ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIP SATISFACTION IN SECOND-GENERATION SOUTH ASIAN IMMIGRANTS: INVESTIGATING THE ROLE OF ACCULTURATIVE STRESS AND ATTACHMENT

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Abstract

This study used the measure of romantic relationship satisfaction to understand one aspect of well-being in adulthood for the second-generation South Asian immigrant population. The study explored the links between parental acculturative stress in childhood, to romantic relationship satisfaction in adulthood, this was done with a latent variable path model, using subscales of attachment as multiple mediators.

Participants of this study identified as second-generation South Asian immigrants. They were asked to fill out an online survey which included one scale for parental acculturative stress (The Acculturative Stress Index). First-generation survey data was collected through the retrospective accounts of the second-generation participants. The remaining questions on the survey included scales to assess attachment (Attachment Style Questionnaire), and romantic relationship satisfaction (The Dyadic Adjustment Scale). Two types of acculturative stress were measured; social isolation and sense of belonging. The ASQ identified five attachment subscales. The path model was used to assess for links between these factors, it was run in four steps.

The path model confirmed that acculturative stress was significantly associated with attachment. Further it was confirmed that acculturative stress was associated with romantic relationship satisfaction. The current study did not find that attachment mediated any of the relationships in the path model. These results help contribute to the growing body of literature for this population, and may help clinical interventions moving forward.

Key words: South Asian Diaspora, Second-generation Immigrants, Attachment Styles, Acculturative Stress, Romantic Relationships, Relationship Satisfaction
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Romantic Relationship Satisfaction in Second-Generation South Asian Immigrants: Investigating the Role of Acculturative Stress and Attachment

The second-generation South Asian (SA) population is a growing ethnic group within Canada (Islam, Khanlou, & Tamim, 2014), comprised of immigrants whose parents have a migration history from the Indian subcontinent. The migration histories within the first-generation population are difficult, often comprised of unwilling displacement, war, and other traumas, subsequently many SA immigrants arrived in Canada as refugees, or are migrants with difficult migration journeys (George, 2011; Roopnarine, 2011). In relocating to Canada, SA immigrants were able to leave the various dangers in their home countries, though they are then faced with the challenges that visible minorities with little to no knowledge of the English language have to face in Canada. Further, SAs are from religious collectivistic cultures, and experience significant culture shock and isolation in regard to adjusting to an individualistic culture - this being one of the many challenges that SA immigrants experience. Migrations stress, also known as acculturative stress is known to contribute to lower levels of health, research has shown that immigrant health tends to deteriorate within the first ten years after migration (Kim, 2013). For many immigrants, this period of adjustment is marked by many other stressful life events (raising children, living in poverty, etc.). Due to the language barrier many SA immigrants face, accessing resources can often be a challenge. Additionally, research on the SA population has shown that there is significant stigma surrounding mental health, which would likely be a barrier to accessing services (Inman, Yeh, Madan-Bahel, & Nath, 2007; Loya, Reddy, & Hinshaw, 2011; Randhawa & Stein, 2007).

The experiences of first-generation SA immigrants are chaotic – from their migration, to the process of acculturating (Roopnarine, 2011; George, 2013; Alston, 2014; Renner & Berry, 2011), the impact of these stressors on their second-generation children is yet to be explored.
Further, based on the timeframe of migration to Canada (migration histories described by Roopnarine, 2011; George, 2013; Alston, 2014) the children of first-generation SA immigrants are now adults, thus understanding the long-term impact of migration is now feasible. It has been argued by Reitz and Somerville (2004) that understanding immigrant success, in regard to the host country is determined by the outcome of the children of immigrants. In effort to understand the impact of migration on the second-generation SA population, not only it would be important to understand if parental stressors play a role (Pong & Landale, 2012), but it would be useful to understand if these parental stressors impact the parent-child attachment relationship (Carreon, 2016). Research suggests that the process of acculturation is so demanding that it carries a permanent impact on the migrant’s identity (Sundar, 2008). As it has been well understood in attachment literature, the relationship developed during attachment is heavily dependent on the responsiveness and attunement of primary caregivers (Ainsworth, 1979; Bowlby, 1988).

This relationship can become further complicated with parents who identify with one culture and religious/spiritual tradition, while the child grows up in a western secular country (Carreon, 2016). Considering the particularly stressful circumstances surrounding raising children as a first-generation immigrant, it would be appropriate to understand if there is an impact of acculturative stress on attachment (Carreon, 2016). As attachment research has indicated, attachment in adulthood can reflect attachment styles from infancy and childhood, specifically this can parallel romantic relationships (Rholes, Paetzold, & Kohn, 2016). Therefore, looking at relationship satisfaction in this population could be an indicator of various aspects of health and well-being in this population. Thus, it would be useful to assess well-being in this population by looking at successes and failures in romantic relationships. Further, research suggests that in evaluating the long-terms effects of immigration for a host country, the result is
far more dependent on the fate of the children of immigrants as opposed to the fate of the immigrants themselves (Reitz & Somerville, 2004; Somerville & Robinson, 2016). There exists a gap in the literature regarding the impact of acculturative stress coping on SA immigrants, and the impact this has on their children. The long-term impact of this stress is not well known, but research suggests that this stress is significant enough to permanently impact a person’s identity (Sundar, 2008). Trying to assess the long-term impact of migration on the children of immigrants would require a long-term research plan (longitudinal research), given that this would mean needing to start this research years ago (in order to have several years of data on this population), it is understandable that this type of research is currently lacking. Though, with the knowledge that immigrants are particularly vulnerable post-migration (Renner & Berry, 2011), and raise children during an emotionally vulnerable time (Philippe, 2001), this leads to the question, what is the impact of these stressors, and how significant is this impact? Research on refugees and immigrants who are visible minorities can help inform this gap, but does not close this gap, as SA immigrants have their own unique diasporic identity. Further, there is little research that looks at the role of attachment in understanding the dynamics between first and second generation immigrants, and the existing research does not clearly differentiate the differences between these two groups (and the impact of stressors for one group, and its effect on the other). This research aims to understand the dynamics within this unique diasporic group, by assessing for the common factors (migration stress and parent-child attachment during migration stress) that exist within this population. In effort to better understand the impact of migration, and the migration process related stressors on the second-generation SA population, this research will be framed to specifically differentiate the issues specific to first-generation immigrants.
(acculturative stress), issues specific to the parent-child dynamic (attachment), and the outcome for second-generation well-being (romantic relationship satisfaction).

Second-generation South Asian Immigrant Identity

Second-generation immigrants are the children of first-generation immigrants; those who moved from their country of origin to a new host country (Kucera, 2008). Second-generation immigrants in Canada identify themselves in regard to their race, which refers explicitly to their skin colour (Sundar, 2008). The terms “brown” and “South Asian” are used to indicate the connection to the Indian subcontinent while recognizing that there are many in-group differences. Race has become an important factor as it defines the experience of the Canadian South Asian second-generation immigrant (Sundar, 2008). In a 1997 study, Tatum argued that racialized youth think about and identify themselves in terms of race because others around them see them that way.

The lived experiences within this group differ than their Canadian born counterparts. Research by Reitz (2012), indicates that the racial gap is more apparent for children of immigrants born in Canada than for immigrants themselves. This can be seen by the fact that second – generation immigrants are more educated than their parents, yet they are more likely to be overqualified in their employment compared to their white counterparts (Reitz, 2012). This research suggests that even though there are policies in Canada which are meant to encourage social integration for immigrants, these policies are less effective for racial minorities than they are for white immigrants (Reitz, 2012). Here, it can be seen that the experiences of the second-generation are complex, they navigate the host country differently than both first-generation immigrants and their Canadian born peers.
Second-generation SA immigrants identify as both Canadian and South Asian. This “national duality” acknowledges both their country of birth/citizenship and ethno-racial/cultural roots (Sundar, 2008). Second-generation immigrants collectively experience the distinct struggle of their dual identity as they are seen in Canada as more “South Asian” than “Canadian”, and in their parents’ countries of origin, more “Canadian” than “South Asian” (Singh, 2015) (for example, this may present as immigrant children not fitting in at school in Canada, and not relating to their first-generation family at home). For second-generation SA immigrants, belonging and alienation exist simultaneously (Singh, 2015). This can help explain why second-generation SAs find it easier to closely identify with others who identify the same way (Joshi, 2011). Where differences in regard to specific country of origin and language would deter first-generation immigrants from connecting, the similarities of the second-generation experience connects and solidifies the second-generation SA identity (Tatum, 1997). A study by Abouguendia and Noels (2001) suggests that second-generation immigrants experience different acculturative stressors than their parents. The uniqueness of the second-generation experience (both how they differ in regard to other immigrant populations and first-generation immigrants) indicates a need to understand how health outcomes may be different for this population. Using romantic relationship satisfaction to measure one aspect of well-being can be useful, as it can assess for important factors such as emotional development and intimacy (Mota, 2014).

Research suggests that SAs are more likely to experience stigma related to mental health issues, and receiving mental health services. The stigma which is associated with mental health issues is often one of the most significant barriers to the help-seeking process (Gilbert, Gilbert, & Sanghera, 2004; Inman et al., 2007; Randhawa & Stein, 2007). A study by Loya, Reddy, and Hinshaw (2010), compared Caucasian students and South Asian students, in regards to their
attitudes and beliefs about seeking mental health services, they found that SA college students had poorer attitudes, greater reluctance toward using counselling services, and heightened levels of personal stigma compared to their Caucasian counterparts. Further, research suggests that within the SA community, disclosing issues regarding mental illness is shameful, and a sign of weakness, thus resulting in not accessing services (Karasz et al., 2016). This is particularly important to note as research has suggested that SA immigrants experience a high rate of mental health disorders (Karasz et al., 2016). Given the detrimental mental health consequences that may be experienced by the SA immigrant community, it is understandable to assume that many aspects of their lives may be affected, including the various types of relationships they may have.

**Romantic Relationship Satisfaction**

According to Bowlby, early attachment relationships are internalized and used as a prototype for relationships throughout an individual’s life (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). Bowlby introduced the concept of the internal working model, the mental framework used by children to help them understand their world (Bowlby, 1969). This model is used to guide all relationships during the child’s life. Research by Hazen and Shaver (1991) has indicated that this model is likely used to navigate all romantic relationships in an individual’s life. Romantic love is a common experience in adulthood, and it is considered an important life goal. Relationship satisfaction can be reflective of a person’s overall well-being; being married or in a close relationship is related to higher levels of personal well-being (Wegner, Roy, Gorman, & Ferguson, 2018). Furthermore, research suggests that having positive expectations in romantic relationships will have benefits for those relationships, while negative expectations ultimately harm romantic relationships (Lemay Jr. & Venaglia, 2016). A study conducted by Eidelson and Epstein (1982), indicated that individuals in relationships who believed that people and
relationships cannot change, reported lower levels of marital adjustment, and commitment. Conversely, individuals who believed that love can prevail over all relationship problems, reported more love, commitment, and satisfaction in their relationships (Lemay Jr. & Venaglia, 2016). Research has linked physiological arousal to the inability to manage conflict, and the tendency to avoid problem solving and conflict resolution in response to decreased relationship quality between partners (Perrone-McGovern et al., 2014). Conflict management and the ability to solve problems interpersonally are largely learned during an individual’s early development (Ali, Jahan, Verma, Singh, & Mahato, 2009). From this it can be concluded that quality of care, and modeled behavior early on in life, will affect an individual’s potential to maintain relationships, greatly enabling their ability to experience romantic relationship satisfaction. For these reasons, relationship satisfaction will be used as the measure for well-being in this study. Given that the type of relationships that are formed during early development are important to understanding well-being, there is merit to considering the different types of relationships people may have.

**Attachment Styles**

Attachment styles are primarily determined by an individual’s relationship to their primary caregiver, from infancy to childhood (Bowlby, 1988). Attachment theory suggests that an individual’s beliefs and feelings about themselves are significantly determined by both the attunement/responsiveness of the caregiving environment, as well as the degree to which comfort and security needs are met (Ainsworth, 1979). Longitudinal research in the past has lead researchers to believe that internal working models may persist throughout an individual’s life span, and it can be seen in parenting behavior, close peer relationships, though the theory does not suggest or assume that internal working models persist without change across one’s lifetime.
Research has identified four main attachment styles: secure, anxious/ambivalent, dismissive/avoidant, and fearful. The dynamics involved in close relationships (formation, maintenance, and dissolution) can be understood in terms of attachment style (Simpson, 1990; Hazan & Shaver, 1994). Furthermore, research indicates that an individual’s attachment style can parallel their experience in romantic relationships (Wegner, Roy, Gorman, & Ferguson, 2018). Of the two streams of attachment research, the personality/social psychological stream focused on personality traits and social interactions, using questionnaire measures to study adult social relationships (Bartholomew & Shaver, 1998). Self-report data is especially prone to measurement error, as individuals are not always able to articulate processes which help determine attachment style, and this is further limited in a questionnaire (Bartholomew & Shaver, 1998).

**History.** Attachment theory has become one of the main frameworks for understanding the ways in which individuals connect to one another, beginning from infancy. The basic components of attachment theory were formulated by John Bowlby, whose work changed the way researchers would contemplate the bond between an infant and their primary caregiver. Bowlby’s work examined this bond in states of separation, deprivation, and bereavement (Bretherton, 1992). In the paper *The Nature of the Child’s Tie to His Mother*, Bowlby proposed that infant behavior is comprised of instinctual responses (crying, smiling, clinging, sucking, etc.) that bind the mother to the infant, and the infant to the mother (Bowlby, 1958). Bowlby hypothesized that the goal of the attachment system was to maintain proximity between the infant to their mother, to develop a sense of safety and security (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). Further, he proposed that these responses developed fairly independently for the first year of life, and became increasingly integrated and focused on the mother (Bowlby, 1958). Mary
Ainsworth (1979) is well known for her attachment research involving the Strange Situation experiment, which would further validate Bowlby’s theory. In her experiment, she recruited mothers and their infants to complete a task. Each mother and infant would spend time in a room full of toys, a stranger would then enter the room, and the mother would be signaled to leave the room. The researchers would look to see the infant’s reaction to the mother leaving the room, and the infant’s reaction to the stranger trying to comfort the infant. The mother would be signaled to enter the room, and the researchers would look for the infant’s response to this (Lamb, Thompson, Gardner, Charnov, & Estes, 1984). The infants who could cope with the separation of their mothers and were calmed by her return were classified as secure, and the infants who displayed distress to her departure and struggled with her return, displayed no distressed to her absence and return, or displayed any other extraneous behaviors, were placed in the insecure category. Ainsworth’s original work affirmed three attachment styles, secure, anxious, and avoidant. The introduction to attachment theory and research comes from a clinical-developmental framework. Assessing for attachment in participants by using survey data comes from the social-psychological framework of attachment. This perspective looks at infant child attachment as a parallel for romantic love in adulthood - that attachment exists in romantic relationships. Later work by Bartholomew and Horowitz from the social psychological perspective affirmed four attachment categories: secure, preoccupied, dismissing, and fearful (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). For the purpose of this study, it is important to note that as attachment is measured in a quantitative approach, the social psychological perspective on attachment is the framework being used. In the following descriptions of attachment styles, the developmental tradition is explained as well as the personality/social psychological domain, and
it should be noted that while these traditions are both inspired by Bowlby’s original work, they are not congruent.

**Secure Attachment.** The secure attachment style is the first of the organized attachment styles, it was proposed by Ainsworth, and described in infants who were able to depend on their primary caregivers. In the strange situation task, these infants were distressed upon the departure of their mothers, and relieved and appeased when their mothers returned (Ainsworth, 1979). According to research by Koback and Sceery (1988) individuals with secure attachment see themselves as relatively unperturbed, and others as supportive. From the social psychological perspective when connecting attachment in infancy and childhood to romantic love later on in life, individuals with this attachment style generally perceive romantic relationships as friendly, trusting, and happy, and are able to support and accept their partner (Hazan & Shaver, 1987).

**Anxious/Ambivalent Attachment.** The next organized attachment style is the anxious/ambivalent attachment style. Proposed by Ainsworth, this attachment style is described in the strange situation task as the infants who were anxious about the primary caregiver leaving, distressed when she left, and in reunion maintained close contact but were ambivalent with the caregiver (Ainsworth, 1979). From the social psychological perspective, research suggests that children with this attachment style have a negative view of themselves, which follows them into adulthood (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). According to research by Koback and Sceery (1988) individuals with preoccupied attachment see themselves as distressed, and others as not supportive enough to meet their needs.

**Avoidant Attachment.** The avoidant attachment style is the last of the organized attachment styles (Ainsworth, 1979). Avoidant attachment style describes the infant who experiences doubt in regard to the availability of the caregiver to attend to them, thus using
avoidance to cope with stressors. This avoidance is often masking anger (Fagot & Kavanagh, 1990). The avoidant attachment style has also been associated with social difficulties, problems with compliance, difficulties with cooperation, and aggressive behaviors throughout the individuals life (Fagot & Kavanagh, 1990). According to research by Koback and Sceery (1988) individuals with avoidant attachment see themselves as not distressed, and others as unsupportive.

**Fearful Attachment.** This attachment style is characterized by a fear of intimacy and extreme emotional highs and lows (Hazan & Shaver, 1987). Fearfully attached individuals often have the need to be close to others while simultaneously experiencing discomfort with closeness. Individuals with this attachment style may be unable to meet their attachment needs, as their fear of intimacy prevents and disrupts their desire for love and connection (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). This particular attachment style was not measured with the attachment scale used in this research.

**Attachment and Romantic Relationship Satisfaction.** The area of relationship satisfaction is one that has not yet been investigated insofar as it applies to the second-generation SA population. As attachment has been linked to relationship satisfaction (Hazan & Shaver, 1994), it can be argued that the experience of forming attachment, paired with the experience of acculturative stress for this population, may provide a different outcome in regards to their romantic relationship experience (when compared to non-SA populations). As the ability to maintain a long-term romantic relationship is reflective of a person’s overall well-being (Erol & Orth, 2015), it is important to look at the experience of adult second-generation SAs and their experience of relationship satisfaction, as this may carry many implications for the well-being of this distinct minority population.
Research suggests variations in responses to stress and the use of social support are partly accounted for by attachment theory. Social support and coping processes are important in understanding both psychological well-being, and understanding this relationship may increase the predictive utility of each concept (Belizaire & Fuertes, 2011). Thus, attachment theory is strongly relevant to understanding how immigrants adjust to and cope with life stressors associated with acculturation (Belizaire & Fuertes, 2011).

There is little research that focuses on the impact of acculturative stress and the link it has to the process of attachment between first-generation immigrant parents and their second-generation children. There is even less information on this process in the South Asian population. This study sought to explore the link between attachment styles and acculturative stress for second-generation South Asian immigrants. As the research has suggested that attachment style is predictive of romantic relationships in adulthood, this study examined the relationship between attachment styles and romantic relationship satisfaction.

South Asian Diaspora

The population of interest for this study is the Canadian second-generation SA immigrant population. This study also looked at the experience of first-generation immigrants, through the retrospective accounts of their children. Though the South Asian Diaspora is made up of individuals from different countries as well as differing religious backgrounds, second-generation immigrants have a collective SA identity in Canada. Research by Sundar (2008) explained that second-generation immigrants often identify themselves in terms of their race - explicitly referring to their skin colour (often referring to themselves as “brown”) (Sundar, 2008). This term is being used to describe people of seemingly different cultural backgrounds. The terms “brown” and “South Asian” in this context indicate the historical connection to the
Indian subcontinent. The Indian subcontinent reflects similar traditions, values, and customs (Sundar, 2008). Though individuals who identify as SA are aware of the differences between themselves and other SA individuals, their experience of being SA is also defined by the way non-South Asians respond to the colour of their skin (Sundar, 2008). For the current study, the focus was on the experiences of the second-generation SA immigrant. It is important to recognize that a significant proportion of the countries included in the Canadian SA diaspora include people who have migrated to Canada as refugees (Weaver, 2005). The researcher of this project recognizes that there are significant differences in cultures among the different identities that have been grouped together to be labeled as SA, and the possible shortcomings of grouping them together. Some of these shortcomings may include the differences in customs, attitudinal differences toward the host country, and politics associated with country of origin. However, as the second-generation has its own collective identity, the researcher will proceed to use the term South Asian within the context of this paper, to reflect the similarities that these cultures do share, and to refer to aspects of the identity specific to the second-generation SA immigrant.

For the purposes of this project, SA is defined as individuals who have migrated or been displaced from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and the West Indies (Singh, 2015). It is important to recognize that while individuals from these countries have different cultures and migration experiences, they typically have experienced the same systemic forms of racism, and there is a significant overlap in their cultural identities (Ashutosh, 2014). This racism has often grouped first-generation SAs together in terms of how they are differentiated from white people, which simultaneously isolates and disenfranchises their personal identity. The differences between their cultures have been looked at critically by first-generation immigrants, as these differences have divided these populations’ identities from one another (Sundar, 2008). The
more significant differences between SA groups can be attributed to differences in their country of origin and the politics and customs that are specific to their homelands. There are however, distinct commonalities amongst first-generation SAs; one prominent example being that many SAs have grown up in environments with a caste system. Having caste dictates to what degree they have access to education, occupation, and health (Inman, 2015). Another commonality is the culture of the patriarchal household, where women have less power than men and are expected to fulfill gender specific roles (Alston, 2014; Despot, 2016). The strict gender roles can be seen by the dress codes, education levels, inheritance rights, and decisions in regard to marriage (Alston, 2014). These similarities between SAs from different countries could encourage connections between SA immigrants in their new host country. This is important to recognize, because it helps us understand that first-generation SAs have had to connect and build communities with one another in the interest of survival, learning to often disregard any fundamental cultural difference they may have. It is important to recognize that though there may be many similarities within this group, language barriers have been a deterrent to helping these immigrant communities connect with one another. The second-generation of SA immigrants have a collective identity. Most of them are born in the Western world, and speak English. In this way, they can connect with other second-generation immigrants without a language barrier, and are able to connect in regard to the many similarities that the first-generation have in common (Ashutosh, 2010). This generation is able to have a more solid SA identity because many of the aspects which had divided the first generation now help to connect the second generation (Ashutosh, 2010). This may help inform us of the way that second-generation SA immigrants have been able to develop their own unique form of identity.
A critical examination done by Ashutosh in 2014, explained that the term “South Asian” has been used to identify multiple instances of colonialism, including the attempts to tie individuals to land in South Asia, as well as migration systems initiated to obtain free labor (Ashutosh, 2014). The term SA had also become a term that became more appealing for various migrants with brown skin when it had become common in Canada to be addressed with the derogatory slur “paki”, which was used by white people to address all non-white, brown migrants (Ashutosh, 2014). It had been observed by SAs that Canadians of European background tended to generalize them by their dissimilarity to white Canadians, as opposed to recognizing the differences between the specific cultures contained within the SA label (Sundar, 2008). For example, there are a variety of religions and religious practices among the different people who identify as SA, but it has become a common experience for Canadian SAs to have their ethno-specific cultural practices generalized to all SAs by their host country.

In regards to the well-being of immigrant populations, there are several studies suggesting that migration is related to lower overall well-being (Higginbottom et al., 2012; Revollo, 2011). Conversely, there is also the idea of the healthy immigrant paradox: this is the phenomenon where first-generation immigrants tend to have better overall health than those native to the host country (Stevens et al., 2015). It is suggested that the strong ethnic support system, as well as family obligation, help immigrants develop a resilience. Though the healthy immigrant paradox does not apply to all immigrants, it can be important to understand that immigrants with a more stable support system in their host country have the potential to have better health outcomes. It should be noted that this paradox can sometimes be explained by immigrant issues within communities being underreported (Millett, 2016). In communities where there is a significant sense of well-being for first-generation immigrants, second-generation
immigrants tend not to do as well; they often have a lower sense of overall well-being (Stevens et al., 2015). Research suggests that second-generation immigrants may have less cultural support, as they are more likely to become immersed in the receiving society than their parents (Stevens et al., 2015). In order to better understand the issues facing second–generation immigrants, it is important to understand the migration history of their first-generation parents.

**Immigrants from India**

Of the three classifications of immigrants, namely skilled workers, business class, and family class, family class has been the largest group of immigrants from India. This is usually due to business class or skilled workers migrating to Canada, and later sponsoring their family members, thus increasing the number of family class immigrants. It is important to note, that historically it was difficult for individuals from India to migrate to Canada due to how low the Indian rupee is valued, compared to the Canadian dollar (Walton-Roberts, 2003).

The first immigrants of Indian origin to Canada were from the Punjab state of India (specifically from the Doaba region). Their main motivation was finding employment, and with immigration rules easing in Canada in the 1950’s, this became a possibility (Walton-Roberts, 2003). In 1967, the immigration policy in Canada eliminated discrimination based on national origin, race, and religion, and began a points-based system, further encouraging immigration from India. By 1970 it was estimated that 70 percent of Indian immigrants were from the Punjab (Walton-Roberts, 2003). What today would be considered India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, were once all considered India. The divide between the three countries was influenced heavily by religious differences.

The Punjab state and Bengal are located approximately 1600 km apart but were expected to form one unified government, thus complications of this expectation eventually led to a
political destabilization (Alston, 2014). In 1970, Bengal won the majority of seats in the election for the first time (previously Punjabi politicians had the majority). A refusal by the ruling Punjabi statesman to concede to a Bengali majority led to a widespread genocide in Bengal (Alston, 2014). Hundreds of thousands of Bengali women were raped and tortured. The end of this war resulted in the separation and establishment of Pakistan and Bangladesh (Alston, 2014). During this period, there was also a flood of refugees migrating to Canada from India, due to the violence from the Khalistan and Sikh separation. This Separation saw the Indian Army attack one of the holiest Sikh places, the Temple of Amritsar in 1984. Following this event, the Indian President Indira Gandhi was assassinated by Sikhs, which lead to Sikhs across India being attacked and murdered by other groups. In Canada during this time a ship containing 174 Sikh refugees arrived in Nova Scotia (Walton-Roberts, 2003). It was during this time that many Indian Sikh documented and undocumented immigrants arrived in Canada; it was estimated that 15-20 percent of Indian immigrants were undocumented (Walton-Roberts, 2003). As many of the first Indian immigrants were from Pakistan, the slur “paki” can be seen as one of the first ways in which SAs were racially targeted (Ashutosh, 2014). This slur would continue to follow SA immigrants regardless of their connection to Pakistan, disenfranchising and isolating SA immigrants for years to come.

**Immigrants from Sri Lanka**

The majority of Sri Lankan immigrants in Canada identify as Tamil. The Sri Lankan population consists of three groups, the Sinhalese majority, as well as the Tamil and Muslim minorities (George, 2011). Ethnic and political tensions between the Sinhalese majority and Tamil minority led to civil war between 1981 and 2009 (George, 2013). The Sri Lankan Tamils first arrived in Canada as refugees due to the war in Sri Lanka between the Tamil and the
Sinhalese (George, 2011). The mass migration occurred after Black July. Black July refers to the period in 1983 where thousands of Tamil people were tortured and killed by the Sinhalese population with the support of the Government. It was during this time when thousands of Tamils were forced to migrate from Sri Lanka as Refugees, many of them relocating to Canada (George, 2011). It should be noted that the pre-migration stressors for Tamil refugees were incredibly difficult, these refugees lived in war zones and often experienced a lack of food, water, access to medical care, and shelter. Many refugees were also faced with physical and sexual assault (George, 2013).

The largest population of Sri Lankan Tamils outside of the Island is in Canada, specifically The Greater Toronto Area (George, 2011). Over a twenty-five-year period in Canada the Tamil population has grown and diversified, and the Tamil Canadian experience now includes a distinctly second-generation layer. It should be noted, that though there is a large population of Sri Lankan Tamils in Toronto, they are concentrated in underserved parts of the city (George, 2011). Second-generation Tamil immigrants who were raised in Canada often grew up in multicultural neighborhoods, their experiences are marked by negotiating shifting family norms, gendered expectations, and racialized experiences (George, 2011). In regard to ethnic/racial identity, second-generation Tamils may be identified as “brown”, “South Asian”, and “Tamil”, the terms often used interchangeably (George, 2011). Research by George (2011) suggests that in regard to Tamil identity specifically, there are a variety of experiences ranging from pride, to ambivalence, to wanting to differentiate from “fresh off the boat” (or first-generation Tamil Immigrants). Much of this can be contributed to by the variety of macroaggressions experienced by these immigrants, both Tamil-specific and SA-specific discrimination.
Immigrants from the West Indies

From India to the West Indies. The term West Indies refers to a series of Islands throughout the Caribbean Sea. The Islands are divided into three Categories: The Bahamas, The Greater Antilles, and The Lesser Antilles (Hilaire, 2006). Belize and Guyana are also considered to be a part of the West Indies. The major areas included within the West Indies share a history of colonization and have similar cultural practices and traditions (Hilaire, 2006).

For the purpose of this study the South Asian Identity within the West Indian culture was explored. This primarily looks at the West Indians who have a migration history from India. Following the 1834 abolition of slavery in the West Indies, Indian immigrants, primarily from Calcutta, made their way to the West Indies with the promise of employment by the British (Wahab, 2007). This began a period of indentured servitude for these Indian immigrants, the conditions of their promised employment highly resembling slavery (Wahab, 2007). It was estimated that 500,000 immigrants made their way from India to the West Indies for employment (Roopnarine, 2011). In his research, Dr. Roopnarine (2011) details the harsh conditions for Indian Immigrants. He describes the nature of the work as prioritizing labour (benefitting the advantaged class within a capitalist system), while having to consider their human values secondary. The nature of the colonial system ensured that indentured workers had no choice – they were forced to serve (Roopnarine, 2011). Indentured workers were payed minimally, and confined to the plantation they worked on, making migration or leaving their situation incredibly difficult (Roopnarine, 2011). This continued until the 1920’s. Toward the end of the period of indentured servitude, many of these immigrants were offered the choice to give up their passage back to India in return for a small amount of money, allowing them to purchase land – thus
beginning the potential for Indians to become citizens (Roopnarine, 2011). This also allowed
Indian immigrants to travel within the West Indies and purchase land (Roopnarine, 2011).

From the West Indies to Canada. Though the Indian migrants were eventually able to
procure land in the West Indies, they still faced obstacles that challenged their desire to settle in
the West Indies – one main factor being racism (Teelucksingh, 2011). As a result, thousands of
Indians in the West Indies migrated as political refugees to Canada and the US. Between 1965
and 1980, migrants from the West Indies were welcomed to Canada due to the need for skilled
labourers (Teelucksingh, 2011).

Acculturative Stress

Acculturation refers to the process of adjustment and adaption that occurs within a
cultural group from persistent interactions with a dominant culture (Haboush-Deloye, 2015;
Tummala-Narra et al., 2016). This process can be associated with significant stress, especially in
circumstances where individuals are moving to a country with different cultural values and
norms. For many immigrants, acculturation can be a very isolating experience (Haboush-Deloye,
2015). Elizabeth Batista-Pinto Weiese (2010) explains in her paper Culture and Migration:
Psychological Trauma in Children and Adolescents, that just as acculturation is a complex
process for adults, it can be just as complex for children because they experience acculturative
stress during a more vulnerable time. Migrant children have the unique experience of growing up
in a transcultural environment. In this way, migration experiences affect their cognitive, cultural,
social, and emotional development (Batista-Pinto Wiese, 2010). A 2010 study suggested that
parenting practices change for migrant mothers, due to the cultural practices of the host country,
as well as the availability of resources they may no longer have access to (access to books, safe
outdoor parks, etc.). In these circumstances a mother may develop parenting practices that they
may not agree with (Driessen, Leyendecker, Scholmerich, & Harwood, 2010). Children from migrant families also experience different roles, due to the changing expectations of the migration process. For example, many migrant children need to act as interpreters for their parents in their new host country, signaling the necessity of shouldering adult responsibilities. Research by Fazel, Reed, Panter-Brock, and Stein (2012) indicates that refugee children and adolescents who are displaced and migrate to high-income countries often suffer with physical and mental disadvantages both during displacement and after arrival. This contradicts the notion that moving to a wealthier nation would necessarily improve the lives of those migrants.

Just as the lived experiences of first-generation and second-generation immigrants differ, so do their experiences of acculturative stress, and the ways they are impacted. A 2001 study by Abougendia and Noels interviewed 74 first and second-generation SA immigrants to assess their experience of different types of daily hassles, acculturation attitudes, and level of psychological adjustment. The study found that first and second-generation immigrants did have different experiences: second-generation immigrants experienced more in-group hassles, and had lower self-esteem than first-generation immigrants, and scoring higher on out-group hassles was predictive of depression for both first and second-generation immigrants (Abouguendia & Noels, 2001).

Many of the factors contributing to acculturative stress for first-generation immigrants concern raising children in a country with different norms and values (Baptiste, 1993). There may even be issues with familial and generational boundaries. A large majority of visible minority immigrants to North America come from collectivistic cultures with more rigidly regulated family boundaries (Baptiste, 1993). For example, immigrants from cultures such as Kuwait, Mexico, India, and Nigeria value the advice and direction of elders in their families –
age entitles them to respect (Baptiste, 1993). Elders are also in control of family money and wealth (Deepak, 2005). In collectivistic cultures, the welfare of the family is more important than the needs of the individual. This is particularly challenging for second-generation immigrants because they grow up in an environment that is fundamentally different from their parents’ (Sundar, 2008). After living in North America, second-generation immigrants often think more individualistically than their parents, and seek and accept advice/direction from non-family members (friends, teachers, school counsellors, etc.) (Baptiste, 1993). These behaviors appear to violate the intrinsic values of immigrant families. Parents in these situations often try to restrict their children, in an effort to stop them from losing their cultural values (Baptiste, 1993). In attempting to retain their family’s cultural ideals, parents will try to preserve their children’s ethnic identity as their primary identity. For example, many parents will restrict their children to speaking English only outside of their home, in order to maintain English as a second language (Sundar, 2008).

There are also generational problems that can occur. Due to the language barrier, many immigrants find themselves marginally involved in society (Baptiste, 1993; Agyekum & Newbold, 2016). Children are able to adapt to new cultures significantly easier than their parents (they are more easily able to pick up languages, and customs); this often leaves children to act as interpreters for their parents (Katz, 2014). This dynamic often facilitates a role-reversal between parents and children (Baptiste, 1993). By acting as an interpreter, children are now a part of conversations and decision-making processes that are usually reserved for adults (Katz, 2014). This places children in positions that are in conflict with their generational hierarchy (Deepak, 2005). Here, children are expected to perform as translators for their parents, and act accordingly in respect to maturity depending on the situation for which they must act as translator. Children
are expected to understand that they must respond in a way that accurately represents their parents (Reynolds & Orellana, 2009). Despite having to live with these role reversals to survive, parents often feel resentful for having to put their children in these positions, as well as anger toward themselves for not being able to handle these matters on their own (Baptiste, 1993).

Often immigrant parents experience the fear of losing their children to a new culture (Baptiste, 1993). Parents perceive their children’s adjustment to the new culture as trying to separate or individuate from their family of origin (Singh, 2015). The feeling that parents have lost their children to their new culture is a distinct marker for transgenerational conflict (Deepak, 2005). Immigrant parents have often identified the following as visible markers proving the deterioration of the family’s ethnic identity in their children: speaking English, western style/appearance, education choices, and religion (Baptiste, 1993). Immigrant parents are often forced to deal with the loss of authority in regards to disciplining their children (Baptiste, 1993). For many immigrants, their own culturally relevant ways of disciplining their children are not acceptable in North America – parents must abide by these changes for fear of deportation or punishment (Deepak, 2005).

Many immigrant parents struggle with the loss of authority to select partners for their children. In several cultures from the Indian subcontinent, it is the parental responsibility to select and decide who their children can marry (Deepak, 2005). Immigrant parents often also prefer to find partners for their children who are from the same culture (Singh, 2015). These first-generation parents often feel at a loss because their second-generation children, who are more individualistically socialized, often do not believe in these traditions (Sundar, 2008).

There is a distinct struggle for first-generation immigrants as many of them have migrated to “build a better life” for their children; they struggle with appreciating a life for their
children that provides them more opportunities, and feeling that their children have been alienated from their culture (Baptiste, 1993; Rhee, 2009). A significant part of the immigrant experience that contributes to acculturation for first-generation immigrants is the unpreparedness for change and the resulting conflicts which arise when the way of life in their host country demands changes (Baptiste, 1993). Often individuals are not aware that some of the more challenging aspects of migrating are related to cultural shifts, as well as discrepancies between the expectations and the realities of immigration (Baptiste, 1993).

Acculturative stress in visible minority populations has been linked to strain on both physical and mental health, school/career performance, and marital/family adjustment (Revollo, 2011). A study conducted by Haboush-Delaye, Oliver, Parker, and Billings (2015) examined suicidal youth and found that acculturative stress plays a significant role in suicidality in visible minority youth. This study also found that for Hispanic youth, ethnic identification to their culture of origin was predictive of their acculturative stress levels; the higher their ethnic cultural identity, the higher their acculturative stress levels (Haboush-Deloye, 2015). Some of the most stressful aspects of acculturation are learning to communicate in a new language, experiencing racism, having to develop new work skills, understanding different social and behavioral norms, and experiencing social isolation (Tummala-Narra et al., 2016). Acculturation is linked to depression and suicidality, though factors such as social support and high socioeconomic status can significantly reduce the likeliness of depression for individuals with low acculturation status (Tummala-Narra et al., 2016; Belizaire & Fuertes, 2011).

Immigrant health has been observed to deteriorate within a few years of arriving in Canada (Agyekum & Newbold, 2016). The decline of an immigrant’s physical and mental health, as a result of pre-migration, migration, and post-migration stressors are associated with
acculturation, suggesting that there are factors within the host society that negatively affect the health of immigrants (Agyekum & Newbold, 2016).

Finally, underemployment and unemployment is one of the most significant detriments to mental health that has been identified in immigrant populations (Agyekum & Newbold, 2016). Immigrants often experience discrimination relating to language, skin colour, and an undervaluing of foreign credentials by the host country (Agyekum & Newbold, 2016). Unemployment is a very stressful experience and is linked with low self-esteem, isolation, and family conflicts that subsequently lead to mental health problems. Sustained periods of unemployment lead to poverty, poor nutrition, lower housing standards, fewer educational opportunities and access to quality health care (Agyekum & Newbold, 2016). In Canada, racial minorities have the lowest family and individual incomes, and subsequently experience more poverty than the general population (J. G. Reitz, 2012). These conditions ultimately lead to unhealthy coping behaviours such as smoking, alcohol consumption, and drug abuse (Rhee, 2009). The current study seeks to explore the links between first-generation acculturative stress and its impact on one aspect of second-generation South Asian immigrant well-being: romantic relationship satisfaction.

There are various models that have been proposed to understand acculturative stress. One of the most commonly used models is Berry’s Model of Acculturative Stress. In this model, there are four outcomes for acculturative stress: assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization (Meca et al., 2017). With assimilation, immigrants are able to receive the host culture, and they reject their heritage culture, with separation, the immigrant maintains their heritage culture, but rejects the host culture. These two outcomes require a significant sacrifice for the immigrant. With integration immigrants are able to maintain their own culture, while also
adapting to the host culture. And finally, with marginalization, the immigrant rejects their heritage culture, and does not adopt the host culture (Meca et al., 2017). These outcomes are influenced by the reason for migration (for example, forced displacement or not) and the ability for migrants to integrate with a new culture (for example, ability to communicate in host country).

The various migration histories of first-generation SA immigrants have common reasons for migration, as well as similar experiences with assimilation. The current study examined second-generation romantic relationship satisfaction, taking into account the parental experience of acculturative stress. Further, the study also considered attachment style to obtain a well-rounded understanding of well-being within the population. Ultimately, romantic relationship satisfaction was used to determine well-being in the population.
Current Study

Research Questions

Given that the South Asian population is growing in Canada, it is important to understand the dynamics associated with the common experiences amongst this group. The second-generation SA experience is unique. All SAs have parents who have a migration pattern that is connected to the Indian subcontinent. Their parents have experienced some degree of acculturative stress, they experience similar forms of discrimination while living in a predominantly white society, and lastly, due to the timing of their parent’s migration, most second-generation SAs are adults. This provides the opportunity for researchers to examine the effects of migration, and to measure well-being outcomes (i.e. relationship satisfaction) of adults in this population today. Though there is substantial research connecting attachment and relationship satisfaction, there is no existing research that targets the SA Canadian experience.

The purpose of this quantitative study is to determine if acculturative stress in first-generation immigrants are statistically linked to romantic relationship satisfaction in their children. Further, this study seeks to understand if parent-child attachment can explain the relationship between parental acculturative stress and romantic relationship satisfaction in second-generation SA adults.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1. Acculturative stress in first-generation South Asian immigrants would be predictive of romantic relationship satisfaction in their second-generation children.

Hypothesis 2. Acculturative stress in first-generation South Asian immigrants would be predictive of romantic relationship satisfaction in their second-generation children, and that association would be partially accounted for by the role of attachment.
Method

Participants

A total of 306 participants consented to participate in this study, however only $n = 186$, 61% of participants completed the study. The number of participants who did not complete the study ($n = 120$, 39%) can be accounted for by the following reasons: 15 participants indicated that they did not know the study was for South Asian participants until they had already started the survey. Four participants indicated that they did not know this study was exclusive to Canadian participants until they had already started the survey. The remaining participants who did not complete the study were incomplete by random, most likely as a result of ending their participation early. Therefore, the sample consisted of 186 participants, of which 71.5% ($n = 133$) of the participants identified as female, 26% ($n = 48$) identified as male, 2% ($n = 4$) identified as non-gender conforming, and 0.5% ($n = 1$) identified as trans men. All participants identified as South Asian; Sri Lankan Tamil ($n = 69$, 37%), Indian ($n = 61$, 33%), Pakistani ($n = 27$, 14.5%), East African ($n = 10$, 5.5%), Bengali ($n = 7$, 3.5%), West Indian ($n = 5$, 3%), Fijian ($n = 3$, 1.5%), Other South Asian Countries ($n = 4$, 2%). Participants were asked if they were currently in counselling: $n = 39$, 21% of the participants indicated they were in therapy, and $n = 147$, 79% indicated they were not. Participants in the sample ranged in age from 19 to 60. The mean age of the sample was 24.87 ($SD = 5.63$). The sample consisted of individuals who identified as second-generation South Asians. The study originally considered relationship status, participants who identified as being in a romantic relationship, and those who were not. The sample consisted of individuals in romantic relationships lasting between 1 year and 60 years. The average relationship length was 3.25 years ($SD = 1.56$). Sixty percent ($n = 112$) of participants indicated they had been in at least one long term romantic relationship, 40%
29

(n = 74) indicated they had not. Participants asked to complete the romantic relationship section of the survey were to have been in a relationship for at least one year.

Though 186 participants completed the online questionnaire, only 89 participants were used in the study. Due to the changing goals of the research, the focus of the study targeted participants who were in long-term romantic relationships (over one year long). The demographics for the sample used are described in Table 1.

Procedure

A research proposal was submitted to and approved by the Research Ethics Board at Saint Paul University; the file number for the study is 1360.6/16. The participants in this study were recruited by online fliers across several social media platforms. Recruitment was also conducted by contacting mental health professionals across the country and asking them to display the recruitment poster, as well as contacting community health centers. The recruitment posters displayed a website link directing participants to the self-report questionnaire hosted by Lime Survey. The recruitment posters can be found in Appendix E. An online quantitative survey was used to in effort to access participants from across the country. Participants completed the questionnaire independently. The questionnaire included an extensive online consent form that was displayed at the beginning of the survey. Participants were informed in the consent form of what the purpose of the study was, what they would be required to do, the guarantee of their anonymity, and any potential risks or discomfort they may experience. Participants were also informed of their right to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty. The consent form can be found in Appendix B. The questionnaire was completed in the following order: Demographic Information, Acculturative Stress Index, Attachment Style Questionnaire, Religious Commitment Questionnaire, Dyadic Adjustment Scale. The
questionnaire took approximately 22 to 30 minutes to complete. Upon completion of the questionnaire, participants were directed to a debriefing/resources page, where they were provided with a list of resources they could enlist if they found any parts of the study distressing. Participants were also provided with the primary researcher’s contact information. This can be found in Appendix C.

Measures

**Demographics.** Basic demographic information such as age, gender, sexual orientation, ethnic identity, age of immigration, country of origin, relationship status, length of current relationship, and counselling experience were collected.

**Acculturative Stress.** The Acculturative Stress Index is composed of nine items on a Likert-type scale, to assess the degree to which participants have experienced acculturative stress. The internal reliability for this scale is .66 (Savage & Mezuk, 2014). As there are no specific scales to target the SA population, this scale has been modified by the primary researcher to reflect the goals of this study. This compromises the internal validity of the scale, although these modifications were justified by the need to test the internal consistency of the measure. The scale now asks for the participant to imagine what experiences their parents may have had. It was also modified to fit the South Asian demographic. The scale was composed of eight questions. The modification for the scales were made to reflect the goals of the study. For example, the scale originally asked, “Do you find it difficult to find work because you are of Mexican descent?”, and was modified to “Do your parents find it difficult to find work because they are of South Asian descent?” The measure can be found in Appendix A.

**Attachment Style.** The Attachment Style Questionnaire, developed by Feeney, Noller and Hanrahan (1994), is a 40 item Likert-type scale designed to measure adult
attachment. The 40 items measure the following five scales: Confidence, Discomfort with Closeness, Need for Approval, Preoccupation in Relationships, and Relationships as Secondary. The items are rated on a six-point scale, from 1 (totally disagree) to 6 (totally agree), and participants were asked to rate all given items accordingly. Some examples of statements to rate in this scale are: “I feel confident that other people will be there for me when I need them”, “I find it relatively easy to get close to other people”, and “I worry that I won’t measure up to other people”. The internal validity for this scale ranges from .76 to .84 (Feeney, Noller, & Hanrahan, 2014). A ten-week retest reliability test for this scale was conducted by the original authors, the coefficients ranging from .67 to .78 (Feeney et al., 2014). This measure can be found in Appendix A.

**Relationship Satisfaction.** The Dyadic Adjustment Scale was developed by Spanier (1976), and was used to assess relationship satisfaction. This is a 32 item Likert-type scale, with a Cronbach’s alpha of .91 (Spanier, 1976). The 32 items measure the following four subscales: dyadic consensus, dyadic satisfaction, dyadic cohesion, and affectional expression (Spanier, 1976). The participants were asked to fill out this portion of the questionnaire in accordance with their current romantic relationship, and if they are not currently in a romantic relationship, their last significant romantic relationship lasting over one year. The DAS is composed of six subsections with different scoring. Four sections were scored from 1 to 6, one section was scored from 1 (Extremely unhappy) to 7 (Perfect), and one section required a “yes” or “no” response. Some examples of questions for this scale are: “How often do you confide in your mate?”, and “How often do you have a stimulating exchange of ideas with your mate?”. This measure can be found in Appendix A.
Analysis

Upon completion of the data collection, the data was coded into The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 25. Descriptive statistics were used to assess characteristics of the sample, such as age, gender, sexual orientation, ethnic identity etc.

A latent variable path analysis was used to assess associations between variables. A factor analysis was used to determine two types of acculturative stress that were investigated in the study, as well as the two forms of relationship satisfaction. Next, direct links between the parental predictors (acculturative stress) and the outcome (relationship satisfaction) were assessed. The mediating role of attachment was investigated by examining indirect associations between the predictors and the outcome. A multiple mediator model was used to test for relationships between predictor variables and outcomes variables, and to test for mediation. The process macros by Andrew F. Hayes was used, Model 4, specifically. Within this model, Y (the outcome) was input as positive relationship satisfaction, and negative relationship satisfaction (this was run two times to account for each outcome variable). The X (independent variable) was input as social isolation and sense of belonging (this was run two times to account for each variable). There were five mediators in this model (the five subscales of the Attachment Style Questionnaire): discomfort with closeness, confidence, preoccupation in relationships, relationships as secondary, and need for approval, these were all input into the model at the same time. The model was run four separate times, to account to each independent variable, and each outcome variable. The output included each time this model was run included testing for direct effects, and mediation between each predictor and outcome (through the mediator). All five of the mediating variables were used for each of the four times the model was run. The four times the model was run, there were 89 participants, these were the participants who indicated that they
were in romantic relationships, and completed the dyadic adjustment scale. The model was bootstrapped for 1000 samples. In running the model for negative satisfaction, parent’s country of origin was a statistical control. Using the “one in ten rule” in statistics, the size of the sample is adequate for the number of predictor variables. This rules suggest a minimum of ten participants per variable (Peduzzi, Concato, Kemper, Holford, & Feinstein, 1996). As there are seven variables in this model (eight when parent’s country of origin is included), and there are 89 participants, this sample size should suffice.

Any mediation found in the path model would explain that attachment would account for part of the relationship between the acculturative stress and relationship satisfaction.
Figures 1 – 4: Model specifying relationships between acculturative stress factors, attachment subscales, and romantic relationship satisfaction.
Results

As indicated previously, the goals of the study aim to examine romantic relationship satisfaction, and for that reason, only participants who were in romantic relationships were included in the analysis (n = 89). Demographic information on this sample is included in Table 1. A principal component analysis was conducted for the Acculturative Stress Index. Nine items relating to acculturative stress hassles were analyzed using principal component analysis. The analysis yielded two factors explaining 36.25% of the variance for the set of variables. Factor 1 was labeled “social isolation” as the items related to guilt about leaving loved ones behind, limited contact, difficulty interacting, language barriers, and being treated badly by host country. This factor included five items from the scale. The first factor explained 22.92% of the variance. The second factor was labeled “sense of belonging” as this factor related to respect and inclusion, finding work/access to opportunity, feeling safe in regard to legal status, and fear of persecution. This factor included four items from the scale. The variance explained by this factor was 13.32%. The KMO (.67) and Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity (< .05) both indicate that this set of variables is adequately related for factor analysis. Results of this factor analysis can be found in Annex 1., correlation analysis was run with all the variables and covariates that were being investigated in the study. See Table 2. Next, the path analysis was run, and the results are as follows.
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Table 1. Frequencies of sociodemographic variables (n = 89)
Table 2. *Correlations between all variables and covariates examined in this study*

The first step in the path model tested for significant effects where the independent variable was parental social isolation and the outcome was negative relationship satisfaction ($n = 89$). A one-way ANOVA determined that parent’s country of origin was a covariate ($F (3, 85) = 2.79, p = 0.04$), and this was controlled for. See Figure 1. No mediation was found through any of the attachment subscales. A weak significant unmediated effect (significant $a$ path) was found between social isolation and confidence ($\beta = -0.19, SE = 0.09, p = 0.042$). A weak marginally significant unmediated effect (significant $a$ path) was found between social isolation and preoccupation in relationships ($\beta = -0.20, SE = 0.12, p = 0.090$). Social isolation has a significant direct effect on negative satisfaction, ($\beta = 0.29, SE = 0.11, p = 0.013$). Though a significant indirect effect was not found through discomfort with closeness, a weak unmediated effect was

<table>
<thead>
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<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
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<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Social Isolation</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.33**</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sense of Belonging</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Discomfort with Closeness</td>
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<td>.00</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>-.25*</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>.04</td>
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<td>4. Confidence</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>.20**</td>
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<td>5. Preoccupation in Relationships</td>
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<td>.00</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>-.16</td>
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<td>6. Relationships as Secondary</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Need for Approval</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.23**</td>
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<td>8. Negative Relationship Satisfaction</td>
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<td>.00</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Positive Relationship Satisfaction</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05, **p < .01*
significant (significant $b$ path) – discomfort with closeness is associated with negative satisfaction, ($\beta = -0.23, SE = 0.11, p = 0.041$). Figure 5 and Table 3 demonstrate these findings.

Figure 5. Path model for social isolation, attachment subscales, and negative satisfaction

The second step of the path model tested for significant links where sense of belonging was the independent variable and negative relationship satisfaction was the outcome ($n = 89$). There were no significant mediations found, attachment did not account for the relationships between sense of belonging and negative relationship satisfaction. There was a weak significant unmediated effect (significant $b$ path) between discomfort with closeness and negative relationship satisfaction ($\beta = -0.26, SE = 0.11, p = 0.023$). A weak marginally significant unmediated effect (significant $a$ path) was found between sense of belonging and preoccupation in relationships ($\beta = -0.21, SE = 0.13, p = 0.101$).
Figure 6. Path model for sense of belonging, attachment subscales, and negative satisfaction
Table 3. *Total (unmediated) and indirect (mediated) effects of attachment subscales on the association between acculturative stress and negative relationship satisfaction (n = 89)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent variable (IV)</th>
<th>Mediator (M)</th>
<th>Effect of IV on M (a)</th>
<th>95% CL [UPCI, LLCI]</th>
<th>Effect of M on DV (b)</th>
<th>95% CL [UPCI, LLCI]</th>
<th>Effect of IV on DV (c) 95% CL [UPCI, LLCI]</th>
<th>Direct effect of IV on DV (c') 95% CL [UPCI, LLCI]</th>
<th>Indirect effect (ab) Boot SE 95% CL [UPCI, LLCI]</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>.34(.11)**</td>
<td>[.13, .56]</td>
<td>.29(.11)*</td>
<td>[.06, .52]</td>
<td>.03(.03)</td>
<td>[.01, .10]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Isolation</td>
<td>Discomfort with Closeness</td>
<td>-.13(.11)</td>
<td>[-.35, .08]</td>
<td>-.23(.11)*</td>
<td>[-.45, .01]</td>
<td>.01(.03)</td>
<td>[-.04, .09]</td>
<td>.00(.02)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Confidence</td>
<td>-.19(.09)*</td>
<td>[-.37, -.01]</td>
<td>-.06(.13)</td>
<td>[-.32, .20]</td>
<td>.01(.03)</td>
<td>[-.04, .07]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Preoccupation</td>
<td>-.20(.12)†</td>
<td>[-.43, .03]</td>
<td>-.06(.10)</td>
<td>[-.26, .14]</td>
<td>.01(.03)</td>
<td>[-.04, .04]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Relationships as Secondary</td>
<td>.09(.11)</td>
<td>[-.12, .31]</td>
<td>.01(.11)</td>
<td>[-.22, .23]</td>
<td>.00(.02)</td>
<td>[-.04, .04]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Need for Approval</td>
<td>.03(.11)</td>
<td>[-.19, .25]</td>
<td>.01(.11)</td>
<td>[-.21, .22]</td>
<td>.00(.01)</td>
<td>[-.03, .03]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sense of Belonging</td>
<td>Discomfort with Closeness</td>
<td>-.07(.12)</td>
<td>[-.30, .16]</td>
<td>-.26(.11)*</td>
<td>[-.49, -.04]</td>
<td>.02(.04)</td>
<td>[-.03, .11]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Confidence</td>
<td>.15(.10)</td>
<td>[-.05, .35]</td>
<td>-.15(.13)</td>
<td>[-.42, .11]</td>
<td>-.02(.04)</td>
<td>[-.09, .04]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Preoccupation</td>
<td>-.21(.12)†</td>
<td>[-.46, -.04]</td>
<td>-.10(.10)</td>
<td>[-.31, .10]</td>
<td>.02(.03)</td>
<td>[-.02, .10]</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Relationships as Secondary</td>
<td>-.06(.11)</td>
<td>[-.29, .16]</td>
<td>.03(.12)</td>
<td>[-.20, .26]</td>
<td>.00(.01)</td>
<td>[-.03, .04]</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Need for Approval</td>
<td>-.00(.12)</td>
<td>[-.24, .23]</td>
<td>.01(.11)</td>
<td>[-.21, .24]</td>
<td>.00(.01)</td>
<td>[-.03, .03]</td>
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</table>

Note: Standard errors are presented in parentheses, 95% Confidence intervals are in brackets

† p < .1, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001
The third step in the path model tested for significant associations where social isolation was the independent variable and positive relationship satisfaction was the outcome \((n = 89)\). See Figure 2. Attachment did not significantly mediate the relationships between social isolation and positive satisfaction. A marginally significant unmediated effect (significant \textit{a} path) was found between social isolation and confidence \((\beta = -0.18, SE = 0.10, \ p = 0.072)\), this association is weak.

A weak marginally significant association (significant \textit{a} path) was found between social isolation and preoccupation in relationships \((\beta = -0.20, SE = 0.12, \ p = 0.096)\). A moderately significant unmediated effect (significant \textit{b} path) was found between relationships as secondary and positive relationship satisfaction \((\beta = -0.35, SE = 0.11, \ p = 0.002)\). A weak marginally significant unmediated effect (significant \textit{b} path) was found between confidence and positive relationship satisfaction \((\beta = -0.13, SE = 0.11, \ p = 0.071)\). Lastly, a weak marginally significant unmediated effect (significant \textit{b} path) was found between need for approval and positive relationship satisfaction \((\beta = 0.19, SE = 0.10, \ p = 0.071)\).
Figure 7. *Path model for social isolation, attachment subscales, and positive satisfaction*

The fourth step in the path model tested for significant links were sense of belonging was the independent variable and positive relationship satisfaction was the outcome. No significant mediation was found through the attachment subscales. A weak marginally significant unmediated effect (significant *a* path) was found between sense of belonging and confidence ($\beta = -.17$, $SE = .10$, $p = .103$). Next, a weak marginally significant unmediated effect (significant *a* path) was found between sense of belonging and preoccupation ($\beta = -.21$, $SE = .13$, $p = .100$). A weak marginally significant unmediated effect (significant *b* path) was found between confidence and positive relationship satisfaction ($\beta = -.22$, $SE = .12$, $p = .080$). Lastly, a moderately significant unmediated effect (significant *b* path) was found between relationships as secondary and positive relationship satisfaction ($\beta = -.35$, $SE = .11$, $p = .002$).
Figure 8. Path model for sense of belonging, attachment subscales, and positive satisfaction
Table 4. Total (unmediated) and indirect (mediated) effects of attachment subscales on the association between acculturative stress and positive relationship satisfaction (n = 89)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent variable</th>
<th>Mediator (M)</th>
<th>Effect of IV on M (a)</th>
<th>95% CL [UPCI, LLCI]</th>
<th>Effect of M on DV (b)</th>
<th>95% CL [UPCI, LLCI]</th>
<th>Effect of IV on DV (c)</th>
<th>95% CL [UPCI, LLCI]</th>
<th>Direct effect of M on DV (c')</th>
<th>95% CL [UPCI, LLCI]</th>
<th>Indirect effect (ab) Boot SE</th>
<th>95% CL [UPCI, LLCI]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Discomfort with Closeness</td>
<td>-.13(.11)</td>
<td>[-.35, .08]</td>
<td>-.13(.11)</td>
<td>[-.35, .08]</td>
<td>-.01(.12)</td>
<td>[-.23, .22]</td>
<td>-.06(.11)</td>
<td>[-.28, .16]</td>
<td>.01(.02)</td>
<td>[-.01, .07]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Confidence</td>
<td>-.18(.10)*</td>
<td>[-.37, .02]</td>
<td>-.22(.12)#</td>
<td>[-.44, .02]</td>
<td>.04(.04)</td>
<td>[-.02, .13]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Preoccupation</td>
<td>-.20(.12)†</td>
<td>[-.43, .04]</td>
<td>-.12(.10)</td>
<td>[-.31, .08]</td>
<td>.02(.03)</td>
<td>[-.03, .08]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Relationships as Secondary</td>
<td>.09(.11)</td>
<td>[-.12, .30]</td>
<td>-.35(.11)**</td>
<td>[-.57, -.13]</td>
<td>-.03(.05)</td>
<td>[-.15, .03]</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Need for Approval</td>
<td>.04(.11)</td>
<td>[-.19, .26]</td>
<td>.19(.11)#</td>
<td>[-.02, .40]</td>
<td>.01(.02)</td>
<td>[-.04, .06]</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Discomfort with Closeness</td>
<td>-.07(.11)</td>
<td>[-.30, .16]</td>
<td>-.12(.11)</td>
<td>[-.34, .09]</td>
<td>.01(.02)</td>
<td>[-.02, .07]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Confidence</td>
<td>.17(.10)†</td>
<td>[-.04, .38]</td>
<td>-.22(.12)#</td>
<td>[-.46, .03]</td>
<td>-.04(.04)</td>
<td>[-.13, .06]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Preoccupation</td>
<td>-.21(.13)†</td>
<td>[-.46, .05]</td>
<td>-.10(.10)</td>
<td>[-.29, .09]</td>
<td>.02(.03)</td>
<td>[-.02, .09]</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Relationships as Secondary</td>
<td>-.07(.11)</td>
<td>[-.29, .16]</td>
<td>-.35(.11)**</td>
<td>[-.57, -.13]</td>
<td>.02(.04)</td>
<td>[-.08, .09]</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Need for Approval</td>
<td>.01(.12)</td>
<td>[-.23, .25]</td>
<td>.19(.10)</td>
<td>[-.01, .40]</td>
<td>.00(.03)</td>
<td>[-.04, .08]</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Note: Standard errors are presented in parentheses, 95% Confidence intervals are in brackets

† p < .1, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001
Parent’s country of origin was a statistical control when negative satisfaction was the outcome. Tables 3-5 demonstrate all of the links tested in this analysis. It is important to note that there were no significant mediations found within the path model, no indirect effects were found through attachment.

Table 5. Parent’s Country of Origin as a covariate, where negative satisfaction is the outcome.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IV in path model</th>
<th>Covariate</th>
<th>Mediator (M)</th>
<th>Effect of covariate on $M$ ($a$)</th>
<th>95% CL [UPCI, LLCI]</th>
<th>Effect of covariate on DV ($b$)</th>
<th>95% CL [UPCI, LLCI]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Isolation</td>
<td>Parent’s Country of Origin</td>
<td>Discomfort with Closeness</td>
<td>.00(.10)</td>
<td>[.19, .20]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Confidence</td>
<td>.27(.08)**</td>
<td>[.11, .44]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Preoccupation</td>
<td>.09(.11)</td>
<td>[.12, .30]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Relationships as Secondary</td>
<td>-.09(.10)</td>
<td>[.28, .10]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Need for Approval</td>
<td>.21(.10)*</td>
<td>[.01, .41]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sense of Belonging</td>
<td>Parent’s Country of Origin</td>
<td>Discomfort with Closeness</td>
<td>.00(.10)</td>
<td>[.19, .20]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Confidence</td>
<td>.26(.08)**</td>
<td>[.10, .43]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Preoccupation</td>
<td>.09(.11)</td>
<td>[.12, .30]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Relationships as Secondary</td>
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<td>[.28, .11]</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Need for Approval</td>
<td>.21(.10)*</td>
<td>[.01, .41]</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Discussion

The purpose of the current study was to determine whether acculturative stress (i.e., sense of belonging and social isolation) in first-generation immigrants is statistically linked to positive and negative romantic relationship satisfaction in their children, and whether this relationship may be partially explained by parent-child attachment. More specifically, the study aimed to assess 1) whether parental acculturative stress in first-generation South Asian immigrants would be predictive of both positive and negative relationship satisfaction in their second-generation children in adulthood (Hypothesis 1), and 2) whether the association would be partially accounted for by attachment (Hypothesis 2). No significant mediation was found in the model, attachment did not significantly explain the relationship between parental acculturative stress and romantic relationship satisfaction. These relationships were tested while controlling for parental country of origin. One form of acculturative stress was associated with relationship satisfaction, which provides some support toward hypothesis 1.

Using the Acculturative Stress Index the items relating to social isolation accounted for the following: leaving family and friends behind, having difficulty communicating/interacting (due to language barriers as well as prejudice experienced while speaking with an accent), and being treated badly by the host country. These items are related in that they are experiences of losing one social group (and all of the supports included in this), and the inability to connect to a new one. Using Berry’s (1987) model of acculturative stress, it appears that social isolation accounted for one of his outcomes in regard to acculturation. Social isolation in this context appears closely related to marginalization. In this population, Social Isolation refers to the common experience of individuals who are unable to maintain their relationships with friends and families overseas, while simultaneously struggling to communicate in the host country due
to the language barrier. This particularly applies to SA immigrants because they are likely to experience language barriers as well as poverty in Canada. This would hinder their ability to connect both with their previous sources of support (e.g. their families back home), and any potential new ones in their host country.

The second factor, *Sense of Belonging,* included questions concerning experiences of respect and inclusion, finding employment/access to opportunity, feeling safe in regard to legal status/fear of persecution, racism, and access to services (health and financial). This factor appears to be closely aligned with separation in the Berry model. With this aspect of the model, the migrant will preserve their culture by rejecting the host culture (Berry, Uichol, Minde, & Mok, 1988). Immigrants can preserve their own culture in some instances by living exclusively in areas with a population of immigrants from the same culture, ensuring that they have limited contact with the host culture. If their outcome is assimilation, they may choose to solely interact with their host culture, avoiding food, and cultural practices from their home country. This result often occurs because immigrants are afraid of being rejected by their host culture (Renner & Berry, 2011). It can be seen that either of these outcomes would contribute to a sense of belonging for the migrants, though it requires a significant sacrifice. In using either of these strategies, the migrants will have to either sacrifice a part of their identity, or be significantly hindered in interacting with the host culture (Renner & Berry, 2011); thus, children within this migrant population will grow up with these dynamics. It should be considered that it is possible that immigrants who are displaced peoples, refugees, or visible minorities may be more likely to experience separation because they are unable to connect to the host culture (Donà & Berry, 1994) (they may not speak English, and may have a more difficult time adjusting due to trauma), they may need to survive by connecting with others in similar circumstances. Further, the fear of
being rejected in an official/legal way (deportation, lack of financial and social services), may impact dynamics between immigrants and their children, as their children may be more legally entitled to support from the host culture (Papademetriou, Somerville, & Sumption, 2009). Sense of belonging appears to address inclusion in the culture; to both connecting to the culture, as well as legally being included within a culture (Donà & Berry, 1994). Within the results of this study, the acculturative stress index only loaded onto factors for separation, and not for assimilation. Separation can be a more difficult outcome for immigrant parents – as they maintain their culture but raise children who grow up with the values and norms of the host culture (Donà & Berry, 1994). Furthermore, this may be particularly difficult given that they may not have developed effective strategies for interacting with the host culture themselves.

**Acculturative Stress and Relationship Satisfaction**

The need for approval subscale and preoccupation with relationships subscales fall under the anxious/ambivalent form of attachment. The confidence subscale falls under secure attachment. Finally, the discomfort with closeness and relationships as secondary to achievement subscales fall under the avoidant attachment style (Feeney, Noller, & Hanrahan, 2014). Partners with secure attachment are trusting, supportive, and more accepting of their partners (Hazan & Shaver, 1987). Partners with anxious/ambivalent attachment have a negative view of themselves in childhood that typically follows into adulthood. They often see others are unable to meet their needs in relationships, and see themselves as distressed (Koback and Sceery, 1988). Finally, individuals with an avoidant attachment style see others as unsupportive, and themselves as not being in distress - avoidance is used to cope with stressors (Koback and Sceery, 1988).

As expected, there was a significant direct effect between parental social isolation and negative relationship satisfaction, see Figure 5. In other words, high social isolation is related to
high negative relationship satisfaction, and low social isolation is related to low negative relationship satisfaction. This finding offers some support for the first hypothesis of this study, that acculturative stress would be predictive of romantic relationship satisfaction.

Immigrant children with socially isolated parents may experience more burdens as their parents experience less support than those who are not socially isolated. Socially isolated parents may feel marginally involved in society, making parenting practices involving their children and the host country difficult. Navigating the two different cultural values can be a strain on immigrant children (Revollo, 2011), and can have an impact on their various relationships. Children with socially isolated parents may experience a disconnect between their lives in the host country, and the relationship they have with their isolated parents. As stated previously, immigrant parents often hope for their children to find partners who have the same cultural and religious background as their own family. They also often hope that marriage occurs in the same way as it would in their home country. For SA immigrants, this would often mean that SA parents would hope that their children would not only marry someone with the same religious background, but that they would agree to having an arranged marriage: a marriage planned and decided for them by their family (Deepak, 2005; Mohibullah, 2011). This may contribute to negative relationship satisfaction in that either the child chooses to marry a person they have no prior relationship with for the benefit of one’s family, or choose to disregard important religious and cultural values for the benefit of themselves. It is evident that either decision has the potential to significantly impact family dynamics, which could impact relationship satisfaction. Navigating this dynamic between themselves and their parents could contribute to more dissatisfaction in their adult lives.
Parental social isolation was not directly related to positive relationship satisfaction. Though this finding was hypothesized, there were no significant findings in this study. The idea that parental social isolation affects romantic relationship satisfaction in the children of immigrants would suggest that the effect of the acculturative stress (in this case social isolation) had an impact on the parent that was significant enough to impact the child. As this was not the case in regard to the results of this study, there are reasons to consider in regard to this relationship (or lack thereof). It is possible that the experiences of second generation immigrants is more reflective of their own supports and social well-being in the country that they grew up in. This may mean that parental social isolation may not translate to isolation or difficulty interacting with others in the children. As indicated previously, second-generation immigrants do have a less difficult time navigating the host country than their parents do, perhaps they are more supported than their parents (Reynolds & Orellana, 2009), perhaps they are not impacted by their parents experiences in the ways in which it has been hypothesized in this study. As social isolation in immigrant parents is more closely associated with a lack of connection to the host country, it is possible that this experience does not impact various aspects of the adult lives of their children because their children are more easily connected to the host country (at least in regard to speaking the same language, and understanding host customs).

Sense of belonging was not directly related to either form of romantic relationship satisfaction. As sense of belonging pertains to a sense of safety and security in regard to legal status, access to services, and feeling included in the host country, it is possible that children of immigrants may not be affected by their parent’s experiences of this, because they themselves do not experience these issues. As indicated previously, children of immigrants are usually more
able to have access to service, do not fear deportation (for themselves), and feel included in the host country’s culture because it is the culture in which they were raised.

**Attachment as a Mediator**

As indicated in the results section, the second hypothesis was not supported as no indirect effects were found between acculturative stress (i.e., social isolation and sense of belonging) and positive and negative relationship through attachment (i.e., Confidence, Discomfort with Closeness, Need for Approval, Preoccupation in Relationships, and Relationships as Secondary). Though the literature indicates a significant connection between attachment styles and relationship satisfaction (Hazan & Shaver, 1987), and the importance of parental well-being during attachment (Buchheim, 2003), the findings from this study did not find that attachment style explained these connections within this population. There are a few potential reasons why this may be the case. The sample used in this study is not necessarily similar to the types of populations that have been used with this attachment scale (e.g. university students, predominately white participants, etc.). The sample size in this study was 89, which could be considered small for the type of model used. Further, it is possible that attachment might need to be conceptualized and understood in a different way when working with a population that has a significant history of ethno specific trauma.

Though there were no significant mediations found, it should be noted that there is a trend toward mediation (through confidence) that was found in this model. See Figure 7, see Figure 8. It is possible that in a model with more participants, that this may have been a possible outcome. In the event that this were a significant finding, it would suggest that secure attachment could partially explain the relationship between sense of belonging in the parent and positive
relationship satisfaction in their child. Though, within this study, the $a$ and $b$ paths were only marginally significant, therefore nothing substantive can be concluded from these findings.

Though the mediations were not significant there were significant associations between the acculturative stress variables and attachment variables as well as attachment variables and relationship satisfaction.

One significant association found, was a negative association between parental social isolation and confidence. See Figure 5, Figure 7. In other words, high social isolation is associated with low confidence, and low social isolation is associated with high confidence. Of the subscales for attachment, confidence is the only subscale reflective of secure attachment. As social isolation in this study refers primarily to the challenges regarding living with a language barrier, as well as speaking with an accent, and difficulty interacting with the host country, it is significant to see the potential impact of this kind of isolation on the child. This result is supportive of existing research on social isolation (Tummala-Narra et al., 2016), as parents who are isolated may not be as able to adequately attend to the needs of their children when they are also experiencing the hassles associated with migration.

It appears that there is a trend between parental social isolation and preoccupation. See Figure 5, Figure 7. In other words, high social isolation in parents is related to low preoccupation in relationships in their children, and low parental social isolation is related to high preoccupation in relationships in immigrant children. Preoccupation with relationships falls under the anxious/ambivalent attachment style (Feeney; 1994). As social isolation in this context relates to immigrants being unable to connect to previous sources of support, the association between these variables could be understood by considering that children are forming attachment to their parents during a time where their parents are struggling to maintain connection to their
own supports. Further, parents struggling during this time may be unable to attend to the various needs of their children to the degree to which they would like to. As previously mentioned, individuals with this attachment style see themselves as distressed, and often see others as not supportive enough to meet their needs. Further, the isolation experienced by this parental population is related to their culture, as language and customs are the barrier between them and accessing the host culture, it could be possible that socially isolated parents do not perceive the host country in a positive way. This may mean that they may not perceive their children (who grow up in the host culture) in the most positive light. Issues that parents may have with the host country may be transferred to issues that they may have with their children. This relates to the anxious/ambivalent attachment style, as children with this attachment style have a negative view of themselves. In this way it could be seen that social isolation in parents may impact attachment, parents may be unable to be as supportive as their children may need them to be, due their own isolation. Though this trend is seen within the results, nothing definitive can be extrapolated from this trend as it did not reach significance in this study. This could be an area of exploration for future research.

Discomfort with closeness was negatively associated with negative relationship satisfaction, see Figure 5 and Figure 6. In other words, participants who scored high on discomfort with closeness scored low on negative relationship satisfaction, or those with low on discomfort with closeness scored high for negative relationship satisfaction. This finding did not support either hypothesis. Discomfort with closeness is a subscale of the ASQ which falls under the insecure category of attachment (specifically avoidant attachment). Participants with this attachment style tend to distance themselves from believing that they need support, and also find other to be unsupportive (Koback and Sceery, 1988). Participants with this insecure attachment
style were found to have more unsatisfying romantic relationships in their adult lives. Consistent
with attachment literature, individuals with this attachment subscale often have difficulties
connecting and maintaining closeness in relationships, which in turn may account for the
negative relationship satisfaction (Fagot & Kavanagh, 1990).

Another trend observed is between parental sense of belonging and preoccupation in
relationships. See Figure 6, Figure 8. This finding was not statistically significant, though could
be an interesting area of inquiry for future research. This trend (if significant) would suggest that
low sense of belonging in the parent is associated with high preoccupation in their children, or
high sense of belonging is associated with low preoccupation in relationships. Low sense of
belonging is related to respect and inclusion, access to employment, legal status, and fear of
persecution. Low sense of belonging in this population may look like parents who may be afraid
to go to the doctors, or see social services when they need these services (for fear of deportation).
It could present as being unable to find employment due to language barriers, and perceived
racism. As these are very stressful situations, it could explain that parents in these situations may
struggle with prioritizing the needs of their children, as they are navigating the host country.
Children growing up in an environment with these stressors may not feel supported and tended to
by their caregivers. Further, the needs of this population are dismissed by the services that should
be able to help them. Often the acculturative stress experienced by immigrants is dismissed by
social service workers, because these immigrants are often fleeing from hostile environments in
their home country, and so it is assumed that the stressors related to their new life in Canada will
have relatively little impact on their well-being.

The next trend observed is between confidence and positive relationship satisfaction, had
this trend reached significance it would mean that low confidence is associated with high
positive relationship satisfaction, and high confidence is associated with low relationship satisfaction. See Figure 7, see Figure 8. As confidence is the only subscale associated with secure attachment, it is interesting that it is negatively associated with positive relationship satisfaction. Future research could further investigate this potential association within this population.

Relationships as secondary was found to be significantly negatively associated with positive relationship satisfaction, see Figure 7, Figure 8. In other words, participants who scored high for this insecure attachment subscale were found to be involved in more unsatisfying romantic relationships in their adult lives. Relationships as secondary to achievements falls under the avoidant attachment style, individuals with this attachment style prioritize other aspects of their lives over close relationships. As this attachment subscale is often related to the child not being prioritized nor having his/her needs met, it is consistent with the literature that individuals with this attachment trait would be less likely to experience positive relationship satisfaction. As research suggests children of immigrants often live with adult responsibilities (e.g. acting as interpreters for their parents) (Reynolds & Orellana, 2009), it is possible that in this dynamic of struggling for survival, these children learn early on that they cannot prioritize themselves, and then may carry this dynamic into their romantic relationships.

The next trend observed is between need for approval and positive relationship satisfaction. If this trend did meet statistical significance, it would suggest a positive association, low need for approval being associated with positive relationship satisfaction, and high need for approval being associated with high positive relationship satisfaction. As need for approval is reflective of insecure attachment, it is interesting that this subscale could be reflective of positive relationship satisfaction. This could be an area of inquiry within this population that could be looked at in future research.
The last trend observed is between parental sense of belonging and confidence in their child, see Figure 8. If this trend were significant it would suggest that high sense of belonging is associated with high confidence and low sense of belonging is associated with low confidence. As stated previously, confidence is the only subscale of the ASQ reflective of secure attachment. Having a high sense of belonging (regardless of whether that means maintaining your own culture or adapting to a new one) could relate to secure attachment, due to the resources which would become available to someone with a support network. Immigrant parents with support may be more able to provide care that is better for their children, thus resulting in secure attachment.

**Covariates**

Parent’s country of origin was included as a covariate. As mentioned previously migration history is an important part of immigrant identity. Though second generation SAs have the tendency to identify in one unifying way, it is possible that there are differences in individual experiences due to the specific country of origin that their first-generation parents are from, as their parents may have had different experiences. In this way it is possible that parent’s country of origin could be a factor that has an influence on research within this population. There were significant associations found between parent’s country of origin and confidence, which is reflective of secure attachment, see Table 6. Future research in this area may look for associations for the specific countries that participants identified with.

**Strengths and Limitations**

One strength of this research was that the Acculturative Stress Index used in the current study was validated for the current population. The acculturative stress index was originally designed and used for immigrants of Latin/Asian descent. The scale was modified in two ways to
reflect the goals of the study. First, the items in the scale that were specific to being of Latin/Asian descent were changed to South Asian descent. Second, as the participants in this study were second-generation immigrants, thus the scale was adapted to ask participants to recall what they perceived to be their parent’s experiences of acculturative stress. This scale was successfully used in this study with the intended sample, this adds to the validity of this modified scale. Future researchers could use the modified version of this scale to increase its validity as both retrospective and for the South Asian population.

One aspect to consider is the novelty of this study, which is looking at these aspects within the SA diaspora. There are limitations when the population of interest in a study has limited available existing literature regarding their experiences, this information could help inform whether different scales or methods would be a better fit for this population.

One limitation of this study is that is it cross-sectional data, data collected at one point in time. Therefore, it is subject to criticisms in regard to recall bias. Participants are only able to indicate information that is accessible to them at the time in which they are asked to participate in the study. Further, it is assumed that participants would be able to recall information that they may not be able to accurately recount. Next, due to the online nature of this study, it is possible that people who would identify with the target population may not have been able to access the study because of the barriers to online research (access to social media, access to a computer).

Another limitation is self-selection bias, which is the idea that participants will choose a study to participate in because they want to express a particular view, or to respond in a particular way. This may interfere with the accuracy of the scale, particularly in instances where the scale is measuring implicit measures (Wiederman, 1999), for example, the desired response may comprise an effort to measure an underlying factor.
Another limitation is using self-reported data, as this could lead to participants wanting to respond in socially desirable ways. A person may not want to report honestly regarding topics which may be difficult for them. Further, self-report questions may ask participants questions which they may be unable to answer about themselves. Next, acculturative stress was measured by participants’ understanding of their parent’s experience. This data could be a misrepresentation of acculturative stress within this population. Participants may also not want to indicate that their parents struggle with experiences with acculturative stress.

Next sample size could be a limitation within this model, though the rule of one in ten appears to apply, as there are at least ten participants per predictor variable in the model. There were many associations trending toward significance, which indicates that there could be some value to running the model with a larger sample size. Though the research followed the one in ten rule, this does not account for power or effect size, it is possible this model is underpowered.

As this study only asked the children of first-generation immigrants to report on the experiences of their parents, there is a bias in the reporting of this factor. The Acculturative Stress Index was modified to ask the participant to indicate their parents experience as opposed to their own, thus creating a bias as this is no longer a self-report measure. Though this is a limitation for this study, it is important to note that this method of collecting retrospective data has been used successfully in past research. A 2016 study on current and former victims of physical sibling violence asked participants to recount retrospective accounts of other peoples’ reactions and responses to their experiences of sibling violence. The study gathered knowledge on the reactions of parents, counsellors, teachers, and other adults in the lives of these participants, by asking them to recount their memories of these interactions (McDonald & Martinez, 2016). This study looked at minimization from adults in regard to the participants’
experiences. For example, the study indicated, “according to seven of the participants’ retroactive interpretations of their parents’ behaviors, parents seemed to lack the knowledge of how to discipline a violent child…”, here it can be seen that information about the parent is collected through the participant and not the parent (McDonald & Martinez, 2016). In this way, it can be seen how information recalled from participants about a third person is used as valuable information in the study. Further, a 2013 study on parenting behaviors and their association with suicidality in teenagers examined this dynamic by asking the participants (teenagers) to report the parental behaviors. Parenting behavior (parental rule setting, enforcement of rules and parental monitoring) in this study was not collected from the parents of the teenagers, but from the participant’s responses to survey questions (Cero & Sifers, 2013). Though the study examined parenting behaviors and their connection to suicidality in their teenage children, the only participants in this study were the teenage children (Cero & Sifers, 2013). Additionally, a 2011 study that examined divorced women and how their parent’s divorces impacted their own marriages (and divorces) asked participants to retrospectively describe their parent’s quality of marriage and process of divorce (Kavas & Gunduz-Hosgor, 2011). The participant’s retrospective description of their parents’ divorce was used, the parents of participants were not asked to participate in this study. Here the participants are connecting their own experiences of divorce to their parent’s experience (which is also given by that participant) (Kavas & Gunduz-Hosgor, 2011). This study was able to evaluate the intergenerational transmission of divorce with only the child of divorce, as opposed to both parents and the children (Kavas & Gunduz-Hosgor, 2011). The approach used in this study to collect data on participant’s parents does indeed have its limitations.
Finally, in using an online study, it is impossible to know if participants responded to the survey questions independently. Though participants are asked to report their answers independently, the researchers cannot be confident that participants have followed this guideline. Despite the above noted limitations, the results generated from this study help to further knowledge on this population as well as advance clinical interventions and support.

**Implications**

The findings from this research can be used as starting points for future research with second-generation SA immigrants. Given that this research found connections between the different aspects involved in the life of second-generation SA immigrants, researchers can better use these aspects (migration, navigating a transcultural environment) as starting points to address in future research. For example, it may be useful to assess for the migration pattern within this population, this may be one way to address the differences within SAs. By understanding the various aspects of the immigrant experience, researchers will be better able to address the needs of this population.

Finally, this research further highlights the need for support for first-generation SA immigrants. Given that the findings from this research have confirmed some associations between parental acculturative stress and romantic relationship satisfaction within this sample, it further emphasizes the need for more extensive research within this population. Further, to better inform clinical practice based on these findings, further research in regard to the impact of first-generation experiences on the second-generation would need to be conducted to explore those dynamics. Future research in this area could help inform family therapy and clinical practice within this population. As stated previously, the process of migration is so significant, that continued research in this area could help inform researchers and clinicians with the particular
areas that are difficult within this population, and where specific resources and supports could be allocated.

**Future Directions**

The current study demonstrated significant links between acculturative stress, attachment styles, and romantic relationship satisfaction. With this research establishing significant links between these factors, future research may further explore these connections. This study focused on the second-generation experience, and used retrospective accounts from the participants to gather data on the first-generation experience. Future research in this area may include first-generation participants in order to have a richer understanding of the first-generation experience. Further, research in this area could benefit from using a qualitative or mixed-methods approach; these approaches could allow for more detail, and broader accounts of the different factors involved in this area of research.

A detailed examination between the specific stressors involved with the migration process and attachment would be beneficial to helping this population, and other visible minority immigrant populations. Learning more about the way that migration stressors affect attachment can help therapists understand what kind of resources would be useful to provide first-generation immigrant clients. Further, more information on this relationship could help develop specific culturally sensitive programs that help to deal with the different stressors which affect the next generation of SA immigrant children.

Consistent with previous research, attachment styles have been predictive of success in romantic relationships. Future directions with this research can explore the particular issues that the second-generation SA immigrants experience in their romantic relationships, in effort to understand the relationship between attachment style and dissatisfaction in romantic
relationships. Future research could benefit from examining adult second-generation SAs who are not in romantic relationships, and the linkages between attachment styles and this particular outcome.

This research provides a framework for the ways in which the common stressors for first-generation immigrants may affect second-generation immigrants. This information is valuable for clinicians who work with clients from this population. Clinicians may see value in understanding the specific migration histories for their immigrant clients, and the complexities involved in this process. Research to further explore this topic, will help inform clinicians of the different dynamics that are involved in the migration process, as well as the acculturation process, which impacts the different aspects of life for these immigrants.
Conclusion

The current research was conducted to understand the different factors which may influence the health and well-being of second-generation SAs, using romantic relationship satisfaction specifically as an outcome. In order to assess the different aspects that contribute to understanding second-generation well-being, factors regarding first generation experiences (acculturative stress), and parent-child dynamics (attachment) were included. This research aimed to bridge a gap in the literature. There are significant clinical implications that can be drawn from this research. Clinicians can better understand the impact of migration on the children of immigrants; that this impact begins as early as the actual process of migration. Exploring the relationship between migration related stressors and migration coping and romantic relationship satisfaction for second-generation SAs will help clinicians better understand the specific needs of this growing Canadian population. The findings of this research are significant, and further contribute to the growing body of literature on the SA Canadian experience.

In summary, the current study has found significant links between the predictor variables (acculturative stress) and different attachment styles. Attachment was also associated with relationship satisfaction in this study. These links in the path model suggest relationships in regard to the second-generation immigrant experience. Unfortunately, attachment did not significantly mediate any of the relationships in the path model. This research can be used to better understand the experiences of this population, and to help target specific aspects of these dynamics which require additional support. Though the findings of this study are significant and have clinical implications, this research also works as a starting point for future research endeavors.
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https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2018.02.033

## Annex 1

### Factor Analysis for Acculturative Stress

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Factor 1: Social Isolation</th>
<th>Factor 2: Sense of Belonging</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Have your parents felt guilty for leaving family or friends in their country of origin?</td>
<td><strong>.677</strong></td>
<td><strong>.124</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do your parents feel that living out of their country of origin has limited their contact with family or friends?</td>
<td><strong>.584</strong></td>
<td>-.067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have your parents found it hard interacting with others because of difficulties they have had with the English language?</td>
<td><strong>.527</strong></td>
<td><strong>.336</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do people treat your parents badly because they think your parents do not speak English well or speak with an accent?</td>
<td><strong>.519</strong></td>
<td><strong>.265</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have your parents been questioned about their legal status?</td>
<td><strong>.403</strong></td>
<td>-.022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do your parents feel that in Canada they have the respect they had in their country of origin?</td>
<td>-.255</td>
<td><strong>- .622</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do your parents find it difficult to find the work they want because they are of South Asian descent?</td>
<td><strong>.252</strong></td>
<td><strong>.606</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do your parents think they will be deported if they go to a social or government agency?</td>
<td>-.092</td>
<td><strong>.503</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do your parents avoid seeking health services due to fear of immigration officials?</td>
<td><strong>.441</strong></td>
<td><strong>-.477</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eigenvalue</th>
<th>2.063</th>
<th>1.199</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of Total Variance</td>
<td>22.923%</td>
<td>13.326%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Variance</td>
<td>36.249</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix A
Measure

Section 1: About You

1. Gender _________ Age _________
2. Please indicate your sexual orientation _________
3. What do you consider your ethnic background? _________
4. Please indicate your parent’s country of origin _________.
5. Did you immigrate to Canada? Yes _______ No _______
6. If yes, how old were you when you first moved to Canada? _________
7. Are you currently in a romantic relationship? Yes _________ No _________
8. If yes, how long have you been in this romantic relationship? _________
9. How many romantic relationships have you had in the last 10 years? _________
10. Are you currently in counselling? Yes _______ No _______
11. If yes, Individual counselling _________ or couple counselling _________

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>12. How strongly do you identify as South Asian?</th>
<th>Very Strongly</th>
<th>Strongly</th>
<th>Somewhat Strong</th>
<th>Not Strong</th>
<th>Not Strong at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>13. How important is identifying as “South Asian” to</th>
<th>Not Important</th>
<th>A Little Important</th>
<th>Somewhat Important</th>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Very Important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Section 2: Acculturative Stress

In the following section please answer the questions to the best of your ability. The questions are to be answered in what you believe your parents experiences have been.

1. Have your parents felt guilty for leaving family or friends in their country of origin?
   Yes
   No

2. Do your parents feel that in Canada they have the respect they had in their country of origin?
   Yes
   No

3. Do your parents feel that living out of their country of origin has limited their contact with family or friends?
   Yes
   No

4. Have your parents found it hard interacting with others because of difficulties they have had with the English language?
   Yes
   No

5. Do people treat your parents badly because they think your parents do not speak English well or speak with an accent?
   Yes
   No

6. Do your parents find it difficult to find the work they want because they are of South Asian descent?
   Yes
   No
7. Have your parents been questioned about their legal status?
   Yes
   No
8. Do your parents think they will be deported if they go to a social or government agency?
   Yes
   No
9. Do your parents avoid seeking health services due to fear of immigration officials?
   Yes
   No

Section 3: Childhood Experiences

10. Have you ever thought that one of your parents had a drinking problem?
    Yes
    No
11. Did you ever encourage one of your parents to quit drinking?
    Yes
    No
12. Did you ever argue or fight with a parent when he or she was drinking?
    Yes
    No
13. Have you ever heard your parents fight when one of them was drunk?
    Yes
    No
14. Did you ever feel like hiding or emptying a parent's bottle of liquor?
    Yes
    No
15. Did you ever wish that a parent would stop drinking?
    Yes
    No

Section 4: Attachment Style (Questions 16 – 53)

Show how much you agree with each of the following items by rating them on the following scale:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Totally disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Slightly Disagree</th>
<th>Slightly Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Totally Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall I am a worthwhile person</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am easier to get to know than most people.</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel confident that other people will be there for me when I need them</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I prefer to depend on myself rather than other people</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I prefer to keep to myself</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To ask for help is to admit that you’re a failure</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People’s worth should be judged by what they achieve.</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achieving things is more important than building relationships</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doing your best is more important than getting on with others</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If you’ve got a job to do, you should do it no matter who gets hurt</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It’s important to me that others like me</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It’s important to me to avoid doing things that others won’t like</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I find it hard to make a decision unless I know what other people think</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My relationships with others are generally superficial</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes I think I am no good at all</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I find it hard to trust other people</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I find it difficult to depend on others</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would like</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would like</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I find it relatively easy to get close to other people</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I find it easy to trust others</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel comfortable depending on others</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Section 5: Relationship Satisfaction (Questions 54-86)

Most people have disagreements in their relationships. Please indicate below the approximate extent of agreement or disagreement between you and your partner for each item on the following list. If you are not currently in a relationship, please answer each question as you would for your last most significant romantic relationship.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I worry that others won’t care about me as much as I care about them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I worry about people getting too close</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I worry that I won’t measure up to other people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have mixed feelings about being close to others</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>While I want to get close to others, I feel uneasy about it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I wonder why people would want to be involved with me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It’s very important to me to have a close relationship</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I worry a lot about my relationships</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I wonder how I would cope without someone to love me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel confident about relating to others</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I often feel left out or alone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I often worry that I do not really fit in with other people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other people have their own problems, so I don’t bother them with mine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When I talk over my problems with others, I generally feel ashamed or foolish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am too busy with other activities to put much time into relationships</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If something is bothering me, others are generally aware and concerned</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am confident that other people will like and respect me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I get frustrated when others are not available when I need them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other people often disappoint me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Always Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Handling family finances</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Matters of recreation</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Religious matters</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Demonstrations of affection</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Friends</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Sex relations</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Conventionality (correct or proper behavior)</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Philosophy of life</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Ways of dealing with parents or in-laws</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Aims, goals, and things believed important</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Amount of time spent together</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Making major decisions</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Household tasks</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Leisure time interests and activities</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Career decisions</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Repeated for never:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All the time</th>
<th>Most of the time</th>
<th>More often than not</th>
<th>Occasionally</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16. How often do you discuss or have you considered divorce, separation, or terminating your relationship?</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. How often do you or your mate leave the house after a fight?</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. In general, how often do you think that things between you and your partner are going well?</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Do you confide in your mate?</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Do you ever regret that you married? (or lived together)</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. How often do you and your partner quarrel?</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. How often do you and your mate “get on each other’s nerves?”</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
23. Do you kiss your mate?  O  O  O  O  O

24. Do you and your mate engage in outside interests together?  O  O  O  O  O

How often would you say the following events occur between you and your mate?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>More often</th>
<th>Less than once a month</th>
<th>Once or twice a month</th>
<th>Once or twice a week</th>
<th>Once a day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25. Have a stimulating exchange of ideas</td>
<td>O  O  O  O  O</td>
<td>O  O  O  O  O</td>
<td>O  O  O  O  O</td>
<td>O  O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Laugh together</td>
<td>O  O  O  O  O</td>
<td>O  O  O  O  O</td>
<td>O  O  O  O  O</td>
<td>O  O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Calmly discuss something</td>
<td>O  O  O  O  O</td>
<td>O  O  O  O  O</td>
<td>O  O  O  O  O</td>
<td>O  O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Work together on a project</td>
<td>O  O  O  O  O</td>
<td>O  O  O  O  O</td>
<td>O  O  O  O  O</td>
<td>O  O</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are some things about which couples sometimes agree and sometime disagree. Indicate if either item below caused differences of opinions or were problems in your relationship during the past few weeks. (Check yes or no)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29. O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

31. The circles on the following line represent different degrees of happiness in your relationship. The middle point, “happy,” represents the degree of happiness of most relationships. Please fill in the circle which best describes the degree of happiness, all things considered, of your relationship.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extremely Unhappy</th>
<th>Fairly Unhappy</th>
<th>A Little Unhappy</th>
<th>Happy</th>
<th>Very Happy</th>
<th>Extremely Happy</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O  O  O  O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

32. Which of the following statements best describes how you feel about the future of your relationship?

| O | I want desperately for my relationship to succeed, and would go to almost any length to see that it does. |
| O | I want very much for my relationship to succeed, and will do all I can to see that it does. |
| O | I want very much for my relationship to succeed, and will do my fair share to see that it does. |
| O | It would be nice if my relationship succeeded, but I can’t do much more than I am doing now to help it succeed. |
It would be nice if it succeeded, but I refuse to do any more than I am doing now to keep the relationship going.

My relationship can never succeed, and there is no more that I can do to keep the relationship going.

**Section 6: Spirituality (Questions 87–96)**

87. Do you consider yourself a spiritual person?
   - Yes
   - No

88. Do you consider yourself a religious person?
   - Yes
   - No

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>A few times per year</th>
<th>Once per month</th>
<th>2-3 times per week</th>
<th>Once a day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How often do you attend religious/spiritual services?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you or have you participated in a religious/spiritual youth group?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How frequently do you pray?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have you had a moving and powerful religious/spiritual experience?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Importance</th>
<th>Not Important</th>
<th>Mostly not important</th>
<th>Somewhat Important</th>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Very Important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
96. Did you and your family have a place in the community to worship and practice your faith?
   - Yes
   - No
   - N/A

97. Have you found your religion/spirituality to be supportive during difficult times in your life?
   - Yes
   - No
   - N/A

98. When you were a child, did you find your religion/spirituality to be supportive during difficult times?
   - Yes
   - No
   - N/A
ATTACHMENT STYLES AND ACCULTURATIVE STRESS ON RELATIONSHIP SATISFACTION FOR SECOND-GENERATION SOUTH ASIAN IMMIGRANTS

Primary Researcher: Gaayathri Saravanamuthu
Project Supervisor: Dr. Martin Rovers

Informed Consent

The success of individuals in long term romantic relationships is influenced by several factors. The well-being of each individual in romantic partnerships will play a significant role in the outcome of the relationship. The overall well-being of parents during the developmental periods of a child’s life effect the ways in which individuals form attachment styles. A growing area of research focuses on how couples relate to each other through their attachment styles. However, there is little research to date that considers acculturative stress and its effect on attachment styles, indicating that there is little research that connects the effect of acculturative stress on second generation immigrants in their pursuits to have healthy, fulfilling romantic relationships.

There is a deficit in research that takes into account the South Asian experience, as it is a unique one. Therefore, the current study seeks to explore the relationship between acculturative stress, attachment styles, and romantic relationship satisfaction, specifically looking at second-generation South Asian immigrants. Additionally, the current study will also seek to explore the relationship between spiritual affiliation on acculturative stress and romantic relationship satisfaction. Research has yet to assess the relationship between spiritual affiliation, acculturative stress, and romantic relationship satisfaction.

This is an invitation for you to participate in this study. You will be asked to complete a questionnaire, which will assess for your individual attachment style, your perceived experience of acculturative stress, your spiritual affiliation, and your level of relationship satisfaction. This questionnaire should take 22 to 30 minutes of your time.

As a participant, you have a choice of refusing to participate, not answering any questions, or withdrawing at any time. Participation in research is voluntary. You may experience mild emotional discomfort and mild anxiety. You will be provided with resources at the end of the questionnaire to help with any of the discomfort you may experience, as well as the researcher’s contact information. The research data will be kept until May 2021, and after which will be destroyed. Those who will have access to the data collected are the Principal Investigators, Gaayathri Saravanamuthu and Dr. Martin Rovers.

These topics can be distressing for some, therefore, resources and support information
will be provided upon completion of the study. The research has been carefully reviewed and approved by the Saint Paul University’s Research Ethics Review Committee. You may not benefit directly from participating in this study; however, the research will be very helpful for therapists in determining possible associations between attachment styles, acculturative stress, spirituality, and relationship satisfaction. This will allow for a more effective therapeutic approach. Participation in the study will be completely anonymous given no identifying information will be required. The study should be completed independently. The software used by this study, Lime Survey, a German based software. Confidentiality of the data cannot be guaranteed nor the anonymity of you as a participant.

If you have any questions about this study, please contact Dr. Martin Rovers at the e-mail address below.
If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact:

Research Ethics Board
Saint Paul University
recherche-research@ustpaul.ca
613-236-1393 ext. 2312

I have read the above information, and am hereby giving my informed consent to participate in this research project by selecting NEXT.

Thank you for participating in this research.

Dr. Martin Rovers, PhD
mrovers@ustpaul.ca

Gaayathri Saravanamuthu, MA(Cand.)
gsara087@uottawa.ca
Appendix C

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this research. Your contribution is an important one, and will be used to further South Asian-centered research.

If you have any questions or concerns, you may contact the primary researcher, Gaayathri Saravanamuthu at: gsara087@uottawa.ca.

If you are experiencing any emotional discomfort or anxiety, and would like to talk to someone, please contact any of the following resources:

Distress Centre (Ottawa) – (613) 238 – 3311

Toronto Distress Centre – (416) 408 – 4357

Écoute Entraide (Montreal) – (514) 278 - 2130

Crisis Line (Ottawa) – (613) 722 - 6914

Crisis Line – 1 (866) – 996 – 0991

If you are interested in talking to a counsellor you can contact any of the following organizations to help you get in contact with one:

Saint Paul University Counselling Centre 223 Main Street, Ottawa, ON (613) 236 - 1393

Carleton University Health and Counselling Services 1125 University Drive, Ottawa, ON (613) 520 - 6674

University of Ottawa Health Services 100 Marie-Curie Private, Ottawa, ON (613) 564 - 3950

Immigrant Women Services of Ottawa 219 Argyle Ave, Ottawa, ON (613) 729 - 3145

South Asian Women’s Centre 800 Lansdowne Ave. Unit 1 Toronto, ON Tel: (416) 537-2276

TAIBU Community Health Centre 27 Tapscott Road, Toronto, ON (416) 644 - 3536
Sherbourne Health Centre 333 Sherbourne Street, Toronto, ON (416) 324 - 4180

South Asian Women’s Community Center 1035 Rue Rachel E, Montreal, QC (514) 528 - 8812

McGill University Health Centre 1001 Boulevard Décarie, QC (514) 934 - 1934

South Asian Community Health Services 47 Lord Simcoe Drive, Brampton, ON (647) 718 - 0786
Dear Therapists,

My name is Gaayathri Saravanamuthu, and I am Master of Art’s student in Counselling and Spirituality at Saint Paul University. I am conducting research as part of my Master’s Thesis focusing on acculturative stress, attachment styles, parental alcoholism, romantic relationships, and spirituality within the South Asian Diaspora in Canada. I am contacting you today to request your support and assistance in letting your clients know about the research. Below is a brief description of the study.

The current study seeks to explore the possible relationship between alcoholism, acculturative stress, and attachment styles, specifically within the South Asian diaspora. The study seeks to understand the link between acculturative stress and alcoholism for first generation immigrants, and how this can be related to the attachment styles of their second-generation immigrant children. Additionally, the study seeks to explore the link between attachment styles of second generation South Asian immigrants and their romantic relationship satisfaction. The current study will seek to explore the potential relationship between spiritual affiliation and alcoholism, acculturative stress, attachment styles, and romantic relationship satisfaction. The research will run from now until April 2017. The research has been carefully reviewed and approved by the Saint Paul University Ethics Review Committee. The research ethics board file number is: 1360.6/16.

I have attached a poster for your viewing. I would kindly ask that you display the poster in your waiting room and that you let your second-generation South Asian clients know about this research.

I thank you for your time in reading this letter and for your support and assistance with the current study.

Sincerely,

Dr. Martin Rovers, PhD,  
mrovers@ustpaul.ca

Gaayathri Saravanamuthu, MA (Cand.)  
gsara087@ustpaul.ca
Appendix E

University Research Seeking Participants who Identify as
SECOND-GENERATION
SOUTH ASIAN IMMIGRANTS

Romantic Relationship Satisfaction, Attachment Styles, and Immigration Stress

If you are interested in participating please go to the link below.

For more information please contact the primary researcher, Gaayathri Saravanamuthu, MA Candidate at:
gsarava087@uottawa.ca

Did your parents immigrate to Canada?
Did you move to Canada when you were a child?
If you answered yes to either question above, you are invited to participate in this study. You must be over the age of 19 to participate. Your involvement is completely anonymous and should take approximately 20 minutes.
University Research Seeking Participants who Identify as

SECOND-GENERATION
SOUTH ASIAN IMMIGRANTS

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