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The Development and Evaluation of the Multicultural Gender Roles Scale – Male Version

Michael N. Awad

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ABSTRACT

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The purpose of this study is to develop and evaluate a scale that measures gender role construction and the various components associated with this process in men of color (i.e., African American, Latinx, and Asian American men). Existing psychological models for understanding this paradigm have primarily focused on the experiences and worldviews of White, Euro-American men without taking into consideration the various societal influences and socializing agents that uniquely impact this process in men of color. In an attempt to more accurately capture this process in people of color, through qualitative data, Miville, Bratini, Corpus, Lau, and Redway (2013) developed the Multicultural Gender Roles Model, which described eight unique components people of color may experience in their gender roles negotiation. For this study, the Multicultural Gender Roles Model (MGRM) was adapted for the development of the Multicultural Gender Roles Scale – Male Version (MGRS – Male Version). Qualitative research from the MGRM and feedback from experts in gender/gender roles research contributed to the development of 69 items that were analyzed through an exploratory factor analysis resulting in a 41-item measure. Exploratory factor analysis of data from 200 men of color resulted in 5 factors reflecting experiences men of color undergo in the gender role development process: (a) Transforming Self-Perceptions, (b) Negative Psychological Symptomatology, (c) Understanding Impact on Others in Family, Community, and Society, (d) Intersecting Identities, and (e) Navigating Emotions related to Privilege and Oppression.

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Many are the plans in a person's heart, but it is the Lord's purpose that prevails.
– Proverbs 19:21

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Until the mid-1970's, psychologists believed that psychological health was partly achieved when one's psychological gender and physical sex were congruent (Carter, Williams, Juby, & Buckley, 2005). During the late 1980's, which saw a rise in research on multicultural psychology, gender scholars broadened their understanding of masculinity and femininity from simply an aggregate of inborn traits to placing special emphasis on the context and environment in which gender occurs (Miville, Bratini, Corpus, Lau, & Redway, 2013). This shift also led to a focus on studying gender roles, which are the expectations and behaviors that men and women enact in correspondence with society's definitions of masculinity and femininity (Mahalik, Cournoyer, DeFranc, Cherry, & Napolitano, 1998). Masculinity and femininity refer to the basic underlying traits and qualities of what it presumably means to be a man or woman, respectively (Spence, 2011).

Masculinity and Men's Gender Roles

Research that has focused on understanding masculinity, or male gender roles, in the United States, for the most part, has studied the experiences and worldviews of White, heterosexual, middle class men (Griffith, Gunter, & Watkins, 2012; Liu 2005). As a result, White, Euro-American masculinity currently constitutes the normative (O'Neil, 2015), most socialized/taught (Wester 2008), and most honored (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) form of being a man in America. Though research on gender roles has noted a plurality of masculinities in existence (Liu, 2005), White, Euro-American gender role norms continue to be the prevailing, sought after way of doing gender, whether consciously or unconsciously, for both men and

women, regardless of their race-ethnicity. As a consequence, research on gender and gender roles have largely ignored the gendered experiences of people from diverse racial-ethnic backgrounds, further perpetuating the status quo belief that a single, unitary construct of masculinity exists. This ubiquitous sense of masculinity has been operationally defined through stereotypes (Pleck, 1995), particularly, White, hegemonic ideals where men are foremost non-feminine (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Griffith et al, 2012; O'Neil, 1981b; O'Neil, 2008), unemotional, non-nurturing, dispassionate, aggressive, independent (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), dominant, controlling, physically strong, assertive, emotionally restrained (Griffith et al. 2012), self-reliant, tough (Matthews, Powell Hammond, Nuru-Jeter, Cole-Lewis, & Melvin, 2013), providers, success seekers (Fouad, Whiston, & Feldwisch, 2016), commanders, and risk-takers (Liu & Concepcion, 2010). While this list of characteristics is in no way comprehensive, many of the male gender roles these scholars have identified are highly contradictory, inconsistent, and psychologically dysfunctional (e.g., O'Neil, 1981a, 1981b, 2008; Pleck, 1995). Although the proportion of individuals who violate these roles is high and only a small minority of men is able to achieve them (Pleck, 1995), they continue to be reinforced by mainstream society as the benchmarks of masculinity.

Implications of Men's Gender Roles

Violations of gender role norms have been noted to have serious consequences for men (Pleck, 1995). These include negative psychological outcomes (e.g., depression, withdrawal, low self-esteem) (O'Neil, 1981a, 1981b), over-conformity to prove one's manliness (Pleck, 1995), social condemnation, isolation, or questioning of one's masculinity (Fouad, Whiston, & Feldwisch, 2016). The accumulation of discrepancies, trauma, and dysfunction men have commonly experienced when subscribing to these roles has been referred to as gender role strain

(Pleck, 1995). The harmful impact of these negative side effects on their interpersonal relationships, physical health, and psychological wellbeing is known as gender role conflict (O'Neil, 1981a). Though men who are members of the dominant group from which these gender roles are derived are not immune to such problems, the process of negotiating gender roles, particularly when they are operationalized through a White, Eurocentric framework, is likely to produce greater strain and conflict for racially- and ethnically-diverse men living in the United States, including African American, Latino, and Asian American men (from here on out referred to as men of color).

Psychological Research and Men of Color's Gender Roles

Like all branches of science, psychology has failed to respond sufficiently to factors that are germane to racial-ethnic groups (Reid, 2002). Just as race and ethnicity are social constructions, so, too, is gender. Therefore, understanding gender as distinct from culture and oversimplifying it through a set of rules and behaviors based on sex does multicultural populations an immense disservice (Reid, 2002). Until now, theories for understanding this paradigm have assumed universal applicability (Miville, 2013). As a consequence, psychological research for understanding other masculinities, particularly, the gender roles of men of color and how they are constructed, has been limited. Research may not only be scant due to flaws in the prevailing views of how to conduct psychological research (e.g., the "one size fits all" approach), but for several other reasons as well. Limited investigation into the gender roles of men of color may be due to the male privilege men of color still possess in their respective communities and even in the larger society, which places them on a higher social stratum than women of color and sometimes makes the oppression men of color experience invisible (Marbley, 2011); the discomfort of broaching the topic of interpersonal dynamics between racial groups in the United

States (Sue, 2010); the power and privilege dominant group members reap through the continued subjugation of men and women of color (Liu & Concepcion, 2010); and the shame associated with acknowledging such oppression (O'Neil, 2015). To this end, research on the gendered experiences of men of color is likely to examine and expose the various societal ills these men experience and make reference to a troublesome reality that is a major impetus for this study: *for many men of color enacting traditional male gender role norms, as they are defined, remains unattainable.*

This unattainability is largely due to several factors, which will be discussed in detail in the review of literature. Firstly, there is a dissonance that exists between White, Euro-American masculinity and masculine perceptions in American racial-ethnic minority groups. Secondly, the gendered racist stereotypes that exist about men of color, undermine, weaken, and challenge their masculinity in the larger society. These biases for how men of color are expected to behave deprive them of the self-determination and control over constructing their own gender styles. Thirdly, the gender role strain and conflict which men of color experience occurs between three conflicting sets of masculinities they must negotiate: (1) gender roles of the dominant group, (2) gender roles of their own racial-ethnic group, and (3) the degrading and false gender role stereotypes prescribed to them by the dominant group, which are often internalized. Lastly, the various societal inequities, which contribute to disparities in education, housing, employment, social class, health, and justice system-involvement, account for the greatest obstacles men of color encounter to achieving these traditional White Euro-American male gender roles. When male power, control, and competition are the primary means to personal respect, economic security, happiness, and becoming a success as a man (O'Neil, 1981a), the systemic oppression experienced by most men of color places them at an unequal starting point to achieving this type

masculinity. Given this complexity, how then do they navigate their gender roles in a society that privileges and prioritizes White masculinity over theirs, erroneously stereotypes their manhood, imposes numerous barriers to their success, and then blames them for their own inability to achieve similar levels of social, economic, and political prosperity as their White male counterparts?

Overview of the Present Study

As noted previously, existing models for understanding gender role construction in men fail to capture the various masculinities and societal challenges men of color must navigate when negotiating their gender roles (Miville, 2013). Recently, Miville, Bratini, Corpus, Lau, and Redway (2013) developed the *Multicultural Gender Roles Model* and identified the various sources of socialization and information men and women of color perceive and negotiate during a very complex and ongoing gender role socialization process. These include unique cultural expectations and norms; traditional notions of masculinity and femininity shared across all major cultural groups; socializing agents and institutions; and racial-ethnic and gender stereotypes. In addition, these scholars identified a total of eight components that may be important for people of color when negotiating their gender roles. They are as follows: (1) *resolving conflicts* among multiple perspectives and expectations of gender role norms, (2) *navigating privilege and oppression* in larger society and within their own racial-ethnic communities, (3) *understanding one's impact on others,* particularly the gender role socialization of others, (4) *transforming self-perceptions* of cultural prescriptions and societal stereotypes into flexible, diverse gender roles; (5) negotiating gender roles in the context of other *intersecting identities* outside of race-ethnicity and gender; (6) *navigating emotions* associated with exposure to overt racist and sexist stereotypes and conflicting messages; (7) *constructing own gender styles/expressions,* be it

traditional norms of masculinity or femininity, norms expressed within one's racial-ethnic culture, or some unique combination of these; and (8) c*onstructing roles in family, community, and society,* specifically having a positive impact on others, especially younger people.

The purpose of this study was to adapt the Multicultural Gender Roles Model into a psychometric scale that could reliably and validly measure the various components Miville and her colleagues (2013) identified as significant to the gender role construction of people of color—particularly, men of color. An assessment tool of this nature will aid helping professionals such as mental health providers and educators identify if one or more of the aforementioned components to gender role construction may be impacting the psychological and/or physiological wellbeing of a man of color and be used to inform treatment/intervention planning, health disparities research, and public discourse on masculinity in America.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

This literature review will explore three areas of research germane to the present study: gender, gender roles, and race. The purpose of this chapter will be to present the extant literature that has contributed to the broad understanding of each of these constructs as well as their interplay on the masculinity of men, and more specifically, the masculinity of racial and ethnic minority men (i.e., men of color) in the United States.

The review begins by presenting the relevant psychological research that has attempted to elucidate gender, including the historical and contemporary worldviews to understanding this construct. Next, the construct of gender roles is introduced along with the predominant approach in which gender roles are operationalized and defined for men in the United States and the sometimes-conflicting ways gender roles are operationalized for men of color within their own racial-ethnic communities. Gender roles will be further explored through various paradigms, including gender role strain, gender role conflict, and gendered racism. Subsequently, research on the various societal agents and influences that impact the gender role development of men of color, referred to as the social determinants of masculinity in this study, will be explored.

Throughout this literature review, research on the gender roles of men and the gender roles of men of color are juxtaposed and gaps in the empirical and scholarly works attempting to understand the latter are acknowledged. Finally, one theoretical framework for understanding gender role construction in men of color—the Multicultural Gender Roles Model—is introduced, along with its proposed adaptation into a psychometric assessment tool for the purpose of the present study. The review concludes with the research questions along with hypotheses for these questions.

Gender

In the 1970's, psychological research delved into explicating the importance of gender on influencing the lives and experiences of humans (Smiler, 2004). Gender is a social construct used to define the characteristics, attributes, and roles expected of individuals based on their biological sex (Awad, Rayfield, & Miville, 2017; Suzuki & Ahluwalia, 2003). Gender also encompasses the various traits, norms, interests, sensibilities, and social experiences that people of a particular society ascribe to individuals on the basis of the sex assigned to them at birth (Brabender & Mihura, 2016; Marbley, 2011). During the last several decades, the terms gender and sex have been used interchangeably to allude to biopsychosocial characteristics of males and females, that is, until feminist scholars insisted on their differentiation (Reid, 2002). Thus, sex and gender are considered two distinct entities: sex is linked to biology, chromosomal inheritance, and physiological features that characterize and define women and men; gender is the expectation of traits society has established based on being of the female or male sex. Reid (2002) defined gender as a dynamic representation and a negotiated domain, based on shared understandings, beliefs, and practices. Smiler (2004) stated, "Gender affects individuals across a broad cross-section of their lives by prescribing certain behaviors and proscribing others, from personality attributes through attitudes, and from vocational choices through leisure activities" (p. 16).

In the United States, gender distinction is generally binary, where individuals with female sex are commonly socialized to adopt the gender roles associated with women and individuals with male sex are commonly socialized to adopt the gender roles associated with men. This socialization process occurs simultaneously at the conscious and unconscious levels (Roof, 2016). In recent times, there has been increased focus by mainstream society to understand

gender, particularly in childhood and adolescence when some youth may experience discordance between their biological sex and gender identity (Simons, Leibowitz, & Hidalgo, 2014). While women and men may knowingly or unknowingly adopt genders prescribed to them because of their sex, scholars believe that social and cultural factors have much more to do with the gender women and men display and adhere to than their biological sex alone (Miville, 2013; Roof, 2016). Reid (2002) noted that although there may be certain biological and genetic underpinnings of gender, it makes them no less the product of social beliefs and practices. The gender women and men display is often reinforced through *gender roles*.

Gender Roles

Prior to the mid 1970's, psychologists believed that psychological health was achieved through congruence of psychological gender and physical sex (Carter, Williams, Juby, & Buckley, 2005). During the late 1980's, the study of gender evolved to focus on studying gender in context rather than as inborn traits (Miville et al., 2013), including a focus on gender roles. Enacting gender roles is one of the many ways people "do" their gender (Miville, Bratini, Corpus, & Diaz, 2013). Gender roles refer to the "behaviors that men and women enact congruent to society's constructed ideals of masculinity or femininity" (Mahalik, Cournoyer, DeFranc, Cherry, & Napolitano, 1998, p. 247) and the "standards, expectations, and norms that [individuals] fit or do not fit to varying degrees" (Pleck, 1995, p. 13). O'Neil (1981a) described gender roles as the "behaviors, expectations, and role sets defined by society as masculine or feminine, which are embodied in the behavior of the individual man or woman and culturally regarded as appropriate to males and females" (p. 62). In other words, gender roles are roles that men and women are expected to "do" (e.g., in the household, the workplace, the community) in a given society (World Health Organization, 2015; O'Neil, 1981a). These definitions and roles

vary from society to society and can sometimes change (World Health Organization, 2015). In a process called gender role socialization, females and males are exposed to the norms and standards of what society considers masculine and feminine behavior, and their identity as women and men is developed through a multifaceted process in which they learn the gender scripts of their culture (Mahalik, et al., 1998). This learning takes place during early childhood (18 months to 3 years) when gender role identity is being influenced and shaped by parents, peers, and societal values (O'Neil, 2008). Children and adults then acquire and internalize the values, behaviors, and attitudes associated with masculinity, femininity, or both (O'Neil, 1981b). Gender identity was once posited to be based purely on biological factors that led to psychological gender role differences. For example, boys were innately born with masculine characteristics related to strength, aggressiveness, and independence; girls were innately born with feminine characteristics related to gentleness, passivity and relationship orientation (O'Neil, 1981). O'Neil (1981a) further stated:

> "Although academicians and researchers have recognized that many gender roles are primarily learned, much of the public has believed that these psychological sex roles are based on innate, genetic, and unchangeable biological differences. This polarization of gender characteristics into dichotomous and dualistic categories (male and female) has attributed to greater human differences to the sexes than really exist. The dogmatic belief that men are exclusively the inheritors of one kind of gender identity and women are inheritors of another kind has, in turn, led to separatism between sexes. This separatism (the battle between the sexes) has limited the perceptions, potentials, and possibilities for each sex and resulted in a restraining repertoire of attitudes, behaviors, and expectancies for both men and women" (p. 64)

As a result, most cultural groups have used gender as a means for organizing societal functions while using presumptions about sociobiology as their rationale for doing so, although numerous groups have existed throughout history that did not adhere to this prevailing view (Miville & Ferguson, 2014). In summary, the process by which an individual constructs his or her gender roles is complex and based on factors such as his/her sex, the society he/she lives in, and any other social groups to which that individual belongs (Awad et al., 2017).

Masculinity and Gender Roles in Men

Research on men's gender roles and masculinity were arrantly absent in the psychological literature until the late 1970's and not fully studied in psychology until the 1980's (O'Neil, 2008). Spence (2011) noted that the terms masculinity and femininity have an empirical meaning, to the extent that they describe observable qualities and behaviors that are used to distinguish one gender from the other, and a contextual meaning, in that they imply the presence of "a basic, underlying essence" within individuals (p. 508). This process of distinguishing psychological differences between men and women was a common practice within and outside of psychology (Spence, 2011). For this reason, sometimes masculinity is defined in relation to femininity. According to Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), gender is relational and patterns of masculinity are "socially defined in contradistinction from some model (whether real or imaginary) of femininity" (p. 848). O'Neil (1981b; 2008) explained that certain masculine values emerged from a learned fear of femininity (i.e., fears about appearing feminine or being emasculated) and devaluation of feminine values. Griffith, Gunter, and Watkins (2012) alluded to the historical definition of masculinity as "that which is not feminine" (p. 188). While recognizing that masculinity research emerged from feminist studies, this portion of the current

literature review focuses only on psychological literature which has attempted to understand masculinity.

Before the 1970's, masculinity was primarily studied through male sex role theory, which posited that males "actively attempt to acquire attributes that affirm their biological identity in an effort to become more mature" (Smiler, 2004, p. 16). Because the attributes that men attempt to enact and employ into their daily lives are deeply embedded in stereotypes created by society for how men should look and behave, most of the psychological research that has attempted to understand masculinity has focused on identifying these main elements (stereotypes) of masculinity and measuring the extent to which individual men conform to them (e.g., the Personal Attributes Questionnaire) (O'Neil, 2015; Smiler, 2004; Spence, 2011). As noted earlier, gender is a social construct and, therefore, masculinity is socially constructed as well. Masculinity, as explained by Liu and Concepcion (2010), consists of exemplars that fulfill "the prevailing expectations, demands, needs, and wishes of men in society" (p. 131). Thus, most theories of masculinity have presumed that a unitary, ubiquitous masculinity exists and that masculinity resides in each man's individual psychology (Griffith, Gunter, & Watkins, 2012; Liu, 2005). Regarding the assumption that a single masculinity exists (i.e., White, middle class, heterosexual, American), O'Neil (2015) called this "erroneous, short-sighted, and biased" (p. 152). The problem with this, according to O'Neil (2015), is that rather than understanding men as gendered beings with both positive and negative qualities and vulnerabilities that exist from living in a complex world, they are seen as generic persons based on stereotypes. In an effort to better understand the challenges men encounter when attempting to live up to these stereotypes, this portion of the literature review aggregates some of these stereotypes and their impact on male gender roles.

Research on masculinity and masculine gender roles frequently defines masculinity as a series of qualities and characteristics primarily related to hegemonic masculinity and assumptions of social power (Wade, 2001). Though a hierarchy of masculinities exist (Griffith et al., 2012), they are commonly compared with this hegemonic ideal that has encompassed what will be referred to as "traditional male gender roles" throughout this literature review. Collier (as cited in Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) suggested that hegemonic masculinity came to be associated with negative characteristics that depict men as unemotional, non-nurturing, dispassionate, aggressive, and independent. Griffith et al. (2012) expanded this definition to include the possession of distinct traits such as dominance, control, physical strength, assertiveness, and emotional restraint. Matthews, Hammond, Nuru-Jeter, Cole-Lewis, and Melvin (2013) added self-reliance and toughness to these characteristics. Fouad, Whiston, and Feldwisch (2016) emphasized the importance of prestigious work, individual success and achievement, and the role as provider.

Although only a minority of men enacts all of these roles, they have certainly become normative masculinity. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) indicated this form of masculinity currently embodies "the most honored way of being a man… requires all other men to position themselves in relation to it, and ideologically legitimatizes the global subordination of women to men" (p. 832). Hegemonic masculinity also refers to men engaging in toxic behaviors such as physical violence (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Brannon (1976, as cited in Liu & Concepcion, 2010) posited one of the dominant forms of contemporary masculinity that included the following themes: no sissy stuff, the sturdy oak, the big wheel, and give 'em hell. "Essentially, men are socialized to be manly and avoid feminine characteristics, be tough and strong, be in command and be successful, and be aggressive and take risks, respectively" (Liu &

Concepcion, 2010, p. 132). O'Neil (1981a) summarized numerous scholars from the 1970's who wrote about the *Masculine Mystique,* a complex set of rigid values and beliefs that define optimal masculinity in a given society. Many of these values were thought to be necessary for the development of American democracy, the American economic system of capitalism, and the stabilization of nuclear families. However, these values have changed very little as society has become more urbanized. O'Neil's (1981a) synthesis of these assumptions or "rules" of masculinity are as follows:

1. Men are biologically superior to women, thus have greater human potential.
2. Masculinity is the superior, more valued form of gender.
3. Power, dominance, and control are essential to proving masculinity.
4. Vulnerabilities, feelings, and emotions are feminine roles that should be avoided.
5. Control of self, others, and the environment are essential for men to feel secure.
6. Men seeking support from others is a sign of weakness and potential incompetence.
7. Logic is the superior form of communication.
8. Interpersonal communication emphasizing emotions is considered feminine.
9. Men's success in interpersonal relations is contingent on the subordination of women.
10. Sex void of intimacy is a primary means to prove one's masculinity.
11. Vulnerability and intimacy with other men are to be avoided because such may result in being taken advantage of by a male competitor or may imply homosexuality.
12. Work and career successes are measures of masculinity.
13. Self-definition, self-respect, and personal worth are primarily established through achievement, success, and competence.

14. Male power, control, and competition are the primary means to becoming a success and insuring personal respect, economic security, and happiness.
15. Men's primary role is that of breadwinner and economic provider; women's primary role is that of caretaker of home and children.

Miville and Ferguson (2014) stated that one major downside of gender roles has been to "inhere one gender (typically male) with higher social status and greater access to power than the other gender (typically female)" (p. 7). Male gender role norms have been criticized as the source of oppressive behavior in men (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). As the above list of masculine assumptions demonstrates, one of the ways men maintain their masculine identity is through their use of power over women and their oppression of non-hegemonic masculinities, which is a widespread research finding (Wade, 2001). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) explained, "To sustain a given pattern of hegemony requires the policing of men as well as the exclusion or discrediting of women. Evidence of such mechanisms ranges from … homophobic assaults and murders, all the way to the teasing of boys in school for 'sissiness'" (p. 844). This type of oppression has not only occurred towards women and sexual minorities but towards other men. Fouad et al. (2016) noted that from a very young age, boys are taught how to act as "real men" (e.g., focused on career; putting individual objectives ahead of family) and that violations to these teachings are punished in the form of social condemnation, exclusion, or questioning one's masculinity.

Taking a shift from the first eight decades of American psychological research, which utilized White males as the normative referent group (O'Neil, 2015) and privileged White men and White male normality in conceptualizing masculinity (Liu, 2005; Liu & Concepcion, 2010), more recently, research has shown that the traditional understanding of gender roles is changing,

taking a more intersectional view that accounts for various sociocultural identities such as race and ethnicity (Miville, 2013). Reid (2002) stated that gender and culture are inextricably bound and, just as ethnicity is an aspect of culture, gender should also be considered an aspect of culture: "As all domains relevant to people of color are identified and reviewed for the similarities and the differences [e.g., customs, such as dress, grooming habits, childrearing practices] from the majority group, it seems that the obvious has been overlooked. Gender, too, constitutes a culture, or at least a subculture" (p. 110). Else-Quest and Hyde (2016) suggested that research on psychological gender differences should be criticized for ignoring ethnic and cross-national variations. In response, more and more scholars are taking notice of the demographic on which these standards of masculinity have been normed and have become critical of its applicability to men of different races, ethnicities, and social classes.

As Griffith et al. (2012) observed, "In the United States, the normative form of hegemonic masculinity is defined by race (White), sexual orientation (heterosexual), socioeconomic status (middle class)" (p. 187). Wester (2008) elucidated that many men are socialized into "a dominant European American masculinity" (p. 294) and that these European American men experience a great deal of societal advantage as compared with women and people of color. Liu (2005) noted that the lives and worldview of White men are the grounds on which our understanding of masculinity is based. Wade (2001) added that White American manhood has been grounded upon the exclusion of others. The result of this, according to O'Neil (2015), is a psychology of men "frequently associated with biased studies, sexism, male dominance, the devaluation of women, and research and theories narrowly defined by sex differences rather than men's real-life experiences" (p. 13). Liu (2005) further stated that just as

men and women are different, so are people of color and White people—and men of color and White men.

According to Wester (2008), the fastest growing area of research on the psychology of men has been understanding how social identities affect men's overall experience of masculinity. As a result of the social exclusion of men from nondominant racial groups in the development of traditional male gender roles and standards, existing models for understanding this paradigm fail to include the unique experiences they face when constructing their own gender roles. Although masculinity research has been populated by studies performed on White men, recently, scholars have openly criticized the lack of racial-ethnic diversity in this area of research (Griffith et al., 2012; Miville, 2013; O'Neil, 2015; Wester, 2008). According to these scholars, racial experience is much more important than hegemonic ideals when negotiating masculinity. Griffith et al. (2012) concluded that because gender roles are fundamentally shaped by race and ethnicity for biological males, it is critical to understand how they mediate and moderate masculinity. Wester (2008) added that men's gender role experiences will be unique for men of different backgrounds, that numerous masculinities exist based partly on ethnicity, and that gender roles vary based on race and culture. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) believed that it was a mistake to deduce masculinity from hegemony and that, at the very least, "we also must factor in the institutionalization of gender inequalities, the role of cultural constructions, and the interplay of gender dynamics with race, class, and region" (p. 839). Else-Quest and Hyde (2016) emphasized that "Exploring the problematic nature of socially constructed categories and asking who is included within a category and why specific categories are constructed are important intersectional topics" (p. 163).

Gender Roles in Men of Color

While there has been growing interest in research and theoretical work on men of color across many disciplines (Liu, 2005), knowledge about how men's gender roles vary by race and ethnicity has accumulated slowly in the psychological study of men. The gender roles of men of color (which from here on will be the term used to collectively reference African American and Black, Hispanic and Latino, Asian/Asian American, Native American, and Middle Eastern/North African men) were "reconfigured in the slavery, refugee, immigration, and forced migration experiences—legal and illegal (e.g., the immigration experience of Hispanic Americans, the forced relocation experience of American Indians, and the forced immigration or slavery experience of African Americans)" (Marbley, 2011, p. 101). Gender roles in men of color have been largely understudied and underrepresented in the literature in relation to gender roles in White men. Liu and Concepcion (2010) discovered that one overarching reason for why these historical constructions of masculinity are not interrogated or questioned are because if they consistently favor one group (i.e., White, heterosexual men) by perpetuating for them privilege and power, "then critiquing and dismantling this masculinity is not a high priority" (p. 131). To further understand this, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) pointed to (1) the institutionalization of gender inequalities, (2) the role of racial-ethnic constructions, and (3) the intersection of gender dynamics with race and social class.

In terms of the institutionalization of gender inequalities, the power and privilege afforded to men on the basis of their gender (along with the majority of counseling theories developed through a European American male lens) make it challenging to consider some men, particularly men of color, as marginalized (Wester, 2008). Marbley (2011), described this catch-22: "Men of color have two adversarial, oppositional identities. On the one sleeve, they wear a

racial and ethnic identity grounded in oppression, and on the other sleeve, they wear a gender identity grounded in privilege and domination" (p. 101). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) called it a "mistake to deduce relations among masculinities from the direct exercise of personal power by men over women" (p. 839). In other words, because this institutionalization of privilege does not transfer to men of color, it does not make sense to compare the masculinities of different racial groups as being equivalent. O'Neil (2015) also pointed out that men's oppression is difficult to discuss because it produces uncomfortable interpersonal dynamics between racial/ethnic majority and minority groups. As O' Neil (2015) stated, "White guilt and fears about appearing racist, sexist, and heterosexist have hampered dialogues that could promote personal and social change and greater equality for all. Many people lack contexts in which to engage in dialogue about men's and women's oppression and have difficulty thinking outside of the patriarchal status quo" (p. 162). In addition, O'Neil (2015) explained that experiencing societal oppression as a man of color is "a very private, embarrassing, and shameful reality to admit; therefore talking about it is very difficult" (p. 163).

In terms of racial-ethnic constructions of masculinity, many scholars have noted that the traditional gender role identity for White men in contemporary society remains out of reach for men of color (Carter, 2005; Marbley, 2011, Wester 2008, Wester et al., 2006). According to Carter et al. (2005), understanding this requires the recognition that different racial groups do not equivalently subscribe to social norms around gender and thus, "variation in racial valuation of gender typed traits may influence the degree to which an individual values masculine or feminine traits" (p. 475). Some racial groups are believed to adhere more strictly to traditional male gender roles than others, while some men of color are able to navigate the combination of gender roles and effectively integrate values from both cultures (Wester et al., 2006). In any case, Liu

and Concepcion (2010) proposed that traditional forms of male gender roles should be referred to as what they actually are: "White male masculine ideology" (p. 133).

In terms of the intersection of gender dynamics with race and social class, one explanation for why the traditional male gender role identity may be unattainable for men of color in the United States may be due to their socialization in an American culture that is so deeply grounded in historical and contemporary institutional practices, policies, and procedures that reinforce race- and class-based discrimination and provide them with socioeconomic obstacles to obtaining these ideals (Sue, 2010). Some scholars (e.g., Matthews et al., 2013; Griffith et al., 2012) have argued how social determinants of health relate to the full expression of masculinity among men of color and that, because these determinants are highly correlated with race, they prevent men of color from achieving traditional manhood (this topic will be discussed in greater detail in an upcoming section titled *social determinants of masculinity*). Marbley (2011) asked a central question, which captures one of the tenets for this study, of how "being a male, given their experience in a dominating oppressive system, has been influential in their constructions of masculinity and their maleness" (p. 101)? She further discussed that to understand gender roles for men of color, gender must be viewed within the backdrop of the racial and ethnic differences existing between White men and men of color, regardless of their sexual orientation.

This also calls attention to the range of masculinities that might result within different groups of color. O'Neil (2015) noted that many different masculine ideologies and identities exist based on race-ethnicity and other situational indexes of diversity. Wester (2008) hypothesized that for men of color who choose to enact behaviors outside of the narrow definition of masculinity defined previously, they are likely to be derided, and the racist

exclusion they experience by the dominant Euro-American culture adds further conflict to them acquiring the accoutrements accompanying success. Griffith et al. (2012) found that men of color may construct their notions of masculinity to fulfill certain roles in the arenas of marriage, parenting, extended family, employment, or to even remain accountable to other men. Miville (2013), in one of the first lines of research attempting to answer this question, conducted qualitative interviews with diverse men of color to illuminate this unique intersection between race and gender roles. Because all groups of men of color experience conflicting gender role messages (Wester, 2008), it is important to examine gender roles within the context of each respective culture and their relation to traditional male gender role standards in America.

African American and Black Men's Gender Roles

Numerous scholars have pointed out the dissonance between European American masculinity/traditional male gender roles and masculine perceptions among African American men (Carter et al., 2005; Marbley, 2011; Matthews et al., 2013; Miville & Sahadath, 2013; Wester, 2008; Wester, Vogel, Wei, & McLain, 2006). These scholars collectively refer to a contrast with traditional male gender roles where African American men tend to endorse the values of cooperation over competition, emphasis on the collective good over individual advancement, belongingness over isolation, emotional sensitivity over emotional restraint, and egalitarianism and having insights into the feminine perspective over hegemony. As a result, Black men have been exposed to experiences that question and diminish their masculine roles and have struggled with establishing their role as men through definitions prescribed by dominant American culture (Carter et al., 2005). Qualitative interviews conducted by Miville and Sahadath (2013) with Black men illuminated the significance of oppression in their gender role

development, in addition to responsibility and leadership, evaluating multiple messages about gender roles, negotiating stereotypes, and having flexibility in gender roles.

Miville's (2013) research on gender roles in African American men is corroborated by other scholars. When explaining the historical basis of oppression on African American men's gender roles, Marbley (2011) stated, "The institution of slavery castrated the African man's masculinity. Being a slave with no say over either himself or his family took away his ability to provide for and protect his wife, children, or even himself and fulfill the traditional American male gender role of provider and protector of his wife and children" (p. 101). Numerous scholars have also made reference to the painful process African American men experience as they negotiate their manhood in the context of traditional male gender roles and White masculinity (e.g., Carter et al., 2005; Miville & Sahadath, 2013; Wester, 2008). If African American men attempt to enact one set of gender roles, they might frustrate the other set of gender roles—sometimes failing to meet either set of expectations. Wester (2008) delineated, "Some African American men may find themselves in situations in which they must violate one, fail to meet the other, and experience subsequent psychological distress" (p.300). Findings from Carter et al. (2005) supported instances when Black men endorse aspects of the traditional male gender roles (e.g., being a provider, being aggressive) as well as nontraditional roles (though White men subscribe to the traditional male gender role attitude more than Black men). For example, Wester and colleagues (2006) discussed examples of African American men who have espoused Euro-American competitiveness to succeed while maintaining their culture's penchant for support, community, and interpersonal relationships (i.e., blending values from both cultures). Maintaining their culture of origin's values serves as a buffer against the invisibility and racism expressed by members of cultural majority (Wester, 2008). However, some African American

men use the dominant culture as their primary reference group—and these men are likely to experience higher psychological distress as they move from their culture of origin's version of masculinity since it involves suppressing intense feelings of frustration that come from conflicting gender role messages. This phenomenon has come to be known as *cool pose* (Wester, 2008; Wester et al., 2006), and will be further discussed in the forthcoming section in this literature review on *gendered racism*.

To summarize, Marbley (2011), provided a comprehensive overview of African American men's gender role development in the United States:

> "African American men's environment often includes poverty, the criminal justice system, unemployment, inequitable educational opportunities, and negative media images. The African American man's masculinity is trapped between living up to the ideal White masculinity and an oppositional one that has been socially constructed and culturally defined by the African American culture. Regardless, his male gender identity— which has become synonymous with his masculinity— has been and continues to be unpredictable. That contrasts with the case for White men, whose masculinity is culturally validated and affirmed; the African American man's masculinity has to be earned and proved on a day-to-day basis" (p. 104).

Latino Men's Gender Roles

Most of the literature pertaining to masculine gender roles in Latinx culture has placed emphasis on men being authoritarian, virile, and autonomous (Marbley, 2011). This collective of gender roles in Latino males is known as *machismo*, which is derived from the word *macho* (meaning masculine) and often conflated with chauvinism, excessively masculine behavior, possessiveness, sexism, violence against women, physical strength, and sexual attractiveness

(Diaz, Miville, & Gil, 2011; Wester, 2008). Other scholars have expanded on this definition to include other stereotypical male traits. Carter et al. (2005) noted that Latinx men are expected to be forceful and strong, withhold affectionate emotion, and serve as the breadwinners and protectors of their families (the latter being one of the traditional machismo meanings). Marbley (2011) added the qualities of dominance, aggression, and control to this list. Diaz et al. (2011) noted, "For many Latino men, adhering to these characteristics and practices validates their masculinity and is central to their sense of manhood" (p. 99)—though doing so places them at great psychological risk (O'Neil, 2015).

Machismo, as an embodiment of many gender roles, continues to be the most frequently cited construct related to Latino men in the psychological literature (Wester, 2008); however, it seems to place emphasis on the some of the negative facets of their gender roles (Diaz et al., 2013; Marbley, 2011). Wester (2008) stated, "Machismo is an oversimplification, and that the construct itself engenders controversy because it seems based on dated, racist sociological research and is inaccurately ascribed to the entire culture" (p. 305). Understanding this inaccurate portrayal that has now become the blanket representation for men from a very diverse racial-ethnic group requires some knowledge on Latinx history in the Americas. Like African Americans, Latinxs endured the oppressive forces of enslavement, forced religious conversion, and disempowerment of indigenous people present for many centuries throughout Latin America first by Spain during the colonial period, and then the U.S. via its Manifest Destiny policy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Diaz et al., 2013). As a result, gender role expectations among many Latin countries have shifted over time, perhaps, due to acculturation and immigration to the United States. Marbley (2011) highlighted that the original meaning of machismo in traditional Latin and Spanish culture referred to the male role as being the protector

and provider of the family; however, in recent times, machismo has been interpreted in the larger U.S. society as the Latino male being a cold, domineering, aggressive, and abusive. To this end, numerous scholars (e.g., Diaz et al., 2013, Marbley, 2011, Wester 2008) have reported that even if this were so, a positive side of machismo exists, where Latino men are caretakers of children, loving, supportive, and sensitive. This includes a litany of other roles such as carrying oneself with integrity, concern over the wellbeing of others, and standing up for what is right. Diaz et al. (2013) also noted the presence of such positive attributes, which are collectively referred to as *caballerismo* and where Latino men have strong interpersonal and emotionally-connected relationships, give and show respect to others, display bravery, and possess wisdom, honor, and responsibility (i.e., the quintessential "Spanish gentleman"). Liang, Salcedo, and Miller (2010) believed that *caballerismo* provides a more integrated conceptualization of Latino masculinity and respect for many overlooked aspects of Latino masculinity such as honor, dignity, and *familismo.* Despite the positive nature of these roles and the greater life satisfaction they produce, Wester (2008) highlighted that Latino men are prone to gender role-related issues even when enacting these positive roles. Traditional male gender roles tend to value the visible aspects of machismo over caballerismo, which creates confusion among some Latinos over which roles to adhere to: "Strength, dominance, and economic advancement are prized by many in the dominant European American cultures; individuals who exhibit behaviors outside of this narrow definition of masculinity are derided, and the racist exclusion of many Hispanic American men by the dominant European American cultures adds additional conflict as it interferes with their attaining the trappings associated with success" (p. 306).

The psychological consequences appear to be similar to those referenced by Diaz et al. (2013) for when Latino men engage in machismo roles. The challenge appears to lie in finding a

balance between the gender role messages that come from Latinx culture and larger society. Qualitative interviews conducted by Miville and her team (2013) with Latino men found that nearly all the participants learned about masculinity through the lens of machismo (and this was something they wished to continue promoting and maintaining in future generations), stressed the importance of having strong physical bodies (a buffer when living in urban minority neighborhoods), and were supportive of women having more equal roles, albeit different, within the family. This suggests that the need for machismo—at least in the U.S. context—is being questioned, perhaps, because men are less likely to be punished for violating traditional male gender role behaviors and since more and more Latina women are gaining independence by working outside of the household (Diaz et al., 2013). Carter et al. (2005) mentioned that this change may be due to Latino men varying in their expression of masculine gender roles depending on their age, where Latino men from earlier generations adopt more traditional roles than those from later generations. In summary, "Latino male gender roles represent dynamic and multidimensional elements that encompass a multitude of qualities that include functional and nondestructive qualities" (Diaz et al., 2013, p. 99) but also qualities akin to traditional male gender roles.

Asian American Men's Gender Roles.

As specified previously, it is sometimes difficult to see men as being oppressed unless the oppression is viewed in the context of race, ethnicity, and culture. However, even when it is, Asian American men, by virtue of their economic success in the United States (which is often equated with other forms of social success such as education, employment, and health), are rarely viewed as a subjugated group. As an aside, the majority of the literature reviewed for this section that made reference to all racial minority groups tended to reference Asian Americans

last in their discussions. To clarify this invisibility of marginalization, Sue (2010) provided three rationales for why the higher median income often reported with Asian Americans is a "success myth": (1) it fails to take into account per-family income in instances where Asian American families have more than one wage-earner; (2) it fails to take into account the higher incidence of poverty experienced in many Asian American/Pacific Islander/Native Hawaiian groups than among Whites, and (3) it fails to recognize discrepancies between education and income where Asian Americans must attain a higher education to earn the same amount of money as their White coworkers. These clarifications indicate a need to pay greater attention to Asian Americans—and other racial groups often collapsed under the umbrella of Asian American such as Pacific Islanders and Native Hawaiians. They also illuminate a larger phenomenon for why this group tends to be neglected in the discourse on racial equality and justice: the highly-referenced *Model Minority.*

The Model Minority represents Asian Americans who have "made it" in the United States or "out-whited Whites" amidst other racial minority groups who claim race-based barriers to their success (Sue, 2010). Sue (2010) added that the model minority is perceived as hardworking, disciplined, intelligent, enterprising, and even immune to racism. Because of this perceived resilience, Sue and Sue (2008) discussed the popular belief that Asian Americans should not be considered a minority group because they have not been exposed to racism, though U.S. history is replete with discrimination and bias towards Asian Americans, including denial of land ownership, citizenship and voting rights, persecution in internment camps, and the persistence of hate crimes. Therefore, Asian Americans experience similar forms of racial discrimination as African Americans and Latinos; however, they also experience oppression in

the form of unrealistic standards about success that they, particularly men, may feel pressure to live up to.

In terms of gender roles, Sue and Sue (2008) underscored obligation to family, patriarchy, and restrictive emotionality as being important cultural values to Asian Americans' masculinity. Since the extant empirical research on Asian American gender roles has paid nearly most of its attention to the experiences of East Asians (Liu & Concepcion, 2010), the extent to which these gender roles are fully applicable to Asian Americans of all ethnicities requires further investigation. What remains glaring, however, is how traditional values and norms of Asian culture have been used by larger society to demean Asian American men and conceal the systemic barriers they face to achieving traditional male gender roles in the United States. For example, Lau, Chen, Huang and Miville (2013) highlighted that Asian American men view masculinity as complimentary to femininity (contrary to Euro-American view which loosely defines masculinity as the absence of femininity). The belief that masculine and feminine gender roles can be more useful when combined seems reasonable given the incidence of gender role stress men are likely to encounter when conforming to rigid male gender roles. This belief, however, has been used as a way to effeminize and, consequently, to negatively evaluate Asian American men. Liu and Concepcion (2010) provided an example that when Asian American men are assertive, they are perceived as aggressive or threatening (hypermasculine)—and because they cannot control their emotions or behaviors—are not "real" men.

Because the majority of Asian Americans are foreign-born (63%), Liu and Concepcion (2010) made reference to birthplace as a large influence on their gender roles, particularly as it relates to their conceptualization of masculinity (e.g., viewing nonathletic endeavors such as a determined work ethic or being gentlemanly as more positive male aspects than hegemonic

ideals such as muscularity; seeking out medical and behavioral health care services when needed rather than enduring their pain to appear masculine). These scholars also referred to refugee status (in contrast with immigrants) as being salient to male gender role development. With very few refugees being able to secure work during the last two decades of Asian refugee resettlement in the United States (by the Vietnamese, Cambodians, Bhutanese-Nepali, Hmong, etc.), their sense of masculinity has likely been threatened since Asian masculinity is largely reflected through one's ability to provide for family. Further, these scholars mentioned the presence of Asian intragroup differences in gender roles such as in the Philippines, where the impact of Spanish colonialism has largely led Filipino men to endorse hegemonic/traditional male gender roles. Overall, this research reflects the impact of geography/country of origin on gender role socialization. Lau et al. (2013) also cited the importance of bicultural influence on gender role development. In their qualitative interviews with Asian American men, they highlighted the centrality of family (gender roles being situated within the function of the family), collectivism (a man making personal sacrifices for the needs of family and society), phenotypes (women being physically weaker and diminutive), heteronormativity, responsibility (financial, educational, and job-related), and direct observation of gender roles in parents/role models (outlined in their Proposed Model for Gender Role Socialization of Asian/Asian American Men) as all impacting gender role construction in Asian American men.

This portion of the literature review highlighted the individualized variations of gender roles within racial-ethnic minority groups of men. In summary, men of color receive messages about masculinity from larger society, which are often defined in terms of traditional male gender roles. At the same time, they receive messages about gender roles from their racial-ethnic communities. In a later section of this literature review on *gendered racism*, we will explore a

third set of messages men of color receive about their gender roles that is based on racial stereotypes. Therefore, unlike their White male counterparts, men of color receive multiple messages about gender roles, which they must attempt to reconcile. As a result, they are likely to encounter stress and conflict if these various definitions compete, contradict one another, or seem unattainable (Miville, 2013).

Gender Role Strain and Gender Role Conflict

According to Schwing, Wong, and Fann (2013), among the theoretical paradigms in the psychological research on masculinity, the gender role strain (GRS) model is currently the most prevailing. This model was developed by Pleck in the early 1980's and later evolved in the 1990's as new ideas about masculinity emerged (Pleck, 1995). Based on the extant research at the time, Pleck formulated ten different propositions about masculine dynamics, which are still very much applicable today. They are as follows:

1. Gender roles are operationally defined by gender role stereotypes and norms.
2. Gender roles norms are contradictory and inconsistent.
3. The proportion of individuals who violate gender role norms is high.
4. Violating gender role norms leads to social condemnation.
5. Violating gender role norms leads to negative psychological consequences.
6. Actual or imagined violation of gender role norms leads individuals to overconform to them.
7. Violating gender role norms has more severe consequences for males than females.
8. Certain characteristics prescribed by gender role norms are psychologically dysfunctional.
9. Each gender experiences gender role strain in its paid work and family roles.

10. Historical changes causes gender role strain (Pleck, 1995, p. 12)

Pleck (1995) noted that within these propositions are three GRS subtypes of how cultural standards for masculinity (which are implemented through gender role socialization) have had negative effects on males. These specific subtypes are: (1) gender role discrepancy, (2) gender role trauma, and (3) gender role dysfunction. First, gender role discrepancy occurs when individual males do not fit with gender role standards or expectations. Not conforming to these standards results in negative consequences for self-esteem and psychological wellbeing because of negative social feedback and internalized negative self-judgments. Second, even if male gender role norms are successfully fulfilled, the socialization process is often traumatic. This is known as gender role trauma. Third, gender role trauma results in long-term negative side effects because many of the traditional masculine gender role characteristics are viewed as desirable and acceptable but have many negative consequences for males and for others (e.g., inflexible behavior and low level family participation). This is known as gender role dysfunction.

O'Neil (1981a), in his landmark research on gender role conflict (GRC) focused on the latter subtype of Pleck's GRS, which is the strict adherence to rigid masculine gender roles that produces dysfunction. GRC is defined as "a psychological state in which gender roles have negative consequences or impact on the person or others. The ultimate outcome of this conflict is the restriction of the person's ability to actualize their human potential or the restriction of someone else's potential" (O'Neil, 1981b, p. 203). More recently, O'Neil (2015) identified GRC as "a serious mental health problem that deserves the full attention of psychologists and other human services professionals" (p. 10). O'Neil (1981a) outlined the common psychological patterns and conflicts that occur during men's gender role socialization: fear of femininity, emasculation, vulnerability and failure, low self-esteem, obsession with success/achievement,

work stress and strain, homophobia, limited body awareness/sensuality, restricted sexual and affectionate behavior, restricted communication patterns, restrictive emotionality, treating women as sex objects and inferiors, socialized competitiveness, power needs, dominance needs and control needs that restricts self and others. O'Neil (1981b) summarized the patterns of GRC that emerge from the fear of femininity into six domains: (a) restrictive emotionality (i.e., difficulty expressing one's feelings), (b) socialized control (i.e., to regulate others), power (i.e., to obtain authority and influence over others) and competition issues (i.e., to win against others), (c) homophobia, (d) restrictive sexual and affectionate behavior, (e) obsession with achievement and success, (f) health care problems (i.e., difficulties maintaining positive health care in terms of diet, exercise, relaxation). O'Neil (1981b) posited that the manner in which men are socialized may produce sexist attitudes and behaviors, which may explain various forms (e.g., interpersonal, institutional) of sexism we see in society today. He further posited that neither sex is to exclusively blame for this learned sexism—that both men and women contribute to the maintenance of restrictive gender roles that produce GRC. In addition to this, O'Neil (1981a) identified four life areas in which the psychological effects of restrictive gender roles may harm men by resulting in GRC: (1) interpersonal life, (2) home and family life, (3) career development and work life, and (4) physical life. What follows are the psychological effects O'Neil (1981a) distilled based on the extant literature at the time on male sex roles.

Interpersonal Life. As men have traditionally been socialized to assert *power and control* in their relationships, focus on problem solving, and utilize an interpersonal communication style that emphasizes logic and reason over intuition and expression, they limit themselves from experiencing both the feeling and reason needed to identify the complexities of cognitive and affective experiences that is needed for a fully functional human relationship. Lewis (1978, as

cited in O’Neil, 1981a) noted that this same socialization has also limited men from developing emotional intimacy with other men due to (1) socialized *competition* that inhibits openness, intimacy, and vulnerability (i.e., being invulnerable to other male competitors), (2) *homophobia* (i.e., fear of appearing homosexual), and (3) *lack of role models* (i.e., lack of emotional and affectionate relationships with other men outside of sports and impersonal activities). Men have also been traditionally socialized to *intellectually and emotionally separate love and intimacy from sex* (i.e., using it as a means for orgasm and measuring performance), thus forfeiting depth in their intimate relationships. O’Neil (1981a) summarized the psychological effects of gender role conflict in interpersonal life to include limited intimacy with other men, women, and children, marital conflict, fear of aging, fear of retirement, loss of heterosexual interest, and lack of confidence.

Career development and work life. As mentioned previously, men are socialized to be competitive and achievement-oriented and, thus, learn that their masculinity is measured by their career success and hard work. According to O’Neil (1981a), several conflicts may arise as a result of this. They may aspire for personal rewards and satisfactions that might not be achieved through work (Mayer, 1978 as cited in O’Neil, 1981a), they may believe that working harder will result in desired outcomes (Fasteau, 1974 as cited in O’Neil, 1981a), they may experience fear of failure, lack of confidence, or uncooperative behavior with co-workers due to unresolved masculinity problems, they may work so hard that they neglect their families and important relationships with partners, friends, and children (Goldberg, 1977 as cited in O’Neil, 1981a), and fatigue and stress due to overwork may lead to serious health and psychological consequences.

Goldberg (1977, as cited in O’Neil, 198a), discussed three career binds that men experience due to gender role conflict: breadwinner bind, success bind, and career ladder bind.

The breadwinner bind occurs when a man is pulled from his worker-career role and his roles as a father and husband. On one hand, he must emotionally attend to his family and, on the other hand, he must be able to financially provide for them. If he spends too much time with his family, he might miss opportunities to advance in his career and obtain financial security for his loved ones. If he spends too much time at work, he might be resented for neglecting his family. The success bind operates in a similar fashion. Men are socialized to be competitive and driven. According to O'Neil (1981a), this means they must become impersonal and detached from others. However, at the same time, they are taught that they must be a good human being (e.g., warm, open, and caring). Inevitably, "success cancels out humanism and humanism cancels out success" (O'Neil, 1981a, p. 72). The career ladder bind occurs as men experience upward mobility, promotions, and greater responsibility (all values traditionally tied to successful masculinity). As men move up the ladder, they may lose ties with friends or co-workers they now supervise and give up the initial work that attracted them to the field in the first place. If he contents himself with the work he is attracted to and work relationships, he may be passed up on a promotion. Unfortunately, as O'Neil (1981a) explained, "Since our capitalistic system is based on profit, power, and competition, men are frequently pitted against each other…intense competition may compel some men to make their competitors look unsuccessful, incompetent, inferior, and irrelevant" (p. 72). Some men may need continuous successes as a means of proving their masculinity (O'Neil, 1981a). Some men may also feel that interpersonal relationships at work interfere with doing their jobs and may restrict their emotions when attempting to address work conflicts with colleagues. This restrictive emotionality sometimes leads men to inappropriately express these withheld feelings to family in the form of child abuse, rape, wife battering, or substance abuse to reduce work tension (O'Neil, 1981a). O'Neil (1981a)

summarized the psychological effects of gender role conflict that might occur in career development and work life to include overwork, success bind, career ladder bind, work stress and strain, Type A behavior, role conflict, breadwinner bind, fear of unemployment, and fear of failure.

Home and family life. Family is an outlet for men to measure their masculinity and assert power and control (O'Neil, 1981a). Men who experience little power at work may need to dominate the family system to validate their manhood, though, it is important to note that some men are striving for role-free and power-free interpersonal relations (O'Neil, 1981a). Changing gender role expectations are also producing gender role conflict for men. Balancing domestic and child-rearing responsibilities while simultaneously maintaining a high work profile are becoming common conflicts for both men and women. Some men may find it difficult having a working partner, and find it "awkward, uncomfortable, and inadequate" performing domestic and childrearing functions, particularly when they subscribe to traditional male gender roles (O'Neil, 1981a, p. 73). O'Neil (1981a) pointed out the importance of active fathering, where a lack of an interpersonally present father may lead to sons developing low self-esteem and confidence and teaches them that being a man means being emotionally restrictive and distant. O'Neil (1981a) summarized the psychological effects of gender role conflict in home and family life to include role overload, family violence, inabilities in active and positive parenting, overt/covert subordination of women and children, and fear of failure.

Physical life. O'Neil (1981a) noted that by virtue of being socialized to repress their emotions, men may release these emotions through physical pain and illness. Compared to women, they experience higher rates of behavioral and learning disorders, higher rates of suicide, and earlier death rates. Griffith et al. (2012) reported that gender role pressures are often

implicated in men's premature death rates, which are related to stress and unhealthy behaviors (e.g., reckless driving, alcohol and drug abuse, risky sexual behavior, high-risk sports). O'Neil (1981a) summarized the psychological effects of gender role conflict in physical life to include health problems (ulcers, hypertension, coronary heart disease), drug, alcohol and food abuse, and early death.

O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, and Wrightsman (1986) later operationalized (on a predominately White, college-age sample) the six GRC domains through the development of the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS) and empirically-verified four patterns of gender role conflict that are rooted in the fear of femininity: (a) success, power, and competition; (b) restrictive emotionality; (c) restrictive affectionate behavior between men; and (d) conflict between work and family relations.

Gender Role Conflict in Men of Color

Since the validation of the GRCS, several researchers have attempted to understand how racial and ethnic identity relates to GRC and to test its applicability to men of color (e.g., Carter et al., 2005; Laurent, 1997; Liang et al., 2010; Wade, 1996; Wester et al., 2006). Laurent (1997) found that Black men with high African cultural identity reported significantly lower levels of GRC and had higher levels of self-esteem than Black men who were high in African-American cultural identity (demonstrating the significance of adherence to one's racial-ethnic identity as a buffer to GRC). Walker (2008) found that African-American men who were more assimilated to the cultural majority showed significant increases in GRC. In a meta-analysis of studies examining racial identity and distress from Black Americans, Lee and Ahn (2013) found that when individuals were more assimilated, they tended to adopt dominant White norms and internalize negative beliefs about Black Americans. Carter and colleagues (2005) found full

mediation of the relationship between Black men's GRC and severity of psychological symptoms by racial identity status attitudes. This means the extent to which Black men adhere to the norms of the dominant culture influences the degree to which GRC impacts psychological symptoms. Carter et al. (2005) found the same to hold true for Asian American and Latino men: the more likely they were to subscribe to traditional masculine norms, the greater the severity of their psychological symptoms. An earlier study by Wade (1996) also yielded similar findings: African American men's racial identity attitude status was correlated with patterns of gender role conflict, particularly around the Immersion/Emersion status that is characterized by anger towards Whites for the role in racial oppression. Wade (1996) posited that awareness of institutional barriers to achieving the traditional masculine ideal of career and financial success increases stress in the lives of African American men. No significant relationship was found between internalization attitudes and GRC, which aligns well with findings in the three previously mentioned studies with Black men. Internalization attitudes represent a Black identity that is internally defined (Blacks are the reference group but there is also openness to the strengths of White culture). According to Wade (1996), men who have internally defined masculinity may hold openness to strengths stereotypically associated with feminine gender roles. Similar findings were reflected in Liu's (2002) study where Asian American men's racial identity attitudes were significant predictors of gender role conflict. In the same fashion as African American men, those with an internalized racial sense of self come to accept the positive and negative aspects of Asian and White culture and feel less conflicted over having traditional masculine roles. Wade (1996) posited that the extent to which traditional male gender roles may be a source of stress or conflict may be related to one's racial reference group orientation and the extent to which one's racial identity is personally versus externally defined. For example, Wester

et al. (2006) found that a racial identity attitude reflective of internalized racism (e.g., self-hatred) partially mediated the relationship between GRC and psychological symptoms in African American men. In this sample, African American men who internalized a racist understanding of themselves as men of color may have suffered more during the navigation of these gender roles than men who did not internalize such a racial identity due to their appreciation of their own African heritage. According to Wester et al. (2006), "having a self-definition based more on the racist manner in which some aspects of Euro American culture view African American men accounted for the relationship between GRC and psychological distress" (p. 425). Liang et al. (2010) found that for Latino men, higher levels of machismo were significantly related to higher levels of GRC (specifically, restrictive affectionate behavior between men). This relationship was even stronger for men who experienced high levels of racism in general and occupational settings. The researchers also found that Latino men holding caballerismo ideology who experienced racism in academic settings demonstrated higher levels of GRC (specifically, around success, power, and competition) since such racism may be a threat to perceived self-efficacy regarding intellect or providing financially for one's family. Wester (2008) hypothesized that men who endorse caballerismo ideals might be prone to higher levels of GRC because the traditional male gender roles value the more visible aspects of machismo (e.g., strength, dominance, economic advancement) rather than the internal aspects of caballerismo, which potentially creates conflict.

O'Neil (2015) stated that the relationship of gender role conflict to discrimination and oppression has not been fully explained. Carter et al. (2005) noted that it appears logical to assume the relationship between men of color and GRC is not direct but influenced by the men's orientation to their own racial and cultural group and that of the dominant group. Based on the

few studies that have been performed, men who are less acculturated possess an external definition of their racial identity and men who identify more with dominant culture experience GRC. O'Neil (2015) also pointed out that no research on GRC has been completed on Native American, Pacific Islander, or Arab/Middle Eastern men and that more research is needed on how exactly GRC relates to racial identity, family and cultural values, racism, ethnocentrism, and acculturation for men of color. What Wester and colleagues (2006) illuminated, however, is that many men of color are able to navigate a mixture of gender roles by incorporating values and behaviors from both cultures successfully. Despite this, they still experience distress and frustration, particularly when attempting to simultaneously cope with racism and the desire to succeed individually in a system void of any supports.

Gendered Racism

Much of the existing empirical multicultural literature on the psychological wellbeing and health of people of color has focused on the impact of racism (e.g., the relationship between racial discrimination to self-esteem, race-related stress, and heath disparities) (Miville & Ferguson, 2014). According to Miville and Ferguson (2014), this work has been quite important in revealing the harmful effects of race-based discrimination in the lives of people of color; however, much of this work is based on the assumption that racial–ethnic group members are monolithic and homogeneous, which has obscured potential gender differences in the experiences of racism for men and women of color.

Race and gender are perhaps the most visible social identities, which make them the most common basis of people's categorizations of others (Sue, 2010). Most research on the intersections of these identities has focused on the experiences of women while paying little attention to the experiences of men, especially men of color (Schwing, Wong, & Fann, 2013).

Research cited in the preceding section of this literature review illuminated the role of racial identity orientation as either a mediator or moderator to understanding gender role conflict in men of color (e.g., men of color who utilized external stereotypes about their masculinity in the construction of their gender roles were more likely to experience GRC). As Pleck (1995) and O'Neil (1981a, 1981b) explained that gender roles for the dominant group are operationally defined by gender role stereotypes, so, too, are the gender roles for men of color. Therefore, a more nuanced understanding of the gendered stereotypes that exist about men of color and how they relate to their overall gender role construction is presented in this section.

The term *gendered racism* was coined by Essed (1990) to describe how sexism and racism "narrowly intertwine and combine under certain conditions into one, hybrid phenomenon" (p. 31). Thomas, Witherspoon, and Speight (2008) noted that the experience of gendered racism is applicable to all racial-ethnic minority men and women and is established through negative societal stereotypes of men and women of color. Therefore, all people of color experience racism ubiquitously, but as Miville and Ferguson (2014) explained, the manner, frequency, and intensity of racial stereotypes or racial prejudice may vary on the basis of both race and gender. According to Marbley (2011), men of color's gender, just like their racial identity, "has been pushed to the margins and created internal conflict for men of color who are unable to meet the traditional standard of White masculinity" (p. 101). Insights into the gendered racism men of color endure may provide a multifaceted understanding of the oppressive experiences that account for the gender roles they enact. What follows are the prevalent stereotypes of African American, Latino, and Asian American men cited in the literature.

For African American men, in particular, racism has had dire psychological impacts for their masculine identity. Marbley (2011) stated that the social construction of African American

manhood in mainstream American culture is entrenched in images of Black men as beasts, full of rage, and on the brink of extinction. She detailed these images have emerged as the result of three occurrences: (1) White slave owners labeling Africans as physically aggressive, sexually uncontrolled, and in need of the Whites' control (as a way to rationalize slavery); (b) African American men's frustration over the denial of their manhood and personhood; and (c) the increasing alarm over the survival of African American men as a result of social problems plaguing their communities (e.g., drugs, violence, and gangs).

Sue (2010) provided a comprehensive list some of the historical and current stereotypes that exist about Black American men: hostile, angry, impulsive, dangerous, drug dealers, criminals, pimps, addicts, unintelligent, mentally retarded, low skills, lack abstract thinking, inhuman, animalistic, undesirable, smelly, unkempt, dirty, mentally ill, abnormal, insatiable, sexual appetite, large sex organs, musically inclined, natural athletes, happy-go-lucky, and "all Blacks are the same." According to Sue, Nadal, Capodilupo, Lin, Torino, and Rivera (2008), the common microaggressions (i.e., the brief and commonplace verbal, behavioral, and environmental indignities that communicate derogatory or negative racial and gender insults) Black men experience can be encapsulated into six themes or hidden messages: an assumption of intellectual inferiority, treatment as a second class citizen, an assumption of criminality, an assumption of inferior status, an assumed universality of the Black experience, and superiority of White cultural values/communication styles. Schwing et al. (2013) summarized these prevalent stereotypes into different themes of gendered racism stress that African American men encounter: (a) stereotypes about violence, (b) stereotypes about fatherhood (e.g., unsupportive or absent), and (c) stereotypes about athletic abilities.

Sue (2010) noted that the success myth of Asian Americans (alluded to earlier in the section on Asian American men's gender roles) contributes to the belief that Asian Americans have not been exposed to racism and should not be considered an oppressed minority group in the United States. Despite this, numerous negative images and stereotypes exist about Asian American men. Liu and Concepcion (2010) pointed out that Asian American men have experienced gendered racism focused on their "not real" men position in society and that they have "a long history and explicit current experiences of being portrayed as effeminate, emasculation, and barriers to success and upward mobility" (p. 132). They note these images were particularly exacerbated during the Vietnam War when White men were perceived as a losing a war to Asians. As a way to recuperate their masculinity, numerous films (e.g., *Rambo; Missing in Action)* depicted annihilation of platoons of Asians as normal and masculine, while the "facelessness and often unrelenting onslaught of the aggressors was also just another way in which Asians were objectified and dehumanized as the 'other'—not quite human because of their willingness to die" (p. 132). Sue (2003) outlined the prevalent negative stereotypes about Asian American men as follows: spies, sneaky, backstabbers, disloyal, slanted eyes, stingy, subhuman, model minority, bright, passive, lack of leadership skills, poor interpersonally, unassertive, unmasculine/sexually unattractive men, and poor English skills.

Political rhetoric on the campaign trails during the 2016 U.S. presidential election made glaring the gendered stereotypes that exist about Latino men: drug dealers, rapists, and murderers. Sue (2003) further outlined the general public's perceptions of Latino men: illegal aliens, foreigners, drug dealers, farm workers, poor, welfare recipients, tax avoiders, domestic servants, unskilled, criminals, dangerous, untrustworthy, greasy, sloppy, irresponsible, lazy, never on time, carefree, uninhibited, poor English, uneducated, stupid, and religious. Diaz et al.

(2011) explained that many of the negative connotations that exist about Latino men are derived from the previously mentioned gender roles concept of *machismo*, which includes an emphasis on "male dominance and chauvinism, bravado, womanizing, aggression, violence, alcoholism, emotional restrictiveness, antisocial behaviors, hypermasculinity and excessive masculinity, focus on individual power, sexual promiscuity, extreme rudeness, lower education, and less affiliation with ethnic identity… [and] dominative and manipulative relations with women" (p. 98-99). Despite the overabundance of machismo references in the literature about Latino masculinity, Wester (2008) stated that it is an oversimplification of Latino male gender roles that generates controversy because it is based on old, racist sociological research and is erroneously used to describe all Latino men without taking into account the wealth of within-group diversity that exists in Latinx culture.

The above instances of gendered racism experienced by various men of color demonstrate an effort, whether conscious or unconscious, by dominant society to undermine the masculinity of men of color by ascribing a range of negative qualities to them that presumably do not exist in the same proportion or severity for White men. Based on the aforementioned descriptions, these negative qualities occur in polarities: the hypermasculinization of Black and Latino men and the emasculation of Asian American men. On top of this, the pressure to subscribe to rigid gender roles defined by the dominant group, which was clarified in the previous section to be impacted by one's racial identity attitude and in this section by gendered racism, leaves men of color in a very precarious position to negotiating their gender roles. The gender roles of the dominant group are unattainable; the set of gender roles prescribed to them by the dominant group are degrading and false; the set of gender roles defined by their culture may

be in conflict with those of the dominant group. Given this complexity, how do men of color navigate their gender roles?

According to Miville and Ferguson (2014), some men of color may attempt "buy into" the gendered racist images portrayed about them. In an effort to maintain control over stereotypes and survive, they may enact behaviors more aligned with traditional male gender roles as a way to be visible in a society that often makes them invisible. Yet, as Miville and Sahadath (2013) suggested, enacting these very behaviors may actually result in the silencing and subjugation of men of color. Schwing et al. (2013) noted that for African American men, enacting the absent father stereotype may result from internalizations of societal assumptions around Black men as short-term partners, from pressures of avoiding to fulfill stereotypes, and from a lack of role models due to a dearth of attention in larger society to successful African American fathers. Diaz et al. (2013) indicated that the hypermasculine stereotypes associated with *machismo* may negatively impact some Latino men to resort to intimate partner violence and substance abuse.

Therefore, for many men of color, gendered stereotypes may inevitably become self-fulfilling prophecies in which men of color feel they have no choice but to endorse. This touches on the notion of "buying into" versus "selling out." On one hand, if men of color choose to stray from the negative stereotypes prescribed to them, they might be viewed as "sell-outs" by men in their cultural circle, on the other hand, if they choose to "buy into" these stereotypes, they recapitulate the intergenerational oppression experienced by so many of their predecessors.

And so men of color find themselves in a double-bind: tolerate the negative definitions of their masculinity and remain at the mercy of the societal forces that so often dictate their lives or consciously focus on the positive aspects of their masculinity that society so often ignores in

order to forge ahead. In terms of the latter, Matthews et al. (2013) referred to the strategy of "John Henryism"—an active coping style used by African American men use to survive in racist social environments. It is believed that with hard work and persistent effort, one can master and overcome their environment, no matter how harmful. Sue's (2010) "myth of meritocracy" also falls in line with John Henryism. The myth of meritocracy assumes that race and gender do not play a role in life successes, that all groups have an equal opportunity to succeed, and that we all operate on a level playing field. Thus, success is the result of an individual's intelligence, hard work, and motivation; failure is the result of low intellect and laziness. Sue noted that the lower educational achievement and higher unemployment and poverty rates many persons of color disproportionately experience in relation to their White counterparts are rarely seen as a result of systemic forces such as individual, institutional, and societal racism. Blaming men of color for these disparities while ignoring these systemic forces is the outcome of the myth of meritocracy.

While all individuals ultimately play a role in their own success, it does not make sense to ignore the various societal forces that work against them (Smith, Foley, & Chaney, 2008). This draws attention to the larger context in which men of color develop their gender roles. Not only are their gender roles shaped by traditional gender role norms, their own culture's gender role norms (and the gender role conflict that may ensue when these two misalign), and their experiences of gendered racism, but also by the various societal forces and conditions that subjugate and oppress them.

Social Determinants of Masculinity in Men of Color

The previous section of the literature review highlighted gendered stereotypes that men of color experience. The origin of these stereotypes and their continual evolution in our society fail to recognize the social forces that work against men of color achieving traditional masculine

gender roles. This section will focus on educational achievement of men of color, including the quality of education and discipline they experience at school, their social class and employment levels, their involvement with the criminal justice system, their housing and neighborhood conditions, and health outcomes. The rationale for including this section in the literature review comes from Reid (2002), who provided a very simple but powerful analogy for why understanding context is critical in her work that highlights the gendered experiences of women of color:

> "It is recognized, of course, that it is not possible to study one trait in isolation, whether it is intelligence or generosity, athletic skill or musical talent; everything has an environment in which it is manifested. Everything must be considered in context. In the physical sciences, for example, when chemists isolate an element, they proceed further to learn how it operates in conjunction with others—how it combines and interacts, how it is influenced by temperature and other conditions. So, too, in the behavioral sciences, a trait cannot be examined without considering the person who possesses it; neither is it possible to study one category of persons in isolation from each person's context. To study [wo/men] of color without an understanding of the circumstances of their lives will necessarily have limited utility" (p. 105).

Education

The American Psychological Association (APA) Presidential Task Force on Educational Disparities (2012) reported that, when compared to their White and Asian American peers, African American, Latinx, Native American, and some Asian American subgroups of children such as Pacific Islanders exhibit consistent underachievement in academic performance from prekindergarten through twelfth grade, and are concurrently underrepresented in high school

graduation rates, placement in gifted and talented programs, and admission to college and other higher education. Of note is that males fare worse than females on most of these indices. It is important to recognize that while most Asian American students may not experience academic disparities to the same severity as other racial minority groups, some differences in higher achievement are due to the differential selectivity of immigrants from Asian countries, where more immigrants from Asian countries enter the U.S. to fill employment shortages and, thus arrive in the U.S. with higher levels of education (APA, 2012).

In 2014, the high school graduation rate for most ethnic and racial minority groups was below the national average of 82% (National Center for Education Statistics, 2016), with many large urban districts serving predominantly minority students from low-income families graduating at rates below 50% (APA, 2012). Latinx students experience high school dropout, rates, sometimes referred to as "pushout rates," four times the rate of White students, with Native American students experiencing the highest rates of dropout despite only representing 1% of the population. Nearly 25% of African American boys have repeated a grade compared to just over 10% of White or Latino boys (APA, 2012). Many children of foreign-born parents have an immigrant advantage relative to academic achievement in U.S. schools.

The U.S. Department of Education (2016) suggested "Education can only fulfill its promise as the great equalizer—a force that can overcome differences in privilege and background—when we work to ensure that students are in school every day" (para. 1). Yet, chronic absenteeism (i.e., when students miss at least 15 days of school per year), has become a crisis in the United States. In 2014, 23% of Black, 21% of Latinx, 28% of Native American, 26% of Pacific Islander, and 21% of multiracial students missed three or more weeks of high school as compared to only 17% of their White peers (U.S. Department of Education, 2016). Chronic

absenteeism is linked with lower reading levels, an increased likelihood of dropping out of school, and poorer outcomes later in life such as poverty, diminished health, and involvement in the criminal justice system (U.S. Department of Education, 2016). Students from urban racial minority communities and areas of poverty are more likely to experience barriers going to school such as poor health, limited transportation, and lack of safety (U.S. Department of Education, 2016).

Education quality. Thus far it is clear that most adolescent boys of color graduate, advance, and attend school at lower rates than their White male peers. For those that attend school, it is critical to examine the quality of education they receive. The APA (2012) reported substantial evidence that children from low-income families, particularly racial minority children, experience high levels of socioeconomic stressors that prevent them from developing emotional and behavioral regulation and developing social relationships, whereas children with higher behavioral regulation "appear better able to attend to specific cues, remember instruction, stay on task, tune out irrelevant information, and process information necessary to complete tasks, all of which contribute to their ability to succeed in school settings and perform well academically" (p. 27). Early childhood education programs have been found to decrease disparities in academic skills, but access to such programs, especially high quality programs, is limited to more affluent families (APA, 2012). Beyond this, the APA's (2012) findings further show that from early childhood, children from low-income minority homes tend to be in classrooms with "lower ratings of instructional support and less facilitative teacher instruction" (p. 27). The U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights (2016) reported in their Civil Rights Data Collection (CRDC) on Teacher and Staffing Equity that 7% of Black students, 6% of Latinx students, and 6% of Native American or Alaska Native students attend schools where

more than 20% of teachers are in their first year of teaching (compared to 3% of White students). In addition, 9% of teachers in schools with high Black and Latinx student enrollment are in their first year of teaching (compared to 5% of teachers in schools with low Black and Latinx student enrollment) (U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights, 2016). Furthermore, 3% of Black students and 2% of Latinx and Native American or Alaska Native students attend schools where more than 20% of teachers have not met all state certification and licensure requirements (compared to 1% of White students) (U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights, 2016). The CRDC (2016) also reported that Latinx students are 1.4 times, Asian students are 1.3 times, and Black students are 1.2 times as likely as White students to attend a school without a school counselor.

School Discipline

The U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights (2014) reported in their Civil Rights Data Collection (CRDC) on School Discipline disproportionately high suspension rates for boys, particularly boys of color—a trend that begins as early as preschool. Lacking access to quality early childhood education programs, as noted previously, may make boys of color more vulnerable to behavioral infractions when they start school. Boys of all races represent 79% of preschool children suspended once and 82% of preschool children suspended multiple times (U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights, 2014). Though they only comprise 18% of preschool enrollment, Black children represent 48% of preschool children receiving more than one out-of-school suspension (White students represent 43% of preschool enrollment but 26% of preschool suspensions) (U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights, 2014). Black boys have higher suspension rates than any of their peers from preschool through high school (a rate three times greater than their White counterparts). In 2012, 20% of Black boys, 13% of

Native American boys, 11% of boys of two or more races, 9% of Latino boys, and 7% of Native Hawaiian boys received an out-of-school suspension (as compared to only 6% of White boys) (U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights, 2014). The CRDC (2014) also made note of arrests and referrals to law enforcement by race: while Black students represent 16% of student enrollment in all grades, they represent 27% of students referred to law enforcement and 31% of students subjected to a school-related arrest (White students represent 51% of enrollment, 41% of students referred to law enforcement, and 39% of those arrested). Involvement with law enforcement at this young age appears to be a precursor for adult incarnation for male youth of color. This phenomenon is commonly referred to as the "school to prison pipeline."

If education is truly the great equalizer the U.S. Department of Education claims it to be, the inequalities boys of color experience when they are at school put them at a disadvantage to attaining respectable, high-quality employment—one of the main markers of achieving traditional male gender roles in the United States. The APA (2012) encouraged closer attention to be paid to these disparities, as they will have an adverse impact on the labor force of the U.S.:

> "By the middle of this century, the majority of U.S. population will be people of color. Indeed Americans of European descent will simply be the largest minority group, and African Americans and Latinxs will become increasingly larger proportions of the U.S. labor force. Unless more ethnic and racial minority children and youth can succeed in the educational system, not just these communities in particular, but U.S. society in general will simply fail to cultivate important reservoirs of human talent, talent that will be even more important to the success of the nation in the years and decades ahead. Thus, the

U.S. needs to eliminate educational disparities to maintain its standing in the world (p. 20)

Social Class and Employment Levels

The APA (2012) suggested the importance of considering the individual and societal costs for the persistent academic underperformance of racial minority students. Not only does educational underachievement have considerable impact on these students and their families, but also for the economic sustainability of the nation. During the Great Recession (December 2007 until June 2009), African American unemployment rates rose from 8.6% in 2007 to 15.8% in 2009 and for Latinxs from 5.8% to 12.9%, while remaining under 10% for Whites under this same time period (APA, 2012). Ferguson and Ready (2011) discussed the role of inherited privilege as one of the most powerful factors in the distribution of opportunity in America and social reproduction as one one of the least contended findings within the social science literature, where socioeconomic advantage or disadvantage is passed down from parents to their children. In a longitudinal study they conducted utilizing over 13,000 children, they found that children with college-educated grandparents began formal schooling with stronger literacy and mathematics skills than children with less-educated grandparents (and that their mothers were more likely to come from two-parent, middle to upper class households). The findings highlighted the intergenerational transfer of social, economic, and cognitive advantages. When racial minorities are more prone to under-education and underemployment, this hinders the future generation's educational and occupational attainment (Ferguson & Ready, 2011).

The U.S. Census Bureau (Renwick & Fox, 2016) reported that the poverty rate for the U.S. population in 2015 was 13.7%. Specifically, for non-Hispanic Whites it was 9.2%, whereas it was 24.2% for Blacks, 21.5% for Latinxs, and 11.4% for Asian Americans. Smith, Foley, and

Chaney (2008) suggested that class and race are "inextricably intertwined" in the United States such that people of color are overrepresented among those living in poverty. When compared to Whites, racial minorities experience higher levels of poverty and, in the cases of Blacks and Latinxs, more than double the rate of poverty that Whites do. Moreover, Ferguson and Ready (2011) reported that less than 17% of White children born into poverty will find themselves there as adults, compared to over 40% of Black children who will experience even lesser social mobility. A study by Chetty, Hendren, Jones, and Porter (2018) found in longitudinal research on 20 million American children over the span of 30 years that African American boys – even when raised in wealthy families and highly-resourced communities and schools – still earned less in adulthood than White boys with similar pedigrees and economic backgrounds (though African American and White girls from families with similar earnings did not experience the same disparities in adulthood as boys). The researchers noted that if these inequities could not be attributed to familial and household wealth, there is a nebulous dynamic that exists in American society that views African American boys differently from White boys.

Justice System Involvement

Data from the U.S. Federal Bureau of Prisons (2017) and the Prison Policy Initiative (Sakala, 2014) indicated that Blacks comprise 37.7% of all inmates, but only make up 13.3% of the U.S. population; Latinxs comprise 19% of all inmates, but only make up 16% of the U.S. population; Whites comprise 39% of all inmates and 64% of the U.S. population. Based on these figures, Blacks are incarcerated at five times more the rate than Whites are, and Latinxs are nearly twice as likely to be incarcerated as Whites. Clear (2008) explicated how incarceration concentrates in four important ways: (1) men are almost 15 times more likely to end up in prison than are women; (2) men of color are more likely to be sentenced than Whites; (3) people who

fail to complete high school are three times more likely to spend time behind prison bars than high school graduates; (4) younger adults are more likely to be jailed (69% of the imprisoned are under age 40). Clear (2008) posited, “Incarceration is not an equal opportunity activity” (p. 102). As referenced in the previous section, underemployment and disparate early educational experiences racial minority men experience increases their vulnerability to incarceration. Clear (2008) clarified that almost 6 in 10 Black males who do not finish high school go to prison during their lifetimes (almost three out of five African Americans who are incarcerated were high school dropouts and many of them were not working full time prior to their arrest). Crutchfield and Weeks (2015) reported that in addition to encompassing most of the poor and working class of the U.S., it is poor people of color that have been incarcerated disproportionately since the early 1980’s, when a massive increase in imprisonment occurred. Among serious crimes, these scholars reported that racial disparities are modest; for less serious crimes, however, the proportion of unwarranted racial disparities increases. For example, nearly 47% of imprisonments are due to drug offenses (Federal Prisons Bureau, 2017), despite the fact that racial group members use and sell drugs proportionally to their representation in the population (i.e., 13% of drug users and sellers are African American, 16 % are Latinx, and 64% are White and they tend to only sell to members of their racial group). Yet more than 50% of those imprisoned for drug sales or possession are men of color. The majority of individuals residing in these poor communities are law-abiding citizens with no other housing options, yet they report being stopped, hassled, and disrespected by police just as often as those who are actually committing crimes—a historical trauma that has endured for centuries (Crutchfield & Weeks, 2015).

For men of color, the loss of control over their lives and careers, the loss of their autonomy, and the loss of their ability to provide for their families—the hallmarks of traditional male gender roles—are likely to have deleterious impacts on their masculinity and gender role construction. This further supports previous notions reported in this literature review that traditional male gender roles remain out of reach for men of color. According to Crutchfield and Weeks (2015), many inmates of color are unaware of the collateral consequences associated with incarceration (i.e., the effects that remain long after the formal sentence has been served, many of which are legally-sanctioned). Some of the more oppressive consequences include denial of access to social benefits such as public housing, welfare benefits, college loans and grants, and voting rights. Crutchfield and Weeks (2015) postulated that while many of these sanctions are created with the belief that convicted felons should not benefit from the public's largess, not having access to these privileges may ultimately lead those released from prison to reengage in criminal behavior in order to ensure their basic survival needs are met.

The consequences of imprisonment also extend well beyond the incarcerated individual to their partners, children, friendships, and communities. Intimate relationships with partners often disintegrate, access to or custody of children is often lost, and criminal background checks make it extremely challenging to find middle-class paying employment that provides opportunities to move up the career ladder (Clear, 2008; Crutchfield & Weeks, 2015). Clear (2008) reported that 66% of the ever-married prison population are currently divorced (compared to a rate of 17% for non-imprisoned adults); two-fifths of men of color are fathers before entering prison and only one fifth of them are visited in prison by their children (even if they were active in their children's lives prior to being arrested); and already-impoverished families endure extreme financial hardship from the loss of the male partner's income (and from the

associated legal and court fees). Clear (2008) added that because incarceration primarily targets parent-aged males, this ultimately reduces the number of male partners available to mothers of color and, as a result, they encounter greater competition for finding partners that can serve as parents for their children. This delineation may help abate some of the negative gendered stereotypes (previously identified in the section on gendered racism) that some men of color are intentionally absent fathers or intentionally fathers to multiple children with different mothers.

To summarize, incarceration produces several harmful effects to gender role development in men of color. It is widely noted in the literature (e.g., Clear, 2008; Crutchfield & Weeks, 2015) that having a good, solid family life and steady employment reduces the likelihood a person will participate in a crime. Therefore, those who are most at risk of a prison sentence are less likely than their same-age peers to have a stable intimate relationship, a fulfilling career, or to live in decent housing prior to imprisonment. If deficits in these areas continue to persist after release from prison, chances for recidivism increase (Crutchfield & Weeks, 2015). Either way, many men of color find that when they return home, their families have been disrupted, they are unable to compete in the job market, and they are unable to access public assistance due to collateral consequences (Clear, 2008; Crutchfield & Weeks, 2015). The stigma of incarceration makes potential partners reluctant to marry former inmates, particularly when they only qualify for low wages. According to Clear (2008), what is left are work and marriage prospects that are degraded. More harmful is the intergenerational impact of incarceration, which was illustrated previously as a factor that correlates with the lower educational achievement and social immobility of many people of color. Crutchfield and Weeks (2015) reported that children of individuals that have been imprisoned have lower levels of academic attainment, which decreases their employment competitiveness and earning potential, increases their vulnerability

to incarceration, and increases the likelihood that another generation of their family will live in a disadvantaged community. The researchers also noted that judges are likely to sentence children from disadvantaged communities more harshly in juvenile court than children from more stable communities.

Communities and Neighborhoods

Thus far, this portion of the literature review has highlighted the overrepresentation of men of color in schools with less experienced teachers and harsher levels of disciplinary action, higher levels of unemployment and poverty, and higher involvement with the criminal justice system. In the preceding section on incarceration, Clear (2008) made reference to four layers of concentrated incarceration: gender (men), race (usually men of color), human capital (high school dropouts), and age (under 40 years old). These four areas converge to create a fifth layer: *place* (i.e., communities and neighborhoods). Given the extreme racial and socioeconomic residential and housing segregation in the U.S., some neighborhoods, particularly poorer neighborhoods, are likelier to be targets of disproportionate policing, profiling, and incarceration than more economically-prosperous neighborhoods (Clear, 2008).

Crutchfield and Weeks (2015) posited that crime destabilizes neighborhoods and when criminals from socially- and economically-oppressed African American and Latinx communities are removed, those neighborhoods benefit (e.g., less fear of personal/property victimization; environment is perceived as less threatening/scary). The opportunity then emerges for cohesion, closeness, and familiarity among neighbors, which facilitates healthy and productive social engagement that makes crime less likely. In other words, too much crime increases the likelihood of more crime occurring. These same scholars advocate that over-incarceration has adverse effects on communities of color as well (Clear, 2008; Crutchfield & Weeks, 2015). Most inmates

are released back to the same communities they lived in before incarceration. As mentioned earlier, a criminal record reduces one's chances of finding and keeping work. Thus, if a community or neighborhood has many members that have gone to prison, the community itself is likely to suffer from high rates of unemployment and low income (Clear, 2008). Not only may these bleak outcomes be passed onto children of incarcerated parents, but numerous studies also note that these children are more at risk of developing juvenile delinquency, mental illness, school failure, and substance abuse (Clear, 2008).

In terms of traditional male gender roles, Clear (2008) elucidated that incarceration removes many of the men from neighborhoods who provide financial support to women in their social circles. In their absence, many of these women become single mothers and heads of households that must turn to support from various networks such as extended family and friends or even crime (e.g., illegal drug sales) in order to make ends meet. Men's absence also disrupts the labor markets in impoverished communities since there are fewer men to mentor male youth entering the workforce. At an institutional level, voter registration rates are lower in neighborhoods with high rates of incarceration, particularly where strict enforcement of drug laws fuels these incarcerations. Many communities are left feeling disempowered, non-harmonious, and having little self-efficacy as a result (Clear, 2008). Clear (2008) stated that no proven strategy exists for combating the effects of concentrated incarceration on communities. To this end, Crutchfield and Weeks (2015) reported that there is no evidence to suggest that moving away from a high-level practice of imprisonment (a highly-unique characteristic to the United States more than any other nation in the world) will result in significant increases in crime. The question remains as to why this practice persists when it destabilizes families, communities, and entire generations?

Living in impoverished communities also increases the health disparities in boys and men of color. Jones, Crump, and Lloyd (2013) outlined many of the social injustices related to lower quality schooling and high rates of incarceration as having adverse impacts on the health and health potential of men of color. These scholars highlighted that poor and working class people of color are segregated in high-rise public housing units that limit their access to quality schools and jobs. Their communities lack safe places for recreation and are not likely to have supermarkets that offer healthy food but have liquor stores or fast food restaurants at every corner. Primary care agencies are overcrowded, understaffed, and underfunded. At the policy level, minimum-sentence drug laws exist, male youth of color are tried as adults, and schools with zero-tolerance policies immediately expel boys of color.

To conclude this section on social determinants of masculinity, O'Neil (2008) thoroughly captured the many ideas and tenets presented by numerous scholars on the gender-related disparities men of color experience and its detrimental impacts on children, families and broader society:

> "Greater efforts are needed to inform the public about how men, women, boys, and girls are all potentially harmed by restrictive and sexist gender roles. Eventually, changes will be needed at the societal level in terms of how gender roles and sexism are understood interpersonally, socially, and politically. Within psychology and throughout society, resistance, confusion, and defensiveness still exist about gender roles. Many people are still unconscious of the negative effects of GRC and sexism that violate human rights. Individuals suffer in silence or unconsciously project their anger onto others, sometimes with violent outcomes. Sexism and GRC need to be understood as inhumane and not worth the capitalist rewards promised by patriarchal structures" (p. 424).

At this point in the literature review, it is hopefully clear that the gender role development process for men of color is dissimilar to that of White American men. It is also hopefully clear that men of color encounter similar experiences when negotiating their gender roles: pressure by society and self to conform to traditional male gender roles or gendered racist stereotypes, pressure by one's own racial group to conform to male gender role norms, the gender role strain and conflict that ensue when traditional male gender roles are unmet/unattainable or in conflict with one's individual or cultural prescriptions of masculinity, experiences of racism and discrimination, and the various systemic barriers in education, employment, housing, and health that interfere with achieving traditional masculine ideals.

Until recently, no model has existed for understanding the gender role construction process in men of color. Most of the psychological research has attempted to understand this process in terms of conflict and its negative psychological consequences (e.g., GRS, GRC) rather than understanding gender as a process that also pays attention to racial and ethnic intersections and some of the positive aspects of masculine gender roles (Miville, 2013).

The Multicultural Gender Roles Model

Based on core narratives that emerged from qualitative interviews with more than 60 people of diverse racial-ethnic backgrounds, including African Americans, Latinas/os, and Asians/Asian Americans, about their views of what it means to be a man or woman and the roles their racial-ethnic heritage played in constructing these meanings, Miville et al. (2013) developed the *Multicultural Gender Roles Model* based on the primary narrative of negotiating gender roles. In line with the structure of the current literature review, many of the participants reported being raised and socialized as men and women through various sources of information that included: (a) unique cultural values, expectations, and norms; (b) traditional notions of

masculinity and femininity shared across cultural groups; (c) socializing agents and institutions; and (d) racial-ethnic and gender stereotypes. Miville and colleagues (2013) explained that these various sources interact with each other in congruent and conflicting manners about the ways an individual can and should behave as a gendered being and the roles in which an individual may or should engage. Each individual thus identifies and negotiates what his or her gender roles might be as a result of this ongoing complex socialization processes.

The Multicultural Gender Roles Model (MGRM) suggested that gender role negotiation is made up of a number of important processes for many men and women of color, such as abandoning imposed restrictions of traditional ideals of masculinity and femininity. The model proposed that gender role negotiation is constant and fluid, and that it is possible for individuals to adopt different gender roles depending on the context (i.e., being soft and feminine in one setting and tough and autonomous in another) that may not always reflect traditional bifurcated roles of masculinity and femininity

In negotiating gender roles, MGRM highlighted a number of components that may be important for people of color:

1. *Resolving conflicts*: Gender role socialization exposes individuals to a complex array of messages about how to construct their gender roles. Developing awareness of these areas of conflict is one major aspect of negotiating gender roles, principally as individuals construct their own gender role meanings in light of these multiple messages, values, and norms. Resolutions of these conflicts may involve finding congruence, perhaps by discovering a community supportive of one's negotiated roles. Moreover, simply accepting the reality of multiple perspectives, expectations, and norms, however mixed these may be, is also a critical aspect of satisfaction and self-acceptance as a gendered

being. Particular settings, events, or people may at times make gender role conflicts salient throughout the lifetime and lead to further role negotiations within and among individuals.

2. *Navigating privilege and oppression:* Since race-ethnicity and gender exist within a larger sociopolitical system of dominative power relations, men and women of color are impacted by these relations throughout the course of their lives. As noted previously, men may experience marginalization in the larger society resulting from overt racist beliefs as both an individual of color and as a man of color, but within their racial-ethnic communities, men often are viewed in a leadership role that many of the men interviewed still adhered to. Many male participants were positive about taking on this more dominant role, but some also expressed ambivalence of letting go of this role (perhaps due to a well-understood concern about their marginalization in the larger society). At the same time, many men expressed support for women's rights to self-expression and autonomy.
3. *Understanding one's impact on others:* Taking responsibility for the impact of one's actions was a theme that reverberated among many of the male participants. The significant influence parents and other family members play in one's gender role socialization, particularly when they are positive, may help individuals understand the potential they possess in positively impacting the lives of others. However, unmindfully engaging in traditional gender roles and acting out internalizations of gendered racism can lead to potentially harmful impacts on self and others such as engaging in sexually promiscuous, alcoholic, or violent behaviors (e.g., some Latino men shared negative consequences resulting from enacting hypermasculine roles observed in male relatives so instead consciously chose a more respectful path toward expressing their masculinities).

4. *Transforming self-perceptions:* A number of participants disclosed struggling to distinguish between cultural prescriptions and societal stereotypes in constructing their gender roles. To this end, some individuals may adopt gender roles that align with what is culturally expected of them; others may choose to revise these prescriptions, which may prove liberating for some as they begin to see themselves in flexible, diverse ways.
5. *Intersecting Identities:* Negotiating gender roles likely involves a number of social group experiences for every person. It may become apparent when exploring gender roles that other intersecting identities outside of race-ethnicity and gender may be invisible, yet critical, from self and others. Some individuals may be unaware of or uncomfortable with these identities for several reasons (e.g., potential conflicts with cultural prescriptions or religious values; internalized homophobia or classism).
6. *Navigating emotions:* Negotiating gender roles in light of cultural norms, traditional notions of masculinity and femininity, some of which are conflicting, and exposure to overt racist and sexist stereotypes, leads to many emotions that can be distressing as well as harmful behaviors, if they are not managed well. Becoming aware of the breadth and depth of these emotions may help individuals more clearly and consciously understand the decisions they make regarding their gender role expressions. For example, a young African American male student may embrace a negative stereotype about himself as a means of resisting it or for fear of being labeled a “sellout” by his peers.
7. *Constructing own gender styles/expressions:* Because gender is a process, expressing one’s gender can be done in several ways. This may involve expressing traditional norms of masculinity or femininity or norms expressed within one’s racial-ethnic culture. Sometimes definitions of masculinity and femininity differ between one’s culture and

broader U.S. society. For instance, while humility and deference are considered highly-desired qualities in many Asian cultures, they do not characterize masculine or even feminine norms in American culture.

8. *Constructing roles in family, community, and society:* Constructing gender roles is crucially linked with being a contributing member of one's family and community, particularly adults. Responsibility was the most referred to notion by all participants, often conveying that visible characteristics and mannerisms are not as important in negotiating gender roles as the positive impact one has on others, especially in being a positive role model for younger generations.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to adapt the Multicultural Gender Roles Model into a psychometric scale that could reliably and validly measure the various components Miville and her colleagues (2013) identified as significant to the gender role construction of people of color—specifically, men of color. This literature review has highlighted various dimensions that impact the gender role development of men of color, which have not been fully captured by existing psychological theories or clinical interventions that have been used to assess this process in men and women in general. Else-Quest and Hyde (2016) suggested that quantitative measures could tell us about the similarities among individuals at different locations of an intersection, such as a race-ethnicity and gender. Given that the processes identified in the Multicultural Gender Roles Model are not mutually exclusive, meaning that varying degrees of each these processes can occur simultaneously for the same person, this fluidity can be measured through quantitative methodology (Else-Quest & Hyde, 2016). Thus, an assessment tool of this nature could aid helping professionals and educators determine how one or more of the aforementioned

components to gender role construction might be impacting the physiological and/or psychosocial wellbeing of a man of color.

This study aimed to develop and validate the Multicultural Gender Roles Scale—Male Version (MGRS-Male Version), and in particular, to identify if and how the eight unique processes to gender role construction in people of color postulated in the MGRM were applicable to men of color. It was hypothesized that because the model captured components that were found to be salient in the narratives about the gender roles of over 60 individuals of color, that the proposed scale for this study would also reflect eight constructs. The following research questions were explored:

1. Does the proposed scale possess adequate reliability, in that participants consistently responded to all of the items similarly?
2. As an indication of the scale's construct validity, do findings from the factor analysis reflect the proposed factor structure of the Multicultural Gender Roles Model?

Chapter 3

Methodology

As noted in the last chapter, the purpose of this study was to develop the Multicultural Gender Roles Scale – Male Version (MGRS – Male Version) and to examine its reliability and construct validity through an exploratory factor analysis (EFA). The scale items of the MGRS – Male Version were developed, deliberated on, and revised by a group of scholars from the field of counseling psychology. Items were then reviewed by a panel of expert judges who recruited based on their expertise in the psychological study of gender and gender roles as demonstrated by their credentials (master's or doctoral degree in counseling psychology), previous research experience on gender/gender roles, or familiarity with the subject matter based on coursework taught or completed related to gender/gender roles. Items were reviewed by the judges for clarity and conciseness, face validity, and their fit with the eight-factor structure proposed by Miville et al. (2013) in the Multicultural Gender Roles Model.

Participants

Data from 200 participants were collected for the present study. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 75 years old (M = 28.2, SD = 12.2, Mdn = 24). In addition to their identification as men of color living in the United States, approximately 41% of the sample identified as African American/Black, 34% identified as Latinx, 21% identified as Asian/Asian American, 2.5% identified as biracial or multiracial, 1% identified as Native American, and .5% identified as Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander. With regards to sexual orientation, approximately 73% identified as heterosexual, 16% identified as gay, 7% identified as bisexual, and 4% identified with another sexuality (e.g., asexual, questioning, or queer). In terms of social class, 52% identified as middle class, 32% as working class, 12% as upper middle class, and 4% reported

living at or below the poverty line. Regarding religious affiliation, approximately 30% of the sample identified as Christian, 27% of identified as Catholic, 22% reported having no religious affiliation, 5% identified as Muslim, 5% identified as Protestant, 3% identified as Buddhist, and 1.5% identified as Jewish.

Procedure

With approval from the Teachers College, Columbia University Institutional Review Board, participants were recruited through fliers posted on the Teachers College campus, online posts made on student portals of several regional colleges and universities, email invitations sent to various undergraduate and graduate student of color organizations across the nation, and social media posts made to various people of color interest groups on Facebook and on Twitter. All posts included a link to the online survey operated by Qualtrics. Upon providing consent to participate in the study (see *Appendix C* for informed consent statement), participants completed the measures described below.

Measures

Development of the Multicultural Gender Roles Scale – Male Version (MGRS – Male Version). DeVellis (2003) established guidelines for developing and validating scales intended to measure elusive phenomena that cannot be observed directly. He noted that because there is no tangible criterion against which one could compare this type of scale's performance, it is important to be grounded in the theories related to the phenomenon to be measured. In this case, the theoretical foundation for the development of the MGRS – Male Version was based on Miville et al.'s (2013) Multicultural Gender Roles Theory. The eight unique processes Miville and her colleagues demarcated in their Multicultural Gender Roles Model provided the rationale

for the creation of the eight subscales of MGRS – Male Version. Scale items were subsequently developed based on these scholars' conceptualizations of the eight constructs and the qualitative data they derived from respondents about their gender role development. As mentioned in both Chapters 1 and 2, Miville et al. (2013) suggested the eight following core narrative themes for gender role construction in people of color, which includes men of color: (1) *resolving conflicts* among multiple perspectives and expectations of gender role norms, (2) *navigating privilege and oppression* in larger society and within their own racial-ethnic communities, (3) *understanding one's impact on others,* particularly the gender role socialization of others, (4) *transforming self-perceptions* of cultural prescriptions and societal stereotypes into flexible, diverse gender roles; (5) negotiating gender roles in the context of other *intersecting identities* outside of race-ethnicity and gender; (6) *navigating emotions* associated with exposure to overt racist and sexist stereotypes; (7) *constructing own gender styles/expressions,* be it traditional norms of masculinity or femininity, norms expressed within one's racial-ethnic culture, or a uniquely constructed version of both; and (8) c*onstructing roles in family, community, and society,* in specific, having a positive impact on others, especially younger people.

Once the purpose of the scale was articulated, which was to measure the eight preceding processes in the gender role development in men of color, DeVellis (2003) proposed generating a large pool of items that are candidates for eventual inclusion in the scale. This process typically involves generating a longer list of items than what will eventually become the final instrument. Items that do not fit into the major factors will eventually be "trimmed." According to DeVellis (2003), the overall goal is to identify relatively few items related to a small number of latent variables. In this study, the initial pool of items consisted of 95 preliminary items, comprised of 12 items = resolving conflicts, 10 items = navigating privilege and oppression, 10 items =

understanding impact on others, 16 items = transforming self-perceptions, 14 items = intersecting identities, 16 items = navigating emotions, 10 items = constructing own gender styles, 7 items = constructing roles in family, community, and society. For items that state opinions, attitudes, or beliefs, DeVellis (2003) recommended utilizing a 5-point Likert-type scale, which was utilized for the present study: *1= Strongly Disagree*, *2=Disagree, 3=Undecided, 4=Agree, 5=Strongly Agree*.

The 95 initial items on the gendered experiences of men of color were next reviewed by an expert panel to assess for each item's relevance to the construct of interest, each item's clarity and conciseness, and to point out ways of tapping the construct of interest that might have not been included in the proposed items (DeVellis, 2003). For this study, three expert judges were recruited to identify which subscale they believed each item was capturing. Items that expert judges unanimously agreed upon as belonging to the same subscale or where two-thirds majority agreement existed, resulted in the retention of those items (in the latter event, some items were revised with feedback from the experts to strengthen the likelihood of capturing the construct of interest). Items the expert judges rated as being unclear or lacking cohesion regarding their subscale assignment were eliminated. Through this process, the initial 95-item pool was subsequently modified and reduced to 69 items. The 69-item scale was utilized for the initial phase of the scale validation (see *Appendix A* for scale items).

The MGRS – Male Version is a 69-item measure that was used to assess for the gender-based experiences of men of color (i.e., African American, Latino, Asian American men). Items within this measure assessed for the gendered self-expressions in relation to eight components represented in the Multicultural Gender Roles Model (Miville et al., 2013):

1. Resolving Conflicts

2. Navigating Privilege and Oppression
3. Understanding One's Impact on Others
4. Transforming Self-Perceptions
5. Intersecting Identities
6. Navigating Emotions
7. Constructing One's Own Gender Styles and Expressions
8. Constructing Roles in Family, Community and Society

Participants were invited to rate the extent they agreed or disagreed (1-point [Strongly Disagree] to 5-points [Strongly Agree]) with items created based on the above factors related to their gendered experiences as racially and ethnically diverse men. Cronbach's alpha coefficients for the exploratory factor analysis phase of data collection are reported in Table 1. Cronbach's alpha coefficients ranged from .34 to .78 across full scales and subscales

Demographics questionnaire. The demographic questionnaire was utilized to identify participant's age, race, gender, ethnicity, place of birth, U.S. state of residence, social class, highest level of education achieved, household income, career domain, and religious affiliation.

Chapter 4

Results

Exploratory Factor Analysis

EFA vs. CFA. According to DeVellis (2003), the best means of determining which group of items constitute a unidimensional set is through factor analysis. More specifically, researchers apply exploratory factor analysis (EFA) when they want to separate a large pool of items into meaningful subsets that measure different factors underlying participant responses (Worthington & Whittaker, 2006). While a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) is sometimes conducted when there is an idea about the number of factors that will emerge from the data based on theory, it should be noted that the Multicultural Gender Roles Model is the first and only theoretical explanation for how people of color develop their gender roles—not men of color alone. Thus, it provides one anticipated framework for the Multicultural Gender Roles Scale – Male Version's factor structure, but does not definitively predict what items will load onto what factors. For this reason, an exploratory factor analysis was selected for the current study with the expectation that it will be followed by a confirmatory factor analysis in a future study to help support the validity of the scale following the EFA. This typically occurs through a structural equation modeling (SEM) confirmatory procedure, where the researcher attempts to find fit with the model obtained from the EFA with a new sample in order to support the factor structure reliability and validity of the scale (Worthington & Whittaker, 2006). If other theoretically-plausible models existed to explain gender role development specifically in men of color, a confirmatory factor analysis may have been the initial step to evaluate which model would best fit the data from this sample (Worthington & Whittaker, 2006). Since no such models exist, an EFA was deemed appropriate.

Byrne (2001; as cited in Worthington & Whittaker, 2006) stated that application of CFA

to assessment instruments that are still in the beginning stages of development is a serious misuse of this analytic strategy. Conducting a single CFA offers little advantage over conducting a single EFA since research shows that EFA methods, such as principal axis factor analysis, are better able to uncover the correct factor model most of the time. Because factor analysis relies on replicating the hypothesized factor structure with a new sample, an initial CFA would still require follow up with another CFA. Worthington and Whittaker (2006) recommended conducting an EFA first, followed by a CFA *in all cases:* "Regardless of how effectively the researcher believes item generation has reproduced the theorized latent variables, we believe that the initial validation of an instrument should involve empirically appraising the underlying factor structure (i.e., EFA)" (p. 815).

Sample size. For this study, an EFA was conducted using IBM SPSS Statistics Version 25 with data from the 200 participants described in Chapter 3. There is no consensus in social and behavioral sciences research of what constitutes an adequate sample size (DeVellis, 2003). This sample size was found to be adequate through guidelines proposed by Worthington and Whittaker (2006), who indicated that sample sizes of 150 to 200 are sufficient with data sets containing communalities higher than .50. MacCallum, Widaman, Zhang, and Hong (1999) stated that sample sizes of up to 200 with six or seven items per factor and a small number of factors are also adequate.

Factorability. When conducting an EFA, it is important to assess if the correlation matrix contains actual factors or if small subsets of survey items simply grouped together by chance. Tabachnick and Fidell (2001; as cited in Worthington & Whittaker, 2006) suggested that analyzing values of the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure is a good indicator for evaluating factorability and that KMO values of .60 and higher are required for good factor analysis. The

data for the MGRS – Male Version was determined to be appropriate for factor analysis based on multivariate normality as indicated by a KMO value above .60 (MGRS – Male Version: .80) and a significant Bartlett's tests of sphericity, which estimates the probability that correlations in a matrix are 0 (Worthington & Whittaker, 2006): MGRS – Male Version: $X^2(1128, N = 200) = 3628.02$, $p < .001$.

Extraction method. The purpose of factor extraction is to determine the appropriate number of factors to examine (DeVellis, 2003). The factor analysis begins with the assumption that only one big category is needed to explain the pattern of responses—in this case, it would be multicultural gender roles. A check is then performed to determine how well this single category accounts for the covariation among the items. If it does not adequately explain it, the factor analysis rejects the single-concept premise and identifies a second factor to better explain the covariation. This process continues until the amount of covariation not explained by the factors is small. Worthington and Whittaker (2006), in their review of factor analytic methods employed in counseling psychology research, provided guidelines on choosing between the two most common factor-extraction methodologies: principal-components analysis (PCA) and common-factors analysis (FA). Following their recommendations, FA was the extraction method utilized, since it is more closely aligned with new scale development than PCA, and since its primary purpose is to understand the latent factors or constructs that explain the shared variance among items. PCA implements an inverse procedure, where the researcher is more interested in the items themselves rather than the latent variables that underlie them.

Rotation method. DeVellis (2003) explained that rotation is used to determine factors that result in each item substantially loading on only one factor. FA rotation methods include two basic types: orthogonal and oblique. Orthogonal rotations are utilized when factors are assumed

to be uncorrelated, whereas oblique rotations are utilized when the factors are assumed to be correlated (Worthington & Whittaker, 2006). Both oblique (i.e., promax) and orthogonal (i.e., varimax) rotations were examined. For this study, results from the oblique rotation are reported because of the assumed correlation between constructs theorized in the Multicultural Gender Roles Model and because the two rotation methods yielded similar solutions.

Factor retention. There are several approaches for determining the number of factors to derive from an item set. The mostly widely used involves analysis of eigenvalues, which are numeric values appearing on a scree plot that indicate the amount of variance in the entire set of items represented by a given factor (Worthington & Whittaker, 2006), or, in other words, the amount of information captured by a factor (DeVellis, 2003). According to Kaiser (1958), eigenvalues less than 1.0 represent potentially unstable factors. According to Cattell (1966), the point at which eigenvalues level off horizontally on the scree represents an estimate of the correct number of factors (the sudden transition from vertical to horizontal forms an "elbow"). DeVellis (2003) expounded this method, indicating that the vertical portion of the plot contains the substantial factors and the horizontal portion (the scree) should be eliminated. Thus, factor retention was determined in this study by examining eigenvalues, scree plots, and interpretability of factors.

For MGRS – Male Version data, the scree plot suggested examination of five-, four-, three-, and two-factor solutions (see *Appendix B* for scree plot). Both oblique (i.e., promax) and orthogonal (i.e., varimax) rotations were examined. Findings from the oblique rotation are reported because emergent factors were expected to be correlated and because the two rotation methods yielded similar solutions. Examination of the three- and two-factor solutions revealed factors with high cross-loadings and thus were removed from consideration. The four- and five-

factor solutions were more closely aligned with the Multicultural Gender Roles Theory, with the first factor being mainly comprised of items from the *Transforming Self-Perceptions* domain; the second factor clustered items related to *Negative Psychological Symptomatology* that men of color experience in their gender role development process; the third factor was mainly comprised of items from the *Understanding Impact on Others* and *Constructing Roles in the Context of Family, Community, and Society* domains; and the fourth factor mainly pulled from items from the *Intersecting Identities* construct. The fifth factor in the five-factor solution differed from the four-factor solution in that it created an additional factor that included items from the *Negative Psychological Symptomatology* domain and created a factor that was mainly comprised of items from the *Navigating Emotions* and *Navigating Privilege and Oppression* domains. This essentially reduced the items in the second factor in the four-factor model. Though either of these solutions was psychometrically sound, the five-factor model was more closely aligned theoretically with the eight constructs hypothesized in the Multicultural Gender Roles Model. For data from the five-factor solution, the Transforming Self-Perceptions factor accounted for 17.09% of the variance, the Negative Psychological Symptomatology factor accounted for 9.63% of the variance, the Intersecting Identities factor accounted for 7.43% of the variance, the Understanding Impact on Others in the Context of Family, Community, and Society factor accounted for 4.61% of the variance, and the Navigating Emotions, Privilege, and Oppression factor accounted for 3.45% of the variance.

Following selection of the five-factor solution, item retention for the MGRS – Male Version was determined based on the magnitude of factor loadings and cross-loadings. In alignment with Worthington and Whittaker's (2006) recommendations, items were removed that had factor loading of less than .32 or cross-loading of less than .15 difference between loadings

to promote specificity and stability of factors. Items were also removed if they contributed the least to the internal consistency of the scale scores (this was determined by computing Cronbach's alpha if item deleted). A total of 28 items were removed based on these criteria, resulting in a 41-item measure. Factor loadings and cross-loadings for the 41 retained items are reported in Table 1.

Reliability. Internal consistency reliability (i.e., how strongly scale items are intercorrelated) for the full-scale MGRS – Male Version and subscales were assessed by computing Cronbach's alphas. Cronbach's alpha for the 41-item, full- scale MGRS – Male Version was .85 and Cronbach's alphas for the subscales of the MGRS – Male Version ranged from .68 to .85. To estimate adequacy of magnitudes for internal consistency coefficients of research measures, Ponterotto and Ruckdeschel (2007) developed a matrix that provided ratings (e.g., fair, moderate, good, excellent) based on number of items per subscale and sample size. Moderate to good strength was found using this matrix to evaluate the internal consistency of the MGRS – Male Version subscales. The coefficients are reported in Table 2 and outlined below with Ponterotto and Ruckdeschel's (2007) qualitative ratings.

- Factor 1: Transforming Self-Perceptions (16 items): .85; Good
- Factor 2: Negative Psychological Symptomatology (8 items): .82; Good
- Factor 3: Understanding Impact on Others in Family, Community, and Society (7 items): .78; Good
- Factor 4: Intersecting Identities (5 items): .68.; Moderate
- Factor 5: Navigating Emotions, Privilege, and Oppression (5 items): .74; Good

Table 1

Principal Axis Factor Analysis Loadings for Retained MGRS-Male Version Items

Item Content by Factor	Factor Loading 1	2	3	4	5
Factor 1: Transforming Self-Perceptions					
I believe it is possible for me to have both masculine and feminine qualities, without sacrificing my manhood.	**.72**	.13	.01	.01	-.34
I can be both compassionate and assertive.	**.65**	-.11	.13	.01	-.01
Even though I consider myself a strong person, it is okay for me to be vulnerable sometimes.	**.64**	.05	-.16	-.07	-.04
I believe it is important to develop multiple parts of my identity, like my gender, my sexual orientation, etc.	**.58**	.03	-.03	.15	.06
I believe my worth is equal to that of women.	**.56**	-.03	.09	.06	-.09
Even though I consider myself a strong person, I feel it is sometimes okay for me to lean on others.	**.55**	-.15	-.02	.03	.01
Even though it is upsetting to address the privilege some people have due to their gender, it is worth it.	**.54**	-.03	-.17	.23	.23
If I were a parent, I would make an effort to divide chores like cooking, cleaning, and taking care of younger siblings equally among my daughters and sons.	**.52**	-.08	.14	.01	.01
It is possible for me to be both a breadwinner and a caregiver.	**.49**	-.10	-.06	.25	.11
I consciously try to see myself as I truly am, rather than what is expected of me as a man.	**.48**	-.08	.06	-.22	.05
I actively work to see myself as a whole person taking into account different parts of my identity like my sexual orientation, religion, or social class.	**.46**	.03	.01	.17	.11
I get angry when others suggest that a woman's "place" is in the home.	**.44**	.04	.05	-.21	. 14
It is disappointing that a woman is often less valued than a man.	**.44**	-.07	-.10	-.11	.23
I can be both vulnerable and strong.	**.41**	.26	-.04	-.13	-.11
The way I define myself is not only limited to my gender.	**.40**	-.02	-.03	.09	.08
I believe that men have historically been privileged and continue to be privileged now.	**.40**	.14	.10	.01	.17

Table 1 continued

Principal Axis Factor Analysis Loadings for Retained MGRS-Male Version Items

Item Content by Factor	Factor Loading 1	2	3	4	5
Factor 2: Negative Psychological Symptomatology					
It is not always safe for me to reveal my different identities to others.	-.12	**.74**	-.06	-.05	.03
Sometimes I disguise different parts of my identity (e.g., sexual orientation, social class) to avoid discrimination from others.	-.02	**.69**	-.06	.04	-.03
Sometimes I am confused about how I define myself as a man, given some of my other identities (e.g., ethnicity, religion).	-.01	**.65**	-.15	.20	.02
I often feel pressure to live up to certain roles as a man that I am not always comfortable with.	-.09	**.65**	-.08	.06	.12
It is frustrating to follow the traditional rules about how men in my culture are supposed to act.	.06	**.52**	-.02	-.18	.19
I get annoyed when I see men acting in traditionally masculine ways.	.18	**.45**	-.09	.04	.02
I am subject to multiple prejudices because of my different identities (i.e., an Asian American Muslim woman).	.28	**.39**	.09	.02	.07
Even though I consider myself to be a leader, I am often seen as a minority person within the dominant Western culture.	.12	**.35**	.24	-.09	.21
Factor 3: Understanding impact on others in the context of family, community, and society					
I try to set a good example for younger people on how to be a good man.	.07	-.03	**.78**	-.03	-.01
It is important that I teach the younger generations how to act like a man.	-.09	-.11	**.74**	.03	-.04
I believe that the way I act impacts what younger children think is expected of men.	.28	.13	**.60**	-.06	-.10
I work hard to be a good role model for younger people, like my brothers/sisters, nephews/nieces.	.26	-.02	**.53**	.07	.02
I have given a lot of thought to who I want to be as a man.	-.01	-.07	**.52**	-.16	.22
The most important part of becoming a man is to be responsible.	-.13	-.21	**.46**	.03	.23
When it comes down to it, being a man simply means being a responsible adult.	-.08	-.15	**.34**	.07	.16

Table 1 continued

Principal Axis Factor Analysis Loadings for Retained MGRS-Male Version Items

Item Content by Factor	Factor Loading 1	2	3	4	5
Factor 4: Intersecting Identities					
When I think about what it means to be a man, I usually consider other important aspects of myself (like my religion or sexual orientation).	.07	-.01	-.04	**.66**	-.08
My sexual orientation has a lot to do with how I define myself as a man.	.13	-.04	-.01	**.64**	-.01
My social class is closely related to how I see myself as a man.	.13	-.03	-.12	**.53**	.19
The way I behave is influenced by my gender and one or more of the following: my race-ethnicity, my sexual orientation, my religion, or my social status.	.23	.01	.01	**.53**	.19
It is very important for me to have a career that fits with how I am supposed to act as a man.	-.16	-.07	.25	**.48**	-.06
Factor 5: Navigating Emotions/Navigating Privilege and Oppression					
In certain settings, I feel privileged (e.g., at home), and in other settings, I feel oppressed (e.g., work place).	.02	.32	.09	.11	**.53**
It upsets me when men of color do not recognize the negative ways the media portrays them.	.16	.13	.19	-.12	**.44**
It upsets me that being a man of color means you lack certain benefits in society.	.12	.17	.23	-.01	**.42**
It upsets me that my community does not do more to address the privilege that comes with being a man.	.07	.23	-.04	.05	**.42**
I feel offended when others disrespect men of color.	.03	-.05	.21	.04	**.37**

Table 2

Bivariate correlations

	Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	MGRS-M Full Scale	--					
2	MGRS-M Transforming	.72**	--				
3	MGRS-M Negative	.72**	.40**	--			
4	MGRS-M Understanding	.40**	.04	-.03	--		
5	MGRS-M Intersecting	.30**	-.13*	.10	.19**	--	
6	MGRS-M Navigating	.75**	.47**	.48	.28**	.30**	--
	Mean	3.80	4.23	3.14	4.00	3.21	3.78
	SD	.39	.46	.82	.63	.83	.74
	Possible range	1-5	1-5	1-5	1-5	1-5	1-5
	α	.85	.85	.82	.78	.68	.74

Note. n = 200. *p <.05; **p<.01. Transforming Self-Perceptions (MGRS-M Transforming SP), Negative Psychological Symptomatology (MGRS-M Negative), Understanding Impact on Others in Family, Community, and Society (MGRS-M Understanding), Intersecting Identities (MGRS-M Intersecting), Navigating Emotions related to Privilege and Oppression (MGRS-M Navigating).

Chapter 5

Discussion

Since the beginning of civilization, the process of categorizing people based on phenotype, biology, and geography has been used to bring simplicity and predictability to a world that is so vast and diverse. Over the course of history, mapping diversity through categories was misused by societies to establish hierarchies, create divisions, assert supremacy and suppression, and assign stereotypes. Today, even in places where people are heterogeneous in the languages they speak, their cultural origins, and the societal norms and values they abide by, the use of labels and categories persists. Of all the social constructs used to distill the complexity and richness of the human experience into general classifications, gender remains one of the most oversimplified and misinterpreted identities. Despite constant indoctrination, the implication of gender roles in daily interactions with people and systems continues to be underestimated. Society has been more successful at titrating gender into a binary set of roles and characteristics that account for more differences in men and women than actually exist. Even though neuroscientific and neuroendocrinal research (e.g., Hyde, Bigler, Joel, Tate, & van Anders, 2019) refutes sexual dimorphism of the human brain and hormonal systems (and thus the gender binary), when deviation from these roles occurs, so does conflict. Yet, the source of this conflict in our relationships with others, our work life, family life, and psychological and physiological health is ignored or unrealized.

How did the definitions of masculine and feminine gender roles come to be and why and how is a strict adherence to them so important to society? What if, per current scientific evidence, we instead conceptualized gender roles as a continuous process that involves socialization, identification, implementation, integration, and navigation? The reality is that

gender roles are counterintuitive to being human, and their true functionality lies more in preserving patriarchy than it does in safeguarding human survival. For example, what harm exists in simultaneously being a breadwinner and caregiver? Leader and listener? Sympathizer and superhero? Because this non-binary does not yet exist in mainstream America, we are constrained to understanding gender and gender roles as two sets of conflicting identities that most are taught from childhood should not overlap. In many racial-ethnic minority communities (e.g., African Americans, Latinx, Asian Americans), gender roles do not take the form of specific embodiments or stereotypes (and when they do, it is likely because of assimilation and acculturation factors). People of color have long maintained dual gender roles to ensure the survival of their families and communities in a society that has often dismissed their importance and exploited their presence.

As demonstrated in Chapter 2, the literature is rich in research that describes the high degree of negative psychological, emotional, and physical health consequences men experience when striving for a strict adherence to traditional male gender role norms (i.e., hypermasculinity, hegemonic ideals; e.g., Pleck, 1995; O'Neil, 1981a; O'Neil, 1981b). For men of color, this process is compounded by (1) the presence of erroneous race-based stereotypes they may internalize into their self-perception of gender or externalize in their display of gender roles, (2) the values and gender role norms of their racial-ethnic community, and (3) the individual beliefs they possess about what it means to be a man. Amidst these competing definitions of masculinity, men of color may often be left in the vulnerable position of asking themselves, *"Who am I supposed to be?"*

The Multicultural Gender Roles Model is the first theoretical framework to date that explains how men and women of color undergo their gender role socialization amongst the

various and sometimes inconsistent messages they receive from predominate society, their cultural groups, and their own personal values on how to enact their gender roles. Through qualitative interviews with African American, Latinx, and Asian American men and women, Miville and her colleagues (2013) identified eight salient processes people of color may encounter in their acquisition, construction, and enactment of gender roles. No empirical studies have specifically examined the process of gender role development in men of color in general terms. Some studies have examined the presence of gender role conflict and strain, but have mostly focused on individual racial groups rather than drawing on the parallels and shared processes male minority groups may experience in their gender role development process. In response to Miville et al.'s (2013) emerging theory, the present study was conducted to develop a scale based on this generalized model with a sample of African American, Latinx, and Asian American men. Thus, the purpose of the study was to develop the Multicultural Gender Roles Scale – Male Version and evaluate the content and construct validity and internal consistency of the eight hypothesized dimensions of gender role development with a diverse sample of men of color.

The MGRS – Male Version is an instrument that may be used to assess the presence of negative psychological symptomatology and emotional suffering, but also protective factors such as flexibility in how one views themselves as a gendered being, identities beyond race-ethnicity that contribute to one's gender role development, and positive influences on male gender role development. Guidelines by DeVellis were followed to develop the scale content and structure. Guidelines by Worthington and Whittaker (2006) were followed to evaluate the structural stability, construct validity, and internal consistency of the scale. Data collected on 200 African

American, Latinx, and Asian American men living in the United States provides support for a valid and reliable measure of multicultural gender role development in men of color.

Drawing from the Multicultural Gender Roles Model, it was hypothesized that participants would endorse the following eight dimensions to their gender role development and that each of these dimensions would result in a distinct factor in the MGRS – Male Version:

1. Resolving Conflicts
2. Navigating Privilege and Oppression
3. Understanding One's Impact on Others
4. Transforming Self-Perceptions
5. Intersecting Identities
6. Navigating Emotions
7. Constructing One's Own Gender Styles and Expressions
8. Constructing Roles in Family, Community and Society

An exploratory factor analysis conducted on data from the participants yielded possible two-, three-, four-, and five-factor solutions. The two- and three-factor solutions were eliminated due to high cross-loading of items. The four- and five-factor solutions were more closely aligned with the Multicultural Gender Roles Model, and pulled mostly from items developed from six out of the eight hypothesized processes.

At the same time, most of the items eliminated in both the four and five-factor solutions were mainly comprised from the *Resolving Conflicts* and *Constructing One's Own Gender Styles and Expressions* factors. Close examination of the four- and five-factor solutions suggested these domains were not captured well as individual factors because they instead may be "meta-factors" the scale is measuring. In other words, the entire scale essentially shed light on (1) the processes

men of color experience in their resolution of conflicts between the plethora of messages they receive about their gender roles and (2) the processes they experience in constructing their gender styles and expressions as racial-ethnic minority men living in America.

The five-factor solution included the presence of six out of the eight processes identified in the Multicultural Gender Roles Model, whether as exclusive factors or the consolidation of two factors into one factor. These included (1) the *Transforming Self-Perceptions* factor, (2) the *Understanding Impact on Others* and *Constructing Roles in the Context of Family, Community, and Society* processes that were consolidated into a factor titled *Understanding Impact on Family, Community, and Society*, and (3) the *Intersecting Identities* factor. A new factor emerged, titled *Negative Psychological Symptomatology,* which clustered together items related to psychological distress that were initially created for the other factors. The final factor was comprised of items from the *Navigating Emotions* and *Navigating Privilege and Oppression* factors. Therefore, the five-factor solution was comprised of:

1. Transforming Self-Perceptions
2. Negative Psychological Symptomatology
3. Understanding Impact on Family, Community, and Society
4. Intersecting Identities
5. Navigating Emotions related to Privilege and Oppression

In addition to salient gender role processes, the scale also assesses the various internal and external socializing agents that contribute to gender role development: Transforming-Self Perceptions (the self), Negative Psychological Symptomatology (institutionalized oppression), Understanding Impact on Family, Community, and Society (racial-ethnic community), Intersecting Identities (social group memberships), Navigating Emotions related to Privilege and

Oppression (social capital or lack thereof). What follows is a more in-depth explanation of the five-factor solution.

Transforming Self-Perceptions. The highest loading item on this factor, *"I believe it is possible for me to have both masculine and feminine qualities without sacrificing my manhood,"* best captures the core meaning of this factor. This factor measures the extent to which a man of color is able to negotiate conflicting gender role messages he receives from his environment—be it society, his cultural community, or himself—into a healthy self-perception that integrates these multiple masculinities in a manner where they can coexist. For example, the items "*I can be both compassionate and assertive," "I can be both vulnerable and strong,"* and *"It is possible for me to be both a breadwinner and caregiver"* reflect a positive negotiation of traditional masculine and culturally accepted gender roles without having to "give up" the stereotypical qualities of being a man in America. To this end, this factor also grouped together items that are reflective of a social justice-oriented stance towards gender equity. Items such as "*Even though it is upsetting to address the privilege some people have due to their gender, it is worth it," "If I were a parent, I would make an effort to divide chores like cooking, cleaning, and taking care of siblings equally among my daughters and sons," "I get angry when others suggest that a woman's 'place' is in the home,"* and "*It is disappointing that a woman is often less valued than a man"* reflect egalitarian values and attitudes about women respective to men. Lastly, items such as *"I consciously try to see myself as I truly am, rather than what is expected of me as a man"* and *"I actively work to see myself as a whole person, taking into account different parts of my identity"* capture the extent to which a man of color is truly able to transform his self-perceptions of masculinity into more porous ways of thinking about his manhood. Self-reported results from

this subscale might be used to glean healthy self-perceptions that incorporate both masculine and feminine gender roles, liberal attitudes towards the opposite gender, and holistic self-perceptions.

Negative Psychological Symptomatology. The exploratory factor analysis revealed a factor not originally hypothesized in the Multicultural Gender Roles Model, which was titled *Negative Psychological Symptomology* because it grouped together items originally created for other factors but actually allude to the collective trauma, suffering, and psychological strain men of color may experience in their gender role development. These items highlight safety concerns, identity concealment, confusion, discrimination, pressure to conform, and agitation with traditional masculine gender roles men of color encounter when determining their gender roles. Items such as *"It is not always safe for me to reveal my different identities to others," "Sometimes I disguise different parts of my identity (e.g., sexual orientation, social class) to avoid discrimination from others," "Sometimes I am confused about how to define myself as a man, given some of my other identities," "I often feel pressure to live up to certain roles as a man that I am not always comfortable with," "It is frustrating to follow the traditional rules about how men in my culture are supposed to act,"* and "*I get annoyed when I see men acting in traditionally masculine ways,"* are all indicative of the potential negative psychological consequences men of color in America may experience.

One hypothesis for why these items grouped together may be grounded in Pleck's (1995) Gender Role Strain (GRS) and O'Neil's (1981a) Gender Role Conflict (GRC) phenomena. Among Pleck's (1995) ten propositions on masculine dynamics, he noted that violating gender role norms leads to negative psychological outcomes and that certain characteristics prescribed by gender role norms are psychologically dysfunctional. In the specific GRS subtypes, he also noted that when Gender Role Discrepancy (when individual men do not fit with gender role

standards) occurs, negative consequences for self-esteem and psychological wellbeing ensue because of negative social feedback and internalized negative self-judgments. Even when men are able to successfully achieve these gender role norms, they experience Gender Role Trauma since this socialization process is often traumatic. O'Neil's (1981a) research on Gender Role Conflict was instrumental in outlining the psychological consequences and conflicts experienced by men during this gender role socialization process. Among them are fears of femininity, emasculation, vulnerability, homophobia, and restrictive emotionality—all of which were reflected in this factor's items.

Understanding Impact on Others in Family, Community, and Society. The Multicultural Gender Roles Model hypothesized that a key element to how men of color determine their gender roles is the positive influence they exert over others. Though the model originally made a differentiation between the two constructs *Understanding Impact on Others* and *Constructing Roles in the Context of Family, Community, and Society*, the exploratory factor analysis collapsed items from these two constructs into one factor. One reason for this consolidation could be that the latent variable between these two constructs involves choosing a more respectful path to expressing one's masculinity that results in a positive impact on others, including those within one's family, community, or society. Thus, items that grouped in this factor included statements about being a good example and being responsible: *"I try to set a good example for younger people on how to be a good man," "It is important that I teach the younger generations how to act like a man,"* and *"When it comes down to it, being a man simply means being a responsible adult."*

As noted in the review of literature, incarceration disproportionately impacts African American and Latino men. Gordon, Hawes, Perez-Cabello, Brabham-Hollis, Lanza, and Dyson

(2013a) found that having positive male role models in the form of direct peer support significantly reduced length of prison time for African American men. These researchers also found within the same prison population that a high endorsement of traditional masculine gender role norms approached the level of significance for longer incarceration time. Adopting these traditional roles can serve a functional purpose (i.e., survival), but they can still result in negative outcomes. While the dominant group may be rewarded for enacting these roles, men of color are not gauged against the same metric. For example, Bridge, Asti, and Horowitz (2015) analyzed national mortality data on suicide in children aged 5 to 11 in the United States from 1993 to 2012. Their results revealed a significant increase in suicide rates for Black boys and a decrease in suicide for White children. The researchers indicated that the data did not include information on what could have contributed to the age-related racial disparities in suicide but that the findings highlighted the need for greater understanding of race in youth suicide. One hypothesis explored in the review of literature is that while agitation and irritability are often regarded as depression in White children, these traits are more likely to be seen as problematic or disruptive in Black and Latinx children. Therefore, it is of paramount importance that boys and men of color have male role models who affirm the positive gender roles of their culture and teach them how to enact traditional masculine roles (if they choose this route) in a manner that does not jeopardize their safety or wellbeing (e.g., aggression is perceived differently based on the person's race).

Intersecting Identities. Crenshaw (1989) first coined the term *intersectionality* to describe the multidimensionality of Black women's experiences. She illuminated how dominant perspectives on discrimination "condition us to think about subordination as disadvantage occurring along a single categorical axis" (p. 140). Therefore, the discrimination that Black

women experience because of their race and because of their gender is not mutually exclusive—there is a combined effect on the basis of race *and* on the basis of gender. Not all people within a race or sex are treated the same way. Crenshaw noted, "Because the intersectional experience is greater than the sum of racism and sexism, any analysis that does not take intersectionality into account cannot sufficiently address the particular manner in which Black women are subordinated" (p. 140). This example is also applicable to men of color. For many men of color, their race-ethnicity is a visible part of their identity that cannot be hidden or altered. Because of patriarchy and male privilege, men of color are mostly shielded to sexism, but because of White supremacy, men of color are subject to racism and gendered racism (i.e., the manner and intensity of racial stereotypes varies on the basis of both race and gender). This intensity could be amplified by additional bias, such as homophobia, classism, ableism, or religious discrimination. At the same time, these very identities provide additional influences to how men of color construct their gender roles. When so many of the stereotypes that constitute traditional masculine gender roles are intertwined into, for example, being a playboy or homophobic (heterosexual), primacy of work and pursuit of status (middle to owning class, college-educated), and physical fitness (able-bodied), men of color who find themselves with social group memberships different from these may feel further marginalization, especially if the messages they receive about being a man from these groups also differ.

As hypothesized in the Multicultural Gender Roles Model, there was a clear grouping of items that emphasized the influence of additional social identities such as religion, sexual orientation, social class, and career on gender role development. The highest loading item on this factor, *"When I think about what it means to be a man, I usually consider other important aspects of myself (like my religion or sexual orientation),"* reflected this. In some ways, the

presence of other identities could have a positive influence on gender role development to the extent they encourage non-binary roles (e.g., in Christianity, Jesus Christ is depicted as the Good Shepherd [leader] and Lover of Mankind [unconditional nurturer]). However, additional group memberships could also result in negative effects. For some men of color who already experience discrimination due to their race, belonging to yet another marginalized group may prove to be too burdensome, resulting in identity concealment as a means of protection and self-preservation. The psychological and emotional consequences of this are captured in the previously described *Negative Psychological Symptomatology* factor and the *Navigating Emotions Related to Privilege and Oppression* factor, which is described next.

Navigating Emotions related to Privilege and Oppression. Negotiating gender roles, regardless of one's gender or race, is an emotional process. Not living up to prevailing stereotypes, be it traditional gender role norms or gendered racist stereotypes, can lead to fear, shame, inadequacy, insecurity, discomfort, and feeling "otherized." Although the Multicultural Gender Roles Model theorized two distinct factors of navigating emotions and navigating privilege and oppression, the exploratory factor analysis combined these two factors into a single factor that focused on the affective experiences of privilege and oppression. Therefore, this factor was comprised of items such as "*It upsets me when men of color do not recognize the negative ways media portrays them," "It upsets me that being a man of color means you lack certain benefits in society,"* and *"It upsets me that my community does not do more to address the privilege that comes with being a man."*

It is worth mentioning the four-factor solution included these items as part of the *Negative Psychological Symptomatology* factor, but the five-factor model separated them. Though both solutions were found to be psychometrically-sound, DeVellis (2003) illustrated,

using this very example, how more than one latent variable might underlie a set of items. Originally, items with affective responses were created under the *Navigating Emotions* factor. Factor analysis can be useful in these situations because it can separate items based on different affective states such as negative and positive affective items. Not only does this align better with the Multicultural Gender Roles Model, but it also aligns with the field of mental health's understanding that psychological and emotional processes are distinct. Cognitions are different from feelings, even though they may trigger emotional responses. What makes this factor distinct is that it combined items containing a specific emotional response to privilege and oppression. As previously noted, discrimination is not ubiquitous in its delivery or reception. The manner, frequency, and intensity differ based on the intersection of race and gender in both the aggressor and target. This does not mean men of color experience bias any more or any less than women of color, but that it is context-specific and contingent on many other factors.

Implications for Clinical Science

O'Neil (2015) identified gender role conflict as "a serious mental health problem that deserves the full attention of psychologists and other human services professionals" (p. 10). For all men, irrespective of their race-ethnicity, it is ironic that the "gold standard" of what is generally considered acceptable, even desirable, to being a man, in reality contributes to their poor health and behavioral health outcomes. The things men are taught to strive for from childhood (e.g., success at any cost, competitiveness, power, authority) are the very things that limit their full potential as people and impede the full potential of others. Modifying gender roles in America is a feat that is unlikely to occur within a generation, but moving their impact to the forefront of the American psyche is achievable with the support of individuals who possess the

most social capital. This includes helping professionals who are trained to assess personality patterns and explore their origins with clients.

The proportion of men who seek any type of medical service is low relative to women. For men of color, this occurrence is largely mediated by access to health care and access to services that are culturally and linguistically appropriate. Access to psychological services is likely even less. This poses a problem, given the only medical setting where gender roles could be diagnosed as maladaptive and harmful would be in the context of psychotherapy. For this reason, it is crucial for helping professionals to understand the function gender roles play in their clients' health-related behaviors and ascertain a style to broach this topic that is respectful, nonjudgmental, and normalizing.

The Multicultural Gender Roles Scale – Male Version is an instrument that, if properly utilized, may help professionals expand their clinical repertoire through useful insights into the following areas regarding their client's gender roles and mental health/wellbeing:

1. *Gender role origins.* If a client struggles with anxious or depressed mood because they feel unable to live up to gender role expectations, standards, or stereotypes that exist for men in America or men of their culture, one of the first logical steps is to determine the sources of these messages. The *Transforming Self-Perceptions* subscale provides information on one's flexibility to embody egalitarian/fluid roles or strict adherence to traditional binary roles. When a client possesses knowledge on where they learned these roles and how they manifest themselves in their understanding of masculinity or what it means to be a man, they may choose to be more intentional about the roles they enact or understand their psychological or emotional stress as a symptom of conformity to rigid roles. This could lead to contemplation about changing roles. The same occurs with

attachment styles, for example. There is a belief that the attachment a person develops to their parents as a child remains static throughout their lives and predicts the attachments they will have in their interpersonal relationships as an adult. From a psychodynamic perspective, when clients are made aware of how ruptured attachment bonds developed in childhood, they can prevent themselves from reenacting these same patterns as adults. Theoretically, the same can be said about gender roles. Just like attachment, they are always at play without our awareness. If men are taught to recognize their maladaptiveness in their lives, they can make more conscious decisions about the men they want to be instead of becoming the men they are told to be.

2. *Risk factors for Gender Role Conflict.* Strictly following traditional masculine gender role norms can lead to dysfunction in one's (a) interpersonal life, (b) home and family life, (c) career development and work life, and (d) physical health (O'Neil, 1981a). In order to enact these roles "effectively," men of color may find that they need to engage in self-deprecating practices such as the concealing stigmatized identities like sexual orientation, citizenship status, or social class; engaging in *cool pose* (while suppressing the pressure, frustration, and discomfort of conforming to White masculinity); or unmindfully acting out internalizations of gendered racism. The *Negative Psychological Symptomatology* subscale provides a valuable list of items for fostering discussion in the therapy room or classroom on what it is like to live as a man of color in a nation that often excludes their voice in shaping prevailing masculinity norms; what it is like to be pummeled with opposing definitions of being a man; and how to cope with not quite measuring up to societal or familial/cultural standards. Mental health and substance use issues should be considered in the context of being socialized in a system of conflicting masculinities and

being exposed to race- or class-based trauma. For example, Gordon, Hawes, Reid, Callands, Magriples, Divney, Niccolai, and Kershaw (2013b) found that in a diverse sample of young men transitioning into fatherhood, those who conformed to the masculine norm of toughness engaged more in health-undermining behaviors such as substance abuse.

3. *Emotional intelligence and regulation.* Being able to identify and use emotions to guide one's thinking is a critical skill to success that is ironically antithetical to traditional masculine gender role norms. One reason gender roles in men of color have been understudied is because such research would continue to expose the various disparities they experience across social, political, economic, and health domains—but also the male privilege they maintain within their racial-ethnic communities. Confronting this oppression and privilege is important as men of color embark on the process of healing from individual race-based trauma, community trauma, vicarious trauma via daily exposure to social media depicting violence towards minority men, lack of opportunity, and living in the shadows. This process cannot be facilitated without first recognizing if and how one is being oppressed by larger systems and socializing agents and if they channel this oppression to more vulnerable members within their racial-ethnic community. Because it is so difficult for people to discern the impact of gender roles on their behaviors, it could be helpful to focus on their emotional experiences as a strategy to connect their actions to their feelings (akin to a cognitive-behavioral approach). Using the *Navigating Emotions related to Privilege and Oppression* subscale may be a good starting point for clinicians to help men of color identify broader feelings related seeing other men of color portrayed negatively in society. The focus could then safely shift to

self-evaluation of their own experiences with oppression and struggles with maintaining male privilege that does not always transfer outside of their community.

4. *Positive masculinity.* It is easy to forget the adaptive aspects of masculinity when focusing on the toxic aftermaths it can produce. As explained in the review of literature section titled *social determinants of masculinity,* one primary reason men of color may have a hard time acculturating in a society that undervalues their masculinity is because there are so few male role models of color who have successfully demonstrated to them how to meet the benchmarks of traditional male gender roles while maintaining their wellbeing and not being perceived as a "sellout." When so much of masculinity is contingent on anti-femininity, the challenge becomes finding mentors who engender a healthy assimilation of binary roles (since so much about mentoring involves stereotypical feminine roles of nurturing, giving, listening, and guiding). In wanting to teach the younger generation on what it means to be a man, both the quantitative research from this study and the qualitative research from which it was inspired underscored responsibility as the most important part of being a man.

Part of responsibility involves teaching younger men appropriate gender roles that promote positive aspects of traditional masculinity, such as providing and leading but also promoting positive aspects of culture-specific masculinity like shared power with women and fostering cooperation over competition. Gordon et al. (2013b) noted that not all traditional masculine roles undermine health. They found that young African American men who endorsed the masculine norm of status abused substances less than their Latinx and White counterparts due to schemas they linked with status like being productive citizen, which cannot be accomplished if one is abusing substances. The

Understanding Impact on Others in Family, Community, and Society subscale may be used to gauge the importance of having an impact on others and be used to link men of color with mentees or a fellowship/men's support groups for like-minded men who want to have a positive impact on their communities. If we as a society are not overt in our approaches of caring for younger men of color, the potential exists for having their attachment needs met through unhealthy pathways. It is incumbent on each individual to educate boys while they are still most impressionable.

5. *Opposing or affirming identities.* In order to entangle the gender roles men of color engage in, their membership in other social groups, particularly subjugated groups, is an important consideration. The presence of hypermasculinity may be a defense mechanism for having a sexual identity that is not embraced by one's racial-ethnic community. Being success- or achievement-oriented, even if it comes at the expense of forming close relationships with peers, could be a strategy to garner respect or catapult oneself out of poverty. Spiritual or faith-based involvement could provide safety and respite from constant micro- and macroaggressions. Engaging in active mentoring to male youth of color could indicate recognition of the negative impact of traditional male gender roles on men. For each identity the client possesses, it is essential to explore the purpose the identity serves in their life and the intrapsychic conflict or affirmation it may pose to their masculinity.

Limitations

This study included several limitations that should be considered when interpreting the results from the exploratory factor analysis. One primary finding was the *Transforming Self-Perceptions* factor, which is a very unique dimension to the Multicultural Gender Roles Model.

This factor speaks to egalitarian attitudes, gender equity, and embodying gender role qualities that are stereotypical to both men and women. And while respect and equality for women is emphasized in most groups of color, the high loading of these items should be understood within the context of the study sample's demographics, especially around generational differences. For instance, a disproportionate part of the sample (approximately 27%) identified as gay, bisexual, queer, or questioning and the mean age of the sample was 28.2. Belonging to a sexual minority group, being younger in age, or both could have resulted in higher endorsement on items in this factor, though it is important to note that the qualitative interviews from which the Multicultural Gender Roles Model was constructed also included similar demographics.

Another limitation to the sample was the exclusion of other racial-ethnic minority groups such as Native Americans and Arab Americans. The decision was made not to include data collected from these groups since the Multicultural Gender Roles Model was originally developed on the experiences of African American, Latinx, and Asian American men and women. Should more data be collected on members of these groups, determining the extent to which their gender role experiences align with the five-factor model will further emphasize the shared processes men of color in America undergo when negotiating their gender roles.

With regards to gender, only data from people who self-identified as men was analyzed. In an effort to be as inclusive as possible, individuals who identified as transgender men or gender nonconforming were still able to complete the study, but data from these participants was not included in the final 200-person sample that was analyzed. This decision was also due to the model being developed based on the narratives of cis-gender men and women. This is not to say that this model is not applicable to individuals who identify as transgender. In actuality, trans people may possess an even greater depth of self-awareness to the paradigms made salient

through the EFA and gender role dynamics in general. It should be mentioned that because the Multicultural Gender Roles Model was developed on the gender role experiences of both men and women that some variation to the quantitatively-validated model was expected. Should a similar measure be developed on women of color, juxtaposing the male and female versions could reveal where the gender role experiences of men and women of color converge.

There are three historical events that occurred during the recruitment phase of the study that could have also potentially affected participants' responses. Their impact is likely nominal since the development of the Multicultural Gender Roles Model and items for the Multicultural Gender Roles Scale – Male Version occurred prior to these events, but they are worth mentioning, nonetheless. Recruiting also began prior to these events but continued throughout. The first was the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election and subsequent 2017 inauguration of Donald J. Trump. The second was the historic Women's March that occurred the day after the 2017 inauguration. The third is the #MeToo Movement. These three events remain ongoing as of the conclusion of this study and have resulted in an astounding cultural shift of our attention and understanding of women's rights, feminism, hegemonic masculinity, minority stress and disparities, and gender-based violence. Now more than ever before in American culture, we have taken notice of the deleterious impacts of hegemony and toxic masculinity on populations most vulnerable to being wounded, sidelined, and left out by society. When did it become commonplace to exclude, to exploit, and to exercise supremacy over others? The Women's March and #MeToo Movement are demonstrations that the age-old adage *boys will be boys* can no longer be tolerated and that we will continue to see a shift in the power imbalance that has plagued gender minorities since this nation's inception and greater social acceptance around gender fluidity. The extent to which participants' responses were positively impacted by this

national evolution of social attitudes focused on equity and diversity or simply reflected social desirability to appear aligned with these perspectives can be parsed out during the confirmatory factor analysis phase of the study.

Because this study was exploratory in nature, a larger sample size will be required to conduct a confirmatory analysis of the findings. It is important to note that the EFA alone does not confirm the Multicultural Gender Roles Theory. The relative alignment of the five-factor model with the eight factors predicted in the Multicultural Gender Roles Model is promising and further data collection and administration with additional scales that measure convergent validity will provide greater insights on whether a five-factor model best explains multicultural gender roles in men of color. When employing exploratory factor analysis, replication of the factor structure is critical to provide evidence of strength and relevance (Osborne, 2014).

Future Directions

We are all paying for the negative consequences that result from hegemonic masculinity and sexist gender roles. Can we interrogate this highly coveted masculinity or will we continue to force ourselves to fit in boxes that prevent us from becoming our true authentic selves? If we choose business as usual, psychology will mostly be used to patch up the victims of hegemony one by one instead of cultivating a society where gender means very little. Animals do not have gender because it is not a built-in part of human biology; it is correlated with it, but it is still a social construct—and, therefore, subject to change. If we strive to advance this construct into a non-binary identity that incorporates self-definitions, the gender role strengths of both men and women, and positive sociocultural influences, men of color can be better protected from walking into a society that minimizes, excludes, or worse, destroys their manhood. How can it be that tribalism, "otherizing," and insularity are more commonplace than community, inclusivity, and

open-mindedness? The markers of being a man in America are changing and the sooner this is confronted, the less power patriarchy and hegemony will have on our society.

This study sheds light on the multiple processes men of color undergo in their acquisition and enactment of gender roles. The five salient processes include strengthening self-perceptions, coping with psychological distress, impacting family and community, appreciating intersectionality, and affective responses to privilege and oppression. Identifying these processes provides a framework for understanding, assessing, and improving gender role functioning in men of color. To date, there has been no quantitative research that gives credence and language to this unconscious, yet, extremely critical process in the lives of racial-ethnic minority men. Using gender roles as a starting point to understand the various biopsychosocial disparities they experience can be extremely beneficial towards closing these gaps. The same social determinants that dictate health are arguably those that also dictate masculinity. How do you figure out how to be yourself when there are so many messages that tell you must be one specific way? Figuring this out can be quite isolating if you are doing it on your own. The Multicultural Gender Roles Scale – Male Version is not only a tool to assess presence of one or more of the aforementioned five processes, but an instrument that provides useful clinical information on areas where helpers should target their interventions and treatment planning (e.g., on strengthening self-perceptions, mitigating psychological distress, etc.). Assessing this can help that individual make an escape plan from the daily onslaught of conflicting masculinities they encounter and begin their journey towards self-actualization.

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Appendix A

The Multicultural Gender Roles Scale – Male Version

What follows is the full item list of the MGRS – Male Version. Items are separated based on the 8 subscales, which were adapted from the MGRM.

***Resolving conflicts*:**

1. Regardless of what dominant Western culture says, I still believe men are responsible as the family breadwinners.

2. I have accepted that my culture views gender roles differently than larger society.

3. In addition to what my culture tells me about being a man, it is okay for me to have my own individual beliefs, desires, and ambitions.

4. I often feel pressure to live up to certain roles as a man that I am not always comfortable with.

5. I receive mixed messages about what it means to be a person of my gender from my family and/or society at large.

6. I believe that Western culture encourages equal roles for men and women, more so than my own culture.

7. Despite the equal roles of males and females in dominant Western culture, I still believe it is very important for men and women to hold traditional roles.

Navigating privilege and oppression:

1. People treat me with less respect because of my gender.

2. Even though I consider myself to be a leader, I am often seen as a minority person within the dominant Western culture.

3. I believe my life would be better if I was a White man.

4. I believe that men have historically been privileged and continue to be privileged now.

5. As a man, I'm expected to do it "all" without receiving any support or recognition.

6. Both my race and gender make me subject to multiple disadvantages.

7. I believe that being a man should not impact my ability to achieve success.

8. In certain settings, I feel privileged (e.g., at home), and in other settings, I feel oppressed (e.g., work place).

9. Although I am well-respected within my racial-ethnic community, I am not as respected because of my gender.

Understanding one's impact on others:

1. My impact on my racial-ethnic community is important to my development as a man.

2. If I were a parent, I would probably have different expectations for my sons than for my daughters.

3. If I were a parent, I would make an effort to divide chores like cooking, cleaning, and taking care of younger siblings equally among my daughters and sons.

4. I understand that my views on race and gender can impact myself and others.

5. I try to set a good example for younger people on how to be a good man.

6. I believe that the way I act impacts what younger children think is expected of men.

Transforming self-perceptions:

1. It is possible for me to be both a breadwinner and a caregiver.

2. Even though I consider myself a strong person, it is ok for me to be vulnerable sometimes.

3. Even though I consider myself a strong person, I feel it is sometimes okay for me to lean on others.

4. I have come to realize that I am a much more complex person than what is traditionally expected of men.

5. I have given a lot of thought to who I want to be as a man.

6. I can be both vulnerable and strong.

7. I consciously try to see myself as I truly am, rather than what is expected of me as a man.

8. I can be both compassionate and assertive.

9. I believe that my worth is equal to that of women.

10. I believe it is possible for me to have both masculine and feminine qualities, without sacrificing my manhood.

11. I am aware of what is expected of me as a man in my racial-ethnic community.

Intersecting Identities:

1. When I think about what it means to be a man, I usually consider other important aspects of myself (like my religion or sexual orientation).

2. I believe it is important to develop multiple parts of my identity, like my gender, my sexual orientation, etc.

3. I am subject to multiple prejudices because of my different identities (i.e., an Asian American Muslim woman).

4. I actively work to see myself as a whole person, taking into account different parts of my identity like my sexual orientation, religion, or social class.

5. The way I behave is influenced by my gender and one or more of the following: my race-ethnicity, my sexual orientation, my religion, or my social status.

6. My social class is closely related to how I see myself as a man.

7. My sexual orientation has a lot to do with how I define myself as a man.

8. My religion is as important to me as my gender.

9. Sometimes I disguise different parts of my identity (e.g., sexual orientation, social class) to avoid discrimination from others.

10. It is not always safe for me to reveal my different identities to others.

11. The way I define myself is not only limited to my gender.

12. Sometimes I am confused about how I define myself as a man, given some of my other identities (e.g., ethnicity, religion).

Navigating emotions:

1. It upsets me that being a man of color means you lack certain benefits in society.

2. Even though it is upsetting to address the privilege some people have due to their gender, it is worth it.

3. Becoming aware of who I am as a man of color has caused me emotional pain.

4. It upsets me when men of color do not recognize the negative ways the media portrays them.

5. It upsets me that my community does not do more to address the privilege that comes with being a man.

6. I feel angry when I see the ways women of color are portrayed in the media.

7. I get annoyed when I see men acting in traditionally masculine ways.

8. I get angry when others suggest that a woman's "place" is in the home.

9. I feel offended when others disrespect men of color.

10. I get angry when I see men of color treated disrespectfully in this country.

11. I am disappointed that being a woman is often less valued than being a man.

Constructing own gender styles/expressions:

1. What is considered masculine or feminine in broader society is different from what I personally consider to be masculine or feminine.

2. It is very important for me to have a career that fits with how I am supposed to act as a man.

3. It is frustrating to follow the traditional rules about how men in my culture are supposed to act.

4. I try to dress in a way that emphasizes my masculinity.

5. I try to act in ways that emphasize my masculinity.

6. Being a man or a woman has very little to do with how one acts (e.g., choice of clothing, manner of speaking).

7. Although I've been taught I should act and speak in a certain way because I am a man, I like to act and speak in my own style.

8. I view myself as a complex individual with two or more different identities (i.e., I am an African American Christian man = 3 identities).

Constructing roles in family, community, and society:

1. When it comes down to it, being a man simply means being a responsible adult.

2. The most important part of becoming a man is to be responsible.

3. It is important that I teach the younger generations how to act like a man.

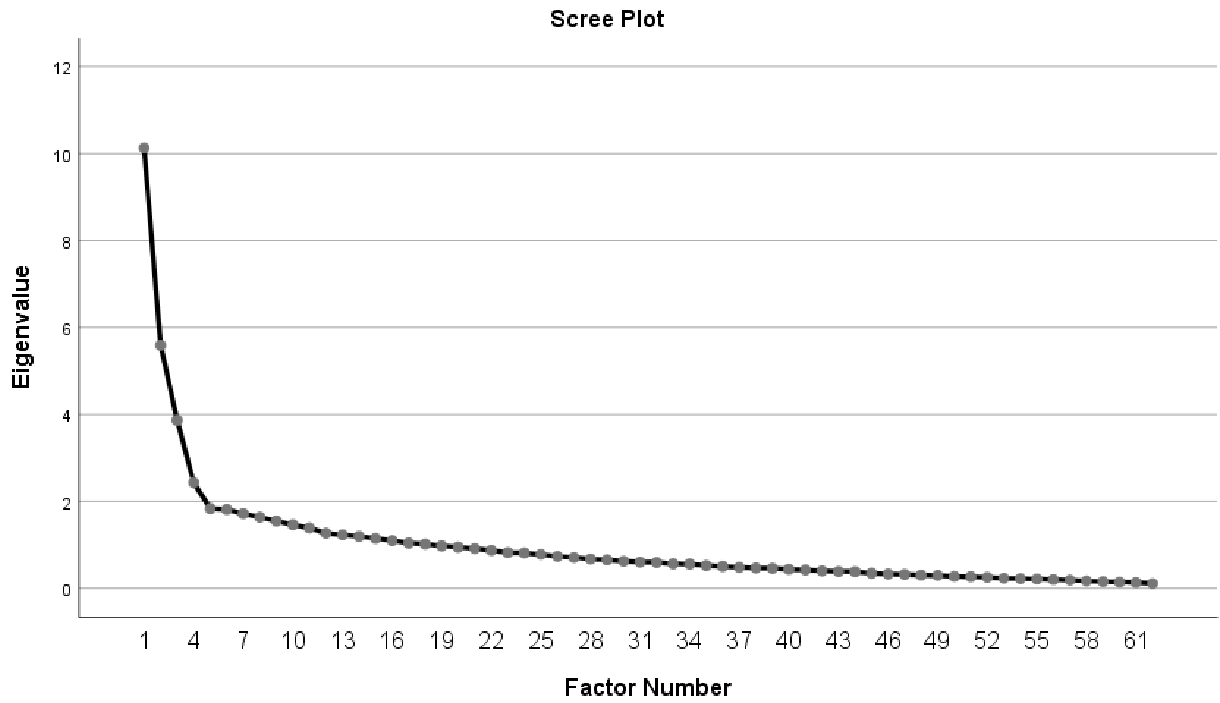
4. I work hard to be a good role model for younger people, like my brothers/sisters, nephews/nieces.

5. I usually follow the traditional ways that men should act.

Appendix B

Scree Plot

Exploratory Factor Analysis



Appendix C

Informed Consent

Teachers College, Columbia University
525 West 120th Street
New York NY 10027
212-678-3000
www.tc.edu

Consent to Participate in Research

DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH:

You are invited to participate in a research study on the gender roles of people of color. This study is investigating the gender role representations of men and women of color. You will be asked to complete an anonymous survey that features questions that address your demographic identification and your perceptions of gender roles of men and women of color. The development of these items was based on the experiences of self-identified men and women. The items were developed with gender-inclusivity in mind. You will have the opportunity to provide feedback on these items at the end of the study if you wish. The research will be conducted by researchers at Teachers College, Columbia University.

RISKS AND BENEFITS:

There are no direct benefits to participants for participating in this study. The risks for participation in the study are expected to be similar to those involved in the completion of any type of beliefs and attitudes questionnaire and/or similar to the risks involved in discussing gender roles beliefs, attitudes, and identification. Participants have the option to exit the study any time they wish to do so by exiting the browser. Any incomplete information will not be used in the final study.

PAYMENTS:

Participants will not receive remuneration for their participation. Participation to this study is completely voluntary.

DATA STORAGE TO PROTECT CONFIDENTIALITY:

The data for this study will be stored online in an encrypted form, and will only be accessible using a confidential password and username login known to the investigators and their adviser.

TIME INVOLVEMENT:

Your participation will take approximately 15-20 minutes.

HOW WILL RESULTS BE USED:

The results of the study will be used for articles on the gender role construction of people of color.

If you agree to participate, please select “I consent to participate” below.

- I consent to participate.
- Exit study.