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# Journal of Counseling Psychology

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# Gendered Racial Microaggressions Scale for Asian American Women: Development and Initial Validation

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Asian American women's (AAW's) mental health issues have received growing public attention; recent statistics suggest alarmingly high suicide rates among AAW. Yet, little research has examined the nuanced oppression that AAW face and the daily effects of compounded racism and sexism contributing to their mental health issues. Applying the intersectionality and microaggressions framework, we developed the Gendered Racial Microaggressions Scale for Asian American Women (GRMSAAW) using data collected from 564 AAW. Items were developed via literature review, focus group, and expert review. Exploratory ( $N = 304$ ) and confirmatory ( $N = 260$ ) factor analyses suggested a 4-factor structure and produced 22-item scales of frequency and stress appraisal with the following subscales: (a) Ascription of Submissiveness, (b) Assumption of Universal Appearance, (c) Asian Fetishism, and (d) Media Invalidation. Internal consistency estimates were .80 and above for frequency and stress appraisal scales, and the scales accounted for 52% and 60% of variance, respectively. Examination of a bifactor model containing one general factor and four group factors suggested that GRMSAAW could be represented unidimensionally (total scale score) for the purpose of applied measurement. Initial construct validity was established as GRMSAAW scores were associated with sexism, racial microaggressions, depressive symptoms, and internalized racism in ways consistent with theory. Implications for research and practice are discussed.

## Public Significance Statement

We developed the GRMSAAW to assess the unique gendered racial microaggressions Asian American women experience and found promising initial psychometric properties measurement utility. Gendered racial microaggressions were significantly associated with Asian American women's depressive symptoms over and above perceived racial microaggressions or sexist events.

**Keywords:** gendered racial microaggressions, gendered racism, Asian American women, intersectionality, measure development

Racism has been linked to a host of negative mental health outcomes for Asian Americans such as psychological distress, suicidal ideation, anxiety, and depression (Gee, Spencer, Chen,

Yip, & Takeuchi, 2007; Hwang & Goto, 2009). In particular, Asian American women (AAW) have gained public health attention due to their alarming rates of suicide (McKenzie, Serfaty, & Crawford, 2003; Noh, 2007) and suicidal behaviors (Chung, 2004). Compared to other racial/ethnic groups, AAW aged 15 to 24 and 65 and over have the highest rates of female suicide and suicide is the second leading cause of death among this population during young adulthood (Anderson & Smith, 2003). As such, researchers in psychology have called attention to the harmful impact of restrictive gender stereotyping, sexual objectification, and exoticization of AAW (Kim & Chung, 2005; Le Espiritu, 2008; Sue et al., 2007; True, 1990). Yet, limited studies have been conducted on AAW's nuanced hardships and the costs on AAW's mental health (Noh, 2007). More empirical research is needed to understand AAW's unique experiences of oppression.

To advance empirical research on AAW and their mental health, it is imperative to develop a measure that infuses both racial and gendered experiences of oppression. Current measures on discrimination tend to focus on Asian Americans as a broad racial group. These measures have examined racial/ethnic invalidations, mistreatments, and microaggressions based on the stereotype that Asian Americans are a model minority group who experience

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unmitigated success and few psychological problems (Yoo, Burrola, & Steger, 2010) or that they are perpetual foreigners deemed unfit for the mainstream American culture (Liang, Li, & Kim, 2004; Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2009). Although these studies have made important advancements in the literature, they overlook the gendered aspects unique to AAW. Furthermore, AAW are rarely represented in the sexism literature (Patel, 2008; Zucker, Fitz, & Bay-Cheng, 2016), which is heavily focused on White women's experiences. In order to address the gaps in the literature, the purpose of the current study was to develop the Gendered Racial Microaggressions Scale for Asian American Women (GRMSAAW) to assess interlocking forms of oppression experienced by AAW based on their Asian and female identities.

### Microaggressions Toward Asian American Women

We conceptualized the GRMSAAW based on the burgeoning literature on racial and gendered microaggressions in psychology. Racial microaggressions are brief, everyday exchanges, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicates hostile or denigrating messages to people of color (Sue, 2010). In a qualitative study, Sue and colleagues (2007) identified eight racial microaggression themes pertinent for Asian Americans: (a) alien in own land, (b) ascription of intelligence, (c) exoticization of AAW, (d) invalidation of interethnic differences, (e) denial of racial reality, (f) pathologizing cultural values or communication styles, (g) second class citizenship, and (h) invisibility. These subtle messages have been described as "put-downs" (Pierce, Carew, Pierce-Gonzalez, & Wills, 1978) that are often dismissed despite the pervasiveness. Although these microaggressive messages can appear insignificant and seemingly harmless, recent scholarship has demonstrated the deleterious consequences on mental health and elevated levels of depression (Huynh, 2012; Nadal, Griffin, Wong, Hamit, & Rasmus, 2014). Ong, Burrow, Fuller-Rowell, Ja, and Sue (2013) found that exposure to daily racial microaggressions was associated with immediate and lagged increases in negative affect and somatic symptoms for Asian Americans, suggesting that microaggressions can exert additive, chronic detriments on their mental health over time.

Microaggression theories have been extended beyond race to examine the everyday forms of oppression directed toward members of other non-dominant identities (Sue, 2010). Capodilupo and colleagues (2010) identified gendered microaggressions pertinent to women, including denigrating messages of sexual objectification, sexist treatment, and invisibility. Interestingly, Sue and colleagues' (2007) study found initial evidence that AAW experience everyday discrimination based upon their gender and race. Notably, the exoticization of AAW theme represented unique invalidations that stemmed from historically persistent subjugation of AAW to dispensable roles of sexual objects, domestic servants, and exotic geishas serving the sexual desires of White men (Sue et al., 2009). Yet, empirical studies on these issues have been scant particularly because most microaggression measures have focused on a singular identity (usually race only) in operationalizing subtle racism experiences. Thus, it is crucial to apply an intersectional lens (Lewis & Grzanka, 2016; Moradi & Grzanka, 2017) to better understand AAW's experiences with interlocking forms of racism and sexism.

### Intersectionality Theory

The framework of *intersectionality* describes how interlocking systems of oppression impact marginalized groups with regard to diverse social identities such as race, gender, class, sexual orientation, ability, and religion (Crenshaw, 1989). Kimberlé Crenshaw coined the term *intersectionality* in her critique of how Black women's experiences were inaccurately addressed in both feminist and antiracist discourses (Cole, 2009). This paradigm shifts away from a single axis framework (e.g., gender or race only) to emphasize the notion that all individuals hold multiple interconnected social identities that are dynamic and fluid, and are thus uniquely affected by systems of inequality and power (Choi, Israel, & Maeda, 2017). Therefore, the salience and significance of social identities, such as race, might have different meanings and are interpreted differently across situations, cultures, and history (Else-Quest & Hyde, 2016). When the intersectionality framework is utilized from a multidisciplinary lens, it transcends current psychological ideology by examining multiple social identities within the contexts of systemic and historical oppression that shape marginalized groups' experiences (Cole, 2009). As highlighted in Crenshaw's (1989) critique and Collins' (2000) writings on Black feminism, intersectionality is not meant to simply understand social relations of power but rather meant to disrupt and challenge them. While intersectional analyses aid in understanding the breadth and depth of people's experiences in multiple contexts of privilege and oppression, they should also transform power dynamics and promote social change (Moradi & Grzanka, 2017). Intersectional analyses should move beyond conceptualizations of multiple social identities and infuse social and political activism into the foreground of research, theory, and practice (Shin et al., 2017).

There are many ways to employ an intersectional lens in measurement research. However, only several recent psychological measures, such as the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender People of Color Microaggressions Scale (Balsam, Molina, Beadnell, Simoni, & Walters, 2011) and the Gendered Racial Microaggressions Scale for Black women (Lewis & Neville, 2015), have examined multiple forms of discrimination (e.g., heterosexism, racism, sexism) connected to group membership by explicitly asking participants to reflect on their experiences belonging to multiple identity groups. Although there is some debate about what best constitutes an intersectional approach or analysis (Else-Quest & Hyde, 2016), these measures captured the complexity of experiences stemming from multiple identities and explored both the additive and intersectional effects of oppression. Similarly, intersectionality can illuminate AAW's experiences within the historical and systemic contexts of their oppressed race, gender, and sexual identities as women of Asian descent.

### Gendered Racial Microaggressions Against Asian American Women

Consistent with the intersectional framework, Essed (1990) coined the term *gendered racism* to examine African American women's experiences with oppression at the intersections of gender and race. Although women in general may experience harassment and sexism, gendered racism underscores that African American women can experience unique forms of oppression (e.g.,

sexual promiscuity, invisibility) based upon their “Blackness” and “femaleness.” Using the intersectionality framework and building upon Sue’s (2010) concept of racial microaggressions and Essed’s (1990) concept of gendered racism, Lewis, Mendenhall, Harwood, and Hunt (2013) coined the term *gendered racial microaggressions* and defined it as “subtle and everyday verbal, behavioral, and environmental expressions based upon the intersections of one’s race and gender” (p. 54). As an extension of this construct for AAW, we created the GRMSAAW. We developed the GRMSAAW to examine the intersectional microaggressions experienced by AAW based upon their Asian and female identities that are distinct from general racial microaggressions experienced by both AAW and men (e.g., “You speak English well”). Based on our review of the literature in psychology, we anticipated the following overarching themes of gendered racial microaggressions for AAW in our measure development: (a) submissiveness, (b) sexual fetishism/exoticization, and (c) restrictive and universal body image assumptions.

### Submissiveness

Assumptions of submissiveness are some of the most pervasive gendered racial microaggressions experienced by AAW. As with other racial groups, Asian women’s gender roles are often constrained in the racial hierarchy in U.S. society (Le Espiritu, 2008). The historical practice of “mail-order brides” from Asian countries might have influenced the image of a submissive, passive, and obedient “Oriental woman” (Uchida, 1998). The expectation for AAW to be submissive is present not only in media depictions but also in daily interactions. Pyke and Johnson’s (2003) qualitative study showed that AAW are often expected to perform their femininity by being compliant, quiet, shy, timid, or passive. For example, one woman described that she did not need to talk in front of the class because her teacher assumed her to be naturally quiet and shy. Importantly, the stereotypes of submissiveness and passivity are likely to influence AAW’s access to career and academic opportunities. Being stereotyped as passive, apolitical, and not assertive often prevents AAW from advancing into leadership positions or acquiring promotions. For example, Li (2013) found that Asian American female attorneys are often mistakenly perceived as secretaries or paralegals, which reflects assumptions of passivity and compliance. Generally, these stereotyped images also reinforce people’s expectations that AAW should be subservient, self-sacrificial, domesticated wives or partners who should prioritize their families or relationships over their career aspirations (Le Espiritu, 2008; Pyke & Johnson, 2003; True, 1990).

### Sexual Fetishism/Exoticization

AAW also encounter distinct sexual objectification experiences. AAW are often denigrated as both economic and sexual commodities to appease White men’s sexual fantasies (Chan, 1987; Sue et al., 2007). The fetishization and exoticization of Asian women and Asian culture (i.e., “yellow fever”) can be particularly destructive because it reinforces docile, foreign, and childlike stereotypes of Asian women. The roots of such fetishism date back to the civil rights era, during which AAW were stereotyped as both the “lotus blossom baby” (e.g., China doll, geisha girl, and the shy Polynesian beauty) and the “dragon lady,” or prostitutes and devious

madams (Tajima, 1989, p. 309). One of the earliest stereotyped portrayals of AAW was in the movie *The World of Suzie Wong* in 1960 (Kwan, 1998), which showed AAW as sex-crazed, manipulative, and unable to resist White men (Kim & Chung, 2005). Mass media often objectifies AAW as White men’s property and accessory (Kim & Chung, 2005), and dating websites also reduce AAW to sexual servants who are submissive, acquiescent, and exotic. Based on these assumptions, others often praise AAW for their ability to accommodate men’s sexual needs (Sue et al., 2007), which may leave them vulnerable to unwelcome sexual advances, sexual exploitation, and even violence.

### Restrictive and Universal Body Image Assumptions

AAW also experience gendered racial microaggressions in relation to restrictive expectations of appearance. People have particular assumptions of how Asian women’s bodies should look. These racialized expectations of appearance often presume Asian women as “doll-like,” with doe-eyed features, jet black hair, and pale skin (Brady et al., 2017; Wong et al., 2017). In qualitative studies (Brady et al., 2017; Smart & Tsong, 2014; Wong et al., 2017), women described these experiences as dehumanizing, limiting, and infantilizing, particularly when paired with expectations to be both sexually available and submissive. Additionally, compared to other racial groups, AAW may experience pressure from others to maintain an even stricter standard of thinness (Smart & Tsong, 2014). In Smart and Tsong’s (2014) study, women discussed their concerns about not having a “stereotypical Asian body” (e.g., petite, feminine, dainty) and the difficulty of meeting other people’s expectations of appearance. Conversely, in another qualitative study (Wong et al., 2017), women discussed wanting to avoid appearing stereotypically Asian, with one woman receiving feedback that she was “too pretty to be Indian.” These experiences reiterate that others often scrutinize AAW’s appearances and make assumptions about what features are seemingly normative and attractive, which may have damaging consequences on their self-image.

### The Present Study

Much of the psychological research on the oppression that AAW face has been qualitative and theoretical (e.g., Brady et al., 2017; Kim & Chung, 2005; Noh, 2007; Pyke & Johnson, 2003; Smart & Tsong, 2014; Sue et al., 2009; True, 1990; Uchida, 1998; Wong et al., 2017). It is likely that AAW face gendered racial microaggressions across various contexts, such as career, education, and relationships. Examining power and inequality across these contexts is essential for understanding the meaning and salience of AAW’s lived experiences. Even though the Asian American population is comprised of more than 23 ethnic subgroups (Reeves & Bennett, 2004), and there is thus noticeable within-group diversity within AAW’s experiences, we elected to analyze AAW as a panethnic group who share the burden of experiencing broad racialized invalidations and stereotypes in the United States. We developed the items for GRMSAAW and conducted factor analysis to identify and validate the most appropriate structure for the scale. We also examined the construct validity of GRMSAAW by examining theory-based relationships with other racism, sexism, and mental health constructs.



## Method

### Scale Construction

We followed best practices in measurement development (DeVellis, 2016) to generate initial pool of items for the GRMSAAW via a multistage process. We conducted a thorough literature review to identify potential aspects of gendered racial microaggressions for AAW. In particular, our measure was informed by the literature on gendered and racial microaggressions (e.g., Capodilupo et al., 2010; Sue et al., 2007; Sue et al., 2009), and existing measures of gendered racial microaggressions (e.g., Lewis & Neville, 2015). Based on the three overarching themes (submissiveness, sexual fetishism/exoticization, and restrictive and universal body image assumptions) and personal encounters, we conducted several research team meetings to discuss, generate, and refine sample items that may inform the content of the GRMSAAW. Next, we used the identified themes and sample items to facilitate a focus group with AAW. The purpose of the focus group was to obtain feedback and collect qualitative data to further guide item generation. The focus group was conducted in compliance with the Institutional Review Board. A convenience sample of 8 undergraduate AAW with diverse ethnic backgrounds (Southeast Asian, East Asian, and Asian Indian) participated in the 2-hr focus group to discuss their encounters with gendered racial microaggressions on and off campus. All of the participants provided consent and were provided lunch for participation. Recordings of the sessions were transcribed and analyzed via inductive thematic analysis to identify additional themes and indicators of gendered racial microaggressions for AAW.

Based on the focus group, we expanded the three initial themes to the following seven nuanced domains anticipated in our development process: (a) *assumption of submissiveness* (e.g., “Others treat me as if I will always comply with their requests,” “Others expect me to be submissive”), (b) *hyper feminine domestic gender role expectations* (e.g., “Others expect me to sacrifice my own needs to take care of others [e.g., family, partner]”), (c) *leadership inadequacy* (e.g., “Others have hinted that Asian American women are not assertive enough to be leaders”), (d) *Asian fetishism/exoticization* (e.g., “Others take sexual interest in Asian American women to fulfill their fantasy”), (e) *media invalidation* (e.g., “I see Asian American women playing the same type of characters [e.g., Kung Fu woman, sidekick, mistress, tiger mom] in the media”), (f) *assumption of universal body image* (e.g., “Others have talked about Asian American women as if they all have the same facial features [e.g., eye shape, skin tone]”), and (g) *invalidations from romantic partners* (e.g., “Others take romantic interest in Asian American women just because they never had sex with an Asian American woman before”). We generated an initial pool of 73 items based on these domains.

We solicited item feedback regarding content validity, face validity, and item qualities (e.g., grammar, clarity, reading level) from three experts on race, racism, and gender issues pertaining to AAW. Experts rated the items on a Likert-type scale and were asked to provide ways to improve the items and the measure. Based on expert review, we removed items that were low in content and face validity. We revised or redeveloped items with high content validity but low quality to improve clarity. In total, we removed 19 items through the revision process.

Our development process resulted in a final item pool of 54 items for administration to participants. Flesch–Kincaid Grade Reading Level test indicated a ninth-grade reading level for the items. Based on previous measures of gendered racial microaggressions (Lewis & Neville, 2015), perceived sexism (Klonoff & Landrine, 1995), and perceived racism (Landrine & Klonoff, 1997) that conceptualized both frequency and stressfulness of the discriminatory events, our plan was to develop the GRMSAAW as an assessment of frequency and stress related to gendered racial microaggression events. Frequency was assessed by asking participants how often they generally experienced each item throughout their lifetime and the ratings were 0 (*never*), 1 (*rarely*), 2 (*sometimes*), 3 (*often*), 4 (*very frequently*), and 5 (*always*). Stress was assessed by asking how stressful (e.g., upset, bothered, offended) each event was for the participants on the following scale: 0 (*not at all stressful*), 1 (*slightly stressful*), 2 (*somewhat stressful*), 3 (*moderately stressful*), 4 (*very stressful*), and 5 (*extremely stressful*).

### Participants

Of the 564 total sample, 477 provided demographic information. Ages ranged from 18 to 68 years ( $M = 23.3$ ,  $SD = 6.76$ ). The majority (98.5%,  $n = 470$ ) identified as women, and the remainder identified as genderfluid ( $n = 4$ ) and other ( $n = 1$ ). About 79.9% ( $n = 381$ ) identified as heterosexual, 7.1% bisexual ( $n = 34$ ), 4.2% uncertain or questioning ( $n = 20$ ), 2.7% other ( $n = 13$ ), 2.5% queer ( $n = 12$ ), and 2.1% asexual ( $n = 10$ ). The sample was diverse in ethnicity: Chinese (28.8%,  $n = 137$ ), Korean (15.7%,  $n = 75$ ), multiracial (15.6%,  $n = 74$ ), Indian (9.9%,  $n = 47$ ), Taiwanese (6.9%,  $n = 36$ ), Vietnamese (6.9%,  $n = 33$ ), and Filipino (6.3%,  $n = 30$ ). The remaining 9.5% identified as Japanese, Cambodian, Thai, Laotian, Hmong, Bangladeshi, Indonesian, or other. About 66.7% ( $n = 318$ ) identified as second generation (native born), followed by 12.6% ( $n = 60$ ) as first generation (immigrated to the United States ages 13 or older), 10.9% ( $n = 52$ ) immigrated before adulthood, 4.6% ( $n = 22$ ) identified as third-generation (native born), 3.1% ( $n = 15$ ) were adoptees, and 1.7% ( $n = 8$ ) reported other. In terms of education, 40.5% ( $n = 193$ ) reported some college, 27.9% ( $n = 133$ ) had a college degree, 19.9% ( $n = 95$ ) had professional or graduate degree, and 10.1% ( $n = 48$ ) had a high school diploma. About 61.2% ( $n = 292$ ) were students, 32.1% ( $n = 153$ ) were employed part or full time, and 3.6% ( $n = 17$ ) were unemployed. Majority of the sample ( $n = 244$ ) identified as middle class, followed by upper-middle class (27.3%,  $n = 130$ ), working class (15.3%,  $n = 73$ ), lower class (3.6%,  $n = 17$ ), and upper class (1.9%,  $n = 9$ ). About 44.6% were dating or in a committed partnership ( $n = 213$ ), 44.2% were single ( $n = 211$ ), 9.8% were married ( $n = 47$ ), and .8% other ( $n = 4$ ).

### Measures

**Racial microaggressions.** The Racial Microaggressions Scale (RMAS; Torres-Harding, Andrade, & Romero Diaz, 2012) consists of 32 items (e.g., “Sometimes I feel as if people look past me or don’t see me as a real person because of my race”) measuring how often racial/ethnic minority individuals have encountered a particular racial microaggression on a 4-point Likert scale (0 =

never to 3 = often/frequently). Higher values indicate higher frequency of experience. RMAS measures six factors: (a) Invisibility (being treated as if one is of lower status), (b) Criminality (being treated as if one is aggressive or dangerous), (c) Low-Achieving/Undesirable Culture (being treated as incompetent and as if successes are due to unfair entitlements and special treatment), (d) Sexualization (being treated in an overly sexual manner and being subject to sexual stereotypes), (e) Foreigner/Not Belonging (being made to feel as if one is not a “true” American), and (f) Environmental Invalidations (negative perception from observing one’s racial background being excluded from work, school, or community settings or from positions of power). Torres-Harding and colleagues (2012) reported good internal consistency with Cronbach’s alphas ranging from .78 to .89. RMAS was positively correlated with existing racism measures and concurrent validity was demonstrated through difference in scores between people of color and White participants, with people of color reporting higher scores (Torres-Harding et al., 2012). We used the Invisibility, Low Achieving/Undesirable Culture (LA/UC), Foreigner/Not Belonging, and Environmental Invalidations subscales and alphas ranged from .79 to .90.

**Perceived sexism.** The Schedule of Sexist Events (SSE; Klonoff & Landrine, 1995) was used to measure lifetime and recent (past-year) sexist discrimination for AAW. SSE is a self-report measure with 20 items, scored on a 6-point Likert-Type scale (1 = *the event never happened* to 6 = *the event happens almost all of the time*). Both the SSE-Lifetime and SSE-Recent have four factors: Sexist Degradation and Its Consequences, Sexism in Distant Relationships, Sexism in Close Relationships, and Sexist Discrimination in the Workplace. The SSE-Lifetime and SSE-Recent scales had high internal consistency (Cronbach’s  $\alpha$  = .92 and .90, respectively) with their subsample (36%) of racially and ethnically diverse women (African American, Asian American, Latina, Other; Landrine & Klonoff, 1997). For validity, scores on the SSE-Lifetime and SSE-Recent correlated with two other measures of stressful events: Hassles Frequency and the Psychiatric Epidemiology Research Interview Life Events Scales (Klonoff & Landrine, 1995). We found alpha levels of .95 for both the Lifetime and Recent SSE total scale scores used in our study.

**Depressive symptoms.** Patient Health Questionnaire-9 (PHQ-9; Kroenke & Spitzer, 2002) is a nine-item depression scale that establishes provisional depressive disorder diagnoses and depressive symptom severity. Participants respond on a 4-point Likert-type scale (0 = *not at all* to 3 = *nearly every day*). Scores range from 0 to 27 with higher scores indicating more severe depression. The PHQ-9 exhibits convergent validity and sensitivity to change; scores on the PHQ-9 were correlated with the Symptom Checklist-20 and changes in PHQ-9 scores were similar or greater than change in SCL-20 (Kroenke & Spitzer, 2002). Validity and measurement invariance of PHQ-9 with Asian American college students has been confirmed (Keum, Miller, & Inkelas, 2018). Internal consistency for the total scale score in our sample was .91.

**Internalized racism.** The Internalized Racism in Asian American Scale (Choi et al., 2017; IRAAS) is a 14 item, three-factor scale that measures the degree to which Asian Americans internalized hostile attitudes and negative messages regarding their racial identity. The three subscales are (a) Self-Negativity (global devaluation and negative attitudes directed toward one’s own Asian American identity), (b) Weakness Stereotypes (internalized

beliefs in negative stereotypes of deficit or weakness inherent to being Asian American), and (c) Appearance Bias (endorsement of Eurocentric standards of attractiveness and downward comparisons of Asian Americans). The total scale score was used in the current study. Responses are based on a 6-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 6 = *strongly agree*), with higher scores indicating greater internalized racism. Positively worded items were reverse-scored. A sample item is “I sometimes wish I weren’t Asian.” Convergent validity was assessed through correlating scores with Collective Self-Esteem Scale and authors indicated IRAAS was valid.

Predictive validity was also demonstrated; high levels of internalized racism were significantly predictive of depressive symptoms. The internal consistency for the total scale score was .90.

## Procedure

The study was approved by the Institutional Review Board. Participants were invited to participate in an online survey consisting of study variable measures and demographic items hosted by Qualtrics. The survey was advertised through multiple online communication platforms such as listservs, discussion forums, and social network sites (e.g., Facebook) pertaining to AAW. The inclusion criteria for the study were (a) 18 years old or older, (b) self-identify as an Asian American woman, and (c) live in the United States. Participants were entered into a raffle for a chance to win an Amazon gift card. The survey took 15 to 20 min to complete and included two attention check items (e.g., “Please choose *always*”).

## Data Screening and Preparation

A total of 1,177 participants accessed the survey. Of these, we removed 105 cases for not meeting the inclusion criteria (hence, did not record any responses), 30 cases for failing more than one attention check items, 314 cases for not recording any responses, and 164 cases for missing more than 20% of the data (Schlomer, Bauman, & Card, 2010). The final sample size was 564, of which 23 cases had 0% to 15% missing data. Little’s missing completely at random,  $\chi^2(270) = 284.40, p = .26$ . We handled missing data with full-information maximum likelihood in Mplus (Enders, 2010), which computes a casewise likelihood function using full information of available sample rather than replacing or imputing missing data. We randomly assigned participants to the development and validation samples. The development sample ( $n = 304$ ) was used for exploratory factor analysis (EFA) and the validation sample ( $n = 260$ ) was used for confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). In splitting the overall sample for EFA and CFA, we devoted a slightly larger number of our sample to EFA. We elected to do this because EFA is a large-sample procedure and generalizable or replicable results are unlikely if the sample is too small (Costello & Osborne, 2005) and so that we provide the most adequate parameters to closely approximate a simple structure that will subsequently improve the results of the CFA (Worthington & Whittaker, 2006). Representation of race, gender, and age in both samples were similar to the total sample descriptors.

## Results

### Step I: Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA)

Although the final pool of items was based on seven anticipated themes that emerged in our scale development, we did not expect these themes to necessarily hold for the model structure. EFA provides data-driven identification of an initial factor structure based on best practice guidelines (Fabrigar, Wegener, MacCallum, & Strahan, 1999; DeVellis, 2016). We conducted EFA in Mplus 7.11 using maximum likelihood estimation that are robust to non-normality as the omnibus test of multivariate normality (Small, 1980) suggested that the EFA sample data were not normal,  $\chi^2(108) = 2,186.20, p < .001$ . We employed oblique promax rotation as we expected the factors to correlate with each other as part of the gendered racial microaggression experience. We conducted parallel analysis (1,000 simulations), a simulated factor retention technique, to determine the appropriate initial number of factors to be retained and interpreted (O'Connor, 2000). Bartlett's test of sphericity was  $\chi^2(5,356) = 47,999.56, p < .001$ , and the Kaiser–Meyer–Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was .98, indicating that the data were sufficiently factorable.

**Factor structure.** Parallel analysis suggested a four-factor structure based on the observed eigenvalues greater than the random 95th percentile (O'Connor, 2000). Based on 1,000 random data sets, the first four factors had raw data eigenvalues (19.92, 3.73, 2.65, 1.90) that were greater than the simulated random eigenvalues (1.73, 1.65, 1.60, 1.55). We extracted and examined one to four factor solutions for both frequency and stress appraisal. We did not pursue the one-, two-, and three-factor models as they had poorer fit to the data (standardized root mean square residual [SRMR] < .08 for acceptable fit, root mean square error of approximation [RMSEA] < .08 for acceptable fit), contained too many heavily cross-loaded items, or lacked conceptual clarity and interpretability. The fit improved for the four-factor model (RMSEA = .065 [.063, .067]; SRMR = .04) and the factor determinacies were acceptable (values >.90 as acceptable), indicating that the items adequately measured the four factors (Tabachnick, Fidell, & Linda, 2007). The four-factor model also simplified and reflected the anticipated domains for both frequency and stress appraisal. Specifically, items for the submissiveness, domestic gender role, and leadership inadequacy loaded together in a single factor that appeared to represent a central theme of submissiveness-related invalidations across various domains of life for AAW; this factor accounted for 37% and 43% of the variance for frequency and stress scales. Items for the Asian fetishism/exoticization and invalidations from romantic partners loaded together given the content similarity in these two domains and this factor accounted for 8% and 5% of the variance for frequency and stress. Items for media invalidations loaded together as anticipated and accounted for 4% and 7% of the variance for frequency and stress scales. Items for body image loaded together as anticipated and accounted for 3% of the variance for both frequency and stress scales.

We proceeded to examine the pattern coefficients from the initial extraction to remove items that were psychometrically inadequate and to optimize scale utility and length. Our goal was to maximize the utility of the measure by considering the trade-offs between scale length, reliability, and content representation. We deleted items based on the following criteria (Worthington &

Whittaker, 2006): (a) have the lowest factor loadings, (b) have the highest cross-loadings, (c) contribute least to the internal consistency, and (d) have low conceptual consistency with other items on the factor. We also removed items sequentially after each refactoring, and only retained items with primary loadings higher than .45 and cross-loadings equal to or less than .25 (Tabachnick et al., 2007). We reexamined the fit statistics and loadings after each round of item removal on a case-by-case basis guided by interpretability of the domains (DeVellis, 2016). We also removed items with very high interitem correlations to reduce item redundancy. The removal process was conducted simultaneously for frequency and stress appraisal as we strived to retain items that loaded on both scales and the four factors continued to emerge robustly throughout this process with adequate model fit. We removed a total of 32 items for both frequency and stress appraisal, resulting in 22-item scales with the same items (see Table 1) with improved model fit (RMSEA = .060 [.050, .069]; SRMR = .035). Communality values ranged from .30 to .75 and .45 to .77 for frequency and stress appraisal scales, respectively, suggesting adequate variances accounted by common factors (Child, 2006). Total variances accounted by the final scales were 54% and 60% for frequency and stress appraisal, respectively.

**Factor labeling.** The four-factor model provided a theoretically meaningful simple structure. To label the factors, the authors revisited the names of the anticipated themes and revised the names of the four factors via a consensus driven discussion. Items with the highest structure coefficients also guided factor labeling. We named the first factor Ascribed Submissiveness (nine items) and accounted for 38% and 44% of the variance for frequency and stress appraisal scales, respectively (see Table 1). This factor represented microaggressions rooted in submissive stereotypes and assumptions of AAW (Pyke & Johnson, 2003; True, 1990; Uchida, 1998). The second factor was named Asian Fetishism (four items) and accounted for 8% and 5% of the variance for frequency and stress appraisal scales, respectively (see Table 1). This factor captured sexual objectification and fetish (e.g., “yellow fever”) for AAW (Chan, 1987; Uchida, 1998; Sue et al., 2009; Wong et al., 2017). The third factor was named Media Invalidation (five items) and accounted for 5% and 8% of the variance for frequency and stress appraisal scales, respectively (see Table 1). This factor captured the underrepresentation and negative stereotypical portrayals of AAW in the media (Kim & Chung, 2005; Sue et al., 2009; Wong et al., 2017). The fourth factor was named Assumption of Universal Appearance (four items) and accounted for 3% of the variance for both frequency and stress appraisal scales (see Table 1). The invalidations were based on stereotypes and assumptions that minimize and confine all AAW's body image and appearance attributes to certain “Asianized” standards (Hall, 1995; Iyer & Haslam, 2003; Wong et al., 2017). The four factors were correlated moderately high with each other (see Table 4).

### Step II: Cross-Validation

To cross-validate the four-factor model of GRMSAAW, we conducted CFA with the validation sample using Mplus 7.11. We evaluated model fit using the following fit indices (Fabrigar et al., 1999; Hu & Bentler, 1999): (a) comparative fit index (CFI; >.95 for good fit; .92 to .94 for adequate fit), (b) SRMR (close to <.08 for acceptable fit), (c) and RMSEA (close to <.08 for acceptable



Table 1  
*Pattern Matrix Coefficients From Exploratory Factor Analyses for Frequency and Stress Forms of the Gendered Racial Microaggressions Scale for Asian American Women (AAW)*

Items	1	2	3	4	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>
Factor 1: Ascribed Submissiveness					
1. Others expect me to be submissive.	.83 (.78)	.07 (–.19)	–.11 (.13)	.03 (.13)	.71 (.62)
2. Others have been surprised when I disagree with them.	.79 (.78)	–.03 (–.19)	–.06 (–.03)	.05 (.16)	.60 (.59)
3. Others take my silence as a sign of compliance.	.75 (.76)	–.06 (.02)	.04 (–.08)	–.01 (.04)	.53 (.55)
4. Others have been surprised when I do things independent of my family.	.72 (.67)	–.02 (.13)	.02 (–.07)	–.06 (–.06)	.49 (.45)
5. Others have implied that AAW seem content for being a subordinate.	.70 (.63)	.08 (.04)	–.03 (.13)	.04 (.01)	.47 (.56)
6. Others treat me as if I will always comply with their requests.	.69 (.69)	–.06 (.00)	.04 (–.01)	.08 (.09)	.58 (.55)
7. Others expect me to sacrifice my own needs to take care of others (e.g., family, partner) because I am an AAW.	.69 (.67)	–.01 (.13)	.15 (.04)	–.13 (–.15)	.52 (.47)
8. Others have hinted that AAW are not assertive enough to be leaders.	.69 (.69)	–.03 (.16)	.08 (–.03)	.03 (–.04)	.51 (.55)
9. Others have hinted that AAW seem to have no desire for leadership.	.63 (.53)	.13 (.07)	–.03 (.13)	.02 (.01)	.50 (.45)
Factor 2: Asian Fetishism					
10. Others express sexual interest in me because of my Asian appearance.	–.06 (–.03)	.85 (.76)	–.10 (–.03)	.07 (.14)	.66 (.66)
11. Others take sexual interest in AAW to fulfill their fantasy.	–.01 (–.08)	.76 (.79)	.11 (–.01)	.06 (.20)	.59 (.77)
12. Others take romantic interest in AAW just because they never had sex with an AAW before.	–.02 (.04)	.75 (.80)	.13 (.14)	–.11 (–.17)	.72 (.64)
13. Others have treated me as if I am always open to sexual advances.	.21 (.20)	.70 (.67)	–.13 (–.07)	–.02 (–.10)	.56 (.55)
Factor 3: Media Invalidiation					
14. I see non-Asian women being casted to play female Asian characters.	–.03 (–.10)	.10 (.10)	.69 (.64)	–.08 (.13)	.75 (.55)
15. I rarely see AAW playing the lead role in the media.	–.04 (.05)	–.12 (–.12)	.63 (.87)	.13 (.04)	.58 (.73)
16. I rarely see AAW in the media.	.02 (–.06)	–.06 (–.01)	.61 (.72)	.09 (.19)	.58 (.67)
17. I see AAW playing the same type of characters (e.g., Kung Fu woman, sidekick, mistress, tiger mom) in the media.	.05 (.06)	.01 (.05)	.54 (.70)	–.04 (–.03)	.48 (.56)
18. I see AAW characters being portrayed as emotionally distant (e.g., cold-hearted, lack of empathy) in the media.	.17 (.21)	.06 (.09)	.46 (.54)	–.03 (–.09)	.48 (.46)
Factor 4: Assumption of Universal Appearance					
19. Others have talked about AAW as if they all have the same facial features (e.g., eye shape, skin tone).	.05 (.13)	–.06 (–.14)	–.05 (.02)	.90 (.85)	.41 (.72)
20. Others have suggested that all AAW look alike.	.01 (–.01)	–.04 (–.01)	–.02 (.16)	.79 (.73)	.30 (.69)
21. Others have talked about AAW as if they all have the same body type (e.g., petite, tiny, small-chested).	.00 (.05)	.07 (.12)	.14 (.03)	.62 (.73)	.43 (.62)
22. Others have pointed out physical traits in AAW that do not look “Asian.”	–.06 (–.06)	.18 (.17)	.14 (.13)	.51 (.62)	.34 (.63)

*Note.* Values in parentheses are for stress appraisal.

fit). These fit indices were also used to examine several a priori competing models we tested to rule out rival hypotheses regarding the GRMSAAW factor structure. The competing models were compared based on (a) Satorra–Bentler (S-B) scaled chi-square difference test, (b) Bayesian information criterion (BIC) values, and (c) Akaike information criterion values. Smaller BIC and Akaike information criterion values suggest better fit, with higher values of more than 10 units suggesting lack of empirical support for goodness of fit (Burnham & Anderson, 2004).

**CFA.** The omnibus test of multivariate normality (Small, 1980) suggested that the validation sample data were not normal,  $\chi^2(44) = 1176.90$ ,  $p < .001$ . Thus, we employed maximum likelihood estimation with standard errors and chi-square test statistic that are robust to non-normality. The CFA suggested that the four-factor oblique model had adequate to good fit for frequency and good fit for stress appraisal (see Table 2). All items loaded significantly ( $p < .01$ ) on the hypothesized latent factors and ranged from .51 to .88 (see Table 3).

**Test of competing models.** We compared the four-factor oblique model to a number of a priori alternative models. We examined the model fit of one-factor, four-factor orthogonal, second-order (single higher order factor representing the four first-order factors) and bifactor (one general and four group factors; Reise, 2012) models (see Figure 1). Though we anticipated a multidimensional structure for the GRMSAAW, it is possible that a single factor may better represent the gendered racial microaggression experiences. In terms of multidimensionality, we also tested the second-order model as it is possible that the four group factors may function as subconstructs of a higher order gendered racial microaggressions construct. Additionally, we tested the bifactor model as there may be a general factor representing a broad gendered racial microaggressions construct alongside four distinct factors of item content uniquely capturing domain-specific gendered racial microaggressions (Reise, 2012). Model fit indices are listed in Table 2. Across frequency and stress appraisal, (a) the one-factor and four-factor orthogonal models had poor fit to the data and were not considered, and (b) the second-order and bifactor models had adequate to good fit. For frequency, S-B chi square tests indicated that both the oblique four-factor, S-B  $\chi^2(2) = 18.031$ ,  $p < .001$ , and bifactor, S-B  $\chi^2(18) = 33.460$ ,  $p = .015$ ,

models had significantly better fit to the data than the second-order model. For stress appraisal, the oblique four-factor model had significantly better fit than the second-order model, S-B  $\chi^2(2) = 9.098$ ,  $p = .01$ , but no differences were found in comparison to the bifactor model, S-B  $\chi^2(18) = 27.001$ ,  $p = .079$ . The four-factor oblique model had BIC values of 10 units less than the bifactor model for stress appraisal. Collectively, the four-factor model had the best fit to the data across frequency and stress, followed closely by a bifactor model with comparable model fit.

**Bifactor and multidimensionality.** We further examined the bifactor model to assess the multidimensionality of GRMSAAW. Bifactor models are useful in assessing dimensionality in measures, particularly with the distortion that may occur when unidimensional models are forced into multidimensional data (Reise, 2012; Rodriguez, Reise, & Haviland, 2016). Bifactor models provide an empirical assessment of the utility of a total scale score and whether the subscale scores reflect unique information that is meaningful beyond the general factor. The bifactor specifies unique variance in all items for the general factor and the unique variances in items for their respective group factors (Reise, 2012). All of the GRMSAAW items significantly loaded on the general factor from .33 to .78 and to their respective group factors from .27 to .68 except for Item 18 in the Media Invalidation factor for frequency (see Table 3). For Item 18, the general factor may have accounted considerably more variance than its unique variance for the group factor.

We calculated model-based internal consistency estimates (omega hierarchical [omegaH] and omega hierarchical subscale [omegaHS]) to interpret the utility of the total and subscale scores. OmegaH estimates the proportion of variance in total scores attributed to a general factor and values above .80 suggest significant unidimensionality (Rodriguez et al., 2016). OmegaHS is a reliable systematic variance of subscale scores after partitioning out the general factor variance (Rodriguez et al., 2016). OmegaH for the general factor was .80 for frequency and .85 for stress appraisal, suggesting that 80% and 85% of the variance of the total scores were attributed to individual differences on the general factor. OmegaHS for the subscales ranged from .24 to .50 and .19 to .35 for frequency and stress respectively. Notably, considerable amount of reliable subscale variance (50%) remained for the

Table 2  
Goodness-of-Fit Indicators for Confirmatory Factor Analyses

Models	df	$\chi^2$	RMSEA	90% CI	CFI	TLI	SRMR	BIC	AIC
Frequency									
One-factor	209	1,005.002**	.121	[.114, .129]	.676	.642	.100	18,977.87	18,952.11
Four-factor oblique	203	384.419**	.059	[.050, .068]	.926	.916	.050	18,264.96	18,236.85
Four-factor orthogonal	209	680.916**	.093	[.085, .101]	.808	.788	.250	18,581.51	18,555.75
Second-order	205	401.561**	.061	[.052, .069]	.920	.910	.058	18,279.44	18,252.12
Bifactor	187	368.682**	.061	[.052, .070]	.926	.910	.055	18,273.32	18,238.97
Stress Appraisal									
One-factor	209	979.959**	.119	[.112, .127]	.744	.717	.084	19,464.23	19,438.47
Four-factor oblique	203	366.218**	.056	[.046, .065]	.946	.938	.047	18,715.67	18,687.57
Four-factor orthogonal	209	796.941**	.104	[.096, .112]	.805	.784	.338	19,211.63	19,185.87
Second-order	205	376.062**	.057	[.048, .066]	.943	.936	.051	18,723.25	18,695.93
Bifactor	187	350.102**	.058	[.048, .067]	.946	.933	.045	18,728.95	18,694.60

Note. RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation; CI = confidence interval for RMSEA; CFI = comparative fit index; SRMR = standardized root mean square residual; BIC = Bayesian information criterion; AIC = Akaike information criterion.

\*\*  $p < .01$ .

Table 3

*Pattern Matrix Coefficients from Confirmatory Factor Analyses for Frequency and Stress Forms of the Gendered Racial Microaggressions Scale for Asian American Women*

Items	Four-factor				Bifactor				
	1	2	3	4	General	1	2	3	4
F1:AS									
1	.84 (.79)				.50 (.64)	.68 (.46)			
2	.76 (.76)				.44 (.54)	.65 (.58)			
3	.73 (.72)				.50 (.54)	.53 (.49)			
4	.62 (.66)				.33 (.48)	.55 (.49)			
5	.80 (.80)				.58 (.69)	.54 (.40)			
6	.73 (.73)				.49 (.57)	.55 (.46)			
7	.65 (.68)				.51 (.53)	.42 (.58)			
8	.72 (.72)				.53 (.58)	.47 (.43)			
9	.71 (.69)				.50 (.61)	.50 (.30)			
F2:AF									
10		.79 (.83)			.53 (.68)		.63 (.45)		
11		.85 (.88)			.74 (.45)		.45 (.45)		
12		.77 (.82)			.54 (.67)		.56 (.49)		
13		.75 (.69)			.52 (.60)		.54 (.37)		
F3:MI									
14			.66 (.79)		.59 (.68)			.27 (.38)	
15			.70 (.84)		.50 (.64)			.53 (.59)	
16			.71 (.86)		.52 (.72)			.57 (.44)	
17			.51 (.73)		.40 (.59)			.29 (.43)	
18			.52 (.65)		.55 (.54)			.09, <i>ns</i> (.38)	
F4:AUA									
19				.83 (.88)	.64 (.74)				.55 (.55)
20				.78 (.87)	.59 (.78)				.55 (.37)
21				.73 (.79)	.67 (.73)				.31 (.30)
22				.70 (.80)	.63 (.73)				.31 (.32)

*Note.* Values in parentheses are for stress appraisal. F1:AS = Factor 1: Ascribed Submissiveness; F2:AF = Factor 2: Asian Fetishism; F3:MI = Factor 3: Media Invalidation; F4:AUA = Factor 4: Assumption of Universal Appearance; *ns* = not significant.

submissiveness subscale (frequency) beyond the general factor. Only the general factors yielded factor determinacies greater than .90 (.91 and .94 for frequency and stress) for reliable factor score estimates.

Given that the Omega values suggested a strong general factor, we also examined explained common variance (ECV) and percentage of uncontaminated correlations (PUC) indices to ascertain whether representation of the data as a unidimensional model is “good enough” (Rodriguez et al., 2016). ECV is used to assess the degree of essential unidimensionality by examining the percent of common variance attributable to the general factor (Rodriguez et al., 2016). PUC is considered in conjunction to ECV, and is used to assess the degree to which parameter estimates may be biased when forcing a multidimensional data into a unidimensional structure (Rodriguez et al., 2016). ECV was .54 for frequency and .68 for stress appraisal. PUC was .75, suggesting that majority of 173 uncontaminated correlations inform directly on the general factor with minimal bias and that the general factor appears to be the main trait assessed. Based on Reise, Scheines, Widaman, and Haviland (2013), the PUC values were less than .80, ECV values were close to or above .60, and OmegaH values greater than .70, suggesting that a unidimensional interpretation of GRMSAAW is possible.

Collectively, the results suggested a relatively strong general factor compared to the subscales and that a single factor specification (total scale score) with expectation of minimal bias in factor loadings is possible (Rodriguez et al., 2016). Of note, the ECV

values and the OmegaHS of the subscales also suggested meaningfulness and utility of the subscales, particularly the submissiveness subscale. We used the bifactor model to simultaneously examine the utility of the total scale score (general factor) and the subscale scores for construct validity.

#### Step IV: Construct Validity

Using the bifactor model, we conducted structural equation modeling (SEM) in Mplus 7.11 to establish initial validity evidence for GRMSAAW by examining its relationship with relevant constructs. We employed a maximum likelihood estimation with standard errors and chi-square test statistic that are robust to non-normality. The total sample was used for validity testing ( $N = 564$ ). We established convergent and discriminant evidence by examining latent variable correlations. We established predictive and incremental evidence by testing latent regressive paths. Effect sizes were guided by Cohen, Cohen, West, and Aiken (2013). Latent correlations, observed score descriptives, and Cronbach's alphas are listed in Table 4.

**Convergent evidence.** We hypothesized that GRMSAAW scores would be positively and significantly correlated with scores of perceived racial microaggression (RMAS) and sexist events (SSE) as we expected these individual constructs to be related to the intersection of gendered and racial microaggression components in the GRMSAAW. We chose the RMAS as it is a general measure of racial microaggressions with content domains relevant

Table 4

Latent Variable Correlations, Observed Score Descriptive Statistics, and Cronbach's Alphas for Study Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. AS	—	.00	.00	.00	.00	.29*	.25*	.47**	.27	.40**	.42**	.28*	.22*
2. AF	.00	—	.00	.00	.00	.06	.10	.19	.28	.35*	.25	.15	.19
3. AUA	.00	.00	—	.00	.00	.20	.23	.13	.19	.13	.37**	.18	.24
4. MI	.00	.00	.00	—	.00	-.01	.04	.17	.38	.14	.23*	.13	.06
5. General	.00	.00	.00	.00	—	.29*	.60**	.39**	.35*	.46**	.33**	.18	-.18*
6. RMAS-F	.28**	.02	.18**	-.02	.34**	—	.59**	.56	.37**				
7. RMAS-L	.24**	.05	.20**	.08	.63**	.57**	—	.67**	.50**				
8. RMAS-I	.46**	.11	.01	.31**	.44**	.56**	.69**	—	.58**				
9. RMAS-E	.16*	.07	-.04	.36**	.45**	.37**	.48**	.59**	—				
10. SSE-L	.40**	.34**	.02	.15**	.54**	.33**	.67**	.63**	.46**	—			
11. SSE-R	.29**	.27**	.09	.08	.46**	.25**	.57**	.52**	.31**	.83**	—		
12. PHQ-9	.15*	-.04	.02	-.05	.31**	.10*	.30**	.32**	.11*	.30**	.30**	—	
13. IRAAS	.13	.21*	.17*	-.03	-.06	.02	.16**	.23**	.07	.14**	.20**	.18**	—
Frequency													
α	.91	.87	.84	.80	.93	.79	.85	.90	.80	.95	.95	.91	.90
M	29.26	13.36	18.08	23.09	83.80	9.16	23.40	16.84	15.63	56.49	49.75	16.52	31.44
SD	11.17	5.54	4.49	4.51	20.81	2.30	5.79	5.85	3.56	20.30	21.51	6.06	11.64
Range	9–54	4–24	4–24	5–30	22–132	3–12	9–36	8–32	5–20	20–120	20–120	9–36	14–84
Stress appraisal													
α	.91	.86	.88	.87	.94								
M	31.10	14.52	17.47	20.26	83.35								
SD	11.82	6.08	5.33	6.02	24.77								
Range	9–54	4–24	4–24	5–30	22–132								

Note. Below the diagonal is the frequency; above the diagonal is the stress appraisal. AS = Ascribed Submissiveness; AF = Asian Fetishism; AUA = Assumption of Universal Appearance; MI = Media Invalidation; RMAS = Racial Microaggressions Scale; RMAS-F = RMAS–Foreigner subscale; RMAS-L = RMAS–Low Achieving/Undesirable Culture subscale; RMAS-I = RMAS–Invisibility subscale; RMAS-E = RMAS–Environmental subscale; SSE = Schedule of Sexist Events; SSE-L = SSE–Lifetime subscale; SSE-R = SSE–Recent subscale; PHQ-9 = Patient Health Questionnaire–9; IRAAS = Internalized Racism for Asian American Scale.

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ .

to Asian Americans (e.g., invisibility, foreigner) and the SSE as it is a well-established measure of general perceived sexism for AAW and has been demonstrated to converge with gendered racial microaggressions (Lewis & Neville, 2015). Given that we framed the intersection to be relatively distinct from racial microaggression or perceived sexism individually, we anticipated moderate

correlations. Because we found a strong general factor, we anticipated the correlations to be the largest with the general factor score and examined whether unique significant correlations would emerge with the subscale scores beyond the general factor.

Latent correlations are listed in Table 4. SSE and the RMAS scores were all significantly and positively correlated with the

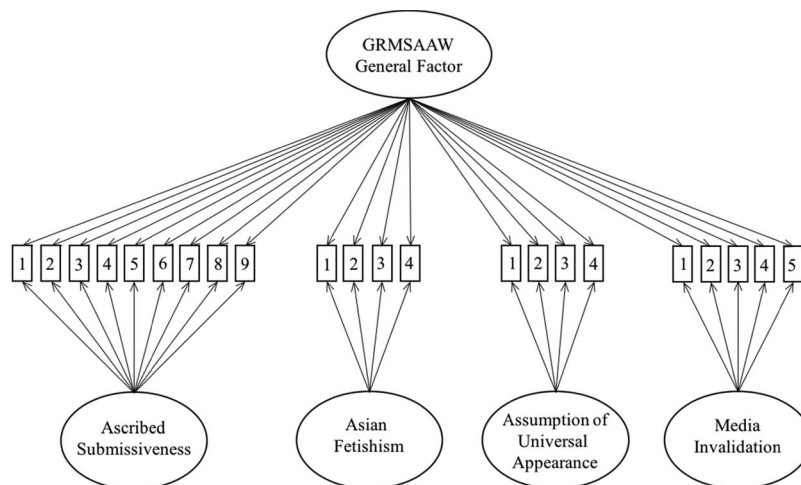


Figure 1. Bifactor model of the Gendered Racial Microaggressions Scale for Asian American Women (GRMSAAW) with the general factor and four group factors. The four-factor model excludes the general factor. The one-factor model includes all items.



general factor scores with medium to large effect sizes. Across frequency and stress appraisal, we found the largest effects in correlations with lifetime and recent SSE scores and RMAS-Invisibility scores. At the subscale level, we found correlations generally of medium effect. Beyond the general factor, Ascribed Submissiveness scores were significantly correlated with all of the SSE and RMAS scores except with the RMAS-Environmental scores for stress appraisal. For stress appraisal, the rest of the three subscale scores were significantly correlated with SSE scores but were not related to RMAS subscale scores. For frequency, we found significant positive correlations with low to medium effects between (a) fetishism and SSE scores, (b) appearance with RMAS-Foreign and RMAS-Low Achieving scores, and (c) media with SSE, RMAS-Environmental, and RMAS-Invisibility scores.

**Predictive evidence.** Given the negative mental health implications of gendered racial microaggressions (Lewis & Neville, 2015), we hypothesized that the GRMSAAW scores would significantly predict depressive symptoms (PHQ-9). The general factor frequency scores significantly predicted PHQ-9 ( $b = .31, p < .01, R^2 = .12$ ). Thus, higher GRMSAAW frequency total scores were significantly related to higher levels of depressive symptoms. Beyond the general factor, submissiveness frequency scores predicted PHQ-9 ( $b = .31, p = .048, R^2 = .05$ ) and we observed a near significant effect for stress appraisal ( $b = .28, p = .055$ ).

**Incremental evidence.** Building on our predictive evidence, we examined incremental evidence by testing whether GRMSAAW frequency scores would account for unique variance in PHQ-9 beyond individual racial microaggressions (RMAS) and sexism (SSE) variables given that the GRMSAAW represents distinct perception of invalidations intersecting race and gender. Else-Quest and Hyde (2016) noted that intersectionality may be framed as a multiplicative effect (in our case racism with sexism) that is more than the sum of its parts (racism and sexism). Given that we developed the GRMSAAW to assess the distinct multiplicative effects of racism and sexism for AAW, we anticipated a unique significant relationship between the GRMSAAW and depressive symptoms beyond the additive effects of racism and sexism. The general factor for frequency scale accounted for additional unique variance in PHQ-9 beyond SSE and the RMAS subscales ( $b = .19, p < .01, R^2 = .02$ ).

**Discriminant evidence.** We examined the correlations with internalized racism (IRAAS) and anticipated small, nonsignificant, or even negative correlations as AAW with greater levels of internalized racism may be less attuned to recognizing gendered racial microaggressions (Choi et al., 2017). We used the IRAAS as it includes assessment of internalized gendered aspects such as stereotypes about Asian men. As hypothesized, we found small, negative, and nonsignificant correlations ( $-.18$  to  $.22$ ) between GRMSAAW and IRAAS total scores (see Table 4).

## General Discussion

We developed the GRMSAAW to assess the subtle and everyday verbal, behavioral, and environmental expressions of gendered racial microaggressions experienced by AAW in the United States. We used best practices in scale development (DeVellis, 2016), such as multistage item development process (literature review, focus group, and expert review) and factor analytic tests, to identify and validate the psychometric properties of GRMSAAW. In

conceptualizing our measure, we identified seven themes in our development process, from which four robust factors emerged to represent the nuanced multidimensionality of gendered racial microaggressions directed toward AAW: Ascribed Submissiveness (nine items), Asian Fetishism (four items), Assumption of Universal Appearance (four items), and Media Invalidation (five items). Each of these domains contextualized the unique invalidations that deny, demean, and silence AAW's self-concept, self-presentation, and self-image. Factor determinacies and internal consistency estimates were adequate. The four factors correlated with each other at moderate to high magnitudes. Using the bifactor model (general factor and four group factors), initial construct validity of the GRMSAAW was supported by associations with sexism, racial microaggressions, depression, and internalized racism scores in the expected direction and magnitude.

Our validity examinations of the GRMSAAW reiterates the clinical and research utility of using an intersectional measure to capture nuanced experiences of oppression that were not adequately assessed by general racism or sexism measures, or by addition of both aspects. The GRMSAAW general factor for both frequency and stress appraisal was positively correlated with sexist events and racial microaggressions with mostly medium effect sizes, suggesting that gendered racial microaggressions are related, yet conceptually distinct from experiences of sexism or racism. Interestingly, we found a correlation of large effect between scores of GRMSAAW and the LA/UC racial microaggressions subscale, which adds to a more precise understanding of AAW's experiences of oppression. For example, Torres-Harding and colleagues (2012) found that women of color reported higher levels of LA/UC as compared to men of color but Asian Americans endorsed lower levels of LA/UC than African Americans and Latinx Americans in the same study. Such discrepancy would lead to conflicting and thus questionable interpretations if we rely on findings that only focus on race (i.e., lower levels than other racial minority groups) or gender (i.e., higher than men) alone. In actuality, the large correlation between GRMSAAW and LA/UC in our study suggests that the gendered racial microaggressions AAW face is closely associated with assumptions of incompetence and messages about Asian ethnic culture as dysfunctional and undesirable, an aspect that may be salient to the lived experiences of AAW. AAW's unique microaggression experiences at the intersections of gender and race may reflect the complex interplay of stereotypes such as the ascribed submissiveness and the model minority myth.

Regarding the GRMSAAW as an intersectional measure, we demonstrated initial incremental evidence as the frequency general factor accounted for additional unique variance in depressive symptoms above and beyond perceived racial microaggressions and sexist events. Gendered racial microaggressions appear to be a unique risk factor regarding AAW's depression. Interestingly, the stress appraisal general factor was not significant. The differential relationships of stress appraisal and frequency with depressive symptoms have been documented in the literature, and thus likely reflect methodology, rather than a population-specific effect. Racism and racial microaggression measures that assess frequency of such experiences tend to find significant relationships with psychological symptoms and stress (e.g., Lewis & Neville, 2015; Yoo et al., 2010), whereas

racism measures that assess stress appraisal inconsistently establish such a relationship (e.g., Lewis & Neville, 2015; Liang et al., 2004). One possible explanation is that discrimination-related stress and general psychological distress differ in the levels of specificity (Liang et al., 2004).

Our results also contribute unique evidence regarding the role of internalized racism. The small, nonsignificant relationship between internalized racism and the GRMSAAW frequency general factor, and the small, significant negative relationship between internalized racism and the GRMSAAW stress appraisal general factor suggests that AAW's exposure to gendered racial microaggressions may be unrelated to their level of internalized racism. Specifically, it is possible that AAW with higher levels of internalized racism are more likely to attribute these events as nondiscriminatory, or are more likely to accept when such experiences occur, which results in negative physiological reactions, poorer self- and collective-concept, and psychological distress (Pyke & Dang, 2003). It should be noted that our interpretation of the relationship between internalized racism and GRMSAAW is largely theoretical given the scant empirical advancement in this area for Asian Americans (Choi et al., 2017).

Regarding applied measurement utility, examination of the bifactor model suggested that a unidimensional representation (total scale score) of GRMSAAW is possible. OmegaH, OmegaHS, PUC, and ECV values indicated that the general factor is the source of most of the reliable variance in the measure for the total score. Based on these results, researchers can use the GRMSAAW by calculating the mean total raw score across all items. Regarding subscale utility, only the Ascribed Submissiveness (AS) factor showed substantial reliable subscale variance ( $\omega_{\text{AS}} > .50$ ; Reise et al., 2013) and appeared to be the most differentiated as indicated by its significant associations with perceived sexism, racial microaggressions, and depressive symptoms beyond the general factor. The results tentatively support the use of the mean raw score for the AS subscale. The remaining three group factors were not significantly differentiated in our validity examinations and did not account for meaningful reliable variance beyond the general factor; hence, the use of these factors as subscales would need to be examined further in future studies. Still, researchers can model the GRMSAAW using SEM to test all of the four group factors for its unique significant links to an outcome variable beyond the general factor at the latent level. The bifactor can be specified by modeling the general factor and all of the group factors independent to each other (i.e., uncorrelated to each other) and then used to examine the relationships with other latent variables simultaneously. Using latent variables in SEM accounts for measurement error and would allow for modeling of multiple indicators of the same construct while minimizing multicollinearity issues. If SEM is not feasible, ipsatization of raw scores can be used; researchers should subtract the mean total score from each of the subscale scores so that the overall mean elevation due to the general factor variance is parceled out for closer estimation of the true subscale variances (Tracey, 2012).

## Limitations

Despite the unique contributions of our findings, there are several noteworthy limitations. First, the literature on general stereotypes and assumptions of AAW were largely based on East

Asians and hence, the GRMSAAW may be limited in specificity across interethnic differences. For example, items for the assumptions of universal appearance domain likely reflect the body image experiences of East Asian women that may be distinct from other understudied Asian ethnic groups, such as South Asian women (Poolokasingham, Spanierman, Kleiman, & Houshmand, 2014). Similarly, we had a large proportion of East Asian women (particularly Chinese women [28.8%]) in our sample, which may limit the generalizability of our findings to other ethnic subgroups. Second, although our focus group data illuminated a nuanced array of gendered racial microaggression experiences, participants were mostly younger college women. Thus, we are limited in what we can say about the experiences of older AAW. Third, the majority of our participants were second generation and beyond and thus little is known about potential generational differences in how gendered racial microaggressions are perceived. Generational status and acculturation appear to dictate the level of racism Asian Americans perceive, such that later generations and those more deeply immersed in the U.S. culture may be more likely to identify and report racism (Hwang & Goto, 2009). Fourth, about 20% of our participants identified as sexual minority. Sexual minority AAW may experience additional layer of oppression due to their sexual orientation (Balsam et al., 2011) and this was not captured in our study. Given that we centralized some intersections and omitted others in the design of our scale (Moradi & Grzanka, 2017), it is difficult to completely capture all of the individual's identities that make their interlocking experiences unique and meaningful. Thus, it would be important to assess the potential within group differences based on pertinent demographic indicators (ethnicity, sexual orientation, social class, age, etc.) in future studies. Fifth, our study may have attracted participants who strongly identified with experiences of oppression pertaining to their identity as an AAW, which may have introduced self-selection bias. Last, the current results lack evidence of test-retest reliability.

## Implications for Research and Practice

It is essential that researchers continue to investigate the impact of gendered racial microaggressions on AAW's mental health issues. For instance, GRMSAAW scores predicted unique variance in depressive symptoms that were unaccounted by racism or sexism measures. Given that depressive symptoms are proxy to suicidal ideation and behaviors (Chung, 2004; Noh, 2007), researchers can investigate how gendered racial microaggressions may contribute to suicidal risk. In doing so, researchers can continue building the psychometric properties of the GRMSAAW as an intersectional measure (Else-Quest & Hyde, 2016). Although the conceptualization and content domains of the GRMSAAW represent intersectional events, it is not possible to gauge the degree to which these events reflect absolute intersectionality. It is possible that the GRMSAAW may be measuring nuanced forms of racism or sexism that are more salient to AAW. Researchers should also examine the unique longitudinal effects of GRMSAAW on physical, psychological, and behavioral outcomes, given previous findings on the negative lagged chronic effects of racial microaggressions on Asian Americans (Ong et al., 2013). Additionally, future studies need to examine the evasive role of internalized racism on awareness and acknowledgment of discrimination, especially

when these events are subtle and common, with seemingly innocuous implications. Last, future studies should confirm the validity and measurement invariance of the GRMSAAW across various Asian ethnic groups and generational status.

Moradi and Grzanka (2017) recommended that studies that are *about* social justice work be distinguished from transformative studies that *do* social justice work. Indeed, an important goal of intersectional analyses is to not only examine multiple social categories but also to critique interlocking forms of privilege and power to promote social change. Consistent with previous scholars (Lewis & Grzanka, 2016; Shin et al., 2017), our development of the GRMSAAW represents *strong intersectionality* as it considers the role of multiple social identities and interlocking forms of oppression (e.g., racism, sexism) that create distinct and harmful outcomes for AAW. While the GRMSAAW does not fully embrace the transformative aspects of intersectionality research, we have illuminated the unique mental health deficits for AAW at the intersections of gender and race and have critiqued the historical roots of systemic racism and sexism that have oppressed and reduced AAW to submissive, sexual accessories in Western culture. Moreover, we believe that the GRMSAAW can have transformative clinical implications. Practitioners should develop awareness and consider the impact of gendered racial microaggressions across multiple life domains (e.g., career, relationship) and the detriments on AAW's self-image and mental health. Rather than using general racism or sexism frameworks, clinicians can use the GRMSAAW in their work with AAW clients to broach discussions of power and privilege and conceptualize presenting problems within a culturally relevant framework. The four-factor representation could also be used to develop domain-specific coping strategies or interventions to mitigate the mental health risks. For instance, clinicians could explore the benefits of promoting body appreciation, individuality, and critical consciousness for AAW to combat invalidating messages of restrictive and universal appearance assumptions perpetrated by others. Furthermore, clinicians can assist AAW in developing specific coping strategies when faced with expectations of submissiveness in their workplace or school that affect their career. Finally, the GRMSAAW can serve as important knowledge for professionals to broaden their cultural sensitivity and humility with AAW clients. Clinicians should be cautious about unknowingly enacting gendered racial microaggressions in their work with AAW.

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