8	42.1
Indonesian	1	5.3
Japanese	2	10.5
Korean	3	15.8
Laotian	1	5.3
Thai	1	5.3
Vietnamese	1	5.3
Generational Status		
First	1	5.3
1.5	6	31.6
Second	8	42.1
Third	2	10.5
Fourth or Higher	2	10.5

Table 1 (Continued)

Variable	*n*	%
Age		
19	3	15.8
20	2	10.5
21	3	15.8
22	2	10.5
24	3	15.8
25	1	5.3
26	1	5.3
27	1	5.3
28	1	5.3
29	1	5.3
Missing	1	5.3

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics (i.e., means and standard deviations) were calculated for all variables and are presented in Table 2. The current study found a mean total score of 114.26 ($SD = 25.35$) on the GRCS and 2.77 ($SD = .91$) on the AARRSI. The current study found comparable subscale scores on the GRCS as Liu and Iwamoto (2006), with the exception of Restrictive Affectionate Behavior Between Men. Liu and Iwamoto's (2006) and the current study's means and standard deviations are presented, respectively: SPC, ($M = 53.28$, $SD = 6.70$; $M = 48.58$, $SD = 10.82$), on RE ($M = 32.57$, $SD = 5.80$; $M = 23.47$, $SD = 8.98$), on RABBM ($M = 25.14$, $SD = 4.70$; $M = 18.79$, $SD = 6.46$), and on CWF ($M = 23.59$, $SD = 3.42$; $M = 20.11$, $SD = 6.01$).

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics for Gender Role Conflict Scale and Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory (N = 19)

Instrument	*M*	*SD*	Range of Scores
Gender Role Conflict Scale			
Success, Power, and Competition	48.58	10.82	34.00 – 76.00
Restrictive Emotionality	23.47	8.98	10.00 – 42.00
Restrictive Affectionate Behavior Between Men	18.79	6.46	9.00 – 27.00
Conflict Between Work and Family Relations	20.16	6.01	12.00 – 35.00
Total Score	114.26	25.35	77.00 – 167.00
Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory			
Sociohistorical	3.11	1.03	1.40 – 4.60
General Stereotype	2.36	.86	1.13 – 4.00
Perpetual Foreigner	2.76	1.18	1.29 – 4.43
Total Score	2.77	.91	1.48 – 3.90

Analysis of Hypotheses

The hypotheses for the current study were tested using a Pearson's *r* correlation coefficient and are presented in Table 3 and are as follows:

Hypothesis #1: There will not be a significant relationship between total scores on the Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory and Gender Role Conflict Scale.

The degree of relationship between total scores on the GRCS and AARRSI was determined through a correlation analysis. The correlation table revealed a significant positive relationship between total scores on the GRCS and AARRSI ($r = .464$, $p < .05$). The results indicate that a relationship exists for those Asian American men who experience gender role conflict and racism-related stress. The null hypothesis was rejected in the correlation analysis.

Hypothesis #2: There will not be a significant relationship between subscale scores on the Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory and subscale scores the Gender Role Conflict Scale.

The degree of relationship between subscale scores on the GRCS and AARRSI was determined through a correlation analysis. The correlation table revealed only a single positive relationship between Success, Power, Competition and Sociohistorical racism-related stress (r = .55, $p < .05$), which led to only a partial rejection of the null hypothesis. The remainder of the Pearson r correlation coefficients for Success, Power, and Control were not significant and are as follows: General Stereotype racism-related stress (r = .20, $p < .05$); and Perpetual Foreigner racism-related stress (r = .27, $p < .05$). The results suggest that men who experience gender role conflict in the area of success, power, and control may also experience sociohistorical racism-related stress.

Pearson r correlation coefficients for Restrictive Emotionality were not significant and are as follows: Sociohistorical racism-related stress (r = .31, $p < .05$); General Stereotype racism-related stress (r = .19, $p < .05$); and Perpetual Foreigner racism-related stress (r = .17, $p < .05$). The Pearson r correlation coefficients for Restrictive Affectionate Behavior Between Men-Homophobia were not significant and are as follows: Sociohistorical racism-related stress (r = .39, $p < .05$); General Stereotype racism-related stress (r = .12, $p < .05$); and Perpetual Foreigner racism-related stress (r = .14, $p < .05$). Finally, the Pearson r correlation coefficients for Conflicts Between Work and Leisure – Family relations were also not significant and are as follows: Sociohistorical racism-related stress (r = .35, $p < .05$); General Stereotype racism-related stress (r = .34, $p < .05$); and Perpetual Foreigner racism-related stress (r = .42, $p < .05$). The results indicate that there is not a significant relationship between any further gender role conflict factors and racism-related stress factors.

Table 3
Pearson Correlations of Gender Role Conflict and Asian American Racism-Related Stress Total Scales and Subscales

	GRCS Total	SPC	RE	RABBM	CBWFR
AARRSI Total	.46*	.44	.26	.29	.39
SHRRS	.054*	.55*	.31	.39	.34
GSRRS	.28	.20	.19	.12	.34
PFRRS	.33	.27	.17	.14	.42

Note. GRCS = Gender Role Conflict Scale. SPC = Success, Power, and Competition. RE = Restrictive Emotionality. RABBM = Restrictive Affectionate Behavior Between Men. CBWFR = Conflict Between Work and Family Relations. AARRSI = Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory. SHRRS = Sociohistorical Racism-Related Stress. GSRRS = General Stereotype Racism-Related Stress. PFRRS = Perpetual Foreigner Racism-Related Stress.
$*p < .05$

Summary

In this chapter, results of analysis related to demographic variables, gender role conflict, and racism-related stress in Asian American men were presented in order to address the research question: Does a relationship exist between Asian American men's gender role conflict and racism-related stress? A correlation analysis of total scores on the GRCS and AARRSI indicated that an overall significant relationship exists between gender role conflict and racism-related stress. A correlation analysis of subscale scores on the GRCS and AARRSI also indicated a significant relationship between Success, Power, and Competition and Sociohistotrical racism. The following chapter will relate the findings in the results chapter to the literature presented in chapter one, outline the limitations of the current study, and explore the possibilities for further research.

Chapter V: Discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine whether or not there is a potential for a relationship between Gender Role Conflict (O'Neil et al., 1986) and Asian American Racism-Related Stress (Liang et al., 2004) in a sample of Asian American men. The study was primarily exploratory in nature, as previous studies had not utilized the Gender Role Conflict Scale (O'Neil et al., 1986) and the Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory (Liang et al., 2004) in conjunction with one another. The study used a sample of 19 Asian American men from two medium sized Midwestern Universities. Participants in the study responded to the Gender Role Conflict Scale, Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory, and a demographic questionnaire through an online survey. The remainder of the chapter provides an overview of the findings for the current study, relates the findings to the literature presented in chapter one, explores the limitations of the study, and provides recommendations for further research.

Hypothesis 1: There will not be a significant relationship between total scores on the Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory and Gender Role Conflict Scale.

The null hypothesis of no overall relationship between gender role conflict and racism-related stress in Asian American men was rejected. There was a significant relationship between GRCS and AARRSI total scores. The results of the correlation analysis (Table 3) suggested that Asian American men who endorse racism-related stress also experience gender role conflict. To date, there has not been another study that utilizes both the AARRSI and GRCS. Therefore, it is not yet possible to compare the findings of this study with similar studies that utilize both the AARRSI and GRCS. However, the findings of this research do suggest that the Asian American men in this study experience levels of GRC similar to those of other studies (Liu, 2002; Liu &

Iwamoto, 2006). Furthermore, this study found evidence that suggest that racism-related stress may be an important variable in Asian American men's experience of gender role conflict.

Liu (2002) has suggested, based on his use of the POCRIAS (Helms, 1995), that as Asian American men begin to question their racial beliefs they may also start to question their beliefs about masculinity. The findings of this study appear to also indicate that the participants have similarly begun to question both their racial beliefs and personal attitudes regarding masculine gender role behaviors. While this study did find evidence of a relationships between GRC and racism-related stress, it is still unclear at this time as to whether or not racial identity, and therefore identity statuses (Helms, 1995), is a stronger predictor of GRC than racism-related stress. Given the significance found in this study, it could be that the stress precipitated by experienced racism is more strongly related to GRC than is overall racial identity.

As was noted in Chapter 2, there are two methods of addressing the affects of racism on gender role conflict, and thus two separate constructs to be measured. One common method of measuring the effects of racism, used by other researchers (Liu, 2002; Liu & Iwamoto, 2006), is that of racial identity theory (Helms, 1995). Racial identity theory suggests that a person of color develops a healthy sense of racial identity by progressing through states of greater awareness, described in terms of statuses. Thus, instruments such as the POCRIAS measure the degree of personal awareness of racial membership, and thus identity formation of the person of color, rather than the degree to which the person of color is experiencing distress as a result of experienced racism. The second method for addressing the effects of racism on gender role conflict is that of racism-related stress (Liang et al., 2004). While racial identity theory measures the overall identity organization of the person of color, racism-related stress (i.e., AARRSI) measures the degree to which the person of color experiences racism-related events as distressful.

Thus, the use of the AARRSI in this study did not measure whether or not there was a relationship between racial identity and gender role conflict, but whether there was a relationship between the level of racism-related stress experienced and gender role conflict. While other researchers (e.g., Liu, 2002; Liu & Iwamoto, 2006) have suggested through the use of the POCRIAS that Asian American men's experiences with racism may not be as important as other variables (e.g., Asian cultural values), the findings of this study suggest that the construct of racism-related stress warrants further investigation. In addition, Liu and Iwamoto (2006) have suggested that Asian cultural values may be a better predictor of GRC than racial identity. However, there has not yet been a study which compares Asian cultural values, racial-identity, and racism-related stress.

Hypothesis 2: There will not be a significant relationship between subscale scores on the Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory and subscale scores the Gender Role Conflict Scale.

The null hypothesis of no relationship between GRCS and AARRSI subscale scores was partially rejected. A significant relationship was found between Success, Power, Competition (SPC) and Sociohistorical Racism-Related Stress (SHRRS). It may be that for Asian American men who endorse GRC in the area of SPC, they may also experience moderate stress related to transgenerational or vicarious forms of racism. At this time it is unclear whether or not there is a predictive quality to this relationship, as it may be that increased racism-related stress in the area of transgenerational or vicarious forms of racism may lead to an increase in GRC in the area of SPC. Liu (2002) suggested that GRC in the area of SPC may indicate that for Asian American men, being successful is viewed as resulting from a subscription to certain masculine gender role characteristics (e.g., competitiveness, aggressiveness). However, Liu also noted that the conflict surrounding SPC may depend on what is currently acceptable by the Asian American man's peer

group. It could also be that the men in this study have become aware of the hardship and racial struggle experienced by past generations and thus believe they too must work hard to “make it”.

Kim and colleagues (1996) reported through their use of the Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale (Suinn, Rickard-Figueroa, Lew, & Vigil, 1987) that the more acculturated Asian American men were the more they tended to experience GRC in the area of success, power, and competition. Kim and colleagues suggested that this was a result of Asian American men subscribing to the White belief that a man must compete and gain power to ultimately have success. However, Liu and Iwamoto (2006) suggested that higher scores on the SPC construct can be explained by traditional Asian cultural values. Specifically, Asian American men who subscribe to the idea that family recognition can be obtained through achievement, may similarly subscribe to the White ideal of success, power, and competition. In this case, Asian cultural values would approximate those of White masculine cultural values. Thus, it could be that the relationship found between SPC and SHRRS in this study’s sample of Asian American men is indicative of higher levels of acculturation, a subscription to traditional Asian values, or combination of both. However, given the limitations in both statistical procedures and instrumentation used, the nature of the relationship between SPC and SHRRS found in the current study remains unclear and will require further research.

Limitations

The limitations of the current study range from sampling and methodological procedures, statistical procedures, and instrumentation. The current study used a sample from two medium sized Midwestern universities. A final sample of 19 participants was obtained, resulting in a low response rate of 10.3%. The sample for the current study was well below the suggested 30 participants per variable for correlation studies. Given that a small regionally convenient sample

was used, randomization of variables was not used, which further limits the generalizability of data. Furthermore, the study's regionally convenient sample may not be representative of all Asian American ethnic groups (e.g., South Asian, East Asian).

One possible reason for the low response rate is the use of a small population sample, which limited the overall participant pool to 204 participants. There was also a lack of a personal relationship with potential participants and the researcher, which could have lowered the response rate. Additionally, the use of a monetary incentive (e.g., gift card) was not used, which may have also lowered the response rate. However, financial constraints of the researcher prevented the use of monetary gifts. The emotional nature of survey questions (i.e., sexual and racial experiences) may have also contributed to a low response rate. Finally, some participants may have experienced technical difficulties in completing the online survey.

There were also limitations to the statistical procedures used in the current study. The study used a Pearson's *r* coefficient of linear correlation as the main statistical procedure. Thus, a cause-and-effect relationship between GRC and AARRS could not be determined without additional statistical procedures. There is also a chance that significant relationships found in the current study were a result of chance, rather than the nature of the actual relationship between variables. Finally, Cronbach Alphas were not calculated for the current study. Cronbach Alphas are calculated to determine the internal consistency for a given instrument. Given that Cronbach Alphas were not calculated for either the GRCS or AARRSI used in the current study, the reliability of the instruments may be in question.

Another limitation of the current study is that of the instrumentation used. As was noted in the methodology section, the AARRSI and GRCS have both been used with an Asian American male population. Howe ver, the GRCS was normed on White men, while the AARRSI was

normed using an exclusively Asian American population. While this difference may call into question the GRCS's validity, past studies have successfully used the GRCS with an Asian American male population (e.g., Kim, O'Neil, and Owen, 1996; Liu, 2002; Liu & Iwamoto, 2006), suggesting that it is a valid instrument to be used with Asian American men.

A final limitation of the current study's sample is that of the researcher's overall ability to generalize data, and therefore conclusions, to the larger Asian American male population. Given the relatively small, regionally convenient sample and homogeneous group characteristics (e.g., age, ethnic background), conclusions based on data cannot be easily suggested of all Asian American men. Thus, while significance was found in testing both hypotheses, subsequent studies will need to utilize a larger, more heterogeneous population in order to confirm the findings of the current study.

Recommendations

This study examined the relationship between gender role conflict and racism-related stress in a sample of Asian American men. Despite the aforementioned limitations, the findings of the study support the notion that stress precipitated by experiences with racism is related to attitudes about culturally sanctioned gender roles. However, given the exploratory nature of the study, more data is needed to adequately describe the relationship between gender role conflict, racism-related stress, and other promising variables.

A significant limitation to this study was the lack of an adequate, representative sample of Asian American men. Thus, subsequent research should capture a large, diverse population sample of Asian American men. However, a representative sample includes much more than age, ethnic background, and an adequate number of participants. Shek (2005) noted that socialization processes may differ based on the region of the United States. Thus, relatively small regionally

convenient samples of Asian American men, regardless of age and ethnicity, may not accurately represent the larger Asian American male population. Furthermore, Shek (2005) suggests that further research might be well advised to explicitly investigate the degree to which Asian American men are socialized differently based on regional location.

A preliminary analysis found that there was not a significant difference between men of different generational statuses. However, there was a small effect for both total and Restrictive Emotionality scores on the GRCS, with 1 – 1.5 generation status men scoring slightly higher. This might suggest that 1 – 1.5 generation status men experience different levels of gender role conflict. The relatively small sample used in this study may account for a lack of significant findings. Subsequent research that utilizes a larger sample may find that there is a significant difference in experienced gender role conflict between men of different generational statuses.

There were also statistical limitations to the current study. The study used a Pearsons *r* coefficient of linear correlation as the main statistical procedure. While the Pearson's *r* coefficient of linear correlation does allow a researcher to suggest a relationship between two or more variables, it is unable to adequately describe the nature of those relationships. Subsequent research using the AARRSI and GRCS should include more powerful statistical procedures, such as hierarchical regression, that are able to mathematically judge a given variables ability to predict the value of another variable. For example, subsequent research utilizing hierarchical regression might find that racism-related stress is able to predict gender role conflict. Furthermore, more powerful statistical procedures would allow researchers to compare the predictive quality of the AARRSI to that of the POCRIAS.

Future studies on Asian American men's gender role conflict should also include other promising constructs. Liu (2002) suggested that Asian cultural values may be a better predictor of

gender role conflict. Liu and Iwamoto (2006) furthered the support for this hypothesis in their study using the Asian Values Scale (AVS; Kim, Atkinson, & Yang, 1999). Furthermore, Liu and Iwamoto (2006) suggested that Asian cultural values were stronger predictors of gender role conflict than racial identity or Asian American men's experience with racism in general. However, the findings of this study suggest that there is a significant relationship between racism-related stress and gender role conflict. As was previously discussed, racial identity and racism-related stress represent two different constructs related to experiences with racism. Thus, future studies could utilize the POCRIAS, AVS, and AARRSI in order to account for the differences in the two constructs and the findings of Liu and Iwamoto (2006).

In conclusion, the findings of this and other studies suggest that we still have much to learn about the relationship between racism, cultural background, and culturally sanctioned gender roles. The study of men and masculinity undoubtedly represents an important and essential aspect of multiculturalism research. However, there remains a paucity of studies examining the diverse spectrum of masculinities unique to men of color. Asian American men, as with other men of color, continue to be marginalized and subverted by White definitions of masculinity. It is only through continued research that we will further our understanding of the dynamics of racism and gender, thereby improving our psychological interventions and expanding our literature on men of color.

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Appendix A: Gender Role Conflict Scale

(O'Neil et al., 1986)

Instructions: In the space to the left of each sentence below, write the number that most closely represents the degree that you Agree or Disagree with the statement. There is no right or wrong answer to each statement; your own reaction is what is asked for.

Strongly Agree 6	5	4	3	2	Strongly Disagree 1

1. ____ Moving up the career ladder is important to me.

2. ____ I have difficulty telling others I care about them.

1. ____ Verbally expressing my love to another man is difficult for me.

4. ____ I feel torn between my hectic work schedule and caring for my health.

5. ____ Making money is part of my idea of being a successful man.

6. ____ Strong emotions are difficult for me to understand.

7. ____ Affection with other men makes me tense.

8. ____ I sometimes define my personal value by my career success.

9. ____ Expressing feelings makes me feel open to attack by other people.

10. ____ Expressing my emotions to other men is risky.

11. ____ My career, job, or school affects the quality of my leisure or family life.

12. ____ I evaluate other people's value by their level of achievement and success.

Strongly Agree 6	5	4	3	2	Strongly disagree 1

13. _____Talking about my feelings during sexual relations is difficult for me.

14. _____ I worry about failing and how it affects my doing well as a man.

15. _____ I have difficulty expressing my emotional needs to my partner.

16. _____ Men who touch other men make me uncomfortable.

17. _____ Finding time to relax is difficult for me.

18. _____ Doing well all the time is important to me.

19. _____ I have difficulty expressing my tender feelings.

20. _____ Hugging other men is difficult for me.

21. _____ I often feel that I need to be in charge of those around me.

22. _____ Telling others of my strong feelings is not part of my sexual behavior.

23. _____ Competing with others is the best way to succeed.

24. _____ Winning is a measure of my value and personal worth.

25. _____ I often have trouble finding words that describe how I am feeling.

26. _____ I am sometimes hesitant to show my affection to men because of how others might perceive me.

27. _____ My needs to work or study keep me from my family or leisure more than would like.

28. _____ I strive to be more successful than others.

29. _____ I do not like to show my emotions to other people.

30. _____ Telling my partner my feelings about him/her during sex is difficult for me.

Strongly Agree 6	5	4	3	2	Strongly Disagree 1

31. _____ My work or school often disrupts other parts of my life (home, family, health leisure.

32. _____I am often concerned about how others evaluate my performance at work or school.

33. _____Being very personal with other men makes me feel uncomfortable.

34. _____Being smarter or physically stronger than other men is important to me.

35. _____ Men who are overly friendly to me make me wonder about their sexual preference (men or women).

36. _____ Overwork and stress caused by a need to achieve on the job or in school, affects/hurts my life.

37. _____ I like to feel superior to other people.

Appendix B: Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory

Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory (AARRSI)

Christopher T. H. Liang, Lisa C. Li, and Bryan S. K. Kim

Instructions: Please read each item and choose a response that best represents your reaction. 1 = This has never happened to me or someone I know, 2 = This event happened but did not bother me, 3= This event happened and I was slightly bothered, 4= This event happened and I was upset, 5 = This event happened and I was extremely upset.

	Item	Response
1)	You hear about a racially motivated murder of an Asian American man.	1 2 3 4 5
2)	You hear that Asian Americans are not significantly represented in management positions.	1 2 3 4 5
3)	You are told that Asians have assertiveness problems.	1 2 3 4 5
4)	You notice that Asian characters in American TV shows either speak bad or heavily accented English.	1 2 3 4 5
5)	You notice that in American movies, male Asian leading characters never engage in physical contact (kissing, etc.) with leading female characters even when the plot would seem to call for it.	1 2 3 4 5
6)	Someone tells you that the kitchens of Asian families smell and are dirty.	1 2 3 4 5
7)	You notice that U.S. history books offer no information of the contributions	1 2 3 4 5
8)	You see a TV commercial in which an Asian character speaks bad English and acts subservient to non-Asian characters.	1 2 3 4 5
9)	You hear about an Asian American government scientist held in solitary confinement for mishandling government documents when his non-Asian coworkers were not punished for the same offence.	1 2 3 4 5
10)	You learn that Asian Americans historically were targets of racist actions	1 2 3 4 5
11)	You learn that most non-Asian Americans are ignorant of the oppression and racial prejudice Asian Americans have endured in the U.S.	1 2 3 4 5
12)	At a restaurant you notice that a White couple who came in after you is served before you.	1 2 3 4 5

13)	You learn that, while immigration quotas on Asian peoples were severely restricted until the latter half of the 1900s, quotas for European immigrants were not.	1 2 3 4 5
14)	Someone tells you that it's the Blacks that are the problem, not the Asians.	1 2 3 4 5
15)	A student you do not know asks you for help in math.	1 2 3 4 5
16)	Someone tells you that they heard that there is a gene that makes Asians smart.	1 2 3 4 5
17)	Someone asks you if you know his or her Asian friend/coworker/classmate.	1 2 3 4 5
18)	Someone assumes that they serve dog meat in Asian restaurants.	1 2 3 4 5
19)	Someone tells you that your Asian American female friend looks just like Connie Chung.	1 2 3 4 5
20)	Someone you do not know speaks slow and loud at you.	1 2 3 4 5
21)	Someone asks you if all your friends are Asian Americans.	1 2 3 4 5
22)	Someone asks you if you can teach him/her karate.	1 2 3 4 5
23)	Someone tells you that "you people are all the same."	1 2 3 4 5
24)	Someone tells you that all Asian people look alike.	1 2 3 4 5
25)	Someone tells you that Asian Americans are not targets of racism.	1 2 3 4 5
26)	Someone you do not know asks you to help him/her fix his/her computer.	1 2 3 4 5
27)	You are told that "you speak English so well."	1 2 3 4 5
28)	Someone asks you what your real name is.	1 2 3 4 5
29)	You are asked where you are really from.	1 2 3 4 5

Appendix C: Demographic Questionnaire

(Shek, 2005)

I am:

- ☐ Asian American
- ☐ 50% Chinese and European
- ☐ Bi-Multi-racial (please specify): ___________
- ☐ Thai/Norwegian

My ethnic background includes: (please check all that apply)

- ☐ Bangladeshi
- ☐ Burmese
- ☐ Cambodian
- ☐ Chinese
- ☐ Filipina/o
- ☐ Hmong
- ☐ Indian
- ☐ Indonesian
- ☐ Japanese
- ☐ Korean
- ☐ Laotian
- ☐ Malaysian
- ☐ Pakistani
- ☐ Taiwanese
- ☐ Thai
- ☐ Vietnamese
- ☐ Dad is Thai/ and mom is Laotion
- ☐ Other____________

Generational Status:

- ☐ 1st generation – foreign born and immigrated to the United States (U.S.)
- ☐ 1.5 generation – foreign born but raised primarily in the U.S. (immigrated at age 12 or younger)
- ☐ 2nd generation – born in the U.S.; parents immigrated to the U.S.
- ☐ 3rd generation – born in the U.S.; parents born in the U.S.
- ☐ 4th generation or higher – born in the U.S.; parents, grandparents (or more) born in the U.S.

Please select your age from the drop box below:

Select

Appendix D: Contact Email

Dear fellow student,

My name is Chad Cartier and I am a graduate student at the University of Wisconsin-Stout. As part of my studies I am conducting research in the areas of racism and gender. More specifically, I am seeking to better understand the experience of Asian American men. Too many times research has left out the experience of Asian American men, which is sadly reflected in our understanding of their lives. Thus, I am asking for your help in sharing with me some of your experiences as an Asian American man, so that I may then assist the community in better understanding the reality of the world you live in. **If you are willing to take 10 to 15 minutes to fill out a survey about Asian American men, please read the following consent agreement and click on the survey link at the very bottom.** Thank you for your time.

Take care,

Chad Cartier

Appendix E: Consent to Participate Form

Consent to Participate in UW-Stout Approved Research

Title: Asian American men's gender role conflict: An investigation of racism-related stress

Investigator:
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Description:
The purpose of this study is to increase our understanding of multicultural and gender role psychology. Specifically, the study seeks to increase our knowledge of Asian American men's gender attitudes and experience with racism.

Risks and Benefits:
By participating in this research you will be asked to reflect on your personal experiences as an Asian American male. Thus, reflecting on your personal experiences and opinions may be sensitive in nature and may result in some discomfort. However, by participating you will also be contributing to research on an important and understudied topic. Your participation may help us better understand the impact of gender and racism on Asian American men.

Time and Commitment:
If you choose to participate in this study, you will be asked to complete a survey about your personal attitudes and experiences as an Asian American man. It will take approximately 15 minutes to complete.

Confidentiality:
All information collected in this study is confidential. The information you provide will be grouped with information other people provide for reporting and presentation, and your name will not be used. Data will be stored on a private computer and will be password protected. However, due to the public nature of the internet, the possibility of someone intercepting your data is possible, but highly unlikely. It is therefore important that you exit your browser after you have submitted your survey.

Right to Withdraw:
Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. You may choose not to participate without any adverse consequences to you. However, should you choose to participate and later wish to withdraw from the study, there is no way to identify your anonymous survey once it has been turned in to the investigator.

IRB Approval:
This study has been reviewed and approved by The University of Wisconsin-Stout's Institutional Review Board (IRB). The IRB has determined that this study meets the ethical obligations required by federal law and University policies. If you have questions or concerns regarding this study please contact the Investigator or Advisor. If you have any questions, concerns, or reports regarding your rights as a research subject, please contact the IRB Administrator.

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Statement of Consent:
By clicking on the survey link below, you state that you are over 18 years of age and wish to participate in the project entitled, Asian American Men's Gender Role Conflict: An investigation of racism-related stress.

Survey Link: (Link Inserted Here)