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Development of the Multicultural Gender Role Scale for Asian American Women

(MGRS-AAW)

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ABSTRACT

Development of the Multicultural Gender Role Scale for Asian American Women (MGRS-AAW)

Joanna Min Jee Rooney

In an attempt to address the dearth of research examining the development and effects of intersectional, multiple marginalized identities, the scale developed in this study quantified the cultural variation in gender role expression of Asian American women. The following describes the development of the Multicultural Gender Role Scale for Asian American women (MGRS-AAW). The scale was conceptualized and largely constructed based on existing research, with specific attention regarding the qualitative themes and findings of Corpus and Miville (2013). A total of 71 items were administered to a sample of 327 participants who identified as Asian/Asian American women. Results were subjected to an Exploratory Factor Analysis and a total of 26 items were retained. Four independent constructs emerged, which closely mirrored and delineated the findings of the qualitative study: 1) Bicultural conflict, 2) Passivity, 3) Asian Values, and 4) Awareness. Further psychometric evaluation of the scale resulted in convergent validity of the subscales with other measures, such as the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS) and the Asian American Racism Related Inventory (AARRSI), and discriminant validity was proven in regard to the lack of correlation among subscales with collected Grade Point Average. Findings were discussed in relation to strengths and weaknesses of the study, implications for the field, and future areas of studies.

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Dedication

For my birthmother and my daughter:

the two most important and defining Asian females in my life.

Umma (Mother): In honor of your hopes and dreams when sending me to America.

And…to make you proud.

Daesea Jae: For your future, and also to make you proud. I love you.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This study quantitatively measured the gender role development of Asian American women through the development of a scale. The scale items were created based on a previous qualitative research study conducted by Miville and her colleagues (Corpus & Miville, 2013; Miville, 2013), which explored how people of color internalized messages regarding gender roles from families and cultures of origin, as well as the integration of sociopolitical and cultural experiences as Americans. The complicated process of navigating these often-conflicting dimensions was explored for Asian American women.

Definitions

Many definitions were utilized in the conceptualization of the study, and these are delineated below.

Gender roles. The term *gender roles* encompasses a collection of characteristics, attitudes, and behaviors associated with the male or female sex (Shields & Dicicco, 2011).

Asian culture. Defined as the norms, attitudes, values, perceptions, expectations, behaviors, and customs associated with having an Asian ethnicity, familial background/and or ancestry. Generally, some important characteristics of Asian culture include prioritizing collectivism, interdependent relationships, the self in relation to others, filial piety, and deference to authority (Kim, Atkinson, & Yang, 1999; Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

American culture. Defined as the cultural patterns upheld and constructed by dominant, White American (i.e., living in the United States) society. Prototypical mainstream America is thought to be of White, European descent, middle class, and heterosexual (Uba, 2002). Stewart and Bennet (1991) defined American cultural beliefs as prioritizing individualism, self-actualization, an autonomous self, equity in relationships, and self-reliance.

Intersectionality. The study of individuals who occupy multiple socially constructed categories, such as race, gender, and sexual orientation, and has the potential to shed light on the unique experiences of Asian American women. Therefore, it does not examine racism at the expense of other systems of inequality, such as sexism and classism, which cannot be ranked nor understood as mutually independent of race and racism (Cole, 2009).

Gendered racism. A phenomenon describing the occurrence and entanglement of both racist and sexist attitudes, beliefs, and discriminatory behaviors that a person may experience at the intersections of race and gender (Essed, 1991).

Asian Americans. *Asian Americans* is a term that encompasses individuals from approximately 30 subgroups from Asia but should not be considered a monolithic group (Li, 2013). The broad term represents an expansive group comprised of several different ethnicities (e.g., Chinese, Korean, Filipino, Asian Indian, Thai, Vietnamese, Pacific Islanders, etc.) as well as vast geographical territories (Bradshaw, 1994). Further, the term includes varying immigration and acculturation statuses, with experiences ranging from first-generation to fifth- or more generation citizens. However, in light of the need for research on this growing group, several scholars have proposed common cultural values and/or fundamental cultural similarities that may be salient for many Asian Americans, including prioritizing collectivism, interdependent relationships, the self in relation to others, filial piety, and deference to authority. These shared experiences served as a starting point in the current study to help understand and explore the impact of being Asian American on the development of gender roles. For the purpose of this study, the term *Asian Americans* was used to describe the very diverse population encompassed within the term.

Asian American Women and Gender Role Development

Despite the complexity of gender role development, the influence of culture on gender-related processes, and the subsequent impact on psychological functioning, this process is under-explored for many racial-cultural groups, including Asian American women. Although many researchers in the field of psychology recognize the importance of culture and context in defining gender and gender roles among diverse samples, the extent to which cultural variables have been included in the investigation of gender roles among populations of color is still exceptionally lacking and undefined (Li, 2013).

Many Asian cultures have clear gender role expectations for women that originated out of Confucian philosophy (Bradshaw, 1994). For example, a traditional family in Asian culture is often characterized by patriarchy. This way of thinking has placed Asian women as subordinate to men, with their value revolving around catering to the men in their lives (fathers, husbands, and sons). Therefore, the gender roles and expectations for Asian men versus women are vastly different, and more research is needed to examine separately the conflicts that Asian American women versus men experience. For Asian women living in America, there is a potential challenge to their cultural gender role expectations because American culture purports to prioritize equality among genders (Pyke & Johnson, 2003). Whether or not this is the reality for women in America is controversial. However, if taken at face value, this principle is in direct contrast to the Confucian principle that heavily influences the gender roles of Asians by suggesting that females' position is subordinate to that of males. Regardless, women in Asian communities may face dual expectations to be subservient in both their culture of origin and the dominant culture, as opposed to Asian American males.

World events influence immigration restrictions, laws, and movement and have informed the sociopolitical environment for Asian American women and continue to shape the way all Asian Americans are seen in the United States (Chin, 2000a, 2000b). However, the immigration history for Asian American females further distinguishes them from their male counterparts, as they were highly restricted from entering the country until the Immigration Act of 1965 (Kim & Hong, 2004). Prior to this, Asian women primarily entered the country through sexual servitude or as "picture brides." Picture brides served as arranged marriages and the women often learned they had been falsely lured by lonely men and found that the partners waiting for them were not as they had presented (Bradshaw, 1994).

Given the power-based differences in gender, which typically reinforce societal hierarchies with men in superior/dominant roles and women in inferior/passive roles, the importance of context when considering the development of women and their gender roles cannot be overlooked (Miville, Bratini, Corpus, & Diaz, 2013). Residing in America exposes Asian women to a society that places Caucasians and men in dominant positions, a system that is perpetuated by racism, discrimination, and sexism (Kibria, 1990). Further, exposure to multiple cultural values regarding appropriate gender role behavior has led to changes in gender role attitudes among Asian American women, thus influencing their experiences in both their ethnic communities and society at large (Lee, Choe, Kim, & Ngo, 2000).

In addition, gender role development among Asian American women is impacted by positive and negative racial stereotypes, which can obscure and shape views of self. Stereotypes about Asians include that of the perpetual foreigner or the model minority. The model minority myth and other stereotypes promote misconceptions about Asians and lock them into social categories as the "other" (S. Lee, 1996). In addition, Asian American women are subject to

gendered racism, reflecting stereotypes specifically aimed at this race/gender intersection. These include images such as Lotus Blossom Baby and the Dragon Lady (Tajima, 1989). For some Asian American women, it is difficult to maintain racial and cultural pride and a connection with their country of origin due to complicated experiences of sexism and racism within the majority culture, as well as within the culture of origin (Bradshaw, 1994; Pyke & Johnson, 2003). Navigating conflicting cultural values, in addition to immigration factors, societal oppression and stereotypes, may create conflicting expectations for women of color, and serve to exacerbate psychological distress when developing one's gender identity.

The Asian population is a rapidly growing presence in the United States. Therefore, the question of how two such very different cultures merge and collide is imperative to understanding the impact on the development of gender. The inevitable renegotiation of cultural values and gendered experiences of this population warrant special attention, with implications for the field of counseling and counseling psychology. Further, Asian American women experience discrimination as Asians, as women, and also as Asian American women—all three of which are impactful experiences, but few empirical studies have examined the intersectional effects of being an Asian American woman (Li, 2013). Narrative accounts about family relations, gender differences in parenting practices, and adjustment have begun to appear within the literature, but it is important to test empirically and substantiate the characterizations (Chung, 2001). This study has added to the current research by quantitatively examining how the experiences of this unique population are relevant to gender role processes, as well as providing a better understanding of the interaction and multiple levels of influence on Asian American women and formation of gender roles.

Development of the Multicultural Gender Roles Scale: Asian American Women

There is a deficit of research concerning the development of gender role development for people of color (Crenshaw, 1989). Further, very few studies have examined the specific components of identity development salient for Asian American women (Li, 2013). This study has contributed to the limited literature in this area through the development of a reliable and valid measure assessing the relevance of specific constructs such as gendered racism and stereotypes, navigating cultural conflicts, and gender role socialization. The general construct of gender roles as well as an overview of potential influential factors has been explored in order to explicate the theoretical underpinnings of the newly developed scale. Relevant constructs were determined though an aforementioned qualitative study by Corpus and Miville (2013), and the results of the current study provide information on how to better define and operationalize the obscure and multifaceted process gender role development for Asian American women. The scale provides a concrete instrument for evaluating the gender role construction of Asian American women.

Due to the unique psychosocial stressors present for this population, an individualized tool was needed in order to assess this process accurately. In addition, a more nuanced understanding of these stressors facilitates targeted and more effective mental health practices for Asian American women. Further, the influence of gender roles may have significant effects on the mental health functioning of Asian American women, as it may cause some psychological maladjustment, as evidenced by depressive symptoms, anxiety symptoms, and issues with self-esteem (Oh, Koeske, & Sales, 2002). However, the current literature fails to address specific gender issues among Asian American women or specifically focus on issues inherent in gender role construction for this population.

Purpose of the Study

After an examination of the literature, there appeared to be a gap in knowledge regarding the unique process of gender role development for Asian American women. Therefore, the current study focused exclusively on this specific population. The goal of this study was to provide an opportunity to learn more about the experience of Asian American women and the specific variables salient to their gender role development and enactment of gendered behavior. Further, this study provides mental health professionals with an understanding and assessment tool for how Asian American women create their gender roles. The hope is that this will assist in accurate diagnosis and treatment planning with this population and remind mental health professionals to consider multicultural issues in the assessment and treatment of Asian American women, given their unique experiences as women of color. Further, this study contributes to the research on the intersectional experiences of Asian American women, given the scarcity of studies available in the current literature (Li, 2013).

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The purpose of this review is: 1) to present an overview of the conceptualization of gender, gender roles, and how they are defined, enacted, and reinforced; 2) provide a rationale for exploring the cultural effects on gender roles and specifically examine the overarching female gender roles found in Asian culture; 3) explore the varying immigration history of Asian males and females to America; 4) present relevant stereotypes about Asian Americans as well as introduce the concept of intersectionality as it applies to race and gender, and gendered racism; 5) apply these concepts and relevant stereotypes to the experience of Asian American women; 6) identify potential conflicts between American and Asian cultural values; 7) examine the subsequent impact on the development of gender role identity and ways of enacting gender for Asian American women; 8) discuss the mental health of Asian American women; 9) present issues with current gender role measurement as applied to this population and recommend methods for studying intersectionality; and 10) review the qualitative study which informed the creation of the scale, and provide a rationale and purpose within the field of Counseling Psychology. Essentially, this literature review explores the specific intersections of race, ethnicity, and gender as it applies to the gender role development of Asian American women.

Defining Gender

Given that gender is an inescapable component of human identity, much time has been spent investigating the development of gender roles. During the second half of the 20th century, the conceptualization of gender roles and research on the social psychology of gender greatly evolved (Davis & Risman, 2013; Shields & Dicicco, 2011). Gender was once conceptualized from psychoanalytic and Anglo-American beliefs, which posited that sex, gender identity, and adherence to gender roles were monolithic, consistent, and biologically based (Shields &

Dicicco, 2011). Gendered behaviors were thought to be a result of sex hormones, and male and female were considered to be opposite poles on a one-dimensional continuum, rather than a multidimensional process and multiple expressions of behavior (Davis & Risman, 2013). However, recent scholars have argued against this binary perspective and the idea that gender is synonymous with sex, as well as the notion that gender-based behavior must align with one's biological sex. As the 1960s and 1970s gave way to feminist psychology, the study of gender expanded from opposing views of male vs. female to encompass a multifaceted concept of masculinity and femininity. Gender is now regarded within the field of psychology as a multidimensional construct (Egan & Perry, 2001). Gender is constructed based on relevant dimensions; several social and biological factors interact to form the specific sex-typed attributes that individuals choose to endorse, rather than simply following a "standard" course of development based primarily on biological sex. This is why gender is understood today as something each individual enacts in different and unique ways, within context, rather than as a fixed entity.

Therefore, a more complex approach to understanding sex and gender is needed, one which explores the interaction of social learning and biology and can account for the variability in which people express gender (Egan & Perry, 2001). Sex role socialization theory posits that children are rewarded for behaviors that are considered to be "gender appropriate" (Davis & Risman, 2013). What is deemed appropriate varies based on cultural norms and other sources of identification (i.e., sexual orientation, religion, class). Therefore, today, gender roles are best understood in terms of context, rather than simply behavioral sex differences. Warnke (2007) stated that the way people identify as male and female is only one piece of a constructed whole, and therefore, equally as partial to change as any other social group an individual might identify

with: that is, gender is both culturally bound and defined by the situation. Therefore, the performative aspect between body and gender should be acknowledged and gender must be understood as something to "do" rather than "be," a way in which actions are performed and ascribed to one's gender (Davis & Risman, 2013). This perspective maintains that women assert their femininity by behaving in ways that are presumed to be feminine and passive, and men assert their masculinity through masculine actions (e.g., active and independent). Likewise, by refraining from or engaging in certain activities (i.e., manual labor for women and child rearing for men), individuals who identify as one gender also assert their gender preference. It is said that "doing gender" is comprised of both biological and social factors that work together to co-construct each person's unique expression of gender. Socialization of gender and selective reinforcement of sanctioned gender role behavior often operate through mechanisms of approval and disapproval, thus having the overt and covert ability to encourage conformity and denigrate difference.

Doing Gender: Messages of Conformity

Identities are constructed early in childhood development due to explicit socialization, modeling, and internalization of social mores (Davis & Risman, 2013). The level of congruence between a person's gender-based expression and societal expectations of their gender affects the reinforcement received for that gendered behavior. People receive reinforcement from others based on how much they can represent the culturally relevant expectations of masculinity and femininity. For example, certain characteristics and behaviors are considered socially to belong to women (such as tenderness, passivity, nurturance, submission, etc.) or men (independence, self-confidence, aggression, dominance, etc.). Cultural components of children's environment, such as norms and values, tend to have great influence on children, especially if there is

adherence to those norms and values from other influencing agents, such as parents, teachers, and the media. Interaction with these agents, particularly those of the same sex, help children develop their gender identity and accompanying behaviors in relation to those who are like them. They relay messages about everything from choice of appropriate games, what type of clothes to wear, and even about the nature of sexuality and sexual relationships (Davis & Risman, 2013). Because traditional gender roles mainly ascribe to heteronormative ideas of how a person should interact in social and intimate relationships, they disavow the gendered expressions of individuals who do not identify within the binary constraints as heterosexual. Behaviors that are congruent with the socially constructed ideas about masculinity and femininity are often those that are rewarded.

Despite often resulting in negative psychological effects, the pressure for gender conformity is perpetuated by the systems and individuals who maintain the status quo on gender. Children are especially vulnerable to these effects, as their choices in matters related to gender are often constrained and dependent on their parents' choices. If not handled sensitively, significant psychosocial costs may occur (Egan & Perry, 2001).

Gender Roles

The term *gender roles* is meant to encompass a collection of characteristics, attitudes, and behaviors associated with the male or female sex. Despite the need for fluid conceptualization of such roles, the enforcement of gender role behavior is often rigidly based on stereotypes and assumptions about gendered behavior. Socially constructed notions of what it means to be a man or woman are ascribed to individuals based on biological sex, which then leads to implicit and explicit expectations about how one should express assumed gender.

Differential expectations and treatment of people still occur based solely on gender identification. One example can be seen with women who are mothers being hired less frequently, paid less money, and still expected to take on a disproportionate amount of household and childcare responsibilities (Shields & Dicicco, 2011). Research about women's roles within the family has also shown that women tend to do more "family labor" than their husbands, even when they work outside the home and/or earn an equivalent amount of money. Deviation from these stereotypes is often negatively scrutinized for not fitting the binary ideas of what is socially accepted as male and female. Such constricted views of gender roles create conflict for individuals who do not identify within the binary gender role behavior.

Cultural effect on gender roles. Feminists of color argued against the monolithic view that White Western female and male subjects are universal norms for gender (Davis & Risman, 2013). Identity development is a complex and dynamic process that evolves in relation to the individual and the immediate and larger social groups in which they belong. Ethnicity and gender are considered two of the most important social groupings that impact the way an individual develops a sense of identity (Phinney, 2008). Thus, women and men internalize norms and become "gendered cultural natives" with "normative" gender role behavior varying from culture to culture and within different contexts. As a result, there are inevitable differences created by the countless intersections of race-ethnicity and gender identity. As the study of gender evolved from being the "simple product of genes and hormones," the influence of socialization on gendered beliefs, values, and behaviors became evident (Shields & Dicicco, 2011, p. 492). Scholars have looked at the different ways people express gender and found variation of expression across societies and cultures. For example, children living in the United States, between the ages of 6 and 10, demonstrated the gender stereotype that math is for boys

(Shields & Dicicco, 2011). This may show that the math self-concepts are influenced before the age in which there are actual differences in math achievement. This particular stereotype may be unique to perceptions of males in the United States and not be equally globally reinforced. This example also illustrates how the intersections of other identities, particularly race-ethnicity, may factor into one's expression of gender. These findings led to further questions about a dichotomous conceptualization of gender, or the idea that gender-based behaviors are necessarily the same in every individual. Instead, recent evidence positions gender as a self-asserted, multifaceted, evolutionary, and ever evolving process that is unique for each individual (Egan & Perry, 2001). It is challenging to infer overall gender role behavior from observing one single domain of functioning or set of behaviors; instead, it is imperative to discuss gender identity in conjunction with other identities. However, systematic exploration of such intersections is needed, as little empirical research exists on specific race and gender intersections (Phinney, 2008; Shields & Dicicco, 2011).

Despite the evidence of cultural differences in gender role norms, little empirical work has been done that integrates the doing of gender with the study of race. In particular, there is scant research examining how racially and ethnically subordinated women, especially Asian American women, mediate gender roles and concepts of femininity as they move between mainstream and ethnic arenas, such as family, work, and school. Further, it also is not well understood how they enact gender and what contextual strategies they use (Pyke & Johnson, 2003).

Gender roles in Asian culture. Asian cultures have some general gender role expectations that are transmitted from generation to generation for centuries. Although gender role orientation varies among Asian subgroups, generally speaking, gender orientation is thought

to be even more patriarchal than the United States (Baden, Constantine, Gainor, Kindaichi, & Okazaki, 2005). Confucian philosophy highly influences the gender roles within many Asian ethnic groups. Confucius was a philosopher who wrote about morality, relationships, and education, and significantly influenced beliefs regarding women's roles in families. He specifically outlined the role of daughters in a family system and the role of women in society (Bradshaw, 1994). According to Confucian philosophy, women must uphold "Three Obedience's," meaning that they are to obey father, husband, and sons (Wang, 2001). The "Four Virtues" of women are thought to be chastity, reticence, pleasing manner, and domestic skills. In general, deference to men and boys and overall subjugation of women was expected in Confucian society and religious doctrine. These gender roles are based on traditions developed over 2,000 years ago. The philosopher Confucius focused on men in his writings as well, and remains highly influential in numerous Asian cultures, such as Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese, and Korean cultures. He believed the underlying support system of society was based on a patriarchal family system and therefore advocated for Asian women to support their husbands and families unconditionally. A woman's role was thought to be purely defined by her relationships to the men in her life and her existence secondary in comparison to men's. Therefore, Asian women may be thought of as having less value in Asian cultures due to the belief that sons continue the family lineage (Bradshaw, 1994). Daughters are seen as less valuable and their primary roles are to serve their husbands and husbands' families. Women's roles are to support their husbands because traditionally men were the main providers. Therefore, women were not expected to receive an education or work outside the home and instead were expected to place their husbands before themselves when fulfilling their cultural gender role

expectations. Therefore, cultural gender roles have differential demands and subsequent effects on Asian American females and males, respectively.

Examples of gender role differences among Asian Americans are evident in the research. For example, Chung (2001) reported that Asian American female college students reported more family conflict on dating and marriage issues than male students, as well as greater values gaps and more intergenerational conflicts with their parents than males. This latter set of findings is consistent with the observations that parents have different cultural expectations of daughters and sons (Kibria, 1993).

In sum, expectations of Asian women are largely influenced by values advocated by Confucius. However, despite Western observers' tendency to regard Asian families as uniformly and rigidly patriarchal, variations exist (Ishii-Kuntz, 2000) and there is some variance and change. Women's resistance strategies, like the exchange of information in informal social groups, provide pockets of power (Kibria, 1993). Women's growing educational and economic opportunities and the rise of women's rights groups in Korea and Vietnam challenge gender inequality (Palley, 1994). Thus, actual gender dynamics are not always in complete and utter compliance with the prescribed Confucian code.

Asians in America

Asians have been immigrating to the United States for over 150 years from many countries and for many reasons, and these historical immigration patterns have greatly influenced the experience of Asians in America, including gender role socialization and development. A brief overview of salient Asian immigration movements is presented in order to provide important contextual factors for understanding the historical impact and important factors of immigration, both within America and the country of origin. The first wave of Asian immigrants

(primarily men) came from China to the United States in 1848 in search of gold. More Chinese immigrants followed to help establish the transcontinental railroad and cultivate newly acquired land in California. In order to allow the necessary workers into the country, U.S. foreign policy encouraged immigration of the Chinese, as they were viewed as inferior and passive yet diligent workers (Bradshaw, 1994). A similar political strategy of allowing Asian males as laborers to further American capitalism continued as Asians were pitted against one another, and against the immigrant White working-class population. Additionally, Asians were seen as replacements for Black workers and were used by Whites to discipline Black laborers; for example, a railway company displaced Black workers by hiring Filipinos to work as attendants, cooks, and busboys, thereby relegating Blacks to porter positions and denying them the mobility to obtain easier and better-paying jobs (Li, 2013). This created intra-racial competition and inter-racial discord, a direct economic strategy to keep labor costs down and further oppression among various racial-ethnic groups.

This negative sociopolitical environment directly influenced the experience of Asians as they began to immigrate to America in the late 20th century after the Immigration Act of 1965. This law abolished an earlier quota system based on national origin that severely limited immigration from Asia and established a new immigration policy aimed toward reuniting immigrant families and attracting skilled labor to the United States. Immigration to the United States from Asian countries, especially those fleeing war-torn Southeast Asia (Vietnam, Cambodia), would more than quadruple, a stark contradiction to past immigration policies in which Asian immigrants had been effectively barred from entry. Since the 1965 immigration law, the Asian American population has continued to grow rapidly and change within the United States (Le Espiritu, 1999).

Despite the removal of restrictions after 1965 and the resulting influx of immigrants, the status quo as an immigrant and a visible minority, as well as the historical context and political atmosphere, added an additional layer of complexity to the experience of Asian Americans. Immigration policy also differentially impacted the formation of gender roles for Asian American women, who faced additional restrictions above and beyond those of their male counterparts. For example, American employers preferred a "bachelor society" of single Asian men and thus only recruited single male workers. In addition, Asian laborers found it more economical to have their families stay in Asia. Many also considered the United States unsafe for women and children. As a result, there was a large gender imbalance among Asians in the United States that eventually led to the importation of Asian women as prostitutes, thereby inadvertently setting the stage for the gendered experiences of Asian American women (Li, 2013).

History of Immigration for Asian American Women

The immigration patterns for Asian American men and women differed because of the restrictions imposed by the U.S. government. The initial group of Asian immigrants in the United States consisted of 90% males (Okihiro, 2001). Asian women were not allowed to enter the United States until restrictions were lifte; thus, this population did not truly exist in substantial numbers until the 1965 /immigration Act. Prior to 1965, the earliest Chinese and Japanese women to arrive in the United States were falsely lured by tales of wealth, or sold into sexual servitude by relatives, justified by the Confucian principles of loyalty and filial piety. These immigrant women fulfilled the obligation to provide for their parents and brothers (Okihiro, 2001). The Japanese government eventually intervened to slow the emigration of prostitution by creating "picture brides," or an extension of arranged marriages. If the marriage was sanctioned by the families, the women immigrated as legal wives. This movement helped to

maintain family traditions and cultural values within the United States. The Japanese government also controlled Korea during the early 1900s and was economically powerful, as opposed to other Asian countries like China. Therefore, Korean women were also sent as picture brides. After the Korean war in the 1950s, Korean women married to U.S. servicemen also began to immigrate to the United States. These women were often isolated from their communities and subject to culture shock, isolation, physical abuse, a high divorce rate, mental health problems, and poor occupational skills. After the 1950s, adoption of Korean children was also a major source of immigration to the United States. Female adoptees greatly outnumbered male adoptees. This could be attributed to the Korean cultural preference to keep boys and give up daughters, or perhaps due to the stereotypical American preference for deferential females. Notably, the demographics of Asian immigrants often correlated with U.S. military involvement in the Pacific and foreign policy (Bradshaw, 1994).

Newer waves of Asian immigrants suggest that they are better educated than before: professionals with advanced training from urban rather than rural locations, and more often immigrating with their families rather than as individuals. Another very recent source of growth has been fueled by the large number of international students, mostly female, migrating to the United States from Asian countries. The longstanding Asian population, in addition to continual new immigration, makes increased knowledge about adjustment issues for Asians in the United States, including shifting gender roles, increasingly important (Baden et al., 2005). According to Pyke and Johnson (2003), as Koreans and Vietnamese immigrate to the United States, they experience a shift in gender arrangements centering on men's loss of economic power and increased dependency on their wives' wages (Kibria, 1993; Lim, 1997; Min, 1998). Immigrant women find their labor in demand by employers who regard them as a cheap labor source. With

their employment, immigrant women experience more decision-making power, autonomy, and assistance with domestic chores from their husbands. However, such shifts are not total, and male dominance remains a common feature of family life (Kibria, 1993; Min, 1998). Furthermore, immigrant women tend to stay committed to the ethnic patriarchal structure as it provides resources for maintaining their parental authority and resisting the economic insecurities, racism, and cultural impositions of the new society (Kibria, 1990, 1993; Lim, 1997).

Clearly, the immigration patterns of Asians to America is diverse, but always remain influenced by economic and political forces both in the country of origin and within the United States. The influence of colonization and imperialism by primarily European countries, as well as the influence of religion, are all factors that have influenced the cultural philosophies of Asian social systems (Bradshaw, 1994). Interaction with the dominant American culture and the circumstances of immigration result in differing conditions and have varying implications for gender role development and psychological adjustment. Further, the way that Asians have been received in the United States has fluctuated from intense and government-sanctioned recruitment of labor to outright denial of entry, per the influence of international politics and economics as well as the racist history of the United States (Bradshaw, 1994). Undoubtedly, the historical context of immigration and individual process of merging culture of origin with American culture has informed the underlying gender role expectations of Asian Americans.

Living in the United States: Stereotypes About Asian Americans

For members of marginalized racial groups, stereotypes are often laden and imbued with racism. Hill Collins (2000) discussed "controlling images" that denigrate and objectify women of color and justify their racial and gender subordination. Controlling images are part of the process of "othering," whereby a dominant group defines into existence a subordinate group through the

creation of categories and ideas that mark the group as inferior (Schwalbe et al., 2000, p. 422). Controlling images reaffirm Whiteness as normal and privilege White women by casting them as superior role models of femininity. The dominant culture's dissemination of controlling imagery that derogates non-White forms of femininity (and masculinity) is part of a complex ideological system of "psychosocial dominance" (Baker, 1983, p. 37) that imposes elite definitions of subordinates, denying them the power of self-identification. In this way, subordinates internalize "commonsense" notions of their inferiority to Whites (Espiritu, 1997; Hill Collins, 2000). Once internalized, controlling images provide the template by which subordinates make meaning of their everyday lives (Pyke 2000), develop a sense of self, form racial and gender identities, and organize social relations.

For example, racial-ethnic stereotypes about Asian Americans do not present a true depiction of their diverse personalities and experiences in the United States. Consider the initial depiction of Asian Americans as inferior, as evidenced by denying citizenship and the rights typically associated with citizenship (Li, 2013). In addition, having visible physical differences from Westerners/White Americans marks Asians as the "perpetual foreigner" and furthers the perception that they are outsiders and therefore unable to assimilate into American culture. Furthermore, the idea of being a "perpetual foreigner" is more apparent when the United States was in conflict with an Asian country. This was most evident after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, in which war posters consistently conveyed images of Asians, particularly males, as dangerous invaders. Consequently, the treatment of Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans after the bombing clearly illustrated the U.S. government's perceptions of this group as both foreigners and enemies, regardless of their length of residence or generational status in the United States. The internment of Japanese Americans demonstrated the brutal consequences that arise in light

of public policy decisions based on false stereotypes and negative perceptions of Asians as perpetual foreigners in the United States.

Another powerful stereotype associated with Asian Americans is the model minority myth. The model minority myth supports a perception of Asian Americans as homogeneous, with similar experiences despite the large number of different ethnic groups that belong within this racial category (Okihiro, 2001). The model minority myth focuses on Asian Americans' educational achievement, economic success, and assimilation into American culture, and characterizes Asian Americans as hardworking, intelligent, and successful (Li, 2013). The model minority myth was created during the Civil Rights Movement to provide a counter example to politically active African Americans, legitimize the oppression of other minority groups, and blame them for "not being successful like Asian Americans." It is used not only to blame minority groups (i.e., Asians, Latinas/os, African Americans) for their oppression, but also to campaign for the government to stop providing social services. The model minority myth is also used to campaign against affirmative action that creates resentment and tension among minority groups, as well as violence and anger, and prevent minority groups from working together (S. Lee, 1996). As a result of the model minority myth, a dominant perception is that Asian Americans experience only "minor" adjustment difficulties in their lives. The "success" of Asian Americans is also touted as an example of the presumably race-neutral society of the United States. But the model minority myth that Asian Americans have successfully assimilated in the United States is in error. The term *model minority* ignores the past and present discrimination experienced by Asian Americans and legitimizes the oppression of other communities of color. The model minority myth also ignores the existence of a "bamboo ceiling" or the processes and barriers that serve to exclude Asian Americans from executive positions on the basis of

subjective factors such as “lack of leadership potential” and “lack of communication skills” that cannot actually be explained by job performance or qualifications, and thus prevent Asian Americans from advancing to high-ranking leadership positions (Li, 2013). Further, the bamboo ceiling addresses barriers to success for Asian Americans as a monolithic group, regardless of gender. This misleading portrait furthers the oppression of Asian Americans by denying the existence of present-day discrimination and ignoring the effects of past discrimination. This perception of Asian American success allows the public and the U.S. government to ignore or marginalize the needs of Asian Americans, for example, by denying funding to social services for Asian Americans. As a result, much-needed funding and attention to issues affecting many Asian communities (e.g., Southeast Asians), which have poverty rates at least three times the national average, are denied. When Asian Americans do discuss the oppression they face, these complaints are seen as unwarranted given their “success” as a model minority and may invalidate their experience of racism.

Results of Asian American Immigration

Asian Americans are subject to the effects of historical influences from migrating to America, which often meant arriving to a hostile environment or discriminatory policies. Racism and restrictive stereotypes about Asian Americans such as the model minority myth and the “bamboo ceiling” present a double bind: an expectation to succeed within limits and serve to further complicate and exacerbate mental health concerns with added complexity. As a visible person of color, Asian Americans must also contend with the idea of being a perpetual foreigner and never truly belonging as a White American. This complicated political history often translates into discrimination and racism, whether subtle or overt. Reports suggest that issues around discrimination continue to be salient in the lives of Asian Americans in specific domains,

such as in housing and employment, as well as more chronically and routinely in everyday interactions, i.e., being treated with less courtesy or respect. Self-reported racial discrimination was associated with greater odds of having any clinical diagnoses, depressive disorder, or anxiety disorder within the past 12 months when controlling for sociodemographic characteristics (acculturative stress, family cohesion, poverty, self-rated health, chronic physical conditions, and social desirability) (Cheng, Lin, & Cha, 2015; Chung, 2001). Therefore, it is important to understand the impact of being an Asian American residing in the United States.

Further, Asian Americans must also contend with contrasting and dueling cultural values: collectivism in traditional heritage and individualism in the mainstream American culture. This contrast presents unique challenges for navigating across cultures and has influence on gender role development when constantly managing and internalizing two sets of cultural orientations (Lui, 2015). Current research studies tend to examine the overall experiences of Asian Americans without examining gender specific issues. However, Asian American women face additional barriers as a result of being both Asian American and female.

While research is available on the experiences of women, Asian Americans, and people of color, very little research has been done on the unique experiences of Asian American women. Asian American women continue to be largely "unseen and unheard," even in the study of intersectionality which typically emphasizes the experiences of African American women or women of color generally (Li, 2013). Asian American women and other women of color all experience marginalization generally per an "otherized" racial status. In addition, Asian American women also experience discrimination specific to Asian Americans based on their unique history in the United States. This history shaped the perception of Asian American women in the United States as outsiders, ultra-feminine lotus blossoms, dragon ladies, and model

minorities. These stereotypes, both positive and negative, have contributed to discrimination against Asian American women (Li, 2013).

Intersectionality: Race and Gender

Gender is one of several identities which are based on social group membership and do not function independently of one another but rather interdependently. Society has created categorization systems that separate individuals from one another. Unfortunately, for many women of color, this distribution of power places them in multiple positions of subordination (Zinn & Dill, 1996). Thus, in this study, gender and race are presumed to be social categories devised to oppress certain groups, and rather than being thought of as two separate systems of inequalities, gender and race are conceptualized as being intertwined. Therefore, the oppression experienced by women of color is related to their gender and race, as well as other critical categories such as social class. Intersectionality, or the process of engaging in an intersectional analysis of race and gender, means that the researcher is attempting to complicate her or his understanding of the complexity of studying multiple categories of social group membership, particularly multiple forms of oppression, marginalization, and disadvantage. For example, a leading scholar on intersectionality, Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw (1989) pointed out that sometimes women of color experience oppression in ways that are nearly identical to that of men of the same race, and other times, their oppression is similar to that of White women; sometimes, they experience the combined effects of race and gender oppression in a kind of double jeopardy. Cole (2009) described the process of studying women of color's experiences with discrimination by using a "similar experiences" approach, which compares women of color's oppression with those of either White women or men of color. In this sense, comparative approaches often implicitly reinforce the idea that women of color are not worthy of study on their own and must

always be understood in relation to Whiteness and men/masculinity. Intersectionality, therefore, does not examine racism at the expense of other systems of inequality, such as sexism and classism, which cannot be ranked or understood as mutually independent of race and racism (Cole, 2009).

Therefore, the experiences and impact on gender role development of Asian American women need to be presented in a manner that takes into consideration their statuses as women of color and integrates the reflexive causality and cultural factors that exist on multiple levels (Davis & Risman, 2013; Egan & Perry, 2001). Shields (2008) stated, "The individual's social identities profoundly influence one's beliefs about and experience of gender" (p. 301). Therefore, gender should be conceptualized as an "axis" of oppression which intersects with other axes of oppression, such as race, sexuality, nationality, ability, religion, and so on. This approach has implications for both opportunity and constraint on an individual level (e.g., during interactions between men and women who may experience different cultural expectations) and on an institutional level, where gender specific regulations may exist.

A number of researchers assert that the intersections of multiple social identities can signify increased opportunity and/or incidents of oppression (Baca Zinn & Thornton, 1996), and individuals who are members of multiple minority or marginalized groups (i.e., women of color, gay working-class individuals, immigrant Muslims, etc.) may experience even greater disadvantages and disempowerment in comparison to other groups. Therefore, it is imperative to see not only how gender is experienced (e.g., masculinity and femininity), but also how the intersections of other social identities, such as race, ethnicity, class, culture, religion, and sexual orientation, and so on, may deeply impact the way one enacts gender. For example, females and males of racial-ethnic groups of color experience gender-based stereotypes that are generally

associated with the intersected identities of race and gender through a phenomenon known as gendered racism. When traditional gender roles are enacted and unchallenged, they have the potential to maintain rigid ascriptions of how one should act out their gender.

The intersection of gender and race-ethnicity looks different across cultures and for each gender, and may ascribe a power differential among genders within the same race. For instance, women of color may occupy multiple oppressive statuses, that of being a woman and that of being a person of color. Because of their intersectional identity as both women *and* of color within discourses that are shaped to respond to one or the other, women of color are marginalized within both (Li, 2013). Therefore, a person's gender-based experiences are directly tied to the intersection of these identities. Factors combine to create a unique and complex process of identity development and influence one's interpretation and enactment of gender role behavior. The experiences of people of color generally, or other women of color specifically, are useful in recognizing common themes of oppression, but cannot fully explain the unique experiences of Asian American women. However, the utilization of intersectionality has the potential to shed light on the unique experiences of Asian American women and take into account their particular position in the United States (Li, 2013).

The creation and maintenance of racially and culturally sanctioned gender roles and stereotypes overlap and vary by racial/cultural group (i.e., the angry Black woman, the absentee father, the superwoman) and both implicitly and explicitly impact the way individuals create and enact gender roles. Therefore, race in combination with female gender will elicit different stereotypes and subsequent treatment. Researchers have recently increased their use of an intersectional perspective to assess gendered racism (Lewis & Grzanka, 2003). For example, Jones and Shorter-Gooden (2003) conducted a large qualitative interview study of Black women

to explore the simultaneous experience of racism and sexism and found that women reported experiencing both race and gender-related stereotypes, particularly in the workplace. However, many women reported that they could not distinguish whether discrimination was based on race, gender, or the intersection of the two.

Gendered Racism

An accurate conceptualization of a person's gender role behavior must be multidimensional and reflect the sociopolitical context in which it exists (Warnke, 2008). Feminist psychologists acknowledge that there is always an inherent "political dimension" in the study of behavior, as all individuals are connected to systems promoting differential power and status (Shields & Dicicco, 2011). Whereas earlier feminist psychologists conceptualized the female gender role within a patriarchal society, this has been extended to consider how gender oppression is embedded and linked with other systems of oppression such as race and class (Shields & Dicicco, 2011). *Gendered racism* is a phenomenon describing the occurrence and entanglement of both racist and sexist attitudes, beliefs, and discriminatory behaviors that a person may experience at the intersections of race and gender. Philomena Essed (1991), a sociologist, coined the term *gendered racism* to refer to the simultaneous experience of both racism and sexism.

The concept of intersectionality is most concerned with groups that are doubly (or multiply) disadvantaged, with emphasis on issues of power, status, and stigma (Phinney, 2008). Race-ethnicity and gender is one intersection of identities that can predispose a person to a specific set of experiences that must be understood in relation to the sociopolitical makeup of the United States. Risman and Davis (2013) bluntly stated, "In a sexist and racist society, women and all persons of color are expected to have less to contribute to task performances than are

white men, unless they have some externally validated source of prestige." Unfortunately, this quote illustrates pervasive and detrimental assumptions about both gender and race within the United States. For Asians and Asian Americans, historical stereotypes are perpetuated and sometimes have a gendered basis. Therefore, gender role development among Asian women living in the United States are impacted by positive and negative racial stereotypes that ultimately obscure understanding of how gender roles are constructed. However, the prevalence of both racialized and gendered stereotypes has only been recently explored (Lau, Chen, Huang, & Miville, 2013), with some evidence showing that Asian men and women must combat preexisting stereotypes in addition to navigating Western norms for masculinity and femininity when constructing their gender roles.

Intersection of Race and Gender for Asian American Women

Asian American women, specifically, face a host of negative stereotypes that impact their experiences. For example, Asian women have been depicted as passive, weak, quiet, excessively submissive, slavishly dutiful, sexually exotic, and available for White men (Espiritu, 1997; Tajima, 1989). The first images of Asian American women as "erotic and sexual objects'' (Tien, 2000, p. 43) began when they served as prostitutes for U.S. servicemen. Many of these women became prostitutes involuntarily, and the perceptions of them as social deviants were disseminated through newspapers and magazines (R. Lee, 1999). The two most prevalent images in the media were the Lotus Blossom Baby and the Dragon Lady (Tajima, 1989). The stressors that stem from gendered racism, such as the impact of microaggressions or a lack of access to social and material resources, could undermine psychological well-being. Stereotypes about Asian American women manifest themselves in discriminatory conduct and sexual harassment against Asian American women in the workplace. The objectification of Asian American women

and stereotypes that they are submissive, politically passive, exotic, and compliant makes them susceptible to racialized sexual harassment (Li, 2013). These stereotypes are also reflected in mass media. Popular culture and mass media reinforce stereotypical images of Asian American women through one-dimensional, simplistic, and inaccurate portrayals (R. Lee, 1999). Since mainstream media offers few Asian American female characters outside of these stereotypes, these negative stereotypes are reinforced, making it difficult for Asian American women to be accepted as ordinary or normal, as opposed to exotic.

The feminist movement presents a monolithic woman's experience that is explained independent of race, class, sexual orientation, and national origin. The agenda of the women's rights movement has been shaped largely by White, middle-class women. The concept of the glass ceiling focuses on the experiences of women, irrespective of race. The glass ceiling is a concept that is commonly discussed in regard to and as an area of concern for the feminist movement. Similarly, the bamboo ceiling addresses barriers to success for Asian Americans as a monolithic group, regardless of gender. In fighting for the rights of Asian Americans, women's issues are seen as secondary (Li, 2013). The "glass ceiling" and "bamboo ceiling" are insufficient proxies for understanding the experiences of Asian American women. By using a single-axis analysis where race and gender are mutually exclusive, the "glass ceiling" and "bamboo ceiling" exclude and delegitimize the experiences of Asian American women. These perceptions of Asian Americans as hardworking, intelligent, ambitious, and achievement-oriented work alongside negative stereotypes of Asian Americans as shy, quiet, polite, and cold to prevent them from breaking the bamboo ceiling and advancing into executive positions. Further, the experiences of Asian American women must be analyzed in a way that allows for the interaction of multiple axes of oppression. The barriers Asian American women face are not

only distinct, but also more than the sum of the discrimination faced by women and Asian Americans.

Asian and American Culture Clash

Cultural value conflicts are defined as negative affective and cognitive contradictions from an individual's culture of origin and host culture. Research has revealed differing core Eastern and Western cultural philosophies regarding both social structures and interpersonal relationships, core belief systems, and cognitive processing (Kitayama & Markus, 1991). Due to disparate cultural standards, values, and expectations, negotiating across Asian and Western cultural values can present particularly difficult challenges for Asian Americans. The sociopolitical philosophy of individualism vs. group dependency differentiates Asian cultures from European or North American cultures (Bradshaw, 1994). According to Chiang (2007), "Asian culture can be defined as the norms, attitudes, values, perceptions, expectations, behaviors, and customs associated with having Asian ethnicity, familial background, and/or ancestry." Stewart and Bennett (1991) defined American cultural beliefs as prioritizing individualism, self-actualization, an autonomous self, equity in relationships, and self-reliance. Therefore, one primary cause of psychological distress for Asian Americans may arise from the vast value conflicts from mainstream Western culture, constructed and upheld by dominant White American society. Mental health professionals speculate that Asian Americans are at risk of experiencing psychological distress when adapting to Western culture due to the inherent contradictions between cultural and dominant values (Schwartz & Shim, 2008).

A qualitative study by Constantine, Kindaichi, Okazaki, Gainor, and Baden (2005) focused on the experience of international students from Asian countries. They found several participants felt that there were many differences between the country of origin and the United

States, such as feeling like Asians were more group-oriented than Americans. Some indicated feeling like "doormats" due to being more submissive than American women. They also felt that American peers were more overtly competitive (Baden et al., 2005).

A study by Kim and Omizo (2003) found that adherence to Asian cultural values, particularly in relation to emotional self-control and conformity to norms, was linked to a negative attitude toward seeking psychological help. This could be due to the specific Eastern cultural norm of withholding pain and suffering, rather than overtly expressing it as is encouraged in Western culture. Matsui (1995) examined the gender role attitudes among international students from Japan and China. Findings indicated that Japanese students who interacted frequently with Americans, "particularly with various aspects of American gender culture" (Matsui, 1995, p. 378), experienced a change in their views regarding gender roles and became more egalitarian. Again, Asian American women's exposure to the dominant culture will invariably impact their gender role attitudes.

Among Asian American women and even within the same family, there will be various degrees of acculturation, thus influencing the amount of dissonance between Eastern and Western values. For example, Chin (2000a, 2000b) offered the example of an immigrant mother who raises a first-generation, Asian American daughter, able to achieve middle-class educational and economic status in America. The mother's experience may be one of trauma, resulting from separation from family and country of origin, as the reason for immigration may be due to war or poverty. In turn, how does the mother relate to the daughter's life as the first generation in America? Asian parents who migrate to the United States as adults are more likely to retain the lifestyle, values, traditions, and customs of their homeland and less likely to uniformly adopt the mores of American society, particularly in regard to raising and socializing their children.

Parents often selectively acculturate or assimilate in certain life domains. By contrast, children are more likely to acculturate across most life domains since they are influenced not only by family, but also by peers, school, media, and the larger society as a whole. U.S.-raised Asian children usually acculturate faster and across more life domains than their immigrant parents, thus creating a values gap that may contribute to misunderstandings or family conflicts (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). Such misunderstandings between parents and children could contribute to problems for girls and young women in their gender role development. For example, a mother may be less acculturated than her second-generation daughter and portray culturally traditional gender role behavior. Portes and Rumbaut (2006) labeled the acculturation discrepancy between parents and children as *dissonant acculturation*, whereby parents' cultural expectations of their children differ from children's cultural expectations of their parents. They also suggested that dissonant acculturation is a major risk factor for problem behaviors because it relates to the breakdown of parent-child communication and to the lack of important familial resources and support. Thus, children who experience acculturation conflict with their parents are more likely to show an assortment of adjustment problems, including psychological distress, acting-out behaviors, and poor academic performance.

Native-born American women are perceived as having more equality, power, and independence than women in Asian societies, reflecting an overall difference in cultural gender attitudes. A recent study of Korean American women found that 82% of Korean women agreed that "women should have only a family-oriented life, devoted to bringing up the children and looking after the husband," compared to 19% of U.S. women (Kim, 1994). However, the perception of egalitarian gender attitudes and actual behavior in the United States does not fully align. Despite the popular misconception of gender equality, patriarchal arrangements in

America still afford higher status to men both at home and at work, with women disproportionately experiencing lower job status and pay, greater responsibility for family work even when employed, and high rates of male violence. The misconstrued belief that gender equality is the norm in U.S. society obscures the reality of American patriarchy (Pyke & Johnson, 2003). Although there are ideological differences for the justification of patriarchy, gender inequality is a reality in both ethnic Asian culture and mainstream American cultural worlds.

Another example of the vast cultural differences between the East and West can be seen in the extremely different conception and view of the individual self, as well as the function of interdependence among one another. In an article by Kitayama and Markus (1991), the difference between Japan and the United States are illustrated using anecdotal quotes. In the United States, "the squeaky wheel gets the grease," whereas in Japan, "the nail that stands out gets pounded down." The American example is indicative of the importance of attending to and asserting oneself. In stark contrast, the Japanese example illustrates the priority of "attending to and fitting in with others." Several anthropological and psychological studies confirm that these formative views of self, in this case, independent versus interdependent, shape the nature of the individual experience. The authors noted that any differences between Eastern and Western views should be categorized as general tendencies, emergent when members are considered as a whole. For instance, the prototypical Western view may be most fitting for a middle-age, middle-class, White male, and generally not as suitable for a woman (or man) of a different ethnicity or socioeconomic class. Therefore, within these interdependent and independent categories, research should explore and delineate specific race and gender intersections to further account for and explicate unique aspects of self-development.

Impact on Gender Role Development of Asian American Women

Non-conforming and non-Western ways of "doing gender" are generally overlooked and undervalued in the United States, particularly for women of color. As noted earlier, the experiences of Asian American women are unique because of their statuses as women and ethnic minorities. They are discriminated against because of their race, sex, and national origin; therefore, an understanding of their experiences that ignores how these axes of oppression intersect is incomplete. Intersectionality provides a framework to analyze the experiences of Asian American women (Li, 2013). To best utilize intersectionality, research must be conducted to fully incorporate the experiences of Asian American women, taking into account their unique immigration experiences and overall history in the United States, the conflicting cultural values which they must navigate, as well as the stereotypes they face as Asian Americans and, in particular, Asian American women. Intersectionality will demonstrate that the discrimination faced by Asian American women is not the same as the discrimination faced by women or Asian American men, and thus is deserving of its own analysis. Therefore, to comprehend the gender role development of Asian American women and create appropriate strategies for counteracting their oppression, we must look at how these variables interact to create unique obstacles for this particular population.

Asian American women have been ostracized based on their gender, class, and race from the onset of their immigration history. Moreover, Asian women initially arrived in the United States under more subordinate positions, such as picture brides, war brides, or prostitutes, thus placing them in subordinate positions due to the existence of sexism, racism, and classism in society. Further, Asian American women are susceptible to experiences of gender role confusion because they face multiple and divergent expectations from their culture of origin and the

dominant culture. However, Kibria (1997) found that the experience of growing up American in Asian immigrant families is similar, causing the rise of a pan-ethnic Asian American identity. For this population, cultural expectations often conflict with Western ideals and values. The development of a cohesive identity is a complex process for Asian American women due to the management of two cultural contexts with opposing gender role values (Kibria, 1997). Asian American women are forced to decide which values to retain and express from their own culture and the dominant culture to integrate into their lives. The fact that the values and beliefs of Asian culture differ vastly from the dominant American culture makes the process of acculturation more difficult (Schwartz & Shim, 2008). The simultaneous management of two different cultures impacts Asian American women and their identity as women of color.

For example, disparities between ethnic and mainstream worlds can generate substantial conflict for children of immigrants, including conflict around issues of gender. A study by Pyke and Johnson (2003) explored how respondents employ cultural symbols, controlling images, and gender and racial ideologies in giving meaning to their experiences. Participants were Korean and Vietnamese Americans, as they form two of the largest Asian ethnic groups in southern California where the research was conducted. Researchers focused on the daughters of immigrants as they were thought to be more involved in both ethnic and mainstream cultures than members of the first generation. Respondents ranged in age from 18 to 34 and averaged 22 years of age. Respondents either were U.S.-born (n = 25) or immigrated prior to the age of 16 (n = 74), with one respondent having arrived at 18. Both parents of respondents were born in Korea or Vietnam. The data consisted of 81 individual interviews and seven group interviews with 26 women—seven of whom were also individually interviewed. Data were collected in California between 1996 and 1999 using a convenience sample located through interviewers'

networks and announcements posted at a university campus. They found that respondents were influenced by larger societal definitions and ideologies that favor Whiteness in giving meaning to their own experiences, which may have obscured ethnic and class distinctions in their narratives. They found that women tended to focus on gendered behavior by denigrating Asian ethnic realms and glorifying mainstream American cultural values in both subtle and overt ways. Some participants described choosing different behaviors and/or being treated differently in settings with other Asians, as compared to when interacting with Whites and other non-Asian Americans.

The analyses focused on two themes. The first concerned racialized beliefs about gender, which came in a variety of forms and recurred throughout the interviews. The data reflected the ways that respondents think about Asian and "American" (meaning White) femininity. The second theme concerned changes in gender behavior or treatment in ethnic and mainstream settings, with 44 of the 100 respondents (20 Korean Americans and 24 Vietnamese Americans) providing clear examples. The additional 56 respondents who did not provide data about changes in gender behavior across settings did not necessarily mean they had not experienced this phenomenon, but rather that it may have occurred without their awareness. Nearly half of the sample provided descriptions of gender switching across settings and was prominent enough to warrant investigation. However, generalizability to all Asian American women may be limited as data were ascertained from a convenience sample.

The purpose of the study was to describe emergent gender role themes and what they suggest about how racialized notions of gender are embedded in the construction of identity for second-generation Asian American women. The 44 respondents who were aware of modifying their gender displays or being treated differently across cultural settings framed their accounts in

terms of an oppressive ethnic world and an egalitarian mainstream. They reaffirmed the ideological constructions of the White-dominated society by casting ethnic and mainstream worlds as monolithic opposites, with internal variations largely ignored. Controlling images that denigrate Asian femininity and glorify White femininity were reiterated in many of the narratives. Women's behavior in ethnic realms was described as submissive and controlled, and in White-dominated settings as freer and more self-expressive. This implied that Asian ethnic behavior was viewed by participants as aberrant and inferior compared to White behavior, which was rendered normal and ideal.

Therefore, the glorification of White femininity and controlling images of Asian women can lead Asian American women to feel that freedom and equity can be acquired *only* in the White-dominated world. Racialized images and the principal belief that American ideals of femininity are superior further subordinate Asian forms of gender. Asian American women may feel they must choose between White worlds of gender equity and Asian worlds of gender oppression. Despite a supposedly dichotomous choice of gender enactment, the second theme the researchers found reflected gender variance and nuanced behavior. Several respondents described variations in gender dynamics within mainstream and ethnic settings that challenged notions of Asian and American worlds as monolithic opposites. Respondents typically offered stories as evidence of the patriarchy within their culture of origin; however, upon closer examination, these examples revealed diversity within ethnic worlds and variability beyond what was generally assumed. In sum, viewing Asian ethnic worlds through the American lens of racialized gender stereotypes rendered variation invisible or, when acknowledged, atypical. Gender expectations in the White-dominated mainstream also varied, with respondents sometimes expected to assume a subservient stance as Asian women. Many respondents

described encounters with non-Asians, usually Whites, who expected them to be passive, quiet, and yielding. Several described non-Asian (mostly White) men who brought such expectations to their dating relationships. Indeed, the servile Lotus Blossom image bolsters White men's preference for Asian women (Espiritu, 1997). Therefore, racialized images can cause Asian American women to believe they will find greater gender equality with White men while, at the same time, cause White men to believe they will find greater subservience with Asian women, and represent another way that stereotypes about Asian American women are reinforced.

In addition, several participants described White employers and coworkers who expected them to be more passive and deferential than other employees and were surprised when they spoke up and resisted unfair treatment. Participants illustrated how racialized expectations can exert a pressure to display stereotyped behavior in mainstream interactions. Such expectations can subtly coerce behavioral displays that confirm the stereotypes, creating a self-fulfilling prophecy. Furthermore, submissiveness and passivity are denigrated traits in mainstream American society, and often judged to be indicators of incompetence. Thus, intentional and/or passive compliance with such expectations can be detrimental to Asian American women and inhibit them from achieving personal opportunities or success. Not only is passivity unrewarded in the mainstream, it is also subordinated and interacts with the restrictive concept of the bamboo ceiling. Further, for Asian American women, the association of extreme passivity serves to emphasize their otherness from White ideals about female behavior. Participants sometimes reacted to this subordination by endorsing a more assertive femininity associated with Whiteness.

Racial expectations exerted pressures on the participants' gender performances among Whites (Pyke & Johnson, 2003). The failure of some respondents to recognize variations in

gender behavior within mainstream and ethnic settings probably has much to do with the essentialization of gender and race. Racialized gender was discursively constructed as natural and essential. In fact, gender and race were construed as interrelated biological facts that determine social behavior. Among the 100 White respondents, there was a tendency to rely on binary categories of American (code for White) and Asian femininity in describing a wide range of topics, including gender identities, personality traits, and orientations toward domesticity or career. Racialized gender categories were deployed as an interpretive template in giving meaning to experiences and organizing a worldview. Internal variation by participants was again ignored, downplayed, or regarded as exceptional. White femininity, which was glorified in accounts of gender behavior across cultural settings, was also accorded superiority in the more general discussions of gender. Respondents' narratives were structured by assumptions about Asian women as submissive, quiet, and diffident, and about American women as independent, self-assured, outspoken, and powerful; and that American (White) women and Asian American women are diametric opposites. Although many respondents were aware that they contradicted racialized notions of gender in their day-to-day lives, they nonetheless viewed gender as an essential component of race. Variation was ignored or categorized so that an Asian American woman who does not comply with "traditional" Asian values is no longer Asian. This was also evident among respondents who regard themselves as egalitarian or engage the behavioral traits associated with White femininity, as well as the presumption that one cannot be Asian and have gender-egalitarian attitudes. Asian American women can embody traits associated with ascendant femininity to enhance their status in the mainstream, but felt it required a rejection of their racial/ethnic identity. As a result, struggles about gender identity and women's work/family trajectories become superimposed over racial/ethnic identity. The question is not simply whether

Asian American women want to be outspoken and career-oriented or quiet and family-oriented, but whether they want to be American (whitewashed) or Asian. Those who do not conform to racialized expectations risk challenging their racial identity as Asians.

The data illustrated how the line drawn in the struggle for gender equality is superimposed over the cultural and racial boundaries dividing Whites and Asians. At play is the presumption that the only path to gender equality and assertive womanhood is via assimilation to the White mainstream. This assumption was shared by Asian American research assistants who referred to respondents' gender egalitarian viewpoints as evidence of assimilation. The assumption is that Asian American women can be advocates of gender equality, or strong and assertive in their interactions only as a result of assimilation, evident by the display of traits associated with hegemonic femininity, and a rejection of their ethnic culture and identity. This construction obscures gender inequality in mainstream U.S. society and constructs that sphere as the only place where Asian American women can be free. Hence, the diversity of gender roles practiced among those of Asian origin, as well as the potential for social change within Asian cultures, is ignored. For example, there were no references in these accounts to the rise in recent years of women's movements in Korea and Vietnam. Rather, Asian ethnic worlds are regarded as unchanging sites of male dominance and female submissiveness. Further, the analysis revealed dynamics of internalized oppression and the reproduction of inequality that revolve around the relational construction of hegemonic and subordinated femininities. In mainstream settings, on the other hand, respondents often felt a pressure to comply with caricatured notions of Asian femininity or, conversely, to distance oneself from derogatory images of Asian femininity to be accepted. In both cases, the subordination of Asian femininity is reproduced. In general, respondents depicted women of Asian descent as uniformly engaged in subordinated

femininity marked by submissiveness and White women as universally assertive and gender egalitarian. Race, rather than culture, situational dynamics, or individual personalities, emerged as the primary basis by which respondents gave meaning to variations in femininity. That is, despite their own situational variation in doing gender, participants treated gender as a racialized feature rather than a sociocultural product. Participants felt that specific gender displays, such as a submissive demeanor, are required to confirm an Asian identity.

Several respondents faced challenges to their ethnic identity when they behaved in ways that did not conform to racialized images. Indeed, some claimed that because they are assertive or career-oriented, they are not really Asian. By not conforming to the racialized stereotypes of Asian women, and instead identifying with a hegemonic femininity that is the White standard, participants felt different from other women of Asian origin. In this way, they manipulated the racialized categories of gender in attempting to craft identities that are empowering. However, this was accomplished by denying their own ethnicity and connections with other Asian American women and through the adoption and replication of controlling images of Asian women. Pyke and Johnson's (2003) findings illustrated the powerful interplay of controlling images and hegemonic femininity in promoting internalized oppression. Respondents drew on racial images and assumptions in their narrative construction of Asian cultures as innately oppressive of women and fully resistant to change against which the White-dominated mainstream is framed as a paradigm of gender equality. This serves a pro-assimilation function by suggesting that Asian American women will find gender equality in exchange for rejecting their ethnicity and adopting White standards of gender. This can contribute to a self-fulfilling prophecy as Asian American women who hold gender egalitarian attitudes feel compelled to retreat from interactions in ethnic settings, thus (re)creating Asian ethnic cultures as strongholds

of patriarchy and reinforcing the maintenance of a rigid gender hierarchy as a primary mechanism by which ethnicity and ethnic identity are constructed. Thus, compliance with the dominant order is secured.

Another study centering on gender roles of Asians in White Western society found that Chinese Canadian women with high levels of acculturation held more egalitarian gender role attitudes (Kim, Laroche, & Tomiuk, 2004). As these women became more familiar with Western culture, they experienced a shift in their gender role attitudes and expectations. Additionally, Pho and Mulvey (2003) found that Southeast Asian women who embraced more American values did not believe in traditional gender roles as dictated by Asian cultures, thus illustrating the split that occurs as Western and Eastern cultural values merge. Many Asian immigrants may modify their gender role attitudes as a result of being exposed to the dominant culture. This new change in gender role attitudes may potentially lead to gender role conflicts among Asian American women. Consequently, the potential for this conflict to negatively impact the lives of Asian American women warrants future studies to examine the effects of this change on their mental health.

In a qualitative study by Corpus and Miville (2013), a series of interviews uncovered relevant themes of gender role construction for Asian American women. The participants consisted of 13 Asian and Asian American women residing in the United States. Both cultural factors and personal lived experiences as Asian American women influenced their gender role socialization. The core narrative of participants reflected the need to be the Model Minority, Model Woman. This meant that they felt pressure to meet the prescriptive stereotype of being a model minority (i.e., not rocking the boat while still maintaining academics, high achievements, and financial stability). In addition, they felt the need to meet the cultural gender role

expectations of being the model woman, reflecting Confucian values of subservience to the men in their lives (fathers, husbands, sons) at the sacrifice of themselves and their own personal goals. The pressure of being Asian American women left them to contend with dominant cultural stereotypes as well as strict cultural scripts regarding their appropriate societal roles. Expectations such as "not rocking the boat" are inherent in both the model minority and the model woman, but others, such as attaining high achievements, are directly in contradiction to stereotypes about Asian Americans versus cultural values of being a woman in Asian culture. This type of contradiction has the potential to complicate one's understanding of appropriate gendered behavior in a way that is difficult to reconcile. A customary reaction to these impossible dual ethnic and White mainstream demands on Asian American women was the adoption of a "superwoman ethos," or the need to meet both dominant American expectations and familial expectations by "doing it all," which often resulted in feeling overextended. The core narrative, model minority, model woman was comprised of three themes: 1) gender role socialization, 2) negotiating intersections, and 3) pathways to passivity.

The first theme of *gender role socialization* reflected the ways that participants received messages about gender, such as movies, television, religion, school, and family cultural values. Further, this theme was composed of three themes: 1) the cultural value of filial piety, 2) the impact of religious beliefs, and 3) emotional and physical components of gender roles. Messages were both overt and covert. In particular, participants revealed that their mothers would implicitly and explicitly convey messages and model behaviors regarding their gender role expectations. For the most part, participants indicated that they were taught and expected to follow traditional cultural gender roles and be supportive of fathers and husbands. This theme emerged through the participants reflecting on the expectation to sacrifice themselves for their

families in the name of preserving cultural tradition. For example, filial piety and the prioritization of one's family are highly influential in the formation of Asian American female gender role expectations and behavior and this was reflected in participant interviews.

The second theme of *pathways of passivity*, or "proper" gendered behavior (e.g., messages of passivity, submissiveness, and lack of assertiveness) for Asian American females reflected the messages of how to behave in relation to both their race (Asian) and gender (females). This theme has two subcomponents regarding the subordinate roles they play in both the family and in society: division of labor and the use of double messages. Messages were conveyed via family members who relayed messages of subservience within their immediate families—for instance, mothers who offered a common directive to their daughters to suppress their voice and defer to males. The expectation to exhibit a passive voice within their family and culture also reinforced expectations of Asians in dominant society as compliant and deferential. Pressures were exacerbated when reinforced through both traditional cultural values and again within the dominant culture. For instance, strong pressure may exist to conform to Asian female beauty standards, which can then be intensified by American ideals of beauty and perfection for women. This pressure is further exacerbated and complicated by the sexualization and objectification of the Asian American female, as well as a lack of Asian American role models or public figures.

The final theme of *negotiating intersections* reflected how the participants made sense of disparate cultural perspective from parents and other sources, the expectations of stereotypes, as well as creating their own unique beliefs. Most participants internalized beliefs about their gender roles as women as being compliant, submissive, weaker, feminine, heterosexual, and inferior. These messages were received in multiple ways through multiple sources. However,

participants were aware of the messages but still created their own beliefs about gender and their gender roles. For example, participants were often pursuing personal educational goals and also caretaking for their families. This reflected the way Asian American participants navigated two varying sets of cultural demands.

For women of color living in the United States, constructing one's gender identity is a complicated process that seeks to incorporate traditional cultural beliefs with those of the dominant Western culture. Asian American females, like others with uniquely intersecting identities, often create their own set of values reflecting their unique integration and find ways to embrace and select which gender roles they choose to embody.

Asian American Women and Mental Health

There is limited knowledge about the prevalence of mental health issues among Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, in part because it is difficult to research such an expansive group with vast differences among subgroups (Sue, Cheng, Saad, & Chu, 2012). Variance within the group is thought to distort the overall picture of mental health for Asian Americans and prevent any definitive conclusions from being made about the group as a whole.

> Furthermore, the state of Asian American mental health cannot be summarized by any single statement about prevalence of mental disorders being higher, lower, or similar to those of other groups. Instead there is tremendous variance based not only on the type of clinical problem but also on the Asian American subgroup considered and other variables such as acculturation, gender, and age.

The one claim that seems consistent despite the heterogeneity of the group is that Asian Americans consistently underutilize mental health services, as compared to other ethnic racial groups (Kim & Omizo, 2003). Further, cultural bias and stereotyping of Asian Americans as a "model minority group" could result in an underestimation of the rate of mental disorders for this

population—when in fact inevitable distress is caused by the unique psychosocial difficulties encountered by Asians (Schwartz & Shim, 2008).

As a group, Asian Americans are at risk for psychological maladjustment due to their experiences as immigrants or children from immigrant families. High percentages of Asian Americans are foreign-born, and their generational statuses are linked to an increased incidence of psychological maladjustment (Abe & Zane, 1990). For example, family cohesion and generational status both affect the likelihood of Asian Americans to seek mental health services and highlight the need for primary care and other providers to consistently screen for mental health status particularly among first-generation Asian Americans (Gee, Spencer, Chen, Yip, & Takeuchi, 2007). Furthermore, in previous studies, the rates of depression and posttraumatic stress disorder among Asian Americans are comparable to, if not higher than Whites (Lee, Lei, & Sue, 2001).

Due to extensive immigration and exponential global migration, it is important to understand the process of negotiating gender roles in identity development. A better understanding of the processes and influential factors is key to promoting optimal adaptation and general health and well-being for immigrants dealing with the stressors of international relocation (Garcini et al., 2014). The National Latino and Asian American study (NLAAS) was a national epidemiological survey that included 2,095 Asian Americans residing in the United States during 2002 and 2003. The sample consisted of approximately three Asian ethnic groups—Chinese (600), Fillipino (508) and Vietnamese (520), with 467 respondents identifying with another Asian ethnicity. Immigration factors were related to the presence of disorders, but differed for Asian men and women. Asian women born outside the United States were less likely to have lifetime depression, anxiety, substance use, or psychiatric disorders than those born in

the United States, and were linked to a 12-month prevalence of anxiety disorders but not lifetime prevalence. However, second-generation Asian American women were found to have high risk for both lifetime and 12-month prevalence of such disorders. Therefore, this study indicated that immigration factors as well as gender are important factors to consider in this population (Sue et al., 2012). Reasons for the differences could possibly be attributed to sociopolitical factors/ differences between immigrants and second-generation Asian Americans, in addition to differential effects on gender. Duldulao, Takeuchi, and Hong (2009) found differences in suicidal ideation between American-born Asian men and women, also suggesting differential effects for immigrant and American-born, as well as differential effects on gender. Therefore, more research is needed to better understand this group, not necessarily as a whole but rather in relation to other definitive and intersecting variables, in order to accurately understand and address underutilization of services.

Current Measurement of Gender Roles

Gender roles, expectations, and demands associated with assigned-sex and expressed gender vary, depending on the culture of origin and the secondary culture being integrated. The choices of behavior may be heavily influenced by the context; therefore, Asian American women may move in and out of minority statuses based on perception from others and the need for social conformity. For example, individuals may select and behave according to cues from their environment about which culture or gendered behaviors and norms to enact. However, researchers continue to utilize stagnant existing gender psychometrics that cannot account for the contextual shifting of gendered responses.

This makes it difficult to apply such Western measurement tools across cultures (Sue et al., 2012). Furthermore, Lee, Lei, and Sue (2001) reported that conducting valid assessment

research with Asians and Asian Americans is uniquely challenging because of cultural differences in "self-disclosure tendencies and value systems" (p. 169). For Asian Americans, primary socialization emphasizes family loyalty (Fong, 1973), the discouragement of self-expression, and controlled emotional expression (Lai & Linden, 1993) that may confound the results of inventories reliant on self-report, which represent the majority of gender role measures. Asians and Asian Americans may respond in a way that prioritizes saving face or filial piety, selecting what they perceive is socially desirable rather than personally true, or preferring to answer modestly versus in extremes. For example, Zhang, Norvilitis, and Jin (2001) posited that endorsing the Confucian value of moderation might greatly affect Chinese participants' willingness to choose extreme responses on a Likert scale, which posed concerns about appropriate assessment methodology.

The impact of these cultural values and existing concerns warrant greater attention when it comes to utilizing gender psychometrics with Asian or Asian American populations. Respecting and understanding differences in cultural values is essential to conducting accurate and targeted cross-cultural gender research. Reported prevalence rates of seeking help are consistently lower among Asian Americans; however, it is unclear if this is accurate, or rather a result of invalid tools, methods, and measurements (Sue et al., 2012). Many issues could skew the interpretation of the findings, including a cultural bias of Asian Americans in reporting on cross-cultural measures, thus invalidating their reliability and validity. Bradshaw (1994) found that Asian cultural values were positively related to perceived stigma about counseling and negatively related to the intention to seek counseling among Asian American college women. Perceived stigma was significantly and negatively related to the participants' intentions to seek counseling. Therefore, a high level of adherence to Asian cultural values may impact Asian

American women and their likelihood of seeking out and utilizing counseling services. This finding highlights the importance of considering the role of Asian cultural values in how they may respond to a scale; in addition, it provides guidance when reaching out to this population and encouraging utilization of services for mental health.

When exploring gender roles with traditional assessment tools and scales, content validity and construct validity become significant concerns. A study by Watters (2010) brought light to the “American domination of the mental health field” and how the Western world actively defines and conceptualizes mental disorders and then exports the definition from one culture to another. This has been challenged as being WEIRD (i.e., based on Western, educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic) samples, despite possibly being atypical to world populations. Errors can occur as a result of individuals reporting of symptoms, as well as in clinician or researcher interpretation of psychological symptoms. For example, test items intended to measure presumed masculine or feminine traits may not be interpreted by Asian American participants in the intended way, as items may have been written and normed for White American samples. The normative test for “masculine” traits for a White, European American male citizen may be entirely different for an Asian, Chinese male immigrant. Hofstede (1980) referenced this dilemma, stating that sex stereotypes vary across cultures, which includes the evaluation of the importance and desirability of masculine and feminine traits. Therefore, differences in cultural definitions and norms of masculinity and femininity, in addition to participant language fluency, translation techniques, and varying biculturalism and acculturation statuses, may all significantly distort the results of gender role assessments.

Early stage theories for minority identity development propose five developmental stages in which the individual’s minority identity forms within the mainstream majority culture.

However, this model does not account for the multiple sources of oppression that are a reality for Asian American women (Bradshaw, 1994). Specifically, the resistance and immersion phase of identity development focuses on a rejection of the mainstream values and a return to the original cultural values. This may be true for Asian American men, but for women seeking personal freedom or achievement, the mainstream or "White" ideals may represent more hope and/or opportunity (Bradshaw, 1994). The following quote illustrates one way an Asian American woman may navigate the minority identity development process.

> By necessity, such a woman will have to embark on a process that may involve alternatives that expose the woman to rejection and alienation on many levels: 1) she may repress or relinquish her desire for personal achievement in favor of reducing conflict with her culture of origin; 2) she may achieve assimilation to the majority culture on this issue; 3) she may attempt to change her own culture; 4) she may attempt to transcend both cultures. Therefore, this stage of minority development fails to account for the absence of opportunities for female achievement within many Asian traditions and also fails to account for how this affects Asian female identity development. In a dual cultural environment, in which the majority culture theoretically offers opportunity for women's self-actualization, reconciliation with a minority culture that persists in repression of women may be difficult to fully accept. (Bradshaw, 1994, p. 81)

Methodology for Intersectional Analysis

Engaging in intersectional analysis is an intentional process from the process of study design to the interpretation and dissemination of findings. Researchers should provide an explicit rationale in their research about the variables they plan to explore and how they expect these variables to intersect to shape the outcomes of interest (Lewis & Grzanka, 2016). Intersectionality researchers should embrace mixed methodology and both quantitative and qualitative methods should be utilized to answer their research questions. Often, psychology researchers tend to limit themselves to quantitative research when their research questions might be better answered with a qualitative approach. For example, when exploring new research topics and developing new theoretical constructs, it is often important to conduct qualitative

research to explore the complexity of a particular phenomenon and provide an in-depth analysis. It is also helpful when conducting exploratory research questions and helping to determine future research hypotheses (Awad & Cokley, 2010).

Another important consideration when conducting quantitative research is that researchers tend to develop research questions based on the types of quantitative scales available to measure particular constructs. The choice of which measures to choose that will best answer one's research questions is of utmost importance. However, few quantitative measures explore intersectional identities and forms of inequality. Many of the discrimination measures have been created to focus on separate types of oppression, such as racial, gender, or sexual orientation discrimination. Although these measures have significantly shaped multicultural and feminist research in positive ways and provided researchers with a host of important measures, intersectionality researchers must create more intersectional measures to be able to move research beyond exploration and description to better understand the complexity of intersectional identities and forms of social inequality that shape individuals' life experiences and outcomes.

The Multicultural Gender Roles Model (MGRM)

Gender roles can be thought of as both precise and unique to the individual. They are created in relation to multiple sources of identification (i.e., class, sexual orientation, ability status, etc.) and therefore are ever evolving with life stages and circumstances. The mental health professional who draws on a minority identity model without considering multiple forces of oppression that often apply to minority women will risk reinforcing sexist bias (Bradshaw, 1994). In an effort to address this need in the field of counseling psychology, Miville, Bratini, Corpus, Lau, and Redway (2013) developed an emergent Multicultural Gender Roles Model (MGRM) as a way to conceptualize gender roles for diverse racial-ethnic groups and include

contextual factors related to both race-ethnicity and gender. The model is based on a constructivist grounded theory analyses of interviews, which were conducted with over 60 adults of color. The participants included self-identified men and women from African American, Latina/o, and Asian/Asian American backgrounds and were therefore inclusive of different racial-ethnic group narratives, which elucidated the unique experiences and processes of gender role construction for diverse racial-ethnic groups. Among the varying groups, some recurring experiences and processes were reported and used to create the theoretical model for conceptualization of gender roles with the added layer of race/ethnicity. The core narrative of negotiating gender roles, while interacting with and incorporating information from different sources, is reflected in the model through several processes that individuals of color navigate as a means of constructing their gender roles. The themes found are as follows: resolving conflicting messages (e.g., parents and peers); navigating privilege and oppression; understanding one's impact on others; transforming self-perceptions; intersecting identities; navigating emotions; constructing one's own gender expression and styles; and constructing one's roles in family, community, and the larger society.

As reported earlier, the core narrative expressed by Asian American women was deemed "model minority, model woman" (Corpus & Miville, 2013) and reflected three key themes: 1) gender role socialization, 2) negotiating intersections, and 3) pathways to passivity. Participants expressed an internalized pressure to achieve perfection, both as a woman and as a person of color. They also commented on the ways they were socialized to understand their gender role (television, family, religion, etc.) as well as their understanding of similarly conditioned pathways of passivity. Through multiple pathways of passivity, expectations were subtly and overtly reinforced and expressed in relationship to race and gender. However, despite

mixed messages and immense pressure about "appropriate" ways to create and express identity as Asian American women, participants also described ways of integrating and constructing a coherent sense of self. Therefore, a third theme captured some of the ways that Asian American women "negotiate the unique intersection" of race and gender.

Due to the unique race/gender intersection, both qualitative and quantitative intersectionality research is beneficial. Qualitative methods such as those used to create the MGRM enabled researchers to construct questions that seek to explore the complexities of individuals' lived experiences and situate their experiences in cultural context. Quantitative methods can enable researchers to explore the ways that intersecting forms of oppression influence different types of outcomes, such as mental and physical health, in ways that are difficult to capture using qualitative and other highly interpretive methods (Lewis & Grzanka, 2016). In addition, qualitative and quantitative methods can be complementary and helpful in the service of accurately exploring the complexity of intersecting identities and multiple forms of inequality. Therefore, a quantitative scale was designed to augment and complement the MGRM and specifically focus on the salient gender role development issues found in the preceding qualitative study on Asian and Asian American women. The following Methods section delves into the formal development of the measure and specifically outlines the steps taken to generate a psychometrically sound instrument.

Summary

Asian American Women and Gender Role Development

For Asian American women, developing and maintaining racial and cultural pride and a connection to their country of origin while integrating Western cultural values are complicated by gendered racism within the majority culture, as well as sexism and subordination within the

culture of origin (Bradshaw, 1994; Wang, 2001). In addition, they are also socialized according to cultural values and expectations as to the "appropriate" ways of enacting gender, or gender role expectations. This information likely comes with them from their country of origin and/or is passed down through the family (Bradshaw, 1994). Within the United States, the dichotomy of attitudes and behaviors that exist within gender roles and expectations enforce a power-based differential between men and women. Men typically assume the more dominant roles in society and exhibit a set of gender-based characteristics that align with being powerful. On the other hand, women are assigned more passive and subordinate attributes, leaving them in a state of diminished power. Therefore, Asian American women encounter challenges due to the combined effects of their ethnicity and gender, in addition to the effects of both historical influences from migrating to the United States (which often include discriminatory policies) and cultural values and expectations about appropriate ways to enact gender (Chow, 1999). Additionally, Asian American women experience oppression in both their culture of origin and mainstream culture (Bradshaw, 1994). Further, the process of navigating between two different cultures (their country of origin and the dominant culture) can be difficult since each has requirements and sometimes contrasting demands. For example, Pyke and Johnson (2003) found that Asian American women from racially and ethnically marginalized communities who must navigate social environments with conflicting gender expectations perform gender differently, depending on their context. They found that women felt pressure to either conform to or distance themselves from images of Asian femininity in order to gain acceptance, although this often perpetuated stereotypes of subordination and Asian femininity.

The United States is now more racially, ethnically, religiously, and culturally diverse than at any other point in its history. There are many advantages to such diversity, but an inherent and

palpable tension between diversity and tradition still exists. As Bradshaw (1994) noted, the consolidation of identity in a multicultural environment is complex and potentially difficult task for any racial minority. The development of an adaptive and integrated worldview drawing on both cultures is often complicated by competing or contradictory cultural expectations. For example, if the cultural expectations of a woman are to be passive, collectivistic, and submissive, how then would a 16-year-old Asian American female in the United States integrate the expectations of her heritage culture with the dominant cultural values of independence and assertiveness? Feeling torn and unable to meet both sets of conflicting standards may produce emotional and psychological distress for some individuals. In addition, negative stereotypes impact how society views Asian American women and how they view themselves.

Asian American women are caught between two restrictive stereotypes, the sexualized ultra-feminine and the model minority. The model minority traits of passivity and submissiveness are reinforced, intensified, and gendered by the stereotype of Asian American women as obedient, servile, passive, feminine, reserved, humble, and demure (Li, 2013). They are at risk of internalizing these stereotypes (Chow, 1989). The work concerning the effects of controlling images and the relational construction of subordinated and hegemonic femininities has mostly been theoretical (Pyke & Johnson, 2003). Thus, the experiences of Asian American women are affected by the images in the larger society. These women not only grapple with being Asian American but also with being women of color in two conflicting cultural contexts (Bradshaw, 1994). The cultural clash and overall experience vary among Asian American women due to factors such as immigration status and individual personality factors, and can influence their level of acculturation and subsequent interactions between two vastly different cultural contexts. Overall, gender research has done little to examine the integration of race,

ethnicity, and gender, particularly with Asian populations (Corpus & Miville, 2013; Pyke & Johnson, 2003).

Counseling Psychology and Intersectionality of Race and Gender: Asian American Women

Due to the removal of certain legal restrictions, the Asian population is one of the fastest growing minority groups in the United States. The 2015 U.S. Census Bureau report projected that the number of individuals of color will surpass the number of White individuals in 2044, thereby representing 56% of the total American population in 2060 and radically redefining who constitutes the nation's racial majority. Individuals born outside of the United States will represent 19% of the total population by 2060 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013), meaning that a significant portion of the population will possess a range of national affiliations. In response to these changing social realities, the American Psychological Association (APA, 2010) encouraged psychologists to aspire towards multiculturally competent practice by acknowledging the impact of diverse identities upon the therapeutic alliance and eradicating any biases that may affect clinical work. In addition, the historic emphasis of counseling psychology as a discipline has prioritized the well-being of marginalized groups by incorporating multiculturalism in research and clinical practice (Ponterotto, 2010; Sue & Sue, 2012). Not only is this a fundamental component, sewn into the underpinnings and philosophy of the field, but the need to explore and expand research with this population is immense.

In summary, the shifting racial topography of the United States and attention to diversity in psychological professional practice highlights the reality that the American identity has become increasingly multicultural and therefore requires research to better meet diverse needs and experiences. Further, Asian American women often face negative stereotyping and microaggressions, a history of economic exploitation, and the pressure to assimilate and forsake

cultural values despite potential familial conflict (Bradshaw, 1994). Mental health professionals must be aware of these salient factors and their interaction in order to be truly helpful to this population. Mental health professionals must also be careful not to ignore the historical context or circumstances of immigration and how the individual makes meaning of personal struggles and internal conflict. It is important for researchers to think about the stereotypes and assumptions certain interpretations of findings will perpetuate with a single-axis approach. Researchers should also contextualize their findings and not overgeneralize the experiences of a group of people, particularly multiply marginalized groups. Intersectionality is not primarily an explanatory theory—it is a critical approach that is expressly geared toward transforming social structures and cultivating social justice. Accordingly, counseling psychologists should pay careful attention to the social implications of their research, including unintended consequences, and should likewise consider how their work might be used to empower structurally disadvantaged groups (Lewis & Grzanka, 2016).

In an attempt to address the dearth of research examining the development and effects of multiple marginalized identities, the scale to be developed in this study was intended to quantify the cultural variation in gender role expression of Asian American women. Further research is needed to establish valid measures for many people of color, and this scale will contribute to the knowledge of how Asian American women navigate and develop their unique gender role. Tools such as these can aid in the conceptualization of mental disorders and psychological processes for people of color, thus in keeping with the intentions and underpinnings of counseling psychologists.

Summary of the Review of Literature

The preceding discussion began with an overview of gender role construction, and how appropriate gendered behavior is defined and influenced according to interaction with various cultural precedents. A brief history of Asian immigration patterns, particular the immigration history of Asian American females to the United States, was also provided to contextualize the sociopolitical environment with which Asian American females arrived. Finally, common cultural contradictions between Eastern and Western values were also explored, as well as how such contradictions might influence gender role development. The concept of intersectionality, or the way that gender, race, and culture interact, was discussed, particularly in relation to the specific impact on gender role development of Asian American women. Complications of gender role development and the subsequent effect on mental health and inhibition of the intention and ability to seek mental health treatment were also explored. How these influential factors can result in difficulty creating a cohesive sense of gender identity and subsequently influence other psychological outcomes was discussed. In reviewing the literature, it was clear that the experiences of Asian American women are unique due to the principle of intersectionality, and the relevant variables such as ethnicity, gender, race, and context. Further, an examination of salient immigration history illustrates both oppression and trauma as well as strength and resiliency in the lives of Asian American women. An accurate and comprehensive examination of Asian American women's experiences must include an interwoven look at these interrelated issues that Asian American women must navigate. The experiences of Asian American women, with regard to the aforementioned psychological indicators, need to be examined separately from Asian American men due to their experiences as women of color. The psychological impact on Asian American women will differ due to the multiple oppressions in their communities and in

the larger society. How they endure multiple oppressive forces in their lives, within their own ethnic communities and from society at large, and how these experiences inform their gender role development is important to understanding this significant subset of the U.S. population.

Asian American women face many obstacles in their lives that impact their psychological adjustment. Their status as women of color places them in a double jeopardy (Leong & Lau, 2001), where they experience oppression from society at large as well as their own ethnic communities. The daily experiences of double oppression can place tremendous challenges on Asian American women's psychological well-being. The lives of Asian Americans are challenging, considering the numerous factors that impact their lives, such as intergenerational conflict, acculturation, and ethnic minority status. Thus, the examination of Asian American women's gender role development process and subsequent psychological adjustment is needed to increase our knowledge of their experiences.

Purpose of the Study

Despite the clinical literature reporting psychological distress among Asian Americans in relation to adjusting to Western society, there is little empirical evidence to support this claim (Schwartz & Shim, 2008). Further, there is a growing body of evidence which challenges traditional evaluations of gender role measurement and points toward the implicit ways in which the prevalent U.S. culture subtly defines and regulates the ideas, values, and practices of femininity and masculinity. This has been referred to as "psychosocial dominance" (Baker, 1983, p. 37), where the dominant culture dismisses non-White forms of femininity and masculinity, ultimately compromising and denying the ability to self-identify or self-define (Pyke & Johnson, 2003). Phinney (2008) stated that quantitative methods could help add to our understanding of intersectionality.

To allow for a broad-based analysis of interacting of variables (like those mentioned in the gender role development of Asian American women), an instrument must be designed by which researchers can assess and evaluate them. However, no scales have yet been developed by which to evaluate the salient factors. The following study represents an initial attempt toward the creation of such an instrument. This measure was created based on a qualitative study and proposed gender role model developed by Miville and colleagues (2013), described earlier, that again will be reviewed in the following section.

Because strong intersectional psychological research on perceived discrimination remains very much in a nascent stage, multicultural and feminist psychologists have both the opportunity and responsibility to follow emergent best practices and create their own pathways for efficacious and innovative intersectional research. Although no one study can fully establish the validity and usefulness of any scale, this research study was the first in a potential series of studies that could examine the validity and usefulness of the Multicultural Gender Role Scale-Asian American Women (MGRS-AAW). With a comprehensive instrument to measure the presence of various influences, researchers and counselors working with this population will ultimately be able to better understand the unique experiences Asian American women and pave the way for additional research.

Chapter 3: Method

The current study aimed to create an instrument that can be used to assess the relationships between influential variables purported to affect the gender role development of Asian American women. As noted earlier, this study was an initial step in creating a scale and will need further studies to examine its validity and usefulness. The model for its creation was based on a qualitative study conducted by Corpus and Miville (2013) as well as Miville et al. (2013), who developed the emergent Multicultural Gender Role Model (MGRM) described earlier.

Development of the Multicultural Gender Role Scale-Asian American Women (MGRS-AAW)

Inspired by the qualitative study of Corpus and Miville (2013), the present study involved the following steps, which are explicated in the subsequent sections:

1. Creation of a large initial item pool developed from the three reported themes of the qualitative study.
2. Expert-aided reduction of the initial item pool.
3. Administration of reduced item pool and additional scales to adult sample.

Step 1: Creation of Initial Item Pool

The development of an item pool begins with a theory-driven conceptualization of the area(s) to be assessed (DeVellis, 2003; Worthington & Whittaker, 2006). As outlined in Chapter 2, three areas preliminarily theorized to encompass relevant constructs to developing gender identity included: ways of communicating messages of appropriate gender socialization, messages of how to behave submissively based on race and gender, and unique individualized ways participants negotiate disparate perspectives.

A large pool of potential items to be included in the scale were assembled to reflect reported themes and factors (DeVellis, 2003; Worthington & Whittaker, 2006). DeVellis (2003) suggested creating about three or four times the number of items desired in the scale in order to have more options to use in the final review of the items. Therefore, a total of 105 items were generated by the author based on the qualitative study of Corpus and Miville (2013), as well as theoretical, empirical, and autobiographical literature.

Likert scales were provided to participants for the purpose of rating these items. The items were matched with a Likert scale measuring frequency. Item type and scoring followed a 6-point Likert type scale response (i.e., 1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Slightly Disagree, 4 = Slightly Agree, 5 = Agree, 6 = Strongly Agree) (Revilla, Saris, & Krosnick, 2014).

Step 2: Reduction of the Initial Item Pool

Based on the themes developed by Corpus and Miville (2013), the Multicultural Gender Roles Scale-Asian American Women (MGRS-AAW) was developed. One hundred and five items were initially created with the goal of capturing the three core themes. The items were presented to a group of culturally diverse judges consisting of four doctoral students and a professor in counseling psychology. The judges were advanced doctoral students in the counseling psychology program, all trained extensively in multicultural counseling theory and research, and they reviewed the scale independently. Judges evaluated the initial item pool for relevance and clarity. They matched each item to the intended construct and rated each for overall clarity. Feedback was considered by principal investigators and the doctoral research team. The research team consisted of one faculty advisor and five doctoral students, all of whom have research experience with multicultural issues. Items were revised to distinguish more clearly between the overall theme model minority, model woman, and the two subthemes of

pathways of passivity and gender role socialization. A third category was constructed to address the process of negotiating intersections.

The scale was then reduced to 92 items and new expert reviewers were selected. Judges included two advanced doctoral students and two Master's-level students in the field of counseling psychology and mental health who were active members of research teams conducting multicultural research studies. They were again asked to match the item to the intended construct as well as offer suggestions and review item clarity. Based on feedback, the items that received at least three out of four consistent construct ratings and were clear to reviewers were retained. This resulted in 71 final items, which as a whole were intended to capture the three core narrative themes as well as the overarching theme of model minority, model woman. Several of the 71 final items received split reviewer feedback (2/2) but were retained. Principal investigators and research team members suspected "split" reviews of several items could potentially offer insight into nuances and variations of the core narratives.

Step 3: Administration to Sample

Participants. The survey administration portion of the study was open to Asian American women residing in the United States. Data were collected from 378 participants. However, 51 cases were found to be incomplete due to participants exiting after viewing the informed consent. Thus, a total of 327 complete participant responses were analyzed for the factor analysis. Some responses on the additional measures used for concurrent and discriminant validity contained incomplete responses as well, and thus were removed for the correlational analyses, leaving a total of 303 cases for that portion.

Procedures. Participants responded to an encrypted online questionnaire via the online survey platform Qualtrics. The link was distributed in person and online to individuals, groups,

forums, and organizations of people who may be interested in participating. Specifically, social media (primarily Facebook and Twitter) as well as paper fliers, mailing lists, American Psychological Association list serves, and message boards affiliated with Teachers College were utilized. Participants were asked to forward the survey link to other qualifying individuals and additional snowball sampling was used until the number of desired participants was obtained.

Other instruments. The other instruments used in the study included the following.

Demographics questionnaire. The demographics questionnaire elicited specific participant information including: age, gender, race, sexual orientation, ethnicity, birthplace, age of immigration, years in the US, primary language, second language (if applicable), current location within the US, highest level of education, average income, and grade point average. Respondents who did not meet the criteria for participation were directed to an exit page.

The Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory (AARRSI). Liang, Li, and Kim (2004) were the first to develop a racism-related stress measure specifically for the general Asian American population. The AARRSI is a 29-item self-report measure intended to reflect the multidimensional nature of racism-related stress and was developed and validated in three independent studies. Items are rated on a 5-point scale (1 = *This has never happened to me or someone I know*, 2 = *This event happened but did not bother me*, 3 = *This event happened and I was slightly bothered*, 4 = *This event happened and I was upset*, 5 = *This event happened and I was extremely upset*), which was adapted from Utsey and Ponterotto's (1996) Index of Race-Related Stress. The three studies used theory and statistics to identify items leading to a reliable and valid scale, consisting of the 14-item Socio-Historical Racism, the 8-item General Racism, and the 7-item Perpetual Foreigner Racism subscales (Liang et al., 2004). Higher scores on each of these scales show a higher level of racism-related stress. Results across the three independent

studies suggested that AARRSI and its subscales are reliable and valid measures of Asian Americans' experiences with racism-related stress.

However, given the limited sample size (303 participants total for both EFA and CFA), it was unclear whether the previously identified three-factor model of the AARRSI could be replicated. In addition, Liang et al. (2004) were unable to attend to the within-group diversity (factors such as generational status and ethnicity). Thus, Miller, Kim, Chen, and Alvarez (2012) conducted an exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses of AARRSI to examine the underlying factor structure in a total sample of 1,273 Asian American participants. Based on the EFA of AARRSI data from 651 participants, they ultimately retained a 13-item two-factor solution.

An EFA was conducted using principal axis factoring extraction and oblique rotation was conducted. The overall sample size ($N = 651$) and participant-to-item ratio (22.4:1) allowed for stable and replicable factor solutions. A Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin value of .958 suggested that the data were factorable. To sharpen the measurement efficacy of the AARRSI, they eliminated items based on two criteria: item loading and cross-loadings. Items with small loadings ($\lambda < .50$) were eliminated to increase the overall variance accounted for in AARRSI items by latent factors. In addition, items that loaded ($\lambda \geq .30$) on more than one factor were eliminated to increase measurement clarity. The final 13-item two-factor solution accounted for approximately 58% of the variance in AARRSI items and had a mean communalities value of .50 ($SD = .05$). There was a moderate relationship ($r = .446$) between Vicarious and Collective Racism and Daily Racial Microaggressions. The 13-item AARRSI scores produced internal consistency estimates of .88 for the Vicarious and Collective Racism subscale, .84 for the Daily Racial Microaggressions subscale, and .88 for the 13-item AARRSI total score. To cross-validate the

13-item two-factor model of the AARRSI, a CFA was conducted. The 13-item two-factor measurement model exhibited an adequate to good model fit and the variance accounted for was 55% for the AARRSI total score, 58% for the Vicarious and Collective Racism subscale, and 51% for the Daily Racial Microaggressions subscale. All the model parameters (n = 27) were significant and the standardized factor loadings ranged from .67 to .84. The relationship between Vicarious and Collective Racism and Daily Racial Microaggressions subscales was .51. The AARRSI scores produced internal consistency estimates of .87 for the Vicarious and Collective Racism subscale, .83 for the Daily Racial Microaggressions subscale, and .87 for the AARRSI total score. Overall, the 13-item two-factor measurement model of the AARRSI provides a concise yet valid and reliable measurement tool as an adaptation of the original 29 item tool.

Attitudes Toward Women (AWS)-Short Form. The 15-item short version of the AWS (Spence & Helmreich, 1978) was used to measure gender-related attitudes. It contains statements about the rights and roles of women in such areas as vocational, educational, and intellectual activities; dating behavior and etiquette; sexual behavior; and marital relationships. Items include statements like “Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than of a man” and “Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing the laundry.” The original scale consists of 55 items, each with four response alternatives, ranging from agree strongly (0) to disagree strongly (3), with 0 representing the most traditional and 3 representing a “pro-feminist response.” Each item of the instrument is rated on a 4-point Likert scale and summed to provide a total score.

Higher scores reflect more traditional gender-role attitudes. To convert to a short version, each of the 55 items underwent an item analysis using data from approximately 500 students

who completed the scale. A correlation was obtained between the participants' scores on the 25-item version and the full scale. For the student samples, the resulting correlations were .968 for the males and .969 for the females, and additional analysis was completed for another group of mothers and fathers, with correlations of .956 and .963, respectively. Correlations were also obtained between total scores on the 25-item form and scores on the individual items. For the students, all correlations were significant ($p < .001$) and ranged from .31 to .73, with the modal value for both sexes in the .50s. The parents' values were somewhat lower, ranging from .14 to .70 with the mode in the .40s. The scale was factor analyzed using the SPSS principal axis routine. The scale proved to be essentially unifactorial, with the first unrotated factor accounting for 67.7% of the variance for females and 69.2% of the variance for males. In summary, both the student and the parent samples indicated that scores on the 25-item form are closely correlated with scores on the full set of 55 items. In addition, the whole-part correlations and factor structures of both the full and short versions were found to be highly similar. A number of studies have provided evidence that the AWS has acceptable internal consistency (Spence & Hahn, 1997). Evidence of the construct validity of the AWS has also been documented (Nelson, 1988). Further, the AWS has been used extensively in cross-cultural and subcultural research and is therefore suitable for use with this unique population (Park, 1991).

The AWS was used to assess both forms of construct validity of the MGRS-AAW according to the various subscales. For example, high scores on the AWS were predicted to correlate inversely with high scores in the subscale of Passivity, as well as with high scores in the subscale of Asian values. Conversely, higher scores on the AWS were expected to correlate with high scores in the subsection of bicultural values.

The AARRSI was administered to measure participants' experiences as a person of color and potential target of racism (Liang et al., 2004). Scores on the MGRS-AAW were expected to correlate with higher scores on the AARRSI in the subscale of bicultural values. However, higher scores in the subscale of pathways of passivity were expected to correlate with lower scores on the AARRSI. The subscale of gender socialization and expected correlation with the AARRSI was unclear, as items primarily reflect ways the participants were socialized as to appropriate gender roles and not necessarily what their individual beliefs are. Therefore, it was unknown if higher scores would align with the experiences of racism. An additional simple measure of discriminant validity was the collection of the participants' grade point average (GPA). A higher GPA was not expected to correlate with higher scores on any of the subscales, as none of the items were intended to examine academic achievement or intelligence.

Chapter 4: Results

Participants

Data were collected from 378 students. However, 51 cases were found to be incomplete due to participants exiting after viewing the informed consent. Thus, a total of 327 complete participant responses were analyzed for the factor analysis. Some responses on the additional measures used for concurrent and discriminant validity contained incomplete responses as well. Therefore, some of the participant data used for the factor analysis subsequently were removed for the correlational analyses; thus, a total of 303 cases were included for that portion of the analyses.

Demographic analyses (Table 1) revealed that the average age of the women who participated in the study was 30.33 (*SD* = 8.90), with three individuals not reporting their ages. The majority of participants reported their race as Asian/Asian American (*n* = 298, 91.1%). A small percentage identified as Biracial (*n* = 26, 8%) and less than 1% of participants identified as Native/Pacific Islander. The majority of participants endorsed their sexual orientation as heterosexual (*n* = 273, 84%), while a small portion selected bisexual (*n* = 31, 9.3%). A handful of participants indicated that they were questioning their sexual orientation (*n* = 12, 3.6%) and a few participants selected Lesbian (*n* = 6, 1.8%) or Gay (*n* =3, 0.9%). Ninety-nine percent of participants were educated with at least some college-level courses, with the majority of participants having an educational level of graduate school or professional degree (n = 146, 44.6%). Two-hundred-and-four of the women reported their GPA and the average cumulative GPA was 3.69 (*SD* = .33, range 2.37 to 4.8). Although the majority of participants identified as being bilingual, most (n = 272, 83.2%) noted that English was their primary language. This finding was not surprising, given that the majority of participants was born in the United States

(U.S.; n = 203, 62.1%) and had spent much of their lives (average of 22.79 years) in the United States. The median household income reported was $50,000-$74,999.

Table 1

Demographic Data

Demographic Question	Descriptive Statistics
	M(SD)
Age (n = 324)	30.33 (8.90)
Years in the US (n = 287)	22.79 (11.69)
GPA (n = 204)	3.69 (.33)
	N (%)
Educational level (n = 327)	*Mdn* =8
Some high school (3)	1(.3%)
High school/GED (4)	2(.6%)
Some college (5)	32 (9.8%)
Bachelor's/4-year degree (6)	77(23.5%)
Some graduate school or professional degree (7)	40 (12.2%)
Graduate school or professional degree (7)	146 (44.6%)
Postgrad degree (9)	29 (8.9%)
Household Income (n = 322)	*Mdn* = 5
Under $15,000 (1)	24 (7.2%)
$15,000-$24,999 (2)	29 (8.7%)
$25,000-$34,999 (3)	38 (11.4%)

$35,000-$49,000 (4)	28 (8.4%)
$50,000-$74,999 (5)	53 (15.9%)
$75,000-$99,999 (6)	38 (11.4%)
$100,000 and over (7)	112 (33.6%)
Born in the US (*n* = 327)	
Yes	203 (62.1%)
No	124 (37.9%)
English as Primary Language	
English	272 (83.2%)
Other	55 (16.8%)
Race (*n* = 327)	
Asian/Asian American	298 (91.1%)
Hawaiian or Pacific Islander (5)	1 (91.1%)
Biracial/Multiracial (6)	26 (8%)
Other (7)	2 (.6%)
Sexual Orientation (*n* = 325)	
Heterosexual (1)	273 (82%)
Gay (2)	3 (.9%)
Lesbian (3)	6 (1.8%)
Bisexual (4)	31 (9.3%)
Questioning (5)	12 (3.6%)

Note: *Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Factor and Scale Development

Based on a review of the available literature as well as the qualitative findings of Corpus and Miville (2013), 71 items across three core subscales and three overlapping subscales were developed to assess the specific constructs relevant to the gender role development of Asian American women. Item type and scoring followed a 6-point Likert-type scale response (i.e., 1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Slightly Disagree, 4 = Slightly Agree, 5 = Agree, 6 = Strongly Agree). This rating system was considered adequate and consistent with previous scale development studies (Liang et al., 2004). A total of 12 items were reverse-scored but only one of these items, number 6, was retained after the factor analysis ("I stand up for myself when being challenged"). An exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was used to identify the potential underlying structure within the item pool (DeVellis, 2003). Overall, it was hypothesized that the factor structure of the scale would be supported through an EFA.

Design and Analysis

In general, factors that explained a larger percentage of the variation were preserved and ones that describe a smaller percentage were removed (Kahn, 2006). Item loadings and cross-loadings were examined to determine if an item should be deleted from the set. Worthington and Whittaker (2006), for example, suggested eliminating items with factor loadings less than .32 or cross-loadings less than .15. Factor correlations were examined for intercorrelations and to ensure no extreme multicollinearity.

A maximum likelihood (ML) with direct oblimin rotation, one of the most commonly used and accepted statistical estimation methods for estimating parameters of the common factor model (Schmitt, 2011), was used to examine the validity and dimensionality of the scale. Given that the assumptions of univariate and multivariate normality were met, and there was a

sufficient sample size of over 300, this factoring method was chosen as the most appropriate type of factor analysis (West et al., 1995). Factors were rotated using a direct oblimin method to account for the correlation among factors (Fabrigar, Wegener, MacCallum, & Strahan, 1999). Coefficient alpha (Cronbach & Shavelson, 2004) was used to investigate internal consistency of items within each subscale.

Assumption Testing

Prior to conducting the ML, assumption testing was completed to ensure the suitability of the data. A correlation matrix was created for the scale. The correlation coefficients in the matrix coupled with the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin value for sampling adequacy was .815, indicating that none of the items on the scale violated the assumption of multicollinearity (i.e., above the cutoff of .6; Kaiser, 1958). The significant Bartlett's test of sphericity ($p > .001$; chi-square = 8075.70) provided support for the factorability of the correlation matrix (Fields, 2009). Thus, the data were deemed suitable for analysis using the ML factoring method.

Factor Extraction

After determining that the data were suitable for analysis, several criteria were used to determine a factor solution. First, inspection of the scree plot revealed a clean break after the fifth factor, supporting a five-factor scale solution (Cattell, 1966). The Kaiser-Gutman rule indicated a 20-factor solution since 20 factors yielded eigenvalues of 1.0 or higher. A random dataset with the same number of observations and variables as the original data set was created, after which a parallel analysis was conducted by comparing the correlation matrix from the randomly generated dataset and the eigenvalues of the correlation matrix from the original data. When the eigenvalues from the random data are larger than the eigenvalues from the principal components analysis or factor analysis, it is assumed that the components or factors are mostly

random noise. In this study, the parallel analysis of the correlation matrix and the eigenvalues suggested a seven-factor solution. Finally, the interpretability of the solution was considered. Factors were rotated using a direct oblimin method to account for the correlation among factors (Fabrigar et al., 1999), and three-, four-, five-, six-, and seven-factor solutions each were examined. The four-factor solution aligned best with the literature and was altogether the most interpretable solution when considering the data.

Table 2 contains the estimates of communalities (*h2*), the proportion of variance explained by the factors and the factor loadings. Based on these data and in consideration of the literature, the decision to retain 26 items was made, deleting the remaining 45 items. All extracted communalities (*h2*) below .3 were examined in conjunction with the factor loading to determine if the items fit well with other items of the factor (Kline, 1994; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). Most items with extracted communalities (*h2*) below .3 were deleted; however, a few were retained given that the fit with other factor items did not appear problematic and their factor loadings were considered excellent (.63) or good (.55) (Comrey & Lee, 1992). When an item had a fair loading (.45), the items were evaluated regarding their theoretical fit. Finally, very few cross-loadings of items occurred, and as needed, these items were examined to determine if they were theoretically justifiable to retain and determine if the loading on the non-primary factors was more than .32 (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). One cross-loaded item in Factor 3, item number 64, "My primary role is to take care of others," was retained given its "fair" loading of .45, and because it significantly increased the reliability of the scale. The final analysis resulted in a 26-item scale with four subscales, including Factor 1 (7 items), Factor 2 (7 items), Factor 3 (7 items), and Factor 4 (5 items). Mean scores on the overall scale and each subscale ranged from 1 to 6, with higher scores indicating higher levels of applicability of each factor within their

life. The factors were labeled as follows: Factor 1, Bicultural Conflict (BC); Factor 2, Passivity (P); Factor 3, Asian Values (AV); and Factor 4, Awareness (A). Table 3 provides the descriptive statistics for the subscales and additional scales administered.

Table 2

Factor Loadings and Communalities for Retained MGRS-AAW Scale Items Using Exploratory Factor Analysis With Oblimin Rotation

Item Content by Factor	F1	F2	F3	F4	*h2*
Q48 My parents have narrow views of appropriate behavior for women and men.	**.80**				.63
Q10 I wish my family were more supportive of my beliefs.	**.73**				.57
Q68 My family disapproves of my tendency to speak my mind.	**.71**				.50
Q16 My views about being an Asian woman contradict those of my family.	**.71**				.57
Q54 My parents are very traditional.	**.69**				.45
Q 1 Sometimes I disagree with my parents about what it means to be an Asian woman.	**.64**				.50
Q3 I distance myself from my family or culture to feel less subservient.	**.56**				.39
Q27 I rarely speak up for myself, even when provoked.		**.77**			.59
*Q6 I stand up for myself when challenged.		**.75**			.51
Q35 Typically I try and avoid causing conflict or rocking the boat.		**.64**			.43
Q49 It is usually best to avoid conflict.		**.59**			.38
Q19 I should remain quiet, even if I feel upset.		**.57**			.37
Q66 I usually tend to follow the lead of my partner or others who are close to me.		**.57**			.37
Q22 I rarely assert myself at home.		**.55**			.36

Q23 Women are natural caregivers.	**.57**		.38
Q28 I try to avoid bringing shame to my parents or family.	**.56**		.41
Q61 I am usually happy to make sacrifices for my parents.	**.54**		.36
Q46 There is nothing more honorable than being a wife and mother.	**.51**	-.38	.41
Q 26 If necessary, I would compromise my education/career for my children.	**.47**		.22
Q13 I feel good about the values and traditions of my Asian culture.	**.45**		.24
Q 64 My primary role is to take care of others.	**.45**		.36
Q 4 I have spent time thinking about my cultural identity.		**.59**	.35
Q39 I think that being a woman influences the way people speak to me.		**.53**	.31
Q36 Being Asian influences the way people treat me.		**.51**	.27
Q60 I have spent time thinking about my gender identity.		**.49**	.29
Q37 The model minority myth is restrictive to Asian women.		**.47**	.20

Note. Factor loadings >.40 are in boldface. Factor labels: F1-Bicultural Values and Familial Conflict, F2-Pathways of Passivity, F3-Gender Socialization Reflecting Traditional Asian Cultural Values and Beliefs, F4-Impact of being an Asian Woman in America

Table 3

Descriptive Statistics for Factors of MGRS-AAW and Additional Correlational Scales

Factors	Min	Max	*M*	*SD*
Bicultural Conflict (Factor 1)	1.00	6.00	3.70	1.11
Passivity (Factor 2)	1.00	5.14	2.86	.90
Asian Values (Factor 3)	1.00	5.86	3.61	.84
Awareness (Factor 4)	1.60	6.00	4.77	.81
MGRS-AAW (total)	2.27	5.04	3.66	.51
Attitudes Towards Women Scale	19.00	56.00	45.67	6.33
Vicarious and Collective Racism	1.43	5.00	3.85	.80
Daily Racial Microaggressions	1.00	5.00	2.42	1.07

Factor 1-Bicultural Conflict (BC) accounted for 12.23% of the item variance; Factor 2-Passivity (P), 10.03%; Factor 3-Asian Values (AV), 5.10%; and Factor 4-Awareness (A), 4.11%. All four factors accounted for a total of 31.44% of the variance. Table 4 illustrates the intercorrelation among the subscales.

Factor 1 (BC) positively correlated ($p < .05$) with Factor 2 (P) ($r = .17$) and negatively correlated with Factor 3 (AV) ($r = -.20$). The inverse relationship between Factor 1 with Factor 2 and Factor 3 could be interpreted as representing the "split" values captured within Factor 1. Therefore, adherence to some cultural values, such as passivity, was shown through positive correlation with Factor 2 (PP), and a lack of adherence to (or split from) other cultural values was shown through a negative correlation with Factor 3 (AV), thus illustrating the nuances of bicultural conflict captured in Factor 1. Further, higher endorsement of bicultural values and

familial conflict (F1) was positively associated ($p < .05$) with a higher level of questioning and awareness of being an Asian American woman (F4) ($r = .25$). Factor 2 (P) was positively correlated ($p < .05$) with Factor 3 (AV) ($r = .27$). This relationship indicates that in general, higher adherence to passivity (P) was linked with higher overall gender socialization through endorsement of traditional Asian cultural values (AV), which makes sense considering that passivity is highly emphasized for women within Asian culture, women in America, Asians in America, and thus “triply” reinforced for the participants: as women, as Asians, and particularly as Asian women. Factor 3 (AV) was found to be negatively correlated ($p < .05$) with Factor 4 (A) ($r = -.21$), potentially signaling that gender socialization through strong adherence to traditional Asian cultural values and beliefs (i.e., Factor 3, AV) leaves little room for reflection on identity in America. Therefore, the higher endorsement of traditional gender role behavior reflecting Asian cultural beliefs (AV), the less room there may be for an activated social consciousness referenced in Factor 4 (A), the impact of being an Asian American woman.

Though these intercorrelations are interesting, they are very small and most likely reflective of the large sample size. They have reached statistical significance, but this can likely be attributed to the sample of over 300 participants and are not meaningful. More importantly, the low intercorrelation indicates that the Factors are not highly correlated, and thus each measures an independent theme or construct as intended. Each subscale remains separate and unique, representative of distinct elements of gender role development.

Reliability

Internal consistency scores of the entire scale, as well as the subscales, were computed. Coefficient alpha for the MGRS-AAW was .76, demonstrating acceptable internal consistency. Each subscale for the most part also had good to acceptable internal consistency (i.e., Factor 1 =

.87 (seven items), Factor 2 = .83 (seven items), Factor 3 =. 74 (seven items)), with the exception of Factor 4 (.64) (five items), which was moderate. Factor 4 was the only factor with five items instead of seven, and this difference can account for the lower reliability. What constitutes a good level of internal consistency differs depending on the source, although many recommend values around .70 (DeVellis, 2003; Kline, 2005).

Concurrent Validity Results

Having obtained evidence concerning the strong psychometric properties of the new scale and extracting four subscales, the concurrent validity of the MGRS-AAW was examined. Correlation analyses were conducted to examine if associations existed between the subscales and the demographic, familial, and experience variables. Pearson's *r* and Spearman rho correlations were applied when analyzing two dichotomous variables or a dichotomous variable and an ordinal variable, respectively. The point-biserial correlation, a special case of Pearson's correlation, was applied between dichotomous and continuous variables (Wherry, 1984). The results of these analyses and relevant descriptive statistics demonstrated that most of the associations between the pairs of variables were not significant. There was one exception described below.

Factor two (P) was positively associated with being born in the United States; the effect size was small ($r = .18$). Therefore, women born in the United States had higher scores on Factor 2 than those not born in the United States. This was surprising given the initial hypothesis that those born in the United States or with younger age of immigration might conceivably endorse less passivity due to acculturation to egalitarian U.S. values. However, this inverse relationship could be due to the fact that those participants not born in the United States possibly immigrated of their own volition and/or without parents, thus showing autonomy in their choice to move to

the United States and inherently less passivity. GPA was collected as a measure of discriminant validity. The participants (*n* = 204) reported their cumulative GPA in programs in which they were currently or previously enrolled. As hypothesized, there were no significant correlations between GPA and any of the subscales, thus demonstrating the discriminant validity of the MGRS-AAW relative to academic success.

Correlations between the subscales on the MGRS-AAW with previously validated scales were conducted to explore convergent and divergent validity. The association between scores on the subscales of the MGRS-AAW, the Attitudes Towards Women Scale (AWS), and the subscales of the Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory (AARRSI) were used (see Table 4). For the AWS, significant negative correlations ($p < .001$) were found with Passivity (Factor 2) (r = -.26) and Asian Values (Factor 3) (r = -.36). Lower scores on the AWS indicated traditional, conservative attitudes about women's gender roles and were associated with higher scores on the subscale of Passivity (Factor 2), representing an overlap of conservative attitudes toward women and adherence to the cultural norm of passivity for Asians and Asian women in particular. Similarly, lower scores on the AWS were correlated with higher scores on Factor 3 (AV) (r = -.36), indicating that conservative attitudes toward women aligned with higher endorsement of traditional Asian cultural values and beliefs. Significant positive correlations were also found with Factor 4 (A). Higher scores on the AWS correlated with higher scores on Factor 4 (A) (r = .404), indicating the more egalitarian attitude toward women's roles, the more the individual considered the impact of her specific intersection of race and gender within the context of living in America. No significant association was found between Factor 1 (BC) and the AWS.

With regard to the AARRSI, the Vicarious and Collective Racism subscales were significantly positively correlated ($p < .05$) with Factor 1 (BC) ($r = .13$). This correlation is reflective of the relationship between experiencing racism and having bicultural values, although it is not clear if experiences of racism create/enhance bicultural values or if having bicultural values makes one more aware of, and thus more vulnerable to, noticing and perceiving racism. Both the subscales on the AARRSI Vicarious and Collective Racism subscale ($r = .43$) and Daily Racial Microaggressions ($r = .20$) were significantly positively correlated with Factor 4 (A) ($p < .001$). This indicated that the more experiences with and acknowledgment of racism can be linked to more questioning and thinking about specific race and gender in America. No other subscale pairs reached statistical significance.

Table 4

Correlation Matrix: Correlation of Factors with Additional Scales and Intercorrelation of Factors

SCALE	F1 BICULTURAL CONFLICT	F2 PASSIVITY	F3 ASIAN VALUES	F4 AWARENESS
F1 (BC)	-	.17*	-.20*	.25*
F2 (P)	-	-	.27*	-.09
F3 (AV)	-	-	-	-.21*
AWS	.028	-.256**	-.357**	.404**
AARRSI: R	.130*	-.082	-.017	.426**
AARRSI: M	.084	-.087	.040	.200**

Note. Factor labels: F1-Bicultural Conflict, F2-Passivity, F3-Asian Values, F4-Awareness, AWS-Attitudes Towards Women, AARRSI:R-Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory: Racism subscale, AARRSI:M-Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory: Microaggression subscale.
*$p < .05$

Concurrent validity for the new measure was indicated by findings that Asian women who reported more conservative attitudes toward women also highly endorsed passivity and traditional Asian cultural values and beliefs. This theoretically linked the AWS to subscales of Factor 2 and Factor 3 on the MGRS-AAW, which measures attitudes toward women as hypothesized by Corpus and Miville (2013). Further, higher scores on the AWS were linked to higher endorsement of Factor 4, showing that a more egalitarian view of women's roles influences the degree to which participants feel and think about the impact of their unique race/gender in America. Concurrent validity was also found through examination of the AARRSI subscales of Vicarious and Collective Racism and Daily Racial Microaggressions with Factor 4-Awareness. Asian American women who reported more experiences of racism also highly endorsed items reflective of thinking about how their race and gender may impact them. This indicated that the experience of racism may be linked with awareness and increased questions about race and gender in the United States. The lack of statistically significant findings between the subscales of the AARRSI and Factor 2 (P) and Factor 3 (AV) may indicate that those who highly endorsed such factors are somewhat protected and less sensitized to experiences of racism, perhaps due to a somewhat strict adherence to traditional Asian cultural values and beliefs. Of greater concern may be that these women may deny experiences of racism affecting them or others, perhaps leading to some mental health concerns.

Summary of Findings

The development of the MGRS-AAW was created from a convenience sample of 327 self-identified Asian American women over the age of 18. Through an EFA, four subscales were generated. Specifically, analyses via a maximum likelihood (ML) with direct oblimin rotation was used to examine the validity and dimensionality of the scale (Schmitt, 2011). The analysis

resulted in a 26-item scale with four subscales, including Factor 1 (7 items), Factor 2 (7 items), Factor 3 (7 items), and Factor 4 (5 items). As noted, the 6-point Likert-type scale was used for all 26 items (i.e., 1 = Strongly Disagree, 6 = Strongly Agree). Item scores on the overall scale and each subscale ranged from 1 to 6, with higher scores indicating higher levels of applicability of each factor within their life. The extracted factors were labeled as follows: Factor 1, Bicultural Conflict (BC); Factor 2, Passivity (P); Factor 3, Asian Values (AV); and Factor 4, Awareness (A). Multiple significant correlations were found among the subscales, illustrating both expected and simple, as well as surprising and complex, relationships among the variables. Concurrent validity was evaluated through examination of the association between scores on the subscales of the MGRS-AAW, the Attitudes Towards Women Scale (AWS), and the two subscales of the Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory (AARRSI), further demonstrating the scale's validity. Discriminant validity was examined through analyses of reported GPA and subscales, and as hypothesized, no significant relationship was found.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Overview

The focus of this dissertation study was to quantitatively measure the gender role development of Asian American women through the development of a scale. The scale was theoretically based on a previous qualitative research study conducted by Dr. Marie Miville and her colleagues (Corpus & Miville, 2013; Miville, 2013) which explored how people of color internalized messages regarding gender roles from families and cultures of origin, as well as their integration of sociopolitical and cultural experiences as Americans. Despite the complexity of gender role development, the influence of culture on gender-related processes, and the subsequent impact on psychological functioning, this process remains underexplored for many racial-cultural groups, including Asian American women. Although many researchers in the field of psychology recognize the importance of culture and context in defining gender and gender roles among diverse samples, the extent to which cultural variables have been included in the investigation of gender roles among populations of color is exceptionally lacking and undefined. For example, few studies have examined the specific components of identity development salient for Asian American women. This study contributes to the research on the intersectional experience of being Asian, and a woman, living in America (Li, 2013). Due to the unique psychosocial stressors present for this population, an individualized tool is needed to accurately assess their process of gender role development.

Additionally, the Multicultural Gender Role Scale-Asian American Women (MGRS-AAW) contributes to the limited literature in this area through the development of a concrete, reliable, and valid measure that can be used to assess relevant specific constructs such as gendered racism and stereotypes, navigating cultural conflicts, and gender role socialization. The

general construct of gender roles as well as an overview of potential influential factors were explored in order to better understand the theoretical underpinnings of the newly developed scale. The result was a clearly defined, operationalized tool to help clarify the obscure and multifaceted process of gender role development for Asian American women. Further, the influence of gender roles may have significant effects on the mental health functioning of Asian American women, as misunderstood development can lead to psychological maladjustment, evidenced through depressive symptoms, anxiety symptoms, and issues with self-esteem (Oh, Koeske, & Sales, 2002). By more accurately understanding the gender role development for this unique population, better targeted, more effective mental health practices for Asian American women can be implemented. Further, the scale can assist in more accurate diagnosis and treatment planning with this population and remind mental health professionals to consider multicultural issues in the conceptualization and treatment of Asian American women, given their distinctive experiences as women of color.

Summary

The study involved the following methods for collecting and analyzing data. First, a large item pool was developed from the three reported themes of the qualitative study, and underwent two cycles of expert-aided revisions, resulting in a reduced, consensual item pool. The survey was then administered via Qualtrics to an adult sample of 327 Asian American females. After determining that the data were suitable for analysis, several criteria were used to determine a factor solution. An exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was used to identify the potential underlying structure. Specifically, a maximum likelihood (ML) with direct oblimin rotation, one of the most commonly used and accepted statistical estimation methods for estimating parameters of the common factor model (Schmitt, 2011), was used to examine the validity and

dimensionality of the scale. The final analysis resulted in a 26-item scale with four subscales, including Factor 1-Bicultural Conflict (7 items), Factor 2-Passivity (7 items), Factor 3-Asian Values (7 items), and Factor 4-Awareness (5 items). Mean scores on the overall scale and each subscale ranged from 1 to 6, with higher scores indicating higher levels of applicability of each factor within their life. Having obtained evidence concerning the strong psychometric properties of the new scale and extracting four subscales, the concurrent validity of the MGRS-AAW was examined. There was little intercorrelation among subscales, thus indicating that each measured a separate and distinct construct as intended. Additional correlational analyses were conducted to establish associations between subscales of MGRS-AAW and demographic variables, as well as with two other existing scales (The Attitudes Toward Women Scale [AWS] and the Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory [AARRSI]).

Examination of the Four Factors

Upon closer examination of each of the four subscales, themes arose which closely aligned or overlapped with those of the qualitative study by Corpus and Miville (2013) upon which the initial item pool was generated. Factor 1 was composed of seven items and titled Bicultural Conflict. The items were found to reflect participant endorsement of differing views than those of their family. The items were constructed with words that reflected conflict or difference, such as “narrow, disapproving, contradictory, and disagreement,” in order to capture the qualitative theme of “Negotiating Intersections,” or in other words, the way participant views of gender and their gender role were constructed counter to the messages of parents. This factor was intended to capture the evolving nature of the process and elements of conflict (Corpus & Miville, 2013). As Lui (2015) pointed out, contending with contrasting and dueling cultural values presents unique challenges when internalizing gender role development, and this process

may be reflected in Factor 1. In addition, Factor 1 taps into findings by Portes and Rumbaut (2006) that suggested that there may be acculturation discrepancies between parents and children in immigrant families, often resulting in generational dissonance.

The second subscale, Factor 2-Passivity, contained seven items. This factor closely captured the main theme Pathways of Passivity found in Corpus and Miville's (2013) qualitative study, which primarily reflected the subordinate role of women within the family, culture of origin, and dominant western society. In addition, this factor captures the overlap of passivity based on both race and gender: inferiority through gendered cultural expectations as females, and racial stereotypes as Asians. These items reflected passive ways of reacting when provoked, upset, challenged, or in conflict, when at home with family or partners, and in their everyday lives. Whereas the qualitative study indicated passivity in terms of clear divisions of labor between males and females, this finding was not captured in the retained items on the MGRS-AAW. Further study into this element of passivity could be helpful in better understanding this unique element of gender role construction more thoroughly, as this division was reported to contribute to power and authority gender dynamics. Although Confucian philosophies of passivity (obedience and appropriate virtuous behavior) are still prevalent, nuances among different ethnic groups should be closely examined for inevitable variation of expression and degree among subgroups (Wang, 2001).

Factor 3-Asian Values was also comprised of seven items and reflective of the ways gender roles are socialized and maintained through the teachings of traditional Asian values and beliefs. This factor closely aligned with the qualitative theme found by Corpus and Miville (2013) of Gender Role Socialization and was particularly relevant in the subtheme filial piety. The retained items reflected the cultural values that informed the definition of gender for Asian

American women. Items primarily reflected the roles and cultural values of women rather than the specific ways these messages were taught and reinforced. For example, items such as "Women are natural caregivers" and "There is nothing more honorable than being a wife and a mother" were included. The subtheme of filial piety was reflected through items like "I am usually happy to make sacrifices for my parents" and "I try and avoid bringing shame to my parents or family." Two subthemes of the qualitative study within gender role socialization that were not found in the retained items of the MGRS-AAW included the impact of religion, and emotional and physical components of gender. These elements deserve specific analysis in future research.

The final factor, Factor 4-Awareness, was comprised of five items and seemed to capture a heightened social consciousness about being an Asian American woman. It was also reflective of the negotiation of bicultural values, or the result of managing traditional Asian gender role expectations with U.S. standards and expectations about women, Asians, and Asian women. Items centered around thinking about cultural and gendered identity and subsequent impact, as well as specifically reflecting on the impact of the model minority myth.

Correlation With Additional Measures, GPA, and Demographic Variables

The Attitudes Toward Women-Short Form (AWS) was used to assess construct validity of the MGRS-AAW according to the various subscales. High scores on the AWS (reflecting egalitarian attitudes towards women) were predicted to correlate inversely with high scores in the subscale of Passivity as well as with high scores in the subscale of Asian Values. Conversely, higher scores on the AWS were expected to correlate with high scores in the subsection of Bicultural Conflict.

The study proved the inverse relationship as hypothesized, between the AWS and Factor 2 (Passivity) and Factor 3 (Asian Values). Therefore, Asian women endorsing more conservative attitudes toward women also endorsed high levels of passivity in their lives, and adherence to traditional Asian cultural values and beliefs, and thus, theoretically linked the AWS to these subscales, which measured attitudes toward women, as hypothesized by Miville and Corpus (2013). Further, higher scores on the AWS were linked to higher endorsement of Factor 4 (Awareness), showing that more egalitarian views of women's roles may influence the degree to which participants feel and think about the impact of their unique race/gender in America. No significant association was found between Factor 1 (Bicultural Conflict) and the AWS.

The Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory (AARRSI) was administered to measure participants' experiences as a person of color and potential target of racism (Liang et al., 2004). Examination of the AARRSI and Factor 1 (Bicultural Conflict) was in predicted directions: The Vicarious and Collective Racism subscales were significantly positively correlated with Factor 1. This correlation could reflect the role racism plays in the creation of bicultural conflict, although it is not clear if experiences of racism create/enhance bicultural conflict or if having bicultural values makes one more aware of, and thus more vulnerable to, noticing and perceiving racism. Additionally, Factor 4 (Awareness) of the MGRS-AAW correlated with higher experiences of racism, as indicated by the subscales of Vicarious and Collective Racism and Daily Racial Microaggressions on the AARRSI. This finding may indicate that higher endorsement of experiences of racism can be linked with increased awareness and critical questioning about the role of race and gender in the United States.

An additional simple measure of discriminant validity was the collection of grade point average (GPA) of participants. A higher GPA was not expected to correlate with higher scores

on any of the subscales, as none of the items were intended to examine academic achievement or intelligence. The participants (*n* = 204) reported their cumulative GPA in programs in which they were currently or previously enrolled. As hypothesized, there were no significant correlations between GPA and any of the subscales, thus demonstrating the discriminant validity of the MGRS-AAW relative to academic success.

Factor 2 (Passivity) also positively correlated with the demographic variable of being born in the United States, although the effect size was small (*r* = .18). Therefore, women born in the United States endorsed more passivity than those not born in the United States. This was surprising given the hypothesis that those born in the United States, or who immigrated at younger ages, might endorse less passivity due to more acculturation to egalitarian U.S. values. However, this inverse relationship could be due to the fact that those participants not born in the United States possibly immigrated of their own volition and/or without parents, thus showing autonomy in their choice to move to the United States and inherently less passivity. It is also possible that those who were raised in the United States by immigrant parents were expected to adhere more strictly to cultural values than those who immigrated later as adults. This adherence is considered critical to maintaining culture within the melting pot of the United States, as opposed to being raised within the country and/or culture of origin. This finding was in keeping with that of Portes and Rumbaut (2006), who found that Asian parents who migrated to the United States as adults were more likely to retain the lifestyle, values, and traditions rather than adapting U.S. values, particularly in relation to raising their children.

Limitations and Future Directions

This exploratory research study has many findings and several limitations. In keeping with the defining principle of intersectionality, race and gender as explored in this study are

pivotal to explore at this race/gender intersection, as they are not mutually exclusive (Cole, 2009). However, the limitation in only studying these intersecting identities amid many must be noted. This study represents one point of many axes of identity. Future studies should consider examining differences among ethnic groups and immigration statuses, as such differences could impact the way participants respond to the MGRS-AAW. Demographic variables such as age, sexual orientation, and class were not found to have significant statistical correlations with any of the four subscales, but still should be examined more closely for specific relationships and interactions. Similarly, correlation was found among specific subscales and the additional scales, the Attitudes Towards Women Scale (AWS) and the Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory (AARRSI) subscales which helped illustrate concurrent validity. However, correlation between the two additional scales themselves (between the AWS and the AARRSI) was not analyzed. The correlation between these two established scales, in addition to the correlation with the subscales of the MGRS-AAW, should be analyzed in future studies for a better understanding of the relationship among constructs.

Another limitation of the sample, and thus the study, was that most participants were highly educated (99% with undergraduate degrees and 44% with graduate and professional degrees). This disproportionate representation of more highly educated participants might reflect a unique way of responding different from Asian women who are less educated and perhaps exist in isolated Asian enclaves such as Chinatown. Again, within-group differences and heterogeneity among sample were not sufficiently examined in one exploratory study.

Future research may seek to understand better how individuals understand their experience, as it can be difficult to know if discrimination is occurring due to race or gender, or a combination of many intersecting identities (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003). Gender switching

and enacting different characteristics of one individual across settings has been reported, and future studies could seek to better understand under what circumstances this tends to occur for this population. Further, the concept of situationally switching displayed gender characteristics further emphasizes the stable yet fluid nature of gender roles that needs more understanding.

Findings by researchers Chung (2001) and Chen, Lin, and Cha (2015), that self-reported racial discrimination was associated with greater odds of having a clinical diagnosis of depression or anxiety disorders within a 12-month period, even when controlling for sociodemographic variables, should alert clinicians that reported experiences of racism may correlate with more mental health concerns. Future studies could incorporate a measure of mental health when administering the MGRS-AAW to better understand the complex relationship between the scale and mental health.

Further, the MGRS-AAW as an instrument has some limitations. For example, Factor 4 (Awareness) includes one item that specifically asks about the model minority myth being restrictive to Asian women. This phrase may be understandable and common knowledge to participants in this sample, but may be unknown and foreign to participants with different demographics and experiences. Factor 4 may be inherently attributable to the highly reflective and socially conscious sample population, as the Asian American Psychology Association membership was used for recruitment, meaning that many mental health professionals were participants.

Additionally, the MGRS-AAW was created with a 6-point Likert rating system. The specific response frequency of each forced choice could be examined, and the scale could be modified or reduced to capture the degree of endorsement more closely. Additionally, self-reported GPA was collected as a simple measure of discriminant validity which, as expected,

was not found to correlate with any subscale. However, the source of GPA (i.e., cumulative, isolated, past or current, undergraduate or graduate) was not stated and could influence the interpretation and meaning of this relationship.

Research and Clinical Implications

The development and validation of the MGRS-AAW offers a tool for better measuring and defining the gender-role constructs salient for Asian American women. Within the current literature, few studies have explored this concept for this population and even fewer scales exist to empirically explore gender role development in a culturally sensitive and multidimensional way. Hopefully, this tool will be utilized to better understand the progression and specific components of gender role development for this population.

In the future, additional research can help strengthen the current study by further establishing the reliability and validity of the MGRS-AAW. A confirmatory factor analysis using a separate and demographically different sample should next be conducted. In an effort to establish the basics of this concept, this study combined many Asian ethnic groups (Takeuchi et al., 2007), but a more nuanced understanding of gender role development for Asian American women could be useful, taking a closer look at the effects of demographic variables such as age, sexual orientation, and socioeconomic status. Ethnic and racial identity, geographical location (ethnic enclaves vs. predominately White), as well as immigration and generational status could also provide valuable information about how Asian women differ in their gender role development based on these factors.

The MGRS-AAW can be useful in mental health practices. A study by Lee, Lei, and Sue (2001) found that the rates of depression and posttraumatic stress among Asian Americans are comparable, if not higher, than those of Whites. Given this knowledge, tools and resources aimed

at this population are greatly needed. Clinicians can use the instrument as an assessment tool to better understand the experience of their Asian American female clients. It can shed light on some of the factors that go into the development of their identity as Asian American women, and perhaps better elucidate the stress that they may experience in negotiating multiple intersections of identity. Given the overarching themes in the qualitative findings of Corpus and Miville (2013) and the current findings, clinicians must be attuned to the tendency of this population to underreport mental health concerns. They may appear very competent in handling their many roles, but sensitive clinicians can attend to signs of stress around managing conflicting demands of being Asian, American, and women. Implementation and discussion of results of the MGRS-AAW can serve as a tool for discourse around this topic and any relevant psychological impact or distress and introduce a base understanding of the navigation of multiple, intersecting identities.

Correlations of the scale with other previously validated measures further sheds light on the complex relationship of gender and race on Asian American women. For example, the lower reporting of Racism-related events and the correlation with higher endorsement of Asian Culture and Passivity indicated that these women may either be protected from harmful racial slights or may be underreporting such instances. The sensitive clinician can use this information to then gauge the clients' overall functioning and perception of the world around them to see if either of these hypotheses is true. Traditional Asian cultural values and beliefs might then be leveraged to enhance protection or better understood to help remove barriers to services and mental health and wellness.

It is unclear how racialized stereotypes of Asian American women truly impact the enactment of gender roles for each individual and across different settings. The relationship

between all four factors (bicultural conflict, passivity, Asian values, and awareness) in addition to the effect of racism is unclear. One hypothesis that has emerged from this study posits that perhaps growing up in the United States and "acculturating" inherently translates to pressure to conform with racialized stereotypes and increased awareness of racism. This can lead to acculturative dissonance and subsequent critical thinking about race and gender in the United States. Within a U.S. conception of what an Asian American woman should look and act like, there is little room for individuality and expression, perhaps less even than in a "traditional" Asian culture or country. This is in keeping with the findings of Pyke and Johnson (2003), who aptly noted that within the United States, there is a presumption that the only path to gender equality and assertive womanhood is through assimilation to the mainstream White hegemonic traits associated with femininity, and thus resulting in a rejection of cultural identity. This falsity can serve to obscure actual gender inequality in the United States, while still purporting that in the United States, women are free and equal. This illusion diminishes the very real diversity and power gender roles within Asian cultures, and the actual ongoing social changes in many Asian countries, painting them as unchanging places of male dominance and female submissiveness. Further, internalized stereotypes (Chow, 1989) of "caricatured notions" of Asian femininity and Asians, in addition to countless experiences of racism, can serve to destruct the true sense of self. As evidenced in Pyke and Johnson (2003) and the qualitative study by Corpus and Miville (2013), participants already enacted gender in unique ways, but rather than being celebrated, they felt their gender display was required to conform to their Asian identity. Asian women may feel pressure to conform or distance themselves within two conflicting cultural contexts, from images of Asian femininity in order to gain acceptance, although this behavior then perpetuates the rigid stereotypes or subordination.

This hypothesis is supported in other research studies as well. For example, Sue et al. (2012) found that Asian women born outside the United States were less likely to have lifetime depression, anxiety, substance use, and anxiety disorders than those born in the United States within 12-month prevalence. Second-generation Asian American women were found to be at high risk for both lifetime and 12-month prevalence of such disorders. Duldulao et al. (2009) also noted differential effects in suicidal ideation between American-born Asian men and women, also highlighting the need for in-depth examinations of gender roles within the Asian population. Therefore, growing up in the United States without the protection of strong cultural values could put Asian American women at higher risk for mental health concerns and, perhaps, underreporting. The findings of Kim and Omizo (2003) and Bradshaw (1994) suggested that adherence to Asian cultural values (particularly in areas of emotional self-control and conformity to norms) was linked with negative attitudes toward seeking help. It is unclear whether this relationship to culture is a protective factor and/or a restrictive factor and may even vary from client to client and situation to situation. Are those who adhere to Asian cultural values better adapted and equipped for life in the United States, or do they need mental health services and suffer in silence? Regardless, more research explicitly examining cultural values, passivity, and help seeking may shed more light on this relationship. In addition, outreach and psychoeducation targeted toward Asian American women may be helpful in promoting help seeking and/or positive psychology for prevention.

Validation of the Asian American woman’s experience through the therapeutic alliance and understanding of the complex gender role development and experience of this population will be critical to retention in mental health services. Clinicians should acknowledge the role of the family and be careful not to diminish their importance, thus risking isolating the client by

devaluing a key piece of their identity. Instead, clinicians should seek to support clients in understanding and exploring their own healthy and unique way of relating and creating their gender roles. Practitioners must acknowledge the negative stereotypes, microaggressions, history of economic exploitation, and pressure to assimilate and forsake cultural values and resulting familial conflict (Bradshaw, 1994). Counseling psychologists should pay careful attention to the social implications of their research, including unintended consequences, and should likewise consider how their work might be used to empower structurally disadvantaged groups (Lewis & Grzanka, 2016).

Key factors such as generational status, class, and status as students should also be considered when better understanding the stressors of this population, as these overlapping statuses add additional complexities. Navigations of place within systems such as schools and businesses will continue to place Asian American women in positions that directly confront the expectations of them as cultural and gendered beings and call for them to act within or outside of prescribed cultural values. For example, in the study by Matsui (1995), Japanese students who interacted with American gender culture shifted their gender roles to be more egalitarian. This finding is contradictory to the relationship between age of immigration and traditional cultural values found in the current study, which indicated that those who had been in the United States longer had more traditional Asian values. These contradictory findings may point to the unique position of college students or another undetected moderating variable, as well as the ability to switch gender roles based on circumstance.

Conclusion

This dissertation study is a first step in measuring the unique ways that Asian women in American construct their gender roles. The gender role development process is complicated by

many factors and is particularly so for individuals of color occupying multiple, marginalized identities. The intention is that this exploratory study can shed light on the development of this important process for this unique population and serve as a starting point for others to further cultivate a more nuanced and refined understanding of interacting, intersectional variables of race and gender.

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Appendix A

Final Items to Be Included in the Multicultural Gender Role Scale-Asian American Women

Please rate the following items according to the amount that you agree with each statement:

1 = Mostly disagree 2 = Slightly disagree 3 = Slightly agree 4 = Mostly agree 5 = Completely agree

Bicultural Values

1) Sometimes I disagree with my parents about what it means to be an Asian woman.
2) I feel more comfortable speaking my mind than I used to.
3) I distance myself from my family or culture to feel less subservient.
4) I have spent time thinking about my cultural identity.
5) My childhood was not typically “American.”
6) I stand up for myself when challenged.
7) It annoys me when I don’t speak my mind.
8) I strive to be a model for other people of color.
9) I subscribe to some traditional beliefs but not others.
10) I wish my family were more supportive of my beliefs.
11) I am less traditional than my parents.
12) Women should make most of the important household decisions.
13) I feel good about the values and traditions of my Asian culture.
14) Sometimes I disagree with my partner about what it means to be an Asian woman.
15) I am a unique Asian woman.
16) My views about being an Asian woman contradict those of my family.
17) I became assertive to further my career.

18) My views about being an Asian woman contradict those of my religion.

Pathways of Passivity

1) I should remain quiet, even if I feel upset.
2) A woman should be obedient.
3) I usually agree with my parents.
4) I rarely assert myself at home.
5) Women are natural caregivers.
6) I do not feel the need to assert myself at work/school.
7) I usually don't like to interrupt.
8) If necessary, I would compromise my education /career for my children.
9) I rarely speak up for myself, even when provoked.
10) I try to avoid bringing shame to my parents or family.
11) I often put the needs of others before my own.
12) It is difficult to succeed as an Asian woman in the US.
13) It is not my place to ask questions.
14) Being assertive makes me feel less feminine.
15) I often monitor my tone of voice.
16) Being feminine means being quiet.
17) Typically, I try and avoid causing conflict or rocking the boat.
18) Being Asian influences the way people treat me.
19) The model minority myth is restrictive to Asian women.

Gender Socialization

1) Being a woman comes with less financial responsibility.

2) I think that being a woman influences the way people speak to me.
3) I had a maternal figure model how to be a woman through her actions.
4) My family mostly dictates what it means to be a woman.
5) It is important to my parents that my partner and I share a similar cultural background.
6) It is the male family members' role to financially support the family and parents.
7) Whoever makes the money holds the power.
8) My family expects me to have children.
9) There is nothing more honorable than being a wife and mother.
10) In my culture, women should be feminine.
11) My parents have narrow views of appropriate behavior for women and men.
12) It is usually best to avoid conflict.

GS/BV SPLIT

1. I would like to explore different religions.
2. I like to be an equal in my relationships.
3. My mother often spoke up in social settings.
4. My views about how to behave as an Asian woman are informed by how I was raised.
5. My parent(s) are very traditional.
6. I admired when my mother voiced her opinion within the family.
7. My family understands when I feel overwhelmed by my responsibilities.

GS/PP SPLIT

1) Asian women probably have different roles and responsibilities within the family than white women.
2) If necessary, I would compromise my education/career for my husband/partner.

3) I am sometimes expected to take care of others at the expense of my own needs.

4) I have spent time thinking about my gender identity.

5) I am usually happy to make sacrifices for my parents.

6) Growing up, the women in my life usually obeyed the men.

7) I can relate to the images of Asian women that I see on American television.

8) My primary role is to take care of others.

9) I sometimes feel restricted by the stereotypes about women in my culture

10) I usually follow the lead of my partner.

11) Asian women and other women of color often have similar responsibilities.

<u>BV/PP split</u>

1) My family disapproves of my tendency to speak my mind.

2) The model minority myth has enhanced my education/career.

3) I am surprised when Asian women are assertive.

4) People tend to react with surprise when I speak my mind.

Appendix B

Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory

Please rate using the following scale:

1 = *This has never happened to me or some- one I know*, 2 = *This event happened but did not bother me*, 3 = *This event happened and I was slightly bothered*, 4 = *This event happened and I was upset*, 5 = *This event happened and I was extremely upset*)

Factor 1:Vicarious and Collective Racism

1) You hear that Asian Americans are not significantly represented in management positions.
2) You are told that Asians have assertiveness problems.
3) You notice that Asian characters in American TV shows either speak bad or heavily accented English.
4) You see a TV commercial in which an Asian character speaks bad English and acts subservient to non-Asian characters.
5) You hear about an Asian American government scientist held in solitary confinement for mishandling government documents when his non-Asian coworkers were not punished for the same offence.
6) You learn that Asian Americans historically were targets of racist actions.
7) You learn that most non-Asian Americans are ignorant of the oppression and racial prejudice Asian Americans have endured in the United States.

Factor 2: Daily Racial Microaggressions

1) A student you do not know asks you for help in math.
2) Someone tells you that your Asian American female friend looks just like Connie Chung.
3) Someone asks you if all your friends are Asian Americans.
4) Someone asks you if you can teach him or her karate.
5) Someone you do not know asks you to help him or her fix his or her computer.
6) Someone asks you what your real name is.

Appendix C

Attitudes Towards Women Scale-Short Form
(Spence, Helmrich & Stapp, 1978)

Instructions: The statements listed below describe attitudes toward the roles of women in society which different people have. There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions. You are asked to express your feeling about each statement by indicating whether you (A) agree strongly, (B) agree mildly, (C) disagree mildly, or (D) disagree strongly.

1. Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than of a man.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

2* Women should take increasing responsibility for leadership in solving the intellectual and social problems of the day.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

3.* Both husband and wife should be allowed the same grounds for divorce.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

4. Telling dirty jokes should be mostly a masculine prerogative.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

5. Intoxication among women is worse than intoxication among men.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

6.* Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing the laundry.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

7.* It is insulting to women to have the "obey" clause remain in the marriage service.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

8.* There should be a strict merit system in job appointment and promotion without regard to sex.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

9.* A woman should be free as a man to propose marriage.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

10. Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

11.* Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

12.* Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

13. A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

14. Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

15. It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

16. In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in the bringing up of children.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

17. Women should be encouraged not to become sexually intimate with anyone before marriage, even their fiancés.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

18.* The husband should not be favored by law over the wife in the disposal of family property or income.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

19. Women should be concerned with their duties of childbearing and house tending rather than with desires for professional or business careers.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

20. The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

21.* Economic and social freedom is worth far more to women than acceptance of the ideal of femininity which has been set up by men.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

22. On the average, women should be regarded as less capable of contributing to economic production than are men.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

23. There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

24.* Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

25.* The modern girl is entitled to the same freedom from regulation and control that is given to the modern boy.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

In scoring the items, A=0, B=1, C=2, and D=3 except for the items with an asterisk where the scale is reversed. A high score indicates a profeminist, egalitarian attitude while a low score indicates a traditional, conservative attitude.

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Appendix D

Demographics: Specific Ethnicity/Ethnicities Reported

	#	%	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
n=156 reported		46.8	46.8	46.8
European (1) Filipino (10)	6	1.8	1.8	48.6
European (1) Japanese (13)	2	.6	.6	49.2
European (1) Vietnamese (16)	1	.3	.3	49.5
European (1) Asian American (5)	2	.6	.6	50.2
European (1) Asian American (5) Filipino (10)	1	.3	.3	50.5
European (1) Asian American (5), Japanese (13)	1	.3	.3	50.8
European (1) Asian American (5), Korean (14)	2	.6	.6	51.4
European (1) Asian American (5), Other (7)	1	.3	.3	51.7
European (1) Asian American (5), Chinese (9)	1	.3	.3	52.0
European (1) Asian American (5), Chinese (9), Taiwanese (15)	1	.3	.3	52.3
European (1) Chinese (9)	1	.3	.3	52.6
European (1) Chinese (9) Other (17)	1	.3	.3	52.9
Korean (14) Other (17)	1	.3	.3	53.2
Hispanic or Latino (4) Korean (14)	1	.3	.3	53.5
Hispanic or Latino (4) Asian American (5) Filipino (10)	1	.3	.3	53.8

Asian American (5), Filipino (10)	10	3.0	3.0	56.8
Asian American (5) Hmong (11)	2	.6	.6	57.4
Asian American (5), Japanese (13)	4	1.2	1.2	58.6
Asian American (5) Korean (14)	35	10.5	10.5	69.1
Asian American (5), Taiwanese (15)	21	6.3	6.3	75.4
Asian American (5), Vietnamese (16)	6	1.8	1.8	77.2
Asian American (5), Other (17)	2	.6	.6	77.8
Asian American (5), Asian Indian (6) Japanese (13)	1	.3	.3	78.1
Asian American (5), Asian Indian (6) Other (17)	1	.3	.3	78.4
Asian American (5), Native Hawaiian (7), Indonesian (12)	1	.3	.3	78.7
Asian American (5), Native Hawaiian (7), Taiwanese (15)	1	.3	.3	79.0
Asian American (5) Cambodian (8)	1	.3	.3	79.3
Asian American (5) Cambodian (8), Chinese (9)	1	.3	.3	79.6
Asian American (5) Cambodian (8), Chinese (9) Vietnamese (16)	2	.6	.6	80.2
Asian American (5) Chinese (9)	45	13.5	13.5	93.7
Asian American (5) Chinese (9) Filipino (10)	1	.3	.3	94.0
Asian American (5) Chinese (9), Indonesian (12) Vietnamese (16) Other (17)	1	.3	.3	94.3
Asian American (5) Chinese (9) Japanese (13)	1	.3	.3	94.6
Asian American (5) Chinese (9) Korean (14)	1	.3	.3	94.9

Asian American (5) Chinese (9) Taiwanese (15)	7	2.1	2.1	97.0
Asian American (5) Chinese (9) Taiwanese (15) Other (17)	1	.3	.3	97.3
Asian American (5) Chinese (9) Vietnamese (16)	5	1.5	1.5	98.8
Chinese (9) Taiwanese (15)	2	.6	.6	99.4
Chinese (9) Vietnamese (16)	2	.6	.6	100.0