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Racialized Masculinities in the Sexual Field:
A Latent Profile Analysis of Gay Community Stressors

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A Thesis submitted in Partial Fulfillment for the Degree of Master of Public Health in the
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Abstract

While intra-group discrimination is commonly experienced among men in the LGBT community, little is known about the intersection of multiple forms of discrimination. This study used a latent class analysis (LCA) to visualize the intersections of different forms of perceived discrimination and to evaluate to what degree LCA membership is associated with depression, anxiety, and somatization among a sample of racially and ethnically diverse men who have sex with men (MSM). The data was sourced from the Gay Community Stress Scale (GCSS) wherein participants were asked to what degree their perception of the mainstream gay community's racism, racial objectification, masculinity consciousness, classism, and tribe consciousness caused them stress. Participants also completed the Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI), a validated measure of psychological distress and psychiatric disorders based on self-report. A total of 937 (66.5 %) MSM were included in the LCA analytic sample (10.7 % Black, 25.1 % Hispanic, 73.4 % Gay). The LCA resulted in a 5-class solution that had a compelling relative and absolute fit. These 5 classes were defined as: Masculinity Stress (11%); Low Stress (47.1 %); Moderate Stress (10.2 %); High Stress (12.2%); Racism Stress (19.5%). Multivariate models revealed that, compared to the Low Stress class, individuals in the High Stress, Moderate Stress class, and the Masculinity Stress class had higher odds of endorsing symptoms of depression, anxiety, and somatization. Interaction effects between race and masculinity were observed in likelihood of latent class membership, with all forms of racialized masculinity/ femininity displaying lower odds of occupying the Low Stress class than masculine White men. Future research should consider the co-occurrence of multiple forms of intra-group discrimination and its impact on the mental health of MSM who occupy the intersection of marginalized racial masculinity and femininity.

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Introduction

The prevalence of sexual racism and racial discrimination in dating practices among members of the gay community has been extensively documented (Callander et al., 2015; Han, 2007, 2008; Plummer, 2007). Yet, in most literature, study of these issues and their deleterious effects on multiply-marginalized communities has been limited to analysis of a single characteristic variable--usually race (Brondolo et al., 2009; Han, 2008; Plummer, 2007). Emerging research suggests, however, that the nature and extent of sexual racism and racial discrimination differ even within racial groups (Garnett et al., 2014). Brondolo et al have found variations in the experience of racism, for instance, at different intersections of socioeconomic status and ethnicity, resulting in varied health outcomes (Brondolo et al., 2009). What's more, existing research rarely takes into account how objects of gay community stress exercise their own agency to do subversive work that may potentially be protective (Wilson & Yoshikawa, 2004).

Turning to the Black Feminist tradition's Matrix of Domination could help Public Health thinkers better conceptualize these phenomena (Collins, 1990). The Matrix of Domination argues that every person holds multiple group memberships that each possess varying amounts of privilege and/or penalty within structures of power and oppression (Collins, 1990). The interface between these individual constellations of power/penalty and hegemonic systems of privilege/ oppression results in a multitude of unique experiences of social inequities (ie heterosexism at the intersection of misogynoir and classism).

Collectively, these unique experiences of intersectional stress have serious implications for health and wellbeing. For instance, the accumulation of intersectional stress experiences--in the form of microaggressions--has been linked to greater accumulated stress (Geronimus et al., 2006; Juster et al., 2010; Upchurch et al., 2015). This greater accumulated stress, referred to more broadly as 'allostatic load', affects negative health outcomes in the form of cardiovascular events, all-cause mortality, and other physical and psychological afflictions (Arlene et al, 2006; Upchurch et al, 2016; Mays et al, 2007). In sum, micro-level experiences recursively give rise to the macro, social-structural level (re)production of health inequities in ways that do not map neatly onto single characteristic grouping conventions due to their intersectional nature (Bowleg, 2012). Parent et al offers a promising explanation for this observation: identity categories such as sexuality or race often serve

as stand-ins for more nuanced implicit constructs that are not articulated and are obscured by researchers' positionalities, theoretical perspectives, and biases (Parent et al., 2013).

Scholars in intersectionality offer a paradigm shift away from understanding single identity groupings such as "Black", "LGBT", or "Male" as categorical demographic groupings. In this way, quantitative analyses might access higher resolution understandings of sociobehavioral dynamics (Parent et al., 2013). This approach, referred to as the anti categorical complexity approach by intersectionality scholars, assumes categories are socially constructed in ways that create segregation and inequality between categories and, as a result, aims to deconstruct categories entirely. Rather than categorical groupings, anti categorical quantitative analysis emphasizes experiential and contextual constructs as the bases of public health analysis (Else-Quest & Hyde, 2016a, 2016b). The person-centered method of latent class analysis (LCA), for instance, is a powerful anti-categorical analytical method.

This exploratory project aims to trace the sociodemographic contours of sexual discrimination and prejudice among respondents in a sample of 937 men who have sex with men (MSM) using LCA. In constructing latent classes, an effort is made to visibilize privilege – in addition to oppression as a necessary complement for full understanding. Latent classes will then be further analysed for associations between latent class membership and depression, anxiety, or somatization. Findings will be interpreted and rationalized using historically informed conceptions of sexual desire, with the inclusion of narrative experience--some of examples of which are Orientalism and Black Hypermasculinity.

No prior study has examined the intersection between the experience of multiple gay community stressors and depression, anxiety, or somatization among a sample of racially and ethnically diverse MSM using a latent variable method. By illustrating the social patterning of gay community stressors, this study is focused on the co-occurrence of multiple determinants of gay community stress, defined as perceptions of the following mainstream gay community attributes: masculinity consciousness, racism, racial objectification, classism, and tribe consciousness. Harmful effects of race and sexuality-based stigma and discrimination on the mental health of men who have sex with men (MSM) of color are well documented (Krieger, 1999; Paradies, 2006; Peterson & Jones, 2009; Williams et al., 2003). Thus, the confluence of these gay community stressors is

expected to display associations with depression, anxiety, and somatization in ways that would not have been detected using the aforementioned categorical approach, and would reduce the quality of life and wellbeing of those who experience significant stress.

Interdependence of Racism, Classism, Racial Objectification, Masculinity, and Tribes

In choosing to analyze perceived masculinity consciousness, racism, racial objectification, classism, and tribe consciousness together, this study aims to acknowledge and highlight the ways in which these experiences influence and provide the cultural force behind one another, as demonstrated by the literature. One such study explored the impact of experiences of homophobia, racism, and financial hardship on anxiety, depression, and suicidal ideation among a sample of 912 self-identified gay and bisexual Latino men in the United States. In this study, ninety one percent of participants reported experiences of racism and sixty-two percent reported having experienced sexual objectification by other gay men on the basis of race.

Emerging literature shows that this confluence of social phenomena makes an observable impact on health risk. Another study found that, for African American and Latino gay and bisexual men, racialized sexual objectification-- a form of minority stress experienced during interactions with white men in the context of interracial sexual situations--is a form of stress that might influence both sexual risk and protective behavior (Hidalgo et al., 2013). These same respondents also varied in their attributions of these behaviors as racist or discriminatory in nature. This suggests that attempts to analyze either racism or race-based sexual objectification in isolation would introduce meaningful and widely-felt attributional dilemmas (Diaz et al., 2001).

Conceptions of masculinity are also imbued with racial dimensions--particularly in gay sexual fields--to the extent that research on the issue has demonstrated that the two are inextricable. As noted by Baldwin (1985), American ideals of sexuality dovetail with the American ideal of masculinity, which necessitates an inherently racial element. In the case of homosexual white men, racialized masculinities can be observed in their reduction of black men's sexuality to sexually dominant and unrestrained stereotypes— although still under the social control of whites due to their race (Baldwin, 1985; Reeser, 2010). Other scholars have corroborated and elaborated upon the ways in which racial stereotypes are put into dialogue with notions of masculinity to produce a desire

for hypermasculine black men, especially among white men who have sex with men (Robinson, 2008; McBride, 2005; Reid-Pharr, 2001; Green, 2008). Robinson (2008) also finds that white gay men largely ignore and devalue black men who do not conform to the stereotype of the hypermasculine black male, urging future research to pay significant attention to interactions between racial stereotypes and masculinity.

The penalty for deviance from racialized masculine scripts extends into other domains of gay self-identification--for instance, adherence to gay tribes (e.g. Bear, Twink, Jock, etc). This is because gay tribes, which are sexual categorizations based on body type, age, and other descriptors, are themselves shaped by eroticized cultural and historical artifacts. For instance, one such cultural artifact or "tribe" is the "twink"-- a gay man characterized by lean muscle, collegiate sensibilities, whiteness, boyish facial features, and youthful athleticism. In choosing to conform to a tribe, queer men of color not only engage in a performance of hypermasculinity but also face limitations in their capacity to successfully embody certain tribes due to the racial elements of tribal identities (Walsh and Baker 2017; Zhao 2011). This inability to fully emulate a tribal identity is also not without consequence, seeing as those who do not meet these requirements are themselves stigmatized (Goffman, 1963).

Depression & Anxiety

A study of 3,032 United States citizens tells us this association is to be taken seriously, as the magnitude of its impact is comparable to other stressors. This study had found that the odds-ratios linking perceived discrimination to Major Depression and Generalized Anxiety Disorder were comparable in size to the odds-ratios found in existing literature regarding the effects of traumatic life events such as sexual assault and combat exposure (Kessler, Davis, and Kendler 1997).

Stress produced by perceived discrimination within the gay community among gay and bisexual men of color has been linked to depression in several studies. Within a sample of 192 Asian gay men, for instance, investigators Chae and Yoshikawa found that perceived devaluation of asian gay men by white gay men was positively associated with both depression and sexual risk behavior. This devaluation was defined as a reflection of beliefs about systematic negative stereotyping and

prejudice about a given group of people (Taylor, Wright, Maghaddam, & Lalonde, 1990; Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999).

Among a sample of 3,012 Mexican immigrants and United States-born Mexican-Americans, investigators demonstrated a clear, direct relationship between perceived discrimination and symptoms of depression. Additionally, they found that the extent of this relationship was contingent upon what they term “formative social experiences” (*Perceived Discrimination and Depression among Mexican-Origin Adults in California - ProQuest*, n.d.). The formative social experiences in question, namely country of birth and childhood and the degree of acculturation, are the grounds from which patterns of perceived stress--or interaction effects-- emerged.

Somatization

Analysis of somatization is necessary given the substantial evidence for its impact on marginalized populations in response to discrimination and experiences of perceived stress. Among African Americans, several studies have demonstrated that perceived discrimination is associated with physical health outcomes such as hypertension (Krieger & Sidney, 1996; Williams & Neighbors, 2001), cardiovascular function (Anderson, 1989; Troxel, Matthews, Bromberger, & Sutton-Tyrrell, 2003), and negative physiological reactions (Jones, Harrell, Morris-Prather, Thomas, & Omowale, 1996). Additionally, awareness of stigma, or stigma consciousness, is directly associated with poor physical health outcomes (Lewis et al., 2003; Frost et al., 2013) Existing literature on chronic stress and health suggests that, for sexual minorities, chronic experience of stigma and discrimination in the everyday life depletes psychological and biological resources, leading to poorer health (Juster, McEwen, & Lupien, 2010; Cochran & Mays, 2007; Mays & Cochran, 2001).

The Current Study Hypotheses

- (1) Theoretically meaningful latent classes of perceived classism, racism, racial objectification, masculinity consciousness, and tribe conformity stress exist in a sample of 937 MSM.

- (2) These latent classes composed of respondents that have experienced the same perceived stressors to similar extents are significantly associated with mental health outcomes of depression, anxiety, and somatization.
- (3) Latent Class membership is significantly predicted by race, masculinity, and by an interaction effect between race and masculinity (referred to here and in the broader literature as ‘racialized masculinities’).

Researcher Positionalities

The research team consisted of 1 Masters students in Public Health, 1 associate professor in Social and Behavioral Sciences, 1 postdoctoral fellow, and 1 postdoctoral associate. The research team included 2 black men, 1 white man, and 1 white woman; at least 3 identified as monoracial. Three of four researchers are GBM. The principal investigator of this study received information pertaining to an analytic sample of 937 men who have sex with men in the form of Gay Community Stress Survey (GCSS) data, which had been collected prior to the beginning of this project, from their primary thesis advisor. The research team responsible for GCSS data collection had discussed their implicit assumptions and possible biases throughout the process of data collection.

Methods

Sample and Data Collection

Participant recruitment was conducted in three geographically constrained waves to ensure adequate regional representation among the MSM sample.

In Wave 1, recruitment was constrained to the four largest cities in the United States (New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston). In Wave 2, recruitment was constrained to 20 randomly selected small suburban areas (SSAs), which contained 287 cities and excluded the 10 most populous cities in the U.S. The US Census Bureau defines SSAs as constituencies with populations of more than 100,000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014). In Wave 3, recruitment was constrained to 20 randomly

selected rural counties, which the US Department of Agriculture defines as constituencies with populations of 250,000 or less (U.S. Department of Agriculture, 2013).

Of 1,904 respondents, 1,409 met the eligibility criteria of being above the age of 18, residing in the United States at the time of participation, having been assigned male sex at birth, and either identifying as gay or bisexual or reporting recent attraction to and sex with men. Unless they elected not to receive compensation (n = 141), eligible participants received a \$10 gift card.

Of the 1,409 eligible participants, 472 were omitted from the analytic sample due to failure to complete demographic data (n = 114), Gay Community Stress Scale (GCSS) items (n = 139), the majority of minority stress questionnaires (n = 448), or outcome questionnaires (n = 363). The final analytic sample contained 937 respondents.

Table 1. Description of the Gay Community Stress Analytic Sample by Latent Class Membership, GCSS (N = 937)

	Total Sample (N = 937) %	Class 1 (N=103) %	Class 2 (N=441) %	Class 3 (N=96) %	Class 4 (N=114) %	Class 5 (N=183) %
Gender Identity						
Cisgender Man	100	11	47.1	10.2	12.2	19.5
Transgender FTM	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gender Queer	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gender Nonconforming	0	0	0	0	0	0
Two Spirit	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sex Assigned at Birth						
Male	99.4	11.1	46.9	10.2	12.1	19.7
Female	0.5	0	60	20	20	0
Intersex	0.1	0	1	0	0	0
Race						
Native American	1.8	23.6	28.5	11.3	12.1	24.5
Asian/ Native						
Hawaiian/ PI	8.5	12.5	35	17.5	7.5	27.5
Black	10.7	11	36.1	6	25	21.9
White	67.9	10.7	53.1	9.9	9.9	17.4
Multiracial	11.1	9.6	32.7	10.6	17.3	29.8
Ethnicity						
Hispanic/Latinx	25.1	11.5	37.4	10.6	17	23.5
Non-Hispanic/Latinx	74.9	10.2	50.3	10.1	10.5	18.9
Sexuality						

Gay	73.4	11.5	45.8	10.3	12.4	20
Bi/ Gay	17.8	12.6	52.1	9.0	7.2	19.1
Bisexual	4.3	2.5	57.5	15	7.5	17.5
Bi/ Heterosexual	1.6	0	80	6.7	6.7	7.6
Heterosexual	0.1	0	0	0	0	100
Queer	2.2	4.8	9.5	9.5	62	14.2
Uncertain	0.5	20	40	20	0	20

Measures

Perceived Classism Stress

A single item from the Gay Community Stress Scale (GCSS) (Pachankis et al., 2020) was used to measure stress due to perceptions of discrimination on the basis of class status in the gay community. Participants were prompted with the statement, “The mainstream gay community overly values men who are powerful and high status.”, and asking to what degree this potential aspect of the mainstream gay community caused them stress on a Likert scale from 1 (Not at all stressed/ bothered) to 5 (Extremely stressed/ Bothered).

Perceived Racism Stress

A single item from the GCSS (Pachankis et al., 2020) was used to measure stress incurred by perceptions that the mainstream gay community practises discrimination on the basis of race. Participants were prompted with the statement, “The mainstream gay community is racist.”, and asking to what degree this potential aspect of the mainstream gay community caused them stress on a scale from 1 (Not at all stressed/ bothered) to 5 (Extremely stressed/ Bothered).

Perceived Racial Objectification Stress

Perceived Classism Stress was measured by prompting participants with the statement from the GCSS, “The mainstream gay community sexually objectifies men of color.”, and asking to what degree this potential aspect of the mainstream gay community caused them stress on a scale from 1 (Not at all stressed/ bothered) to 5 (Extremely stressed/ Bothered).

Perceived Masculinity Consciousness Stress

Perceived Classism Stress was measured by prompting participants with the statement, “The mainstream gay community overly values being masculine.”, and asking to what degree this potential aspect of the mainstream gay community caused them stress on a scale from 1 (Not at all stressed/ bothered) to 5 (Extremely stressed/ Bothered).

Perceived Tribe Consciousness Stress

Perceived Classism Stress was measured by prompting participants with the statement, “The mainstream gay community places too much emphasis on fitting into a specific category or group (e.g., twink, bear, jock)”, and asking to what degree this potential aspect of the mainstream gay community caused them stress on a scale from 1 (Not at all stressed/ bothered) to 5 (Extremely stressed/ Bothered).

Predictor Variables for Latent Class Membership

Race/Ethnicity Racial and ethnic identification were measured by asking participants “Which racial or ethnic group do you belong to?” and having them mark either Asian, American Indian or Alaskan Native, White, Black or African American, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, Multiracial, or Other. Participants who responded “Multiracial” or “Other” were further prompted to select all racial and ethnic categories that apply from a list of Asian, American Indian or Alaskan Native, White, Black or African American, and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander. Participants who responded “Other” were also offered a write-in opportunity to further specify how they racially or ethnically identify.

To measure the prevalence of Hispanic and Non-Hispanic identifying participants in the sample, participants were asked “Do you consider yourself Hispanic or Latino?” and prompted to select either “Yes” or “No”.

Sexual Orientation Sexual Orientation was measured by asking participants “What best describes your sexual identity?” and having them mark either Gay, Bisexual but Mostly Gay, Bisexual equally gay and Heterosexual, Bisexual but Mostly Heterosexual, Queer, Heterosexual, or Uncertain, Don’t Know for Sure.

Masculinity Masculinity was measured by prompting participants with the statement “If other people compare you to other guys your age, they would say that you are:”, and asking them to report where they fall on a Likert Scale ranging from 1 (Much More Feminine) to 5 (Much More Masculine).

Analysis Plan

Latent Class enumeration, model building, data manipulation, and regression models were carried out using R.

This study followed an LCA analytic plan according to the systematic framework originally developed by Masyn (Masyn 2012) as implemented by Garnett (Garnett et al. 2014). The following sequential steps were taken: (1) determine the best-fitting number of classes, (2) characterize latent class membership by the descriptors of latent classes, and (3) calculate associations between latent class membership and mental health outcomes of interest.

The final number of classes was chosen by consulting multiple indicators of relative model fit and classification uncertainty--the Aikike Information Criterion (AIC), Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC), Relative Entropy, and Bootstrap Likelihood Ratio Test (BLRT)--as well as considerations of class separation and interpretability. The AIC and BIC are both widely used measures of relative model fit, wherein the log-likelihood of model fit is penalized for each additional constraint used in model calculation. In AIC calculations, the log likelihood is penalized for the number of parameters on the model. In BIC calculations, the log likelihood is penalized for increasing sample size in addition to increased number of parameters. A relatively low score indicates a well-fitting model. It is possible, however, for the AIC and BIC to indicate different models as the best fit.

Relative Entropy is an uncertainty measure which uses the posterior probabilities of each maximum likelihood distribution to determine to what extent latent classes are distinguishable by the

data and the model. The class model with the highest relative entropy is the best fit model according to this index. However, class models with an entropy of above 0.8 are generally considered satisfactory.

The BLRT (Bootstrap Likelihood Ratio test) is a likelihood-based technique to compare different LCA models by estimating the distribution of the differences in log-likelihoods between models. It then calculates a p value that one can use to compare the increase in model fit between the k-1 and k class models (Nylund et al., 2007).

Table 2 Results of the latent class enumeration and measures of absolute and relative fit of latent classes among GCSS respondents, GCSS 20XX (N = 937)

	BIC ^a	AIC ^b	BLRT_p ^c	E _k ^d
1 Class	15713.18	15664.75		1.0000000
2 Class	14268.88	14191.4	0.00990099	0.8826531
3 Class	13996.5	13889.96	0.00990099	0.8925397
4 Class	13864.23	13728.63	0.00990099	0.8388049
5 Class	13838.55	13673.9	0.00990099	0.8258894

^A Bayesian Information Criteria (BIC)

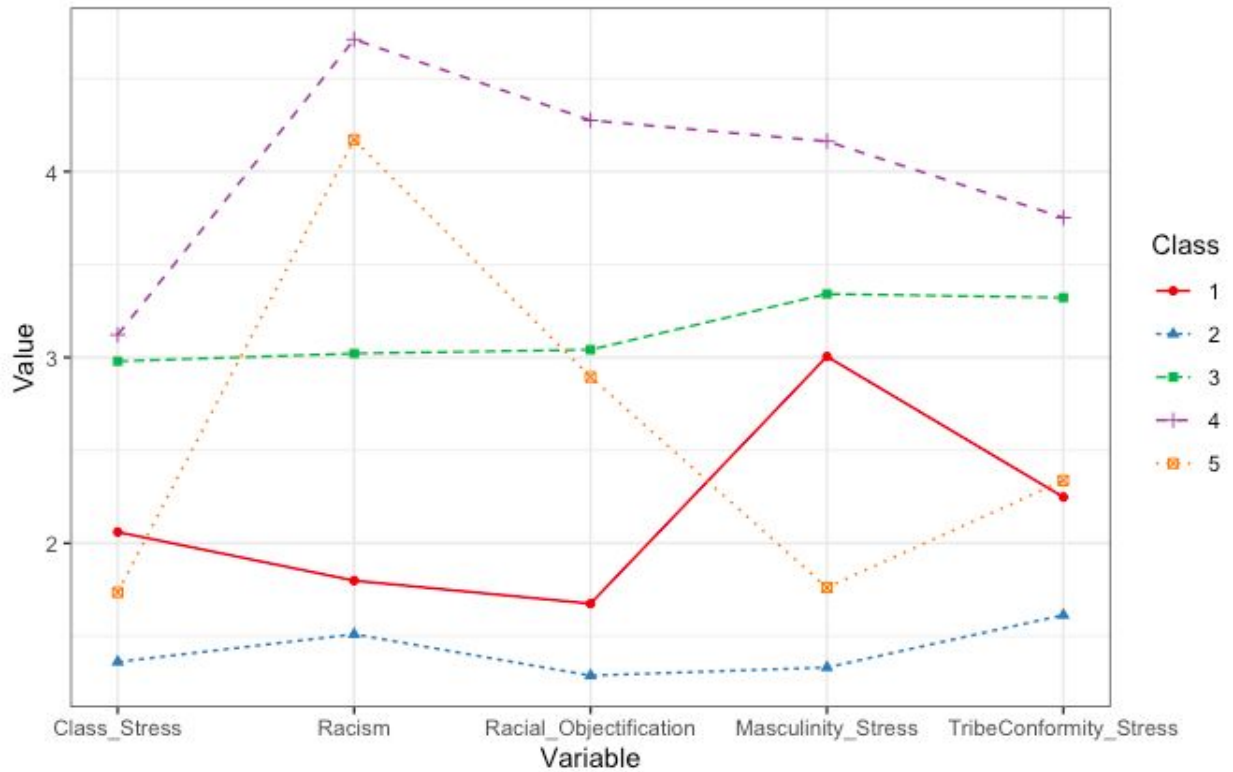
^B Akaike's Information Criteria (AIC)

^C Bootstrap Likelihood Ratio Test p-value (BLRT_p)

^D Relative Entropy (E_k)

Once the final number of latent classes was chosen, descriptors of class membership were examined through a plot of each class's mean scores across all factors used in the latent class calculations (Muthe'n 2002). LCA membership was then related to demographic variables, as well as to the three BSI mental health outcomes using the classify-analyze approach. The classify-analyze approach is an analytic method wherein class assignment, which is a participant's highest posterior class probability, functions as a predictor in a multinomial regression model (Lanza and Rhoades 2011).

Conditional Perceived Stressor Mean Score Profile Plot



Results

The final analytic sample contained 937 respondents, all of whom provided full demographic and mental health outcome data. Between 3.8% and 5.2% of values for the latent class predictors were found to be missing. PROC MI was used by the team responsible for data collection to impute these missing values from demographic variables and relevant completed measures (SAS 9.4).

As compared to the 2018 Census data, the final analytic sample was fairly diverse, with typically underrepresented racial and ethnic groups being represented in higher proportions than they are nationally--with the exception of Black/ African American respondents. The sample also displayed socioeconomic diversity.

Eligible participants were more likely to be younger, Hispanic, have a college education, identify as gay, and be single. Informed consent was obtained from all participants.

Table 2 displays the relative fit data and classification diagnostics used to empirically settle upon a 5-class solution. Both the AIC and the BIC point to the 5-class model as the best relative fit. While

the highest relative entropy belongs to the 3 class solution--indicating that the 3-class solution has the best homogeneity and separation-- all class solutions returned satisfactory relative entropy values above 0.8. The BLRT did not return any p-values that would indicate a fit advantage to adding any more latent classes to the model, so it did little in the way of clarifying which class solution should be chosen for the following analyses. Visual inspection of the mean score plot conditional on class membership revealed that the 5 class solution had superior class separation and interpretability.

The largest class (47%), the Low Stress class (Class 2), is characterized by low perceived stress (less than 2.5) across all latent variables. The Perceived Racism class (Class 5) (20%) corresponds to respondents with low mean scores (less than 2.5) in perceived classism stress, perceived masculinity consciousness stress, perceived tribe conformity stress, but a high (greater than 4) perceived racism stress score and moderate (between 2.5 and 3.5) perceived racial objectification stress. The high Stress Class (Class 4) (12%) is characterised by high mean scores (greater than 3.5) in every latent variable except in the perceived classism stress variable, for which they display moderate (between 2.5 and 3.5) perceived classism stress. The Masculinity Stress class (Class 1) (11%) is characterized by low mean scores on all latent variables with the exception of moderate perceived masculinity consciousness stress. The last latent class, Moderate Stress class (Class 3) (10%), corresponds to participants with moderate endorsement of all latent class variables. Figure 1 depicts the profile plot of the 5-class solution with mean item scores on the y-axis and the 5 latent class indicators on the x-axis.

Demographic Associations with Latent Class Membership

Table 3 presents the results from the multinomial logistic regression models relating LCA membership to relevant demographic characteristics. There, several significant demographic associations with class membership can be found. For instance, compared to more masculine participants, participants who described themselves as anything less than “more masculine” compared to guys their age have a 3.03 and 1.20 times greater odds of being in the High Stress class and Masculinity Stress class than in the Low Stress class, respectively. Compared to White participants, participants who identify as Black/African American or Multiracial have 3.74 and 2.27 times greater odds, respectively, of being in the High Stress class than in the Low Stress class. Black/

When compared to White participants, Black, Asian, and Multiracial participants were found to be between 3.1 and 1.99 times more likely to belong to the Masculinity Stress class than the Low Stress class.

Table 3 Odds of latent class membership compared to respondents in Class 2 by Relative Masculinity and by Race in a sample of MSM (N = 937)

	Class 2 ^h vs Class 1 ^d		Class 2 vs Class 3 ^e		Class 2 vs Class 4 ^f		Class 2 vs Class 5 ^g	
	OR ^c	<i>p</i> value	OR	<i>p</i> value	OR	<i>p</i> value	OR	<i>p</i> value
Masculinity								
Masc	Referent		Referent		Referent		Referent	
Not Masc	1.73	<0.05	1.23	0.38	3.03	<0.001	1.2	0.32
Race								
White	Referent		Referent		Referent		Referent	
Native	3.97	<0.05	2.14	0.37	2.14	0.37	2.61	0.16
Asian/ PI	2.16	0.05	3.03	<0.01	1.4	0.48	3.1	<0.001
Black	1.52	0.26	0.9	0.81	3.74	<0.001	1.99	<0.05
Multiracial	1.51	0.29	1.79	0.12	2.27	<0.05	2.94	<0.001

Table 4 presents the results from a logistic regression model relating LCA membership to intersectional demographic characteristics. This table represents an interaction model between Race and Relative Masculinity. White masculine MSM function as the referent group, and the Low Stress class served as the referent class.

Table 4 Odds of latent class membership compared to respondents in Class 2 by Race and Relative Masculinity, GCSS (N = 937)

	Class 2 ^h vs Class 1 ^d		Class 2 vs Class 3 ^e		Class 2 vs Class 4 ^f		Class 2 vs Class 5 ^g	
	OR ^c	<i>p</i> value	OR	<i>p</i> value	OR	<i>p</i> value	OR	<i>p</i> value
White Masc	Referent		Referent		Referent		Referent	
Native* ^a	8.69	<0.05	4.88	0.09	7.13	<0.05	1.29	0.83
Asian/ PI*** ⁱ	2.56	0.10	3.01	<0.05	3.14	0.05	3.41	<0.01

Black***	2.53	0.07	0.61	0.52	9.36	<0.001	2.41	<0.05
White**	2.27	<0.01	1.62	0.1	2.69	<0.01	1.32	0.24
Multiracial***	2.78	<0.05	2.34	0.06	6.84	<0.001	3.09	<0.01
Native Masc*** ^b	4.34	0.24	0	<0.001	0	0.98	5.79	0.06
Asian/ PI Masc**	3.95	<0.01	4.66	<0.01	0.97	0.79	2.46	0.08
Black Masc*	2.9	0.09	2.44	0.16	3.56	<0.05	2.25	0.11
Multirac Masc**	1.93	0.43	2.44	0.21	2.38	0.3	4.72	<0.01

^aLack of “Masc” corresponds to respondents characterized by “neither more masculine nor more feminine” to “much more feminine”

^b“Masc” corresponds to respondents characterized by “somewhat more masculine” & “much more masculine”

^cOdds Ratios (OR) and p values from a multinomial logistic regression model predicting latent class membership

^dRefers to latent class characterized by moderate endorsement of Masculinity Stress but low endorsement of all other stressors

^eRefers to latent class characterized by moderate endorsement of all stressors

^fRefers to latent class characterized by the highest endorsement of all stressors

^gRefers to latent class characterized by high endorsement of Racism stress but low endorsement of all other stress

^hRefers to latent class characterized by very low endorsement of all stressors

ⁱSignif. codes: ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05

^j“PI” refers to Pacific Islanders and Hawaiian Natives

Full data on relative likelihood of class membership on the basis of Race and Masculinity can be found in Table 5, however several salient observations are listed here. Less masculine Multiracial, Asian, Black, Native American, and White MSM were found to be between 9.39 and 2.96 times more likely to belong to the High Stress Class than masculine White men. This trend was reversed in the case of Other masculine MSM, who are shown to be 0.11 times as likely to belong to the Low Stress class than to the High Stress class relative to White masculine men. Masculine Multiracial men and Masculine Asian men show no difference in likelihood of High Stress class membership compared to White masculine men.

Table 5 Brief Symptom Inventory outcomes of class membership, GCSS (N = 937)

	BSI Anxiety		BSI Depression		BSI Somatization	
	β^a	<i>p</i> value	β	<i>p</i> value	β	<i>p</i> value

Class Membership

Low Stress	Referent		Referent		Referent	
Masculinity Stress	0.19	<0.05	0.21	<0.05	0.21	<0.01
Moderate Stress	0.31	<0.001	0.29	<0.01	0.27	<0.001
High Stress	0.56	<0.001	0.60	<0.001	0.52	<0.001
Racism Stress	0.09	0.16	0.13	0.07	0.11	0.07
Race/ Ethnicity						
White	Referent		Referent		Referent	
Native	-0.28	0.13	-0.28	0.16	-0.17	0.34
Asian/ PI	-0.12	0.19	-0.06	0.52	-0.12	0.17
Black	-0.02	0.78	0.08	0.37	-0.06	0.41
Multiracial	-0.04	0.64	-0.05	0.08	-0.1	0.21

Lastly, the study assessed whether latent class membership was significantly associated with three Brief Symptom Inventory outcomes--Depression, Anxiety, and Somatization. Table 6 presents the results of these analyses. Masculinity Stress, High Stress, and Moderate Stress classes were all found to be significantly positively associated with each BSI mental health outcome. Of these, the High Stress Class displayed the strongest regression coefficients across all mental health outcomes, with values between 0.52 and 0.60, showing that joint experiences of high perceived gay community racism, classism, racial objectification, masculinity stress, and tribe conformity stress are associated with anxiety, depression, and somatization mental health outcomes.

Discussion

MSM navigate the world as concurrent members of various social categories. Theorists and researchers have documented and argued for the perspective that these multiple, inextricable identities manifest a wide variety of unique experiences that deeply impact one's quality of life, in ways that are distinct from what an additive understanding of intersectional identities would conclude. Intersectional analytical approaches yield significantly different results (and, perhaps, do more to decrease attributional ambiguity) when paired with intersectional subject constructs. As seen in a comparison of odds ratios in Table 3 and Table 4, odds of latent class membership based upon race alone differ from odds of membership based upon racialized masculinities.

Given that the focus of this study is on the application of intersectionality and the overlaps of multiple discrimination attributes, we have tried to structure our discussion so that we are not singularly discussing specific types of identity based discrimination but rather focus on the implications that stem from their interactions. However, most empirical evidence has focused on singular aspects of identity; thus, in order to situate our study within the larger research base, we, at times, have to discuss singular aspects of identity as it relates to discrimination in order to draw conclusions and interpretations.

Orientalized Masculinities & Femininities

Critical Race and Queer Studies theorists have argued that, due to Orientalist sentiments in the gay community and United States general population, Asian MSM suffer the greatest disadvantage in the sexual marketplace of all non-White racial groups (Eng 2001). Edward Said's coinage of the term "Orientalism" refers to the Western cultural invention of a submissive and effeminate East, characterized by mysticism and hypersexualized "Geisha" (Japanese women artists and performers) fantasies. In this ideation of the East and those with ancestral roots in the East, White masculinity is constructed as the antithesis of Asian masculinity (Robinson (2007, 2008); Phua and Kaufman (2003); Han (2006)). A 2013 study conducted by Brennan et al captured one gay East/Southeast Asian man's encounter with Orientalism in the gay sexual field, in which he shared:

"I guess with the assumption of...being automatically perceived as bottom (receptive sexual position)...the 'feminine person' is the bottom so are you assuming that because of my body that I wouldn't want to have the option of being the top (insertive sexual position)... if there's only two options that I have to be this right away, without even knowing me, that I'm playing the role of ...a woman... Is that because of my body, I wonder? Because...you're fragile and geisha-like or what not."

The data in this study, however, paints a different picture of relative racial advantage. Compared to White MSM, Asian MSM were no more likely to belong to the highest stress classes

than the lowest stress class. Revisiting this question with the added consideration of masculinity, Masculine Asian MSM continued to display no statistically significant difference in likelihood of high stress classes membership over low stress class membership. However, compared to white masculine men, feminine Asian MSM are much more likely to belong to the high stress class than the low stress class. Though this appears to validate the claim that Asian men occupy the lowest tier of sexual desire in the gay sexual marketplace in the case of femme Asian MSM, femme Asian MSM did not have the highest odds of high stress class membership compared to other ethnoracialized masculinities and femininities.

Both femme and masc Asian MSM do, however, display the highest chance of belonging to the moderate stress class of all other groups. Though this is not the highest stress class, its predominant concern with masculinity (as opposed to with racism in the highest stress class) does reflect the concerns about Asian emasculation that theorists argue emerges from Orientalist social and romantic prejudice or discrimination. Additionally, moderate scores on other perceived stress measures could be a reflection of the subversive work being done by masculine, older, or dominant Asian MSM, for instance, as documented by Daroya et al in their critical discourse analysis (CDA) of Craigslist posts, FabMagazine, and Rice Queen Diaries . In their pursuit of men who are younger, effeminate, slim, white, submissive, and bottoms, these Asian MSM seek to challenge the power relations in the orientalism in ways that may be protective. Less masculine Asian MSM were also recorded expressing rejection of mainstream desirability politics, opting to engage in romantic encounters with MSM who they describe as having less erotic capital than masculine white tops (Daroya et al 2013; Chang, 2001; Eng, 1998; Fung, 1999).

In none of the odds ratios presented in Table 4 were either masc or femme Asian men more likely to occupy the low stress class than white masculine men.

Black Hypermasculinization

The majority of studies on racial discrimination in queer communities assume a direct rearticulation of broader societal anti-Blackness. Yet, as Green et al have explored qualitatively, anti-Blackness in the queer community bears several specific distinctions. For instance, in an analysis of the premiums that gay sex workers' are able to charge for their services, researchers find

that Black men have the largest premiums for top behavior (insertive sexual partner role) and the largest penalties for bottom behavior (receptive sexual partner role). In heterosexual communities, the salient social message is that the dominant black male is to be feared, whereas he is sought after in gay communities (Personal Characteristics). Thus, intracategorical differences exist in the experience of gay Black men, dependant on characteristics such as masculinity, but extending also to those such as cultural capital and skin tone. Revisiting Green et al's field work, Glen, a lighter-skinned black man, shared:

“A lot of guys come up to me and think that I'm Latino. I have kind of light, caramel colored skin – and some guys really like that. Don't get me wrong, some guys are really into like the dark-skinned top and strong black man, but I notice that when I have gone out with black friends, I get hit on a lot more than they do and I think that has to do with the lightness of my skin and my look.”

Apparent in this narrative is not only the usefulness of a lighter complexion in obfuscating one's racial identity and allowing one to pivot into higher capital racialized sexual imaginaries, but also the sexual advantage of the “Mandingo man”. The Mandingo Man, a racist presumption of dark-skinned Black male hypersexuality, thuggishness, and penile endowment, is a sexual fantasy held by many white gay and bisexual men (Yes, I Am; Wilson & Yoshikawa, 2004; Chang, 2001; Eng, 1998; Fung, 1999) While Glen's racial ambiguity proved more beneficial than the black hypermasculine archetype, 30-year-old Evan shared his differing experience:

“For white guys it (race) plays a role. White guys see me and they have some Mandingo-ghetto fantasy in mind. I'm big, I'm edgy and white guys see this and are attracted to me for it. And I'll play into their fantasy and kind of get off on their worship. It's like I'm a little dangerous. They love that danger...”

When compared to White men solely on the basis of racial identification, Black gay men were found to be much more likely to occupy the high stress class than White gay men. This trend

continued despite the analysis of an interaction effect considering racialized masculinity: more masculine Black men displayed comparable risk to Black/ African American gay men at large, whereas Black femme MSM displayed much higher risk than Black/ African American at large. Results from this study would suggest that the Mandingo hypermasculinization of Black men, while conferring an observable advantage over less masculine Black men who may be too dark skinned to drift between other racial fantasies, does little in the way of protecting masculine Black men from high stress class membership. In fact, of all ethnoracial masculinities, Black masculine MSM is the only category with greater odds of high stress class membership than masculine White men.

In none of the odds ratios presented in Table 4 were either masc or femme Black men more likely to occupy the low stress class than white masculine men.

Latent Classes and Mental Health

High Stress, Moderate Stress, and Masculinity Stress classes all displayed significant associations with negative mental health outcomes of Depression, Anxiety, and Somatization. Of these, High Stress class membership returned the largest association constant for all outcomes, followed by the Moderate Stress class, then by the Masculinity Stress Class. The latent class characterized by Racism Stress showed no significant association with mental health outcomes. What's more, all significant regression coefficients were positive values, indicating that membership in any of the above listed classes puts one at greater risk for Depression, Anxiety, and Somatization than members of the low intersectional stress class.

Conclusion

Discrimination is commonplace among gay men, with several forms of discrimination operating in tandem. The perception of discrimination or "perceived stress" has been shown to negatively impact both physical and mental health in various samples of gay men. The distribution of perceived stressors is not random, but is instead systematically imposed upon latent groupings or classes of individuals. Among this analytic sample of gay men, these latent classes consisted of the

Low Stress Class, which reported low perceived stress across all gay community stressors; Moderate Stress Class, which reported moderate perceived stress scores; High Stress Class, which reported high perceived stress scores; Racism Stress Class, which reported high perceived racism scores and low scores in other stressors; and the Masculinity Stress Class, which reported high masculinity consciousness scores and low scores in other stressors. It then follows that the adverse mental and physical health effects of perceived stress and discrimination would pattern themselves along these latent classes, which was reflected in the results of this study. For example, respondents in the High Stress class possessed the largest regression coefficients for Anxiety, Depression, and Somatization. An examination of demographic predictors of latent class membership showed that both race and masculinity, independently, are significant predictors of latent class membership. Interaction effects were also observed between masculinity and race, wherein racialized masculinities displayed differing odds of class membership. In sum, this points to the importance of considering the impact of multiple stressors, concurrently and inextricably, on the mental and physical health of gay men who occupy meaningfully different intersections of masculinity/femininity and race.

A limitation of the current study is the low prevalence of Pacific Islander and Native American MSM in the present sample. While present in greater proportions in the analytic sample than in the US general population, these groups were not present in large enough numbers to inspire confidence in the significance or generalizability of statistics calculated in full information maximum likelihood models, which typically require larger sample sizes. No Pacific Islanders were present, for example, in the maximum likelihood distributions of at least two latent classes. Additional research with more statistical power is needed to answer these questions for Pacific Islanders and Native Americans.

Additionally, participants who identify as “multiracial” or “other” returned values with poor interpretability or relevance to theory. Future studies should critically examine how to better construct these demographic variables. Considerations of colorism, particular ethnoracial combinations, and white passability could yield better explorations of these research questions.

Latent classes of high, moderate, and low stress--in addition to classes characterized by perceived racism stress and perceived masculinity consciousness stress--did appear in the analytic sample of MSM. All classes but the racism stress class were found to have significant associations

with mental health outcomes. Significant patterning of racialized masculinities and femininities was observed among latent classes in ways that could be interpreted as consistent with existing research about sexual marketplaces and the lived experiences of queer men of color included in qualitative field research. This evidence suggests that white centrist desirability hierarchies play a role in the presence of depression, anxiety, and somatization among gay men of color who have less erotic capital to in ways that disproportionately impact particular intersections of race and masculinity. Mental health services that cater to MSM are encouraged to consider these more nuanced understandings of inter and intra group relations when caring for clients experiencing depression, anxiety, and somatization or at risk groups.

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