

THE IMPACT OF GENDER ROLE EXPECTATIONS ON SOUTH ASIAN AMERICAN
WOMEN: A QUANTITATIVE STUDY

A THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE

IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THE

TEXAS WOMAN'S UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT, FAMILY STUDIES, AND COUNSELING

COLLEGE OF PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

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DENTON, TEXAS

AUGUST 2023

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ABSTRACT

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AUGUST 2023

First- and second-generation South Asian immigrant women face conflicting messages outside of their homes where they are educated within and socialized to the individualist value system of the West. Previous research has shown that the zenith of this cultural conflict is in the practice of dating and marriage, which can cause significant internal and intergenerational stress for both parents and their children. The present study measured the internal conflict experienced by women around gender role expectations and how this conflict impacted their well-being, romantic relationships, and attitudes toward sex. Our results indicated a significant negative relationship between gender role conflict and well-being and attitudes toward sex. We also found that women who were less acculturated had less conflict about gender roles and as a result, overall higher well-being. Conversely, women who had lived in the U.S. longer had higher levels of gender role conflict and lower levels of well-being.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The search for happiness spans centuries and fills the pages of self-help books, religious texts, and scientific research. This study seeks to illuminate the answer for a significant, growing segment of the U.S. population: the South Asian woman. How do they navigate their bicultural identities, and the oft-conflicting expectations that stem from them, and still find happiness? Studies have shown that the process of acculturation can be taxing and internally stressful, and even more so for Asian women (Rahman & Witenstein, 2013). This stress stems, in part, from being with the transmission and upholding of cultural and family values. These women must learn to balance between the gendered expectations regarding their behavior and roles at home and the starkly different, often more liberal attitudes that surround them outside the home (Dasgupta, 1998; Srinivasan, 2001).

The experiences of first- and second-generation South Asian women tell us that this endeavor is at times stressful and challenging, particularly in the areas of romance, dating, and marriage (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021; Dasgupta, 1998; Inman, 2006; Srinivasan, 2001). Immigrant parents can at times display hyper-vigilance and strict rules to protect their daughters from what they perceive to be polluted Western approaches to sex and dating (Hickey, 2017). The collectivist culture of East also emphasizes duty and individual sacrifice for the sake of the whole (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021; Srinivasan, 2001). When viewing dating and marriage through this lens, marriage becomes more about what is best for the family and community and less about individual choice and preference (Srinivasan, 2001). The situation becomes ripe for conflict when we appreciate that South Asian teens raised in the U.S. are often surrounded by friends, pop culture, and societal norms that encourage the opposite: romantic exploration,

individual freedom, and personal choice (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021; Srinivasan, 2001). As a result, bicultural women find themselves on a spectrum that ranges from hiding their desires and behaviors from their parents to declining participation in the dominant culture (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021). In these oft-repeated situations, both parents and children experience internal stress and intergenerational conflict (Dasgupta, 1998; Inman, 2006).

In the nearly 60 years since the South Asian population began settling in the West, research has reflected these generations' experiences of bicultural identities in the process of dating and marriage. Today, the U.S. hosts families that range from new immigrants to the third generation and as such, this study seeks to expand on our understanding of South Asian biculturalism by exploring the relationship between adhering to gender role expectations and a woman's overall well-being, her satisfaction in romantic relationships, and her attitudes and behaviors around sex. Implications of this study can be used to guide clinicians who serve this community and to help them better understand the complexity of attaining happiness as a bicultural individual juggling conflicting value systems.

Self of the Researcher

In an effort to disclose my own interest in this study, I hope to orient the reader to my personal experience as the child of South Asian immigrant parents. I embarked on the study to better understand and support women like me: South Asians growing up with the expectations, value systems, and cultures of two vastly different places: the East and the West. As a second-generation, South Asian American born and raised in the Midwest, I have had to navigate my parents and my community's expectations for me regarding what my life, specifically when and whom I will marry and how many children I will have. My family's expectations for my life have been one of the most salient forces coloring the discourse of my child and adulthood. I have

borne these expectations while also envisioning a life for myself that is different from theirs – something I have learned to do as a product of my American/Western socialization. Now, as an adult, my vision for myself clashes deeply with that of my parents and community.

I know I am not alone in this situation, but are my experiences common or the exception among those with my same cultural identity? I seek to better understand how our choices, whether they clash with or abide by cultural and familial expectations, influence our state of well-being. How have our responses to these gendered expectations influenced our relationships? Does a bicultural identity impact our ability to develop sexually? And how does our sexual comfort impact our well-being and relationships?

For transparency, I will disclose that I am a practicing Muslim raised in what is considered a more liberal tradition of Islam. In my experience, the influence of my South Asian cultural identity far outweighed my religious one in matters of socialization, gender roles, and bicultural identity negotiation. My faith played the role of providing me with an orientation toward certain values such as generosity, kindness, intellect, spirituality, and humility and with guidance on how to participate in rituals, but South Asian cultural norms dictated the rules and expectations around gender, including behavior, food, language, clothing, and practices around dating and marriage.

As I navigate this research process, I am aware of my own location among the women I seek to study and my own biases and choices regarding my lifestyle. To manage these internal conversations, I sought feedback and counsel from South Asian, non-South Asian, and Western sources so as to approach and analyze the information as fairly and objectively as possible.

Statement of the Problem

The Commission on Accreditation for Marriage and Family Therapy Education's (COAMFTE, 2005) inclusion of multicultural education is relatively recent evolution, appearing as late as 2005, and both reflects the changing U.S. population and speaks to the need to better understand the diverse perspectives that we serve. This study explores the impact of negotiating the multiple and sometimes disparate identities of South Asian women in the U.S. on well-being, satisfaction in romantic relationships, and attitudes and behaviors around sex. Through this, I hope to illuminate and articulate the experiences of South Asian women to themselves so that they, in their journey through adulthood, might feel more seen and heard. Ultimately, the goal of this study is to rise to the occasion and provide empirical data that helps clinicians better understand and address their bicultural clients as they navigate relationships and their own self-growth.

Purpose of Study

Thus far, the literature has been able to establish that many bicultural South Asian women from immigrant families face strong and conflicting messaging about their value systems and the expectations of their gender roles. These differing cultural messages often derive from conflict between individualist or collectivist ideals. Given that these are at odds, South Asian women sometimes face challenges balancing different cultural expectations and negotiating their bicultural identity, especially around romantic relationships. These stresses show up in adolescence and adulthood, before and during the pursuit of relationships, and in the relationships themselves.

This research expands on these findings and provide a window into how gender role adherence changes the behavioral and subjective experiences of well-being, sexuality, and

relationships. In addition to representation in research and better understanding South Asian clientele who seek counseling, the implications of this research informs clinical practice for bicultural clients. It is critical for practitioners who work with South Asian clients and couples to understand, acknowledge, and bring into conversation the role of cultural value conflicts and gender role expectations and biculturally informed attitudes and behaviors around sex in order to provide effective and nuanced care.

Research Questions

RQ1: What is the relationship between gender role conflict for South Asian Women and their a.) attitudes and behaviors around sex and sexuality b.) individual well-being and c.) relationship satisfaction?

RQ2: What effects do immigration factors and gender role expectations for South Asian women have on their a.) attitudes towards sex b.) individual well-being and c.) relationship satisfaction?

RQ3: Does gender role conflict mediate the relationship between acculturation and well-being, relationship outcomes, and sexual attitudes and behaviors?

Definitions

South Asia

For the purposes of this study, South Asia refers to the following countries: India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, and Nepal (Dasgupta, 1998; Inman, 2006). It is important to note that borders, independence, and national identities of these countries were established after 1945, and largely after the interference of British Imperialism. While it would be a mistake to assume that these countries were homogenous prior to this time, it is important to acknowledge the shared and overlapping culture, food, religions, customs, and language of the population.

Rise in migration from non-Western countries came as a result of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. This allowed families from South Asia, for example, more opportunities to reside legally in the U.S. (Dasgupta, 1998; Krishnan & Berry, 1992).

First- and Second-Generation Immigrants

First-generation immigrant is defined as the initial migrants who came to the host country. Their children, or individuals who were born and/or raised in the host country are referred to as second generation (Dasgupta, 1998). Using the above parameters, if migrants came in their late 20s, for example, with small children, they would be considered the first-generation and their children second. Many of these second-generation children, born in the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, now have children of their own, labeled as the third generation. At their oldest, this third generation might have children approaching their mid-20s.

Gender Role Conflict

Conflict around gender roles is a subset of a broader idea: Cultural Value Conflict (CVC), which refers to the internal stress one might feel when trying to live and work in multiple systems that espouse different values (Inman et al., 2001). For example, evidence suggests that migrants who come from societies that value collectivist attitudes and behaviors, like South Asia, experience stress and conflict when attempting to integrate into a host country, like the U.S., that prioritizes individualism and freedom of choice and ideas. The struggle to behave within the parameters of one's home culture while attempting to integrate into a very different host culture can be psychologically taxing and create internal and external conflict (Inman et al., 2001). This is different to acculturative stress, which refers to the physical, biological, social, and psychosocial adjustments a migrant face upon entering into a different host culture (Krishnan & Berry, 1992). Much of the conflict that arises in South Asian populations, particularly women,

centers around issues of dating, marriage, premarital sex, and the expectations placed on women as the carriers of culture and reputation (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021, Dasgupta, 1998; Inman, 2006; Srinivasan, 2001). The safety of women and the fear of sexual promiscuity or pregnancy out of wedlock places often finds women the subject of additional restrictions and rules (Sodowsky & Carey, 1988). This study explores the subsequent conflict created between these gendered expectations of the East and the opposing value systems of the West.

Acculturation

Acculturation is the process of adapting to a new culture that is different from one's own (Inman et al., 2001). In this process, an individual incorporates to varying degrees aspects of a host country's values, behaviors, and norms. There is some adaptation that occurs for the host country as well, but less so than the individual who enters. The negotiation between adapting to a new culture and retaining one's own culture can cause some degree of stress (Krishnan & Berry, 1992).

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Present literature concerning the experience of migrant South Asian women to Western lands is marked by persistent themes around acculturative stress, women's separate role in the family system as bearers of culture and religion, and the hyperfocus in some religions of the East around maintaining sexual chastity. Generally, women, regardless of when they migrated, experience changes to their thinking and behavior as a function of the acculturation process and this brings with it freedoms and also challenges that impact women's mental health more than their male counterparts and in some cases, more than their Western counterparts.

South Asian Population

The Asian population in the U.S. has nearly doubled in the past decade and at about 22.4 million people, currently makes up about 7% of the national population (Budiman & Ruiz, 2021). By 2060, this number is projected to more than double again, bringing the number to more than 46 million. Single-race Asians are the fastest growing ethnic or racial minority, and between 2010 and 2019, their population increased by 81%, a rate higher than the Hispanic, Black, and White populations. By the middle of the century, Asian Americans are predicted to surpass the Hispanic population as the largest immigrant group in the U.S. (Budiman & Ruiz, 2021). Despite these impressive numbers and the longstanding presence of Asian Americans, there is disproportionately sparse representation in marriage and family therapy research.

Until recently, Asians were defined as those originating primarily from China, Japan, and Vietnam. While these countries and their people share similarities with other parts of the continent, the South Asian subgroup is culturally and religiously distinct and deserves its own attention, because these factors influence the way in which people identify and engage with

others. Indian Americans are the second largest Asian origin group, accounting for 21% of Asians in the U.S., or 4.6 million people (Budiman & Ruiz, 2021). Between 2000 and 2019, the Indian population in the U.S. grew by 142%, the Pakistani by 171%, the Bangladeshi by 263%, the Nepalese and Burmese by 2,005% and 1,031%, respectively, and the Sri Lankan by 127% (Budiman & Ruiz, 2021). The relevance of these facts supporting South Asian identity are further underscored by data that shows 71% of Asian American adults were born in another country, indicating that these newer national identities were established during the lifetime of many South Asian Americans or their parents or grandparents in the U.S. (Budiman & Ruiz, 2021).

As is the case for many populations, religion is a key factor in understanding South Asian people and culture. Historically, South Asia has been dominated by Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Sikhism, Jainism, and various tribal affiliations whose ideas shape beliefs and value systems about human beings and life (Pechilis & Raj, 2013). The ethics espoused by these religions inform the behaviors of and standards to which people hold themselves and others (Inman, 2006). More specifically, religious and cultural worldviews permeate and govern almost every aspect of our lives, including when, what, and how people eat, with whom people are allowed to speak with and what are or are not permitted socially to wear, say, or do. Because of the close relationship between religion and culture, religiosity significantly influences retention of ethnic cultural values among South Asian women (Inman, 2006). Cultural and religious norms in this part of the world heavily mediate gender role expectations, the spoken and unspoken rules around marriage, and more broadly, the approach to romantic relationships (Dasgupta, 1998). Socialization to values of one's culture of origin typically takes on great significance within the

immigrant community who strives to retain their ethnic identity in the face of Westernization. (Dasgupta, 1998; Inman, 2006).

Acculturation

The negotiation of value systems and behaviors taking place between a host culture and a home culture that results in changes for both parties is commonly referred to as acculturation (Berry, 2001; Samuel, 2009). This process occurs on an individual and collective level and can cause varying degrees of stress and both internal and external, intergenerational conflict (Dion & Dion, 2001; Samuel, 2009; Srinivasan, 2001).

First-generation immigrants and their families find themselves caught between two disparate cultures: the one they have been raised in and have now left, and the one they are entering into and creating a life within (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021). This particularly applies to cultures ascribing to vastly different, usually contrasting value systems and ethics. For example, for families who migrate from a collectivist culture such as South Asia, individual needs are in service to the needs of the family or the community and the individual exists to further the whole (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021; West et al., 2017). These families arrive and settle in the West, which heavily emphasizes contrasting values of individualism and developing oneself, where the role of the community is to help further the journey of the self (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021; West et al., 2017). Migrants, especially ones who come from a very different culture than the one they are relocating to, are at risk of experiencing what is known as acculturative stress (Dasgupta, 1998; Samuel, 2009). Acculturative stress, coined by Berry (1970) refers to what we colloquially refer to as “culture shock.” It can include tension experienced from the acculturation process, which includes foreign signs and symbols related to socialization. Acculturative stress is marked by deterioration in mental and physical status of

migrants (Samuel, 2009). Migrant South Asian women's experience of intergenerational conflict at home and discrimination at the workplace are examples of acculturative stress, both of which have been linked to higher instances of depression (Samuel, 2009).

Dasgupta's (1998) qualitative study at the turn of the century suggested that for new immigrant families, the rise of the second generation would bring with it the struggle to find a middle ground between passing on traditional values of their home country and contending with the Western and more egalitarian ideas of the new land. Nearly 25 years later, this negotiation process continues as new migrants from the East settle here in the U.S. (Hickey, 2017). In this age, however, these new arrivals are experiencing an America that has also been impacted in the bidirectional acculturation process thanks, in part, to the second, third, and fourth generations of South Asian Americans that now reside here.

These value differences and subsequent tensions are not limited to South Asians, therefore further research on the tensions between collectivist and individualistic worldviews is critical given the Asian American population increase mentioned earlier (Dion & Dion, 2001). There are many collectivist populations residing in the U.S. including East Asians, Latin Americans, and Africans (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021). These minorities will comprise the majority of Americans in the decades ahead (Budiman & Ruiz, 2021). Though acculturation itself has been broadly studied for many years, not enough has been done to look at this process for South Asian women in the U.S.

Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory can be used to examine the conflicts experienced by immigrant populations reconciling conflicting cultural value systems. This theory suggests that as children develop, they are socialized through relationships that emerge from their environments, which range from the immediate and intimate family setting and extend to

school, community, and broader cultural values, laws, and customs (Berger, 2020). For children of immigrant families, their first level of socialization comes in the home, or the microsystem, where they are raised with values that reflect their parent's country of origin. In South Asian culture, the role of the immediate and even extended family in the life of a young person is particularly pronounced, especially since it is not uncommon for children to live with their family until marriage, and in some cases even after (Kallivayalil, 2004). In Asian culture, girls are expected to be quiet, obedient, and in service of others (Srinivasan, 2001). For immigrants or children of immigrants, this microsystem is not a product of the U.S. exosystem and macrosystem in which they currently exist but rather a reflection of the macrosystem of their country of origin (Dasgupta, 1998; Dion & Dion, 2001).

As such, children of immigrants often encounter incongruent messages from the different levels of influence in these cycles and systems. They are faced with opposing cultural values as early as when they enter the school system, which teaches independence, autonomy and egalitarianism (Hickey, 2017; Srinivasan, 2001). For example, a simple question of "What do you want to be when you grow up?" implies a sense of individualism without consideration of one's family, responsibility, or place in society. It is a matter of "want" instead of expectation or obligation and this is reinforced in American society through its socialization, education, and economics.

Direct and indirect exposure to individualistic values results in conflict for women who are often discouraged from developing ideas of an individual identity and are expected to sacrifice for the family and community (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021; Srinivasan, 2001). According to research on gender role expectations, South Asian women can feel conflicted and experience stress because of the differing messages they receive (Srinivasan, 2001). For

example, these women are expected to go to school and to do well in school, but immediately after, are expected to get married and devote themselves to their family, leaving educational pursuits behind (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021; Srinivasan, 2001).

These conflicting messages continue to present themselves at various levels of Bronfenbrenner's ecosystem. For example, participation in religious or cultural traditions, particularly within a community setting, encourages adherence to values from one's country of origin in exchange for community acceptance and support (Inman, 2006). Adhering to gendered expectations around dating and marriage will offer protection against othering in the South Asian community, but can make fitting in with American peers, whose expectation is to date and gain experience in romance, awkward and difficult (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021; Samuel, 2009).

Inman (2006) has studied this among South Asian women living in the U.S., identifying their experience as one of CVC which she defines as "a negative affect resulting from dealing simultaneously with values and expectations internalized from the culture of origin and those imposed from the new culture" (Inman, 2006, p. 307). In the case of South Asian families migrating to the U.S., second and third generation women struggle with messages from their parents' traditional culture that say dating is taboo and that marriage is a collective, family decision while simultaneously living among Americans their age for whom dating and getting to know romantic partners is a common affair. This leads to the commonly stated feeling of living in two worlds (Dasgupta, 1998; Kallivayalil, 2004). For individuals in this category, it is not uncommon to hide their romantic engagements or desires to pick a partner of their own volition and preference and this can lead to internal stress and anxiety (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021; Dasgupta, 1998; Hickey, 2017; Inman, 2006). The stress and anxiety is not limited to the children of immigrant parents: indeed, parents themselves become hypervigilant in their attempt

to protect their daughters from the dating and perceived sexually promiscuous culture of the West. This stress manifests in regulating what girls wear, who they spend time with, and the activities they are allowed to participate in (Dion & Dion, 2001).

Evidence shows women are far more likely to experience restrictions on their behavior and enforcement of home culture values by parents and family members than their male counterparts (Dion & Dion, 2001; Srinivasan, 2001). This is because women in immigrant communities bear the burden of both passing on and carrying forward cultural values and family respect or reputation through customs, traditions, and carrying out of gender role and family expectations (Dasgupta, 1998; Inman, 2006; Kallivayalil, 2004; Srinivasan, 2001). The conflicting paradigms between these women's home culture and receiving culture have been shown to result in personal and intergenerational conflict and emotional distress (Dasgupta, 1998; Inman, 2006; Rahman & Witenstein, 2013). Women, more than their male counterparts, are also capable of ruining their family or staining the family's reputation and honor if they are found to be sexually active prior to marriage, and thus their socialization and the restrictions placed upon them are seen as critical (Couture-Carron, 2020; Hickey, 2017; Kallivayalil, 2004). Though the language and positioning seems extreme, it is reflective of the way concepts are presented to women and contextualizes the gravity of their circumstances.

This phenomenon becomes even more pronounced in the face of South Asian perceptions about American's and their liberal attitudes toward sex. Parental fears of American's sexually permissive attitudes and behaviors result in close monitoring and regulation of clothing and with whom their daughters spend time (Kallivayalil, 2004; Srinivasan, 2001). Simultaneously, South Asian women are encouraged to become educated and excel in their studies, through which they are socialized to American culture and values of individualism and egalitarianism. As a result of

family pressure to maintain culture and the tension of differing value systems and messages, South Asian women are more likely to struggle with suicide, depression, and anxiety (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021).

Succinctly stated, it is important to understand the difference in value systems between collectivist and individualist societies because they impact identity formation and well-being. How we are raised informs our worldview, which impacts how we move through the world, including how we approach and engage with romantic relationships (Dasgupta, 1998; Inman, 2006). In each cultural value system, the purpose of a relationship is different, and so then, is the function of each member. In Western societies, relationships and marriage are formed on the basis of love, and sometimes with the purpose of serving an individual's quest to find or grow into oneself (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021; Winterheld & Simpson, 2011). In collectivist cultures relationships are a product of familial, religious, and community desires and values and exist for the purpose of building, serving, and sustaining the community (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021; Srinivasan, 2001).

Gender Role Expectations

Gender role expectations refer to specific ideas, responsibilities, or tasks that are directly or indirectly assigned to an individual depending on their gender (Dion & Dion, 2001). The theory that men and women do not perform the same roles in society or the family is not a new concept, but rather an echo of theories on prehistoric delineations, such as men were responsible for hunting, and women for gathering and later that women were seen as more economically and emotionally dependent on men (Fedigan, 1986; Frazier & Esterly, 1990). Over time, the nature of these roles has continuously shifted to reflect a number of factors, including cultural context, geography, climate, and era. In the West, the role of women has changed drastically in the past

100 years: women entered the workforce, became more economically independent, began demanding and holding more space in politics and public and private spaces (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021). Entering into the workforce meant financial independence and the feasibility for women to live without needing to get married; advances in medical technology meant women could have children without the need for a partner. This increased agency and autonomy continues to permeate into different areas of life, further propelling changes to the gender role expectations for women, and accordingly men, in the U.S.

Interestingly, in South Asia, women have long participated in politics and at the highest levels of government for far longer than their U.S. counterparts. Women have also entered the workforce, earned higher education degrees, and held professional positions previously monopolized by men. Even still, according to the 2020 United Nations Development Programme's Human Development Report, India and Pakistan rank 131 and 142 out of 189 countries on the Gender Inequality Index. Gender role expectations in South Asia have not morphed in ways or rates similar to their Western counterparts (Srinivasan, 2001). This can be, at least in part, attributed to the collectivist ideals anchored in religious and cultural norms so that irrespective of financial freedom and education, individual independence is still muted in order to further beliefs and goals of the community or family (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021). For men and women both, this translates to adhering to gendered expectations and cultural values, following behavioral norms, and fulfilling obligations to one's family, which might impact one's career and marriage partner and even how romantic relationships are embarked upon or unfold (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021; Samuel, 2009).

In some cases, both Eastern and Western cultures have at some point overlapped in their strongly gendered messages about women and their role in the family and outside of the home,

as numerous studies using the Attitude Towards Women Scale (AWS) can attest. Women in both cultures have also been labeled as weaker, more emotional and less rational, and are preferred to be seen as soft and docile. In Western and individualistic societies, this message seems to be changing, as reflected in the record high number of women CEOs in 2021, and in data that shows women are marrying and becoming mothers later in life, in part because of their participation in the workforce (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021; Hinchliffe, 2021; Livingston, 2018). Even as conversations around women's equality and expectations change, these changes slow for some South Asian women as they approach the age eligible for marriage, at which point the drive towards collectivism overrides individual freedoms (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021).

Because South Asian women are seen as the carriers of cultural values, protectors of family honor, or because parents feel the need to protect them more, they face greater restrictions when it comes to dating and marriage. These restrictions and expectations impact the way women approach and experience romantic relationships. For example, gender role expectations force South Asian women into hiding their relationships because even discussing this can be seen as taboo (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021; Samuel, 2009). While Western culture norms suggest dating begins at adolescence, first- and second-generation South Asian families do not discuss the idea of dating. Often in these cultures, marriages are arranged, or semi-arranged (Hickey, 2017). This means that the families of the individuals discuss the prospects and decide what is best for the whole. In semi-arranged marriages, those to be wed also have a say, but often the dating comes after the arrangement by the families has already been made (Hickey, 2017). To date outside of this could have consequences on the reputation of the family (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021; Hickey, 2017; Srinivasan, 2001). Thus, girls being raised in Western cultures might see that the norm in schools is to date, attend dances, and socialize together, but

are unable to do so freely because of the at-home cultural expectations (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021). At times, these differences in culture lead to tensions at home. In other instances, South Asian women report feeling othered at school, and not fitting-in because of their approach to dating (Samuel, 2009).

In the U.S., tensions around maintaining gender role expectations are felt by both first- and second-generation immigrants, albeit differently (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021; Inman, 2006). Families who migrate from South Asia struggle with the fear of losing their original identities. To manage this, cultural and religious values and identities become more emphasized and monitored. There is pressure to adhere to this in order to not lose oneself to the Western identity and it manifests in the way parenting occurs and in the experience of growing up as a child of immigrant parents (Inman, 2006). Because the burden of passing on cultural values rests with women, they are disproportionately targeted with more restrictive rules and expectations especially with regards to romantic endeavors (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021; Srinivasan, 2001).

Effects of Gender Role Conflict

Individual Well-Being

Conflict that stems from negotiating two different sets of cultural values and their expressions has been shown to cause significant stress on the individual experiencing it (Inman, 2006; Srinivasan, 2001). This conflict is especially common for immigrant women because they disproportionately bear the burden of carrying forward cultural and traditional values and face greater restrictions to freedoms than males or even other non-South Asian females (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021; Hickey, 2017; Inman, 2006; Samuel, 2009; Srinivasan, 2001). Studies in the U.K. on South Asian immigrant women report more vulnerability to suicide, and instances of

depression, and anxiety because of the expectations from their family and the stress of adjusting to different cultural messages (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021).

The research is clear on the outcome gendered expectations can have on South Asian immigrant women, particularly their stress levels, their vulnerability to mental health issues, and at times their experience of intergenerational conflict and feelings of not fitting in with wider society (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021; Dion & Dion, 2001; Mann et al., 2017; Samuel, 2009). It will be important to see how the role of acculturation mitigates these outcomes and if these levels of stress continue in subsequent generations who are now tasked with passing on cultural norms. It will also be noteworthy to see if these results match earlier data given that new migrants are arriving into a host country that has already begun the acculturating to the South Asian community over the previous 60 years of migration.

Relationship Outcomes

Currently, there is research to show the psychological impact on South Asian women who defy gendered cultural expectations and embark on cross-cultural marriages (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021). Some of the negative stresses these women experienced included questioning if one made the right decision, feeling isolated and having no one to talk to when problems arose because of the fear of hearing, “I told you so.” The stresses these women face are common and extend beyond cross-cultural relationships to any deviation from traditional cultural processes, especially in the context of romantic relationships. Choosing a partner is not an individual process, but a communal one, and family approval of one’s partner is an important cultural expectation. When women risk embarking on relationships without the consent or approval from family, even when dating intra-culturally, they too become vulnerable to feelings of isolation and of hearing “I told you so” especially if the relationship encounters challenges or

does not survive. Other relationship concerns that arise for South Asian women, even in intracultural marriages are loss of a sense of agency and identity, frustration at unequal treatment of genders, questioning one's decisions that go against the family, lying and secrecy, and acceptance from the family (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021).

While these studies focus on the stress that generational and cultural differences can put on the dating process, more research is needed to look at how the lifelong socialization of traditional gender role expectations influences relationship outcomes for South Asian women today. Dion and Dion (2001) conducted a study that examines the relationship between one's understanding of their gender role and the subsequent impact on relationship satisfaction. Gender roles in Asian cultures dictate that men are responsible for making money while women take over household duties, including child-rearing. However, in migrant populations this was not always feasible: men would immigrate without their wives to establish themselves and in the process were forced to learn and execute tasks that might otherwise be a woman's jurisdiction. Similarly, economic situations sometimes necessitated that migrant women work, in other instances they simply chose to enter the workforce. In either case, the result was a blurring of gender role boundaries that subsequently impacted behavior and processes within the marriage. In one interview, a Korean woman stated that men derived their household status and power from financial contributions, but because women were now capable of earning as well, they were liable to assert themselves a little more than they might have previously (Dion & Dion, 2001).

Attitudes Toward Sex

Compared to their Euro-Canadian counterparts, Asian women were shown to be more conservative in their attitudes toward, and less knowledgeable, experienced, or liberal about sex (Brotto et al., 2005). Several additional studies in the 1990s and 2000s showed noteworthy

differences related to sexual behaviors between Asians and their White or Black counterparts (Brotto et al., 2005). Families are one of the most influential communicators around sexual norms, and yet parental sex education among South Asian families is minimal (Gravel et al., 2016; Segal, 1991). Research on South Asian cultural norms suggests speaking about dating and sex outside of conversations around marriage is taboo (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021; Samuel, 2009). Topics related to sex are even more noticeably absent for South Asian women, given the importance of virginity and purity and their value in securing a husband for the family. These restrictive approaches are often incongruent with the broader Western cultural experience of exploring sexuality in early adulthood (Gravel et al., 2016). Despite adolescents being exposed to a range of approaches to sexual exploration between their home life and outside life, previous research suggests they norm to their peers instead of their family (Segal, 1991). This study hopes to if this holds true for South Asian women, specifically if gender role expectations impact sexual attitudes and behaviors.

Acculturation

Previous research has shown when immigrants or their family members score higher on acculturation measures, they tend to experience higher rates of cultural conflict and psychological problems. This tendency to experience more cultural conflict is more true for first-generation immigrants than for second, third, or fourth (Lai, 1993). This could be for a number of reasons, including clashes at home with parents who embody more traditional values, comparisons with people from dominant cultures, and internalization of negative stereotypes (Lai, 1993). Other studies have shown higher rates of acculturation to be linked to eating disorders, alcoholism, and psychopathology. This does not mean that those with low acculturation have no stress, rather that different markers of stress or anxiety appear at different

levels depending on the level of acculturation (Lai, 1993). These findings are consistent with prior research showing acculturation levels influence one's relationship with behaviors and values (Inman et al., 2001).

However, stress and conflict specific to gender role expectations (rather acculturation generally) may be mitigated by factors such as duration of stay in U.S., generation status, and extent of acculturation. For example, Asian Indian women who were raised in the U.S. and identified as 1.5 or second generation were more egalitarian in their views on gender than women who identified as Indian (Srinivasan, 2001). Similarly, attitudes around sexual issues decreased among later generations of Japanese Americans (Brotto et al., 2005). Because research shows that while acculturation causes stress and mental health concerns but it is also responsible for shifting views on sex and gender equality, what remains unclear is whether the effects acculturation and gender role conflict work together to influence individual and relationship outcomes.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This study examines how South Asian immigrant women living in the U.S. manage their cultural identity, specifically their adherence to the gender role expectations of their home culture while living in the West. Using pre-existing measures, we explored the relationship between conformity and non-conformity to these roles and one's individual happiness, relationship outcomes, and attitude and behaviors around sex. We also considered the degree of conflict as a possible mediating factor in these relationships. The survey was distributed via social media platforms, organizational listservs, and snowball sampling after which analysis began.

Sample

Our sample included 180 participants who completed the survey in its entirety. There were an additional 51 participants with which we were able to include partial data. Our survey responses totaled between 1,000-1,500, most of which were determined to be bots. Due to the identification of fraudulent responses, we migrated the survey to Qualtrics and additional security measures. These included Google's reCAPTCHA service, attention questions, and other metadata analyses provided by Qualtrics to ensure that participants were human. Additionally, we limited responses to a single IP address to ensure fairness in the incentive process as well as decrease the likelihood of an individual taking the survey twice and skewing results.

Our inclusion criteria was broad enough to include women over the age of 21, who are in the later part of emerging adulthood, out of late adolescence and who self-identify as South Asian or of South Asian descent. There was no upper age limit to participation so that we could capture as many generations and life experiences. To be eligible, participants would have had to

emigrate from South Asia and/or have been raised by at least one parent or grandparent from South Asia. To mirror other studies done with this population and in consideration of cultural similarities, South Asia is defined as India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Burma, and Sri Lanka.

For this study, inclusion criteria for “woman” was defined as assigned female at birth and is contingent on the participant’s current gender identification as female. This was necessary in order to properly assess the impact of gender-based socialization on attitudes and behaviors associated with the female experience.

The average age of participants was 35, with a range from 21-67. Ninety-five percent of participants had a bachelor’s degree or higher. Participants self-reported an average level of religiosity. About half of the participants were born in the U.S. and parent mean migration age was 27 for mothers and 30 for fathers. For full demographic data, see Table 1.

Table 1

Summary of Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

Variable name	<i>n</i> (%)
Relationship Status	
Married	126 (54.5)
Committed Relationship	22 (9.5)
Dating	20 (8.7)
Single	38 (16.5)
Divorced	11(4.8)
Widowed	1 (0.4)
Engaged	13 (5.6)
TOTAL	231 (100)
Relationship Paradigm	
Monogamous	213 (92.2)
Non-Monogamous	3 (1.3)
Undecided	14 (6.1)
Other	1 (.04)
TOTAL	231 (100)

Variable name	<i>n</i> (%)
Cultural Identity*	
Indian	114 (49.4)
Pakistani	213 (53.2)
Bangladeshi	11 (4.8)
Sri Lankan	1 (0.4)
Nepalese	2 (0.9)
American	100 (43.3)
Other	12 (5.6)
TOTAL	231
Achieved Education Level	
Some High School or less	1 (0.4)
High School Diploma	2 (0.9)
(GED)	
Associates Degree/Trade	6 (2.6)
School Certificate	
Bachelor's Degree	68 (29.4)
Master's Degree	114 (49.4)
Doctoral Degree	39 (16.9)
TOTAL	231 (100)
Level of Religiosity	
Not at all	32 (13.9)
Somewhat	129 (55.8)
Very	70 (30.3)
TOTAL	231 (100)
Sexual Orientation	
Straight/heterosexual	206 (89.2)
Gay/lesbian	1 (0.4)
Queer	9 (3.9)
Bisexual	7 (3)
Asexual	5 (2.2)
Pansexual	2 (0.9)
Other	1 (0.4)
TOTAL	231 (100)

*Percentages for these variables participants could select multiple answers therefore percentages do not add up to 100%.

Procedure

To recruit participants, we used social media outlets and within this, groups geared toward South Asian women. We also accessed South Asian epublications, and South Asian community organizations. Because I am South Asian and heavily engaged in the South Asian community, I used her own personal contacts via social media marketing and emails. Many of my personal contacts share similar cultural and religious affiliations, so I ensured equal marketing to non-personal sources. To encourage participation in this niche group, I procured grant funding to provide \$5 Amazon gift cards to each individual who completed the survey. Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval was received by the Texas Woman's University IRB.

Participants were given a link through which to access Psychdata, an online survey program. Once participants clicked the link to the online survey, they were provided with a letter of information including details of the study and its purpose and consent. Given the sensitivity of the information being collected and so as not to deter participation, the survey was be anonymous and no identifying information was collected.

After reading the letter, participants completed an online survey asking a battery of assessments on the measures described below. The estimated total time to complete the survey was about 25-30 minutes.

Once the survey was completed, participants were directed to a separate survey link where they had the option to enter their contact information to receive the \$5 gift card. Survey logic was used to determine whether participation criteria were met and the survey was completed. Only those who met survey criteria and complete the survey were eligible for gift cards.

Due to sex being considered taboo in many South Asian communities, we were aware that the population being studied may be reluctant to engage with topics around mental and sexual health. Careful attention was paid to ensuring that participants knew they could withdraw participation at any time should they feel uncomfortable.

Measures

The survey used in this study measured six different areas: cultural value and gender role conflicts, acculturation, well-being, relationship satisfaction, attitudes about sex, and sexual behaviors. Barring the acculturation measures, all questions were closed ended and used a number of scales and measures. See Appendix A for the full study questionnaire.

Gender Role Conflict

The degree to which South Asian women experience gender role conflict was measured using the CVC Scale (CVCS). This scale measures the incorporation of implicit and explicit values and how they are directly and indirectly translated into behaviors, showing potential incongruencies when two different cultural value systems are internalized (Inman et al., 2001). The CVCS consists of a 2-factor model: Intimate Relations (11 items) and Sex-Role Expectations (13 items; Inman et al., 2001). Answers are given on a 6-point Likert-type scale where 5 = *strongly agree* and 1 = *strongly disagree*. Questions in this scale cover ideas about marriage and dating, privacy rights, balance, double standards, and family relations. A total score was calculated by averaging all items after reverse coding negatively worded items.

The CVCS has been used in several studies that wish to explore the experience of cultural conflict and sex-role expectations in South Asian women. This measure is valid, reliable, and internally consistent (Inman et al., 2001). The measure has also demonstrated adequate test-rest

reliability ($r = .81$; Inman et al., 2001). The reliability of the scale for the present study was $\alpha = .88$.

In addition to the CVCS, the shortened AWS was used to further capture gender role expectations. This version contains 25 questions and captures the overall perceptions women have of their own acceptable behaviors and roles in society, including questions about women's education levels vis-a-vis men, forwardness in sexuality, and appropriate levels of intoxication. AWS uses a four-point scale with 0 being *Strongly Agree* and 3 being *Strongly Disagree*. The measure is highly reliable and has been validated for use on Indian Asians in the U.S. (Srinivasan, 2001; Yoder et al., 1982). The reliability of the scale for the present study was adequate ($\alpha = .86$).

Acculturation

Acculturation levels were captured using two single-item measures. The first asked participants, "Age when I moved to the U.S." For individuals who were born in the U.S., they were asked to put 0 as their response. The second item asked, "Years living in the U.S." Both of these questions were open response items reported in the number of years.

Additionally, a dichotomous variable was calculated from the age at which participants had moved to the U.S. to indicate whether participants were first- or later-generation South Asian immigrants. First-generation refers to those who migrated to the U.S. (coded as 0) while later-generation refers to individuals who were born in the U.S., and whose parents or grandparents may also have been born in the U.S. (coded as 1).

Individual Well-Being

Individual well-being was measured using the BCC Well-Being Scale, which consists of 24 items on three subscales: psychological well-being, physical health and well-being, and

relationships. Sample questions include “Are you satisfied with your physical health?” and “Do you feel you have a purpose in life?” A total score was calculated by summing all items after reverse coding negatively worded items. The scale has proven to be consistent and reliable and has strong face-validity. Overall, it is seen as a good measure of well-being (Kinderman et al., 2011). The reliability of the scale for the present study was adequate ($\alpha = .92$).

Relationship Satisfaction

Research participants self-reported relationship satisfaction using the Couples Satisfaction Index (CSI-16). The measure captures different aspects of an individual’s satisfaction with their current relationship.

The CSI-16 is a shortened version of a 32-question measure focusing on relationship satisfaction (Funk & Rogge, 2007). Questions in this survey look at the strength of a relationship, warmth and comfort, the feeling of being on a team, expectations, and satisfaction. The CSI-16 uses a 6- and 7-point Likert scale beginning at 0 for *Not at all True* and 5 for *Completely True*. A total score was calculated by summing all items after reverse coding negatively worded items. There were only five studies that tested reliability and the average of these were high (Graham et al., 2011). The reliability of the scale for the present study was adequate ($\alpha = .91$).

Sexual Attitudes

Portions of the Human Sexuality Questionnaire were used to measure both sexual attitudes and behaviors in heterosexual contexts. The Heterosexual Experience scale captured frequency of engagement in a range of behaviors including kissing, use of various coitus positions, and oral-genital stimulation. There were 14 items scored using the sum total of responses. Each response was on a 5-point scale where 1 = *never* and 5 = *10 times or more* (Fisher et al., 2013). A total score was calculated by summing all items.

Regarding attitude scales, only two of the four subscales were relevant for this study: attitudes toward heterosexual activities in social and emotional relationships. Questions on parental attitudes and attitudes towards homosexuality were not assessed. The Social Relationship attitude scale and the Emotional Relationship attitude scale assessed the same 14 activities, but measures varied slightly. The Social Relationship scale ranged from 1 = *never all right* to 5 = *all right with anyone, no matter how long you have known them*. The Emotional Relationship scale ranged 1 = *never all right regardless of how much you love the person* to 5 = *all right, regardless of how you generally feel about the person*. The measure has previously demonstrated strong reliability ($\alpha = .97$) in previous studies, with strong support with women for the reliability of the subscales being used (Social relationships $\alpha = .99$; emotional relationships $\alpha = .98$; Zuckerman, 2011). In the present study the reliability for the social relationships subscale was $\alpha = .98$. The reliability of the emotional relationships subscale for the present study was adequate ($\alpha = .99$).

Level of Religiosity

Level of religiosity was used as a control variable in the analysis. It was measured on a three-point scale with following options (from 1 to 3, respectively): *Not at all*, *Somewhat*, and *Very*.

Data Analysis

Data was cleaned and prepared for the present analysis. Preliminary data analyses were conducted to test for normality and ensure correlational analyses were in the expected directions. A power analysis in G*Power indicated a sample size of 107 participants was required to conduct a single-moderator regression model. Fraudulent responses were identified by

examining the security questions, metadata, and response patterns. Responses that were considered fraudulent were examined by two research team members before removal.

To answer the first question, “What is the relationship between gender role expectations for South Asian Women and their, sexual attitudes and behaviors, individual well-being, and relationship satisfaction?” we conducted a Pearson correlation between the pairs of variables.

To answer the second question, “What effects do immigration factors and gender role expectations for South Asian women have on their a.) attitudes towards sex b.) individual well-being and c.) relationship satisfaction?” we conducted three separate hierarchical linear regressions for each outcome. We removed missing data listwise in the analysis. For each hierarchical regression analysis, two steps were included. The first step included regressing immigration and years living in the U.S. onto the different outcomes. The second step of the model included the factors in step one and added cultural value conflict, attitudes towards women, level of religiosity, and sexual experience.

Three separate mediation analyses were conducted to answer question 3, which asks if acculturation predicts well-being, relationship satisfaction, and sexual attitudes and behaviors in South Asian women, and if this relationship can be partially explained by conflict around gender role expectations. Acculturation was listed as the independent variable. Sexual attitudes, individual well-being, and relationship satisfaction were each separately tested as dependent variables. Attitudes towards women, level of religiosity, and sexual experience were all included as control variables due to their associations with the measured outcomes. Gender role conflict was integrated as a mediator in each analysis to identify whether it significantly changes the direct effect of the independent variable on the dependent variables. All analyses were conducted using the Process macro (v.2; Hayes, 2017).

It is important to note that we used the question “Age moved to the U.S.” to look at immigration in a binary format. In question 3, we are using the same question as a continuous variable to better capture the variance in how migration age influences various outcomes. The indirect effect was tested using a bootstrap estimation approach with 5,000 sample iterations.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

This study aimed to understand the relationship between adherence to gender role expectations and the experience of South Asian women's well-being, relationship satisfaction, and sexual attitudes and behaviors. Furthermore, this study examined the role of acculturation and whether time in the U.S. or age relocating to the U.S. played a role in these relationships.

Preliminary Analyses

Bivariate correlations were conducted in order to identify that relationships were in the expected directions. We conducted descriptive statistics to ensure that all continuous variables were normally distributed and that no variables were outside of the expected limits. All study variables, with one exception, were within accepted limits of missing data. The sexual attitudes and behaviors measures had a significant amount of missing data (15%), which may be attributed to the length of the survey and/or an unwillingness to answer questions regarding sex.

Descriptive statistics of all study variable are included below in Table 2.

Table 2

Demographic Descriptives (n = 231 individuals)

Variable	Overall <i>M</i>	Overall <i>SD</i>	Range	Skewness	Kurtosis
Age (years)	35.89	8.58	21-67	.78	.73
Age moved to U.S.	7.00	9.85	0-38	1.3	.44
Years living in U.S.	28.36	10.04	0-56	-.45	.35
CVCS	3.08	.62	1.42-4.50	-1.4	-.07
BBC_SWB	83.57	14.37	34-120	-.37	.40
SAB_Ex	4.34	1.60	1-6	-.61	-.90
CSI-16	66.46	14.37	23-87	-.79	.05

Correlation

Our first research question explored correlations between gender role expectations and South Asian women’s well-being, relationship satisfaction, and attitudes and behaviors around sex (see Table 3). A Pearson correlation analysis indicated there was a significant negative correlation between gender role conflict and sexual attitudes, $r(194) = -.29, p = .001$ and sexual behaviors, $r(180) = -.25, p < .001$. There was also a significant negative correlation between gender role conflict and individual well-being, $r(206) = -.40, p < .001$. Results indicated no correlation between gender role conflict and relationship satisfaction, $r(149) = -.11, p = .18$. In other words, South Asian women who experience more conflict around gender roles were also less open in their sexual attitudes, less experienced sexually, and had overall lower well-being.

Table 3

Correlations

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Age moved to U.S. (1)	1					
Years living in U.S. (2)	-.60***	1				
CVCS (3)	-.11	-.04	1			
BBC_SWB (4)	.20**	-.05	-.40***	1		
SexAtt (5)	-.37***	.14	-.23***	-.07	1	
CSI-16 (6)	-.01	-.08	-.11	.40***	-.02	1

Note. * = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$; *** = $p < .001$.

Hierarchical Regression

Research question 2 expanded on the initial question by exploring the relationship between immigration and gender and cultural-related factors on South Asian women and their a.) attitudes and behaviors towards sex, b.) individual well-being, and c.) relationship satisfaction. See Table 4 for full results.

Table 4

Hierarchical Linear Regression Analysis

Step	Predictor	Well-Being standardized coefficient	R^2	Sexual attitudes standardized coefficient	R^2	Relationship satisfaction standardized coefficient	R^2
Step 1			.02		.06**		.01
	1 st or 2 nd gen	-.14		.24**		.03	
	Years in U.S.	.05		-.01		-.11	
Step 2			.18***		.37***		.04
	1 st or 2 nd generation	-.15*		.23***		.03	
	Years in U.S.	.03		-.09		-.14	
	CVCS	-.42***		-.14*		-.08	
	ATWS	.07		.35***		.07	
	Religiosity	.08		-.23***		.03	
	SAB_ex	-.04		.14*		-.12	

Note. * = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$; *** = $p < .001$.

Well-Being

The first step of the regression analysis was not significant, $F(2, 179) = 1.56, p = .213, R^2 = .02$. The second step of the regression analysis was significant, $F(6, 175) = 6.5, p < .001, R^2 = .18$. In step 2, those who were immigrants had significantly higher well-being compared to those who were born in the U.S. Additionally, those who had higher cultural value conflict had lower well-being $\beta = -.15, t(181) = -2.01, p < .05$.

Sexual Attitudes

Both the first and second step of the regression analysis proved to be significant (Model 1 $F(2, 179) = 5.36, p = .005, R^2 = .06$; Model 2 $F(6, 175) = 17.23, p = .001, R^2 = .37$). In the first and second step, those who were immigrants had less favorable attitudes toward sexual behaviors than those born in the U.S. (Step 1 $\beta = .24, t(181) = 3.05, p < .001$; Step 2 $\beta = .23, t(181) = 3.45, p < .001$). In the second step, we found that participants who had less conflict around their gender roles, $\beta = -.14, t(181) = -2.25, p < .05$, were significantly more open in their attitudes towards sexual behaviors, while also accounting had more favorable attitudes towards women, $\beta = .35, t(181) = 5.46, p < .001$, were less religious, $\beta = -.23, t(181) = -3.62, p < .001$, and more sexually experienced, $\beta = .14, t(181) = 2.13, p = .04$.

Relationship Satisfaction

The regression analysis used to understand how relationship satisfaction is impacted by varying factors related to immigration and gender was not determined to be significant in either step. In the first step, immigration factors were not associated with relationship satisfaction, $F(2, 131) = .62, p = .54, R^2 = .01$. Similarly, in the second step, no other factors including gender role conflicts, attitudes towards women, religiosity, and sexual experience impacted relationship satisfaction, $F(6, 127) = .92, p = .48, R^2 = .04$.

Mediation Analysis

Three separate mediation analyses were conducted to see if acculturation predicts well-being, relationship satisfaction, and sexual attitudes and behaviors in South Asian women, and if this relationship can be partially explained by conflict around gender role expectations.

Results indicated the age at which participants moved to the U.S. was significantly associated with wellbeing, $b = .33$, $t(207) = 2.98$, $p < .01$. Additionally, gender role conflict was significantly associated with well-being $b = -9.49$, $t(195) = -6.05$, $p < .001$. The indirect effect was significant, $b = .08$, $SE = .04$, 95% CI [.01, .16], but acculturation was still significantly linked to well-being after controlling for gender role conflict, $b = .25$, $t(207) = 2.43$, $p < .05$, indicating partial rather than full mediation.

The age at which participants moved to the U.S. was also significantly associated with sexual attitudes, $b = -.60$, $t(195) = -5.71$, $p < .001$. Additionally, gender role conflict was significantly linked to sexual attitudes $b = -6.11$, $t(195) = -4.06$, $p < .001$. However, the indirect effect of gender role conflict was not significant, $b = .03$, $SE = .03$, 95% CI [-.01, .10], indicating that gender role conflict did not mediate the relationship between age of immigration and sexual attitudes.

The age at which participants moved to the U.S. was not significantly linked to relationship satisfaction, $b = -.01$, $t(150) = -.07$, $p = .947$. Therefore no mediation could be analyzed. See full results in Table 5.

Table 5*Mediation Analysis*

Predictor	Well-Being coefficient [95% CI]	Sexual attitudes coefficient [95% CI]	Relationship satisfaction coefficient [95% CI]
Total Effect	.33**	-.60***	-.01
Direct Effect	.25**	-.63***	-.03
Indirect Effect (Acc → CVCS → WB)	.08 [.01, .16]	.03 [-.01, .10]	.02 [-.01, .08]

Note. * = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$; *** = $p < .001$.

To summarize, we found that there was a significant correlation between gender role conflict on the outcomes of well-being and sexual attitudes. Furthermore, acculturation played a significant role in mediating this relationship: women who were less acculturated experienced less conflict with gender roles and also had less open attitudes towards sex. Conversely, women who were born here or migrated at an early age were found to struggle more with gender roles and were also more open in their attitudes toward sex.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

This study aimed to expand on current research being done in immigrant populations by looking at the impact of gendered expectations on South Asian women's well-being, sexual attitudes and behaviors, and relationship satisfaction. This study also included acculturation factors such as first- and second-generation identifiers, age when moving to the U.S., and years living in the U.S. There were significant findings regarding the relationship between gendered expectations and well-being and sexual attitudes, some of which were related to acculturation factors. Important to note is that there were no significant associations between these variables and relationship satisfaction, a finding in and of itself. We will further explore these results using two broad themes: gender role conflict and acculturation.

Gender Role Conflict

The results indicated that the level of conflict South Asian women experience regarding gendered expectations does negatively impact their sexual attitudes and their well-being. This finding was consistent when also accounting for immigration factors, attitudes toward women, religiosity, and sexual experience. Those with higher levels of conflict around gendered expectations were shown to have lower well-being and be less open toward, or experienced in, sex.

Early research on first- and second-generation South Asian women shows an array of findings. Scholars at the time suggested immigrants brought with them both traditional foods and traditional ideas of gender ideologies and gender roles from their country of origin. While first-generation South Asian women perceived themselves as supporting gender equality and feminism, second-generation women said they experienced restricted gender role impositions

(Dasgupta, 1998). These seemingly disparate ideas speak to the reality that South Asian women migrating to the U.S. experience both more sexual freedom and the anxiety that follows from navigating new cultural ideals (Tummala-Narra, 2013). Dasgupta (1998) went on to explain that second-generation South Asian women, who are often seen as the carriers of culture, experienced the harshest gendered restrictions in the areas of dating and marriage. These restrictions were further compounded by the preoccupation South Asian parents hold around sexual chastity (Dasgupta, 1998).

Ultimately, Dasgupta's (1998) findings showed that first-generation concerns around dating and premarital sex were observed in the second-generation members of their family – that is to say, second-generation South Asians were also seen to have conservative views around dating and sex, despite being more acculturated. Our study confirms that conflict around gendered expectations led to less favorable attitudes toward sex in first-generation South Asian women, and less sexual experience overall.

First-generation women with more liberal attitudes around dating and sex were linked to higher levels of anxiety (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021). Our research intersects these findings by looking at the level of gender role conflict, which includes how women approach dating, marriage, and sex. Rather than looking at liberal or conservative leaning values, we examined the level of subjective tension experienced by the presence of both liberal and conservative ideas – within the individual and their environment. The results of our study presents a slightly more nuanced view of this finding: as women become more acculturated, these external conflicts become internal conflicts and become a statistically significant cause of low well-being. However, the association between high levels of conflict and negative well-being exists throughout the generations we surveyed. This is true even after accounting for religiosity, which

has been cited in previous studies as the possible cause for lower well-being in migrant South Asian women (Inman, 2006).

Acculturation

Research on immigrant populations has examined the nature and impact of acculturation including stress arising from public discrimination and minority status as well as individually navigating different value systems and behaviors. Studies in South Asian communities cite higher acculturative stress in women, as the burden of carrying culture and negotiating value systems often falls on them (Dasgupta, 1998). Acculturative stress for South Asian women coming to the U.S. can be attributed to language, lack of social support, and navigating new cultural norms and values (Tummala-Narra, 2013).

Our research examined the role acculturation, which for the purposes of this study included whether or not participants were immigrants or born in the U.S., what age they moved if immigrating, and how many years were spent living in the U.S., played in how greatly women experienced gender role conflict. When analyzing the relationships between acculturation factors and individual well-being, relationship satisfaction, and sexual attitudes we found that age when moving to the U.S. did indicate well-being and sexual attitudes. First generation South Asian American women had higher well-being compared to those born in the U.S. Unsurprisingly, first-generation women also had less favorable attitudes toward sexual behaviors. Conversely, those who were born in the U.S. had lower well-being and more open sexual attitudes than first-generation South Asian women. Some research agrees with this finding, stating that second-generation individuals face more of a cultural value clash due to often opposing socialization that takes place in school and home (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021). Still other research found that cultural conflict was higher for first generation migrants over second, third or fourth possibly due

to disagreements with parents and internalization of negative stereotypes (Lai, 1993). There was no relationship between acculturation and relationship satisfaction

Mediating Factors

Because acculturation and gender role conflict factors were both independently associated with our study outcomes, we performed mediated analyses to determine if gender role conflict was able to explain the relationship between age and well-being and age and sexual attitudes. We found there to be a conditional relationship for well-being but not for sexual attitudes. That is, the older a South Asian woman was when she moved to the U.S., the higher her well-being would be. This high well-being is partially explained by lower levels of gender role conflict.

A woman moving to the U.S. later in life may have lower levels of conflict regarding gender roles because of less exposure to the new, dominant culture. Previous research showed a linear relationship between acculturation and generational status so that acculturation levels were the lowest for first generation migrants (Sodowsky et al., 1991). Another hypothesis emphasizes the desire for first-generation South Asian women to more strongly retain their culture of origin in an effort to preserve the values and beliefs. This may also be reemphasized if this woman is a parent passing on these values to her children, especially daughters. In her research, Tummala-Narra (2013) found first-generation South Asian mothers exerted more control over their daughters' behaviors than their own mothers back home, perhaps as a way of coping with the stress of acculturation. This aligns with our findings that first-generation South Asian women had less favorable attitudes toward sex, and because they experienced less conflict around their gender roles, had overall higher well-being (Dasgupta, 1998).

The mediating effects of gender role conflict on well-being adds to existing research which identifies other variables explaining well-being. Previous research shows that women, more than men, are susceptible to acculturative stress, particularly in the areas of dating, marriage, and premarital sex (Dion & Dion, 2001; Srinivasan, 2001). In South Asia, the role of religion heavily influences worldviews, behaviors, and norms, especially around gendered expectations around marriage and sex (Dasgupta, 1998; Inman, 2006). Previous research has attributed the conflict women experience to racial and ethnic identities as well as levels of religiosity (Inman, 2006). Our findings extend the conversation by including the impact of these mediating factors on well-being. Conflict around gendered expectations, whether as a function of culture or religion, contributes to a lack of well-being in South Asian women, regardless of their generational status. As South Asian women acculturate, the extent to which they experience gender role conflict significantly impacts well-being.

In the present study, first-generation immigrants had less open sexual attitudes, but this was not mediated by conflict about gender roles. This reflects findings in other studies that attribute sexual conservatism with religious values (Dion & Dion, 2001; Ghuman, 2000; Inman, 2006). Less open sexual attitudes could then be attributed to the parental role that some women take on and the subsequent responsibility to pass on more conservative views on sex as a way of preserving culture and tradition.

Relationship Satisfaction

In each of the analysis, factors were tested for significance in relationship satisfaction. Every analysis performed showed no impact or relationship between factors and relationship satisfaction. Immigration, acculturation, gender role conflict, sexual behaviors and attitudes, level of religiosity, and attitudes towards women, despite being related to one another, were not

related to relationship satisfaction. That is not to say that participants did not struggle with their well-being, or were not conflicted about their gender roles. In fact, several studies on immigrant South Asian women point to family and marital stress is strongly associated with mental and physical health problems (Tummala-Narra, 2013). What this study does demonstrate is that in spite of struggling with well-being, and conflict around gender roles, participants' relationship satisfaction was not impacted, one way or the other. This find also does not point to whether the relationship is healthy, but rather that factors of acculturation and gender do not influence and cannot comment on the relationship one way or another.

The lack of impact on relationship satisfaction is a surprising one, and does not support the initial hypothesis presented in this research, nor does it align with prior research that demonstrates challenges within relationships (Da Silva & Loulopoulou, 2021). Dion and Dion's (2001) research found that in first-generation couples, the need to adjust gender roles in order to survive in the new country put a strain on relationships because of the subsequent conflict women felt in the wake of more financial freedom. In some ways, this was a conversation between conflict around traditional gender roles and its negative impact between husbands and wives. However, in our study, we did not see a quantitative trend to support this.

There are a few reasons why this might be the case. Firstly, given the communal culture typical of South Asia, there may be less significance placed on the relationship; instead overall well-being may be more distributed among community, family, and relationship. Another hypothesis is that, more than the relationship, women are impacted by the opinions and judgments of other community members, family of origin, or in-law relationships (Ghuman, 2009; Samuel, 2009). Tummala-Narra (2013, p. 180) stated, "the psychological distress that is produced in family conflict can be profound, as the presence of conflict across generations itself

may be a new experience for immigrants, who may have never had to or wished to challenge their parents.”

There is ample space for future research related to relationships with South Asian partners. While we used the CSI to assess relationship satisfaction, it is possible that the measure itself does not accurately speak to what a South Asian might see as satisfying or successful. At present, the CSI focuses on emotional fulfillment whereas South Asian culture may emphasize other priorities related to stability or functionality (Ahmad & Reid, 2008). Additionally, future examinations of South Asian relationships may center around identify factors that might contribute to and predict relationship satisfaction for South Asian couples. Furthermore, as it stands there is a dearth of research on dyadic research that may help us better understand relationship functions.

Implications

Our research shows that South Asian women born in the U.S. have lower well-being than their first-generation counterpart. This is, in part, due to the conflict they experience around the gendered expectations of their culture. Currently, we know from other studies that higher rates of acculturative stress leads to lower self-esteem among girls and to maladaptive coping skills such as eating disorders and alcoholism (Lai, 1993). In some instances South Asian girls were more likely to experience psychosomatic illnesses compared with white peers (Ghuman, 2000). While we cannot change where they were born or their bicultural identity, what we can support our clients with is helping to provide them with healthier ways to cope with the stressors that compromise their well-being.

Given that a significant amount of what compromises well-being is conflict around cultural values, it is imperative that when we meet with female South Asian clients, we assess for

the role and importance of cultural value systems in our client's lives. It is also important to assess for stressors related to acculturation, as this can be present for and look different amongst first, second, third and beyond generations. Tummala-Narra (2013) suggested an approach that integrates feminism and multiculturalism to help tackle complex intersections of gender, race, migration, and social class. The feminist lens in particular allows for more collaborative therapy and an exploration of power-driven, patriarchal sources of distress that can at least attempt to allay further oppression (Tummala-Narra, 2013). Approaches such as Narrative therapy can also allow for more open-ended, collaborative conversations that also give the therapist better insight into the unique experiences of their bicultural clients.

This approach will also help minimize assumptions we might make about South Asian women and their relationships. Because Eastern and Western cultures are different in many ways, there is a tendency to label or assume that South Asian culture can be oppressive to women or that a woman's conflict around gender stems from her oppressive relationship – indeed that was the hypothesis at the start of this study. What our research shows is that women who are bicultural are struggling with their identity as women and its impacting their well-being. The data also shows that this is unrelated to relationship satisfaction, which begs the question, “What is it related to?” This is both an important consideration to keep a clinician's mind open and for a researcher to develop further studies. Given the centrality of family and community, it might be worth exploring what role these pieces play in a woman's gender role conflict and well-being, as well as their attitudes towards sex.

A major difference in Eastern and Western value systems is the emphasis on collectivism verses individualism and these differences translate in to the ways a therapist and client interact in the therapeutic setting. Individualist ideals of a therapist might lead her to suggest creating

stronger boundaries and offer statements or practices that are at odds with the clients family and community culture. “I” statements and a hard “no” can be ill-suited for effectively providing what the client actually needs. Being sensitive to and inquisitive about the role that community and family play can be helpful in informing the strategies we offer our clients. Suggestions might be better applied if we role play with clients and allow for realistic responses to arise.

While our research narrows in on a sub-section of the immigrant population, the South Asian woman, at least some of our findings around acculturation can be applied to the larger body of people. Other research has long shown the impact of acculturation on mental health, illness, and the therapeutic process (Stephenson, 2000). The need to include assessments around acculturation and how much a client identifies with the dominant culture is imperative in properly identifying and appropriately serving clients, as substantiated by prior research (Stephenson, 2000). In lieu of formal assessments, clinicians can find a starting point in asking about one’s country of origin, their relationship to it, the circumstances under which their family arrived, and the age and year of migration. These factors all play a role in acculturation (Lai, 1993).

Lastly, our research found that gender role conflict led to more closed attitudes towards sex, and that generally, women who were less acculturated also had more closed attitudes toward sex. Further study on this would be needed to understand the impact of closed sexual attitudes on women’s self-esteem, identity, shame, and the ways in which these variables may impact relationship satisfaction. It would also be useful to study the means by which women learn about and perpetuate messages related to sex and bodies, the consequences of this, and how much of this can be relearned or mitigated.

Limitations

There are two main limitations to the study we would like to highlight. Firstly, the means by which we measured acculturation. While we know that acculturation is a function of migration, and that acculturation increases with each subsequent generation that is in the dominant culture (Sodowsky et al., 1991), there are more nuanced and revelatory ways to capture acculturation, including examining understanding of history and traditions, language and food preferences, interaction with ethnic and dominant societies, behaviors, and beliefs and values (Stephenson, 2000). In our examining of different measures, we did not find a suitable one tailored to South Asians, as their experiences are both similar to and different than other cultures (Tummala-Narra, 2013). This presents an opportunity for further research and development.

Secondly, the data sample was skewed in certain ways, and may not be representative of South Asian women in the U.S. today. In our sample, 96% had a bachelors degree or higher, and most of that sample had masters degrees or higher. Only about half of our participants were first-generation South Asians and of them, about 50% were younger than 13 when they moved. While South Asian presence in the U.S. dates back to the 1960s, it would be helpful to include more first-generation women who moved to the U.S. when they were in their late teens onwards to reflect the reality that immigration from South Asian countries is an ongoing process even today.

Sexual attitudes scale had a significant amount of missing data, despite anonymity, and this may impact the validity of the results. Given that sexuality is a sensitive and often taboo topic in South Asian culture, this is not surprising. Future researchers will need to continue to be sensitive to these cultural hesitations.

Conclusion

Since the 1960s, South Asians have been and continue to migrate to the U.S. to live, work, and raise families here. As such, we see the ongoing process of acculturation – the negotiation of value systems, beliefs, behaviors, traditions, and identities – for not only the generation the migrates, but every subsequent generation that continues to reside in the U.S. This process can be both fruitful and taxing. For South Asian women in particular, who are often given the responsibility of the family's honor, of carrying forward cultural traditions, and who are seen as needed to be protected from Western sexuality, these can translate into sometimes restrictive gendered expectations. The negotiation of differing value systems and the different ways in which Eastern and the Western cultures understand the rights and roles of women can be at once freeing and anxiety-provoking, at worst causing a host of concerns including barriers to mental and physical well-ness. The purpose of this study was to hone in on this subset of the population to better understand the impact of the internal conflict around gender roles that arises as a product of being exposed to, living under, and adopting differing value systems.

In surveying 231 South Asian women, we found that women across generations struggle with internal conflict around gender roles and that this conflict impacts well-being and attitudes toward sex. Women who were less acculturated were less susceptible to internal gender role conflicts and thus struggled less with well-being, but the reciprocal finding was that women who are more acculturated and who have been in the U.S. longer struggle more with their gender roles and consequently have lower well-being.

Increasingly, South Asians are seeking mental health services and there is an ever-increasing need to provide these services in a culturally-competent and sensitive way that appreciates and celebrates the uniqueness of our bicultural clients. The hope is that this

information can be taking into the therapeutic setting with South Asian clients. The role of acculturation cannot be ignored – as clinicians it is imperative that we assess for these pieces. Understanding that your South Asian client is likely navigating different cultural identities and that this may be a source of stress or a factor that compromises her well-being allows for an entry point to better understand our clients. In the South Asian woman's quest for happiness and fulfilment, there is both opportunity and the challenges that accompany it. Well-being and conflict are a reality for her story, and with support, so too is resiliency and growth.

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APPENDIX A

COPY OF ONLINE STUDY

Gender Role Expectations in South Asian American Women

TEXAS WOMAN'S UNIVERSITY CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Title: The Impact of Gender Role Expectations on South Asian American Women

Zahra Somani.....zsomani@twu.edu (404) 229-1065

Adam Jones, PhD.....ajones116@twu.edu (801) 200-4500

Explanation and Purpose of the Research

Zahra Somani, a student in the Department of Human Development, Family Studies, & Counseling at Texas Woman's University, is conducting a research study to investigate the impact of gender role expectations on South Asian American women. For the purposes of this study, "South Asian" refers to heritage, culture, nationality, and/or ethnicity of: Bangladesh, Pakistan, India, Nepal, and Sri Lanka. Some refer to this as Desi. "South Asia" music, food, dress means being influenced by the heritage and culture of South Asia. You have been asked to take part because you identify as a South Asian woman currently living in the United States.

There will be approximately 200 participants in this study

The purpose of our research is to better understand the relationship between expectations South Asian women have grown up with and their association with individual well-being, satisfaction in relationships, and their attitudes and behaviors around sex. The aim is to contribute to research around minority populations, in particular South Asian Americans and to better inform therapeutic interventions. Your response to this survey is entirely anonymous.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. Some survey questions may require a response to proceed to the next set of questions. You may discontinue the survey at any time if you do not feel comfortable or do not want to answer the question.

If you are interested in learning more about this study, please review this consent form carefully and take your time deciding whether or not you want to participate. Please feel free to ask the researchers any questions you have about the study at any time.

Description of Procedures

If you choose to be a participant in this study, you will be asked to spend 20-25 minutes of your time completing an online survey. The survey will be administered through Qualtrics, an online survey website.

The first screen will contain the informed consent with all the information about the study (i.e., risks, benefits, inclusionary criteria, etc.) and will contain a place to indicate that participants consent to participate in the study. If participants do not meet the inclusion criteria, they will be directed to the end of the survey. If they meet the inclusion criteria, they will be allowed to continue with the rest of the survey. At the end of the survey, a message will thank participants for their time. At the end of the survey, participants will be directed to click on a link that will guide them to receive their \$5 coffee card. Only individuals who meet eligibility criteria and

complete the survey will be able to receive the coffee card. Participants will be able to receive their card by clicking a separate link in the survey, email addresses will not be linked to survey responses. The coffee cards will be delivered via email 4-8 weeks after completion. It is important to note that a small portion of the collected un-identifiable data will be shared with the measure's creator. This portion of data will include responses to one of the included questionnaires and a demographic information. Again, no identifying information will be shared.

Potential Risks

There are some potential risks of study participation. Because email addresses, last initial, and birth month are provided over internet sources there is always a risk of loss of confidentiality. We will minimize this risk by using secured data collection and management software (Qualtrics). The survey will ask questions about your sexual activity, relationship satisfaction, and well-being. One potential risk of this research study is discomfort or psychological distress because of these questions. The survey includes 200 questions, another risk is experiencing fatigue. You can take breaks during the survey and/or not answer questions at any time during the study. Participants can withdraw from the study at any time during the study to minimize discomfort/psychological distress. Because the primary researcher is utilizing personal contacts and recruiting participants from shared communities of interest there is a possible risk of coercion. Participation is voluntary and participants can elect to stop participating at any time without penalty. Also, their choice to participate or to decline participation in this research will have no impact on their employment with any agency/institution nor will it have an impact on the services they are receiving from any agency/institution. If any participant feels they have been coerced into participation they may contact the IRB (email listed at bottom) as well as Dr. Adam Jones (contact information listed above). A list of resources is available below: American Association for Marriage and Family Therapy

https://www.aamft.org/Directories/Find_a_Therapist.aspx

https://www.aamft.org/Directories/Find_a_Therapist.aspx

American Psychological Association Psychologist Locator

<http://locator.apa.org>

National Register of Health Service Psychologists

<http://www.findapsychologist.org/>

Mental Health of America Referrals <http://www.nmha.org/go/searchMHA>

Psychology Today Find a Therapist <http://therapists.psychologytoday.com/rms/>

National Board for Certified Counselors <http://www.nbcc.org/CounselorFind>

Participation is completely voluntary. Another potential risk of the study is fatigue due to the length of the questionnaire (20-30 minutes). You can take a break or discontinue participation at any time. Another potential risk of this study is a loss of confidentiality. Confidentiality will be protected to the extent that is allowed by law. There is a potential risk of loss of confidentiality in all email, downloading, electronic meetings, and internet transactions. Research records will be kept confidential, consistent with federal and state regulations. Only the investigator and her advisory committee will have access to the data which will be kept on a password-protected computer in a locked room. To protect your privacy, personal, identifiable information will be removed from study documents and replaced with a study identifier. The researchers will try to prevent any problem that could happen because of this research. You should let the researchers know at once if there is a problem and they will help you. However, TWU does not provide medical services or financial assistance for injuries that might happen because you are taking part in this research. Participation and Benefits. Your participation in this study is completely

voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time. There are several possible benefits that may result from the proposed research. At present, research on minority communities, particularly South Asians, is greatly lacking. Your participation in this study will provide more diversity and representation in current research and can potentially help therapists to better understand the South Asian community and make the therapeutic space more effective for minority communities. Eligible research participants will also receive a \$5 gift card after completing the entire survey.

Questions Regarding the Study

If you have any questions about the research study you should ask the researchers; their contact information is at the top of this form. If you have questions about your rights as a participant in this research or the way this study has been conducted, you may contact the Texas Woman's University Office of Research and Sponsored Programs at 940-898-3378 or via e-mail at IRB@twu.edu.

Q1 Do you consent to participating in this research?

- Yes
- No

Consent Please respond.

End of Block: Consent

Start of Block: Eligibility

Q2 I am of South Asian descent or have been raised by at least one parent or grandparent who identifies as South Asian. (South Asian being defined as you or your immediate family originating from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and/or Nepal.)

- Yes
 - No
-

Q3 I identify as a woman (I was assigned female at birth and currently identify as female).

Yes

No

Q4 I am over the age of 21.

Yes

No

End of Block: Eligibility

Start of Block: Demographics

Q6 Current age:

Q92 Unscramble this word "geg"

Q7 Occupation:

Q8 Age when I moved to the U.S. (Put 0 if born here):

Q20 Current or completed education level:

▼ Some High School or Less ... Doctorate Degree

Q21 Country of birth:

Q22 Years living in the U.S.:

Q23 List any languages you speak:

Q24 Religion you were raised in:

- Christianity
 - Shia Ithnaashari Islam
 - Shia Ismaili Islam (Aga Khan)
 - Shia Bohri Islam
 - Shia Islam Other
 - Sunni Islam
 - Hinduism
 - Jainism
 - Buddhism
 - Sikhism
 - No affiliation
 - Other (please specify): _____
-

Q25 Current religious affiliation:

- Christianity
 - Shia Ithnaashari Islam
 - Shia Ismaili Islam (Aga Khan)
 - Shia Bohri Islam
 - Shia Islam Other
 - Sunni Islam
 - Hinduism
 - Jainism
 - Buddhism
 - Sikhism
 - No affiliation
 - Other (please specify): _____
-

Q26 Level of religiosity:

- Not at all
 - Somewhat
 - Very
-

Q27 Cultural identification (select all that apply):

South Asian

Indian

Pakistani

Bangladeshi

Sri Lankan

Nepalese

American

Other (please specify): _____



Q28 Ethnicity (select all that apply):

- South Asian
 - Indian
 - Pakistani
 - Bangladeshi
 - Sri Lankan
 - Nepalese
 - American
 - Other (please specify): _____
-

Q29 Do you identify more with the term South Asian than with the term Desi. Note "South Asian" refers to heritage, culture, nationality, ethnicity of: Bangladesh, Pakistan, India, Nepal, and Sri Lanka. Some refer to this as Desi. "South Asian" music, food, dress means being influenced by the heritage and culture of South Asia.

- Neutral
 - Yes
 - No
-

Page Break _____

Q30 Who lived in your household growing up? (Select all that apply):

- Both parents
 - Mother but not father
 - Father but not mother
 - One or more grandparents
 - Siblings
 - Extended family
-

Q31 Current relationship status:

- Married
 - Divorced
 - Widowed
 - Engaged
 - Committed relationship
 - Dating
 - Single
 - Other (please specify): _____
-

Q32 If you are currently in a relationship, how long have you and your partner been together?
Please answer in years. If you are not currently in a relationship write "N/A"
Example: 10
years = 10
3 months = .25
1 year and 4 months = 1.33

Q33 I identify as:

- Monogamous
- Non-Monogamous
- Undecided
- Other (please specify): _____

Q34 Select the sexual identification that most closely matches your own.

- Straight/heterosexual
- Gay/lesbian
- Queer
- Bisexual
- Asexual
- Pansexual
- Bicurious
- Other (please specify): _____

Q35 How many long-term (6 months or more) or committed partners (including spouses) have you had?

Page Break

Q36 Did your mother immigrate to the US?

Yes

No

Q38 Did any of your maternal grandparents immigrate to the US?

Yes

No

Q40 How old was your mother when she came to live in the U.S.? (Write N/A if not applicable.)

Q41 How many years has/did your mother live(d) in the U.S.? (Write N/A if not applicable.)

Q42 What is your mother's country of birth?

Q47 What is your mother's highest completed level of education?

▼ Some High School or Less ... Doctorate Degree

Page Break

Q37 Did your father immigrate to the US?

Yes

No

Q39 Did any of your paternal grandparents immigrate to the US?

Yes

No

Q43 How old was your father when he came to the U.S.? (Write N/A if not applicable.)

Q44 How many years has/did your father live(d) in the U.S.? (Write N/A if not applicable.)

Q45 What is your father's country of birth?

Q48 What is your father's highest completed level of education?

▼ Some High School or Less ... Doctorate Degree

Q46 Approximately what was the earliest year any of your grandparents immigrated to the U.S.?
(Write N/A if they did not immigrate)

Page Break

End of Block: Demographics

Start of Block: Cultural Values Conflict

Q49 Cultural Value Conflict
Indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Not Applicable
I believe dating is acceptable only in a mutually exclusive relationship leading to marriage.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I would experience anxiety if I decided to marry someone from another racial/cultural/ethnic group.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel guilty when my personal actions and decisions go against my family's expectations.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I would feel guilty if I were dating someone from another cultural/ethnic group.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Despite cultural expectations, I would not experience anxiety if I engaged in premarital sex with someone I was in love with.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I would not experience discomfort if I were to engage in premarital sexual relations with someone I was physically attracted to.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

I would experience guilt engaging in premarital sexual relations due to the social stigma attached to it within my culture.

Marrying within my own ethnic group would be less stressful than marrying outside of my racial/ethnic group.

The idea of living with a partner prior to marriage does not create anxiety for me.

I believe that premarital sexual relations are acceptable only after being engaged to the person.

An interracial marriage would be stressful to me.

Page Break

Q51 Cultural Value Conflict continued
Indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Not Applicable
I feel that I do not belong to either the South Asian culture nor the American culture when it relates to my role as a woman.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I experience anxiety at the thought of having an arranged marriage.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel like a pendulum in my role as a woman, wherein within my ethnic culture, I am expected to be dependent, submissive, and putting other's needs before mine, but in the American culture, I am encouraged to be independent, autonomous, and self-asserting of my needs.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

I struggle with the value attached to needing to be married by age 25.

I feel guilty for desiring privacy from my family.

I feel conflicted about my behaviors and options as a woman within the South Asian and in the American culture.

I feel frustrated in going back and forth in my role as a woman within the South Asian community and within the American community.

I often find it stressful balancing what I consider private and what my family considers to be public and vice versa.

I struggle with the double standard within my ethnic culture, wherein women more so than men are expected to be equally attentive to both their professional roles (e.g., maintaining career) as well as their home lives (e.g., household chores, parenting).

I struggle with the pressure to be married and the lack of option to remain single within my culture.

My family worries about me becoming too Americanized in my thoughts and behaviors.

I am bothered by the fact that in my ethnic culture marriage for a woman is considered to be more important than having a career.

I struggle with my family's need to be involved in my day-to-day activities.

Page Break

End of Block: Cultural Values Conflict

Start of Block: Attitude Towards Women

Q52 Click to write the question text

	Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Disagree Mildly	Disagree Strongly
Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than of a man.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Women should take increasing responsibility for leadership in solving the intellectual and social problems of the day.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Both husband and wife should be allowed the same grounds for divorce.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Telling dirty jokes should be mostly a masculine prerogative.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Intoxication among women is worse than intoxication among men.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in household duties such as washing dishes and doing laundry.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

It is insulting to women to have the "obey" clause remain in the marriage service.

There should be a strict merit system in job appointment and promotion without regard to sex.

A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage.

Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.

Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together.

Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men.

A woman should not expect to go exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man.

Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters.

It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to mend socks.

In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in the bringing up of children.

Women should be encouraged not to become sexually intimate with anyone before marriage, even their fiances.

The husband should not be favored by law over the wife in the disposal of family property or income.

Women should be concerned with their duties of childbearing and house tending rather than with desires for professional and business careers.

The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men.

Economic and social freedom is worth far more to women than acceptance of the ideal of femininity which has been set up by men.

On the average, women should be regarded as less capable of contributing to economic production than are men.

There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted.

Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in various trades.



The modern girl is entitled to the same freedom from regulation and control that is given to the modern boy.



Page Break

End of Block: Attitude Towards Women

Start of Block: Well-Being

Q93 Unscramble this word: "uns"

Q53 Click to write the question text

	Not at all	A little	Moderately	Very Much	Extremely
Are you satisfied with your physical health?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Are you satisfied with the quality of your sleep?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Are you satisfied with your ability to perform your daily living activities?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Are you satisfied with your ability to work?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Do you feel depressed or anxious?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Do you feel that you are able to enjoy life?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Do you feel you have a purpose in life?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Do you feel in control over your life?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Do you feel optimistic about the future?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Do you feel satisfied with yourself as a person?

Are you satisfied about your looks and appearance?

Do you feel able to live your life the way you want?

Are you confident in your own opinions and beliefs?

Do you feel able to do the things you choose to do?

Do you feel able to grow and develop as a person?

Are you satisfied with yourself and your achievements?

Are you satisfied with your personal and family life?

Are you satisfied with your friendships and your personal relationships?

Are you comfortable about the way in which you relate to and connect with others?

Are you satisfied with your sex life?

Do you feel able to ask someone for help with a problem if you needed to?

Are you satisfied that you have enough money to meet your needs?

Are you satisfied with your opportunity for exercise and leisure activities?

Are you
satisfied with
your access to
health
services?



Page Break

End of Block: Well-Being

Start of Block: Relationship Satisfaction

Q54 Are you currently in a romantic relationship(s)?

- Yes
 - No
-

Q55 Relationship Satisfaction

Please answer the following questions about your current relationship.

Note: If you are in more than one concurrent relationship (i.e. non-monogamous) select one partner about which you will answer the following questions.

Q56 Please indicate the degree of happiness, all things considered, of your relationship.

- Extremely Unhappy
 - Fairly unhappy
 - A little unhappy
 - Happy
 - Very happy
 - Extremely happy
 - Perfect
-

Q57 In general, how often do you think that things between you and your partner are going well?

- All the time
- Most of the time
- More often than not
- Occasionally
- Never

Q58 Please answer the following questions about your current relationship.

Note: If you are in more than one concurrent relationship (i.e. non-monogamous) select one partner about which you will answer the following questions.

	Not at all true	A little true	Somewhat true	Mostly true	Almost completely true	Completely true
Our relationship is strong.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My relationship with my partner makes me happy.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I have a warm and comfortable relationship with my partner.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I really feel like part of a team with my partner.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q59 Please answer the following questions about your current relationship.

Note: If you are in more than one concurrent relationship (i.e. non-monogamous) select one partner about which you will answer the following questions.

	Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Mostly	Almost completely	Completely
How rewarding is your relationship with your partner?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
How well does your partner meet your needs?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent has your relationship met your original expectations?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In general, how satisfied are you with your relationship?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q60 For each of the following items, select the answer that best describes how you feel about your relationship. Base your responses on your first impressions and immediate feelings about the item.

Q5 I feel my relationship
is

Interesting.....Boring

5

4

3

2

1

0

Q6 I feel my relationship
is

Bad.....Good

0

1

2

3

4

5

Q63 I feel my relationship

is

Full.....Empty

5

4

3

2

1

0

Q64 I feel my relationship

is

Sturdy.....Fragile

5

4

3

2

1

0

Q65 I feel my relationship
is

Discouraging.....Hopeful

- 0
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5

Q66 I feel my relationship
is

Enjoyable.....Miserable

- 5
- 4
- 3
- 2
- 1
- 0

End of Block: Relationship Satisfaction

Start of Block: Sexual Attitudes and Behaviors

Q77 Please respond.

Q94 Name a Khan.

Q68 Answer the following questions based on what you feel is right for most persons of your own sex and age.

Note: we know that not all participants taking this survey identify as heterosexual or have engaged in heterosexual sexual behaviors. Heterosexuality is not a requirement to answer these questions.

Rather, we are asking broadly about which behaviors you feel are acceptable based on varying levels of commitment and emotion.

Where it says "marry" in the answer choices can be understood as long-term partnership/commitment as well.

Q69 Sexual Attitudes and Behaviors

	Never	All right with someone you are married to	All right with someone you are engaged to or intend to marry	All right with someone you have been going with for some time	All right with anyone, no matter how long you have known them
Kissing without tongue contact.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Kissing with tongue contact.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Male feeling covered female breasts.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Male feeling nude female breasts.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Male lying prone on the female, petting without penetration of her vagina.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Male mouth contact with female breast.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Female manipulation of male penis.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Male manipulation of female genitalia (vaginal and clitoral area).	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Sexual intercourse in face to face position with the male on top.

Female mouth contact with male's penis.

Male mouth contact with female genitalia.

Sexual intercourse, face to face with female on top.

Sexual intercourse, face to face, in side position.

Sexual intercourse, entering from the rear.

Page Break

Q75 Attitudes Toward Heterosexual Activities: Emotional Relationship

Answer these based on what you feel is right for most persons of your own sex and age.

	Never all right regardless of how much you love the person	All right if you are deeply in love with the person	All right if you feel strong affection for the person	All right if you really like the person	All right regardless of how you generally feel about the person
Kissing without tongue contact.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Kissing with tongue contact.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Male feeling covered female breasts.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Male feeling nude female breasts.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Male lying prone on the female, petting without penetration of her vagina.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Male mouth contact with female breast.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Female manipulation of male penis.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Male manipulation of female genitalia (vaginal and clitoral area).	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Sexual intercourse in face to face position with the male on top.

Female mouth contact with male's penis.

Male mouth contact with female genitalia.

Sexual intercourse, face to face with female on top.

Sexual intercourse, face to face, in side position.

Sexual intercourse, entering from the rear.

Page Break

Q76 Heterosexual experience with persons of the opposite sex.

 How many times have you engaged in the following within your lifetime?

	Never	Once or twice	Several times	More than several times	Less than several times	Ten times or more	N/A (don't identify as heterosexual)
Kissing without tongue contact.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Kissing with tongue contact.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Male feeling covered female breasts.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Male feeling nude female breasts.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Male lying prone on the female, petting without penetration of her vagina.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Male mouth contact with female breast.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Female manipulation of male penis.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Male manipulation of female genitalia (vaginal and clitoral area).	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Sexual intercourse in face to face position with the male on top.

Female mouth contact with male's penis.

Male mouth contact with female genitalia.

Sexual intercourse, face to face with female on top.

Sexual intercourse, face to face, in side position.

Sexual intercourse, entering from the rear.

Page Break

End of Block: Sexual Attitudes and Behaviors

Start of Block: Acculturation Scale

Q78 I. Cultural Identification

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
I do not feel that I belong to the South Asian culture.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I do not feel that I belong to the American culture.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel I have to suppress parts of my identity when I am with other South Asians.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel I have to suppress parts of my identity when I am with other Americans.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I have a lot in common with other South Asians who have not emigrated to the US.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I have a lot in common with other Americans.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am knowledgeable about the culture, traditions, and history of my family's South Asian country of origin (non-American).	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am knowledgeable about the culture, traditions, and history of America.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I find myself being jealous of people born and raised in America (including South Asians).	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I find myself being jealous of people born and raised in South Asia.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel proud to be South Asian.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel proud to be American.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

I find South Asian traditions to be more meaningful to me than American traditions.

I strongly identify with my South Asian identity.

I strongly identify with my American identity.

I find it easy to adjust between American culture and South Asian culture.

I tire quickly of South Asian culture/food/music/traditions.

I tire quickly of American culture/food/music/traditions.

Q79 I consider myself to be...

- Very South Asian
 - Somewhat South Asian
 - Bicultural
 - Somewhat American
 - Very American
-

Q80 Holidays

	None	Some of them	About half of them	Most of them	All of them
I celebrate South Asian holidays.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I celebrate American holidays.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Page Break

Q82 Do you speak any South Asian languages?

Yes

No

Q81 II. Language

	Never	Occasionally	About half the time	Mostly	Always
I mostly speak my South Asian language with my friends and peers.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I mostly speak my South Asian language with my parents and elders.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I mostly speak my South Asian language in my home.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am fluent in my South Asian language.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Growing up I mostly spoke my South Asian language(s) at home.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q83 II. Language

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
I understand a South Asian language but I can't speak it.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
For me, language is a barrier to connecting with other South Asians.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
For me, language is a barrier to connecting with other Americans.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q84 III. Entertainment

	Never	Occasionally	About half the time	Mostly	Always
I watch American movies or tv shows.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I watch South Asian movies and tv shows.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I listen to South Asian music (music influenced by South Asian culture or heritage).	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I listen to non-South Asian music (American, Latino, European, etc.).	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



Q85 III. Entertainment

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
I usually watch South Asian movies or tv shows only when I'm with other South Asians.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I usually listen to South Asian music only when I'm with other South Asians.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q87 IV. Food

	Never	Occasionally	About half the time	Mostly	Always
The food I make at home is mostly South Asian.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The food I make at home is usually from other non-South Asian cultures.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When I eat out I prefer to eat at restaurants that serve South Asian cuisine.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When I eat out I prefer to eat at restaurants that do not offer South Asian cuisine.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q88 V. Dress

	Never	Occasionally	About half the time	Mostly	Always
I prefer to dress in South Asian clothing.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel self-conscious wearing South Asian clothing in American settings.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I prefer to dress in American/Western clothing.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q89 V. Dress

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
I admire the South Asian style of dressing.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I admire the American/Western style of dressing.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q90 VI. Friends/Socialization

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
I prioritize seeking/maintaining friendships with other South Asians or others I perceive to be less "Americanized" or "Westernized."	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I prioritize seeking/maintaining friendships with non-South Asians or others I perceive to be more "Americanized" or "Westernized."	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am most comfortable in a group conversation with non-South Asians.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am most comfortable in a group conversation with South Asians.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



Q91 VII. Worldview

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
I make decisions about my career based on what is important to me and my goals, regardless of what others might think.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I make decisions about my career based on what my family/community wants or expects of me, even if I desire something different.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I date(ed) whomever I want(ed) without involving my family in the decision-making process.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I seek/sought my family/community's approval of who I date(d) or marry(ied).	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I select(ed) romantic partners based on who my family/community typically accepts or allows.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am comfortable asking for privacy from my family/community.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

My personal decisions often go against my family/community's expectations.

Assuming the relationship is solid, I prefer(red) to marry someone outside of my family's culture of origin.

Assuming the relationship is solid, I prefer(red) to marry someone within my family's culture of origin.

While self care is important to me, I will forego my needs for the benefit of my family/community.

I often go with what others want, sometimes at my own expense.

My family/community wants what is best for me and are important to include in my decisions-making.

It is important for me to make my own decisions regardless of what my family/community wants for me.

End of Block: Acculturation Scale
