

“BEING AN ASIAN AMERICAN MALE IS REALLY HARD ACTUALLY”:
CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY OF ASIAN AMERICAN MASCULINITIES AND
PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING

by

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This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, my ancestors, and my teachers.

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ABSTRACT

“BEING AN ASIAN AMERICAN MALE IS REALLY HARD ACTUALLY”: CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY OF ASIAN AMERICAN MASCULINITIES AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING

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Jennifer Young Yim

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This dissertation study examined beliefs about idealized masculine cultural identity and psychological well-being among Asian American male college students using social marginality and intersectionality perspectives. An online survey ($N = 381$) and semi-structured interviews ($n = 20$) were conducted to examine an idealized cultural identity research model.

Structural Equation Modeling revealed that Perceived Asian Discrimination ($b = 0.29, p < .001$) and Perceived Parental Perfectionism ($b = 0.13, p < .01$) positively related to Model Minority Male Ideal. Model Minority Male Ideal positively related to Model Minority Pride and Pressure ($b = 0.46, p < .001$; $b = 0.12, p < .05$). Model Minority Pride positively related to John Henryism ($b = 0.37, p < .001$) and direct coping ($b = 0.29, p < .001$). Model Minority Pressure negatively related to John Henryism ($b = -0.14, p < .05$) and direct coping ($b = -0.22, p < .001$). John Henryism and direct coping negatively

related to perceived stress ($b = -0.20, p < .001$; $b = -0.27, p < .001$), depressive symptoms ($b = -0.19, p < .001$; $b = -0.40, p < .001$), and anxiety symptoms ($b = -0.15, p < .01$; $b = -0.24, p < .001$), and positively related to life satisfaction ($b = 0.28, p < .001$; $b = 0.27, p < .001$). John Henryism positively related to GPA ($b = .15, p < .01$).

Seven major themes emerged from the interviews: (a) transmission of parental messages were largely tacit; (b) parental perfectionism was both resented and valued; (c) responses to perceived Asian discrimination and stereotypes were heterogeneous; (d) masculinity was characterized as strength of character; (e) multiple referents were used to implicitly describe masculinity; (f) attitudes toward out-group dating reflected complex ideas about race relations; (g) active coping was recognized and often utilized. Overall findings indicate that social marginality contributes to the endorsement of idealized beliefs about masculine cultural identity and model minority pride and pressure, which may influence active coping, psychological well-being, and academic outcomes. The results of this study have potential implications for clinical psychology, gender psychology, and developing cultural competent student services.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Asian Americans have been considered a “model minority” group due to the visible appearance of academic and financial success (Chan, 1991; Inman & Yeh, 2007; Mio, Nagata, Tsai, & Tewari, 2007; Takaki, 1998). The stereotype of the model minority is in fact demographically misleading and has resulted in both negative and positive outcomes for Asian Americans (Mahalingam, 2006; Takaki, 1998). Historically the social representations of Asian Americans have been for the most part negative and the marginalized status of Asian Americans has contributed to the need to construct a positive self identity. The model minority myth is a variant of an idealized cultural identity that helps Asian Americans maintain a positive self identity, but this stereotype that may help them to cope with racial discrimination might ironically also contribute to negative psychological, physical, and academic outcomes (Inman & Yeh, 2007; Mahalingam, 2006). One byproduct of the model minority stereotype is a notion of a feminized Asian American man who focuses his entire energy into academic and financial success at the expense of personal relationships and sexuality (Liu & Chang, 2007). Asian American men are emasculated in these social representations. Their manliness is perceived as muted because of their pursuit of academic and financial success. Popularized stereotypes of Asian American men as effeminate rarely detail historical trends of marginalizing Asian American immigrant men into “women’s work,” such as laundry and cooking (Chan, 1991; Takaki, 1998). The notion of masculinity is

thus an important theoretical framework in which to examine the experiences of Asian American men. Using the lens of intersectionality can help to holistically understand how gender and ethnic identities contribute to both negative and positive outcomes for individuals.

In the following sections, I will provide a brief overview of masculinity studies in general before providing the socio-historical background of the model minority stereotype. I will then present several approaches to the study of Asian American men and masculinity and briefly discuss the status of foci on Asian American men within Men's Studies. Last, I will delineate an integrated model to study masculinity using intersectionality and social marginality perspectives to examine how pride and pressure related to the model minority stereotype can lead to the use of coping strategies.

Masculinity Studies Overview

Research on the concept of masculinity within men's studies has gone through a number of conceptual shifts. This section will review selected concepts that are relevant to the present study. Background information will be given on the masculinity as a trait approach, male gender role conflict model, and hegemonic masculinity. I will argue that the population of Asian American men needs to be studied using non-deficit model approaches to relational masculinity. I will then highlight issues related to power and social marginality in negotiating and choosing reference groups to negate the hegemonic notions of masculinity in the context of race relations in the United States. Last, I will discuss the focus on overall goals within the men's movement that prioritize health outcomes at the expense of overlooked population-specific needs.

Masculinity as a trait. Prior to 1970, masculinity research was largely influenced by the biologically grounded male sex role theory (Smiler, 2004). This approach conceptualized masculinity as an essentialized bipolar construct, placing masculinity on one end of a scale and femininity (considered masculinity's opposite) on the other (Pleck, 1981). Hypo-masculinity was considered feminine and related to poor mental health. After World War II, this view shifted and hyper-masculinity came to be considered problematic, leading to maladjustments such as aggressive behavior (Pleck, 1981; Smiler, 2004). During the 1970s, researchers such as Bem (1974) and Spence and Helmreich (1978) posited masculinity and femininity as separate unipolar constructs, and considered androgyny (high scores on both masculinity and femininity scales) as ideal for psychological well-being. Though this perspective challenged ideas of gender as being solely biological and highlighted the learned acquisition of gender roles, gender was still measured as an essentialist phenomenon occurring within individuals (Smiler, 2004). The sex role theory of masculinity has since been criticized for its dichotomous rigidity (Connell, 1993; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). For instance, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) did not engage directly with sex role theory in their discussion of hegemonic masculinities because sex role theory does not adequately consider power to satisfy explanations for why men would display dominant male traits. In other words, sex role theory has been useful to describe individual men's masculine traits, but its focus is limited beyond the individual level.

Masculinity as an ideology. Under sex role theory, masculinity as a trait can be characterized as being *descriptive* (or what a man *is*), masculinity as an ideology can be characterized as being *prescriptive* (or what a man *should* be) (Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku,

1998). Psychology researchers have considered masculinity ideology— “...the individual’s endorsement and internalization of cultural belief systems about masculinity and male gender” — as a factor that relates to negative psychological outcomes (Pleck, 1995, p. 19). For example, in a study that examined the complex dimensions of masculinity, Mahalik et al. (2003) found that men who endorsed norms of traditional masculinity ideology (i.e., they desired muscular bodies and were low on help-seeking behaviors) were also high on measures of social dominance, psychological distress, and aggression.

Some studies have examined how race, culture, and gender impact experiences of emotion and relate to traditional masculinity ideology endorsement across different ethnic groups. Levant et al. (2003) found that for men in the mainland U.S. and Puerto Rico, endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology was more strongly related to clinical alexithymia—the inability to put emotions into words—than it was to subclinical alexithymia, and that across all ethnic groups tested (Caribbean Hispanic, European American, African American, Hispanic American), men endorsed a traditional view of masculinity ideology significantly more than women did. Pleck, Sonenstein, and Ku (1998) found no significant difference in the relationship between problem behaviors and masculinity ideology among adolescent black, white, and Hispanic male racial and ethnic groups, and suggested that masculinity ideology associated with male behaviors do indeed have negative consequences. Studies on masculinity ideology have at times focused on how for all men, regardless of racial or ethnic background, endorsing prescriptive cultural beliefs of masculinity may relate to negative psychological outcomes such as decreased mental wellness, undesirable social traits, and problem behaviors

(Levant et al., 2003; Mahalik et al., 2003; Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1998). While trait masculinity looks at *descriptions* of what a man is and masculinity ideology has looked at prescriptions of what a man should be, the male gender role strain paradigm examines the tension *between* what a man is and expectations of what he should be.

Masculinity as role strain. Further examinations of masculinity as a psychological construct began to consider certain elements of normative masculinity as dysfunctional, such as risk-taking and emotional distancing (see Goldberg, 1976 for example). Pleck's (1981) gender role (previously, sex role) strain paradigm described successful fulfillment of male role expectations that are harmful to an individual or those around him as gender role dysfunction. Pleck's (1981) paradigmatic approach to gender roles has also acknowledged that a large proportion of men deviate from the traditional male gender norm and may consequently experience various forms of gender role strain. Pleck's (1981) work expanded the research on trait masculinity by taking into account variations of how men react differently to traditional male gender norms. Other researchers (i.e., Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; O'Neil, 1986) subsequently developed instruments to empirically capture the constructs described in theory, such as scales measuring individuals' perceived stress if gender role discrepancy or conflict were to occur. Research using these scales found positive associations between gender role conflict and anger, anxiety, and homophobia (Pleck, 1995). Psychological well-being outcomes were measured by researchers such as Mahalik and Cournoyer (2000), who found that gender role conflict messages distinguished mildly depressed men from non-depressed men, and Zamarripa, Wampold, and Gregory (2003), who found that gender role conflict was associated with depression and anxiety.

The role strain paradigm, initially made popular in the 1970's and 1980's, made it possible to see gender roles (both male and female) as socially situated and facilitated social challenges to gender role ideals, encouraging a shift in role definitions (Connell, 1993; Smiler, 2004). The role strain paradigm also recognized that there was variation in gender roles across race, and thus gender roles could be held to different standards depending on the population (Connell, 1993). This appreciation of difference was one way of explaining African American men's lower scores on trait masculinity scales; rather than being seen as "feminine," the role strain paradigm offered another interpretation which allowed researchers to see that the black male role could be recognized as conceptually different from the white male role (Connell, 1993; Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1993).

Increasingly, researchers have been looking at racial groups other than Caucasian or European Americans and African Americans to examine how male gender role strain is differently experienced according to context. For example, O'Neil, Good, & Holmes (1995) reported in a review of the literature that Asian American men who were more acculturated also experienced more gender role conflict. The role strain paradigm, however, has received criticism for ignoring within-cultural group variation and presenting an ahistorical approach that focuses solely on individual agency rather working within the context of larger social structures (Connell, 1993).

It is possible that despite the development of various empirical measures, the unique experiences of various ethnic minority men and how they shape their beliefs about masculinity may not be holistically captured by the ideology or role-strain paradigms. For example, the same measures have been typically used to study differences across ethnic groups more often than theorizing or developing context-specific measures of masculinity

that capture unique social and cultural experiences *within* racial or ethnic minority groups (Lazur & Majors, 1995; Liu & Chang, 2007)). Recent research in masculinity studies, such as Liu and Iwamoto's (2006) work on male gender role conflict in relation to Asian values among Asian American men and Majors work on "cool pose" among African American men, provides approaches to examining the influence of masculinity within groups in relation to variables other than racial or ethnic boundaries (Majors & Billson, 1993).

Non-deficit model approaches. To date, the majority of research and theoretical writing on masculinity has focused on the white European American man as representing the complete embodiment of idealized masculine traits in the United States (Chen, 1999; Goffman, 1963; Liu & Chang, 2007; Pleck, 1995). It is important to recognize, however, that there may be multiple masculine ideals that any one individual man may strive to fit that do not necessarily fit the standard white European American norms depending on socio-political contexts (Connell, 2005; Lazur & Majors, 1995; Liu & Chang, 2007; Pleck, 1995). A relational approach to studying men from any racial group recognizes that masculine ideals are constantly reconfigured in response to symbolic representations of men from other racial groups (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Hacking, 1999). It may therefore be useful to structure a relational or reference group approach when studying men from a racial minority population such as Asian Americans because there has been a narrow assumption in men's studies that racial minority men have compared themselves only against the norms of white European American male ideals (Lazur & Majors, 1995).

Recent research has shown that ethnic minority men do not necessary hold themselves to a standard held by the ethnic majority group in a certain socio-political

context and that individual men may in fact have multiple reference groups and standards to strive towards (Liu & Chang, 2007; Wade, 1998). For example, Lazur & Majors (1995) have noted in an overview of ethno-cultural variations of male gender role strain that Asian American men may experience conflicting pressures to fulfill standards of *both* the traditional white European American male gender role *and* the traditional Asian male gender role, which are at times incongruent (e.g., the traditional Asian male standard of putting family obligations first contradicts the traditional white European American male standard of acting as an independent individual). Therefore, in order to capture a more holistic view of the multiple standards of masculinity that individual men within ethnic minority groups may hold themselves to, non-deficit, relational approaches and within-group variation must be considered.

New Directions in Masculinity Studies: Intersections of Ethnicity, Gender, and Class

In their chapter on Asian American men's issues in clinical psychology, Liu and Chang (2007) have recommended the use of a non-deficit theoretical approach to guide empirical research in order to recognize the variability of reference groups that may be salient for racial minority men and to encourage possibilities for the construction of positive masculine identities. This suggestion is very much in line with the concept of *intersectionality*, which theoretically captures the unique, non-additive experiences of persons with membership in multiple social categories and recognizes the possible range of within-group variation (Stewart & McDermott, 2004). Use of the intersectionality approach to examine this juncture is helpful because it acknowledges differences in individuals' power based on social location (Stewart & McDermott, 2004). The intersectionality approach is also useful because Asian American men have experiences that vary within the

category of “Asian American man” are non-additive, unique, and cannot be predicted by simply combining the experiences of being a “man” and “Asian American” (Stewart & McDermott, 2004).

Although the amount of research that studies masculinity in different cultural, racial, and/or ethnic groups is growing, little research has specifically looked at masculinity, culture, and gender through the lens of intersectionality in a way that recognizes how power relates to social location (see Mirandé, 1997, for example). Therefore, a more holistic approach to studying Asian American men and issues related to masculinity should be situated in a non-deficit theoretical approach that makes use of an intersectionality perspective. Various non-deficit model approaches to studying masculinity differ in their foci. Some researchers have emphasized the importance of reference groups while others have highlighted the social identity development of men, especially in regards to race.

Reference groups. One theoretical model for studies of Asian American men recommended by Liu and Chang (2007) is the Male Reference Group Identity Dependency (MRGID) Theory proposed by Wade (1998). In Wade’s model (1998) expands on the traditional implicit male ideal and delineates four levels that men may fall into based on a paper and pencil measure: a) no reference group (feelings of disconnectedness), b) reference group nondependent diversity (appreciates differences in males), c) reference group nondependent similarity (feelings of connectedness), and d) reference group dependent (feelings of connectedness with some groups, but not others). The MRGID theory can be useful because it does not restrict the potential reference groups an Asian American man may identify with to just white European men or other Asians. Wade’s (1998) theory does so by placing the reference group *relationship* under scrutiny, rather than focusing on the

portrayal of the reference group itself (i.e., white, European American, Christian, physically dominant). This recognition is critical to psychological research on masculinity because outcome variables of interest—psychological health, physical well-being, academic achievement—are likely more dependent upon the nature of an individual Asian American man’s relationship to prescriptive hegemonic standards rather than simply emulating or rejecting the content description of a white European American reference group.

Social Group Identity Theory. Another non-deficit theoretical model that Liu and Chang (2007) have recommended is the Social Group Identity Theory proposed by Tajfel and Turner (2004). The Social Group Identity Theory is comprised of three components: *individual mobility, social creativity, and social competition*. Individual mobility refers to behaviors such as social distancing or rejecting affiliation with one’s racial group in order to maintain a positive sense of self (Tajfel & Turner, 2004). Social creativity is an agentic space in which individuals can engage in positive redefinition of previously negative stereotypes or enhance the group’s overall status, but without changing the group’s location within the social hierarchy (Tajfel & Turner, 2004). For example, Asian American men might choose to take the negative stereotype of the Asian nerd and redefine it in a positive light (Liu & Chang, 2007). The successful music collaboration N*E*R*D (No one Ever Really Dies) plays on the Asian American stereotype’s language and notably one of its founders, Chad Hugo, is of Filipino descent.

This redefinition and reclamation using social creativity was widely seen when Asian American men were lauded in *Newsweek* as being “trophy boyfriends” for being “smart, genuine, respectful” (Pan, February 21, 2000). This example shows how social creativity can be used to positively redefine a previously negative stereotype and experience

individual social gains as a result. However, these social gains were met with considerable criticism from several Asian American scholars because it equated romantic success with dating white women (Galang, 2003). In fact, this stereotype might not have been so positively redefined and printed in *Newsweek* if it had been Asian American women and not white American women romantically praising Asian American men (Galang, 2003). This criticism called for actions seen in the third component of Tajfel and Turner's (2004) model, social competition, which takes social gains a step further by disrupting the social hierarchy based on relative group membership, thus changing the objective social location of a particular group. According to Liu and Chang (2007), Tajfel and Turner's (2004) Social Group Identity Theory can be particularly helpful to the study of Asian American men and masculinity because it allows researchers to examine the importance of reference groups play in how Asian American men may formulate a sense of identity and masculinity using a non-deficit model approach that allows for positive constructions of identity. Wade's (1998) Male Reference Group Theory, however, does not explain how power differentials and privileges accorded to each reference group based on race and status factor into how men choose and relate to their reference groups (Liu & Chang, 2007).

Power in gender and race relations. The recognition of power is necessary to work within a framework of complex gender relations because *multiple* social identities are involved (i.e., ethnicity, race, gender, sexuality) and therefore multiple degrees of power differentials interact to create a unique social experience – especially for Asian American men who embody a privileged gender identity (male) while inhabiting a marginalized racial, ethnic category (Asian American). The Social Identity Theory proposed by Tajfel and Turner (2004) has parallels to hegemonic bargaining strategies used among Chinese

American men in a study by Chen (1999). Its three levels (individual mobility, social creativity, and social competition) has similarities with the three levels of examining hegemonic masculinity (local, regional, and global) described by Connell and Messerschmidt (2005). Since concepts of hegemonic masculinity have a more direct focus on power relations and examples of social creativity tenuously draws a fine line between empowerment and reifying stereotypes, a focus on hegemonic masculinity may be a preferred theoretical approach to developing empirical work for studying issues of masculinity among Asian American men.

Hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity is a term that emerged in men's studies approximately 20 years ago based on Gramsci's analysis of class dynamics (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). The term was adapted and understood as a "pattern of practice" (not just expectations or identity) that make it possible for male domination over women to continue (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 832). The concept of hegemonic masculinity forms the theoretical structure, and thus empirical basis, for many qualitative and quantitative investigations in masculinity studies (see Chen, 1999 and O'Neil, Good, & Holmes, 1995 for examples). If taken at face value, the concept of hegemonic masculinity means that though an Asian American man may embody some traits of what is considered desirable in the U.S. social context (i.e., athletic, a womanizer, financially successful, etc.), he cannot attain the same social status as a white American man of European descent because whiteness is one of the key characteristics of hegemonic masculinity in the U.S. (Chen, 1999; Connell, 2005). However, masculinity scholars acknowledge that very few men, regardless of race, actually fulfill the prescriptive standards required to be a truly hegemonic man (Chen, 1999; Goffman, 1963; Pleck, 1995).

In a qualitative study with Chinese American men, Chen (1999) described *hegemonic bargaining* as a process in which Chinese American men saw some aspect of their masculinity as lacking in relation to the hegemonic ideal (i.e., white/European American, athletic, young, wealthy, etc.) and used methods of *compensation*, *deflection*, or *denial* as ways to “trade” privileged behaviors or identities (or deny they were linked to a deficiency in masculinity due to Chinese American status) in a way that afforded them at least partial access to patriarchal benefits. A gender strategy free of hegemonic bargaining was labeled *repudiation* and was used when a Chinese American man did not find his masculinity to be deficient in relation to the white hegemonic ideal (Chen, 1999). Repudiation was described using an interview with a subject who had an international background and was the only self-identified gay man in the sample (Chen, 1999). In this example, intersectionality could be a useful lens to interpret repudiation and examine the considerable variation represented within the study’s small sample of Chinese American men (Chen, 1999; Stewart & McDermott, 2004). In research studies where results are generalized from a study population to a larger population, such as with many studies on Asian Americans, intersectionality can be useful in examining how results from a population comprised of various ethnic backgrounds and sexual orientations are interpreted (Shek, 2006).

The concept of hegemonic masculinities is appropriate for the study of masculinity and related outcomes among Asian American men because the model emphasizes a vulnerability to historical shifts and consequently what is considered to be hegemonic masculinity for a given socio-political context (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Because the model of hegemonic masculinities is not self-reproducing, the behaviors of what is

considered characteristic of a hegemonic male does not always necessarily look the same, nor does the race or cultural background of its symbolic representation remain constant (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). It is therefore important to keep in mind a relational approach to studying masculinity while maintaining visibility of how socio-political history, institutional power differentials, and interpersonal relationships impact how hegemonic masculinity is defined (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) advanced the concept of hegemonic masculinity by approaching the study of this concept from three levels: the global (politics, business), the regional (culture, race), and the local (families, relationships). The regional and local levels would be especially appropriate for the study of Asian American men in order to consider how race, ethnicity, culture, family, and interpersonal relationships can influence individuals' well-being.

Maintaining a relational approach, especially in comparison to women and femininity, is a central focus of hegemonic masculinity as a concept, as well a recognition that any form of hegemonic masculinity is at the mercy of historical shifts and thus susceptible to being overtaken by other forms of masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Pleck, 1995; Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1993). For some men's studies scholars, there is a vested interest in allowing for this vulnerability in hopes that a form of masculinity that is democratic in form will one day surface as the hegemonic ideal. Theoretically, having this form of masculinity take up the status of the hegemonic ideal carries with it the hope that a democratic form of masculinity would consequently equalize the system of gender relations (Connell, 1995; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1993). One goal in men's studies, then, is to better understand how power differentials can influence individuals' experiences. Another subsequent goal for some is to then work towards

identifying a form of masculinity that would minimize power differentials among men and between men and women.

Also, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) have noted in their critique of hegemonic masculinity that taking a more holistic approach to understanding the concept, including understanding agency among subordinated groups and the relational formation of categories, will reduce the isolation of men's studies as a discipline and allow for hegemonic masculinity as a concept to be incorporated more significantly into other areas of social science. In this way, men's studies can contribute to productive research by utilizing hegemonic masculinity as a theoretical framework, particularly in areas characterized by social marginality such as Asian American studies and immigrant psychology.

Social marginality. The social marginality perspective proposed by Mahalingam (2007) incorporates intersectionality to study how people in marginalized social locations need to negotiate their social status in complex ways. The ways in which individuals cope with being in socially marginalized positions (i.e., immigrant status, ethnic minority group membership, non-dominant gender, etc.) are complex in that they sometimes result in negative outcomes, such as depressive symptoms, and sometimes also result in positive outcomes, such as positive self-identity that buffers against negative ethnic stereotypes (Mahalingam, 2007). Mahalingam (2007) considers intersectionality to be “the interplay between person and social location, with a particular emphasis on power relations among various social positions” (p. 45) and uses this perspective as a lens for his work on social marginality. The emphasis on power differentials of various social identities and the acknowledgement that the levels of power may vary according to context and group membership results in a multi-layered, holistic view of social marginality that can be used to

study psychological and physical well-being outcomes for ethnic minorities in the U.S.

Essentialism is a critical component of the social-marginality perspective because marginalized group members confront essentialized beliefs held by society, such as stereotypes, and at the same time also use essentialism to reify group identity as a way to facilitate positive self-identity development (Mahalingam, 2007). The creation of a social category based on stereotyping thus has several consequences, particularly for marginalized group members. Minority group members often internalize the stereotypes of their essentialized group identity by either perpetuating the stereotypes themselves or by creating new positive appropriations of these stereotypes, such “black is beautiful” during the Civil Rights movement or “queer empowerment” for LGBT rights (Hacking, 1999; Mahalingam, 2007). This phenomenon, which Hacking (1999) coined the *looping effect*, weighs the power and agency that both external social forces have in defining a group’s identity and the power and agency that group members themselves have in internalizing and propagating essentialized group characteristics. The looping effect is a phenomenon that parallels Tajfel and Turner’s (2004) description of groups using social creativity to redefine externally imposed generalizations to create a more positive self-identity. However, social creativity or the looping effect does not a group’s overall status within a social hierarchy (Tajfel & Turner, 2004).

According to Mahalingam (2007), individuals in socially marginalized groups construct essentialist beliefs about their group identity in four different ways: *resistance*, *transcendence*, *disidentification*, or *internalization*. In *resistance*, marginalized persons can resist biological essentialist accounts of group identity and, in turn, adopt social essentialist strategies to combat the biological essentialist assumptions of the dominant group.

Participating in resistance can lead to increased resilience in the form of self-esteem and success. *Transcendence* refers to marginalized individuals seeing a united human race that shares “the same essence and the same predicaments, regardless of the sociocultural context” (Mahalingam, 2007; p. 49). Using a transcendental worldview can also help a socially marginalized individual to combat negative stereotypes and discrimination. *Disidentification* refers to individuals disconnecting their self-worth from essentialist group representations, thus protecting their self-image from outside evaluation, and *internalization* refers to a heightened awareness of “stigmatized essentialist representations” that could lead to a sense of helplessness and negative psychological outcomes such as depression and self-defeating behaviors (Mahalingam, 2007, p. 49).

It is apparent that within the social-marginality perspective individuals in socially marginalized positions are affected not only by negative stereotypes that the dominant society holds about a particular group—they are also affected by the various reactions of other individuals within the same group (Mahalingam, 2007). The relational interplay between dominant and marginalized groups, as well as amongst members of a marginalized group, are important in understanding the complex intersection of group identities such as gender and masculinity. Therefore, any examination of a socially marginalized group requires the simultaneous examination of what ideals are considered to be dominant or hegemonic *and* how individuals of the socially marginalized group of interest relate to hegemonic ideals, all of which are situated in a socio-political context.

Asian Immigration, Social Marginality, and Idealized Cultural Beliefs

The history of Asian Americans in the United States is one that has been largely shaped by the immigration experience. Throughout this history, gendered race relations

have feminized and situated Asian Americans as a visibly successful, yet socially marginalized community. For individual Asian Americans, reactions to this social marginalization can be concurrently negative and positive, particularly in the context of model minority beliefs. This section will provide a brief overview of Asian American history that is relevant to the formation of a feminized model minority backdrop in which Asian American men negotiate social marginality and idealized cultural beliefs.

Immigration history. The history of Asian immigration to the United States is comprised of complex socio-political contexts that have resulted in skewed gendered migration patterns and variations in ethnic group composition. These contexts have changed according to the economic and political needs of the United States of a given period, which consequently shaped immigration and anti-miscegenation laws (Chan, 1991; Chua & Fujino, 1999; Takaki, 1998). In the mid 1900s, the immigration of Asians to the United States was largely driven by labor needs and Asian immigrants consequently gravitated to various regions for specific kinds of work (Chan, 1991; Takaki, 1998). For example, Chinese were hired to work on railroads, Filipinos were favored for asparagus farming, and Koreans were recruited to work in Alaskan canning factories and Hawaiian sugar plantations (Chan, 1991; Filipino Oral History Project, 2000, Takaki, 1998). These labor populations of Asian immigrants were male surplus communities due to immigration restrictions that prevented women from entering from Asia and anti-miscegenation laws (Chan, 1991; Chua & Fujino, 1999; Takaki, 1998).

The creation of these “bachelor” societies was intended to maximize labor productivity and minimize the settlement and growth of Asian families in the U.S. (Chua & Fujino, 1999). Immigration policies and anti-miscegenation laws contributed to the

creation of a gendered context for race relations in the U.S. For instance, during the California gold rush women of all ethnic groups, including white American women, were scarce and a labor market was opened for Asian men in the “feminized” sphere of laundries, tailor shops, and restaurants (Chan, 1991; Chua & Fujino, 1999; Takaki, 1998). Chinese laborers in particular were seen as feminine by their non-Asian counterparts because of their smaller physiques and long, braided hair (Chan, 1991; Takaki, 1998). The domestic forms of work that were available to Asian men at the time required little English language ability and created a niche economy, but also was an indication of the violent exclusion of Asians from gold mining, land ownership, and enfranchisement (Chan, 1991; Takaki, 1998). Thus, from early in their immigration history in the United States, Asian men were socially marginalized and subsequently feminized (Cheng, 1999; Chua & Fujino, 1999).

In 1965, U.S. immigration policies dramatically changed and thus affected the Asian American population, which by this time had settled across the country and had propagated second, third, or even fourth generations (Chan, 1991; Takaki, 1998). The 1965 immigration reform subsequently equalized the gender ratio and dramatically shifted the demographic profile of Asian immigrants who were granted visas into the United States (Chan, 1991; Chua & Fujino, 1999; Prashad, 2000; Takaki, 1998). The immigration reform allowed family members to enter the U.S. to join those who previously immigrated and gave priority to issue visas to professionals in areas that were experiencing labor shortages, such as medicine and engineering, based on review by the Department of Labor (Chan, 1991). This shift in demographics resulted in a rising class of Asian American professionals who raised the median income level for Asian

Americans as a whole (Chan, 1991). The quotas for immigration from individual countries were lifted and were instead determined according to western and eastern hemispheres; to a degree, this drew focus away from ethnicity in the immigration process (Chan, 1991; Takaki, 1998). The term “Asian American” itself was popularized during the Civil Rights era as a way to symbolically unite Asians of different ethnicities and gain increased access to government resources (Chan, 1991; Takaki, 1998). Thus, the perception that Asian Americans as a whole were succeeding as a minority group was perpetuated and eventually led into the “model minority myth.”

A model minority. The stereotype of the “model minority” depicts Asian Americans as meek, quiet, studious, and successful. While some see this as a positive stereotype, it also situates Asian Americans against other racial minority groups to justify continued oppression or the withholding of public assistance in the form of policy programs or affirmative action (Mio, Nagata, Tsai, & Twari, 2007; Prashad, 2000). Media often plays a role in perpetuating these stereotypes. For example, a 1982 *Newsweek* article speculated why Asians were so successful academically and professionally in comparison to other racial groups (Chan, 1991; Kasindorf et al., 1982; Prashad, 2000; Takaki, 1998). Similar to how early immigration policies contributed to the feminization of Asian American men, the model minority myth shapes a gendered context for how Asian American men and women are stereotyped. For example, it is commonly assumed that the hard work and success attributed to the model minority stereotype are achieved by sacrificing personal relationships and sexuality (Liu & Chang, 2007). Thus, Asian American men are often seen as successful, but asexual.

Just as the category “Asian American” originated as an external, socially constructed label that was popularized during the Civil Rights Movement for the betterment of Asian Americans, the category of “model minority” has also been widely internalized and cherished as an idealized cultural value (Bhatia, 2007; Hacking, 1999; Prashad, 2000). This looping effect has resulted in many Asian Americans attributing their “success” in the U.S. to supposedly Asian cultural ideals such as hard work, discipline, filial piety, and focus (Hacking, 1999; Kim Abboud & Kim, 2006). In fact, parents of the immigrant generation may ignore social privileges they were afforded, such as an elite education and professional occupation, and instead instill internalized cultural ideals in their children with the hope that they too will succeed as minorities in the U.S. (Kim Abboud & Kim, 2006; Prashad, 2000). The internalization of these cultural ideals can serve to create a sense of pride as an Asian American, yet simultaneously create pressure to live up to the ideals of being a model minority (Mahalingam, 2007).

Social marginality and essentialism. The internalization and perpetuation of a marginalized group identity is characterized by tensions between essentialized stereotypes of the dominant society and the internalized, however artificially created, cultural ideals of positive self-identity (Mahalingam, 2007). For Asian Americans, external stereotypes of the model minority have become internalized by members of a recently constructed group category so much so that it has become a prevailing cultural narrative across ethnic groups (Hacking, 1999; Prashad, 2000). Although the notion of model minority is a contested myth, it is also an important cultural narrative that helps us understand how members of a socially marginalized group can negotiate power differentials with dominant groups (Mahalingam, 2007). Additionally, it shows how

group members can create a positive group identity as a reflection on the individual self, especially when negotiating negative ethnic or racial stereotypes (Mahalingam, 2007). The multi-layered intersection of power differentials and group identities thus provide insight into the complexity of how endorsing idealized group and self perceptions may also contribute to the psychological well-being of individuals in socially marginalized groups.

Idealized cultural identity model. The idealized cultural identity model, as developed by Mahalingam (2006), looks at how the endorsement of cultural ideals by members of a socially marginalized group can lead to both positive and negative outcomes. For example, Asian American men are socially marginalized because they are situated in a culture that places white European American hegemonic ideals at the center of power (Chen, 1999; Shek, 2006). Asian American men can experience both positive and negative effects of an idealized cultural identity in this social location (Mahalingam, 2006). The representations of culture, or cultural narratives, may be disseminated in the form of model minority stereotypes via peers, teachers, and the media, or within the family (Kibria, 2002; Lee, 1996; Mahalingam, 2006). Researchers report that Asian Americans may experience conflict because they feel they do not fulfill the perceived expectations set by the “model minority” role, or that they are afforded unfair academic advantages over their peers because of their race (Kibria, 2002; Lee, 1996).

Family socialization messages may circulate within the family in the form of cultural narratives valorizing a model minority image either directly or indirectly. For example, authors Kim Abboud and Kim (2005) take a social essentialism approach to explain Asian Americans’ academic success, as illustrated in this statement on their website:

Contrary to what the public may believe, Asian students are no more intellectually gifted than non-Asian students. The reason that Asian students outperform their peers in the classroom has nothing to do with how they are born and everything to do with how they are raised. (www.topoftheclassonline.com, January 11, 2009)

In men's studies, research on hegemonic masculinities has seen a trend that uses life histories to study experiences on the local level, which often include family socialization messages and relationship experiences (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Cultural narratives within Asian American families may incorporate gendered messages, such as valuing the cultural ideal of a man who is committed to hard work in order to support his family, and complemented by a female partner who is committed to running the household and raising children (Lazur & Majors, 1995). Thus, the transmission of cultural narratives via family socialization messages may be useful for examining the unique ways in which gender is experienced in the context of an idealized cultural identity.

Chua and Fujino (1999) argue that the model minority stereotype in of itself is highly gendered and economic in nature. Thus, any examination of Asian American masculinity needs to situate representations of Asian American men in relation to the model minority myth – the lens through which dominant culture views Asian American maleness (Chua & Fujino, 1999). Asian Americans are thus often expected by society and pressured by family to succeed academically and financially in order to maintain the model minority image (Cheng, 1999; Chua & Fujino, 1999). This pressure to succeed often translates into expectations that children will perform exceptionally well in school, attend elite colleges or universities, and enter prestigious “merit-based” professions that are financially stable, always in demand and less likely to be discriminatory, such as

medicine, law, and engineering (Cheng, 1999; Kibria, 2002; Kim Abboud & Kim, 2006). Thus, in order to be economically stable, Asian American men benefit by gaining entrance into professions that are less likely to hinder their ability to support themselves and their families because of racial or ethnic discrimination (Chua & Fujino, 1999). In a way then, Asian Americans may benefit from using the model minority myth as a benchmark for success and perpetuate the myth using family socialization messages.

Model minority pressure and coping. Model minority myth stereotypes and model minority pressures affect Asian Americans' lives in myriad ways. In some cases, Asian American children receive praise in school settings for the smallest of achievements compared to children of other racial backgrounds (Kibria, 2002). Other times, Asian American students "fall through the cracks" due to assumptions that they must be excelling in school and do not suffer psychologically; these assumptions can particularly negatively impact Southeast Asian Americans (e.g. Hmong and Vietnamese immigrant children) (National Commission on Asian American and Pacific Islander Research in Education [CARE], 2008; Lee, 1996). Asian American students who are not doing exceedingly well in school may distance themselves from the term Asian American because they feel they are not the "model minority" because they do not have a perfect grade point average or perfect standardized test scores (Kibria, 2002; Mio et al., 2007; Pyke & Dang, 2003; Wu, 2002). Frank Wu (2002) poignantly writes in his book *Yellow*, "I am not the model minority.... I am an Asian American, but I am not good with computers.... I would like to fail in school for no reason other than to cast off my freakish alter ego of geek and nerd.... I yearn to be an artist, an athlete, a rebel, and, above all, an ordinary person" (pp. 39-40). Hence, despite the seemingly positive aspects

of the model minority stereotype, individuals may feel pressured by external constraints to either conform or rebel.

Many Asian Americans take pride in the cultural ideal of model minority traits and benefit socially and psychologically, yet they may also simultaneously experience negative outcomes (Kim Abboud & Kim, 2006; Mahalingam, 2006). These contradictory circumstances can be described as a sort of double-edged sword. Additionally, research findings have indicated that praising children for intelligence rather than for effort can decrease motivation and performance on tasks and over-praise can lead to children becoming easily frustrated when encountering challenging situations (Mueller & Dweck, 1998; Seligman, 1998). Thus, reports that Asian American students sometimes receive over-praise from teachers for the smallest of accomplishments may actually cause harm by decreasing internal motivation to succeed and cultivating a low threshold for frustration in challenging situations that are intended to promote academic and personal growth (Lee, 1996; Mueller & Dweck, 1998; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). At the same time, however, some Asian American student narratives have indicated that while teachers may praise too much, Asian American parents may rarely give praise and children feel undervalued as a result (Han & Hsu, 2004).

One example of how the cultural narrative of idealized model minority traits for Asian Americans can manifest is apparent in a book entitled, *Top of the class: How Asian parents raise high achievers—and how you can too* (Kim Abboud & Kim, 2006). This text is a “how-to” for parents who want to propagate the values of academic success in their children and thus embody the values of a model minority. It is significant to note that the authors of this book are two second-generation Korean American sisters who

describe themselves as embodying the stereotype of model minority success—one is a lawyer and the other is a doctor (Kim Abboud & Kim, 2006). It is with this positionality that the authors write a guide for other parents and dangerously generalize personal lessons learned from their own Korean immigrant parents to represent the parenting patterns of “Asians” as a whole (Shek, 2006). Kibria (2002) illustrates this point with a quote from a Korean American qualitative study participant, Soo Jin: “Asian kids get it from all sides. Your mom and dad, who are probably immigrants, they’re telling you to be the super student, like, ‘Get into Harvard.’ Then because you’re Asian and people have this idea that Asians are really smart, you feel like you have to live up to it” (p. 136). This generalized praise for model minority traits is yet another example encapsulating how a socially marginalized group identity can respond to external stereotypes by focusing on “successful” group traits in order to promote a positive, idealized self-identity (Hacking, 1999; Mahalingam, 2007).

Interestingly, reviews for the *Top of the class* book on www.amazon.com have been mixed, some offering praise and detailing success stories, others expressing doubt about generalizing the experiences of one Korean family to all Asian parents. Others still shared negative outcomes for pushing the model minority cultural narrative on children. Though Asian and Asian American families from collectivistic cultural backgrounds tend to rely more on family social support systems to cope with stress, intergenerational conflicts do arise and Asian American college students have been reported to experience more family conflict than their European American and Hispanic peers such that they seek coping methods outside of the family (Inman & Yeh, 2007). One example of how model minority pressure can create conflict that adversely affects the health of an Asian

American individual was found amongst the www.amazon.com reviews for *Top of the class*:

I was raised in a very traditional Chinese family. Oh yes, I even now attend an Ivy League school. One slight problem, my father used to terrify me by yelling at me and calling me "stupid," "lazy," and "useless" whenever I got a math problem wrong. This was during trigonometry lessons when I was in 5th grade. So, raise your kids the Asian way, and they'll turn out to be valedictorians (like I was), Ivy-league students (like I am), and on anti-depressant medication (like I am). They'll also refuse to speak to you after they leave for college. I have not spoken to my father for about 5 years. Not a word...(screen name: herstory, downloaded July 3, 2007, www.amazon.com).

With this narrative, a parallel between male gender role theory and model minority pressure becomes clear.

If the standards described above for model minority expectations were replaced with prescriptions for traditional hegemonic masculinity, then the individual would have experienced *gender role dysfunction*, or successful fulfillment of the role's expectations that are nonetheless harmful to the individual or those around him (or in this case, her) (Pleck, 1981). The concept of male gender role strain crosses over to parallel what this author refers to as *model minority role strain*. Qualitative researchers such as Kibria (2002) have reported that Asian American college students feel that they are not Asian American because they do not live up to the standards set by the model minority stereotype—namely ivy league school admission, perfect SAT scores, and a 4.0 Grade Point Average—resulting in a model minority role strain experience. Under the rubric of

the role strain model, Asian American men are in the unique position of intersecting roles that could be strained by standards of masculinity and/or model minority standards by not living up to prescriptive norms, fulfilling standards but with negative consequences, or fulfilling standards but experiencing trauma in the process of attainment (Pleck, 1981; 1995). It is at this juncture that the complexity of multiple identities once again takes precedence and thus the intersectionality perspective becomes especially useful.

Marginalization and coping. In the Amazon.com review excerpt above, the parental pressures to fulfill inordinately high standards associated with the model minority idealized cultural identity were so extreme that while the objective standards of academic achievement were met, the individual's relationship with her father suffered and coped with the use of anti-depressant medication. Dissolution of the relationship with "herstory's" father could be seen as a loss of a family social support and, arguably, a source of negative pressure. For this individual, coping was sought outside the traditional family support structure, and in this case pursued in psychiatry. The evaluation of and consequent reaction to stress, conceptualized as the tension between environmental demands and individual resources, is largely dependant upon context including cultural background, family socialization, and the perception of racial discrimination (Inman & Yeh, 2007).

The model minority stereotype applies broad generalizations to Asian Americans of various ethnic, cultural, and language backgrounds and thus, "marginalizes the cultural context of coping...and...denies the experience of racist discrimination that Asian Americans face" (Inman & Yeh, 2007, p. 329). While culturally relevant coping strategies outlined by Inman and Yeh (2007) for Asian Americans such as indigenous

healing, family support, religious support, and social support networks are effective in general, Asian American college students may use other strategies to cope with intense academic pressures in college, such as the use of anti-depressant drugs, anti-anxiety drugs, off-label stimulant drug use, and binge drinking. Judging the effectiveness and the ethics of these coping strategies become increasingly complex irrespective of whether they are considered as positive (e.g., relying on social support networks) or as negative (e.g., binge drinking) because Asian American men may resort to these strategies in order to cope with the model minority expectations. Hence, the antecedents to these coping behaviors need to be understood by looking at various contextual factors, such as the role of model minority stereotypes, family level factors, and individual differences in coping.

One important theoretical approach to examining gender and race issues for Asian American male college students is to consider what aspects of their self-identities can result in positive, as well as negative, outcomes. In a review of gender role strain paradigm research, Pleck (1995) noted that empirical research needs to examine the possible positive psychological consequences of not fitting masculinity standards (and thus experiencing gender role strain) because confronting traditional role standards of any kind can lead to psychological maturity and integration. Since traditional standards of masculinity are often themselves dysfunctional (i.e., being emotionally distant, engaging in unhealthy, risk-taking behaviors, etc.), resisting conformation to dysfunctional gender role ideals consequently reduces psychological and physical health risks at a pragmatic level (Courtenay, 2000; Pleck, 1995).

For Chinese American men, Chen (1999) described repudiation as a gender strategy that rejects negative views of Chinese masculinity in relation to hegemonic norms and paints

a healthier self-image as a result. It is possible too then that the rejection of model minority stereotypes may lead to similar outcomes of psychological resilience and physical health. If rejecting dysfunctional standards can contribute to increased well-being, then it may be beneficial to identify how Asian American men cope with stress related to hegemonic masculinity and model minority pressures. Additionally, it would be a rich discussion to examine the individual differences in how and why Asian American men cope differently, and to explore whether any particular coping strategies are more effective than others.

Masculinity, Health, and Risk-Taking Behaviors

The men's movement has largely focused on the health of men and positive relationships with women (Courtenay, 2000; Fitzpatrick, 2006). One major goal of the men's movement is to promote positive health behaviors and, consequently, positive health outcomes for men (Courtenay, 2000). One difficulty in promoting healthy behavior is that it is often seen as feminine, such as wearing sun block to reduce the risk of skin cancer ("Sissy" sun creams go macho, April 30, 2007). Though masculinity has clearly been linked to negative health behaviors, particularly as risk-taking behaviors, there is still a need for a non-deficit model approach to simultaneously promoting positive masculinity *and* healthy behaviors (Courtenay, 2000; Fitzpatrick, 2006). Foci on Asian American men as a socially marginalized group have been scant within the men's movement itself. Initiating further discussion may provide insight into how gender and race intersect and influence coping strategies. If these relationships can be highlighted, then perhaps a non-deficit model approach to conceptualizing Asian American men and masculinity can be used to identify positive health-seeking behaviors, which in turn can

be promoted within the men's movement as part of the goal of supporting positive physical and psychological well-being.

The paradox of healthy masculine men. Research models that look at men's health require the same kind of context-specific intersectionality lens that is needed when applying theoretical models of masculinity across ethnic groups. The men's movement has been a venue in which masculinity has been examined for its association with negative health outcomes for men compared to women, such as shortened life span, higher rates of cancer, cardiovascular disease, successful suicide attempts, and substance abuse (Courtenay, 2000). Though seen as a positive step in promoting men's health, the men's movement has also been critiqued for focusing solely on identifying negative health behaviors in men and not offering reasonable positive alternatives for men to be healthy *and* masculine at the same time (Fitzpatrick, 2006). While the men's movement was intended to be progressive, it largely modeled itself after the women's health movement and may have missed the point of challenging medical authority by focusing on localized gender-specific health concerns, such as prostate exams, instead of promoting a holistic view on men's health (Fitzpatrick, 2006). The extension of the women's health model to studying and promoting men's health has had several potentially adverse consequences.

One consequence of modeling the men's movement after a women's health paradigm is that in intending to empower men by identifying the negative health outcomes related to beliefs about traditional masculinity, men have instead been told what *not* to do, but without identifying effective mechanisms for promoting better health outcomes while maintaining a personal sense of secure masculinity (Fitzpatrick, 2006).

For example, men are advised not to drink, not to smoke, and overall not to engage in behaviors that lead to stress and increase chances of cardiovascular disease (Courtenay, 2002; Fitzpatrick, 2006). The default alternative is, in a sense, for men to act like women since these are also things the women's health movement previously advised women not to do. Thus, while the women's health movement has progressed in developing a holistic view on positive lifestyle choices and focused on developing a positive sense of self (i.e., empowering women to take a different life perspective on menopause), similar recommendations to men may make them feel incomplete or emasculated (Fitzpatrick, 2006; The Boston Women's Health Book Collective, 1998). Not only has the broad extension of basing the men's health movement on women's health movement overlooked issues specific to men as a whole, men from ethnic minority populations and their context-specific needs have been under-researched.

Asian American men in the men's movement. Essentializing men's health behavior in the men's movement has ironically overlooked the particulars of gender experiences among socially marginalized groups. Rather, the men's movement has tended to take a more universal stance in encouraging men to recognize their patriarchal privilege and acknowledge how it relates to outcomes like shortened lifespan (Courtenay, 2002). While some men in the larger men's movement may be encouraged to change their behaviors in order improve health outcomes, Asian American men are in the unique intersection that they have already been historically feminized and thus may be particularly reluctant to take on seemingly feminine strategies for long-term positive health outcomes (Chan, 1991; Chua & Fujino; Fitzpatrick, 2006; Liu & Chang, 2007; Takaki, 1998). For example, the consumption of alcohol is often an expression of

masculinity, especially for young men who do not yet have access to other forms of masculine expression like a career, their own family, or high-ticket luxury items (Peralata & Cruz, 2006). Asian American men in particular may actually be even more likely to engage in binge drinking during college because of cultural socialization that encourages Confucian based hierarchical drinking practices (older men can order younger men to drink) or in order to counter stereotypes that Asian men are physically smaller and therefore cannot process alcohol in the same way that men of European descent can (West, 2001).

The physical risk involved in binge drinking for Asian Americans of any gender is enhanced because approximately half of the population of East Asian descent (e.g., Korean, Chinese, Japanese) expresses a mutation for the gene that produces acetaldehyde dehydrogenase (*ALDH2*) resulting in a build-up of an alcohol byproduct, acetaldehyde, which is more toxic than alcohol itself (Cook et al., 2005; Luczak et al., 2002; Wall, Horn, Johnson, Smith, & Carr, 2000; Wall et al., 1999). This reaction is commonly known as the “*Asian flush*” and symptoms may include redness in the face, sweating, increased heartbeat, dizziness, and in some cases, blacking out (Cook et al., 2005; Wall et al., 2000; Wall et al., 1999).

Though alcohol tolerance can gradually be developed over time, binge drinking can especially affect carriers of the “*Asian flush*” gene since they may appear to be heavily intoxicated after one or two drinks (Cook et al., 2005). These symptoms may be a deterrent to the consumption of alcohol (a similar chemical mechanism is used in the anti-alcohol treatment antabuse) and is actually considered a genetic buffer against alcoholism (Edenberg et al., 2006; Wall et al., 2000). However, individuals from South

Korea have been seen to show high levels of alcoholism, suggesting that genetic polymorphisms may interact with the underlying genetic mutation or, more likely, that psycho-social factors contribute to the unusually high rates (Wall et al., 1999). Regardless of ethnic and social background, carriers of the gene mutation were more sensitive to alcohol and experienced more intense hangover symptoms than those without the gene mutation (Wall et al., 2000). Thus, when Asian American men who have a genetic propensity to alcohol sensitivity are faced with stereotypes that Asian men cannot hold their liquor, alcohol use has the potential to become substance abuse, especially in college environments that endorse binge drinking (Wall et al., 1999).

Substance abuse can affect the ability for an Asian American male college student to successfully cope with stressful situations, and potentially could negatively impact an individual's immediate academic performance and negatively impact psychological and physical health outcomes. In one extreme and unfortunate example, the University of Michigan experienced deaths of five Korean and Korean American male undergraduate students between 1997-2001 (Ehrle, 2001). Alcohol was involved in several of the deaths and a university newspaper article called for a higher level of multicultural competency in research on academic stress and substance abuse in order to better understand the mechanisms of coping that Korean American undergraduate students were utilizing (Associated Press, August 27, 2001).

Coping strategies. One active coping strategy that has been related to health outcomes is John Henryism—a personal ideal that values hard work and active engagement when faced with stress (James, 1994). This coping strategy is named after the African American railroad worker, John Henry, who competed against a steam-

powered drill, successfully won, then promptly died of exhaustion (James, 1994; Mahalingam, 2006). John Henryism is based on the African American experience and is an active coping strategy that has been linked with a higher incidence of cardiovascular disease within this population, especially among African Americans of lower socio-economic status or SES (James, 1994), Haritatos, Mahalingam, and James (2007), however, studied John Henryism among first generation Asian American immigrants and found that it buffered against stress and therefore related to better physical health outcomes.

Coping mechanisms for Asian American men, as with members of any population, can be characterized as using indirect coping (i.e., denial, substance use) or direct, or active coping (i.e., seeking social support, talking out their problems) and the choice between which to use is generally based on an individual's perceived control over a situation, which embedded in cultural context and gender socialization (Inman & Yeh, 2007; Liu & Iwamoto, 2007). Liu and Iwamoto (2007) have found that for Asian American men endorsement of Asian cultural values predicted lower substance use, higher levels of conformity to masculine norms, and higher levels of gender role conflict. Additionally, Asian American men with more direct coping styles were less likely to use substances (Liu & Iwamoto, 2007). Using an intersectionality lens, further exploration into how social marginality and family level socialization messages contribute to the formation of an idealized cultural identity that creates both pride and pressure for individuals can help to identify resultant coping strategies that enhance positive well-being outcomes.

CHAPTER II

PRESENT STUDY

Research Model

This section will introduce the theoretical research model and present research questions and corresponding hypotheses for the present study. Research questions and hypotheses will be presented in segments taken from the larger proposed research model. An overview of methods will then be presented.

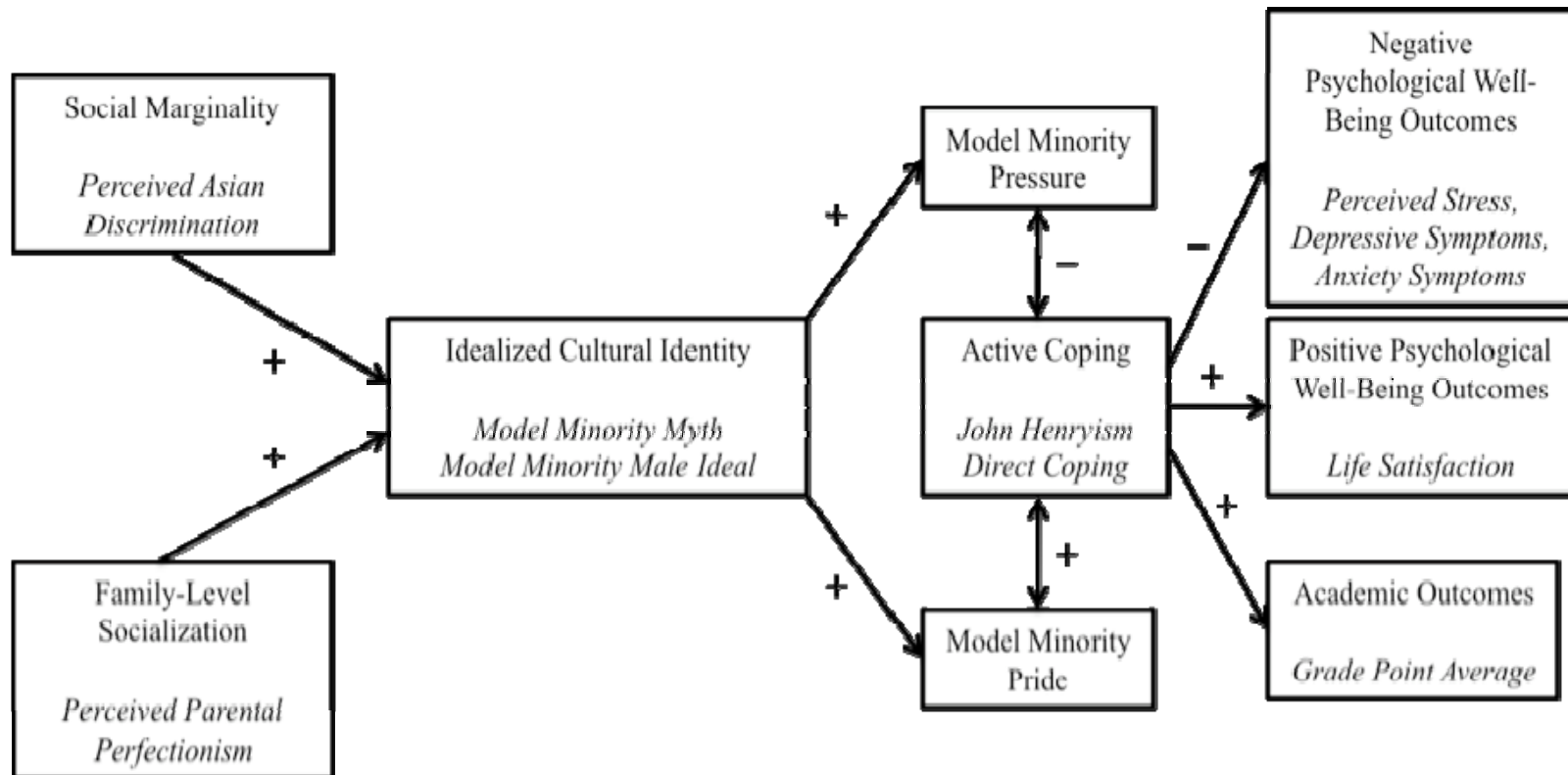
The proposed research model is depicted in Figure 1. In this research model, we will focus the idealized cultural identity model within a population of Asian American male college students. Social marginality will be measured by Perceived Asian Discrimination and family-level socialization will be measured with Perceived Parental Perfectionism. An idealized cultural identity will be measured using the Model Minority Myth scale, and a gender-specific idealized cultural identity will be measured using the Model Minority Male Ideal scale. Model Minority Pride and Model Minority Pressure will be measured using the appropriate scales and active coping will be measured using John Henryism and direct coping scales. Well-being outcomes will be measured as perceived stress, depressive symptoms, anxiety symptoms, life satisfaction, and grade point average. The present study consists of two methodological components: a quantitative survey and a qualitative interview. The quantitative survey portion of the study aims to test the theoretical model presented in a relatively large sample of Asian American male college students. Hypotheses

for the quantitative survey portion of the study aim to identify trends that occur in the larger population.

The second component of the study, a qualitative interview with participants who took the survey, aims to add depth to findings from the first portion of the study. Findings from the quantitative analysis will thus be used as a guide when conducting qualitative analysis. Findings from the qualitative analysis may serve to support, contradict, or differently interpret quantitative findings. To respect the privacy of the interview participants, individual survey responses will not be matched with individual qualitative interview responses. However, interviewing an individual participant has the advantage of delineating an emic understanding of an Asian American male college student's experiences and attitudes that might not be captured as in-depth with a quantitative survey.

Additionally, the interview portion of the study may help identify any significant themes that are important to the lives of interview participants and may have been missed in the quantitative survey portion of the study. Findings from the quantitative analysis will thus be used as a guide when conducting qualitative analysis. Findings from the qualitative analysis may serve to support, contradict, or differently interpret quantitative findings. To respect the privacy of the interview participants, individual survey responses will not be matched with individual qualitative interview responses. However, interviewing an individual participant has the advantage of delineating an actual Asian American male college student's experiences and attitudes, which a composite quantitative analysis of several hundred participants is not able to capture. Additionally, the interview portion of the study may help identify any significant themes important to the lives of interview participants that may have been missed in the content of the quantitative survey.

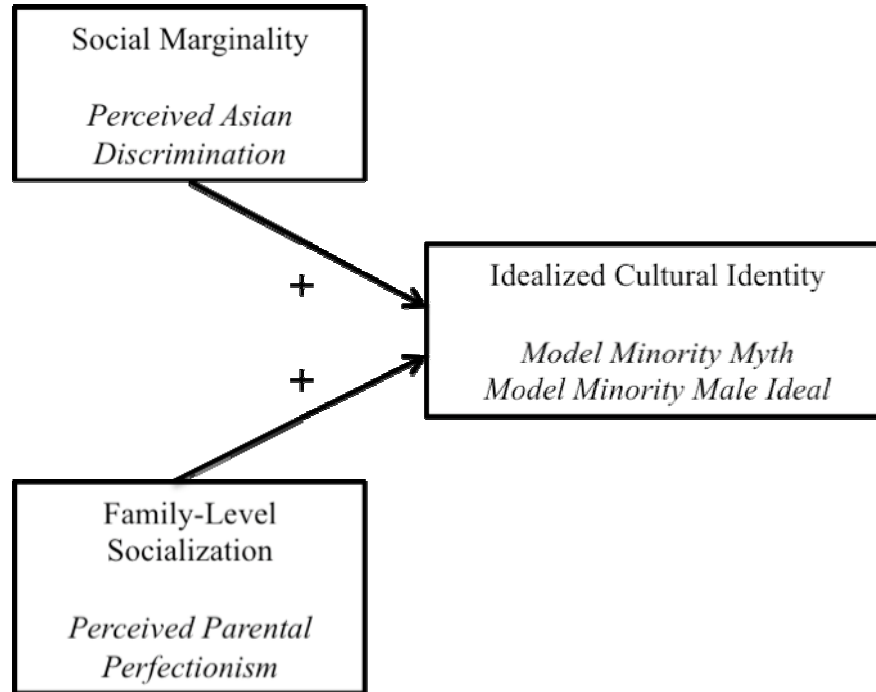
Figure 1. *Research Model.*



Research Questions and Hypotheses for Quantitative Survey Portion of Study

Research question 1. How does social marginality and family-level socialization relate to the development of an idealized cultural identity among Asian American male college students?

Figure 2. *Social Marginality, Family-Level Socialization, and Idealized Cultural Identity.*



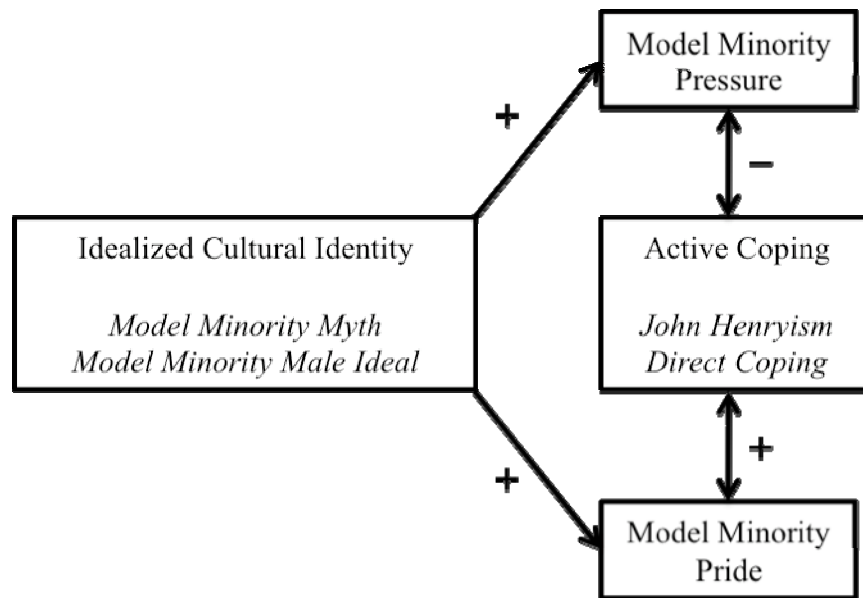
Hypothesis 1a: After controlling for demographic variables, endorsement of Model Minority Myth stereotype (MMM) will be positively predicted by Perceived Parental Perfectionism (PPP), and Perceived Asian Discrimination (PAD).

Hypothesis 1b: After controlling for demographic variables, Perceived Parental Perfectionism and Perceived Asian Discrimination will positively relate to Model Minority Male Ideals (MMMI).

Research question 2. How does the formation of an idealized cultural gender identity contribute to measures of active coping by way of measures for both model

minority pride and model minority pressure among Asian American male college students?

Figure 3. *Dual Pathway Model.*



Hypothesis 2a. After controlling for demographic variables, Model Minority Male Ideal will positively relate to both model minority pride and model minority pressure.

Hypothesis 2b. After controlling for demographic variables, model minority pride will positively relate to John Henryism.

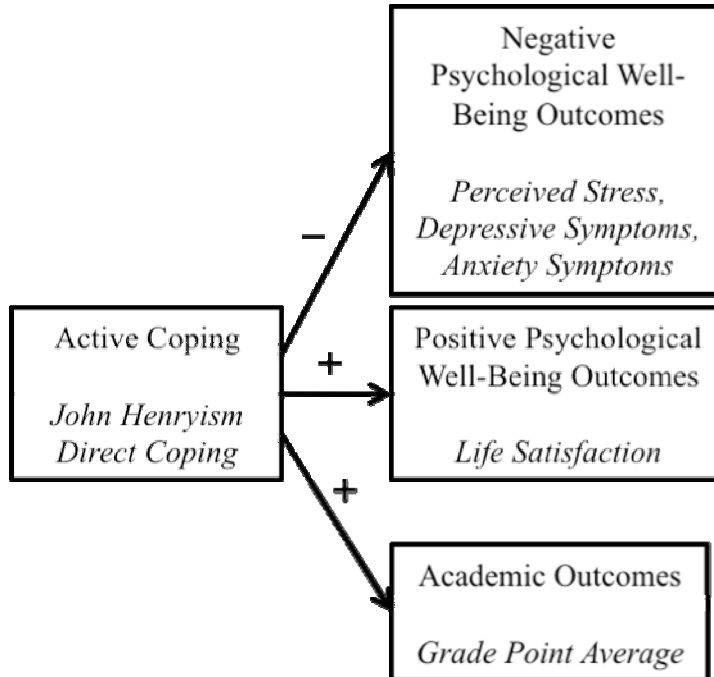
Hypothesis 2c. After controlling for demographic variables, model minority pressure will negatively relate to John Henryism.

Hypothesis 2d. After controlling for demographic variables, model minority pride will positively relate to Direct coping.

Hypothesis 2e. After controlling for demographic variables, model minority pressure will negatively relate to Direct coping.

Research question 3. How does active coping contribute to psychological well-being and academic outcomes among Asian American male college students?

Figure 4. *Effects of Active Coping on Psychological Well-Being and Academic Outcomes.*



Hypothesis 3a. John Henryism will negatively relate to perceived stress.

Hypothesis 3b. John Henryism will negatively relate to depressive symptoms.

Hypothesis 3c. John Henryism will negatively relate to anxiety symptoms.

Hypothesis 3d. John Henryism will positively relate to life satisfaction.

Hypothesis 3e. John Henryism will positively relate to Grade Point Average (GPA).

Hypothesis 3f. Direct coping will negatively relate to perceived stress.

Hypothesis 3g. Direct coping will negatively relate to depressive symptoms.

Hypothesis 3h. Direct coping will negatively relate to anxiety symptoms.

Hypothesis 3i. Direct coping will positively relate to life satisfaction.

Hypothesis 3j. Direct coping will positively relate to Grade Point Average (GPA).

Research Questions for Qualitative Interview Portion of Study

Research question 4. How do Asian American male college students qualitatively perceive discrimination against Asians and parental perfectionism?

Hypothesis 4a. The more that Asian American male college students experience Perceived Asian Discrimination, the more they will qualitatively feel socially marginalized.

Hypothesis 4b. The more that Asian American male college students experience Perceived Parental Perfectionism, the more they will feel negatively pressured to be successful.

Research question 5. How do Asian American male college students qualitatively perceive and react to model minority myth stereotypes?

Hypothesis 5a. Asian American male college students will see some model minority myth stereotypes in a positive light and others in a negative light.

Hypothesis 5b. Asian American male college students will take pride in some model minority myth stereotypes and feel pressured by or distance themselves from other stereotypes.

Research question 6. How do Asian American male college students perceive manhood for themselves in the social location of being both Asian American and male?

Hypothesis 6a. Asian American male college students who consider Asian American masculinity to be inferior to traditional notions of hegemonic masculinity (i.e., playing sports, being a womanizer) will perceive manhood for themselves as embodying more traits of traditional hegemonic masculinity.

Hypothesis 6b. Asian American male college students who consider Asian American masculinity as unrelated or separate from traditional notions of hegemonic masculinity will perceive manhood for themselves as being culturally influenced and positive.

Research question 7. What reference groups might Asian American male college students compare themselves to, especially in regards to masculinity, and how do they choose those reference groups?

Hypothesis 7a. Asian American male college students will compare themselves to multiple reference groups, including other Asian American males, when talking about masculinity.

Hypothesis 7b. Asian American male college students will choose their reference groups based on their familiarity with the groups, either from personal experience or through media.

Research question 8. What are Asian American male college students' attitudes toward out-group dating, specifically Asian American women dating non-Asian American men?

Hypothesis 8a. Asian American male college students will generally express negative attitudes towards out-group dating.

Hypothesis 8b. Asian American male college students will express dissatisfaction with the larger number of Asian American women out-group dating than Asian American men out-group dating.

CHAPTER III

QUANTITATIVE SURVEY

Quantitative Survey Method

Participants

The survey study participants consisted of a sample of 381 Asian American males who were had spent most of their childhood in the U.S. and were either currently enrolled in college or had graduated within the last year. This particular population sample was targeted because those who have spent at least half of their childhood in the U.S. should have had enough gendered socialization to complete a survey asking questions about standards of masculinity based on U.S. standards. Including students who had graduated within the last year enabled the researcher to recruit survey participants who had very recently completed college, given that some colleges' terms end earlier than others. Also, participants who had graduated within the last year were considered to be close enough to the college experience to be included with the rest of the sample and in the survey were asked to refer to experiences in college (and not the present) when relevant. The sample was recruited heavily from a large Midwestern university and 170 (44.6%) reported attending that university when filling out the survey. The remaining 54.3% of the sample was composed of students attending universities and colleges across the country, including California, Massachusetts, and Hawaii. Four participants did not provide their university or college affiliation. Given the unequal distribution of participants' locations, regional comparisons were not explored in this study. The appropriateness of combining

participants across locations was confirmed by conducting t-tests and chi-square analyses on relevant study variables looking for significant differences between participants from the Midwest versus participants outside the Midwest. No significant differences were found.

A majority of participants were second generation Asian Americans (66.1%) who were born and raised in the U.S. by immigrant parents. Participants who were born outside of the U.S. but spent at least half of their childhood in the U.S., or 1.5 generation Asian Americans, comprised 27.8% of the sample and participants who were third generation or more comprised 6.0% of the sample. Participants who had graduated within the last year represented 26.1% of the sample; sophomores were 19.7%, juniors were 20.5%, and seniors were 18.2%. Income was fairly well distributed across the sample with 44.5% reporting a family household income as over \$100,000 per year.

Participants who reported themselves as being in a significant relationship comprised 39.4% of the sample. Participants' ethnic-based identities were placed into one of five categories: East Asian (e.g., Korean, Chinese, Japanese), South Asian (e.g., Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan), Southeast Asian (e.g., Vietnamese, Laotian, Filipino), multi-ethnic Asian (participants who identified themselves as being multi-ethnic across East, South, and Southeast Asian subgroups), and multi-racial (participants who identified themselves as having multiple racial identities, at least one of which was non-Asian). A majority of the sample was East Asian (57.7%); 18.1% was South Asian, 13.6% was Southeast Asian, 5.2% was multi-ethnic Asian, and 5.2% was multi-racial.

Procedure

Participants were recruited for the study through internet sampling approaches using a demographically targeted email sent through one large Midwestern university, email listservs, Facebook postings, and posts on Asian American online forums. The online survey took approximately 30-45 minutes to complete. The email advertisement listed qualifications to participate in the study and indicated that South Asians (i.e. Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Sri Lankan) were included in the category of Asian American, along with East Asians (i.e. Chinese, Taiwanese, Japanese, Korean) and Southeast Asians (i.e. Vietnamese, Laotian, Cambodian, Hmong). Participants were compensated for their time with a \$10 iTunes gift code.

Measures

Perceived Asian Discrimination. Perceived Asian Discrimination was measured with a 16-item version of the 8-item General Racism and 7-item Perpetual Foreigner Racism subscales of the Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory (Liang, Li, & Kim, 2004). Participants indicated how often they had heard comments directed towards them such as, “A student you do not know asks you for help in math” and, “You are told that ‘you speak English so well’” (1 = “never” to 6 = “every day”). Since all participants were males, we added the item, “Someone tells you that you or an Asian American male friend looks just like Bruce Lee or Jet Li or Jackie Chan” to compliment the item, “Someone tells you that your Asian American female friend looks just like Connie Chung.” See Appendix A for items.

Perceived Parental Perfectionism. Perceived Parental Perfectionism was measured with a the 5-item Parental Expectations (PE) and the 4-item Parental Criticism (PC) subscales of the Perfectionism Scale developed by Frost, Marten, Lahart, and Rosenblate

(1990). Participants indicated the degree to which they agreed with statements such as, “Only outstanding performance is good enough in my family” and “I never felt like I could meet my parents’ standards” (1 = “strongly disagree” to 5 = “strongly agree”). Frost, Marten, Lahart, and Rosenblate (1990) found an alpha score of .84 for the PE subscale and an alpha score of .84 for the PC subscale. See Appendix B for items.

Model Minority Myth Stereotype. Endorsement of the model minority myth stereotype was measured with the 6-item Model Minority Measure (MMM) developed by Mahalingam and Haritatos (2004). Participants indicated their agreement with statements such as, “Asian Americans are the most intelligent group in the U.S.” (1 = “strongly disagree” to 5 = “strongly agree”). See Appendix C for items.

Model Minority Male Ideal. Endorsement of the model minority male ideal was measured with the 12-item Model Minority Male Ideal scale developed by Mahalingam and Haritatos (2004). Participants indicated their agreement with statements such as, “Asian American men are more family-oriented than Caucasian men” (1 = “strongly disagree” to 5 = “strongly agree”). See Appendix D for items.

Model Minority Pride. Endorsement of model minority pride was measured with the 8-item Model Minority Male Pride scale developed by Mahalingam and Haritatos (2004). Participants indicated their agreement with statements such as, “I feel proud to be a member of an ethnic group that is more highly respected than other minority groups in the U.S.” (1 = “strongly disagree” to 5 = “strongly agree”). See Appendix E for items.

Model Minority Pressure. Endorsement of model minority pressure was measured with the 8-item Model Minority Pressure scale developed by Mahalingam and Haritatos (2004). Participants indicated their agreement with statements such as, “Being an Asian

American, I feel the pressure to be high achieving” (1 = “strongly disagree” to 5 = “strongly agree”). See Appendix F for items.

John Henryism. John Henryism was measured with the 12-item John Henryism scale developed by James, Hartnett, & Kalsbeck (1987). Participants indicated their agreement with statements such as, “When things don’t go the way I want them to, that just makes me work even harder” and “In the past, even when things got really tough, I never lost sight of my goals” (1 = “strongly disagree” to 5 = “strongly agree”). Haritatos, Mahalingam, and James (2007) tested the scale in an Asian American population and calculated alpha scores over 0.70. See Appendix G for items.

Direct coping. Direct coping was measured using a 24-item version of the Indirect-Cope and Direct-Cope subscales Liu and Iwamoto (2007) adapted from Lee and Liu’s (2001) factor model analysis of Carver’s (1997) Brief Cope Scale. A direct coping score was calculated as the mean score of Direct-Cope subscale and reverse scored Indirect-Cope subscale items. Participants indicated their agreement with statements describing how they might handle a problem, such as “I take actions to make the situation better” or “I get comfort and understanding from someone” (1 = “strongly disagree” to 5 = “strongly agree”). Liu and Iwamoto (2007) tested the internal consistency of the subscales and calculated an alpha score of 0.89 for the Direct-Coping subscale and an alpha score of 0.78 for the Indirect-Coping subscale. See Appendix H for items.

Perceived stress. Stress was measured using an adapted 10-item version of the 14-item Perceived Stress Scale (PSS) developed by Cohen, Kamarck, and Mermelstein (1983). Participants indicated how often they experienced feelings such as, “Felt nervous and ‘stressed’” and “Felt you were unable to control the important things in your life”

during the last month (1 = “never” to 5 = “very often”). An alpha score of 0.78 was calculated using the 10-item adapted scale with a foreign born Asian American population (Haritatos, 2005). See Appendix I for items.

Depressive symptoms. Non-clinical depressive symptoms were measured using the 20-item Center for Epidemiological Studies Depressed Mood Scale (CES-D) developed by Radloff (1977). Participants indicated how much they experienced feelings or behaviors during the previous week such as, “I felt lonely” and “I did not feel like eating; my appetite was poor” (1 = “rarely or none of the time, less than 1 day” to 4 = “most or all of the time, 5 to 7 days”). Haritatos (2005) calculated an alpha score of 0.89 with a population foreign born Asian Americans. See Appendix J for items.

Anxiety symptoms. Participants’ anxiety symptoms were assessed using the anxiety subscale of the Brief Symptom inventory (BSI, Derogatis & Melisaratos, 1983). Participants indicated the extent to which they were bothered or distressed by items, such as “feeling tense or keyed up” and “feeling so restless you couldn’t sit still” (1 = “not at all” to 5 = “always”). In this study the BSI was used to measure only general psychological well-being; no cut-off score was used to determine clinical anxiety. See Appendix K for items.

Life satisfaction. Participants’ life satisfaction was assessed with the five-item Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS; Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985; $\alpha=0.86$, $M=5.62$, $SD=1.70$ on a 7-point scale). Participants indicated the extent to which they agreed with statements such as, “In most ways my life is close to my ideal” (1 = “strongly disagree” to 5 = “strongly agree”). See Appendix L for items.

Disapproval of out-group dating. Attitudes toward Asian American women dating non-Asian American men were assessed with a 4-item Out-Group Dating scale created by the researcher for this survey. Participants indicated the extent to which they agreed with the statements: “It bothers me when I see Asian American women dating Caucasian men” “I think Asian American women should only date Asian American men,” “Race does not matter when choosing whom I date,” and, “I would prefer to marry another Asian American” (1 = “strongly disagree” to 5 = “strongly agree”). See Appendix M for items.

Quantitative Survey Results

Means, inter-correlations, and ANOVA were calculated using SPSS 16.0 for Windows. Means and standard deviations for variables examined in the quantitative survey analysis are presented in Table 1. Inter-correlations of the survey variables are presented in Table 2. One-way ANOVA was conducted to determine whether statistically significant differences in demographic variables were present among ethnic-based groups within the sample. Several demographic differences emerged. The generational status of participants differed significantly for multi-racial participants, $F(4, 363) = 5.25, p < .001, \eta^2 = .04$. Multi-racial participants had a mean generational status was 2.5, indicating their family histories had been in the U.S. longer, on average, than the four other ethnicity groups that had an average generational status of 1.7. Household income differed significantly among ethnic-based groups, $F(4, 362) = 4.50, p < .01, \eta^2 = .24$. South Asian participants self-reported the highest mean income and Southeast Asian participants self-reported the lowest mean income. GPA also differed significantly, $F(4, 363) = 5.25, p < .001, \eta^2 = .01$. South Asian participants self-reported the highest mean GPA ($M = 3.47$) and Southeast Asian participants self-reported the lowest mean GPA ($M = 3.13$).

One-way ANOVA was then conducted to determine whether statistically significant differences in model variables were present among ethnic-based groups within the sample. Out-group dating scores were the highest among East Asian participants ($M = 2.98$) and the lowest among multi-racial participants ($M = 2.16$), indicating that East Asian participants were more disapproving of Asian American women dating non-Asian American men than multi-racial participants were, $F(4, 344) = 4.88, p < .01, \eta^2 = .07$. There were marginally significant differences among groups on Model Minority Pride, perceived stress, and life satisfaction: $F(4, 376) = 2.31, p < .10, \eta^2 = .01$; $F(4, 334) = 2.05, p < .10, \eta^2 = .01$; $F(4, 375) = 1.97, p < .10, \eta^2 = .03$. Southeast Asian participants had the highest Model Minority Pride scores ($M = 3.58$) and multi-racial Asian participants had the lowest Model Minority Pride scores ($M = 2.98$). Southeast Asian participants had the highest perceived stress scores ($M = 2.95$) and East Asian participants had the lowest perceived stress scores ($M = 2.71$). South Asian participants had the highest life satisfaction scores ($M = 4.96$) and Southeast Asian participants had the lowest life satisfaction scores ($M = 4.34$). Analyses of the quantitative survey data were not conducted separately by ethnic-based groups because findings for group differences were statistically marginal with the exception of disapproving attitudes toward out-group dating, which were assumed to be linked to participants' multi-racial backgrounds. However, ethnic-based group status or region of Asian ethnic background (labeled "ethnicity" in figures) was considered a demographic variable of interest.

In order to test the proposed research model, we conducted Structured Equation Modeling (SEM) using AMOS 16.0 for Windows. We examined the Comparative Fitness Index (CFI) and the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) index

(Bentler, 1990; Browne & Cudeck, 1993). A 90% confidence interval for RMSEA and χ^2 were considered in the analysis and CFI (ranging from 0 to 1) with values of 0.90 or higher were considered to indicate that the proposed model was significantly distinct from a null hypothesis model. RMSEA values that were 0.06 or less and ratios between chi-square to degrees of freedom that were less than 3 were considered acceptable (Hu & Bentler, 1999; Kline, 1998). We used these fit indices for all of the study's SEM analyses.

In examining the SEM analyses' results, we took into account that measuring the goodness of fit between the observed data and the proposed, hypothesized model is not the only way to assess the appropriateness of a research model. Even though observed data may fit a hypothesized model, paths within the model may not be statistically significant or may be significant in the opposite direction of what the hypothesis predicted (Schmitt, Branscombe, Kobrynowicz, & Owen, 2002). Thus, we also considered the theory-based meaning of significant and non-significant relationships between variables when interpreting proposed research model results.

Table 1. *Means and Standard Deviations of Quantitative Survey Variables (N = 381).*

Variable	Mean	SD	Possible Range
Perceived Asian Discrimination	1.99	0.82	1-6
Perceived Parental Perfectionism	3.29	0.83	1-5
Model Minority Myth	3.07	0.68	1-5
Model Minority Male Ideal	3.06	0.61	1-5
Model Minority Pride	3.44	0.79	1-5
Model Minority Pressure	3.22	0.66	1-5
John Henryism	3.69	0.54	1-5
Direct Coping	5.60	0.42	1-5
Perceived Stress	2.77	0.55	1-5
Depressive Symptoms	34.99	9.50	20-80
Anxiety Symptoms	1.72	0.81	1-5
Life Satisfaction	4.76	1.25	1-7
GPA	3.30	0.43	0.0-4.0
Disapproval of Out-Group Dating	2.85	0.99	1-5

Table 2. *Intercorrelations of Quantitative Survey Variables (N = 381).*

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1 Perceived Asian Discrimination	--													
2 Perceived Parental Perfectionism	.19**	--												
3 Model Minority Myth	.08	.15**	--											
4 Model Minority Male Ideal	.31**	.19**	.50**	--										
5 Model Minority Pride	.20**	.09	.46**	.47**	--									
6 Model Minority Pressure	.21**	.43**	.34**	.35**	.54**	--								
7 John Henryism	-.02	.04	.06	.18**	.30**	.06	--							
8 Direct coping	-.27**	-.09	-.14**	-.16**	.07	-.14**	.38**	--						
9 Perceived Stress	.19**	.25**	.03	.11	-.07	.22**	-.23**	-.34**	--					
10 Depressive Symptoms	.44**	.26**	.08	.20**	-.03	.14**	-.19**	-.42**	.63**	--				
11 Anxiety Symptoms	.51**	.18**	.09	.20**	.09	.17**	-.10	-.27**	.47**	.68**	--			
12 Life Satisfaction	-.01	-.12*	-.04	.04	.00	-.17**	.29**	.29**	-.41**	-.34**	-.24**	--		
13 GPA	.00	-.10	-.10	-.11*	-.09	-.03	.11	-.04	-.12*	-.09	-.03	.17**	--	
14 Disapproval of Out-Group Dating	.20**	.08	.19**	.31**	.29**	.28**	.03	-.04	.18**	.23**	.20**	-.12*	-.05	--

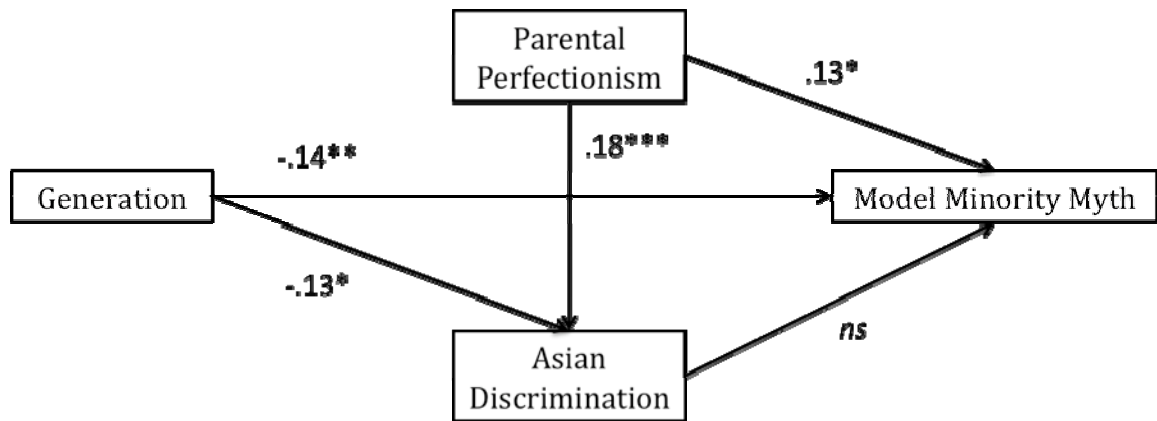
Note: * $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$

SEM Analysis Series 1

For each analysis in this series, only statistically significant relationships that were not already indicated in preceding analyses were reported in the text.

Analysis 1a. In this analysis, we examined the antecedents to idealized beliefs about cultural identity. We predicted that Perceived Parental Perfectionism and Perceived Asian Discrimination scores would positively associate with Model Minority Myth scores. After controlling for the effects of generational status on Perceived Parental Perfectionism, Perceived Asian Discrimination, and Model Minority Myth scores, our proposed model had excellent fit indices. The ratio between chi-square and degrees of freedom ($\chi^2/df = 6.68/13$) was 0.51 ($p < 0.85$). The CFI value for the model was 1.00 and the RMSEA was 0.00. Statistically significant relationships were indicated in Figure 5a.

Figure 5a. *SEM Analysis Assessing the Relationship Between Perceived Parental Perfectionism, Perceived Asian Discrimination, and Model Minority Myth.*



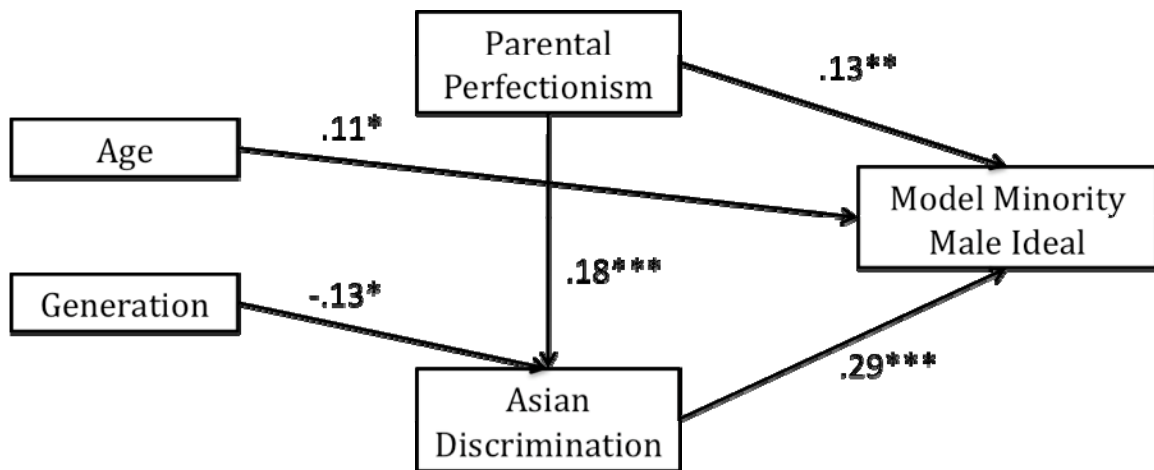
[†] $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

For this sample, generational status was negatively associated with Model Minority Myth scores ($b = -0.14$, $p < .01$) and Perceived Asian Discrimination scores ($b = -0.13$, $p < .05$), indicating that 1.5 generation participants were more likely to have high

Model Minority Myth and Perceived Asian Discrimination scores than second and third generation participants. Perceived Parental Perfectionism scores were positively associated with Model Minority Myth scores ($b = 0.13, p < .05$) and Perceived Asian Discrimination scores ($b = 0.18, p < .001$), indicating that participants with high Perceived Parental Perfectionism scores were more likely to have high Perceived Asian Discrimination and Model Minority Myth scores. The relationship between Perceived Asian Discrimination and Model Minority Myth scores was not statistically significant.

Analysis 1b. In this analysis, we examined the antecedents to idealized beliefs about gender-specific cultural identity. We predicted that Perceived Parental Perfectionism and Perceived Asian Discrimination scores would positively associate with Model Minority Male Ideal scores. After controlling for the effects of generational status and age on Perceived Parental Perfectionism, Perceived Asian Discrimination, and Model Minority Male Ideal scores, our proposed model had excellent fit indices. The ratio between chi-square and the degrees of freedom ($\chi^2/df = 10.76/13$) was 0.51 ($p < 0.63$). The CFI value for the model was 1.00 and the RMSEA was 0.00. Statistically significant relationships were indicated in Figure 5b.

Figure 5b. SEM Analysis Assessing the Relationship Between Perceived Parental Perfectionism, Perceived Asian Discrimination, and Model Minority Male Ideal.



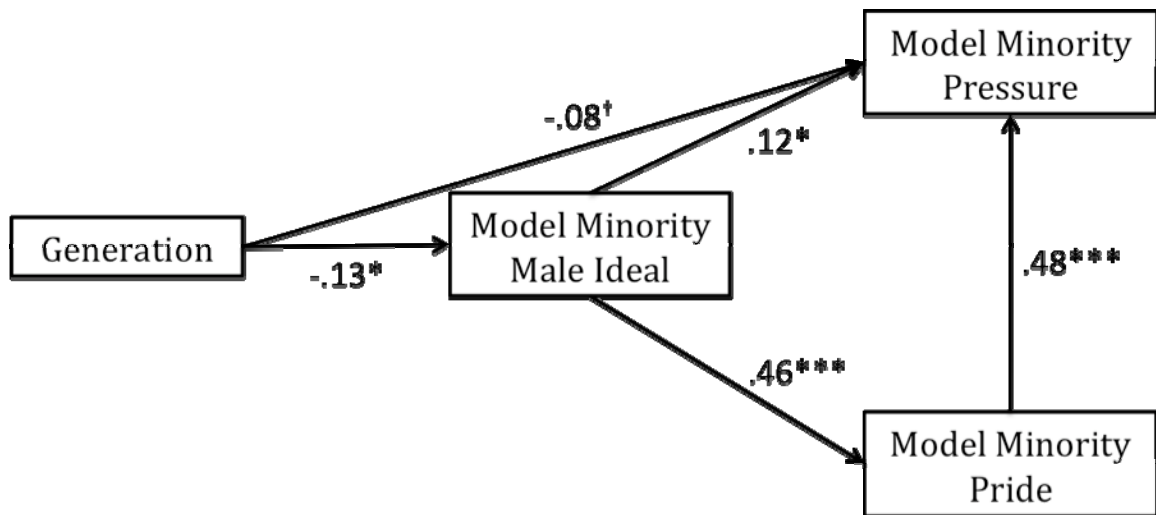
† $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

For this sample, age was positively associated with Model Minority Male Ideal scores ($b = 0.11, p < .05$), indicating that older participants were more likely to have high Model Minority Male Ideal scores. Perceived Parental Perfectionism was positively associated with Model Minority Male Ideal ($b = 0.13, p < .01$), indicating that participants with high Parental Perfectionism scores were more likely to have high Model Minority Male Ideal scores. Perceived Asian Discrimination scores were positively related with Model Minority Male Ideal scores ($b = 0.29, p < .001$), indicating that participants with high Perceived Asian Discrimination scores were more likely to have high Model Minority Male Ideal scores.

Analysis 1c. In this analysis, we examined the dual-pathway model (Mahalingam, 2006) examining the relationship between idealized beliefs gender-specific cultural identity and Model Minority Pride and Model Minority Pressure. We predicted that Model Minority Male Ideal scores would positively associate with both Model Minority Pride and Model Minority Pressure scores. Additionally, we predicted that Model

Minority Pride and Model Minority Pressure scores would positively associate with one another. After controlling for the effects of generational status on Model Minority Male Ideal, Model Minority Pride, and Model Minority Pressure scores, our proposed model had excellent fit indices. The ratio between chi-square and the degrees of freedom ($\chi^2/df = 13.56/13$) was 1.04 ($p < 0.41$). The CFI value for the model was 1.00 and the RMSEA was 0.01. Statistically significant relationships were indicated in Figure 5c.

Figure 5c. SEM Analysis Assessing the Relationship Between Model Minority Male Ideal, Model Minority Pride, and Model Minority Pressure.



[†] $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

For this sample, generational status was negatively associated with Model Minority Male Ideal scores ($b = -0.13, p < .05$) and negatively marginally associated with Model Minority Pressure scores ($b = -0.08, p < .10$), indicating that 1.5 generation participants were more likely to have high Model Minority Male Ideal scores and somewhat more likely to have high Model Minority Pressure scores than second and third generation participants. Model Minority Male Ideal scores were positively associated with Model Minority Pride and Model Minority Pressure scores ($b = 0.46, p < .001; b =$

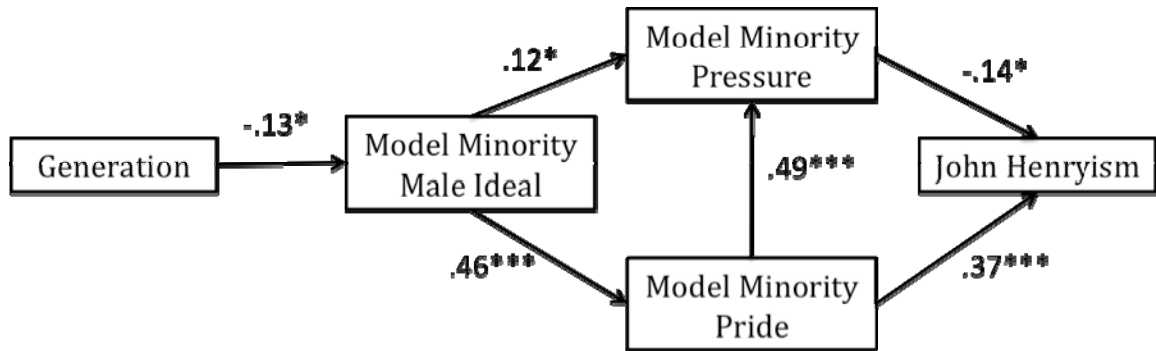
0.12, $p < .05$), indicating that participants with high Model Minority Male Ideal scores were more likely to have high Model Minority Pride and high Model Minority Pressure scores. Model Minority Pride scores were positively related with Model Minority Pressure scores ($b = 0.48$, $p < .001$), indicating that participants with high Model Minority Pride scores were more likely to also have high Model Minority Pressure scores.

SEM Analysis Series 2.

For each analysis in this series, only statistically significant relationships that were not already indicated in preceding analyses were reported in the text.

Analysis 2a. In this analysis, we tested the dual-pathway model to examine its relationship with John Henryism, a measure of active coping. We predicted that Model Minority Pride scores would positively associate with John Henryism scores and that Model Minority Pressure scores would negatively associate with John Henryism scores. After controlling for the effects of generational status on Model Minority Male Ideal, Model Minority Pride, Model Minority Pressure, and John Henryism scores, our proposed model had excellent fit indices. The ratio between chi-square and degrees of freedom ($\chi^2/df = 22.63/20$) was 1.13 ($p < 0.31$). The CFI value for the model was 0.99 and the RMSEA was 0.02. Statistically significant relationships were indicated in figure 6a.

Figure 6a. *Dual Pathway SEM Analysis Assessing the Relationship Between Model Minority Male Ideal, Model Minority Pride, Model Minority Pressure, and John Henryism.*



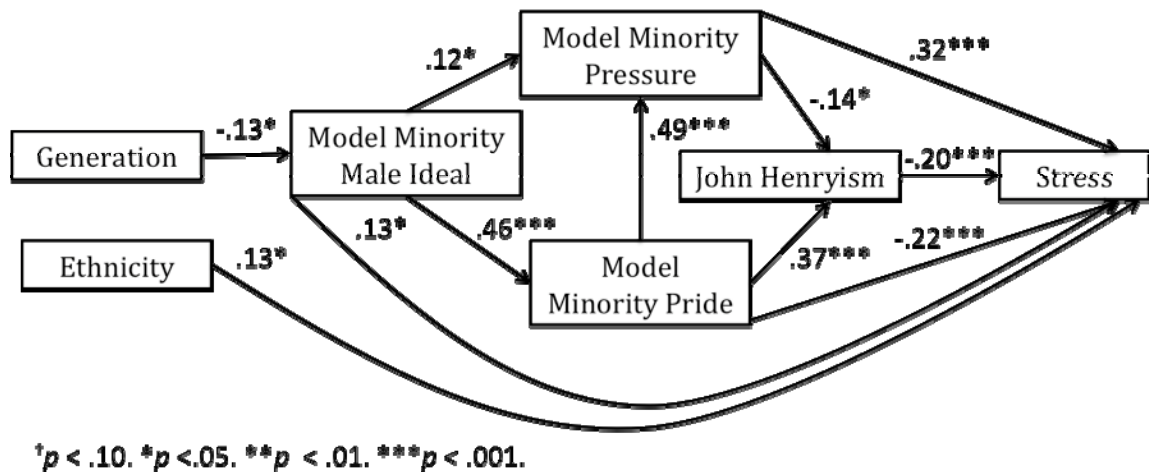
****p < .10. *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.***

For this sample, Model Minority Pride was positively associated with John Henryism ($b = 0.37, p < .001$), indicating that participants with high Model Minority Pride scores were more likely to have high John Henryism scores. Model Minority Pressure was negatively associated with John Henryism ($b = -0.14, p < .05$), indicating that participants with high Model Minority Pressure scores were more likely to have low John Henryism scores.

Analysis 2b. In this analysis we examined the relationship between John Henryism and perceived stress using the dual-pathway model. We predicted that John Henryism scores would negatively associate with perceived stress scores. After controlling for the effects of generational status and region of Asian ethnic background on Model Minority Male Ideal, Model Minority Pride, Model Minority Pressure, John Henryism, and perceived stress scores, our proposed model had excellent fit indices. The ratio between chi-square and degrees of freedom ($\chi^2/df = 25.91/23$) was 1.13 ($p < 0.31$).

The CFI value for the model was 0.99 and the RMSEA was 0.02. Statistically significant relationships were indicated in Figure 6b.

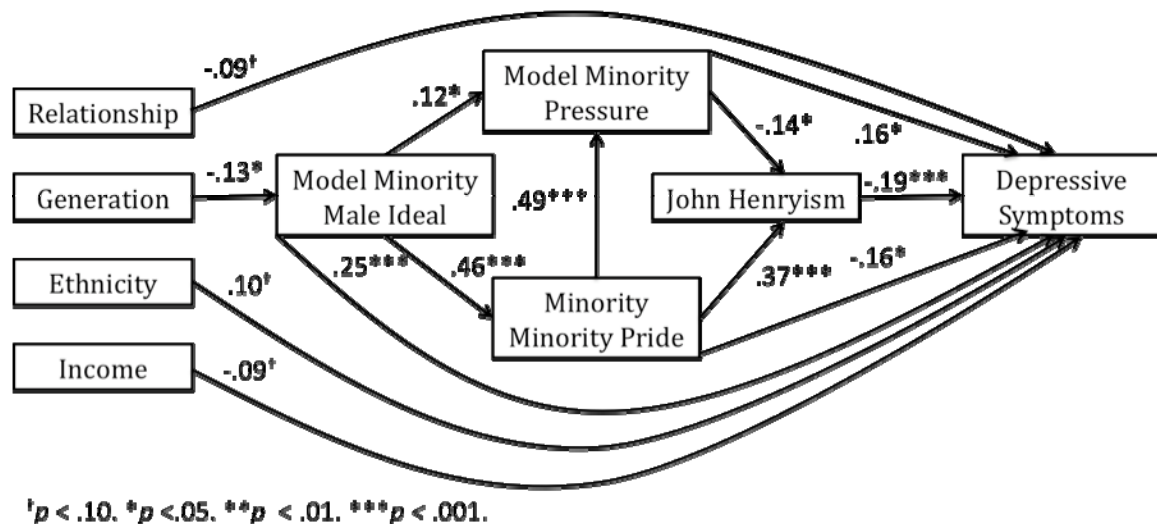
Figure 6b. *Dual Pathway SEM Analysis Assessing the Relationship Between John Henryism and Perceived Stress.*



For this sample, region of Asian ethnic background was positively associated with perceived stress ($b = 0.13, p < .05$), indicating that participants with a Southeast Asian background were more likely to be high on perceived stress scores. Model Minority Male Ideal scores were positively associated with perceived stress ($b = 0.13, p < .05$), indicating that participants with high Model Minority Male Ideal scores were more likely to be high on perceived stress scores. Model Minority Pride was negatively associated with perceived stress ($b = -0.22, p < .001$), indicating that participants with high Model Minority Pride scores were more likely to be low on perceived stress scores. Model Minority Pressure was positively associated with perceived stress ($b = 0.32, p < .001$), indicating that participants with high Model Minority Pressure scores were more likely to be high on perceived stress scores. John Henryism was negatively associated with perceived stress ($b = -0.20, p < .001$), indicating that participants with high John Henryism scores were more likely to be low on perceived stress scores.

Analysis 2c. In this analysis we examined the relationship between John Henryism and depressive symptoms using the dual-pathway model. We predicted that John Henryism would negatively associate with depressive symptoms. After controlling for the effects of income, generational status, relationship status, and region of Asian ethnic background on Model Minority Male Ideal, Model Minority Pride, Model Minority Pressure, John Henryism, and depressive symptom scores, our proposed model had excellent fit indices. The ratio between chi-square and degrees of freedom ($\chi^2/df = 24.68/22$) was 1.12 ($p < 0.31$). The CFI value for the model was 0.99 and the RMSEA was 0.02. Statistically significant relationships were indicated in Figure 6c.

Figure 6c. *Dual Pathway SEM Analysis Assessing the Relationship Between John Henryism and Depressive Symptoms.*



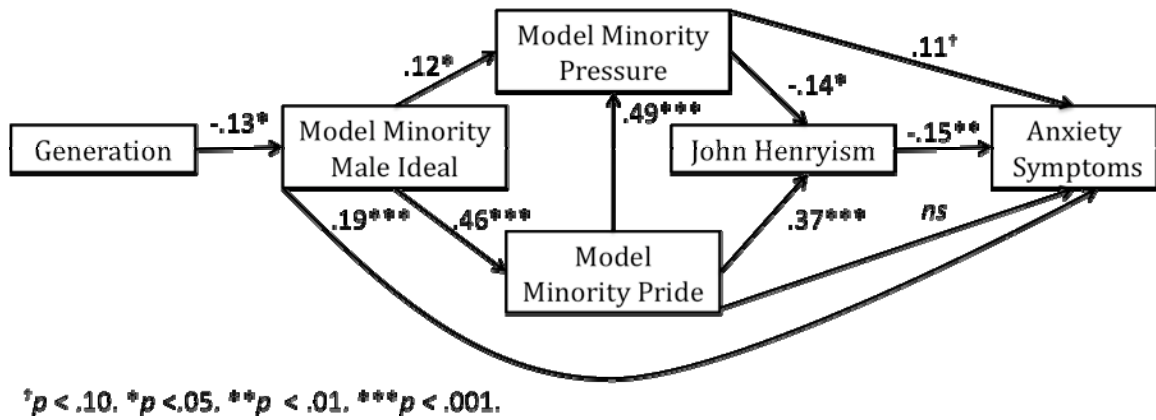
For this sample, relationship status and income were marginally negatively associated with depressive symptoms ($b = -0.09, p < .10$; $b = -0.09, p < .10$), indicating that participants who reported a higher household income and were in a significant relationship were somewhat more likely to be low on depressive symptom scores. Region of Asian ethnic background was positively marginally associated with depressive

symptoms ($b = 0.10, p < .10$), indicating that participants with a Southeast Asian background were somewhat more likely to be high on depressive symptom scores.

Model Minority Male Ideal was positively associated with depressive symptoms ($b = 0.25, p < .001$), indicating that participants with high Model Minority Male Ideal scores were more likely to be high on depressive symptom scores. Model Minority Pride was negatively associated with depressive symptoms ($b = -0.16, p < .05$), indicating that participants with high Model Minority Pride scores were more likely to be low on depressive symptom scores. Model Minority Pressure was positively associated with depressive symptoms ($b = 0.16, p < .05$), indicating that participants with high Model Minority Pressure scores were more likely to be high on depressive symptom scores. John Henryism was negatively associated with depressive symptoms ($b = -0.19, p < .001$), indicating that participants with high John Henryism scores were more likely to be low on depressive symptom scores.

Analysis 2d. In this analysis we examined the relationship between John Henryism and anxiety symptoms using the dual pathway model. We predicted that John Henryism would be negatively associated with anxiety symptoms. After controlling for the effects of generational status on Model Minority Male Ideal, Model Minority Pride, Model Minority Pressure, John Henryism, and anxiety symptom scores, our proposed model had excellent fit indices. The ratio between chi-square and the degrees of freedom ($\chi^2/df = 20.26/26$) was 0.78 ($p < 0.78$). The CFI value for the model was 1.00 and the RMSEA was 0.00. Statistically significant relationships were indicated in Figure 6d.

Figure 6d. *Dual Pathway SEM Analysis Assessing the Relationship Between John Henryism and Anxiety Symptoms.*

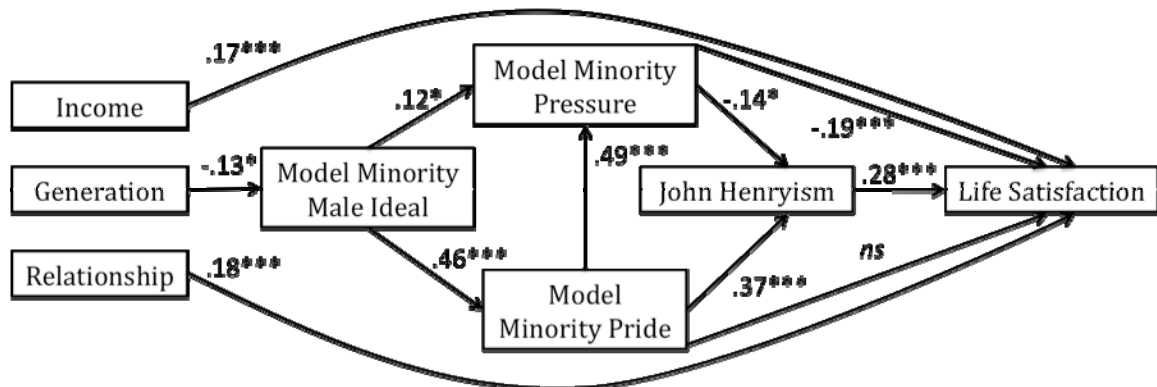


For this sample, Model Minority Male Ideal was positively associated with anxiety symptoms ($b = 0.19, p < .001$), indicating that participants with high Model Minority Male Ideal scores were more likely to be high on anxiety symptom scores. The relationship between Model Minority Pride and anxiety symptoms was not statistically significant. Model Minority Pressure was positively marginally associated with anxiety symptoms ($b = 0.11, p < .10$), indicating that participants with high Model Minority Pressure scores were more likely to be high on anxiety symptom scores. John Henryism was negatively associated with anxiety symptoms ($b = -0.15, p < .01$), indicating that participants with high John Henryism scores were more likely to be low on anxiety symptom scores.

Analysis 2e. In this analysis we examined the relationship between John Henryism and life satisfaction using the dual-pathway model. We predicted that John Henryism would positively associate with life satisfaction. After controlling for the effects of income, generational status, and relationship status on Model Minority Male Ideal, Model Minority Pride, Model Minority Pressure, John Henryism, and life satisfaction scores, our

proposed model had excellent fit indices. The ratio between chi-square and degrees of freedom ($\chi^2/df = 26.55/25$) was 1.06 ($p < 0.38$). The CFI value for the model was 1.00 and the RMSEA was 0.01. Statistically significant relationships were indicated in Figure 6e.

Figure 6e. *Dual Pathway SEM Analysis Assessing the Relationship Between John Henryism and Life Satisfaction.*

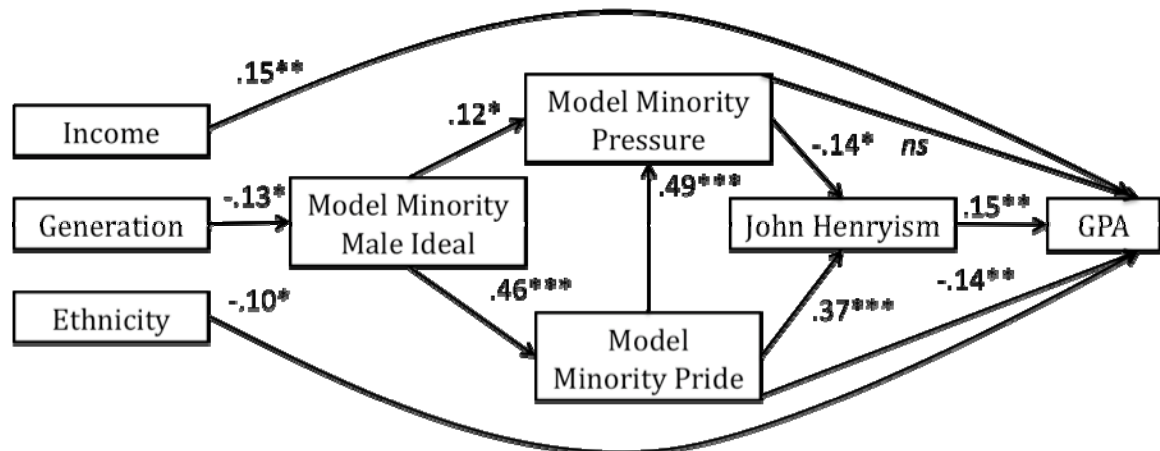


[†] $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

For this sample, income and relationship status were positively associated with life satisfaction ($b = 0.17, p < .001$; $b = 0.18, p < .001$), indicating that participants who self-reported a high household income and were in a significant relationship were more likely to be high on life satisfaction scores. The relationship between Model Minority Pride and life satisfaction scores was not statistically significant. Model Minority Pressure was negatively associated with life satisfaction ($b = -0.19, p < .001$), indicating that participants with high Model Minority Pressure scores were more likely to be low on life satisfaction scores. John Henryism was positively associated with life satisfaction ($b = 0.28, p < .001$), indicating that participants with high John Henryism scores were more likely to be high on life satisfaction scores.

Analysis 2f. In this analysis we examined the relationship between John Henryism and Grade Point Average (GPA) using the dual-pathway model. We predicted that John Henryism would positively associate with self-reported GPA's. After controlling for the effects of income, generational status, and region of Asian ethnic background on scores for Model Minority Male Ideal, Model Minority Pride, Model Minority Pressure, John Henryism, and self-reported GPA, our proposed model had excellent fit indices. The ratio between chi-square and degrees of freedom ($\chi^2/df = 29.14/25$) was 1.17 ($p < 0.26$). The CFI value for the model was 0.99 and the RMSEA was 0.02. Statistically significant relationships were indicated in Figure 6f.

Figure 6f. *Dual Pathway SEM Analysis Assessing the Relationship Between John Henryism and GPA.*



[†] $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

For this sample, income was positively associated with GPA ($b = 0.15, p < .01$), indicating that participants who self-reported a high household income were more likely to be high on self-reported GPA's. Region of Asian ethnic background was negatively associated with GPA ($b = -0.10, p < .05$), indicating that participants of a Southeast Asian background were more likely to be low on self-reported GPA's. Model Minority Pride

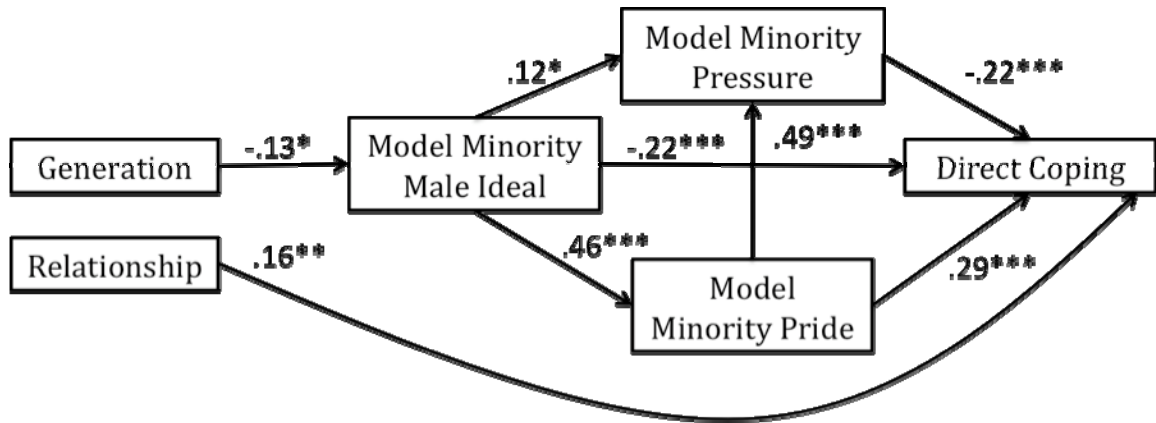
was negatively associated with GPA ($b = -0.14, p < .01$), indicating that participants with high Model Minority Pride scores were more likely to be low on self-reported GPA's. The relationship between Model Minority Pressure and GPA was not statistically significant. John Henryism was positively associated with GPA ($b = .15, p < .01$), indicating that participants with high John Henryism scores were more likely to be high on self-reported GPA's.

SEM Analysis Series 3.

For each analysis in this series, only statistically significant relationships that were not already indicated in preceding analyses were reported in the text.

Analysis 3a. In this analysis we tested the dual-pathway model to examine its relationship with direct coping. We predicted that Model Minority Pride would positively associate with direct coping and that Model Minority Pressure would negatively associate with direct coping. After controlling for the effects of generational status and relationship status on scores for Model Minority Male Ideal, Model Minority Pride, Model Minority Pressure, and direct coping, our proposed model had excellent fit indices. The ratio between chi-square and degrees of freedom was ($\chi^2/df = 21.48/18$) was 1.19 ($p < 0.26$). The CFI value for the model was 0.99 and the RMSEA was 0.02. Statistically significant relationships were indicated in figure 7a.

Figure 7a. Dual Pathway SEM Analysis Assessing the Relationship Between Model Minority Male Ideal, Model Minority Pride, Model Minority Pressure, and Direct Coping.



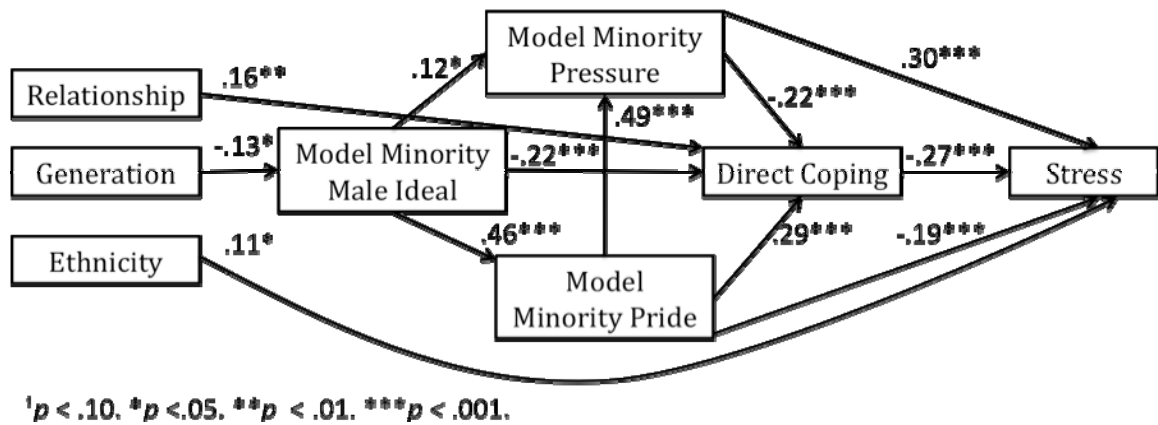
[†] $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

For this sample, relationship status was positively associated with direct coping ($b = 0.16, p < .01$), indicating that participants who were in a significant relationship were more likely to be high on direct coping scores. Model Minority Male Ideal was negatively associated with direct coping ($b = -0.22, p < .001$), indicating that participants with high Model Minority Male Ideal scores were more likely to be low on direct coping scores. Model Minority Pride was positively associated with direct coping ($b = 0.29, p < .001$), indicating that participants with high Model Minority Pride scores were more likely to be high on direct coping scores. Model Minority Pressure was negatively associated with direct coping ($b = -0.22, p < .001$), indicating that participants with high Model Minority Pressure scores were more likely to be low on direct coping scores.

Analysis 3b. In this analysis we examined the relationship between direct coping and perceived stress using the dual-pathway model. We predicted that direct coping would negatively associate with perceived stress. After controlling for the effects of generational status, relationship status, and region of Asian ethnic background on scores

for Model Minority Male Ideal, Model Minority Pride, Model Minority Pressure, direct coping, and perceived stress, our proposed model had excellent fit indices. The ratio between chi-square and degrees of freedom ($\chi^2/df = 27.35/23$) was 1.19 ($p < 0.24$). The CFI value for the model was 0.99 and the RMSEA was 0.02. Statistically significant relationships were indicated in Figure 7b.

Figure 7b. *Dual Pathway SEM Analysis Assessing the Relationship Between Direct Coping and Perceived Stress.*

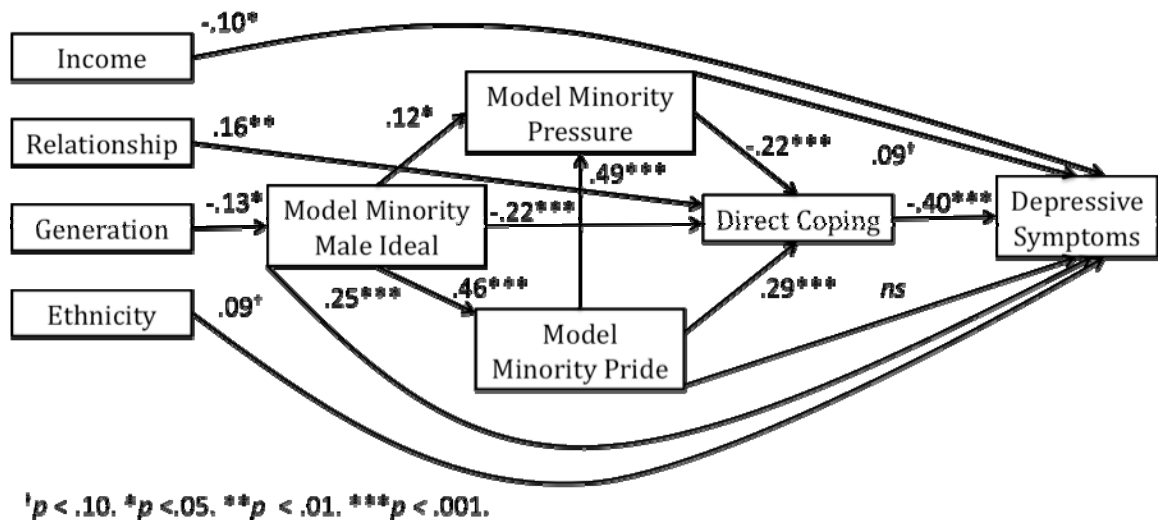


In this sample, region of Asian ethnic background was positively associated with perceived stress ($b = 0.11, p < .05$), indicating that participants with a Southeast Asian background were more likely to be high on perceived stress scores. Model Minority Pride was negatively associated with perceived stress ($b = -0.19, p < .001$), indicating that participants with high Model Minority Pride scores were more likely to be low on perceived stress scores. Model Minority Pressure was positively associated with perceived stress ($b = 0.30, p < .001$), indicating that participants with high Model Minority Pressure scores were more likely to be high on perceived stress scores. Direct coping was negatively associated with perceived stress ($b = -0.27, p < .001$), indicating

that participants with high direct coping scores were more likely to be low on perceived stress scores.

Analysis 3c. In this analysis we examined the relationship between direct coping and depressive symptoms using the dual-pathway model. We predicted that direct coping would negatively associate with depressive symptoms. After controlling for the effects of income, generational status, relationship status, and region of Asian ethnic background on scores for Model Minority Male Ideal, Model Minority Pride, Model Minority Pressure, direct coping, and depressive symptoms, our proposed model had adequate fit indices. The ratio between chi-square and degrees of freedom ($\chi^2/df = 33.70/23$) was 1.47 ($p < 0.07$). The CFI value for the model was 0.97 and the RMSEA was 0.04. Statistically significant relationships were indicated in Figure 7c.

Figure 7c. Dual Pathway SEM Analysis Assessing the Relationship Between Direct Coping and Depressive Symptoms.



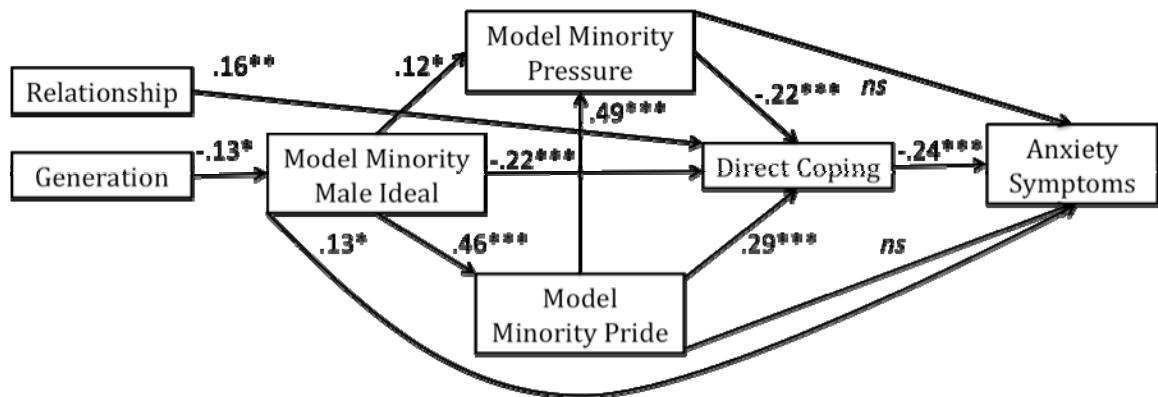
For this sample, income was negatively associated with depressive symptoms ($b = -0.10, p < .05$), indicating that participants who self-reported a high household income were more likely to be low on depressive symptom scores. Region of Asian ethnic

background was positively marginally associated with depressive symptoms ($b = 0.09, p < .10$), indicating that participants with a Southeast Asian background were somewhat more likely to be high on depressive symptom scores.

Model Minority Male Ideal was positively associated with depressive symptoms ($b = 0.25, p < .001$), indicating that participants with high Model Minority Male Ideal scores were more likely to be high on depressive symptom scores. The relationship between Model Minority Pride and depressive symptoms was not statistically significant. Model Minority Pressure was marginally positively associated with depressive symptoms ($b = 0.09, p < .10$), indicating that participants with high Model Minority Pressure scores were more likely to be high on depressive symptom scores. Direct coping was negatively associated with depressive symptoms ($b = -0.40, p < .001$), indicating that participants with high direct coping scores were more likely to be low on depressive symptom scores.

Analysis 3d. In this analysis we examined the relationship between direct coping and anxiety symptoms using the dual-pathway model. We predicted that direct coping would negatively associate with anxiety symptoms. After controlling for the effects of generational status and relationship status on scores for Model Minority Male Ideal, Model Minority Pride, Model Minority Pressure, direct coping, and anxiety symptoms, our proposed model had an adequate fit for the data. The ratio between chi-square and degrees of freedom ($\chi^2/df = 26.41/23$) was 1.15 ($p < 0.28$). The CFI value for the model was 0.96 and the RMSEA was 0.04. Statistically significant relationships were indicated in Figure 7d.

Figure 7d. Dual Pathway SEM Analysis Assessing the Relationship Between Direct Coping and Anxiety Symptoms.



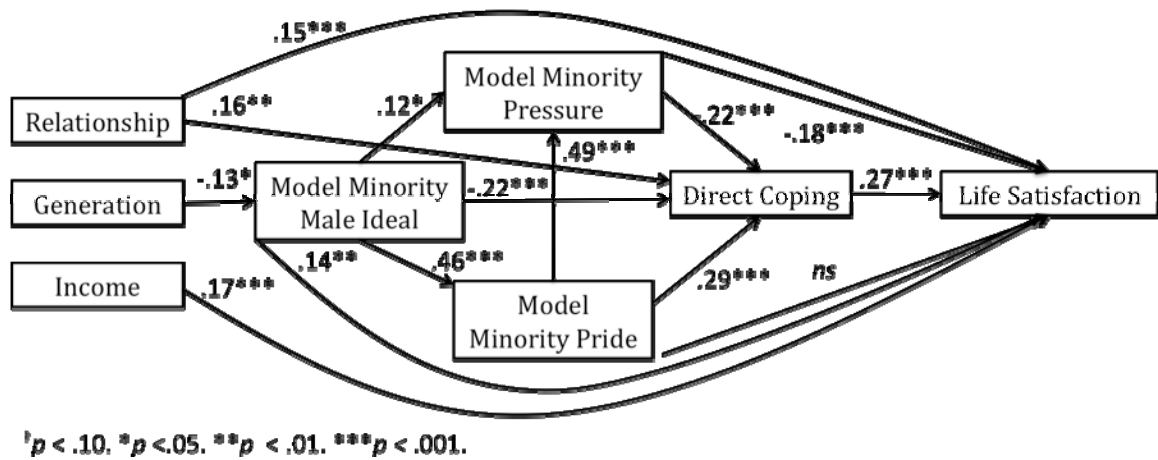
* $p < .10$. ** $p < .05$. *** $p < .01$. ns $p < .001$.

For this sample, Model Minority Male Ideal was positively associated with anxiety symptoms ($b = 0.13, p < .05$), indicating that participants with high Model Minority Male Ideal scores were more likely to be high on anxiety symptom scores. The relationship between Model Minority Pride and anxiety symptoms was not statistically significant, nor was the relationship between Model Minority Pressure and anxiety symptoms. Direct coping was negatively associated with anxiety symptoms ($b = -0.24, p < .001$), indicating that participants with high direct coping scores were more likely to be low on anxiety symptom scores.

Analysis 3e. In this analysis we examined the relationship between direct coping and life satisfaction using the dual-pathway model. We predicted that direct coping would positively associate with life satisfaction. After controlling for the effects of income, generational status, and relationship status on scores for Model Minority Male Ideal, Model Minority Pride, Model Minority Pressure, direct coping, and life satisfaction, our proposed model had excellent fit indices. The ratio between chi-square and degrees of freedom ($\chi^2/df = 23.06/22$) was 1.05 ($p < 0.40$). The CFI value for the

model was 1.00 and the RMSEA was 0.01. Statistically significant relationships were indicated in Figure 7e.

Figure 7e. Dual Pathway SEM analysis Assessing the Relationship Between Direct Coping and Life Satisfaction.



For this sample, income and relationship status positively associated with life satisfaction ($b = 0.17, p < .001$; $b = 0.16, p < .01$), indicating that participants who self-reported high household income and who were in a significant relationship were more likely to be high on life satisfaction scores. There relationship between Model Minority Pride and life satisfaction was not statistically significant. Model Minority Pressure was negatively associated with life satisfaction ($b = -0.18, p < .001$), indicating that participants with high Model Minority Pressure scores were more likely to be low on life satisfaction scores. Direct coping was positively associated with life satisfaction ($b = 0.27, p < .001$), indicating that participants with high direct coping scores were more likely to be high on life satisfaction scores.

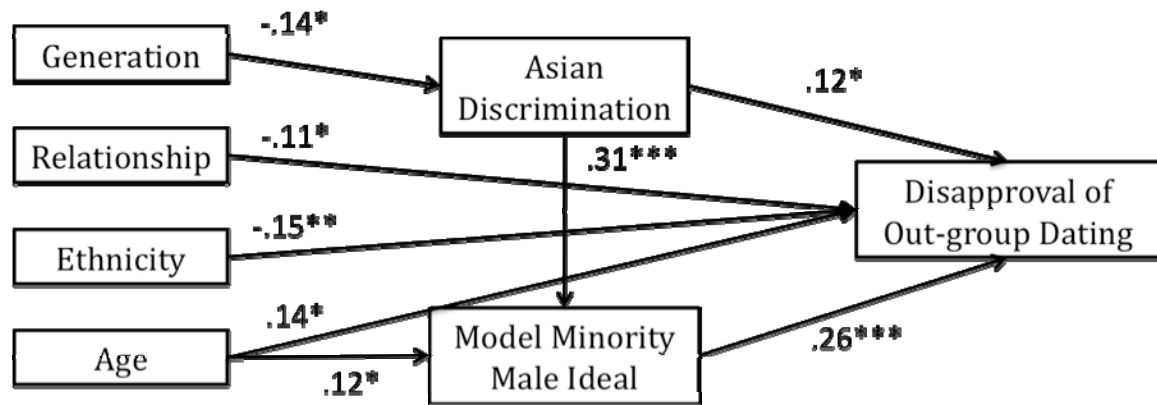
Analysis 3f. In this analysis we examined the relationship between direct coping and GPA using the dual-pathway model. We predicted that direct coping would positively associate with GPA. After controlling for the effects of income, generational

Model Minority Male Ideal scores were more likely to self-report low GPA's. The relationship between Model Minority Pride and GPA was not statistically significant, nor was the relationship between Model Minority Pressure and GPA. The relationship between direct coping and GPA was not statistically significant.

SEM Analysis Series 4.

Analysis 4. In this analysis we examined the relationship between Perceived Asian Discrimination, Model Minority Male Ideal, and disapproval of out-group dating. We predicted that Perceived Asian Discrimination and Model Minority Male Ideal would positively associate with disapproval of out-group dating. A high disapproval of out-group dating score indicated intolerance of Asian American women dating non-Asian American men; a low disapproval of out-group dating score indicated tolerance of Asian American women dating non-Asian American men. After controlling for the effects of generational status, relationship status, region of Asian ethnic background, and age on scores for Perceived Asian Discrimination, Model Minority Male Ideal, and disapproval out-group dating, our proposed model had excellent fit indices. The ratio between chi-square and degrees of freedom ($\chi^2/df = 10.95/10$) was 1.10 ($p < 0.36$). The CFI value for the model was 0.99 and the RMSEA was 0.02. Statistically significant relationships were indicated in Figure 8.

Figure 8. SEM Analysis Assessing the Relationship between Perceived Asian Discrimination, Model Minority Male Ideal, and Disapproval of Out-Group Dating.



* $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

In this sample, generational status was negatively associated with Perceived Asian Discrimination ($b = -0.14, p < .05$), indicating that second or third generation participants were more likely to have low Perceived Asian Discrimination scores than 1.5 generation participants. Relationship status was negatively associated with out-group dating ($b = -0.11, p < .05$), indicating that participants who were in a significant relationship were more likely to have low out-group dating scores than participants who were not in a significant relationship. Region of Asian ethnic background was negatively associated with out-group dating ($b = -0.15, p < .01$), indicating that participants of a multi-racial or multi-ethnic background were more likely to have low out-group dating scores than participants with non-multi-racial or non-multi-ethnic backgrounds.

Perceived Asian Discrimination was positively associated with Model Minority Male Ideal and disapproval of out-group dating ($b = 0.31, p < .001$; $b = 0.12, p < .05$), indicating that participants with high Perceived Asian Discrimination scores were more likely to have high Model Minority Male Ideal and high disapproval of out-group dating

scores. Model Minority Male Ideal was positively associated with out-group dating ($b = 0.26, p < .001$), indicating that participants with high Model Minority Male Ideal scores were more likely to have high disapproval of out-group dating scores.

Quantitative Survey Discussion

The prediction for analysis 1a was partially supported. Though the relationship between Perceived Asian Discrimination and Model Minority Myth scores was not statistically significant, there was a strong relationship between Perceived Asian Discrimination and Parental Perfectionism. In turn, Parental Perfectionism was significantly and positively associated with Model Minority Myth scores. These findings may suggest that social marginality at the social, or distal, level (e.g., racial discrimination towards Asian Americans) and family level messages that are influenced by the conditions of social marginality (parental perfectionism) may both contribute to the endorsement of an idealized cultural identity such as the Model Minority Myth. However, it appears as though family-level messages (Perceived Parental Perfectionism) may contribute more strongly to endorsement of this idealized cultural identity than society level social marginality (Perceived Asian Discrimination).

This finding has implications for the study of how social marginality may impact Asian American male college students' endorsement of an idealized cultural identity. Racial discrimination in general or Perceived Asian Discrimination is a societal level measure of social marginality that researchers may often look to as a factor that influences the construction of Asian American men's idealized cultural identity (Liu & Iwamoto, 2007). However, findings in this study show that an experience that is situated in the socio-historical context of social marginality, in this case high expectations to

succeed academically among Asian American families (parental perfectionism), appears to be more immediately related to the formation of an idealized model minority identity in this sample. Implications of this finding may indicate that in future studies, non-statistically significant relationships between societal levels of social marginality and idealized cultural identities may actually be mediated by or related to family-levels socialization via high expectations and pressures to succeed academically.

The prediction for analysis 1b was supported. Both Perceived Parental Perfectionism and Perceived Asian Discrimination were significant predictors of Model Minority Male Ideal, suggesting that social marginality at the social, or distal, level (e.g., racial discrimination towards Asian Americans) and family level messages that are influenced by the conditions of social marginality (parental perfectionism) may both contribute to the endorsement of an idealized cultural identity such as the Model Minority Myth. While the finding from analysis 1a indicated that only our proximal family level measure of social marginality was directly related to idealized cultural identity (Model Minority Myth), analysis 1b indicates that measures for both family-level socialization and distal societal level measures of social marginality may be needed to more fully describe how idealized beliefs about Asian American masculinity are constructed among Asian American male college students. Future studies on how social marginality shapes Asian American male college students' endorsement of idealized cultural identity as it relates to both ethnic culture and masculinity may therefore capture both family level and societal level measures of social marginality.

The prediction for analysis 1c was supported, indicating that the dual-pathway model was a reliable model on which to build subsequent analyses in this study. The

positive relationship that Model Minority Male Ideal has with both model Minority Pride and Model Minority Pressure indicates the complex dual-pathway relationship that the endorsement of an idealized gendered cultural identity can have on having the positive aspect of feeling pride as a model minority while simultaneously feeling pressure to maintain appearances as a model minority.

The prediction for analysis 2a was supported, indicating that the dual-pathway model with John Henryism was a strong model to use in subsequent analyses to examine how resilience can relate to perceived stress, depressive symptoms, anxiety symptoms, life satisfaction, and GPA. The strong positive relationship between Model Minority Pride and John Henryism indicates that the pride associated with endorsing an idealized gendered cultural identity may lead to protective resilience measures like John Henryism. Conversely, the negative relationship between Model Minority Pressure and John Henryism indicates that the pressure associated with endorsing an idealized gendered cultural identity may detract from protective resilience factors like John Henryism.

The predictions for the analyses 2b – 2f were generally supported indicating that resilience factors like John Henryism may protect against negative well-being outcomes like perceived stress, depressive symptoms, and anxiety symptoms, and contribute to positive well-being outcomes like life satisfaction and GPA. Participants of Southeast Asian background had higher perceived stress and depressive symptom scores and lower self-reported GPAs than participants of other backgrounds, which is consistent with findings from the literature on Asian American college students (National Commission on Asian American and Pacific Islander Research in Education, 2008). Relationship status was positively associated with life satisfaction and marginally negatively

associated with depressive symptoms. These findings may indicate that looking for an intimate partner (dating) is an important need for Asian American male college students and that being in a significant relationship may perhaps protect from depressive symptoms since life satisfaction is high and a partner could be a source of consistent social support.

Income was negatively associated with depressive symptoms and positively associated with life satisfaction and GPA. These findings are consistent with the literature and may indicate the day-to-day experiences of lower income college students. For example, students who must work in order to support themselves through school may have less free time to exercise, pursue hobbies, socialize, or otherwise engage in activities that have been shown in some studies to help treat depression, especially when in combination with clinical treatment (Daley, 2008). Additionally, less time to socialize and perhaps even less time to study may lead to lower life satisfaction and GPA. It has also been shown that students with a high household income are more likely to come from school districts that offer academic environments that better prepare students for college, thus possibly explaining why lower household incomes relate to lower GPAs in this sample (CARE, 2008).

The endorsement of an idealized gendered cultural identity in this sample was positively related with perceived stress, depressive symptoms, and anxiety symptoms, indicating that perhaps the standards implied in attaining and maintaining standards of the Model Minority Male Ideal can contribute to negative well-being outcomes. For the negative well-being outcomes of perceived stress and depressive symptoms, Model Minority Pride may act as a protective factor, while Model Minority Pressure may be a

contributor. While there were no significant protective relationships indicated between Model Minority Pride and anxiety symptoms or life satisfaction outcomes, results indicated that Model Minority Pressure somewhat directly contributed to anxiety symptoms since to be low on Model Minority Pressure was directly related to high life satisfaction scores. While there was no relationship between Model Minority Pressure scores and GPA, Model Minority Pride was curiously related to lower self-reported GPAs.

The prediction for analysis 3a was supported, indicating that the dual-pathway model with direct coping was a strong model to use in subsequent analyses to examine how resilience can relate to perceived stress, depressive symptoms, anxiety symptoms, life satisfaction, and GPA. The strong positive relationship between Model Minority Pride and direct coping indicates that the pride associated with endorsing an idealized gendered cultural identity may lead to protective resilience factors like direct coping. Conversely, the strong negative relationship between Model Minority Pressure and direct coping indicates that the pressure associated with endorsing an idealized gendered cultural identity may detract from protective resilience factors like direct coping.

The positive relationship between relationship status and direct coping may be an indication that participants who were in significant relationships had an immediate source of social support in which to engage in effective forms of direct coping when faced with a problem (i.e., talking to another person), thus making relationship status a contributing factor to direct coping. Alternatively, the positive relationship may also be an indication that those participants who engaged in effective direct coping were more likely to attract and maintain partnerships, thus making direct coping a contributing factor to relationship

status. While the directionality of this relationship cannot be determined in this analysis, these questions may be explored in future qualitative study. Other demographic findings related to outcome variables were consistent with previous analyses.

The predictions for the analyses 3b – 3f were generally supported indicating that resilience factors like direct coping may protect against negative well-being outcomes like perceived stress, depressive symptoms, and anxiety symptoms, and contribute to positive well-being outcomes like life satisfaction. The prediction in analysis 3f was not supported however since direct coping was not significantly related to GPA. As in the previous analyses, the endorsement of an idealized gendered cultural identity in this sample was positively related with perceived stress, depressive symptoms, and anxiety symptoms, indicating that perhaps the standards implied in attaining and maintaining standards of the Model Minority Male Ideal can contribute to negative well-being outcomes.

For the negative well-being outcomes of perceived stress and depressive symptoms, Model Minority Pride may act as a protective factor, while Model Minority Pressure may be a contributor. While there were no significant protective relationships indicated between Model Minority Pride and anxiety symptoms or life satisfaction outcomes, results indicate that Model Minority Pressure somewhat directly contributes to anxiety symptoms since to be low on Model Minority Pressure was directly related to high life satisfaction scores. This finding indicates that Model Minority Pride does not have a direct relationship with life satisfaction but rather, the lowering of or absence of Model Minority Pressure was what predicted life satisfaction. This finding has implications for school counselors who may take a cultural approach when providing

guidance to Asian American male college students who endorse an idealized gendered cultural identity such as the Model Minority Male Ideal.

Overall, in SEM Analysis Series 2 and 3, the endorsement of the Model Minority Male Ideal positively related to both Model Minority Pride and Pressure. In turn, Model Minority Pride contributed positively to resilience, as measured by John Henryism and direct coping, while Model Minority Pressure detracted from resilience. Both resilience measures negatively related to perceived stress, depressive symptoms, and anxiety symptoms, which indicated that John Henryism and direct coping might be considered protective factors against negative well-being outcomes. Similarly, both resilience measures positively related to life satisfaction, which is a positive well-being outcome. Only John Henryism positively predicted GPA; direct coping had no significant relationship with GPA.

This finding indicates that while John Henryism and direct coping are both resilience measures that are similar in a number of ways and may lead to similar findings at times, they are still distinct constructs nonetheless. Thus, in future studies, it may benefit to have multiple measures of resilience. In the case of GPA, John Henryism may have been a predictive variable since the work ethic over time involved with John Henryism may be more applicable to studying over multiple semesters or quarters to maintain a high GPA. Direct coping on the other hand may not have been a relevant measure of resilience related to GPA since it is a construct that deals only with problems as they arise and does not capture the actions of a student over time when there are not problems. It is apparent that in this sample that resilience similar to John Henryism was

what impacted GPA and effective direct coping was not an influential factor in determining GPA.

The prediction for analysis 4a was supported and potentially has implications for race relations between Asian Americans and other racial groups, as well as for relations between Asian American men and Asian American women. Perceived Asian Discrimination was positively associated with out-group dating, indicating that perhaps participants who experienced and reported more discrimination against Asian Americans in turn were more likely to disapprove of Asian American women dating non-Asian American men. Model Minority Male Ideal was also positively associated with out-group dating, indicating that perhaps participants who strongly endorsed an idealized gendered cultural identity also disapproved of Asian American women dating non-Asian American men. One implication of this finding may imply that the disapproval of Asian American women dating non-Asian American men may in fact be a part of the construct of the Model Minority Male Ideal, though it was not directly measured in that particular instrument. It is important to note that the out-group dating measure asked only about Asian American women dating non-Asian American men and thus asked only about heterosexual scenarios.

In this sample, it was participants from the 1.5 generation that were most likely to have the highest Perceived Asian Discrimination scores. The findings in this study may be difficult to interpret due to the vast variety in experiences that 1.5 generation participants have had. These experiences could have been influenced by factors that were not captured in this study, such as age of immigration, the ethnic composition of the communities they moved to, reason for immigration, etc. Participants from the 1.5

generation are presumably bicultural (fluent in two languages and cultures) and therefore may be subject to and aware of discrimination against Asian Americans more than participants from the second and third generations are. Alternatively, participants from the second and third generations might be more likely to live in areas that are ethnically and generationally diverse, such as in areas of California, and thus may be less likely to experience discrimination against immigrants as a whole.

Participants who were of a multi-ethnic or multi-racial background were more likely to be tolerant of out-group dating, which follows their background of having parents of different ethnic or racial backgrounds. Additionally, these participants may have been more likely to have been brought up in a home and potentially community atmosphere that specifically promoted tolerance across ethnic and racial groups. The finding that age was positively related to Model Minority Male Ideal scores may be an indication that Asian American male college students develop their masculine identities over time, particularly when they are in their college years. Presumably, if intolerance towards Asian American women dating non-Asian American men is part of an idealized gendered cultural identity that these male participants develop, it is consistent that older men in this sample would endorse both Model Minority Male Ideal and intolerance against out-group dating. In this scenario, Model Minority Male Ideal mediates age and out-group dating (Sobel = 2.60, $p < .01$).

The finding that single or casually dating participants were more intolerant of out-group dating may be an indication that Asian American men who are not in a significant relationship may somehow blame Asian American women for dating or marrying non-Asian Americans, especially in greater numbers than Asian American men out-group date

(Thien-Bao, 2003). Consciously or unconsciously, there may be a perception that Asian American men are competing with not only other Asian American men, but men of other races as well to date Asian American women. Thus, the competitive stakes are raised and the number of available Asian American women may be perceived as “shrinking,” thus stacking the odds against them.

Additionally, there may be a perception that Asian American men are at a disadvantage in attracting Asian American women to date when compared to men of other races. Some attributes that may be considered to be a disadvantage on a stereotypical level might be shorter and less muscular stature, less masculine features like softer skin and less body hair, less athletic, more “geeky,” less rebellious, etc. Such stereotypical attributes are sometimes used in jokes among Asian American men themselves, such as the short film “Yellow Fever” in which Asian American male college students explain to one another why Asian American women are attracted to white and black men over Asian American men (Wong Fu Productions, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_edce8uccAc).

It is important to note that these stereotyped and generalized assumptions are specific to dating, not longer-term relationships such as marriage. However, even in the realm of marriage, Asian American women date outside of ethnic and racial groups at a higher rate than Asian American men do. This demographic trend may lead to Asian American men feeling that they are at a disadvantage and may lose out on an opportunity for a life partnership which is a significant component of life satisfaction for many people. Thus, there may be a competitive attitude that develops among Asian American men towards other racial groups, reflecting the resentment and frustration felt at having

presumably fewer dating options. Additionally, there may be a possessiveness of Asian American women that is expressed which may in turn negatively impact relations between these men and women if Asian American women disapprove of attitudes that Asian American men “own” them in a sense. While difficult to interpret using quantitative analysis results, attitudes about these inter-gender and inter-racial relations can be followed explored using qualitative inquiry.

CHAPTER IV

QUALITATIVE INTERVIEW

Qualitative Method

Qualitative Interviews

For the present study, participants who had taken the online survey were invited by email to participate in a one-on-one interview to talk about their experiences as Asian American male college students (see Appendix N for questions). In the online survey, participants were asked whether they would consent to being contacted by email with an invitation to participate in a one-on-one interview. Only participants who had indicated “yes” to being contacted *and* were affiliated with the same large Midwestern university the principal investigator was based were invited to participate in an interview. Limiting interview participants to one university allowed the researcher to conduct interviews on campus and avoid institutional variation in a small sample.

The first 20 respondents who were currently in the area were scheduled for an interview. Since the interviews were conducted primarily during spring and summer semesters, some participants who responded and were interested in participating were ineligible because they were living out of town at the time. Participants were compensated with \$20 in iTunes or a donation to charity for their time. Interviews lasted approximately 40 to 90 minutes, were audio taped and later transcribed. Identifying information (i.e., names, specific organization affiliations) was changed to respect participants’ confidentiality.

Interviewer influence on the interviews

Interviews were administered by the principal investigator of this study, who was a female, second generation, Korean American graduate student working on her doctorate in psychology and women's studies. The gender identity of the researcher possibly impacted the content of the interviews. Since all participants identified themselves as male and the interviewer was visibly female, participants may have framed their communications in a way that limited the amount of information they disclosed. Conversely, it is possible that the female identity of the interviewer influenced the participants in such a way that they felt more comfortable with disclosing personal information and opinions. However the interviews were affected by gender mismatch between subjects and researcher, it was not possible to determine what the nature of that effect was in this study since no additional interviewers were used. Since there were no additional interviewers to compare, there were no groups of interview transcripts to compare.

Since all participants were informed that their interviewer was a graduate student pursuing a doctorate in psychology and women's studies, it is likely that at least some participants tailored their responses to address issues related to psychology and gender. Additionally, all participants were aware that the study was solely focused on Asian American male college students and some made a point to frame their responses in a way that were specific to Asian American male issues. After the interviews ended, many participants asked questions of the interviewer about the researcher study. It was evident that a few participants were surprised and curious why a female researcher would be interested in men's issues, but no participant expressed surprise that the topic was

focused on Asian Americans, most likely because the researcher herself is visibly Asian American.

The ethnic identity of the interviewer had an influence on the subjects depending on their ethnic and cultural background. Indian American participants, for example, sometimes hesitated to give specific geographic locations when asked where their parents were born in India, presumably because they assumed the researcher would not know those locations. A few Chinese American participants made reference to Chinese language (either Mandarin or Cantonese), but did not share the actual Chinese words that they were referring to. Korean American participants, however, were more open with the researcher and one participant used Korean words that were meaningful descriptions of Korean culture rather than use English terms. This happened presumably because the participants knew the interviewer was Korean and assumed she was familiar with the language and culture, more so than Chinese American and Indian American participants did. Participants may have been able to discern the interviewer's ethnic identity based on her last name, and the interviewer directly told a few participants that she was Korean American. Overall, Korean American participants seemed to be more open and congenial with the interviewer when compared to Chinese American and Indian American participants.

The second generation Asian American status of the interviewer may have influenced how open the participants were when sharing experiences of perceived Asian discrimination and thoughts about Asian American stereotypes. The interviewer sensed that most participants felt comfortable discussing these topics, which may be attributed to a perceived assumption that the interviewer was familiar with the same stereotypes and

had perhaps experienced such discriminations herself. Throughout the interviews, the use of “you know” was used consistently, but especially so when participants made reference to an event or concept that they indicated the interviewer might be familiar with. This was evident in responses to questions about parental perfectionism – participants would often laugh with the interviewer as if there was a shared experience that was being talked about. This camaraderie was perceptibly present as well when participants talked about stereotypes about Asian Americans that could be applied to both genders. However, when participants talked about stereotypes specific to Asian American men, particularly the stereotype that Asian American men have smaller penises than men of other races, they often became hesitant and sometimes embarrassed to the point they either rushed through the questions or had difficulty controlling their laughter. Some participants had similar reactions when talking about sexual experiences, dating, or sharing information that they had never dated or were never sexually active.

The interviewer assured participants that identifying information, such as names, would be changed. For some participants, this was particularly important if they shared information about a professor that they had difficulties with. Participants were aware that the interviewer taught courses as a graduate student instructor at the same university, so the interviewer assured participants that she would try not to divulge information in a way that could potentially lead a professor to associate negative comments to a particular student. In a few interviews, participants who were in dating relationships and talked about their girlfriends made a point to ask the interviewer if their girlfriends were going to hear the information. Thus, the fact that the interviewer worked on the same campus that participants went to school at and potentially could have crossed paths with persons

that the participants described (e.g., girlfriends, professors), this may have limited the amount of information participants were comfortable sharing.

In the quantitative study, participants participated in such a way that an email address was the only identifying information they submitted. In the qualitative study, the interviewer knew participants' names as well and first names (and sometimes last names as well) we used in email exchanges and face-to-face contact. The personal nature of the interviews may have thus influenced participants, either by encouraging them to feel more committed to sharing information in a personalized situation, or to hesitate to share information for which they might be held personally accountable. Overall, the extent to which participants felt comfortable sharing information in the interviews was likely influenced by the congruency of the participants' and interviewer's gender, ethnicity, generational status, racial identity, location on the same college campus, and personalized nature of face-to-face interviewing.

Participants

All participants reported themselves to be good students and noted that their families never intervened with school unless it was to correct undesirable behaviors, such as getting a lower than expected grade. In one example, the bad grade was a "B" in grade school and the intervention consisted of a lecture on how the son needed to work harder. No families were reported to teaching specific study skills or giving particular academic advice. Yet, these college students were academically high-achieving and successful. This emphasis on education may reflect the high levels of education that their parents had as well as an internalized model minority message that academic excellence is central to success as an individual in the United States.

All persons interviewed participated in extracurricular activities to some extent with some being devoting much time to multiple organizations and serving in leadership positions. A number of the interview participants were musical performers, a few identified themselves as practicing Christians who were active on the campus or went to church regularly, and some of the participants belonged to fraternities. There was a range of majors represented across the participants, including business, engineering, biology, music, and classical civilization. Aside from engineering and business students, almost all students were preparing to apply for medical school or another health-related profession, such as public health or pharmacy. Participants were of three ethnic Asian American backgrounds: Korean American, Indian American, and Chinese American. Interview participants considered themselves either 1.5 generation or second generation for the purposes of this study. Information about participants, listed with assigned pseudonyms, were presented in Table 3.

Table 3. *Demographic information for interview study participants.*

Name	Ethnicity	Generation	Year in School	Major
Alex	Indian Am.	1.5	Sophomore	Music / Biology (minor)
Bernie	Indian Am.	1.5	Recent Graduate	Neuroscience / Economics (minor)
Charlie	Indian Am.	1.5	Recent Graduate	Cell & Molecular Biology
David	Indian Am.	2 nd	Junior	Public Policy / Math
Ethan	Indian Am.	2 nd	Recent Graduate	Cell & Molecular Biology
Forrest	Chinese Am.	2 nd	Senior	Neuroscience / Medical Anthropology (minor)
Gary	Korean Am.	2 nd	Senior	Psychology / Statistics (minor)
Henry	Indian Am.	2 nd	Senior	Psychology
Ivan	Korean Am.	1.5	Senior	Political Science
Jacob	Chinese Am.	2 nd	Sophomore	Chemical Engineering / French (minor)
Kevin	Chinese Am.	2 nd	Recent Graduate	Biology
Leonard	Indian Am.	2 nd	Recent Graduate	Neuroscience
Marcus	Chinese Am.	2 nd	Senior	Cell & Molecular Biology / Classical Civilizations
Nathan	Korean Am.	2 nd	Sophomore	Business
Omar	Chinese Am.	2 nd	Junior	Cultural Anthropology / Political Science
Patrick	Chinese Am.	2 nd	Senior	Cell & Molecular Biology
Quentin	Chinese Am.	2 nd	Junior	Mechanical Engineering
Raymond	Korean Am.	2 nd	Senior	Biopsychology / Economics
Sherman	Indian Am.	2 nd	Senior	Aerospace Engineering
Thomas	Chinese Am.	1.5	Senior	Business

Qualitative Interview Analyses and Findings

Major Themes

Participants were asked to share information about their family background, experiences growing up, experiences in college, and what they planned to do five or ten years in the future. From these interviews, seven interrelated themes emerged: (a) transmission of parental messages were largely tacit; (b) parental perfectionism was both resented and valued; (c) responses to perceived Asian discrimination and Asian stereotypes were heterogeneous; (d) positive representations of manhood were characterized as strength of character; (e) multiple referent groups were used to implicitly describe masculinity; (f) attitudes toward out-group dating reflected complex ideas about race relations and individual companionship; (g) active coping was recognized and often utilized. This section will detail the seven major themes that emerged across the interviews.

Transmission of Parental Messages Were Largely Tacit

The researcher analyzed the interviews for content related to the transmission of parental messages and found six sub-themes that emerged described the content of lessons parents and other significant family members imparted onto the interview participants throughout childhood: common lessons, implicit expectations, learning by example, comparisons to other Asian Americans, direct communication, and cultural contexts.

Common lessons. A number of participants who born and raised in the U.S. by immigrant parents noted that their parents talked to them about the importance of being frugal. Patrick described this lesson that his father emphasized:

I guess this is something to do with the older generation, that they don't like to waste things a lot. But he always had to conserve, be it food or energy or anything like that. So we were taught to, you know, I guess treasure everything we had and try not to waste anything.

Overwhelmingly, hard work and studying were described as central lessons from childhood through college. David summarized this lesson as, "Be confident, have faith in yourself. Study hard." Charlie described his parents as saying, "Do your best. Work as hard as you can. Don't slack off [laughs]. Do the right thing always and believe in yourself and we're always there for you." Charlie's recollection was an example of how believing in oneself was often tied to lessons on working hard, as well as family support. When asked to share lessons that his parents repeated over and over in childhood, Gary laughed and summarized his childhood lessons simply as, "Study, study, study."

Messages from the family were sometimes transmitted through family members other than the mother or father. For some of the participants, grandparents who lived in the same household for part of their childhood created an additional source for life lessons. Some participants recalled receiving direct, explicit lessons from extended family members, such as grandmothers and aunties, while visiting overseas. However, the infrequent visits and communications with extended family made these messages few and far between, however. For a few individuals who lived in the same household with grandparents, language barriers limited the extent to which communication was possible.

Raymond was able to communicate with his grandmother and shared one lesson that he picked up:

Something my grandma, and I guess my whole family, [says] is just be humble and just work hard. Like, don't show off because eventually you'll get rewarded either [by] god or karma or something.

Implicit expectations. Most participants expressed that there were many lessons emphasized throughout childhood and the above common themes were readily identified as explicit lessons. However, a majority of participants surprised themselves by not being able to name more childhood lessons. Some participants even joked that their parents would be very disappointed to know that they were not able to name more lessons. Consequently, an emergent common theme was focused on implicit expectations of parents and other significant family members that were difficult to articulate, but were nonetheless influential in shaping participants' lives. Alex describes his experience as such:

My parents have the expectation of us as holding up the family name and making our parents proud and representing our whole family well and stuff like that. I mean...[pause]...there's never been...[pause]...I'm trying to think...[pause]... It's just always been an expectation and we've kind of made it an expectation for ourselves too. It's just always kind of been an underlying expectation.

Alex's excerpt was similar to many participants' in that he paused when he had difficulty remembering childhood lessons and then reflected that there were underlying expectations that he had internalized.

For some participants, family members other than the mother and father were involved in transmitting lessons indirectly. Raymond recalled that he learned his family members' unspoken expectations:

My grandma would say, "Just listen to your mom and dad because they know what's best for you." And, I mean, not directly I guess, but... I'd kind of like...I saw what they wanted and expected. They never directly said it, but indirectly I kind of...picked it up I guess.

Being a good student was overwhelmingly a common lesson that participants readily recalled being important, yet few participants remembered parents *explicitly telling* their sons *how* to be good students. Sherman's memories are typical of many participants:

That's more of like an implied thing, at least in my family. Just to, you know, if you do well academically and things like that. That's what you're supposed to be doing.

Like Sherman, many participants described being a good student as what they were supposed to do.

Almost all participants described themselves as good students from childhood through college. As long as participants met parents' expectations of being a good student, explicit lessons were very infrequent. Henry shared his mother's expectation of being a good student:

My family is not as instructive in that kind of way. I mean, I guess if they didn't agree with something I was doing they would just let me know... They kind of

want me to make my own choices and I guess suffer the consequences if they were bad. But that hasn't really been applicable.

Henry commented throughout his interview that his mother and extended family would intervene if he thought he needed help, but that he was doing exceptionally well and therefore did not receive much instruction. Similarly, Bernie shared how he learned childhood lessons:

It's more of watch and learn from our peers and other examples. Personally, I haven't had my parents like sit down and talk to me specifically. I don't think they've actually had the need to.

Bernie observed others to learn lessons and like Henry, did not feel that he needed intervention because he had fulfilled his family's expectations of being a good student and good son. Most participants with siblings shared a common theme of either being influenced by their older siblings during childhood or having an influence on their younger sibling's childhood socialization. Marcus describes his influence on his younger brother:

My brother isn't as big into sports as I am, so I've made fun of him a lot in the past to tell him to be more of a man and play some football with me. So I've teased him about that.

While Marcus made a conscious decision to influence his younger brother's socialization into sports, he did so indirectly using teasing as the mechanism for transmission.

Learning by example. A majority of participants described the mechanism of transmitting childhood lessons as learning by example, accompanied by only occasional verbal affirmation. Nathan described how he learned about important values from his parents:

They wouldn't necessarily sit me down and say, "We want you to be honest, loyal..." But just throughout my life, just here and there, they would speak on those ideas, trying to set examples, things like that.

Quentin attributed how he viewed the treatment of women to observing his father:

Again, it was more just the example. I guess it was always instilled in me. I don't know how recently I was conscious of it, but it was the same thing with my dad just setting an example, like how he was treating my mom.

Some parents made explicit decisions to set an example, such as Leonard's father:

My parents don't view drinking as a good habit.... When my brother was like 13 and I was...nine...my dad gave up drinking to show my brother as an example.

A number of participants named their father in particular as being particularly influential in their lives by being a positive role model. Bernie did not think he would be able to compare his future career to his father's because:

I don't think he is defined by his job, more so *how* he does his job.... He'll always be a role model for me. His work ethic, his ability to handle difficult situations, always working for the best of the family, he's a very principled person [emphasis added].

From observing the example his father set, Raymond was able to derive specific life lessons:

My dad was always just like, just keep your head up always, don't give up, just work hard and you'll get rewarded. He never directly said it...I would look at how he works. He works really hard for his family. So just looking at that, I kind of see him as my role model. I never told him that, but he just works really hard for his family and people he cares about.

Like many participants, Raymond did not have direct, frequent communications with his father, whom he viewed as a role model, about important life lessons. Nonetheless, the values that participants recalled were described as *indirect, yet omnipresent*. A few participants, such as Sherman, noted that their parents' immigration experience was a context in which they admired them:

They don't like to talk a lot, they like to set examples... My dad's probably a pretty good role model if you think about it. He's worked hard just to get into this country and he always, I mean, [he] doesn't even have a single speeding ticket to tell you truth. I mean he, that's just how he is.

Participants with older siblings often cited them as examples to follow. Nathan described his unspoken socialization experience as centered around his parents directing him to follow his older sister's example:

They really emphasized, kind of like, lead by example. And I think that they knew that because she [my older sister] did well and she's a good example to go by – that I understood that and that I should strive for the same thing.

A few participants cited older, non-related students as being role models who indirectly imparted lessons that participants took to heart. Alex describes one such student that had a positive influence on him:

One of the guys in my [music] group...he's a senior and I've learned so much from him.... He doesn't respond to things as impulsively as I do and sometimes that'll be frustrating because if the group's waiting for a decision he's, like, taking his time trying to think of something and so people are impatient. But then I realize that taking that time and making an informed decision is much more effective, especially when trying to lead a group.

When prompted to speak about how they might approach parenting in the future, participants all cited that their parents had been a central influence, whether as examples of what to do or as examples of what not to do. Ivan saw his father as a role model and shared that, "I think most of my image of how to be a good dad comes from my dad. And still to this day, I look at how my dad acted in certain situations." Similar to Ivan, Quentin reflected on his childrearing experience as one he would like to emulate:

I've already deduced that my parents did a pretty good job [laughs]. So if I just do what they do, or make small adjustments, then I think it should be fine.

Patrick had a slightly different approach and had given a bit of thought to how he would like to approach future parenting:

One of the things I've always kind of promised myself is that I would try not to repeat the same mistakes my parents did. I wouldn't call my upbringing bad by

any means, but it certainly wasn't ideal. Just kind of silly things that I would, that I just want to make sure that I wouldn't repeat next if I had kids.

A few participants had influential women in their lives, particularly mothers who also talked about men as examples of what *not* to follow as part of important life lessons.

Forrest's mother did this regularly:

A lot about respecting women, especially from my mom about you know how to treat your wife or how to treat your girlfriend you know, things that you shouldn't do and how to keep your temper in check because my dad has a really, really bad temper.... I think it's hard to recall them because it's so ingrained into my subconscious now that I automatically do it.

Comparisons to other Asian Americans. Comparison to other people was a consistent theme throughout the interviews and captured a sort of semi-direct communication that had a significant influence in participants' lives. Alex's extended family members overseas, whom he infrequently saw, compared him to his father, whom he still had regular contact with:

They compare me to my dad. You know, they'll say your dad was such a good man. You should live up to his name. It's just the kind of thing that I've heard so many times that even if people say it to me I'm just in auto-pilot, I know what's coming kind of thing.

Ivan described frequent comparisons to his cousins as part of how his parents transmitted life lessons and attributed it mostly to culture:

My parents don't like sit me down and be like, "Hey, here's good ways to be a son," and give me a list. It's like everything's kind of relative in my experience. But they compare you to your cousins and because, I guess the Korean culture is very family-oriented, you do get compared to a lot of your cousins.

While Alex and Ivan were compared to other family members who were considered positive role models to emulate, comparison to other people who were identified as examples *not* to follow were just as frequent. For example, Leonard shares:

The thing is they wouldn't tell me how to be...no one in my extended family would say that or my parents wouldn't even say, necessarily how to be a good son, but they'd point to examples in other families where they had problems. They'd basically, they'd tell me to kind of imply, like, "Don't do that."

The use of comparison that was prevalent throughout the interviews also often involved extended family or other families in the Asian American community and while it was more direct than implied learning by example, it was still somewhat implicit. Direct communication, particularly from parents, was not as frequent but nonetheless played an important role in participants' lives. The nature of lessons imparted from father to son was highlighted by participants like David:

Be strong, be confident, focus your mind on something and try to achieve it. Set a goal for yourself. Always do what you say you're going to do. That was a big one, like if you say you're going do something, make sure you do it. Don't do things halfway.

A few participants described the life lessons that their fathers directly communicated as ones that were tailored to the child's disposition and situational factors. For example, Raymond recalled his father as stressing lessons specific to his idiosyncrasies:

My dad, he would always tell me to learn the basics because I always just tend to go into things and just do it without understanding why. So throughout college I just heard my dad say, "Learn the basics, you've got to learn the basics, the fundamentals, before you do anything." So that was, you know, a good lesson that my dad taught me.

Relationship advice. A majority of the lessons that were communicated from father to son were described as being useful for all aspects of life. A few participants, however, shared examples of direct communication that were geared for a specific purpose. Nathan's father and some of his older cousins had talked to him directly about how to be a good man, which was characterized as being a family man

A man has to be there for his family, and for his friends. Just be able to support them. Along with the values and morals, the trust, the loyalty, the honesty, integrity, and definitely...to try to be the foundation, especially when you're starting your own family.

A few participants had parents who noted financial responsibility as being a key component of responsible living and made sure they developed basic accounting skills. For example, Kevin's father imparted specific life skills as part of the direct communication of how to be an adult, however seemingly delayed:

I think it was just that when I turned 18, I thought that kind of autonomy would happen and I was very frustrated that my parents weren't recognizing it. But when I did turn 21, my parents seemed to really acknowledge the fact that I was now, in their perspective, an adult. And so my dad would just tell me that as an adult, there are certain responsibilities I have. And he showed me some other things, like how to start a Roth IRA and things like that.

Very few participants' parents had explicitly spoken to them about sexual development. When asked if they had been given a "*birds and the bees*" talk, most participants said no and expressed that it would have been uncomfortable to hear that information with their parents. Rather, almost all participants learned about sexual health in school. Direct communication that involved life lessons about intimate relationships was vague, discouraged relationships, or focused more on respect and being polite. Charlie's father was one who discouraged intimate relationships during college:

My dad's been saying, "Just stay focused on school – you don't have time for girlfriends. You will have the time for girlfriends, not right now. Getting in medical school is really important. That's what you have to do, that should be your primary focus and priority."

Forrest's father acknowledged that he may be dating and gave him relationship advice that was difficult to interpret:

The only piece of relationship advice that my dad gave me was, "Don't be doing anything that you shouldn't be doing," whatever that means because they've, like, never said what I should and should not do.

While many participants looked to their parents for how to be (or not to be) a future marriage partner, most were not able to derive how to act in dating relationships based on observing their parents. Like many participants, Gary noted that his parents' cultural context was very different from his based on immigration and generational differences: "They just jumped on the marriage boat [laughs] they just hopped on...and so, it's a little bit different." Gary's description of how his parents married quickly was shared by most participants and most attributed a lack of intimate relationship advice to not being ready for marriage yet and that their parents had no dating experience to share since they were not raised in a dating culture.

Some participants were able to talk with older brothers and cousins about dating relationship experiences in order to hear about things to do and not to do. For example, David had an older brother he was close with:

I talk to my brother. We're pretty good friends. We talk about like girls and stuff.... Like...what happened with his girlfriend or anything that happened between them, just things like that.

Many participants said that they talked with friends about relationships and sexuality, to varying degrees. Some were open with close friends and had in-depth conversations about these topics while others shared surface-level information about relationship status and sexual experience. Forrest was a singular example of someone who had access to a peer group that talked specifically about being Asian American Christian males as part of his campus ministry:

Actually, we have this men's accountability group where we do talk about sex and we do talk about things like pornography and things that relate to our spiritual lives, specifically to Asian Christian males. I guess stereotypically Asians aren't as, or Asian Christians, are not as open to talking to each other about things like sex and things like pornography, masturbation, and things like that. So we have this weekly discipleship accountability group where we talk about things like that and sort of hold each other accountable and kind of try to be open to each other. And whether or not that works, some people are more open than others, but it is sort of targeted towards being a Christian man, Asian.

Direct communication. While the majority of parental socialization was described as implicit and focused on studying hard and important values, a few participants recalled specific, direct messages from fathers regarding how to approach discrimination in general and discrimination specific to Asian Americans. Omar recalls that, "Probably more around the elementary and middle school years, my dad always told me like "Fight back" if somebody pushed me around." Gary's father talked to him about taunting he faced in school:

Oh my gosh, I remember those were the times where I really had to practice patience. You know, this is what my dad taught me and it was as if he was on my shoulder saying, "Patience, patience." [laughs] "Just sit there, just smile, just ignore him entirely." And eventually, I think knowing that really helped.

In addition to talking about discrimination he experienced at school that was often racially motivated, Gary's father took action:

I used to be really frail in high school, so he said a man has to be at least decently strong. So he got me a bench press for Christmas, which he put into my room, which was pretty cool.

Kevin's father talked to him specifically about discrimination targeted towards Asians and, after Kevin came out to his parents, gay men. The messages that Kevin received from both of his parents regarding discrimination touched on various points of discrimination throughout Asian American history and institutional barriers to Asian American ascension in the workforce. Kevin's father specifically offered some variety in how to handle negative representations of Asian Americans:

I think my dad one time recently...was telling me, "Oh, well for a Halloween costume you should dress with like a Fu Man Chu [a mustache based on a fictional Chinese character] and everything." And I was kind of like, "Really?" And he was just like, "You know, it should be able to be good to laugh at these sort of things."

While some of the messages about reacting to perceived discrimination against Asian Americans focused on levity, there were a few instances in which Kevin's father made a point to have a "heart to heart" talk:

I remember that he would just have these conversations with me while we were eating dinner, just me and him or something. And he was just like, "Now that you're an adult, things are going to be different." Basically talking to me about discrimination in terms of being an Asian in America. And also he seemed to

acknowledge my sexuality and he said that, “If you’re gay too, it’s going to be that much harder.”

Some participants noted that they were not able to speak with their parents about issues specific to discrimination, or even everyday problems not related to discrimination, because their parents were from a different culture as well as a different generation. From a young age, Bernie came up with a way to get situation-appropriate advice:

For me, specifically growing up in America, some of the issues have some problems. So when it comes to those, I speak with my peers or my friends who are in similar situations.

For others, a lack of direct communication about problems, including discrimination, was attributed to individual comfort levels with talking to parents. Ivan acknowledged that his parents may have had advice that could have helped him through personal problems, but he himself was reluctant to talk with them:

I was never really comfortable with talking with my parents about personal things. I didn’t really want to talk to them. Maybe they wanted to talk to me, they would maybe sometimes make an effort, but I kind of brushed it off like, “Oh, why are you doing this?” I was very like, not expressive of my emotions.... I don’t call my mom that much or anything. So there was that kind of absence of communication with me and my parents about stuff that’s on a personal level. So that’s some of the reasons why they didn’t talk to me about a lot of stuff and I kind of had to figure it out on my own. I mean, if I asked them they would

probably tell me, but I wasn't comfortable enough for me to ask those kinds of questions of them, or my parents never really brought it up either.

Cultural contexts. The 1.5 and second generation participants and participants who were raised within ethnic enclaves focused on the role of culture on the lessons that they learned about life. Participants who focused on cultural practices described them as being passed on somewhat directly through stories or aphorisms, implicitly through cultural concepts, and as requiring a shared cultural knowledge. David notes lessons his parents taught him through folktales:

They wouldn't directly like talk about how to be a good son, but my parents would tell me these stories, I guess folktales and things to live by. So I would always take those as examples, but not consciously because the way I was brought up. All these things, they were just generally ingrained in my way of life. Even now I just live through them without consciously thinking about them.

For Thomas, who attended his first few years of grade school in China, an emphasis on studying hard was clear in the schools as well as home: "Well in Chinese schools they'll have a wall that says 'Study every day,' stuff like that.... Yeah, it's literally on the wall." Though Thomas currently resides in the U.S., he describes examples of cultural practices in language that he observed in Chinese media:

I mean there's like, in China there's drama series. So there's like always, usually about a 20-year old person and then they'll go through a journey. And then whenever they talk to, say, older people, there's certain words you use. Like in

Chinese the “you” for a person that’s of the same stature is different than someone that’s elderly. You know, just a sign of respect.

For some life lessons, a shared cultural knowledge was required before the content of a lessons could be identified, and then interpreted. Thomas was taking Chinese language classes for heritage students and expressed an interest in these sorts of cultural aphorisms:

In China there’s lessons about everything in life.... So there’s one where it’s, basically they say one sentence but they don’t say the second sentence, but everyone knows the second sentence. So one would be, it’s called like “The clay Buddha crosses the river.” And the second sentence is supposed to be like, “They couldn’t protect themselves.” The point is usually that the Buddha is someone that protects the people that worship it. But a clay one, when it goes through the river it’s going to melt or whatever, so it can’t protect itself, let alone protect you. And you’re supposed to say it when someone asks you for help but you can’t even help yourself, let alone help them. See, you have to know everything in the background and stuff like that to understand it.

For Ivan, cultural concepts were important to practice when he visited his parents and extended family in Korea on a regular basis. For example, Ivan described, “The whole concept of like *in-sa* (a concept of respecting elders in Korean culture) and stuff, being very, you know, sort of bowing down to other people, like your relatives and stuff when you see them,” as one that demonstrated a general respect for elders. Additionally, Ivan

described cultural concepts that were directly relevant to his position within his family and set expectations for how he should behave:

Basically, I became the eldest son, or in Korea they're *chang-nam*, and you get all these responsibilities placed on you then. You've got to represent your family, you're the kind of guy that everyone in the family looks up to, like, to be well off and be like the model son and stuff I guess. But I knew I didn't have any of that at the time, and that's even more pressure for me.

For some participants, cultural expectations specific to their male roles within family structures were regarded as a source of pressure. For Kevin, this was particularly salient because of his status as an only male child and identity as a gay man:

When I was a child I would always be told about, I think pretty standard stuff, about you know, you should always get married. And it was a lot of pressure because...my father is the oldest son and I am the only son of the oldest son. And apparently because my younger uncle isn't getting married and fathering any children anytime soon and the rest I have are aunts, I'm the only person with the surname. Or who would technically be capable of passing on the surname. So that was a really high-pressure thing.... And actually, when I eventually came out to my parents that was the first thing that my father said. He said that, "If you are gay, then our entire bloodline is dead." And that was pretty hard because that was the first thing that I was concerned about, even though in retrospect, it shouldn't have been.

Charlie summarizes the impact his family and culture has had on him:

The person that I am now is attributed to the fact that I'm Indian, which is just based on the values that are emphasized by my family. Which, I don't want to be stereotypical, but based on like the values that my family and usually most Indian families, they've obviously made me into who I am and I will use those values my parents taught me and then pass that on.... It's not everything I am, but it adds shape to who I am.

In this section, there were a variety of parental socialization messages passed onto the participants as life lessons. Overwhelmingly, the content of these lessons focused on values related to hard work and studying hard. The majority of parental socialization messages were passed on implicitly. Participants recognized the messages as deeply ingrained in their lives, yet often had difficulty naming specific messages or examples of lessons outside of the common themes. Some messages were passed on by setting positive role models and leading by example, while a few specific to fatherly messages and discrimination were communicated directly. In addition to messages from parents, a few participants who were notably raised either in both the U.S. and overseas or entirely in the U.S. in an ethnic enclave area gave more weight to cultural mores. Regardless of how parental socialization messages were transmitted (i.e., either explicitly or implicitly), the life lessons learned from those messages had an undisputed impact on participants' lives.

Parental Perfectionism was Both Resented and Valued

In a review of interview transcripts for content related to perceived parental perfectionism revealed four subthemes: (a) parental expectations, (b) parental criticism,

(c) parental development over time, and (d) appreciation for perceived parental perfectionism. A majority of participants talked about parental expectations in the context of being compared to others, particularly siblings when relevant. Reactions to parental expectations were expressed as resentment as much as being valued, especially upon recent graduation from college.

Parental expectations. Most participants expressed an understanding for the reasoning behind parental expectations, even if they resented them. For Alex, his parents defined expectations to achieve based on his older brother's performance:

It's never affected me. Sometimes I know there's a pattern of being compared so much that you just get sick of it. But I've always looked up to my brother and I've never seen myself as inadequate or unable to achieve what he is. And if anything, he's always been like a milestone that I reach and then go past, that kind of thing. So that's always the way I've seen it and he's definitely my guide. And my parents tell me to use him as my guide a lot because we're so close in age so it's easier to relate.

For the most part, parental expectations were defined as academic achievement in the form of very high grades. However, a few participants shared that their parents were concerned more about the process of learning rather than actual letter grades. In most instances, this focus on learning came as a surprise to the participant. For example, Forrest recalled that:

I had to re-take a Bio Chemistry class here over the summer because I didn't do well the first time and I did perfectly fine the second time around. I was really

proud of myself. I got an “A,” I felt really proud. I told my mom and she was like, “Well, did you actually learn anything?” And so that kind of struck me as, you know, I would expect her to be like, “Yeah, you got an A!” But she was like, “If you don’t learn anything, then the A is worthless.” ...That’s your job as a student, so do it well.

Similarly, Gary was very surprised at his parents’ reaction when he did not receive acceptances from the Ivy League universities that he applied to:

They were very understanding like, “It doesn’t even matter. I saw you try, and then you can find closure. The thing is you tried at the end of the day and your hands are dirty.” So it was like a shocker. I was like, “What?” [laughs]. “Are you serious?” Surprised the heck out of me.

In a few cases, high expectations for success were set by persons outside the family. Gary shared that he was irritated with friends who pressured him to achieve goals he was not necessarily interested in:

“Yo, like my future lawyer, right?” I’m like no, but guys were just like, “Yo, but my future lawyer anyways, right?” I’m like, “Why do you want me to get into law school?” [laughs] “Come on, you’re worse than my parents.”

Some expectations for success were embedded within the family in a larger context of cultural practices. Ivan, whose family was in Korea, went through a period when he struggled in school. Since he experienced expectations that were specific to his location within the family hierarchy, he expressed feeling particularly pressured when held up to those expectations:

So I ended up just kind of doing poorly in school...which also depressed me even more because my parents were all, like, expecting a lot out of me. And I'm like, "How am I going to like meet their expectations?" And, you know, I'm thinking about all my cousins who were really well off. And my dad's also the youngest and sometimes, you know, they tend to kind of judge how you are as a parent by how your kids turn out and that sort of really weighed on my mind, that kind of guilt.

Parental criticism. Parental criticisms were described by participants as well, and their reactions to the combination of high expectations and criticisms varied. Some participants recalled being punished for not achieving high standards not only in school, but music as well. For example, Raymond describes Asians in general as having high standards:

I mean, you know, Asians have high standards. So if I got a B, then they'd be like, "No, you can't get a B." And I used to play piano and I didn't like to play the piano. But they would know when I didn't practice, so I would get reprimanded for that.

For Leonard, grade school and middle school were especially strict times in his life:

In school, it's really easy to make my parents disappointed as far as grades.... I have to get straight A's essentially. If I get like an A- or a B+, they'd say, "You have to do well." They wouldn't let me watch TV, they wouldn't let me go do whatever, they wouldn't let me go play outside with my friends. It was like, "No, do well in school."

The high standard of academic achievement applied to grades and focused on any deviation from the highest standard. Additionally, as Gary recalls, there was a focus on standardized test scores:

You know, SATS 1500. They expected my report card would say A+, A+, A+, A-, and A+. And they would get pretty upset about the A-... So yeah, it was that perfectionistic kind of mentality.

The common lessons emphasized in parental messages of hard work and doing well in school were strongly intertwined and emphasized that hard work was required in order to achieve academically. For many participants this was irritating when they were children, but in some narratives there was a point when they began to internalize these messages. For example, David at times disagreed with his parents over academic pressures while growing up:

My dad usually felt that if I didn't get something, like that if I messed up on an assignment or if I got in trouble in school and I said that, "I really didn't do anything." Then he would just counter back and say, "Yeah, exactly, you didn't do anything." Like my mom always thought that I wasn't studying hard enough if I didn't do well. Which in a way, when I was a kid, I kind of agreed with because you can always be slacking off. You're not always doing exactly what you should be doing.

For some participants, parental criticism was communicated in an indirect way. For example, David interpreted his parents' reactions as such:

They never talked about it directly, but they would teach me things along the way. If I ever brought home a bad grade [anything below an A-] my parents wouldn't get angry, but they'd be kind of upset.... They would say, "You could definitely do better than this." And it wasn't like they were angry or anything, it was just like, "You can do better than this, do better next time."

A number of other participants read into seemingly innocent remarks their parents made and reacted to them in an overall moderate fashion. Patrick was irked, but did not take his father's comments too seriously:

I guess I would feel, as I think people naturally do, a little irked by it. Because I guess my dad felt that it was just trying to set a good example, like here's someone you can look up to and emulate. But I think it was rather misguided because I think it has a little of the connotation of like, you know, "We wish you were doing better. We wish you were more like this kid instead of what you are." So I was a bit irked by that but it wasn't anything too serious.

Disagreement between parents and participants were not that frequent, but when they did occur, often involved some element of comparison, parental expectations, or parental criticism. Gary would intervene on his sister's behalf in order to buffer pressures their parents might have put forth:

I hated when I was compared in junior high school to my friends and my sister got pretty ticked off too, I could tell... They would give her talks at the dinner table and then I would have to force them to stop sometimes.

Some participants explicitly conveyed that their parents were well-intentioned with parental expectations and criticisms, even if reactions to the pressure were not entirely positive. The mechanism of how a message was not communicated from parent to child properly was described by Kevin:

I think at one point when I was having an argument with my parents about an algebra grade or something that I had...I was like, you know, you always compare me to [this other kid]. And at one point I think my parents said something like, "You know, this is why so and so is better than you, because he's like this and this." And I'm not sure how they actually said it now, but I remember being really upset by it. And I think later on they explained that "No, it's not that we would want you *to be* [him] or that we *like* so and so more, it's just that this is *a quality* that he has." And I think I understand that now, but at the time I think it was really frustrating. [emphasis added]

One of the interview participants, Ivan, was quite open about the pressures he felt to succeed and how expectations were laid out for him. Since Ivan was perceived in a positive light, he delayed in telling his parents about academic and personal problems:

I wanted to be like the good son, you know, and they thought I was doing well and that's how I wanted them to perceive it and I didn't want to be like, "Hey, I have a problem." So I think that's one of the reasons why I didn't tell them.

A cautionary tale that was present in Ivan's mind was one involving a cousin who failed to achieve going to medical school and became a real estate agent. By emphasizing what

a lack of success looked like, Ivan's parents unwittingly contributed to a sense of anxiety regarding academic confidence:

I think my academic confidence kind of plummeted. I had a cousin who was going to Brown I think, and he wanted to go to like med school but he failed one of his courses his freshman year. I don't know, he didn't end up going to med school – he ended up becoming a real estate agent. And my parents used to kind of tell me the story about that cousin and be like, you know, “Hey, look what happened to him. He failed one of his courses in college and look at where he is now.”

Parents' social comparison to set benchmarks for expectations were commented on throughout the interviews. The actual persons that participants were compared to were almost always family members and/or other Asian Americans in the area. Omar's reaction to comparing him to other children was characterized by annoyance:

They compared me to other...Chinese kids my age. Like my neighbor who I guess got a better score on the SAT or something. Or stuff like that, yeah, a lot of academic stuff. It kind of annoyed me. Because they would always do that and they never said explicitly like, “Why can't you do this?” But I could tell that they were bringing it up for a reason so it kind of annoyed me for a while.

Sherman was an exception to the trend of parents comparing their children to other Asian Americans, though he was still compared. Sherman attributes this to the lack of Asian Americans in the area he grew up in:

My parents would talk about how there'd be different standards. Like a lot of people compared themselves within the Asian community, but my parents liked to compare me outside of that. So they'd compare me to other people who were just in my school that they knew. "You need to do as well as these other people."

Instead of just limiting it to Indian Americans or Asian Americans that they knew.

For participants who did exceptionally well, other parents compared their children to them and these participants did not share negative feelings toward parental criticism of expectations. For example, Thomas was a marker to which another Chinese American student was compared:

I mean I have friends that, I guess their parents were pretty tough on them. One who, I guess he didn't do as well as me in school. So [his] parents would always talk about me and this one other Chinese kid because we, I guess, had done a little bit better.

Some participants who were in the position of being compared *to* recognized the comfortable position of not being compared to someone who had achieved greater goals. Alex recognizes this comfort: "Well, other parents compare their kids to us too, so that's the good part."

For Henry, who was adopted by his white Jewish mother, had a different experience with parental pressures. Rather, Henry expressed that he really did not experience any specific restrictions or criticisms from his mother: "She's always been supportive of me, or rather, been focused on allowing me to...strive to become what I wanted or do my best and everything." Some participants articulated a conceptual

distinction between parental expectations and parental criticism. For example, Nathan distinguished “good pressure” from “bad pressure”:

They didn't put pressure on me academically, my family, my sister included... To me there's like such things as *bad pressure and good pressure*. And it was more good pressure than bad pressure. [emphasis added]

Parental development over time. Interestingly, participants described perceptions about their parents' development over time and experience in approaching parental pressures along with their own personal development. This development was particularly striking in the transition from high school to college, as Forrest describes:

It changed. In high school, anything lower than an A- was sort of looked down upon. In college, an A to a B would be acceptable and a C obviously was not good. They kind of realized that college is a lot harder. And they realized for me going into my field in my concentration I wasn't, you know, the best at it and I had to work really hard at it. So they're really more forgiving of it in terms of if you get a B or a B-. Like, “We understand.”

Kevin shared that he and his parents communicated and disagreed about parental pressures to the extent that there was an attitudinal change:

I think eventually they got the feeling of how stressed I was over my grades.... They actually told me one time that maybe they felt that they had taken the wrong approach with how I should be doing academically and it should be more about my understanding rather than really enforcing some kind of letter grade.

For one participant, a change in parents' behaviors related to parental perfectionism was demanded by the participant himself. Leonard describes the situation and what he did to bring about that change while maintaining the high standards of his parents' expectations:

They were really hands on freshman year.... They'd call me every day. "Are you studying? Are you studying?" ...But I was getting really, really angry with them because like, I'm in college, now stop telling me what to do. And I told them if I'm pulling the grades, I basically forced the policy saying that, "If I do well in school, you can't tell me what to do anymore. I'm doing what you asked me to do."

For some parents, the change in attitude and behavior over time was described as a result of experience, especially for parents of multiple children. Leonard light-heartedly described his experience as being less pressured than that of his older brother:

My brother was a guinea pig essentially, so they tried a bunch of stuff on him first. Like they made him take a bunch of exams, extra help. They realized it wasn't worth the extra money. It didn't help him. So I got the better end of the deal, it was like I didn't have to take any of that.

Appreciation for perceived parental perfectionism. While most participants expressed some degree of displeasure with parental perfectionism during childhood, they also expressed appreciation for the pressure that drove them to succeed and were able to talk about instances of displeasure related to parental perfectionism as being in the past.

Kevin, for example, was able to look back at his childhood and laugh:

In general, I was a really good student and it would be really frustrating when I was a kid to do better than other kids in my class but still not extremely well and therefore get in trouble about it.... When I got older though, [my mother] kind of relinquished and we would laugh about it, or it would take maybe another teacher to say that, you know, this is a really difficult subject.

For Raymond, his parents told him directly that he would appreciate their efforts when he was older, which he did:

I'm Asian, so, I mean I got slapped around, you know. But that's all like, out of love. They're just like, "You've got to learn the basics," like my dad said. And like you've just got to study, work hard. Like they would say, "You won't realize it now or understand now, but later you'll be really appreciative."

An appreciation for parental perfectionism was particularly salient for participants who had recently graduated and were going to go on to graduate or professional school. The ability for students to look back with appreciation was described in part by the knowledge that they had made it through a childhood marked by parental perfectionism quite unscathed. Ethan was an exceptionally successful student who had recently graduated from college, gone on to graduate school, had advanced to candidacy in a doctoral program in less than a year:

I think I'm here because of that [work hard] mentality. Looking back on it now, I think I appreciate it. I think it's that the work ethic early really pays off in the long term. I don't think socially or anyway else I've necessarily suffered.

Though Gary experienced quite a bit of parental pressure academically through high school, he described a great appreciation for all that his parents did for him, especially at a time when he felt that he had failed:

I didn't meet [the 1500 SAT score goal]. I was pretty upset. I wish I did but, you know, honestly they set that [high] score so I could set my visions up high. They wanted me to cast my vision up high, which is something that I really respect because it's something that I really hold onto today, even as I'm about to apply for grad school. Just set some big goals you know?

Gary then went on to describe a period of academic difficulty he experienced in college that eventually became a rewarding experience:

Freshman year was just straight up depression. I was like, "Oh, God!" Not clinical obviously, but just felt like I was in the blues all the time. Like, "Oh, I suck." Junior year was like, "Okay, I know I'm capable, so I'm just going to really push myself to the limit. And I did and in the end it was so rewarding though. I mean shoot, don't get me wrong, I was really anxious. But when I got my report card, I had a 4.0 that semester in all my classes and I remember I was just like, "Yes, it paid off!" So all that anxiety, [makes a sound like a rocket ship] stuff here vanished! [laughs]

Overall, the majority of participants experienced some form of parental perfectionism. Parental expectations were set very high, usually in the area of academic achievement. Parental criticisms varied, ranging from discreet emotional messages and stories about other students to corporal punishment. Reactions to parental perfectionism in childhood

ranged from mild irritation to being very upset, but participants reflected back on these experiences with appreciation, concluding that the struggles were well worth the long-term goals they achieved. Gary's attitude toward his college experience summarized participants' general attitude toward the practice of parental perfectionism:

Responses to Perceived Asian Discrimination and Asian Stereotypes Were Heterogeneous

Analysis of interview transcripts for content related to perceived Asian discrimination and stereotypes about Asian Americans revealed four subthemes: a) experiences of Perceived Asian Discrimination, b) knowledge of stereotypes about Asian Americans, c) recognition of intersecting social identities, and d) the impact of stereotypes and discrimination on participants' lives.

Experiences of perceived Asian discrimination. A majority of participants did not have what they considered to be serious experiences of discrimination specific to Asian Americans. Some participants described what they considered non-serious situations, while a few were quite explicit about describing times when they had felt targeted specifically because of their race. The descriptions of perceived Asian discrimination began in childhood and were sometimes not necessarily a reaction to Asian ethnicities, but a reaction to something that was different. Alex shares a common site for grade school student anxiety – the school cafeteria:

The typical example that I can think of is bringing Indian food for lunch in middle school. I would open it up and all the kids would like hold their noses and be like, “Ew, it smells like poop and fish and all this stuff.” And those were tough times

when I thought, I just wish, like, “Mom, just pack me sandwiches. Why do you have to do this to me?”

For Sherman, who grew up in an area with very few Asian American minorities, much less Indian Americans, he often experienced discrimination targeted towards persons of other ethnicities:

This is probably a big issue with me, especially since I was probably one of the only few Asian Americans in my high school. And I’ve heard all kinds of things since I was a kid. Like I get confused for being Arab, I get confused for being Mexican, I get confused for like being everything other than [Indian].... So when they’re not even Indian, I get other stereotypes just for being brown, essentially.

Gary went to a predominantly African American high school in a large city and had difficulties adjusting to an environment in which he was often the target of racial discrimination:

They said they could blindfold me with floss because Asian people have squinty eyes. They called me Jackie Chan [who is Chinese]. I was like, “But I’m Korean – at least call me another Korean!” [laughing] At least, don’t be that ignorant.

As Gary noted, racial discrimination towards Asians sometimes confused ethnicities which participants found offensive, but often perpetrators did not recognize a distinction amongst ethnicities. Sometimes teasing would target Gary’s identity specifically as an Asian man:

I've heard ridiculous stereotypes on Asians and then on African Americans [laughs]. They have the biggest and Asians have the smallest. I mean they used to even call me things in high school [laughs]. Like I had a rice...like for a...[penis] [laughs].

Gary had a difficult time facing discrimination in high school as an Asian American minority in a predominantly African American school. At times, the situation became overwhelming:

I remember coming home crying sometimes. I didn't want to because men, I guess crying to me is not the best thing to cope with, but I just couldn't handle it sometimes [laughs]. It was crazy, I never felt so discouraged.

By his senior year, however, Gary was able to get to know the students in his small high school class and became quite close with many of them and, at the time of the interview, had maintained those friendships. In reflecting on this change in social dynamics, Gary noted that social class differences were present in addition to the racial differences:

When I began to finally really interact, truly interact, closely and intimately with people from different socioeconomic statuses, it was a really good time. I mean senior year was amazing.... Yeah, it went from a hell, like literally, to something a little more like heaven.

In college, participants expressed that they experienced a range of experiences – some framed events as consequences of ignorance while others were much more explicit about malicious intent. Quentin described his experiences of perceived Asian

discrimination in college as experiences he would not necessarily categorize as discrimination, per say:

I remember working at the soup kitchen that I worked at and this...larger Caucasian male...he's like, "Oh, by the way, you speak our language very well." I'm like, "What do you mean 'our' language...you mean '*your*' language?" I was like, "Well, okay." I mean I know he meant it as a compliment [laughs] so I can't really hate him for it, but it's like, I just felt like it was sort of ignorant.[emphasis added]

The approach that Quentin took perceived Asian discrimination after experiencing incidents such as the one in the soup kitchen was characterized by being open minded:

It influences [me], but almost in an enlightening way I guess. Because when I heard about these things or I experienced these things, it was just more of, just me realizing that, "Oh, not everyone is as open minded or well informed as the people I know." I felt I got a better appreciation for just the whole diversity of different types of peoples and experiences that they have throughout the world.

Some participants shared incidents of perceived Asian discrimination that were more direct and they reacted to them with a less positive outlook than the one Quentin described. For participants like Omar, sometimes comments targeting Asians were overheard in party settings that were taken personally:

I guess Asians are [perceived as] unattractive, Asian men at least. I've experienced that one.... I was at a party...and I was standing around with my friends talking with a few other friends and I heard out of my earshot, like a little

distance away, one of my friends I guess was trying to get a girl to, you know, come to me. I guess she was pretty drunk. And then so he's like, you know, "You should go over there, he's pretty good looking." And then she's like, "No, I don't like Asians."

At times, perceived Asian discrimination in party settings focused on the "Asian flush," a phenomenon interview participants described as a hereditary condition in which some Asian individuals got red in the face when consuming alcohol. Omar described being a bystander to comments about the Asian flush targeting other Asian American students at a party:

I've definitely heard the stereotype that Asian people get red when they drink which I read was also sort of a genetic thing that doesn't actually affect their ability to drink.... I think at a party last year when I went to my friend's house, there was...an Asian person who turned red and he had Asian friends with him. So they were all like, they directed that at his friends and him. Even though his friends, you know, they looked fine, and he looked fine actually, just red.... Yeah, the non-Asian people were making fun of him and his Asian friends about that.

While a majority of the incidents participants described involved alcohol consumption and a bar or a party, some situations involved strangers in unexpected settings. For example, Omar was in a neighborhood as part of his job and relayed this:

It was after the Virginia Tech thing and I was walking around... a neighborhood, like just up and down the street. And then some kid, he was like on the other corner and he shouted out, he was like, "Hey, it's the Virginia Tech shooter!" I

was like, “What?”.... Well I thought it was just so ridiculous I almost laughed. I was like, “Really?”.... I didn’t understand why he said that.

Omar’s reaction was one of shock and he was disturbed by this comment from a stranger from his neighborhood. Shock was typically an emotion that was described as part of these incidents, and some participants were more explicit in describing strong reactions, such as Gary:

That gets to me too honestly. Because I’ve gotten some racial remarks and man, I really wish I could just smack them around and be like, “Listen man, because of you this world is so frickin’ racist,” you know, “Why are you saying stuff like that?!”

In addition to shock, anger, and a desire to physically strike a perpetrator of perceived Asian discrimination, one participant went into detail about taking collective community action in response to the targeting of Asian Americans. A cartoon in a campus humor publication negatively impacted Omar and in response, he described how he decided to write a letter denouncing the cartoon and have his friends co-sign the letter:

[A campus publication] had this cartoon, like six panels, and it was pretty offensive and that really stood out to me and that definitely impacted me negatively.... Once I saw it I felt really bad.... When the mouth opened, it had these gigantic buckteeth. And when the speech bubbles came on it was “R’s” instead of “L’s”.... [In the cartoon] this guy is like, “It’s time to finish off a traditional Chinese mear [sic],” with a fortune cookie. And then they open it and he reads the thing – it says “Bees.” And then he’s like, “Bee’s”? And a swarm of

bees flies out of the cookie and attacks him. So I was like, “It wasn’t even funny” [laughs]. When I read it I was like, “Wow.” It really impacted me negatively because I couldn’t believe that somebody would actually draw something so blatantly offensive.... I just kind of let it sit for a while thinking about it. And then I made the decision to write the letter.... So I talked to some of my friends and I got them to sign onto it.... [In the letter] I was like, “I take offense not just as an Asian American, but also as someone who appreciates humor, because that wasn’t funny.”

In the aforementioned situation, Omar’s friends were central in participating in the action that made him feel better – writing a letter of protest and sending it to the publication that printed the offensive cartoon. A number of participants referred to their friends as sources of support when they encountered instances of perceived Asian discrimination in college. For example, Omar relied on his friends to maintain a safe space in which he would not be targeted as an object of discrimination:

It just kind of surprises me that people still see things that way or treat people that way. It kind of shocks me and it hurts me a little, but I know that...I can still talk to my friends and they don’t treat me that way.

In addition to the friends he lived with, Omar’s active participation in an Asian American organization on campus gave him an immediate social network of friends who were understanding of his reactions to discrimination against Asian Americans. Similarly, Ivan had a close network of friends that he talked openly about perceived Asian discrimination with, most of whom were brothers in his Asian American fraternity.

In the numerous conversations amongst friends about discriminations against Asian Americans, Ivan learned of incidents that he did not witness himself. For example, Ivan shared an act of random violence his friend experienced:

One of my friends was walking out of [his building] and...these two drunk White guys called him a chink when he was passing by. And he turned around and he gave them the finger, like, "Fuck you," right? And then he was walking and they came back and they ended up punching him in the face and he got, like, knocked out or something.

Ivan noted that in these second-hand experiences, the perpetrators of discrimination did not expect an Asian American man to retaliate for an offense. Ivan shared another story a friend experienced:

He was walking around and this Black guy called him a chink or something. And he actually turned around confronted him. Like, "Why do you, blah, blah, blah." And then that guy was kind of surprised. He didn't know what to say. And he kind of walked away. And he [my friend] was like, "You know, people are surprised when Asian guys stand up for themselves."

The stories of discrimination that Ivan shared targeted Asian American men who were confronted with racial epithets.

Raymond was also in an Asian American fraternity and recalled numerous instances in which either he or a friend experienced discrimination as Asian Americans. One instance in which Raymond was accosted with verbal racial slurs happened when he was ordering drinks at a bar:

This drunk white guy...he just started saying that kind of stuff. I think he was just trying to show off for his friends. You know, like, “Oh I’m the man, I’m going to make fun of this Asian kid” [in a deep masculine voice]. But then when I pushed him over, he was just shocked and he just left. He didn’t even say anything.

Raymond explained that incidents of racial discrimination against Asian Americans often occurred in college environments that involved alcohol. While the alcohol explained a reason for the incidents to occur, Raymond did not condone offensive behavior and felt a need to take a stand against explicit racial discrimination:

It usually happens when some form of alcohol is involved. They just start going at it. But I’ve had friends who had a similar instance happen to them. There’s been fights and stuff. Because I’m not, like, a really angry person – I try to be really passive and understand both sides. But it comes to a point where if you don’t stop it, you have to do something because if you don’t, it’s going to keep on happening.

In the situations Raymond described in his interview, he was often prepared to use physical force if necessary to defend himself and, importantly, his friends.

One incident that Raymond went into detail about regarding racial discrimination involved a friend who was verbally accosted on the street:

His girlfriend called me and was like, “Yo, someone called [your friend] a chink!” ...So I started running up and they were like, “Oh, oh, oh crap!” So they went inside their house and they locked their door. And I was really pissed because

you don't treat one of my friends like that. You don't call names, racial slurs at people that you don't even know.

In this story that Raymond shared, strangers accosted his friend. Unexpectedly, strangers also came to the aid of Raymond and his friend:

It's funny because this group of Arab guys [we did not know] were just walking down and they heard that too. And then I guess we just collaborated forces. They were like, "Oh, we're just looking out for our brothers. We heard them calling you a chink. Is there a problem?" They were out there with us just yelling at the house.

As this story progressed, Raymond became increasingly frustrated at the perpetrators' unwillingness to have a face-to-face confrontation. Eventually, Raymond put himself at risk for getting into legal trouble:

I went to their door and I was just punching and pounding and telling them to come out. And they just didn't come out. And I was like, "If you're going to say that to him, why don't you say that to me?!" And so they just started saying more, like, "Oh, you're such a geek, blah, blah, blah" [in a deep mocking voice]. And I was like, "Yo! Come out!" And I was really just thinking about breaking the door. And it was a big ordeal. And then one of the guys inside, he was like, "Well, we're calling the cops." And I was like, "Why you got to do that? Just be a man! Just come out here and fight!" And then five minutes later a cop rolls by and everyone is just like, "Oh, crap." [And we left.]

In the above heated verbal exchange, Raymond wanted to confront the persons who insulted his friend and specifically calls on their manhood to try and get them to do so. The details of this incident were memorable for Raymond in part because of the intense emotions he experienced:

What really pissed me off was [as if speaking to the taunters], “Why you got to say something and then not back it up?” “Why you have to call the cops because you’re so scared? You know, if you’re going to say something, you obviously have something to say about it.” ... That night really pissed me off because I really didn’t get a punch in or a swing in. Because you don’t do that [insult people] unless you mean it.

Raymond indicated that the refusal of white perpetrators to engage in a physical altercation after verbally assaulting a friend was a source of great frustration for him. When probed, Raymond shared some thoughts he had on what might bring these young men to cast verbal insults, yet hesitate to engage in a physical fight:

They feel like they can say anything and get away with it.... And a lot has to do with stuff you see on TV. Like on TV, it shows people saying the most ridiculous stuff, but then they don’t show you the consequences of what happens. So you just see the first half, but there’s no second half. So I feel like these kids can get away with anything, or their parents can save them, you know what I mean?

While Raymond shared a number of experiences in which he was negatively targeted as an Asian American, the number of discriminatory incidents described in his interview

was increased by either coming to his friends' aid or by serving as a bystander and listening to his friends experiences of discrimination.

Knowledge of stereotypes about Asian Americans. Even though only a few participants shared explicit incidents of perceived Asian discrimination, all participants were able to engage on some level with stereotypes about Asian Americans. Participants expressed a variety of reactions to stereotypes of Asian Americans in general, and then more specifically to stereotypes that: (a) Asian men are "geeks," (b) Asian men are effeminate, (c) Asian men have smaller penises than men of other races, and (d) Asian men are have a low alcohol tolerance. When asked what he thought about these stereotypes, Omar replied that, "I think they're full of crap." When asked the same question, Sherman earnestly replied that, "It makes me feel bad.... I mean we're just as American as everyone else." Kevin took some advice from his father and took this approach to stereotypes: "I think that...you have to take it with some levity, if it's not too serious of a thing.... But in other ways it's really frustrating."

Some participants, like Ivan, saw stereotypes as inevitable, "I personally don't like them, but there's always going to be stereotypes in the world." A very few participants shared that they had never really seen discrimination towards Asian Americans and did not have much exposure to stereotypes about Asian Americans. For example, Leonard described himself as such, "I don't really care much about stereotypes.... I guess I live a very sheltered life." A number of other participants expressed a stronger reaction to stereotypes about Asian Americans. One stark example of a more potent reaction was shared by Ivan, who grew up in Korea but attended an international school and came to the U.S. for summer camp sessions:

I wasn't aware of that kind of stuff just because I didn't primarily grow up here. And that was very sort of shocking to me. I was like, "Oh wow, I didn't know it was like this." And then you go through that whole stage where you're kind of angry at first, there's stages I guess. Kind of looking at it at that perspective.... At first I was like, "Why are they doing this?" And then you're angry, and then later you learn why and you kind of learn to accept it.

Geek stereotype. For the most part, participants who responded to a stereotype that Asian American men were geeks were not that bothered by this particular stereotype because it implied positive qualities. For example, Quentin said that white people think:

That we all look the same, that we can't speak English. You know, that we can't open our eyes. That we generally do well in school, that a lot of us go into engineering. Kinds of stuff that actually really doesn't bother me that much because most of them are pretty positive [laughs]. Because it's like "Oh, you're Asian, you'll do well in school." I'm like, "Oh, okay." [laughs] Can't complain about that.

Sherman, who was often the target of racial remarks that often did not recognize his ethnicity, also preferred the "positive" Asian American stereotypes:

When it comes down to Indian stereotypes, it's always, like, the 7-11 stereotype and things like that. Which is funny, because I think that now you start to see more of the Indian doctor stereotype [laugh]. I think there are negative and positive stereotypes and I would say that Indian doctor is actually a positive one because it puts us in the light of someone that's professionally trained, educated.

The source of stereotypes was gleaned mostly from personal observations and the media.

In his interview, Kevin shared that he enjoyed “Average Asian Guy,” a character played by Bobby Lee on the TV show “Mad TV.” In Kevin’s description, “Average Asian Guy” pokes fun at stereotypes about Asian Americans by putting this character into situations where he is excessively praised as “exotic” and “gifted.” The joke lies in the depiction of this character being painfully average. Thus, Kevin offered one media example of how Asian Americans may be treated differently based not on their abilities or personalities, but on their racial/ethnic appearance. Henry brought this point to light by juxtaposing his physical appearance as an Indian American with his cultural upbringing by a white Jewish mother:

There’d be certain... stereotypes about Asians in general, such as being better at math-related fields.... Nobody was ever really mean about it or anything, but I’ve faced different stereotypes in that way.... I think that would probably be the same whether I was adopted or not; people would assume those stereotypes.

While many participants saw the stereotype of Asian Americans as exceptionally successful, a few downplayed the importance of following a track into medicine, law, or business. The temptation to resist stereotyping was felt strongly by Omar:

One of the reasons I didn’t want to do engineering is probably because a lot of my Asian friends did it and everyone thinks Asians are engineers. But when I think about it, I kind of wonder.... I took the AP Calculus test and I aced that. So I was thinking about how successful I would have been as an engineer.

The manhood of Asian American men was indirectly implicated in the stereotype of Asian American men being skinny, geeky, academic over-achievers.

The manhood of Asian American men was directly threatened by the stereotype of Asian American men being effeminate. In participant reactions to this stereotype, a few speculated that there was some kind of genetic explanation for the stereotype. For example, Quentin explains that, “I’ve always been stuck around 140 pounds, no matter how much I work out. So that might be genetics or whatever.” Forrest openly expressed being that he was not bothered by this stereotype since he felt it did not accurately described him and he observed a number of friends whose bodies were not like the stereotype:

I’m okay with it because that accurately describes me to a certain extent. Like skinny, geeky, kind of awkward. I think I know enough of my friends and other Asian males who break that stereotype to kind of feel comfortable with it because I know that’s not true [for everybody].

Effeminate stereotype. A number of participants expressed that they either consciously or unconsciously compensated for the stereotype that Asian American men were effeminate. Nathan stated that this stereotype did not bother him based on his physical stature:

I don’t let it get to me because I feel that I kind of defy all of them. Sometimes I think about how it affects other Asians that maybe some of them do apply to. But because I guess you could say that I’m above average height, not just for Asian Americans, but for the whole population, I guess that doesn’t affect me too much.

A considerable number of participants described sports as being a strong interest in their lives, as well as shaping their manhood. For example, Sherman shared that:

I play a lot of sports. I like playing sports, but I also like being competitive about it to prove...something when people make a comment [that Asian Americans are not athletic].

For participants like Sherman, sports was also a significant part of their lives, but thoughts about how sports related to their manhood was supposedly not explored until the time of interview:

I like sports so much that I play a lot. And...I wonder if...I'm trying to prevent any sort of idea that I'm effeminate. But I wouldn't say I do that with that in mind.

During the course of the interview, the participants become more self-reflective on the relationship between manhood and expressions of masculinity, such as sports, stereotypes that Asian American men are effeminate.

For a number of participants, recognition of compensation in hindsight revealed a heightened awareness of their physical bodies. Gary candidly described how during his sophomore year of college, he went through a period of intensely focusing on getting his body bigger:

I remember I went crazy. I was 205 pounds. I benched like 225, 230.... I worked out every day trying to get big. I think that's when it really hit me – sophomore year. I felt like when I came [to college] I felt a little inadequate because I felt a

little small. So I wanted to fit into the crowd and have that body. But I gave up. I'm not motivated anymore [laughs].

For Asian American fraternity members like Ivan, the physical body was not only a reflection on themselves, but on their organization as well. Ivan describes physical appearance as thus playing a role in the process of reviewing potential fraternity brothers:

We don't want scrawny guys in our fraternity. We want guys that are tall or are kind of built... There is an incentive to shy away from that typical Asian American image.... The guys that we select to be members in our fraternity, we don't want them to be looking nerdy or we don't want them to be too skinny.... And we try not to be like, "Hey, we can't accept him because he looks so nerdy." But we're all thinking about because they're going to represent our organization.

In the above example, physical compensation for the stereotype that Asian American men are effeminate extended even the pledging practices of Asian American fraternity. .

The intersection of gay and Asian American male identities created a different type of reaction to the stereotype of Asian American men as effeminate. In fact, Kevin, the only openly gay male among the interview participants, portrayed the stereotype of Asian American men as effeminate as something desired by older men in the online dating scene. Kevin also described a few other stereotypes of Asian American men that were specific to the gay community:

I think a gay perspective about Asian men is that a lot of older Asian men or just older gay men in general are looking for this younger, waifish sort of Asian guy and they really prop them up as like this really beautiful, exotic thing. And I

guess that's similar to the way I think Asian women are treated by Western culture – that Asian women are like these beautiful, mystic, exotic things. And I don't feel I personally fill that stereotype because I'm certainly not waifish. And I think a lot of gay men also view that Asian boys will be more interested in a sugar daddy and things like that.

Kevin's reference to a "sugar daddy" touched on an assumption that young Asian gay men are interested in finding an older partner who will take care of them financially. Some other stereotypes that Kevin referenced were: rice queen (a non-Asian man who was particularly attracted to Asian men), potato queen (a non-white man who was particularly attracted to white men), and sticky rice (Asian men who only date other Asian men).

Participants expressed a range of emotional reactions to stereotypes about Asian American men. Some reactions, such as Patrick's, encapsulated a lack of control over the stereotypes:

I am angered by it. I don't think it's a fair assessment because, of course, height's not anything you can control. And...different cultures have different standards of what it means to be masculine and feminine.

Even some participants who said that they were not bothered by stereotypes because they did not apply to them were more emotionally expressive the more that they talked about stereotypes during the interview. Nathan, took offense to stereotypes on behalf of all races of people:

It kind of pushes my buttons that those stereotypes exist. I don't know whether...[it's] because they don't apply to me or just because I have that bond with my Asian ethnicity that I feel is kind of degrading. And not just for Asian stereotypes, but for all stereotypes. For Caucasians, for Jewish people, or African Americans. I just feel it's kind of inconsiderate and ignorant to place a whole ethnicity in a stereotype. I think that's what really gets to me.

Some participants articulated that it was not the stereotype itself that bothered them, but what was implied by the stereotype. Omar explained his reaction as follows:

It kind of bothers me that when they say it, they're obviously...making other assumptions that go along with that. Like, Asian people can't play basketball because they're short or something like that. Yeah, in my head when they say that, I see in their head an image of a sea of Asian people who are, like 5'5" or something.

In Omar's reaction, he imagines what people who stereotype Asian American men visualize the relevant portrayal. For a number of other participants, the visual images of stereotypes about Asian American men were attributed to the media. Ivan took a class on Asian Americans in the media and consequently made numerous references to, "Emasculation of Asian American men in the media.... We're sort of portrayed as being submissive."

Small penis (?) stereotype. Reactions to a stereotype about a part of the body related to manhood, the penis, garnered quite a bit more attention from participants during the interviews. Some participants had not heard of the stereotype before but still

shared their reactions to hearing it. Most participants had heard of the stereotype before, often in humorous situations amongst friends or through the media. Some participants simply did not give the stereotype much attention, such as Alex who said, “I definitely have heard about it, but it’s really just more of a thing that we all laugh off.... It’s never really been an issue or anything like that.” Participants like David found the stereotype to be simply “stupid” and therefore did not “really buy into it.” Others attributed the stereotype to ignorance, which in Henry’s words allowed for an emotional reaction described as, “Well, it’s kind of offensive to a degree. But I mean I don’t really get angry or anything like that. I just kind of think it’s a little ignorant.” Some participants doubted that the stereotype was true, like Sherman who said, “I just think it’s disrespectful. Is there any factual basis to it or anything? People just say things because they hear them and I just think that’s dumb.”

For a majority of participants, reactions to the stereotype that Asian men have smaller penises than men of other races focused on the negative associations implied by the stereotype. Raymond brought in the media in his reflection: “The thing with the media is that they try to equate Asian Americans as more feminine. So I can see why they said that. It’s just a stupid stereotype.” Participants were often explicit about how their manhood was implicated in the stereotype. Ivan shared his feelings on the topic: “It’s very emasculating. Being honest, that’s how it feels, especially when you hear other non-Asians talk about it in a derogatory way.” A few participants ventured that the stereotype was possibly true, but focused instead on consequences for Asian American men. For example, Patrick shared that:

I don't know if there's any truth to it or not. There might be, but it might just be a product of shorter height in general. It's just going to make sense that if your whole body is larger, then everything is going to be proportionately larger... So there might be some truth to it. I'm not sure – I'm not going to go around investigating it myself. But I'm a little bit uncomfortable with it because it kind of puts a bad rep on Asian guys.

Some participants thought that perhaps a natural variation across all races was attributed solely to Asian American men, to the detriment of their appearance as masculine men. For example, Jacob said, "I think it makes Asian men less attractive. But I feel like there's always going to be men within any race that have large and small penises. Some participants related the insinuation of a small penis to competition with other men. Forrest explained his theory on the stereotype as follows:

I think it's a stereotype, but obviously there's some kind of merit behind it. Otherwise it wouldn't be a stereotype. But obviously it's not 100% true. I'm sure it's true for a large portion of Asian men, but I don't think it's true for all Asian men.... I think it might contribute to this notion that Asian males are passive and sort of a non-threat in competing for a girl, things like that.

Participants like Gary noted that physical symbols of manhood, such as penis size, was more important to them in high school but lost intensity after transitioning into college:

It's perfectly capable of doing its task, you know, reproducing as well as I'm sure sexual pleasure. It's not lacking in any way. So for me, I find it very humorous.

And at first I remember when I was in high school I was like, “Oh, that feels so bad – my penis is not the size of a lamppost.”

Ivan was a participant who mostly grew up overseas and knew of the stereotype of a small penis, but was familiar with it when applied to other ethnic groups. He described his realization of the stereotype’s different meaning in the U.S.:

In high school we used to make fun...of Indians. I don’t know why, but we were like, “Yo,” like, um, [laugh] in a very crude way like, “Paki dick is small,” or, “Pakistan people or Indian people have a small penis size.” And we would just joke about that. I don’t know why. I don’t even know where the basis of that came from. But somebody mentioned it and we thought it was funny. But we actually made fun of other people, other ethnicities. And then I come here [to the U.S.] and I’m like, “Oh, I didn’t know that was thought of the same with us.”

Some participants described their reactions to stereotypes about Asian American men as being difficult to differentiate from stereotypes about Asians and stereotypes about men. For example, Forrest said that he took a woman (a girlfriend or sister) with him for clothes shopping in order to address the stereotype that, “Asian men don’t know how to dress.” However, upon further reflection, Forrest noted that this was a stereotype for men in general. Similarly, Ethan observed that some Asian Americans tried to “overcompensate” for the stereotype that Asian Americans are studious and do not party by neglecting their schoolwork. However, Ethan was unsure if this was a result of compensating for a stereotype about Asian Americans or if it was simply a case of any student being in a college environment and wanting to have fun. Raymond addressed the

desire to compensate for stereotypes as one that was not specific to Asian American men, but was a characteristic of masculinity in general:

With any guys, especially if you tell them [in a deep voice], “You know, you can’t do that, it’s impossible,” you’re going to try to prove them wrong. But I feel like any guy would do that for the most part. Like if someone tells you that you can’t do something, but you know you can, then you can prove them wrong. So I see that happening a lot.

The “Asian flush” stereotype. The presence of alcohol in a college campus environment was acknowledged by a majority of participants, whether they engaged in alcohol consumption or not. The stereotype that Asian American men have a low alcohol tolerance elicited a number of reactions that impacted participants’ perceptions of how others viewed them. Participants who did not drink alcohol at all or seldom drank typically did not give this stereotype much attention. Bernie, for example, said, “I guess I don’t really care. I don’t think it defines someone if they can drink ten shots or not.” A majority of participants, such as Bernie, gave a physical explanation for this stereotype and thus were not personally bothered by it:

I didn’t really pay too much attention to it. If there is any truth to that I guess it would be because of the more general small stature. But I mean I don’t really care about that. I want to get drunk then it will cost me less. Whatever.

In the above example, Bernie characterized the physical explanation for this stereotype as related to his perception that Asian men in general have a lower body mass index (being

shorter and weighing less) than men of other races. Alternatively, Charlie offered a social explanation for this stereotype:

Tolerance is just how much you're used to drinking.... Like Caucasians, they're supposed to have a higher tolerance. But I'm pretty sure more Indian families do not drink until they come to college.... So the more you drink, the more tolerant you get. So when [Indian American students] start at step one, it's like everyone else is on step five. So you're trying to catch up in terms of tolerance.

Whether physical or social, some participants had explanations for why they thought the stereotype that Asian American men had low alcohol tolerance and thus were not bothered by it much.

For students who were more involved in a drinking culture, such as attending house parties frequently and belonging to fraternities, some believed the stereotype while others did not think it was true. For those who believed they were affected by the "Asian flush," such as Jacob, there was some discussion of how to minimize the potentially embarrassing side effects:

There are a couple of Asian people in my fraternity and they always tells me to drink, I think it's Pepcid AC, before I start drinking because it provides the enzyme that we're missing. And then I don't get the flush [red face].

Others, such as Marcus, did not believe the stereotype based on what they knew of Asian people:

I'm inclined to not believe it. My grandma has told me stories of in China about how lots of people like playing ma-jong [a game played with tiles] and they'll just sit around and drink all day.

For some participants who engage in a college drinking culture, such as Gary, compensation for this stereotype is deliberate:

I: There's a stereotype that Asian men have a low tolerance for alcohol.

P: Not true.

I: Have you heard of the stereotype though?

P: Yeah, I've drank with [other students], I've taken them down.

I: And do you ever see Asian men behaving in a way to prove that stereotype wrong?

P: Yeah, I was at a party the other day. I was trying to prove it wrong, [by drinking a lot], yeah.

A few participants acknowledged that compensation for this stereotype may have been unconscious. Kevin reflects on his experiences in hindsight:

I always think it's funny to joke about Asians flushing when they drink, but it definitely has made me think about it when I'm drinking [laugh]. Never quite so seriously, but I think it may be a motivation or a small part of things I do when I drink.

For some participants, particularly the more advanced recently graduated students, there was regret over things they did to compensate for and disprove the stereotype. For

example, Omar described how a desire in the past to compensate for the low tolerance stereotype overrode his better judgment:

I did some pretty stupid things to prove that wrong. I think it's been directed to me a couple times even though they didn't see that I couldn't drink or anything. But I guess it set something off and I acted kind of dumb just to prove it wrong.

Reactions to the stereotype that Asian men have low alcohol tolerance were varied. Some participants did not care about it and thought it was true, while others ignored or tried to disprove it.

Recognition of intersecting social identities. Alternatively, a number of participants addressed the intersection of multiple social identities as forces that impacted their lives. The most detailed social identities that were brought up across interviews included: male, Asian, gay, Christian, fraternity member. For example, Kevin described the unique social location of gay Asian men:

A big stereotype or a well-known thing about gay Asian men is that they face those pressures from being in those situations with their families that are really big on very rigid culture and what you should do to prolong your family [surname]. That isn't to say that it doesn't appear in Western culture. But I feel...it's more likely for a Western family to be totally okay with that than it is for an Asian family in the East.

A number of participants identified as practicing Christians. Forrest was particularly active in a campus ministry and had a largely Asian American Christian social network:

I think in terms of my own circle of friends, everyone is pretty much comfortable with who they are and their identity as an Asian, Christian man. And so in terms of doing anything to change that perception, I think who they are is who they're happy to be.

Forrest characterized his friends as being so comfortable with their intersecting identities as Christian Asian men that they would not feel compelled to compensate or change themselves in any way to counteract stereotypes.

A number of participants were members of fraternities and a number of them belonged specifically to Asian American interest fraternities. Though the membership in these fraternities were not exclusively Asian American, the majority of members were of Asian heritage and all had interest in promoting a positive environment for students who were interested in Asian American issues to develop brotherhood. Ivan describes his perspective on the intersection of developing a masculine identity on a predominantly white college campus as follows:

These freshman, young Asian American men...have this perception of all the stereotypes against them and they have this low esteem when it comes to their masculinity. And they see a fraternity, and a fraternity is a very mainstream thing, right? ...If you're a frat guy, you're the ultimate masculine, stereotypical image in an American society, or at least in a college setting. But they don't want to do it in the way the mainstream fraternities do it because it's not from their culture. So joining an Asian American fraternity is a way for them to be mainstream, but in the ways of their own culture I guess.

While some participants initially joined an Asian American fraternity due to convenience rather than interest in the specific focus of the organization, all eventually became very involved in the goals to promote Asian American fraternity interests on campus and participated heavily in fraternity leadership.

Impact of stereotypes and discrimination on participants' lives. Participants who went into detail recalling examples of perceived Asian discrimination were also likely to reflect on how stereotypes of Asians shaped their lives. Kevin described how even seemingly silly stereotypes were at times ingrained:

I think it pervades the consciousness of the individual because I do notice that if I ever do fuck up – sorry [for swearing] – if I am driving, and I always think that if the other driver is white, or even if I don't even think about what the other driver is, I'm always like, "Am I setting a bad example? Are they writing me off as a really bad driver because I'm Asian?" And it's something that hits me for like a split second. And when I think about it later I'm like, "I really shouldn't be thinking about that." But I think those kinds of stereotypes do pervade.

Omar saw stereotypes as having a powerful impact in his life and shared how he dealt with them on a personal level:

I guess I feel like a lot of what I do, or I guess who I am, is kind of shaped by stereotypes. Which is kind of like, when I think about, it seems kind of twisted because I don't really have control over that.... I think about stuff like that and I think about social issues a lot. I don't have the privilege of not thinking about them, I think. A lot of people just don't think about them and they can get by on a personal level, but it will always affect them. So for me, I think thinking about

them...and tackling them is a way of dealing with a lot of the issues that affect me as an Asian American.

So whether reactions to stereotypes were nonchalant or fueled by strong emotion, it was evident that the presence of stereotypes had a significant influence in the shaping of the participants' identities as Asian American men.

Positive Representations of Manhood were Characterized as Strength of Character

An analysis of the interview transcripts for content related to descriptions of manhood revealed three subthemes that emerged across the interviews on the topic of manhood and masculinity: (a) gender-neutral values, (b) traditional masculinity ideology, and (c) focus on strength of character. Participants were asked how they defined manhood and their responses fell into the three aforementioned themed categories. Some participants emphasized that the values that they associate with manhood could be applied to both men and women so were therefore gender-neutral. A few participants engaged with their personal definition of manhood in a way that elicited indicators of traditional masculinity, such as playing sports, being physically strong, and taking action to avoid being perceived as potentially gay. The majority of participants discussed manhood with a focus on strength of character. Strength of character was depicted as, for example, taking a stand for one's beliefs regardless of the consequences.

Gender-neutral values. For a few participants, the definition of manhood was notably gender-neutral and focused on being able to support oneself independently and eventually support others. Henry shared his thoughts on manhood:

I don't know if it has too much to do with gender necessarily as much as just being older and having some kind of profession where you're able to support yourself and your family. I mean maybe not immediately, but support yourself anyway and being held accountable for what you do and just being able to make important life decisions and not really be dependent on somebody else. Not necessarily somebody else [like a spouse], but [independent of] a parent figure.

Kevin also addressed manhood embodying values important to of any gender, but in the context of an openly gay male identity:

I think it's also about taking charge of your own life and situations. And I recognize that it's not always easy, applying that to say, young gay men. You can tell gay men to take charge of their situations, but if they're still dependent on their parents, if they're like 17, it's not going to be the best situation. And so you take that into account, I think that's my perspective of manhood, which I think can even then be applied to all people of any gender.

Kevin's perspective on manhood recognized that carrying out the values he found important might have been difficult to carry out, depending on one's life situation.

Traditional masculinity ideology. A number of participants discussed traditional aspects of masculinity ideology that were primarily focused on sports, physical appearance, and the public appearance of heterosexuality. When asked to share his definition of manhood, Thomas framed his response as normative: "I guess pretty typical media stuff. A guy that's pretty buff, makes money, supports his family." While Thomas

referenced the media as a source of masculinity ideology that he aligned with, Marcus focused more on the images to distance himself from:

I guess in my mind, while I don't have anything against the more artsy guys who enjoy drama and theater, I guess to me manhood is more of like, if you enjoy something like sports. If you enjoy sports, if you enjoy video games, hanging out with people as opposed to being closeted in a room and fiddling around on your computer all day – stuff like that I would say interest-wise. I think a guy should hold doors. More often than not I think a guy probably drives his date, pays for his date, stuff like that.

Descriptions of traditional masculinity ideologies often referenced social aspects of interactions with women, such as the one implied in Marcus' comments about how to behave on a date.

A focus on the physical self was another common reference among definitions of manhood that leaned toward more traditional aspects of masculinity ideology. Ivan mentioned several times throughout his interview that his relatively tall height was a topic of discussion and led his fraternity brothers to consider him a useful representative for their Asian American organization. For example, he was asked to attend a social event with a majority white sorority so that the fraternity members would not appear short next to the sorority sisters. From these experiences, Ivan drew the following conclusion:

Amongst our fraternity, people always talk about how tall I am and stuff. So I think if you're short, you automatically have this kind of complex like, "I'm short

and I wish I was tall,” sort of thing. And that might have to do with being short equated with not being masculine.

Ivan shared that he had previously reflected on boundaries that defined a masculine appearance and found that there were cultural differences in what was considered appropriate behavior when he moved to the U.S. from Korea:

We can hug each other and put our arms around each other and stuff [in Korea] and it wouldn't feel unnatural.... But I came here and I realized that the U.S. was even more masculine and even more macho-ish...and you can't even put your arms around the other guy, otherwise you're going to look kind of fruity.

Ivan therefore adjusted his behavior in the U.S. so that he would not appear “fruity” or gay in order to maintain what was considered a masculine, heterosexual appearance.

Strength of character. The majority of participants focused their definitions of manhood on strength of character and other values that they considered noble. Gary used a metaphor that he learned from a friend to explain what he defined as manhood:

Manhood means to me a consistent character.... A man's character is like a rock. If you do something outside your character, it's a little like chipping it or cracking it a little bit. So say I'm faithful to my wife because I've married her and I've made that commitment. But if I go and I sleep with my co-worker, then my character has been chipped – it's been cracked a little bit. And building that back up takes a long time [laughs].

In his interview, Gary noted that the importance of maintaining strength of character since any slip in appropriate behavior would nearly permanently damage a man's character the same way that a rock has difficulty repairing a chip or crack in his metaphor. While most participants espoused a perspective on manhood that emphasized strength of character, some acknowledged that they also held notions of what they considered more traditional or stereotypical masculinity. Kevin was one of these participants:

I think the politically correct response that I subscribe to is all the good virtues that anyone should have. Loyalty, and loyalty to one's values too, and strength in the face of adversity. But also being able to recognize your faults and to learn from it and to not shy away from being a human being in general. Though, I still also have interpretations of masculinity as being, like, the person who can finish their beer.

Kevin's reference to "the politically correct response" was echoed in other interviews that are not excerpted in this section. Before sharing what manhood meant to them personally, a number of participants first referred to definitions they had learned in school or what they thought were generally accepted social norms.

In the interviews, there was frequent mention of accepting consequences for taking stand as part of one's strength of character. In talking about what manhood meant to him, Raymond made a point to put one's internal character over physical strength:

It just means like standing up for what you believe. Standing up for the people that you really care about. Just making decisions and standing by your decisions.

I wouldn't equate being strong because as long as you really believe in what you're doing, you don't have to be strong to prove your point. People will see that. And if you get beat up or whatever, at least you stood your ground like a man.

Similar to Raymond, Kevin believed that being a man meant accepting the consequences for one's actions or beliefs, even if they are unpleasant:

I kind of get this weird feeling whenever I say the term, and I've been using it more now, but, "Man up." I post on a forum online, a gay men's forum that has a coming out section, and you see a lot of people who are older or younger gay men who are like, "I don't know how to come out to my parents so I'm just going to keep it a secret." Or this one guy was saying, "Oh, crap. Why did god do this to me? I hooked up with a guy in my mom's house and she caught us and found out and now I just lied and told her it's a phase and I'm not talking to this guy and why did he do this to me? I don't need this right now...." And I remember telling him there is a time and place for coming out if you don't feel comfortable about it. But if you want to do these things, it's not god, it's you. And you need to man up and take charge.

In his interview, Kevin shared that he came out to his parents when he was 16. And while his parents still clearly cared for him deeply and supported him academically, they had a number of very upsetting arguments about Kevin's sexuality and the implications of Kevin's sexuality, such as dating. The family remained close though through the difficult "rough patches" of acknowledging Kevin's gay identity. Kevin's thoughts on manhood were influenced by his experiences living as an openly gay man

and he recognized that his parents would perhaps never accept his sexuality. Nonetheless, he appeared prepared to handle negative consequences, such as “explosive” arguments while focusing on the unconditional love that his parents held for him.

Some participants recognized variation in standards of manhood across cultures and used cultural markers as benchmarks for their personal definitions. While he himself is American in the sense that he was born and raised in the United States, Patrick distanced himself from what he saw as an American standard of manhood:

Manhood means being ready for the responsibilities of adult life. I think my definition is different from the way that an American would look at it stereotypically. I don't want to judge or anything, but it's [being] physically strong, physically tough, mentally tough, things like that. That's not what counts for me. I think there's a definition that Jewish people use when they have a bar mitzvah, when they say the boy becomes a man. That's what I usually think of when someone's being more responsible, when someone's ready to take the responsibility to be gentlemanly, to be more civil, to be mature. Yeah, that's my definition of manhood.

This section described the themes that emerged from participants' response to the question, “What does manhood mean to you?” Some participants framed their responses in gender-neutrality, focusing more on virtue and other non-physical traits. Some participants were forthright in endorsing what they believed was a more normative view on masculinity, which involved sports, physical strength, and a social distancing from being homosexuality. Most participants emphasized strength of character when talking

about manhood, even if they also endorsed aspects of traditional masculinity. The importance of strength of character was clearly present throughout these narratives and some participants provided examples of times in which they accepted undesirable consequences after making principled decisions.

Multiple Referent Groups Were Used to Implicitly Describe Masculinity

In this section, participants compared themselves to a number of different referent groups. The types of comparisons generally fell into one of two categories: non-Asian referent groups and within-race referent groups. Comparisons to non-Asian groups mostly focused on white Americans as a specific racial referent group. References to white Americans were generally used to draw a distinction between the individual participants' experiences or values from those of "mainstream" or culturally white American practices, to recognize the marginality of Asian American student organizations as compared to non-ethnic organizations, to compare the physique of white Americans to Asian Americans, and to address perceived racial differences in the social aspects of drinking culture on a predominantly white college campus. Some participants considered African Americans to be a referent group that was culturally closer to Asian Americans than Asian Americans were to white Americans.

Comparisons made within the Asian race largely consisted of referent groups individual participants felt they did not identify with. These comparisons highlighted distinctions among Asian ethnicities, styles of Asian parenting, and distancing from the immigrant generation. Participants who characterized themselves as having lives that balanced academics and socializing often made reference to extreme lifestyles in order to

place themselves in a moderate position. Other participants clearly identified intersections of multiple social identities as significant forces that shaped how they viewed themselves.

Whiteness = American = mainstream. The kinds of social contact influenced what groups they made reference to and the content of the comparisons they made. Some participants were reluctant to make any assumptions about white American students thought about Asian Americans because they did not have friendships or opportunities to discuss personal information with white American students. Other participants were in a different situation and had very little contact with other Asian Americans, which thus made it difficult to talk about what issues were important to Asian Americans in general.

Some participants noted that their parents had not gone to high school in the U.S. and had gone through adolescence outside the U.S. Therefore, these participants often talked to older siblings, cousins, or friends when possible and acknowledged that non-Asian friends often received help from their parents that Asian American participants were not able to access. For example, Alex said that he never asked his parents for academic help but that, “I hear my friends who are like, ‘Oh, I’ll ask my dad to edit my paper’ and I’ve never really had that experience.” Some participants conversely relied very much on their parents for guidance, particularly for important decisions like a future marriage. For example, Sherman took his parents’ thoughts about companionship to heart and planned to have his parents arrange a marriage for him in the future. At the time of the interview, Sherman was 21 years old, had never been in a dating relationship, and was amenable to his parents arranging a match with an Indian woman in the future, partly

because, “I feel like American culture produces certain kinds of women that [are] too worried about superficial things instead of a good education.”

Most participants grew up in areas that were predominantly white areas and went to schools where they were one of a few racial minority students. Only a very few participants expressed that they had difficulties being a racial minority in a predominantly white area. Gary, who went to a predominantly African American high school where he experienced intense racial discrimination for the first few years there, also had difficulty at his middle school:

It was really hard for me to fit into an all-Caucasian [middle] school. A lot of them were wealthy and I think they were primarily Jewish... I remember I had to act really aggressive to get attention.

Gary’s aggression, which included acting out in front of teachers and attacking a Ronald McDonald statue, ended by the time he reached high school and he instead focused his energies into academic achievement. By his senior year of college, Gary was much more comfortable with his surroundings and had developed a more sophisticated sense of self. Similarly, Patrick did not fit into his high school and had reflected quite a bit on how he saw himself in comparison to those around him:

In America...the man is kind of tough and unemotional and his job is to provide tough discipline and get a job and provide money for the family, things like that. But that’s not the way it is in a lot of cultures. In a lot of cultures men are a lot more emotionally sensitive. They’re a lot more social. They’re much more deep,

much more compassionate human beings. And that's something I relate with a billion times more than this kind of unemotional, tough American type.

Patrick identified an American standard of what a man should be like to explain one reason why he felt he did not fit into some social settings.

For some participants who had a lot of social interaction, for example because of the kind of major they had or involvement in student organizations, white Americans were identified as a group to compare Asian American men to. Ivan, who at one time was very involved with his fraternity, gave a visual description of what a "mainstream" fraternity member looked like:

For example, like [the clothing brand] Abercrombie and Fitch, it's kind of the clothes you wear. It's very masculine, it's very mainstream, a lot of white fraternity guys wear it. And a lot of white fraternity guys are...the typical perception of masculine men.

Thomas, who was a business major, described his education as developing social skills and considered perceptions of Asian American men to be dependent upon the context they were in:

I think in business when people are talking with each other, they look for leaders. They want people to be strong, be able to back up their points, and seem like they're competent.... There's not that many Asians in the [Business] School, but the ones I know are less, they seem less confident than the white people. So I think it's just more of like a business stereotype that it's to select from more alpha males than beta males. Whereas...if you're an engineer it's not going to matter.

Thomas made several references to “alpha males,” whom he considered more assertive and confident, and “beta males,” whom he considered to be less assertive and less confident than alpha males.

While Thomas himself was very articulate and confident, yet relaxed during his interview, he considered most of the Asian American men he observed in his business program to fall into a beta male category as compared to other students, who were predominantly white American males. Raymond, however, expressed a very different opinion:

[My friends and I were saying], “Oh, these stupid white boys are calling us, like, ‘chink, blah, blah, blah’” [in a deep mocking voice]. And when that kind of stuff happens, we all call each other up and we usually get, like, in a posse and confront them. And it’s funny because *usually white people are too scared to fight*. I mean, it seems like they talk a lot...of smack and they don’t really back it up. [emphasis added]

Throughout his interview, Raymond expressed frustration at an unwillingness for white males to physically fight him despite calling him racially offensive names. Thus, in Raymond’s opinion, he and his Asian American male friends had more strength of character than the white male perpetrators of bias incidents, whom he considered to be cowardly.

Social marginality among student organizations. Students involved in student organizations observed that either their ethnic organizations were marginalized on a predominantly white campus, or that they themselves were marginalized within a

predominantly white student organization. Members of Asian American fraternities, such as Ivan, noted that their smaller membership meant that all members had to do more work than those in larger, “mainstream” fraternities:

[Our Asian American fraternity is] very small compared to white fraternities. I don't want to say white...[I mean] mainstream fraternities. I tend to keep saying that just because it's so obvious, but it should be mainstream fraternities [laughs].

When interacting with fraternity members of other fraternity councils, Ivan found that he naturally connected more with members of the historically African American council because they also had smaller membership than mainstream fraternities and thus, he felt, had a similar dynamic.

Jacob was a member of a mainstream fraternity and expressed that he did not feel race was an issue in his fraternity. However, he noted that the racial minority students within the group shared a commonality:

It's a predominantly White [fraternity], but I feel like skin tone doesn't matter there on some level in the brotherhood. But the Asian people get a lot more involved in our fraternity and we always support each other if something's bothering us.

Later in the interview, Jacob said that he did feel marginalized within the larger Greek community. He described his thoughts on these topics that were elicited during a Greek leadership building activity:

They had a sheet where you would mark like, “This makes me superior in class.” So I am male, I guess that makes me more superior in class. And there were quite

a lot of white Caucasians in there and they said, “My race makes me superior.” And a lot of them checked that, but I didn’t check that. It was just a bunch of things like, “My size makes me more superior,” just listing off different things about physical details. And that was really interesting, especially within the Greek community. I feel like Asians are underrepresented, especially in the social fraternities. I know there are two all-ethnic Asian specialized fraternities, but they’re not part of the IFC [Interfraternity Council], they’re part of their own governing body.

A few participants like Jacob who were involved in fraternity life commented on how the organizational structure of the fraternities kept mainstream or social fraternities separate from historically African American, Asian American, and Latino fraternities.

Whiteness as a physical standard. A number of participants made reference to whites as a comparison for physical characteristics. One of the symbols of manhood, the penis, was tied to race through stereotyping. Gary shared that this was a common joke in high school:

My [African American] friends would say they have penises that are ridiculously big of all sizes. And they would always boast about it, how a white man has [only] an average size.

The normalizing of white male characteristics, such as physical size, was a common reference across the interviews. In terms of masculinity and attractiveness, Patrick emphatically discussed the difficulties of Asian American men to date because the standard of attractiveness was based on non-Asians:

A white guy can have a relationship with anybody. But it doesn't work the other way around. There's only certain races of males that are considered attractive... I think part of being in America...[is] that the attractive person is always a white male or definitely not an Asian male. There might be a familial pressure to marry an Asian guy, but when it comes to dating, it's just so much more difficult for Asian guys it seems. I certainly do see Asian guys together with Asian girls, but I think Asian girls are...in the American culture [and] they start to see white guys are more attractive. They start to see all the other races as more attractive, and they start to see the Asian guys as less attractive.

Patrick's sense of marginality was present throughout his interview and he was one of the few participants to include non-white American and non-Asian American referent groups. The nature of his references, however, was to highlight that Latinos and African Americans, as well as white Americans, were considered more attractive than Asian American men.

Cultural similarity with African Americans. By socializing with people of white American and Asian American backgrounds, a number of participants made observations that social patterns were related to culture and race or ethnicity. In terms of cultural values, Gary found that, "I realized that African Americans have a very similar culture to Asian Americans in some sense where they're really family-oriented." While Gary focused on family values, Ivan found similarities to African Americans as part of a shared experience of social marginality:

I think sometimes we have more things in common, us being minorities and them being minorities, to share amongst each other. Even culturally – not just [being minorities], but...through music and other popular culture [more so] than with white people, white men.

In using non-Asian American referent groups to better describe their experiences as Asian American men, participants made observations based on being socially marginalized as a racial minority, their perceptions of manhood, physical size, norms of attractiveness, drinking at parties, and cultural values.

Within-Asian American group comparisons. In addition to comparing Asian Americans to non-Asian Americans, participants frequently made comparisons to other Asian Americans. These comparisons distinguished themselves within a racial group to make distinctions about ethnicity, describe regional differences in the Asian American experience, express appreciation for their parents, and distance themselves from the immigrant generation. Comparisons were also used by participants to describe themselves as balanced in comparison to other Asian Americans and to discuss the intersection of social identities that they felt were important to their sense of self.

Distinct ethnicities. Though all participants identified in some way with the term “Asian American,” nearly all preferred to identify themselves in terms of ethnicity – either Chinese American, Indian American, or Korean American. A majority of participants recognized similarities amongst all three ethnic groups, but tended to categorize the East Asian groups of Korean and Chinese Americans as separate from the South Asian group Indian Americans. Among the ethnically Chinese participants, there

was variety in what area of the Diaspora their families came from. For example, Jacob explained that though his family been in Vietnam for two generations to escape the Communist Revolution in China, he was ethnically and culturally Chinese and spoke Cantonese. Ivan related that his girlfriend, who was Korean like himself, would compare Korean men to Chinese men, saying that Korean men were more violent than Chinese men, who are nice and treat women better than Korean men do. Participants like Gary and Ivan observed differences among Asians within the United States. Gary, who was from the New York City area, remarked on what he saw as significant differences amongst Asian American men from New York City, Queens, and Long Island and added that some of the group did not get along well. Ivan commented on regional differences among Asian American fraternities:

If I look at some other [Asian American] fraternities on the west coast...their culture is very, very macho.... They act really tough, they get in a lot of fights...and everything they do is sort of an expression of their macho-ness.

Ivan's observation focused on the expression of masculinity and like Gary, made talked about how the differences affected how peers of a seemingly similar background interacted with one another.

Comparisons of Asian American parents. While participants were at times concerned with how Asian American peers were able to get along with one another, many participants made distinctions at the parental level to express that their own parents were not like other Asian American parents. This common theme referred to either stereotypes that Asian Americans were authoritarian and harsh or observations of other

Asian American children growing up, which served as a form of as cautionary tale. Thomas was especially appreciative of his upbringing and said that, “My parents are...the most open of the Chinese parents that I know. So most of the time they’re just like, ‘Do something that you’ll be happy with.’” Like Thomas, almost all of these participants focused on the content of comparisons on academic achievement and the pursuit of future careers.

The referent group for parental comparisons almost exclusively made reference to other Asian American parents, often of the same ethnic background. While Patrick did not always enjoy parental criticism from his father, he emphasized that his experiences were not as bad as others that he knew of:

It was just kind of a passing comment every now and then about our next-door neighbor who was also Asian [and] also performed very well in school, I think better than I did. So my father would occasionally mention that the next-door neighbor would go home and get his homework done immediately every day. But other than that, I don’t think it [parental criticism] was particularly heavy, especially compared to some other stories I’ve heard about other people.

When asked to explain what the “other stories” were that he heard about, he shared:

I guess this is maybe quite common in a lot of Asian families, performing well in school. I think it wasn’t stressed as strongly as in other families though because...I know some other people who had very demanding parents who would send them to the extra tutoring schools outside of regular school. During the

summer they would take classes to prepare for the next year, things like that. We didn't have to do anything like that.

Participants like Quentin noted that his parents did not employ strict punishments to enforce high academic expectations:

The only thing I really noticed was differences in what my parents were telling me and what my [Chinese and Korean] friends' parents were telling them. My friends' parents were saying, "No dating until you're 35," or, "You have to get straight A's or you're grounded." My parents were just like, "Just try your best and you'll find what you're good at. And as long as you give that effort, then everything will fall into place and you'll be happier in the end."

The above comparisons primarily addressed Asian parents who immigrated to the U.S. and did not make reference to parenting practices outside of the U.S.

Social distancing from international students. Some participants made reference to peers outside the international student peers in the U.S. to illustrate differences. For example, Leonard explained that while his parents frequently compared his academic performance to cousins in the U.S., they did not compare him to cousins in India because the "cultural aspect" was "entirely different." Alex shared that his family in India had very high expectations that he was doing well based on the fact that he was visiting from the U.S. Thus, participants racially Asian peer groups were located in the U.S. and were also culturally Asian American or American. In order to explain the reason that there was a stereotype that Asian American men are feminine and quiet, Raymond speculated that perhaps international students explains that perception:

I can definitely see why they can think that. Like, in class you see those international kids and a lot of them are [Asian], they don't speak English...and they're just completely FOB ["Fresh Off the Boat"]. So I can see why they get that stereotype when they look at them and, no offense to them, but they don't speak English, they're very quiet, they just hang out with people in their group, so I can see why they think that. But it's not really the case between other Asian [American] people.

In order to distinguish themselves from Asian international students and any socially undesirable qualities associated with that identity, Ethan stated that Asian Americans take on a particular type of attire:

It might be in a style of dress... sort of like a subculture almost within the community. The reason for that being...to distinguish oneself *as an Asian American* as opposed to *just being Asian*, to draw that distinction. [emphasis added]

While observations like Ethan noted physical appearance, other peer group comparisons focused on behavior.

Study hard, play hard. A number of participants described themselves as being *balanced*, meaning that they incorporated both academic excellence and social interaction like extracurricular involvement and spending leisure time with friends. In order to make these distinctions, participants often described students who they thought were not balanced in the same way. For example, David grew up in an ethnic enclave area and

made a conscious decision to not have a homogenous friend group like some Indian American students he associated with did:

I try to keep my friends as diverse and I can because when you're an Indian person, especially in a school that has a lot of Indian people, it's easy to get sucked up into the Indian crowd and it kind of becomes a cult. So I try not to do that.

Alex was a participant who considered himself to be bicultural in a way that few other Asian American students were:

I think I do a pretty good job of being able to balance both worlds. I think that's one of my strengths. I kind of see who I am and what I like in culture here and I try to incorporate as much of both as I can while trying to be myself.... I think sometimes people fall too easily in one or the other, because I think it's important to be able to relate to both.

Alex's brother, Bernie, also cherished his bicultural upbringing and shared that he had the privilege of experiencing an Indian culture that was perhaps more genuine in meaning than what he saw promoted on campus:

I think my parents instilled a very strong emphasis on Indian culture and values, but at the same time I feel like I got the best of both worlds. I don't think I'm the typical model for someone who's migrated and grown up here, but I still have a grasp on both cultures. [Other students] are involved in promoting Indian culture, but I don't think it is as in depth as my upbringing has been.

Though both Bernie and Alex felt different from other Indian American students around them, they were embedded in an Indian American campus community and participated in numerous cultural organizations and events.

The theme of having a culturally “American side” and an “Asian side” was fairly common in the interviews. Each side had cultural connotations. The American side was associated with partying more and superficial values. The Asian side was associated with studying more and honorable values. When Ethan described himself, he talked about these sides:

The American side of things has a lot more to do with how you spend your free time...whereas I think the Asian side of things tends to be much more focused on working hard, performance.

Throughout David’s interview, he referred to himself as being in the middle in terms of balancing values that might be considered polar opposites:

I think I’m well rounded. I do a little bit of everything. Study hard, play hard, that kind of mentality.... I want to get into med school, so I stay on top of my work because that’s important. That’s always been important to me. I try to have a good time. Even in high school I always found time to hang out to go out have a good time with friends because that’s important too.

Participants who described themselves as balanced between two cultures articulated two seemingly opposite points and located themselves somewhere near the middle.

When discussing their thoughts on the intersection of male and Asian American identities, a few participants went into detail to explain that there were Asian Americans that they distanced themselves from. Omar was one participant who did so and indicated that he was more comfortable with his masculinity than some other male students in an Asian American organization he was involved with:

I don't think we've had that many informal discussions about what it's like to be an Asian American man. I know that it's more of a prevailing attitude or climate among some of the members who go to our meetings. It's not quite a discussion, but it's like they're trying to reinforce Asian American masculinity.... They use the term faggot or gay [a lot].... By saying that, they're laying claim [like] they're like real men.... It's not a widespread thing.

Omar repeated that it was only a few members of his organization that exhibited the described behavior and was not meant to represent the entire organization, but did have an impact on the group's gender dynamic and was perhaps in some way related to fraternity culture on the campus.

Some participants made comparisons to peers off of campus. Quentin, for one, distinguished himself from other Asian American men in his hometown whom he felt were compensating for their masculinity:

Revvng an engine in their souped up Honda Civic rice rocket [modified car], hitting the nitro in their car when they're on a 35 mile per hour road [laughs]. It's like, "Come on guys, what are you trying to prove?" I haven't seen it as much here, but [back home] there were a few public schools that were probably more

middle and lower class and they had a lot of Chinese and Vietnamese students.

But they were all into modifying their cars and they would have drag races.

For Quentin, the men the peers he observed were different from him not only in their expression of masculinity, but class status and, to a degree, ethnicity as well. A few participants made reference to the transition period of adjusting to college life and characterized themselves as exercising self-control during this time. Alex was one of the participants who considered moderation and self-control as important that reflected his strength of character and manhood:

[Indian American students have] been so suppressed their whole lives that they get to college and they go extra nuts.... Yeah, like partying, sex, all that stuff.... They go extra crazy because they've been like sheltered for so long. Like, "Don't do this. Don't do that. Don't drink, blah, blah, blah." They come to college and there are no rules. And they just go nuts.... I respect people that have the self-control to be responsible but [exercise] their independence too. I think that's something that I strive for myself.

While the above referent groups identified peers that participants distinguished themselves from, they all shared a common intersection of Asian American ethnic and male gender identities.

Intersections of other social or personal identities. About half the participants considered identities outside of being an Asian American male as important to their sense of self. A few of the practicing Christian participants noted the importance of religion in their lives. Gary identified himself strongly as Christian, but made a point to distinguish

himself among his Christian peers. When talking about his accepting attitude toward homosexuality, Gary joked that compared to his housemates, “I feel I’m the most liberal Christian probably in that house, in that church probably” [laughs]. Quentin, the only Catholic participant, made a point to note, “I seem to get more flack about being Catholic than being Chinese or Asian.” Thus, Quentin felt that his being Catholic marginalized himself more amongst his peers than being an Asian American male.

Ivan went on to recall when one of his close brothers in the fraternity came out to him as gay. While he wanted to be accepting of his brother’s identity as an Asian American gay male fraternity member, Ivan struggled with how others would perceive the organization:

There’s already that perception that Asian American men are feminine... And then if other people find out [that an Asian American fraternity member is gay], what are they going to say? I was kind of mad about how we would be perceived. But in the end, when I was actually hanging out with him, I realized it’s not like he’s changed. He’s still the same person. He’s still doing the same things. So I came to accept him and I think we’re in a very good relationship now... But [the fraternity brothers] don’t talk about it because there’s that implication that if people find out, we’re going to be perceived as the pussy fraternity or, you know, we attract all the gay guys.

At the time of the interview, the fraternity brother who had come out as gay to Ivan had not come out as gay to the whole fraternity. Ivan had conversations with his friend about how Asian American fraternity members might not be openly gay within the Greek community. Ivan attributed the lack of openness to the complex consequences that

brothers across the country face as living with intersecting identities as Asian American male fraternity members.

In this section, participants used referent groups that were either non-Asian or were also of Asian heritage in order to better describe themselves as Asian Americans. Most comparisons of Asian Americans to non-Asians specified white Americans (or Caucasians) as a group that espoused more superficial values, that ethnic student organizations were marginalized from, and was physically larger. African Americans were a non-Asian referent group that a few participants found commonality with, more so than with white Americans. Comparisons of participants to other Asians served to distinguish between Asian ethnicities, appreciate their parents child-rearing, and distance themselves from international students who might perpetuate undesirable stereotypes of Asian American men. Participants who described themselves as moderate or balanced in lifestyle and manhood identified opposing values or cultures so they could place themselves near the middle. A few participants had social identities, such as Christianity and fraternity membership, which intersected with their identities as Asian American men and had a significant impact on how they framed their life experiences.

Attitudes Toward Out-group Dating Reflected Complex Ideas About Race Relations and Individual Companionship.

Participants were asked about dating relationships and their attitudes toward out-group dating. From their responses, four subthemes emerged: (a) attitudes toward individual companionship, (b) sources of information about out-group dating, (c) explanations for out-group dating, and (d) reactions to out-group dating. The content of the responses that participants shared reflected complex ideas about race relations and

individual companionship. In the interviews and in this section, out-group dating referred specifically to the phenomenon of Asian American women dating non-Asian American men.

Attitudes toward individual companionship. When asked about marriage, one participant said that he anticipated having his future marriage to an Indian or Indian American woman arranged for him by his parents and that he considered this as a value rather than a restriction on his individual freedom. Though hesitant at first to share his feelings on the topic, Sherman later explained why he avoided the topic with strangers and why he valued arranged marriage as a logical cultural practice:

In America there's a real stigma against [arranged marriage].... But from what I've seen, it's like reversed dating. [Normally] people date, and then obviously their parents have to approve on it later at some point. But in this case, the parents are looking for people that they think are good. And then the person who wants to get married...gets the secondary choice. So it goes in opposite order.

Sherman considered the practice of arranged marriage as one that was practical and safeguarded against unexpected hassles that he thought might arise in dating. Some participants who dated shared anecdotes about unforeseen dynamics of dating life.

One unexpected challenge participants encountered in out-group dating was racism. Quentin shared that one of his friends, "...dated a Caucasian girl and when he went to visit the family, he found out that her brother was very, very racist." In this case, the difficulty was not within the couple, but rather with the girlfriend's family and arose when the friend was left alone in a room with the brother and uncomfortable racial

comments were made. For Alex, challenges he and his white American girlfriend encountered surfaced around culture. Though Alex was comfortable attending events with her, she had difficulties sharing the many cultural events that Alex was a part of:

It's like she'll come to our Indian dance show...and so she'll come out of it just being so disappointed and she'll feel so left out, out of the loop. There was a point where we had some issues with my parents – they didn't know if they wanted me to be dating anyone right now and stuff like that. And so she's always had this insecurity with my parents, and so that's been difficult for her too.

Parental acceptance of dating in college was significant for participants like Alex. While some parents warned that dating would detract from studies, others encouraged their sons to explore by dating so they would have relationship experience by the time they met their ideal life partner.

Almost all participants speculated that their parents would prefer them to eventually marry someone with the same ethnic and, if applicable, religious background. However, most also reasoned that they believed their parents would be accepting of partners of a different background as long as they demonstrated important values, such as hard work. For Kevin, however, discussions about dating with his parents were especially complicated because they were not accepting of his gay identity. Kevin had his first dating relationship at the age of 19 and in hindsight questioned what attracted his ex-boyfriend to him:

My first dating relationship was with this guy and the thing I really noticed about him, but kept quiet about, was that his mother is Japanese, his father is white, but

he was an anthropology major and he was always focused on Japanese things.... And I always wondered if he felt like being half Japanese [meant] that he had to make up for it in some way. Because I was like, "I feel like you're trying too hard. Why do you care this much?" ...And it was really interesting because in the same way, I could relate to him on a lot of things in terms of what it's like to be Asian and also gay, or "gaysian."

Kevin's first dating relationship was tumultuous at times, but it was a valuable experience. He was able to talk salient issues in his life with his boyfriend, such as being "gaysian," that he was not able to talk about with other loved ones, particularly his parents. A number of participants who were dating at the time of the interview or had dated previously cited girlfriends as important figures for consistent, intimate social support. Marcus shared:

I think my ex-girlfriend would be the one big positive effect on my time here [in college]. We were best friends and that person I could always talk to. And I guess it was good to have someone that I was able to be that close with for virtually all of my undergrad.

In addition to talking about their experiences and thoughts about individual companionship, participants shared their experiences and views on out-group dating in general.

Sources of information. The sources of information about out-group dating that participants cited influenced the extent to which they discussed it and the content of that discussion. A few participants were not confident talking about Asian American women

dating non-Asian American men because they were not familiar with the topic. For example, Leonard said:

I haven't really heard people talk about that. But personally, I don't know if it's true or not because I have a lot of Asian friends too and they seem to be dating within the Asian community. So, I haven't really seen that happen.

Like Leonard, most participants based their statements on personal observation. Gary, for example, believed that while Asian American women often dated non-Asian Americans, the reverse did not hold true:

I've just never seen an Asian guy with a white woman. It's just - I've never seen it. I've never...I've seen one. Fine, I've seen two. But I've never seen three [laughs]. But from the other side, I have seen plenty. I have seen plenty, plenty, plenty.

A few participants cited the Internet as their source of information on the topic. For example, Patrick shared, "There's also this little trend online that's talking about the high number of relationships between white guys and Asian girls."

For a few participants, the source of information for out-group dating came from talking with Asian American female friends. Omar shared that he did not fully understand his friend's reason for dating a white American male because when he asked her about it, she joked with him that, "White guys are the lesser of two evils, the greater evil being Asian guys." Members of Asian American fraternities had "sister" Asian American sororities and out-group dating was discussed and observed quite frequently amongst themselves. Ivan shared his experiences from the Asian American Greek community and

described a term called “yellow fever,” or a term to describe non-Asian men who have a preference to date Asian or Asian American women. This phenomenon was important for Ivan since he was involved in screening potential fraternity members and they sometimes found that white American men would apply because they were more interested in accessing the Asian American sister sorority than they were in the fraternity itself:

My girlfriend’s also in an Asian American sorority, so [out-group dating] gets talked about a lot because they have sisters that date non-Asians, I guess with the yellow fever. First of all, with us, whenever we have white guys that pledge or they rush for us, that’s the first thing that comes to our mind. Like, “Do they have yellow fever?” ...When you have that very stereotypical white guy who’s into the Japanese animation and stuff, those anime kids. Those guys usually have some kind of yellow fever.

Ivan in particular considered yellow fever to be an explanation why out-group dating occurred. Participants also shared explanations they attributed to the media, cultural standards of attractiveness, and saving face.

In his freshman year of college, Ivan took a class on Asian Americans in the media and found what he saw as strong influences for out-group dating:

The media I think has a huge role in that phenomenon [of out-group dating]. I mean that’s my opinion. But if you look at...the old-school [movies] from the ‘50’s and ‘60’s...there’s that one Suzie Wong, the prostitute with a heart of gold.

Ivan's references to media spanned decades based on what he learned in his class, but most participants' references to media influences on out-group dating involved more recent trends. Patrick shared a common sentiment from the interviews:

In the media, whenever you see this leading male role for someone who's considered strong and attractive, you almost never see it as an Asian male. Whenever you see an Asian male in a leading role it's something like a martial arts movie. And even then they're considered more of a hero, a noble kind of person, never someone that's actually sexually attractive. So I think it filters down to the culture that people just don't find Asian guys attractive. I think it's unfortunate that there's not enough representation for that.

When he talked about out-group dating, Ivan made a point to note that he observed many Asian American women dating African American men as well as white American men. Ivan commented that the presence of African Americans in the media made it culturally more acceptable for Asian Americans to date in that community, which worked well since they had more in common culturally than they did with white Americans. In addition to these similarities in values, Ivan also described Asian American women out-group dating with African American men as a way of saving face, or avoiding social stigma:

It seems like there's sort of a negative connotation when Asian women date white men and I think that Asian women sort of realize that too. And there might be sort of a reactionary thing to stay away from that, but it's kind of okay or it's cool to date Black, African American men.

In their discussions on out-group dating, Ivan tended to focus more on shared cultural values (e.g., being family-oriented) and shared experiences of being marginalized racial minorities whereas Patrick tended to focus on standards of physical attraction.

Explanations. Patrick went into extensive detail about his thoughts on the topic of out-group dating. He had observed that trends in the media led to Asian American men being seen as not sexually attractive, which therefore impacted Asian American men's overall chances of dating. Patrick remarked that he saw this trend as impacting Asian American's men's confidence, which in turn affected their interpersonal skills:

If time and time again you've kind of been rejected and no one's been attracted to you in high school and no one's been attracted to you in college, it's much harder to develop that kind of confidence if you've never had success. So this kind of cultural stereotype can kind of snowball on itself and cause some effects later on down the road. So if guys aren't as confident and then they can't get girls, maybe it's because girls were never attracted to them and [then] they never had that confidence.

For Patrick, the reason that out-group dating occurred because of cultural standards of what was considered attractive. He explained that he knew this in part from online content, school, and personal experience:

I've heard before in my anthropology class that attractiveness is not purely determined by our biology, it's also determined in large part by culture. And so that's something I've taken to heart. I'm not trying to use this as an excuse for Asian guys to not develop social skills and not become sociable and not be caring

individuals that are confident and can attract women. But I get this feeling, for me personally, that no matter how smooth I get, no matter how nice a guy I am or no matter how competent I am, I'm just going to have a harder time at getting in relationships than white guys or even guys of other races. Because women...like, let's say white women, right? I guess they could find African American men attractive, Latino men attractive, Italian men attractive.... So race shouldn't be a barrier if they're attracted to all these other different kinds of races. But it seems especially for Asian guys, there's just no attractiveness there. In fact, even the opposite, that [women] would not consider [Asian guys] for relationships.

Of all the participants, Patrick by far had the most detailed commentary on out-group dating and had clearly given the topic a lot of deep thought. Most participants had given the topic at least some thought and the reactions of how they were personally impacted varied.

Reactions. It was evident in the extensive commentary Patrick shared that he was quite negatively impacted by the trend of out-group dating. However, he made clear that he was not upset with individual people:

I don't think I'm racist or anything. I have no problem with [Asian American women dating non-Asian American men] that if that's what they want. That's fine with me. But what bothers me is the skewed proportion in one direction.

Patrick's reaction to the skewed direction of Asian American women's out-group dating while few Asian American men dated out affected him on an emotional level:

No matter how competent you are, no matter how nice you are, it just seems like no one's going to be physically attracted to you because you're Asian and I think that's frustrating.

Gary also had an emotional reaction, but it was difficult for him to articulate and he framed it in humor.

Like Patrick, Gary made a point to explain that he did not hold any grudges in a way that could be considered racist. Rather, Gary observed his feelings when he would see an Asian American woman in an interracial relationship, particularly a Korean American woman with a white American man:

We used to always joke and around and be like, "Aw shucks! She's so pretty!" [laughs] "Aw man, lost one!" But in the end, it would be the same effect. It wouldn't have made a difference if that Asian girl was going out with a white male or an Asian man. Chance is, she ain't yours! [laughs] So, it doesn't really matter. But for me personally, it did bother me a little bit. I did feel a little bit strange. It wasn't really like an angry or even a hostile or an unwelcoming kind of feeling like, "You should not be dating her." Not one of those crazy feelings. But it was more kind of an interesting feeling, like a tickle in the stomach. Something just uncomfortable. Like something just didn't feel right.

The reaction that Gary had, while difficult to describe, was consistently present when he saw interracial couples. Similar to Gary, a few participants specifically engaged their personal reactions to out-group dating with strong emotions, such as anger, jealousy, and hate.

When Ivan saw Asian American women dating non-Asian American men, he described his thoughts and emotions as going through a complex process:

I guess from our perspective it's kind of insulting too, that Asian women tend to out-marry or out-date more than Asian men can. And you kind of see that whenever you see the sorority girls dating some non-Asian person. You're just like, "Oh, what the hell?" [laughs]. I think that was my first reaction when I sort of learned about it in that class. But, I don't think there's any reason for me to get really worked up over it. I mean, they can do what they want and I don't think there's any reason for me to go over and say, "Hey, what are you doing?" That's their choice. If anything, whatever that anger is, it should be directed to making myself better.... Even if there is that jealousy, we wouldn't really externalize it and show it because that would make it seem like we're jealous and that's not very masculine [laughs].

Like Ivan, Patrick made it clear that he did not attribute his personal reactions to individuals who were out-group dating. Instead, he emphasized that he did not harbor feelings against men who dated Asian American women. Rather, Patrick's negative reactions were in response to structural levels of trends in out-group dating:

Everyone...tries to blame the white man for all their problems [laughs]. I don't want to do that. But the thing is, I really strongly feel that there is a general cultural problem that the Asian guys aren't considered attractive. Like, if a white guy dates an Asian girl, I wouldn't particularly hate him personally because it's not his fault that he's the beneficiary of this culture that says he's attractive. But

there's still this cultural thing, this kind of loose perception that's kind of distributed amongst everybody that I want to change because I'm feeling the effects of it.

Patrick ended his commentary by summoning a call for cultural change. He stressed that, "I really want to pound home the point that...there has to be a cultural change, a cultural perception of Asian males. That's the main thing."

In this section, participants shared their experiences with dating and their attitudes toward out-group dating, which was defined in the interviews as Asian American women dating non-Asian American men. Participants shared their experiences with individual companionship, which reflected that cultural backgrounds impacted relationships and participants considered intimate partners to be positive sources of social support. The sources of information about out-group dating included personal observations, online content, and female Asian American friends. Explanations for out-group dating attributed the phenomenon largely to the media and cultural standards for attractiveness. Personal reactions to out-group dating encapsulated emotional effects and while participants acknowledged them, they also made a point to distinguish between disliking the trend of out-group dating and attitudes that might be construed as racist. Overall, participants' responses in this section reflected complex ideas about individual companionship and race relations.

Active Coping was Recognized and Often Utilized.

Numerous examples of active coping were brought up across the interviews. Participants often recognized forms of active coping that they thought would be useful,

even if they did not practice them. Overwhelmingly, participants utilized effective forms of active coping in order to meet academic goals, and maintain a reasonable standard for mental and physical health. Five subthemes emerged in participants' discussion of active coping: (a) barriers to active coping, (b) learning from experience, (c) focus on hard work, (d) social support, and (e) maintaining an active lifestyle in a college environment.

There were various barriers to active coping that participants described in their interviews. Participants who did not have an exceptionally high grade point average were at times candid about their academic experiences. Raymond made a distinction between having the skills to achieve academically and the motivation needed to utilize those skills:

If there's a class that I really enjoy, I do really well, like A's or B's. But if there's a class I just hate...I'll just do bad, I'll get, like, C's. So it just depends if I like it. I feel like if I actually just studied and worked hard I could get decent grades. But some classes I just didn't care about because I didn't see how it would apply to me.... If I'm motivated, I'm motivated. But if I'm not, forget about it.

During a time when Ivan was struggling in school, he stopped attending classes and described a cycle that prevented him from going back to school that involved public perception and shame:

It kind of builds up on you. If you don't go to class for a week or two, you don't want to go [back] because you first think of how the other classmates are going to look at you, [and then what] are the professors going to think [of you]?

Ivan looked for ways to cope with his situation:

Because I was doing so bad[ly] in school, I focused all that extra time into extracurricular stuff... I think that was sort of my way of dealing with the problem with school...sort of running away from the problem and not really dealing with it.

In his interview, Ivan went into a detailed account of his struggles with school and mental health. Despite having numerous resources nearby, Ivan had numerous barriers to utilize them.

When asked if he talked about his academic problems with an immediate source of social support, his fraternity, Ivan said no and explained why:

You don't want to be known as the guy that is failing out of school within the organization. So that kind of prevented me from really telling even my closest brothers about what was going on.... Nobody wants to bring it up either. Like, "Hey, are you doing bad in school?" [laughs]. And one of the stipulations for being a [fraternity] member is that you have to be a student, even to pledge. And there was always that question of, "What if you're not a student here anymore? Are you still a brother?" And nobody wants to be in that kind of position.

At his girlfriend's urging, Ivan sought help and attended counseling where he was diagnosed with Attention Deficit Disorder (ADD) and depression. However, the suggested treatment he received, in a way, became another barrier to effective coping:

Once they diagnosed me with ADD, I kind of blamed everything on that...and my depression. That kind of gave me an excuse to not really do anything about the problems that I had. Because I would just think, "Hey, you know, it's the ADD's

problem. I don't really have a problem. It's because of my condition. If I take the medication, everything will go away."

For a time, he was in Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT) to treat his depression and ADD. However, Ivan said that, "These [CBT type exercises] are helpful, but I don't think [the therapist] really addressed my internal issues." One of the internal issues that Ivan talked about was the pressure he felt to meet high expectations set by his parents and his status as a son within a hierarchical, patriarchal Korean culture.

Guilt, shame, and saving face were major barriers that prevented Ivan from reaching out to his family. He shared that:

I kept it in the whole time. And I think it was mainly that guilt that really prevented me from doing something about my problem or really being able to get back on track.... I finally ended up telling [my parents] a couple months ago at the beginning of the spring semester. They were initially disappointed, but they've been really supporting me and I think I'm in a much better place now.

Though Ivan's parents did have the initial negative reaction that he anticipated, they quickly became more concerned about his overall well-being and became central support figures in his life, in addition to his girlfriend. Though he had struggled with telling his parents for over a year, he took the advice of a teacher he trusted enough to share his troubles with.

Ivan recognized that he knew telling his parents was the right thing to do, but the guilt was so strong that it held him back from doing so. Ivan was earnest in

acknowledging that the delay in telling his parents and seeking help actually contributed to his problems compounding. Forrest recognized a similar barrier within himself:

One of my biggest personality flaws is I don't like to ask for help, especially if it's something that I'm ashamed of, like a bad grade. I remember after my sophomore year when my grades were terrible, it took a lot of inner convincing to go talk to my [academic] counselor just because I felt like he would be judging me the whole time, like, "Oh my gosh, what is wrong with this kid?" Because I was personally very ashamed of my grades, I was very worried about what he would say. So I'm learning to realize that it's for my own benefit that I use the counselors and that I use every resource that I have. But it's still very hard for me to look at my transcript and be like, "Oh my God." It's still very painful, very shameful for me. But I know it's not going to get any better unless I just take care of it myself. I think that's how I got in this mess in the first place, by not asking for advice about which classes to take and when to take them.

Like Ivan and Forrest, participants noted that they were learning from their experiences over time. For example, a number of participants said that if they had the opportunity to go back and change anything about their college experience that they would not have taken high level classes (300 or 400 level classes) during their freshman and sophomore years. Taking advanced classes early in their college career caused a number of students to struggle academically and then feel bad about achieving less than ideal grades. The blow participants received to their confidence had a negative impact on their ability to maintain the level of academic they expected of themselves.

Participants consistently shared that they had learned from their experiences. David described his learning process as simply being aware that, “If something worked, I stuck with it. If it didn’t, I wouldn’t do it anymore.” To overcome negative feelings after an unsatisfactory academic performance, participants like Nathan made a point to sublimate those feelings into a drive to perform:

The feeling [of sadness and disappointment came]...when I received the grade and maybe a couple hours or so afterward. But then as I start to get over it, it’s more, “Okay, what can I do now to improve that?” And I just use that as motivation to push myself to get a better grade.

Bernie shared times when he felt anxious about not studying enough, but said:

Going into a final exam not feeling prepared and then taking it feeling like I didn’t know anything on it [was stressful].... I’d just worry about it, think about it a lot and beat myself up over it.... But I’ve gotten to the point where it’s happened enough times where I realized that I can’t do anything about it after I’ve taken the exam. So I’ve learned to come up with coping strategies to realize that I need to move on with it, to accept that it’s done with, and that it’s in the past and to look towards what I need to do next.

While almost all participants demonstrated that they were learning from experience, upperclassmen and recent graduates were perceptibly more detailed in how they utilized active coping.

In addition to positive, active coping strategies that they developed through experience, participants also shared negative habits or patterns of behavior that they

abandoned. One of the barriers to active coping discussed was alcohol consumption. Gary expressed sheepishly alluded to actions he regretted after celebrating St. Patrick's Day as a way of dealing with school-related stress:

I did party here and there and I did get smashed, it was St. Patty's Day. Honestly, I don't think that's a good way to cope though.... That was a maladaptive way of me coping. Yes, I did [it], and I regret it a little bit.

Bernie described the college party culture as a distraction from focusing on his academics:

It's the typical college scene. You have parties, you have clubs and bars, house parties, but you just kind of meld a new college atmosphere. Freshmen year was a little more distracting and kind of novel, but now I'm just kind of used to it.

As Bernie advanced in school, he began to "meld" or shape a social network that was a better fit for his personality and goals. In general, participants who were more advanced described their drinking and party habits as becoming less frequent and intense over time. As Charlie put it, "Drinking, partying hard, I'm too old for that now [laughs]."

In the interviews, participants were asked if they consumed products like energy drinks or stimulant drugs to help them study. A few students said that they consumed energy drinks like Red Bull to help them focus, like before an exam. Most of the students who drank Red Bull, however, did so in combination with alcohol to help them stay alert to party, not to study. Very few participants had ever taken prescription stimulant drugs that were not prescribed to them for the purpose of focusing to study. Access to these drugs, however, was generally acknowledged as prevalent on the campus and Raymond

said that, “I cannot honestly tell you how many [stimulant]...pills I’ve taken, but I don’t take them unless I am taking an exam or preparing for an exam.”

No participant disagreed with the use of prescription drugs for depression, anxiety, or Attention Deficit Disorder if they were prescribed to a student. However, some of the participants who had never taken stimulant drugs expressed strong opinions about the use of pharmaceutical study aids. Raymond shared that he felt personally offended by their use:

I think that I subscribe to the philosophy that if you can’t study out of your own personal drive to do well, then it’s probably just not the class or topic for you. You should definitely try your hardest. But if you need to resort to all night drugs like focus pills that are basically like Ritalin that you don’t need, I feel like that’s kind of a slap in the face to people who are determined enough to really excel in what they want.

Nathan linked this form of drug use to a person’s character:

I feel that if the medication is not prescribed to you or if it’s not necessary to your well-being then I don’t think you should be taking it. I think it’s just a lack of will power and it kind of reflects poorly upon your character that you have to go to drugs to help you study. Personally, the reason I don’t take the drugs is because it’s in your head. And if you can push through that mental block, then you’re set.

Sherman recognized that many students strove not only to excel academically, but in extracurricular areas as well. Thus, his response was:

I feel like if you get what you're supposed to get done during the day, that problem doesn't occur. It's just time management. But there's certain people that want to do it all. And you can't do it all. You have to figure out what you actually want to do during the day [laugh].

The participants who strongly disapproved of using non-prescribed pharmaceutical study aids made gestures to express that they did not think highly of students who took this route. Conversely, some students made a point to name people who were inspirational role models for studying hard. Raymond shared that, "There are a lot of people that I really respect just because they worked hard. And seeing them where they are now makes you want to work hard for what you do."

In order to focus on academic achievement, studying hard was the consistent strategy that participants said was required. Some participants specified specific study skills they used, particularly time management. Alex was very involved in extracurricular activities and said that when he knew an academic deadline was approaching, "I try to reschedule my time to give myself a little more time to work on whatever is coming up." Some participants also noted that motivation was an influential factor. As Alex summarized this issue when he said, "I know what to do. It's just my lack of doing it that's my problem." Almost all participants described themselves as good students and were fairly humble in explaining what made them good students. Jacob shared, "I was always one of the top students in my math class. But it wasn't because I was Asian or that I was just great at math. It was actually because I worked [and] tried." Similarly, Charlie, who had been accepted to medical school, did not attribute his high grade point average

to natural ability. Rather, he said, “I’m not exceptional. I’m not brilliant, nowhere close [laugh]. But I work hard, so I maintain above average grades.”

An impressive number of participants were very high academic achievers who also served as leaders in student organizations, participated in performing arts, and volunteered at the local hospital and homeless shelter. Ethan was one these students who took pride in attaining exceptional success in multiple domains. He described his undergraduate college experience as such, “I was pretty studious. I did do stuff outside of class, but I’d say that I worked pretty much as hard as I could.” Sherman was in a competitive engineering program and had difficulty gauging how much his peers studied to achieve similar results. During the interview, he speculated that some of his peers might have been naturally gifted and he said this about himself:

I don’t think I’m a lot smarter than a lot of the people I have classes with, but I tend to work a little bit harder than them because I kind of have to. I’d have to say I work pretty hard at the grades I’m trying to get.

While participants who for the most part open about indicators of academic achievement (e.g., AP tests, GPA, etc...), they were also careful to state that they were not trying to brag or made statements like the ones excerpted above to down play their natural abilities and instead attribute their success to hard work.

Participants across the interviews described social support networks, role models, and social resources that they utilized as forms of active coping. Some forms of social resources were formal, like the medical school advisors Alex contacted when he began college. Since Alex wanted to apply for medical school, he asked if a science major

would improve his chances of future admission. The advisors he consulted all said that his major would not influence his chances of getting into medical school and recommended he choose a major based on what he liked. Therefore, instead of majoring in the sciences, Alex opted for a music major to compliment his pre-medical course requirements and he was thoroughly enjoying his educational experience. For participants like Thomas who went through stressful periods in school that were related to their major, talking to classmates who shared the same situation often helped.

Some students cited their families as offering guidance and support. Nathan shared his thoughts on this:

I feel very close to my family. There's a very good bond. I feel that I have that same bond with my friends and my girlfriend as well. And especially through my family's influence, I have a very clear understanding of what my goals are and how to achieve them...and sacrifices I might have to make.

Siblings were nearly as prevalent as parents as sources of social support. For Alex, he appreciated that, "I've always kind of taken my brother as a given relationship and I've realized that I need to put work into that too if I'm going to make that successful."

Participants touched upon this notion of reciprocal relationships and were quite conscious about how they maintained relationships with family, friends, and significant others.

For participants who were in what they considered to be serious dating relationships, girlfriends were positive and consistent sources of support. For these participants, girlfriends were often the ones they discussed any and all issues with. For example, Ivan shared, "I mainly talk to my girlfriend about things.... At [one] time [she]

noticed that I was acting really weird. Just being really depressed. Being really antisocial.” Ivan’s girlfriend noticed symptoms of depression that he was not willing to address at the time and encouraged him to seek counseling. For participants who were not in significant dating relationships, close friendships were extremely important sources of social support. In order to surround himself with this kind of reliable support, Alex said that, “I tend to make friends that have similar values, or at least tend to make friends that respect my values.”

Some participants were very clear about the positive influence that advanced students had on them. For example, Jacob had a good friend from his hometown who was one year ahead of him in college and, “He was pretty much always there to help me out, [especially] because he’s taking [the same] classes that I’m taking right now. And if I have a question, I always contact him first to see if he can help me out.” At times, friendships became critically important forms of active coping to help participants out of difficult situations. Gary, for example, had a trying transition period when he began college, but he had friends he knew from home who were there to support him:

I desperately prayed for the first time. I’m not sure if I really believed, but I did it anyway.... I was so desperate. And I had some good friends, older friends, who were able to tell me, “Freshman year is normally a tough year. People adjust. You’re from [a big city]. You’re not even from Michigan, so this must be really tough to adjust to. You just came from an all African American high school and...now you’re adjusting to something else [laughs]. You just have to adjust to this too and we’re here to help you.” They were really good. They made me home-cooked meals when I was stressed and they really elevated my mood when

I was down in the pits. And so I'm thankful for the social network that I had.

There were a lot of people who looked over me and made sure I was okay.

Gary's friends from home knew him well enough to understand the adjustment challenges he was having and normalized the experience for him. Additionally, they made comforting gestures that other participants noted were helpful, such as cooking food and listening to someone talk.

Most participants were aware that taking time outside of school was important to maintain a healthy self. A few participants, like Leonard, valued a "work hard, party hard" approach and to unwind he would, "Hang out, just relax, do absolutely nothing, drink probably." Charlie would get together with friends and, "just watch movies or relax and unwind." Henry would do solitary activities as well as social activities to unwind:

I read when I can. Leisure reading obviously. And sometimes maybe I'll watch TV or something like that. Or I might do something with friends or go see a movie or something like that.

As a response to the stress of intense teasing in high school, which included racial slurs on a daily basis and having food thrown at him in the cafeteria, Gary threw himself into his studies. "Eventually, I don't even know what they said. All I did was study for the SAT's [laughs] trying to get my mind off of it." Forrest described his work as a peer advisor in a student research program as very rewarding, which contributed to his well-being. An additional benefit for this paid position was the opportunity Forrest was able to use his past academic disappointments to helping other students:

I really enjoy [working as a peer advisor] because I really enjoy talking to students. There are a lot of things that I regret doing in college and not doing. So it's helpful for me to tell younger people, "This is what I've learned," just so that I don't go crazy. Because I'm one of those people who, if I make a mistake, I kind of lose sleep over it. And I know I can't do anything about it, but it helps me to talk to other people about it and say, "This is what they probably should have or should not have done."

Though community service was not explicitly described as a way to cope with stress, a number of participants volunteered on a regular basis and some found it to be rewarding as well.

A majority of participants used exercise as a form of active coping to handle stress. Ethan said he would, "Maybe just go exercise. Get away from the books for a while." When asked what he did when he was stressed out, Thomas said:

Just breathing deeply, trying to get my mind off of whatever I was thinking definitely helps.... I go to the gym a lot. Jogging really helps, it relaxes me, brings me down. Yeah, I mean nothing crazy. I didn't drink heavily or anything like that.

The importance of exercise as a form of handling stress and contributing to overall health was the prominent reason for working out. While some participants had previously worked out with the primary goal of getting bigger and more muscular, no participant stated that as a principal reason at the time of the interviews. Exercise was so important to participants that they were disappointed if they had missed workouts during exam

periods and like Alex, made it a priority and shared that, “Freshmen year I told myself I’d exercise a lot, but I never make time for it and I realized it never happened. Since then I’ve scheduled it into my class schedule and made it work.” The use of active coping in the form of time management was often cited as necessary to be able to exercise and therefore actively cope with stress and maintain overall health.

For some participants, exercise was a solitary activity. For others, exercise sometimes a way to maintain friendships. Working out together, like going to lift weights together, was a way to stay connected with friends despite a busy school schedule. Some forms of exercise, like playing basketball, were social group activities that were fun and help maintain bonds of friendship. Throughout all descriptions of exercise, no reference was made to women working out with participants. Thus, working out socially was presented as an all-male activity for these participants.

Active coping in response to stressful situations were described consistently throughout the interviews. Participants named barriers to active coping that they had experienced, which oftentimes meant that shame prevented students from accessing resources that could help them. Thus, by attempting to save face, a few students consequently prolonged their distress and in Ivan’s case, fell deeper into depression and academic failures. Participants described varying stages in which they learned from their experiences with the most advanced students providing the most detail about skills and attitudes they came to utilize. Hard work was emphasized as a way to cope with academic challenges, and the non-prescribed use of pharmaceutical study aids was generally looked down upon. Family, friends, and significant others were very important sources of social support. In order to maintain reasonable stress and health levels, participants made a

point to unwind outside of school, exercise, and sometimes contribute to the local community. Overall, participants identified a considerable range of active coping techniques and consistently utilized them.

Qualitative Interview Discussion

The Asian American male college students' interviews highlighted seven themes in this analysis. Some of the participants experienced perceived Asian discrimination and shared their stories, and all participants had some form of reaction to stereotypes about Asian American men. Most of these themes shared a commonality in that the topical narratives participants shared posted extreme examples to illustrate where the participant saw himself in relation to the bimodal points. In discussions about parental perfectionism, participants often recalled that they were in some way negatively impacted by high parental expectations and sometimes criticism, yet also appreciated the positive outcomes of achieving academic goals.

Parental influences were particularly important for this population of 1.5 and second generation Asian American college students, yet the transmission of parental messages was largely tacit. Additionally, it was apparent that parents were not the only source of lessons on life, even though this theme used the term "parental" messages. In addition to parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles, cousins, siblings, and friends were positive sources of valuable lessons. The content of the common life lessons resonated with what has been described in Asian American literature and research on Asian American populations. Memoirs and historical accounts indicate the consistent message on frugality placed on the children of the immigrant generation. For some of the participants, these lessons were particularly important for their parents who came from

circumstances much different from the ones they were currently experiencing in the U.S. Jacob noted that both his parents and grandparents had been through quite a lot, escaping the Communist Revolution in China and then fleeing from Vietnam by way of a refugee camp. As children of immigrants who emphasized frugality, it appeared that the children were expected to appreciate everything they had and to demonstrate their appreciation for a comfortable life by being respectful to their elders and succeeding academically.

Working hard and excelling in school was a parental message that was consistent across the interviews and reflects a focus on academics that is prevalent in literature on Asian Americans (Kibria, 2002; Lee, 1996). It was clear that parents expected their children to maintain high standards of academic excellence and though these expectations were not detailed, they were well understood (Mahalingam, 2006). For many participants, the underlying description of their parents' lessons on studying hard and working hard implied that their parents worked hard at their jobs and that the only job the children had was to be a good student. Since the children had only one job to tend to, they should focus all of their efforts into that job in order to succeed. Thus, parents and children could be seen in parallel as both working hard at their respective "jobs."

The descriptions that participants gave of their parents' lessons on studying hard were infrequently spoken and when they were verbalized, were often succinct. Sometimes only arose when the child was perceived to not be studying hard. This mentality is similar to sayings from East Asian cultures that roughly translate into, "The nail that sticks out gets hammered down." This mentality differs from American sayings like, for example, "The squeaky wheel gets the oil." So when participants did exceptionally well in school and received no less than an A-, parents did not say anything

because that was the expectation. Instead, it was when participants did not perform up to parents' expectations that they got "hammered down" and received explicit lessons on what working hard and studying hard meant. Thus, one reason that the common message of working hard and studying hard may have been largely tacit was that it was only when students underperformed that they received direct communication from their parents. Since participants were exceptional students, especially in high school, it becomes apparent why they may have received so few verbalized lessons.

A common way to transmit parental messages that participants described was learning by example. For a number of participants, fathers were major role models. For these young men, observing their fathers was particularly important to learn about how to treat women, how to work hard on behalf of others, and how to be a future father. This form of parental socialization is consistent with literature on fatherhood and masculinity (Mirandé, 1997). Since spoken lessons were either infrequent or brief, it is evident that learning from others by example was increasingly important for participants. It is notable that participants' descriptions of the lessons they learned from observing others, whether it was their fathers, older siblings, or older students, were much more detailed than the explicit lessons that they described as learning from their families. It is evident then that learning by example was an effective form of transmitting life lessons based on participants' willingness to talk in depth about the positive values they learned from following role models.

One way in which participants shared that they learned lessons was that they were compared to others. These comparisons served as a form of semi-direct communication. So while parents were talking with their children, they were not always necessarily

addressing a topic directly relevant to the point at hand. Rather, participants were able to read into the content of the comparisons. For the participants, this was an opportunity to follow role models in their families that they loved and respected, but at the same time there seemed to be a slight irritation with the idea of comparison, especially when the comparison was to an example of what not to do. For the participants who were the older siblings or older cousin, this created a certain added pressure for them because they were expected to perform so well that younger family members and community would want to emulate them. Similarly, there was a fear of becoming the center of a cautionary tale about a student who did not succeed, but failed. This fear of failure created pressure as well, as discussed by participants like Ivan. Again, the lessons learned from these parental messages were clear, even if the immediate content of comparisons were not communicated.

There were instances in which parents directly communicated messages. For some participants, there were important messages that were shared with them from their fathers. This form of man-to-man communication has been considered a part of male socialization in the literature (Mirandé, 1997) and focused on values and some life skills for living an independent life (e.g., setting up a retirement account and how to balance a checkbook). For the most part, participants did not receive explicit messages from their parents about sexual health or relationships. For the participants who did receive direct advice, it was either to avoid dating in order to focus on studying or humorously vague, such as Forrest's father who warned him to not, "be doing anything that you shouldn't be doing," but never explained what it was he was not supposed to do. A generational gap was especially present when it came to the topic of relationship advice. Most participants'

parents either had an arranged marriage or did not have a long courting or dating period. Thus, dating was a practice that was unfamiliar to many parents. It may follow then that the lack of explicit advice about relationships may simply be because the parents had no advice to give.

Similarly, only a few parents shared explicit lessons about discrimination. This may indicate a finding consistent with literature that first generation immigrants are less aware of perceived Asian discrimination than second and subsequent generations of Asian Americans. It is entirely possible that the children in these families perceived discrimination and their parents did not. Or perhaps they did, but they were not affected in the same way or did not know what to do about it. Regardless, Kevin's father was the only child who had a parent who went in-depth about discrimination against Asians and gave him advice about how to respond to it. Both of Kevin's parents talked to him about structural and institutional racism, which appeared to have taught him how to look at discrimination on a systematic level. Hence, if parents were not aware of discrimination or did not know how to what extent it negatively impacted their children, then they may have not felt a need to speak about it explicitly (Mahalingam, 2006).

Cultural context was an important background with which to understand some participants' views on tacit parental socialization. For example, Thomas described language differences in how to respect elders versus peers and Ivan talked about the pressures he felt because of the specific location had within his family. Since these were cultural lessons, participants did not say they were learned explicitly from their parents. Thus, it may be that parents expected their children to learn and follow these values from the surrounding culture and therefore not feel the need to make explicit lessons. Thomas

and Ivan, however, grew up partly overseas so had a significant amount of cultural socialization. For second generation children who did not spend much time visiting overseas, their parents often became synonymous with cultural background. Thus, it became quite difficult to differentiate between family values and cultural values, especially if it is up to the parents to be the purveyors of culture in a predominantly white area. Participants like Charlie did not separate out family and culture, but found the impact of both to be very important in shaping who he was.

The theme of perceived parental perfectionism encapsulated the constructs of how pride and pressure can co-exist within one individual. A majority of students emphasized that their parents set very high standards for academic achievement, and some added that they were expected succeed musically as well (even if they did not want to play an instrument). A number of students also mentioned attending tutoring outside of school (i.e., Kumon). The parameters of high academic expectations were consistently reported as anything below an A- during grade school and high school. The high expectations to succeed academically are consistent with literature on Asian Americans, especially children of highly educated parents who moved to the U.S. after the 1965 immigration reform (Chan, 1991; Kibria, 2002; Lee, 1996; Takaki, 1998). For many students, however, the “perfectionist” standards of parental expectations came with parental criticisms as well (Han & Hsu, 2004; Lee, 1996). For some, there were reprimands for not achieving higher than an A- and punishments, such as restrictions on leisure time.

It was apparent across the interviews that participants saw some of the parental criticisms as unnecessary, especially in grade school. No participant articulated a benefit to receiving straight A's in grade school and only one participant said that he experienced

negative consequences for not doing well in grade school (he was tracked into a high school that was less academically rigorous than if he had shown higher grades). The consequences of parental criticisms were apparent in participants' descriptions of how they were affected. A majority of participants expressed that they felt some kind of negative emotion, from feeling irritated to being quite distressed and thinking that the parents would have preferred a different kind of child.

Sometimes perceived parental criticisms would lead to arguments while other participants shrugged off the comments despite feeling frustrated. Kevin's parents were unique in the interviews because he reported having had a detailed conversation with them to explain the reasoning behind parental criticisms. However, the circumstances that led to this discussion were extreme and thus, most participants experienced the parental criticisms without confirming the exact intention their parents' had. Ivan detailed exactly the kind of cautionary tale that represented high parental expectations and a fear of failure. Ivan repeatedly referred to warnings his parents gave against failure, which in this case was defined as becoming a *real estate agent* rather than a *medical doctor* after failing *one* class in college. Thus, anything less than the parental expectations are threatened with the shame associated with standards the parents look down upon (even though other people might consider a real estate agent a perfectly respectable profession).

Over time, our participants' perception of their parents also changed. It seems there are lifespan developmental changes in how people perceive or judge their parents' expectations. It was apparent from the participants' recollections that even the parents who were set strict, high expectations and imposed parental criticisms as well developed over time, loosened the standards and dramatically decreased parental criticisms. Some of

this appears to have been a natural consequence of learning from experience and sometimes was evident in birth order, the younger siblings reaping the benefits of the parents learning that they did not have to be as strict as they were with the older children. It was also apparent that parents understood that college was different from high school and that college grades were different so the standard of a 4.0 grade point average was lessened. However, this lessening of perceived parental perfectionism may have been because parents held a goal of their children getting admitted to college and once that was achieved, they were able to decrease how much they pushed their children. However, it was apparent from the interviews that participants, especially those who were admitted to or were planning to apply for medical school, held themselves to a very high standard and frequently spoke with their parents about how to maintain a high level of academic success to increase their chances of being a future professional.

It is apparent that many students internalized the perceived parental perfectionism that they experienced throughout their childhood. It was somewhat surprising to the researcher to see the same participants who expressed frustration from the pressures they experienced as children earnestly express appreciation for those same pressures their parents placed on them to succeed. In a sense, achieving the final goal justified the means it took to get there. Not surprisingly, more advanced students were closer to graduate school or the work force expressed more detailed reflections about the appreciation they had for their parents' perceived parental perfectionism. The extent to which participants internalized this pressure was evident in numerous students, like Gary, who pushed themselves very hard in school despite feeling extremely anxious and stressed out and

were perfectly happy with the results as long as it meant they received the high grades they strove for.

Like Gary said, once the goal was achieved, all of the negative emotion subsides. It may therefore be possible that negative consequences of perceived parental perfectionism are stronger before a student reaches a goal and be almost non-perceptible after a student has reached that goal. However, for a student like Ivan who was still working towards graduation as a sixth year senior, it was difficult to justify the means when the high expectations were not achieved and the consequences of perceived failure were so dire. Accounts like Ivan's have been documented in narratives of Asian Americans (see Han & Hsu, 2004 for example).

In talking about perceived Asian discrimination, a few participants confirmed that they did in fact experienced race-based discrimination. Most of these responses were explicit and intense situations, such as Gary's experience of attending a largely African American high school and experiencing racial insults and teasing every day and Raymond, who recounted multiple times when he had been called a "chink." Gary's experience is indicative of relations amongst Asian Americans and African Americans in urban areas (Prashad, 2001; Zia, 2000). However, Gary also reflected on the cultural commonalities that he saw with African Americans and Asian Americans based on an experience of social marginality (Prashad, 2001). In the college context, most reported incidents occurred in the presence of alcohol consumption, which seemed to also precipitate violence. In this context, physical force became an expression of both cowardice and masculinity. Raymond's in-depth accounts drew the boundaries for what he saw as honorable masculinity that he and his Asian American male friends espoused

while the white American men who racially taunted them were coward in using verbal insults without being willing to follow up with physical violence.

This paradigm in particular was clearly a struggle for Raymond because stereotypes of Asian American men referred to were depictions of weakness. However, from his real-life experiences, it was the white American men who were perceived as weak. It seemed that this complex frustration compounded Raymond's thoughts on the irony of a seemingly frail Asian American man demanding to fight while the seemingly strong white American man hid behind a locked door. The use of physical violence as defending one's honor or to defend a friend's integrity is common in conceptualizations of traditional masculinity ideology that emphasize being "tough" (Connell, 2005; Pleck, 1981). For this population of Asian American male college students, references to what constitutes an ideal man are constantly juxtaposed with omnipresent stereotypes that influence how others see them.

Interview participants expressed a range of reactions to stereotypes. The range of reactions, from rejecting them based on principal to feeling bad about them to acknowledging them but trying to ignore them, demonstrates that the sample had a significant variation in their comments about the same stereotypes. Thus, it may be important to recognize the array of individual differences within a seemingly narrow population. Though they shared the same identity of Asian American male college students who grew up primarily in the United States, they expressed themselves quite differently. There is no indication in this study as to whether the variation in responses were due to personality differences or due to differences in previous experiences, but

more research is needed to explain how individual difference factors and previous discriminatory experiences shape psychological well-being.

The steps that participants took to distance themselves from stereotypes of Asian American men reflected a variety of gender bargaining strategies (Chen, 1999) and the very existence of the stereotypes implied an assumption that what was opposite of the stereotype was what was hegemonic. For Omar, his decision to not be an engineer was one he reflected on because he came to recognize that perhaps his avoidance of the major was to avoid association with a stereotype of Asian Americans as engineers. It is notable that Omar also utilized compensation as a hegemonic bargaining strategy by playing a lot of sports and socializing his brother as a man by teasing him to play sports as well.

The use of compensation across interviews largely involved playing sports. Participants acknowledged physical size as something that could compensate for stereotypes that Asian American men are small and effeminate, yet some thought that their genetics would not allow them to get big while others simply gave up because of the time and effort serious body-building required. Some participants made use of compensation to disprove stereotypes that Asian American men could not hold their liquor by drinking more than they would otherwise, and others used denial as a hegemonic bargaining strategy by focusing simply saying it did not exist and that it certainly did not apply to them. The stereotype of the “Asian flush” was a particularly interesting one to discuss in interviews because there is a genetic component that exists in east Asian populations that affects the processing of alcohol in the body, yet participants still engaged with hegemonic bargaining strategies in order to explain their thoughts about it.

One stereotype that is certainly up for debate and has had a number of scientific studies conducted to prove or disprove it is the notion that Asian men have smaller penises than men of other races. The majority of participants who acknowledged this stereotype were certainly concerned with how it impacted the way that non-Asians viewed them. Logically, penis size itself was not the immediate issue at hand but what it represented. The connection between masculinity and the symbolic value of penis size was a concern for some participants. While most participants made a point to tell the female interviewer that they had no intention to investigate the validity of the stereotype, one participant did say that he observed the men in an Asian bathhouse in order to see if this was true and he decided that he saw enough variety in penis size on the bathhouse to conclude that the stereotype was not true. Gary used humor to utilize deflection as a hegemonic bargaining strategy, shifting the focus from the size of the penis to its functions of reproduction and providing sexual pleasure.

While some participants noted that at times it was difficult to tease out identities in stereotypes, others were explicit in identifying the intersection of multiple social identities. For example, Ethan was not sure if some Asian American students he knew partied a lot because they were compensating for a stereotype about Asians or if they simply partied because that was acceptable in a college environment and they enjoyed it. Kevin, on the other hand, explained the unique experiences that Asian American gay men had based on the particular location the intersection of these three social identities put them in. Across the interviews, participants' social identities as being openly gay, Christian, a fraternity brother, or adopted by a non-Asian parent added complexity to the intersection of their male and Asian American identities. The detail with which

participants described themselves as uniquely socially positioned indicates variation within this population of what friends and experiences they seek out, as well as how they perceive those experiences.

Overall, the impact of stereotypes and discrimination were negative to varying degrees, and participants coped with them in complex ways. In high school, Gary used deflection as a way to deal with intense teasing at school and instead threw himself into his studies. This form of coping may add another layer to the model minority myth that Asian American students naturally excel in school (Chan, 1991; Lee, 1996). In fact, there may be a minority of Asian American students who are succeeding academically, but partly as a response to emotional distress from perceived Asian discrimination. For Omar, his involvement in an Asian American student organization, work for an Asian American activist group, and frequent reflection on stereotypes helped him to cope. The prevalence and impact of stereotypes, however, were present even in his thoughts about where he might like to go with the Peace Corps after college. Namely, Omar said he would only want to go places where he was treated at the same level or better than he was here – he did not want to experience face more stereotypes than he already did in the U.S.

For Kevin, stereotypes were so omnipresent that they came up in reflexive thoughts he had after instances like driving poorly. The pervasiveness of these stereotypes can be seen as indicative of the marginality that these participants feel (Mahalingam, Philip, & Balan, 2006; Pyke & Dang, 2003). Interestingly, Kevin and Omar were the most detailed about their reflections about the role of stereotypes in their lives and they were also the only two participants to request that their \$20 compensation be given to charity. Kevin and Omar differed in that Omar shared specific instances of

perceived Asian discrimination while Kevin did not; rather, he heard about discrimination from his parents. Thus, it may be possible that significant racial discrimination against others close to them can impact Asian American male college students who may not directly experience it themselves (Nagata, 1990). Also, it may be possible that the experience of perceived Asian discrimination is not needed to have an impact on Asian American male college students – perhaps the prevalence of stereotypes about Asian Americans are enough to have a significant effect. For the most part, our participants shared the same stereotypes about them, but the reactions they had differently predicted the impact that stereotypes had on them.

Descriptions of what manhood meant to participants elicited responses that varied within an expected range of traditional aspects of hegemonic masculinity and positive aspects of traditional ethnic masculinity, as Mirandé (1997) describes with machismo. The traditional notions of masculinity incorporated two characteristics that stereotypes about Asian American men found lacking in: physical prowess and alcohol tolerance. With these two characteristics, comments from the interviews indicated that white American men were assumed to hold both and that these men considered themselves to have fulfilled the same ideals, either by being tall or by playing many different sports on a frequent basis. Most participants focused their ideals of manhood on the strength of one's character, which is consistent with research on non-physical aspects of masculinity (Connell, 2005; Mirandé, 1997).

In a number of accounts, however, it was indicated that participants felt they had these virtues themselves while white American men did not. Thus, there were characteristics of masculinity that participants felt they shared with white American men,

and others that they felt were white American men lacked important values, such as an emphasis on education or valuing family. Further still, there were aspects of manhood that participants described as important for all people and were therefore framed as gender-neutral and, presumably, applicable to all races. The variation with which masculinity ideals were described indicates that participants endorsed multiple dimensions of masculinity ideology and selectively placed these dimensions alongside white American men as a referent group. This finding indicates that white American men as a referent group for the purposes of defining masculinity are more complex than solely comparing Asian American men as similar or dissimilar; rather, Asian American men in this study saw themselves as both, depending on the dimension of masculinity ideology.

Just as the white American men referent group may be varied based on the content of the comparisons, the referent groups that this sample used were varied and used for different purposes. Notably, African Americans were used as a referent group by multiple participants not to express dissimilarity, but rather to point the cultural similarities between these groups. . This finding is contrary to previous literature on Asian Americans socially distancing themselves from African Americans in order to more closely align themselves with white Americans and the privileged social position their race represents (Kim, 1999; Zia, 2000). White Americans were also referenced at times to define symbolically what it meant to be culturally American or “mainstream.” In these cases, the reason for the use of a referent group was as important as the referent group itself. When using white Americans as a referent group to describe what was “American,” participants were usually doing so in order to better explain the nature of their experience growing up in an immigrant family. However, when participants used

whites Americans as a referent group to describe what was mainstream, they usually did so in order to better explain their experience of being socially marginalized. Participants also made references to white men when talking about physical appearance and alcohol consumption and represented social behaviors that were prevalent on campus (partying) and visual signifiers that influenced attractiveness (physical appearance). Some participants made reference to “mainstream” values, which parallels the conflation of whiteness and “American” among Asian American immigrant communities (Dhingra, 2004). In using white Americans as a referent group, some participants appeared to simultaneously internalize and question the traditional hegemonic notions of masculinity.

Within-race referent groups were used to make distinctions among Asian ethnicities, but also to distance participants from Asian archetypes that they wanted to distance themselves from. From a few comments, it was apparent that class was one factor that impacted interactions amongst Asian Americans, and the one reference to Southeast Asian Americans throughout the interviews was in the context of describing students who were of a lower socioeconomic status. The lack of Southeast Asian representation in this sample of college students and in the interviews (participants often made reference to friends who were of the three ethnic backgrounds represented in the sample) is consistent with the social status of Southeast Asian Americans, especially in the context of U.S. immigration history (CARE, 2008; Chan, 1991; Takaki, 1998).

Regional differences in how Asian Americans behave (e.g., Asian American fraternities on the west coast being more “macho” than those in the Midwest) indicate cultural differences that result from what area of the country participants’ families settled in, which is related to immigration patterns, and the racial and cultural composition of the

communities they grew up in. Eleven of the 20 participants were from the Midwest and a vast majority of the group went to high school where they were one of a very few Asian Americans. These two factors can be considered a strength of this study since it represents Asian Americans from areas where they are not strongly represented (i.e., Los Angeles, CA). Hence, the geographic location where Asian American male college students grew up and where they attend college may have an influence on what kinds of experiences participants have which subsequently shape their beliefs about masculinities..

Within-race referent groups were also used to distinguish amongst the kinds of parents that participants described. It seems telling that many participants made a point to emphasize that while sometimes their upbringing was stressful and it was not nearly as bad as stories they had heard and therefore were grateful, no participants disclosed their experiences growing up as being “the bad stories.” This may indicate that participants who had a particularly difficult upbringing did not accept an invitation to interview, did interview but chose not share the more negative aspects of their childhood, or perhaps represents a rationalization to explain away and cope with immediate pressures in the household. In a way, this finding could be somewhat similar to parents telling their children, “Eat your vegetables – there are starving children in Africa,” as a way to elicit appreciation for current conditions.

It may also be an indication that there is variation in the types of parenting experiences that Asian American youth experience growing up and could be a consideration for future research. It could also possibly indicate that Asian American students who have extreme experiences, like those referenced in “the bad stories” are not represented in this sample. If Asian Americans with a more strict upbringing experience

negative emotional consequences like this study's participants implied, then perhaps the composition of this sample (i.e., very high academic achievers, involved in many extracurricular activities, physically fit, etc.) is skewed due to a lack of balanced representation.

While this study did not include international students from Asia, a number of participants made reference to them as a way to distance themselves from stereotypes and place the international students into those stereotypes instead. The attributions participants made about these "FOB" international students as socially inept and socially exclusive are similar to those made in previous research and served as a way for participants to identify a dissimilar extreme in order to place themselves in a more moderate position (Pyke & Dang, 2003). They also recreate the binaries American vs. Asian American meaning fun vs. hard work. The focus on moderation amongst participants was characterized by identifying or implying bimodal extremes such as: ethnically diverse vs. ethnically homogenous; ethnic culture vs. American culture; ethnic family values vs. American values; party hard vs. work hard; hyper-studious vs. out-of-control partier; and being comfortable in one's masculinity vs. compensating with ultra-masculine behaviors. As pointed out by Mahalingam and Leu (2005), intersectional awareness can also reproduce essentialist representations of self and the "other."

Participants who considered themselves as balanced either identified bimodal points in order to place themselves along a continuum toward the middle (i.e., bicultural), or to consider themselves as embodying characteristics of both extreme points for equal amounts of time (i.e., study hard, play hard). The view of masculinity as moderation was described by identifying the extreme forms of masculine gender performance (e.g.,

homophobic behavior or racing modified cars) that were distasteful. Thus, participants actively looked down upon aspects of traditional masculinity ideology and considered themselves to be comfortable in being moderate.

This finding is particularly interesting since Omar included hegemonic masculinity traits, such as playing sports, in his definition of manhood. In this instance, traits of hegemonic masculinity are identified among Asian Americans as compensation for inadequate masculinity that participants distanced themselves from. However, it is possible that because these comparisons were made in reference to other Asian Americans, participants felt more comfortable distancing themselves from traits of hegemonic masculinity in a way that they might want to instead see themselves aligning with if the referent group were white American men. An explanation for this finding is difficult to ascertain in this study, but it is evident that similar traits regarding hegemonic masculinity may be used differently depending on the referent group. A few participants who had described themselves as being in uniquely situated social locations because of multiple intersecting social identities went on to make distinctions within that referent group. Thus, practicing Christian participants were able to distinguish themselves among other Christians and Ivan shared the marginality his friend experienced as an Asian American male fraternity member who is also gay.

The notion that Asian American men may want to join Asian American fraternities as a way to be masculine and hold onto culture at the same time in a way may be described as a form of compensation and repudiation at the same time (Chen 1999; Jackson, 2008). As stated in the introduction, Chen described four bargaining strategies: compensation, deflection, denial and repudiation. The desire to join a fraternity in the

face of negative stereotypes about Asian American men as a way to get closer to the benefits of hegemonic masculinity may be considered compensation. But the focus of an Asian American interest organization in which Asian Americans are the clear majority may be considered repudiation. In a sense some of our participants combined a bargaining strategy with repudiation which I characterize as *agentic compensation* in which qualities of hegemonic masculinity are identified and pursued (i.e., fraternity membership) but in a way that encourages pride in one's ethnic gender identity and intentionally limits peer groups to other Asian Americans (i.e., rushing an *Asian American* fraternity). A critical mass of like-minded peers is needed to make this agentic compensation possible. These groups may have fewer members and resources than "mainstream" groups and therefore experience social marginality on an organizational level, some may prefer that level of marginality to individual-level marginality that might be experienced as a racial minority in a predominantly white American organization.

Interview participants described a wide range of active coping strategies in their interviews and quite a few utilized them on a regular basis. Barriers to active coping were identified as well and a number of participants made a distinction between ability and motivation or hard work. The discounting of natural academic ability contradicts one aspect of the model minority myth of Asians as intellectually gifted and reinforces another aspect of the model minority myth that Asians are hard working (Chan, 1991; Kibria, 2002; Lee, 1996; Mahalingam, 2006; 2007). Participants were fairly open about sharing common negative direct coping behaviors like extended distraction from addressing problems and getting drunk as a way to deal with college stress. Some aspects of negative direct coping behaviors were specific to the Asian American male identities

of these students. For Forrest, intense shame almost prevented him from visiting his academic advisor and Ivan's responsibilities as a male within his family hierarchy put particular pressure on him to save face and hide his problems despite their getting worse. The role of shame and saving face is one that may be unique to Asian American male college students who experience high levels of perceived parental perfectionism in combination with particular social responsibilities to maintain a public appearance of academic success.

Not surprisingly, participants shared that they learned from their experiences over time and consciously tried to identify ineffective coping strategies to drop (e.g., getting "smashed") and to notice what strategies were effective and to enthusiastically maintain those (e.g., exercise). An overwhelmingly consistent message that emerged at all levels of students' experience was that hard work leads to academic achievement. This focus on hard work encapsulates the traits of John Henryism and participants' statements resonated with trends in the literature that believe hard work is worth it despite potential physical consequences (i.e., stress, anxiety, eating poorly, not exercising regularly, loss of sleep, etc.) (Haritatos, Mahalingam, & James, 2007). The use of "academic enhancement drugs" is on the rise in academic settings, and in this study participants acknowledged that the use of non-prescription study aids were prevalent on campus. While only one participant used these aids on a fairly regular basis, a number of participants who did not use drugs knew people who did. However, the majority of participants expressed very strong opinions against the use of study aids and took it as an insult to those who worked hard. Most of our participants felt that "real" man did not need academic enhancement drugs. Thus, the emerging use of study aids may represent a threat to the value of John

Henryism and potentially bring competition to these students since the same goals are achieved differently – through hard work, natural ability, and, now, with the help of study aids.

While most participants described their studies as being all “in the head” and focused on hard work, they recognized the importance of social support in helping to maintain their well being while working hard toward very high academic goals. The support of family, friends, and significant others were central for many participants, which is logical considering the transitions involved with adjusting to college. For some, friends who were ahead of them in school were significant sources of support. The advanced status of these students made them logical role models and social supports since some of them had previously taken classes participants were currently taking and were overall more experienced in negotiating college life. Participants were clear about active coping techniques they employed to “unwind” from the stress of school, which often involved hanging out with friends, watching television, and exercise. The consistent priority of exercise seemed to be a very effective form of active coping for participants and parallels research on the role of exercise in managing stress and maintaining overall health, especially in combination with psychological counseling to treat depression (Daley, 2008).

Questions about out-group dating revealed complex perceptions about race relations and individual companionship. Some participants in interracial relationships experienced challenges based on cultures and none of the participants who had interracially dated expressed negative attitudes about out-group dating. Individual companionship was considered very important by those who had, at some point, been in

significant relationships, even if the relationship had its challenges. Intimate partners were central figures of social support, which indicates the importance participants placed on the role of partners in their lives. Some participants did not have negative attitudes toward out-group dating and who had not dated interracially were not familiar enough with interracial relations first hand to form an opinion. Others gleaned information from Asian American female friends. Thus, it is apparent that the range of attitudes toward Asian American women dating non-Asian American men can be attributed to more than solely variation in personal opinions. More specifically, opinions in this study were influenced by interracial dating experiences, the extent to which participants had interracial social contact, and the opinions and experiences of Asian American female friends.

Many participants named the media representations as a reason for Asian American males' marginality as non-sexually attractive beings. In one participant's in-depth discussion on the topic, he noted that a cultural stereotype that someone is not attractive can negatively impact their confidence, which in turn delays the development of their social skills, and which in turn further decreases the chances of having a dating relationship. This compounding effect of stereotypes at the cultural level impacting personal behavior, which thereby perpetuating stereotypes is resonant of the looping effect that describes how endorsing and supporting aspects of stereotypes placed onto a group can in turn further perpetuate and reify that stereotype (Hacking, 1999). Patrick's focus on cultural standards of attractiveness as the reason that out-group dating was so skewed echoed writings on Asian American men engaging with the statistics and

observations that Asian American women date and marry outside of their race more than Asian American men do.

Interestingly, some participants were most bothered when they saw Asian American women of the same ethnicity as theirs date white American men more than they were bothered to see the women date, say, African American men. The stronger reaction to white American interracial dating is most likely a response to the very skewed numbers, meaning the white American males represent their main source of “competition” for Asian American women to date. What is more likely, however, is that white American males represent the privileges of hegemonic masculinity that place Asian American men as sexually unattractive (Chen, 1999; Cheng, 1999; Connell, 2005). However, participants were careful to explain that they were not racist, which reveals a complex attitude toward out-group dating. Participants upheld the individual freedom for people to date whom they wanted and also emphasized that racial harmony is an ideal. Their frustration, however, was with the skewed direction of out-group dating and, presumably, a frustration with being socially marginalized based on social identities outside of their control so that hegemonic white American males could enjoy more privileges.

It is also important to note that the majority of participants did not object to out-group dating because they wanted Asian American women to date them, per say, but because they were frustrated that they felt that there were limited opportunities for them for out-group dating. In a sense, it can be interpreted that some of the participants were frustrated because they want to date women outside their race too. This finding highlights two issues. First, participants’ discussion on out-group dating revealed that they

essentially saw themselves at the bottom of a race and gender hierarchy. For example, white American men and Asian American women had the “privilege” to date outside of their race, whereas Asian American men were ranked below everyone else in terms of attractiveness. Second, participants’ attitudes being focused on desiring similar privileges to date outside of their race like others above them in the race and gender hierarchy indicate that they are not interested in racial purity but are instead seeking strategies to get them closer to the privileges of hegemonic masculinity that white American males may benefit from.

CHAPTER V

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The findings of the quantitative study confirmed many of the proposed hypotheses regarding relationships between social marginality, ideals of Asian American manhood, pride and pressure associated with minority traits, active coping, academic achievement (GPA), and psychological well-being. The findings of the qualitative study complimented many of the findings identified in the quantitative study. Some qualitative findings further confirmed quantitative findings, while others revealed a level of complexity that was not evident in the quantitative data.

The quantitative finding that participants who immigrated as youth to the U.S. were higher on Model Minority Myth stereotype scores than participants who were born and raised in the U.S. was confirmed in the qualitative study's finding that 1.5 generation participants were particularly detailed and emphatic about valuing traits representative of the model minority myth. Social marginality in the form of Perceived Parental Perfectionism was positively related to Model Minority Myth in both quantitative and qualitative studies, again confirming the overall finding. The finding that Perceived Parental Perfectionism was positively related to Perceived Asian Discrimination was echoed in Kevin's narrative in which he struggled with his parents' high expectations and criticisms and depicted his parents also being very intentional about socializing him to understand that discrimination against Asian Americans existed, was a historical basis,

and offered him strategies to cope with it. In this way, the qualitative narrative added depth to the quantitative finding.

In sharing examples of discrimination they experienced, participants encountered most instances of anti-Asian sentiment while in college. We also found that the Model Minority Male ideal was more strongly related to perceived discrimination than beliefs about model minority myth. Perhaps the intersections of ethnicity and gender become more salient for our parents than the idealized beliefs about ethnic identity. Age of participant seems to be a salient intersecting factor. The quantitative finding that older age was related to higher Model Minority Male ideal scores was complimented by the qualitative narratives that found older participants provided more detailed descriptions of what manhood meant to them and those who were in a life transition period (i.e., recently graduated and preparing to attend graduate school the following fall) were particularly reflective. This observation may have been different in a population with a wider age range since the majority of participants in both studies were between the ages of 18 and 21. It is difficult to predict if this finding was related to age itself or more to the significant life transition stages associated with finishing college. The quantitative finding that 1.5 generation participants had higher Perceived Asian Discrimination scores was not strongly represented in the qualitative study. However, Kevin's candid explanation about his experiences first learning about discrimination against Asians and then dealing with the consequences of how they affect him and his friends may add depth to the quantitative finding.

Though the 1.5 generation participants in the qualitative study did not describe incidents of anti-Asian bias sentiment nearly as often as second generation participants

did, Kevin's narrative may indicate that for some 1.5 generation participants, their reaction to Perceived Asian Discrimination is more be that is offended and felt more strongly than, say, (second generation) Quentin's reaction, which framed offensive comments within ignorance and was open to people of all opinions. Existing research on generational status and perceived Asian discrimination has mixed results. Some found that later generations perceived more discrimination than first generation immigrants whereas others found that earlier generation immigrants perceived more discrimination. Perhaps our participants who were 1.5 generation might have experienced more discrimination because they entered the country as adolescents, which has been found to be one of the most stressful ages for children to migrate to a new culture.

The relationship between model minority pride and pressure in the quantitative study's findings was complimented by the rich narrative descriptions of Perceived Parental Perfectionism in the qualitative study. The participants talked about the pressure from high parental expectations, but they were also appreciative of the beneficial impact of such pressures. However, findings from the qualitative study tentatively indicate that this trend may be dependent on whether the end-goals are met. Thus, students who struggle with academic goals and find themselves near the end of their college career without having met the high expectations set by their parents and expected of them as a model minority may not experience that same level of model minority pride or appreciation for parental perfectionism. Thus, variation within a student population may need to be considered when looking at how model minority pride and pressure relate to one another.

Similarly, the quantitative finding that model minority male ideal was positively related to both model minority pride and model minority pressure was evident in the qualitative narratives that centered the meaning of manhood around strength of character as it was taught to them by family members, particularly fathers. Thus, participants' ideas about masculinity that are tacitly transmitted through parental messages, often through learning by examples of hard working fathers who are principled, loyal, and honest, may be overlapped with their perspectives on what Asian American cultural ideals are, such as the pressure and pride of working hard. These qualitative findings add depth to the relationship between Model Minority Male ideals, Model Minority Pressure, and Model Minority Pride found in our quantitative study.

There were some parallels between our quantitative findings that participants who were high on John Henryism reported less Model Minority Pressure and more Model Minority Pride were and the qualitative narratives. Many of our interview participants stressed that hard work was the overwhelming consistent life lessons emphasized by parents while growing up and that for most, the child's primary duty in life was to fulfill the high academic expectations parents set, which presumably could be achieved with enough hard work. Participants who were exceptionally high academic achievers proudly described themselves mostly as hard working, whereas students who had encountered academic difficulties at some point often indicated a lack of motivation to work hard to achieve higher grades. And some, like Gary, shared experiences in which they received lower grades than desired, experienced a great deal of stress and anxiety about the grades, and then made a point to push themselves especially hard and in the end were proud of the higher grades they achieved. Thus, the narrative descriptions of the relationship

between hard work and feeling proud of hard work or feeling guilty for not working hard enough, thereby failing to fulfill higher parental and cultural expectations mirrors and adds complexity to the quantitative findings.

Similar to the findings above, in our quantitative study we found that higher John Henryism was related to lower perceived stress and depressive symptom scores.

Narratives from the qualitative study may compliment this finding by focusing on the relationship between working hard and feeling like they are on top of things academically. This is reflected in the quantitative finding that higher John Henryism was related to a higher GPA. Since high levels of perceived parental perfectionism that were emphasized as achievable only through hard work were set for many participants, it follows that a seeming failure to work hard would result in one falling short of their expected goals and experience perceived stress or symptoms of depression as a result.

Also, since the value of hard work was found to be related to outcomes of model minority pride and model minority pressure, it follows that a relationship between John Henryism and stress would be consistent with the relationships between perceived stress, depressive symptoms, model minority pride, and model minority pressure. Thus, findings from the qualitative study complimented the quantitative finding that lower levels of John Henryism, or working hard, were related to higher levels of perceived stress and depressive symptoms, or distress as a result of failing to meet a goal directly connected with hard work. The implication of these findings show that the model minority expectation for academic achievement is just as dependent on the demonstration of hard work as it is on tangible measures like GPA. Thus, the model minority experience for students may be described as placing academic achievement as nearly synonymous with

hard work or John Henryism, especially when it has been emphasized through parental perfectionism (Kibria, 2002; Lee, 1996).

Quantitative findings about the relationship between John Henryism, depressive symptoms, anxiety symptoms, and life satisfaction were evident in the qualitative interviews in which participants who were not achieving satisfactory (for them and their parents) grades reported a great deal of negative emotions, such as guilt, feeling depressed, shame, stress, anxiety, etc.. For example, Gary experienced difficulty transitioning to college his freshman year and was so distressed about his academic performance that he was desperately praying for the first time in his life. While these quantitative findings detail the nature of the relationships between John Henryism and psychological well-being outcomes, the extent to which students experience these outcomes are evident in the qualitative narratives.

Quantitative findings indicated that higher model minority pressure scores related to higher anxiety symptom scores and lower life satisfaction scores, but did not find a significant relationship between Model Minority Pride and anxiety symptoms nor Model Minority Pride and life satisfaction. Gary's description in his interview about how he experienced very high levels of anxiety during a semester where he really pressured himself to work hard may offer context for this quantitative finding. While Gary linked the experience of hard work under pressure with anxiety, the moment when he looked at his report card and found he had made straight A's was the moment when he truly felt the pride that his hard work had paid off and simultaneously, his anxiety subsided.

Consistent with literature on social support and intimate relationships, quantitative findings indicated that being in a significant dating, domestic partner, or marriage

relationship was related to lower depressive symptom scores and higher life satisfaction. Narratives from the qualitative interviews illustrated just exactly how the presence of significant relationships impacted the lives of these Asian American male college students. For many participants who were dating, their partners were the ones they consistently talked to about interests and problems alike and fulfilled an important need in their lives. This was particularly illustrative when Kevin was going through a period of significant depression (not going out socially or to attend class, undergoing considerable weight gain, feeling a lot of guilt, etc.), it was his girlfriend who encouraged him to seek professional help, which led to diagnosis and treatment. Something that was not reflected in the quantitative findings was that in the interview narratives, some participants who were not currently dating considered their ex-girlfriends to have had a lasting positive impact on their lives. Here, the qualitative findings confirm and compliment findings from the quantitative study related to relationship status.

The quantitative study revealed an unexpected finding that model minority pressure was not significantly related to GPA, but that higher model minority pride scores was related to lower GPA. The content of the qualitative narratives may shed some light on this paradoxical finding. According to a number of interview participants, the pressure to perform exceedingly well was still present even if they were excelling far beyond their peers at school. It seems the pressure to succeed in school had been perennial in the context of Asian American parental expectation for our participants which perhaps might have lessened the salience of the impact of pressure on academic achievement. Future research should look into various other contextual or mediating factors, such as participation in many extracurricular activities, which might have undermine academic

performance where the pressure to be “*balanced*” might play a greater role. The participants who demonstrated exceptional academic success described themselves as just being competitive by nature and pushing themselves to do well, despite their parents being quite lenient and focusing on learning over grades by the time they reached college. All other participants noted a range of experiencing both external pressure from parents and internal pressure to meet expected benchmarks. Thus, it may be possible that students with high GPAs have internalized model minority pressure and students with less than exceptional GPAs experience more of a range of internal and external pressures such that there is variation within the model minority pressure concept as it relates to GPA that is not captured in the quantitative study.

An unexpected finding that higher model minority pride scores were related to lower GPA may be complimented by descriptions of participants’ experiences in their interview narratives. In these interviews, participants who demonstrated considerable pride in their ethnic and/or Asian American identities were also involved in number of culturally or ethnically based student organizations. While the directionality of the relationship between model minority pride and ethnic student organization participation is difficult to determine from the data collected, some students did say they were first interested in seeking out ethnic experiences and then sought out the student groups, while others said they joined groups only because friends encouraged them to and once they began interacting with the group, became interested in Asian American issues and consequently developed a strong sense of pride.

Whatever the intention was when first joining in ethnic extracurricular activities, a number of students expressed that they were very challenged to balance the time they

spent working with organizations they were very committed to (i.e., cultural music groups, Asian American fraternity, Asian Christian fellowship, etc.) with their academic responsibilities. It is possible that considerable pride in Asian American identity for these college students related to participation in ethnic extracurricular activities (which were numerous on their campus) was all related to relatively lower GPAs because they had less time to study. Additionally, situational factors were also apparent in the narratives that impacted grades. For example, Alex described a time when rehearsals for a cultural show ran until 4am or 5am every day for a week before the performance and he had an exam on one of those days. Though Alex said that he had learned to leave a rehearsal early before an exam, that particular week was difficult on him and while he still managed to get strong grades, it negatively impacted his performance and he perhaps did not get as high of a grade as he would have without participating in extracurricular activities. Unfortunately, we did not measure participation on extracurricular activities in our quantitative study. Future studies need to explore whether endorsing the model minority myth may also contribute to excessive involvement of Asian American students in ethnic cultural activities, which may hamper their academic success. Perhaps endorsing model minority myth is a double edged sword. While there are many benefits, it contributes to two types of pressures. The model minority pressure to uphold the positive image. There is also the pressure to counter the hegemonic stereotypes (i.e., the pressure to break the geeky stereotype by partying) which could lead to involvement in excessive extracurricular activities which subsequently might affect their academic performance.

In another narrative, Kevin shared that ethnic-related extracurricular activities did not negatively impact his grades, but that poor academic performance led to his becoming

very involved with extracurricular activities as a way to cope and avoid his academic problems. So here, it is unclear again to determine a particular direction for the possible relationship between Model Minority Pride, participation in ethnic organizations, and GPA, but narratives from the qualitative interviews may offer complexity to the curious quantitative finding. It is important to highlight that for students heavily involved in extracurricular activities also had social identities that they saw as intertwined with their Asian American identity and pride, such as identity as a Christian, musician, or fraternity member. Thus, for many students, the relationship between pride in an Asian American identity and participation in ethnic extracurricular activities may be layered with other intersecting identities. The implication may indicate considerable within-group variation of experiences and goals within a population of Asian American male college students.

CHAPTER VI

LIMITATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Limitations

There were a number of limitations to both studies. For both studies, particular in the qualitative study, an underrepresentation of Southeast Asians meant that the majority of findings may be attributed more to Chinese American, then Indian American, then Korean American participants. Thus, any potential generalizations to Asian Americans at large must be made with caution since the sample did not represent an adequate range of Asian American ethnic backgrounds. A major strength of the study was the focus on a majority of students sampled from a large Midwestern university, who are usually underrepresented in studies on Asian Americans, yet it was also a limitation. Thus, qualitative findings are specific to the particular campus the study was conducted from and quantitative findings are most likely strongly influenced by the experiences of students attending college in the Midwest. Experiences of college students in other geographic regions may have produced very different results, such as in Berkeley, California, or New York City, New York.

Limitations of the quantitative study included the online nature of the survey. Participants who took the survey outside of the campus the study was conducted from received email advertisements mostly through Asian American online forums and Asian American student organization listservs. Thus, perhaps many of our participants who took the survey might have connected online somehow as being affiliated with an Asian

American interest group. Findings from the quantitative study then may be strongly influenced by the large number of participants already high on interest in Asian American issues, though the sample population was balanced with targeted email recruitment on the home-base campus offering a financial incentive to all American male students regardless of ethnic organization affiliation.

Limitations of the qualitative study include students' availability to attend an interview session. Since the majority of interviews were conducted during the summer, the participants represented were mostly from the Michigan area and thus were more likely to stay in the area anyways. Other students were working on campus and taking summer classes. The composition of the qualitative study's sample may have influenced the results in a way that is not representative of their larger campus community.

Additionally, since participants were recruited at the end of a school year, no incoming freshmen were included in the interviews and many recent graduates had moved away. And importantly, the interviewer was a second generation Korean American female, which most certainly had some impact on participants' responses, though it may be difficult to determine what that impact specifically is.

Implications

The study findings are relevant to the fields of Clinical Psychology, Gender Psychology and for developing culturally competent interventions for Asian American male college students. Findings from the quantitative survey portion of the study can potentially enhance the clinical understanding of specific stressors affecting the lives of Asian American male college students. Findings from the qualitative interview portion of the study can potentially enhance the clinical understanding of how Asian American male

college students experience discrimination, react to stereotypes, and feel family pressure to succeed academically interact with individual differences to directly and effectively cope in ways that result in positive well-being outcomes.

Though a number of participants described unpleasant experiences with parental perfectionism throughout childhood and periods of distress during college while under considerable stress to succeed academically, these same participants seemingly contradicted their own narratives to describe the end results as successful and well worth it. Thus, it appears as of how Asian American male college students view their parents and academic pressure may change over time. Further study may consider longitudinal methods to better understand lifespan developmental changes in the way Asian American male college students view parental practices. Alternatively, cross-sectional studies may consider lifespan development in the interpretation of results that are related to perceptions of parental practices.

Results of this study have possible implications on theoretical perspectives in men's studies, particularly in relation to Asian American men. It is apparent from qualitative interview findings that Asian American men do not necessarily see themselves in reference to a white hegemonic male standard. The use of white masculinity in reference to interview participants' experiences tended to represent weak and undesirable aspects of masculinity and challenges the centrality of whiteness as representing masculine ideals for non-white males.

Results of the dual pathway model analysis have possible implications for the psychological understanding of how Asian Americans interact with the model minority stereotype. In this study, the focus on Asian American male college students has

implications for a broader understanding of how socially marginalized locations can influence how individuals interface with gender-specific idealized cultural values, such as masculinity, and racial stereotypes. Understanding the mechanism of how masculinity and the double-edged sword of model minority pride and pressure can influence coping patterns has implications for the study of Asian Americans' psychological outcomes. Future psychological studies on Asian American may thus benefit from using a complex approach to cultural values, such as the idealized cultural identity model.

A more comprehensive understanding of how Asian American male college students' identities relate to coping strategies and thus influence well-being outcomes has implications for ethnic student affairs services on college campuses. Psychological counselors would benefit to take a dual pathway approach to student narratives of pride and pressure that appear to contract themselves. Ethnic student support services, such as those that serve student organizations, may benefit from approaching the consideration of how socially marginalized students feel on campus on both individual and organizational levels, and how that may interact with beliefs about masculinity. Additionally, the approach to a "balanced" life that values both high academic achievement and sociability, along with considerable involvement in cultural student organizations could help student affairs staff to better understand students' motivations and to develop effective and culturally meaningful programs for Asian American students.

Future Directions

This study shows that how family expectations and social marginality can shape beliefs about masculinity among Asian American male college students. Being an ethnic minority contributes to idealized beliefs about ethnic identity among many immigrant

families. Internalizing such ideals can shape immigrants' parental practices and academic expectations of their children. Perceived discrimination also contributes to stronger endorsement of idealized cultural gender identities such as Asian American manhood. Thus, social marginality shapes Asian Americans' beliefs about masculinity at individual and family level. Future studies should include parent(s) and son dyads to identify the role of family practices and ethnic socialization messages in shaping beliefs about Asian American masculinities. Future studies should also incorporate longitudinal methodology to investigate lifespan developmental changes in beliefs about masculinities, model minority pride, and model minority pressure to capture whether Asian American males develop an appreciation over time for high parental expectations as evidenced in our qualitative study. Considering the high incidence of diabetes and cardiovascular disease among Asian American men, we should study the long-term implications of model minority pride and pressure on the physical health of Asian American men as well.

Perceived Asian discrimination was positively related to idealized beliefs about Asian American masculinities. Based on this study's findings, future studies should examine more nuanced influences of racial discrimination, such as reaction to stereotypes, rather than capturing only explicit acts of perceived Asian discrimination. In qualitative interviews, the expression of masculinity ideology for Asian American male college students was influenced by culturally embedded experiences with family, media representations of Asian American males, personal dating experiences, and referent groups. Future studies may thus consider the individual differences in how Asian American male college students perceive traditional notions of hegemonic masculinity, as

well as more nuanced positive and culturally valued notions of Asian American masculinities (i.e., masculinity as strength of character).

Since Asian Americans are viewed as a model minority, academic institutions often overlook the unique problems and pressures faced by these students. The active coping strategies participants used by our participants may help college administrators to gain a more contextualized understanding of how social marginality and family socialization may impact Asian American male students' college experiences. Knowing how these students view referent groups and their coping strategies may help college administrators to develop culturally nuanced, meaningful, and effective interventions that help Asian American students to thrive in college.

Both our qualitative and quantitative findings reveal that out group dating is a major topic of concern for some Asian American men. Future research should examine how Asian American women perceive this phenomenon. For example, a focus group involving both Asian American men and women may provide insight into the ways in which both Asian American men and women relate to and make sense of this trend. Explicitly discussing the race-related components of hegemonic masculinity and standards of attractiveness in such a focus group could possibly help to empower Asian American male college students and facilitate positive communication between Asian American men and women. As a whole, this study may have implications for how social marginality is defined in future studies for populations of ethnic minority men. Also, the culturally related value of masculinity as strength of character may have implications for how future studies on masculinity interpret findings that include Asian American men's perspectives.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The purpose of these studies were to examine the relationships between social marginality, masculinity ideology, sources of cultural pride and pressure, active coping, and psychological well-being outcomes for a targeted population of Asian American male college students who were attending a large Midwestern University. The quantitative and qualitative studies worked to complement one another. Findings from the qualitative study confirmed some of the findings from the quantitative study and provided complexity for other quantitative findings.

Themes that emerged from the study largely fit the idealized cultural identity model (Mahalingam, 2006). Perceived marginality at the level of the family (Perceived Parental Perfectionism) and society (Perceived Asian Discrimination) was positively related to Model Minority ideals, indicating that especially the experiences of high parental academic expectations are inextricably tied to cultural values of a model minority for many Asian American students in this sample. Social marginality was also related to Model Minority Male ideals, which most participants characterized as strength of character. Model Minority Pride and Model Minority Pressure were strongly related, and this relationship was illustrated in narrative by participants experiences of negative experiences with academic pressures from their parents combined with a simultaneous appreciation for their parents' pressure and the academic achievements they attributed to that pressure.

Endorsing idealized Asian American male identity is a double edged sword. On the one hand, such ideals could be a source of pride. On the other hand, they could be a source of pressure to succeed. We tested this dual-path way model in the quantitative study. Based on the qualitative study, we also found that Asian American men also feel the pressure to also be “balanced” (i.e., to be academically successful and have fun at the same time) to simultaneously challenge hegemonic representations of Asian American masculinities and to contribute and perpetuate positive and idealized representations of Asian American male ideal. We also found that Asian American men deal with these dual pressures in heterogeneous ways. Model Minority Pride was related to positive active coping strategies such as direct coping and John Henryism.. Model Minority Pressure was negatively related to life satisfaction and higher levels of depressive symptoms, anxiety symptoms and perceived stress. In our qualitative study, we found that for the most part, active coping strategies include regular exercise and reliance on social networks. Model Minority Pressure was, for the most part, related to negative well-being outcomes and Model Minority Pride was mostly related to positive well-being outcomes. The qualitative interviews added complexity to the nature of the Model Minority Pride that participants experienced and gave depth to the high stakes felt by students high on Model Minority Pressure. This study provides a significant theoretical framework to further our understanding of how social marginality, hegemony and various intersecting identities profoundly shape the way Asian American men live their lives, construct their masculinities, and promote their psychological well-being.

APPENDICES

Appendix A. Perceived Asian Discrimination.

Sometimes people have specific experiences that are related to their race or ethnicity. The following statements are examples that people might experience. Using the rating scale listed below, please select the option that best describes your experience with each of these situations.

- 1) Someone you do not know speaks slowly and loudly at you.
- 2) Someone asks if all your friends are Asian Americans.
- 3) Someone tells you that “you people are all the same”.
- 4) Someone tells you that all Asian people look alike.
- 5) Someone tells you that “you speak English so well”.
- 6) Someone asks you what your real name is.
- 7) Someone asks where you are REALLY from.
- 8) A student you do not know asks you for help in math or science.
- 9) Someone tells you that they heard of a gene that makes Asian people smart.
- 10) Someone tells you that your Asian American female friend looks just like Connie Chung or Lucy Liu.
- 11) Someone tells you that you or an Asian American male friend looks just like Bruce Lee or Jet Li or Jackie Chan.
- 12) Someone assumes that Asian restaurants serve dog meat.
- 13) Someone asks you if you can teach him/her karate or kung fu.
- 14) Someone you do not know asks you to help fix his/her computer.
- 15) Someone asks you if you know his/her Asian American friend/coworker/classmate.
- 16) Someone tells you that the kitchens of Asian families smell and are dirty.

1 = Never; 2 = Less than once a year; 3 = A few times a year; 4 = A few times a month;
5 = At least once a week; 6 = Almost everyday

Appendix B. Perceived Parental Perfectionism.

Please indicate how much you agree with the statements below about expectations your parents or guardians might have of you.

- 1) My parents set very high standards for me.
- 2) My parents want me to be the best at everything.
- 3) Only an outstanding performance is good enough in my family.
- 4) My parents have expected excellence from me.
- 5) My parents have always had higher expectations for my future than I have.
- 6) As a child, I was punished for doing things less than perfect.
- 7) My parents never tried to understand my mistakes.
- 8) I never felt like I could meet my parents' expectations.
- 9) I never felt like I could meet my parents' standards.

1 = Strongly disagree; 2 = Somewhat disagree; 3 = Neutral; 4 = Somewhat agree;
5 = Strongly agree

Appendix C. Model Minority Myth Stereotype.

After reading each statement below, please indicate how you feel about it by clicking the option that best represents your opinion.

- 1) Asian Americans are the most successful group in the U.S.
- 2) Asian Americans are the most intelligent group in the U.S.
- 3) Asian Americans are the most hard working group in the U.S.
- 4) Asian Americans are the model minority group for any ethnic group in the U.S. to live up to.
- 5) Asian Americans are more compliant than any other ethnic group in the U.S.
- 6) Asian Americans show a lot of warmth to their family members.

1 = Strongly disagree; 2 = Somewhat disagree; 3 = Neutral; 4 = Somewhat agree;
5 = Strongly agree

Appendix D. Model Minority Male Ideal.

After reading each statement below, please indicate how you feel about it by clicking the option that best represents your opinion.

- 1) Asian American men know how to treat a woman well.
- 2) Asian American men are more considerate of their partners' needs than Caucasian men.
- 3) Asian American men are more family-oriented than Caucasian men.
- 4) Asian American men are more loyal to their partners than Caucasian men.
- 5) Asian American men have better social skills than Caucasian men.
- 6) Asian American men are better at math than Caucasian men.
- 7) Asian American men outperform Caucasian men in engineering and computer science.
- 8) Asian American men are more hard working than Caucasian men.
- 9) Asian American men like martial arts more than Caucasian men.
- 10) Asian American men have a more positive image of their bodies than Caucasian men.
- 11) Asian American men are more artistic than Caucasian men.
- 12) Asian American men are more romantic than Caucasian men.

1 = Strongly disagree; 2 = Somewhat disagree; 3 = Neutral; 4 = Somewhat agree;

5 = Strongly agree

Appendix E. Model Minority Pride.

After reading each statement below, please indicate how true that statement is for you PERSONALLY by clicking the option that best represents your opinion.

- 1) I am proud of being a member of an ethnic group that is considered a model minority.
- 2) My own personal achievements in life are typical of the success of my ethnic group.
- 3) I am proud of the fact that despite severe social discrimination, my ethnic group has emerged as one of the most successful ethnic minorities in the U.S.
- 4) I often draw inspiration from the struggles and triumphs of the previous generations of my ethnic group.
- 5) I feel inspired when I think about the high levels of achievement in my ethnic group.
- 6) I am proud of the fact that my ethnic group has contributed greatly to American society.
- 7) I am proud of coming from an ethnic group with a long history of achievements.
- 8) I feel proud to be a member of an ethnic group that is more highly respected than other minority groups in the U.S.

1 = Strongly disagree; 2 = Somewhat disagree; 3 = Neutral; 4 = Somewhat agree;

5 = Strongly agree

Appendix F. Model Minority Pressure.

After reading each statement below, please indicate how true that statement is for you PERSONALLY by clicking the option that best represents your opinion.

- 1) Being an Asian American, I feel the pressure to be high achieving.
- 2) I do not mind making personal sacrifices to be a successful Asian American.
- 3) I feel pressure to work harder to be a successful Asian American.
- 4) I have to work harder because of high expectations from my family.
- 5) I feel the pressure of living up the expectations people have of me as a “model minority”.
- 6) I pursue my academic interests because I truly love them.
- 7) I pursue my academic interests to make my parents happy.
- 8) I do not compare my success with other Asian Americans.

1 = Strongly disagree; 2 = Somewhat disagree; 3 = Neutral; 4 = Somewhat agree;
5 = Strongly agree

Appendix G. John Henryism.

After reading each statement, please choose the option that best represents how you feel.

- 1) I've always felt that I could make my life pretty much what I wanted to make of it.
- 2) Once I make up my mind to do something, I stay with it until the job is completely done.
- 3) I like doing things that other people thought could not be done.
- 4) When things don't go the way I want them to, that just makes me work even harder.
- 5) Sometimes I feel that if anything is going to be done right, I have to do it myself.
- 6) It's not always easy, but I manage to find a way to do the things I really need to get done.
- 7) I am rarely disappointed by the results of my hard work.
- 8) I feel that I am the kind of individual who stands up for what he believes in, regardless of the consequences.
- 9) In the past, even when things got really tough, I never lost sight of my goals.
- 10) It's important for me to be able to do things the way I want to do them rather than the way other people want me to do them.
- 11) I don't let my personal feelings get in the way of doing a job.
- 12) Hard work has really helped me to get ahead in life.

1 = Completely false; 2 = Somewhat false; 3 = Don't know; 4 = Somewhat true;
5 = Completely true

Appendix H. Direct Coping.

Please take a moment to think about how you handle problems when they arise, big or small. How much do you agree with the statements below for how YOU handle problems?

- 1) I try to come up with a strategy about what to do.
- 2) I think hard about what steps to take.
- 3) I get comfort and understanding from someone.
- 4) I look for something good in what is happening.
- 5) I concentrate my efforts on doing something about the situation I'm in.
- 6) I accept the reality of the fact that it has happened.
- 7) I pray or meditate.
- 8) I try to see it in a different light, to make it seem more positive.
- 9) I try to find comfort in my religion or spiritual belief.
- 10) I get emotional support from others.
- 11) I express my negative feelings.
- 12) I make jokes about it.
- 13) I take actions to try to make the situation better.
- 14) I learn to live with it.
- 15) I use alcohol or other drugs to help me get through it.
- 16) I have given up trying to deal with it.
- 17) I use alcohol or other drugs to make myself feel better.
- 18) I do something to think about it less, such as going to the movies, watching TV, reading, daydreaming, sleeping, or shopping.
- 19) I say to myself "this isn't real".
- 20) I refuse to believe that it has happened.
- 21) I have given up the attempt to cope.
- 22) I turn to work or other activities to take my mind off things.
- 23) I say things to let my unpleasant feelings escape.
- 24) I make fun of the situation.

1 = Strongly disagree; 2 = Somewhat disagree; 3 = Neutral; 4 = Somewhat agree;
5 = Strongly agree

Appendix I. Perceived Stress.

These questions ask you about your feelings and thoughts. In the LAST MONTH, how often have you...

- 1) ...been upset because of something that happened unexpectedly?
- 2) ...felt you were unable to control the important things in your life?
- 3) ...felt nervous and "stressed"?
- 4) ...felt confident about your ability to handle your personal problems?*
- 5) ...felt that things were going your way?*
- 6) ...found that you could not cope with all the things that you had to do?
- 7) ...been able to control irritations in your life?*
- 8) ...felt that you were on top of things?*
- 9) ...been angered because of things that were outside of your control?
- 10) ...felt difficulties were piling up so high that you could not overcome them?

*Reverse-coded items.

1 = Never; 2 = Almost never; 3 = Sometimes; 4 = Fairly often; 5 = Very often

Appendix J. Depressive Symptoms.

Please indicate the option which best describes how often you felt or behaved a certain way during the PAST WEEK.

- 1) I was bothered by things that don't usually bother me.
- 2) I did not feel like eating; my appetite was poor.
- 3) I felt that I could not shake off the blues even with help from my family or friends.
- 4) I felt that I was just as good as other people.*
- 5) I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing.
- 6) I felt depressed.
- 7) I felt that everything I did was an effort.
- 8) I felt hopeful about the future.*
- 9) I thought my life had been a failure.
- 10) I felt fearful.
- 11) My sleep was restless.
- 12) I was happy.*
- 13) I talked less than usual.
- 14) I felt lonely.
- 15) People were unfriendly.
- 16) I enjoyed life.*
- 17) I had crying spells.
- 18) I felt sad.
- 19) I felt that people disliked me.
- 20) I could not get "going" (low energy).

*Reverse-coded items.

1 = 0 days; 2 = 1-2 days; 3 = 3-4 days; 4 = 5-7 days

Appendix K. Anxiety Symptoms.

In the PAST MONTH, how much were you bothered or distressed by:

- 1) Nervousness or shakiness inside.
- 2) Suddenly feeling scared for no reason.
- 3) Feeling fearful.
- 4) Feeling tense or keyed up.
- 5) Spells of terror or panic.
- 6) Feeling so restless you couldn't sit still.

1 = Not at all; 2 = A little; 3 = Sometimes; 4 = Quite a bit; 5 = Always

Appendix L. Life Satisfaction.

The statements below refer to your feelings about your life OVERALL. Please click the option that best describes how you feel about each statement.

- 1) In most ways, my life is close to ideal.
- 2) The conditions of my life are excellent.
- 3) I am satisfied with my life.
- 4) So far, I have gotten the important things I want in life.
- 5) If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.

1 = Strongly disagree; 2 = Somewhat disagree; 3 = Neutral; 4 = Somewhat agree;

5 = Strongly agree

Appendix M. Disapproval of Out-Group Dating.

Next, we would like to get your thoughts about Asian Americans and dating. After reading each statement, please indicate how you feel about it by clicking the option that best represents your opinion.

- 1) It bothers me when I see Asian American women dating Caucasian men.
- 2) I think Asian American women should only date Asian American men.
- 3) Race does not matter when choosing whom I date.*
- 4) I would prefer to marry another Asian American.

*Reverse-coded items

1 = Strongly disagree; 2 = Somewhat disagree; 3 = Neutral; 4 = Somewhat agree;
5 = Strongly agree

Appendix N. Qualitative Interview Protocol.

Interviewer: Thank you for coming in to share your time by participating in this study. This interview lasts approximately 30 to 60 minutes. If at any time I ask a question that is unclear, please let me know and I will try to clarify. We are interested in your opinions and experiences, so there are no right or wrong answers. If you do not want to answer a question, just let me know and we will move on. Before we begin, do you have any questions?

1) Background information

- a) Where were you born?
- b) Where did you grow up?
- c) Where have you lived since then?
- d) Where were your parents born?
- e) What kind(s) of occupations do they have?
- f) Who lived in your household growing up? (siblings, extended family)
- g) What languages were spoken in your household while growing up?
- h) Does your family have a religious or spiritual affiliation? If yes, what religious or spiritual affiliation?
- i) Do you yourself have a religious or spiritual affiliation? If yes, what religious or spiritual affiliation?
- j) How do you prefer to identify yourself racially and/or ethnically?
- k) How would you describe your class background growing up? (i.e., upper, middle, upper-middle, lower, working, etc.).
 - i) If not clear: Can you please explain why you chose this description? (i.e., income, having things available, comparison to others, education, etc...)

2) Family-level socialization

- a) Growing up, can you think of any messages or lessons that your parents said over and over? Things that they really wanted to make sure you learned?
 - i) If yes, what were those messages?
- b) Growing up, did anyone in your family talk to you about how to be a good student?

- i) If yes, whom and what did they say? (probe for study habits, achievements, etc.)
 - c) Did anyone in your family talk to you about how to be a good son?
 - i) If yes, whom and what did they say? (probe for responsibilities, etc.)
 - d) Did anyone in your family talk to you about how to be a good man?
 - i) If yes, whom and what did they say? (probe for treatment of women, respect, etc.)
 - e) Did your parents ever compare you to other siblings, family members, or members of the community in terms of grades, behavior, SAT scores, things like that?
 - i) If yes, how? (probe for SAT scores, grades, awards, good deeds, college acceptances, etc.)
- 3) College Experiences
 - a) What brought you to the University of Michigan?
 - i) Probe for whether UM was a preferred school.
 - ii) When did you begin study at UM?
 - iii) What is your major(s)?
 - iv) Do you have a minor?
 - v) How did you choose your concentrations?
 - vi) What was your favorite class? Why?
 - vii) What was your least favorite class? Why?
 - viii) Overall, how would you describe yourself as a student?
 - b) Extracurricular activities
 - i) Are you involved in any extracurricular activities? If yes, which ones?
 - ii) How did you become involved? (i.e., friends, festifall)
 - iii) Do you work or volunteer during the school year or summer?
 - (1) If yes, where? Doing what? Why do you work? (money, experience)
 - c) Social life
 - i) Thinking about the friends that you spend the most time with or who you would consider closest to you, how would you describe them??
 - ii) How did you meet your friends?

- iii) What do you and your friends do for fun?
 - d) Family
 - i) How has your relationship with your family been like since you began at UM?
 - ii) How often do you communicate? (probe: by email, phone)
 - iii) What is it like when you visit home?
- 4) Relationships
 - a) Have you ever been in a dating relationship?
 - i) If no, skip to next section.
 - ii) Are you currently in a dating relationship?
 - (1) If yes, for how long?
 - iii) Please a moment to think about the person you've dated most recently or who you would consider was part of your most significant relationship.
 - (1) How would you describe that person?
 - (2) What did you like about this person?
 - (3) How did you meet?
 - (4) How long did you date for/have been dating?
 - iv) Do your parents know that you are/were dating?
 - v) Did the dating partner's parents know that you/were dating?
 - vi) Has anyone in your family ever talked to you about how to be a good boyfriend or future husband?
 - (1) If yes, what did they say?
 - (2) Who said it and what was the context? (probe: parents, uncles, siblings)
 - (3) Was this advice helpful?
- 5) Sexual Experiences
 - a) Have you ever been sexually active?
 - i) If no, skip to next section
 - ii) Did you and your sexual partner ever have a conversation about contraceptives? (birth control, condoms?)
 - (1) If yes? How did you decide on the method of protection?
 - iii) Did you and your sexual partner ever have a conversation about getting tested for sexually transmitted diseases?

- (1) If yes, did you get tested?
- iv) Did you and your sexual partner ever have a conversation about what to do in the event of an unplanned pregnancy?
 - (1) If yes, what did you talk about?
- v) Have you seen this person since? Why or why not?
- b) Did anyone in your family ever have a “birds and the bees” type of talk with you?
 - i) If yes, who?
- c) Does anyone in your family know that you are a virgin/not a virgin?
- d) Do any of your friends know you are a virgin/not a virgin?
- 6) Masculinity
 - a) What does manhood mean to you personally?
 - i) If general, ask them to rephrase it for them as they see it.
 - b) Do you ever feel pressured to have sex to be more masculine?
- 7) Stereotypes
 - a) What stereotypes about Asian people have you heard of or experienced?
 - i) What do you think about those stereotypes?
 - b) What stereotypes about Asian American men in particular have you heard of or experienced?
 - i) What do you think about those stereotypes?
- 8) If not already brought up, ask about:
 - a) Effeminate stereotype
 - b) Asian flush stereotype
 - c) Small penis stereotype
 - i) Have you heard of this stereotype? Where?
 - ii) What do you think of this stereotype?
 - iii) How does this stereotype make you feel?
 - iv) Do you ever feel like you act in a way to prove these stereotypes wrong?
 - v) Have you ever observed other people act in a way that makes you think they were trying to prove these stereotypes wrong?
 - d) What do you think a Caucasian or white woman’s expectation would be for an ideal man?

- e) What do you think an Asian American woman's expectation would be for an ideal man?
 - f) Hypothetically, if you were to tell your family that you were dating another man, how do you think they would react?
 - g) Hypothetically, if you were to tell your friends that you were dating another man, how do you think they would react?
 - h) Growing up, did anyone in your family ever talk about homosexuality? If yes, what did they say? (in general or specifically)
 - i) Teachers? Church? Friends?
- 9) College Achievement/Pressures
- a) Have you ever used substances like:
 - i) coffee,
 - ii) energy drinks,
 - iii) "no-doz" or
 - iv) prescription drugs to...help you focus or study?
 - v) In what situations? (i.e., paper deadline, exam study, etc.)
 - vi) How often? (i.e., only at midterms, every week, etc.)
 - b) Can you think of a time when you were really stressed out about school?
 - i) Describe what was going on.
 - ii) Why were you so stressed out? What was going on at the time?
 - iii) What did you do about it?
 - (1) Did you ask anyone for help?
 - (2) Did anyone try to help you?
 - (3) Looking back, is there anyone you could have asked for help that you did not ask at the time?
 - c) Has there ever been a time when you were so stressed out about school that you think it negatively affected your academic performance and/or physical and/or mental health?
 - i) If yes, please describe.
 - (1) Probes: withdrawn from classes, from semester, gotten really sick, etc.

- ii) If no, why do you think you don't get so stressed out that it negatively affects you?
 - (1) Probes: personality, social support, church, etc.
- d) What do you like to do to unwind from the stress of school?
 - i) Do you ever party with your friends to unwind?
- e) During your time here at the University of Michigan, is there any one person or experience that has had a significant impact on you...
 - i) In a positive way?
 - (1) Why? (Follow-up with probes appropriately)
 - ii) In a negative way?
 - (1) Why? (Follow-up with probes appropriately)
- 10) Where do you see yourself in five years? Ten years?
 - a) Do you see yourself as having an income that is less than, the same as, or higher than that of your parents? Why?
 - b) probe for work/career, community involvement, social life, and family relations
 - c) probe why he sees himself in that way or why he does not know.

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