UNDERSTANDING RACE AND GENDER: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDY OF ASIAN

AMERICAN AND PACIFIC ISLANDER MEN'S EXPERIENCES PLAYING MASSIVELY

MULTIPLAYER ONLINE ROLE-PLAYING GAMES

by

JOSEPH PAK

(Under the Direction of ANNELIESE A. SINGH)

ABSTRACT

This interpretative phenomenological study examined the everyday lived experiences of Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) men who play massively multiplayer online role-playing games (MMORPGs). The researcher utilized in-depth, semi-structured interviews to elicit stories regarding participants' experiences of playing MMORPGs. In addition, the researcher solicited screenshots of the players' MMORPGs characters. This research seeks to gain insight into AAPI men's lived experiences surrounding race and gender in the context of hegemonic masculinity, and the impact of these experiences on their engagement with massively multiplayer online role-playing games (MMORPGs). This study utilized critical race theory (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) and hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1982, 1983) as frameworks through which to analyze the impact of race, and gender on AAPI men's experiences with MMORPGs.

INDEX WORDS: Asian American and Pacific Islander men, Masculinity, Massively multiplayer online role-playing games, Hegemonic masculinity, Photo elicitation, Critical Race Theory

UNDERSTANDING RACE AND GENDER: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDY OF ASIAN

AMERICAN AND PACIFIC ISLANDER MEN'S EXPERIENCES PLAYING MASSIVELY

MULTIPLAYER ONLINE ROLE-PLAYING GAMES

by

JOSEPH C. PAK

B.S.W., The University of Georgia, 2005

M.S.W., The University of Georgia, 2007

Ed.S., The University of Georgia, 2009

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial

Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2018

UNDERSTANDING RACE AND GENDER: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDY OF ASIAN

AMERICAN AND PACIFIC ISLANDER MEN'S EXPERIENCES PLAYING MASSIVELY

MULTIPLAYER ONLINE ROLE-PLAYING GAMES

by

JOSEPH PAK

Major Professor:	Anneliese A. Singh
Committee:	Deryl F. Bailey
	Natoya Haskins

Electronic Version Approved:

Suzanne Barbour
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
May 2018

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my Lord and Savior. Thank you for sustaining me through this challenging process. This long journey that has shaped me intellectually, socially, emotionally, and spiritually in ways, that I know are preparing me for something bigger.

I also dedicate this to my parents, who are my greatest motivation. Whenever I felt like giving up, I was reminded of your continued sacrifice and hard work. Recently, you have taken on this house project on your own without any experience. The two of you did not have the slightest clue on what to do, yet now the house is almost finished. We learned a lot of lessons along the way.

It has been stressful managing work, helping you with the house build, and working on my dissertation. The biggest lesson I learned is that the hard road is the road that is least traveled, but it is the most rewarding. Mom and Dad, you were relentless in your pursuit of accomplishing this goal. Seeing the two of you work a full day, then come home and eat dinner in a rush to work on your dream house late into the night has been inspiring. It has motivated me to fulfill my dream of earning a doctorate degree and to equipping myself to help others on a grander scale. I compare this dissertation to the house building process. I had no idea what I was doing when I began, but with research and help I was able to accomplish it.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am forever grateful to all the people who believed in me, even when I did not believe in myself. Thank you to everyone who prayed alongside me. I definitely felt your prayers in my times of need. This all could not have happened without you.

To my dissertation committee, thank you for believing in me, challenging me, and supporting me through this process. Without your insight and support, I would not be here. Dr. Anneliese Singh, thank you for always encouraging and challenging me throughout this process. You are such an inspiration to me. Thank you for the work you do on behalf of the Asian American and Pacific Islander community. Your work is so important!

Dr. Natoya Haskins: Thank you for your authenticity. I deeply appreciate your insight and encouragement throughout this process. I am grateful that you agreed to remain on my committee even after you left for Virginia. I really appreciate the countless conference calls we had to discuss my data. Dr. Deryl Bailey: Thank you for the challenges that you gave me during a multicultural counseling class in the Ed. S. program. This class challenged me to have difficult conversations with a classmate, who has since become a good friend and mentor in my life. We have had inspiring conversations about race relations between the Korean and Black communities. Although, I still have a lot to learn in about advocacy and scholarship, I am grateful for the way you challenged after my presentation, you told me to speak up, because you believed I had important things to say. This encouragement motivated me to learn how to be my own greatest advocate so that I can be an effective advocate for others.

Lastly, I want to thank Dr. Jenny Penny Oliver, who encouraged me to pursue my dreams. I remember the engraved key that you gave to me as a present. The word that was engraved on the key was *Dreams*. I remember you telling me to never to give up on my dreams. I cherish the key and the words that you spoke to me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

Page

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

Over the past decade, the global Internet gaming industry has grown tremendously in popularity and has had a significant worldwide impact on popular culture, history, and ways of life (Montclair Diplomats, 2017). According to the Global Games Market Report, 2.2 billion gamers globally were expected to generate $108.9 billion in revenue in 2017 (McDonald, 2017). In 2015, the revenue from the games market in the Asia-Pacific region alone amounted to $43.1 billion dollars, almost twice the revenue of the North American gaming market (The Statistics Portal, 2017). Massively multiplayer online role-playing games (MMORPGs) have emerged as one of the fastest growing types of online games, and are expected to reach $42 million (U.S.) in revenues (De Heij, 2013; DFC Intelligence, 2016).

MMORPGs allow players the freedom to create avatars to interact in an online gaming environment. An *avatar* is a digital self-representation of a participant in the virtual world (Bailenson, Yee, Blascovich, & Guadagno, 2008; Yee & Bailenson, 2007). Players can choose the race, gender, and class or profession of their avatar within the MMORPG. "Class" in this context refers to the style of combat and skills of the avatar (Pringle, 2015). For example, most games have some kind of mage, or practitioner of magic, who casts spells or uses "mental energy" to attack opponents (Kelly, 2004). The avatar is an integral component of players' online and offline identity (Bardzell & Bardzell, 2008).

Despite this aspect of choice, among both avatars in MMORPGs and the characters in video games, there is a systematic underrepresentation of racial/ethnic minorities and females, neither of which are typically presented as choices in games. Instead, the representation in games

reflects the game developer workforce itself (Higgin, 2009; Waddell, 2014; Williams, Martins, Consalvo, & Ivory, 2009). For instance, an extensive content analysis of 150 popular commercial video games revealed White male avatars are overrepresented at the expense of female and racial/ethnic minority characters (Beasley & Standley, 2002; Williams et al., 2009). Researchers found a pattern of infrequent appearance of racial minority characters and depictions that did appear were often stereotypes (Dill, Gentile, Richter, & Dill, 2005; Glaube, Miller, Parker, & Espejo, 2001).

Most often, few racial/ethnic minorities or female options are available when choosing an avatar within a game. Earlier content analyses of gender and race in video games found that only 13% of characters were female (Beasley & Standley, 2002; Dietz, 1998). A study of a 200-game random sample found that only 6% of the games had non-White human characters as the primary character (Wohn, 2011). Other studies found that when minority male or female characters or avatars were presented within online games, most were stereotypical reproductions of the racist and sexist views of men or White men (Burgess, Stermer, & Burgess, 2007; Downs & Smith, 2010; Ivory, 2006).

From a social justice perspective, the presence, absence, and representation of diverse social groups can reflect and reinforce power imbalances in both society and the gaming world. The imbalances that exist on screen reflect inequalities that exist in social identity formation, social power, and policy formation in daily life (Williams et al., 2009). Additionally, video games model and shape culture, so there is a growing concern and danger that some games are functioning as stewards of White masculine hegemony (Higgin, 2009).

The lack of racial/ethnic minority representation in interactive games thus reinforces the real-world dynamic of "White habitus" (Bonilla-Silva, 2010; Bonilla-Silva, Goar, & Embrick,

2006; Dietrich, 2013). White habitus is defined as a "racialized, uninterrupted socialization process that conditions and creates Whites' racial tastes, perceptions, feelings, and emotions and their views on racial matters" (Bonilla-Silva, 2010, pp. 104). Racial/ethnic and gender groups that appear more frequently in media are viewed as more "vital" and have higher status in daily life (Williams et al., 2009). Research has also suggested that repeated exposure to stereotypical images (i.e., females as sex objects and powerful males as agents of action) in games alters social judgments (Dill, Brown, & Collins, 2008).

The presence of a racial/ethnic or gender group in games serves as a marker that they matter in society (Royse et al., 2007), while the absence of portrayals of a social group in games leads to feelings of unimportance and powerlessness among members of that group (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005). Moreover, repeated negative or stereotypical depictions of racial/ethnic minorities and women have a negative impact on people's perceptions of these groups. Thus, it is important to explore the impact the presentation of avatar race and gender in online games has on players, because game users carry these experiences with them into the real world (Pace, Houssian, & McArthur, 2008).

Global gaming markets are an important element in the discussion of gaming representation. China, Japan, and Korea are considered the "Big Three" countries for gaming. China is the world's largest gaming market, while South Korea and Japan are key regional hubs for the development of electronic gaming (LAI Global Game Services, 2017). In addition, Japan pioneered home gaming consoles such as the PlayStation, while South Korea has become the hub for multiplayer online games (Hjorth, 2008). The Asia Pacific region has more gamers than any other region, with roughly 50 million gamers, compared to North America's 30 million gamers (LAI Global Game Services, 2017). Asian Americans are more likely to game (81%)

than any other racial or ethnic group (Nielsen, 2015). One out of 5 people in Asia play games on a regular basis (LAI Global Game Services, 2017).

Given this context, the purpose of this study is to examine the lived experiences of racism that AAPI men confront in the MMORPG environment. Generally, there is a paucity of research on racial portrayals in video games (Burgess, Dill, Stermer, Burgess, & Brown, 2011), and the research on AAPI men's race and gender within online games is particularly sparse. This group is often left out of the discussion entirely when speaking of race and gender.

In Chapter 2, I provide an overview of Internet gaming and MMORPGs, discussed race and gender within online gaming, and examined the process of racial identity development among AAPI men. Additionally, I present a brief summary of gaps in the literature regarding AAPI men and online gaming, in order to highlight the need to further investigate the lived experiences of AAPI men playing MMORPGs. I then introduce critical race theory (CRT) and hegemonic masculinity as a conceptual framework for exploring the phenomenon of playing MMORPGs. I utilized CRT as a theoretical lens through which to deconstruct the dominant narrative of AAPI men's depictions in MMORPGs. CRT also guided me to engage a discourse on the interplay of racism and other forms of subordination within the online gaming environments for this group of men. Most importantly, CRT provided a perspective that enables AAPI men to give voice to their experiences of gender and race within MMORPGs.

The Popularity and Growth of Internet Gaming

Internet gaming is a popular global leisure activity in which many people can come together to socialize and cooperate to complete game objectives. This enormous industry generates huge profits for game producers as well as professional gamers. In 2015, the worldwide market for online gaming was projected to grow from an estimated $1.72 trillion to

$2.14 trillion within five years (The Statistics Portal, 2017) and in 2015, United States (U.S.) consumers spent approximately $23.5 billion on computer and video game content, hardware, and accessories (Entertainment Software Association, 2016). This growth in popularity is evident in the fact that the Entertainment Software Association (ESA; 2017) estimated that now in the U.S., 65% of U.S. households have at least one person who plays three or more hours of video games a week, and approximately 67% of U.S. households own a device that is used to play video games. Interestingly, video and online games are especially popular among adults; the average male game player in the U.S. is 33 years old, while the average female game player in the U.S. is 37 years old (ESA, 2017). Seventy-two percent of all gamers in the U.S. are adults over 18 years old (ESA, 2017), and 26% of Americans surveyed who admitted to playing video games were at least 50 years old (ESA, 2017).

To further expand Internet gaming popularity, Electronic Sports (Esports) has made Internet gaming a profession in which players can earn upwards of $1 million. For example, Zhang Ning, a Chinese professional Defense of the Ancients (Dota) 2 (multiplayer online battle arena video game) player, won $1,664,602 playing in a tournament. Dota 2 is a multiplayer online battle arena (MOBA) video game in which two teams of five players try to destroy a large structure on the opposing team's base. As a result of the availability of financial rewards, online gaming is reshaping culture and society. For example, online gaming is creating employment opportunities for young people to make playing online games into a career.

Additionally, online gaming is a media source/technology that is shaping individuals and society (Pace, Houssian, & McArthur, 2008). Media can be a powerful force in shaping perceptions of social reality, including media users' perceptions of gender roles and the social role of ethnic groups (Behm-Morawitz & Mastro, 2009; Comstock & Cobbey, 1979; Mastro &

Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Mastro, Behm-Morawitz, & Ortiz, 2007; Rivadeneyra, Ward, & Gordon, 2007). With regard to body image, unrealistic and over-sexualized representations of women may influence adolescents and body image (Beasley & Standley, 2002). In terms of race, some studies have indicated that virtual encounters may influence offline perceptions of racial prejudice (Eastin, Appiah, & Cicchirillo, 2009). Researchers have found that gaming to influences behaviors, thoughts, feelings, and attitudes (Anderson et al., 2003; Anderson, Gentile, & Buckley, 2007; Dill, Brown, & Collins, 2008; Konijn, Bijvank, & Bushman, 2007). Experiences in the virtual world thus have tangible effects that go beyond the virtual space (Woolgar, 2002).

Nakamura (2002) suggests that societal gender, class, and race hierarchies have been imported onto the Internet. Although users may be able to leave their physical body behind when entering cyberspace, the physical body still lingers, creating a racialized or gendered cybertype. As Nakamura (2002) observes, our "fluid selves are no less subject to cultural hegemonies, rules of conduct and regulating cultural norms than are solid ones" (p. 325). Thus, it is important to explore how gaming influences perceptions of groups of people based on race or gender, via stereotypical, racist, or sexist character depictions.

Virtual Games: An Alternate World

Virtual gaming environments offer spaces of social interaction where players come together to socialize, strategize, and accomplish game objectives via their avatars (Barnett & Coulson, 2010). Players can recreate their virtual identity according to their preferences by customizing their avatar. Avatar customization allows players the freedom to experiment and constructing their self-representations with creative appearances, personalities, and personalized behavioral patterns to support their social interactions online (Ahn, Fox, & Bailenson, 2012).

Some players spend a significant amount of time modifying their avatars to represent characteristics that resemble themselves.

Online games such as MMORPGs allow players the opportunity to recreate themselves, but they often advantage Whiteness (Dietrich, 2013). It is difficult to determine whether social dynamics in the real world influence the culture within the online gaming world or vice versa, or whether influence flows in both directions. Some studies indicate that virtual encounters may affect attitudes of racial prejudice offline (Vang & Fox, 2014). Moreover, Yee and Bailenson (2007) found that avatars may impact their creators' behaviors. For example, users have been found to make different decisions or behave differently based on the gender presentation of their avatar (Nishi, Matias, & Montoya, 2015). Gaming has also been shown to impact the brain—specifically the brain's empathic response—based on differential video game exposure (Bartholow, Bushman, & Sestir, 2006). Therefore, it is important to further explore gaming's impact on the sense of identity for those in underrepresented groups, as well as on attitudes and racial prejudice towards these groups.

Prejudice and Discrimination in the Virtual World

Real-world prejudice has been shown to carry over to the virtual world (Vang & Fox, 2014), which is evident in the avatar creation process and portrayals of various races and genders in MMORPGs. Character portrayals of people of color and women in video and online games are often stereotypical. Black male video game characters are often violent characters (Burgess, Dill, Stermer, Burgess, & Brown, 2011). Women are frequently portrayed as the helpless princesses or damsels, who is often wearing tight, revealing clothing that displays an unattainable body ideal (Dickerman, Christensen, & Kerl-McClain, 2008). In contrast, White male characters or avatars are often glamorized as heroes who epitomize masculinity and virility. Research suggests

that exposure to stereotypical imagery in media can alter a person's social judgments (Dill et al., 2008) and change how people behave in the real world (Burgess et al., 2011).

When choosing the race of one's avatar within a game, the default racial/ethnic choice for avatars is often a White male. White males are most likely to be featured as the primary protagonist controlled by the gamer (Waddell, 2014). As a result, Whiteness is reinforced as a universal category, meaning that White people are viewed as individuals while people of color are viewed as part of a racial group (Farough, 2004). In this way, White people or White avatars in online games are established as a norm, and White people are not viewed as White, but just as people (Dietrich, 2013). The White male avatars are aesthetically pleasing and are often presented as archetypes of masculinity: they are tall, have chiseled jaws with a full beard, and display bulging muscles. White female avatars are usually sexualized. They are often portrayed as scantily clad sex objects: beautiful, tall, and busty, with tiny waists and full lips (Burgess et al., 2007; Dickerman, Christensen, & Kerl-McClain, 2008; Dill & Thill, 2007; Scharrer, 2004).

Although all avatars are ultimately stereotypes, White men and women are often stereotyped in conventionally positive ways. People of color, however, are stereotyped and racialized in negative ways. Racial minorities in online games are often depicted as more aggressive than White people (Dill, Stermer, Burgess, & Brown, 2011). For example, AAPI male characters are often assigned to wrestling or fighting roles in video and online games. Yet at the same time, AAPI men are frequently portrayed as smaller and weaker in strength compared to the White male protagonist (Nishi et al., 2015). Black men are often depicted using racial tropes such as the gangster or professional athlete (Leonard, 2006), and Latino men are also frequently depicted as gangsters or athletes (De Vane & Squire, 2008; Glaube et al., 2001).

Research on the effects of racial representation in video games is still in its infancy (Baldwin & Sessoms, 2007). However, some research has focused on the portrayal of women and people of color in games. Two initial investigations on race have highlighted the infrequent appearance of minority characters and their stereotyped depictions when they do appear (Dill, Gentile, Richter, & Dill, 2005; Glaube et al., 2001). Glaube et al.'s study (2001) noted that having sexy female characters sends harmful messages to both male and female players. For example, young girls and boys alike may interpret highly sexualized characters as the "ideal woman." Additionally, these researchers found that nearly every video game hero was White. When characters of other races were incorporated, they were often depicted in stereotyped images such as hyper-masculine brutes, exotic fighting machines, or athletes with supernatural ability. The racial minorities were rarely cast as champions, rescuers, or heroes (Glaube et al., 2001).

Although women are becoming more visible in gaming culture and the number of female gamers is increasing (Kafai, Heeter, Denner & Sun, 2008), female avatars are often unavailable in the online gaming world. Entertainment Software Association (2017) found that 41% of U.S. gamers are women. When female avatars are represented in games, it is often in sexist ways designed to appeal to men. For example, they are often portrayed as the weak princess who needs rescuing, or as a highly sexualized dominatrix. Some studies have found that men who play games with sexualized characters have a greater likelihood of harassing women after this type of play (Dill, Brown, & Collins, 2008; Yao, Mahood, & Linz, 2010). Other studies indicate that virtual encounters may influence offline perceptions of racial prejudice and sexism. For example, Dill and Burgess (2012) found that exposure to Black video game characters negatively influences players' judgments about unrelated Black individuals.

White male characters or avatars dominate the video and online gaming worlds. Researchers who have conducted content analyses of these games have found that the main characters are overwhelmingly White men. Dietrich (2013) examined the character creation capabilities of online and offline role-playing games (RPGS). Of the 65 MMORPGs he examined, 26 had no option to change the character's skin color from the default of White. Dietrich also examined 20 offline RPGs and found that 18 had the option to change the avatars' skin color, but in every case White was the default option. With regard to avatar gender, Williams and colleagues (2009) identified primary characters in 150 top-selling video games and found that male characters were far more likely to appear as primary characters (89.55%) than female characters (10.45%).

MMORPGs have created a new form of communication in which people can interact with each other through avatars in a computer-generated game environment. Real-life beings can create new versions of themselves and help develop new societies online. Current avatar-creation interfaces force users to conform to the embedded values chosen by the small, privileged, and elite group of players and designers responsible for the creating of these virtual worlds (Pace, Houssain & McArthur, 2008). Researchers know how popular media influences perceptions of race and gender. However, they have yet to investigate how AAPI men's race and gender affect their gaming experience, as most research that has been done in this area has focused on the binary of Black and White. This study will explore the lived experiences of racism that AAPI men confront while playing MMORPGs.

Statement of the Problem

Video games and MMORPGs are largely White spaces that were made for White players by White creators; therefore, avatar options are disproportionately White (Dietrich, 2013). The

distribution of race and gender in such games is unrepresentative of the diversity of the players (Waddell, 2014). Moreover, AAPI men are often depicted stereotypically as the model minority or the martial artist in these games, and are frequently typecast in a wrestling or fighting role.

Stereotypical depictions of various racial groups and women in games have a negative impact on perceptions regarding these groups, as researchers have found that playing violent games as a Black male avatar increased White gamers' implicit attitudes that Black men are violent (Yang, Huesmann, Gibson, Lueke, & Bushman, 2014). Recognizing this dynamic highlights the importance of understanding AAPI men's experiences and allowing them to give voice to their experiences in online gaming, and specifically in MMORPGs. Little research has been conducted on AAPI men's lives or experiences with Internet gaming, and few studies have explored issues of identity in relation to MMORPGs. More specifically, researchers have not examined the impact of sociocultural factors such as racism and gendered racism on AAPI men. *Gendered racism* refers to the unique experiences that result from the intersection of racism and sexism (Essed, 1990).

Some scholars have advocated for more research on AAPI men's experiences of discrimination from an intersectionality perspective (Iwamoto & Liu, 2009; Lewis & Grzanka, 2016; Liang, Rivera, Nathwani, Dang, & Douroux, 2010). A number of studies have explored identity in relation to MMORPGs (Badrinarayanan, Sierra, & Martin, 2015; Bessiere, Seay, & Kiesler, 2007; Borca, Bina, Keller, Gilbert, & Begotti, 2015; Cole & Griffiths, 2007; Elund, Clayden, & Green, 2010; Guegan, Moliner, & Buisine, 2015; Israelashvili, Kim, & Bukobza, 2012; Lee & Leeson, 2015; Yee, 2006; Yee, Ducheneaut, & Nelson, 2012). However, none have specifically explored AAPI men's racial or gender identity and MMORPGs.

This study investigated AAPI men's masculinity identity in relation to dominant society's masculine norms within MMORPGs. Any discussion of AAPI men's identities must start with the immigration history of this group. The immigration history provided historical background on the racism and racist laws that oppressed the first AAPI male immigrants. In addition, it explored MMORPGs, and possible explanations for AAPI men's disproportionate interest in MMORPGs.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this phenomenological study is to examine the lived experiences of AAPI men who play MMORPGs, and the racism AAPI men encounter in the context of online gaming specifically MMORPGs. This inquiry will provide an opportunity for AAPI men to give voice and meaning to their experiences both on- and offline. Few studies have examined the lived experiences of racism among AAPI men within the MMORPG virtual environment.

This inquiry seeks to fill a void in the research literature related to the relationship between racism and masculinity for AAPI men. Although a few studies in the 1990s addressed this area of research (Chua & Fujino, 1999; Kim, O'Neil, & Owen, 1996; Levant, Wu, & Fischer, 1996), it remains sparsely investigated (Liu, 2002). Moreover, to date there has been little research regarding AAPI men and Internet gaming.

The focus of this research study is to examine the lived experiences of AAPI men who play MMORPGs. Race and gender will be explored via the avatar selection of the AAPI men. Pictures of the AAPI men's avatar selection will be collected to analyze the gender and masculinity of the avatars. The information gleaned from the participants in this study will help mental health practitioners and researchers identify the impact of racism on AAPI men's experience with playing MMORPGs. Therefore, it is vital to understand the sociocultural factors,

including their experiences with race and gender, that lead to greater participation rates among AAPI men.

Research Question

Drawing on the theoretical perspectives of CRT (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) and hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1982, 1983), this study seeks to illuminate the cultural perspectives of AAPI men who play MMORPGs. The following research question guided this study:

What are the lived experiences of racism that Asian American and Pacific Islander men face playing MMORPGs?

Definition of Key Terms

The terms below informed this study. I defined them here to enhance the clarity of the study.

Massively Multiplayer Online Role-Playing Games (MMORPGs). MMORPGs are game universes in which players create avatars that evolve and interact with other avatars in a persistent virtual world inhabited by thousands of players at the same time ("massively multiplayer"), with no spatial or temporal boundaries because they are played online (Billieux et al., 2013; Kuss, Louws, & Wiers, 2012). Examples include World of Warcraft, Guildwars, and Blade & Soul.

Guild is a more permanent, large group of players who are committed to playing regularly together and participating in group activities (Zhang & Kaufman, 2017).

Asian American and Pacific Islander is a U.S. citizen or permanent resident with origins in any of the countries of the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent, including China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippine Islands, Thailand, and Vietnam (U.S.

Census Bureau, 2010). I used Asian American and Pacific Islander interchangeably with Asian American in this study, as some of the research studies reviewed did not specify Pacific Islanders in conjunction with the category of Asian Americans.

Racism is the set of institutional, cultural, and interpersonal patterns and practices that create advantages for people legally defined and socially constructed as "White," and corollary disadvantages for people defined as "non-White" (e.g. Asians, African-American, Latinos, etc.) in the U. S. and elsewhere (Bell, Castañeda, & Zúñiga, 2010).

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Existing studies on race and gender representations in casual games indicate that these

are not accurate representations of real populations meaning the race and gender representation

in games is not reflective of the actual U.S. population distribution (Brown, Hall, Holtzer,

Brown, & Brown, 1997; Downs & Smith, 2010; Martins, Williams, Harrison, & Ratan, 2009;

Miller & Summers, 2007; Wohn, 2011). Casual games refer to a wide range of genres, but they

share the same characteristics of being simple in interface, inexpensive, and mainly played on

web browsers, mobile devices or downloaded to the PC (Wohn, 2011). Examples of casual

games include *Farmville* and *Bejeweled Blitz.* Additionally, character portrayals in massively

multiplayer online games (MMOs) generally are disproportionately White and male (Waddell,

2014). MMOs include *role-playing* (RP) as part of their description (Barnett & Coulson, 2010).

When people of color or women are represented in such games, these depictions are often

stereotypical or sexualized.

The numerous studies on gender portrayal in video games (e.g., Brown et al., 1997;

Downs & Smith, 2010; Martins et al., 2009; Miller & Summers, 2007) have found that

characters in these games tend to conform to society's gender stereotypes and sexualized

portrayals (Wohn, 2011). In terms of race, character portrayals in online games are biased

heavily towards White men. For example, a comprehensive content analysis of video game

characters across 150 popular commercial video games found that male and White characters

were overrepresented at the expense of women and most other ethnic groups (Williams et al.,

2009). Moreover, although Asian men are a secondary part of the powerful elite of the gaming industry along with White men being the primary part of this group (Fron, Fullerton, Morie, & Pearce, 2007), Asian character representation in the games is sparse. Most if not all of these games feature primarily White characters or characters with White features (Thien-bao, Thuc, 2009). Moreover, when Asian characters are present, they are consigned to stereotypical roles (Glaube et al., 2001).

This phenomenological study sought to explore the lived experiences of racism that AAPI men face while playing MMORPGs to illuminate how race/ethnicity and gender may have impacted their gaming experience. The review of literature examined how U.S. immigration laws and policies have shaped societal views of AAPI men and how these views have remained intact and pervasive in online games, specifically MMORPGs. First, I outlined the immigration history and oppression experienced by AAPI men, specifically exploring the juxtaposition of depictions of AAPI men as sexual predators and as the asexual model minority. Next, I examined the literature on current stereotypes and perceptions of AAPI men in the media. Finally, I examined Whiteness in the online gaming space by reviewing studies on racial representation within games.

<div align="center">

AAPI Immigration History

</div>

It is necessary to understand AAPI immigration history prior to examining AAPI men's lived experience with MMORPGs, as U.S. immigration laws and policies heavily influenced the development of racial and gender stereotypes. The racism encountered by the first AAPI immigrants to the U.S. established the foundation for such lasting stereotypes as the perpetual foreigner, villain, martial artist, and model minority. The emasculation of AAPI men is likewise deeply rooted in a history of racist laws and policies that segregated AAPI men into lower paying

"feminine" occupations and curtailed the immigration of Asian women. The public policies and laws feminized AAPI men (Chen, 1996).

Race is a social and historical construction (Omi & Winant, 1994); thus, understanding racial stereotypes requires exploring history. Various Asian ethnic groups immigrated to the U.S. at different times and faced differing experiences of discrimination. Therefore, it is essential to explore AAPI men's immigration history to understand the context and driving factors that shaped contemporary stereotypes of and attitudes towards AAPI men.

Asian immigration history in the U.S. dates back to the 1700s, when Filipino mariners first arrived in Louisiana (Takaki, 1990), with the largest migration of Asian immigrants beginning in the mid-1800s. The first substantial wave of Asian immigration began during the California Gold Rush of 1849. It continued until the 1924 Immigration Act halted immigration from Asian countries for some 40 years.

The second group of Asian immigrants came to the U.S. from 1965 to 1985. Three major groups of Asian men immigrated to the U.S.: East Asian, South Asian, and Southeast Asian men. Like many other immigrants, AAPI immigrants came to the U.S. in search of job opportunities and a better quality of life. Despite the diversity of immigrants who arrived from numerous AAPI countries of origin, it was East Asian men, and specifically Chinese and Japanese men, who shaped the dominant perceptions of AAPI men in American society (Shek, 2006).

East Asian Immigration

East Asia includes the countries of Korea, Japan, China, Mongolia, Macau, Hong Kong, and Taiwan (United Nations, 2011). The Chinese were the first group of immigrants to enter the U.S. in 1849, at the beginning of the California Gold Rush (Takaki, 1998). In the 1840s, following China's loss to Britain in the Opium Wars, Chinese workers who were driven to seek

better opportunities began to enter the U.S. (Hing, 1993). Chinese immigration to the U.S. was comprised of several distinct periods: one of open, unlimited immigration from 1849 to 1882, an age of exclusion from 1882 to 1943; an era of limited immigration from 1943 to 1965; and a period of renewed immigration since 1965 (Chan, 1990).

In the late 1800s, Japanese immigrants moved primarily to Hawaii and California to work as laborers (Kitano, 1993). South Koreans were the next group of East Asians to arrive in the U.S. immigrating primarily from 1903 to 1920. Many of the South Koreans were encouraged by American missionaries to immigrate to the U.S. particularly Hawaii. Some of the South Koreans were escaping the Japanese-government persecution. Other South Koreans left the adverse conditions of poverty and faminine of South Korea to pursue employment in the plantations of Hawaii. Subsequently, the Immigrant Act of 1924 barred all Asian immigration.

South Asian Immigration

South Asians come primarily from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, and the Maldives (Sandhu & Madathil, 2008). South Asian immigration to the U.S. occurred in three waves. The first wave occurred from 1897 to 1924, when the first South Asian immigrants came to fulfill cheap labor needs for the railroad, plantations and lumber industries on the West coast in California, Oregon and Washington state (Rahma & Paik, 2017). The second wave of immigration was marked by the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. This legislation brought a cadre of highly skilled South Asian immigrants to meet the shortages in certain professions in the U.S. This act replaced the quota system based on national origin preferences (Kelkar, 2012). This wave of immigration was comprised largely of highly skilled professionals—scientists, doctors, and engineers—and their families. The third wave occurred in the mid-1980s and consisted of both skilled professionals and less educated

immigrants who worked blue-collar jobs, such as taxi drivers, store clerks, and motel operators. The second-wave and/or well-established South Asians sponsored their family members through the Family Reunification Act (Sandhu & Madathil, 2008).

Southeast Asian Immigration

The Southeast Asian countries consist of Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Myanmar, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam (Rumbaut, 2000). The first Southeast Asian immigrants arrived from 1975 to 1995 as refugees after the Vietnam War, and most were Vietnamese (Takaki, 1998; Zhou & Gatewood, 2007). These Vietnamese immigrants were typically urban, educated, and affluent (Kelly, 1986). The first wave also included Hmong soldiers from Laos, who were poorer and less educated than the Vietnamese refugees. The second wave of Southeast Asian refugees came to in the U.S. from the late 1970s to the 1980s (Rumbaut, 2000; Trueba, Jacobs, & Kirton, 1990). These Southeast Asian refugees were from Vietnam and Laos and they were fleeing persecution or economic disaster (Rumbaut, 2000).

White Americans did not welcome the various Asian immigrants. They often experienced institutional racism and oppression in the U.S. (Paik, Kula, Saito, Rahman, & Witenstein, 2014). Among the many types of discrimination they faced, one form of prejudice targeted AAPI men's manhood and ultimately limited their ability to marry. Because Asian immigrants were viewed as a threat to White female purity, the U.S. instituted laws prohibiting any female citizen, whether White or non-White, from marrying an "alien ineligible to citizenship—an Asian man" (Okihiro, 2001). Ironically, some of these immigrants came to the U.S. to flee White oppression experienced in their homeland. For example, many Chinese immigrants left China after the British invaded their country during the Opium Wars, seeking to exploit Chinese resources for trade (Hing, 1993).

Institutional Oppression of AAPI Men through Racist Immigration Practices

During the late 1800s and early 1900s, the influx of AAPI male immigrant workers created competition for jobs in the U.S., which led them to be forced out of their communities by men who belonged to anti-immigrant organizations such as the Asiatic Exclusion League (Takaki, 1990). The Asiatic Exclusion League was a White supremacist group that focused specifically on blocking Japanese immigrants from entering the U.S., but they opposed all Asian immigration (Erhart, 2016). In addition to the emergence of anti-immigrant groups, anti-immigrant legislation was also enacted in the form of the Page Act of 1875, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, Immigration Act of 1917, and the Immigration Act of 1924.

Approximately 26 years after the arrival of the first wave of Asian male immigrants, the U.S. government passed the Page Act of 1875 (Walker & Yaudes, 2017). The Act's original intent was to ban the importation of Asian laborers from "China, Japan or any oriental county" and the importation of Asian women for the "purpose of prostitution," but it did not prevent Asian male laborers from entering the U.S. With regard to Asian women, the Page Act's original intention was to bar Chinese prostitutes from entering the U.S. However, in addition to barring Chinese prostitutes it was broadly enforced to restrict the immigration of all Asian women (Espiritu, 1997; Takaki, 1993).

As a result, from 1876 to 1882 there was a 68% decline in the percentage of Asian women who entered the United States (Park, 2013). The rationale for barring Asian women was that isolated, single Asian men would be a cheap source of labor and were more likely to be mobile (Espiritu, 1997). This legislation and its enforcement were thus driven by primarily by economics and racism.

On May 6, 1882, the U.S. Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, which prohibited all Chinese laborers from entering the country for 10 years. The Chinese people who were already in the U.S. were required to obtain "return certificates," documents that included all necessary information for the identification of Chinese laborers (Park, 2012). Under the Chinese Exclusion Act, Chinese laborers already residing in the U.S. were allowed to leave and return by obtaining a reentry certificate from customs (Yoon & Chin, 2004). Any Chinese immigrant without an authorized return certificate was prohibited from re-entering the U.S.

In 1892, the Chinese Exclusion Act was renewed with the passage of the Geary Act, which extended the ban on Chinese immigration. It also required all existing Chinese immigrants to obtain certificates of residence from the Internal Revenue Service (Bily, 2016). Immigrants who were found to be without the certificate were punished with one year of hard labor, then deported (Bily, 2016). Furthermore, bail was not an option for immigrants who were arrested for being in the U.S. illegally (Bily, 2016; Hing, 1993).

Other anti-immigrant legislation included the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907, which restricted Japanese immigration to the U.S. to non-labor workers, labor workers who were already settled in the U.S., and their families (Shek, 2006). Subsequently, the U.S. government passed the Immigration Act of 1917, which barred immigrants from South Asia and the Polynesian Islands (Ancheta, 1998; Campi, 2005). Seven years later the U.S. Congress passed the landmark Immigration Act of 1924, drastically limiting the immigration of people from Southern and Eastern Europe as compared to the more "favored" Northern and Western Europeans (Cawthon, 2017).

The Immigration Act of 1924 completely prohibited Japanese immigration, but allowed annual entry of 17,853 people from Ireland, 5,802 people from Italy, and 6,524 people from

Poland (Takaki, 1990). This law supported the formation of European immigrant families by allowing European immigrant men to return to their homelands to bring their wives back to the U.S (Takaki, 1990). At the same time, this legislation limited Asian immigration and established a quota system for immigration, limiting the percentage of immigrants from any Asian country to two percent of that group's population in the U.S., as of the 1890 census (Park, 2012). To further oppress Asian men, this Act barred the entry of women from China, Japan, Korea, and India (Takaki, 1990). In addition, the fear that the Asian men in the U.S. would want to marry White women led to the passage of anti-miscegenation laws prohibiting racial intermarriage, which revoked the citizenship of any woman who married an Asian man (Chua & Fujino, 1999; Espiritu, 1997; Takaki, 1990).

Cultural Oppression and the Feminization of AAPI Men

From 1850 to the 1940s, as a result of exclusion and anti-miscegnation laws, the masculinity of Asian immigrants was viewed at an institutional level as very different from that of White European men. The exclusion laws emasculated Chinese men by restricting their access to heterosexual norms such as nuclear family formations (Park, 2012). This emasculation of Chinese men was within the context of White heteronormative norms. Denying Asian men the opportunity to establish families in the U.S. and to extend successive generations essentially stripped them of their manhood both legally and socially (Park, 2012). The immigration and anti-miscegenation laws defined Asian immigrant men as Others who were emblematically "not male." These laws formed the foundation of the popular stereotype of the emasculated AAPI man (Park, 2012).

In addition, White fear of AAPI men taking jobs from White Europeans drove the creation and perpetuation of other racist and culturally oppressive images of AAPI men, such as

the Yellow Peril. The Yellow Peril propagated the idea that Asians posed a threat by seeking to take over the Western world (Ono & Pham, 2008). White laborers who threatened by the competition from AAPI men and made AAPI men the scapegoats during the economic downturn in the late 1800s (Park, 2013; Hing, 1993).

Evolution of the Yellow Peril

The concept of the Yellow Peril is significant because it established foundation for the contemporary model minority stereotype used to oppress AAPI people, including AAPI men (Shibusawa, 2006)**.** The Yellow Peril discourse originated in the late nineteenth century in the Western hemisphere, but by 1912 a shift occurred. This geopolitical shift followed the Japanese Army's defeat of the Russians in 1905 (Gan, 2012), several decades of rapid Westernization and modernization in China, and the 1911 overthrow of the Qing dynasty by Chinese nationalists, who transformed China into a modern republic (Gan, 2012).

China's entry into the modern market created anxiety in Great Britain and throughout the world. In1911-1912, agitation against the Chinese seamen taking jobs on British ships led to violence in Limehouse (London's then-Chinatown). As tensions between the East and West grew, a new surge in fictional Yellow Peril narratives occurred (Gan, 2012). With the help of literary fancy, the Yellow Peril turned from an issue of immigration to a planned and coordinated invasion (Gan, 2012). It was assumed that China and Japan were intent on using "the racialized colonization that Europeans had pioneered" against the U.S. and the U.K. From 1880 to 1907, stories appeared in prominent American journals about a possible Chinese invasion of the U.S. (Auerbach, 2009), while novels such as *The Yellow Danger* preyed on fears of Chinese colonization of the U.S. and U.K. (Gan, 2012).

The Yellow peril ideology evolved over time in relation to the racial climate in the U.S. As purveyors of the Yellow Peril, Asians were viewed as "inscrutable, sneaky, [and] competitive" and depicted as "military, cultural, or economic enemies and unfair competitors for education and jobs." Yellow Peril fears led to the creation of the caricature of Mr. Wu. the first Yellow Peril personage to make the successful transition into motion picture films (Gan, 2012).

The Yellow Peril narrative continued to evolve in response to changes in circumstances and context. A new wave of Yellow Peril narratives was Dr. Fu Manchu. Dr. Fu Manchu was a fictional villain introduced in a series of novels in 1912 by British author, Sax Rohmer. The novel series endured until 1959 (Mayer, 2013). Sax Rohmer modeled his stories on Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes and Dr. Watson (Gan, 2016). His characters, Sir Denis Nayland Smith and Dr. Petrie, struggle to foil Fu Manchu's murders, kidnappings, and other villainous plots.

From Yellow Peril to Model Minority

Iterations of the model minority stereotype can also be seen in MMORPGs. Like the Yellow Peril discourse, the model minority stereotype is a form of racialization that presents a selective portrayal of Asian Americans and serves broader political purposes (Wu, 2014). From the late nineteenth through the middle of the twentieth century, Asians living in the U.S. were seen as a threat to the U.S. economy, society, and the nation in general (Wu, 2014). With the backdrop of World War II, Japanese immigrants were seen as a threat to America's national security. However, during the mid-1960s, in the midst of the racial and gender liberation movements in the U.S., Asian people were often depicted as "model minorities" whose education and income attainment exceeded that of Whites. This new narrative about AAPI people emerged from and was popularized by the American media (Peterson, 1966), which depicted AAPI people as a "problem-free minority" who served as a model for other racial minorities to emulate (Yu,

2006).

The model minority stereotype may appear to be the opposite of the Yellow Peril stereotype, with the former considered "positive" and the latter negative (Kawai, 2005). In fact, however, the "concepts of the yellow peril and the model minority… form a seamless continuum" (Okihiro, 1994, p. 141) in which the model minority stereotype provides a "complementary, benign image" of the Yellow Peril (Okihiro, 1999, p. 139). Okihiro (1994) identifies the Yellow Peril and the model minority as having a circular relationship that moves in either direction. The Yellow Peril denotes a masculine threat of military and sexual conquest, while the model minority symbolizes a feminized position of passivity and malleability (Okihiro, 1994). AAPI people become the model minority when they were depicted as more successful than other racial minority groups, but they become the Yellow Peril when they outperform White Americans (Kawai, 2005).

The Model Minority Stereotype and the Othering of AAPI Men

The model minority stereotype is the most influential and prevalent stereotype for AAPIs today (Kiang, Huynh, Cheah, Wang, & Yoshikawa, 2017), establishing the foundation for the contemporary feminization of AAPI men. The phrase *model minority*, was first coined in 1966 by sociologist William Peterson, was first used in *The New York Times Magazine* (Accapadi, 2005) to refer to Japanese Americans. Peterson argued that it was Japanese Americans' hard work that prevented this group from being perceived as a "problem minority" (Accapadi, 2005).

Although the model minority myth is often viewed as a harmless or even positive stereotype, it has also been associated with many negative ramifications. The model minority status has been used to condemn other racial groups in the U.S., as Asian American success is seen as affirming the discourse of meritocracy and discrediting those who identify and challenge

structural inequality (Wu, 2014). At a societal level, this seemingly positive stereotype has been used to propagate a "colorblind ideology in the sense that Asian Americans' 'success' is used to deny the existence of institutional racism and to 'prove' that U.S. society is reasonably fair and open for racial minority groups to move up the social ladder'' (Kawai, 2005, p. 114).

Even in 2018, fair and objective portrayals of AAPI people are rare (Lim, 2018). American media portrayed AAPI people as successful, high-achieving, and "problem free" (Lim, 2018). Researchers have corroborated this assertion by aggregating data on all of the Asian subgroups to show that AAPI people as a group are doing relatively well in comparison with other groups (Peterson, 1971; Urban Associates, 1974). Stereotypes of AAPI people as perpetual foreigners, slavish, deceitful, and untrustworthy remain in public discourse (Suzuki, 2002). The model minority narrative continues to suggest that the AAPI community has achieved success and is immune from cultural conflict and discrimination (Yu, 2006).

The model minority stereotype has also, insidiously, been utilized by mainstream American society to maintain White heteronormative masculine superiority (Eguchi & Starosta, 2012). The model minority stereotype creates social pressure for AAPI people to achieve, ignores the diversity within the AAPI population, and overlooks the socioemotional struggles and discrimination confronted by these groups (Kiang, Huynh, Cheah, Wang, & Yoshikawa, 2017). Research findings have been mixed regarding whether the benefits of the model minority stereotype outweigh its harmful effects (Shih, Ambady, Richeson, Fujita, & Gray, 2002; Wong & Halgin, 2006). Unquestionably, however, the model minority stereotype has led to the perpetuation of feminized images of AAPI men in the media.

AAPI Men in Contemporary Media

The oppressive ideals propagated by the model minority stereotype have had a strong influence on the media in the U.S. AAPI men are often invisible in mass media, and specifically in popular magazines (Schug, Alt, Lu, Gosin, & Fay, 2017). Moreover, when they are present, AAPI males are often portrayed as emasculated or feminized, physically unappealing (e.g., unattractive, short, and lacking a masculine physique), lacking in leadership ability, and villainous in character (Sue, 2001). AAPI men tend to appear in the media as one of two extremes: the violent villain, gangster, or martial artist, or the model minority nerd or computer geek (Glaube et al., 2001). American media often denigrate the Asian American male physique by portraying AAPI men as small, nerdy, unathletic, socially awkward, and asexual (Larson, 2006; Wilson et al., 2009). The invisibility of AAPI men is intriguing given that Asians in general are stereotyped in North America as affluent and competent. These stereotypes bolster the "model minority myth," a narrative frequently used to negate the discrimination that Asians experience in America (Thompson & Kiang, 2010).

AAPI Men in Online Games

Online games are no exception in terms of depicting AAPI men in a stereotypical fashion, embracing extreme polarities that represent AAPI men as asexual/homosexual, socially inept nerds, or degenerate gangsters, perceived to be mimicking the image of other men of color. In some cases the Asian gangsters are portrayed as more ruthless than gangsters of other races and more cunning, because of their perceived greater intelligence as AAPI men. Moreover, there is no middle ground in these stereotypes; they are all externally imposed, extreme images. Nowhere in these portrayals is there an option to be just a "regular guy" if you are not White.

In urban-themed games with contemporary settings, Asian American men are often portrayed as Yakuza or Triad thugs, restricting these characters to background at best and stereotypical villains at worst (Phi, 2009). The Yakuza are members of organized crime syndicates in Japan. The Triad is a branch of a transnational organized crime syndicate based in China. In these games, AAPI men often appear as characters who simply engage in martial arts, threatening no one but each other and saving no one. In contrast, White men appear as heroic fighters who fight to save a damsel in distress (Everett, 2005).

AAPI men are also absent from or portrayed as foreigners in "authentic" game genres such as import racing games. Games such as Midnight Club and The Need for Speed: Underground tend to omit Asian men entirely. When they do feature Asian men, they often depict Asian men from Asia, not the diversity of AAPI men in the U.S. This depiction further perpetuates the "forever foreigner" stereotype of Asian Americans (Phi, 2009).

Slow Progress for AAPI Male Representation in Games

There has been some progress, however limited, in incorporating positive representations of AAPI men into video games. For example, Enter the Matrix offered two playable main characters that were non-White: a Black woman and an Asian man. Enter the Matrix is a video game that was initially released in 2004 for the PlayStation 2 console, Xbox console, GameCube, and for computers (Enter the Matrix, n.d.). Additionally, the video game Indigo Prophecy (2005), features an elderly Japanese character who initially speaks in stereotypical broken English, then starts speaking in a husky Brooklyn accent. The elderly Japanese man says that he uses the accent with his bookstore customers for show and notes that he has never been off of Long Island (Phi, 2009).

In addition, the computer game Jade's Empire (2005) offers a wide variety of Asian male and female characters to choose from and provides opportunities for a romantic story between the Asian characters, which is well outside the norm. Although Jade's Empire allows players to interact with Asian characters, however, its fusion of Asian cultures is annoying and predictable. The game also does not feature sufficient voices of Asian American actors (Phi, 2009). Future representations of AAPI men in games must be more sophisticated and varied, incorporating more Asian American voices, showcasing the diversity within the various ethnic groups, and ceasing to typecast AAPI men as martial artists, villains, or nerds (Phi, 2009).

Online Games: A White Man's World

As in the real world, racism and sexism are also present in the virtual world of video games and MMORPGs, with their overrepresentation of male and White characters (Kolko, Nakamura, & Rodman, 2012; Salter & Blodgett, 2012; Waddell, 2014). Video games, much like the Internet at large (Kendall, 2000), are White spaces—made for White players by predominantly White creators, with largely White avatar options (Dietrich, 2013). Moreover, when differentiating between primary and secondary characters, White males are more likely to be featured as the primary protagonist controlled by the user. The underrepresentation of women and people of color in video games has been noted in earlier content analyses, which found that only 13% of characters were female (Beasley & Standley, 2002; Dietz, 1998) and more than 87% of leading characters were white (Heintz-Knowles et al., 2001).

While MMORPG environments theoretically allow players to escape the gender stereotyping of the real world, video games are still often marketed very obviously to men or to women (Lien, 2013). For example, an extensive content analysis of video game characters across 150 popular commercial video games found that male and White characters were

overrepresented compared to the representation of women and people of color (Williams, Martins, Consalvo, & Ivory, 2009). The overrepresentation of White and male character choices provides evidence that White game developers are creating games for people like themselves (Pace et al., 2008). Additionally, contemporary MMORPGs privilege Whiteness by setting it as the default selection when choosing avatar complexion, thereby rendering all deviations from the default as "exotic" (Higgin, 2009).

Literature suggests that women have a secondary status within gaming communities despite women's continuing participation (Salter & Blodgett, 2012). In spite of this situation, women are said to make of 41% of the gamers in the U.S. (ESA, 2017). Women have specific barriers to participation in online gaming such as the design and content of games. They are also under-represented in the gaming industries and the elite competitions. Additionally, there is an assumption that women's gaming skills are inferior to players to identify as male (Bertozzi, 2008; Jenson & de Castell, 2010; Taylor, Jenson, & de Castell, 2009). Beavis and Charles (2007) found women's accounts of online gaming were often underpinned by a binary discourse of gender within hegemonies of masculinity and femininity in gaming. For example, ''men as good at violent games'' while challenging the way their expertise was only recognized within a discourse of women's subordination: ''Good for a girl'' (p. 702).

Waddell (2014) conducted a systematic content analysis of race and gender in MMOs and reached the same conclusion regarding the overrepresentation of male and White characters. However, Waddell's content analysis contained a small sample size of only one MMORPG, World of Warcraft (2014). Although MMORPGs perpetuate hegemonic dominance, there is a shift in MMORPGs in which the diverse consumer base is demanding greater diversity in the selection of avatars' race and gender (Pace et al., 2008).

These findings are important due to the media's impact on users' perception of social realities, such as gender roles and the social role of ethnic groups (Behm-Morawitz & Mastro, 2009; Comstock & Cobbey, 1979; Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Mastro, Behm-Morawitz, & Ortiz, 2007; Rivadeneyra, Ward, & Gordon, 2007). The overrepresentation of White male characters in video games and MMOs can reinforce gender stereotypes (Behm-Morawitz & Mastro, 2009) and endanger the racial identity of non-White players (Lee & Park, 2011).

Massively Multiplayer Online Role-Playing Games

Massively multiplayer online role-playing games (MMORPGs) are game universes inhabited by thousands of players at the same time ("massively multiplayer") with no spatial or temporal boundaries because they are played online. These games allow players to adopt various virtual personas vis-à-vis their avatars (role playing) (Kuss et al., 2012). These types of games have become increasingly popular. For example, World of Warcraft currently has a total of 5.19 million subscriptions for 2018 (Statista, 2018). The increase in the number of people playing is alarming to some, as MMORPGs are believed to be a particularly addictive form of Internet gaming. Researchers found that MMORPG players are significantly more likely to experience gaming-related problems than players who do not engage in MMORPGs (Caplan, Williams, & Yee, 2009; Collins, Freeman, & Chamarro-Premuzic, 2012; Kuss et al., 2012; Peters & Malesky, 2008).

There are a multitude of reasons why MMORPGs are so addictive. First, MMORPGs require a significant investment of time by the player. This time investment has been found to be associated with gaming-related problems (Peters & Malesky, 2008; Yee, 2006). Further, certain structural game characteristics have been found to increase the risk of addiction, or what the American Psychiatric Association (2013) has identified as "Internet Gaming Disorder." These

characteristics include online (as opposed to offline) gaming (Thomas & Martin, 2010), positive reinforcement (Chumbley & Griffiths, 2006), the enjoyment of particular game features—i.e., adult content, finding rare in-game items, and watching game cut scenes (King, Delfabbro, & Griffiths, 2010)—and taking more pride in one's virtual persona than in oneself (Smahel, Blinka, & Ledabyl, 2008). To understand what draws so many players to this form of gaming, it is necessary to recognize both the benefits and consequences of playing MMORPGs.

Benefits of Online Gaming

Proponents of online game play argue that there are educational, therapeutic, and social benefits to online gaming (Cole & Griffiths, 2007; Griffiths, 2010; Hussain & Griffiths, 2008; Trepte, Reinecke, & Juechems, 2012; Zhong, 2011). Some researchers have suggested that online gaming can make people feel psychologically better and help raise their self-esteem (Griffiths, 2005b, 2005c). In addition, the immersive and dissociative experience of gaming may be therapeutic, helping people deal with everyday stresses and strains (Griffiths, 2010). For example, Griffiths (2003) found that video games have been shown to help children cope with chemotherapy, psychotherapy, particular emotional and behavioral problems (i.e., attention deficit disorder, impulsivity, autism), and medical and health problems (i.e., Erb's palsy, muscular dystrophy, burns).

Additionally, researchers have found that online gaming allows players to make friends online and build social capital (Cole & Griffiths, 2007; Trepte et al., 2012; Zhong, 2001). Cole and Griffiths (2007) found that MMORPGs offer a place for people to express themselves in ways they may not feel comfortable doing in real life. Furthermore, Delwiche (2006) found that video games develop skills such as high-level thinking, reaction times, visual attention, and

literacy. Despite the acknowledged educational, social, and therapeutic benefits of gaming, however, critics are quick to highlight the negative consequences of online game play.

Negative Consequences of Online Gaming

Studies show that Internet Gaming Disorder (IGD) can lead to a wide range of negative consequences, including such psychosocial problems as an obsession with gaming, no real-life relationships (Allison, von Wahlde, Shockley, & Gabbard, 2006), aggressive/oppositional behavior and hostility (Chan & Rabinowitz, 2006; Chiu, Lee, & Huang, 2004), maladaptive cognitions (Peng & Liu, 2010), and increased thoughts of committing suicide (Rehbein, Psych, Kleimann, Mediasci, & Mössle, 2010). Moreover, IGD has been found to lead to psychosomatic problems including seizures (Chuang, 2006) and sleep abnormalities (Allison et al., 2006).

Due to its numerous potential negative consequences, IGD is a global health concern that warrants a serious investigation and treatment responses. Prevalence rates reported have been reported as 8.5% for American youth ages 8-18 years old (Gentile, 2009), 1.2% for German adolescents ages 13-18 years old (Rehbein, Kliem, Baier, Mössle, & Petry, 2015), 5.5% for Dutch adolescents ages 13-20 years old, and 5.4% among Dutch adults (Lemmens, Valkenburg, & Gentile, 2015). In addition, 4.3% of Hungarian adolescents ages 15-16 years old (Király, Griffiths, Urbán et al., 2014), 1.4% of Norwegian gamers (Wittek, et al., 2016), and 1.6% of European youth from seven countries ages 14-17 years (Müller et al., 2015) have been identified as meeting the criteria for IGD.

Personal Achievement in Online Games

Personal achievement is a psychological need (Wan & Chiou, 2006b) that players can fulfill within games via their avatars (Ng & Wiemer-Hastings, 2005; Smahel et al., 2008). Studies confirm that players who are particularly driven by achievement rewards more

commonly engage in excessive and even compulsive MMO play (e.g., Charlton & Danforth, 2007; Clark & Scott, 2009; Deci, Koestner, & Ryan, 1999; Kelly, 2004; Snodgrass, Dengah, Lacy, & Fagan, 2011; Snodgrass et al., 2012; Yee, 2006, 2007). In addition, researchers have found that achievement motivation may lead to problematic gaming. For example, individuals who try to use game success to compensate for a lack of success in their real lives may experience stress and negative health outcomes (Snodgrass, Lacy, Dengah II, Eisenhauer, Batchelder, & Cookson, 2014).

Yee (2006) divided achievement in online gaming into three subcomponents: advancement, mechanics, and competition. He defined *advancement* as a player's desire to gain power, wealth, and status within the game context (Yee, 2006). Game *mechanics* refer to the optimization of character performance by analyzing rules, systems, and the numbers of a game (Yee, 2006). *Competition* refers to players' desire to compete with others (Yee, 2006). Yee (2006) also found gender differences in players' motivation for playing: Men were more driven by the need for achievement, whereas women were motivated by a desire for social interaction.

Low Self-Esteem and Avatar Presentation

Like achievement, low self-esteem has been found to increase the likelihood of disordered gaming (Aydin & Sari, 2011; Kim & Davis, 2009; King & Delfabbro, 2014; Ryan, Rigsby, & Przybylski, 2006; Stetina, Kothgassner, Lehenbauer, & Kryspin-Exner, 2011). Rosenberg, Schooler, and Schoenbach (1989) define *self-esteem* as the evaluation of a person's self-concept, which is heavily dependent on reflected appraisals, social comparisons, and self-attributions. Initial research exploring the relationship between self-esteem and Internet gaming suggests that individuals with lower global self-esteem may be at a greater risk of engaging in problematic play (Aydin & Sari, 2011; Niemz, Griffiths, & Banyard, 2005). This finding affirms

the well-established association between self-esteem and a preference for interactions in the virtual environment (Caplan, 2005; Davis, 2001; Liu & Peng, 2009).

Davis (2001) found that individuals who reported lower levels of self-efficacy and self-appraisal and greater self-doubt were more likely to garner resources from online environments to address social and psychological needs. Although the relationship between gaming and self-esteem has been established, it is still unclear how individuals' self-esteem influences their success in the gaming environment (Beard & Wickham, 2016). Leménager et al. (2013) found that MMORPG players had poorer body image and hypothesized that the need to cope with the adolescent developmental task of identity formation, including the acceptance of physical changes and the identification with one's own gender in culture-specific stereotypes, affected the higher prevalence of addiction to MMORPG during adolescence. Although, Leménager et al.'s (2013) study did not focus on adults, it is worth exploring this connection further, as many adults started gaming as teenagers.

Socializing within MMORPGs: A Motivating Factor for Online Gaming

Socializing is an integral component of the enjoyment of playing MMORPGs and has been identified as the primary motivation for playing (Yee, 2006). For example, Taylor and Taylor's (2009) qualitative analysis of gamer motivations showed that social communication and group cohesion were the strongest motivators for game playing. Yee (2006) identified three subcomponents that comprise the social factor of gaming: socializing, relationship building, and teamwork (Yee, 2006). *Socializing* involves chatting and developing friends in the game by cooperating as a team. *Relationship building* refers to the gamer's desire to build meaningful, long-term relationships with others (Yee, 2006). Yee (2006) describes the element of *teamwork* as players deriving satisfaction from being part of a group effort.

Low social loneliness and high life satisfaction, self-esteem, and social competence are indicators of well-being that have been used in research on the relationship between psychosocial well-being and pathological gaming. These constructs are interrelated. For example, someone who lacks social competence and self-esteem may avoid social interaction (Sletta, Valas, & Skaalvik, 1996), which may lead to feelings of loneliness (Dill & Anderson, 1999; Parker & Asher, 1993).

Obsessive vs. Harmonious Passion

Proponents of online game play suggest a dualistic model to understand the motivations for engaging in online game play and the sociopsychological characteristics behind the motivations (Puerta-Cortés, Panova, Carbonell, & Chamarro, 2017). The dualistic model of passion differentiates between obsessive and harmonious passion (Vallerand et al., 2003), independent of the object or behavior that inspires the passion. *Obsessive passion* is described as passion that is urgent and compulsive, whereas *harmonious passion* is described as voluntary engagement in an activity. Harmonious passion is characterized by the individual accepting the importance of the activity and choosing it freely. The activity thereby occupies a significant portion of the person's life, but does not dominate the person's life (Utz, Jonas, & Tonkens, 2012). Conversely, with obsessive passion, the individual is driven to pursue the activity by intra- or interpersonal pressures, such as the desire for heightened self-esteem or social acceptance within a specific group.

Obsessive passion is related to feelings such as shame (Vallerand et al., 2003), and shame is particularly important within an Asian cultural context. From a phenomenological perspective, *shame* is described as feelings of inadequacy and a desire to escape or hide (Blum, 2008;

Tangney & Dearing, 2002). Studies have found that shame is correlated with negative mental health outcomes (Wong, Kim, Nguyen, Cheng, & Saw, 2014).

Shame is a salient part of many Asian cultures. Several Asian languages, including Korean, Chinese, and Japanese, contain more shame-based words than does English (Bedford, 2004; Fessler, 2007; Ha, 1995; Li, Wang, & Fischer, 2004), and shame-oriented parenting techniques are common among Chinese and Chinese American parents (Fung, 1999; Fung, Lieber, & Leung, 2003; S. Y. Kim, Wang, Orozco-Lapray, Shen, & Murtuza, 2013). Moreover, higher levels of experiences of shame have been found among AAPI people more so than among White people (Lutwak, Razzino, & Ferrari, 1998; Miller, 2002). For AAPI people, the interpersonal component of shame may be more prevalent due to the collectivist values in Asian cultures (Wong & Tsai, 2007).

Although shame is particularly culturally relevant to AAPI people, some personality traits have also been shown to predict harmonious versus obsessive play (Utz, Jonas, & Tonkens, 2012). Vallerand et al. (2003) found that a person who operates from an autonomous internalization approach predicts the development of harmonious passion, whereas a controlled internalization approach fosters the development of an obsessive passion. *Autonomous internalization* occurs when an individual freely accepts an activity as important for them without any contingencies attached to it. In contrast, *controlled internalization* originates from intra- and/or interpersonal pressure, typically because certain contingencies, such as social acceptance or self-esteem, are attached to the activity (Vallerand et al., 2006).

Research has found that children or teenagers of autonomous parents are more likely to develop harmonious passion. However, children or teenagers of parents who put too much pressure on an activity are more likely to develop obsessive passion. This research is particularly

helpful for AAPI parents, in light of the intense pressure for academic achievement in many

AAPI families (Kiang et al., 2017).

Massively Multiplayer Online Role-Playing Game Culture

MMORPGs are separate universes that can be simultaneously similar to the real world

and/or different from the real world. They are living, self-contained, global, three-dimensional

virtual worlds filled with different terrains and thousands of players simultaneously (Kelly,

2004). MMORPGs have a distinct culture and different physical and sociological rules from the

real world. Examples include are being able to walk through walls, falling upwards when

slipping, and not feeling pain when a rock lands on your head (Kelly, 2004).

There are many compelling ways in which the MMORPG universe is different from and

more fascinating than real life. First, MMORPGs offer concrete evidence of daily progress that

may be absent from real life. For example, every small accomplishment of an avatar or character

in an MMORPG can yield rewards, such as experience points, game currency, and other virtual

items. Additionally, MMORPG players are judged based on their characters' actions rather than

on characteristics that bestow or deny privilege in the real world, such as appearance, age,

connections, or socioeconomic status. Thus a person's game life cannot be impacted by the

multitude of factors that either help or hinder that person in reality.

MMORPGs also offer the incentive of a quest, in which a player can gain experience and

profit by seeking out danger. Quests provide players with the joy and excitement of exploration

without the risks or perils inherent in a real journey (Kelly, 2004). In addition, MMORPGs

involve player organizations, such as guilds, clans, corporations, and kinships. These

organizations are pivotal components of game play, as some of the game content is dependent on

the collaboration of many players (Webber, 2014). Guilds, for example, are complex social

networks in which players are committed to completing game objectives by engaging in social interaction (Zhang & Kaufman, 2017). Zhang and Kaufman (2017) found that actively participating in well-organized guilds improves older adults' social and emotional well-being. Lastly, although racism and sexism still exist in the virtual gaming world, gamers do have the ability to customize their virtual representation in terms of race and gender, and thus to experience these characteristics differently than they do in real life.

Avatar Creation

Avatar creation/customization is a major component of MMORPGs, allowing players to construct an avatar (also known as their character) to participate and interact in the virtual worlds. The term *avatar* comes from a Sanskrit word meaning alter ego or personification (Ducheneaut, Wen, Yee, & Wadley, 2009). Many MMORPGs allow players to customize their avatar's appearance, choosing eye color, hairstyle, height, body shape, clothing, accessories, and personality traits (Lin & Wang, 2014).

However, players are frequently required to select from among several races, and this selection produces an avatar that is preprogrammed to behave in a certain manner based on race. In the game of World of Warcraft, for example, dwarves utter an oath in a Scottish dialect (Rowland & Barton, 2011). Dwarves, elves, and trolls are considered part of the traditional fantasy races from literary traditions. An example of stereotypical human characters occurs when Asian characters are limited to martial artist roles (Rowland & Barton, 2011). In recent years, MMORPGs have begun to offer more options in terms of skin complexion and races to choose from.

There are two types of relationships between the player and the avatar (Castronova, 2003). In the first type of relationship, the avatar is a virtual embodiment of the player's offline

self. From a relational perspective, the avatar is a means of experimentation with possible selves that are generally better than the real self, but at the same time similar to the real self (Baym, 2002; Kendall, 2002; Kennedy, 2006). In the second type, the avatar is a mere artifact. From the socio constructionist perspective, the avatar is considered an avenue to explore identities beyond the boundaries of real life (Bruckman, 1992; Curtis, 1996; Turkle, 1995; Vicdan & Ulusoy, 2008).

These two relationships correspond to two perspectives on the nature of the avatar's function in relation to the player. In the first perspective, called the "relational perspective," the avatar provides a means to experiment with possible "better" selves that are similar to a player's offline self (Baym, 2002; Kendall, 2002; Kennedy, 2006). From this perspective, the player will conceptualize the avatar closely to their offline or real self (Dunn & Guadagno, 2012; Wang, Yang, & Shen, 2014).

In the second perspective, the "socio-constructive perspective," players experiment with identities that are distinctly different from their offline selves (Bruckman, 1992; Curtis, 1996; Turkle, 1995; Vicdan & Ulusoy, 2008). For example, players may experiment with embodying a different being (e.g. animals, mermaids, cyborgs) or engaging in bodily experiences they could not engage in otherwise due to physical or psychological obstacles (e.g. flying, skydiving, skiing) (Vidcan & Ulusoy, 2008). Pringle (2015) conducted a study to investigate gender differences in avatar creation and the connection between body self-esteem and avatar creation. The study found players with a high body self-esteem created an avatar that was similar to their offline self. In contrast, players with low body self-esteem created an avatar that was similar, but down played or exaggerated features they did not like in their offline self (Pringle, 2015). Females show more variation in terms of the class choices of their avatar. Also, players with

personalized avatars displayed higher levels of aggression than those with a non-personalized avatar (Fischer, Kastenmuller, & Greitemeyer, 2010). Conversely, avatars also could allow for an increase in self-esteem because the gaming environments allow people to fully express themselves. Lastly, research has found differences in the ways Western and Asian users self-present in games (Yee, 2006).

Racial Identities in the Avatar World

Race in the virtual world of MMORPGs is used to differentiate species of characters (Rowland & Barton, 2011), as well as to differentiate races among humans. Most MMORPGs include humans along with other fantasy races (i.e., elves, dwarfs, and trolls) (Rowland & Barton, 2011). Similar to the offline world, race is a salient visual cue that is used to judge gamers within the virtual world, whether race refers to skin color and/or species of characters (Dotsch & Wigboldus, 2008; Eastwick & Gardner, 2008; Rossen, Johnsen, Deladisma, Lind, & Lok, 2008).

Race in the virtual world is represented in two major character components: physiological and behavioral differentiation. Racial prejudice has been shown to carry over to the virtual world (Vang & Fox, 2014). Some research studies have found that people respond more negatively to Black than to White avatars (Vang & Fox, 2014). For example, Eastwick and Gardner (2008) conducted a field study in a virtual environment and found that users were more apt to respond to requests from a light-skinned avatar than from a dark-skinned avatar. Most MMORPGs operate within inherent institutional racism, where players are first exposed to racially segregated environments that do not encouraged interracial interaction (Rowland & Barton, 2011).

Within MMORPGs, Black and Brown avatars are often depicted using extreme and blatant racial tropes such as the gangster or athlete. These racial tropes perpetuate the dominant

culture's hypermasculine views of Black and Brown men. The depiction of Black and Brown men in games is important because MMORPGs act as "sites for socially and materially distributed cognition, complex problem solving, identity work, individual and collaborative learning across multimedia, multimodality 'attention spaces' and rich meaning-making" (Steinkuehler, 2005, p. 20). When they are present in game contexts at all, Asian men are often relegated to martial arts games or to the role of stereotypical villains (Thien-bao Thuc, 2009). There is growing concern that some games are acting as stewards of White hegemony (Higgin, 2009).

Avatars and Gender Selection

In addition to the impact of an avatar's race on social interactions online, avatar gender influences the way players interact in the context of the game. A basic element of an MMORPG user's identity, avatar gender should be understood differently from biological sex because it is a means of expressing appearance in the virtual world (Paik & Shi, 2013). Gender in this context is performative, and is used to create an online persona that is not real, but hyperreal (Flanagan, 2000). Researchers consider gender selection in the virtual world as part of the identity construction process where the avatar is a visual presentation of the user (Ducheneaut et al., 2009; Paik & Shi, 2013). Nevertheless, the impact of gender—of the participants and the avatars—is still present in the virtual world (Lehdonvirta, Nagashima, Lehdonvirta, & Baba, 2012).

Yee et al. (2011) found that male avatars tend to perform male-preferred activities and female avatars tend to perform female-preferred activities, regardless of the real gender of their owners. Research indicates that participants in online virtual worlds respond in stereotypical ways to the gender and physical characteristics of an avatar (Waddell & Ivory, 2015). An

avatar's sex can influence participants' perceptions of the avatar's user (Lee, 2004). Female

players often respond to male and female avatars in gender stereotypical ways (Lee, 2005), and

male avatars frequently behave in male-prescribed gender roles. For example, female players

were more likely to assist female avatars than male avatars in virtual worlds (Griffiths et al.,

2003; Wang & Wang, 2008).

Lehdonvirta et al. (2012) found that the gender of the avatar influences help-seeking

behavior, regardless of a player's physical sex. Male avatars are less likely to seek out help

compared to female avatars, regardless of the user's identified sex. Lehdonvirta et al. (2012)

concluded that the influence of avatar gender on help-seeking behavior could be understood in

two ways. First, the avatar's gender shapes the other participants' expectations of the user,

thereby shaping the user's behavior with the avatar. Second, users adjust their behavior to align

with the avatar's sex, independent of other participants' perceptions. As a result, an avatar's

behavior tends to follow gender-specific roles in the area of help-seeking behavior regardless of

the user's sex.

Additionally, visual representations of the sexes are either hypersexualized or overly

masculine. Female avatars are often displayed wearing seductive clothing or armor with

enormous breasts (Beasley & Standley, 2002; Bertozzi, 2008; Kennedy, 2002). Moreover,

female avatars are often relegated to background or supporting roles for the male characters

(Brehm, 2013). Specific roles include the damsel in distress or the prize for completing a quest or

game objective (Bryce & Rutter, 2003). Male avatars are also subject to unrealistic and

stereotypical depictions. Male avatars are often overly muscular and heroic. However, male

avatars are rarely portrayed as sexual objects (Brehm, 2013).

Gender swapping, also known as the Proteus effect, is a common practice in gaming.

This phenomenon was named after the Greek god known for the ability to take on different physical forms. Hussain and Griffiths (2008) found that 57% of gamers used an avatar of the opposite gender. Female participants played with a male avatar to avoid prejudice towards women in these male-dominated environments and to avoid unwanted courting behavior. Male gamers used female avatars to garner attention and gifts from other male players while enjoying the ability to control and look at a virtual female body (Hussain & Griffiths, 2008; Yee, 2008). Researchers have found that people often conform to the stereotypes associated with the gender of virtual self-representations (Lee, Nass, & Bailenson, 2014).

Avatars and Class Selection

Class in the MMORPG world often signifies a character's role, and more specifically its skills and style of combat. A player's class choice also determines the player's role in a social group (Pringle, 2015). Class variations in MMORPGs include warrior, mage, healer/cleric, rogue, berserker, and paladin.

Within team play, certain combinations of classes work well to effectively carry out game objectives. The warrior class has high defense and medium strength. A warrior can withstand high hits and protects a team from dangerous monsters. Mage is a ranged attacker. This class has high attack but low defense, and is best used with a tanker. Healer/cleric has moderate defense, but minimal attacking skills. Rogue has high damage and low defenses. A player must have a lot of money to maintain this class type. Berserker is a slightly more armored rogue, which is good for attacking an enemy's health. This class type is best used by more experienced players. Paladins stand directly in front of their enemies and rely on heavy armor and healing to survive incoming attacks. They have high defense and moderate attacking ability.

MMORPGs in an Asian Context

To understand why AAPI men engage in playing MMORPGS, we must investigate how the motivations identified above apply to this group of men. MMORPGs offer virtual environments in which some players seek growth opportunities such as pursuing achievements, leadership, and relationships (Kaczmarek & Drazkowski, 2014), while other players dive into the world of MMORPGs world as a way to avoid, escape, or cope with real-world problems. It is unclear whether there are specific sociocultural factors that draw AAPI men to this type of gaming. This discussion will explore the research on sociocultural factors and examine how the intersection of race and gender may impact the experiences of AAPI men who play MMORPGs. It will also explore how sociocultural factors specific to AAPI men may lead to addictive playing.

Gaming culture in Asia is very different than in the U.S. South Korea and Japan are regional hubs for electronic gaming. South Korea pioneered online gaming with MMORPGs, while Japan's focus was gaming consoles such as Sony PlayStation, Nintendo, Game Boy, etc. In Asia, and specifically South Korea, there are many cyber cafés or "PC bangs," which refer to personal computer rooms or electronic cafés. PC bangs are cafés with a high-speed Internet connection, ergonomic chairs, powerful and fast personal computers, and food. Patrons can play MMORPGs for $.44 to $1.30 for an hour of play. PC bangs were essential to the swift deployment of broadband services in South Korea (Jin, 2010).

The first PC bangs were opened in 1997 during South Korea's 1997 financial crisis (Aizu, 2002). These business establishments were backed by the Korean government and grew rapidly in popularity. The South Korean government put the online game industry in the center of its policy on digital economy and culture. As early as the 1990s, the Korean government

wanted to develop its businesses and information technologies to establish itself as a high-tech industry leader (Jin, 2010). Unlike the U.S., with its plethora of grass and outdoor space, Korea is densely populated and green space is limited. It is widely accepted for Korean youth to go to PC bangs to blow off steam by playing MMORPGs. Korean gamers worry less about the negative "geek" taboo that gamers in other parts of the world confront (Jin, 2010).

The online gaming industry dominates South Korea; however, console games were never officially marketed in South Korea on a mass scale. The Korean government historically restricted Japanese imports due the bitter relationship between South Korea and Japan. Although, these restrictions were lifted in 1998, the South Korean government expanded the national broadband networks and proliferated PC bangs. The focus on domestic information technology was viewed as a means to help rebuild Korea's economy. Therefore, South Korea targeted its efforts at expanding its local online game enterprises (Jin, 2010).

This study draws on *self-determination theory* as a comprehensive framework to help identify AAPI men's motivations and the factors that influence their well-being (Beard & Wickham, 2016). The basic needs component of self-determination theory suggests that for optimal functioning, an individual's environment must satisfy their need for autonomy, competence, and relatedness (Deci & Ryan, 1995). The long history of marginalization and negative portrayals of AAPI men in Western society, through stereotypes and unflattering media representations (Le Espiritu, 2008), may thwart the fulfillment of these needs, especially in the areas of competence and relatedness.

Body Image and Low Self-Esteem among Asian American/Pacific Islander Men

In popular media, AAPI men are typically portrayed either as short, unattractive, physically weak nerds (Sue, 2005) or as one-dimensional martial artists who display physical

prowess only in the area of fighting, never sexually (Wong & Rinehart, 2013). The pervasiveness of these images may create negative self-perceptions among AAPI men (Shek, 2006). Similarly, the perpetual foreigner stereotype is a subtle yet destructive form of discrimination that continually ostracizes AAPI men as "Other" due to their race (Cheng, McDermott, Wong, & La, 2016). This stereotype may promote self-consciousness around appearance and trigger compensatory behaviors in an effort to fit in with the standards of society (Chen, 1999; Lu & Wong, 2013).

This finding affirms the well-established association between self-esteem and a preference for interactions in the virtual environment (Caplan, 2005; Davis, 2001; Liu & Peng, 2009). Researchers have found that individuals with low self-esteem or disappointing personal relationships may use games to escape reality, find friendship, or attain the sense of achievement they have not attained in real life (Leung, 2004; Williams, Yee, & Caplan, 2008). Bessiere, Seay, and Kiesler (2007) found that players with low self-esteem created avatars based on ideal rather than actual selves whereas players with high self-esteem created avatars that aligned with their actual selves (Bessier et al., 2007). Moreover, Stetina et al. (2011) found that players with problematic gaming behavior played MMORPGs more than other type of online games.

With regard to AAPI men's body image, emerging literature indicates that Asian and AAPI men report lower body satisfaction and a higher drive for muscularity than White or Black men (Barnett, Keel, & Conoscenti, 2001; Grammas & Schwartz, 2009; Kelly, Cotter, Tanofsky-Kraff, & Mazzeo, 2015; Keum, Wong, DeBlaere, & Brewster, 2015). This finding suggests that racial/ethnic experiences such as discrimination may negatively impact AAPI men's well-being, leaving them vulnerable to muscularity and body image concerns (Iwamoto, Liao, & Liu, 2010; Kelly et al., 2015). Based on this research, AAPI men who struggle with body image or self-

esteem may prefer MMORPGs, both due to the ability to create avatars based on their ideal self and as a means to find friendship.

Opportunities to Display Leadership/Competence in MMORPGs

In addition to playing MMORPGs to cope with low self-esteem, AAPI men may choose this form of online gaming because it offers opportunities for leadership and achievement in the virtual world. AAPI men are often viewed as lacking leadership abilities. In Cheng's (1996) study, college students were asked to select peers who exhibited leadership qualities. AAPI men were the least likely to be chosen by their peers, even though based on merit they were the most qualified candidates (Cheng, 1996). The AAPI men were not selected due to the perception that they did not possess leadership qualities (Cheng, 1996).

Moreover, Liang et al. (2010) found that some AAPI men may work harder than other men in real life to achieve academic and professional success as a way to cope with racism. AAPI men who are dissatisfied with their lives may therefore be at greater risk of engaging in problematic play. Similarly, self-concept deficits may cause addicts to minimize social interaction and increasingly seek refuge in the Internet's anonymity. This can lead to a vicious circle of computer and Internet overuse likely to culminate in social isolation, loneliness, and depression (Shaw & Black, 2008).

However, from a more affirming perspective, Beard and Wickham (2016) found evidence that delicate or insecure self-worth is associated with seeking Internet gaming as a self-worth affirming event. Thus AAPI men may enjoy MMORPGS because they offer opportunities to achieve and demonstrate leadership skills, as well as to select a virtual appearance that represents their ideal self.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this interpretive phenomenological research study was to explore how race and gender impacted the lived experiences of AAPI men living in the southeastern U.S. who play MMORPGS. The goal of this inquiry was to address a gap in the research literature by examining how race and gender may impact the gaming experience of AAPI men. A few studies have examined the experiences of AAPI men with regard to race and gender (Liang et al., 2010). However, no researcher has examined the lived experiences of AAPI men who play MMORPGs. The present study drew on the theoretical perspectives of CRT (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) and hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1982, 1983) to provide a framework for this investigation. By examining the intersection of race and gender and its impact on AAPI men's lived experience in the virtual world of Internet gaming, this study seeks to provide insight into the cultural perspectives of AAPI men who struggle with excessive MMORPG game playing.

In this chapter, I present the study's research question, then explain the research design and methodology, including the rationale for choosing a phenomenological approach and utilizing the perspectives of CRT (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001), and hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1982, 1983). Next, I describe the research process, including participant recruitment, data collection, data analysis, trustworthiness, and ethical considerations. Finally, I will discuss my reflections as the researcher throughout this process. The research question that guided this study is: What are the lived experiences of racism that Asian American and Pacific Islander men face playing MMORPGs?

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)

This study utilized an interpretative phenomenological analysis approach (Smith et al., 2009; Smith, Osborn, Flowers, & Jarman, 1998) to explore the lived experiences of AAPI men who play MMORPGs. The goal of phenomenological research traditions is to discover and describe the meaning or essence of participants' lived experience (Hays & Singh, 2012; van Deurzen, 2014). The founding principle of phenomenological inquiry is that experience should be examined in the way that it occurs, and in its own terms. Edmund Husserl, the founder of phenomenology, stated that phenomenology involves the careful examination of human experience (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009, p. 12). Phenomenology will allow the participants to voice their lived experience of playing MMORPGs as AAPI men in dominant society.

The interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) approach to qualitative research is informed by three theoretical and philosophical underpinnings: phenomenology, hermeneutics, and idiography (Smith et al., 2009). *Phenomenology* refers to the philosophical approach of studying experience (Smith et al., 2009). In the context of this study, it focuses on how the participants examine and comprehend their lived experiences of playing MMORPGs as AAPI men living in the Southeast.

Hermeneutics, the second major theoretical foundation of IPA (Smith et al., 2009), is a theory of the methods and purposes of interpretation itself. In this study, hermeneutics is concerned with how AAPI men interpret their gaming experience through their racial and gender identities. *Idiography*, the third major influence, focuses on the details of a phenomenon (Smith et al., 2009). Idiography applied to this study would examine, for example, whether and how

racial and gender stereotypes impact AAPI men's choice of avatar and how AAPI men display

masculinity through their avatar in the game.

IPA is committed to exploring, describing, interpreting, and situating the means through

which individuals make sense of their experiences (Smith et al., 2009). IPA is an appropriate

method for this study because it aimed to give voice to and examined the participants' lived

experiences (Smith, 2004). IPA's concern for the particulars is translated at two levels. First, due

to IPA's emphasis on specifics, the analysis of a topic or phenomenon must be thorough and

systematic. Second, IPA is committed to examining how a group of people understands a

particular experiential phenomenon (i.e., event, process, or relationship). As a result, IPA utilizes

small, purposively selected, and carefully situated samples, and may often make very effective

use of single case analyses. Idiography does not abstain from generalizations, but locates them in

the particular and develops them more cautiously (Harré, 1979; Smith et al., 2009).

Theoretical Framework

Due to the role-playing and social nature of MMORPGs, CRT (Delgado & Stefanic,

2012) and hegemonic masculinity theory (Connell, 1982, 1983) provide applicable theoretical

perspectives through which to view AAPI men's game play. MMORPGs offer opportunities for

players to achieve status, display leadership, and establish social connections (Kaczmarek &

Drazkowski, 2014). Race and masculinity are key constructs for understanding AAPI men's

attraction to online games, due the negative impact racial and gender stereotypes may have on

their self-concept. In addition to CRT, this utilized AsianCrit (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001), to

analyze masculinity among AAPI men. AsianCrit is a perspective that more specifically

addresses the needs and concerns of Asian Americans (Chang, 1993; Liu, 2009). The AsianCrit

framework is not intended to replace the tenets of CRT. It. Instead, it utilizes CRT and the

existing knowledge about Asian American experiences to offer tailored AAPI-related tenets that can further advance the critical analysis of racism and in the lives of Asian Americans (Museus, 2013). In addition, AsianCrit's concepts can be useful in understanding the experiences of other communities of color and can contribute to larger discussions on racism's functions in society (Museus, 2013).

CRT (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) is a pertinent tool to utilize in a study of AAPI men because they occupy inconsistent spaces in society (Park, 2008) and AAPI men's experiences of a racialized self differ from those of other men and may lead to stress (Lu & Wong, 2013). AAPI men occupy two positions: one of privilege as a man and one of marginalization as a minority (Liu & Wong, 2016). For example, AAPI men were historically emasculated within the dominant culture by being limited to traditionally "feminine" jobs such as doing laundry, housekeeping, and cooking (Takaki, 1993). This is one of many examples of the culture's feminization of AAPI men within the White male hegemony. Furthermore, although the "model minority" label often applied to Asian Americans seems positive, it characterizes AAPI men as asexual overachievers (Chan, 1998; Mok, 1998). CRT thus provides an ideal framework to investigate the influence of race and gender on AAPI men's masculine identity and their gaming behavior in MMORPGs.

CRT (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) began as an outgrowth of critical legal studies, a movement initiated by legal scholars in the 1970s that sought to challenge American values of meritocracy and fairness, which they viewed as upholding oppressive structures in society (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001). CRT's four tenents provide a means for utilizing the forces of oppression to generate individual and societal change (Tierney, 1993). The key tenets of CRT

include: (1) racism persists as a common and central component of U.S. society; (2) race is socially constructed; (3) race and racism intersect with other forms of oppression to perpetuate marginalization; and (4) the voices and experiences of people of color play an essential role in explaining racial dynamics (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000).

This study emphasized the first, third, and fourth tenets of CRT (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). It also examined how racism has shaped and continues to strongly influence the negative perceptions of AAPI men in American society, by exploring the immigration history, stereotypes, and gender role conflict of AAPI men. Further, this study considered how racism intersects with other forms of oppression to perpetuate the marginalization of AAPI men. Lastly, the study investigated AAPI men's experiences in relation to race and gender in general, and within the online gaming sphere more specifically, through their own voices.

The first tenet, that racism persists as a common and central component of U.S. society (Delgado, & Stefancic), highlights the centrality of race and racism and their intersectionality with other forms of subordination, characterizing racism as endemic and permanent (Russell, 1992). *Racism* is a system of exploitation and oppression used to subjugate African-Americans, Latinos, Asians, Pacific Americans, American Indians and other people in the U.S. on the basis of race/ethnicity, culture, mannerisms, and the color of their skin (Marable, 1992). This study highlights the historical subjugation of AAPI men through a form of gendered racism that propagates feminized and emasculated images and portrayals of this group.

The second tenet of CRT challenges dominant ideology by asserting that race is socially constructed (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Crenshaw and her colleagues argued that CRT seeks to "piece together an intellectual identity and a political practice that would take the form both of a left intervention into race discourse and a race intervention into left discourse." CRT's third

tenet, that race and racism intersect with other forms of oppression to perpetuate marginalization (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001), expresses its commitment to social justice. This commitment includes striving to eliminate racism, sexism, and poverty and to empower underrepresented minority groups (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001). The fourth tenet, which states that the voices and experiences of people of color play an essential role in explaining racial dynamics (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001), emphasizes the need to listen to the voices of people of color when discussing and addressing racial dynamics. This study provided a space for AAPI men to speak for themselves about race and gender in society and within the MMORPG arena.

In addition to CRT, this research utilized AsianCrit (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) to analyze masculinity among AAPI men. AsianCrit is a framework that utilizes CRT and existing knowledge about Asian American experiences to offer a refined set of uniquely tailored tenets that can further advance critical of racism and Asian American lives (Museus & Iftikar, 2013). AsianCrit is a perspective that more specifically addresses the needs and concerns of Asian Americans (Chang, 1993; Liu, 2009). The AsianCrit framework is not intended to replace the tenets of CRT. Instead, it utilizes CRT and existing knowledge about Asian American experiences to offer tailored AAPI-related tenets that can further advance the critical analysis of racism in the lives of Asian Americans (Museus, 2013). In addition, AsianCrit's concepts can be useful in understanding the experiences of other communities of color and can contribute to larger discussions of racism's functions in society (Museus, 2013).

The key tenets of AsianCrit include: (1) Asianization; (2) Transnational Contexts; (3) (Re)Constructive History; (4) Strategic (Anti)Essentialism; (5) Intersectionality; (6) Story, Theory, and Praxis; (7) Commitment to Social Justice (Museus & Iftikar, 2013). Asianization is a key tenet of AsianCrit. It refers to the reality that racism and nativistic racism are pervasive in

American society and that society racializes Asian Americans in distinct ways. Moreover, such racialization (re)shapes laws and policies that affect Asian American and Pacific Islanders and influence their identities and experiences (Museus, 2013). Asianization often manifests itself in polarized extremes. For example, AAPI men are racially emasculated in some contexts and portrayed as hypermasculine in others. The second tenet, transnational contexts, highlights the importance of historical and contemporary national and international context for Asian Americans. It focuses on critically analyzing how historical and current processes that extend beyond national borders such as imperialism, emergence of global economies, international war and migrations shaped the conditions for AAPI people (Choy, 2000; Museus, Antonio, & Kiang, 2012; Takaki, 1998). Reconstructive history is the third tenet of AsianCrit. Similar to CRT's tenet of revisionist history, this tenet focuses on re-analyzing history to expose the racism towards AAPI people and emphasize that AAPI people have been racially excluded from American history (Museus & Iftikar, 2013). Strategic anti-essentialism builds on CRT's tenet of anti-essentialism (Spivak, 1987). This tenet recognizes the dominant oppressive economic, political, and social forces impact the ways in which AAPI people are categorized and racialized in society. It also highlights the work that AAPI people do to affect these processes (Museus & Iftikar, 2013). AsianCrit intersectionality tenet mirrors CRT's intersectionality tenet by acknowledging the intersecting systems of oppression and rejecting the notion that one form of oppression is more salient than the other oppressions (Museus & Iftikar, 2013). Story, theory and praxis is the sixth tenet and it asserts that stories inform theory and practice (Museus & Iftikar, 2013). The last tenet is the commitment to social justice which is aimed at advocating for the elimination of sexism, heterosexism, capitalism, and other forms of oppression (Museus & Iftikar, 2013).

For AAPI men, gender-specific forms of racism have influenced perceptions of their masculinity and resulted in a number of insidious stereotypes. Liu and Wong (2016) surveyed the literature on AAPI male stereotypes and identified seven stereotypes of this group that exemplify gendered racism. The first stereotype is that AAPI men are martial arts experts or gangsters (Ho, 2011; Wong, Owen, Tran, Collins, & Higgins, 2012). Second, they are perceived as asexual and unattractive, with small penises (Ghavami & Peplau, 2013; Ho, 2011; Lu & Wong, 2013). Third, AAPI men are viewed as feminine (i.e., soft-spoken, shy, caring); psychologically emasculated; and physically inferior (i.e., nonathletic, weak, frail) (Chua & Fujino, 1999; Do, 2006; Guo & Harlow, 2014; Ho, 2011; Phua, 2007; Wilkins, Chan, & Kaiser, 2011; Wong, 2008; Wong, Horn, & Chen, 2013).

The fourth stereotype is that AAPI men are nerdy, unsociable, and lacking in leadership skills. In social media, they are often portrayed as computer geeks. Fifth, AAPI men are viewed as untrustworthy, and are often portrayed as villains who were vile, cunning or scheming (Chen, 1999; Do, 2006; Ho, 2011). Scholars suggested this stereotype can be traced back to historical accounts of the Yellow Peril and its portrayal of AAPI men as a national threat (Ho, 2011; Espiritu, 1996). Sixth, AAPI men are stereotyped as overly competitive and highly achievement-oriented (Niemann, Jennings, Rozelle, Baxter, & Sullivan, 1994). Finally, AAPI men are perceived to be highly patriarchal (Chua & Fujino, 1999).

In a study by Chua and Fujino (1999), Asian immigrant women and White women estimated that 80% of the AAPI male population valued traditional gender roles; in contrast, they perceived White men as more likely to value equal gender roles. AAPI men are often portrayed as representing extremes on the spectrum of masculinity, either hypermasculine or feminine (Shek, 2006). Thus race and gender are inextricably intertwined in creating negative stereotypes

of AAPI men, who, in addition to countering these perceptions, must also navigate societal gender roles within society.

Hegemonic Masculinity and AAPI Men

Hegemonic masculinity is viewed as the norm, but only a small fraction of men can embody or enact it (Chou, 2015). Male hegemony refers to a range of structures and activities as well as values, attitudes, beliefs and morality, that in various ways support established order and the class and male interests which dominate it (Arnot, 2015). Within the racialized hegemonic masculinity frame, AAPI masculinity is subordinated and undermined by the perceived lack of masculine physical traits (Phua, 2007). The Asian American male experience is unique from other racial minorities in the U.S. because White racist men attempted to exclude AAPI men from American culture and the realm of manliness. In Western societies, White men's masculinity maintains institutional dominance over racial minorities (Connell, 1995, 2000).

Hegemonic masculinity refers to dominant conceptualizations of masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Mankowski & Maton, 2010) based on White heterosexual norms of competitiveness and self-reliance. It refers not only to an identity and set of role expectations, but also to a pattern of practice that reinforces men's continued dominance over women (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). The origins of this construct stem from sources as varied as a field study of social inequality in Australian high schools (Kessler, Ashenden, Connell, & Dowsett, 1982); conceptual discussions about masculinities and the experience of men's bodies (Connell, 1983); and the role of men in Australian labor politics (Connell, 1982).

The construct of hegemonic masculinity represents the convergence of many sources and influences, including feminist theories of patriarchy (Goode, 1982), debates over men's role in transforming patriarchy (Snodgrass, 1977), and psychoanalysis (Freud, 1917, 1955). It informs a

broad range of fields of study related to men, gender, social hierarchy, education (Martino, 1995), criminology (Messerschmidt, 1993; Newburn & Stanko, 1994), media (Hanke, 1992; Jansen & Sabo, 1994; Messner, 1992; Messner & Sabo 1990), health (Gerschick & Miller, 1994; Sabo & Gordon, 1995), and professional practice (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

There are five major critiques of the construct of hegemonic masculinity: that the underlying concept of masculinity is flawed, that it is ambiguous and overlapping, that it is reified, masculine subject, and pattern of gender relations (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). The first critique is that this construct is inherently flawed because it is unclear, minimizes issues of power and domination, essentializes the gender binary in terms of identifying male/female and man/woman differences, and ignores different gender categories. Second, hegemonic masculinity is ambiguous in that it fails to specify what conforming to hegemonic masculinity looks like in practice and it is applied inconsistently. The next critique is masculinity is framed within a heteronormative conception of gender that essentializes the male-female difference and ignores differences and excludes other gender categories (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

AAPI men are racially isolated and "castrated" by being stereotyped as sexless. The "feminization" or "emasculation" of AAPI men points to the White racial hegemonic framing (Chou, 2015). AAPI men did not and currently do not fit into the Western hegemonic masculinity ideals, therefore, White men racialized them as "feminine" to subordinate their masculinity. Feminization refers to the perspective of male hegemony where some characteristics are deemed masculine or feminine. The ideal masculine man was characterized as a White, middle-class heterosexual man. Deviations from that construction were viewed as inferior such as masculinities of men of color or gay or bisexual men (Chou, 2015). Therefore, AAPI men do not fit the hegemonic masculine ideal and are not able to access the privileges that accompany

Whiteness (Chou, 2015). Furthermore, it is particularly severe for gay Asian American men who, because of their race and sexual orientation, are subordinated within a racialized hegemonic masculinity frame.

Hegemonic masculinity also requires control over women and other racial masculinities (Chou, 2015). In the public sphere, East Asian men are not portrayed as strong heads of household; whereas, South Asian men are portrayed in media as dangerous, terrorists, sexist, oppressive male patriarchs. The negative representations of Asian men are forms of sexual regulations where systems of oppression must regulate sexuality in order for male hegemony to prosper (Collins, 2004). One example is the fixation with AAPI genitalia where the penis is a symbol of masculine power. This symbol functions to maintain White supremacy by normalizing the size of White men's penises are just right and stigmatizing Black men's penises are too big and Asian men's penises as too small. The regulation of East Asian male bodies by belittling their penises is driven by race and maintaining White supremacy.

Mental health research indicates that strict adherence to traditional masculine norms has deleterious consequences on the mental health of men (Levant, 1996; Mahalik et al., 2003; Pleck, 1995). Many of these traditional American masculine values conflict with Asian values. Although there are significant differences among various Asian ethnicities, some common Asian values are: self-control, minimal self-disclosure, conformity to norms, family recognition through achievement, collectivism, humility, and filial piety (Iwamoto, Liao, & Liu, 2010; Kim, Atkinson, & Yang, 1999; Liu & Chang, 2007). These values stand in direct opposition to Western masculine values such as self-reliance, competitiveness, aggressiveness, and independence (Brannon, 1976; Liang et al., 2010; O'Neil, 1981). As a result, AAPI men may find hegemonic masculinity inconsistent with their own cultural values (Liang et al., 2010).

Perhaps as a result, Asian American men who strongly adhere to hegemonic masculine gender roles report increased distress, substance use, and depression (Iwamoto, Liao, & Liu, 2010; Liu & Iwamoto, 2007). Moreover, AAPI men's inability to conform to the norms of hegemonic masculinity can itself cause distress. Thus, whether these men adhere or fail to adhere to the expectations of hegemonic masculinity, AAPI masculinities are inescapably subordinated within its framework.

Researcher Subjectivity

The issue of researcher subjectivity must be addressed in relation to qualitative research to promote the ideal of trustworthiness. I am a 36-year-old Korean-American male working toward a doctorate in counseling and student personnel services. I have a brother who has struggled with excessive online gaming. This lived experience provided the motivation for researching this topic and will impact my understanding and perception of this research study. I am also the oldest son in my family of origin and I often played the role of mediator and disciplinarian regarding my younger brother and his excessive gaming. Therefore, as the researcher I need to be intentional about acknowledging my biases regarding the motivations for AAPI men to play MMORPGs.

As a Korean-American man, I can identify with the experiences of living with racial and gender stereotypes. Therefore, in some ways I am an insider with respect to this research, but I must maintain objectivity regarding the diversity of AAPI men's experiences with race and gender. Conversely, I am an outsider in that I have not played MMORPGs and I do not identify as a gamer. I do not know any more about MMORPGs more than the average person.

As an insider/outsider, there are some power dynamics that I must be cognizant of as an AAPI male who is a Ph.D. candidate. For example, some members of the AAPI community view

pursing my Western doctoral degree as leaving the community (Yakushko, Badiee, Mallory, & Wang, 2011). Some tensions and misunderstandings may arise due to my privilege as a Ph.D. candidate. It is important for me not to over-identify with the participants merely on the basis of shared racial and/or ethnic identity. The AAPI community is diverse and is comprised of many different racial, ethnic, and cultural groups. It was crucial that I recognize the diversity of my participants and not assume their experiences are similar to my own or others that I have encountered. Lastly, it is essential for me to have an understanding of the historical trauma AAPI people have confronted and its impact on the AAPI men and their families.

Procedure and Participants

All participants were provided with a description of the study objectives and were asked to read and sign an informed consent form prior to participating in the study. Participants were informed that they were free to terminate participation in the study at any time without penalty. After signing the consent form, participants were asked to complete a short questionnaire that included demographic information (gender, age, etc.), race/ethnicity, employment status, age they started gaming, and time spent playing MMORPGs during a typical week. Lastly, the researcher explained the photo elicitation process and the rationale for obtaining a screenshot of their avatar(s).

The participants for this study were AAPI males living in the Southeastern U.S. The participants' ages ranged from 19 to 32 years old. This study targeted AAPI men who play MMORPGs. The participants were recruited on college campuses and through Asian American and Pacific Islander non-profit organizations. The participants ranged in age from 18 to 32 years old and varied in life stage from college students to working professionals. The mean age of the participants was 25.5 years old. The participants were of East Asian or Southeast Asian descent.

Five of the men identified as Korean. Three people identified as Vietnamese American. One man

identified as Taiwanese. One man identified as Chinese. The researcher utilized both criterion

sampling and snowball sampling to identify participants for the study (Patton, 2002). Using

criterion sampling, the researcher selected participants who met important and predetermined

criteria (Hays & Singh, 2012). The criteria for this study were that participants are Asian

American/Pacific Islander men, are at least 18 years old, and play MMORPGs. The researcher

recruited participants by emailing surveys to listservs for AAPI non-profit organizations as well

as AAPI college clubs and groups. Additionally, snowball sampling was employed to locate

information-rich AAPI men who play MMORPGs. The researcher asked the recruited

participants to nominate other potential candidates through the game forums or guilds to consider

joining the study. Table 1 summarizes the participants' demographic information, including age,

occupation, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and age they started playing MMORPGs.

Table 1

Participants' Demographic Information

Pseudonym	Age	Occupation	Ethnicity	Sexual Orientation	Age Commenced Playing MMORPGS
Justin	28	Business analyst	Vietnamese	Heterosexual	16
Terry	24	Business analyst	Vietnamese	Heterosexual	13
Andre	23	Administrative Assistant	Korean	Heterosexual	7
Howard	19	Student	Taiwanese	Bisexual	12
Brandon	18	Student	Korean	Heterosexual	5
Harry	23	Student	Vietnamese	Heterosexual	12
Dennis	29	Computer programmer	Korean	Heterosexual	18
Ricky	30	Internet Technology	Chinese	Heterosexual	16
Enrique	29	Engineer	Korean	Heterosexual	16
Antonio	32	Consultant	Korean	Heterosexual	15

The following descriptions of the participants use language they chose for themselves. Ellipses indicating pauses, changes in direction, etc. are author-inserted based on interviews.

Justin, a 28-year-old, heterosexual, Vietnamese American man who works as a business analyst and enjoys practicing Brazilian jujitsu. He is about 5'7" and a little heavyset. He earned his undergraduate degree at a predominantly White institution in the Southeast, where he was a member of a national Asian American interest fraternity. He is now heavily involved on the board of this organization.

Justin discovered MMORPGs when he started playing World of Warcraft at 16 years old. Justin played MMORPGs a lot when he was a college student, but now that he is a working professional he has reduced his playing time to just three or four hours a week. He is a very social player and tries to find friends to join him when choosing an MMORPG.

Terry is a 24-year-old, heterosexual, Vietnamese American man who, like Justin, works as a business analyst. He is approximately 5'7", a little heavyset, and wears glasses. Terry started playing Internet games when he was 13 years old, beginning with Runescape. He started playing MMORPGs after school with his friends in middle school. Terry currently plays games for about 10 hours a week. He enjoys flipping items in the game for profit, meaning he buys items cheaply and sells them for a higher price.

Andre is a 23-year-old, heterosexual, Korean American male who works as an administrative assistant for a Korean company. He is around 5'7", heavyset, and has a discernable accent. He immigrated to the U.S. when he was 9 years old. His parents bought him a computer when he was a young child and he played his first Internet game, Starcraft, when he was in the second grade. He described himself as a "hardcore" gamer when he was in high

school and college. However, now that he is a working professional, he plays only three hours a day.

Howard is a 23-year-old Taiwanese American college student at a predominantly White institution in the Southeast, majoring in biochemistry. He identifies as bisexual. Howard is 5'10", has an average build, and wears glasses. He started playing Internet games when he was in middle school, and the MMORPG he most enjoys is Diablo. Howard currently plays Internet games for about three hours a day. In high school, he experienced academic difficulty due to gaming in high school, but he was able to self-regulate without his parents getting involved. Howard noted that he plays computer games with his father.

Brandon is an 18-year old, heterosexual, Korean American undergraduate at a predominantly White institution in the Southeast. He is 5'7" and of average build. He started playing MMORPGs with his friends from school when he was five years old, although his parents would not let him play anything above PG-13. In high school, Brandon played MMORPGS for five to six hours a day. Currently, he plays approximately two to three hours a week.

Harry is a 23-year-old, heterosexual, Vietnamese American undergraduate student at a predominantly White institution in the Southeast. He is 5'7" and of average build. He started playing Internet games when he was in middle school, beginning with Facebook games and later transitioning to MMOGs. In high school, he played around six hours a day; currently, he plays around four hours a week.

Dennis is a 29-year-old, heterosexual, Korean Russian computer programmer who works for a large corporation in the Southeast. He is 5'11" with an average build. Dennis grew up in Russia and came to the U.S. for college. He started playing MMORPGs when he was 18 years

old, playing for roughly 6-8 hours a day when he was in college. Dennis described how it became a second life for him and how his teammates would rely on him. He reports experiencing some personal, academic, and professional conflicts due to playing MMORPGs.

Ricky is a 30-year-old, heterosexual, Chinese American male who works as an Internet technology specialist. He is 5'8" and of average build. Ricky started playing Internet games in high school, beginning with an isometric 2½ dimensional game. Ricky enjoys playing games by himself or with a few people.

Enrique is a 29-year-old, heterosexual, Korean Argentinian male who works as a mechanical engineer. He is around 5'9" and of average build, with a full beard and a shaved head. Enrique started playing MMORPGs as a sophomore in high school. As a college student, Enrique played three to four hours a day. Currently, he plays a couple of hours a day.

Antonio is a 32-year-old, heterosexual, Korean American male who works as a consultant. He is 5'8" and has a muscular build. Antonio went to college at a predominantly White institution in the Southeast. Antonio started playing MMORPGs in high school and played approximately 50-60 hours a week in college. Antonio reported that he lost control of his ability to limit the time he spent on gaming, until it became more of a job for him.

Data Collection and Analysis

Prior to data collection, the researcher received Institutional Review Board approval. The first step in the data collection process involved the researcher bracketing his assumptions through the use of a reflexive journal, which he maintained throughout the research process. *Bracketing* is an ongoing process in which the researcher reflects on his own engagement with data collection and analysis as a means of identifying and examining his perspectives. Such reflection may lead the researcher to consciously shift his stance (Fischer, 2009). The goals of

bracketing are to check whether the researcher is imposing meaning on the data, to review the researcher's biases and preconceived notions, and to see what other meanings might appear (Fischer, 2009).

Next, the researcher emailed the demographic questionnaire to the participants prior to their face-to-face interview. Additionally, the researcher asked the participants to send screenshot of their avatar(s) via email to the researcher so we could discuss them during the interview. The researcher then interviewed each participant for approximately 60-90 minutes and transcribed the interview, removing or altering all identifying details to ensure confidentiality. Following each interview, the researcher sent the interview transcript to the participant to ensure accuracy. After ensuring accuracy, the researcher individually coded the transcription and identified all non-repetitive and non-overlapping statements relevant to the experience under investigation (Moustakas, 1994) through a process called horizontalization.

The researcher then developed a codebook so he could generate meaning units (Creswell, 2014). This information was utilized to develop essence descriptions for the participants (Moustakas, 1994). The researcher then synthesized the invariant meaning units and themes into a description of the textures of the experience. This analysis followed the guidelines of Moustakas' (1994) adaptation of van Kaam's (1966,1969) phenomenological data analysis. The researcher repeated the steps above for each participant's interview.

Demographic questionnaires. The researcher administered the demographic questionnaire to collect data on each participant's age, employment status, relationship status, sexual orientation, the number of years he has played MMORPGs, the number of years he has lived in the U.S., and problems that he has encountered because of gaming. The demographic

questionnaire allowed the researcher to ensure that participants matched the criteria of Asian

American men over 18 years old who play MMORPGS.

Semi-structured interviews. The researcher developed a semi-structured interview

protocol to interview the participants regarding their lived experiences as Asian American men

who play MMORPGs. I utilized Seidman's (2006) phenomenological interviewing process,

which seeks to elicit a description of the essence of an experience that several individuals have

undergone. The semi-structured interview protocol was designed to explore the phenomenon of

playing MMORPGs as an AAPI male. Each participant completed one semi-structured

interview, which lasted from 60-90 minutes. Participants were given the option of conducting the

interview in person or via Skype/Google hangout. The researcher developed the interview

protocol based on the literature review, phenomenological framework, and the CRT lens.

Photo elicitation. John Collier (1957, 1967) first introduced the idea of using photos in

research. He experimented with this data collection method and found it a viable option. Later,

Harper (1984) termed this data collection method *photo elicitation.* Photo-elicitation

interviewing can be defined as an interviewing technique in which the researcher elicits

information from participants using photographs (Blinn & Harrist, 1991; Collier, 1967; Prosser

& Schwartz, 1998). Photo elicitation is utilized in conjunction with interviews and adds a visual

element to unobservable thoughts, feelings, attitudes, beliefs, experiences, and understandings

(Prosser & Schwartz, 1998; Richard & Lahman, 2014; Stockall & Davis, 2011).

Photo elicitation shifts the power balance from the researcher to the participants by

making them the experts and relinquishing control of data collection to them (Allen, 2009;

Luttrell, 2010). Additionally, participants are able to construct their own meanings, free from the

researcher's preconceived notions (Cappello, 2005; Clark, 1999). Lastly, photo elicitation can be

used to trigger suppressed memories, or understandings of memories and social systems, and to lead participants to a new view of their social existence (Harper, 2002; Prosser & Schwartz, 1998). Therefore, photo elicitation along with interviewing is ideal to help access participants' background information, cultural beliefs, and experiences (Prosser & Schwartz 1998; Suchar 1989).

The researcher selected photo elicitation as a methodology due to its alignment with the values of CRT, including its ability to empower the participants. Asking participants to capture pictures in response to a question or prompt provides a means of gaining insight and empowers the participants. Specifically, participants were asked to submit screenshots of their avatar via email to the researcher. These pictures were used as a springboard for discussing the relationship between the player's offline appearance and personality and the characteristics of their avatar (Mancini & Sibilla, 2017).

Trustworthiness Strategies

The researcher ensured trustworthiness in the study by utilizing the following strategies: accounting for assumptions, member checking, and using thick description. First, the researcher accounted for assumptions by maintaining reflexive journals and attending research meetings to discuss potential threats to trustworthiness. Second, the researcher emailed the transcriptions to the participants to check their accuracy. Lastly, the researcher used thick description to convey themes that emerged from the interviews regarding the participants' experiences of playing MMORPGs. "Thick description refers to the researcher describing and interpreting behavior within its social context" (Ponterotto, 2006). Denzin (1989) identified four components of thick description: "(1) it gives context of an act; (2) it states the intentions and meanings that organize

the action; (3) it traces the evolution and development of the act; [and] (4) it presents the action

as a text that can then be interpreted" (p. 33).

Ethical Considerations

This research study was approved by the university's Institutional Review Board (IRB).

All participants gave informed consent prior to enrollment (see Appendix B), and the participants

were informed that they could withdraw from the research study at any point without

consequence. They were also informed of the nature of research study and design prior to the

interviews. Pseudonyms were used to conceal the identities of the participants.

There were many ethical issues the researcher considered when conducting this research

with Asian American and Pacific Islander clients. Overall, ethical practice is more a function of

the researcher's self-awareness, multicultural competence, and collaborative commitment than it

is a function of design characteristics (Ponterotto, 2013). Nevertheless, this recognition does not

exempt the researcher from considering the design characteristics necessary for conducting

ethical research.

First, it was necessary for the researcher to obtain IRB approval to ensure the safety and

well-being of the participants. Additionally, it was essential to obtain informed consent from the

participants, as "in constructivist research designs that focus on emergent, discovery-oriented

qualitative approaches (e.g., grounded theory, phenomenology), neither the researcher or

participants know where the personal interviews will lead" (Ponterotto, 2013, p. 28). Further, it

was important to select a neutral site for the interviews to allow for objectivity (Creswell, 2014).

Lastly, it was vital for the researcher to recognize the diversity within the AAPI community by

disaggregating the data by ethnicity and other distinct constructs, to avoid treating the Asian American and Pacific Islander community as a monolithic group.

In addition to ethical considerations regarding the research process, it was important for the researcher to be aware of his assumptions, values, and biases; to seek to understand the worldviews of culturally different individuals; and to develop appropriate intervention strategies and techniques (Arredondo et al., 1996). For example, as an Asian American counselor/researcher whose brother struggles with online game addiction, it was important that the researcher did not generalize his personal experiences to the experiences of the other Asian American and Pacific Islander men and their experiences playing MMORPGs. The researcher must also be aware of the potential effects of clients valuing emotional self-control and of clients acculturating to the European American values salient to so many Asian Americans (Wang & Kim, 2010). Additionally, an Asian American client's adherence to traditional Asian cultural values, including the valuing of hierarchical relationships, collectivism, and an achievement orientation, possibly had an important influence on the interview process (Wang & Kim, 2010).

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

By eliciting the participants' stories and perceptions of their experiences as AAPI men who play MMORPGs, this study sought to illuminate what impact, if any, their race and gender had on their gaming experience. The researcher identified four major themes from the interviews and photo elicitation. The first theme was MMORPG avatar creation: Whiteness as the standard of masculinity and beauty, with subthemes of sexist White beauty and anonymity. The second theme was color blindness and perceived AAPI male dominance in the White virtual world of MMORPGs, with the subtheme of model minority stereotype. The third theme was Masculinity and Feminization of AAPI men. The fourth theme was Acculturated masculinity.

Figure 1. Themes
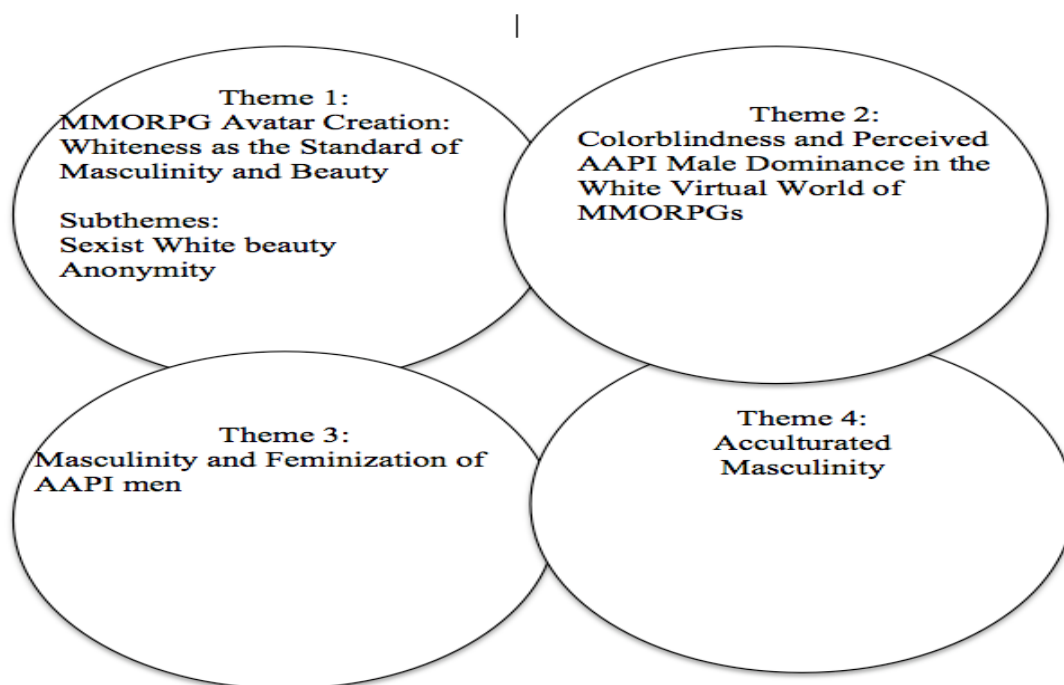
In presenting these four key findings obtained from the 10 participant interviews, each theme and subtheme is illuminated by providing thick descriptions of the participants' experiences (Cohen, Kahn, & Steeves, 2000). Additionally, screenshots or photographs of some of the participants' avatars or game characters are presented to illustrate the participants' choices regarding the race, gender, and masculinity of their characters. During the discussion about their avatars, the researcher invited participants to reflect on feelings associated with their avatars in general, as well as the race, gender, and masculinity of their characters in particular.

Theme 1: MMORPG Avatar Creation: Whiteness as the Standard of Masculinity and Beauty

Most of the participants noted that in the avatar creation process, the available avatar choices were reproductions of White masculinity and femininity. Whiteness as the standard of masculinity refers to the idea that tall, muscular White men with a full beard are the standard of masculinity. The standard of beauty for women refers to the idea that attractive women are tall, thin, and busty with fair complexions. Two subthemes for this major theme are sexist White beauty and anonymity. Sexist White beauty describes the sexualized depictions of White female avatars. Anonymity refers to the freedom the AAPI men felt in being anonymous in the virtual world of MMORPGs.

From the interviews, the first theme the researcher identified reveals the gaming world as a largely White space comprised of mostly White male and some female avatars. The interview findings are in line with previous content analyses of massively multiplayer online games, which found that characters were disproportionately White and male (Waddell, 2014). Despite the lack of diversity, the researcher thought that MMORPGs would allow AAPI men the freedom to

create avatars that more closely resembled them racially. In reality, however, the MMORPGs and the avatars discussed in this study were mostly reproductions of Whiteness, specifically White hegemonic masculinity and White femininity. Nishi et al. (2015) define *Whiteness* as the attitude and philosophy that the White race is superior to all other races in the areas of intelligence, beauty, and culture. The participants encountered this attitude based on the lack of diverse avatar race options they had during the avatar creation process.

Avatar creation is an important aspect of this genre of online games. Different MMORPGs have varying levels of avatar customization that allow players to choose the race/species (e.g., dwarf, elf, human, borg), physiognomy, history, heritage, philosophy, disposition, class, gender, skin complexion, hair style, and height of their avatar (Ducheneaut, Wen, Yee, & Wadley, 2009; Kelly, 2004). The available human avatars are usually ethnically White, sexualized, and glamorized (Webb, 2001). A variety of motivations may drive the creation process of players' avatars. Lin and Wang (2014) found three motivating factors: idealized self, standing out, and following a trend.

Idealized self refers to a process in which players create an avatar that is similar to their real-life appearance, with some idealized features (Lin & Wang, 2014). In contrast, players choose an avatar with a unique look if they are motivated by the drive to stand out. Some players will create an avatar to follow a trend, such as resembling a celebrity or reflecting a popular trend in the real or virtual world (Lin & Wang, 2014). Lastly, some users utilized the avatar to create a desired look or create as sense of belonging that they cannot obtain in real life.

Some of the AAPI players in this study used their avatars to play out fantasies or desires that were unattainable in their real lives (Lin & Wang, 2014). While some players used their offline self as a starting point when constructing their characters, however, others constructed

characters that represented an "idealized self" (Mancini & Sibilla, 2017) that was completely

different from their offline self. Some users "gender swapped," creating avatars whose gender

was different from their own. Avatar customization in MMORPGs also allowed the participants

to experiment with different creature identities as well as with male and female identities. They

could create avatars that were more conventionally masculine than their offline selves in terms of

height, muscularity, and other features deemed masculine by the dominant culture.

   The AAPI male participants offered a variety of reasons for the avatar they constructed,

and the avatars they created varied in terms of physical attributes. However, most of the avatars

were White due to the games not offering options for creating non-White avatars. Therefore,

their options for creating racially diverse avatars were limited primarily to White male avatars.

Aside from race, Justin and Andre created avatars that closely resembled their real-life physical

attributes such as height and build. In contrast, the other participants created aspirational male

avatars or female avatars that did not resemble them at all. Justin's avatar did resemble him in

real life; it was short and stocky. His avatar's class was a tanker, representing a masculine class.

Justin submitted the following picture (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. Justin's avatar

When asked about the masculinity of his character, Justin replied:

So he's also considered a tank. So tanks are characters that charge in first, usually.
They're the ones that draw the attention of the bosses and stuff because they can take
more damage. So I guess going with the definition of masculinity. You have to be tough
or whatever. That's what he goes as. He just jumps in there and takes it. Takes on
damage. He doesn't really care.

Similarly, Andre created an avatar that was generally an accurate reflection of him, but
with slight variations. When asked about his avatar creation process, Andre shared:

I find myself creating these avatars to be generally the reflection of myself, but with a
minor tweak. Because I want to still have the sense that it is virtual reality. I don't want to
copy and paste myself in the video game, but rather I want to create a reflection of myself
that represents my gender, physique, body qualities, [and] personality, because certain
games you can modify emojis. So there is that I want to be a reflection of it, but not in a
sense of copy and pasting myself. So I will make simple modifications like hair style,
facial hair, or something funky. Something that I wouldn't do in real life, like a tattoo
maybe.

Other participants created avatars depicting their aspirational self. For example, Harry
created a hypermasculine White avatar (see Figure 3). When asked to describe its masculinity,
Harry observed:

My avatars are always way too muscular, like impossibly muscular; unless you are a
professional body builder you would never look like that. [The avatars are] definitely
more physical. Yeah, [they are] more muscular. [They have a] deeper voice. [They] never
really joke around. [They are] always serious. [The avatars are] serious a lot.

Figure 3. Harry's avatar

Howard also created masculine male avatars, but his avatars differed in terms of race. He described his first avatar as an example of Eastern masculinity (see Figure 4), whereas his second avatar is more an example of hypermasculinity (see Figure 5). When asked about the masculinity of his first avatar (see Figure 4), he noted:

I'd say almost feminine. Kind of like an Eastern definition of masculinity. Like K-pop

stars that have feminine features. Kind of the pretty-boy look.
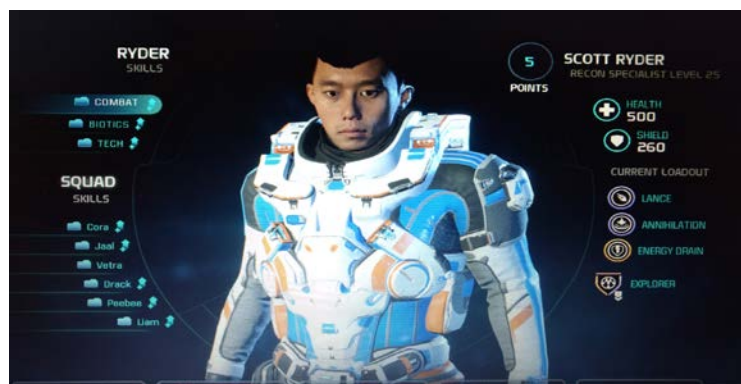
Figure 4. Howard's first male avatar
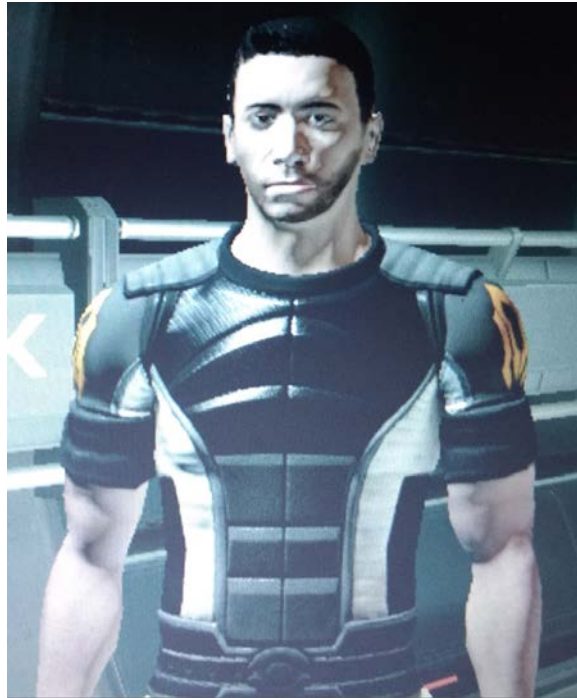
Figure 5. Howard's second male avatar

Sexist White Beauty

Most of the other AAPI men besides Justin, Harry and Howard created female avatars. The female avatars were often sexualized and glamorized (Webb, 2001) and displayed in seductive and objectifying clothing or armor (Beasley & Standley, 2002; Kennedy, 2002). Additionally, the female avatars were often depicted with enormous breasts, tiny waists, and full, pouting lips (Bertozzi, 2008; Dickerman, Christensen, & Kerl-McClain, 2008). In most online games, female avatars' roles are less dynamic and complex than male avatars (Brehm, 2013). Some of the female avatars played support roles, such as being a healer, in relation to the male avatars.

Terry created female avatars that were very feminine and sexualized, with large breasts (see Figures 6 and 7). He noted, "I prefer to create female characters with a lot of visual eye

candy." When asked to describe his female characters, he explained how he created the "perfect girl":

> But in terms of [Guild Wars, an MMOPRG], you know, female characters are very awesome to create. You can create your perfect girl that you'd like to watch move around and control . . . manipulate. But I also have other characters after like the female characters; once I'm bored with them I create races that are more beastly-like in [Guild Wars]. There is a race that looks like a lion or a cat so I would make a character of that. Rarely do I make human characters that aren't female. [When I play] humans, [I] always [play a] female and then I go into the beast-type characters.

Figure 6. Terry's first female avatar

Figure 7. Terry's second female avatar

Gender swapping is a common practice within MMORPGs. Hussain and Griffiths (2008) found that 57% of the gamers in their study swapped genders. Morahan-Martin (1999) argues that changing your identity online is liberating because you can change how you are perceived and how you present to and interact with others. There can be many motivations for a player to gender swap.

Paik and Shi (2013) identified several motivations for gender swapping. First, players may feel the need to change their appearance to secure an advantage in the game. For example, players who pose as attractive female via avatars seek to gain extra money or weapons and avoid being attacked within the game (Huh & Williams, 2010; Hussain & Griffiths, 2008). Since male players show more prosocial behaviors towards female avatars, male players may gender swap to enjoy the advantages of playing as a female avatar (Griffiths, Davies, & Chappell, 2004; Wang & Wang, 2008). Also, some players want to challenge themselves to create a physique that is impossible to obtain in reality.

Other users have aesthetic motivations, such as creating female avatars that are beautiful, and enjoy the opportunity to customize them. Additionally, some users are influenced by the

social characteristics of their guild community and have an unconscious or conscious desire to attract attention from other users (Paik & Shi, 2013). Lastly, Huh and Williams (2010) found that homosexual players gender swapped more frequently, suggesting that may play a role in the decision to gender swap.

Some players like the visual appeal of female characters. Ricky noted that the reason he plays with mostly female characters is that they are more entertaining. Participants in Hussain and Griffiths' (2008) study reported that playing as a female was more fun and thus a reason for gender swapping. As Enrique explained:

I made a mix of male and female characters. I remember some of my friends saying, "Why are you making a female character? You're a guy." I'm like, I don't want to stare at a dude's ass all day [laughing]. So I made female characters, too. I think the perspective they were viewing it from is that I'm a dude so I'm going to play a dude. This guy is me. I never had that kind of sentiment or that kind of viewpoint when I was playing the game. I made a mix of characters that I thought looked good, not necessarily "this person is me" kind of deal.

Dennis discovered the strategic advantages of playing with a female character in this male-dominated environment (see Figure 8). He noted:

Actually later I realized in World of Warcraft, having a female character helps you a lot when you play with other people because they think you are a girl, so they will be, I guess, more mindful and they will pass up certain items for you.

This discovery aligns with the research finding that female characters in MMORPGs elicit positive social responses in a male-dominated environment, such as receiving greater support and help (Griffiths et al., 2003).

When asked about the femininity of his avatar, Dennis responded:

Actually, it is a female character. She looks like an Asian version of Maria Sharapova.

Tall, long legs, athletic. Very nice body shape. Long hair. Yeah, to a certain degree the

face reminds me a lot of what female characters look like. They look a lot like Sharapova.
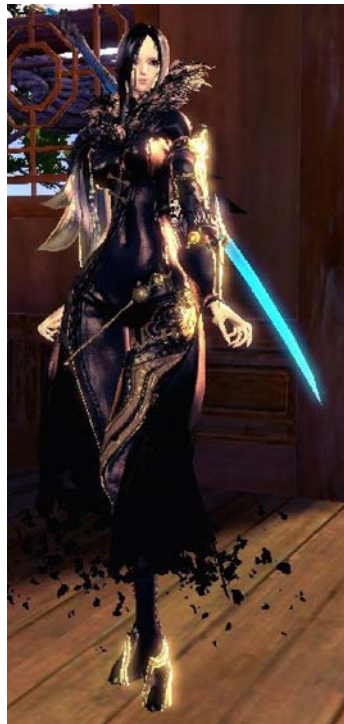
Figure 8. Dennis' female avatar

Female avatars are often found in the background of MMORPGs, usually playing a

supporting part in relation to the male character. They are often simplistic backup characters

(Eklund, 2011), who commonly fill roles such as objects of pleasure or antagonistic enemies

(Salter & Blodgett, 2012). The majority of those who produce and play online games are men,

and gender stereotyping is thus pervasive in online gaming. Female avatars or female gamers

will often receive help from male gamers whether it was solicited or not.

Dennis highlights this point by sharing:

For example, a healer, because mostly girls would play that role because it is very easy. It is interesting to see that there was a hierarchy within the game related to the different genders. You know, like have, like, female characters. It's, uh, be more passive. And I think what type of character you do also reflects on that, um, because some people just like being support. It's their thing that they like doing. Uh, casting spells to support everyone else on the team.

Anonymity

Anonymity is the second subtheme of the major theme of avatar creation: Whiteness as the standard of masculinity and beauty. Anonymity in MMORPGs allowed the AAPI male players the freedom to express themselves via the visual representations they created in their avatars. In some MMORPGs the avatar selection is preset and does not allow for much customization. Other MMORPGs allow players greater flexibility in the avatar creation process. The avatars can be created to represent the player's real self, ideal self (Bessière et al., 2007; Leménager et al., 2013), or possible self.

Possible self refers to the idea that people can reconstruct or experiment with their identities via avatar creation (Lin & Wang, 2014). Markus and Nurius (1986) define *possible selves* as a type of self-knowledge related to how individuals think about their potential and future self. Possible selves can be created based on past experiences or imaginary futures, and can amplify desirable characteristics or dreaded features (e.g., lonely, depressed, alcoholic). For example, people can recreate themselves to be intelligent, slim, muscular, charismatic, or a different gender. Justin expressed the appeal of being anonymous, noting, "That feeling of being anonymous gives you more freedom to speak what you really want to say because there's not ramifications. You're behind a keyboard. Nobody's going to come after you."

In addition to allowing AAPI men to reimagine themselves, being anonymous also protects players from the racial or gender stereotyping they may encounter in real-life interactions. AAPI men are often racialized as asexual nerds or geeks who play video or computer games all the time. In the gaming world, however, AAPI men have the opportunity to create a persona that does not evoke the prejudice they encounter offline.

Terry explained:

Game life—I think this is where you can be yourself. Because first of all the beauty of online or the Internet has provided us with a sense of, how do you say this, anonyme [sic]. Yeah, so you don't know who you are talking to, so you don't have this prior prejudice or stereotypes to go against them. But in real life, let's say you are arguing with someone, you are going to make, people are going to make personal attacks based upon their race. It's inevitable. But online you tend to let go of those things and focus on the objectives, like, game objectives. You know, destroy the enemy base. You don't have those negative stereotypes impacting as much as in real life in the online world.

Moreover, by removing the preconceived notions they encounter regarding their race or masculinity, the AAPI men feel empowered to display their leadership in the gaming environment. Terry explained, "In the gaming world, anonymity can have an impact on me positively because now I can display my leadership qualities through that video game platform."

Howard highlighted another advantage of the anonymity of MMORPGs. The prevalent cultural narrative feminizes and demonizes AAPI men. Howard described how playing MMORPGs allows him to control this narrative, explaining:

You get to move around and you get to, on a certain level, control how the story goes. So I've actually never found myself in an MMO asking people about their race or gender.

You know, I'm very accepting. You can be who you want to be in this world. If you want

to tell me that's fine, but that's not going to change my perception of who you are.

The anonymity of the MMORPGs allowed AAPI men the freedom to speak up within the

MMORPG context without any real ramifications. For example, Justin described how since he is

behind a keyboard, he could say things without feeling that someone would come after him.

Some players felt they could display genuine parts of themselves in a safe environment without

being judged based on their race or gender. Players also felt that the negative stereotypes they

encounter in the real world as AAPI men do not impact their gaming experience within the

MMORPG. In addition, the AAPI men had the freedom and power to change the narrative or

their "story" within the online gaming environment by customizing their avatar to their

preferences. The participants identified anonymity as a benefit of playing MMORPGs because it

empowered them to display their leadership and demonstrate their expertise with other players in

the game.

Theme 2: Color Blindness and Perceived AAPI Male Dominance in the White Virtual World of MMORPGs

The second major theme that was identified from the interviews is color blindness and

perceived AAPI male dominance in the White virtual world of MMORPGs. As noted earlier,

although in the real world AAPI men are often marginalized based on race and gender, these

same men are regarded as masters of the gaming world. Nevertheless, this AAPI male

dominance occurs in a White space, in which White men create the MMORPGs and the mostly

White avatars that AAPI players engage with in the virtual environment (Nishi et al., 2015). This

perceived dominance within a White context fulfills the model minority stereotype in

MMORPGs and the model minority stereotype thus emerged as a subtheme of this broader theme.

Some AAPI men themselves believed that AAPI men dominate other races when it comes to gaming. The AAPI gamers in this study described the perception that AAPI men are a dominant force within the gaming world. Two participants believed wholeheartedly that AAPI men are the best at gaming. Andre emphasized this belief, observing, "First of all, they are great at it. They are really good. They can outperform any other race. I don't know why, but Asians are good with technology." The general perception in the gaming world is if you are an AAPI male, you are probably a stellar player.

This view offers a stark contrast to the views of AAPI men in real life, both socially and professionally. Brandon highlighted this point:

> But generally, people perceive in the gaming world to be a positive thing if you are Asian. You're good at it, man. I guess you gain respect. The respect that you don't gain from the real world, you get from the gaming world. Just being an Asian or Asian Americans. So I don't know if it is like real respect or just stereotyping. They definitely seem to be more different if I reveal myself to be Asian.

Brandon emphasizes that AAPI men are accorded respect in MMORPGs that they are denied in real life. Thus, in the gaming world, the stereotyping of AAPI men yields a favorable outcome. Nevertheless, Brandon draws the important conclusion that the belief that AAPI men are great gamers may itself be a form of stereotyping. This stereotype of AAPI male gamer perpetuates the model minority stereotype.

Model Minority Stereotype for AAPI Male Gamers

The model minority stereotype is a subtheme of the perceived AAPI male dominance in MMORPGs. The perceived AAPI male dominance within MMORPGs reinforces the political purpose of the model minority stereotype, negating AAPI men's masculinity and relegating it to a predominantly White-controlled environment. AAPI male dominance in the online gaming world limits this group of men to displaying their masculinity in a virtual world through a "geeky" activity. Although the model minority stereotype typically refers to the academic and professional success attributed to AAPI men in real life, some of the elements of this stereotype translate to their experience within the gaming world. These include the social pressure to achieve; disregard for the diversity within the AAPI community, specifically intraethnic diversity; and the prevalence of detrimental assumptions about AAPI men.

The model minority stereotype evident within MMORPGs creates social pressure for AAPI men to achieve at a high skill level, especially since the winners of gaming competitions are often AAPI men. For example, two Korean teams, Samsung Galaxy and SK Telecom T1, participated in the League of Legends 2017 championship. The League of Legends championship is like the Superbowl for online gaming. When applied to gaming, the model minority stereotype creates lofty expectations for Korean, Chinese, and Japanese men to be excellent gamers.

The AAPI men in this study reported similar experiences surrounding their race and gender within the online gaming community. Many of the participants reported that racial and gender stereotypes typically did not impact their gaming experiences. However, when their racial identity as an AAPI man was revealed within the MMORPGs, others assumed their skill level was very high and expected them to achieve success.

For example, when asked whether he was impacted by racial or gender stereotypes about AAPI men when playing games, Justin responded:

> I don't think so. But I do know that people assume that I'm good at games because I am Asian. I mean it is true that I'm good at games, but it's not because I'm Asian. It's just because I'm better. It comes to all games—sports games, RPGS, fighting games, MMOS. We're perceived to be good at games.

Achievement is a major component of the model minority stereotype (Museus & Kiang, 2009), and within the gaming arena, it was the most prevalent of these elements. MMORPGs in general are structured so that players level-up by accomplishing quests. Many of the research participants described a desire to be the best or achieve great results in the game. For example, Andre recalled, "Yeah, like back in the days I want[ed] to be, um, the best and better at this game."

Many AAPI men in this study unknowingly fulfilled the model minority stereotype by striving to achieve status in the gaming world. This was evident in some of the participants' approaches to gaming. They not only wanted to win; they wanted to be the greatest within the MMORPG. The AAPI men took a leisure activity and were methodical and strategic in seeking to be the best by creating sign-up sheets, planning out strategies in group meetings, and taking other measures to ensure successful outcomes. This desire to achieve is different for AAPI men than for other men because of the perception in the gaming world that all AAPI men are champions. All of the research participants discussed how, when other gamers found out they were Asian, there was an expectation for them to lead the game due to their high skill level.

For example, Justin planned strategically to ensure his team's success in the MMORPG. When asked to describe his gaming experience, he related how he took a leisure activity and made it a serious activity to achieve success, observing:

> I usually join guilds and communicate with the rest of the members, you know, like casual chats or if we are doing a raid. We get serious and plan out everything. To make sure everyone does their jobs or else you'll get yelled at. Yeah, because when we do raids my clan is actually older people. You have to be at least 25 years old to join. The group is actually called the older gamers so everyone knows that you have jobs and stuff. So when we do raids we have sign-up sheets beforehand. The premise behind that is that if you sign up you are making a commitment for the rest of us. So when someone commits by signing up and they don't show up, we get a little angry sometimes. Usually we close sign-ups like two days in advance of the actual day so that we can make the proper strategy, because there are different roles. We want to make sure that we come in with a good plan to get the best rewards.

Similar to Justin, Howard was also enjoyed the competitive nature of the MMORPG and appreciated the sense of accomplishment he derived from the game. When asked to describe his gaming experience, Howard replied:

> It's competitive. The thing is that the learning curve is just difficult personally for me. I think it is just difficult enough for you to have trouble with it, but just easy enough that you can actually feel that you are getting better as you play, that feeling of success when you start winning more and more. As you start to understand the fundamentals later on [and] the more difficult parts of the game, when you start finally understanding [the fundamentals and] being able to make plays and strategies. Play with friends. All that

when it comes together gives you a good feeling of satisfaction, I suppose: This is

actually something that I'm accomplishing.

The researcher asked the participants about their own perceptions of AAPI men in the

gaming world. Most of them stated that there is a perception that AAPI gamers are excellent

gamers who practice and work hard to perfect their gaming skills. They also reported that there is

an expectation of success for AAPI male gamers, and an assumption that all AAPI male gamers

are very skilled players.

Dennis explained the expectations for AAPI male gamers within MMORPGs, stating:

Most of the times [in] the global rankings, back in the day, a guild in China or Korea that

would always rank #1 in the world when it comes to the gear and how fast they were able

to clear a dungeon or raid as a group. There are certain expectations of you as an Asian

when you join a guild. There is already an expectancy, Oh, this guy is Asian, so he must

be really good at this game.

Justin reiterated this point when asked how AAPI men are perceived in the gaming

world:

We're perceived to be, uh, the guys that grind a lot. The guys that are at the top of the

game. You know, in like the world tournaments and stuff. You see a whole bunch of

Asian guys there. We're always dominating. It's also because those guys put in a lot of

time and effort to perfect their craft.

The model minority stereotype overgeneralizes by imposing expectations of success that

can create uncomfortable pressure to achieve (Zhou & Lee, 2017). This expectation perpetuates

the belief that all AAPI men are academically successful and, in an associated stereotype, that all

Asians are highly skilled at online gaming. Andre related:

That is another stereotype. So like Koreans specifically. Oh, in a chat if you say I'm a Korean . . . people go crazy. "Yo, dude. You gotta carry the whole game." Just because I'm Korean. Even though in reality I'm an average player. But just saying I'm Korean makes other people go like, "Aw dude, we have like a professional player on the board."

Brandon himself bought into the stereotype that AAPI are excellent gamers, reiterating this belief when he stated, "One of the stereotypes is that Asians are good at gaming and it's not really a stereotype. People who played and won tournaments happen to be Korean or Asians."

As part of the belief that AAPI men are excellent gamers, there is an unspoken expectation that AAPI male gamers have achieved a certain level of gaming skill. Dennis explains:

Yeah, they would expect me to be at a certain level when it comes to skills. It is not I just show up as a tank and press one button. There are certain combinations I had to use and certain skills, items, and potions that I had to use. I guess being Asian, because of the stereotyping. If you do mess up or if you do the incorrect sequence of your combination skills it would end up losing threat or agro and the mob would run away to some other people, and pretty much it would finish the raid and everyone would be dead, and they would have to go back and resurrect and start over again.

Um, so there was a little bit of pressure, knowing that and they knew that I was Asian. Most of them knew I was Asian and most of them were Asians too. But they would always be like, count on you to do the math, right? [laughing] There are certain expectations of you as an Asian when you join a guild. There is already an expectancy, "Oh, this guy is Asian, so he must be really good at this game."

Although some participants reported that the model minority stereotype impacted their gaming experience, others noted that it did not influence this experience because of the anonymity of MMORPGS. Terry shared:

I don't think the Asian stereotypes affect me at all when gaming. When I play video games it's all about being behind the curtains; no one knows who you are, no one knows your race. Um, but when I do game and, you know, we decide to go to voice com or just talk, um, I end up finding out that most of the guys I play with are Asian. Um, you know, Asians from the West or Asians from Canada. So basically Asians from all over North America.

It doesn't affect me while gaming, but you know, in life it's a bit different, it's more physical. People can see you who you are, um, and you know, I've had people take advantage of me, um, because I was Asian. I was good at math so we partnered up and I did all the work and that type of stuff in college. So that's one bad thing I can think of that affected me during college. It's just people take advantage of you just because of your race; they expect you to do all the work and share the credit.

Masculinity and the Feminization of AAPI Men

The third theme identified was the participants' perception that AAPI men are feminized in American society, but within the gaming world they are perceived as masculine. Historically, the U.S. media has denigrated and racialized the Asian male physique, with negative images depicting them as small, unathletic, nerdy, socially awkward, and lacking in sexual/romantic competencies (Larson, 2006; Wilson et al., 2009). Overall, in the mainstream U.S. media, AAPI men have been stereotyped as sexually deviant, asexual, feminine, or threatening to White

women (Liang et al., 2010). These depictions impacted the AAPI male participants' real lives as well as their online lives.

When the AAPI male participants were asked how they believed American society views AAPI men's masculinity, many referenced these unflattering, asexual, and feminine stereotypes. They also discussed how these stereotypes did not fit into the societal views of masculinity. The AAPI men viewed these stereotypes as undermining their own masculinity as AAPI men. Most of the AAPI men shared how these negative stereotypes affected their real lives.

The participants reported that their race and gender are integral parts of their lived experience as AAPI men in the U.S. Many of the participants identified such negative and unattractive societal views of AAPI men as "nerdy," "geeky," "socially awkward," "having small penises," and "submissive." For example, Justin said, "AAPI men are nerdy, geeky, dorky [laughing], and good with computers." AAPI men are often viewed as people who can easily be dismissed in social, professional, and other settings. Howard described how AAPI men are viewed socially and physically, observing, "If I am thinking about social behaviors, I would have to, I'm not saying this is true, I'm just saying in my opinion, Asian men are viewed as more submissive, docile." Many of the participants laughed when describing what they regarded as the absurdity of some of the stereotypes of AAPI men. Howard summarized this sentiment:

> Western pop culture has severely limited AAPI men's possibilities of being masculine in a Western sense. The only way I think right now . . . the only possible way they would let an AAPI man—the only one that fits that is a martial arts master. That's the only one, I think, because they really shut off all avenues, because they have a lot of power and a lot of sway over how people think, with subliminal messaging and symbolism that sometimes people don't see. It still has an effect whether you understand it or not. But

there is even a theory that Hollywood back then, 1960s, 1950s, tried very hard to

feminize Asian men because they were afraid that Asian men were going to come over

and take all the Caucasian women. It was because of Bruce Lee. I think they were really

scared.

In addition to the nerd or geek stereotype, a more blatantly emasculating stereotype is the

myth that AAPI men have small penises. Andre shared, "I would say Asian American men are

perceived as more not masculine. Um . . . a very common perception is that AAPI men have

small genitalia." Justin likewise stated bluntly, "people think we have small dicks."

Alongside the small penis stereotype, other stereotypes also depict AAPI men as asexual,

socially inept, or effeminate. Justin stated:

Socially I think we're perceived as kind of, like, awkward and standoffish. Even though

that is not true. But that is how society views us. You see it in the media and stuff. We

are always the ones with glasses or we speak with a FOBBY ["fresh off the boat"] accent

or we can't really talk to girls or talk to people. It's just awkward. I think that is the

general perception of us.

Ricky also emphasized AAPI men's difficulty in being perceived as fulfilling society's definition

of masculinity:

Society's view of masculinity makes it harder for Asian American men because we also

have Asian stereotypes against us, you know? And then sometimes it contradicts, you

know? Like Asians are viewed as non-aggressive. But then society's definition of

masculinity is that you have to be aggressive. It's like, so, which one are you? Like are

you aggressive or are you a passive person that doesn't speak your mind? It's about

finding that right balance to define it. It comes down to it that the stereotypes don't fit

everyone because everyone is different.

Andre identified a related societal perception that AAPI men are more apt to be followers

than leaders, especially in the political arena.

I don't see a lot of AAPI political leaders in American politics taking charge and having a

lot of influence. I do know that in California things are a little bit different. They do have

a lot of Japanese and Koreans in their city council or government. But in Georgia, there

are only two government workers in the city council. There is that. And one Chinese guy.

So it's not like . . . We do have capabilities; I think any person of color has these

qualities. It is the model minority perhaps . . . like perception or stereotypes that blocks or

hinders these people from breaking the bamboo ceiling. They cannot move up once they

reach a certain level in leadership positions.

In contrast, the perception of AAPI men in the gaming world was completely different.

The participants observed that stereotypes impacted their online lives differently from their

experiences in the real world, as their identity as AAPI men works in their favor in the virtual

environment. Once their racial identity was revealed in the MMORPG, they were assumed to be

excellent gamers, treated with respect and often asked to take a leadership role within the game.

The gaming world offers AAPI men the opportunity to display their masculinity by leading other

players based on their knowledge and skills. This display of competence is not bound by the

racial prejudice and discrimination that are present in the real world for AAPI men. Ricky

remarked:

I would say [AAPI men] are fairly masculine, and part of it is because the rules of the

gaming world are different than real life. If you are going to threaten violence, it has to be

in a different way. Here [in the gaming world] I believe that some of the ways people judge AAPI males [is] with size [height & muscularity] or how they dress, those don't apply to the real world, which leaves behind maybe commitment or something similar or skill. On that note, I believe AAPI men operate on the same level as others. They too can be equally skilled in a game.

Alongside the emasculating stereotypes of AAPI men in U.S. culture are other, equally damaging stereotypes that often work in tandem with the stereotype of the effeminate, emasculated man. Representations of AAPI men as socially incompetent or awkward relegate them to specific and very limited roles. Although some researchers and participants would argue that MMORPGs allow AAPI men to express their masculinity because they are not bound by race within the game, MMORPGs continue to privilege Whiteness and designate it as the default selection when choosing characters (Higgin, 2009). Thus prejudice continues to carry over into the virtual world (Vang & Fox, 2014), and AAPI male players' avatars may elicit stereotyped responses based on their sex and appearance (Waddell & Ivory, 2015).

Acculturated Masculinity: Emancipation from Hegemonic Masculinity

AAPI masculinity is a complex concept because it does not conform to Western hegemonic masculine norms. The hegemonic masculine norms are White, physically strong, rugged, and heterosexual (Phua, 2007). Historically, AAPI masculinity has been and continues to be depicted as both hypermasculinized and desexualized (Chua & Fujino, 2016; Espiritu, 1997). AAPI masculinity is more relational than idealized Western masculinity, encompassing the relationships an AAPI man maintains with his family, friends, and acquaintances. It also includes AAPI men's self-presentation at work, school, and other settings, such as public gatherings (Chua & Fujino, 2016). Chua and Fujino (2016) found that American-born AAPI men do not

view masculinity in opposition to femininity, but instead perceive masculinity as incorporating both masculine and feminine characteristics (Chua & Fujino, 2016).

Acculturated masculinity, the fourth theme, refers to the idea that AAPI men define what masculinity is for them. Many of the participants in this study noted that they do not identify with hegemonic masculine norms. Most of the participants were born in the U.S. and obtained their education in America. Only three of the participants in this study were born outside the U.S.; Dennis grew up in Russia, while Enrique spent a portion of his childhood in Argentina and Enrique was born in South Korea.

Past conceptualizations of acculturation have stressed psychological acculturation—that is, individual changes in knowledge, behaviors, values, and cultural identity—as a result of intergroup interactions (Kim & Abreu, 2001). Many of the AAPI men grew up internalizing hegemonic images and ideas about masculinity, beginning with the images they were exposed to as young children. Online gaming provides AAPI men an opportunity to explore parts of their masculinity or femininity in a relatively safe environment.

When asked what masculinity looks like, many of the participants referred to images they encountered growing up in the U.S. Andre shared childhood memories of masculine superheroes:

> For example, when I think about a masculine person, I'm thinking about He-Man. In American culture, that is what [we are] brought up on. They watch movies, TV, or cartoons; usually protagonists are White American and masculine so they're usually well-built, tall, handsome like heroes.

Andre highlights the media's normalization of White hegemonic masculinity and its highly muscular, mesomorphic body ideal (Keum, 2016; McCreary & Sasse, 2000), which contrasts sharply with the media's portrayals of short and puny AAPI men.

In light of this comparison, some of the participants view their own masculinity from a hegemonic viewpoint. For example, Justin reiterated some of the hegemonic masculine norms:

You have to be tough. You know. You have to be aggressive. You can't be emotional. You can't show emotion. Doing any of those things, like the phrase, "man up." But when people say that, the assumption is, Oh yeah, stop crying. Just move forward, you know? Rub some dirt in it. Stop crying. Can't show emotion. You have to be the alpha. Take control of the situation because you are a man. But that's society's view of it.

Howard noted that a particular appearance is also associated with Western masculine norms:

Another thing is probably just like Aryan traits as described in Übermensch, the book. You know, the traits that Hitler wanted to embody. You know, tall, White, blue eyes, blonde hair.

However, despite the power of hegemonic masculinity and its expectations, the AAPI men are redefining what masculinity looks like for them and resisting AAPI male stereotypes. Some of the influence comes from Asian media such as anime (Japanese film and television animation), dramas, music videos, or gaming. Online gaming is now becoming more accepted as a masculine behavior. Electronic sports have propelled gaming to become a standard activity for all men. It has also become a lucrative business in which large amounts of money can be won. Money is associated with power, and power is considered a masculine trait.

Howard describes how masculinity is changing using examples from Gundam, a Japanese anime. He describes the Eastern masculine appearance using Japanese anime:

It is different, because like 30 years ago, um, it was all about size, and now it is all about sleekness. I guess is what I'm trying to say, like in anime, 40 or 50 years ago the anime . .

. Mecca anime was the size of skyscrapers and they were big and lumbering. People

thought that was cool. Power Rangers, for example, when they formed their robot cyborg.

It's huge. You know, people were like, Wow that's so cool. But now, if you look at

recent, the past 20 years or so, the most prevalent mecca anime is Gundam. No Gundam

is the size of a skyscraper and they are all smaller. They are all sleeker and they all move

really fast. That's what Eastern images of masculinity are headed towards. Even if you

look at anime in general, the male protagonist, you'll never find a buff, super strong—

well they are all super strong, like a buff, overly muscular male as the protagonist. They

are always shorter, sleeker. Whether it has something to do with their personality or their

powers, it all has to do with being unique in some way.

Howard also described the changing attitudes about gaming being a masculine activity,

commenting:

But recently, with League of Legends and its entrance into Esports, that's definitely made

a big, big impact on the definition of masculinity. Oh, just the fact that mom can't say

you can't make a living off of that and you can. Like there are several streamers [people

who broadcast themselves playing games live for viewers to watch (Sjöblom & Hamari,

2017)], just League of Legends alone, several streamers of League of Legends make like

six figures. Definitely, for sure, some even make millions. League of Legends streamers

make six figures.

There is one guy, probably one of the most prominent streamers, SivHD. He was

part of this charity stream where they were trying to raise money for cancer and it was a

bunch of streamers collectively together. They were like, Let's all raise money together

to donate to this. They all had reasonable goals like $1,000, $5,000, $10,000. And then

I'm not sure exactly what his number was, but I think he said it was around $200,000,
and he raised twice that by himself just playing video games. People donating money
because they wanted to support his cause. He raised an insane amount of money. Money
is associated with power. Power is masculinity. Now money. Video games are an
alleyway to money. There is definitely a correlation.

Some of the AAPI participants noted that they do not feel a need to fit into the hegemonic
idea of masculinity and instead are recreating the definition of masculinity. For example,
Brandon said, "Personally, I don't believe we fit in. We don't want to fit in. I personally believe
there is no need to fit in." Brandon recalled what his father taught him about how to be an AAPI
man:

This is what my dad taught me: a family man, as in he takes care of his family members,
definitely social but with the right people. He always tells me that be social and talk to
people. Always be kind to people. Only create bonds with people who you think are
going to benefit you. It sounds really bad.

Antonio also expressed that AAPI men resist the hegemonic value of power over women,
especially objectifying women as sexual objects. He observed:

We are not big on objectifying women like that. We don't really fit into this masculine
idea. Probably because our culture demands respect and it is shameful. Respect your
sister or something like that. That would be really looked down upon. Yeah, because
Asian mothers are usually more involved in their children's lives.

Finally, some participants noted that society is redefining masculinity even in the media.
Howard observed, "You are seeing a lot more, um, heroes who are in fact emotional, and that
kind of might be hanging the personification of masculinity." Howard reiterated the idea that

American-born AAPI men link their masculinity with certain caring characteristics, such as being polite and obedient (Chua & Fujino, 1999).

Chapter Summary

This chapter presented descriptive accounts of the lived experiences of 10 AAPI men who play MMORPGs. The study was guided by the central research question: What are the lived experiences of racism that Asian American and Pacific Islander men face playing MMORPGs? Four themes emerged from individual semi-structured interviews and photo elicitation that comprised the data collection process.

The first theme was MMORPG avatar creation: Whiteness as the standard of masculinity and beauty, which addressed how players were limited to experimenting with mostly White male and female avatars within various games. Two of the AAPI participants created masculine avatars that were not accurate depictions of them. One participant created a very masculine avatar that was overly muscular. Howard created several male avatars that varied in their expressions of masculinity. He described his first male avatar as feminine, "like a Korean pop star." Howard described this avatar as an example of Eastern masculinity. However, his second male avatar had features that embodied Western hegemonic masculine ideals.

The other participants created and experimented with White female avatars citing various reasons for choosing to create the avatars they composed. For example, there were strategic advantages to creating a female avatar in a male-dominated environment, as the other male players were more likely to leave game items for or assist a female avatar.

The second theme was the perceived AAPI male dominance in MMORPGs. This theme addressed how AAPI men viewed themselves and how others viewed them as dominating this White space. AAPI men often dominate the gaming competitions, which leads to the perception

that all AAPI men are excellent or professional gamers. Specifically, when participants disclosed to other gamers that they were of Korean or other Asian descent, other players reacted by asking them to take charge and lead the guild or clan to victory. This perception allowed some of the AAPI men to display their masculinity via their leadership and skill within the MMORPG.

The stereotype of all AAPI men as excellent gamers, even if they were in fact only average gamers, characterizes this group as a high achieving, problem free, and homogeneous. This model minority stereotype, which is often used in reference to AAPI men's academic and professional accomplishments, applies as well to online gaming, where achievement is the most evident component of the stereotype. Many of the participants shared their desire to excel and achieve success in the game. Some of the AAPI gamers took succeeding very seriously, creating sign-up sheets, a schedule, and a strategic plan, and in this way fulfilling the model minority stereotype within the gaming world. Nevertheless, many of the participants were unaware of how the model minority stereotype impacted their approach to playing MMORPGs.

The third theme was masculinity and the emasculation of AAPI men, capturing the participants' experience of being belittled and feeling that they were less than men because of the negative stereotypes of AAPI men. Most of the AAPI men grew up in the U.S. and were therefore exposed as children to Western hegemonic masculine ideals via media images. For example, Andre described watching He-Man as a child. He explained that when he thinks of a masculine man he often thinks of He-Man, who was tall, muscular, and White and had superhuman strength.

Such White hegemonic masculine images impacted some of the AAPI men's lives both on- and offline. These images created standards that the AAPI men often felt they did not meet. As a result, the response of some of the AAPI men in the study was to create avatars that

conformed to these hegemonic masculine norms. Other participants did not care to fulfill the hegemonic norms of masculinity via their avatars.

The fourth and final theme was acculturated masculinity. The AAPI men in this study did not fully identify with the hegemonic masculine norms nor did they want to embrace them. They had a difficult time articulating an approach to masculinity that reflected their views and values. Acculturated masculinity for AAPI men emphasizes relationships and how the man presents himself to others: friends, family, and the public. Hegemonic masculinity is foreign to many of the AAPI men and they are more interested in defining what masculinity looks like for them.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to gain a better understanding of the lived experiences of AAPI men who play MMORPGS by exploring how race and gender impacted their experience. The study used an interpretative phenomenological analysis to allow the participants to convey how they made sense of their experience of playing MMORPGs (Smith et al,,2009). CRT (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) and hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1982, 1983) informed the conceptualization of this study and the development of the semi-structured interview questions and photo-elicitation protocol. Utilizing an interpretative phenomenological approach enabled the participants to express their own expertise regarding their individual experiences of playing MMORPGs.

Analyzing the data through the lens of CRT (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) and hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1982, 1983) allowed me to incorporate two integral parts of AAPI men's identity into the conversation about their experience. As a theoretical framework, CRT (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) acknowledges the intersection of race and gender oppression experienced by AAPI men. In addition, AsianCrit (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) explicitly discusses the Asianization of AAPI men in U.S. society examining the unique ways American society racializes Asian American and Pacific Islander people.

For example, American society categorizes all AAPI people into a monolithic group and racializes them as a model minority, perpetual foreigners, and a threatening yellow peril. AAPI men are racialized as asexual and emasculated within the hetereonormative White male

hegemonic perspective, while AAPI women are exoticized, viewed as submissive and hypersexual objects. Utilizing CRT (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) enabled me to elicit the voices of AAPI men in discussing their experiences with race and gender within MMORPGS.

From the perspective of hegemonic masculinity, Asian American masculinity is subordinated within hegemonic masculinity (Phua, 2007). Although the men in this study share similar backgrounds, their experiences with the phenomenon of playing MMORPGS were varied and unique. Nevertheless, this study's findings demonstrated some common themes. The researcher identified four major themes, which are discussed below in relation to the lived experiences of AAPI men. The themes include 1) MMORPG avatar creation: Whiteness as the standard of masculinity and beauty, 2) color blindness and perceived AAPI male dominance in the White virtual world of MMORPGs, 3) the masculinity and feminization of AAPI men, 4) acculturated masculinity.

Theme 1: MMORPG Avatar Creation: Whiteness as the Standard of Masculinity and Beauty

As reflected in the first finding, many of the AAPI male research participants never considered how racism impacted their avatar creation process. These participants were unaware of how their experiences with racism in their offline lives impacted their online experiences within MMORPGs, specifically in relation to their avatar creation. These AAPI men brought stereotyped notions of racial identity and masculinity into cyberspace with them when they constructed their online personae (Nakamura, 2002).

For example, some of the AAPI men's avatars aligned with White hegemonic masculine norms. They created avatars that resembled hypermasculine, muscular White men with facial hair and other physical attributes commonly associated with conventional masculinity. In the

context of masculinity, men whose masculinity is threatened will attempt to make up for perceived masculine deficiencies via exaggerated masculine self-presentation (i.e. through their avatar, character, etc.) (Babl, 1979; Cheryan, Cameron, Katagiri, & Monin, 2015; Willer, & Rogalin, Conlon, & Wojnowicz, 2013).

For example, Harry created a hypermasculine character with a muscular build that he described as unattainable for anyone other than body builders. Harry created his avatar to fulfill the hegemonic masculine norms of muscularity and ruggedness, giving the character a full beard and a handgun. It was apparent that Harry was impacted by feminized stereotypes about AAPI men and to combat the weak AAPI male stereotype, attempted to overcompensate by creating an overly muscular avatar. This finding aligns with research that suggested that AAPI college men report higher levels of drive for muscularity and greater internalization of media body ideals than White and Black college students (Kelly et al. 2015). Lastly, it is possible that some AAPI men who play MMORPGs may have self-concepts deficits related to their race or masculinity that may be compensated for by their avatar (Bessière et al., 2007; Davis, 2001; Leménager et al., 2013).

The other AAPI participants varied in the expression of themselves via their avatar composition. Most of the participants had either hypermasculine male avatars or overly sexualized female avatars, which did not closely resemble their offline physical appearances. Pringle (2015) found that players with a high body self-esteem scores created avatars similar to themselves because they were happy with themselves and did not feel the need to change things dramatically. In contrast, players with low body self-esteem scores created avatars they perceived to be somewhat similar to themselves, but downplayed or exaggerated the features they do not like in themselves to appear more appealing (Pringle, 2015).

Only one AAPI participant, Justin, created an avatar that closely resembled his offline physical appearance. Therefore, it may be that Justin has high self-esteem and does not feel the need to create an avatar that is drastically different from his real self. Justin, who is about 5'7" tall and has a stocky build, created a dwarf who was short and stocky, similar to his real-life appearance. It was also interesting that Justin used a dwarf avatar. It is possible that he has feelings about being short or maybe felt dishonest using an avatar that was taller. The avatar class that he chose for his character was a tank. He described the tank as "taking on more damage, being tough, jumping in and not really caring." Based on this description of a tank, the class aligns with masculine norms of risk-taking, violence, and adventure seeking (Donaldson, 1993; Iwamoto, Cheng, Lee, Takamatsu, & Gordon, 2011).

Sexist White Beauty

Other participants experimented with either aspirational selves or female avatars. Six of the ten AAPI men in this study created and played with female characters in various MMORPGs. This phenomenon of gender swapping is common among both male and female gamers (Hussain & Griffiths, 2008; Paik & Shi, 2013). There are various rationales for gender swapping to a female character: female characters have better in-game statistics, specific tools that were only available for females, certain character classes are available only to females, for fun, or simply for a change (Hussan & Griffiths, 2008). Additionally, Huh and Williams (2010) found that homosexual players gender-swapped more often than heterosexual players, suggesting that aspects of sexual orientation may be important in the decision to gender swap.

Most of the female avatars the AAPI men used were sexualized White women. Popular media has bombarded society with images where White female beauty is often depicted as a source of power and status (Nemoto, 2008). These female avatars mirror the women who are

featured in popular fashion or men's magazines: they were White, tall, busty, and thin. In games where a third person perspective is used, some heterosexual men prefer to stare at a female rather than a male body (Yee, 2004). The AAPI participants also identified the strategic benefits of playing with a female avatar in a male-dominated game. Female avatars are often treated better and are more likely to receive gifts and assistance from other players (Yee, 2004).

In addition to the strategic advantages of using White female avatars, AAPI men may view White women as possessors of power and symbolic capital within MMORPGs (Nemoto, 2008). If AAPI men view dominating these women as a masculine activity, the players may feel empowered by controlling a White female avatar. For example, Terry created a female character for the MMORPG he is currently playing. He created the "perfect girl that he could control and manipulate" in the game setting. Terry enjoyed the dominance of female characters in game life. His control and dominance of a White female in the MMORPG may be a way to show male dominance thereby enacting hegemonic masculinity.

Terry and the other AAPI men may view White women as possessors of symbolic capital and privilege that men of color have been denied (Chancer, 1998; Nemoto, 2008). Historically, AAPI men have been denied access to marrying White women (Nemoto, 2008). Therefore, as middle class AAPI men, their desire for White women may express a desire for assimilation to or acceptance by the White mainstream culture. Additionally, AAPI men may experiment with White female avatars because White women have been viewed as the ideal of femininity (Nemoto, 2008). This dominance or "manipulation" of White female avatars could be a strategy employed by AAPI men to elevate their status to that of a White man since White women symbolize White man's property (Nemoto, 2008).

Howard's male characters were all based on hegemonic masculine ideals. He was the only participant who was not heterosexual and he did not gender swap. This is interesting because research has suggested that sexual orientation may influence gender swapping. The physical characteristics of ideal masculinity in the West are embodied by a man who is tall and muscular with broad shoulders, large biceps, a barrel chest, a slim waist, and low body fat (Hargreaves & Tiggemann, 2004; Pope, Olivardia, Gruber, & Borowiecki, 1999). Howard's characters were of all different races and ethnicities. He was the only participant who created an Asian male avatar. However, he described the masculinity of his Asian male character as being feminine compared to his other male avatars. His Asian male character had a slimmer face, no facial hair, and an unappealing (bowl cut) hair style.

Conversely, Howard described his Black male avatar as an example of hypermasculinity. The Black male character had bulging muscles, a strong jaw line, and a full beard. When comparing the masculinity of the Black male versus the Asian male, the Black male does display hypermasculinity as compared to the Asian male. This stark difference in the portrayal of masculinity highlights the stereotypical depictions of Black men as associated with masculinity and Asian men as associated with femininity (Schug, Alt, & Lu, 2015).

The players offered a variety of reasons for creating different avatars within MMORPGs. MMORPGs allow players the opportunity to experiment with different races, genders, species, and identities without serious repercussions. Although the reasons varied, most of the AAPI men who chose female avatars enjoyed creating aesthetically appealing women, as well as using female avatars as a strategy to get help from male players. This strategy of claiming help from male gamers only makes sense in the context of heterosexual desire (Eklund, 2011). Male players playing as female avatars has become the norm, and often represents an aesthetic or

strategic decision rather than a choice to actively gender-bend (MacCallum-Stewart, 2008). Other men play as female avatars as a strategic measure to get help from other players.

This theme highlights how Whiteness is privileged within MMORPGs much as it is in the broader society. Many of the MMORPGs limited the avatar's race to White. Previous research has found that game developers were 88.5% male (Gourdin, 2005) and 83.3% White (Williams et al., 2009). White male avatars in the gaming world are also possessors of power, masculinity, and dominance. By winning in the MMORPG context using a White male avatar, however, the masculinity of AAPI male participants is further discounted.

Although AAPI male gamers may view MMORPGs as an opportunity to freely express their race without any discrimination, their ability to select avatars that look like them racially remains limited. Many of the AAPI male participants in this study did not have options for expressing masculinity with an Asian male avatar. Only one of the research participants had the option to choose an Asian male avatar in the game he was playing. The Asian male avatar was stereotyped as a feminine man. The other AAPI men did not have the option to create an Asian male avatar. The reality that some MMORPGs limit the avatars' race to White points to how these online games uphold Whiteness as the standard of masculinity and beauty. Whiteness becomes a universalizing category where Whites are viewed as individuals (Farough, 2004).

Theme 2: Colorblindness and Perceived AAPI Male Dominance in the White Virtual World of MMORPGs

AsianCrit's (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) first tenet is Asianization, the notion that racism and nativistic racism are pervasive in American society. Society racializes AAPI men through distinct stereotypes: among these, the model minority stereotype is one of the most oppressive. This stereotype's consequences are diverse and divisive (Kiang et al., 2017). Its damaging effects

include intense pressure to achieve, the detrimental assumptions it fosters, its inaccurate depiction of AAPIs, and its risk of threatening relationships with others (Kiang et al., 2017). Additionally, this stereotypical view of AAPI people has had a profound influence on race relations, social policy, and educational reform. The model minority stereotype presumes that all AAPI men are high achievers in the academic and professional realms. As a consequence, this presumption could cause counselors to overlook the socioemotional struggles and negative experiences with discrimination that AAPI men endure (Kiang et al., 2017).

The model minority stereotype also has consequences for AAPI men in the gaming environment. This stereotype was a prevalent subtheme for the AAPI participants in this study. Most of the participants were aware of the expectations imposed by the model minority stereotype—such as high achievement, intelligence, and academic and professional success—in their offline lives. However, they were not cognizant of how the model minority stereotype impacted or carried over to their online presence or gaming. For example, the model minority stereotype depicts AAPI men as "asexual nerds" and "overachievers" (Liang et al., 2010). The very action of playing online computer games is often viewed as a nerdy activity so they participants may have been perceived as fulfilling this stereotype simply through this activity.

The model minority stereotype de-legitimizes AAPI people's concerns and protests about racial discrimination and inequalities (Yu, 2006). In the gaming context, the perceived dominance for AAPI men prevented the recognition of the gaming community as largely a White space in which White men control the game dynamics (Nishi et al., 2015) and narratives, as well as restricting the virtual representations of AAPI men.

The model minority stereotype creates social pressure and expectations for AAPI men to achieve at a high level even within the virtual world of online games. Building upon this

stereotype, in the larger gaming community perceives skill dominance of AAPI men, leading some to believe that MMORPG environments create a level playing field for AAPI men to display their masculinity and skill. These assumptions create an expectation that *all* AAPI men will be skilled and proficient gamers. Some of the AAPI men in this study shared that, upon revealing their racial identity in an MMORPG, others expected them to perform at a high level even if they possessed only average skills.

The achievement component of the model minority stereotype was a significant part of the participants' experience within MMORPGs. Many of the AAPI participants discussed the desire to be the best within the game. The perception that all AAPI men are highly skilled gamers created an even greater desire among the AAPI gamers to live up to this high standard. Additionally, the desire to achieve led some of the AAPI men to treat MMORPGs like a job by creating sign-up sheets, scheduling conference calls, and leading strategy discussions for their team. The AAPI men in the study had varying degrees of commitment to MMORPGs, from loose commitment to utter commitment.

Theme 3: Masculinity and the Feminization of AAPI men

The feminization of the AAPI male in American popular culture such as online gaming demonstrates the intersection of race and gender discourses (Chen, 1996). The theme of masculinity and the feminization of AAPI men refers to the idea that AAPI men occupy two spaces within the MMORPG environment. They occupy a place of privilege because of their male identity, yet at the same time they are marginalized due to their racial identity. All of the participants conveyed an awareness of the way AAPI men are emasculated in society as a result of being stereotyped as "effeminate," "awkward," "nerdy," "geeky," "asexual," and having a small penis.

This finding supports the previous research finding that AAPI men are aware of the negative media and societal stereotypes of them (Wong, Owen, Tran, Collins, & Higgins, 2012). The level of knowledge and insight regarding the stereotypes varied among the participants. However, some participants were cognizant of the negative contemporary stereotypes of AAPI men, while others were aware of the history of the stereotypical depictions of AAPI men. The AAPI male participants as a group were not aware of how these negative stereotypes impacted their experiences online in MMORPGs.

For example, Justin expressed an understanding of societal views about AAPI men and their masculinity and recognized the social implications of the racial and gender stereotypes of AAPI men. Justin discussed how society views AAPI men as non-threatening and asexual beings. In contrast, Howard had a greater understanding of the history of discrimination towards AAPI men and its current impact. He was aware of the history of the feminization of AAPI men in the U.S. and discussed how the American media typecasts AAPI men as either martial arts masters or as geeks.

Andre was insightful regarding the portrayal of AAPI men as feminine and less masculine than White men. He also explained how his definition of masculinity has been shaped by society's definition. He defined a masculine man as one who is muscular, in charge, and demanding. His choice of the word *demanding* is revealing. When asked whether AAPI men fit the prescribed definition of masculinity, he discussed how few AAPI men are involved in politics, but noted that in California more AAPI men are involved and take charge politically. He contrasted this situation with the lack of political involvement by AAPI men in Georgia.

Harold described the pride he takes in not embodying AAPI male stereotypes, while recognizing that this pride itself acknowledges his belief that these stereotypes exist. He said:

I take certain pride when I don't embody a stereotype, which sounds good at first. Ultimately, if you look at it, it is bad because I technically do hold some sort of faith or belief that these stereotypes do exist. Otherwise, why wouldn't I feel good? Like I'm an okay driver. So when people compliment me on my driving I'm like yeah, you know.

Harold also spoke about the differences between Eastern and Western views of masculinity. He used Gundam, a Japanese science fiction anime series about robots, to illustrate the characteristics of Eastern masculinity. Harold described Eastern masculinity as encompassing the qualities of a mysterious aura, sleekness, and speed, compared to Western masculinity that values size and muscularity.

The Western media defines the ideal male physique as someone who is tall, muscular with wide shoulders, large biceps, a hefty chest and a small waist with low body fat percentage (Hargreaves & Tiggemann, 2004; Pope, Olivardia, Gruber, & Borowiecki, 1999). At the same time, the media negatively portrays AAPI men as short, physically weak, nerdy, and unattractive constructing them as more feminine and therefore unable to achieve ideals of Western masculinity (Chou, 2015). This juxtaposition often creates anxiety among AAPI men regarding their masculinity and may have a profound effect on the self-image and self-esteem of AAPI men and boys (Chou, 2015). While, some AAPI men believe they do not need to fulfill the Western masculine ideals.

Some AAPI men do not feel compelled to fulfill Western ideals of masculinity. Brandon believes that AAPI men are biologically shorter than White men and therefore do not fulfill hegemonic masculine ideals. However, he also believes AAPI men should not try to conform to these ideals. Brandon shared that different cultures have different standards for what is considered masculine and that people from other cultures should not feel the need to meet the

hegemonic masculine norms. He felt that he did not need to reflect hegemonic masculinity, but that Korean masculinity was fine for him. Brandon defined Korean masculinity as developing relationships with people that benefit the person. He commented that this definition sounds bad. However, he noted that his father also defined masculinity as giving back to one's community.

Harry expressed a limited understanding of how AAPI male stereotypes affect him and AAPI men in general. For example, when asked if he believed stereotypes impacted the AAPI men in his life, Harry responded, "Just because stereotypes affect one person, it might not affect me directly, but indirectly it probably definitely does." Harry himself identified with the stereotypical Asian geek. He said, "I feel like we are stereotyped as more nerdy, don't go out and play sports. Play on the computer type of person. Maybe play video games all day, which is what I did." However, Harry denied that AAPI male stereotypes had influenced him at all. He expressed that he didn't let people or his setting dictate what he wanted to do, observing, "I mean, I feel like [stereotypes] haven't really impacted my life."

Enrique also conveyed a limited understanding of the issues AAPI men confront regarding masculinity, and felt that negative stereotypes of AAPI men did not impact him. Enrique recognized that stereotypes in general are negative and that people do not like to be stereotyped. However, he felt insulated from the experiences that other AAPI men experienced related to their masculinity. Enrique shared how he was not impacted by AAPI male stereotypes due to his self-confidence, but he did explain that his AAPI male friends shared how these stereotypes created perceived notions and assumptions for AAPI men. In comparison to others' experiences, however, Enrique reported that stereotypes have had little impact on his own life. This view is surprising in light of the fact that Enrique attended the Georgia Institute of Technology and is a mechanical engineer. When asked to define masculinity, Enrique's

description was a Western man who is large, burly and strong. He added that a man who is independent and into sports and avoids anything feminine. When the researcher asked Enrique if he believes AAPI men fit that definition of masculinity. He stated that it depends on how they view themselves and he did not want to make an assumption. Enrique did state he does not feel he is a reflection of hegemonic masculinity.

His admission that he does not view himself as fitting into the definition of masculinity is curious in light of his statement that AAPI male stereotypes do not impact him. However, Enrique had an objective view of masculinity and stressed that not all White men fit into the definition of masculinity either. His point reiterates the fact that hegemonic masculinity is not assumed to be "normal" in the statistical sense, because only a minority of White men can achieve it, but it is normative (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Furthermore, Enrique's definition of masculinity highlights hegemonic masculinity as wed to nationality (Nagel, 2003). As a result, the stereotype of AAPI men as perpetual foreigners further marginalizes and subordinates them as men (Chou, 2015).

Lastly, Antonio identified similar stereotypes of AAPI men as generally intelligent but also wimpy and nerdy. He explained the difference between "nerdy" and "intelligent". Antonio said, "I guess it could mean the same thing. Not necessarily. [A] Nerd is someone who is quirky and not socially adept." Antonio highlights the view that intelligence could be perceived as less masculine.

Most of the AAPI men in the study were able to identify the negative stereotypes of AAPI men related to masculinity. The men differed in the degree to which they believed these stereotypes influenced their lives and to what extent they themselves were perceived as a stereotypical AAPI man. Some participants had limited knowledge of the historical impact of

AAPI male stereotypes, such as the typecasting in media of AAPI men as martial artists, or the anti-miscegenation laws. Other participants understood that this history of discrimination still impacts their lives and the way others perceive them as AAPI men. Overall, most of the men did not identify with Western hegemonic masculine norms, which confirms the notion that U.S.-born Asian men associate masculinity with being polite and reliable (Chua & Fujino, 1999).

Theme 4: Acculturated Masculinity: Emancipation for Hegemonic Masculinity

Acculturated masculinity refers to the idea that AAPI men living in the U.S. have adopted an understanding of masculinity that does not align with Western hegemonic masculinity. No empirical studies have examined how AAPI men construct their masculinity; however, in the U.S., AAPI masculinity has been portrayed as both hypermasculine and feminine. AAPI men's identities, like the identities of other men of color, are complex due to having to negotiate their position as a member of a privileged gender group and a subordinate racial group. Additionally, AAPI men are influenced both by Euro-American norms and values and by the traditional values imparted to them by their families, communities and culture (Sue, 2001).

The traditional Asian values stand in direct opposition to many of the qualities prized by Western masculinity. There are several areas of potential difference between AAPI men and White men. For example, Asian masculinity adheres to the value of collectivism, in which individual needs are subordinated to those of the group. In contrast, Western masculinity places a premium on individualism and independence.

Another difference is the issue of power within relationships. Asian cultures often value hierarchical relationships in which males possess higher status than females; in comparison, Eurocentric cultures are more likely to value of egalitarian relationships. In addition, Asian masculinity incorporates great respect for authority and regards modesty as a virtue. Conversely,

Western masculinity values assertiveness and self-expression, invites, challenges and disagreements, and supports self-advocacy and self-aggrandizing as means to get ahead (Chang, 1996; House & Pinyuchon, 1998; Leong, 1998).

AAPI men may find Western concepts of masculinity inconsistent with their own cultural values (Liang, Rivera, Nathwani, Dang & Douroux, 2010). Many of the AAPI men in the study stated that they did not identify with hegemonic masculine norms, nor did they aspire to fulfill these norms in the virtual world. Instead, they provided counter-stories to dismiss the need to fulfill hegemonic masculine norms. *Counter-storytelling* is a methodological tool with a history in communities of color, which may use oral interpretation to convey stories and struggles that are not validated by the dominant culture (Reynolds & Mayweather, 2017). As Brandon stated, "Personally, I don't believe we fit in. We don't want to fit in. I personally believe there is no need to fit in." This sentiment was shared by other AAPI men in the study.

Although the views of many of the AAPI men did not align with hegemonic masculine norms, the participants had difficulty articulating their own masculine norms. Nevertheless, they were able to provide their own account of conceptualizing their masculinity. This lack of clarity is due, at least in part, to the lack of conceptualization of AAPI masculinity. There is a need for more research regarding AAPI masculinity and its inclusion of Asian cultural values and characteristics related to masculinity.

Implications for Counseling Practice with AAPI Men and Gaming

AAPI masculinity and racial identity development is a complex issue for AAPI men living in the United States to navigate, especially within the virtual world of gaming. Real-world prejudice is evident in the virtual world (Vang & Fox, 2014), and AAPI men are in a unique position in Western society because they are often either hypermasculinized or feminized.

Additionally, the stereotype of AAPI individuals as a model minority further oppresses AAPI men and influences their self-concept (Iwamoto & Kaya, 2016). The model minority stereotype creates pressure for AAPI men to assimilate into the dominant U.S. culture and conform to White expectations and hegemonic masculinity (Chou, 2015). However, AAPI men cannot achieve this idealized masculine status due to the feminization of AAPI men in Western heteronormative discourse. This lack of attainment can have a profound effect on the self-image and self-esteem of AAPI men and boys who wish to achieve this ideal (Chou, 2015).

Wong et al. (2012) found that stereotypes of AAPI men as sexually and romantically inadequate and as perpetual foreigners were associated with higher levels of depression among this population. Professional counselors should have an understanding of the impact that racial discrimination and the model minority stereotype can have on AAPI men's mental health. Research has found that the internalization of stereotypical views of masculinity, or perceived masculinity may also have adverse impacts on AAPI men (Wong, Horn, & Chen, 2013), including alcohol-related problems (Iwamoto, Lejuez, Grivel, & Hamilton, 2014) and a higher incidence of depressive symptoms (Wong et al., 2012). Moreover, AAPI men who adhere to the model minority stereotype may be discouraged from help-seeking behavior (Chang & Subramaniam, 2008; Gupta, Syzymanski, & Leong, 2011).

There are many recommendations when working with AAPI men regarding issues of masculinity and self-esteem. First, the definition of masculinity and the process through which it is constructed may be problematic for AAPI men because professionals in the men's movement stress the importance of introspection and self-reflection. Generally, AAPI people do not engage in self-exploration activities and/or they have trouble voicing struggles through introspective

processes (Sue, 2001). Counselors should help AAPI men understand the sociopolitical context in which they experience race, gender, and gendered racism.

Counselors who work with AAPI men must develop multicultural competency to understand the role of culture, gender, and marginalization in shaping their clients' health and help-seeking behaviors (Iwamoto & Kaya, 2016; Wang & Kim, 2010). They may benefit from conceptualizing AAPI men's identities as a product of the intersection of race, gender, masculine norms, and internalized racism. Counselors should utilize sociocultural counseling approaches that are informed by racial/ethnic considerations to help AAPI male clients unravel the potential influences of media, racism, and acculturation on muscularity-related body image concerns (Cheng et al., 2016). Finally, counselors need to be mindful of the complex intersections of the differing worldviews, beliefs, practices, religions, and traditions believed to exist among the estimated 40+ ethnic subgroups that comprise the AAPI population (Blair & Quian, 1998; Sandhu, 1997). AAPI men may find Western concepts of masculinity inconsistent with their own cultural values (Liang, Rivera, Nathwani, Dang, & Douroux, 2010).

Implications for Future Counseling Research

Psychological studies investigating the experiences of race and gender among AAPI men who play MMORPGs have been non-existent, yet such examinations are integral to understanding this group. To date, no other studies have been conducted on the experiences of AAPI men who play MMORPGs, either in general or specifically in relation to their race and masculinity. This study provided an exploratory look into the lived experiences of AAPI men who play MMORPGS by examining the dynamics of race and masculinity they encounter in this context.

AAPI men have not been researched as extensively as other groups of men and further research is needed to explore the complexity of AAPI race and masculinity, as well as how it relates to these men's game playing behavior with MMORPGs. AAPI men's construction of their masculinity offline is an area greatly in need of exploration. Most of the literature that has examined racial awareness and color-blind attitudes in racial minorities has been limited to samples of Black Americans or very small samples of other minority groups (Diggles, 2014). Therefore, there is a need to research color blindness among AAPI men. In addition, future research on this topic should examine the acculturation levels of AAPI men and explore the impact of religion on the construction of AAPI male identity. Finally, future samples of AAPI men should include more diverse populations of AAPI men in terms of their ethnicity, sexual orientation, age, etc.

This study affirms the need to further explore sociocultural constructs such as racism may have an impact on the game playing behaviors of AAPI men. Although I approached this study with the belief that the online gaming arena was a neutral environment in which race and gender would not impact a player's experience, it is evident from the findings that racism does impact AAPI men's online gaming experience. AAPI men's experiences of racism offline clearly carry over to the online environment of MMORPGs.

As an area of research, AAPI masculinity is still in its infancy. It requires a distinct approach that allows it to be differentiated from White hegemonic masculinity (Iwamoto & Kaya, 2016). This area of research is crucial to explore because of the impact hegemonic norms of masculinity may have on depressive symptoms of the mental health of this group (Liu & Iwamoto, 2006). Although researchers have found that immigrant and U.S.-born Asian men do not prioritize masculinity in terms of their self-concept (Chua & Fujino, 1999: Iwamoto & Kaya,

2016), there are nevertheless specific ethnic factors that must be investigated for AAPI men. For example, U.S.-born Asian men have been found not to view their masculinity in opposition to femininity. They are generally open to doing domestic tasks and associate masculinity with being polite and reliable (Chua & Fujino, 1999; Iwamoto & Kaya, 2016).

Another area of research in need of further development is the degree to which Asian American ethnic groups vary in their endorsement of multidimensional masculine norms. Moreover, much of the research that does exist has focused on college students who were recruited through convenience sampling. Broader community samples of AAPI men have been missing from the scholarly literature (Iwamoto, Liao, & Liu, 2010; Wei, Yeh, Chao, Carrera, & Su, 2013). Future samples should also include AAPI men of lower socioeconomic status, who may be stereotyped differently and have different experiences than middle-class AAPI men. Additionally, future research should include AAPI men from Pacific Islander backgrounds as well as AAPI men who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender or queer (LGBTQ).

Future research should also explore how distinct masculine norms or adherence to the model minority stereotype might influence the developmental trajectories of mental health problems or substance abuse among this AAPI men. Additionally, there is a need for research that more fully captures the psychological processes of AAPI men. Future research with AAPI men should examine participants' understanding of their racial identity by incorporating Helms' (1995) racial identity model. Utilizing this model would offer the participants and researcher a clearer understanding of how AAPI men assess their experiences, both offline and in the MMORPGS. Many of the participants did not believe that stereotypes influence their daily lives. However, some of their online experiences were directly related to microaggressions or

discrimination they confronted. Overall, more research is essential to understanding the complex relationships among masculine norms and racism for AAPI men.

Social Justice Implications for Advocacy with AAPI Men and Gaming

Researchers and the general public have overlooked AAPI men and their concerns, which has led to a dearth of research on this group. Professionals who work with AAPI men should advocate for more research focusing on this group of men, particularly in relation to masculinity and their experiences of racism in the online gaming environment. Online identity can be considered an extension of one's "real" identity and not an "other" identity. Therefore, studying avatar representation and its impact on AAPI men's online is necessary. Additionally, future research should include AAPI men from Pacific Islander background as well as AAPI LGBTQ.

This study highlights the need to research and advocate for AAPI men, particularly in regard to the impact of race and hegemonic masculinity on issues of identity development and in relation to gaming behaviors. Online gaming, and specifically MMORPGs, could offer an escape hatch from the racism that AAPI men experience in their offline lives. MMORPGs allow AAPI men the freedom to express their masculinity or race through the customization of their avatar. However, this study found that MMORPGs often reproduce the racism AAPI men encounter in real life, due to their preference for Whiteness as expressed via White male and female avatars. This highlights the need for game developers to construct MMORPGs with additional race variations that include AAPI ethnicities, as well as gender variations beyond the male/female gender binary.

Gaming culture is growing in popularity in the U.S. and attitudes toward Internet gaming are shifting. The mass media promotes gaming by portraying athletes and movie stars playing games online. Some of the AAPI men in this study were not aware of the impact of the model

minority stereotype on perceptions of AAPI men's masculinity. This lack of knowledge supports

the need to educate AAPI communities regarding the model minority stereotype in the political

landscape of the United States. This education should encompass the historical treatment of the

first Asian immigrants and examine the discriminatory legislation against AAPI immigrants.

Limitations of the Study

This study was limited by the fact that participants were selected based on convenience

sampling, and therefore the sample should not be viewed as representative of the diversity of

AAPI men. Most of the participants were well-educated, middle class, and had attended college

at predominantly White institutions in the Southeast. Participants who live in predominantly

Asian communities or attend universities with large AAPI populations may have different

experiences playing MMORPGS. Also, gamers from a lower socioeconomic status may have

different experiences with playing and even accessing the technology to play MMORPGs.

In addition, the AAPI participants reflect a limited range of ethnic identities because they

were recruited from Asian American groups, such as a national Asian interest fraternity and an

Asian American church. Their participation in these organizations may impact their views on

race and gender. For example, Justin, who serves on the executive board of the national Asian

interest fraternity, had an informed understanding of AAPI masculinity and how racism impacted

this construct for AAPI men living in the U.S. Furthermore, AAPI men who socially interacted

only with other AAPI people may have a limited understanding of non-AAPI people's

perceptions of AAPI men.

Another limitation is the lack of attention in this study to the participants' degree of

acculturation or assimilation. Adherence to Asian values is an important factor to investigate

because it has been found to be associated with self-esteem (Kim & Omizo, 2006; Liu &

Iwamoto, 2006). Although this study did not focus on assimilation or self-esteem, the

participants' self-esteem may have influenced their views of their masculinity or femininity and

how they expressed their identity via the avatars in the MMORPGs. Also, this study did not

investigate other parts of AAPI men's sexual identity, particularly in relation to gender swapping

within the MMORPGs, as some studies have found that homosexual players swap genders more

frequently. This is an added component of MMORPG play that should be explored for AAPI

men.

Finally, religion was an element of AAPI men's identity that did not resonate with most

of the participants. Enrique was the only AAPI male participant who extensively shared his

religious identity as a reformed Christian. He explained in detail his values and beliefs as a

reformed Christian and described the impact of his religion on his life. However, the other

participants did not discuss their religious identity in detail. It is possible that religion is not an

integral part of the other AAPI men's identities, or that it was secondary to their race and gender.

Summary

This study identified constructs that may illuminate how race and gender impact the lived

experiences, on- and offline, of AAPI men. This is important because exposure to stereotypical

imagery in media can alter social judgments in a negative manner and the stories we glean from

mass media change how we behave in the real world (Burgess et al., 2011). I am left with more

questions more than answer for AAPI men and their masculinity. For example, how do the

different Asian ethnic groups define masculinity in a manner that does not oppress other racial or

gender groups.

This Ph.D. journey has been an arduous one, in which I often reflected on my own

masculinity and challenged the hegemonic masculine values in American society. I continue to

wrestle with how I can redefine masculinity for myself as well as for other AAPI men. I believe this conversation needs to start within the AAPI community and include a diverse group of AAPI individuals from various age groups, ethnicities, sexual orientations, religious affiliations, and other important identities.

My journey of masculinity as an AAPI heterosexual man is also in its initial stages. I recognize that there are layers of assumption and prejudice I still need to uncover within the heteronormative perspective. For example, I need to explore how heternormative gender roles influence my conception of masculinity. This research has led me to reflect on my own experiences growing up in a rural town where, as one of only two AAPI men, I consistently encountered gendered racism. My experiences have caused me to internalize some of the messages about AAPI men's masculinity and standing in American society. They have also driven me to adopt hegemonic masculine values to combat feminized views of AAPI men. For example, I recognize that my desire to work out and appear muscular represents an effort to debunk the weak Asian male image that is often perpetuated in American popular media. However, I am beginning to realize that AAPI men should conceptualize a masculinity that does not reproduce sexist stereotypes of male superiority over women or other groups including people who identify as LGBTQ (Chen, 1996).

This research study has given me the tools and language to understand the historical racism that confronted the first AAPI immigrants. Learning this history has helped me understand the political and social purpose of the model minority stereotype, as well as other stereotypes of AAPI men, within the context of relationships with other groups of color. This insight has helped me to understand my own conception of my racial identity as an AAPI man and the need to challenge the heternormative gender norms within AAPI culture.

I have often felt that I am fulfilling the model minority stereotype by pursuing this Ph.D. process. I was always studying and losing connections with people as a result, a situation that clearly marks me as conforming to this stereotype. As a working professional and part-time doctoral student, I often questioned why I was pursuing an additional degree. Was it to make my parents proud? Or for a greater cause? I believe it is a combination of both reasons. Perhaps in part as a result of my personal struggle, I recognized the scarcity of research into the lives of AAPI men, and was inspired to explore how racism impacted the lived experiences of AAPI men in MMORPGs. As a researcher, I sought to shine some light on this topic by exploring the lived experiences of AAPI who play MMORPGs and to inspire others to undertake further research on this group of men and their interaction with MMORPGs.

References

Accapadi, M. M. (2005). *Affirmations of identity: The story of a South Asian American sorority.* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Texas, Austin.

Ahn, S. J., Fox, J., & Bailenson, J. N. (2012). Avatars. In W. S. Bainbridge (Ed.), *Leadership in Science and Technology: A Reference Handbook.* (pp. 695–702). Beverley Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Ahn, D. H. (2007). Korean policy on treatment and rehabilitation for adolescents' Internet addiction. International Symposium on the Counseling and Treatment of Youth Internet Addiction. Seoul, Korea: National Youth Commission; p.

Aizu, I. (2002, April). A comparative study on broadband in Asia: Development and policy. Paper presented at the Asian Economic Integration-Current Status and Prospects, Symposium hosted by RIETI on April 22.

Allen, L. (2009). "Snapped": Researching the sexual cultures of schools using visual methods. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 22*(5), 549-561. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09518390903051523

Allison, S. E., von Wahlde, L., Shockley, T. & Gabbard, G. O. (2006). The development of the self in the era of the Internet and role-playing fantasy games. *American Journal of Psychiatry, 163*(3), 381-385.

American Psychiatric Association. (2013). *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders* (*DSM-V;*5th edition)*.* Arlington, Virgina: American Psychiatric Publishing.

Ancheta, A. N. (1998). *Race, rights, and the Asian American experience*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Anderson, C. A., Gentile, D. A., & Buckley, K. E. (2007). *Violent video game effects on children and adolescents: Theory, research, and public policy.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.Anderson, C. A., Berkowitz, L., Donnerstein, E., Huesmann, R. L., Johnson, J.,

Linz,

D., Malamuth, N., & Wartella, E. (2003). The influence of media violence on youth. *Psychological Science in the Public Interest, 4*(3), 81-110. doi: 10.1111/j.1529 1006.2003.pspi1433.x

Anderson, K. J. (2001). Internet use among college students: An exploratory study. *Journal of American College Health, 50,* 21-26.

Arnot, M. (2005). *Reproducing gender? Essays on educational theory and feminist politics.* New York: NY: RoutledgeFalmer.

Arredondo, P., Toporek, R., Brown, S., Jones, J., Locke, D., Sanchez, J., & Stadler, H. (1996). Operationalization of multicultural counseling competencies. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 24*(1)*,* 42-789. doi:10.1002/j.2161-1912.1996.tb00288.x

Asian American Federation. (2014). *The state of Asian American children.* New York, NY: Author.

Auerbach, S. (2009). *Race, law, and "the Chinese puzzle" in imperial Britain.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Aydin, B., & Sari, S. V. (2011). Internet addiction among adolescents: The role of self-esteem. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, *15*, 3500-3505. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2011.04.325.

Babl, J.D. (1979). Compensatory masculine responding as a function of sex role. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 47*(2), 252-257. Retrieved from: http://dx.doi.org.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/10.1037/0022-006X.47.2.252

Badrinarayanan, V. A., Sierra, J. J., & Martin, K. M. (2015). A dual identification framework of online multiplayer video games: The case of massively multiplayer online role playing games (MMORPGs). *Journal of Business Research, 68*(5), 1045-1052. doi: 10.1016/j.jbusres.2014.10.006

Baldwin, T. K., & Sessoms, H. M. (2007). Race and ethnicity. In Sloan, D., & Mackay, J. B. (Eds.), *Media Bias* (pp. 105-116). Jefferson, NC: McFarland.

Bailenson, J. N., Yee, N., Blascovich, J., & Guadagno, R. E. (2008). Transformed social interaction in mediated interpersonal communication. In E. Konijn, S. Utz, M. Tanis, & S. Barnes (Eds.), *Mediated interpersonal communication* (pp. 77–99). New York, NY: Routledge.

Bardzell, J., & Bardzell, S. (2008). Interaction criticism: A proposal and framework for a new discipline of HCI. In *Proceedings of CHI '08: Extended abstracts on human factors in computing systems* (pp. 2463-2472). New York, NY: Association for Computing Machinery.

Barnett, H. L., Keel, P. K., & Conoscenti, L. M. (2001). Body type preferences in Asian and Caucasian college students. *Sex Roles, 45*, 867-878. http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1015600705749

Barnett, J., & Coulson, M. (2010). Virtually real: A psychological perspective on massively multiplayer online games. *Review of General Psychology, 14*(2), 167-179. doi: 10.1037/a0019442

Bartholow, B. D., Bushman, B. J., & Sestir, M. A. (2006). Chronic violent video game exposure and densensitization to violence: Behavioral and event-related brain potential data. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology,* 42, 532-539.

Bartle, R. (1996). Hearts, clubs, diamonds, spades: Players who suit MUDs. Retrieved from http://www.mud.co.uk/richard/hcds.htm>.

Batthyány, D., Müler, K. W., Benker, F, & Wölfling, K. (2009). Computer game playing: Clinical characteristics of dependence and abuse among adolescents. *Wien Klin Wochenschr, 121,* 502-509

Baym, N. K. (2002). Il posto delle comunit_a online nella vita offline. The place of online communities in offline life. *Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia, 43*(1), 55-71. http://dx.doi.org/10.1423/2592.

Beard, C. L., & Wickham, R. E. (2016). Gaming-contingent self-worth, gaming motivation, and Internet gaming disorder. *Computers in Human Behavior, 61,* 507-515.

Beasley, B., & Standley, T. C. (2002). Shirts vs. skins: Clothing as an indicator of gender role stereotyping in video games. *Mass Communication & Society*, *5*(3), 279–293. doi: 10.1207/S15327825MCS0503_3

Beavis, C., & Charles, C. (2007). Would the 'real' girl gamer please stand up? Gender, LAN cafe´s and the reformulation of the 'girl' gamer. *Gender and Education*, *19*, 691–705. doi:10.1080/09540250701650615

Bedford, O. A. (2004). The individual experience of guilt and shame in Chinese culture. *Culture & Psychology, 10*, 29-52. doi:10.1177/1354067X04040929

Behm-Morawitz, E., & Mastro, D. (2009). The effects of the sexualization of female video game characters on gender stereotyping and female self-concept. Sex Roles, 61, 808-823.

doi:10.1007/s11199-009-9683-8.

Bell, L. A., Castañeda, C., & Zúñiga, X. (2010). Racism. In M. Adams, W. J. Blumenfeld, C. Castañeda, H. W. Hackman, , M. L. Peters, & X. Zúñiga, (Eds.), *Readings for diversity and social justice,* (2ⁿᵈ ed., pp. 59-66). New York, NY: Routledge.

Berle, D., Starcevic, V., Porter, G., & Fenech, P. (2015). Are some video games associated with more life interference and psychopathology than others? Comparing massively multiplayer online role-playing games with other forms of video game. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, *67*(2), 105-114.

Bertozzi, E. (2008). "You play like a girl!": Cross-gender competition and the uneven playing field. *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technology*, *14*(4), 473-487. doi: 10.1177/1354856508094667

Bessiére, K., Seay, A. F., & Kiesler, S. (2007). The ideal elf: Identity exploration in World of Warcraft. *CyberPsychology and Behavior, 10*(4), 530-535. doi: 10.1089/cpb.2007.9994

Billieux, J., Chanal, J., Khazaal, Y., Rochat, L., Gay, P., & Zullino, D. (2011). Psychological predictors of problematic involvement in massively multiplayer online role-playing games: Illustration in a sample of male cybercafe players. *Psychopathology, 44*(3), 165-171.

Billieux, J., Van der Linden, M., Achab, S., Khazaal, Y., Paraskevopoulos, L., Zullino, D., & Gabriel, T. (2013). Why do you play World of Warcraft? An in-depth exploration of self-reported motivations to play online and in-game behaviours in the virtual world of Azeroth. *Computers in Human Behavior, 29*(1), 103-109. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2012.07.021

Bily, C. A. (2016). In Salem Press Encyclopedia online. Retrieved from

    http://eds.b.ebscohost.com.proxy-

    remote.galib.uga.edu/eds/detail/detail?vid=7&sid=7c709f21-243c-43cc-abe3-

    65c651d7ea7b%40sessionmgr4008&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWRzLWxpdmU%3d#AN=8955

    1312&db=ers

Blair, S. L., & Quian, Z. (1998). Family and Asian students' educational performance. *Journal of*

    Family Issues, 19, 355-374

Blinn, L., & Harrist, A. W. (1991). "Combining native instant photography and photo-

    elicitation. *Visual Anthropology 4*(2): 175–192

Blizzard Entertainment. (2011) World of Warcraft: Cataclysm one-month sales top 4.7 million.

    http://us.battle.net/wow/en/blog/2034539 (Accessed June 27, 2015)

Block J. J. (2008, March). Issues for DSM-V: Internet addiction. *The American Journal of*

    Psychiatry,*165*(3): 306-307.

Blum, A. (2008). Shame and guilt, misconceptions and controversies: A critical review of the

    literature. *Traumatology, 14*, 91-102. doi:10.1177/ 1534765608321070

Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic interactionism: Perspective and method*. Englewood Cliffs,

    NJ: University of California Press.

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2010). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of*

    racial inequality in the United States. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Bonilla-Silva, E., Goar, C., & Embrick, D. (2006). "When Whites flock together: The social

    psychology of White habitus." *Critical Sociology, 32*(2), 229-253. doi:

    10.1163/156916306777835268

Borca, G., Bina, M., Keller, P. S., Gilbert, L. R., & Begotti, T. (2015). Internet use and

developmental tasks: Adolescents' point of view. *Computers in Human Behavior*, *52*, 49-58. doi: 10.1016/j.chb.2015.05.029

Brannon, R. (1976). The male sex role: Our culture's blueprint for manhood, what it's done for us lately. In D. David & R. Brannon (Eds.), *The forty-nine percent majority: The male sex role* (pp. 1-45). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Brehm, A. L. (2013). Navigating the feminine in massively multiplayer online games: Gender in World of Warcraft. *Frontiers in Psychology, 4,* 1-12. doi: 10.3389/fpsyg.2013.00903

Brown, R. M., Hall, L. R., Holtzer, R., Brown, S. L., & Brown, N. L. (1997). Gender and video game performance. *Sex Roles, 36,* 793-812. doi:10.1023/A:1025631307585.

Bryce, J., & Rutter, J. (2003). Gender dynamics and the social and spatial organization of computer gaming. *Leisure Studies, 22*(1)*,* 1-15. doi: 10.1080/02614360306571

Bruckman, A. (1992). Identity workshop: Emergent social and psychological phenomena in text based virtual reality. Retrieved from http://www.cc.gatech.edu/fac/Amy.Bruckman/papers/old-papers.html

Burgess, M. C. R., Dill, K. E., Stermer, S. P., Burgess, S. R., & Brown, B. P. (2011). Playing with prejudice: The prevalence and consequences of racial stereotypes in video games. *Media Psychology, 14*, 289-311. doi: 10.1080/15213269.2011.596467

Burgess, M. C. R., Stermer, S. P., & Burgess, S. R. (2007). Sex, lies, and video games: The portrayal of male and female characters on video game covers. *Sex Roles, 57*, 419–433. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-007-9250-0.

Campi, A. J. (2005). Closed borders and mass deportations: The lessons of the Barred Zone Act. Washington, DC: American Immigration Law Foundation.

Caplan, S. E. (2005). A social skill account of problematic Internet use. *Journal of Communications, 55*(4), 721-736. Retrieved from https://academic-oup-com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/joc/article/55/4/721/4103034

Caplan, S., Williams, D., & Yee, N. (2009). Problematic Internet use and psychosocial well-being among MMO players. *Computers in Human Behavior*, *25*, 1312-1319

Cappello, M. (2005). Photo interviews: Eliciting data through conversations with children. *Field Methods, 17*(2), 170-182. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1525822X05274553

Carrigan, T., Connell, B., & Lee, J. (2004). Toward a new sociology of masculinity. In P. F. Murphy (Ed.), Feminism & masculinities (pp. 151–164). Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Cash, H., Rae, C. D., Steel, A. H., & Winkler, A. (2012). Internet addiction: A brief summary of research and practice. *Current Psychiatry Reviews, 8*(4), 292-298. Retrieved from http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3480687/pdf/CPSR-8-292.pdf

Castronova, E. (2003). Theory of the avatar (Working Paper No. 863). Retrieved from https://www.cesifo-group.de/ifoHome/publications/working-papers/ CESifoWP/CESifoWPdetails?wp_id1∕414560129.

Cawthon, E. A. (2017). In *Salem Press Encyclopedia online.* Retrieved from http://eds.b.ebscohost.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/eds/detail/detail?vid=9&sid=7c709f21-243c-43cc-abe3-65c651d7ea7b%40sessionmgr4008&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWRzLWxpdmU%3d#AN=8931 5016&db=ers

Chan, J. (2001). *Chinese American masculinities: From Fu Manchu to Bruce Lee.* New York: Routledge.

Chan, J. W. (1998). Contemporary Asian American men's issues. In L. R. Hirabayashi (Ed.), *Teaching Asian America: Diversity and the problem of community* (pp. 93-102). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Chan, P. A., & Rabinowitz, T. A. (2006). A cross-sectional analysis of video games and attention deficit hyperactivity disorder symptoms in adolescents. *The Annals of General Psychiatry, 5,* 16-26. doi: 10.1186/1744-859X-5-16

Chan, S. (1990). *Entry denied: Exclusion and the Chinese community in America, 1882-1943.* Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Chancer, L. (1998). *Reconcilable differences: Confronting beauty, pornography, and the future of feminism.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. ⌇SEP⌇

Chang, E. C. (1996). Cultural differences in optimism, pessimism, and coping predictors of subsequent adjustment in Asian American and Caucasian American college students. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 43,* 113-123.

Chang, R. S. (1993). Toward an Asian American legal scholarship: Critical race theory, post-structuralism, and narrative space. *California Law Review, 5,* 1241.

Chang, T., & Subramaniam, P. (2008). Asian and Pacific Islander American men's help-seeking: cultural values and beliefs, gender roles, and racial stereotypes. *International Journal Of Men's Health*, *7*(2), 121-136. doi: 10.3149/jmh.0702.121

Chang, T., & Yeh, C. J. (2003). Using online groups to provide support to Asian American men: Racial, cultural, gender, and treatment issues. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 34*(4), 634-643. doi: 10.1037/0735-7028.34.6.634

Charlton, J. P., & Danforth, I. D. W. (2007). Distinguishing addiction and high engagement in the context of online game playing. *Computers in Human Behavior, 23*(3), 1531-1548. doi: 10.1016/j.chb.2005.07.002

Chen, A. 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. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/089124399013005002

Chen, C. H. (1996). Feminization of Asian (American) men in the U.S. mass media: An analysis of 'The Ballad of Little Jo.'. *Journal Of Communication Inquiry*, (2), 57-71.

Cheng, C. (1996). We choose not to compete: The "merit" discourse in the selection process, and Asian and Asian American men and their masculinity. In C. Cheng (Ed.), *Masculinities in organizations* (pp. 177-200). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Cheng, H-L., McDermott, R. C., Wong, Y. J., & La, Susanna (2016). Drive for muscularity in Asian American men: Sociocultural and racial/ethnic factors as correlates. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 17*(3), 215-227.
http://dx.doi.org.proxyremote.galib.uga.edu/10.1037/men0000019

Cheryan, S., Cameron, J. S., Katagiri, Z., & Monin, B. (2015). Manning up: Threatened men compensate by disavowing feminine preferences and embracing masculine attributes. *Social Psychology, 46*(4), 218-227. doi: 10.1027/1864-9335/a000239

Chiu, S. I., Lee, J. Z., & Huang, D. H. (2004). Video game addiction in children and teenagers in Taiwan. *CyberPsychology & Behavior, 7*(5), 571-581. doi: 10.1089/1094931042403127

Chou, R. S. (2015). *Asian American sexual politics: The construction of race, gender, and sexuality*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Choy, C. C. (2000). Asian American history: reflections on imperialism, immigration, and 'the body'. *Amerasia Journal*, *26,* 119-140.

Chua, P., & Fujino, D. (1999). Negotiating new Asian-American masculinities: Attitudes and gender expectations. *The Journal of Men's Studies, 7*, 391-413. http://dx.doi.org/10.3149/jms.0703.391

Chuang, Y. C. (2006). Massively multiplayer online role-playing game-induced seizures: A neglected health problem in Internet addiction. *CyberPsychology & Behavior, 9*(4), 451-456.

Chumbley, J., & Griffiths, M. (2006). Affect and the computer game player: The effect of gender, personality, and game reinforcement structure on affective responses on computer game-play. *CyberPsychology & Behavior*, *9,* 308-316.

Cilesiz, S. (2011). A phenomenological approach to experiences with technology: Current state, promise, and future directions for research. *Educational Technology Research & Development, 59*(4), 487-510. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/stable/41414955

Clark, C. D. (1999). The auto-driven interview: A photographic viewfinder into children's experience. *Visual Studies, 14*(1), 39-50. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14725869908583801

Clark, N., & Scott, P. S. (2009). *Game addiction: The experience and the effects*. London, UK: McFarland.

Cohen, M. Z., Kahn, D. L., & Steeves, R. H. (2000). *Hermeneutic phenomenological research: A practical guide for nurse researchers*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Cole, H., & Griffiths, M. D. (2007). Social interactions in massively multiplayer online role-playing gamers. *CyberPsychology & Behavior, 10*(4), 575-583. http://dx.doi.org/10.1089/cpb.2007.9988.

Collier, J. (1957). Photography in anthropology: A report on two experiments. *American Anthropologist, 59,* 843-859.

Collier, J. (1967). *Visual anthropology: Photography as a research method*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Collins, E., Freeman, J., & Chamarro-Premuzic, T. (2012). Personality traits associated with problematic and non-problematic multiplayer online role playing game use. *Personality and Individual Differences, 52*, 133–138. doi:10.1016/j.paid.2011.09.015

Coloma, R. S. (2006). Disorienting race and education: Changing paradigms on the schooling of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders**.** *Race, Ethnicity, & Education, 9*(1), 1-15. doi: 10.1080/13613320500490606

Comstock, G., & Cobbey, R. (1979). Television and the children of ethnic minorities. *Journal of Communication, 29*(1), 104-15. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.1979.tb0168 8.x.

Connell, R. W. (1982). Class, patriarchy, and Sartre's theory of practice. *Theory and Society 11*(3), 305-320. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/stable/657273?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents

Connell, R. W. (1983). *Which way is up?: Essays on sex, class and culture*. Sydney, Australia: Allen and Unwin

Connell, R. W., & Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept. *Gender & Society*, *19,* 829-859. doi:10.1177/ 0891243205278639

Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Thousand Oaks, California : Sage Publications.

Curtis, P. (1996). Mudding: Social phenomena in text-based virtual realities. In P. Ludlow (Ed.), *High noon on the electronic frontier: Conceptual issues in cyberspace* (pp. 347-373).

Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Retrieved from

http://gel.msu.edu/classes/tc848/papers/Curtis.Mudding.Social.Phenomena.in.Text0Base

d.Virtual.Realities.pdf.

Davis, R. (2001). A cognitive-behavioral model of pathological Internet use. *Computers*

in Human Behavior, 17, 187-195

Deci, E., & Ryan, R. (1995). Human autonomy: The basis for true self-esteem. In

M. Kernis (Ed.), *Efficacy, agency, and self-esteem* (pp. 31-49). New York: Plenum

Press.⌷ᶳᴇᴘ⌷

Deci, E. L., Koestner, R., & Ryan, R. M. (1999). A meta-analytic review of experiments

examining the effects of extrinsic rewards on intrinsic motivation. *Psychological Bulletin*,

125(6), 627–668.⌷ᶳᴇᴘ⌷

De Heij, B., et al. (2013). *The global games market: Newzoo Trent Report*., Green Bay, WI:

Newzoo Inc.

Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2001). Critical race theory: An introduction. New York, NY: New

York University Press.

Delwiche, A. (2006). Massively multiplayer online games (MMOs) in the new media classroom.

Educational Technology and Society, 9 (3), 160-172.

Denzin, N. K. (1989). *Interpretive interactionism.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

DeVane, B., & Squire, K. D. (2008). The meaning of race and violence in Grand Theft Auto: San

Andreas. *Games and Culture, 3*(4). 264.

DFC Intelligence. (2016). *Global forecast: PC game markets*: *Asia, North America, Europe.* San

Diego, CA: DFC Inc.

Dickerman, C., Christensen, J., & Kerl-McClain, S. B. (2008). Big breasts and bad guys:

Depictions of gender and race in video games. *Journal of Creativity in Mental Health,*

3(1), 20-29. Retrieved from http://www.informaworld.com.proxy-

remote.galib.uga.edu/openurl?genre=article&id=doi:10.1080/15401380801995076

Dietrich, D. R. (2013). Avatars of Whiteness: Racial expression in video game characters.

Sociology Inquiry, 83(1), 82-105. doi: 10.1111/soin.12001

Dietz, T. L. (1998). An examination of violence and gender role portrayals in video games:

Implications for gender socialization and aggressive behavior. *Sex Roles, 38*(5-6), 425-

442. doi:10.1023/A:1018709905920.

Dill, K. E., Brown, B. P., & Collins, M. A. (2008). Effects of exposure to sex-stereotyped

video game characters on tolerance of sexual harassment. *Journal of

Experimental Social Psychology, 44*, 1402–1408. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/

j.jesp.2008.06.002.

Dill, K. E., & Burgess, M. C. R. (2012). Influence of Black masculinity game exemplars on

social judgments. *Simulation & Gaming: An International Journal, 44,* 1-24.

Dill, K. E., Gentile, D. A., Richter, W. A., & Dill, J. C. (2005). Violence, sex, age and

race in popular video games: A content analysis. In E. Cole & J. Henderson-

Daniel (Eds.), Featuring females: Feminist analyses of media (pp. 115-130).

Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Dill, K. E., & Thill, K. P. (2007). Video game characters and the socialization of gender roles:

Young people perceptions mirror sexist media depictions, *Sex Roles, 57,* 851-865.

Dill, J. C., & Anderson, C. A. (1999). Loneliness, shyness, and depression: The etiology and

interrelationships of everyday problems in living. In T. Joiner, J. C. Coyne, T. Joiner, J.

C. Coyne (Eds.), *The interactional nature of depression: Advances in interpersonal*

approaches (pp. 93-125). Washington D. C., US: American Psychological Association. doi:10.1037/10311-004

Do, V. T. (2006). *Asian American men and the media: The relationship between ethnic identity, self-esteem, and the endorsement of stereotypes* [Doctoral dissertation]. Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses. (UMI No. 3220826)

Donaldson, M. (1993). What is hegemonic masculinity? *Theory and Society, 22*(5): 643-657. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/657988

Dotsch, R., & Wigboldus, D. H. J. (2008). Virtual prejudice. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 44*(4):1194-1198. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2008.03.003

Downs, E., & Smith, S. L. (2010). Keeping abreast of hypersexuality: A video game character content analysis. *Sex Roles, 62*, 721-733. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-009-9637-1.

Ducheneaut, N., Yee, N., Nickell, E., & Moore, R. J. (2006). "Alone together?" Exploring the social dynamics of massively multiplayer online games. Proceedings of the 24th annual International Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems, Montreal, CA. doi:10.1145/1124772.1124834.

Ducheneaut, N.,Wen, M. D., Yee, N., & Wadley, G. (2009). Body and mind: A study of avatar personalization in three virtual worlds. Paper presented at CHI, Boston, MA.

Dunn, R. A., & Guadagno, R. E. (2012). My avatar and me: Gender and personality predictors of avatar-self discrepancy. *Computers in Human Behavior, 28*(1), 97-106. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2011.08.015.

Eastin, M. S., Appiah, O., & Cicchirillo, V. (2009). Identification and the influence of cultural stereotyping on postvideogame play hostility. *Human Communication Research, 35,* 337-

56. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/10.1111/j.1468-2958.2009.01354.x

Eastwick, P. W., & Gardner, W. L. (2008). Is it a game? Evidence from social influence in the virtual world. *Social Influence, 4*(1), 18-32. doi: 10.1080/15534510802254087

Eguchi, S., & Starosta, W. (2012). Negotiating the model minority image: Performative aspects of college-educated Asian American professional men. *Qualitative Research Reports in Communication, 13*(1), 88-97. doi: 10.1080/17459435.2012.722166

Eklund, L. (2011). Doing gender in cyberspace: The performance of gender by female World of Warcraft players. *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies, 17*(3), 323-342. doi: 10.1177/1354856511406472

Elund, J., Clayden, J., & Green, L. (2010). Getting to know your avatar in Second Life. *Australian Journal of Communication, 37*(2), 73-86.

Eng, D. (2001). Racial castration: Managing masculinity in Asian America. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Enter the Matrix. (n.d.). In *Wikipedia*. Retrieved February 2, 2018, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enter_the_Matrix

Entertainment Software Association. (2013). *Essential facts about the computer and video game industry*. 2013. Retrieved July 18, 2015 from http://www.theesa.com/facts/pdfs/esa_ef_2013.pdf.

Entertainment Software Association. (2016). *Essential facts about the computer and video game industry.* Retrieved July 19, 2015 from http://www.theesa.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Essential-Facts-2016.pdf

Entertainment Software Association. (2017). *Two-thirds of American households regularly play video games.* Retrieved July 19, 2015 from http://www.theesa.com/article/two-thirds-american-households-regularly-play-video-games/.

Erhart, V. (2016). Asian exclusion league. In *Salem Press Encyclopedia online.* Retrieved from http://immigrationtounitedstates.org/363-asiatic-exclusion-league.html

Espiritu, Y. L. (1996). Asian American women and men: Labor, laws, and love. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Espiritu, Y. L. (1997). *Asian American women and men.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Essed, P. (1990). *Everyday racism: Reports from women of two cultures.* Claremont, CA: Hunter House.

Everett, A. (2005). Serious play: Playing with race in contemporary gaming culture. In Raessens, J., & J. Goldstein (Eds.), *Handbook of computer game studies,* (pp. 311-326). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Farough, S. D. (2004). The social geographies of White masculinities. *Critical Sociology 30*(2), 241-264. doi: 10.1163/156916304323072099

Ferguson, C. (2010). Blazing angels or resident evil? Can violent games be a force for good? *Review of General Psychology, 14*(2), 68-81. doi: 10.1037/a0018941

Ferguson, C.J., Coulson, M., & Barnett, J. (2011). A meta-analysis of pathological gaming prevalence and comorbidity with mental health, academic and social problems. *Journal of Psychiatric Research*, *45*, 1573-1578. doi:10.1016/j.jpsychires.2011.09.005

Fessler, D. T. (2007). From appeasement to conformity: Evolutionary and cultural perspectives on shame, competition, and cooperation. In J. L. Tracy, R. W. Robins, J. P. Tangney, J.

L. Tracy, R. W. Robins, J. P. Tangney (Eds.), *The self-conscious emotions: Theory and research* (pp. 174-193). New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Festl, R., Scharkow, M., & Quandt, T. (2012). Problematic computer game use among adolescents, younger and older adults. *Addiction. 108*(3), 592-599. 10.1111/add.12016

File, T. & Ryan, C. (2014, November). *Computer and Internet use in the U. S. : 2013*. Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/hhes/computer/

Fischer, C. T. (2009). Bracketing in qualitative research: Conceptual and practical matters. *Psychotherapy Research*, *19*(4/5), 583-590. doi:10.1080/10503300902798375

Fischer, P., Kastenmuller, A., & Greitemeyer, T. (2010). Media violence and the self: The impact of personalized gaming characters in aggressive video games on aggressive behavior. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 46*(1), 192-195. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2009.06.010

Flanagan, M. (2000). Navigating the narrative in space: Gender and spatiality in virtual worlds. *Art Journal, 59*(3): 74-85. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/stable/778029

Fortson, B. L., Scotti, J. R., Chen, Y. C., Malone, J., & Del Ben, K. S. (2007) Internet use, abuse, and dependence among students at a southeastern regional university. *Journal of American College Health, 56*, 137-144.

Fron, J., Fullerton, T., Morie, J.F., & Pearce, C. (2007). The Hegemony of Play. *DiGRA Conference*. Symposium conducted at the meeting of Authors & Digital Games Research Association (DiGRA). Tokyo, Japan.

Freud, Sigmund. [1917] 1955. *From the history of an infantile neurosis. Complete psychological works*. Standard ed., Vol. 17. London: Hogarth.

Fung, H. (1999). Becoming a moral child: The socialization of shame among young Chinese children. *Ethos, 27*, 180-209. doi:10.1525/eth.1999.27.2.180

Fung, H., Lieber, E., & Leung, P. W. L. (2003). Parental beliefs about shame and moral socialization in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the United States. In K. S. Yang, K. Hwang, P. B. Pedersen, & I. Daibo (Eds.), *Progress in Asian social psychology: Conceptual and empirical contributions* (pp. 83-109). Westport, CT: Praeger.

Gan, W. (2012). Mr. Wu and the rearticulation of "The Yellow Peril". *English Literature in Transition*, *55*(4), 441-459.

Gartner. (2013, October 29). Gartner says worldwide video game market to total $93 billion in 2013. Retreived June 26, 2014 from http://www.theesa.com/facts/pdfs/esa_ ef_2013.pdf http://www.gartner.com/newsroom/id/2614915. Accessed June 26, 2014.

Gentile, D. (2009). Pathological video-game use among youth ages 8 to 18: A national study. *Psychological Science, 20*(5), 594-602.

Gentile, D.A., Choo, H., Liau, A., Sim, T., Li, D., Fung, D., & Khoo, A. (2011). Pathological video game use among youths: A two-year longitudinal study. *Pediatrics, 127*, 319-329. doi: 10.1542/peds.2010-1353

Gerschick, T. J., & Miller, A. S. (1994). Gender identities at the crossroads of masculinity and physical disability. In M. M. Gergen, & S. N. Davis (Eds.), *Toward a New Psychology of Gender* (pp. 455-475). Florence, KY: Taylor & Frances/Routledge. [SEP]

Ghavami, N., & Peplau, L. A. (2013). An intersectional analysis of gender and ethnic stereotypes: Testing three hypotheses. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 37*, 113–127. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0361684312464203

Glaube, C. R., Miller, P., Parker, M. A., & Espejo, E. (2001). Fair play? Violence, gender, and

    race in video games. Retrieved from

    http://publications.childrennow.org/publications/media/fairplay_2001b.cfm

Goode, W. (1982). Why men resist. In B. Thorne and M. Yalom (Eds.), *Rethinking the family:*

    Some feminist questions, New York: Longman

Gourdin, A. (2005) *Game developer demographics: An exploration of workforce diversity.*

    Mt Royal, NJ: International Game Developers Association.

Grammas, D. L., & Schwartz, J. P. (2009). Internalization of messages from society and

    perfectionism as predictors of male body image. *Body Image, 6*, 31-36.

    http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2008.10.002

Griffiths, M. (2010). Online video gaming: What should educational psychologists know?

    Educational Psychology in Practice, 26(1), 35-40. doi: 10.1080/02667360903522769

Griffiths, M. (2005). A components model of addiction within a biopsychosocial framework.

    Journal of Substance Use, 10(4), 191-197. doi: 10.1080/14659890500114359

Griffiths, M. D. (2003). The therapeutic use of videogames in childhood and adolescence.

    Clinical Child Psychology & Psychiatry, 8(4), 547-554. Retrieved from

    http://journals.sagepub.com.proxy-

    remote.galib.uga.edu/doi/abs/10.1177/13591045030084012

Griffiths, M. D., Davies, M. N., & Chappell, D. (2004). Online computer gaming: A comparison

    of adolescent and adult gamers. Journal of Adolescence, 27(1), 87–96.

Griffiths, M. D., Davies, M. N. O., & Chappell, D. (2003). Breaking the stereotype: The case of

    online gaming. *CyberPsychology & Behavior, 6*(1), 81-91. doi:

    10.1089/109493103321167992

Griffiths, M. D. (2008). Diagnosis and management of video game addiction. *New Directions in Addiction Treatment and Prevention, 12*, 27–41.

Griffiths, M. D. (2010a). Online gaming addiction: Fact or fiction? In W. Kaminski & M. Lorber (Eds.), Clash of realities (pp. 191–203). Munch: Kopaed.Griffiths, M. D., King, D. L., & Demetrovics, Zsolt. (2014). DSM-5 Internet gaming disorder   needs a unified approach to assessment. *Neuropsychiatry, 4*(1), 1-4. doi: http://dx.doi.org.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/10.2217/npy.13.82

Guegan, J., Moliner, P., & Buisine, S. (2015). Why are online games so self-involving: A social identity analysis of massively multiplayer online role-playing games. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 45*(3), 349-355. doi: 10.1002/ejsp.2103

Guo, L., & Harlow, S. (2014). User-generated racism: An analysis of stereotypes of African Americans, Latinos, and Asians in YouTube videos. *Howard Journal of Communication, 25*, 281–302. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10646175.2014.925413

Gupta, A., Szymanski, D. M., & Leong, F. T. (2011). The 'model minority myth': internalized racialism of positive stereotypes as correlates of psychological distress, and attitudes toward help seeking. *Asian American Journal Of Psychology*, *2*(2), 101-114. Retrieved from: http://eds.b.ebscohost.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/eds/detail/detail?vid=23&sid=7b6349d3-1e39-4635-8134-1a0ffbbd637d%40sessionmgr4007&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWRzLWxpdmU%3d#AN=BAS790080&db=bas

Ha, F. I. (1995). Shame in Asian and Western cultures. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *38*(8), 1114-1131. doi:10.1177/0002764295038008007

Han, D. H., Lee, Y. S., Na, C., Ahn, J. Y., Chung, U. S., Daniels, M. A., et al. (2009). The effect of methylphenidate on Internet video game play in children with attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder. *Comprehensive Psychiatry, 50*(3), 251–256.

Han, D. H., Hwang, J. W., & Renshaw, P. F. (2010). Bupropion sustained release treatment decreases craving for video games and cue-induced brain activity in patients with Internet video game addiction. Experimental and Clinical Psychopharmacology, 18(4), 297–304.

Hanke, R. (1992). Redesigning men: Hegemonic masculinity in transition. In S. Craig (Ed.), *Men, masculinity, and the media* (pp. 185-198). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Publications.

Hanser, A. (2013). Yellow peril consumerism: China, North America, and an era of global trade. *Ethnic & Racial Studies, 36*(4), 632-650. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2011.631559

Hargreaves, D. A., & Tiggemann, M. (2004). Idealized media images and adolescent body image: "Comparing" boys and girls. *Body Image, 1*, 351-361. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2004.10.002

Harper, D. (2002). Talking about pictures: a case for photo elicitation. *Visual Studies*, *17*(1). 13-26. doi: 10.1080/1472586022013734 5

Harper, D. (1984). Meaning and work: A study in photo-elicitation. *Current Sociology*, *34*(3), 24-46.

Harré, R. (1979). *Social being: A theory for social psychology*. Totowa, N.J: Rowman & Littlefield.

Hays, D. G., & Singh, A. A. (2012). *Qualitative inquiry in clinical and educational settings*. New York, NY: Guildford Press.

Heintz-Knowles, K., Henderson, J., Glaubke, C., Miller, P., Parker, M.A. & Espejo, E. (2001)
Fair Play? Violence, Gender and Race in Videogames. Oakland, CA: Children Now.

Higgin, T. (2009). Blackless fantasy: The disappearance of race in massively multiplayer online role-playing games. *Games and Culture, 4*(1), 3-26. doi: 10.1177/1555412008325477

Hill, S. (2011). MMO subscriber populations. Retrieved from

Hing, B. O. (1993). *Making and remaking Asian America through immigration policy 1850-1990*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Ho, H. K. (2011). *Negotiating the boundaries of (in)visibility: Asian American men and Asian/American masculinity on screen* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses. (UMI No. 3476446)

House, R. M., & Pinyuchon, M. (1998). Counseling Thai Americans: An emerging need. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 26,* 194-204.

Hjorth, L. (2008). Games@neoregionalism: Locating gaming in Asia-Pacific. *Games and Culture: A Journal of Interactive Media, 3*(1), 3-12. doi:10.1177/1555412007309536

Hsu, S. H., Wen, M. H., & Wu, M. C. (2009). Exploring user experiences as predictors of MMORPG addiction. Computers & Education, 53(2), 990–999.

Huh, S., & Williams, D. (2010). Dude looks like a lady: Gender swapping in an online game. In W. S. Bainbridge (Ed.), *Online worlds: Convergence of the real and the virtual* (pp. 161-174). New York: Springer.

Hunt, K., & Ng, Naomi. (2015, January 19). Man dies in Taiwan after 3-day online gaming binge. *CNN Wire.* Retrieved from http://www.cnn.com/2015/01/19/world/taiwan-gamer-death/index.html

Hur, M. H. (2006). Demographic, habitual, and socioeconomic determinants of Internet

  addiction disorder: An empirical study of Korean teenagers. *CyberPsychology &*

  Behavior, 9(5), 514-525.

Hussain, Z., Williams, G. A. & Griffiths, M. D. (2015). An exploratory study of the association

  between online gaming addiction and enjoyment motivations for playing massively

  multiplayer online role-playing games. *Computers in Human Behavior. 50,* 221-230. doi:

  http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2015.03.075

Hussain, Z. & Griffiths, M. D. (2008). Gender swapping and socializing in cyberspace: An

  exploratory study. *CyberPsychology & Behavior, 11*(1). 47-53. doi:

  10.1089/cpb.2007.0020

Internet usage in Asia. (2017, June 19). Retrieved July 11, 2017, from

  http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats3.htm

Israelashvili, M. K., Kim, T., & Bukobza, G. (2012). Adolescents' over-use of the cyber world-

  Internet addiction or identity exploration? *Journal of Adolescence, 35*, 417-424.

  http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2011.07.015

Ivory, J. (2006). Still a man's game: Gender representation in reviews of video

  games. *Mass Communication & Society, 9*, 103–114. http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/

  s15327825mcs0901_6.

Iwamoto, D. K., & Kaya, A. (2016). Asian American men. In Y. J. Wong, & S. R. Wester

  (Eds.), *APA handbook of men and masculinities* (pp. 285-297). Washington, DC, US:

  American Psychological Association. doi:10.1037/14594-013

Iwamoto, D. K., Cheng, A., Lee, C. S., Takamatsu, S., & Gordon, D. (2011). 'Man-ing' up and

  getting drunk: The role of masculine norms, alcohol intoxication and alcohol-related

problems among college men. *Addictive Behaviors*, *36*(9), 906-911. doi:10.1016/j.addbeh.2011.04.005

Iwamoto, D. K., Liao, L. & Liu, W. M. (2010). Masculine norms, avoidant coping, Asian values and depression among Asian American men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity 11*(1), 15-24. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0017874

Iwamoto, D. K., & Liu, W. M. (2009). Asian American men and Asianized attribution. In N. Tewari & A. Alvarez (Eds.), *Asian American psychology: Current perspective*, 211– 232. New York, NY: Erlbaum.

Iwamoto, D. K., & Liu, W. M. (2008). Asian American men and Asianized attribution: Intersections of masculinity, race, and sexuality. In N. Tewari & A. Alvarez (Eds.), Asian American psychology: Current perspective (pp. 211–232). New York, NY: Erlbaum.

Iwamoto, D. K., & Caldwell, L. D. (2006). Asian American identity in the classroom. In W. R. V. O. Pan (Ed.), *Race, ethnicity, and education: The influence of racial and ethnic identity in education.* Westport, CT: Greenwood/Praeger

Jansen, S. C., & Sabo, D. (1994). The sport-war metaphor: Hegemonic masculinity, the Persian-Gulf war, and the new world order. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 11*(1): 1-17.

Jenson, J., & de Castell, S. (2010). Gender, simulation and gaming: Research review and redirections. *Simulation and Gaming, 41*, 51–71. doi:10.1177/1046878109353473

Jeong, E. J., & Kim, D. H. (2011). Social activities, self-efficacy, game attitudes, and game addiction. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior & Social Networking*, *14*(4), 213-221. doi: 10.1089/cyber.2009.0289

Jin, D. Y. (2010). *Korea's online gaming empire.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Kaczmarek, L. D., & Drazkowski, D. (2014). MMORPG escapism predicts decreased well-being: Examination of gaming time, game realism beliefs, and online social support for offline problems. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, & Social Networking, 17*(5), 298-302.

Kafai, Y. B., Heeter, C., Denner, J., & Sun, J. Y. (2008). Preface: Pink, purple, casual, or mainstream games: Moving beyond the gender divide. In Y. B. Kafai, C. Heeter, J. Denner, & J.Y. Sun (Eds.), *Beyond Barbie and Mortal Combat* (pp. xi-xxv). London: MIT Press.

Kardefelt-Winther D. (2015). A critical account of DSM-5 criteria for Internet gaming disorder. *Addiction Research & Theory, 23*(2), 93–98. doi: 10.3109/16066359.2014.935350

Karlsen, F. (2013). *A world of excesses: Online games and excessive playing*. Farnham Surrey, England: Routledge.

Kawai, Y. (2005). Stereotyping Asian America: The dialectic of the model minority and the yellow peril. *Howard Journal of Communications, 16*, 109–130. doi; 10.1080/10646170590948974

Kelkar, M. (2012). South Asian immigration in the United States: A gendered perspective. *Asian American Policy Review, 22,* 55-60

Kelly, N. R., Cotter, E. W., Tanofsky-Kraff, M., & Mazzeo, S. E. (2015). Racial variations in binge eating, body image concerns, and compulsive exercise among men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 16*, 326-336. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0037585

Kelly, R. V. (2004). *Massively multiplayer online role-playing games: The people, the addiction, and the playing experience.* Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc.

Kendall, L. (2002). *Hanging out in the virtual pub*: *Masculinities and relationships online*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Kennedy, H. (2006). Beyond anonymity, or future directions for Internet identity
    research. *New Media & Society, 8*(6), 859-876. Retrieved from: http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/
    1461444806069641.⌷

Kennedy, H. W. (2002). Lara Croft: Feminist icon or cyberbimbo? On the limits of textual
    analysis. *The International Journal of Computer Game Research, 2*(2). Retrieved from
    http://www.gamestudies.org/0202/kennedy/

Kessler, S. J., Ashenden, D. J., Connell, R. W., & Dowsett. G. W. (1982). Ockers and disco-
maniacs. Sydney, Australia: Inner City Education Center

Keum, B. T., Wong, S. N., DeBlaere, C., & Brewster, M. E. (2015). Body image and Asian
    American men: Examination of the Drive for Muscularity Scale. *Psychology of Men &
    Masculinity, 16*, 284–293. http://dxdoi.org/10.1037/a0038180

Keum, B. T. (2016). Asian American men's internalization of Western media appearance ideals,
    social comparison, and acculturative stress. *Asian American Journal of Psychology, 7*(4),
    256-264. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/aap0000057

Kiang, L., Huynh, V. W., Cheah, C. S. L., Wang, Y., & Yoshikawa, H. (2017). Moving beyond
    the model minority. *Asian American Journal of Psychology, 8*(1), 1-6. Retrieved from
    http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/aap0000070

Kiang, L., Tseng, V., & Yip, T. (2016). Placing Asian American child development within
    historical context. *Child Development*, *87*, 995–1013.
    http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12578

Kim, B. S. K., & Abreu, J. M. (2001). Acculturation measurement: Theory, current instruments,
    and future directions. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander

(Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (2nd ed., pp. 394–424). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kim, B. S. K., Atkinson, D. R., & Yang, P. H. (1999). The Asian Values Scale: Development, factor analysis, validation, and reliability. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 46*, 342-352.

Kim, B. S. K., & Omizo, M. M. (2006). Behavioral acculturation and enculturation and psychological functioning among Asian American college students. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 12,* 245-258. doi:10.1037/1099-9809.12.2.245

Kim, H. K., & Davis, K. E. (2009). Toward a comprehensive theory of problematic Internet use: Evaluating the role of self-esteem, anxiety, flow, and the self-rated importance of Internet activities. *Computers in Human Behavior*, *25*(2), 490e500. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2008.11.001

Kim, M. G., & Kim, J. (2010). Cross-validation of reliability, convergent and discriminant validity for the Problematic Online Game Use scale. *Computers in Human Behavior, 26*(3), 389-398. doi: 10.1016/j.chb.2009.11.010

Kim, S. Y., Wang, Y., Orozco-Lapray, D., Shen, Y., & Murtuza, M. (2013). Does "tiger parenting" exist? Parenting profiles of Chinese Americans and adolescent developmental outcomes. *Asian American Journal of Psychology, 4*, 7–18. doi:10.1037/a0030612

Kim, E. J., O'Neil, J. M., & Owen, S. V. (1996). Asian-American men's acculturation and gender-role conflict. *Psychological Reports, 79*(1)*,* 95-104.

Kim, A., & Pyke, K. (2015). Taming tiger dads: Hegemonic American Masculinity and South Korea's father school. *Gender & Society, 29*(4). 509-533

King, D. L., & Delfabbro, P. H. (2014). The cognitive psychology of Internet gaming disorder. *Clinical Psychology Review, 34*(4), 298-308. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/ j.cpr.2014.03.006.

King, D. L., Delfabbro, P. H., Zwaans, T., & Kaptsis, D. (2013a). Clinical features and axis I comorbidity of Australian adolescent pathological Internet and video-game users. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, *47*, 1058–1067

King, D. L., Haagsma, M. C., Delfabbro, P. H., Gradisar, M., & Griffiths, M. D. (2013b). Toward a consensus definition of pathological video-gaming: A systematic review of psychometric assessment tools. *Clinical Psychology Review, 33*, 331–342.

King, D. L. & Delfabbro, P. H. (2013c). Issues for DSM-5: Video game disorder. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, *47*(1), 20-22. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/10.1177/0004867412464065

King, D. L., Delfabbro, P. H., & Griffiths, M. D. (2012). Clinical interventions for technology-based problems: Excessive Internet and video game use. *Journal of Cognitive Psychotherapy: An International Quarterly, 26*(1), 43-56. doi: 10.1892/0889-8391.26.1.43

King, D., & Delfabbro, P., & Griffiths, M. (2010). The convergence of gambling and digital media: Implications for gambling in young people. *Journal of Gambling Studies, 26*(2)*, 175-187. doi: 10.1007/s10899-009-9153-9

Király, O., Griffiths, M. D., Urbán, R., Farkas, J., Kökönyei, G., Elekes, Z., Tamás, D., & Demetrovics, Z. (2014). Problematic internet use and problematic online gaming are not the same: Findings from a large nationally representative adolescent sample.

Cyberpsychology, Behavior, & Social Networking, 17(12), 749-754. doi:10.1089/cyber.2014.0475

Kitano, H. K. (1993). *Generations and identity: The Japanese American.* Needham Heights, MA: Ginn Press.

Ko, C. H., Yen, J. Y., Chen, C. C., Chen, S. H., & Yen, C. F. (2005). Gender differences and related factors affecting online gaming addiction among Taiwanese adolescents. The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, *193*(4), 273–277.

Kolko, B., Nakamura, L., & Rodman, G. (2012). Race in cyberspace. New York: Routledge.

Konijn, E. A., Bijvank, M. N., & Bushman, B. J. (2007). I wish I were a warrior: The role of wishful identification in the effects of violent video games on aggression in adolescent boys. *Developmental Psychology, 43*(4)*,* 1038-1044.

Kratzer S, & Hegerl, U. (2008, March). Is "Internet addiction" a disorder of its own? A study on subjects with excessive Internet use. *Psychiatrische Praxis*, *35*(2): 80-83.

Kuss, D. J. (2013). Internet gaming addiction: Current perspectives. *Psychology of Research and Behavior Management, 6,* 125-137

Kuss, D. J., & Kuss, M. D. (2012). Internet gaming addiction: A systematic review of empirical research. *International Journal of Mental Health & Addiction, 10,* 278-296, doi: 10.1007/s11469-011-9318-5

Kuss, D. J., Louws, J., & Wiers, R.W.W. (2012). Online gaming addiction? Motives predict addictive play behavior in massively multiplayer online role-playing games. *Cyberpsychological Behavior, and Society Networking. 15,* 480-485.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1998). Just what is critical race theory, and what's it doing in a nice field like education? *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *11*(1), 7-30.

doi:10.1080/09518399823686

LAI Global Game Services. (2017). *Asia's Game Markets: The big 3*. Retrieved from

https://www.lai.com/en/asia-game-markets

Larson, S. G. (2006). *Asian Americans in film and television entertainment. In Media &*

minorities: The politics of race in news and entertainment. Lanham, MD: Rowman &

Littlefield.

Lee, R. G. (1999). *Orientals: Asian Americans in popular culture.* Philadelphia, PA: Temple

University Press.

Lee, E. J. (2005). Effects of the influence agent's sex and self-confidence on informational social

influence in computer-mediated communication: Quantitative versus verbal presentation.

Communication Research, 32, 29–58. doi:10.1177/0093650204271398

Lee, J. (2011, November 22). South Korea pulls plug on late-night adolescent gamers. Retrieved

July 8, 2017, from http://www.cnn.com/2011/11/22/world/asia/south-korea-

gaming/index.html

Lee, J. R., & Park, S. G. (2011). 'Whose second life is this?' How avatar-based racial cues shape

ethno-racial minorities' perception of virtual worlds. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior &*

Social Networking, *14*(11), 637-642. doi:10.1089/cyber.2010.0501

Lee, A., & Yeh, C. (2002). Stereotypes of Asian Americans. *Educational Resources Information*

Center, 1-6.

Lee, J. R., Nass, C. I., & Bailenson, J. N. (2014). Does the mask govern the mind?: Effects of

arbitrary gender representation on quantitative task performance in avatar-represented

virtual groups. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior & Social Networking*, *17*(4), 248-254.

doi:10.1089/cyber.2013.0358

Lee, Y. (2016). From forever foreigners to model minority: Asian American men in sports. *Physical Culture and Sport: Studies and Research, 72*(1), 23-32. doi: 10.1515/pcssr-2016-0025

Lehdonvirta, M., Nagashima, Y., Lehdonvirta, V., & Baba, A. (2012). The stoic male: How avatar gender affects help-seeking behavior in an online game. *Games and Culture, 7*(1), 29-47. doi: 10.1177/1555412012440307

Leménager, T., Gwodz, A., Richter, A., Reinhard, I., Kämmerer, N., Sell, M., & Mann, K. (2013). Self-concept deficits in massively multiplayer online role-playing games addiction. *European Addiction Research, 19*, 227–234. http://dx.doi.org/10.1159/000345458

Lemmens, J. S., Valkenburg, P. M., & Peter, J., (2009). Development and validation of a game addiction scale for adolescents. *Media Psychology, 12*(1), 77-95.

Lemmens, J. S., Valkenburg, P. M., & Gentile, D. A. (2015). The internet gaming disorder scale. *Psychological Assessment, 27*(2), 567-582. doi: 10.1037/pas0000062

Leonard, D. J. (2006). Not a hater, just keepin' it real: The importance of race and gender based game studies. *Games and Culture, 1*(1), 83-88. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/10.1177/1555412005281910

Leong, F.T.L. (1998). Behind the model-minority stereotype: Voices of high-and low-achieving Asian American students. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 25,* 413-429.

Leung, L. (2004). Net-generation attributes and seductive properties of the Internet as predictors of online activities and internet addiction. *CyberPsychology and Behavior*, *7*, 333–348. doi: 10.1089/1094931041291303

Levant, R. F. (1996). The new psychology of men. *Professional Psychology: Research*

and Practice, *27*(3), 259–265.⌞SEP⌟Retrieved from: http://eds.b.ebscohost.com.proxy-r

emote.galib.uga.edu/eds/detail/detail?vid=10&sid=d852d9bf-721c-466b-b95b-

ad25f56a31ee%40sessionmgr4010&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWRzLWxpdmU%3d#AN=RN00

8269920&db=edsbl

Levant, R. F., Wu, R., & Fischer, J. (1996). Masculine ideology: A comparison between U.S.

and Chinese young men and women. *Journal of Gender, Culture, and Health, 1,* 207-220

Lewis, J. A., & Grzanka, P. R. (2016). Applying intersectionality theory to research on perceived

racism. In A. N. Alvarez, C. T. H. Liang, & H. A. Neville (Eds.), *The costs of racism for*

people of color: Contextualizing experiences of discrimination (pp. 31–54). Washington,

DC: American

Li, J., Wang, L., & Fischer, K. W. (2004). The organization of Chinese shame

concepts?. *Cognition & Emotion*, *18*(6), 767-797. doi:10.1080/02699930341000202

Liang, C. T. H., Rivera, A. L. Y., Nathawani, A., Dang, P., & Douroux, A. N. (2010). Dealing

with gendered racism and racial identity among Asian American men. In W. M. Liu,

D. K. Iwamoto, & M. H. Chae, (Eds), *Culturally responsive counseling with Asian*

American men. (63-81). New York, New York: Routledge.

Lim, A. (2018, January 6). The alt-right's Asian fetish. *The New York Times.* Retrieved from

https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/06/opinion/sunday/alt-right-asian-fetish.html

Lin, H., & Wang, H. (2014). Avatar creation in virtual worlds: Behaviors and motivations.

Computers in Human Behavior, 34, 213-218. doi:

https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2013.10.005

Liu, W. M. (2002). Exploring the lives of Asian American men: Racial identity, male role norms, gender role conflict, and prejudicial attitudes. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 3*(2), 107-118. doi: 10.1037//1524-9220.3.2.107

Liu, A. (2009). Critical race theory, Asian Americans, and higher education: A review of research. *Interactions: UCLA Journal Of Education & Information Studies*, *5*(2), 1-12.

Liu, W. M., & Iwamoto, D. K. (2007). Conformity to masculine norms, Asian values, coping strategies, peer group influences and substance use among Asian American men. *Psychology Of Men & Masculinity*, *8*(1), 25-39. doi:10.1037/1524-9220.8.1.25

Liu, M., & Peng, W. (2009). Cognitive and psychological predictors of the negative outcomes associated with playing MMOGs (massively multiplayer online games). *Computers in Human Behavior, 25*(6), 1306-1311. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/ 10.1016/j.chb.2009.06.002.

Liu, W. M., & Concepcion, W. R. (2010). Redefining Asian American identity and masculinity. In W. M. Liu, D. K. Iwamoto, & M. H. Chae (Eds.), *Culturally responsive counseling with Asian American men* (pp. 127-144). New York, NY: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

Liu, T., & Wong, Y. J. (2016). The intersection of race and gender: Asian American men's experience of discrimination. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 1-13*. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/men0000084

Liu, M., Ko, H., & Wu, J. (2008). The role of positive/negative outcome expectancy and refusal self-efficacy of Internet use on Internet addiction among college students in Taiwan. Cyberpsychology & Behavior, 11, 451–457.

Liu, W. M. (2002). Exploring the lives of Asian American men: Racial identity, male role norms, gender role conflict, and prejudicial attitudes. *Psychology of Men and Masculinity, 3*(2), 107-118.

Liu, M., & Peng, W. (2009). Cognitive and psychological predictors of the negative outcomes associated with playing MMOGs (massively multiplayer online games). *Computers in Human Behavior, 25*(6), 1306-1311. http://dx.doi.org/ 10.1016/j.chb.2009.06.002.

Lu, A., & Wong, Y. J. (2013). Stressful experiences of masculinity among U.S.-born and immigrant Asian American men. *Gender & Society, 27*(3), 345-371. doi: 10.1177/0891243213479446

Lu, H., & Wang, S. (2008). The role of Internet addiction in online game loyalty: An exploratory study. *Internet Research*, *18,* 499–519.

Lum, J. L. (1998). Family violence. In C. C. Lee & N. W. S. Zane (Eds.), Handbook of Asian American psychology (pp. 505–526). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Lutwak, N., Razzino, B. E., & Ferrari, J. R. (1998). Self-perceptions and moral affect: An exploratory analysis of subcultural diversity in guilt and shame emotions. *Journal of Social Behavior & Personality*, *13*, 333–348.

Luttrell, W. (2010). 'A camera is a big responsibility': A lens for analyzing children's visual voices. *Visual studies, 25*(3), 224-237. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1472586X.2010.523274

Lyu, S. O. (2017). Developmental process of Internet gaming disorder among South Korean adolescents: Effects of family environment and recreation experience. *Journal of Child & Family Studies, 26*(6), 1527-1535. doi: 10.1007/s10826-017-0686-8

MacCallum-Stewart, E. (2008). Real boys carry girls epics: Normalizing gender bending in online games. *Journal for Computer Game Culture, 2*(1), 27-40.

Mahalik, J. R., Locke, B. D., Ludlow, L. H., Diemer, M. A., Scott, R. P. J., Gottfried, M., & Freitas, G. (2003). Development of the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 4*(1): 3-25. http://dx.doi.org.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/10.1037/1524-9220.4.1.3

Majumdar A. (2013). Japan plans "fasting camps" for Web-addicted children. Tech 2. Retrieved September 2, 2013, from: http://tech2.in.com/news/general/japan-plans-fasting-camps-for-webaddicted-children/912284. Accessed September 2, 2013.

Mancini, T., & Sibilla, F. (2017). Offline personality and avatar customization. Discrepancy profiles and avatar identification in a sample of MMORPG players. *Computers in Human Behavior, 69,* 275-283. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2016.12.031

Mankowski, E. S., & Maton, K. I. (2010). A community psychology of men and masculinity: Historical and conceptual review. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 45*, 73–86. doi:10.1007/s10464-009- 9288-y

Markey, P. M., & Ferguson, C. J. (2017). Internet gaming addiction: Disorder or moral panic? *The American Journal of Psychiatry, 174*(3), 195-196. Retrieved from https://doi-org.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/10.1176/appi.ajp.2016.16121341

Markey, P. M., Males, M.A., French, J. E., & Markey, C. N. (2015). Lessons from Markey et al. (2015) and Bushman et al. (2015): Sensationalism and integrity in media research. *Human Communication Research*, *41*(2):184–203. doi: 10.1111/hcre.12057

Markus, H., & Nurius, P. (1986). Possible selves. American Psychologist, *41*(9),

954–969. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.41.9.954.

Martino, W. (1995). Boys and literacy: Exploring the construction of hegemonic masculinities and the formation of literate capacities for boys in the English classroom. *English in Australia, 112*:11-24.

Martins, N., Williams, D. C., Harrison, K., & Ratan, R. A. (2009). A content analysis of female body imagery in video games. *Sex Roles, 61*, 824–836. doi:10.1007/s11199-009-9682-9.

Mastro, D., & Behm-Morawitz, E. (2005). Latino representation on primetime television. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly, 82*, 110-130. doi:850334381.

Mastro, D., Behm-Morawitz, E., & Ortiz, M. (2007). The cultivation of social perceptions of Latinos: A mental models approach. *Media Psychology, 9*(2), 347-365. doi:10.1080/15213260701286106.

Mayer, R. (2013). Machinic Fu Manchu: Popular seriality and the logic of spread. *Journal of Narrative Theory*, *43*(2), 186-217. Retrieved from Project MUSE database.

McCreary, D. R., & Sasse, D. K. (2000). An exploration of the drive for muscularity in adolescent boys and girls. *Journal of American College Health, 48*, 297–304. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07448480009596271

McDonald, E. (2017, April 20). The global games market will reach $108.9 billion in 2017 with mobile taking 42%. Retrieved from https://newzoo.com/insights/articles/the-global-games-market-will-reach-108-9-billion-in-2017-with-mobile-taking-42/

Meerker, G. J., Van Den Eijnden, R. J., Vermulst, A. A., & Garretsen, H. F. L. (2009). The compulsive Internet use scale (CIUS): Some psychometric properties. *CyberPsychology & Behavior, 12*(1)*,* 1-6. doi: 10.1089/cpb.2008.0181

Messerschmidt, J. W. (1993). *Masculinities and crime: Critique and reconceptualization of theory*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Messner, M. A. (1992). *Power at play: Sports and the problem of masculinity*. Boston: Beacon.

Messner, M. A., and Sabo, D. F. (1990). *Sport, men, and the gender order: Critical feminist perspectives*. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics Books.

Miller, M., & Summers, A. (2007). Gender differences in video game characters' roles, appearances, and attire as portrayed in video game magazines. *Sex Roles, 57*, 733–742. doi:10.1007/s11199-007-9307-0.

Mok, T. A. (1998). Getting the message: Media images and stereotypes and their effect on Asian Americans. *Cultural Diversity and Mental Health, 4*, 185–202.

Montclair Diplomats. (2017, December 6). Video games and their effect on modern day society [Web log post]. Retrieved from https://www.huffingtonpost.com/montclair-diplomats/video-games-and-their-eff_b_9873646.html

Morahan-Martin, J. M. (1999). The relationship between loneliness and Internet use and abuse. *CyberPsychology & Behavior*, *2*, 431-439. https://doi-org.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/10.1089/cpb.1999.2.431

Moustakas, C. (1994). *Phenomenological research methods*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Muller, K. W., Janikian, M., Dreier, M., Wolfling, K., Beutel, M. E., Tzavara, C., Richardson, C., & Tsitsika, A. (2015). Regular gaming behavior and internet gaming disorder in European adolescents: Results from a cross-national representative survey of prevalence, predictors, and psychopathological correlates. *European Child & Adolescent Psychiatry, 24,* 565-574. doi: 10.1007/s00787-014-0611-2

Murjani, M. (2015). Breaking apart the model minority and perpetual foreigner stereotypes: Asian Americans and cultural capital. *The Vermont Connection, 35,* 79-90. Retrieved from http://scholarworks.uvm.edu/tvc/vol35/iss1/10/

Museus, S. D., & Kiang, P. N. (2009). Deconstructing the model minority myth and how it contributes to the invisible minority reality in higher education research. *New Directions for Institutional Research, 142,* 5-15. doi: 10.1002/ir.292.

Museus, S. D. (2013). *Asian American students in higher education*. NY: New York, Routledge.

Museus, S. D., & Iftikar, J. (2013). Asian critical theory (AsianCrit). In Danico, M. Y. & Goslon, J. G. (Eds.), *Asian American society* (pp. 95-98). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Nagel, J. (2003). *Race, ethnicity, and sexuality: Intimate intersections, forbidden frontiers.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Nakamura, L. (2002). *Cybertypes: Race, ethnicity, and identity on the Internet*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Nemoto, K. (2008). Climbing the hierarchy of masculinity: Asian American men's cross-racial competition for intimacy with White women. *Gender Issues*, *25*(2), 80-100. doi: 10.1007/s12147-008-9053-9

Newburn, T., and E. A. Stanko. (1994). *Just boys doing business? Men, masculinities, and crime*. New York: Routledge.

Nielsen Company. (2015). *How diverse are video gamers--and the characters they play?* Retrieved from http://www.nielsen.com/us/en/insights/news/2015/how-diverse-are-video-gamers-and-the-characters-they-play.html

Niemann, Y. F., Jennings, L., Rozelle, R. M., Baxter, J. C., & Sullivan, E. (1994). Use of free

    responses and cluster analysis to determine stereotypes of eight groups. *Personality and*

    Social Psychology Bulletin, 20, 379–390. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0146167294204005

Niemz, K., Griffiths, M., & Banyard, P. (2005). Prevalence of pathological Internet use among

    university students and correlations with self-esteem, the general health questionnaire

    (GHQ), and disinhibition. *Cyberpsychological Behavior, 8*(6), 562-570. doi:

    10.1089/cpb.2005.8.562

Nishi, N. W., Matias, C. E., & Montoya, R. (2015). Exposing the White avatar: Projections,

    justifications, and the ever-evolving American racism. *Social Identities, 21*(5), 459-473.

    http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13504630.2015.1093470

Ng, B. D., & Wiemer-Hastings, P. (2005). Addiction to the Internet and online gaming.

    CyberPsychology & Behavior, *8*, 110– 113.

Okihiro, G. Y. (2001). *Common ground: Reimagining American history*. Princeton, N.J.:

    Princeton University Press.

Okihiro, G. Y. (1994). *Margins and mainstreams: Asians in American history and culture*.

    Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Olson, C. K. (2010). Children's motivations for video game play in the context

    of normal development. *Review of General Psychology, 14*, 180-187. doi:

    10.1037/a0018984

Omi, M., & Winant, H. (1994). *The racial formation in the United States: From the 1960s to*

    1990s (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.

O'Neil, J. M. (1981). Male sex-role conflict, sexism, and masculinity: Implications for men,

    women, and the counseling psychologist. *Counseling Psychologist, 9,* 61-80.

Ono, K. A. & Pham, V. (2008). Asian Americans and the media. London, England: Polity.

Osman Gormus (Project6 Design, Inc. http://www.project6.com). (n.d.). Asia game markets
(China and Taiwan, Japan, Korea and India). Retrieved 2017, April 19 from
https://www.lai.com/en/asia-game-market

Pace, T., Houssian, A., & McArthur, V. (2008). Are socially exclusive values embedded in the
avatar creation interfaces of MMORPGs? *Journal of Information, Communication &
Ethics in Society, 7*(2-3), 192-210. doi: 10.1108/14779960910955909

Paik, S. J., Kula, S. M., Saito, L. E., Rahman, Z., & Witenstein, M. A. (2014). Historical
perspectives on diverse Asian American communities: Immigration, Incorporation, &
education. *Teacher's College Record, 116*(8), 1-45.

Paik, P., & Shi, C-K. (2013). Playful gender swapping user attitudes toward gender in
MMORPG avatar customization. *Digital Creativity, 24*(4), 310-326. Retrieved from
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14626268.2013.767275

Park, M. (2012). Asian American masculinity eclipsed: A legal and historical perspective on
emasculation through U. S. immigration practices. *Modern America, 8*(1), 5-17.

Parker, J. G., & Asher, S. R. (1993). Friendship and friendship quality in middle childhood:
Links with peer group acceptance and feelings of loneliness and social
dissatisfaction. *Developmental Psychology*, *29*(4), 611-621. doi:10.1037/0012-
1649.29.4.611

Patton, M.Q. (2002). Qualitative Research and evaluation methods (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks,
CA: Sage Publications.

PC Gaming Alliance. (2013). PC Gaming Alliance releases two member-exclusive reports
covering all aspects of the still-dominant PC gaming industry. Retrieved from

https://opengamingalliance.org/press/entry/pc-gaming-alliance-releases-two-member-exclusive-reports-covering-pc-gaming

Peng, W., & Liu, M. (2010). Online gaming dependency: a preliminary study in China. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior and Social Networking, 13*(3), 329–333.

Peters, C. S., & Malesky, A. (2008). Problematic usage among highly engaged players of massively multiplayer online role playing game. *CyberPsychology & Behavior*,*11*:481-483.

Peterson, W. (1966, January 9). Success story: Japanese-American style. *The New York Times*, pp. 21.

Petry, N. (2011). Commentary on Van Rooij et al. (2011); "Gaming addiction"—a psychiatric disorder or not? *Addiction, 106,* 213-214.

Petry, N. (2013). Commentary on Festl et al. Gaming addiction—How far have we come, and how much further do we need to go? *Addiction, 108*(3), 600-601. doi: 10.1111/add.12044

Phua, V. C. (2007). Contesting and maintaining hegemonic masculinities: Gay Asian American men in mate selection. *Sex Roles, 57*, 909–918. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-007-9318-x

Pleck, J. H. (1995). The gender role strain paradigm: An update. In R. F. Levant & W. S. Pollack (Eds.). *A new psychology of men* (pp. 11–32). New York: Basic Books.

Ponterotto, J. G. (2013). Qualitative research in multicultural psychology: Philosophical underpinnings, popular approaches, and ethical considerations. *Qualitative Psychology*, *1*(S), 19-32. doi:10.1037/2326-3598.1.S.19

Ponterotto, J. G. (2006). Brief note on the origins, evolution, and meaning of the qualitative

 research concept "thick description". *The Qualitative Report, 11*(3), 538-549. Retrieved

 from http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR11-3/index.html

Pope, H. G., Jr., Olivardia, R., Gruber, A., & Borowiecki, J. (1999). Evolving ideals of male

 body image as seen through action toys. *International Journal of Eating Disorders, 26,*

 65–72. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1098-108X(199907)26:1_65::AID-EAT8

 3.0.CO;2-D

Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. G. (1996). *Immigrant America: A portrait*. Berkeley, CA: University

 of California Press

Pringle, H. M. (2015). Conjuring the ideal self: An investigation of self-presentation in video

 game avatars. *Press Start, 2*(1), 1-20. Retrieved from

 https://doaj.org/article/a88731dad47c468c9071f659a34e5556

Prosser, J., & Schwartz, D. (1998). Photographs within the sociological research process." In

 Prosser, J. (Ed.), *Image-based research: A sourcebook for qualitative researchers*,

 (115–130). New York: Routledge Falmer.

Przybylski, A. K., Weinstein, N., & Murayama, K. (2017). Internet gaming disorder:

 Investigating the clinical relevance of a new phenomenon. *The American Journal of*

 Psychiatry, 174(3), 230-236. doi: 10.1176/appi.ajp.2016.16020224

Puerta-Cortés, D. X., Panova, T., Carbonell, X., & Chamarro, A. (2017). How passion and

 impulsivity influence a player's choice of videogame, intensity of playing and time spent

 playing. *Computers in Human Behavior, 66*, 122-128. doi: 10.1016/j.chb.2016.09.029

Rahma, Z., & Paik, S. J. (2017). South Asian immigration and education in the U.S.: Historical and social contexts. *Social & Education History / Historia Social Y De La Educación*, *6*(1), 26-52. doi:10.17583/hse.2017.2393

Rehbein, F., Psych, G., Kleimann, M., Mediasci, G., & Mo¨ ßle, T. (2010). Prevalence and risk factors of video game dependency in adolescence: Results of a German nationwide survey. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking, 13*(3), 269-277. doi: http://dx.doi.org.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/10.1089/cyber.2009.0227

Rehbein, F., Kliem, S., Baier, D., Mössle, T., & Petry, N. M. (2015). Prevalence of internet gaming disorder in German adolescents: Diagnostic contribution of the nine DSM-V criteria in a state-wide representative sample. *Society for the Study of Addiction, 110*(5)*, 842-851. doi: 10.1111/add.12849.

Reynolds, R., & Mayweather, D. (2017). Recounting racism, resistance, and repression: Examining the experiences and #hashtag activism of college students with critical race theory and counternarratives. *The Journal of Negro Education, 86*(3), 283-304.

Richard, V. M., & Lahman, M. K. E. (2015). Photo-elicitation: Reflexivity on method, analysis, and graphic portraits. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education, 38*(1), 3-22. doi: 10.1080/1743727X.2013.843073

Rimonte, N. (1991). A question of culture: Cultural approval of violence against women in the Pacific-Asian community. *Stanford Law Review, 43*, 1311–1362.

Rivadeneyra, R., Ward, L. M., & Gordon, M. (2007). Distorted reflections: Media exposure and Latino adolescents' conceptions of self. *Media Psychology, 9*(2), 261-290. doi:10.1080/15213260701285926.

Rosenberg, M., Schooler, C., & Schoenbach, C. (1989). Self-esteem and adolescent problems: Modeling reciprocal effects. *American Sociological Review, 54*(6), 1004-1018. Retrieved from https://www-jstor-org.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/stable/2095720

Rossen, B., Johnsen, K., Deladisma, A., Lind, S., & Lok B. (2008). Virtual humans elicit skin-tone bias consistent with real-world skin-tone biases. In Prendinger, H., Lester, J., Ishizuka, M. (Eds.), *Intelligent Virtual Agents*. (237-244). IVA 2008. Lecture notes in computer science, vol. 5208. Springer, Berlin, Heidelberg

Rowland, T. D., & Barton, A. C. (2011). "Outside Oneself in World of Warcraft: Gamers' perception of the racial self-other." In Reid, R. A. & Gatson, S. (Eds.), *Race and Ethnicity in Fandom*, Transformative Works and Cultures, 8. doi:10.3983/twc.2011.0258.

Rumbaut, R. G. (2000). Vietnamese, Laotian, and Cambodian Americans. In M. Zhou & J. V. Gatewood (Eds.), *Contemporary Asian America: A multidisciplinary reader*. New York: New York University Press.

Rumbaut, R. G. (2008). The coming of the second generation: Immigration and ethnic mobility in Southern California. The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 620, 196–236.

Russell, M. M. (1992). Enter great America: Reflections on race and the convergence of progressive legal theory and practice. *Hastings Law Journal, 43*(4), 749-768.

Russell, B. *Unpopular essays*. (2009). London; New York: Routledge.

Ryan, R. M., Rigby, C. S., & Przybylski, A. (2006). The motivational pull of video games: A self-determination theory approach. *Motivation and Emotion*, *30*(4), 344e360. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11031-006-9051-8.

Sabo, D. F., & Gordon, D. (1995). *Men' s health and illness: Gender, power and the body*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Salguero, R. A. T., & Moran, R. M. B. (2002). Measuring problem video game playing in adolescents. *Addiction, 97*(12), 1601–1606.

Salmon, A. (2011). Couple: Internet gaming addiction led to baby's death. Retrieved on July 8, 2017, from

http://www.cnn.com/2010/WORLD/asiapcf/04/01/korea.parents.starved.baby/index.html

Salter, A., & Blodgett, B. (2012). Hypermasculinity and dickwolves: The contentious role of women in the new gaming public. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, 56*, 401-416. doi:10.1080/08838151.2012.705199

Sandhu, D. S. (1997). Psychocultural profiles of Asian and Pacific Islander Americans: Implications for counseling and psychotherapy. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 25,* 7-22.

Sandhu, D. S., & Madathil, J. (2008). South Asian Americans. In G. McAuliffe (Ed.), *Culturally alert counseling: A comprehensive introduction* (pp. 353–388). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Scharrer, E. (2005). Hypermasculinity, aggression and television violence: An experiment, *Media Psychology, 7,* 353-376.

Scherer, K . (1997) College life on-line: Healthy and unhealthy Internet use. *Journal of College Student Development, 38,* 655– 665.

Schug, J., Alt, N. P., Lu, P. S., Gosin, M., & Fay, J. L. (2017). Gendered race in mass media: invisibility of Asian men and Black women in popular magazines. *Psychology of Popular Media Culture, 6*(3), 222-236. Retrieve from http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/ppm0000096

Seidman, I. (2006). *Interviewing as qualitative research : A guide for researchers in education and the social sciences*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Shaw, M., & Black, D. W. (2008). Internet addiction. *CNS Drugs, 22*(5), 353-365.

Shek, Y. L. & McEwen, M. K. (2012). The relationships of racial identity and gender role conflict to self-esteem of Asian American undergraduate men. *Journal of College Student Development, 53*(5), 703-718, http://dx.doi.org.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/10.1353/csd.2012.0065

Shek, Y. L. (2006). Asian American masculinity: A review of the literature. *The Journal of Men's Studies, 14*(3), 379-391. Retrieved from http://web.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=c9a9d9fc-9a70-4722-89ea-1abc0350c211%40sessionmgr4002&vid=31&hid=420

Shen, C. & Chen, W. (2015). Gamers' confidants: Massively multiplayer online game participation and core networks in China. *Social Networks, 40,* 207-214. Retrieved from: http://www.sciencedirect.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/science/article/pii/S0378873314000598

Shibusawa, N. (2006). *America's geisha ally.* Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Shih, M., Ambady, N., Richeson, J. A., Fujita, K., & Gray, H. M. (2002). Stereotype performance boosts: The impact of self-relevance and the manner of stereotype activation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 83*, 638 – 647. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.83.3.638

Shotton, M. (1989). *Computer Addiction? A Study of Computer Dependency*. London, UK: Taylor and Francis.

Sioni, S. R., Burleson, M. H. & Bekerian, D. A. (2017). Internet gaming disorder: Social phobia and identifying with your virtual self. *Computers in Human Behavior, 71,* 11-15.

Sjöblom, M., & Hamari, J. (2017). Why do people watch others play video games? An empirical study on the motivations of Twitch users. *Computers in Human Behavior, 75,* 985-996. doi: 10.1016/j.chb.2016.10.019

Skoric, M. M., Teo, L. L. C., & Neo, R. L. (2009). Children and video games: Addiction, engagement, and scholastic achievement. *Cyberpsychology & Behavior, 12*(5), 567-572.

Sletta, O., Valas, H., Skaalvik, E., & Søbstad, F. (1996). Peer relations, loneliness, and self-perceptions in school-aged children. *British Journal of Educational Psychology, 66*(4), 431-445. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/10.1111/j.2044-8279.1996.tb01210.x

Smahel, D., Blinka, L., & Ledabyl, O. (2008). Playing MMORPGs: Connections between addiction and identifying with a character. *Cyberpsychological Behavior, 11,* 715-718.

Smith, J.A. (2004). Reflecting on the development of interpretative phenomenological analysis and its contribution to qualitative research in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology 1*, 39-54. doi: 10.1191/1478088704qp004oa

Smith, J., Osborn, M., Flowers, P., & Jarman, M. (1998). Interpretative phenomenological analysis and health psychology. *Health Psychology Update, 31,* 5-9.

Smith, J. A., Flowers, P., & Larkin, M. (2009). *Interpretative phenomenological analysis: Theory, method and research*. Los Angeles, CA: SAGE.

Snodgrass, J. (1977). *For men against sexism: A book of readings*. Albion, CA: Times Change Press.

Snodgrass, J. G., Dengah, H. J. F. II., Lacy, M. G., & Fagan, J. (2011). Cultural consonance and mental wellness in the World of Warcraft: Online games as cognitive technologies of "adsorption-immersion.". *Cognitive Technology, 16*(1), 11-23.

Snodgrass, J. G., Dengah, H. J. F., II, Lacy, M. G., Fagan, J., Most, D., Blank, M., Howard, L., Kershner, C. R., Krambeer, G., Leavitt-Reynolds, A., & Wintersteen, B. (2012). Restorative magical adventure or Warcrack? Motivated MMO play and the pleasures and perils of online experience. Games and Culture, 7(1), 3–28.

Snodgrass, J. G., Lacy, M. G., Dengah, H. F., Eisenhauer, S., Batchelder, G., & Cookson, R. J. (2014). A vacation from your mind: Problematic online gaming is a stress response. *Computers in Human Behavior, OMPUTERS IN HUMAN BEHAVIOR*, *38,* 248-260. Retrieved from https://ac-els-cdn-com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/S0747563214003392/1-s2.0-S0747563214003392-main.pdf?_tid=3297edfd-cfb1-45ea-86d8-17e171c3f4ce&acdnat=1524428156_ec98440c3f21eb3fdf47c39987509e57

Solorzano, D., Ceja, M., & Yosso, T. (2000). Critical race theory, racial microaggressions, and campus racial climate: The experiences of African American college students. *Journal of Negro Education*, *69*(1/2). 60-73. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2696265?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents

Solorzano, D. G., & Delgado Bernal, D. (2001). Examining transformational resistance through a critical race and LatCrit theory framework: Chicana and Chicano students in an urban context. *Urban Education*, *36*, 308–342. doi:10.1177/0042085901363002

Solorzano, D. G., & Yosso, T. J. (2001). Critical race and LatCrit theory and method and counter-storytelling. *Qualitative studies in education*, *14*(4), 471-495.

doi:10.1080/09518390110063365

Spivak, G.C. (1987). *In Other Worlds*, NY: New York: Methuen

Starcevic V. Is Internet addiction a useful concept? Aust N Z J Psychiatry. 2012;47:16–19.

Statistics Portal. (2017).

Steinkuehler, C. (2005). The new third place: Massively multiplayer online gaming in American
youth culture. *Tidskrift Journal of Research in Teacher Education, 3*, 17-32.

Stetina, B. U., Kothgassner, O. D., Lehenbauer, M., & Kryspin-Exner, I. (2011). Beyond the
fascination of online games: Probing addictive behavior and depression in the world of
online-gaming. *Computers in Human Behavior, 27*(1), 473-479. doi:
10.1016/j.chb.2010.09.015

Stockall, N. & Davis, S. (2011). Uncovering pre-service teacher beliefs about young
children: A photographic elicitation methodology. *Issues in Educational Research, 21*(2),
192-209. Retrieved from http://eds.b.ebscohost.com.proxy-
remote.galib.uga.edu/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=6&sid=722f5b38-f94d-4e5d-b2e5-
82f19642d759%40sessionmgr101

Suchar, C. S. (1989). The Sociological Imagination and Documentary Still Photography: The
Interrogatory Stance. *Visual Sociology Review*, *4*, 451–463.

Sue, D. (2001). Asian American Masculinity and Therapy. In Brooks, G. R., & Good, G. E.
(Eds.), *The New Handbook of Psychotherapy and Counseling with Men,* (780-795). San
Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, Inc.

Sue, D. (2005). Asian American masculinity and therapy: The concept of masculinity in Asian
American males. In G. E. Good, & G. R. Brooks (Eds.), *The new handbook of
psychotherapy and counseling with men: A comprehensive guide to settings, problems,*

and treatment approaches (*Rev. & abridged ed.*, pp. 357–368). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Sun, W. (2007). *Minority invisibility: An Asian American experience*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Suchar, C. S. (1989). The sociological imagination and documentary still photography: The interrogatory stance. *Visual Sociology Review*, *4,* 51-62.

Suzuki, B. H. (2002). Revisiting the model minority stereotype: Implications for student affairs practice and higher education. *New Directions for Student Services, 97,* 21-32.

Takaki, R. T. (1990). *Strangers from a different shore.* New York, N.Y.: Penguin Books. .

Takaki, R. T. (1990). *Strangers from a different shore: A history of Asian Americans*. New York: Penguin Group.

Takaki, R. T. (1993). *A different mirror: A history of multicultural America*. New York: Little, Brown and Company.

Takaki, R. T. (1998). *Strangers from a distant shore*. Boston: Little, Brown.

Tangney, J. P., & Dearing, R. L. (2002). *Shame and guilt.* New York: Guilford Press.

Tangney, J. P., & Tracy, J. L. (2012). Self-conscious emotions. In M. R. Leary & J. P. Tangney (Eds.), *Handbook of self and identity* (2nd ed., pp. 446 – 478). New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Tassi, P. (2015, November 05). Activision No Longer Has To Fear Declining 'World of Warcraft' Subscriptions. *Forbes.* Retrieved from https://www.forbes.com/sites/insertcoin/2015/11/03/activision-no-longer-has-to-fear-declining-world-of-warcraft-subscriptions/#5c5d4de93c16

Taylor, N., Jenson, J., & de Castell, S. (2009). Cheerleaders/booth babes/Halo hoes: Pro-gaming, gender and jobs for the boys. Digital Creativity, *20*, 239–252. doi:10.1080/14626260903290323

Taylor, J., & Taylor, J. (2009). A content analysis of interviews with players of massively multiplayer online role-play games (MMORPGs): Motivating factors and the impact on relationships. In *Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on Online Communities and Social Computing: Held as Part of HCI International 2009,* 19-24 July 2009, San Diego, CA (Vol. 5621, 613-621). New York, NY: Springer.

Thomas, N. J., & Martin, F. H. (2010). Video-arcade game, computer game and Internet activities of Australian students: Participation habits and prevalence of addiction. *Aust J. Psychol, 9,* 308-316.

Thien-bao Thuc, P. (2009). Game over: Asian Americans and video game representation. *Transformative Works and Cultures, 2*(1), Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.3983/twc.2009.0084.

Tierney, W. (1993). *Building communities of difference: Higher education in the twenty-first century*. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.

Trepte, S., Reinecke, L., & Juechems, K. (2012). The social side of gaming: How playing online computer games creates online and offline social support. *Computers in Human Behavior, 28,* 832-839.

Trueba, H., Jacobs, L., & Kirton, E. (1990). *Cultural conflict and adaptation: The case of Hmong children in American society*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Turkle, S. (1995). *Life on the screen: Identity in the age of the internet*. New York, NY:

Simon & Schuster.

Turkle, S. (1997). Multiple subjectivity and virtual community at the end of the Freudian century. *Sociological Inquiry, 67*(1), 72-84. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-682X.1997.tb00430.x.

Umemoto, K. (1989). "On strike!" San Francisco State College strike, 1968-69: The role of Asian American students. *Amerasia Journal, 15*(1), 3-41. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.17953/amer.15.1.7213030j5644rx25

United Nations. (2011). *Composition of macro geographical (continental) regions, geographical sub-regions, and selected economic and other groups.* Retrieved from http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49regin.htm#asia

United States Census Bureau. (2010). *The Asian population: 2010.* Retrieved from https://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-11.pdf

Utz, S., Jonas, K. J., & Tonkens, E. (2012). Effects of passion for massively multiplayer online role-playing games on interpersonal relationships. *Journal of Media Psychology, 24*(2), 77-86. doi: 10.1027/1864-1105/a000066

Vallerand, R. J., Blanchard, C., Mageau, G. A., Koestner, R., Ratelle, C., Leonard, M., Gagné, M., & Marsolais, J. (2003). Les passions de l'^ame: On obsessive and harmonious passion. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 85*(4), 756-767. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.85.4.756.

Vallerand, R. J., Rousseau, F. L., Grouzet, F. M., Dumais, A., Grenier, S., & Blanchard, C. M. (2006). Passion in sport: A look at determinants and affective experiences. *Journal of Sport & Exercise Psychology, 4,* 454-478. Retrieved from https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=2261386

van Deurzen, E. (2014). Structural existential analysis (SEA): A phenomenological research method for counseling psychology. *Counselling Pyschology Review, 29*(2), 54-66. Retrieved from http://web.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=88ce2d7e-a313-4611-8c64-1158620b1fb9%40sessionmgr4004&vid=35&hid=4209

van Kaam, A. (1969). *Existential Foundation of Psychology*. New York. Image Books, New York (Original work published, 1966).

van Kaam, A. (1966). *Existential Foundation of Psychology*. Duquesne University Press, Pittsburgh.

van Rooij, A. J., Schoenmakers, T. M., van de Eijnden, R., & van de Mheen, D. (2010). Compulsive Internet use: The role of online gaming and other Internet applications. *The Journal of Adolescent Health, 47*(1), 51-57. doi: 10.1016/j.jadohealth.2009.12.021

Van Rooij, A. J., Schoenmakers, T. M., Vermulst, A. A., van den Eijnden, R. J. J. M., & van de Mheen, D. (2011). Online video game addiction: Identification of addicted adolescent gamers. *Addiction*, 106, 205–212. doi: 10.1111/j.1360-0443.2010.03104.x

Vang, M. H., & Fox, J. (2014). Race in virtual environments: Competitive versus cooperative games with Black or White Avatars. *Cyberpsychology, behavior, and social networking, 17*(4), 235-240. doi: 10.1089/cyber.2013.0289

Vicdan, H., & Ulusoy, E. (2008). Symbolic and experiential consumption of body in virtual worlds: From (dis)embodiment to symembodiment. *Journal of Virtual Worlds Research, 1*(2), 1-22. http://dx.doi.org/10.4101/jvwr.v1i2.347

Waddell, T. F. (2014). White man's world virtual world: A systematic content analysis of gender and race in massively multiplayer online games. *Journal of Virtual Worlds Research, 7*(2), 1-14. Retrieved from

http://eds.a.ebscohost.com/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=2&sid=58c8fc7c-fdb2-4f1c-8141-83f1675966c8%40sessionmgr4010

Waddell, T. F., & Ivory, J. D. (2015). It's not easy trying to be one of the guys: The effect of avatar attractiveness, avatar sex, and user sex on the success of help-seeking requests in an online game. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 59*(1), 112-129. doi: 10.1080/08838151.2014.998221

Walker, T. J. E. & Yaudes, C. G. (2017). In Salem Press Encyclopedia. Retrieved from http://eds.a.ebscohost.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/eds/detail/detail?sid=53b1690d-b110-452b-915b-b60ffc6183bd%40sessionmgr101&vid=12&hid=4111&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWRzLWxpdmU%3d#AN=96397558&db=ers

Wan, C. S., & Chiou, W. B. (2006a). Psychological motives and online games addiction: a test of flow theory and humanistic needs theory for Taiwanese adolescents. *Cyberpsychology & Behavior, 9*(3), 317–324.

Wan, C. S., & Chiou, W. B. (2006b). Why are adolescents addicted to online gaming? An interview study in Taiwan. *Cyberpsychology & Behavior*, *9*(6), 762–766. doi: 10.1089/cpb.2006.9.762

Wang, S., & Kim, B. K. (2010). Therapist multicultural competence, Asian American participants' cultural values, and counseling Process. *Journal Of Counseling Psychology*, *57*(4), 394-401. doi:10.10371a0020359

Wang, C. C., & Wang, C. H. (2008). Helping others in online games: Prosocial behavior in cyberspace. CyberPsychology & Behavior, 11(3), 344–346. doi:10.1089/cpb.2007.0045

Wang, C. C., Yang, Y. Y. H., & Shen, I. (2014, June). Self-present by avatars in multiplayer online role-playing games: The influence of self-esteem, online disinhibition, and self-discrepancy. In Paper presented at the 18th pacific Asia conference on information systems (PACIS), Chengdu, China

Webb, S. (2001). Avatarculture: Narrative, power and identity in virtual world environments. *Information, Communication & Society, 4*(4), 560-594. doi: 10.1080/13691180110097012

Webber, N. (2014). Law, culture and massively multiplayer online games. *International Review of Law, Computers & Technology, 28*(1), 45– 59, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13600869.2013.869919

Weinstein, A., & Lejoyeux, M. (2010). Internet addiction or excessive Internet use. *The American Journal of Drug and Alcohol Abuse. 36*(5): 277-83.

Wilkins, C. L., Chan, J. F., & Kaiser, C. R. (2011). Racial stereotypes and interracial attraction: Phenotypic prototypicality and perceived attractiveness of Asians. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology,17*, 427–431. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0024733

Willer, R., Rogalin, C. L., Conlon, B., & Wojnowicz, M. T. (2013). Overdoing gender: A test of the masculine overcompensation thesis. *American Journal of Sociology, 118*(4), 980-1022. Retrieved from: http://www.jstor.org.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/stable/10.1086/668417?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents

Williams, D., Yee, N., & Caplan, S. (2008). Who plays, how much and why? A behavioral player census of a virtual world. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, *13*, 993–1018.

Williams, D., Martins, N., Consalvo, M., & Ivory, J. D. (2009). The virtual census:

    Representations of gender, race, and age in video games. *New Media & Society, 11*(5),

    815-834. doi:10.1177/1461444809105354.

Wilson, P. A., Valera, P., Ventuneac, A., Balan, I., Rowe, M., & Carballo-Dieguez, A. (2009).

    Race-based sexual stereotyping and sexual partnering among men who use the Internet to

    identify other men for bareback sex. *Journal of Sex Research, 46,* 399-413.

    http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00224490902846479

Winkler, A., Dorsing, B., Rief, W., Shen, Y. & Glombiewski, J. A. (2013). Treatment of Internet

    addiction: A meta-analysis. *Clinical Psychology Review, 33*(2), 317-329.

    doi:10.1016/j.cpr.2012.12.005

Wittek, C. T., Finserås, T. R., Pallesen, S., Mentzoni, R. A., Hanss, D., Griffiths, M. D., &

    Molde, H. (2016). Prevalence and predictors of video game addiction: A study based on a

    national representative sample of gamers. *International Journal of Mental Health and*

    Addiction, 14(5), 672-686. doi: 10.1007/s11469-015-9592-8

Wohn, D. Y. (2011). Gender and race representation in casual games. *Sex Roles, 65,* 198-207.

    doi: 10.1007/s11199-011-0007-4

Wong, Y. J., Kim, B. S. K., Nguyen, C. P., Cheng, J. K. Y., & Saw, A. (2014). The interpersonal

    shame inventory for Asian Americans: Scale development and psychometric properties.

    Journal of Counseling Psychology, 61(1), 119-132. http://dx.doi.org.proxy-

    remote.galib.uga.edu/10.1037/a0034681

Wong, F., & Halgin, R. (2006). The "model minority": Bane or blessing for Asian Americans?

    Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 34, 38–49.

    http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-1912.2006.tb00025.x

Wong, Y., & Tsai, J. (2007). Cultural models of shame and guilt. In J. L. Tracy, R. W. Robins, J. P. Tangney, J. L. Tracy, R. W. Robins, J. P. Tangney (Eds.), *The self-conscious emotions: Theory and research* (pp. 209-223). New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Wong, R. P. (2008). Development and validation of the Stereotypes of Asian American Men Endorsement Scale (SAAMES) (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from Dissertation and Theses: Full text database. (Accession No. 2008–99200-566)

Wong, Y. J., Owen, J., Tran, K. K., Collins, D. L., & Higgins, C. E. (2012). Asian American male college students' perceptions of people's stereotypes about Asian American men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, *13*, 75–88. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0022800

Wong, Y. J., Horn, A. J., & Chen, S. (2013). Perceived masculinity: The potential influence of race, racial essentialist beliefs, and stereotypes. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 14*, 452–464. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0030100

Wong, J., & Rinehart, R. E. (2013). Representations of physical prowess, the body, and national identity in selected Bruce Lee films. *Sport History Review, 44*(2),186-205. Retrieved rom http://eds.a.ebscohost.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=12&sid=24771649-9841-4fcd-b427-20ecdf5f91e3%40sessionmgr104

Woolgar, S. (2002). Introduction: Five rules of virtuality. In Woolgar, S. (Ed.), *Virtual Society? Technology, cyberbole, reality,* (pp. 1-22). Oxford University Press, New York, NY.

Wu, E. D. (2014). *The color of success: Asian Americans and the origins of the model minority*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Yakushko, O., Badiee, M., Mallory, A., & Wang, S. (2011). Insider outsider: Reflections on working with one's own communities. *Women & Therapy, 34,* 279-292. doi:

10.1080/02703149.2011.580685

Yang, G. S., Huesmann, L. R., Gibson, B., Lueke, A. K., & Bushman, B. J. (n. d.) Effects of avatar race in violent video games on racial attitudes and aggression. *Social Psychological and Personality Science, 5*(6), 698-704.

Yao, M. Z., Mahood, C., & Linz, D. (2010). Sexual priming, gender stereotyping, and likelihood to sexually harass: Examining the cognitive effects of playing a sexually-explicit video game. *Sex Roles, 62*, 77–88. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-009-9695-4.

Yau, Y. & Potenza, M. (2014). Internet gaming disorder. *Psychiatric Annals, 44*(8), 379-383.

Yau, Y. H. C., Crowley, M. J., Mayes, L. C., & Potenza, M. N. (2012). Are Internet use and video-game-playing addictive behaviors? Biological, clinical and public health implications for youths and adults. *Minerva Psychiatry, 53*(3), 153-170.

Yee, N. (2004). *The psychology of MMORPGs: Gender-bending*. Retrieved from http://www.nickyee.com/daedalus/gateway_genderbend.html

Yee, N. (2006). Motivations of play in online games. *Cyberpsychology and Behavior, 9*(6), 772–775. Retrieved from :http://dx.doi.org.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/10.1089/cpb.2006.9.772

Yee, N. (2007). Motivations of play in online games. *Cyberpsychology and Behavior, 9*, 772–775.

Yee, N., & Bailenson, J. N. (2007). The proteus effect: The effect of transformed self-representation on behavior. *Human Communication Research, 33*(3), 271–290. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2958.2007.00299.x.

Yee, N. (2008). Maps of digital desires: Exploring the topography of gender and play in online

games. In Y. Kafai, C. Heeter, J. Denner, & J. Sun, (Eds.), Beyond barbie and mortal kombat: *New perspectives on gender and gaming* (pp. 83–96). Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Yoon, D. H. & Chin, G. J. (2004). "Chinese Exclusion Acts." <u>Major Acts of Congress</u>. Retrieved February 01, 2018 from Encyclopedia.com: http://www.encyclopedia.com/history/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/chinese-exclusion-acts

Yu, T. (2006). Challenging the politics of the "model minority" stereotype: A case for educational equality. *Equity & Excellence in Education, 39,* 325-333. doi: 10.1080/10665680600932333

Zhang, Q. (2010). Asian Americans beyond the model minority stereotype: The nerdy and the left out. *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication, 3*, 20–37. doi: 10.1080/17513050903428109

Zhang, F., & Kaufman, D. (2017). Massively multiplayer online role-playing games (MMORPGs) and socio-emotional wellbeing. *Computers in Human Behavior, 73,* 451-458. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2017.04.008

Zhong, Z. J. (2011). The effects of collective MMORPG (Massively Multiplayer Online Role-Playing Games). play on gamers' online and offline social capital. *Computers in Human Behavior, 27*(6), 2352-2363.

Zhou, M., & Gatewood, J. V. (2007). Transforming Asian America: Globalization and contemporary immigration to the United States. In M. Zhou & J. V. Gatewood (Eds.), *Contemporary Asian America: A multidisciplinary reader* (2nd ed., pp. 115–138). New York: New York University Press.

Zhou, M., & Lee, J. (2017). Hyper-selectivity and the remaking of culture: Understanding the

Asian American achievement paradox. *Asian American Journal of Psychology, 8*, 7–15.

http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/aap0000069

APPENDIX A

Recruitment Email

Understanding Race & Gender: A phenomenological study of Asian American & Pacific Islander men's experiences playing massively multiplayer online games

My name is Joseph Pak and I am a doctoral student in the Department of Counseling and Human Development Services at the University of Georgia. I am currently conducting a research project for my dissertation under the direction of Dr. Anneliese Singh and I would like to invite you to participate in my study. The study is titled Understanding Race & Gender: A phenomenological study of Asian American & Pacific Islander men's experiences playing massively multiplayer online games and has been approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the University of Georgia (Project Number: 00002980). I am studying Asian American & Pacific Islander men's lived experience of playing massively multi-player online games (MMOGS).

The purpose of the study is to better understand the lived experiences of Asian American & Pacific Islander men who play MMOGS. If you choose to participate, you will be asked to participate in an audio-taped interview that will last approximately 50-60 minutes and provide a photo or screen shot of your avatar or character profile that you utilize for playing MMOGS. The meeting will be held at a mutually agreed upon location. During the interview, we will discuss your avatar/character profile picture and your everyday lived experiences as an Asian American & Pacific Islander man who plays MMOGS.

Participation in this study is voluntary and you can withdraw from the study at any time. Your participation in the study will also remain confidential. While the results may be published, your identity will be protected. I am happy to answer any questions you may have about the study. You may contact me at cpak@uga.edu.

If you would like to participate, please send an e-mail to me as soon as possible. In the email please

include your contact phone number and the best times to reach you. I will call you to further discuss

the details of the study.

Sincerely,

Joseph Pak
Department of Counseling and Human Development Services
678-779-6194– cpak@uga.edu
Principal Investigator: Dr. Anneliese A. Singh, Ph.D.
(706) 542-5341--asingh@uga.edu

APPENDIX B

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

CONSENT FORM

Understanding Race & Gender: A phenomenological study of Asian American & Pacific

Islander men's experiences playing massively multiplayer online games

Researcher's Statement

I am/We are asking you to take part in a research study. Before you decide to participate in this

study, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will

involve. This form is designed to give you the information about the study so you can decide

whether to be in the study or not. Please take the time to read the following information

carefully. Please ask the researcher if there is anything that is not clear or if you need more

information. When all your questions have been answered, you can decide if you want to be in

the study or not. This process is called "informed consent." A copy of this form will be given to

you.

Principal Investigator: Anneliese A. Singh

Counseling and Human Development Services

(706) 542-5341

asingh@uga.edu

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to understand the lived experiences of Asian American & Pacific

Islander men with online gaming specifically playing massively multi-player online games. The

researcher, Joseph Pak, hopes to learn what it is like for Asian American & Pacific Islander men.

The researcher would like to utilize the information from this study to provide insight for

clinicians and counselor educators regarding Asian American & Pacific Islander men.

Study Procedures

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to …

- Complete a demographic questionnaire that confirms your race/ethnicity, marital status, age, gender orientation, number of children, educational background, and job status.
- Provide a picture or screen shot of your avatar or character you use in massively multi-player online games.
- Discuss your avatar or character selection during the individual interview.
- Meet individually with the researcher for one 50-60 minute interview. During the interview, the researcher will record audio regarding your experiences as an Asian American & Pacific Islander man who plays massively multiplayer online games.
- Review your transcripts for accuracy or clarification; however, you may waive this opportunity.
- Potentially respond to follow-up questions that may arise as the researcher conducts the study.
- Review a draft of the research findings and provide feedback; however, you may waive your opportunity to do so.
- The total estimated duration of my participation in this study will range between one and a half hours to two hours depending on the length of the interview, and any follow-up meetings.

Risks and discomforts

- The research is not expected to cause any physical harm or discomfort. The emotional risk may included discovering feelings related to your experience of discrimination or oppression related to your race and/or ethnicity. If you experience any discomfort, you may elect not to answer any question during the interview without having to explain why, and you can quit at any time. If you would like to seek further counseling, the researcher will refer you to other licensed counseling professionals through the University of Georgia's Counseling and Psychiatric Services (706-542-2273).

Benefits

- There are no known benefits of this study for the participants; however, you will be able to reflect on your experiences as an Asian American & Pacific Islander male, which may result in feelings of empowerment and validation.
- Participation in this study may benefit scientific knowledge by helping people to understand the influence that race may have on Asian American & Pacific Islander men with their internet gaming experiences. The information from this study could help mental health profession to understand motivations for Asian American & Pacific Islander men with massively multiplayer online role-playing games.

Incentives for participation

There are no monetary or non-monetary incentives for participating in this research study.

Audio/Video Recording

The interviews will be recorded using an audio recording device such as a voice recorder or a

phone. The audio recording of the interview will be used to ensure accuracy of data collection. The

researcher will use the audio recording to transcribe the interview. All audio recordings and

transcriptions will be stored on a password-protected computer and will only be accessible by the

researcher.

Please provide initials below if you agree to have this interview audio recorded or not.

        I do not want to have this interview recorded.

        I am willing to have this interview recorded.

Photographs

The researcher is requesting photographs of your avatar or character that you play with in massively

multiplayer online games (MMOGS). The researcher will discuss with you which of your

photographs may be used in presentations or publications, and your permission will be recorded in

the researcher's notes.

Privacy/Confidentiality

No individually identifiable information about you, or provided by you during the research, will be

shared with others without your permission, unless required by law.

You will be given the opportunity to create a pseudonym, or will be assigned one, for the purposes of

data collection and corresponding research reports. The pseudonym code will be maintained in a

password protected electronic document in the researcher's computer files and will be destroyed after

the final report has been written. The recordings of the interviews, the pseudonym code, and any

photographs that are not included in presentations/publications will be destroyed after the completion of data collection, or no later than May 20, 2018.

Because of the nature of Internet communication, confidentiality cannot be ensured when e-mail or other modes of Internet communication are used to provide photographs. For this reason, you have the option of communicating in this study completely through phone or face-to-face, and to provide photographs in hard copy.

Taking part is voluntary

Your involvement in the study is voluntary, and you may choose not to participate or to stop at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. If you decide to withdraw from the study, the information that can be identified as yours will be kept as part of the study and may continue to be analyzed, unless you make a written request to remove, return, or destroy the information.

If you have questions

The main researcher conducting this study is *Joseph Pak*, a doctoral student at the University of Georgia's Gwinnett Campus. Please ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you may contact *Dr. Anneliese Singh* at *asingh@uga.edu* or at (706) 542-5341. If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights as a research participant in this study, you may contact the Institutional Review Board (IRB) Chairperson at 706.542.3199 or irb@uga.edu.

Research Subject's Consent to Participate in Research:

To voluntarily agree to take part in this study, you must sign on the line below. Your signature below indicates that you have read or had read to you this entire consent form, and have had all of your questions answered.

_____   _____   _____

Joseph Pak   Signature   Date

_____   _____   _____

Name of Participant   Signature   Date

Please sign both copies, keep one and return one to the researcher.

APPENDIX C

Demographic Questionnaire

PARTICIPANT DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Age: _____

Sex: _____

Race: Mark X on one or more of the boxes

☐Asian Indian   ☐Korean   ☐Native Hawaiian

☐Chinese   ☐Japanese   ☐Guamanian or

                                                                        Chamorro

☐Filipino   ☐Vietnamese   ☐Samoan

☐Other-Print race below   ☐Other Pacific Islander –

for example, Hmong, Laotian,   Print race, for example,

Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on   Fijian, Tongan, and so on

Print Here_____   Print Here_____

Employment Status (Mark X on one of the boxes)

☐Full-time status   ☐Part-Time Status   ☐Student   ☐Other

Do you primarily play massively multiplayer online games (MMORPGS)?

☐Yes ☐No

How long have you been playing MMORPGS? _____

How many hours a week do you play MMORPGS? _____

APPENDIX D

Semi-Structured Interview Protocol

Introduction: Hi, my name is Joseph Pak and I am a doctoral candidate in the Counseling and

Student Personnel Services P-16 program at the University of Georgia. I am conducting a

research project on the lived experiences of Asian American men who play massively

multiplayer online games (MMOGS). Specifically, I want to know how race and gender

influence Asian American and Pacific Islander men's Internet gaming experience.

RQ: What are the lived experiences of Asian American men who play MMORPGS?

1. Tell me more about you.
2. How do you identify yourself in terms of race, gender, generational status, and religious identity?
3. How long have you been playing Internet games?
4. What MMOGs do you play the most? Do you play any MMORPGs? If so, which ones?
5. Approximately how many hours do you play an MMORPG a day or a week?
6. Have you experienced conflicts (personal, professional, etc.) due to playing MMORPG?
7. Have you played MMOGs/MMORPGs just for the sake of playing?
8. Have you feel pressured to play MMOG/MMORPGs by your clan or online friends?

RQ: How does race and gender impact Asian American and Pacific Islander men's game

playing behavior with MMOGS/MMORPGs?

1. How do you believe Asian American and Pacific Islander men are perceived in society?
2. What are your views on the "model minority" stereotype and its impact on Asian American men? Model minority stereotype is the stereotype that all Asians are intelligent, soft-spoken, reserved, hard working, pleasant, friendly, artistic, and high in academic motivation and performance. MMS relates directly to Asian American masculinity. MMS of "nerdy and geeky" strips them of strong and powerful masculinity. Nerd perpetuates feminine characteristics.
3. What are some racial or gender stereotypes about Asian American and Pacific Islander men?
4. How do these racial or gender stereotypes impact your life? Your gaming life?
5. How does society define masculinity?

6. What are some characteristics of being masculine?
7. How do you think Asian American and Pacific Islander men fit into that definition of masculinity?
8. How are Asian American and Pacific Islander men perceived in the gaming world?
9. How does gaming behavior fit into the definition of masculinity.

Photo Elicitation Protocol

1. Please share what your online profile photograph(s) represent to you?
2. What are your feelings as you look at your character photographs?
3. How would you characterize your character in terms of gender?
4. How would you characterize your character in terms of masculinity?