

# ASIAN AMERICAN WOMEN AND RACIALIZED FEMININITIES “Doing” Gender across Cultural Worlds

KAREN D. PYKE

University of California, Riverside

DENISE L. JOHNSON

University of Washington, Seattle

*Integrating race and gender in a social constructionist framework, the authors examine the way that second-generation Asian American young women describe doing gender across ethnic and mainstream settings, as well as their assumptions about the nature of Asian and white femininities. This analysis of interviews with 100 daughters of Korean and Vietnamese immigrants finds that respondents narratively construct Asian and Asian American cultural worlds as quintessentially and uniformly patriarchal and fully resistant to change. In contradistinction, mainstream white America is constructed as the prototype of gender equality. Hence, Asian American and white American women serve in these accounts as uniform categorical representations of the opposing forces of female oppression and egalitarianism. The authors consider how the relational construction of hegemonic and subordinated femininities, as revealed through controlling images that denigrate Asian forms of gender, contribute to internalized oppression and shape the doing of ethnicity.*

**Keywords:** gender; race; Asian Americans; femininities; ethnicity

The study of gender in recent years has been largely guided by two orienting approaches: (1) a social constructionist emphasis on the day-to-day production or doing of gender (Coltrane 1989; West and Zimmerman 1987), and (2) attention to the interlocking systems of race, class, and gender (Espiritu 1997; Hill Collins 2000). Despite the prominence of these approaches, little empirical work has been done that integrates the doing of gender with the study of race. A contributing factor is the more expansive incorporation of social constructionism in the study of gender than in race scholarship where biological markers are still given importance despite widespread acknowledgment that racial oppression is rooted in social arrangements and not biology (Glenn 1999). In addition, attempts to theoretically integrate

---

AUTHORS' NOTE: *We are grateful to Frank Bagrash, Ruth Chao, Scott Coltrane, Masako Ishii-Kuntz, Ellen Reese, and the reviewers for their comments. This research was supported by a National Science Foundation grant (number SBR-9810725) awarded to the first author.*

REPRINT REQUESTS: *Karen Pyke, Department of Sociology, University of California, Riverside, CA 92521-0419; e-mail: karen.pyke@ucr.edu.*

GENDER & SOCIETY, Vol. 17 No. 1, February 2003 33-53

DOI: 10.1177/0891243202238977

© 2003 Sociologists for Women in Society

the doing of gender, race, and class around the concept of "doing difference" (West and Fenstermaker 1995) tended to downplay historical macro-structures of power and domination and to privilege gender over race and class (Hill Collins et al. 1995). Work is still needed that integrates systems of oppression in a social constructionist framework without granting primacy to any one form of inequality or ignoring larger structures of domination.

The integration of gender and race within a social constructionist approach directs attention to issues that have been overlooked. Little research has examined how racially and ethnically subordinated women, especially Asian American women, mediate cross-pressures in the production of femininity as they move between mainstream and ethnic arenas, such as family, work, and school, and whether distinct and even contradictory gender displays and strategies are enacted across different arenas. Many, if not most, individuals move in social worlds that do not require dramatic inversions of their gender performances, thereby enabling them to maintain stable and seemingly unified gender strategies. However, members of communities that are racially and ethnically marginalized and who regularly traverse interactional arenas with conflicting gender expectations might engage different gender performances depending on the local context in which they are interacting. Examining the ways that such individuals mediate conflicting expectations would address several unanswered questions. Do marginalized women shift their gender performances across mainstream and subcultural settings in response to different gender norms? If so, how do they experience and negotiate such transitions? What meaning do they assign to the different forms of femininities that they engage across settings? Do racially subordinated women experience their production of femininity as inferior to those forms engaged by privileged white women and glorified in the dominant culture?

We address these issues by examining how second-generation Asian American women experience and think about the shifting dynamics involved in the doing of femininity in Asian ethnic and mainstream cultural worlds. We look specifically at their assumptions about gender dynamics in the Euro-centric mainstream and Asian ethnic social settings, the way they think about their gendered selves, and their strategies in doing gender. Our analysis draws on and elaborates the theoretical literature concerning the construction of femininities across race, paying particular attention to how controlling images and ideologies shape the subjective experiences of women of color. This is the first study to our knowledge that examines how intersecting racial and gender hierarchies affect the everyday construction of gender among Asian American women.

### CONSTRUCTING FEMININITIES

Current theorizing emphasizes gender as a socially constructed phenomenon rather than an innate and stable attribute (Lorber 1994; Lucal 1999; West and Zimmerman 1987). Informed by symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology,

gender is regarded as something people do in social interaction. Gender is manufactured out of the fabric of culture and social structure and has little, if any, causal relationship to biology (Kessler and McKenna 1978; Lorber 1994). Gender displays are “culturally established sets of behaviors, appearances, mannerisms, and other cues that we have learned to associate with members of a particular gender” (Lucal 1999, 784). These displays “cast particular pursuits as expressions of masculine and feminine ‘natures’” (West and Zimmerman 1987, 126). The doing of gender involves its display as a seemingly innate component of an individual.

The social construction of gender provides a theoretical backdrop for notions of multiple masculinities put forth in the masculinities literature (Coltrane 1994; Connell 1987, 1995; Pyke 1996). We draw on this notion in conceptualizing a plurality of femininities in the social production of women. According to this work, gender is not a unitary process. Rather, it is splintered by overlapping layers of inequality into multiple forms of masculinities (and femininities) that are both internally and externally relational and hierarchical. The concepts of hegemonic and subordinated masculinities are a major contribution of this literature. Hegemonic (also known as ascendant) masculinity is organized around the symbolic equation of masculinity and power. It is an ideal type that is glorified and associated with white men at the highest levels of society, although few actually possess the associated traits. Scholars have focused on how hegemonic masculinity legitimates men’s domination of women as well as intramale hierarchies (Chen 1999; Connell 1987; Kendall 2000; Pyke 1996).

The concept of femininities has served mostly as a placeholder in the theory of masculinities where it remains undertheorized and unexamined. Connell (1987, 1995) has written extensively about hegemonic masculinity but offers only a fleeting discussion of the role of femininities. He suggested that the traits of femininity in a patriarchal society are tremendously diverse, with no one form emerging as hegemonic. Hegemonic masculinity is centered on men’s global domination of women, and because there is no configuration of femininity organized around women’s domination of men, Connell (1987, 183) suggested the notion of a hegemonic femininity is inappropriate. He further argued that women have few opportunities for institutionalized power relations over other women. However, this discounts how other axes of domination, such as race, class, sexuality, and age, mold a hegemonic femininity that is venerated and extolled in the dominant culture, and that emphasizes the superiority of some women over others, thereby privileging white upper-class women. To conceptualize forms of femininities that are subordinated as “problematic” and “abnormal,” it is necessary to refer to an oppositional category of femininity that is dominant, ascendant, and “normal” (Glenn 1999, 10). We use the notion of hegemonic and subordinated femininities in framing our analysis.

Ideas of hegemonic and subordinated femininities resonate in the work of feminist scholars of color who emphasize the multiplicity of women’s experiences. Much of this research has focused on racial and class variations in the material and (re)productive conditions of women’s lives. More recently, scholarship that draws

on cultural studies, race and ethnic studies, and women's studies centers the cultural as well as material processes by which gender and race are constructed, although this work has been mostly theoretical (Espiritu 1997; Hill Collins 2000; St. Jean and Feagin 1998). Hill Collins (2000) discussed "controlling images" that denigrate and objectify women of color and justify their racial and gender subordination. Controlling images are part of the process of "othering," whereby a dominant group defines into existence a subordinate group through the creation of categories and ideas that mark the group as inferior (Schwalbe et al. 2000, 422). Controlling images reaffirm whiteness as normal and privilege white women by casting them as superior.

White society uses the image of the Black matriarch to objectify Black women as overly aggressive, domineering, and unfeminine. This imagery serves to blame Black women for the emasculation of Black men, low marriage rates, and poverty and to control their social behavior by undermining their assertiveness (Hill Collins 2000). While Black women are masculinized as aggressive and overpowering, Asian women are rendered hyperfeminine: passive, weak, quiet, excessively submissive, slavishly dutiful, sexually exotic, and available for white men (Espiritu 1997; Tajima 1989). This Lotus Blossom imagery obscures the internal variation of Asian American femininity and sexuality, making it difficult, for example, for others to "see" Asian lesbians and bisexuals (Lee 1996). Controlling images of Asian women also make them especially vulnerable to mistreatment from men who view them as easy targets. By casting Black women as not feminine enough and Asian women as too feminine, white forms of gender are racialized as normal and superior. In this way, white women are accorded racial privilege.

The dominant culture's dissemination of controlling imagery that derogates nonwhite forms of femininity (and masculinity) is part of a complex ideological system of "psychosocial dominance" (Baker 1983, 37) that imposes elite definitions of subordinates, denying them the power of self-identification. In this way, subordinates internalize "commonsense" notions of their inferiority to whites (Espiritu 1997; Hill Collins 2000). Once internalized, controlling images provide the template by which subordinates make meaning of their everyday lives (Pyke 2000), develop a sense of self, form racial and gender identities, and organize social relations (Osajima 1993; Pyke and Dang in press). For example, Chen (1998) found that Asian American women who joined predominately white sororities often did so to distance themselves from images of Asian femininity. In contrast, those who joined Asian sororities were often surprised to find their ideas of Asian women as passive and childlike challenged by the assertive, independent women they met. By internalizing the racial and gendered myth making that circumscribes their social existence, subordinates do not pose a threat to the dominant order. As Audre Lorde (1984, 123) described, "the true focus of revolutionary change is never merely the oppressive situations which we seek to escape, but that piece of the oppressor which is planted deep within us."

Hegemonies are rarely without sites of resistance (Espiritu 2001; Gramsci 1971; Hill Collins 2000). Espiritu (1997) described Asian American writers and

filmmakers whose portraits of Asians defy the gender caricatures disseminated in the white-dominated society. However, such images are often forged around the contours of the one-dimensional stereotypes against which the struggle emerges. Thus, controlling images penetrate all aspects of the experience of subordinates, whether in a relationship of compliance or in one of resistance (Osajima 1993; Pyke and Dang in press).

The work concerning the effects of controlling images and the relational construction of subordinated and hegemonic femininities has mostly been theoretical. The little research that has examined how Asian American women do gender in the context of racialized images and ideologies that construct their gender as “naturally” inferior to white femininity provides only a brief look at these issues (Chen 1998; Lee 1996). Many of the Asian American women whom we study here do not construct their gender in one cultural field but are constantly moving between sites that are guided by ethnic immigrant cultural norms and those of the Euro-centric mainstream. A comparison of how gender is enacted and understood across such sites brings the construction of racialized gender and the dynamics of hegemonic and subordinated femininities into bold relief. We examine how respondents employ cultural symbols, controlling images, and gender and racial ideologies in giving meanings to their experiences.

### **GENDER IN ETHNIC AND MAINSTREAM CULTURAL WORLDS**

We study Korean and Vietnamese Americans, who form two of the largest Asian ethnic groups in southern California, the site of this research. We focus on the daughters of immigrants as they are more involved in both ethnic and mainstream cultures than are members of the first generation. Koreans and Vietnamese did not immigrate to the United States in substantial numbers prior to 1965 and 1975, respectively (Zhou 1999). Fully 80 percent of Korean Americans (Chang 1999) and 82 percent of Vietnamese Americans are foreign born (Zhou and Bankston 1998). The second generation, who are still mostly children and young adults, must juggle the cross-pressures of ethnic and mainstream cultures without the groundwork that a long-standing ethnic enclave might provide. This is not easy. Disparities between ethnic and mainstream worlds can generate substantial conflict for children of immigrants, including conflict around issues of gender (Kibria 1993; Zhou and Bankston 1998).

Respondents dichotomized the interactional settings they occupy as ethnic, involving their immigrant family and other coethnics, and mainstream, involving non-Asian Americans in peer groups and at work and school. They grew up juggling different cultural expectations as they moved from home to school and often felt a pressure to behave differently when among Asian Americans and non-Asian Americans. Although there is no set of monolithic, stable norms in either setting, there are certain pressures, expectations, and structural arrangements that can affect

different gender displays (Lee 1996). Definitions of gender and the constraints that patriarchy imposes on women's gender production can vary from culture to culture. The Confucian moral code, which accords male superiority, authority, and power over women in family and social relations, has influenced the patriarchal systems of Korea and Vietnam (Kibria 1993; Min 1998). Women are granted little decision-making power and are not accorded an individual identity apart from their family role, which emphasizes their service to male members. A woman who violates her role brings shame to herself and her family. Despite Western observers' tendency to regard Asian families as uniformly and rigidly patriarchal, variations exist (Ishii-Kuntz 2000). Women's resistance strategies, like the exchange of information in informal social groups, provide pockets of power (Kibria 1990). Women's growing educational and economic opportunities and the rise of women's rights groups in Korea and Vietnam challenge gender inequality (Palley 1994). Thus, actual gender dynamics are not in strict compliance with the prescribed moral code.

As they immigrate to the United States, Koreans and Vietnamese experience a shift in gender arrangements centering on men's loss of economic power and increased dependency on their wives' wages (Kibria 1993; Lim 1997; Min 1998). Immigrant women find their labor in demand by employers who regard them as a cheap labor source. With their employment, immigrant women experience more decision-making power, autonomy, and assistance with domestic chores from their husbands. However, such shifts are not total, and male dominance remains a common feature of family life (Kibria 1993; Min 1998). Furthermore, immigrant women tend to stay committed to the ethnic patriarchal structure as it provides resources for maintaining their parental authority and resisting the economic insecurities, racism, and cultural impositions of the new society (Kibria 1990, 1993; Lim 1997). The gender hierarchy is evident in parenting practices. Daughters are typically required to be home and performing household chores when not in school, while sons are given greater freedom.

Native-born American women, on the other hand, are perceived as having more equality, power, and independence than women in Asian societies, reflecting differences in gender attitudes. A recent study of Korean and American women found that 82 percent of Korean women agreed that "women should have only a family-oriented life, devoted to bringing up the children and looking after the husband," compared to 19 percent of U.S. women (Kim 1994). However, the fit between egalitarian gender attitudes and actual behavior in the United States is rather poor. Patriarchal arrangements that accord higher status to men at home and work are still the norm, with women experiencing lower job status and pay, greater responsibility for family work even when employed, and high rates of male violence. Indeed, the belief that gender equality is the norm in U.S. society obscures the day-to-day materiality of American patriarchy. Despite cultural differences in the ideological justification of patriarchy, gender inequality is the reality in both Asian and mainstream cultural worlds.

## METHOD

Our sample ( $N = 100$ ) consists of 48 daughters of Korean immigrants and 52 daughters of Vietnamese immigrants. Respondents ranged in age from 18 to 34 and averaged 22 years of age. Respondents either were U.S. born ( $n = 25$ ) or immigrated prior to the age of 16 ( $n = 74$ ), with 1 respondent having arrived at 18. Both parents of respondents were born in Korea or Vietnam. The data consist of 81 individual interviews and seven group interviews with 26 women—7 of whom were also individually interviewed. Data were collected in California between 1996 and 1999 using a convenience sample located through interviewers' networks and announcements posted at a university campus. We tried to diversify the sample by recruiting community college students and those who had terminated their education prior to receiving a college degree. College graduates or currently enrolled university and community college students compose 81 percent of the sample, and 19 percent are college dropouts or women who never attended college.

The data are part of a larger study of adaptation among second-generation Korean and Vietnamese Americans. These two groups were selected for study to enable a comparison of how their ethnic and socioeconomic distinctions affect different adaptation pathways. Vietnamese arrived as poorer, less-educated refugees than Koreans, who voluntarily immigrated. Among first-generation heads of households, only 19 percent of Vietnamese hold a college degree compared to 45 percent of Koreans (Oropesa and Landale 1995). However, analyses of these data have not produced the expected ethnic or class distinctions (Pyke 2000; Pyke and Dang in press). As the sample is mostly college educated, our data may not capture the economic distinctions of these two groups. Kibria (1997) found that the experience of growing up American in Asian immigrant families is similar, causing the rise of a panethnic Asian American identity. The young age of our sample can also explain the absence of class differences. Class distinctions might become more prominent when respondents move away from home, settle into careers, and marry. Furthermore, our respondents draw on larger societal definitions and ideologies that favor whiteness in giving meaning to their own experiences, which can obscure ethnic and class distinctions in their narratives.

As this is an interpretive study that emphasizes the meanings and understandings of respondents, we used a grounded theory method (Glaser and Strauss 1967). This approach assumes that researchers should not define the areas of research interest and theoretical importance prior to data collection but rather should follow the issues and themes that respondents suggest are important, allowing theoretical explanation to emerge from the data. The emphasis is on the understandings of those being studied rather than the a priori assumptions of researchers. Data analysis involves a constant comparison of respondents' accounts so as to identify deep-seated themes. Questions are constantly adjusted to pursue emergent topics and issues. Hence, respondents are not asked standardized questions as occurs with quantitative research.



By employing this method, the theme concerning differential gender experiences in mainstream and ethnic interactional settings emerged from the data. During the initial stage of data collection, we asked 47 women and 26 men questions related to ethnic identity as well as about their experiences growing up in an immigrant family, relations with parents, reactions to parents' discipline, and desires for change within their families (Pyke 2000). Gender loomed large in the accounts of female respondents, who commonly complained about parents' gender attitudes, especially the stricter rules for girls than for boys. We noted that women tended to denigrate Asian ethnic realms and glorify mainstream arenas. They did so in ways both subtle and overt and typically focused on gender behavior, although not always. Some respondents described different behavior and treatment in settings with coethnics compared to those dominated by whites and other non-Asian Americans. We began asking about gender in ethnic and mainstream settings in later interviews. In addition to earlier questions about family dynamics and ethnic identity, we asked if respondents ever alter their behavior around people of different ethnicities, whether people of different ethnicities treat them differently, and if being American and Vietnamese or Korean were ever in opposition. When necessary to prompt a discussion of gender, we also asked respondents to describe any time someone had certain stereotypical expectations of them, although their responses often focused on gender-neutral racial stereotypes of Asians as good at math, bad drivers, or unable to speak English. A few were asked if others ever expected them to be passive or quiet, which several women had described as a common expectation they encountered. When respondents failed to provide examples of gender behavior, the topic was usually dropped and the interview moved to other areas of study not part of this analysis. We interviewed an additional 53 women for a total sample of 100. Trained assistants, most of whom are daughters of Asian immigrants, and the first author collected the data. Tape-recorded interviews and videotaped group interviews lasted from one to three hours.

The transcribed interviews were read closely, and recurring themes concerning gender dynamics and beliefs as well as changes in behavior across cultural settings were extracted for analysis. The sorted data were analyzed for underlying meanings and reread in the context of our emerging findings to ensure their validity (Glaser and Strauss 1967). The analysis focused on two themes. The first concerned racialized beliefs about gender, which came in a variety of forms and recurred throughout the interviews. We use these data to describe the ways that respondents think about Asian and "American" (meaning white) femininity. The second theme concerns changes in gender behavior or treatment in ethnic and mainstream settings, with 44 of the 100 respondents (20 Korean Americans and 24 Vietnamese Americans) having provided clear examples. That 56 respondents did not provide data about changes in gender behavior across settings cannot be interpreted to mean that they do not have such experiences, particularly as the production of gender is not something about which one is usually highly aware. Some of these individuals were among the 47 women interviewed before questions about gender in different



settings were posed, or they provided gender-neutral examples that were not useful to our analysis. Some claimed that they had too few encounters with coethnics or non-Asians to make comparisons. Others reported that they were not aware of being treated differently or changing their behavior across settings. There were also a few respondents who acknowledged that they change their behavior yet found it difficult to provide specific examples, which is not surprising given the nonconscious manner in which gender is generally produced. That nearly half of the sample provided descriptions of gender switching across settings indicates it is prominent enough to warrant our investigation. However, we cannot ascertain from our convenience sample how prominent this issue is for Asian American women in general, which is beyond the aim of our study. Our purpose is to describe these emergent themes and what they suggest about how racialized notions of gender are embedded in the construction of identity for second-generation Asian American women.

We present the emergent gender themes in three sections. The first focuses on the data from respondents who reported altering their behavior or being treated differently across cultural settings (including those who volunteered such information as well as those who provided examples in response to questions about cultural switching). We find a tendency to construct these worlds as monolithic opposites, with the mainstream regarded as a site of gender equity and ethnic arenas as gender oppressive. In the next section, we present data that contradict notions of ethnic and mainstream realms as uniformly distinct. Ethnic realms are not always sites of male dominance, and mainstream settings often are. We suggest that because gender is seen through a racialized lens, respondents often fail to recognize this diversity. In the final section, we draw on data from the entire sample to examine how the gendered behavior of Asian and non-Asian American women is narratively constructed as essentially and racially distinct, with white femininity regarded as superior. In presenting the data, we provide the respondent's age and ethnicity, using the abbreviations VA for Vietnamese American and KA for Korean American. Respondents used the term "American" to refer to non-Asian Americans, particularly whites. The use of "American" as a code for "white" is a common practice (Espiritu 2001; Pyke and Dang in press). This usage reflects the racialized bias of the dominant society, which constructs Asian Americans as perpetual foreigners and whites as the only true Americans. We stay close to this language so as to underscore our respondents' racialized assumptions.

**GENDER ACROSS CULTURAL  
TERRAINS: "I'M LIKE A CHAMELEON.  
I CHANGE MY PERSONALITY"**

The 44 respondents who were aware of modifying their gender displays or being treated differently across cultural settings framed their accounts in terms of an

oppressive ethnic world and an egalitarian mainstream. They reaffirmed the ideological constructions of the white-dominated society by casting ethnic and mainstream worlds as monolithic opposites, with internal variations largely ignored. Controlling images that denigrate Asian femininity and glorify white femininity were reiterated in many of the narratives. Women's behavior in ethnic realms was described as submissive and controlled, and that in white-dominated settings as freer and more self-expressive.

Some respondents suggested they made complete personality reversals as they moved across realms. They used the behavior of the mainstream as the standard by which they judged their behavior in ethnic settings. As Elizabeth (19, VA) said,

I feel like when I'm amongst other Asians . . . I'm much more reserved and I hold back what I think. . . . But when I'm among other people like at school, I'm much more outspoken. I'll say whatever's on my mind. It's like a diametric character altogether. . . . I feel like when I'm with other Asians that I'm the *typical* passive [Asian] person and I feel like that's what's expected of me and if I do say something and if I'm the *normal* person that I am, I'd stick out like a sore thumb. So I just blend in with the situation. (emphasis added)

Elizabeth juxtaposes the "typical passive [Asian] person" and the "normal," outspoken person of the mainstream culture, whom she claims to be. In so doing, she reaffirms the stereotypical image of Asians as passive while glorifying Americanized behavior, such as verbal expressiveness, as "normal." This implies that Asian ethnic behavior is aberrant and inferior compared to white behavior, which is rendered normal. This juxtaposition was a recurring theme in these data (Pyke 2000). It contributed to respondents' attempts to distance themselves from racialized notions of the typical Asian woman who is hyperfeminine and submissive by claiming to possess those traits associated with white femininity, such as assertiveness, self-possession, confidence, and independence. Respondents often described a pressure to blend in and conform with the form of gender that they felt was expected in ethnic settings and that conflicted with the white standard of femininity. Thus, they often described such behavior with disgust and self-loathing. For example, Min-Jung (24, KA) said she feels "like an idiot" when talking with Korean adults:

With Korean adults, I act more shy and more timid. I don't talk until spoken to and just act shy. I kind of speak in a higher tone of voice than I usually do. But then when I'm with white people and white adults, I joke around, I laugh, I talk, and I communicate about how I feel. And then my voice gets stronger. But then when I'm with Korean adults, my voice gets really high. . . . I just sound like an idiot and sometimes when I catch myself I'm like, "Why can't you just make conversation like you normally do?"

Many respondents distanced themselves from the compliant femininity associated with their Asianness by casting their behavior in ethnic realms as a mere act not reflective of their true nature. Repeatedly, they said they cannot be who they really are in ethnic settings and the enactment of an authentic self takes place only in mainstream settings. Teresa (23, KA) provides an example. She said,

I feel like I can be myself when I'm around white people or mixed people. The Korean role is forced on me; it doesn't feel natural. I always feel like I have to put on this act so that I can be accepted by Korean people. I think whites are more accepting of other people. Maybe that's why I feel more comfortable with them.

Similarly, Wilma (21, VA) states, "Like some Asian guys expect me to be passive and let them decide on everything. Non-Asians don't expect anything from me. They just expect me *to be me*" (emphasis added). Gendered behavior engaged in Asian ethnic settings was largely described as performative, fake, and unnatural, while that in white-dominated settings was cast as a reflection of one's true self. The femininity of the white mainstream is glorified as authentic, natural, and normal, and Asian ethnic femininity is denigrated as coerced, contrived, and artificial. The "white is right" mantra is reiterated in this view of white femininity as the right way of doing gender.

The glorification of white femininity and controlling images of Asian women can lead Asian American women to believe that freedom and equity can be acquired only in the white-dominated world. For not only is white behavior glorified as superior and more authentic, but gender relations among whites are constructed as more egalitarian. Katie (21, KA) explained,

Like when I'm with my family and stuff, I'm treated like my ideas or feelings of things really don't make a difference. I have to be more submissive and quiet. I really can't say how I feel about things with guys if it goes against them in public because that is like disrespectful. With Caucasians, I don't quite feel that way. I feel my opinion counts more, like I have some pull. I think society as a whole—America—still treats me like I'm inferior as a girl but I definitely feel more powerful with other races than I do with my own culture because I think at least with Americans it's like [politically correct] to be equal between men and women.

Controlling images of Asian men as hypermasculine further feed presumptions that whites are more egalitarian. Asian males were often cast as uniformly domineering in these accounts. Racialized images and the construction of hegemonic (white) and subordinated (Asian) forms of gender set up a situation where Asian American women feel they must choose between white worlds of gender equity and Asian worlds of gender oppression. Such images encourage them to reject their ethnic culture and Asian men and embrace the white world and white men so as to enhance their power (Espiritu 1997). This was the basis on which some respondents expressed a preference for interacting with whites. As Ha (19, VA) remarked,

Asians would expect me to be more quiet, shy. . . . But with white friends, I can act like who I am. . . . With Asians, I don't like it at all because they don't take me for who I am. They treat me differently just because I'm a girl. And whites . . . I like the way they treat me because it doesn't matter what you do.

In these accounts, we can see the construction of ethnic and mainstream cultural worlds—and Asians and whites—as diametrically opposed. The perception that

whites are more egalitarian than Asian-origin individuals and thus preferred partners in social interaction further reinforces anti-Asian racism and white superiority. The cultural dominance of whiteness is reaffirmed through the co-construction of race and gender in these narratives. The perception that the production of gender in the mainstream is more authentic and superior to that in Asian ethnic arenas further reinforces the racialized categories of gender that define white forms of femininity as ascendant. In the next section, we describe variations in gender performances within ethnic and mainstream settings that respondents typically overlooked or discounted as atypical.

### GENDER VARIATIONS WITHIN CULTURAL WORLDS

Several respondents described variations in gender dynamics within mainstream and ethnic settings that challenge notions of Asian and American worlds as monolithic opposites. Some talked of mothers who make all the decisions or fathers who do the cooking. These accounts were framed as exceptions to Asian male dominance. For example, after Vietnamese women were described in a group interview as confined to domesticity, Ngâ (22, VA), who immigrated at 14 and spoke in Vietnamese-accented English, defined her family as gender egalitarian. She related,

I guess I grow up in a *different* family. All my sisters doesn't have to cook, her husbands cooking all the time. Even my oldest sister. Even my mom—my dad is cooking. . . . My sisters and brothers are all very strong. (emphasis added)

Ngâ does not try to challenge stereotypical notions of Vietnamese families but rather reinforces such notions by suggesting that her family is different. Similarly, Heidi (21, KA) said, "Our family was kind of *different* because . . . my dad cooks and cleans and does dishes. He cleans house" (emphasis added). Respondents often framed accounts of gender egalitarianism in their families by stating they do not belong to the typical Asian family, with "typical" understood to mean male dominated. This variation in gender dynamics within the ethnic community was largely unconsidered in these accounts.

Other respondents described how they enacted widely disparate forms of gender across sites within ethnic realms, suggesting that gender behavior is more variable than generally framed. Take, for example, the case of Gin (29, KA), a law student married to a Korean American from a more traditional family than her own. When she is with her husband's kin, Gin assumes the traditional obligations of a daughter-in-law and does all the cooking, cleaning, and serving. The role exhausts her and she resents having to perform it. When Gin and her husband return home, the gender hierarchy is reversed. She said,

When I come home, I take it all out on him. “Your parents are so traditional, look what they are putting me through . . . ?” That’s when I say, “You vacuum. [Laughing] You deserve it.” And sometimes when I’m really mean, “Take me out to dinner. I don’t want to cook for a while and clean for a while.” So he tries to accommodate that. . . . Just to be mean I will say I want this, he will buy me something, but I will return it. I want him to do what I want, like I want to be served because I serve when I’m with them. . . . [It’s] kind of like pay back time. It’s [a] strategy, it works.

Gin trades on the subservience and labor she performs among her in-laws to boost her marital power. She trades on her subservience to her in-laws to acquire more power in her marriage than she might otherwise have. Similar dynamics were described by Andrea (23, VA). She remarked,

When I’m with my boyfriend and we’re over at his family’s house or at a church function, I tend to find myself being a little submissive, kind of like yielding or letting him make the decisions. But we know that at home it ain’t gonna happen. . . . I tend to be a strong individual. I don’t like to conform myself to certain rules even though I know sometimes in public I have to conform . . . like being feminine and being submissive. But I know that when I get home, he and I have that understanding that I’m not a submissive person. I speak my own mind and he likes the fact that I’m strong.

Controlling images of Asian men as hyperdomineering in their relations with women obscures how they can be called on to compensate for the subservience exacted from their female partners in some settings. Although respondents typically offered such stories as evidence of the patriarchy of ethnic arenas, these examples reveal that ethnic worlds are far more variable than generally described. Viewing Asian ethnic worlds through a lens of racialized gender stereotypes renders such variation invisible or, when acknowledged, atypical.

Gender expectations in the white-dominated mainstream also varied, with respondents sometimes expected to assume a subservient stance as Asian women. These examples reveal that the mainstream is not a site of unwavering gender equality as often depicted in these accounts and made less so for Asian American women by racial images that construct them as compliant. Many respondents described encounters with non-Asians, usually whites, who expected them to be passive, quiet, and yielding. Several described non-Asian (mostly white) men who brought such expectations to their dating relationships. Indeed, the servile Lotus Blossom image bolsters white men’s preference for Asian women (Espiritu 1997). As Thanh (22, VA) recounted,

Like the white guy that I dated, he expected me to be the submissive one—the one that was dependent on the guy. Kind of like the “Asian persuasion,” that’s what he’d call it when he was dating me. And when he found out that I had a spirit, kind of a wild side to me, he didn’t like it at all. Period. And when I spoke up—my opinions—he got kind of scared.

So racialized images can cause Asian American women to believe they will find greater gender equality with white men and can cause white men to believe they

will find greater subservience with Asian women. This dynamic promotes Asian American women's availability to white men and makes them particularly vulnerable to mistreatment.

There were other sites in the mainstream, besides dating relationships, where Asian American women encountered racialized gender expectations. Several described white employers and coworkers who expected them to be more passive and deferential than other employees and were surprised when they spoke up and resisted unfair treatment. Some described similar assumptions among non-Asian teachers and professors. Diane (26, KA) related,

At first one of my teachers told me it was okay if I didn't want to talk in front of the class. I think she thought I was quiet or shy because I'm Asian. . . . [Laughing.] I am very outspoken, but that semester I just kept my mouth shut. I figured she won't make me talk anyway, so why try. I kind of went along with her.

Diane's example illustrates how racialized expectations can exert a pressure to display stereotyped behavior in mainstream interactions. Such expectations can subtly coerce behavioral displays that confirm the stereotypes, suggesting a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy. Furthermore, as submissiveness and passivity are denigrated traits in the mainstream, and often judged to be indicators of incompetence, compliance with such expectations can deny Asian American women personal opportunities and success. Not only is passivity unrewarded in the mainstream; it is also subordinated. The association of extreme passivity with Asian women serves to emphasize their otherness. Some respondents resist this subordination by enacting a more assertive femininity associated with whiteness. Lisa (18, KA) described being quiet with her relatives out of respect, but in mainstream scenes, she consciously resists the stereotype of Asian women as passive by adjusting her behavior. She explained,

I feel like I have to prove myself to everybody and maybe that's why I'm always vocal. I'm quite aware of that stereotype of Asian women all being taught to be submissive. Maybe I'm always trying to affirm that I'm not like that. Yeah, I'm trying to say that if anything, I don't fit into that image and I don't want that to be labeled on me.

Several respondents were aware that they are presumed to be "typical" Asian women, and thus compliant and quiet, in mainstream settings. They describe extra efforts they enlisted to disprove such assumptions. Katie, who said that she feels like her opinion counts more in mainstream settings, described a pressure from white peers to be more outspoken so as to demonstrate that she is not "really" Asian and is thus worthy of their company. She stated,

When I'm with non-Asians and stuff, I feel as though I need to prove myself like they expect me to prove I'm worthy to be with them, and that even though I look Asian, I really am not. . . . Like I have to act like them—kind of loud, good at partying and stuff,

just more outgoing . . . like if I stand out in a negative way, then I'm not cool to be with or something.

To act Asian by being reserved and quiet would be to “stand out in a negative way” and to be regarded as “not cool.” It means one will be denigrated and cast aside. Katie consciously engages loud and gregarious behavior to prove she is not the typical Asian and to be welcomed by white friends. Whereas many respondents describe their behavior in mainstream settings as an authentic reflection of their personality, these examples suggest otherwise. Racial expectations exert pressure on these women's gender performances among whites. Some go to great lengths to defy racial assumptions and be accepted into white-dominated social groups by engaging a white standard of femininity. As they are forced to work against racial stereotypes, they must exert extra effort at being outspoken and socially gregarious. Contrary to the claim of respondents, gender production in the mainstream is also coerced and contrived. The failure of some respondents to recognize variations in gender behavior within mainstream and ethnic settings probably has much to do with the essentialization of gender and race. That is, as we discuss next, the racialization of gender renders variations in behavior within racial groups invisible.

### THE RACIALIZATION OF GENDER: BELIEVING IS SEEING

In this section, we discuss how respondents differentiate femininity by race rather than shifting situational contexts, even when they were consciously aware of altering their own gender performance to conform with shifting expectations. Racialized gender was discursively constructed as natural and essential. Gender and race were essentialized as interrelated biological facts that determine social behavior.

Among our 100 respondents, there was a tendency to rely on binary categories of American (code for white) and Asian femininity in describing a wide range of topics, including gender identities, personality traits, and orientations toward domesticity or career. Racialized gender categories were deployed as an interpretive template in giving meaning to experiences and organizing a worldview. Internal variation was again ignored, downplayed, or regarded as exceptional. White femininity, which was glorified in accounts of gender behavior across cultural settings, was also accorded superiority in the more general discussions of gender.

Respondents' narratives were structured by assumptions about Asian women as submissive, quiet, and diffident and of American women as independent, self-assured, outspoken, and powerful. That is, specific behaviors and traits were racialized. As Ha (19, VA) explained, “sometimes I'm quiet and passive and shy. That's a Vietnamese part of me.” Similarly, domesticity was linked with Asian femininity and domestic incompetence or disinterest, along with success in the work



world, with American femininity. Several women framed their internal struggles between career and domesticity in racialized terms. Min-Jung said,

I kind of think my Korean side wants to stay home and do the cooking and cleaning and take care of the kids whereas my American side would want to go out and make a difference and become a strong woman and become head of companies and stuff like that.

This racialized dichotomy was central to respondents' self-identities. Amy (21, VA) said, "I'm not Vietnamese in the way I act. I'm American because I'm not a good cook and I'm not totally ladylike." In fact, one's ethnic identity could be challenged if one did not comply with notions of racialized gender. In a group interview, Kimberly (21, VA) described "joking around" with coethnic dates who asked if she cooked by responding that she did not. She explained,

They're like, "You're Vietnamese and you're a girl and you don't know how to cook?" I'm like, "No, why? What's wrong with that?" [Another respondent is laughing.] And they go, "Oh, you're not a Vietnamese girl."

Similarly, coethnic friends tell Hien (21, VA), "You should be able to cook, you are Vietnamese, you are a girl." To be submissive and oriented toward family and domesticity marks Asian ethnicity. Conformity to stereotypes of Asian femininity serves to symbolically construct and affirm an Asian ethnic identity. Herein lies the pressure that some respondents feel to comply with racialized expectations in ethnic settings, as Lisa (18, KA) illustrates in explaining why she would feel uncomfortable speaking up in a class that has a lot of Asians:

I think they would think that I'm not really Asian. Like I'm whitewashed . . . like I'm forgetting my race. I'm going against my roots and adapting to the American way. And I'm just neglecting my race.

American (white) women and Asian American women are constructed as diametric opposites. Although many respondents were aware that they contradicted racialized notions of gender in their day-to-day lives, they nonetheless view gender as an essential component of race. Variation is ignored or recategorized so that an Asian American woman who does not comply is no longer Asian. This was also evident among respondents who regard themselves as egalitarian or engage the behavioral traits associated with white femininity. There was the presumption that one cannot be Asian and have gender-egalitarian attitudes. Asian American women can engage those traits associated with ascendant femininity to enhance their status in the mainstream, but this requires a rejection of their racial/ethnic identity. This is evident by the use of words such as "American," "whitewashed," or "white"—but not Asian—to describe such women. Star (22, KA) explained, "I look Korean but I don't act Korean. I'm whitewashed. [Interviewer asks, 'How do you mean you don't act Korean?'] I'm loud. I'm not quiet and reserved."

As a result, struggles about gender identity and women's work/family trajectories become superimposed over racial/ethnic identity. The question is not simply whether Asian American women like Min-Jung want to be outspoken and career oriented or quiet and family oriented but whether they want to be American (white-washed) or Asian. Those who do not conform to racialized expectations risk challenges to their racial identity and charges that they are not really Asian, as occurs with Lisa when she interacts with her non-Asian peers. She said,

They think I'm really different from other Asian girls because I'm so outgoing. They feel that Asian girls have to be the shy type who is very passive and sometimes I'm not like that so they think, "Lisa, are you Asian?"

These data illustrate how the line drawn in the struggle for gender equality is superimposed over the cultural and racial boundaries dividing whites and Asians. At play is the presumption that the only path to gender equality and assertive womanhood is via assimilation to the white mainstream. This assumption was shared by Asian American research assistants who referred to respondents' gender egalitarian viewpoints as evidence of assimilation. The assumption is that Asian American women can be advocates of gender equality or strong and assertive in their interactions only as a result of assimilation, evident by the display of traits associated with hegemonic femininity, and a rejection of their ethnic culture and identity. This construction obscures gender inequality in mainstream U.S. society and constructs that sphere as the only place where Asian American women can be free. Hence, the diversity of gender arrangements practiced among those of Asian origin, as well as the potential for social change within Asian cultures, is ignored. Indeed, there were no references in these accounts to the rise in recent years of women's movements in Korea and Vietnam. Rather, Asian ethnic worlds are regarded as unchanging sites of male dominance and female submissiveness.

## DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY

Our analysis reveals dynamics of internalized oppression and the reproduction of inequality that revolve around the relational construction of hegemonic and subordinated femininities. Respondents' descriptions of gender performances in ethnic settings were marked by self-disgust and referred to as a mere act not reflective of one's true gendered nature. In mainstream settings, on the other hand, respondents often felt a pressure to comply with caricatured notions of Asian femininity or, conversely, to distance one's self from derogatory images of Asian femininity to be accepted. In both cases, the subordination of Asian femininity is reproduced.

In general, respondents depicted women of Asian descent as uniformly engaged in subordinated femininity marked by submissiveness and white women as universally assertive and gender egalitarian. Race, rather than culture, situational dynamics, or individual personalities, emerged as the primary basis by which respondents

gave meaning to variations in femininity. That is, despite their own situational variation in doing gender, they treat gender as a racialized feature of bodies rather than a sociocultural product. Specific gender displays, such as a submissive demeanor, are required to confirm an Asian identity. Several respondents face challenges to their ethnic identity when they behave in ways that do not conform with racialized images. Indeed, some claimed that because they are assertive or career oriented, they are not really Asian. That is, because they do not conform to the racialized stereotypes of Asian women but identify with a hegemonic femininity that is the white standard, they are different from other women of Asian origin. In this way, they manipulate the racialized categories of gender in attempting to craft identities that are empowering. However, this is accomplished by denying their ethnicity and connections to other Asian American women and through the adoption and replication of controlling images of Asian women.

Respondents who claim that they are not really Asian because they do not conform with essentialized notions of Asian femininity suggest similarities to transgendered individuals who feel that underneath, they really belong to the gender category that is opposite from the one to which they are assigned. The notion that deep down they are really white implies a kind of transracialized gender identity. In claiming that they are not innately Asian, they reaffirm racialized categories of gender just as transgendered individuals reaffirm the gender dichotomy (Kessler and McKenna 1978; Lorber 1994). However, there are limitations to notions of a transracialized identity as racial barriers do not permit these women to socially pass into the white world, even though they might feel themselves to be more white than Asian. Due to such barriers, they use terms that are suggestive of a racial crossover, such as "whitewashed" or "American" rather than "white" in describing themselves. Such terms are frequently used among Asian Americans to describe those who are regarded as assimilated to the white world and no longer ethnic, further underscoring how racial categories are essentialized (Pyke and Dang in press). Blocked from a white identity, these terms capture a marginalized space that is neither truly white nor Asian. As racial categories are dynamic, it remains to be seen whether these marginalized identities are the site for new identities marked by hybridity (Lowe 1991) or whether Asian Americans will eventually be incorporated into whiteness. This process may be hastened by outmarriage to whites and high rates of biracial Asian Americans who can more easily pass into the white world, thereby leading the way for other Asian Americans. While we cannot ascertain the direction of such changes, our data highlight the contradictions that strain the existing racial and gender order as it applies to second-generation Asian American women.

While respondents construct a world in which Asian American women can experience a kind of transracial gender identity, they do not consider the same possibility for women of other races. A white woman who is submissive does not become Asian. In fact, there was no reference in these accounts to submissive white women who are rendered invisible by racialized categories of gender. Instead, white women are constructed as monolithically self-confident, independent,

assertive, and successful—characteristics of white hegemonic femininity. That these are the same ruling traits associated with hegemonic masculinity, albeit in a less exaggerated, feminine form, underscores the imitative structure of hegemonic femininity. That is, the supremacy of white femininity over Asian femininity mimics hegemonic masculinity. We are not arguing that hegemonic femininity and masculinity are equivalent structures. They are not. Whereas hegemonic masculinity is a superstructure of domination, hegemonic femininity is confined to power relations among women. However, the two structures are interrelated with hegemonic femininity constructed to serve hegemonic masculinity, from which it is granted legitimacy.

Our findings illustrate the powerful interplay of controlling images and hegemonic femininity in promoting internalized oppression. Respondents draw on racial images and assumptions in their narrative construction of Asian cultures as innately oppressive of women and fully resistant to change against which the white-dominated mainstream is framed as a paradigm of gender equality. This serves a proassimilation function by suggesting that Asian American women will find gender equality in exchange for rejecting their ethnicity and adopting white standards of gender. The construction of a hegemonic femininity not only (re)creates a hierarchy that privileges white women over Asian American women but also makes Asian American women available for white men. In this way, hegemonic femininity serves as a handmaiden to hegemonic masculinity.

By constructing ethnic culture as impervious to social change and as a site where resistance to gender oppression is impossible, our respondents accommodate and reinforce rather than resist the gender hierarchal arrangements of such locales. This can contribute to a self-fulfilling prophecy as Asian American women who hold gender egalitarian views feel compelled to retreat from interactions in ethnic settings, thus (re)creating Asian ethnic cultures as strongholds of patriarchy and reinforcing the maintenance of a rigid gender hierarchy as a primary mechanism by which ethnicity and ethnic identity are constructed. This marking of ethnic culture as a symbolic repository of patriarchy obscures variations in ethnic gender practices as well as the gender inequality in the mainstream. Thus, compliance with the dominant order is secured.

Our study attempts to bring a racialized examination of gender to a constructionist framework without decentering either race or gender. By examining the racialized meaning systems that inform the construction of gender, our findings illustrate how the resistance of gender oppression among our respondents draws ideologically on the denigration and rejection of ethnic Asian culture, thereby reinforcing white dominance. Conversely, we found that mechanisms used to construct ethnic identity in resistance to the proassimilation forces of the white-dominated mainstream rest on narrow definitions of Asian women that emphasize gender subordination. These findings underscore the crosscutting ways that gender and racial oppression operates such that strategies and ideologies focused on the resistance of one form of domination can reproduce another form. A social constructionist approach that examines the simultaneous production of gender and race within the

matrix of oppression, and considers the relational construction of hegemonic and subordinated femininities, holds much promise in uncovering the micro-level structures and complicated features of oppression, including the processes by which oppression infiltrates the meanings individuals give to their experiences.

## REFERENCES

- Baker, Donald G. 1983. *Race, ethnicity and power*. Boston: Routledge Kegan Paul.
- Chang, Edward T. 1999. The post-Los Angeles riot Korean American community: Challenges and prospects. *Korean American Studies Bulletin* 10:6-26.
- Chen, Anthony S. 1999. Lives at the center of the periphery, lives at the periphery of the center: Chinese American masculinities and bargaining with hegemony. *Gender & Society* 13:584-607.
- Chen, Edith Wen-Chu. 1998. The continuing significance of race: A case study of Asian American women in white, Asian American, and African American sororities. Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles.
- Coltrane, Scott. 1989. Household labor and the routine production of gender. *Social Problems* 36:473-90.
- . 1994. Theorizing masculinities in contemporary social science. In *Theorizing masculinities*, edited by Harry Brod and Michael Kaufman. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Connell, R. W. 1987. *Gender and power*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- . 1995. *Masculinities*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Espiritu, Yen L. 1997. *Asian American women and men*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- . 2001. "We don't sleep around like white girls do": Family, culture, and gender in Filipina American life. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 26:415-40.
- Glaser, Barney G., and Anselm L. Strauss. 1967. *The discovery of grounded theory*. New York: Aldine.
- Glenn, Evelyn Nakano. 1999. The social construction and institutionalization of gender and race. In *Revisioning gender*, edited by Myra Marx Ferree, Judith Lorber, and Beth B. Hess. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Gramsci, Antonio. 1971. *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. New York: International.
- Hill Collins, Patricia. 2000. *Black feminist thought*. New York: Routledge.
- Hill Collins, Patricia, Lionel A. Maldonado, Dana Y. Takagi, Barrie Thorne, Lynn Weber, and Howard Winant. 1995. Symposium: On West and Fenstermaker's "Doing difference." *Gender & Society* 9:491-513.
- Ishii-Kuntz, Masako. 2000. Diversity within Asian American families. In *Handbook of family diversity*, edited by David H. Demo, Katherine Allen, and Mark A. Fine. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kendall, Lori. 2000. "Oh no! I'm a nerd!" Hegemonic masculinity on an online forum. *Gender & Society* 14:256-74.
- Kessler, Suzanne, and Wendy McKenna. 1978. *Gender: An ethnomethodological approach*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kibria, Nazli. 1990. Power, patriarchy, and gender conflict in the Vietnamese immigrant community. *Gender & Society* 4:9-24.
- . 1993. *Family tightrope: The changing lives of Vietnamese Americans*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- . 1997. The construction of "Asian American": Reflections on intermarriage and ethnic identity among second generation Chinese and Korean Americans. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 20:523-44.
- Kim, Byong-suh. 1994. Value orientations and sex-gender role attitudes on the comparability of Koreans and Americans. In *Gender division of labor in Korea*, edited by Hyong Cho and Oil-wah Chang. Seoul, Korea: Ewha Women's University Press.

- Lee, Jee Yeun. 1996. Why Suzie Wong is not a lesbian: Asian and Asian American lesbian and bisexual women and femme/butch/gender identities. In *Queer studies*, edited by Brett Beemyn and Mickey Eliason. New York: New York University Press.
- Lim, In-Sook. 1997. Korean immigrant women's challenge to gender inequality at home: The interplay of economic resources, gender, and family. *Gender & Society* 11:31-51.
- Lorber, Judith. 1994. *Paradoxes of gender*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Lorde, Audre. 1984. *Sister outsider*. Trumansberg, NY: Crossing Press.
- Lowe, Lisa. 1991. Heterogeneity, hybridity, multiplicity: Marking Asian American differences. *Diaspora* 1:24-44.
- Lucal, Betsy. 1999. What it means to be gendered me: Life on the boundaries of a dichotomous gender system. *Gender & Society* 13:781-97.
- Min, Pyong Gap. 1998. *Changes and conflicts*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Oropesa, R. S., and Nancy Landale. 1995. *Immigrant legacies: The socioeconomic circumstances of children by ethnicity and generation in the United States*. Working paper 95-01R. State College: Population Research Institute, Pennsylvania State University.
- Osajima, Keith. 1993. The hidden injuries of race. In *Bearing dreams, shaping visions: Asian Pacific American perspectives*, edited by Linda Revilla, Gail Nomura, Shawn Wong, and Shirley Hune. Pullman: Washington State University Press.
- Palley, Marian Lief. 1994. Feminism in a Confucian society: The women's movement in Korea. In *Women of Japan and Korea*, edited by Joyce Gelb and Marian Lief. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Pyke, Karen. 1996. Class-based masculinities: The interdependence of gender, class, and interpersonal power. *Gender & Society* 10:527-49.
- . 2000. "The normal American family" as an interpretive structure of family life among grown children of Korean and Vietnamese immigrants. *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 62:240-55.
- Pyke, Karen, and Tran Dang. In press. "FOB" and "whitewashed": Intra-ethnic identities and internalized oppression among second generation Asian Americans. *Qualitative Sociology*.
- St. Jean, Yanick, and Joe R. Feagin. 1998. *Double burden: Black women and everyday racism*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.
- Schwalbe, Michael, Sandra Godwin, Daphne Holden, Douglas Schrock, Shealy Thompson, and Michele Wolkomir. 2000. Generic processes in the reproduction of inequality: An interactionist analysis. *Social Forces* 79:419-52.
- Tajima, Renee E. 1989. Lotus blossoms don't bleed: Images of Asian women. In *Making waves*, edited by Asian Women United of California. Boston: Beacon.
- West, Candace, and Sarah Fenstermaker. 1995. Doing difference. *Gender & Society* 9:8-37.
- West, Candace, and Don H. Zimmerman. 1987. Doing gender. *Gender & Society* 1:125-51.
- Zhou, Min. 1999. Coming of age: The current situation of Asian American children. *Amerasia Journal* 25:1-27.
- Zhou, Min, and Carl L. Bankston III. 1998. *Growing up American*. New York: Russell Sage.

*Karen D. Pyke is an assistant professor of sociology at the University of California, Riverside. Her current research focuses on internalized racial oppression, gender, and identity among second-generation Asian Americans.*

*Denise L. Johnson is a graduate student at the University of Washington. Her research focuses on micro-level experiences of race, gender, class, and sexuality. She is currently conducting a qualitative study about women's strategies for negotiating, managing, and performing sexual desire and agency in their intimate relationships.*