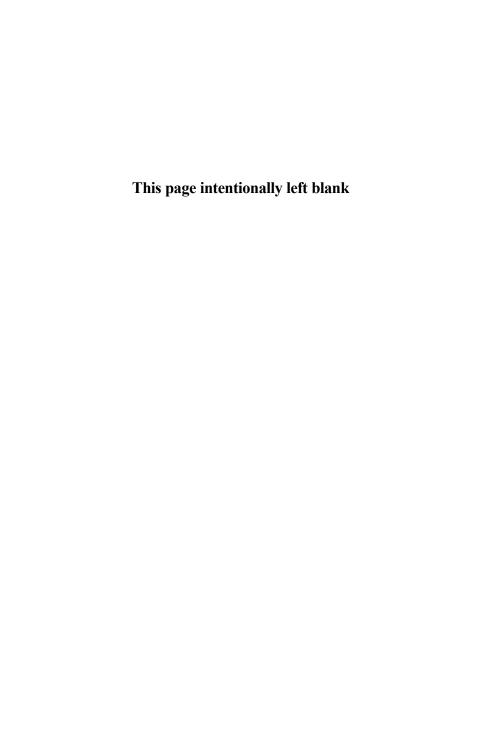# GENDER ROLES AT HOME AND ABROAD

THE ADAPTATION OF BANGLADESHI IMMIGRANTS

Kaari Flagstad Baluja

The New Americans
Recent Immigration and American Society

Edited by
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CHAPTER 1
Introduction to the Research

International migration involves a shift from one cultural environment in the origin area to a potentially different cultural environment in the destination area. This shift demands that individuals reassess their roles in society, in terms of what men and women believe to be their responsibilities, how they fulfill them, and what constitutes appropriate behavior. A recent report published by the United Nations underscored the importance of linking gender to migration studies (United Nations 1995). The purpose of this report was to correct the absence of adequate research on women in the field of international migration. The report proposed two key areas for future research: 1) the impact of international migration on the status of women and 2) the strategies used by immigrant women to reconcile for their families differences in culturally acceptable behavior between their origin society and their destination society (United Nations 1995: 1-18). It is this second focus that this research attempts to address.

Women are often responsible for socializing children, for providing ideological linkages between the origin and destination cultures, and for helping the family navigate the adaptation process. However, women must accomplish these tasks as they find themselves living within a potentially different gender stratification system. The

changes in the gender stratification system may affect family and household structure, ideas regarding female mobility and household division of labor, and attitudes about the appropriate roles of men and women.

Some researchers have looked at how women's positions within the family change as a result of international migration. However, these studies tend to look solely at women and fail to put women adequately within the context of family life. This research attempts to rectify this problem by looking at husband-wife dyads, the composition of the household, and the life cycle stages of its members. These are the primary areas of family life that provide context for behavior.

This research also provides a more comprehensive analysis of the immigrant assimilation process. Few studies of immigrant assimilation examine the entire process of change. Most studies only look at destination areas; if they look at origin areas, it is through the use of census data and macro-level variables that help to assess the selectivity of immigrants. This research includes fieldwork conducted in both origin and destination areas, as well as retrospective and current data, in order to detect and assess changes, if any, in the lives of immigrants. Consequently, the process of change in gender roles associated with immigration is examined from its inception, an approach that emphasizes the processual nature of such a change.

This research is unlike more traditional demographic research and theory on the behavior of immigrants that tend to focus on employment, residential, and educational outcomes. Instead, this research examines changes in gender role attitudes resulting from international migration. Specifically, it focuses on how the roles and relationships of Bangladeshi husbands and wives change after migration to Queens, NY, the site of a growing Bangladeshi community. This research attempts to determine "typical" gender role attitudes within the family among Bangladeshi immigrants in Queens and among Bangladeshis in source areas in Bangladesh. Additionally, this research assesses which aspects of family life, especially in terms of attitudes about appropriate gender roles for men and women, household division of labor, and female mobility, remain constant despite immigration.

Ten additional chapters follow this introductory overview. Chapter 2 reviews the important theoretical and topical concerns of this

research, including the study of women's status and gender, migration theories, and social networks. An integrative theory of immigrant behavior that builds on existing theory is presented. Chapter 3 discusses traditional Bangladeshi gender ideology and the ways in which it is changing. Chapter 4 offers a brief history of Bangladeshi out-migration and previous research on Bangladeshi immigrant communities. Additionally, data on Bangladeshi migration to the United States are presented.

Chapter 5 describes the research design and explains the advantages of using current and retrospective data collected in both origin and destination communities. The hypotheses guiding this research, which are adapted from hypotheses traditionally used in current immigration research, are also presented in Chapter 5. In Chapter 6, the research methodology is described. Sampling strategies, the choice of research locations, the operationalization of variables, and the data sources used are presented.

Chapter 7 provides an ethnographic description of the research settings in Queens, NY, and in Bangladesh. Demographic profiles of immigrant and non-immigrant respondents are presented. Portraits of four typical Bangladeshi immigrant families living in Queens conclude the chapter.

Chapters 8 through 11 present statistical and ethnographic analyses of the data. Chapter 8 focuses on gender role attitudes, Chapter 9 focuses on attitudes about female mobility, and Chapter 10 focuses on attitudes about household division of labor. Chapter 11 presents social network data. Chapter 12 brings together the findings of Chapters 8 through 11 and discusses the implications of this research for immigrant assimilation theory, presents alternative explanations for the findings, and suggests directions for future research. Finally, all names used in the text are pseudonyms. Each name represents an actual person who was interviewed.

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Previous Research on Theoretical Issues

This chapter is divided into six sections. Each of the first four sections reviews one of the important theoretical and topical concerns of this research. The first section presents a brief overview of the study of women's status, gender, and ideology in anthropological and demographic research. The second section presents a literature review of migration studies and a discussion of the ways in which a gendered approach has improved migration research. The third section presents traditional definitions of immigrant assimilation and typical treatments of the concept in the literature. Section three also reviews existing attempts to combine gender studies with research on immigrant assimilation and adaptation. Social networks are discussed in the fourth section. The fifth section of this chapter presents an integration of the theoretical models presented in the previous sections. The sixth and final section discusses the significance of this research in light of the theoretical and topical concerns presented in this chapter.

WOMEN'S STATUS, GENDER, AND IDEOLOGY

Women's Status and Gender in Anthropological and Demographic Research

Researchers have used the concept of "women's status" in an attempt to explain gender inequality cross-culturally. However, this concept has not proven to be particularly useful in understanding gender construction. This section will first review definitions of status and problems associated with the concept. Then other, often less problematic, approaches to gender construction and gender inequality will be presented.

The concept of women's status is difficult to define because of its multidimensionality. "Women's status" not only includes the idea of gender inequality, but also the concept's dimensions of prestige, power, access to resources, and control of resources. It can include biological, economic, political, and social characteristics. Researchers often use biological factors as universal determinants of women's status that affect all women equally. These biological determinants include men's greater physical strength, men's greater aggressiveness, women's role in childbearing and childrearing, and women's propensity for compliance. These determinants work through the economic and social structural environment. Quinn (1977) reviews some of the explanations of women's status common during the 1970s. She states:

> Male strength, maternal responsiveness, and the role of women in childbearing, nursing, and rearing have been proposed either singly or in combination to explain women's exclusion from warfare and a wide range of subsistence tasks and their exclusive assignment to other tasks (Quinn 1977: 219)

Some researchers have found that the proportion of subsistence contributed by women has an effect on status. In societies in which the contribution is virtually equal by the sexes (as with the !Kung), status tends to be equal; where one sex contributes substantially more to subsistence, status will be skewed. However, Sanday argues that equal division of labor does not always lead to equal status, and states that

women's "contribution to production is a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition for the improvement of women's status" (quoted in Quinn 1977:203). Women's confinement in the domestic sphere is viewed as an indicator of low status and has been attributed to women's universal role in childbearing, but is also seen as a result of industrialization and sedentism.

Mukhopadhay and Higgins (1988) trace developments in the study of status since Quinn's article. They state that anthropological research still emphasizes "female economic roles as the primary variable affecting female status" (Mukhopadhay and Higgins 1988: 463). These roles include their contribution to subsistence, their control over production, their involvement in economic distribution and exchange, and their roles in industrialization. Newer studies also look at women's status and its relationship to reproduction, sexuality, family roles, politics, and cultural-constructions of gender. Mukhopadhay and Higgins (1988:465-466) discuss some of the problematic features of the concept of women's status, arguing that women's status is "multidimensional, and measurable according to a variety of, possibly unrelated, scales." It includes the dimensions of economy, power, autonomy, prestige, and ideology. It also is affected by contextual factors such as the type and location of activities performed by a woman, her life cycle stage, and her social position. The multidimensional nature of the concept makes it difficult to compare studies since some scholars look at a single dimension of status while others look at the relationships among dimensions. Another key problem according to Mukhopadhay and Higgins (1988: 468) is that "assessing status entails a judgment about what is good, desirable, and valuable." They state that these criteria are culturally specific and the researchers' judgments may not match those of the people within the society under study.

Mason (1986) also discusses the problems inherent in the concept of women's status. She states that there are three primary problems with the concept: its multidimensionality, the confusion of researchers between class and gender stratification, and the confusion of researchers between access to resources and control of resources. In terms of the multidimensional nature of status, Mason states that "there is more than one dimension on which it is theoretically possible for the sexes to be unequal," and these dimensions are not necessarily

correlated (Mason 1986: 286). The degree of gender inequality present in a particular situation depends upon the social location, the unit of social organization, and the life cycle under scrutiny (Mason 1986: 290). According to Mason, an essential problem associated with status is the confounding of gender and class. Although most researchers recognize that both gender stratification and class systems coexist in society, in some studies of status, the researchers do not differentiate between the two systems. The concept of "women's status," according to Mason, refers to the position of women in the gender stratification system relative to the position of men within that system (Mason 1986: 292). The final problem that Mason discusses is the distinction between access to and control of resources. Control is the more important of these, since control "implies the ability to dispose of the resource while access only implies the right to use it or consume it with the permission of those holding the right to dispose of it" (Mason 1986: 292).

The concept of "women's status" is not particularly useful: it does not have a standard definition; it interacts with other prevailing systems that affect the ability of men to control women; its indicators have a number of definitions; and its indicators do not respond the same way in all social settings. Some researchers choose to look at one set of indicators such as participation in decision making and control over resources, while others examine another set such as political participation and level of education, making comparative studies of women's status virtually impossible, or at least uninformative.

There are a number of other approaches to understanding gender inequality and gender construction that may be more successful as research tools. One approach may be to abandon the concept of "women's status" altogether and instead focus on the individual dimensions of status. For example, it may be more useful to ask the question "What specific conditions influence political participation or economic control?" rather than asking about the factors that influence overall status. While this approach eliminates the problems associated with the multidimensionality of status, it may not lead to any overall understanding of gender inequality cross-culturally.

Another approach to understanding gender inequality may be to replace the concept of "women's status" with power. Power is defined as "the ability to control or change the behavior of others" (both men

and women) and the ability to determine events in one's own life (Safilios-Rothschild 1982: 117). Safilios-Rothschild (1982) argues that it is unlikely women possess power in situations where inequities exist between men and women. She discusses the relationship between status and power by asking questions regarding "how many and to what degree women's status indicators must reflect equality before the ideology changes to allow women to translate higher status into power" (Safilios-Rothschild 1982:117).   Safilios-Rothschild attempts to operationalize power, stating that women may derive power from two primary sources: from men and from their own productive activities. Power derived from men is generally limited. Women may have the ability to control or influence the behavior of younger people, but they are less likely to have the ability to make decisions affecting themselves or the household as a whole. This type of power, power derived from men, is considered by Safilios-Rothschild to be a function of women's reproductive power, marital power based on unequal love, power based on the woman's father's wealth and status, power based on the woman's husband's wealth and status, and power based on the asexual status of older women. In order for women to possess this type of power, men must consent to women's making decisions that control or influence the behavior of the younger household members (Safilios-Rothschild 1982: 119-122).

The second type of power can be derived through productive income generating behavior. However, women may have limited access to this type of power if the cultural ideology does not allow for the economic independence or participation of women. Consequently, this type of power is more prevalent in societies with relatively high levels of female mobility, sexual freedom, and matrilineality (Safilios-Rothschild 1982: 124). Safilios-Rothschild argues that this second type of power is a function of the economic activities and income contributing activities of women, the social/cultural ideology regarding the economic role of women, sexual power, the social structure of the population, and the strength of women's collectives and organizations. Thus, power derived from a woman's own productive activities is not independent of power derived from men. Additionally, the cultural ideology must support women's participation in income generating activities (Safilios-Rothschild 1982: 127). Several measurable indicators of female power include the ability to control decisions, the

ability to control the labor of others, the ability to control the type of household structure, the discrepancy between men's and women's ratio of income earning activities to leisure activities, the discrepancy between men's and women's wages earned from productive activities, and the ability to make decisions regarding purchases, expenditures, family size, and migration (Safilios-Rothschild 1982: 128-129).

Kabeer (1994) argues that some analyses of power focus solely on individual decision making. A more satisfying analysis, according to Kabeer, would focus on the actors included and/or excluded from decision making, in addition to individual decision making itself. She defines power as "the capacity of an actor to affect the pattern of outcomes against the wishes of other actors and asks the question 'who prevails in decision making'" (Kabeer 1994: 225). Kabeer also argues that it is important to analyze power at an institutional level because the gender biases present within social institutions become more apparent. Regarding the influence of these social institutions on people's perception of power, Kabeer states:

> Power relations are kept in place because the actors involved subscribe to accounts of reality which deny that inequalities exist or assert that they are due to misfortune rather than social injustice. (The social reality) prevents conflicts by shaping wants, needs, and preferences in such a way that both the dominant and the subordinate accept the roles in the social order because they cannot imagine an alternative or because they value it as divinely ordained and beneficial (Kabeer 1994: 227).

Kabeer explains that social rules, norms, and values play a vital role in "concealing reality and the pervasiveness of male dominance" and that "resources provide material levers through which the gender asymmetries are maintained" (Kabeer 1994: 227). According to Kabeer, power is embedded in males' abilities to control resources and to construct the "rules of the game" that diffuse gender conflicts stemming from the unequal distribution of power (Kabeer 1994: 229).

A third approach to gender is also suggested by Kabeer (1994). She proposes that researchers should be concerned "with exploring how the relations of class and gender mediate social realties, translating

broader processes of change into concrete gains and losses for different groups of women and men" (Kabeer 1994: 62). Kabeer argues that this approach explains the relations of everyday life and the linkages between the relations of production and reproduction in the changing local and world economy. She further argues that this type of approach shifts the focus away from women. Previous studies on gender issues focus solely on women, implying that problems of poverty and limited opportunity experienced by women were confined solely to women, as were the solutions (Kabeer 1994: 65-66). The focus on gender relations extends the focus to include the nexus of relationships that determine the allocation of resources, responsibilities, capabilities, power, and privilege to both sexes. This approach is satisfying because by definition it includes both men and women in its analysis of the construction of gender and its explanations of gender inequality. However, it is untested and may be problematic in its operationalization.

Despite its shortcomings, the concept of "women's status" is not completely useless. It was one of the first attempts to look systematically at the position of women in relation to men in societies around the world, in different cultural, economic, social, and political contexts. It drew attention to the differences in access, control, and power between the sexes. It resulted in a series of informative empirical tests that looked at the relationship among a number of indicators and the overall position of women. While no conclusions could be made regarding women's "status," studies of status drew attention to the male bias present in past anthropological work (Mason 1986; Mukhopadhay and Higgins 1998). Additionally, these newer approaches to gender inequality and gender construction increase our understanding of the relationship between the historical, economic, social, and ideological contexts in which men and women interact.

Ideology in Anthropological Research

According to Abecassis, the ideology of a group is "the way in which the world, as experienced by them, is understood" (Abecassis 1990: 2). Ideology includes a group's beliefs about deities and the supernatural and how these beliefs interact with the major concerns of existence. Uy

Eviota (1992) explains that, though ideology is culturally constructed, individuals do not actively define it. Ideology shapes and is shaped by people's behavior and the environment in which they live. Uy Eviota continues:

> Ideology is socially determined yet remains unconscious in its determinations... Ideology then is not static nor unchanging; it shapes people's lives but people in their day-to-day existence live the ideology; they act to maintain, modify, or change it. It takes many forms and varies in intensity among different classes and social groups. But ideology does not simply happen; a dominant ideology of what is normal, natural and desirable is intertwined with dominant interests within the social system. Ideology as process, therefore is a dynamic representation of social, political, and economic conditions and the place of gender within these conditions. (Uy Eviota 1992: 25)

Ideology and worldview are most often considered in conjunction with religious beliefs. In any society at any one time, there may be many co-existing traditions; this is especially likely in multi-ethnic, multi-religious societies. At the same time, Afshar and Agarwal state "ideological representations of the dominant classes often become the norms governing all classes, or are given a superior position within the range of religious beliefs" (Afshar and Agarwal 1989: 3). It is important to realize that ideology is critical to the social construction of gender roles and the process of subordination. Family, community, media, education, legal issues, and religion work together to reinforce and reflect the prevailing ideological norm. (Agarwal 1988: 14). For example, South Asia is comprised of a mixture of ethnicities, cultures, and religions including Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Christianity, and animism. Religious beliefs here are affected by the complex mix of ecological, economic, caste/class, and gender-specific factors that are mediated through space differently in different regions. Constraints become intertwined with wider structures and processes in society at large (Bagchi and Raju 1993: 239-242). In many parts of South Asia, prevailing traditional ideologies impose restrictions on women's participation in income generating work, by prescribing their

confinement within circumscribed spaces, even while their economic situation necessitates such participation. Poor women may consequently face conflicting choices between survival and status (Afshar and Agarwal 1989: 1).

In many parts of South Asia, prevalent ideologies include specific concepts of female seclusion and exclusion. Afshar and Agarwal list a series of cultural practices embodying these ideologies, including the veiling of women, physical segregation, restricted mobility, and the specification of behavioral norms (Afshar and Agarwal 1989: 2-3). They state that religious texts (especially those of Hinduism and Islam) are often invoked to reinforce these views of women as dependent on men both economically and socially. Women are also often excluded from the means of production on the basis of ideological constructs.

MIGRATION STUDIES AND GENDER

Models of migration attempt to interpret the mobility of individuals in terms of easily measurable or explainable variables. They tend to focus on only a few concepts at a time - economics, politics, ideology, or the interactions between origins and destinations. In the past, models also tended to focus on either macro level factors or micro level factors. Only recently have multilevel models of migration been developed. A further improvement in migration models would provide context since all migration behaviors take place within some environment. Understanding of the environment is crucial to understanding of the processes that take place within that environment. Hugo (1999:3) argues:

> As a part of the general neglect of the gender dimension in migration research, there remains only limited knowledge of the conditions under which and how the migration process can play a role enhancing the status of women.

Gender and ideology significantly affect the economic opportunities of an individual, as well as an individual's ability to participate in a migration stream. Consequently, researchers who model migration behavior in terms of its economic costs and benefits should also specify

ideological costs and benefits and the ability of certain members of the population to participate in the migration process. These same types of specifications are possible in non-economic migration models.

Important Concepts in Migration Research

This section begins with discussion of the types and forms that migration can take. Next, a review of existing migration theory and the ways in which these models have been altered, somewhat unsuccessfully, to include gender is presented.

Types and Forms of Migration

Identifying the form and type of migration is crucial to the understanding of its causes and consequences. In demographic literature, the form of migration refers to whether migration is undertaken alone or with others. The decision to migrate and the choice of destination are usually made by a larger group - no matter the actual form of migration. The type of migration concerns the duration of migration. (Chant and Radcliffe 1992: 7-16)

Individual migration occurs when one person migrates alone, leaving family members behind in the origin area. Most individual migrants are young and unlikely to have dependents. Consequently, in the transitional period following migration, they need to worry only about supporting themselves. In most societies, men are more likely than women to migrate independently. However, in Latin America and Southeast Asia, women tend to outnumber men in rural-urban migration streams. In South Asia, women have traditionally outnumbered men in rural-rural migration streams because of exogamous marriage patterns, and they have played only a very small role in rural-urban migration streams. However, in recent years, deteriorating economic and agricultural conditions are changing this pattern so that women, as individual migrants, are beginning to comprise a larger portion of the urbanward stream. Still, social norms and cultural constraints on female mobility often prohibit the independent or autonomous migration of women. (Chant and Radcliffe 1992: 7-16)

In family migration, entire families migrate together or in successive stages. Chant and Radcliffe (1992: 7) state that there are four issues that must be considered when discussing family migration: the identification of culture-specific residence rules of marriage, the disentanglement of individual motivations from the family context, the gender-specific level of difficulty associated with migration, and the family structure. These issues help clarify the determinants and consequences of family migration in addition to identifying the family members most likely to migrate.

Migration may take on a variety of types, either permanent or temporary. Permanent migration occurs when migrants remain in the destination area, without returning to the area of origin for significant lengths of time. Much of Third World urbanization and urban population growth can be explained by permanent rural-urban migrants and their children and grandchildren born in urban areas. However, a substantial portion of both rural-urban and international migration in the Third World occurs on a temporary basis; people return to their place of origin on a regular basis, as do male labor migrants from Bangladesh to the Middle East. Three main types of temporary migration have been identified: seasonal migration, oscillating migration, and circular migration. Seasonal migration usually occurs in agricultural areas that have varying labor requirements during the year. Oscillating migration, or commuting, involves repeated short-term migration between labor markets and families. Circular migration involves long-term migrants who ultimately return to their rural place of origin. Often, these return migrants own property, occupy key political positions, or have families in the origin areas. For example, early Bangladeshi migrants to London used their earnings to purchase property in Bangladesh so that they could retire there. Circular migration also occurs in societies in which young people typically migrate to cities for employment, but return to rural areas to marry and begin their families. (Chant and Radcliffe 1992: 10-16; United Nations Secretariat 1993: 101-107) Hugo (1993: 4) argues that the types of migration typically undertaken by women are often overlooked in current research.

Review of Existing Migration Theory

Once researchers have identified the type and form of migration streams, it becomes more feasible to try to explain why migration occurs. In a recent review article, Massey et al. (1993) provide an exhaustive overview of international migration theories, including both theories concerning why people migrate and theories concerning why migration streams persist over time. They argue that the forces underlying international migration are coherent across contexts. However, they lament the current state of theory:

> At present, there is no single, coherent theory of international migration, only a fragmented set of theories that have developed largely in isolation from one another, sometimes but not always segmented by disciplinary boundaries. Current patterns and trends in immigration, however, suggest that a full understanding of contemporary migratory processes will not be achieved by relying on tools of one discipline alone, or by focusing on a single level of analysis. Rather, their complex, multifaceted nature requires a sophisticated theory that incorporates a variety or perspectives, levels, and assumptions. (Massey et al. 1993: 432)

The following section reviews early theories of international migration by explaining the basic assumptions of each theory and examining the weaknesses of each.

Neoclassical Macro- and Micro-Economic Theories

Neoclassical macroeconomic theories see "population movement as a 'natural' response to interregional differences in social and economic opportunities" (Hugo 1993: 60). Migration is seen as an equilibrating force between people and opportunities. To enhance migration opportunities, the development of the infrastructure, communications networks, and other mobility enhancing improvements should be promoted. These relatively simplified theories have difficulties explaining migration caused by factors other than wage differentials, such as marriage, family reunification, and war. Another problem is their assumption of homogeneity in migrants (Chant and Radcliffe 1992, Zuiches 1980).

Neoclassical microeconomic migration models tend to focus on individual characteristics, selectivity factors, and migration decision making rather than the macro-level determinants of migration. Massey et al (1993: 434) explain this model:

> In this scheme, individual rational actors decide to migrate because a cost-benefit calculation leads them to expect a positive net return, usually monetary, from movement. International migration is conceptualized as a form of investment in human capital. People choose to move where they can be most productive, given their skills; but before they can capture the higher wages associated with greater labor productivity they must undertake certain investments, which include the material costs of traveling, the costs of maintenance while moving and looking for work, the effort involved in learning a new language and culture, the difficulty in adapting to a new labor market, and the psychological costs of cutting old ties and forging new ones.

Individual characteristics that may improve employment prospects or that may decrease migration costs increase the likelihood of migration.

Structuralist theories
Structuralist theories attempt to seek the causes of migration in the forces creating unequal distribution of resources and opportunities by placing migration within the context of the historical transformations of social groups. According to Wood (1982: 303),

> Structuralist approaches . . . have stressed a wide range of phenomena. These include the emergence and expansion of the capitalist mode of production; the style of development that is pursued; a country's role in the international division of labour; the unequal development within and between countries; the articulation of capitalist and non-capitalist formations as it affects the distribution of the maintenance and reproduction costs of labour; and the cost-lowering anticyclical functions of a migrant labor force.

According to structuralists, migration is a negative process that increases dependency and inequality through the redistribution of capital and labor from the periphery to the core. Thus, migration should be slowed through the implementation of development policies that seek a more balanced distribution of labor and capital through enhancements of economic and social opportunities in the periphery.

There are two primary problems with structuralist theories of migration. First, these theories lose sight of the migrants as decision-makers who choose how to respond to these structuralist changes (Pedraza 1991: 307-308). Secondly, traditional structuralist theories do not explain the association between capitalist economies and peasant relations that may sustain the migrant flow (Radcliffe 1991: 134).

Incorporating Gender in Neoclassical Economics and Structural Migration Models
According to Chant and Radcliffe (1992), migration models have often included sex as a variable in migrant selectivity; however, they argue that gender differentiated mobility patterns have not been adequately integrated into conceptual models. They discuss how gender, the social construction of sex, may be incorporated into the existing frameworks of the neoclassical macro- and microeconomic approaches and the structural approach.

Chant and Radcliffe (1992) argue that the neoclassical economics approach can be used to explain the migration of women as movement from areas of low opportunity to areas of high opportunity under the assumption that both men and women are motivated to migrate by wage differentials. Thadani and Todaro (1984) present a different conceptual model for female migration within the context of neoclassical economics. They argue that female migration has been neglected in the past and, therefore, requires separate analysis so that factors like ideology and cultural constraints may be included in the model. They argue that there are two primary determinants of female migration: wage differentials and marriage. Cultural constraints on migration are coded into the model as a variable with values ranging from 0 (total constraint on mobility) to 1 (no constraints on mobility). While this model is a useful theoretical framework, it still has a number of deficiencies. First, women are viewed as being different only in terms of educational levels and rural or urban origin, ignoring

differences in lifestyle, class, and culture. Second, despite the inclusion of the sex-role constraint variable, the model virtually ignores the social and ideological factors that influence participation in migration streams. This context needs to be more fully incorporated into the model. Third, female migrants are viewed as a special group whose migration needs to be explained (Chant and Radcliffe 1992: 20). Chant summarizes the faults of the model:

> The neoclassical/equilibrium approach which tends to treat both men's and women's migration as determined by the spatial distribution of labor market opportunities and levels of human capital . . .is clearly inadequate for guiding us to an understanding of why men's and women's mobility often adopts such different forms, and why female mobility itself is so highly differentiated. (Chant 1992: 201)

The major flaws of the neoclassical model can be summarized as follows: it treats women as men and cannot explain the difference between the migration patterns of men and women or the variation in migration patterns among women.

Structuralist approaches that include gender are able to clarify the relationship between new gendered migration patterns and the growth of the world economy, and to explain new gender divisions of labor. According to Chant and Radcliffe,

> The general structuralist concern to understand the constantly evolving transformations in production relations and locations has extended our understanding of women's positions within these changes, and has revealed processes which prompt and shape female participation in population flows at different points in time. (Chant and Radcliffe 1992: 21-22)

However, despite these strengths, they note that the structuralist approach tends to marginalize reproduction. This shortcoming reduces the usefulness of this model since the relationship between production and reproduction determines the ways in which men and women participate in the labor force and mobility.

Behavioral and Household Strategies Migration Models

The behavioral approach and the household strategies approach have been more successful in incorporating gender and gender roles into theoretical explanations of migration. Behavioral approaches tend to include the ideological and cultural constructs that influence both men's and women's responses to, and participation in, the socioeconomic system. According to Chant and Radcliffe, "these studies highlight the important role of women in various economic sectors, while recognizing that their geographical mobility and rates of participation are also shaped by cultural constraints and class differences" (1992: 21).

Caplan (1985)'s study of urban elite women in South India provides an example of a behavioral approach to the migration of women. In this study, Caplan examines the meaning of class and how it mediates gender relationships. She discusses how the roles of women as domestic workers, as paid workers, and as participants in women's associations affect their participation in politics, in the labor force, and in the formation of the class structure. Caplan describes the views of the Indian women she studied:

> Many women see clearly that there are problems in their own lives, in those of their families, their neighbors, and their friends. They see that there are enormous problems in Indian society, particularly the poverty of the great majority, and they seek to do something about these problems. By upholding 'tradition' and religion they feel that they are creating a haven of security in a too rapidly changing world, and yet by joining organizations and 'learning new things' that they are adapting to these changes, as they indeed are. (Caplan 1985: 5-6)

While Caplan only mentions migration in passing, she provides a great deal of information on the daily lives of these women and clearly describes the relationship between production and reproduction in this segment of Indian society. Through her analysis, one is able to understand how the cultural context in which these women live affects their actions and decision-making abilities. Despite the richness of the information that behavioral approaches provide, they have been criticized for their inability to allow for cross-cultural comparisons.

The household strategies model represents an improvement over the behavioral model. Proponents of the household strategy model contend that household tasks such as subsistence activities and reproduction are as crucial as wage differentials in explaining gender-differentiated migration from rural households. According to this framework, migration occurs when subsistence activities can no longer support the household as a result of changing structural constraints. Wood (1981: 339) states:

> The dynamic character of household behavior can be conceptualized as a series of 'sustenance strategies' by which the household actively strives to achieve a fit between its consumption necessities, the labor power at its disposal . . . and the alternatives for generating monetary and nonmonetary income.

Gendered divisions of labor allow certain members to migrate while hindering the migration of others. These gendered divisions of labor are grounded in the ideological environment that shapes the social constructions of gender and power relations within the household.

Radcliffe (1991) incorporates a rigorous analysis of gender in her study of peasant household strategies for migration. In order to develop a gender-aware approach to the relationship between migration and household strategies, Radcliffe claims, one must look at how labor is organized in peasant households. This focus will reveal how class relations entail different outcomes for men and women, how relationships between household members are influenced by gender relations within the household that place a value on women's work and participation in decision making, and how household structure is influenced by the emergence of capitalist economic relations that distribute members among distinct economic activities (Radcliffe 1991: 129-130). Radcliffe (1991: 139) states "under conditions of increasing commodification of the peasant economy, individuals undertake different, gender-specific production and labor functions, ranging from subsistence production to migratory wage labor."

While this type of model - one that combines structural and economic forces that lay out the conditions favoring migration and the cultural and ideological forces that select migrants - has many

strengths, it has inspired some criticism. First, this model has not yet been tested empirically so that its explanatory power is not yet known. Second, according to the model, migration occurs solely for subsistence reasons. Finally, the selectivity of migrants is tied to the sexual division of labor and does not factor in other cultural constraints and religious ideas. Simply put, it ignores culture. The following section will present modifications to the behavioral and household strategies model that should explain the process of migration more satisfactorily with regard to the role of gender and ideology.

A Gendered Framework for Migration Research

Gender should not be included merely as a variable in a migration model, but rather should form part of the framework for analysis. The sexes of the migrants are important, but the relationship between the sexes in the culture being studied is even more important. Portes (1997: 816) argues:

> Like class and race, gender represents a master dimension of social structure and a focus on this dimension can yield novel insights into many phenomena. For this to become reality, the analytic focus cannot be exclusively women (or men for that matter), but the socially patterned relationships between the sexes as they influence and in turn are influenced by the process of immigration.

These relations between the sexes are determined in part by the culture of the area and are manifested in the power structure and the relative statuses of the sexes. The power structure and these relative statuses then influence any opportunities for migration and labor force participation, in conjunction with economic, demographic, and political factors. Researchers are just beginning to recognize the importance of linking gender to migration studies (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1999; Pessar 1999).

Gender is the social construction of the biological sexes. It is a principal factor in the organization of social arrangements and behavior. According to Petsch, gender "refers to a set of categories to

which individuals are assigned." It is important to understand that no society is without gender. Petsch states, "the implication of gender is that individuals will play different social roles and will have different attitudes and expectations because of their sex - in essence, they will experience life differently" (Petsch 1989: 39-40).

Unlike sex, gender cannot be thrown into a model as a single variable. An approach that does so describes gender solely as sex differences, rather than as an entire social structure, or as an organizing principle of a culture. Instead, gender must be incorporated into a model as part of its structure. Kabeer (1994) stresses that a gendered structure would make it possible to avoid generalizations that characterize many of the structuralist approaches, namely that women's opportunities are constrained by capitalism and patriarchy. Instead, a gendered framework in migration studies would rely more heavily on power relations as an explanatory factor.

Women are often viewed as passive participants in migration, and thus are given secondary importance in migration studies and the process of social and economic transformations. However, this view is being increasingly questioned as women's roles in the economy and migration are changing throughout the world. Female migration is becoming increasingly tied to employment and income earning activities (Simmons 1993: 344). Understanding why female migration patterns are changing requires a strong awareness of the changing context in which migration is occurring.

Migration patterns differ along the lines of gender. According to Chant and Radcliffe:

> On one hand, gender-differentiated population movement acts as a mirror for the way in which sexual divisions of labor are incorporated into spatially uneven processes of economic development; on the other hand, it sets a template for subsequent social and economic evolution in developing societies. Thus whether members of households and or communities in source areas and receiving areas of migrant populations are predominantly male or female, old or young, kin or strangers: what activities they undertake in the context of available opportunities in their immediate localities and the extent to which they may have to rely on earnings of workers in distant parts of the country or overseas, are critically important in understanding such issues as the changing nature of family organization, labor market structures, patterns or inter- and intra-regional inequalities, and so on. (Chant and Radcliffe 1992: 1)

Additionally, gender issues help to explain why people respond to the same set of circumstances in different ways. Petsch argues that an analysis of migration from a gendered framework would yield a greater ability to predict the circumstances leading to migration since men and women experience reality in different ways. Petsch explains:

> The influence of gender is easy to see for some of the factors involved in the selection of migrants. Women have biologically and culturally defined life cycles which differ from men's (i.e. age at first marriage, childbearing, menopause) and which could influence migration decisions at different stages. Education for women varies greatly around the world and may act both as a stimulus and a barrier to female migration. Male and female occupations and family responsibilities also differ and have differing impacts upon the motivations and the ability to migrate. (Petsch 1989: 51)

Gendered analyses of migration would also help to interpret and distinguish between culturally programmed behavior, societal views of appropriate behavior, and actual psychological difference (Petsch 1989: 51-52). Gendered analyses would also help inform researchers of the

social and cultural consequences of migration. When individuals migrate, they often leave one gender system and enter a new, different gender system. They may find that their existing expectations about the roles they will fill differ drastically from those of the new society.

Gender issues also play a role in migration decision making. Individuals are "subject to constraints and opportunities which shape and are shaped by their decisions and behavior" (Riley and Gardner 1993: 196). These constraints are derived from the environment in which the individuals live, and the constraints may not influence all members equally. An individual's response to these constraints depends upon his or her capacity to perceive and manipulate the environment according to his or her position and values. Riley and Gardner argue that gender issues often determine whether migration is even perceived as an option and affect the availability of the type of migration, the access to resources required for migration, and the extent to which an individual may participate in migration decision making (1993: 196-201). Factors influencing a woman's role in decision making include age, life cycle stage, and position within the household. For example, at younger ages, age may be a more important factor in the exclusion of women from decision making since children and adolescents usually have little say in decisions. At older ages, life cycle stage may become more important than age because widowhood may compel women to migrate, while motherhood may retard migration. Riley and Gardner provide a summary of the effects of gender in migration decision making:

> In some contexts, women are constrained by gender
> stratification and ideology to the point that they are only able
> to participate in migration by influencing decisions concerning
> the migration of other family members, particularly males.
> Under such restrictions, women achieve their goals through
> the men around them, participating in what have been called
> "bargains with patriarchy." In places where only men migrate,
> women can be as actually involved in the migration decision
> making as when they themselves or the whole household
> migrates. Women understand that the migration of a husband
> or a son may be the best or only way for her family or herself
> [sic] to achieve economic or other goals. (Riley and Gardner
> 1993: 202)

Thus, gender ideology determines how a woman can participate in
decision making. Even if she is unable to migrate herself, she often has
the ability to influence the migration of others. However, the extent of
her influence will depend upon the cultural context. In some cultures,
women may have strong influence, while in others women may have no
influence.

The development of the nexus of relationships that determines the
position of men and women in a society takes place over a long period.
Religion, environment, and history determine the ideology of a region
or group. This ideology then determines the group's worldview, the
interactions between individuals, and the interactions between
individuals and the environment. These interactions evolve over time
into a gender system, in which men and women are given different
roles and responsibilities. The roles, in turn, create the power structure
within which men and women operate. The distribution of power
within a society then determines what kinds of opportunities are
available to individuals based on how much power they possess. These
opportunities include access to resources, access to productive
activities, participation in the labor market, participation in political
affairs, and participation in migration. It is important to understand that
there are feedback relationships throughout this framework;
opportunities available to men and women will in turn affect the
distribution of power and the gender system over time.

This framework more fully captures the process of migration. It allows for the explanation of why some people migrate and why others do not. It helps to explain the differences in migration patterns between different groups. These groups can be men and women, individuals from different religious backgrounds, individuals from societies with different gender systems. If these groups experienced similar economic conditions, yet their migration patterns were different and the consequences of their migration were different, a gendered framework might explain these differences.

This section has argued for the inclusion of a gendered framework in migration studies. While economic models can explain why migration may occur, they are unable to discuss the ideological factors encouraging or discouraging migration, the ideological consequences of migration, and the social change resultant from migration. Studying the situation of both men and women in terms of power, authority, and opportunities, requires an understanding of the cultural context in which they live since culture influences the mobility behavior of all individuals. People do not act solely on the result of some mental calculus involving economic costs and benefits, but rather, they take into account, consciously or subconsciously, the behaviors that are open to them according to the social and cultural environment in which they live. Models that do not contain a gendered framework that includes the relationships between labor force participation, migration, gender roles, and ideology are not capable of fully describing the migration patterns of women or of men or of fully uncovering the consequences of migration for men and women.

IMMIGRANT ASSIMILATION RESEARCH

Assimilation and Acculturation Studies

The questions asked in demographic, sociological, and anthropological research regarding the effects of immigration to the United States on people and families often focus on how well immigrants adjust to life in the United States (Ashworth 1982; Bach 1993; Berry 1992; Dasgupta 1992; Gold 1989; Jabbra 1991; Kibria 1987; Landale 1994; Mann 1995; Nann 1982; Parillo 1991; Pohjola 1991; Portes and Zhou

1993).   Three different processes of immigrant adjustment are discussed in the literature: acculturation, assimilation, and adaptation. Acculturation is defined as "culture change resulting from continuous first-hand contact between two distinct culture groups" (Berry 1992: 69). According to Berry, acculturation is both an individual and group level process. At the group level, changes can be biological, political, economic, cultural, or social.   However, at the individual level, acculturative changes include shifts in "values, attitudes, abilities, motives, and identities" (Berry 1992: 70). Acculturation is a general term that includes the processes of assimilation and adaptation. Assimilation is defined as "the inclination and the efforts to become part of a given culture through valuing, adapting to prescribed cultural norms and practices, and a growing sense of belonging in the community" (Tropp et al. 1995: 5-6). Adaptation is most often defined as the strategies used during the acculturation process. Strategies that reduce conflicts between two cultural groups are called adjustment strategies, while strategies that exacerbate conflict are called reaction strategies.   Withdrawal strategies help individuals avoid stress by removing them from the adaptive arena (Berry 1992: 71).

Research on these processes of immigrant acculturation traditionally stress three primary areas: economic assimilation, structural assimilation, and psychological acculturation. Studies in economic assimilation usually emphasize how similar immigrant groups are to native born populations in the United States in terms of earnings (Giersch 1994; Lindstrom and Massey 1994; Beggs and Chapman 1988; Borjas 1985). Borjas (1994) presents a typical example of research in economic assimilation, analyzing the relationship between ethnicity and the intergenerational transmission of skills. He finds a strong correlation between the wages of the second generation ethnic group and the wages of the first generation immigrant group, and states that this linkage stems from the quality of the ethnic environment in terms of human capital.

Studies in structural assimilation tend to focus on issues such as residential segregation (Alba and Logan 1991; Denton and Massey 1988; Massey 1985). For example, White et al. (1993) investigate the residential assimilation of Asian origin groups in the United States. They examine the influence of socioeconomic status, immigrant status, and the impact of ethnic group identification on residential outcomes.

The hypothesis informing their research predicts, "as immigrants interact with members of the Anglo majority . . . the initial disadvantages associated with immigrant status should eventually decrease and hence residential contact with the Anglo majority should increase" (White et al. 1993: 95). Results from a multivariate regression analysis show that Asian ethnic groups translate improvements in socioeconomic status into residential assimilation. However, different Asian ethnic groups have achieved varying levels of residential assimilation. White et al. argue that this result reflects the various historical experiences of the specific Asian ethnic groups.

An essential problem with research on economic and structural assimilation is its reliance on census data. While the use of census data allows researchers to see large trends and to examine vast quantities of data, it cannot provide them with individual-level variables that provide context for the analysis. For example, White et al. attribute the unexplained differences between specific Asian groups to differences in history and culture, but they are not able to explore these differences in culture with the data they have.

An improvement in terms of understanding culture comes in studies of psychological acculturation. Tropp et al. (1995: 5-6) define psychological acculturation as "changes in individual cultural structures (cognitive, affective, and/or behavioral) which develop through interaction with new cultural systems." Studies of psychological acculturation focus on issues such as ethnic identification (Portes and Zhou 1993; Benmayor and Skotnes 1994) and the psychological well-being of immigrants (Gold 1989; Nann 1982; Sung 1987). Tropp et al. (1995) developed a model of psychological acculturation as a product of four dimensions: cultural competence, cultural behaviors, cultural preferences, and cultural identification. Individuals are ranked as assimilating, accommodating, insulated, estranged, or bicultural depending upon their scores on each of the dimensions.

Previous Research on Gender and Immigrant Assimilation

An important problem with all three types of immigrant acculturation studies is that they focus on only a portion of immigrant life. Few of these studies look at the relationships that the immigrant must manage

in order to adapt to life in a new environment. The interplay between gender ideology and theories about immigrant acculturation is one way of exploring this nexus of relationships. Elliot (1996) has conducted research on the relationship between gender, family, and society and the ways in which gender and family relations are shaped by ethnic differentiation. She argues that the diversity of family patterns and the complexity of change make it difficult to delimit a typical family. This problem is compounded when looking at immigrant families. She states that the gender and family patterns of ethnic groups may reflect long-standing cultural traditions, that they may be governed by religious beliefs, and that they may be integral to a people's identity. She uses ethnographic examples from a number of studies from different decades to show how gender roles within families change as a result of immigration.

Following Elliot's lead, this research attempts to assess changes in gender roles associated with immigration. The gender and family structures of immigrants change as a result of interactions with majority cultures in ways that are usually consistent with immigrants' own cultural traditions (Foner 1997). Though the gender and family patterns of minority cultures do change and become more similar to those of the majority culture, these two sets of patterns remain significantly different from one another.

This research, however, attempts to improve upon the comparative aspect of research such as Elliot's. Rather than relying solely on the ethnographic accounts of other researchers and from other time periods, this research studies gender patterns in both origin and destination areas in order to arrive at a more accurate analysis of change associated with immigration. The study design and the study population (discussed in later chapters) allow a rigorous analysis of both change in gender role attitudes and the forces contributing to those changes.

There have been a small number of studies that have looked at how women's positions within the family change as a result of international or internal migration (Chavira-Prado 1992; Dasgupta 1992; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994; Mann 1995; Schoorl 1995; Tapinos 1995). However, many of these studies tend to look solely at women and fail to situate women adequately within the context of family life. This research attempts to rectify this situation by looking at husband-wife dyads, the composition of the household, and the life cycle stages of its

members.   These are the primary areas of family life that provide
context for behavior.   This research also provides a more
comprehensive analysis of the immigrant assimilation process.   Few
studies of immigrant assimilation examine the entire process of change.
Most studies look only at the immigrant population in the destination
areas; if they look at the origin area, census data and macro-level
variables are used to assess selectivity of immigrants.   [A notable
exception is Massey's research on the formation of transnational
communities among Mexican immigrants, which examines both origin
and destination areas (Massey et al. 1987; Massey et al. 1994).
Another exception is Georges' research on origin areas of Dominican
immigrants to the United States (Georges 1990).]   Recent research has
also focused on the gender dynamics and the roles of fathers in cultural
adjustment resulting from international migration (Pels 2000), the
gender roles and settlement activities of immigrant children and their
families (Valenzuela 1999), gender role socialization among South
Asian adolescent females (Talbani and Hasanali 2000), and gender
roles and cultural continuity among Indian immigrants (Dasgupta
1998).

SOCIAL NETWORKS

This research also examines the influence of social networks on
changes in gender roles in immigrant families. The interface between
networks and migration has been well researched (for example, Brown
2002; Massey 1987; Miller Matthei 1996; Fawcett 1989).   Social
networks represent links between origin and destination areas, and they
mediate the effects of social and economic structures on immigrants.
Harris (1995: 132) states, "When people move, they change both the
world they leave behind and the society they enter. Cultures are made,
unmade and remade, and new syntheses are created which bind source
and destination in new relationships."   According to Boyd (1989: 651),
"[s]ettlement and integration processes are influenced by kin and
friendship ties, . . ., membership in ethnic associations, and shared
cultural and ethnic origins." Personal networks of immigrants also help
to build transnational communities. Massey et al. (1994: 1500-1501)
note that "communities of origin and destination increasingly comprise

transnational circuits . . .. As these circuits develop, practices and values that once demarcated distinct societies have a transformative influence on each other."

Hagan (1998: 55) lists four areas within the field of social networks on which researchers tend to focus: migration decision making, migration flows, transnational communities, and settlement and incorporation. She argues that researchers have overlooked how gender affects the structure of social networks. In her research among Mayan immigrants in Houston, she found that women tended to have social networks that were more immigrant-based which prevented them from becoming as fully incorporated in the larger community as men. The social networks of the Mayan men included many non-Mayans, giving them access to a more widespread grid of information and resources.

Studying the social networks of immigrants will provide information about the nature of the relationships between immigrants and their family and friends in both origin and destination areas.

INTEGRATING THEORIES ON IMMIGRANTS

This chapter has reviewed existing theory on gender, migration, immigrant assimilation, and social networks. Massey et al's comment regarding migration theorists can easily apply as well to researchers in all of these fields: "Although each ultimately seeks to explain the same thing, they employ radically different concepts, assumptions, and frames of reference." (Massey et al 1994: 432) According to Brettell and Hollifield (2000), these different research foci confirm the need for an interdisciplinary approach to migration research:

Each discipline brings something to the table, theoretically and empirically. Anthropologists have taught us to look at networks and transnational communities, while sociologists and economists draw our attention to the importance of social and human capital and the difficulties of immigrant settlement and incorporation. Political scientists help us to understand the play of organized interests in the making of public policy; together with legal scholars, they show us the impact migration can have on the institutions of sovereignty and citizenship. Historians portray the migrant experience in all of its complexity, giving us a much greater empathetic understanding of the hopes and ambitions of migrants. Demographers have perhaps the best empirical grasp on the movement of people across boundaries, and they have the theoretical and methodological tools to show us how such movements affect population dynamics in the sending and receiving societies. (Brettell and Hollifield 2000: vii)

What is missing, argue Grieco and Boyd (1998:7), is a "synthetic" theory of migration that "integrates the most successful components of contemporary migration theories found in various disciplines to form a single comprehensive theory." While their proposed framework focuses primarily on how men and women experience the migration process differently in terms of an individual's ability to migrate and to become integrated into the destination society, this framework includes many of the variables examined in this study. A description of Grieco and Boyd's framework and an "integrative" model developed for this research follow.

Grieco and Boyd (1998: 10) argue that an emphasis on gender modifies the typical questions asked in migration research of who migrates and why they migrate "to include asking how gender is implicated in the processes of migration." A gendered framework of migration, according to Grieco and Boyd (1998), must look at all three stages of the migration process. First, in the pre-migration stage, one should examine the gender relations within the family, the relative statuses of the sexes and gender roles in the sending society, and origin area characteristics in order to see how these factors influence the motivation and propensity to migrate as well as migrant selectivity.

Second, in the stage of actual migration, one should examine the immigration and emigration policies of origin and destination areas and how they differentially impact the migration of men and women in terms of affecting their ability to migrate and their entry statuses. Third, in the post-migration stage, one should examine entry status, patterns of labor incorporation, and the changing statuses of men and women in order to assess the impact of migration on integration, settlement, and economic well-being.

An integrative theory of immigrant adaptation that includes components of contemporary migration theory should not only emphasize the importance of including gender at each level of analyses, but should also stress the importance of other factors affecting immigrant adaptation. The integrative theory explicated in this research combines components of gender migration theory, macro- and micro-economic theory, immigrant assimilation theory, and social network theory.

The theoretical questions guiding this research are: 1) under what conditions are individuals more likely to immigrate than other individuals? and 2) under what conditions do immigrants experience attitudinal change? The first question deals with issues regarding the selectivity of migrants, who is able to migrate and who is likely to migrate. The second question concerns the consequences of migration, the ways in which an immigrant may or may not adapt his or her attitudes after migration and the factors that influence if and how those attitudes change. The hypotheses stemming from these theoretical questions, as well as possible confounding variables, are presented in detail in Chapter 5. For this research, the primary dependent variable is the complex of attitudes regarding appropriate roles and behavior for men and women. This complex of attitudes is decomposed into three parts, attitudes about gender roles, attitudes about female mobility, and attitudes about the division of household labor. The specific operationalization of these dependent variables and the methodologies used in this research will be discussed in Chapter 6. Each of the theoretical questions is discussed below. Empirical evidence supporting the theoretical relationship between the variables is also presented.

There are at least two possible explanations for migrant selectivity. First, from gender migration theory, an immigrant may be selected for

less conservative gender role attitudes. Empirical research has been conducted on the gender role attitudes of immigrants in destination areas (Hojat 2000) and on the gender role attitudes of return migrants (Sakka et al 1999). In a study of Iranian immigrants in the United States, Hojat (2000) found that husbands expressed more traditional gender role attitudes than their wives after migration. Sakka et al. (1999) examined Greek returnees from Germany. They found that there were no differences in gender role attitudes between non-migrants and returned migrants. These two studies show us that immigrants may experience change in attitudes after migration, but that the gender role attitudes of non-immigrants may also change over time. However, in a critical oversight, little or no empirical research has been conducted comparing the gender role attitudes of immigrants and non-immigrants before migration in order to assess selectivity.

Gender ideology, as discussed in an earlier section, is culturally constructed and helps to determine attitudes about the appropriate roles, responsibilities, and behavior for men and women and the relative statuses of family members. In turn, attitudes and behavior that reflect these statuses and roles may affect an individual's ability to make autonomous decisions, his/her participation in the decision making process at the household level, and his/her access to resources. According to Grieco and Boyd, status and roles influence an individual's propensity to migrate:

> [S]tatus and roles, together with stages in the life cycle, determine [men and women's] social, economic, and political positions in the wider society. Within a particular sociocultural context, each of these positions, generated by the status-roles-life-cycle interaction, are associated with a migratory probability. (Grieco and Boyd 1998: 16)

Thus, individuals with less conservative gender role attitudes have access to the decision-making process and the resources required for migration and therefore would be selected for migration.

Second, from micro-economic migration theory, an immigrant may be selected for human capital characteristics, specifically level of education. Empirical evidence suggests that for many destinations, education increases the likelihood of an individual to immigrate. For

example, Melendez (1994) indicates that Puerto Rican immigrants to the United States were selected for higher education. In some countries, like Bangladesh, many individuals with high levels of education are unable to obtain adequate employment because of job scarcity. Additionally, these individuals through their higher education levels meet the criteria for visas that make legal migration possible and have access to information about migration opportunities. Individuals with fewer years of education cannot qualify for these visas and may not have access to valuable information sources.

The second theoretical focus of this research is on the factors affecting the consequences of migration: under what conditions do immigrants experience changes in their gender role attitudes? Specifically, this research examines how time since migration, employment status, and social network composition influence gender role attitudes.

Immigrant assimilation theory states that immigrants become more similar to native-born populations with increased time since migration and with increased exposure to and contact with native-born or non-ethnic populations. As noted previously, much of the empirical and theoretical research focuses on assimilation in terms of educational, residential, and economic outcomes. Here, immigrant assimilation theory is extended to include attitudinal outcomes. Empirical studies on attitudinal change after migration have been conducted. Naidoo and Davis (1988) examined self-perception, intercultural image, acculturation, and adaptation stress among South Asian women in Canada. They found that these women simultaneously expressed both traditional values and contemporary aspirations. Stopes and Roe (1989) conducted an empirical study of South Asian and British families in Great Britain. They found that ethnicity, the number of generations in Britain, and sex were significant factors affecting traditional attitudes. Immigrants who had been in Britain for shorter periods of time typically expressed more traditional attitudes. These empirical studies provide evidence for the relationship between time since migration and changes in gender role attitudes. After immigration, immigrants become exposed to new gender ideologies and to new attitudes about the appropriate roles, relationships, and behavior of men and women. Over time, immigrants' behavior and

attitudes regarding that behavior change to reflect the ideologies of the receiving communities.

The social networks of immigrants affect their mode of adaptation by limiting or increasing exposure to these new ideologies. Empirical evidence shows that immigrants, especially female immigrants, who have social networks composed primarily of co-ethnics remain isolated from the destination society and experience little change in attitudes and behavior. Summerfield (1993)'s study of Bangladeshi women in London showed that Bangladeshi women rarely left their homes and socialized only with relatives during religious or family celebrations. These women, according to Summerfield, did not become integrated into British society. Hagan (1998), as described earlier, found that Mayan women whose networks were comprised primarily of other Mayan women were more isolated than Mayan men who had multi-ethnic networks. Pohjola (1991) examined the social networks of Finnish migrants in Sweden. These networks were composed predominantly of other immigrant Finns and limited immigrants' opportunities for integration by providing only one source of information about employment, living quarters, and wages. Pohjola (1991: 438) also found that the networks of the Finnish immigrants prevented them from developing a "living experiential relationship to the new cultural model" they encountered in Sweden. They maintained their identification with Finnish norms and values to the exclusion of Swedish norms and values.

When social networks contain only co-ethnics, immigrants experience limited exposure to the values, norms, and attitudes of the destination society. This lack of exposure prevents integration and adaptation to these new cultural norms and values. Accordingly, an immigrant's attitudes about gender roles remain unaffected. Thus, immigrants with social networks comprised primarily of co-ethnics will experience little change in their gender role attitudes.

Also affecting immigrant adaptation is the pattern of labor market incorporation. How immigrants become incorporated in the labor market of the receiving society will depend upon the availability of and the eligibility for high status jobs, the possession of adequate training, acceptable educational credentials, and language skills, the availability of child care, the acceptability of employment (especially for women), and legal status. In many instances, immigrants have the training and

experience for high status jobs; however, they lack the appropriate educational credentials or language skills to obtain those jobs. Those individuals who are able to obtain high status jobs or jobs with adequate wages will become more adapted to life in the destination society.

For female immigrants, employment outside the home often leads to exposure to new ideas and attitudes. Also for some women, employment outside the home is reflective of less conservative gender role attitudes. Empirical evidence shows that immigrant women who work outside the home are exposed to new ideologies and often express less traditional gender role attitudes as a result of this exposure. Summerfield (1993) found that Somali women who worked outside the home expressed less conservative gender role attitudes than Bangladeshi women who often did piecework at home. Working outside the home forced the Somali women to learn English, which increased their exposure to British society. West and Pilgrim (1995) found that Gujarati women in Great Britain were more likely to be employed outside the home than other South Asian immigrant women. Additionally, these employed women experienced less isolation, greater English proficiency, and more equal gender relations with their husbands than the other women.

There are of course two possible relationships regarding the relationship between employment status and changes in gender role attitudes. Women who work outside the home may be selective for less conservative gender role attitudes. They, and their husbands, may believe in a gender ideology that supports the employment of women outside the home. Alternatively, these women may be exposed to new gender ideologies at the workplace that results in changes in their own gender attitudes over time. The empirical studies do not distinguish between these two alternatives. Thus, the exact theoretical relationship is unclear. Nevertheless, this empirical evidence provides credence to the theory that immigrant women employed outside the home hold less conservative gender role attitudes than immigrant women who do not work outside the home.

Gender transcends each level of the migration process. It makes it possible for some people to migrate and limits the migration opportunities of others. Along with gender, education also selects individuals for migration by allowing an individual to qualify for visas

that often specify minimum education requirements and by giving individuals access to information about migration opportunities. After migration, the mode of adaptation, especially in terms of gender role attitudes, depends upon an immigrant's time since migration, his or her social network composition, and his or her employment status. Like other outcomes, attitudinal adaptation happens over a period of time because of exposure to new ideas and ideological norms and values. With increased time since migration, immigrants are more likely to experience change in their attitudes. Exposure to these ideas and values is also affected by social network composition and employment status. Immigrants who socialize primarily with co-ethnics or who do not work outside the home remain isolated from the new ideological environment in which they now live. They will experience less change in their gender role attitudes than immigrants who have multi-ethnic social networks and who are exposed to new attitudes and ideologies in the workplace.

This integration of theories from gender migration theory, micro-economic theory, immigrant assimilation theory, and social network theory more fully captures that process of the attitudinal adaptation of immigrants than each of these theories can individually. The hypotheses tested in this research, which are presented in Chapter 5, explicitly test the relationships that these theories attempt to explain. They are drawn directly from the four bodies of theory that are integrated together here.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

In this research, this integration of gender migration theory, micro-economic theory, immigrant assimilation theory, and social network theory is applied to the attitudinal adaptation of immigrants, specifically, how gender role attitudes change after international migration. This research enables us to examine the variation in gender role attitudes among Bangladeshi immigrants and non-immigrants. Examining the variation in gender role attitudes via retrospective data helps us to determine whether immigrants are selective, and if so, which characteristics contribute to that selectivity. Additionally, this research can help us to identify which aspects of family life are most

susceptible to change - whether in terms of attitudes and/or behavior. It is important to realize that changes in either attitudes or behavior does not necessarily result in or stem from changes in the other.   This research should also contribute to studies of other immigrant groups since the research design allows researchers to isolate carefully the attitudes and behaviors of interest, and to assess changes in these variables according to sex, time, and migration status.

CHAPTER 3
Bangladeshi Gender Ideology

There is a considerable literature on rural Bangladesh and the gender ideologies of the region (Abdullah and Zeidenstein 1982; Abecassis1990; Amin 1998; Chaudhury and Ahmed 1981; Chen 1983; Chen and Ghuznavi 1980; Epstein and Watts 1981; Feldman 1983; Hossain et al. 1990; Hussain 1999; Kabeer 1988, 1991; Kotalova 1993; Pryer 1992; Rahman 1994; Rashid et al. 2000; Rozario 1993; Stewart et al. 2000; Westergaard 1983; White 1992; Whyte and Whyte 1982; Wilson-Moore 1989). Gender ideologies are strongly influenced by the religious affiliation and the patriarchal culture of the region. Bangladesh is an Islamic country, and it is often said to belong to "the 'belt of classic patriarchy', which stretches from Northern Africa across the Indian sub-continent." (Kabeer 1988: 95) Kabeer (1988: 95) describes the social structures of this geographic and cultural belt as "the institutionalization of extremely restrictive codes of behavior for women." All of these societies have rigid gender segregation, linkages between family honor and female virtue, and patrilineal kinship systems. This ideology is generally Islamic in nature. In Bangladesh, Islam is blended with the indigenous Bengali folk culture, which stresses the idea of female pollution in terms of sexuality and childbirth (Kabeer 1988: 96). According to Rahman (1994: 21), the Bangladeshi

interpretation of Islam aids in the creation of behavioral and ideological norms:

> Religion, both as an ideology and a normative force, channels behavior and expectations. Islamic ideology . . . represents a strong apology for patriarchy and provides men with an ideological instrument for domination; moreover it explicitly recognizes the division of labor and responsibilities by gender.

The patriarchy of Bangladesh is "a form of gender relations in which there is systematic control by men over social and economic resources and female sexuality" (Rahman 1994: 21). The patriarchal control is "backed by complex social arrangements that ensure the protection – and dependence – of women" (Kabeer 1988: 95).

Kinship and marriage practices are two mechanisms through which patriarchal control is maintained. Bengali kinship is patrilineal, with power and authority placed in the hands of males. Kabeer argues that this patrilineal kinship system erodes the status of women:

> Patrilineal descent clearly plays an important role in the systematic devaluation of women by its stress on biological paternity as the basis of assigning children and by making women irrelevant in genealogical reckoning. (Kabeer 1988: 101)

In her lifetime, a woman is referred to as her father's daughter, her husband's wife, and her son's mother. Her identity and that of her mother take on secondary importance.

A woman also has little or no choice in deciding on her marriage partner. Male relatives arrange a suitable match, usually choosing someone from outside their own lineage and village. After marriage, the woman moves to her husband's family's home. According to Kabeer, these practices further devalue women:

> In the first place, they mean that a daughter is likely to be regarded as a burden by her own family. She has to be supported through her least productive years and kept under constant surveillance so that she can be handed over to her husband with her chastity intact. Her membership in her father's household is truncated at the very point at which she is entering the productive and reproductive stage of her life . . . A second implication . . . is that once married a woman is effectively cut off from potential support networks of her own kin, and there is little basis for solidarity with women from her husband's kin. (Kabeer 1988: 101-102)

A woman only gains value after she has borne children (preferably sons) for her husband's line.

The concepts of honor (*izzat*), shame (*sharam*), and female seclusion (*purdah*) are integral to the control over female sexuality and the protection of female virtue. The notion of *izzat* encompasses a family's reputation, and, as Kabeer (1988:100) states, "the honour of the family is believed to lie in the virtue of its women, and men are charged with the role of guardian and protector." Rozario (1993: 85) characterizes *izzat* as a "positive quality" and "as a male virtue in their relationships with one another." *Sharam* is a more complex ideological construct, having both positive and negative connotations. As Rozario explains, having shame ensures that a person will conform to the social norm. Alternatively, behavior in opposition to these norms brings shame to the family, thereby lowering status. Rozario continues:

> A woman's 'misbehaviour' does not have to involve sex directly, as an impression of her sexual status is often formed from her day-to-day behaviour – how she walks, dresses, handles her hair, as well as how she behaves with her family, neighbors, etc. Hence the great concern on the part of parents of mature unmarried women is to keep them in line in every possible way. Keeping mature women in line is possible when they have shame. (Rozario 1993: 85)

Rozario argues that protecting one's family honor is the responsibility of men, while having and avoiding shame is the responsibility of

women. She explains, "Honour is seen as actively achieved, while shame is seen as passively defended, resulting in different expectations of behaviour from men and women" (Rozario 1993: 86).

The mechanism through which family honor and female virtue is maintained is *purdah*, the practice of female seclusion. Rozario (1993: 88) provides a definition of *purdah*:

> In the strictest sense, *parda* involves keeping women confined within the home and covering them with veils whenever they venture out of the home. In a wider context, *parda* refers to women's modesty and restrictions on their interactions with males who do not fall in the specified categories with whom contact is permitted.

Gardner (1998: 209) discussed the meaning of the word *purdah* with Bangladeshi women in Sylhet. Some women defined *purdah* in terms of veiling and seclusion, while others defined it as expressing respect for Allah through modesty. According to the social rules expressed through *purdah*, women are confined to the private sphere of the home and compound, while men occupy the public sphere. Women may not speak with unrelated men, or venture from the *bari* [compound] unaccompanied. Gardner (1998: 210) states: "In general, *parda* is explained in terms of women's need for male protection, and the sinfulness of strange men's seeing them." She continues:

> It is also linked to a wider cultural construction of femininity, sexuality, and biology. As several Muslim writers have pointed out, the threat of female sexuality is a central concern of Islam, which must balance human sexual needs with man's sacred relationship with God. The seclusion of women in Islam, as symbolized by the veil, therefore invokes ambivalent notions of femininity. Women's sexuality is threatening to the male order, and therefore to be controlled, but at the same time women are weak and vulnerable, and must be protected by men by means of their seclusion. (Gardner 1998: 210)

Purdah also limits women's participation in the economic sector, especially in terms of extra-domestic employment opportunities.

Women are given little control over decision making at the household or village level. Westergaard (1983: 11) notes:

> The sexual division found in Bangladesh society is not merely a technical division but a social division allocating women to inferior positions. Thus the sex hierarchy outlined for the economic level is reflected in and reinforced by the cultural and political superstructure.

This "sex hierarchy" referred to by Westergaard is based on the system of gender roles assigned to men and women.

Purdah greatly influences household division of labor and female mobility. Regarding the division of labor within the household, Balk (1997: 154) states:

> Men have the primary responsibility for activities involving the market place or that occur outside the *bari*, while women have the primary responsibility for the management of the children and the home. Major investment decisions (such as those concerning the human capital of children and the acquisition or sales of assets) are considered men's responsibilities.

Kabeer (1988: 102-103) characterizes two dimensions of women's household tasks. First, there are tasks associated with the "reproduction of the household labor force." This includes childbearing, childrearing, meal preparation, cleaning, firewood collection, and water retrieval. Second, there are tasks associated with the "creation of, or addition of value to, household goods." This includes home-based production of handicrafts and the processing and storage of post-harvest agricultural products.

Purdah limits female mobility. Female virtue is guaranteed only when women remained confined to the family compound. Mobility may tempt women to engage in inappropriate behavior, leading to family dishonor and shame (Rozario 1993: 104). If women must leave the *bari*, veiling "affords women the privacy required to move outside the home without breaking the system of sexual segregation (Rozario

1993: 88). Veiling turns women into "non-persons" and renders them "unapproachable" (Rozario 1993: 88).

The constructs of *izzat*, *sharam*, and *purdah* discussed above describe an ideal or a cultural norm. As Rahman (1994: 22-23) states, this ideal "indicates the best in social aspirations and sets the horizon of people's thinking about women and the public's idea of the role of women." Individuals comply with these norms to different degrees; however, there is a great deal of pressure to do so. Balk (1997: 154) states: "The (perceived) sanctions against those who do not comply are believed to be severe. The targets of such sanctions, however, are notably (young) women."

Similar sanctions are not enforced for men who do not comply with idealized behavioral norms. Adherence to these norms depends, in part, on social class and social power. Kabeer (1994: 222) states:

> Women do not by any means constitute an undifferentiated social category. In a highly stratified society like Bangladesh, the intersection of gender relations with those of class means that the range of possibilities available to women varies considerably across the social order.

Some women must abandon the external features of *purdah*, such as immobility and the veil, in order to feed themselves and their families. Middle and upper class women, on the other hand, may have access to employment opportunities such as government service that allow them to maintain physical aspects of *purdah*.

How these ideal behavioral norms are defined is changing. Rahman (1994: 23) describes the changes occurring in traditional Bangladeshi society:

> Existing social structure is starting to show signs of strain under the influence of accelerating poverty and natural disasters. The traditional structure of the extended family is breaking down in rural areas and the reciprocity of patron-client relations is virtually eroded . . .The normative structure of women's seclusion through *purdah* has loosened, and the 'idealized model of woman' is at stake.

Changes in what is considered to be ideal behavior for men and women stem from many sources, including rural poverty and landlessness, the development of new employment opportunities for women in the garments industry and in governmental and non-governmental organizations, increased access to education, and exposure to other behavioral norms as a consequence of rural-urban and international migration. In a recent study among garment workers in Dhaka, Kabeer states that these women believed that traditional forms of *purdah* were no longer economically feasible:

> They put forward in its place an alternative and, for them, more consistent version of *purdah*, one based on a practical morality, in which the defining emphasis was shifted from formal compliance with community norms to the substantive intent of behaviour, from social control to individual responsibility . . . .The emphasis on individual responsibility was also expressed through the idea of 'the *purdah* of the mind', the view that by her modest deportment, lowered eyes, sombre mein and covered head, 'every woman carried her *purdah* with her'. (Kabeer 2000: 90-91)

However, these women place some responsibility for the maintenance of 'the *purdah* of the mind' with men. For them, according to Kabeer, *purdah* has become "as much about the 'eye' of the beholder as it [is] about the behaviour of 'the beheld'" (Kabeer 2000: 91).

A small number of studies have attempted to analyze changing gender roles among urban and rural Bangladeshi women. Illyas (1990) examined perceived role conflict among 140 women in the city of Dhaka. Roughly half of these women were employed, while the other half were exclusively homemakers. Illyas used a Female Role Perception Scale, a Perceived Role Conflict Scale, and a Work Characteristics Questionnaire, in order to assess a respondent's gender role attitudes and her responsibilities, as well as how these contribute to role stress. Women were labeled traditional or nontraditional based on their responses to the Female Role Perception Scale, regardless of their employment status. Illyas found that women who held more traditional attitudes experienced more role conflict than women with less traditional attitudes. Women who were labeled traditional held their

family responsibilities to be more important than their career aspirations even if they worked outside the home. Employment variables such as income and time spent at an outside job were not significant determinants of Perceived Role Conflict.

Amin (1994) studied the effects of poverty and *purdah* on women's roles within the family in rural Bangladesh. She found a strongly gendered division of labor within households. In fact, there were few areas in which the labor responsibilities of men and women overlapped. Men were primarily responsible for work located outside of the *bari*, or homestead, while women were responsible for work within the *bari*. She also found that childbearing and childrearing played important roles in limiting the autonomy of women during specific stages of the life course. Finally, she found that household form and composition had major effects on the decision-making authority of women.

Balk (1997) measured the extent to which women in rural Bangladesh conform to traditional gender norms. She used data from a 1982 socio-economic survey and a 1988 women's status survey administered to a total of 7,000 women in two districts in north-central Bangladesh and two districts in southwest Bangladesh. Balk used these data to create four indexes covering such issues as mobility, authority, leniency (a measure of how permissive a household is), and attitudes. She found that a woman's mobility outside the home does not necessarily correspond to her authority within the home. Age, in-law co-residence, socioeconomic status, and religion were among the variables that explained this variation. Balk argues that in rural Bangladesh mobility and authority are two distinct dimensions that have different determinants. Balk cautions researchers against using one or the other of these indexes as a proxy for women's status or gender ideology in Bangladesh.

Later chapters will discuss how the Bangladeshi immigrants and non-immigrants who participated in this research conform to the idealized norms of Bangladeshi gender ideology.

CHAPTER 4
History of Bangladeshi Immigration

INTRODUCTION

Migration, both internal and international, is becoming an increasingly important demographic process in Bangladesh as rural pauperization and landlessness force people to leave rural areas in search of better opportunities (Chaudhury 1979; Hossain and Roopnarine 1992; Kemper et al. 1989; Mahbub 1985-86; Matin 1986; Naved et al. 2001; Pryer 1992; Roy et al. 1992). As discussed earlier, migration has profound implications for families in terms of the gender roles occupied by husbands and wives. Migration does not necessarily remove men and women from traditional behavioral constraints, although it can drastically affect how these traditional constraints are played out in a new setting. For example, migration may move a woman from the private female sphere to the public male sphere. However, after migration, women still may not be given the same level of autonomy as males. Women may be required to maintain their traditional, private roles as mothers, wives, and household workers even though they may now work outside the home.

Note that the accurate tabulation of out-migrants from the region now known as Bangladesh is complicated by the country's own history.

Prior to 1947, Bangladesh was an eastern state of India, known as East Bengal. After India's independence from Great Britain, from 1947-1971, Bangladesh comprised the eastern section of the Islamic nation of Pakistan and was known as East Pakistan. Bangladesh became an independent nation in 1971 after a bloody civil war with Pakistan. Thus, the terms East Bengalis, East Pakistanis, and Bangladeshis refer to people from the same region (present-day Bangladesh) at different points in history.

The following sections will discuss Bangladeshi migration to three primary destinations: the Middle East, the United Kingdom, and the United States.   There are also established migration streams of Bangladeshis to other countries such as Italy (Knights 1995, 1996; Knights and King 1998), Japan (Mahmood 1994), Malaysia (Abdul-Aziz 2001; Ishida and Hassan 2000; Rudnick 1996, 2002), and Singapore (Rahman 2000). However, these destinations are beyond the scope of this research.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Much of the existing research has focused on male labor migration to the Middle East (Ali 1981; Mahmud 1989; Shah and Menon 1999). Before the mid-1900s, migration to the Middle East was very rare, with most migrants choosing the United Kingdom as their destination instead. However, as migration to the United Kingdom became more difficult in the 1960s and 1970s, increasing numbers of Bangladeshis looked toward the Muslim countries of the Middle East for employment. Ahmed (1993: 107) estimates that approximately 20,000 Bangladeshis (or more accurately, East Pakistanis) had migrated to the Middle East by 1972. Because Bangladesh was not yet recognized by many of these countries as an independent nation, labor recruitment agencies could not officially recruit Bangladeshis; however, they often did so unofficially. In 1976, the Bangladeshi government opened the Bureau of Manpower, Employment, and Training in order to promote overseas employment (Ahmed 1993). During the 1980s, almost 60,000 Bangladeshis migrated to the Middle East each year. During the 1990s, this number grew to over 100,000 Bangladeshi migrants to the Middle East per year. The most common Middle Eastern destination countries

include Bahrain, Iraq, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. Two thirds of the migrants to the Middle East are men under thirty years old. Mahmood argues that the young age of the migrants is reflective of the fascination of young men with overseas migration, their willingness to take menial jobs in light of the possibility for high earnings, and their willingness to take risks (Mahmood 1995: 702). Almost half have at least five years of education, and 30% have twelve years of education (Mahmood 1995: 702). Because of the high cost of migration to the Middle East, including travel expenses, recruitment fees, and illegal payments to transporters and government officials, only members of middle income families and wealthy families can afford to migrate.

Ahmed (1993) conducted a large study on the consequences of Middle Eastern migration on the Bangladeshi district of Chittagong. Chittagong is in the southeastern part of the country, and the site of the country's only seaport. Though the district accounts for only 6% of the population of Bangladesh, 44% of all migrants to the Middle East have come from Chittagong. Ahmed found that most Chittagong migrants to the Middle East worked as construction workers, factory labor, and transportation workers. While in the Middle East, most migrants lived in migrant communities, and did not mix with the local population despite their common religious culture. Ahmed (1993:112-3) stresses the poor conditions in which these migrants live: "Like serfs or slaves, they are usually tied to one particular employer and the Saudi press is replete with advertisements by contractors publishing details of migrant workers who have fled their place of work." Ahmed also argues that Middle Eastern migration has had profound effects on those who remain in Chittagong. While remittances have spurred economic development, they have also caused apathy among the younger generation towards work and higher education and have drastically changed land ownership patterns. Ahmed also argues that this migration has affected the social structure of the society since wives and children are left in Bangladesh to fend for themselves in the migrants' absences. Migration to the Middle East, Ahmed continues, has also resulted in the Islamization of rural society in Chittagong. Ahmed states that "returning migrants show great enthusiasm to become as Islamic as possible and to induce other members of their families to do so" (Ahmed 1993: 117).

Katy Gardner has also detected increased religious fervor among returning migrants in Sylhet:

> Remittances have meant that many higher-status activities have now become accessible to migrant households in Sylhet. Such families can pay for sons to learn Arabic, and they can perform *hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca), pay for sacrifices on holy days, follow fasts rigorously, and hold *milad* (events based on group prayer) in their households. (Gardner 1998: 208)

Additionally, Gardner found increasing emphasis on female seclusion and veiling in homes of returning migrants, which symbolizes a household's ability to afford religious purism.

Hadi (1999) conducted a study on the effects of overseas migration on the sending communities in rural Bangladesh. He used data collected from over 1000 migrant and non-migrant households collected from a demographic surveillance system covering 70 villages throughout Bangladesh. He found that households receiving remittances from overseas migrants experienced positive changes in economic and social well being. He argues that the extent of behavioral changes experienced by those left behind depends upon the countries in which the migrants live. He suggests that families of migrants living in countries like the United States and the United Kingdom will experience more behavioral change than families of migrants living in the Middle East.

In a follow-up study, Hadi (2001) focused on the ways in which male migration to the Middle East influences the position of women left behind in the origin areas. He found that women experience increased freedom, autonomy, and power within the household as they are forced, through their husbands' absences, to take on larger roles in managing household resources.

THE UNITED KINGDOM

A primary focus of research on Bangladeshi out-migration is on the Bangladeshi community in the United Kingdom (Ballard 1997; Carey and Shukur 1985; Eade 1989, 1997; Gardner 1992, 1995; Gardner and

Shukur 1994; Khan 2001; Summerfield 1993; West and Pilgrim 1995). While one cannot assume that the experience of immigrants will be the same in the United Kingdom and the United States, the studies of the British Bangladeshi community may prove relevant to the future of the Bangladeshi community in the United States and may, at least, provide a comparative framework.

Migration to the United Kingdom from the countries of South Asia is tied to the colonial relationship between the two regions. During the nineteenth century, men from Bengal (primarily, the current Bangladeshi district of Sylhet) and other regions of British India worked on ships traveling to London. These men would often stay in London for short periods while waiting for a ship to return to British India. Some of these seamen stayed and settled in England, sometimes marrying British women (Eade 1997: 91). During World War I and II, Bengalis continued to work on British ships, but many more jumped ship and found work in London and other cities. These new migrants began to develop a South Asian community in the United Kingdom.

With the partition and independence of India in 1947, Britain could no longer recruit South Asians for their mercantile fleet. However, the Pakistani government (which at the time controlled both West Pakistan and East Pakistan, now present-day Bangladesh) issued numerous passports to facilitate continued migration to the United Kingdom (Eade 1997). During the 1950s and 1960s, most migrants believed strongly in the ideology of return, that they would make their fortune in the United Kingdom and then return to South Asia prosperous. Consequently, most of these early migrants did not bring their families with them (Carey and Shukur 1985: 405-407). However, changes in immigration policy in the United Kingdom in the 1960s forced East Pakistani (present-day Bangladeshi) males to abandon the myth of return, and they began to bring over their wives and children (Gardner 1992: 582). In 1962, British Parliament enacted the Commonwealth Immigration Act, which ruled that primary migrants, or those migrants without relatives already in Great Britain, would only be admitted to Great Britain if they held an employment voucher. Primary migration was stopped altogether by new legislation in 1973 (Summerfield 1993: 85-87). According to Eade (1997: 93), the Bangladeshi population in the United Kingdom grew rapidly, from 6000 Bangladeshis in 1961, to 22,000 in 1970, to 162, 835 in 1991.

Carey and Shukur (1985: 407-417) profiled the Bangladeshi community in Tower Hamlets, a section of East London, during the mid-1980s. Migrants had come primarily from the district of Sylhet in northeastern Bangladesh in response to the push factors of poverty and political instability. Despite the push factor of poverty, most of the Sylheti migrants were from the middle class. The population of Tower Hamlets was relatively homogeneous and numbered approximately 26,000 by 1985. Most male Bangladeshi immigrants were employed in the garment trade and in the restaurant business. A few were highly involved in local politics. Women in this community tended to be economically inactive outside the home. These immigrants maintained ties with Bangladesh through land ownership and remittances. Carey and Shukur predicted, however, that these ties would weaken as young people found jobs and established their families in the UK rather than in Bangladesh, where opportunities were limited (Carey and Shukur 1985: 415). Despite these weakening ties to their homeland, Bangladeshis in London have maintained a strong ethnic identity based on religion, marriage practices, social networks, language, and return visits.

Gardner (1992) argues that the size of the Bangladeshi community in London is indicative of the "migration mania" that exists in Sylhet and other high out-migration regions. Widespread out-migration "has not only economic consequences on the region [of origin], but has also generated a whole ideology of migration in which the notion of '*bidesh*', (foreign countries), is glorified to the detriment of investments in the '*desh*' (home)" (Gardner 1992: 580). Gardner argues that most studies have failed to look at how migration affects the area of origin as well as the destination area. She contends that migration does not cause an individual to exchange one culture for another, but rather invites the migrant to redefine him or herself (Gardner 1995: 8). The popularity of migration and the reinvention of the foreign destination as the "promised land" serve to maintain the size of the migration flow out of Bangladesh and into western countries.

A number of ethnographic studies have explored the Bangladeshi community in the United Kingdom. Summerfield (1993) compared two immigrant groups in London, Bangladeshis and Somalis. Both groups began to migrate to the United Kingdom in the early 1900s, and in both cases, this early migration flow was composed primarily of men

who worked as seamen. Women from both countries began to migrate to the United Kingdom around 1960. Although both groups are Muslim, the behavior of Somali women is less constrained than that of Bangladeshi women. Summerfield described the Bangladeshi women as being extremely isolated: few speak English or work outside the home. West and Pilgrim (1995) examined differences between Bangladeshis, Pakistanis, Sikhs, and Gujaratis in the United Kingdom in terms of the labor force participation of women, household characteristics, and the labor force position of men. They found that Bangladeshi women had the lowest labor force participation rates; those who did work were concentrated in low skill manual work. Most of the Bangladeshi families relied for financial support on men who worked in the restaurant business. Though their socioeconomic status was low, men resisted allowing women to participate in the labor force for fear of losing respectability and prestige in the community. The authors conclude that, for Bangladeshi women, migration has not improved status; rather, migration has served "to increase isolation rather than assisting integration" (West and Pilgrim 1995: 364).

Khanum (2001) examined household composition among Bangladeshis in Manchester, England. Through interviews with 140 Bangladeshi women during the period 1991-1994, Khanum found that migration to the United Kingdom from Bangladesh has encouraged the development of complex family and household composition patterns. This complexity, Khanum suggests, stems from strict immigration laws that often prevent spouses and children from entering the United Kingdom and polygamous marriage patterns that violate British law. The combination of these two factors often results in husbands having two families to support – one in Bangladesh and one in England. Khanum concludes that these factors leave Bangladeshi women in the United Kingdom vulnerable to financial and emotional insecurity.

There is a considerable body of recent research on the Bangladeshi community in the United Kingdom. Recent work has focused on Bangladeshi labor market participation in the United Kingdom (Brown 2000; Dale et al. 2002; Dodd 2002), Bangladeshi parents' involvement in their children's schooling (Blackledge 2001); substance abuse among Bangladeshi youth (White 2001); housing discrimination experienced by Bangladeshis (Cameron and Field 2000); the family and community life of elderly Bangladeshis (Phillipson et al 1998); social

relationships of teenage Bangladeshi girls (Hennick et al. 1999); and transnational ties between Bangladesh and the United Kingdom (Gillan 2002).

THE UNITED STATES

There has been little research on the international migration of Bangladeshi families to the United States [cf., for example, Khan (1984) and Billah (1994)], and the conclusions from these few studies are limited by nonrandom sampling and, perhaps more seriously, by sample sizes of fewer than 20 respondents. Therefore, the larger studies of the Bangladeshi community in the United Kingdom are helpful in that they suggest appropriate questions about the course of the Bangladeshi community in the United States. We can ask if the women in the Bangladeshi community in the United States will be able to avoid the isolation experienced by their counterparts in the United Kingdom, and how the cultural context within which migration occurs (the United Kingdom or the United States) influences changes in gender roles.

   The Bangladeshi immigrant population in the United States is growing rapidly. Data from the Immigration and Naturalization Service show the increase in legal immigrants from Bangladesh admitted to the United States during the period from 1987 through 2000 (Table 4.1). In 1987, 1,649 Bangladeshis were legally admitted to the United States. This number increased slightly between 1987 and 1990. In 1991, almost 11,000 Bangladeshis were legally admitted to the United States. Between 1992 and 1994, roughly 3,000 Bangladeshis were legally admitted each year. This number increased to over 6,000 in 1995 and over 8,000 in 1996. In 2000, over 7,200 Bangladeshis were legally admitted to the U.S. (U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service 2002).

Year	Number of Bangladeshis admitted to United States
1987	1,649
1988	1,325
1999	2,180
1990	4,250
1991	10,676
1992	3,740
1993	3,291
1994	3,434
1995	6,072
1996	8,221
1997	8,681
1998	8,621
1999	6,046
2000	7,215

Table 4.1: Bangladeshi immigrants admitted to U.S. 1987-2000. [Source: Immigration and Naturalization Service (2002)]

The sharp increase in the number of legally admitted Bangladeshis in 1991 was due to two primary factors: the legalization of previously unauthorized Bangladeshis through the IRCA program and the expansion of the Diversity Visa Program. IRCA legalized unauthorized aliens who had resided in the United States continuously since 1982 or who had worked as agricultural laborers in the year preceding 1986. (U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service 1992) Begun in 1987, the Diversity Visa Program is designed to encourage the migration of persons from adversely affected countries and natives from countries underrepresented in the US population. The aim of the program is to diversify the sources of immigration to the United States. Besides Bangladesh, the program has promoted new migration streams from countries such as Ireland, Poland, the United Kingdom, and Japan (New York City Department of City Planning 1996: 46-48). According

to Mahmood (1995: 705), almost one-fourth of all applicants for diversity visas in 1994 were Bangladeshis.

Table 4.2 shows the primary classes of admission for Bangladeshi immigrants admitted to the United States for selected years during the period from 1990 through 2000. In 1990, the majority of Bangladeshis were admitted to the United States under the Diversity Visa Program and under family preference categories. In 1991, IRCA legalization and the Diversity Visa program were the largest classes of admission. Family preference categories only accounted for 9% of legal admissions during that year. However, by 2000, over 30% of legal admissions were in family preference categories, and an additional one-third were admissions of immediate relatives of Bangladeshis living in the U.S. (U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1996, 1997a, 1997b, 2000, 2002a, 2002b)

	1990	1991	1997	1998	1999	2000
Total	4,252	10,676	8,681	8,621	6,046	7,215
Family	1,050	1,172	1,614	2,073	1,697	2,287
Employment	256	221	490	547	508	680
Immediate Relatives	503	648	3,373	3,002	2,037	2,408
Refugee/Asyle e Adjustments	0	15	91	159	84	95
Diversity	1,813	4,290	3,080	2,835	1,697	1,720
IRCA*	631	4320	0	0	0	0

Table 4.2: Bangladeshi immigrants admitted to U.S. by class of admission, 1990, 1991, 1997-2000.
[Source: INS Statistical Yearbooks 1990-2000]

Many Bangladeshis enter the United States on temporary, or nonimmigrant, visas (Table 4.3). In 1990, almost 8,000 Bangladeshis entered the United States on temporary visas. In 1999, 17,660 Bangladeshis entered the United States on temporary visas. The most commonly used nonimmigrant visa for all years between 1990 and 1999 is the tourist visa, with 4,515 tourists entering the U.S. in 1990 and 9,973 tourists entering in 1999. Students also comprise a large proportion of the Bangladeshis admitted to the United States on

nonimmigrant visas. (U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1996, 1997a, 1997b, 2000, 2002a, 2002b)

	1990	1991	1996	1998	1999
All Classes	7,894	8,369	15,542	14,163	17,660
Temporary visitors (Business)	971	1,059	1,747	1,961	2,455
Temporary visitors (tourism)	4,515	4,653	10,014	7,786	9,973
Students	1,175	1,393	1,720	2,040	2,213
Student dependents	146	158	207	202	242
Temporary workers and trainees	61	78	423	626	962
Temporary workers and trainees dependents	19	35	160	261	392
Exchange visitors	208	217	171	183	181
Exchange visitors dependents	69	107	71	99	109

Table 4.3: Bangladeshi non-immigrants admitted to U.S. by class of admission, 1990-1991, 1996, 1998-1999.
[Source: INS Statistical Yearbooks 1990-1999]

Tables 4.4 and 4.5 show the most common areas of intended residence of Bangladeshi immigrants admitted to the United States. The top five states of intended residence are New York, California, New Jersey, Texas, and Florida. The top metropolitan areas are New York, NY, Washington, DC, Los Angeles, CA, and Detroit, MI. (U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1996, 1997a, 1997b, 2000, 2002a, 2002b)

	1997	1998	1999	2000
New York	4,909	4,795	3,228	3,491
California	485	613	378	515
New Jersey	478	511	386	479
Texas	505	512	225	335
Florida	300	311	192	344

Table 4.4: Bangladeshi immigrants admitted by state of intended residence, 1997-2000.
[Source: INS Statistical Yearbooks 1997-2000]

	1997	1998	1999	2000
New York, NY	4,661	4,532	2,975	3,255
Washington, DC	457	413	386	461
Los Angeles, CA	295	366	229	296
Detroit, MI	279	276	233	265

Table 4.5: Bangladeshi immigrants admitted by metropolitan area of intended residence, 1997-2000.
[Source: INS Statistical Yearbooks 1997-2000]

While the data presented above indicate that the number of legal Bangladeshi immigrants and legal Bangladeshi nonimmigrants (temporary migrants) is increasing, these data do not indicate the size of the Bangladeshi population in the United States. The recent 2000 U.S. Census provides some information through the race question. Each person is asked which race or races he considers himself to be. Respondents may choose from a list of checkboxes (White; Black, African American, Negro; American Indian or Alaska Native; Asian Indian; Chinese; Filipino; Japanese; Korean; Samoan; Native Hawaiian; Guamanian or Chamorro; Vietnamese). Respondents may also write-in their race in boxes provided for Other Pacific Islander, Other Asian, and Some Other Race. Respondents choosing to mark the American Indian or Alaska Native box may also write in their tribal affiliation (Grieco and Cassidy 2001).

Morning (2001) examined the responses of South Asians to the race question in the 1990 Census. She found that over half of

Bangladeshis chose to write in "Bangladeshi" as their race and slightly more than 40% chose to mark the "Asian Indian" checkbox.

Using the write-in responses to the race question on Census 2000, Table 4.6 and Figure 4.1 show the distribution of Bangladeshis in the United States. Note that the enumerated Bangladeshi population most likely underestimates the true size of the Bangladeshi population. These estimates do not include Bangladeshis who chose to mark a checkbox on the race question rather than writing in a response of "Bangladeshi." Also, Bangladeshis who are in the U.S. illegally or who are in the country on a temporary visa may not have been enumerated in the Census. Thus, the estimates of the size of Bangladeshi population in the United States should be used cautiously and only as a rough estimate for the distribution of the population.

Table 4.6 indicates that New York is the primary destination and settlement area for Bangladeshi immigrants in the United States, with an enumerated population of almost 30,000. California has the second largest Bangladeshi population with 4,088 enumerated Bangladeshis. A total of 57,412 Bangladeshis were enumerated in the 2000 Census using the write-in response to the race question.

State	Bangladeshi Population
New York	29,675
California	4,088
Texas	3,020
New Jersey	2,910
Michigan	2,696
Virginia	2,205
Florida	1,809
Georgia	1,283
Maryland	1,265
Pennsylvania	1,067
Total	**57,412**

Table 4.6: People reporting race as "Bangladeshi" in Census 2000 by state.
[Source: SF-1 file, Census 2000]

Figure 4. 1: Distribution of Bangladeshis in the United States.
[Data Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000, SF-1 file. Map created by Liang Wei.]

Roughly fifty percent of all Bangladeshis migrating to the United States choose to reside in New York City, and most of those choose to reside in the borough of Queens. Between 1983 and 1989, nearly 1,500 Bangladeshis legally entered Queens, while from 1990 to 1994, 4,775 Bangladeshis legally entered Queens (New York City Department of City Planning 1996: 269-271 and Salvo and Ortiz 1992: 146-147). Bangladesh is now the sixth largest source of immigrants to New York City, up from fourteenth place in the early 1990s (New York City Department of City Planning 1999). This increase in the number of Bangladeshi immigrants can be partially explained by the Diversity Visa Program. One-half of legal Bangladeshi immigrants to New York City entered under the Diversity Visa Program (New York City Department of City Planning 1999).

According to the 2000 Census, two-thirds of Bangladeshis in New York City live in Queens. The majority of Bangladeshis in Queens, almost two-thirds, live in the northwestern quadrant of Queens (Astoria, Long Island City, Woodside, Sunnyside, Jackson Heights, and surrounding areas). Other areas in Queens with large numbers of people reporting their race as "Bangladeshi" include Jamaica Estates and Briarwood in central Queens. Almost 20% of New York City's Bangladeshi population lives in Brooklyn, primarily in the neighborhoods of Kensington and Flatbush. (New York City Department of City Planning 2002a, 2002b, 2002c)

The Bangladeshi population in New York City grew dramatically between the 1990 Census and the 2000 Census (Figure 4.7). During the intercensul period, the Bangladeshi population grew by more than 286% for the city as a whole, from 4,955 in the 1990 Census to over 19,000 in the 2000 Census. Queens experienced almost 400% growth from a Bangladeshi population of 2,567 in 1990 to a Bangladeshi population of 12,786 in 2000. The Bangladeshi population almost tripled in size in Brooklyn and the Bronx during the 1990s. (New York City Department of City Planning 2002a, 2002b, 2002c)

	1990	2000	% Change
New York City	4955	19,148	286.4%
Queens	2567	12,786	398.1%
Brooklyn	1313	3795	189.0%
Bronx	582	1691	190.5%
Manhattan	473	819	73.2%
Staten Island	20	57	185.0%

Table 4.7: People in NYC reporting "Bangladeshi" race 1990 vs. 2000.
[Source: NY Department of City Planning, SF-1 file, Census 2000]

The Bangladeshi population is also increasing in other cities, such as Los Angeles and Chicago. The size of the Bangladeshi community in the United States, coupled with the long history of Bangladeshi international migration, suggest that this research may become a vital baseline examination of the ways in which Bangladeshi families are affected by their migration to the United States.

CHAPTER 5
Research Design

PRE-TEST/POST-TEST DESIGN

This research was modeled on a variation of a pre-test/post-test study design using both retrospective and current data. This is a quasi-experimental design in which the subjects of interest are as alike as possible to other subjects, differing only with respect to a single characteristic. In this research, the interview subjects are all Bangladeshi couples who differ only with respect to immigrant status. Using this research design, it becomes possible to assess how immigrant status may affect gender role attitudes. There are, however, problems associated with pre-test/post-test study designs: 1) one cannot be certain that the test factor, rather than some other factor, is responsible for differences observed and 2) it is difficult to differentiate between effects of the test factor and the effects of measurement (Spector 1981: 29). In order to overcome these problems, the analyses chosen to test the hypotheses presented below explicitly test the relationship between immigration and changes in gender role attitudes. These analyses are described in detail in later chapters.

In order to assess any possible changes in gender role attitudes resulting from immigration, two groups of married couples, one group

in Bangladesh and one group in New York City, were interviewed. Bangladeshi immigrant couples in Queens, NY, were interviewed about their pre-migration and post-migration gender role experiences. Using pre-migration and post-migration data permits the assessment of any change in immigrant families that occurred because of migration, while controlling for changes in age and other confounding factors.   Non-immigrant women and men in Bangladesh were matched to the Queens' immigrants by the wife's current age, marital status, wife's education, religious affiliation, and socioeconomic status. These individuals were interviewed about their gender role experiences at some defined point in the past and about their current gender role experiences.   This permitted the assessment of both whether the migration process has been selective and whether the gender role experiences of immigrants and non-immigrants have changed over time.   Table 5.1 presents a schematic diagram of the research design.

Location ➜ Timepoint ⬇	Queens, NY	Bangladesh
Current time: Time (x)	Immigrants: Interview about post-migration events, characteristics, and attitudes at time (x).	Non-immigrants: Interview about current events, characteristics, and attitudes at time (x).
Migration Event		
Retrospective time: Time (x-n)	Immigrants: Interview about pre-migration events, characteristics, and attitudes at time (x-n).	Non-immigrants: Interview about prior events, characteristics, and attitudes at time (x-n).

Table 5.1: Schematic of Pre-test/Post-test Research Design

CURRENT AND RETROSPECTIVE DATA

A respondent's inability to remember accurately things from the past often plagues retrospective data (Bernard et al. 1984; Butz 1981). Berney and Blane (1997) state that retrospective data are often considered to be imprecise or incorrect. They argue, however, that the quality of recall data can be improved if researchers carefully consider the type of recall data collected and the way in which it is collected. They advocate the use of a lifegrid interview method in which the dates of important life events are collected in order to form a framework to help respondents recall details from their past. They state that "the lifegrid serves the dual purpose of organizing and enhancing the interviewee's memory and allowing the interviewer to keep control of the large amount of detailed information being collected" (Berney and Blane 1997:1521). Converse and Presser (1986) suggest a similar approach to improve the quality of recall data. They argue that researchers should clearly define the reference period and use "landmarks" in time to remind respondents of the period in question (Converse and Presser 1986: 20-21).

This research used a combination of these two methods. Immigrant respondents were first asked questions about their educational background, migration history, employment history, the date of their migration to the United States, the date of their marriage, and the timing of each of their children's births. The interviewer used these events to help the respondent pinpoint a particular time in his or her personal history. During the retrospective gender role attitude interviews, this time was defined as the year before migration for the Bangladeshi immigrants living in Queens. The past time point for non-immigrants was more complicated to define. Before fieldwork began, a time of five years ago was chosen as the time point about which to question non-immigrants. However, during fieldwork, this time was re-defined, depending on the presence of an adequate landmark in the respondent's memory. For example, if a non-immigrant woman's eldest child was born six years ago, she was asked to think back to the time before she had children and to reflect on what her attitudes may have been at that time. Thus, the retrospective data refer to a previous phase in their lives, usually occurring within the past four to eight years. It is possible that the attempts to help the respondent locate landmarks in

time colored their perceptions of the past by stressing a particular life cycle stage. However, without the use of landmarks, there would have been less assurance of the quality of these data.

In order to prevent the informants' answers regarding the present to color their memories of the past, the gender role attitude questionnaire was administered twice, once at the beginning of the interview to assess current attitudes and once at the end of the interview to assess retrospective attitudes. While it would have been better to administer the questionnaires at two different times scheduled days or weeks apart, this was not possible due to time and financial constraints and the number of times a respondent was willing to be interviewed. However, the retrospective questionnaire was administered only after ensuring that informants could pinpoint the specified time in their histories.

It is important to consider that any differences in the retrospective gender role attitudinal data of immigrants and non-immigrants may have resulted either from selectivity or from differences in recall. Despite this limitation, in the absence of baseline data from the past, retrospective data present an alternative way to analyze change. Intensive interviews were used in an attempt to disentangle actual differences in retrospective data from differences in recall.

HYPOTHESES

Brettell and Hollifield (2000: 2) argue that the selection of hypotheses in research is determined "by disciplinary concerns." They continue:

> Intense disagreements and debates about the meaning and interpretation of the same body of data exist within single disciplines. Sometimes there can be agreement across the disciplines on the nature of the problem, or even on the methodology. However, agreement on a single explanation or model is less likely; it is even rarer to find hypotheses that are truly multidisciplinary, drawing upon concepts and insights from several disciplines simultaneously. Each discipline has its preferred or acceptable list of questions, hypotheses, and variables. (Brettell and Hollifield 2000: 3)

In an attempt to fill this void, the hypotheses selected for this research are drawn from the four theoretical areas presented in Chapter 2, gender migration theory, micro-economic migration theory, immigrant assimilation theory, and social network theory. These traditional hypotheses were chosen in an attempt to assess whether they fit the integrative theory of immigrant adaptation presented in Chapter 2 and whether they apply in a new arena, the attitudinal adaptation of immigrants.

The premise guiding this research is that gender role attitudes in Bangladeshi families in origin areas in Bangladesh will differ from gender role attitudes in Bangladeshi families in the United States. Four independent variables have been selected to explain these differences, including selectivity, time since migration, social networks, and employment status. Hypotheses for each independent variable follow:

Selectivity: There are two dimensions to the selection hypothesis. First, from gender migration theory, individuals who immigrate possess different gender role attitudes at the time of migration than those who do not. Second, from micro-economic migration theory, individuals who immigrate possess greater human capital (i.e. education) at the time of migration than those who do not.

Time Since Migration: From immigrant assimilation theory, gender role attitudes in US Bangladeshi families differ by time since migration. More recent arrivals have more conservative gender role attitudes than longer-term immigrants. Recent migrants include those individuals who have lived in the United States for less than five years, while established immigrants include those individuals who have lived in the United States for five years or more.

Size and Composition of Social Networks: From social network theory, immigrant families with larger Bangladeshi social networks maintain more traditional gender patterns than immigrant families with small or non-existent Bangladeshi social networks. Data on social networks was collected through the use of interviews on whom informants socialize

with, how those individuals are related to the informants, and how often they speak with them.

Employment Status: From micro-economic migration theory and immigrant assimilation theory, immigrant women who participate in the formal economy have less traditional gender role attitudes than unemployed immigrant women. This hypothesis has two competing alternatives. One alternative is that immigrant women who participate in the formal economy are selective for different gender role attitudes than those held by unemployed immigrant women. The other alternative is that immigrant women who participate in the formal economy experience a change in their gender role attitudes because of exposure to different gender role ideologies in the workplace. Retrospective data collected on gender role attitudes and activities, as well as intensive interviews, have been used to distinguish between these two competing alternatives.

POTENTIAL CONFOUNDING VARIABLES

A number of confounding variables may also influence how gender role attitudes differ between individuals. Examples of possible confounders and their effects follow. Note that some of these confounders are correlated with each other. For example, age and life cycle stage are highly correlated, as are education and socioeconomic status.

Age: Women who are older may have more control over their households and their own activities than younger women in both settings.

Life Cycle Stage: Women in Bangladesh who have children, namely sons, have greater autonomy and power within the household than women who have not had children. However, this pattern may or may not hold true in the United States.

Education: Women who have more education may have greater opportunities both in the United States and in Bangladesh. Men with more education may be less likely to disapprove of the labor force participation of their wives.

Socioeconomic Status: Families in both Bangladesh and in New York City who have greater financial resources may be less constrained by traditional gender role attitudes. In both settings, families are from the middle class. In the middle class, women from families with higher economic status are more likely to attend college and to be employed than women from less well-to-do middle class families.

Co-residence of mother-in-law: In traditional Bangladeshi households, the mother-in-law is given more power and control over families than the daughter-in-law. If the mother-in-law is co-resident in the United States, this may affect the potential for the daughter-in-law to experience changes in the allocation of gender roles.

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Methodology

SAMPLING STRATEGY

The research comprised three phases. The first phase was conducted from June 1997 through October 1997 in five neighborhoods in northwestern Queens (Astoria, Long Island City, Sunnyside, Woodside, and Jackson Heights). After conducting a community census to identify eligible couples, a stratified random sample, based on the wife's age and her time since migration, was drawn. Sixty couples were interviewed, with the husbands' and wives' interviews conducted separately. Data were collected on demographic and household characteristics, migration and employment history, social and family networks, and attitudes regarding female mobility, household division of labor, and gender roles. Also collected were responses to a series of open-ended questions regarding life style changes, aspirations and goals for children, perceptions of men's and women's societal and familial roles.

The second phase took place from November 1997 through March 1998 in three origin areas in Bangladesh: Dhaka, Khulna, and Sylhet. These divisions were the three most commonly cited origin areas among the respondents in the Queens sample. Couples were chosen by

convenience sampling. (Random sampling could not be used given the size of the eligible population, time constraints, and selection criteria.) Eligible couples were required to have no first-degree relatives (parents, siblings, children) living outside Bangladesh and never to have lived outside Bangladesh themselves. Wives in the Bangladesh sample were also matched to wives in the Queens sample by age (between ages 18 and 30 and between ages 31 and 49), level of education (primary school education and less, secondary school education, and more than secondary school education), religion (Islam), and socioeconomic status (middle-class as assessed by the method described in Chapter 7). Thirty-one couples were interviewed in Bangladesh and the same types of data were collected as in Queens.

The third phase took place from May 1998 through August 1998 again in the five destination communities in northwestern Queens. During this final phase, a small sample of couples was chosen for longer, life history intensive interviews. All couples who had participated in interviews during the first phase were separated into categories based on their gender role attitude responses collected during the first phase of data collection. Couples with lower current gender role attitudinal scores were labeled as "conservative," those with higher scores were labeled "liberal," while those whose scores fell between these categories were labeled as "moderate." Then couples from each category were randomly called and asked to participate in another interview. Nine couples, three from each category, agreed to be interviewed.

CALCULATION OF SAMPLE SIZES

Careful planning helps to ensure that sample sizes are large enough to make precise estimates of the variables of interest and to protect against too large Type I and Type II errors. Kleinbaum, Kupper, and Muller (1988: 31) explain Type I and Type II errors:

If the true state of nature corresponds to the null hypothesis, but the alternative hypothesis is chosen, then a Type I error has been made, with the probability denoted by α . . . In turn, if the actual state of nature is that the alternative hypothesis is true but the null hypothesis is chosen, then a Type II error has occurred, with a probability denoted by β.

The primary analyses used to test hypotheses will be based on Analysis of Variance techniques. To determine sample sizes for this type of analysis, we must specify the desired levels of α and β, as well as the minimum range of factor level means (differences between the μ_i), which are important to detect with high probability. This minimum range is denoted by $\Delta = max(\mu_i) - min(\mu_i)$. Besides Δ, α, and β, the standard deviation of the measurement, σ, must also be specified in order to complete the power analyses. The values of α, β, and Δ/σ are then entered into a look-up table of sample sizes for Analysis of Variance in order to find the required sample size (Neter et al 1990: 1151).[1]

For this research, the primary variables of interest are the current and retrospective gender role attitude scores. These variables, measured using the same scale, have possible values ranging from 20 to 100. To obtain the sample sizes required to detect differences in these gender role attitude scores, the following conservative assumptions were made: $\Delta = 5$, $\alpha = 0.05$, $\beta = 0.2$, and $\sigma = 5$. In order to detect a maximum difference in true means, $\mu_i - \mu_j$, equal to $\Delta = 5$, with $\alpha = 0.05$, probability $\beta = 0.2$ (i.e. power=1-β), and $\sigma = 5$, the table indicates that 17 couples are required in each factor level. If the ratio of Δ/σ is

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[1] Please note that the sample size calculations had to be re-computed well into the data collection phase of the research. Earlier calculations had been computed using an inappropriate formula. The error was discovered before any data entry had occurred so prior assumptions regarding the values of σ for the gender role attitude score and the mobility index were maintained in the new calculations.

increased to 1.25, a sample size of 15 is required for a power of .90 (β=0.1).

Another variable of interest is the mobility index. This index is a summed score with values ranging from 0 to 8. The following conservative assumptions were made: Δ= 0.50, α= 0.05, β= 0.20, and σ= 0.50. Again, the table indicates that 17 couples are required for a power of 0.80. If the ratio of Δ/σ is increased to 1.25 for the mobility index score as well, a sample size of 15 is required for a power of .90.

The total sample was designed to include twice as many immigrants as non-immigrants and roughly equal numbers of younger and older women. Thirty-one couples were interviewed in Bangladesh, with roughly half containing women between the ages of 18 and 30 and half containing women between the ages of 31 and 49. Thus, each age group had the required number of subjects. Sixty couples were interviewed in Queens with approximately the same proportion of younger women versus older women. The rationale behind the including twice as many immigrants as non-immigrants is based on two factors, the amount of time available for sample selection and data collection in the two research locations and the research focus. Ten months of fieldwork were conducted in Queens, as compared to just five months in Bangladesh. Additionally, the research focuses on immigrant attitudinal adaptations, and uses the non-immigrant sample primarily for comparison.

Post hoc calculations were performed using the actual variance found in the sample and the actual sample size used in order to find the difference in true means that could have been detected with reasonable power. For the gender role attitude score, the actual variance, s, in the sample was 10. If α= 0.05 and Δ = 10 so that Δ/s = 1, then power equal to at least 0.95 is achieved for the immigrant sample (n=60 couples, with half in each factor level), and power equal to almost 0.80 is achieved for the non-immigrant sample (n=31 couples, with roughly half each factor level). For the mobility index, the actual variance in the sample was 1.5. If α= 0.05 and Δ = 1.5 so that Δ/s = 1, power analyses achieve the same levels as for the gender role attitudes scores.

CHOICE OF RESEARCH LOCATIONS

The Bangladeshi population in Queens is an ideal one in which to study how gender role attitudes change as a result of international migration for a number of reasons. First, the relative recency of the migration permits the early assessment of the assimilation process. Second, the recency also facilitates the identification of a source area within Bangladesh. Third, studies on the Bangladeshi population in the United Kingdom may provide clues to the nature of relationships between Bangladeshi men and women and the roles they assume after international migration.

Finding Bangladeshi families in Queens was the most important priority in choosing a research community. The decisions regarding where to conduct this research were guided by preliminary visits to the area and by conversations with other researchers and community members. Existing research on Bangladeshis in London indicates that most Bangladeshis in that community have origins in Sylhet, a district in northeastern Bangladesh. Conversations with researchers who work in Bangladesh suggested that early Bangladeshi immigrants to the United States, particularly to New York City, also tended to be from Sylhet. These early immigrants were concentrated in Astoria, a traditionally Greek and Italian neighborhood in northwestern Queens.

During a preliminary research visit to the area in April 1996, I observed classes and spoke with educators at a school designed for immigrant teenagers in Queens. Bangladeshi students made up the third largest group at the school. Teachers at the school said that Bangladeshi immigrants were concentrated in the northwestern Queens' communities of Astoria, Woodside, Jackson Heights, and Elmhurst. According to these teachers, in addition to Sylhet, these more recent Bangladeshi immigrants have also come from the districts of Chittagong, Dhaka, and Noakhali, indicating that out-migration has become more widespread in Bangladesh.

Immigration statistics reveal that, indeed half of the Bangladeshi immigrants to Queens choose to settle in one of the four neighborhoods mentioned by the teachers at the school for immigrants. From 1983-1989, 47% of all Bangladeshi immigrants to Queens chose to live in Astoria, Woodside, Jackson Heights, or Elmhurst. This percentage grew to 59% for the period from 1990-1994. Table 6.1 presents the

number of new Bangladeshi immigrants choosing to reside in various neighborhoods within northwestern Queens. However, once in the field, I eliminated Elmhurst from the list of research neighborhoods, and replaced it with Long Island City and Sunnyside. These two neighborhoods were contiguous to the other neighborhoods and were more easily accessible than Elmhurst. Though Elmhurst was relatively close to my home in Woodside, the layout of the subway system made it very difficult to get to Elmhurst from Woodside. The number of subway transfers required for me to get there made it too inconvenient and rather unsafe since many of the interviews were conducted at night. Figure 6.1 shows the location of the research communities in Queens.

Figure 6.1: Map of Queens.
[Source: http://www.lihistory.com/spectown/qmap.htm]

Neighborhood	1983-1989		1990-1994	
Long Island City	48	(3.2%)	171	(3.6%)
Astoria	376	(25.1%)	1,468	(30.7%)
Woodside	93	(6.2%)	422	(8.8%)
Jackson Heights	97	(6.5%)	274	(5.7%)
Sunnyside	5	(0.003%)	98	(2.1%)
Elmhurst	137	(9.2%)	629	(13.2%)
Total admitted to Queens	1,497	(47.9%)	4,775	(49.9%)
Total admitted to five boroughs	3,121	(100%)	9,556	(100%)

Table 6.1: Bangladeshi immigrants admitted to Queens, 1983-89 and 1990-94.
[Source: New York Department of City Planning (1996) and Salvo and Ortiz (1992).]

Research locations in Bangladesh were chosen in part according to birthplace data collected from respondents during the first phase of research. The cost of travel, the availability of suitable lodging, and time considerations also played important roles in the selection of origin locations in which to conduct the second phase of research. Over 80% of the Bangladeshi immigrants in the Queens sample were born within the divisions of Dhaka, Khulna, and Sylhet. Figure 6.2 shows the location of each of these divisions. Origin communities were scattered across many districts throughout these divisions. Specific origin communities cited by respondents will be discussed in Chapter 7. I chose communities within each of the three most commonly stated origin divisions.

Figure 6.2: Map of Bangladesh
[Source:http://www.un.int/bangladesh/images/map1.jpg]

Within Dhaka division, I selected neighborhoods throughout the city and suburbs of Dhaka that had been mentioned by respondents in the Queens sample. Since my home base was in the northeastern quadrant of the city, travel was relatively easy and inexpensive, though somewhat time consuming because of traffic congestion.

The selection of communities within Khulna and Sylhet was affected by the availability of suitable lodging for my research assistants and myself. Because we spent only 3-4 weeks in each of these locations, landlords were unwilling to lease apartments to us. Because there were four or five of us, including two children, traveling together at all times, seeking accommodation with a local family was not possible. As a result, the presence of a suitable hotel in a convenient location was crucial. Additionally, my female research assistant's husband would not allow her to go to Jessore in Khulna division to conduct interviews. Jessore was a commonly mentioned birthplace for respondents in the Queens sample. However, it is considered a very rough city that is unsafe for women traveling without their husbands. Instead, I chose to conduct interviews in the city of Khulna and surrounding towns and villages. Both of my research assistants were originally from Khulna so we could stay with their families.

Many of the Queens respondents listed villages within Sylhet district as their birthplaces. I chose to base our research team in a hotel in downtown Sylhet and travel to nearby towns and villages for interviews. We spent a large portion of each day traveling back and forth from the hotel to outlying villages.

DATA SOURCES

A complete picture of how gender role attitudes change within immigrant families requires examining three aspects of family life: what husbands and wives think, what husbands and wives say they do, and what husbands and wives actually do. It is important to realize that what people say they do does not always match what they do. To uncover how attitudes and beliefs affect actual behavior, a variety of micro-demographic research methodologies have been used, including both survey and ethnographic techniques such as intensive interviews, case studies, participant observation, and questionnaires. The use of surveys provides appropriate data for statistical tests of the research hypotheses, while data collected via the ethnographic approach aids in the understanding of the effects of culture on the choices and decisions made by the respondents (Axinn et al. 1991).

Household census

The household census was used to identify eligible Bangladeshi families in Queens, NY. Along with two research assistants, I canvassed the five neighborhoods in northwestern Queens every day and evening for one month. We visited Bangladeshi grocery stores, shopping districts, schools, and apartment buildings known to house Bangladeshis in order to find Bangladeshis and to administer the household census to those who were eligible. This questionnaire collected data on the names, ages, and sex of each member of the household. The questionnaire also gathered data on the relationship of each member to the household head, migration status, and year of migration. Data on 222 households, containing 272 families in five communities in northwestern Queens, were collected with this form.

A census was not conducted in the source areas in Bangladesh due to the size of the eligible population, time constraints, and selection criteria. In order to locate potentially eligible couples in Bangladesh, we briefly described the research to our friends, acquaintances, and neighbors, and then asked them for a list of their own friends and acquaintances. We also asked local businessmen, shopkeepers, teachers, civil servants, and engineers we located on our own to participate. After acquiring the names and address of a potential participant couple, we would make contact with the couple to determine eligibility in terms of the age of the wife and the migration histories of the husband, wife, and their first-degree relatives. An attempt was made to match women in the Bangladesh samples with women in the Queens sample by educational attainment. Roughly equal proportions of women in each sample attained primary education, secondary education, or higher education.

Demographic Questionnaire

The demographic questionnaire contains questions regarding the informant's religion, educational background, migration history, employment history, and household composition. The questionnaire also contains sections on the respondent's family network and social network. This questionnaire was administered both in Queens and in

the origin areas in Bangladesh. In Queens, after an eligible household was selected via random sampling, appointments were made to interview the husband and wife at separate times. In Bangladesh, after couples were chosen through convenience sampling, appointments were made to travel to the respondents' homes to interview the husbands and wives. The interviews usually took place during the same visit; however, they were conducted privately in separate rooms.

Attitudinal Questionnaire

The most problematic measurement issue for this research project has been defining and operationalizing "gender roles" in a way that makes cultural sense in both Bangladesh and the United States. There are many pre-existing scales to measure gender roles. A recent handbook lists thirty-nine scales to measure gender roles and twenty-six scales to measure marital and parental roles (Beere 1990). These scales deal with such topics as decision-making, task allocation, homemaking stress, traditional versus modern attitudes, parenting styles, role strain, and role conflict. Beere (1990: 23-24) discusses the reliability and validity of these measurement scales. She laments the absence of reliability measures for most of these scales; only a small minority includes even a measure of internal consistency. She argues that researchers should compute test-retest reliability measures. Additionally, she advocates the use of scales with at least a 0.70 reliability coefficient. Beere also contends that researchers must include some measure of content validity, criterion-related validity, and construct validity.

Two of the most commonly used sets of scales to measure gender roles were created by Scanzoni (1975), Spence and Helmreich (1978), and Spence, Helmreich, and Swain (1980). Scanzoni (1975) developed three scales: the Social Position of Husband scale, the Social Position of Wife scale, and the Social Position of Mother scale. Each of these scales is a summated rating scale using a five-point Likert type item and measures support for traditional or egalitarian marital roles. Many researchers have combined portions of these scales. For example, Rao and Rao (1985) used the Scanzoni scales to compare gender role attitudes of students in the United States and students in India. Based

on mean values, Indian students were found to have more traditional responses. The gender role attitudes scale used in this research was developed using the Scanzoni scales as a starting point.

Rather than using a pre-existing scale, Stopes-Roe and Cochrane (1989) developed a new scale to measure the extent of traditionalism in Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, and British families in Great Britain within and between generations. Their Index of Traditionalism consists of five items (as shown in Table 6.1). This is a summated scale with possible scores ranging from 5 to 20. They found that ethnicity, generation, and sex had significant effects on traditionalism.

These studies demonstrate the range of scales available for measuring gender roles. However, these scales overlook some of the key areas necessary to assess change. For this research, the concept of a "gender role" has been defined within the context of family life. Following Atkinson (1987: 7), gender roles are "patterns of behavior - which are objective, overt, and observable" and are distinct from "the antecedents and consequences of those behaviors - which are often subjective, covert, unobservable." According to Atkinson (1987: 7), differences in gender role behaviors "exist largely because of cultural proscriptions that . . . influence the ways . . . women and men think, feel, and act." For this research, a twenty-question Likert scale measures gender role attitudes (Cronbach's alpha=0.74269) (Likert 1932). This scale, based on the Scanzoni scales described above, encompasses four dimensions of family life that apply in both the United States and Bangladesh: economic roles, household tasks, child rearing roles, and power roles. Economic roles include labor force participation and any contributions to the family budget. Household tasks include cooking, buying foodstuffs, cleaning, making repairs, and planning family activities. Child rearing roles include socialization of children, discipline, and decision making regarding children's activities. Power roles include the ability to make decisions regarding finances, the ability to control the behavior of others, the access to and control over resources (financial and other), autonomy in one's own behavior and decision making. Attitudes toward aspects of each of the four dimensions of gender roles defined above are measured by summated scales with five point Likert type items, ranging from values of 1 (strongly agree), 2 (agree), 3 (somewhat agree), 4 (disagree), to 5 (strongly disagree). Lower scores on the gender role attitude scale

indicate more conservative attitudes. This scale was used to capture both current and retrospective gender role attitudes and was administered to respondents twice during the interview: once regarding their current gender role attitudes and once regarding their gender role attitudes at some defined point in the past. For immigrants, this time point was the year before their migration to the US. Non-immigrants were asked to think back four to eight years ago, with the exact time dependent upon the existence of a landmark to clearly define the reference period. The use of retrospective and current data permits the assessment of whether the migration process is selective and whether the gender role experiences of non-immigrants have changed over time. The full text of the attitudinal questionnaire can be found in Chapter 8.

Item	Question	Responses
Obedience	Do your children have to obey you without question, or can they act on their own decisions, or is it a matter of discussions between you?	Complete Obedience Obedience with some latitude Discuss and compromise Own decisions
Respect	Do your children have to show great respect for you?	Yes, required Yes, from the heart Qualified yes Not in the old-fashioned way
Decisions	When making important decisions in life, do you think a young person should consider his/her family's interests before his/her own interests and wishes?	Family only Family precedence Compromise Individual precedence Individual only
Help Siblings	Do your children have to feel obligated to help their brothers and sisters when they need it?	Yes, certainly Depends Probably not
Extended Family	Do you think that parents and their married children should live together if it is possible?	Yes, firmly Yes, conditional Not if avoidable No firmly

Table 6.1: Index of Traditionalism (Stopes-Roe and Cochrane 1989)

Mobility Questionnaire

Mobility is often considered to be an important indicator of power and autonomy. Balk (1997) uses mobility measures to assess rural Bangladeshi women's non-conformity to local gender norms. She uses three questions concerning the frequency of travel outside the *bari* and village, whether a woman travels alone or with a companion, and whether a woman wears a *burka*. She uses these questions to create a scale that ranks women as modern or poor. Hussain and Smith (1999) measure Bangladeshi women's physical autonomy as an indicator of women's empowerment and as a source of social and cultural change. They measure physical autonomy through two questions concerning a woman's ability to venture alone into the community. Specifically, they ask how often a woman may go to another art of her city, town, or village and whether she can go to the hospital or heath center alone. The authors find that employment and participation in a micro-lending program have positive effects on women's mobility, while education has no effect. Niraula and Morgan (1994), discussing gender inequality in Nepal, define autonomy as freedom of movement and association and create a mobility index in order to measure autonomy. Their scale lists a number of locations within the local community. Women are asked if it is acceptable for them to go to each of these locations. Their responses are yes, no, or depends. While both of these studies attempt to connect mobility and gender inequality, both focus solely on women's perceptions of their mobility. Men and women often do not agree on what locations are indeed acceptable places for women to travel. Additionally, with regard to the study by Niraula and Morgan, the category of "depends" requires further clarification: what does acceptability depend upon?

   In order to measure attitudes about female mobility in this research, husbands and wives were asked separately if it is acceptable for the wives to go to various locations within the community, such as the local health center, the local market, and a nearby neighborhood. This scale has values of 1=yes, alone, 2=yes, if accompanied, 3=no, unacceptable, and 0=do not go/do not know. For those locations defined as "acceptable to go only if accompanied," two additional questions were asked to determine who must accompany the wife to

that location and why she cannot go to that location alone. For those locations defined as "unacceptable to go," an additional question was asked to determine whether any situation exists in which the woman would be permitted to go there. The full text of the mobility questionnaire can be found in Chapter 9.

Household Tasks Questionnaires

There is a strong relationship between the division of labor in the household and gender role attitudes. A number of studies have found that more liberal gender role attitudes are associated with an egalitarian division of labor (Baxter 1992; Huber and Spitz 1983; Ross 1987). Baxter (1992) argues that data on both the amount of time spent on domestic chores and the relative contribution of each spouse to domestic chores should be collected. Baxter's domestic labor data were collected via two scales, a five-item scale on childcare tasks and a six-item scale on household tasks. She also collected data on how many hours a respondent spent per week performing each task. While this work provides a clear analysis of the division of labor of husbands and wives, it overlooks the possibility that other household members, whether relatives or paid labor, may also help with household chores. Another limitation with this research is that Baxter included only employed respondents in her sample. Additionally, she did not focus on husband-wife dyads so that she may have only collected one spouse's perception of the division of labor.

Doucet (1996) provides a critique of data collection procedures in household work research. She states that most researchers oversimplify childcare tasks and household work, overlook the changing demands of children as they grow older, and neglect the housework contributions of other household members. She also advocates interviewing the husband and wife together about the ways in which they divide household labor. Doucet argues that this allows the researcher to observe the negotiations and arguments that occur when a couple tries to agree on who performs various household tasks.

Hochschild (1989) studied the way husbands and wives negotiate the division of household labor. She interviewed families with different gender ideologies, including traditional, transitional, and

egalitarian, on how they decide who does which tasks in the household. She found that disagreements between a husband and wife often stemmed from feelings of ingratitude – one spouse did not feel that the other spouse appreciated his or her contributions to housework. Her data revealed that the responses of husbands and wives regarding how they divide household labor were not always reflective of what they did in practice. She found that couples expressing traditional attitudes about the division of household labor tended to be more egalitarian in practice.

For this research, husbands and wives were interviewed regarding the activities they perform within the household. The tasks included childcare tasks, housework, household maintenance and repair, and provisioning. Husbands and wives participated in separate household task interviews, answering questions about who usually performs a specific task such as cooking meals, cleaning the house, or doing the laundry. Choices included the wife alone, the husband alone, husband and wife equally, or some other named individual. Observations were conducted only during the course of the interview period. Respondents were very hesitant to allow the research team into their homes repeatedly for interviews and observations. Thus, the household task data only reflects reported household division of labor. The full text of the household tasks questionnaire can be found in Chapter 10.

Intensive Interviews

Freelisting and ranking techniques were used in an attempt to elicit cultural domain data regarding appropriate behavior of men and women. Open-ended interviews were conducted on issues such as the perceived effects of international migration on origin areas, the use of remittances, the formation of transnational communities, perceptions of role conflict, differences in behavior of American and Bangladeshi men and women, and the effects of living in the United States on the behavior of immigrants and their children.

Life Histories

The interviews were loosely structured around a series of questions regarding the respondent's childhood, education, marital life, role stresses, Islam, family life, values, and goals. However, respondents were allowed to discuss whatever they wished regarding their migration experiences and their family life, both before and after their migration. Questions guiding the life history interviews can be found in the Appendix.

INTERVIEW PROCEDURES

During the first and second phases, each respondent, both in Queens and in Bangladesh, participated in a 1_ to 2 hour interview covering such topics as their household composition, employment history, educational background, migration history, and social networks. Each respondent also answered questions about his or her attitudes regarding female mobility, household division of labor, and gender roles. Questionnaires were administered separately to husbands and wives. If possible, the interviews were conducted privately with only the respondent, the research assistant, and me in the room. All interviews were conducted in Bengali. Answers to open-ended questions were immediately written down in English in a summarized form and taped for later transcription and translation. Life history interviews were conducted during the third phase of research in Queens. The duration of these life history interviews ranged from one to three hours.

RESEARCH ASSISTANTS

One of my first tasks in the field was to find qualified research assistants to help with data collection and translation. During my second week in Queens, I found a small Bangladeshi grocery store near my apartment. I introduced myself to the shopkeeper and asked him if he knew of anyone who might be interested in working with me. I explained the project and the job requirements. He promised to call if

he found any candidates. Two days later, he called with the names of three individuals, Shamima, Liton, and Dipu.

Shamima, a twenty-four year old woman, was a student from a local college. She had immigrated to the United States from Dhaka after her marriage to a Bangladeshi man living in Queens. He had come to the U.S. with his parents and siblings many years earlier. Based on the shopkeeper's impressions of me, her husband had encouraged her to meet with me. She worked with me during the first and third phases of fieldwork. Her primary responsibilities were helping me find Bangladeshi families in Queens, scheduling interviews over the phone, accompanying me to interviews, and translating when necessary.

The shopkeeper's second recommendation was Liton, a twenty-seven year old man who had worked as a journalist in Bangladesh before receiving a Diversity Visa. He worked in a sushi restaurant in Manhattan, and hoped that, by working with me, he would eventually obtain a job recommendation from me that would help him gain access to more professional employment. He worked part-time with me during the first phase of fieldwork helping me find Bangladeshi families with Shamima, accompanying me on interviews, and translating as needed.

Dipu, the third person recommended by the shopkeeper, had just graduated from a local university and was working in an upscale Manhattan restaurant while looking for a job in the computer industry. He worked with me during the first phase, translating questionnaires and accompanying me to interviews when Shamima and Liton were unavailable.

Later during the course of phase one, I hired an additional female research assistant, Jamila, to lessen Shamima's workload. We had met Jamila while looking for Bangladeshi families. She had been a college teacher in Bangladesh and wanted to continue her education in the U.S. However, she had recently given birth to her first child and could not afford childcare. She worked with me during the latter portion of first phase of research, scheduling interviews, accompanying me to interviews, and translating as necessary. Her baby also joined us.

Through Jamila, I found my research assistants who worked with me in Bangladesh. Jamila and her husband Zakir incorporated me into their family. They volunteered Jamila's older sister Tanu and Zakir's

younger brother Moruph to work, live, and travel with me throughout Bangladesh. Tanu was married and had a six year old daughter. She lived with her family in Mymensingh in north-central Bangladesh. She had recently completed her M.Sc. in Economics, but had been unable to find a job in Mymensingh. Her husband believed that working with me would be good experience and convinced her to move with her daughter into my flat in Dhaka. She helped me interview the female respondents in Bangladesh.

Moruph was a twenty-six year old single man. Though his family had the means to send him to university, he had only completed secondary school. He was considering returning to school, and his brother believed that working with me would teach him valuable skills that would help him gain admission. Moruph located eligible families, arranged travel and lodging in Khulna and Sylhet, helped me interview the male respondents, and translated questionnaires. He also accompanied me on shopping expeditions, to restaurants, and on sightseeing tours. Moruph, who was related to my fictive kin Jamila and Zakir, lived with Tanu, her daughter, and me in my flat in Dhaka.

I extensively trained all of my research assistants. I taught them how to conduct an interview, how to assess the eligibility of a potential respondent, and how to act as translator. I also included them in discussions of sample selection and research site selection.

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Research Sites

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will present a detailed description and demographic overview of the research communities in northwestern Queens and in three source areas within Bangladesh.

The Research Setting in Queens, New York

New York City is one of the most ethnically diverse metropolitan areas in the United States. The borough of Queens reflects this diversity (Alba 1995; Lobo 1997). The research community in Queens is located to the west of La Guardia airport and to the north of the track of the 7 train of New York City's subway system. This train, often termed the "International Express," runs from Times Square in midtown Manhattan through Queens to Flushing. The majority of new immigrants to Queens live in neighborhoods along the route of the 7 train (New York Department of City Planning 1996: 87-89). All the neighborhoods that comprise the research community for this research have stops on the International Express. Astoria extends from the route

of the 7 train north along the route of the N train. Figure 7.1 shows the location of the N train line and the 7 train line relative to the research communities.

Figure 7. 1: Queens Subway Map
[Source: http://www.mta.ny.ny.us/nyct/maps/submap.htm]

In the western portion of Queens, subways are actually trains on elevated tracks. These elevated tracks and the trains that run on them are dominant features of these neighborhoods, both visually and aurally. Shopping districts surround the main train stations, which tend to be located about ten blocks apart at the intersections of primary roads. These shopping districts usually include a number of small convenience stores, various ethnic fast food restaurants, ethnic grocery stores, sari shops, fruit stands, and at least one national chain franchise, such as Dunkin' Donuts or Burger King. For Bangladeshis, the main

shopping districts are located along Ditmars Boulevard, Astoria Boulevard, 30th Avenue, Broadway, and 36th Avenue in Astoria and Long Island City, along Queens Boulevard in Sunnyside, along Woodside Avenue in Woodside, and along 74th Street in Jackson Heights. There are approximately thirty Bangladeshi grocery stores, and numerous Bangladeshi-owned newsstands, fish markets, sari stores, and restaurants, in addition to a handful of Bangladeshi-owned or -managed franchise restaurants, located throughout the research area. In these shopping districts, sidewalks are filled with immigrants from many different countries. The new immigrants to these neighborhoods are predominately from China, Central and South America, and South Asia. English is rarely heard.

The initial fieldwork was conducted during the summer. To avoid the heat, Bangladeshi women would remain inside until the late afternoon. Then they would emerge from their homes with their children to shop and visit with friends. The open-air vegetable markets and Bangladeshi stores were common meeting places for women. Other women would congregate with friends in front of their apartment buildings. Clusters of strollers filled with babies and toddlers, holding onto the ends of their mothers' *dupattas* (long scarves draped across their chests), would surround them. I had lived in my apartment building for a few weeks before I realized that three Bangladeshi families also lived there. I discovered them one afternoon on my way to do my own grocery shopping. Three Bangladeshi women with their children sat on the front steps to our building chatting in the shade. I smiled at them, and greeted them with a few faltering words in Bengali. They were amused by my attempts to speak with them in their own language, and asked me many questions. I, in turn, asked them if many Bangladeshis lived on our block and asked them to point out buildings in which Bangladeshis lived. I soon found out that an apartment building located just around the corner was occupied mainly by Bangladeshis, with some apartments housing families, and others with groups of single men. At dusk, as men who worked regular hours returned from work, women would go inside to fix dinner. Men would gather at the Bangladeshi stores to discuss politics (usually Bangladeshi) and other issues. They would usually return home to eat dinner after nine o'clock.

Bangladeshi immigrants in this part of Queens tend to live in apartments located in large buildings. These apartment buildings are typically located above storefronts or along side streets. Most tend to be large, old, dilapidated brick structures with four or five stories. Most have elevators; however, they are usually broken or graffiti- and trash-covered. Typically, the buildings have a security door that requires a visitor to be buzzed in by the resident they are visiting. However, in most buildings, the security system does not work so either doors are left propped open or the buzzer system has been disconnected from the locking mechanism. My research assistants and I also learned early during the initial census phase that speaking Bengali would usually gain us entrance into a building. When we were looking for Bangladeshi families to include in our sampling frame, we would often go door-to-door in these large apartment buildings. However, at first, we had great difficulty figuring out how to enter those buildings in which security systems still worked. My research assistant Shamima soon learned that if she buzzed an apartment of residents with Bangladeshi-sounding last names and answered "*Ami*" (Bengali for "Me") to their question "*Ke*?" (Bengali for "Who?"), we were immediately buzzed in with no further questions. We found many Bangladeshi families thanks to inadequate security and trusting people.

Most apartments have one or two small bedrooms, a small kitchen, a combined living/dining room, and one bathroom. Monthly rents in these five neighborhoods ranged from $500 up to $800 depending on the size and quality of the apartment and rent control status. My own apartment, a very small studio of less than 500 square feet in a typical building, rented for $601 per month plus utilities. In apartments in which more than one nuclear family lives or in which a nuclear family takes in a boarder to defray costs, the living room becomes an additional bedroom at night. The living rooms of most of these apartments have at least one bed, which may serve as a sofa during the day.

The initial community census conducted in Queens in July 1997 uncovered 222 Bangladeshi households comprised of 978 individuals, including 592 adults and 386 children. These households included 272 families and 249 married couples. Four household types were represented among these 222 households. There were 138 nuclear family households, 50 extended family households, 19 households

made up of 2 or more unrelated nuclear families, and 15 nuclear family households with boarders. Of the 222 households that participated in the census, 205 households had couples who were eligible to complete the longer questionnaire. Many of the ineligible households were comprised of bachelors and "semi-bachelors," married men who had left their wives behind in Bangladesh. We came across many "semi-bachelor" households. Most were not asked to complete census forms. Of these 205 eligible households, 24 refused to participate (refusal rate = 11.7%), citing reasons that included illness, lack of time, and inconvenience. Others may have been afraid to participate due to their illegal status. Because of changing Immigration and Naturalization Service regulations during the summer of 1997, the fear of the INS and anyone asking questions about immigration was widespread.

One target couple within each of sixty households was chosen to participate in the first phase of research. These couples were chosen via stratified random sampling, based on the wife's age and her time since migration. These sixty households numbered a total of 273 individuals, including 69 married couples, 17 extended relatives, and 100 children. The average number of people in each household was 4.6 individuals with a range of 2 to 10 individuals. Thirty-one households were nuclear households, 14 were extended family households, 7 were households containing unrelated nuclear families, and 8 were nuclear family households with boarders.

The family of the target couple was usually a two-generation family comprised of the couple and their children (n=44). Thirteen couples lived in one-generation households, while 3 lived in three-generation households. Thirteen couples were childless, 40 couples had either 1 or 2 children, and 7 couples had 3 or more children. Of the couples with 1 or more children, 29 had sons. Only one household contained a co-resident mother-in-law.

Household type was not a selection criterion. Thus, in comparison with the larger sampling frame, nuclear family households are slightly underrepresented, while households with unrelated nuclear families and nuclear family households with boarders are slightly overrepresented.

The Research Settings in Bangladesh

The research settings in Bangladesh were comprised of several different neighborhoods in each origin community. Because the origin communities of the Bangladeshi immigrants living in Queens were known at the neighborhood or village level, I was able to interview families in many of those areas.

In Dhaka Division, origin communities were concentrated in the city of Dhaka. These neighborhoods ranged from sections of Old Dhaka to newer "suburbs" north of the city. A typical neighborhood within the city of Dhaka is hidden behind the main street or marketplace within a maze of gravel or dirt pathways. These pathways are typically lined with small shops, especially pharmacies, tailor shops, and little convenience stores. Homes in these neighborhoods are often small one- or two-story dwellings, usually made of concrete with tin roofs. Houses are very close together, and yards are nonexistent. Some houses have indoor kitchens, while others have kitchens located in an exterior courtyard. The homes are small, usually with one bedroom, a small kitchen, and a living room. In outlying neighborhoods, such as Mirpur in the northeast and Uttara in the northwest, houses tend to be bigger, and apartment buildings more common. We interviewed a number of couples living in these neighborhoods. Apartments in these parts of town tend to be larger, with lower rents. Many houses and apartment buildings have large yards that are demarcated by fences or low concrete walls.

Origin communities in Sylhet were scattered throughout both the city of Sylhet and the rest of the division. I chose a series of neighborhoods on the edge of the city and a series of small towns and village 15-25 kilometers away from the city. While more widespread coverage of origin communities within Sylhet would have more accurately reflected the source areas of Bangladeshis in Queens, logistical, financial, and time constraints made this impossible. Houses in Sylhet were, for the most part, larger and spaced farther apart than in Dhaka. A small number of families were affiliated with a local veterinary college. These families lived in on-campus apartments provided by the college.

Among Bangladeshi women in the Queens samples, Sylheti-origin women had the greatest variance in education levels. In order to

accurately match Sylheti-origin women in Queens with their counterparts remaining in Bangladesh, we were careful to include couples from a wide range of socioeconomic settings. We chose a neighborhood on the outskirts of a small market area. The families living in this area lived in small one or two room houses, with tin roofs and outside cooking areas. There was little furniture or space, but the houses were equipped with electricity.

The third research setting in Bangladesh was the city of Khulna. Since both of my research assistants in Bangladesh were originally from Khulna, they were very familiar with various neighborhoods in that city. Also, since both of their families had members living in Queens (hence my connection to them), we decided to choose respondents who lived near their families, but who did not personally know my research assistants or their families. Houses were built along winding pathways. Gates covered with ivy separated the front stoops from the street. Homes tended to be larger than those in Dhaka, with at least 2 bedrooms, in addition to a kitchen and living room. We also interviewed families living in an outlying village that respondents in Queens had cited as an origin area.

Household data were collected from each of the 31 participating couples. One hundred forty individuals, including 51 children, lived within these 31 households. Average household size was 4.5 individuals, with a range from 2 individuals up to 10 individuals. (Note that the average household size in the Bangladesh sample is virtually identical to the average household size in the Queens sample. This reflects the growing trend toward nuclear households in Bangladesh (Chowdhury 1995).) The 31 households included 34 married couples. Twenty-three households were nuclear family households, while 8 were extended family households. Five households had live-in servants. Four households included co-resident mothers-in-law.

Demographic Profiles

Demographic profiles of both samples appear in Table 7.1. The Queens sample was chosen such that half of the women were between the ages of 18 and 30 and half of the women were between the ages of 31 and 49. The mean ages of immigrant females and non-immigrant

females are both 30.9 years. The mean ages of immigrant males and non-immigrant males are 38.1 years and 38.4 years, respectively. Age at marriage was also roughly the same for both immigrants (27.2 years for males and 20.5 years for females) and non-immigrants (26.3 years for males and 19.0 years for females). Male immigrants have lived in the United States for twice as many months on average as female immigrants.   Male employment is virtually universal among immigrants and non-immigrants. Over one-third of female immigrants work for wages, while less than one-sixth of non-immigrant women are currently employed.

	Immigrants Queens Sample		Non-immigrants Origin Sample	
	Males (n=60)	Females (n=60)	Males (n=31)	Females (n=31)
Mean Age	38.1	30.9	38.4	30.9
Mean Age at Marriage	27.2	20.5	26.3	19.0
Mean Time in US (months)	91.7	42.4	n.a.	n.a.
Mean Time in Queens (months)	76.8	40.6	n.a.	n.a.
% Currently Employed	96.7	35.0	100.0	16.1
% Employed before migration	80.0	33.3	n.a.	n.a.

Table 7.1: Demographic profile of respondents

Respondents were asked to name the location where they were born (Table 7.2). One-third of non-immigrants and almost one-half of immigrants were born within the Dhaka Division. Smaller percentages named Sylhet, Khulna and Chittagong Divisions as their birthplaces. Fewer than 6% of respondents were born in either Rajshahi or Barisal. The three most common origin areas among male and female immigrants are Dhaka, Khulna, and Sylhet.   Non-immigrants may be non-immigrants in terms of international migration; however, many of them have moved from their original home districts and divisions (Table 7.3) because of education, employment, and marriage.

	Dhaka	Sylhet	Khulna	Chittagong	Rajshahi	Barisal
Non-Immigrants						
Males (n=31)	10	5	11	3	0	2
Female (n=31)	11	6	8	4	0	2
Total	33.9%	17.7%	14.5%	11.3%	0%	6.5%
Immigrants						
Male (n=60)	30	10	11	6	3	0
Female (n=60)	27	10	11	7	3	2
Total	47.5%	16.7%	18.3%	10.8%	5.0%	1.7%

Table 7.2: Birthplaces of respondents

Research Site	Birthplace						%Non-immigrants who have migrated within Bangladesh
	Dhaka	Khulna	Sylhet	Chittagong	Rajshahi	Barisal	
Dhaka	12	8	0	6	0	2	57.1%
Khulna	1	11	0	0	0	2	21.4%
Sylhet	8	0	11	1	0	0	45.0%
Queens	57	22	20	13	6	2	n.a.

Table 7.3: Within-Bangladesh migration of non-immigrants.

The educational and employment profiles of the two samples reflect the middle class origins of the respondents. Evidence for middle class designation comes from two sources. First, international migration from Bangladesh is very expensive and is rarely an option for the poor (Ahmed 1993; Mahmood 1994, 1995). Second, the Diversity Visa Program requires at least a high school diploma. Secondary school education is usually not possible for members of lower socioeconomic classes. Socioeconomic class can be assessed by indexes composed of variables such as dwelling type/size, material possessions, landholding size, occupation, education, and income. However, many of these measures are inappropriate for this research. For example, the use of material possessions to indicate socioeconomic status is unfeasible because pre-migration material possessions are unknown for respondents in the Queens sample. Additionally,

landholding size also does not work because most respondents in the Bangladesh sample are currently urban dwellers who rent their homes. Most immigrants were also of urban origin pre-migration. Another method for assessing socioeconomic status is respondent self-placement (Centers 1961, Jackson and Curtis 1968, Karim 1990). For this research, occupation, education, and self-placement were considered in the assessment of socioeconomic status.   Most immigrants were typically employed as civil servants, clerical workers, teachers, or small-scale businessmen before migration.   These occupations are considered middle-class in Bangladesh.   Most immigrants obtained at least some secondary school education in Bangladesh.   Furthermore, respondents in both samples identified themselves as members of the middle class.

The educational profiles of the two samples, as shown in Table 7.4, are very similar. Both samples are highly educated, reflecting the middle to upper-middle class status of the respondents. The high levels of education among the respondents in Queens are also partly due to the requirements of the Diversity Visa Program, which requires that applicants have at least a high school diploma. While I did not ask respondents in Queens specific questions about their visas and green cards, I learned through informal conversations that many of the respondents who were legal immigrants to the United States had participated in the Diversity Visa Program.

Few respondents were illiterate - 2 women in Queens and 1 woman and 2 men in Bangladesh. Only 5% immigrant and 6.5% of non-immigrant women received six or fewer years of primary education. Over one-third of women (both immigrant and non-immigrant) attended at least a few years of secondary school, while over half received at least some higher education. Non-immigrant women were more likely to end their education before receiving a college degree in order to get married. However, almost 10% of non-immigrant women completed their college education, an additional 9.7% attended some graduate school, and over 16% received a master's degree. One-third of immigrant women completed their college degree, while an additional 18.3% completed a master's degree.   Two-thirds of immigrant men and over 80% of non-immigrant men received at least some college education. Over 40% of immigrant men completed college, while an additional 16.7% completed a graduate degree. Over

35% of non-immigrant men completed college, while an additional 32.3% earned graduate degrees.

Education	Immigrants (N=120)				Non-immigrants (N=62)			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
None	0	0%	2	3.3%	2	6.5%	1	3.2%
1-3 years	0	0%	1	1.7%	0	0%	0	0%
4-6 years	1	1.7%	2	3.3%	0	0%	2	6.5%
7-12 years	19	31.7%	20	33.3%	3	9.7%	12	38.7%
Some college	3	5.0%	3	5.0%	5	16.1%	5	16.1%
Technical school	2	3.3%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
College degree	25	41.7%	20	33.3%	11	35.5%	3	9.7%
Some graduate education	0	0%	1	1.7%	0	0%	3	9.7%
Graduate degree	10	16.7%	11	18.3%	10	32.3%	5	16.1%
Other	0	0%	0	0%	1	0%	0	0%
Total	60	100%	60	100%	31	100%	31	100%

Table 7.4: Educational attainment of respondents

Table 7.5 presents an employment profile of non-immigrants and immigrants. Over one-quarter of non-immigrant males are shop owners, while only 13.3% of immigrant males own their own businesses. Almost 40% of non-immigrant males have professional jobs such as teachers, accountants, and managers, while only 5% of immigrant men have professional jobs. Most immigrant men are underemployed, working in low-status jobs. Reasons for their underemployment include poor English proficiency, illegal immigrant status, lack of adequate educational credentials from an accredited university, and absence of job connections and information about available jobs. Immigrant men are most commonly employed as store clerks (31.7%), which includes working as waiters, or as cab and limousine drivers (36.7%). None of the non-immigrant males holds these positions in Bangladesh. In both communities, most women are unemployed. In Bangladesh, most women who work are teachers. In

New York, employed immigrant women tend to work mostly in factories or as store clerks.

Before their migration to the U.S., almost 50% of the immigrant men held professional positions in Bangladesh, while an additional 13.3% were shop owners and an additional 10% were clerical workers. One-fifth of the men were not employed prior to their international migration because they were students. Two-thirds of the immigrant women were not employed in Bangladesh prior to their migration. One-quarter of the immigrant women, however, held professional positions as teachers in Bangladesh.

Work Type	Immigrants (N=120) Pre-Migration		Immigrants (N=120) Post-Migration		Non-immigrants (N=62)	
	Males (N=60)	Females (N=60)	Males (N=60)	Females (N=60)	Males (N=31)	Females (N=31)
Shop Owner	13.3%	0.0%	13.3%	6.7%	25.8%	0%
Professional	48.3%	25.0%	5.0%	1.7%	38.7%	9.7%
Clerical	10.0%	0.0%	1.7%	1.7%	0%	3.2%
Store Clerk/ Waiter	3.3%	3.3%	31.7%	11.7%	0%	0%
Factory Work	1.7%	5.0%	1.7%	8.3%	0%	0%
Bus boy/ Kitchen staff	0.0%	0.0%	5.0%	1.7%	0%	0%
Cab/Limo Driver	0.0%	0.0%	36.7%	0%	0%	0%
Farm Labor	1.7%	0.0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Other	1.7%	0.0%	1.7%	3.3%	22.6%	3.2%
Unemployed	20.0%	66.7%	3.3%	65.0%	0%	83.9%

Table 7.5: Work types of respondents

The majority of Bangladeshi women in both the Queens sample and the origin areas sample do not work outside the home (Table 7.6). Most women (61.5% of immigrant women and 50% of non-immigrant women) do not work because they have small children. However, roughly 18% of immigrant women and 23% of non-immigrant women

are currently looking for work. For Bangladeshi women in Queens, this is particularly difficult because there is fierce competition between immigrant groups for low skill jobs. Also, many of the Bangladeshi women have very poor English language skills, further decreasing their chances for finding employment. In Bangladesh, there is a scarcity of positions for educated people, both men and women.   Almost 20% of the Bangladeshi women interviewed in the origin areas do not want to work outside the home.

	Unemployed Immigrants (N=41)		Unemployed Non-immigrants (N=26)	
Reasons for Unemployment	Males (N=2)	Females (N=39)	Males (N=0)	Females (N=26)
Student	0%	5.1%	0%	0%
Looking for work	0%	18.0%	0%	23.1%
Homemaker / Children at home	0%	61.5%	0%	50.0%
Do not want to work	0%	5.1%	0%	19.2%
Other	100%	10.3%	0%	7.7%

Table 7.6: Reasons for unemployment given by respondents

Family Sketches

This section presents descriptions of four families who participated in this research. All four of these families currently live in Queens and represent typical experiences of the families with whom I spoke. I have not included descriptions of families in Bangladesh since I spent such short periods with the families there.

Sarwar Rahman and Zakia Begum

Mr. Rahman, age 41, is a co-owner and manager of a small Bangladeshi market. He is very well known and well liked in the Bangladeshi community, especially in the neighborhood surrounding his store. Bangladeshi men congregate in his store after work to discuss politics (especially those in Bangladesh), to read Bangladeshi and Bengali-language newspapers, and to exchange advice. Mr. Rahman has lived in the United States for 12 years. As a young man, he became an actor and musician, after completing his bachelor's degree. He married a young distantly related cousin against the wishes of their families. Soon after the marriage, his wife gave birth to a daughter. Restless, he decided to travel around the world. He found short-term employment along the way. He spent six months in the United Kingdom, before deciding to travel to the United States. He entered the United States on a tourist visa. He participated in a number of failed business ventures before investing in the grocery store where he now works. Almost three years after he arrived in the United States, Mr. Rahman sent for his wife and daughter. They too entered the United States on tourist visas.

His wife Zakia is 31 years old. She was not able to complete Intermediate school because she got married when she was 16. She became a housewife after her marriage and had a child before she was eighteen. She remained in Bangladesh while Mr. Rahman traveled throughout Europe and the United States. She came to the U.S. with her young daughter in 1987. She has not worked outside the home since arriving in the United States, deciding instead to stay home with her daughter and her son, who was born in 1995.

Once his family arrived in the United States, Mr. Rahman became disenchanted with the relaxed morals he witnessed among Americans and other individuals. He became more interested in Islam, studying the Koran and adopting many traditionally Islamic behaviors. He has insisted that his wife and daughter also adopt an Islamic way of life. Both of them have begun to wear headscarves when out in public and more modest clothing. His daughter, who is now thirteen, is forbidden to speak with boys in her classes and must wear a head scarf over her hair and a vest over her *salwar kameez* at school and in public. They have applied for various amnesty programs for illegal immigrants administered by the Immigration and Naturalization Service with no

success. Now that their tourist visas have expired, they are unable to visit their families in Bangladesh for fear of being unable to reenter the United States.

Mohammed Hossain and Zahura Ahmed

Mohammed and Zahura have been married for one and a half years. Mohammed, age 30, was a successful physician in Bangladesh. He came to the United States on a medical fellowship in cardiac surgery almost four years ago. Last year, he returned to Bangladesh to find a wife and to get married. Zahura, age 26, taught biology in a college in Jessore, Bangladesh. She has a master's degree in Botany. She did not want to get married. Her family arranged the marriage with Mohammed without her knowledge or consent. They requested that she visit her parents' home for a family gathering. Before the weekend was over, she was married. Mohammed returned to the United States within a few weeks after the wedding, and within a few months, Zahura joined him. She became pregnant immediately. In addition to his medical fellowship, Mohammed also worked part-time in a candy store, while also studying for his U.S. medical licensing exam. Zahura took a part-time job as a companion to an elderly Indian woman. Six months after their daughter was born, Mohammed was in a serious car accident, in which his right hand was severely injured. This accident has severely compromised his surgical future. When he was unable to work for several months, Zahura began working full-time in a large supermarket in order to supplement the household income and to help pay Mohammed's medical bills.

Khadija and Mohammed Azad Islam

Mr. Islam, age 48, and his family came to the United States in 1992. Khadija's elder brother sponsored them under a family preference visa. They have seven children ranging in age from a one year old son up to a twenty-five year old son. All their children live with them in their two-bedroom apartment in Astoria, except their eighteen year old daughter who lives with her husband nearby. Also living with them are their fifteen year old daughter's twin infant sons. She was married last year during a visit to Bangladesh. Her husband is waiting for a visa so that he may join her in the United States.

Khadija, age 42, is illiterate and has never attended school. She married her husband when she was approximately 10 years old. She currently stays at home with her one year old son, her eleven year old daughter, and her two month old grandsons. Mr. Islam was educated through primary school. After spending many years as a farmer in Sylhet, he migrated to Saudi Arabia and spent 9 years working there while his family remained in Sylhet. He currently works over 70 hours per week as a butcher in a *halal* meat market (a market selling food products acceptable under Islam and meat from animals slaughtered according to Islamic rules). He brings home approximately $150 per week, substantially less than the U.S. minimum wage. His three elder sons (ages 21, 23, and 25) work in local restaurants in order to contribute to the family budget. The fifteen-year-old daughter also works part-time, selling AT&T calling plans in a major South Asian shopping district in Queens.

The twins are in very poor health due to their premature births. A health worker visits the family daily to monitor their health and to assist in feeding them. Additionally, a social worker visits weekly.

Monirul Chowdhury and Sufia Akter
Monirul, age 39, and Sufia, age 36, immigrated to the United States from Rajshahi after receiving an OP-1 visa, the predecessor to the current Diversity Program visa, just eight days after they were married. In Bangladesh, Monirul owned a successful construction business and was quite wealthy. Sufia was a social worker. They got married eight years ago in an arranged marriage. A mutual friend approached Monirul with a proposal from Sufia's parents. Sufia had no choice in the matter. Her father wanted her to marry an educated person, while her mother wanted her husband to be financially stable. Monirul filled both requirements.

Monirul had applied for an OP-1 visa on a whim. He did not actually want to immigrate to the United States. However, when he received the visa, he decided that he should at least come to the U.S. to experience American culture and to try to start a business here. Sufia never expected to come to the United States. She came only because of her new marital situation.

After arriving in the United States, Sufia began graduate school and completed a master's degree in sociology. She had hoped to find

employment here as a social worker; however, she has not worked outside the home since the birth of her daughter. Monirul is a taxi driver. He is frustrated that he is confined to doing odd jobs, and is saving money so that he can acquire technical education and start his own business here. They remain in the United States, despite their unhappiness, so that their daughter can attend school here.

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Gender Role Attitudes

ETHNOGRAPHIC OBSERVATIONS OF GENDER ROLE ATTITUDES

The traditional Bangladeshi gender ideology has been transformed among Bangladeshi immigrants in Queens and Bangladeshi non-immigrants in Bangladesh. However, *purdah* still thoroughly imbues relationships between men and women, whatever the degree to which it is practiced. During my ten months in Queens and my five months in Bangladesh, I observed the interactions between men and women and their behavior. Additionally, my own behavior was affected by the attitudes of my respondents regarding how a woman should dress, how she should behave, and what her role should be.

When I was planning my trip to Bangladesh, a Bangladeshi friend suggested that I ask my father to accompany me. When I asked why, my friend said that it would make my life easier: people would be able to identify me as someone's daughter and, having met my father, would be able to determine the type of family to which I belonged. I invited my father to join me for my first two weeks in Bangladesh. On our first full day in Bangladesh, my father and I decided to walk around the area surrounding the guesthouse where we were staying. As *bideshis*

(foreigners), we were quickly surrounded by a group of male students from a nearby university. They asked my father, in English, why we were in Bangladesh. He explained that I was conducting research for my Ph.D. They asked him further questions about my research, and he attempted to deflect the questions to me. However, as I answered their questions, they continued to direct new questions to my father. Speaking directly to me in the presence of my father was simply not appropriate. This type of interaction occurred repeatedly during my father's stay with me in Bangladesh. My father, feeling overwhelmed, soon learned that the best response was, "Talk with my daughter. She speaks Bangla." His permission allowed these young men to speak directly with me.

In my father's absence, speaking with men I had not met before often remained difficult. At the beginning of the fieldwork, Liton, who worked with me in Queens, and Moruph, who worked with me in Bangladesh, often excluded me from conversations with male respondents. Early on, they both also tried to make decisions for me before presenting me with any options, such as where to go to find families, what questions to ask, and when to end an interview. Many of the male respondents initially preferred to speak to my male research assistants. They all had assumed that I would be uncomfortable speaking directly to unfamiliar men. However, in order to get the data I wanted, I needed to participate in the conversations. I worked with my research assistants to convince the respondents that I was the interviewer, and that the research assistant was only present to read the survey questions and to act as translator when needed.

Islam dictates modest dress for both men and women, but the restrictions of *purdah* place added emphasis on the modesty of women. Women in Bangladesh typically wear *salwar kameez*, long tunics over baggy trousers, though women in rural areas and older women tend to wear *saris*. In Queens, Bangladeshi women still wear *salwar kameez*; however, women who work outside the home or who attend school often wear western clothes, such as loose fitting dresses or slacks. Cold or snowy weather also influences a woman's decision to wear western clothes rather than more traditional garments. Bangladeshi women in Queens rarely wear *burkas* or headscarves. However, on Friday during the noon prayer call, as men walk to the storefront mosques to perform

namaj, women often don headscarves. My research assistant Shamima would often wear a vest over her dress or *salwar kameez* on Fridays.

Based on the type of clothing I observed Bangladeshi women wearing, I carefully chose my own attire while conducting fieldwork in Queens. I usually wore long skirts and loose blouses to interviews. Since I lived in the community and often saw people I had interviewed, I also paid attention to my attire when not at work, taking care not to wear shorts or sleeveless shirts outside of my apartment.   In Bangladesh, I wore *salwar kameez* exclusively. Bangladeshis in both research settings often commented on my clothing. They were pleased by my modest dress and felt that I had made an attempt to understand their lifestyle.

Respondents in both communities stressed the importance of being a wife and mother. Couples quizzed me on my marital status, my religious affiliation, and my opinions on premarital sex and U.S. divorce rates before they would respond to any of my questions. They lamented my unmarried, childless state, though they were delighted to learn that I planned to marry my Indian boyfriend after completing my research.

A number of the Bangladeshi women I spoke with in both research settings expressed a desire to work outside the home. However, for many of them, the decision to look for a job and to accept a job greatly depended upon the approval of their husbands. Even my female research assistants Shamima, who worked with me in Queens, and Tanu, who worked with me in Bangladesh, required permission from their husbands. Shamima's husband suggested that she work with me after speaking to the shopkeeper who had recommended her to me. Tanu's husband allowed Tanu to move to Dhaka to live and work with me in Bangladesh because I was a close friend to her sister and brother-in-law. However, he would not allow Tanu to travel to Jessore for data collection because he did not feel that Jessore would be safe for Tanu, her daughter, and me to stay for a few weeks. Later, when Tanu wanted to return to Mymensingh rather than accompanying Moruph and me to Khulna and Sylhet for data collection, her husband prohibited her from returning home until we had completed data collection in Khulna. He would often visit us in Dhaka and would ask me for updates on Tanu's work. If he felt that Tanu was not working as hard as she should have been, he would talk to her and give her

suggestions on how she could improve her performance. He assigned Moruph with this task in his absence. Moruph, though younger than Tanu, often behaved like her older brother. He would carefully explain her job assignments to her and gently reprimand her if she failed to follow these assignments.

ANALYSIS OF GENDER ROLE ATTITUDES DATA

Gender role attitudes were measured by a twenty-question scale (Cronbach's alpha=0.743). Table 8.1 lists the statements that comprise this scale. Attitudes were measured by summated scales with five point Likert type items, with values of 1 (strongly agree), 2 (agree), 3 (somewhat agree), 4 (disagree), and 5 (strongly disagree). This scale was used to capture both current and retrospective gender role attitudes and was administered to respondents twice during the interview, once regarding their current gender role attitudes and once regarding their gender role attitudes at some defined point in the past. The use of retrospective and current data permits the assessment of whether the migration process is selective and whether the gender role experiences of immigrants and non-immigrants have changed over time. Note that Table 8.1 shows reversed wording for items *contribute*, *equal*, *expertise*, *housework*, and *financial* for easier interpretation of the results.

Variable	Attitudinal Statement
Responsibility	Men have the primary responsibility for supporting the family financially.
Contribute	Women should not contribute to the family budget by seeking outside employment.
Equal	There should not be an equal division of labor between husbands and wives with regard to household chores.
Domestic	Women have the primary responsibility for domestic chores.
Important	A woman's most important task in life should be taking care of her children.
Discipline	It is the wife's job to discipline the children.
Suffer	Children suffer if their mother works.
Defer	A wife should defer to her husband's judgment.
Home	A woman's place is in the home.
Money	If a woman with children works, it should only be if her family needs money.
Expertise	Division of labor within the household should not depend upon an individual's area of expertise.
Inconvenience	A wife should give up her job if it inconveniences her husband or children.
Incomplete	A marriage is incomplete without children.
Protection	Women require the protection of men.
Bother	Children should not be permitted to bother men.
Housework	If a wife makes more money than her husband, he should not take over the housework.
Inside/outside	Inside work is the work of women, while outside work is the work of men.
Financial	Women are not capable of making financial decisions without consulting their husbands.
Interaction	Women should not be allowed to interact socially with unrelated men.
Freedom	A young girl should not be permitted as much freedom or independence as a young boy of the same age.

Table 8.1: Statements included in Gender Role Attitude Scale.

Tables 8.2-8.5 show the distribution of responses to the gender role attitude questionnaire by sex and migration status. Both current and retrospective data are shown in the tables.

For the current attitudinal data, all four subgroups of respondents tend to respond in similar ways. For the most part, they strongly agreed or agreed with the statements regarding the financial responsibilities of men (*responsibility*), the childrearing responsibilities of women (*important*), the required deference of women to men (*defer*), and the need for the protection of women by men (*protection*). Additionally, most respondents agreed with two statements regarding female employment: a woman should work only if the family needs money (*money*) and if her employment does not inconvenience her family (*inconvenience*). Respondents in both locations also agreed with the concept that a marriage is incomplete without children (*incomplete*). They disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statements regarding women's contributions to the family budget (*contribute*), the equal division of labor in the household (*equal*), and the division of labor based on expertise (*expertise*). Respondents also disagreed with the concept that a woman's place is in the home (*home*). Overall, patterns for other statements are not as clear.

Women tend to agree or strongly agree with the idea that children should not be permitted to bother men (*bother*), while men tend to disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. Most men enjoyed the company of their children and did not consider their presence bothersome. Women, on the other hand, tried to keep children quiet when their husbands were home in order to allow them time to rest after work. While non-immigrant women tend to agree or strongly agree with the statement regarding a woman's responsibility for domestic chores (*domestic*), the responses for immigrant women, immigrant men, and non-immigrant men are more evenly distributed across all five categories.

While women tend to agree or strongly agree with the statement concerning a wife's responsibility for disciplining her children (*discipline*), the middle category (somewhat agree) is the single largest response category for non-immigrant men. The percentage of responses in the agree and strongly agree categories roughly equal the percentage of responses in the disagree and strongly disagree categories for immigrant men. The range of responses for this item may reflect

the respondents' different interpretations of the word discipline. Some may have interpreted it to mean verbal reprimands, while others may have interpreted it to mean more physical punishments.

Immigrant men, immigrant women, and non-immigrant men tend to agree or strongly agree with the belief that children suffer if their mothers work (*suffer*), while the responses of non-immigrant women are evenly distributed across the five possible response categories. The presence or absence of extended family may explain the differences in responses between immigrants and non-immigrant women. Immigrants must often rely on unrelated individuals for childcare if both parents work, while non-immigrant women often have servants or kin available for childcare. From interviews conducted with the respondents, I learned that many Bangladeshis have a very negative opinion of day care facilities and the use of babysitters. They express an overwhelming preference for relatives to watch their children if the parents are unavailable.

Non-immigrant women and all men tend to agree or strongly agree with the belief that men are exempt from household chores even if their wives work (*housework*), while the pattern for immigrant women is unclear. The proportion of immigrant women agreeing with the *housework* statement is roughly equal to the proportion disagreeing with the statement. However, the somewhat agree category is the single largest response category.

Immigrants tend to disagree or strongly disagree with the concept that inside work is the work of women and outside work is the work of men (*inside/outside*), while the responses for non-immigrants are evenly distributed between agreement and disagreement categories. For non-immigrant women, the single largest response category is the middle category, somewhat agree. The differences between the social environment in Queens and that in Bangladesh may explain the variation in responses. The social environment in Bangladesh, according to immigrants in Queens, is often unsafe for women, while the social environment in Queens was often described as secure.

Non-immigrant women agree or strongly agree with the concept that women are not capable of making financial decisions without consulting their husbands (*financial*), while immigrant men tend to disagree or strongly disagree. The responses of immigrant women are evenly distributed across response categories. Many non-immigrant

women mentioned that they had no experience making financial decisions on their own. Conversely, immigrant men often commented that their wives had learned how to manage money since arriving in the U.S. Immigrant women often commented that they could spend small amounts of money without consulting their husbands, but large purchases required approval from their husbands.

Non-immigrant women, immigrant women and immigrant men agree or strongly agree with the concept of limiting the social interactions of women and young girls (*interaction*) and (*freedom*). For non-immigrant men, responses are evenly distributed across agreement and disagreement categories. Both of these items reflect the practice of *purdah*, which restricts the mobility of women and their interaction with unrelated men. Most respondents, especially immigrants, believed that it was usually acceptable for a woman to speak with a man who was not related. However, the item *interaction* specifically stated "interact socially" which implies more than casual conversation. Interaction to that extent was not considered acceptable by most of the respondents. Additionally, most respondents felt that as girls approach adolescence, their mobility and independence should be curtailed to protect their honor and their reputation. The responses of non-immigrant men to both items are more difficult to interpret and may reflect their interpretations of the phrase "interact socially" and their definition of the word "young."

For the retrospective attitudinal data, all four subgroups agree or strongly agree with the items *responsibility*, *important*, *defer*, *money*, *inconvenience*, *protection*, *housework*, *financial*, and *freedom*. They tend to disagree or strongly disagree with *contribute*, *equal*, *home*, and *expertise*.

Variable Name		Likert Scale Value (Percent of responses in each category)				
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Responsibility		64.5	22.5	12.9		
Contribute			3.2	6.5	71.0	19.4
Equal			6.5	9.7	41.9	41.9
Domestic		22.6	32.3	16.1	22.6	6.5
Important		48.4	22.6	19.4	6.5	3.2
Discipline		22.6	29.0	25.8	12.9	9.7
Suffer		22.6	19.4	19.4	12.9	25.8
Defer		25.8	32.3	22.6	9.7	9.7
Home		3.2	16.1	12.9	29.0	38.7
Money		32.3	32.3	16.1	12.9	6.7
Expertise			6.5	6.5	54.8	32.3
Inconvenience		35.5	19.4	22.6	16.1	6.5
Incomplete		51.6	22.6	12.9	6.5	6.5
Protection		51.6	45.2		3.2	
Bother		22.6	29.0	19.4	29.0	
Housework		12.9	32.3	22.6	16.1	16.1
Inside/outside		16.1	19.4	25.8	16.1	22.6
Financial		19.6	48.4	19.4	12.9	
Interaction		19.6	35.5	19.4	9.7	16.1
Freedom		19.6	38.7	19.4	16.1	6.5
	N	Mean	St Dev	SE Mean	Min	Max
Current	31	54.42	9.66	1.74	36.00	76.00

Table 8.2a: Response distribution of current gender role attitudes for non-immigrant women

Variable Name	Likert Scale Value				
	(Percent of responses in each category)				
	Strongly Agree	**Agree**	**Somewhat Agree**	**Disagree**	**Strongly Disagree**
Responsibility	51.6	32.3	16.1		
Contribute		3.2	6.5	54.8	35.5
Equal	3.2	3.2	12.9	35.5	45.2
Domestic	9.7	22.6	32.3	19.4	16.1
Important	35.5	22.6	22.6	12.9	6.5
Discipline	12.9	22.6	35.5	16.1	12.9
Suffer	22.6	16.1	29.0	25.9	6.5
Defer	19.4	29.0	16.1	22.6	12.9
Home	9.7	16.1	6.5	38.7	29.0
Money	25.8	25.8	22.6	19.4	6.5
Expertise	3.2	3.2	16.1	38.7	38.7
Inconvenience	22.6	29.0	6.5	25.8	16.1
Incomplete	25.8	38.7	12.9	16.1	6.5
Protection	22.6	51.6	16.1	6.5	3.2
Bother	12.9	25.8	22.6	35.5	3.2
Housework	6.5	48.4	22.6	12.9	9.7
Inside/outside	16.1	32.3	12.9	12.9	25.8
Financial	19.4	45.2	19.4	12.9	3.2
Interaction	19.4	41.9	9.7	9.7	19.4
Freedom	22.6	35.5	12.9	9.7	19.4
	N	Mean	St Dev	SE Mean	Min	Max
Retrospective	31	57.90	10.01	1.80	34.00	78.00

Table 8.2b: Response distribution of retrospective gender role attitudes for non-immigrant women

Variable Name		**Likert Scale Value** (Percent of responses in each category)				
		Strongly Agree	**Agree**	**Somewhat Agree**	**Disagree**	**Strongly Disagree**
Responsibility		64.5	19.4	9.7	3.2	3.2
Contribute			3.2	25.8	45.2	25.8
Equal		3.2	6.5	9.7	41.9	38.7
Domestic		19.4	22.6	25.8	29.0	3.2
Important		54.8	25.8	6.5	12.9	
Discipline			16.1	35.5	29.0	19.4
Suffer		6.5	35.5	29.0	16.1	12.9
Defer		35.5	12.9	16.1	32.3	3.2
Home		6.5	9.7	25.8	48.4	9.7
Money		41.9	35.5		22.6	
Expertise					51.6	48.4
Inconvenience		32.3	22.6	19.4	19.4	6.5
Incomplete		54.8	19.4	9.4	12.9	3.2
Protection		61.3	32.3	3.2	3.2	
Bother		6.5	19.4	6.5	51.6	16.1
Housework		25.8	41.9	16.1	9.7	6.5
Inside/outside		25.8	16.1	16.1	38.7	3.2
Financial		32.3	32.3	16.1	6.5	12.9
Interaction		25.8	19.4	12.9	32.3	9.7
Freedom		22.6	25.8	9.7	29.0	12.9
	N	Mean	St Dev	SE Mean	Min	Max
Current	31	55.52	9.88	1.77	42.00	83.00

Table 8.3a: Response distribution of current gender role attitudes for non-immigrant men

Variable Name	Likert Scale Value (Percent of responses in each category)				
	Strongly Agree	**Agree**	**Somewhat Agree**	**Disagree**	**Strongly Disagree**
Responsibility	67.7	16.1	12.9	3.2	
Contribute		16.1	19.4	38.7	25.8
Equal	3.2		16.1	51.6	29.0
Domestic	22.6	22.6	19.4	25.8	9.7
Important	32.3	29.0	25.8	9.7	3.2
Discipline	3.2	16.1	25.8	38.7	16.1
Suffer	9.7	38.7	22.6	25.8	3.2
Defer	35.5	16.1	3.2	35.5	9.7
Home	9.7	22.6	12.9	41.9	12.9
Money	19.4	38.7	22.6	16.1	3.2
Expertise			3.2	54.8	41.9
Inconvenience	22.6	35.5	16.1	22.6	3.2
Incomplete	51.6	16.1	16.1	9.7	6.5
Protection	54.8	29.0	3.2	9.7	3.2
Bother	3.2	6.5	25.8	38.7	25.8
Housework	35.5	35.5	19.4	6.5	3.2
Inside/outside	16.1	32.3	12.9	32.3	6.5
Financial	22.6	54.8	3.2	9.7	9.7
Interaction	9.7	29.0	9.7	35.5	16.1
Freedom	22.6	19.4	9.7	19.4	29.0
	N	Mean	St Dev	SE Mean	Min	Max
Retrospective	31	56.84	10.96	1.97	43.00	82.00

Table 8.3b: Response distribution of retrospective gender role attitudes for non-immigrant men

Variable Name	Likert Scale Value (Percent of responses in each category)				
	Strongly Agree	**Agree**	**Somewhat Agree**	**Disagree**	**Strongly Disagree**
Responsibility	48.3	28.3	16.7	5.0	1.7
Contribute	5.0	5.0	11.7	33.3	45.0
Equal		5.0	16.7	31.7	46.7
Domestic	28.3	10.0	20.0	21.7	20.0
Important	70.0	23.3	5.0	1.7	
Discipline	28.3	18.3	25.0	18.3	10.0
Suffer	35.0	30.0	23.3	8.3	3.3
Defer	18.3	25.0	28.3	13.3	15.0
Home	3.3	10.0	13.3	43.3	30.0
Money	35.0	35.0	18.3	8.3	3.3
Expertise	1.7	5.0	5.0	36.7	51.7
Inconvenience	40.0	33.3	21.7	5.0	
Incomplete	61.7	25.0	5.0	8.3	
Protection	48.3	28.3	13.3	8.3	1.7
Bother	18.3	28.3	20.0	18.3	15.0
Housework	21.7	23.3	30.0	13.3	11.7
Inside/outside	13.3	13.3	11.7	36.7	25.0
Financial	16.7	26.7	23.3	20.0	13.3
Interaction	31.7	25.0	11.7	26.7	5.0
Freedom	38.3	25.0	10.0	18.3	8.3
	N	Mean	St Dev	SE Mean	Min	Max
Current	60	54.40	8.63	1.11	39.00	72.00

Table 8.4a: Response distribution of current gender role attitudes for immigrant women

Variable Name	Likert Scale Value (Percent of responses in each category)				
	Strongly Agree	**Agree**	**Somewhat Agree**	**Disagree**	**Strongly Disagree**
Responsibility	60.0	23.3	5.0	5.0	6.7
Contribute	5.0	5.0	8.3	40.0	41.7
Equal	5.0	13.3	15.0	35.0	31.7
Domestic	15.0	40.0	11.7	20.0	13.3
Important	51.7	33.3	5.0	5.0	5.0
Discipline	25.0	30.0	18.3	18.3	8.3
Suffer	36.7	26.7	13.3	20.0	3.3
Defer	21.7	31.7	18.3	15.0	13.3
Home	13.3	10.0	16.7	40.0	20.0
Money	40.0	28.3	16.7	15.0	
Expertise		6.7		45.0	48.3
Inconvenience	43.3	33.3	10.0	11.7	1.7
Incomplete	58.3	28.3	5.0	5.0	3.3
Protection	56.7	31.7	6.7	3.3	1.7
Bother	18.3	31.7	20.0	20.0	10.0
Housework	18.3	36.7	20.0	16.7	8.3
Inside/outside	23.3	20.0	18.3	23.3	15.0
Financial	15.0	40.0	18.3	18.3	8.3
Interaction	36.7	33.3	8.3	15.0	6.7
Freedom	33.3	33.3	6.7	8.3	8.3
	N	Mean	St Dev	SE Mean	Min	Max
Retrospective	60	52.10	9.88	1.28	38.00	88.00

Table 8.4b: Response distribution of retrospective gender role attitudes for immigrant women

Variable Name		Likert Scale Value (Percent of responses in each category)				
		Strongly Agree	**Agree**	**Somewhat Agree**	**Disagree**	**Strongly Disagree**
Responsibility		65.0	25.0	5.0	3.3	1.7
Contribute		3.3	5.0	30.0	38.3	23.3
Equal		3.3	5.0	15.0	28.3	48.3
Domestic		13.3	25.0	18.3	21.7	21.7
Important		58.3	18.3	10.0	6.7	6.7
Discipline		26.7	15.0	16.7	25.0	16.7
Suffer		30.0	33.3	16.7	8.3	11.7
Defer		25.0	18.3	23.3	20.0	13.3
Home		11.7	8.3	11.7	46.7	21.7
Money		28.3	41.7	11.7	13.3	5.0
Expertise		3.3	1.7	8.3	31.7	55.0
Inconvenience		51.7	21.7	11.7	8.3	6.7
Incomplete		55.0	20.0	10.0	10.0	5.0
Protection		55.0	30.0	5.0	5.0	5.0
Bother		16.7	15.0	16.7	40.0	11.7
Housework		36.7	28.3	13.3	15.0	6.7
Inside/outside		15.0	13.3	11.7	41.7	18.3
Financial		21.7	16.7	11.7	31.7	18.3
Interaction		36.7	18.3	16.7	21.7	6.7
Freedom		23.3	33.3	10.0	18.3	15.0
	N	Mean	St Dev	SE Mean	Min	Max
Retrospective	60	55.18	11.39	1.47	29.00	89.00

Table 8.5a: Response distribution of current gender role attitudes for immigrant men

Variable Name		Likert Scale Value				
		(Percent of responses in each category)				
		Strongly Agree	**Agree**	**Somewhat Agree**	**Disagree**	**Strongly Disagree**
Responsibility		72.9	20.3	3.4	1.7	1.7
Contribute		10.2	17.0	15.3	37.3	20.3
Equal		5.1	20.3	18.6	27.1	28.8
Domestic		44.1	18.6	6.8	23.7	6.8
Important		55.9	35.6	1.7	5.1	1.7
Discipline		27.1	18.6	20.3	25.4	8.5
Suffer		39.0	28.8	18.6	8.5	5.0
Defer		30.5	23.7	13.6	15.3	17.0
Home		23.7	17.0	15.3	23.7	20.3
Money		35.6	37.3	15.3	8.5	3.4
Expertise		1.7	8.5	3.4	30.5	55.9
Inconvenience		55.9	28.8	10.2	1.7	3.4
Incomplete		55.9	20.3	6.8	13.6	3.4
Protection		59.3	33.9	3.4	3.4	
Bother		11.9	37.3	18.6	18.6	13.6
Housework		28.8	32.2	11.9	22.0	5.1
Inside/outside		28.8	30.5	11.9	18.6	10.2
Financial		25.4	28.8	11.9	18.6	15.3
Interaction		45.8	25.4	6.8	13.6	8.5
Freedom		45.8	32.2	1.7	11.9	8.5
	N	Mean	St Dev	SE Mean	Min	Max
Retrospective	59	48.81	10.77	1.40	22.00	73.00

Table 8.5b: Response distribution of retrospective gender role attitudes for immigrant men

With respect to the individual attitudes on the scale, an analysis was conducted in order to see how closely the distributions of responses for each attitude matched for husbands and wives and for immigrants and non-immigrants. Following Janeen Baxter in <u>Work at Home</u>, an index of dissimilarity was created by "summing the differences between the two distributions and taking an average score" (Baxter 1993: 69).

Index of dissimilarity	Couples in Queens	Couples in Bangladesh	Husbands in both sites	Wives in both sites
Responsibility	16.67	6.45	6.24	16.18
Contribute	23.33	24.19	11.67	37.63
Equal	5.00	3.23	15.05	11.72
Domestic	16.67	16.13	20.86	23.17
Important	16.67	16.13	13.71	22.37
Discipline	13.33	35.48	26.67	11.51
Suffer	11.67	29.03	23.55	27.04
Defer	13.33	32.26	22.74	14.73
Home	11.67	35.48	17.20	14.84
Money	13.33	22.58	22.85	7.69
Expertise	8.33	16.13	19.95	21.08
Inconvenience	21.67	6.45	19.62	18.49
Incomplete	11.67	9.68	2.90	14.35
Protection	11.67	12.90	8.55	20.11
Bother	21.67	38.71	20.43	15.65
Housework	21.67	22.58	16.40	16.18
Inside/outside	6.67	32.26	18.06	22.96
Financial	21.67	25.81	30.65	24.41
Interaction	11.67	29.03	14.62	29.30
Freedom	15.00	22.58	10.70	23.06
Average Index of Dissimilarity	14.67	21.85	17.12	19.62

Table 8.6: Index of Dissimilarity for current gender role attitudes

The index, as shown in Table 8.6, reveals that on average, for immigrant Bangladeshis, 14.67% of the responses would have to change in order for the distribution of the husbands' responses to be equal to the distribution of the wives' responses. This index had a range in values of 5% up to 23.33%, with three items having an index below 10% and five having an index above 20%. The distributions of responses for items *equal*, *expertise*, and *inside/outside* are very similar for immigrant husbands and wives. Their distribution of responses for *contribute*, *inconvenience*, *bother*, *housework*, and *financial* were very different.

For non-immigrant couples, an average of 21.85% of the responses would have to change in order for the two distributions to be equal. These indices of dissimilarity ranged from 3.23 to 38.71, with two indices under 10% and twelve indices above 20%, with five of those above 30%. The distributions of responses by non-immigrant couples were most similar for *responsibility*, *equal*, and *inconvenience*. The distributions were most dissimilar for *discipline*, *suffer*, *defer*, *money*, and *financial*.

The distribution of responses of immigrant Bangladeshi husbands and non-immigrant Bangladeshi husbands were also compared. The average index of dissimilarity is 17.12, indicating that almost 1 in 6 responses would have to change in order for these two distributions to be identical. Indices ranged from 2.90 to 30.65. The distributions of husbands' responses were most similar for *incomplete*, *responsibility*, and *protection*, while they were most dissimilar for *discipline*, *suffer*, *defer*, *money*, and *financial*.

A final comparison of the distribution of responses between immigrant Bangladeshi wives and non-immigrant Bangladeshi wives was conducted. An average of 19.62% of the responses would have to change in order for the overall distribution of responses to be identical, with a range from 7.69% to 37.63%. The distribution of responses for wives was most similar for *money*, and most dissimilar for *contribute*, *suffer*, and *interaction*.

Tables 8.7a and 8.7b present t-tests of the differences in gender role attitude scores between men and women, immigrants and non-immigrants. The current gender role attitude scores between immigrants and non-immigrants (whether male, female, or taken as a whole) are not significantly different. However, differences between

the retrospective gender role scores of all immigrants versus all non-immigrants, male immigrants versus male non-immigrants, and female immigrants versus female non-immigrants are significant. Also, gender role attitudes have changed significantly over time for male and female immigrants, as well as for male non-immigrants. Female immigrants have experienced a significant change in gender role attitudes over time at the 0.10 level, while immigrant and non-immigrant men experienced a significant change in gender role attitudes at the 0.05 level. These differences can be explained perhaps by differences in recall ability, by actual differences in the past, or perhaps by differing perceptions of the past. This possibility will be discussed further in the conclusions.

Comparison	t	p		d.f.
Paired t-tests				
Current GRA score between immigrants (mean=54.79) and non-immigrants (mean=54.97)	-0.11	0.91		180
Current GRA score between male immigrants (mean=55.18) and male non-immigrants (mean=55.52)	-0.14	0.89		89
Current GRA score between female immigrants (mean=54.40) and female non-immigrants (mean=54.42)	-0.01	0.99		89
Retrospective GRA score between immigrants (mean=50.47) and non-immigrants (mean=57.37)	-4.23	0.00	*	179
Retrospective GRA score between male immigrants (mean=48.81) and male non-immigrants (mean=56.84)	3.34	0.0012	*	88
Retrospective GRA score between female immigrants (mean=52.10) and female non-immigrants (mean=57.90)	2.64	0.0097	*	89
*p≤0.05; **p≤0.10				

Table 8.7a: Paired t-tests of retrospective vs. current gender role attitudes

Comparison	t	p		d.f.
Pooled t-tests				
Between Current GRA (mean=54.79) and Retrospective GRA for immigrants (mean=50.47)	3.26	0.001	*	237
Between Current GRA (mean=54.97) and Retrospective GRA for non-immigrants (mean=57.37)	-1.33	0.19		122
Between Current GRA (mean=55.52) and Retrospective GRA (mean=56.84) for non-immigrant males	-2.34	0.026	*	
Between Current GRA (mean=54.42) and Retrospective GRA (mean=57.90) for non-immigrant females	-1.49	0.15		
Between Current GRA (mean=55.18) and Retrospective GRA (mean=48.81) for immigrant males	4.60	0.000	*	
Between Current GRA (mean=54.40) and Retrospective GRA (mean=52.10) for immigrant female	1.75	0.085	**	
*p≤0.05; **p≤0.10				

Table 8.7b: Pooled t-tests of retrospective vs. current gender role attitudes

In order to test the selectivity hypothesis presented in Chapter 5, a one-way analysis of variance was conducted with the retrospective gender role attitude score as the dependent variable and migration status as the factor of interest. Migration status was highly significant, indicating that those who migrated had significantly different gender role attitudes than non-immigrants before their migration (Table 8.8). However, while the hypothesis predicted that immigrants had less conservative gender role attitudes than non-immigrants pre-migration, they actually had more conservative gender role attitudes than non-immigrants.

Selectivity was also tested in a logistic regression model with migration status as the response and education as the predictor. Education was not a significant predictor of migration. Thus,

immigrants are not selected for education. This finding will be discussed in Chapter 12.

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Migstat	1	1941	1941	17.88	0.000
Error	179	19434	109		
Total	180	21375			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
0	62	57.4	10.4		
1	119	50.5	10.4		

Table 8.8: AOV of Migration Status on retrospective GRA

In an attempt to determine whether other factors influenced retrospective gender role attitudes, a series of one-way AOVs were conducted. The results are shown in Table 8.9 through 8.11. Sex and Bangladeshi employment status were not found to be significant factors, but the amount of education a respondent received in Bangladesh was a significant factor influencing retrospective gender role scores. Respondents with more education tended to have less conservative gender role attitudes.

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Sex	1	283	283	2.40	0.123
Error	179	21092	118		
Total	180	21375			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
0	91	54.1	10.3		
1	90	51.6	11.4		

Table 8.9: AOV of Sex on retrospective GRA

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
B Empl Status	1	148.1	148.1	1.25	0.265
Error	179	21227.0	21227.0		
Total	180	21375.0			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
0	78	51.8	10.1		
1	103	53.6	11.5		

Table 8.10: AOV of Bangladeshi employment status on retrospective GRA

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
B Educ	8	2213	277	2.48	0.014
Error	172	19162	111		
Total	180	21375			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
1	5	50.6	15.8		
2	1	45.0	0.0		
3	5	47.4	7.4		
4	53	49.5	9.0		
5	16	54.3	10.2		
6	2	56.5	12.0		
7	59	52.4	11.0		
8	4	53.0	13.2		
9	36	58.9	11.3		

Table 8.11: AOV of Bangladeshi education on retrospective GRA

An Analysis of Variance with migration status and education as independent variables and the retrospective gender role attitude score as the dependent variable was conducted. The interaction term was not included because of model restrictions. Both migration status and education were significant, indicating that immigrants and those with higher levels of education had less conservative retrospective gender role attitudes.

Source	DF	Seq SS	Adj SS	Adj MS	F	P
Migstat	1	1940.9	1676.7	1676.7	16.40	0.000
B Educ	8	1948.5	1948.5	243.6	2.38	0.019
Error	171	17485.6	17485.6	102.3		
Total	180	21375.0				

Migration Status

Level	N	Mean	StDev
0	62	56.2	2.0
1	120	49.5	1.8

Bangladeshi Education

Level	N	Mean	StDev
1	5	49.9	4.5
2	1	48.4	10.1
3	5	48.1	4.5
4	53	50.9	1.4
5	16	53.5	2.5
6	2	59.9	7.2
7	59	54.2	1.4
8	4	51.3	5.0
9	36	59.4	1.7

Table 8.12: AOV of Migration status and Bangladeshi education on retrospective GRA

This analysis was repeated using the current gender role attitude score as the dependent variable. In this analysis, only education remains significant. Migration status no longer accounts for differences in gender role attitude scores between immigrants and non-immigrants.

Source	DF	Seq SS	Adj SS	Adj MS	F	P
Migstat	1	1.27	1.33	1.33	0.02	0.900
B Educ	8	3486.7	3486.7	435.84	5.23	0.000
Error	172	14327.0	14327.0	83.3		
Total	180	17814.9				

Migration Status

Level	N	Mean	StDev
0	62	54.8	1.8
1	120	54.6	1.6

Bangladeshi Education

Level	N	Mean	StDev
1	5	47.2	4.1
2	1	52.1	9.2
3	5	45.8	4.1
4	53	51.9	1.3
5	16	55.4	2.3
6	2	73.6	6.5
7	59	54.6	1.3
8	4	50.2	4.6
9	36	61.4	1.5

Table 8.13: AOV of Migration status and Bangladeshi education on current GRA

Additional one-way Analyses of Variance and Linear regressions were conducted in order to determine if any of the independent or confounding variables influenced current gender role attitude scores among immigrants and non-immigrants. These analyses were conducted separately for each subgroup. Tables 8.14 through 8.33 display the results for immigrants, while Tables 8.34 through 8.46 display the results for non-immigrants. Models containing additional variables were plagued by problems of poor fit, lack of significance, observations with large standardized residuals, and numerous outliers.

According to the procedures used during the sample selection process, immigrants were divided into groups based on time since

migration (long-term immigrants versus recent immigrants) and age (30 years old and younger versus 31 years old and older). Neither age category, nor age in years, were significant factors influencing current gender role attitude scores among immigrants. All of the women were between the ages of 18 and 49, and the men were, on average, only a few years older than their wives. It may be the case that life cycle stage, rather than age, is a more important factor affecting gender role attitudes scores. All of the respondents were in the same life cycle stage, that of parent and spouse. Most did not yet have married children so they had not yet achieved the higher status associated with being a mother-in-law or family elder.

Migrant category was a significant factor. Shorter-term immigrants tended to have higher gender role attitude scores (i.e. less conservative) than longer-term immigrants. This contradicts the hypothesis that immigrants would become less conservative with increased time since migration. A possible explanation may be the age of the respondent's children. Longer-term immigrants tend to have older children, primarily because the husband and wife have been cohabiting more consistently over a longer period of time. As the children reach adolescence, the Bangladeshi immigrants in Queens fear that their children will abandon Bangladeshi culture for a more Westernized way of life, especially in terms of the way they dress and their relationships with members of the opposite sex. Also, over time parents become more aware of the difficult environment in which they are raising their children. I was told repeatedly that gang membership and drug use among South Asian teens is on the rise in Queens. In an attempt to avoid these dangers, parents may actively seek to avoid identification and association with the U.S. environment. One mother I spoke with returned to Bangladesh with her pre-teen daughter every summer. She hoped that this annual exposure to Bangladeshi culture would convince her daughter of the virtues of an Islamic lifestyle. Another mother warned that if her daughter became too Americanized as she grew up she would be married off as soon as possible in an arranged marriage to someone in Bangladesh. If she stayed a "Bangladeshi girl," she would be permitted to go to college here and to help choose her own husband. A second possible explanation for the negative relationship between time since migration and gender role attitudes may involve new immigrants' attempts to fit into U.S. culture.

Upon arrival in the U.S., immigrants may feel pressure to espouse more Westernized gender role attitudes, whether they truly believe them or not. Over time, immigrants may feel comfortable enough to abandon this pretense. Time since migration (in months) was not significant.

Sex was not a significant factor influencing current gender role attitudes among immigrants. Immigrant men and immigrant women express similar current gender role attitudes.

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Agecat	1	0	0	0.00	0.949
Error	118	12069	102		
Total	119	12070			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
1	40	54.9	8.3		
2	80	54.8	10.9		

Table 8.14: AOV of Age on current GRA for immigrants

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Migcat	1	431.8	431.8	4.38	0.039
Error	118	11638.0	98.6		
Total	119	12069.8			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
1	54	56.9	9.7		
2	66	53.1	10.1		

Table 8.15: AOV of Time Since Migration on current GRA for immigrants

Predictor	Coef	StDev	T	p
Constant	52.096	4.354	11.96	0.000
Age	0.0781	0.1234	0.63	0.528
S=10.10	R-Sq=0.3%	R-Sq(Adj)=0.0%		

Table 8.16: Regression of Age on current GRA for immigrants

Predictor	Coef	StDev	T	p
Constant	55.635	1.540	36.14	0.000
Time	-0.01273	0.01863	-0.68	0.496
S=10.69	R-Sq=0.4%	R-Sq(Adj)=0.0%		

Table 8.17: Regression of Time since Migration on current GRA for immigrants

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Sex	1	18	18	0.18	0.672
Error	118	12051	102		
Total	119	12070			

Level	N	Mean	StDev
0	60	54.4	8.6
1	60	55.2	11.4

Table 8.18: AOV of Sex on current GRA for immigrants

Age at marriage and education received in Bangladesh were significant predictors of current gender roles among Bangladeshi immigrants living in Queens; higher ages at marriage and more education lead to higher gender role attitude scores (i.e. less conservative).

Current employment status was not significant. However, pre-migration employment status in Bangladesh was a significant factor affecting current gender role attitude scores. Immigrants who were employed before their migration tended to have higher gender role attitude scores. However, pre-migration employment status was not a significant factor affecting retrospective gender role scores.

Predictor	Coef	StDev	T	P
Constant	43.750	3.993	10.96	0.000
Marrage	0.4602	0.1622	2.84	0.005
S=9.785	R-Sq=6.4%	R-Sq(Adj)=5.6%		

Table 8.19: Regression of Marriage Age on current GRA for immigrants

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
B Educ	8	1969.4	246.2	2.71	0.009
Error	111	10100.4	91.0		
Total	119	12069.8			

Level	N	Mean	StDev
1	2	52.5	13.4
2	1	52.0	0.0
3	3	45.0	5.6
4	39	51.9	9.1
5	6	53.2	8.4
6	2	73.5	6.4
7	45	50.0	10.0
8	1	54.0	0.0
9	21	60.2	9.9

Table 8.20: AOV of Bangladeshi education on current GRA for immigrants

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Employ Status	1	83	83	0.82	0.367
Error	118	11986	102		
Total	119	12070			

Level	N	Mean	StDev
0	41	53.6	8.4
1	79	55.4	10.8

Table 8.21: AOV of Employment status on current GRA for immigrants

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
B Emps	1	806.6	806.6	8.45	0.004
Error	118	11263.2	95.5		
Total	119	12069.8			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
0	52	51.8	8.4		
1	68	57.1	10.7		

Table 8.22: AOV of Pre-migration employment status on current GRA for immigrants

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
B Emps	1	105	105	0.97	0.327
Error	117	12701	109		
Total	118	12806			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
0	52	49.4	9.2		
1	67	51.3	11.3		

Table 8.23: AOV of Pre-migration employment status on retrospective GRA for immigrants

   The effects of employment and other socioeconomic variables on gender role attitudes were tested separately for immigrant men and immigrant women. Immigrant women's employment status did not significantly affect their current gender role attitudes. However, employed immigrant women tended to have slightly higher current gender role attitude scores than unemployed immigrant women. All but 2 immigrant men were employed so the effect of employment status was not tested. Bangladeshi employment status had a significant effect on the current gender role attitudes of immigrant men and the retrospective gender role attitudes of both immigrant men and immigrant women. Individuals who were not employed in Bangladesh tended to have lower retrospective gender role scores than those who were employed pre-migration. Men who were unemployed pre-migration also tended have lower current gender role attitude scores than men who were employed pre-migration. Neither a woman's own salary nor that of her husband affected her current gender role scores. A husband's salary also did not affect his current gender role attitudes. Possible explanations will be presented in Section 4 of this chapter.

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Employ status	1	98.1	98.1	1.32	0.254
Error	58	4296.3	74.1		
Total	59	4394.4			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
0	39	53.5	8.6		
1	21	56.1	8.6		

Table 8.24: AOV of Employment status on current GRA for immigrant women

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Bangemps	1	58.8	58.8	0.60	0.442
Error	58	5700.6	98.3		
Total	59	5759.4			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
0	40	51.4	8.2		
1	20	53.5	12.8		

Table 8.25: AOV of Pre-migration employment status on retrospective GRA for immigrant women

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Bangemps	1	554	554	5.12	0.028
Error	57	6171	108		
Total	58	6725			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
0	12	42.8	9.7		
1	47	50.4	10.6		

Table 8.26: AOV of Pre-migration employment status on retrospective GRA for immigrant men

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Bangemps	1	554.7	554.7	8.38	0.005
Error	58	3839.7	66.2		
Total	59	4394.4			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
0	40	52.3	7.8		
1	20	58.7	8.8		

Table 8.27: AOV of Pre-migration employment status on current GRA for immigrant women

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Bangemps	1	341	341	2.70	0.106
Error	58	7316	126		
Total	59	7657			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
0	12	50.4	10.3		
1	48	56.4	11.4		

Table 8.28: AOV of Pre-migration employment status on current GRA for immigrant men

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Salary	3	151.8	50.6	0.67	0.575
Error	56	4242.6	75.8		
Total	59	4394.4			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
0	39	53.5	8.6		
1	5	53.4	13.1		
2	15	57.1	7.4		
3	1	55.0	0.0		

Table 8.29: AOV of Salary on current GRA for immigrant women

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
H's Salary	5	107.5	21.5	0.27	0.927
Error	54	4286.9	79.4		
Total	59	4394.4			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
0	2	58.5	4.9		
1	1	59.0	0.0		
2	17	54.4	9.9		
3	30	54.7	8.3		
4	9	52.6	9.5		
5	1	50.0	0.0		

Table 8.30: AOV of Husband's salary on current GRA for immigrant women

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Salary	5	317	63	0.47	0.800
Error	54	7340	136		
Total	59	7657			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
0	2	57.0	4.2		
1	1	58.0	0.0		
2	17	57.6	13.7		
3	30	52.9	9.5		
4	9	57.6	14.5		
5	1	54.0	0.0		

Table 8.31: AOV of Salary on current GRA for immigrant men

Women in Bangladesh who have sons typically have more power and autonomy within the family than women who do not have sons. In order to test whether this patterns holds in Queens, the variable reflecting whether a family had sons was tested. It was significant at the 0.10 level. Another hypothesis suggested that mother-in-law co-residence might affect gender role attitudes for women; however, only

one household of the sixty households examined in Queens had a co-resident mother-in-law; therefore, this hypothesis was not tested. Household type (nuclear, joint, extended, or nuclear with boarders) also was not significant.

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Sons	1	300.6	300.6	3.01	0.085
Error	118	11769.2	99.7		
Total	119	12069.8			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
0	62	56.3	10.8		
1	58	53.2	9.0		

Table 8.32: AOV of Sons on current GRA for immigrants

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Hhtype	3	150	50	0.49	0.692
Error	116	11920	103		
Total	119	12070			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
1	64	54.1	10.0		
2	26	54.7	9.5		
3	14	54.8	13.1		
4	16	57.6	8.9		

Table 8.33: AOV of Household type on current GRA for immigrants

The same analyses as those presented above were conducted to see which variables affected current gender role attitude scores among non-immigrants. Neither age category nor age in years were significant factors influencing current gender role attitude scores among non-immigrants. Sex also was not a significant factor influencing current gender role attitudes.

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Agecat	1	14.8	14.8	0.16	0.695
Error	60	5729.1	95.5		
Total	61	5743.9			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
1	24	55.6	10.4		
2	38	54.6	9.4		

Table 8.34: AOV of Age on current GRA for non-immigrants

Predictor	Coef	StDev	T	p
Constant	60.369	5.323	11.34	0.000
Age	-0.1558	0.1493	-1.04	0.301
S=9.697	R-Sq=1.8%	R-Sq(Adj)=0.1%		

Table 8.35: Regression of Age on current GRA for non-immigrants

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Sex	1	18.6	18.6	0.20	0.660
Error	60	5725.3	95.4		
Total	61	5743.9			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
0	31	54.4	9.7		
1	31	55.5	9.9		

Table 8.36: AOV of Sex on current GRA for non-immigrants

Age at marriage and education received in Bangladesh were significant predictors of current gender role attitudes among Bangladeshi non-immigrants living in source areas in Bangladesh; higher ages at marriage and more education lead to higher gender role attitude scores (i.e. less conservative). Current employment status also significantly influences gender role attitude scores among non-immigrants.

Predictor	Coef	StDev	T	p
Constant	43.732	4.255	10.28	0.000
Marrage	0.4969	0.1809	2.75	0.008
S=9.222	R-Sq=11.2%	R-Sq(Adj)=9.7%		

Table 8.37: Regression of Marriage Age on current GRA for non-immigrants

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Bangeduc	6	1783.4	297.2	4.13	0.002
Error	55	3960.5	72.0		
Total	61	5743.9			

Level	N	Mean	StDev
1	3	43.7	6.8
3	2	47.0	2.8
4	15	51.9	7.4
5	10	56.8	6.4
7	14	53.2	7.3
8	3	49.0	4.4
9	15	62.9	11.9

Table 8.38: AOV of Bangladeshi education on current GRA for non-immigrants

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Employst	1	264.3	264.3	2.89	0.094
Error	60	5479.7	91.3		
Total	61	5743.9			

Level	N	Mean	StDev
0	26	52.5	8.3
1	36	56.7	10.4

Table 8.39: AOV of Employment status on current GRA for non-immigrants

Sons and mother-in-law co-residence were not significant factors affecting current gender role attitudes among non-immigrants. Household type also was not significant.

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Sons	1	54.2	54.2	0.57	0.453
Error	60	5689.8	94.8		
Total	61	5743.9			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
0	24	53.8	9.2		
1	38	55.7	10.1		

Table 8.40: AOV of Sons on current GRA for non-immigrants

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Minlaw	1	47.8	47.8	0.50	0.481
Error	60	5696.1	94.9		
Total	61	5743.9			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
0	54	54.6	9.3		
1	8	57.3	12.4		

Table 8.41: AOV of co-resident Mother-in-law on current GRA for non-immigrants

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Hhtype	1	22.9	22.9	0.24	0.626
Error	60	5721.0	95.4		
Total	61	5743.9			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
1	46	55.3	9.5		
2	16	53.9	10.4		

Table 8.42: AOV of Household type on current GRA for non-immigrants

As for immigrants, the effects of employment and other socioeconomic variables on gender role attitudes were tested separately for non-immigrant men and non-immigrant women. Employment status was a significant factor explaining variation in current gender role attitudes among non-immigrant women. An employed woman in Bangladesh tended to hold less conservative gender role attitudes. Also, the effect of a non-immigrant woman's own earnings on current gender role attitudes were significant, and in a positive direction. Higher salary levels for women indicate higher current gender role attitude scores. Her husband's salary, however, was not a significant factor explaining her current gender role attitudes. For non-immigrant men, salary also was not significant. Possible explanations will be presented in Section 4 of this chapter.

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Employst	1	570.3	570.3	7.42	0.011
Error	29	2229.3	76.9		
Total	30	2799.5			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
0	26	52.5	8.3		
1	5	64.2	11.2		

Table 8.43: AOV of Employment status on current GRA for non-immigrant women

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Salary	3	941.1	313.7	4.56	0.010
Error	27	1858.5	68.8		
Total	30	2799.5			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
0	26	52.5	8.3		
1	1	47.0	0.0		
2	2	69.0	1.4		
4	2	68.0	11.3		

Table 8.44: AOV of Salary on current GRA for non-immigrant women

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
H's Salary	4	273.5	68.4	0.70	0.597
Error	26	2526.1	97.2		
Total	30	2799.5			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
2	1	47.0	0.0		
3	5	49.8	8.2		
4	8	53.1	12.9		
5	9	56.9	8.1		
6	8	56.8	8.9		

Table 8.45: AOV of Husband's Salary on current GRA for non-immigrant women

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Salary	5	358	72	0.70	0.630
Error	25	2567	103		
Total	30	2926			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
2	1	48.0	0.0		
3	5	49.2	2.5		
4	8	56.9	12.8		
5	9	57.7	11.4		
6	7	57.4	7.7		
7	1	51.0	0.0		

Table 8.46: AOV of Salary on current GRA for non-immigrant men

Using the Proc GLM in SAS, a Repeated Measures Analysis of Variance was conducted in order to test the effects of sex and migration status on the gender role attitude scores. The two sets of responses to the gender role attitudes questionnaire per individual yield two time points at which gender role attitudes were measured. These are the current gender role attitude score and the retrospective gender role attitude score. Repeated measures ANOVA is used under specific circumstances:

A repeated measure ANOVA is used when all members of a random sample are measured under a number of different conditions. As the sample is exposed to each condition in turn, the measurement of the dependent variable is repeated. Using a standard ANOVA in this case is not appropriate because it fails to model the correlation between the repeated measures: the data violate the ANOVA assumption of independence. (ACTIS 1997: Usage Note Stat-40)

In this model, there were two between-subjects, or grouping, factors, migration status and sex. Time is the within-subject factors in this model. As expected, this model demonstrates that migration status is a significant factor in explaining the variance in the gender attitude scores, but sex is not a significant factor (Table 8.47).

Source	DF	Type III SS	Mean Square	F	P
Sex	1	33.196	33.196	0.2	0.65
Migstat	1	1036.407	1036.407	6.3	0.01
Sex*Migstat	1	34.895	34.895	0.2	0.65
Error	177	29196.724	164.953		

Sex		RGRA LS Mean	CGRC LS Mean
0		55.0	54.4
1		52.8	55.3

Migration Status		RGRA LS Mean	CRGA LS Mean
0		57.4	55.0
1		50.5	54.8

Sex	Migration Status	RGRA LS Mean	CGRA LS Mean
0	0	57.9	54.4
0	1	52.1	54.4
1	0	56.8	55.5
1	1	48.8	55.1

Table 8.47: Repeated Measure AOV of Sex and migration status on repeated measure of GRA

DISCUSSION OF GENDER ROLE ATTITUDES

During the open-ended interviews conducted during the first phase of research, respondents were asked to list qualities that they associated with the concept of an ideal wife and an ideal husband. In general, people were very uncomfortable volunteering a list of traits that their spouses might possess. Women merely sat silent, too shy to volunteer any answers. Men bristled at the question, and wondered about my motives. They wanted to know whether I would tell their wives what

they said. Because of these types of reactions, I decided to abandon these questions, at least during this first phase of research. I re-attempted these questions during the third phase of research during the life history interviews. These interviews were much more personal and delved into many private issues. Given the context in which these questions occurred, they now seemed innocuous. Individuals were asked questions about the qualities and characteristics of an ideal husband and an ideal wife, the types of tasks and responsibilities that should be assigned to a husband or to a wife, how the position of women is changing both in U.S. society and in Bangladesh, and how they feel their lives have changed since arriving in the United States.

Several of the women shared their ideas of what qualities an ideal wife should possess. Some women espoused very traditional viewpoints. For example, Zakia Begum, whose husband Mr. Rahman owns and manages a small Bangladeshi market, paints a picture of a very demure woman:

> The picture of an ideal wife is to live according to the husband's desires. To live a peaceful and happy life, one must abide by the wishes of one's husband. For this behavior, the wife will also be able to get respect from her husband.

This reflects her family's belief in tradition Islamic values. Before immigrating to the United States, her husband was very liberal and did not follow Islam closely. However, once they settled in Queens, they both adopted more conservative attitudes about appropriate behavior for women.

Fatema Sultana is 37 years old. She came to the United States with her daughter in 1993 to join her husband who had immigrated eight years earlier. In Bangladesh, she worked as a nurse, and lived in a hostel while her family took care of her daughter. Her husband was a migrant worker in Saudi Arabia for nine years before leaving for the United States. He visited her a few times a year on holidays. She describes an ideal wife:

> A woman should have a good nature. Women may work, but working outside the home should not make them neglectful of their household duties. [They should] maintain peace in the

family. They should understand it. They should not do anything that may destroy domestic tranquility. We should look after [our] children's welfare, education, and be watchful that they do their studies well... They should look after their husbands' needs too. She should do the right thing when her husband is sick and so on. If there was any financial problem, women should do something to patch up that condition. In the event of saving one side, if the other side of the household gets broken, that is not good.

A woman is a peacemaker, a mediator, a jack-of-all-trades. She must do whatever is necessary to make sure that the household runs smoothly. Fatema feels that a mother is primarily responsible for guiding children through her own behavior:

Generally, children learn from the family. How mother behaves, how she treats her husband. Now I stay alone, but in my country, we live in a joint family. Children see how mother behaves with their grandmother, their grandfather, and with other members in the family. They observe that and they learn, don't they? So a mother should be cautious in what she does and how she behaves.

Fatema continues with a description of an ideal husband:

He should be sympathetic to his wife. He should look after her well-being and he should take care of her in difficult times. He should take care of her during illness and he should take responsibility for the entire household. Also he should look after and maintain the financial condition of the household. He should also spend time with children. He should not only work.

A husband's primary role, according to Fatema, is to provide emotional and financial support to the family. A wife oversees the day-to-day maintenance of the family, while a husband assumes responsibility for the long-term.

Fatema's husband's descriptions of an ideal wife and an ideal husband present a somewhat similar picture of domestic life in that a wife is primarily responsible for housework and the children, while a husband provides financial stability. Additionally, he feels that a wife must also be religious and affectionate. He states:

> The housewife must know the art of cooking. She should be religious minded and concerned about her children and be affectionate to them. In fact, she should have the ability to take entire responsibility for the housework . . . A husband need not have any [special abilities] since he is earning money.

Husbands, in his view, should be excused from all responsibilities other than providing for the family financially.

Kazi and Bilkis Hoque are a young Bangladeshi couple currently living in Woodside, Queens. Kazi, 32 years old, is a cab driver. Before immigrating to the United States, he was a veterinarian. People in his community teased him for being a "goat nurse." Partly because of his desire to escape this ridicule, he decided to immigrate to the U.S. five years ago. Bilkis is 25 years old, and recently completed her college degree in the United States. She met her husband before his migration to the United States. After he left Bangladesh, they communicated with each other by telephone, and after a long distance courtship, they decided to get married. He arranged for her visa, and she came to the United States without her family's knowledge or permission. They married after she arrived in the United States. They have a one-year old daughter. Despite having married in a love match against the wishes of their families, their descriptions of ideal spouses reflect conservative attitudes regarding the roles of husbands and wives. Bilkis describes a wife's duties:

> She should look after the family, the household, the kids if you have any. Look after the husband. She should get her husband's approval for doing something before she does it.

Her husband paints a similar picture:

> In my opinion she should give her husband gravity and
> precedence in her life, have common sense, liveliness, be
> responsive to her husband's wants and dislikes - all this would
> lead to a more peaceful marriage. A husband should carry a
> lot of responsibility. He should realize that he has a great role
> in his family and to maintain his family. [He should] do
> everything to think about his family's future, along with his
> wife's consultation.

Despite their rejection of traditional matchmaking and parental
involvement in choosing a spouse, both Kazi and Bilkis ascribe to a
pattern of traditional gender roles in which the husband is the primary
caretaker in terms of financial issues, while the wife maintains the
household and children.

Zamila Begum is thirty-seven years old. All eight of her siblings
and both of her parents live in Queens. Her brothers run a successful
import business, which distributes Bangladeshi food products within
the New York City metropolitan area. She migrated to the United
States in 1994, with her husband and children at the request of her
eldest brother. Her family is extremely religious, and all of the women
wear *burkas* and headscarves when they go outside. However, she
rejects the traditional perception of a wife's role in the household:

> I do not like the lifestyle of my country. Husbands are
> [considered to be] superior. Our religion does not teach that.
> In our religion, it is clearly expressed that the husband and
> wife both equally share everything of the household. A
> husband and wife should listen to each other's views and
> should try to reach a consensus. That is how they should
> discharge household duties. In our country, it is totally
> different. Husbands take decisions and their decisions are
> always right. I don't like this and I cannot agree with this...
> What the male members of a family do and think is right and
> should be obeyed. A woman has no say. A woman is not
> treated as a human being. Women have nothing to offer; they
> are idiots. That is what husbands think. I am not ready to
> accept this attitude.

Her husband, Arshad, feels that this traditional perception of women in Bangladeshi society is changing as employers are beginning quota systems in which a certain percentage of positions are reserved for women. He feels that the increasing employment rates for women in Bangladesh will have great implications on future generations' perceptions of the capabilities and abilities of women. He describes how the absence of a quota system in the past limited opportunities for women:

> Previously there was no place for women. There was no quota. Now 10% of the quota has been reserved for women. Now preference is being given to womanhood. In our life, there was no place, no preference for women. Women used to be housewives only. When we menfolk used to study, women would not get the chance to do the same. Their only identity was that they were housewives.

According to Arshad, the government and many employers are beginning to mandate that women must fill a certain percentage of positions. He believes that this may lead to a significant change in the way women are perceived in society, from women as wives and mothers to women as professionals and wage-earners.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has presented analyses of qualitative and quantitative data regarding gender role attitudes. These analyses indicate that both immigrants and non-immigrants possess a complex blend of traditional, conservative attitudes and less traditional, less conservative attitudes about the appropriate roles and responsibilities for men and women. Overall, gender role attitude scores are not significantly different between immigrants and non-immigrants. However, responses to the individual statements that comprise the gender role attitude scale reveal some differences.

    This chapter has attempted to uncover similarities and differences in the gender role attitudes of immigrant Bangladeshis living in northwestern Queens and of non-immigrants Bangladeshis in three

origin areas in Bangladesh. Immigrants and non-immigrants profess similar attitudes regarding eleven of the twenty statements included in the gender role attitude scale. These similar attitudes reflect both traditionally conservative attitudes and less conservative, more modern attitudes. Support for more traditional gender role attitudes is indicated by the respondents' agreement with statements regarding men's financial responsibilities, women's childrearing responsibilities, women's need for the protection of men, and women's required deference to men. However, respondents in both research locations simultaneously support more contemporary gender role attitudes in terms of women's contributions to the family budget and equal division of labor within the household. Both groups disagree with the concept that a woman' place is in the home.

In the remaining nine statements, non-immigrant women espouse mostly traditionally conservative attitudes. As a group, these women believe that women are responsible for all aspects of childrearing, including discipline, that women cannot make financial decisions without their husbands' approval, and that the social interactions of women and young girls should be limited. Immigrant women display a variety of attitudes, with the responses to many statements being evenly distributed across response categories.

A variety of analyses were conducted using the retrospective gender role attitudes data. Selectivity of immigrants was tested through analysis of variance and logistic regression. Migration status was a significant factor explaining variation in gender role attitudes, indicating that immigrants may be selected for their gender role attitudes. However, the relationship is in the opposite direction than expected. The hypothesis predicted that immigrants held less conservative retrospective gender role attitude scores than non-migrants. However, the data indicate that the gender role attitudes of immigrants were actually more conservative than non-immigrants' in the past. Immigrants are not selected for the human capital characteristic of education.

In order to determine which variables significantly affect gender roles, a series of one-way analyses of variance and linear regression analyses were performed on the retrospective gender role attitude score. These analyses reveal the following about retrospective gender role attitudes:

1) The pre-migration gender role attitudes of immigrants are significantly different from the retrospective gender role attitudes of non-immigrants.

2) The level of education that the respondent received while in Bangladesh significantly affects retrospective gender role attitudes of immigrants and non-immigrants. Respondents with more education had less conservative gender role attitudes in the past.

However, the further interpretation of these four findings is complicated by the quality of the retrospective data. While attempts were made to ensure that the respondent's answers reflected those attitudes that he or she held at some defined past time point, it is unclear whether that attitudes revealed are accurate reflections of how he or she actually felt in the past. An alternative interpretation is that the retrospective gender role attitude scores reflect instead their current perceptions of the past. While respondents were answering the retrospective gender role attitude questionnaire, it was not uncommon for them to assess how their past lives differ from their current lives. For non-immigrants, their comparisons relied heavily on their increased responsibility over time. Bangladeshi women in Queens recalled the social sanctions and constraints that they experienced in Bangladesh, and remarked often on their absence here in the US.

Analyses were conducted in order to assess whether current gender role attitudes were predicted by time since migration (long-term vs. short-term and months), age (young vs. old and years), age at marriage, education received in Bangladesh, employment status, whether a family has sons, sex, mother-in-law co-residence, and household type:

1) Time since migration measured in months was not a significant predictor of gender role attitudes, but time since migration measured as a categorical variable (long-term migrant vs. short-term migrant) was significant. The negative relationship between time since migration and gender role attitudes refutes the hypothesis that increased time since migration would lead to less conservative gender role attitudes through exposure to Western ideas and values. This research, however, indicates that longer tenure immigrants actually possess more conservative gender role attitudes than their more recently arrived counterparts. Age differences between

longer term immigrants and shorter term immigrants cannot significantly explain this pattern, since age was not a significant predictor of gender role attitudes. Possible explanations for the negative relationship between time since migration and gender role attitudes among immigrants may include the age of the respondents' children, dislike of Western culture and morality, and the initial rejection and later re-embracement of Bangladeshi culture

2) Age measured in years and age measured by category (young vs. old) were not significant predictors of current gender role attitudes among immigrants and non-immigrants.

3) Higher ages at marriage are significantly associated with less conservative gender role attitudes for both immigrants and non-immigrants. Respondents who married at older ages are more likely to express less traditional gender role attitudes.

4) Higher levels of education are significantly associated with less conservative gender role attitudes. Respondents in both research locations who attended school for longer periods are more likely to express less traditional attitudes.

5) Employment status was a significant predictor of less conservative gender role attitudes among non-immigrants, but not among immigrants. For immigrant women, employment status was not a significant factor explaining variation in current gender role attitude scores or in retrospective gender role scores. The differences in the effect of employment status on gender role attitudes between immigrant and non-immigrant women may stem from the types of jobs these women hold. Non-immigrant women who work are employed in professional and clerical fields, while employed immigrant women work in low prestige, low wage positions such as store clerks or factory workers. Finally, the individual earnings of immigrant women and the earnings of their husbands are also not significant. For non-immigrant women, their individual earnings have a significant positive effect on current gender role attitude scores, while the earnings of their husbands have no effect. Many non-immigrant women keep their salary for their personal use, while for most immigrant women, their earnings are integral to the financial solvency of their families.

Men's own earnings are not significantly related to their current gender role attitude scores in either community. For immigrant men, pre-migration employment status is a significant factor explaining variation in their retrospective gender role score, but not in their current gender role score.

6) Having sons is a significant predictor of less conservative gender role attitudes among immigrants, but not among non-immigrants. This may reflect that women with sons are given more power and control over household decision making and resources in Queens, but not in Bangladesh.

7) Sex was not a significant predictor of current gender role attitudes among immigrants or non-immigrants. The gender role attitudes of men and women, whether immigrant or non-immigrants, were virtually identical at the current time.

8) The effect of mother-in-law co-residence on current gender role attitudes could not be tested among immigrants because only one household had a co-resident mother-in-law. The absence of mothers-in-laws reflects the prevalence of nuclear family households among immigrant families. Among non-immigrants, mother-in-law co-residence was not a significant predictor of current gender role attitudes.

9) Household type was not a significant predictor of current gender role attitudes among immigrants or non-immigrants.

CHAPTER 9
Female Mobility

ETHNOGRAPHIC OBSERVATIONS OF FEMALE MOBILITY

When I first arrived in Dhaka, one of the first things I noticed was the relative absence of women walking alone. Female garment factory employees typically walk in large groups from their dormitories to work. Families often arrange for the same rickshaw driver to transport their daughters to school each day. These male rickshaw drivers raise the tops of the rickshaws to shield their female passengers from the view of men they pass. Men usually accompany their wives, daughters, and sisters on shopping trips.

Streets and sidewalks are very crowded in most cities and towns in Bangladesh. Trucks, cars, rickshaws, and pull carts clog the roadways. Sidewalks are very congested with people, mostly men. Crossing the street is quite difficult since stoplights and stop signs are rare. People tend to push against the person in front of them, and cross together in tight packs. It is very uncomfortable and claustrophobic. Women often hire rickshaws or baby taxis (small, three-wheeled motorized vehicles) even for short distances to prevent them from having to walk amid numerous men. Women walking alone in these crowds often draw unwanted physical and verbal attention.

For the first few weeks of my stay in Dhaka, I was unfamiliar with the location of markets and shopping districts, and enjoyed the comfort and security of being accompanied by my research assistant Moruph to these places. However, I eventually became adept at finding my own way around and relished these opportunities to go exploring on my own. It was very difficult to convince Moruph and other male friends that I could manage alone. Tanu, on the other hand, rarely ventured out of the house without either Moruph or me to accompany her. One afternoon when she was preparing lunch, she realized the she was missing a key ingredient. Rather than walking the 5 blocks to the market, she waited over 2 hours for Moruph and me to return so that we could go to the market for her. When she was home in Mymensingh, she explained, she did not mind walking to the market alone because the streets and sidewalks were not as crowded and she knew many of the people living in her neighborhood. In Dhaka, she did not know our neighbors and was intimidated by the number of people she had to walk past to get to the market.

The environment is very different in Queens. Bangladeshi women walk freely along the street, shopping in grocery stores and Bangladeshi markets and visiting with friends. Bangladeshi women also often travel alone or with their children on subways from Queens into Manhattan. They often ask passersby for help carrying their children's strollers up and down the steps in the subway stations. However, despite the fact that many Bangladeshi men are cab drivers, many Bangladeshi women are hesitant to ride in cabs alone. My research assistant Shamima refused to take cabs home after late evening interviews, preferring to take the subway if her husband was unable to pick her up. She often rode the subways alone in the evening after night classes at her college in Manhattan. She preferred the public nature of the subway to the privacy of a cab. Many American women, including myself, would probably make the opposite choice.

ANALYSIS OF FEMALE MOBILITY DATA

In order to measure female mobility, husbands and wives were asked separately if it is acceptable for the wives to go to various locations within the community, such as the local health center, the local market,

and a nearby neighborhood. This scale has values of 1=yes, alone, 2=yes, if accompanied, 3=no, unacceptable, and 0=do not go/do not know. For those locations defined as "acceptable to go only if accompanied," two additional questions were asked to determine who must accompany the wife to that location and why she cannot go to that location alone. For those locations defined as "unacceptable to go," an additional question was asked to determine whether any situation exists in which the woman would be permitted to go there. Table 9.1 lists the locations included in the mobility questionnaire. Respondents in both locations were asked about a common subset of the locations. Four additional locations were included on the questionnaire used in Bangladesh, while one additional location was included on the questionnaire used in Queens. The location school was inadvertently omitted from the questionnaire used in Queens.

Asked of Both Samples	Bangladesh sample	Queens Sample
Bazaar	School	Manhattan
Nearby Place	Tea Shop	
Doctor	Pharmacy	
Cinema	Natal village	
Park		
Association Meeting		
Friend/Relative home		
Mosque		

Table 9.1: Locations included in Female Mobility Scale

There are a number of differences between the responses of immigrants and non-immigrants. Tables 9.2 and 9.3 presents the responses of male and female immigrants and male and female non-immigrants. First, there are differences in the locations that are considered to be acceptable solo destinations. Immigrants were more likely to consider the *bazaar/grocery* store an acceptable solo destination than non-immigrants were. This is primarily due to the differences between American grocery stores and Bangladeshi markets. In the United States, grocery stores are the domain of men, women, and children and are typically clean and spacious. In Bangladesh, markets

are crowded, chaotic environments in which women are greatly outnumbered by men.

Almost 90% of immigrant men, 97% of non-immigrant women, and 94% of non-immigrant men listed *nearby places*, defined as a place approximately 20 minutes away on foot, as an acceptable solo destination. Seventy percent of immigrant women felt that it was an acceptable solo destination, while almost 30% said that women should only go there with a companion.

The *cinema* was considered an acceptable solo destination by only 13% of non-immigrant women, 6.5% of non-immigrant men, 7% of immigrant women, and 19% of immigrant men. However, 55% of non-immigrant women, 32% of non-immigrant men, 47% of immigrant women, and 42% of immigrant men deemed the *cinema* an acceptable destination if a woman was accompanied. Almost two-thirds of non-immigrant men stated that women did not go to the *cinema*. The differences between a cinema in Bangladesh and a cinema in the United States are significant. In Bangladesh, the movie halls are filled with young rowdy men, and a few young women who go in groups. They are not usually places where families go for entertainment. In the United States, movie theaters are geared towards families and children. One woman in Bangladesh shared a story of her childhood with me. As a child, her family lived close to a movie theater, and she and her siblings repeatedly begged their mother to let them go to a movie, but she refused. One day while their mother was out, their father gave them permission to go. When they returned, their mother was home. She was very angry and sent them to bed without supper. They were not permitted to go outside for several weeks. The respondent's mother was afraid that their reputations and the honor of the family had been ruined. The respondent did not see another movie again until after her marriage.

The location *association meeting* was not specifically defined in the questionnaire so that it could encompass the different types of associations present in Bangladesh and in Queens. In Bangladesh, associations are often geared towards local development projects, women's empowerment, and local politics. In Queens, associations are often multiethnic associations catering to new immigrants or political associations focusing on politics in Bangladesh. For non-immigrants, over 25% of women and over 38% of men stated that women do not

attend *association meetings*. However, most of the remaining non-immigrant respondents believed that *association meetings* were acceptable solo destinations for women. For immigrants, over 49% of women and 22% of men stated that women do not attend *association meetings*. Most of the remaining immigrant women were evenly divided between those who believed women could attend alone and those who believed that women should attend with a companion. Almost half of immigrant men believed that *association meetings* were acceptable solo destinations for women.

Most respondents overall (including 58% of immigrant women, 36% of immigrant men, 55% of non-immigrant women, and 87% of non-immigrant men) stated that women do not go to the *mosque*; therefore, questions about acceptability are invalid. However, 29% of non-immigrant women, 23% of immigrant women, and 58% of immigrant men consider it to be acceptable for a woman to go to the *mosque* alone. The *mosque* was named an unacceptable place for women to go by 11.6% of immigrant women and 5.08% of immigrant men.

A *friend/relative's home* was considered to be an acceptable solo destination by over 80% of non-immigrant men and women and immigrant men, but only 60% of immigrant women thought that it was appropriate for women to travel there alone. A *doctor's office* was considered to be an acceptable solo destination by 77% of non-immigrant women, almost 84% of non-immigrant men, and 81% of immigrant men. Fewer immigrant women (58%) regard the *doctor's office* as an acceptable solo destination, with almost 40% preferring to take a companion with them. Non-immigrants (52% of non-immigrant women and 58% of non-immigrant men) preferred that women take companions with them to the *park*. For immigrants, 50% of immigrant women and 58% of immigrant men deemed the *park* to be an acceptable solo destination, while an additional 43% of immigrant women and 36% of immigrant men believed that women required a companion in the *park*.

Queens respondents were asked whether it was acceptable for a woman to go into *Manhattan* alone. Half of the immigrant women and two-thirds of the immigrant men said that a woman could go alone, while an additional 40% of the women and 25% of the men thought that a woman should go with a companion.

Respondents in Bangladesh were asked whether it was acceptable for a woman to go to a *school* alone. Ninety percent of women and 77% of men agreed that this was acceptable. Ninety percent of both men and women also felt that it was acceptable for women to go alone to the *pharmacy*. A *tea shop* was not considered to be an appropriate solo destination by non-immigrant Bangladeshis, both men and women. Tea shops in Bangladesh are usually located in markets or along roadsides. They are usually frequented by young men, students, and, depending on their locations, rickshaw drivers. Roughly 60% of men and women thought that it was acceptable for a woman to travel to her *natal village* alone.

	Non-immigrant Females (n=31)				Non-immigrant males (n=31)			
	1	2	3	0	1	2	3	0
	% of responses in each category				% of responses in each category			
Bazaar	67.0	22.6	3.2	6.5	67.7	29.0	0	3.2
Nearby Place	96.8	3.2	0	0	93.6	6.5	0	0
Doctor	77.4	19.4	0	3.2	83.9	16.1	0	0
Cinema	12.9	54.8	0	32.3	6.5	32.3	0	61.3
Park	19.4	51.6	0	29.0	12.9	58.1	0	29.0
Friend/ Relative home	90.3	9.7	0	0	87.1	9.7	0	3.2
Mosque	29.0	6.5	9.7	54.8	9.7	3.2	0	87.1
School	90.3	0	0	9.7	77.4	3.2	0	19.4
Association Meeting	64.5	9.7	0	25.8	58.1	0	3.2	38.7
Tea Shop	29.0	6.5	9.7	54.8	19.4	9.7	3.2	67.7
Pharmacy	90.3	3.2	3.2	3.2	90.3	9.7	0	0
Natal village	61.3	38.7	0	0	64.5	32.3	0	3.2

Table 9.2: Distribution of non-immigrants' responses on Female Mobility questionnaire.

[Key: 1=Alone, 2=If accompanied, 3=Unacceptable, 0=Do not go/Do not know]

	Immigrant Females (n=60)				Immigrant males (n=60)			
	1	2	3	0	1	2	3	0
	% of responses in each category				% of responses in each category			
Bazaar	85.0	15.0	0	0	98.3	1.7	0	0
Nearby Place	70.0	28.3	1.7	0	89.8	6.8	3.4	0
Doctor	58.3	38.3	0	3.3	81.4	17.0	1.7	0
Cinema	6.7	46.7	8.3	38.3	18.6	42.4	18.6	20.3
Park	50.0	43.3	1.7	5.0	57.6	35.6	3.4	3.4
Manhattan	50.0	40.0	1.7	8.3	66.1	25.4	3.4	5.1
Friend/ Relative home	66.7	28.3	0	5.0	81.4	10.2	5.1	3.4
Mosque	23.3	6.7	11.7	58.3	57.6	1.7	5.1	35.6
Association Meeting	23.7	23.7	3.4	49.2	47.5	17.0	13.6	22.0

Table 9.3: Distribution of immigrants' respondents on Female Mobility questionnaire.

[Key: 1=Alone, 2=If accompanied, 3=Unacceptable, 0=Do not go/Do not know]

An index of dissimilarity such as the one created for the attitudinal data presented earlier was created for the mobility data. The index is presented in Table 9.4. In general, immigrant men felt that women could go alone to more locations in the community than their wives did. This is especially true for a *nearby place*, the *doctor*, the *mosque*, and an *association meeting*. Immigrant women, on the other hand, were more likely to state that they needed a companion. An average of 21.9% of the responses would need to change in order for the distributions to be equal. The percent of necessary change ranges from 9.4% for the acceptability of going to the *park* to 34.3% for the acceptability of wives going to the *mosque*. For non-immigrant Bangladeshis, women were slightly more likely to list places as being acceptable solo destinations than their husbands were. Non-immigrant men were more likely to state that women do not go to the specified location, such as the *cinema*, the *park*, or the *mosque*, under any circumstances. An average of 14.5% of the responses would need to change in order for the distributions of husbands' responses and wives'

responses to be equal. This ranges from a low of 3.2% for *nearby place* and *friend/relative's homes* to 35.5% for *park*.

The distributions of the responses of immigrant husbands and non-immigrant husbands were also compared. An average of 26.5% of the responses would have to change in order for the two distributions to be equal. Husbands in both research locations responded similarly, with indices below 4%, regarding the acceptability for women to travel to a *nearby place*, the *doctor*, and a *friend/relative's home*. Immigrant men were more likely to find the *bazaar/grocery* store an acceptable solo destination than non-immigrant men were. Non-immigrant men were more likely to state that women do not go to the *cinemas*, while immigrant men said that women could go with a companion. Non-immigrant husbands are more likely to state that women need a companion if they wish to go to the *park*, while immigrant men state that women can go alone to the *park*, usually with the stipulation that she can go there during the day only.

The distributions of the responses of immigrant wives and non-immigrant wives were also compared. An average of 22.4% of the responses would have to change in order for the distributions to be equal. The responses of the wives in the two research locations were most similar regarding going to the *mosque*. Non-immigrant women were more likely to state that women could go to an *association meeting* alone than were immigrant women. Immigrant women, on the other hand, were more likely to say that women do not go to *association meetings*. Non-immigrant women were more likely to state that women could go alone to a *nearby place* or to a *friend/relative's home*, while immigrant women said that they should take a companion.

Index of Dissimilarity	Couples in Queens	Couples in Bangladesh	Husbands in both sites	Wives in both sites
Bazaar	13.31	6.45	30.56	17.26
Nearby Place	21.55	3.23	3.72	26.77
Doctor	24.72	6.45	2.52	19.09
Cinema	22.29	29.03	40.95	14.41
Park	9.35	35.48	48.11	32.31
Manhattan	17.82			
Friend/ Relative home	19.77	3.23	5.74	23.66
Mosque	34.29	32.26	53.03	5.70
School		16.13		
Association Meeting	33.52	12.90	27.28	40.35
Tea Shop		16.13		
Pharmacy		6.45		
Natal village		6.45		
Average Index	21.85	13.40	26.49	22.44

Table 9.4: Index of Dissimilarity for Female Mobility questionnaire

Immigrants and non-immigrants gave different reasons why some locations were unacceptable solo destinations. Immigrant women tended to give reasons centering on poor language skills and unfamiliarity with the area or a lack of knowledge of how to get there. Non-immigrant women tended to give reasons focusing on religious restrictions and the chance that they would have to interact with strangers. Immigrants and non-immigrants also named different categories of people as appropriate companions. Immigrant women were more likely to name a female friend, while non-immigrant women were more likely to name a son, brother, or husband. This can be partially explained by three factors affecting the lives of those in the Bangladeshi community in Queens. First, Bangladeshi men in Queens work very long hours and are seldom home to accompany women outside during the day. Second, there is a dearth of extended family members since most Bangladeshi families in Queens are nuclear families. Finally, most families have children who are in school all day, and, therefore, are unable to accompany their mothers.

A summed mobility score was also computed. The score only included those locations that were included on the mobility questionnaire in both research locations (*bazaar*, *nearby place*, *doctor's office*, *cinema*, *park*, *friend/relative's home*, *mosque*, and *association meeting*). For each place a respondent named as being an acceptable solo destination for women, the respondent was given a score of 1. For each place a respondent stated a woman could go to with a companion, the respondent received a score of 0.5. Respondents were given zero points for those locations that were unacceptable destinations or unknown destinations. The mobility score had values ranging from 1.0 to 8.0. Non-immigrant women had an average mobility score of 5.5, with a range of 2.5 to 8.0. Non-immigrant men had an average mobility score of 5.0, with a range of 3.0 to 8.0. Immigrant women had an average mobility score of 5.0, with a range of 2.0 to 8.0. Immigrant men had an average mobility score of 6.0, with a range of 1.0 to 8.0.

A simple Linear Regression Analysis was conducted to determine whether an individual's mobility score was a significant predictor of his or her gender role attitudes (Table 9.5). The mobility score was significant, indicating that higher mobility scores lead to higher gender role attitude scores (i.e. less conservative.)

Predictor	Coef	StDev	T	P
Constant	42.597	2.516	16.93	0.000
Mobility	2.22573	0.4490	5.03	0.000
S=9.270	R-Sq=12.4%	R-sq(Adj)=11.9%		

Table 9.5: Regression of Mobility Score on current GRA

An analysis was conducted in order to assess whether migration status and education affect a respondent's mobility index (Table 9.6). Neither variable was a significant factor explaining variation in the mobility score.

Source	DF	Seq SS	Adj SS	Adj MS	F	P
Migstat	1	2.782	2.743	2.743	1.16	0.28
Bang Educ	8	18.450	18.450	2.306	0.97	0.46
Error	171	405.058	405.058	2.369		
Total	180	426.290				

Migration Status	Mean	St Dev
0	5.0	0.3
1	5.3	0.3

Bangladesh Education	Mean	StDev
1	5.0	0.7
2	4.8	1.5
3	4.1	0.7
4	5.2	0.2
5	5.2	0.4
6	5.4	1.1
7	5.4	0.2
8	5.4	0.8
9	5.8	0.3

Table 9.6: AOV of Migration status and Bangladeshi education on Mobility Score.

Additional analyses, as shown in Tables 9.7-9.16, were conducted in order to determine the effects of time since migration on the mobility scores of immigrants and the effects of employment and salary variables on both immigrants and non-immigrants. Analyses indicate that immigrants become more mobile with longer time since migration. The categorical time since migration variable is significant at the 0.10 level. Long-term immigrants tend to have higher mobility indices than short-term immigrants. Employment status and salary variables have no effect on mobility scores for immigrant women, non-immigrant women, immigrant men, and non-immigrant men.

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Migcat	1	9.08	9.08	3.34	0.070
Error	117	318.12	2.72		
Total	118	327.20			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
1	54	5.2	1.7		
2	65	5.7	1.6		

Table 9.7: AOV of Time Since Migration on Mobility Score for immigrants

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Empstat	1	3.96	3.96	1.81	0.184
Error	58	127.03	2.19		
Total	59	130.98			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
0	39	4.8	1.5		
1	21	5.3	1.5		

Table 9.8: AOV of Employment status on Mobility Score for immigrant women

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Salary	3	5.49	1.83	0.82	0.490
Error	56	125.49	2.24		
Total	59	130.98			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
0	39	4.8	1.5		
1	5	4.9	1.7		
2	15	5.4	1.5		
3	1	6.0	0.0		

Table 9.9: AOV of Salary on Mobility Score for immigrant women

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
H's Salary	5	6.99	1.40	0.61	0.693
Error	54	123.99	2.30		
Total	59	130.98			

Level	N	Mean	StDev
0	2	6.3	2.5
1	1	5.5	0.0
2	17	5.2	1.6
3	30	4.7	1.6
4	9	5.2	0.5
5	1	4.5	0.0

Table 9.10: AOV of Husband's salary on Mobility Score for immigrant women

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Empstat	1	0.55	0.55	0.19	0.665
Error	57	165.93	2.91		
Total	58	166.48			

Level	N	Mean	StDev
0	2	6.5	0.7
1	57	6.0	1.7

Table 9.11: AOV of Employment status on Mobility Score for immigrant men

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Salary	5	6.21	1.24	0.41	0.839
Error	53	160.27	3.02		
Total	58	166.48			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
0	2	6.5	0.7		
1	1	6.0	0.0		
2	17	5.7	1.9		
3	29	56.0	1.6		
4	9	6.2	1.8		
5	1	8.0	0.0		

Table 9.12: AOV of Salary on Mobility Score for immigrant men

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Empstat	1	1.69	1.69	0.94	0.341
Error	29	52.28	1.80		
Total	30	53.97			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
0	26	5.4	1.4		
1	5	6.0	1.1		

Table 9.13: AOV of Employment status on Mobility Score for non-immigrant women

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Salary	3	4.56	1.52	0.83	0.488
Error	27	49.40	1.83		
Total	30	53.97			

Level	N	Mean	StDev
0	26	5.4	1.4
1	1	4.5	0.0
2	2	6.5	1.4
4	2	6.3	0.4

Table 9.14: AOV of Salary on Mobility Score for non-immigrant women

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Husband's Salary	4	6.39	1.60	0.87	0.493
Error	26	47.58	1.83		
Total	30	53.97			

Level	N	Mean	StDev
2	1	4.5	0.0
3	5	4.6	1.0
4	8	5.5	0.8
5	9	5.7	1.8
6	8	5.9	1.4

Table 9.15: AOV of Husband's salary on Mobility Score for non-immigrant women

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Salary	5	2.87	0.57	0.40	0.842
Error	25	35.60	1.42		
Total	30	38.47			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
2	1	5.0	0.0		
3	5	4.4	0.7		
4	8	5.2	0.9		
5	9	4.8	1.4		
6	7	5.3	1.4		
7	1	5.0	0.0		

Table 9.16: AOV of Salary on Mobility Score for non-immigrant men

DISCUSSION OF FEMALE MOBILITY

During the life history interviews conducted during the third phase of research, women were asked about their childhood and teenage years. In particular, they were asked to describe any changes in their mobility or any restrictions that were placed on them as they reached adolescence and adulthood. Most of the women recalled increasing restrictions on their mobility once they began intermediate school. These restrictions for the most part lasted until their marriages.

Fatema Sultana, who worked as a nurse while her husband worked in the Middle East, recalls her childhood:

> Any kind of mixing with the other sex or taking part in functions or going outside was prohibited by our family traditions . . . For example, we went and came back from school at fixed times . . . without any delays. We could not attend any school functions after the regular school hours. It was prohibited . . . After my school, I went for training in nursing and stayed in a hostel. There I became a bit independent, but there was a lot of pressure from my family regarding my movement, my way of life . . . So I was married. Everything was fixed according to rules, and that is the custom in my country.

Fatema grew up in very traditional family. She was the eldest daughter of her father's second wife, and she grew up in a polygamous extended family household with her two mothers, her father, and her paternal grandparents. Her grandmother was her primary caretaker. Even though she did not live at home during nursing school, her family was still able to influence her behavior and control her mobility. She explains the reason for the absence of restrictions in the United States:

> Here the environment is favorable. Here, in this country, women can move around alone. There is no problem. But it is not possible in Bangladesh. Here I go outside alone nearby . . . not far away. I never feel scared to walk in the evenings. But I feel scared and unsafe in my country.

The risk of unwanted attention from men is lower in the United States than in Bangladesh. If a woman walks alone in Bangladesh, men often speak disrespectfully to her or stare openly at her. These types of behaviors make women uncomfortable in Bangladesh. While Queens is not free of street crimes, most passersby pay little attention to one another.

Zakia Begum shares a similar story about the restrictions placed on her mobility as she got older:

> There were no restrictions on going out when I was a child. But as soon as I was in 9th or 10th grade, there were some restrictions placed on me. My guardians were strict and they put restrictions on my going out. They preferred that I stayed home . . . They never liked me to meet or talk to boys.

She married when she was sixteen years old, and moved to the United States in her mid-twenties. She savors her freedom of mobility here:

> My best experience is that there is a lot of freedom here... No one bothers you. I can live as I wish. This is the truth... No one bothers me about moving around alone. In Bangladesh, you cannot move around freely or alone... Everyone objects.

Still, even in the United States, she feels that her behavior must be more constrained than that of American women:

> The women in America can move about freely. America is a free country. But we are not as free as the American women, but in Bangladesh I can say that they do not move around freely at all.

The Bangladeshi ideology of appropriate behavior for women continues to influence their mobility. In practical terms, women's mobility becomes less constrained in the United States because they take on a greater number of household responsibilities that require them to venture outside. However, language skills still limit their mobility. Despite this, many women spoke of their newfound independence and the freedom that they are able to experience in the United States.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has examined attitudes regarding female mobility among Bangladeshi immigrants in Queens and Bangladeshis in source areas in Bangladesh. There are three primary differences between the responses of immigrants and non-immigrants:

▪ Immigrants and non-immigrants consider different places to be acceptable solo destinations. A possible reason is the nature of the locations in each community. Movie theaters and food markets in Bangladesh, for example, are very different from their counterparts in the United States.

▪ Immigrants and non-immigrants give different reasons why some places are unacceptable solo destinations. For immigrants, reasons tend to center on familiarity with the area surrounding the location or knowledge about the subway system or other means of transportation. Immigrant men often speak of the relatively safe environment in the United States that makes it more acceptable to husbands for their wives to participate somewhat independently in society. Non-immigrants tend to label a location unacceptable because it requires women to mix with unrelated men and other strangers. Islam is often quoted as stating that it is forbidden for women to talk to or interact with men who are not her husband or her brothers.

▪ Immigrants and non-immigrants name different people as appropriate companions. Non-immigrants usually name male relatives, such as brothers, husbands, and sons. In Queens, these relatives, if they live in the area, are often unavailable during the day and early evening. Other extended family members are not a part of Bangladeshi families in Queens. Thus, Bangladeshi women in Queens must rely on female friends and acquaintances to accompany them to certain locations if their husbands are unavailable.

Results of statistical analyses indicate that female mobility attitudes are not affected by education, migration status, employment status, or salary. Among immigrants, the categorical measure of time since migration significantly explained variation in the mobility index. Longer-term immigrants had slightly, but significantly, higher mobility

scores than shorter-term immigrants. This is probably a result of increased familiarity with the neighborhoods and subway system over time, as well as increased English proficiency. Female mobility attitudes are significantly associated with gender role attitudes. Individuals with higher mobility scores also hold less conservative gender role attitudes.

CHAPTER 10
Household Tasks

ETHNOGRAPHIC OBSERVATIONS OF HOUSEHOLD TASKS

Traditional Bangladeshi gender ideology calls for a rigid division of household tasks between men and women. According to this traditional ideology, women are responsible for tasks taking place within the family compound, while men are responsible for tasks taking place outside the family compound. However, in most contemporary Bangladeshi households, this division of labor appears more flexible.

I observed the household division of labor in Bangladeshi households during interviews and informal visits and within my own household in Bangladesh. Typically, when visiting a family for an interview, in either Queens or Bangladesh, the husband would remain in the living room with my research assistant and me, while the wife would prepare tea and snacks. The husband would usually watch the kids while entertaining us. In a few households in Bangladesh, servants would prepare the refreshments so that the wife could join our conversation.

We were invited for dinner many times in the course of the fieldwork in both Queens and in Bangladesh. In Bangladesh, I was usually served my meal first, and sat at the table with the husband. The

wife would usually stand near the kitchen, ready to get me another serving as soon as I had finished the food on my plate. After I had finished my meal, the wife would clear the table and wash the dishes. In Queens, I usually ate the meal with the family, including both the husband and the wife. In some households, the husband helped to serve the meal and to wash the dishes afterwards. In all of the households, the wife would cook the meal.

When Moruph, Tanu, and her daughter first moved into my apartment in Dhaka, we carefully divided up the household chores: Moruph and I did the marketing, while Tanu did the cooking. We hired a woman to clean the apartment so that we could concentrate on the research. If Tanu was unavailable to prepare a meal, Moruph expected me, since I was female, to cook for him. Eventually, he learned to prepare a few simple dishes for himself.

Many families I visited in Queens seemed rather egalitarian in their division of household labor. Convenience and availability appeared to play large roles in the assignment of tasks to either the husband or the wife. The division of labor seemed to be a negotiated arrangement rather than a rigid division.

ANALYSIS OF HOUSEHOLD TASK DATA

Husbands and wives were also interviewed about the activities they perform within the household. Respondents were asked separately who usually performs a specific task such as cooking meals, cleaning the house, or doing the laundry. The tasks included in the Household Tasks Questionnaire are show in Table 10.1.

Household Task
Works outside the home
Cooks meals for family
Washes dishes after meals
Buys Groceries (food, household supplies, etc.)
Determines household budget
Cleans the house
Does Laundry
Takes children to school
Disciplines children
Helps children with homework
Does household repairs
Determines extent of schooling for children

Table 10.1: Tasks included in Household Activity questionnaire

In her own research, Nancy Foner discovered that migrant men are more likely to help with household chores:

> Work outside the home in New York brings another change that women appreciate. Many men now help out more inside the home than before they moved to New York. Of course, this is not inevitable. Cultural values in different groups as well as the availability of female relatives to lend a hand influence the kind of household men provide. (Foner 1998: 10)

She cites examples among Taiwanese and Korean immigrants as well as examples from Latin American and Caribbean immigrant groups. She discusses how these changes in behavior may affect changes in attitudes:

> More than behavior changes. As men become more
> accustomed to doing more around the house, notions of what
> tasks are appropriate - or expected - often also shift. . .
> Whatever men think, immigrant women may feel they can
> make more demands on their husbands in this country where
> the dominant norms and values back up their claims for men
> to help out. (Foner 1998: 12)

However, more women may work outside the home. While men may
help more than they did before migration, this still may not reduce
women's household labor. Hugo (1999: 29) argues:

> While migration may involve women working outside the
> home for the first time, all the change associated with this may
> not be empowering. For example, the involvement in that
> work often does not involve a reduction in the household work
> expected of women. Moreover, since migration may split up
> the extended family, women may have to undertake more
> household tasks than they did at the origin place where a full
> extended family was available to assist in those tasks.

Similar results were uncovered in this research, as shown in Tables
10.2 through 10.5. The presence or absence of other female relatives
greatly affected the division of labor among immigrant and non-
immigrant Bangladeshis. Overall, non-immigrant women receive more
help with household tasks than immigrant women. This is because
most Bangladeshi households in the origin areas employ at least one
servant, while none of the Bangladeshi households in Queens does.
Also, many of the households in Bangladesh are extended or joint
families so there are more people available to help. Bangladeshi
households in Queens tend to be nuclear, though a number of
Bangladeshi families share apartments with other unrelated
Bangladeshi families. Immigrant men perform or help with more
household tasks than non-immigrant men. They are more likely to
wash dishes and to clean the house than non-immigrant men are.
However, they are seldom home to help. Because of this, immigrant
women are often solely responsible for laundry, housework,
childrearing, and shopping.

	Mostly Wife	Mostly Husband	H & W equally	Servant	Other
Work outside home?		77.4%	19.4%		3.2%
Cook meals?	96.8%				3.2%
Washes dishes?	41.9%			51.6%	6.5%
Buys groceries?	6.5%	74.2%	16.1%		3.2%
Determines budget?	22.6%	25.8%	48.4%		3.2%
Cleans the house?	61.3%			25.8%	6.5%
Does the laundry?	48.4%			41.9%	6.5%
Takes children to school?	87.0%	4.4%	4.4%		4.4%
Disciplines children?	17.2%	3.5%	79.3%		
Does household repairs?	16.1%	51.6%	19.4%	6.5%	6.5%
Oversees children's education?	22.2%		70.4%		7.4%

Table 10.2: Distribution of non-immigrant women's responses on Household Task questionnaire

	Mostly Wife	Mostly Husband	H & W equally	Servant	Other
Work outside home?	5.3%	66.7%	28.1%		
Cook meals?	82.8%	1.7%	15.5%		
Washes dishes?	55.2%		43.1%		1.7%
Buys groceries?	20.7%	5.2%	72.4%		1.7%
Determines budget?	28.3%	15.1%	54.7%		1.9%
Cleans the house?	44.8%	3.5%	50.0%		1.7%
Does the laundry?	45.6%	17.5%	36.8%		
Takes children to school?	62.5%	8.3%	25.0%		4.2%
Disciplines children?	22.0%	2.4%	75.6%		
Does household repairs?	3.5%	21.0%	1.8%		73.7%
Oversees children's education?	12.2%	6.1%	77.6%		4.1%

Table 10.3: Distribution of immigrant women's responses on Household Task questionnaire

	Mostly Wife	Mostly Husband	H & W equally	Servant	Other
Work outside home?	1.8%	62.5%	35.7%		
Cook meals?	82.5%		17.5%		
Washes dishes?	45.6%	3.5%	50.9%		
Buys groceries?	14.0%	15.8%	70.2%		
Determines budget?	23.2%	25.0%	51.8%		
Cleans the house?	47.4%	52.6%			
Does the laundry?	40.4%	15.8%	43.9%		
Takes children to school?	52.4%	9.5%	38.1%		
Disciplines children?	26.3%	2.6%	71.1%		
Does household repairs?		26.8%	3.6%		68.7%
Oversees children's education?	10.0%	8.0%	82.0%		

Table 10.4: Distribution of immigrant men's responses on Household Task questionnaire

	Mostly Wife	Mostly Husband	H & W equally	Servant	Other
Works outside home?		67.7%	29.0%		3.2%
Cook meals?	87.1%			3.2%	6.5%
Washes dishes?	48.4%	3.2%		45.2%	3.2%
Buys groceries?		64.5%	29.0%		6.5%
Determines budget?	12.9%	35.5%	41.9%		9.7%
Cleans the house?	48.4%	3.2%	12.9%	35.5%	
Does the laundry?	61.3%	3.2%	16.1%	19.4%	
Takes children to school?	58.8%	5.9%	35.3%		
Disciplines children?	14.3%		85.7%		
Does household repairs?	3.2%	25.8%	3.2%		67.8%
Oversees children's education?	27.3$	9.1%	59.1%		4.6%

Table 10.5: Distribution of non-immigrant men's responses on Household Task questionnaire

The same index of dissimilarity (Table 10.6) as described in Chapters 8 and 9 was constructed for household tasks. For immigrant husbands and wives the index ranged from 4.56 for *disciplining the children* to 13.33 for *doing repairs*, with an average of 8.29. For non-immigrants the index ranged from 6.4 for disciplining the children to 39.17 or *doing the laundry*, with an average of 17.06. The larger discrepancy between the reports of non-immigrant Bangladeshi

husbands and wives can be partially explained by the presence of so many possible helpers. Husbands were more likely to name their wives, while wives were more likely to name a servant or other household member. This may indicate that Bangladeshi husbands in Bangladesh are somewhat unaware of what goes on in the household. In Queens, on the other hand, husbands are not only more aware, but there are fewer people available to help with household tasks and they themselves are more likely to do so.

Index of Dissimilarity	Couples in Queens	Couples in Bangladesh	Husbands in both sites	Wives in both sites
Works outside home?	7.64	9.68	8.47	13.98
Cook meals?	2.03	8.07	15.94	17.24
Washes dishes?	11.29	9.68	51.17	56.34
Buys groceries?	10.61	16.12	55.19	70.53
Determines budget?	9.91	16.12	20.16	12.06
Cleans the house?	51.72	22.58	49.40	50.23
Does the laundry?	6.97	30.65	40.29	52.74
Takes kids to school?	14.29	32.48	6.45	24.64
Disciplines children?	4.56	6.4	14.66	4.71
Does household repairs?	8.05	61.29	2.73	67.23
Oversees children's education?	6.33	14.14	22.91	13.3
Average Index of Dissimilarity	11.12	18.93	23.94	31.91

Table 10.6: Index of Dissimilarity for Household Task data

DISCUSSION OF HOUSEHOLD TASKS

Bangladeshis in Queens are aware of the changes in the household division of labor. They have witnessed the more fluid division of labor that exists in American households, and most have begun to emulate this in their own homes. Few women are solely responsible for housework. Fatema Sultana shared her observations on household division of labor in the United States, in both American and Bangladeshi households:

> What I see is that both husbands and wives are involved in household work. The husband cooks when his wife goes to work. He bathes the children and also feeds them. So, the husband does household work instead of just the wife. This does not happen in our country... [But] this is not because of mental attitudes. This is mainly due to changes in situations. When one can't finish the domestic work, the other helps. It can be anybody, either husband or wife. One does for the sake of the household.

Though she has definite opinions on the household division of labor, she herself has only been a housewife for the past four years. She finds the work overwhelming and lonely:

> In fact, after marriage, we didn't live together. I was a student and staying at the hostel. For the first two or three years, I was alone. On holidays, he used to come visit me and then we together moved around. We would spend a month together and have a very good time. I could not realize the responsibility of a housewife. Now I am in America and am busy in the household affairs. I have taken the responsibility of the household for more or less four years now. I have now realized the responsibility of mother and wife. When I was working in my country, I had a younger brother, sister, and all of them together used to look after my children. Here I am alone to take care of the children and the housework. Staying at home has affected my mental condition. I feel very lonely.

Being in charge of a household is new to Fatema. The absence of extended family members to help, in addition to staying at home after a long career in nursing, cause her to feel isolated.

Zakia Begum has not noticed a change between the household division of labor in Bangladesh and that in her home in the United States. She describes women's work in Bangladesh:

> Women do all of the household chores. Even if there is a helping hand, women in Bangladesh have to do a lot of things . . . They have to look after and attend to every detail of the household chores.

Despite the presence of servants, housewives in Bangladesh must still supervise and help with all of the household chores. Zakia argues that things have not really changed much for her since she came to the United States:

> I was a housewife there as I am here in America. Menfolk continue the same business they used to do in Bangladesh, earning for the household. . .I am always busy in family affairs for the well-being of my children and husband. What else do I have besides my family?

For many women, nothing has changed. In Bangladesh, husbands, or other men in the household, worked outside the home, while women worked inside the home, taking care of the household chores and looking after the children. After migrating to the United States, women are still primarily responsible for household chores, primarily because their husbands are rarely home.

Other women argue that the cultural environment prevented men from helping with household chores in Bangladesh. Minu Akter is a young woman in her mid-twenties. Her husband works full-time as a cab driver, in addition to attending graduate school part-time. She believes that the environment here permits men to help their wives and actually improves the relationships between husbands and wives. She states that she and her husband have a deeper intimacy now that they live in the United States. Her husband spends a lot of time with her and helps her with the housework, even when he is busy with work or

school. Shaheen Ahsan agrees with Minu. She argues that people in Bangladesh find it unacceptable for husbands to help their wives with housework. She states that when she was living in a joint family household with her husband's parents, they prevented her husband from going out alone with her or from helping her with any chores. She is much happier here: "Now he can help me, and I can help him."

A few of the female respondents in Queens have to juggle wage work, childrearing, and housework. Because their husbands also work, the household chores tend to fall to the wives. Zamila Begum and her husband both work in a factory. She works approximately 16 hours per week, while her husband works at least 40 hours per week. They have two teenaged children. Zamila regrets that she does not have time to communicate with friends and relatives in Bangladesh:

> When I first came here, I used to feel for them . . . And then gradually, I got busy here, the busy life, work, the American fast life. By the time I finish my work, I am too tired to do anything like calling or writing . . .On returning from work, I have to cook, offer prayers, recite verses, take a bath, and so on. And I feel so tired after all this. I only like to rest then . . . I have a lot of things to do in my home . . . I didn't work in my country, but I have to work here. I have to do housework along with outside work. But I think the American way of life is tough. Because here everybody works hard and leisure time is very short.

The double load of wage work and housework overwhelms many women. Time is limited for leisure activities with their families and for maintaining contact with friends and relatives. Adapting to the fast pace of life in the United States has isolated many immigrant women from tasks other than wage work and housework.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has examined household division of labor among Bangladeshi immigrants in Queens and Bangladeshi non-immigrants living in source areas in Bangladesh. Overall, non-immigrant women

receive more help with household tasks than immigrant women receive. Most non-immigrant households employ at least one servant, while none of the immigrant households employ servants. Many non-immigrant households are extended or joint families that include more potential housework helpers. Conversely, most immigrant households are nuclear family households.

Immigrant men perform or help with more household tasks than non-immigrant men. They are more likely to help with dishwashing and housework than their counterparts in Bangladesh. This reflects not only their wives' need for additional help with housework, but also the absence of family members who may have disapproved of a husband's helping with housework in Bangladesh. However, despite immigrant men's willingness to help, the extent of their help is limited by their long work hours. This often leaves their wives solely responsible for the household tasks.

Bangladeshi women in Queens have gained more control and more responsibility within the household. This, in turn, has fostered increased mobility. These women must now leave the house, often alone or in the company of small children or female neighbors, to shop for groceries and other necessities, to take older children to school, and to do the laundry in local laundromats. At the same time, many of these women have also experienced a sense of isolation. Before their migration to the United States, these women had servants and female relatives either living with them or nearby to provide them with companionship.

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Social Networks

ETHNOGRAPHIC OBSERVATIONS OF SOCIAL NETWORKS

A palpable difference exists between the social environments in Queens and in Bangladesh. Men and women interact on the streets and in shops in Queens, exchanging news about Bangladesh and mutual acquaintances. Conversations between strangers often begin with questions about their places of origin in Bangladesh, their marital status, and their place of employment. These conversations would not occur on a regular basis in Bangladesh because of the restrictions that *purdah* places on the interactions between unrelated men and women. However, despite the relaxation of *purdah* in Queens, interactions are still very formal. Men and women do not refer to each other by name. Rather, they use the kinship terms *bhai* (brother), *bhabi* (married sister), and *apa* (unmarried sister). They also use honorific pronouns.

One woman in Queens carefully explained her own rules, which were based on education, for the interactions between unrelated men and women. College educated people were permitted to speak rather freely with each other, while people who had less education were limited in their ability to speak to each other. Those with no formal education were, according to this woman, prohibited from interacting at all. She believed that education gave an individual the ability to

maintain *purdah* internally. The lack of education forced an individual to adhere to the external restrictions of *purdah*.

In my own social interactions with Bangladeshi men and women, I found it much easier to become friends with women, though it was often easier to converse with men because men were more likely to be proficient in English. Two of my male research assistant, Liton and Moruph, questioned me repeatedly about my friendships with men in the U.S. They were unclear about the difference between a casual social relationship with a male friend and a romantic relationship with a boyfriend. In Bangladesh, casual friendships between unmarried, unrelated men and women are still rather rare. Women who participate in these relationships are believed to be loose and their behavior may threaten the honor of their families.

ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL NETWORK DATA

Data on social networks were collected through interviews about whom informants socialize with, how those individuals are related to the informants, and how often they speak with them. Two types of social networks were investigated: networks comprised of those individuals with whom the respondent interacts regularly ("Friend Network") and networks comprised of relatives ("Family Network"). Both immigrant and non-immigrant Bangladeshis were asked a series of questions regarding their Friend Network. This question was worded to include any individual with whom the respondent had spoken within the previous five days. With this wording, a friend network may include relatives, co-workers, friends, neighbors, or acquaintances. Only immigrant Bangladeshis were asked questions regarding their Family Network. This question was worded to include the respondent's relatives (if any) living within the New York City metropolitan area. Respondents were not permitted to name individuals with whom they currently resided as members of either network. Table 11.1 presents the questions asked regarding social networks.

> **Question regarding Friend Network**:
> *(asked of both immigrant and non-immigrant Bangladeshis)*
> Name five people you spoke with in the last five days. Where do they live? Are they related to you? How often do you see them? How often do you talk to them? Do you speak to them face-to face or by telephone? What ethnicity are they?
>
> **Questions regarding Family Network**:
> *(asked only of immigrant Bangladeshis)*
> Name your relatives in New York City. Where do they live? How are they related to you? How often do you see them? How often do you talk to them? Do you speak to them face-to face or by telephone? What ethnicity are they?

Table 11.1: Questions asked regarding Social Networks

The compositions of the Friend Networks of immigrants and non-immigrants are very similar. Respondents were asked to name five individuals. Bangladeshis in both origin and destination areas tended to name only Bangladeshis. Non-immigrants, both men and women, named no non-Bangladeshis. Ninety-seven percent of the individuals named by immigrant women and 96% of the individuals named by immigrant men were Bangladeshi. Both immigrant Bangladeshi men and women named an average of 4.6 Bangladeshis as members of their Friend network. Most of the Bangladeshi women in the Queens sample were not employed. They tended to spend their days at home with their children or visit with other Bangladeshi women who lived in their buildings or in nearby apartment complexes. A few of the women had developed friendships with their non-Bangladeshi neighbors. However, the likelihood of a woman developing these kinds of friendships was limited not only by her own English proficiency, but also by that of her neighbor. Immigrant women who worked tended to work in Bangladeshi markets, Bangladeshi-owned restaurants, or other Bangladeshi-owned enterprises. Thus, if they named co-workers, these co-workers tended to be Bangladeshi as well.

Immigrant men usually listed neighbors or people they considered friends. These individuals were usually Bangladeshi. Those individuals who were not Bangladeshi, but who were named in a respondent's social network, tended to be South Asian and/or Muslim.

Because most immigrant Bangladeshi men were cab drivers, a relatively isolated position, few named co-workers.

Friend networks of immigrants and non-immigrants were also similar in terms of the sex of those named. Non-immigrant women named an average of 1.7 men and 3.3 women, while immigrant women named an average of 1.4 men and 3.1 women. Non-immigrant men named an average of 4.9 men and 0.1 women, while immigrant men named an average of 3.9 men and 0.9 women.

Friend networks of both immigrant and non-immigrant women often contained one or two relatives. Immigrant women named an average of 1.5 relatives, while non-immigrant women named an average of 1.8 relatives. Men, both immigrant and non-immigrant, included few relatives in their friend networks. Non-immigrant men named an average of 0.2 relatives, while immigrant men named an average of 0.8 relatives. Bangladeshi immigrants living in Queens seem to have reconstructed social networks similar to those they had in Bangladesh. Women usually interact with neighbors or relatives living nearby.

Bangladeshi immigrants were asked to name up to five relatives living within the New York City metropolitan area, but not living with them (Table 11.2). One-third of immigrants had no relatives in this area. Twenty percent named one relative, while 16% named two relatives. The remaining one-third named three or more relatives.

# of relatives in Family Network	Count (n=120)	Percent
0	40	33.3%
1	24	20.0%
2	19	15.8%
3	9	7.5%
4	9	7.5%
5	19	15.9%

Table 11.2: Relatives in Family Networks of Bangladeshi immigrants

Immigrant women are more likely to have relatives living nearby. 40% of women have three or more relatives living in the New York

City metropolitan area, whereas only 22% of men do (Table 11.3). Only one-quarter of women have no relatives, while over 40% of men have no relatives living in the New York City area. Over 20% of women have at least 5 relatives living nearby, while only 10% of men have 5 or more relatives living nearby.

# Relatives named➔	0	1	2	3	4	5
Immigrant women:						
Count	15	12	9	6	5	13
Percent	25.0%	20.0%	15.0%	10.0%	8.3%	21.7%
Immigrant men:						
Count	25	12	10	3	4	6
Percent	41.7%	12.0%	16.7%	5.0%	6.7%	10.0%
All:						
Count	40	24	19	9	9	19
Percent	33.3%	20.0%	15.8%	7.5%	7.5%	15.8%

Table 11.3: Percentage of immigrants naming 0-5 relatives in network

Most of the family networks named by the respondents contain both male and female relatives. However, 35% of the Family networks contained no female relatives, and 15% contained no male relatives. Respondents named a total of 210 relatives living in the New York City area. Of these, 53 were first-degree relatives (parents, siblings, children), while the remainder included more distant relatives (aunts, uncles, cousins, in-laws). These 53 first-degree relatives were divided among the family networks of 28 respondents. Seven women and eight men named only one first-degree relative. Four women and five men named two first-degree relatives. Three women and one man named five first-degree relatives.

There are at least two possible explanations why female immigrants tended to have more relatives in Queens than male immigrants. The first possible explanation involves the immigration patterns of men and women. While I was unable to collect data on

modes of immigration, through casual conversations, I learned that many men had arrived in the U.S. on tourist visas and had simply stayed. These men may have been pioneers, assessing the prospects in the U.S. for their families who have remained behind in Bangladesh. Women, on the other hand, often migrated with their husbands or after being sponsored by male relatives who had arrived earlier. A second possible explanation may involve marriage patterns. In Bangladesh, families usually arrange the marriages of their children. Men living in the U.S. typically return to Bangladesh to find a bride. Families who are comfortable choosing these men as suitable husbands for their daughters may have relatives already living in the U.S. who could provide support if needed.

The hypotheses presented in Chapter 5 suggest that the size and composition of social networks may affect current gender role attitude scores. All respondents were asked to name five individuals in their Friend Network. Regression analyses were conducted in order to assess whether the following social network variables were significant predictors of current gender role attitude scores: the proportion of Bangladeshis named in a Friend Network (for immigrants only), the proportion of males named in a Friend Network, and the proportion of relatives named in a Friend Network. None of these variables was significant for immigrants or non-immigrants. This indicates that that the composition of social networks does not affect gender role attitude scores.

Predictor	Coef	StDev	T	P
Constant	55.211	2.543	21.71	0.000
Propmale	-0.371	3.389	-0.11	0.913
S=9.783	R-Sq=0.0%	R-Sq(adj)=0.0%		

Table 11.4: Regression of Proportion Male on current GRA for non-immigrants

Predictor	Coef	StDev	T	P
Constant	55.686	1.505	37.00	0.000
Proprel	-3.713	4.441	-0.84	0.406
S=9.728	R-Sq=1.2%	R-Sq(adj)=0.0%		

Table 11.5: Regression of Proportion Relatives on current GRA for non-immigrants

Predictor	Coef	StDev	T	P
Constant	57.410	7.850	7.31	0.000
PropBang	-3.090	8.176	-0.38	0.706
S=10.15	R-Sq=0.1%	R-Sq(adj)=0.0%		

Table 11.6: Regression of Proportion Bangladeshi on current GRA for immigrants

Predictor	Coef	StDev	T	P
Constant	55.680	1.765	31.55	0.000
Propmale	-1.828	2.638	-0.69	0.490
S=10.17	R-Sq=0.4%	R-Sq(adj)=0.0%		

Table 11.7: Regression of Proportion Male on current GRA for immigrants

Predictor	Coef	StDev	T	P
Constant	55.240	1.237	44.65	0.000
Proprel	-2.327	3.135	-0.74	0.459
S=10.17	R-Sq=0.5%	R-Sq(adj)=0.0%		

Table 11.8: Regression of Proportion Relatives on current GRA for immigrants

Hagan (1998) suggests that the composition of immigrant social networks may change over time and in ways that may be different for men and women. The effect of time since migration (categorical) on the proportion of Bangladeshis, the proportion of relatives, and the proportion of males in a respondent's Friend Network was tested. The results are shown in Tables 11.9-11.14. Time since migration was a significant factor explaining variation in the proportion of Bangladeshis for immigrant women only. Immigrant women who had been in the

United States for less than five years tended to name more Bangladeshis as members of their Friend Network than immigrant women who had been in the United States for more than five years. For immigrant men, this variable was not significant. The relationships between the proportion of relatives and the proportion of males and time since migration were not significant for either immigrant men or immigrant women.

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Migcat	1	0.03868	0.03868	5.11	0.028
Error	55	0.41605	0.00756		
Total	56	0.45474			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
1	38	0.9	0.		
2	19	0.9	0.1		

Table 11.9: AOV of Time Since Migration on Proportion Bangladeshi for immigrant women

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Migcat	1	0.133	0.133	1.14	0.291
Error	56	6.535	0.117		
Total	57	6.668			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
1	39	0.30	0.31		
2	19	0.41	0.41		

Table 11.10: AOV of Time Since Migration on Proportion Relative for immigrant women

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Migcat	1	0.0435	0.0435	0.49	0.485
Error	56	4.9293	0.0880		
Total	57	4.9728			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
1	39	0.33	0.30		
2	19	0.27	0.29		

Table 11.11: AOV of Time Since Migration on Proportion Male for immigrant women

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Migcat	1	0.0011	0.0011	0.06	0.809
Error	55	1.0487	0.0191		
Total	56	1.0498			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
1	14	0.94	0.09		
2	43	0.93	0.15		

Table 11.12: AOV of Time Since Migration on Proportion Bangladeshi for immigrant men

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Migcat	1	0.0642	0.0642	1.19	0.280
Error	56	3.0169	0.0539		
Total	57	3.0811			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
1	14	0.11	0.15		
2	44	0.19	0.25		

Table 11.13: AOV of Time Since Migration on Proportion Relative for immigrant men

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Migcat	1	0.0024	0.0024	0.05	0.819
Error	56	2.5154	0.0449		
Total	57	2.5178			
Level	N	Mean	StDev		
1	14	0.83	0.17		
2	44	0.81	0.22		

Table 11.14: AOV of Time Since Migration on Proportion Male for immigrant men

Hugo (1999: 21) suggests that the presence of social networks in destination areas may ease constraints on female mobility because companions are available for movement. To test this, regression analyses, shown in Tables 11.15 through 11.19, were conducted to test whether the social network composition variables were significant predictors of the mobility score. The proportion of relatives in an individual's friend network was a significant predictor of his or her mobility score for non-immigrants, but not for immigrants. Non-immigrants with more relatives in their friend network tended to have higher mobility scores. The proportion of male individuals named in a respondent's friend network was not significant for non-immigrants, but it was significant for immigrants. Immigrants with a higher proportion of males in their friend social network tended to have higher mobility scores. For immigrants, the proportion of Bangladeshi individuals named in a friend network had a significant negative effect on an immigrant's mobility score. The more Bangladeshis named in a network, the lower the mobility score.

Predictor	Coef	StDev	T	P
Constant	4.9883	0.1890	26.39	0.000
Proprel	1.1854	0.5578	2.13	0.038
S=1.22	R-Sq=7.0%		R-Sq(adj)=5.5%	

Table 11.15: Regression of Proportion Relatives on Mobility Score for non-immigrants

Predictor	Coef	StDev	T	P
Constant	5.4308	0.2057	26.40	0.000
Proprel	0.0491	0.5190	0.09	0.925
S=1.678	R-Sq=0.0%	R-Sq(adj)=0.0%		

Table 11.16: Regression of Proportion Relatives on Mobility Score for immigrants

Predictor	Coef	StDev	T	P
Constant	5.6767	0.3223	17.61	0.000
Propmale	-0.7008	0.4295	-1.63	0.108
S=1.240	R-Sq=4.2%	R-Sq(adj)=2.7%		

Table 11.17: Regression of Proportion Males on Mobility Score for non-immigrants

Predictor	Coef	StDev	T	P
Constant	4.7320	0.2850	16.60	0.000
Propmale	1.2483	0.4242	2.94	0.004
S=1.618	R-Sq=7.1%	R-Sq(adj)=6.3%		

Table 11.18: Regression of Proportion Male on Mobility Score for immigrants

Predictor	Coef	StDev	T	P
Constant	8.460	1.272	6.65	0.000
Propbang	-3.166	1.325	-2.39	0.019
S=1.645	R-Sq=4.9%	R-Sq(adj)=4.0%		

Table 11.19: Regression of Proportion Bangladeshi on Mobility Score for immigrants

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has examined the composition of the social networks of Bangladeshi immigrants living in Queens and Bangladeshis living in source areas in Bangladesh. Data were collected on the Family Networks of immigrants and the Friend Networks of both immigrants and non-immigrants. The data suggest that Bangladeshis in Queens

have reconstructed social networks similar to those they may have had in Bangladesh.

Immigrants and non-immigrants were asked to supply information about their Friend Network, comprised of those individuals with whom they interact regularly. The networks described by immigrants and those described by non-immigrants were very similar. All Friend Networks were predominately comprised of Bangladeshis. However, some immigrant men listed friends who were not Bangladeshi, but who were South Asian or Muslim, and a few immigrant women named their non-Bangladeshi female neighbors. Men tended to name mostly men, and women tended to name mostly women. Women often named at least one relative as a member of their Friend Network, while men rarely did.

Analyses indicate that the composition of Friend Networks does not affect current gender role attitude scores among Bangladeshi immigrants or non-immigrants. The proportion of Bangladeshis named, the proportion of males named, and the proportion of relatives named were not significant predictors of gender role attitudes.

Time since migration has only a minor effect of the composition of social networks of immigrants. Of the three variables tested (proportion Bangladeshi, proportion relatives, and proportion males), time since migration has an effect only on proportion Bangladeshi for immigrant women. More recently arrived immigrant women tend to name more Bangladeshis as members of their Friend Networks. For immigrant men, time since migration has no effect on any of the composition variables.

The composition of Friend Networks had mixed effects on the mobility score of immigrants and non-immigrants. Non-immigrants with more relatives in their Friend Network tend to have higher mobility scores. This most likely indicates the availability of more appropriate companions since in Bangladesh relatives are more likely to be named as appropriate companions for women. Immigrants with a higher proportion of males in their friend social network tended to have higher mobility scores. For immigrants, the proportion of Bangladeshi individuals named in a friend network had a significant negative effect on mobility scores.

CHAPTER 12
Conclusion

In confirming some hypothesis and refuting others, the analyses conducted in Chapter 8 through Chapter 11 suggest that Bangladeshi immigrants experience profound change in some aspects of their gender role attitudes and moderate to no change in other aspects. Furthermore, this study emphasizes the need and utility of origin and destination area studies. This chapter begins with a summary and interpretation of the results. The second section discusses the implications of the research for immigrant assimilation theory. The third section offers alternative explanations for the findings. The final section presents the contributions of this research to immigrant adaptation knowledge and suggests opportunities for future research.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The findings of each hypothesis tested are summarized below.

Selectivity

This hypothesis was two pronged: from gender migration theory, an immigrant may be selected for gender role attitudes and, from micro-economic/human capital theory, an immigrant may be selected for education. The hypothesis from gender migration theory stated that individuals who migrate occupy different gender role attitudes at the time of migration than those who do not. The hypothesis suggested that immigrants would have less conservative gender role attitudes (higher retrospective gender role attitude (RGRA) score) than non-immigrants at the time of migration. The results indicated that the retrospective gender role attitude score for immigrants versus non-immigrants, male immigrants versus male non-immigrants, and female immigrants versus female non-immigrants were significantly different. Analysis of variance also indicated that migration status was a significant factor explaining variation in the retrospective gender role attitude score. However, the results did not support the hypothesis that immigrants would have less conservative retrospective gender role attitudes than non-immigrants. In fact, immigrants had more conservative retrospective gender role attitudes than non-immigrants.

The interpretation of these results is complicated by the accuracy of the retrospective gender role attitudinal data. These data may reflect actual past attitudes or current perceptions of past attitudes. Further questioning revealed that both immigrants and non-immigrants perceive their pasts to be very different from their presents, and these perceptions, whether real or imagined, may have colored their retrospective responses.

The second dimension of the selectivity hypothesis, from micro-economic/human capital theory, stated that individuals who migrate have more education than those who do not. However, the results indicate that education does not predict whether an individual migrates. While many new immigrants to the United States enter the country on a Diversity Visa, others enter on family preference visas or tourist visas. Only the Diversity Visa has an education requirement. A better test of the hypothesis would control for immigrant status and visa type. However, these data could not be collected for this research. Additionally, the education data was collected through a question about education received in the country of origin. Presumably, non-

immigrants have remained in Bangladesh for a longer amount of time and have had the opportunity to continue their education in Bangladesh.

Nevertheless, the human capital characteristic education still plays a role in determining gender role attitudes. Level of education was a significant factor predicting less conservative gender role attitudes. Education leads to the exposure to a wider range of lifestyles, behaviors, and ideologies. This exposure may foster either a greater acceptance of alternative lifestyles and ideologies or may cause actual attitudinal change.

Time Since Migration

The hypothesis stated that the gender role attitudes of immigrants differ by time since migration. The hypothesis further stated that gender role attitudes would become less conservative over time. While time since migration (coded as short-term versus long-term) was a significant factor explaining variation in gender role attitudes among immigrants, the direction of the relationship was opposite to that which was expected. Longer-term immigrants held more conservative gender role attitudes than more recent immigrants.

This may indicate that more recent immigrants may be selected on the basis of other characteristics. Alternatively, conversations with respondents reveal that as their children approach adolescence, parents turn toward Islam for guidance. They often express a desire to send their children, especially their daughters, to Bangladesh during their teenage years in order to protect them from dating and other contact with members of the opposite sex. Parents strongly desire that their children be raised with Islamic ideals and values, and worry about finding an appropriate Bangladeshi Muslim spouse for their sons and daughters.

Size and Composition of Social Networks

This hypothesis stated that immigrants with large Bangladeshi social networks hold more traditional gender role attitudes than immigrants with small or non-existent Bangladeshi social networks. In the

analyses, the hypotheses were extended to include non-immigrants. In order to test this hypothesis, three variables were created: the proportion of Bangladeshis in an individual's Friend Network, the proportion of males in an individual's Friend Network, and the proportion of relatives in an individual's Friend Network. Thus, individuals with fewer Bangladeshis, more men, or fewer relatives in their Friend Networks were hypothesized to have less conservative gender role attitudes than those with more Bangladeshis, fewer men, or more relatives in their Friend Networks. None of the variables was a significant predictor of current gender role attitudes for immigrants or non-immigrants.

The results of the effects of social network composition on female mobility attitudes are more mixed. The proportion of relatives in an individual's Friend Network was a significant predictor of attitudes regarding female mobility for non-immigrants, but not for immigrants. Non-immigrants with more relatives in their Friend Network tend to have higher mobility scores than those with fewer relatives in their networks. The proportion of males named in a respondent's Friend Network was a significant predictor of mobility scores for immigrants, but not for non-immigrants. Immigrants who named more men as members of their Friend Networks have higher mobility scores than those who named fewer men. For immigrants, the proportion of Bangladeshis named in a Friend Network had a significant negative effect on mobility attitudes. Time since migration has a significant effect on the proportion of Bangladeshis named into an immigrant woman's Friend Network, but not into an immigrant man's Friend Network. Bangladeshi women in Queens with shorter time since migration tend to have more Bangladeshis in their social networks. Time since migration is not significantly associated with the proportion of relatives or the proportion of males in immigrants' Friend Networks.

Employment Status

The hypothesis stated that immigrant women who participate in the formal economy possess less traditional gender role attitudes than women who do not participate in the formal economy. This hypothesis was extended in the analyses to include non-immigrant women as well.

The hypothesis was not tested among immigrant and non-immigrant men since male employment was virtually universal in both communities.

For immigrant women, employment status was not a significant factor explaining variation in current gender role attitude scores and in mobility scores. However, the data indicate that employed women tend to have slightly higher scores on both scales. Additionally, pre-migration employment status is not a significant factor explaining variation in retrospective gender role attitude scores among immigrant women. Finally, the individual earnings of immigrant women and the earnings of their husbands are also not significant.

For non-immigrant women, employment status is a significant factor explaining variation in both current gender role attitudes and retrospective gender role attitudes. Non-immigrant women who work for wages tend to have higher current gender role attitude scores and higher retrospective gender role attitude scores, indicating less traditional attitudes at both time points. However, employment status does not affect mobility scores. Furthermore, the individual earnings of non-immigrant women have a significant positive effect on current gender role attitude scores, while the earnings of their husbands have no effect. Neither individual earnings nor husbands' earnings affect attitudes regarding female mobility.

Tests were conducted to assess the relationship between various employment variables and men's gender role attitudes. Men's own earnings are not significantly related to their mobility attitudes or to their current gender role attitude in either community. For immigrant men, pre-migration employment status is a significant factor explaining variation in their retrospective gender role attitudes, but not in their current gender role attitudes.

IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS FOR IMMIGRANT ASSIMILATION THEORY

The integration of current migration theories presented in Chapter 2 combined components of gender migration theory, micro-economic migration theory, social network theory, and immigrant assimilation theory. This research attempted to apply this integrative theory to the

attitudes of immigrants rather than to the more typical focus of demographic theory and research, the behavior of immigrants. Hypotheses typically used in research on immigrant behavior, which tends to focus on economic, employment, residential, neighborhood, social, linguistic, and educational outcomes, were tested. All four of these hypotheses were rejected in this research. The rejection of the traditional hypotheses used in immigrant assimilation research when tested on attitudinal data has profound implications for immigrant assimilation theory.

First, immigrant assimilation theory must take into account that individuals may experience attitudinal change and behavioral change differently. This research attempted to apply components of migration theory usually used to assess the behavior of immigrant to the attitudes of immigrants. The results indicate that attitudes and behaviors may change in different directions, and changes in attitudes and changes in behavior may stem from different causes. More empirical work must be conducted to assess how attitudes change in relation to specific behaviors by comparing attitudinal data with observational data. New theories that take into account both attitudes and behavior may be more successful in explaining how immigrants adapt to life in a new society.

Second, immigrant assimilation theory must take into account that change may not be unidirectional. An underlying assumption of many immigrant assimilation theories, including the integrative theory presented in this research, is that the direction of change is from traditional to contemporary, or from more conservative to less conservative. The results of this study indicate that the direction of change may involve a complex process in which immigrants initially embrace the new ideologies and attitudes that they are exposed to in the destination area, but over time, they may reject these new ideologies for the more traditional ones of their homeland. Immigrant assimilation theories should attempt to explain the types of situations in which immigrants may embrace or reject attitudinal change.

Third, immigrant assimilation theory must allow for self-directed assimilation. The adaptation process may be self-determined, with individuals choosing those aspects of their traditional ideology and that of the destination area that best fit their lifestyles and needs. Immigrant assimilation theories should attempt to determine which aspects of

traditional ideologies might be abandoned under what kind of circumstances.

ALTERNATIVE EXPLANATIONS FOR THE FINDINGS AND METHODOLOGICAL IMPROVEMENTS

This section will present possible alternative explanations for the results and possible methodological improvements.

Alternative Explanations

This research attempted to apply the traditional hypotheses of immigrant assimilation research to the attitudinal adaptation of immigrants. However, all four of the research hypotheses were rejected. There are a number of possible alternative explanations for the findings, including underemployment, self-directed adaptation, religious beliefs, and the mismatch between the requirements for daily living and ideology.

The lack of employment opportunities equal to those they left behind in Bangladesh limits the ability of new immigrants to occupy the same socioeconomic strata as they did pre-migration and limits their ability to become fully incorporated into U.S. society. Though many Bangladeshi immigrants in Queens are well educated and possess degrees in fields such as engineering, accountancy, education, and business, their academic credentials are not accepted in the United States. This limits their access to professional jobs, leaving them little choice but to find work as waiters, cab drivers, and shopkeepers. Many immigrants were ashamed of or frustrated by their current employment situation. Most respondents in Queens, both men and women, expressed the desire to seek education in the United States so that they could obtain better jobs, both in terms of status and salary. However, additional education requires both time and money. English proficiency and legal status issues further limit their entrance into white-collar jobs. Respondents repeatedly requested help in establishing more affordable job training programs, English classes in their neighborhoods, and employment counseling services for newly arrived immigrants. The co-workers of the Bangladeshi respondents in

Queens are often immigrants themselves. Thus, the ideologies to which the Bangladeshi immigrants are exposed may not be "American" ideologies at all.

A second alternative explanation for the findings may involve a self-directed pattern of adaptation. Researchers who examine how the roles and relationships of immigrants are affected by international migration must be aware that immigrant groups may not be assimilating toward some American norm. They must recognize that immigrant families may selectively choose to maintain certain aspects of their pre-migration ideology, while at the same time abandoning others for more contemporary attitudes and behaviors. The reasons for abandoning some attitudes and behaviors in favor of others may stem from solely practical considerations. For example, the mobility behavior of Bangladeshi women in Queens is very different from the mobility behavior of Bangladeshi women in Bangladesh. These differences lie primarily in the availability of companions and the location-specific nature of the destinations. The adaptation process of immigrants may be self-determined, with individuals choosing those aspects of both their origin and destination societies that best fit their needs and lifestyles.

A third possible explanation may involve the religious beliefs of the respondents. Many of the Bangladeshi immigrants are devout Muslims who read the Koran daily, observe fasts, perform *namaj* regularly, and follow Islamic rules about appearance and behavior. These practices and beliefs can be maintained after migration. Mosques are plentiful in Queens, and there are many other Muslim immigrant communities to provide support. Perhaps the Bangladeshi gender ideology studied here is in reality an Islamic gender ideology.

A fourth alternative explanation for the finding may involve the dichotomy between daily living and ideology. Practical considerations may force immigrants to behave differently than their ideology requires. For example, women may move freely outside the home to go grocery shopping, to take the children to school, and to do laundry at the local Laundromat. However, these same women may feel that women should stay at home. Another example may be the employment of women outside the home. Some men may feel that women should not work outside the home, but because of their financial situations, they allow their wives to seek outside employment. The requirements

for daily living and the survival of their families may require immigrants to choose to behave in ways that are at odds with their ideologies.

Methodological Improvements

The hypotheses guiding this research may have been rejected partly because of small sample sizes, incorrect or incomplete operationalization of variables, and methodological shortcomings. First, the accuracy of the retrospective data collected in this research is unknown. The addition of a longitudinal aspect to the research design would help clarify the process through which gender role attitudes change over time. Returning to the research locations in three to five years to re-interview the respondents would provide another time point at which to measure gender role attitudes. Presumably, some of the non-immigrants will have migrated to the United States. In a future project, these individuals can be traced and re-interviewed on their gender role experiences. Data on these future immigrants and future non-immigrants will help to deal with the effects of selectivity and recall.

Second, the social network segment of the questionnaire can be amended to include data on how individuals use the networks. When immigrants first arrive, social networks are used primarily to assist in settlement and adaptation and are usually comprised of people of the same ethnicity (Foner 1998). However, as time progresses, the uses and composition of social networks may change. The data collected for this research indicate that longer-term immigrants tend to include fewer Bangladeshis in their social networks. However, data were not collected on the types of activities the respondents perform with the members of their social networks. The relationship between the ethnicity of the network member and the activities performed together may provide valuable insight into the evolution of immigrants' social networks.

Third, the variable socioeconomic status was defined in this research by a categorical salary variable and by job type; however, a better measure of socioeconomic status may provide better information. A careful study of other possible indicators of socioeconomic status may lead to the creation of a more accurate measure. Other indicators

may include dwelling size, the number of inhabitants per square foot of living space, and the presence of certain consumer goods in the dwelling.

Fourth, variables measuring religiosity and adherence to *purdah* were omitted from this study. Their inclusion may better inform researchers about the effects of religion and adherence to religious and cultural traditions on changes in gender role attitudes. Religiosity can be measured by questions about performing *namaj* (prayers said five times a day by Muslims) or going to the mosque, whereas adherence to *purdah* can be measured by questions about "*purdah* of the mind" (Kabeer 2000) and its internalized characteristics, as well as questions about behaviors and activities that may diminish a family's honor or that may bring shame to the family. The mobility data collected in this research assessed just a portion of the concept of *purdah*.

Fifth, conducting behavior observations would provide a critical link between what the respondents think and what they say they do. Behavior observations in the households of the respondents may provide researchers with information regarding the actual behavior of respondents, especially in terms of the household division of labor.

Finally, the model may be applied to different segments of the Bangladeshi community or to other immigrant groups. Conducting this research among Bangladeshi adolescents in origin and destination areas may shed light on how attitudes regarding gender roles change with age and on how the attitudes and behaviors of teenagers may be affected by international migration. Conducting this research in other immigrant communities and origin areas may help researchers identify areas of family life across cultures that experience change after international migration.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO IMMIGRANT ADAPTATION KNOWLEDGE AND FUTURE RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES

While this research focuses on Bangladeshi communities, the conclusions drawn from it not only provide insights into gender ideologies in similar immigrant and source communities, but also provide a framework for understanding other ideological and attitudinal issues. In-depth cultural studies of immigrant communities, stemming

from the combination of gender studies and immigration research, help inform policy about the effects of immigration on society and on family life. This research has made a number of important contributions to immigrant adaptation knowledge.

First, the pre-test/post-test research design allows researchers to isolate carefully the attitudes and behaviors of interest and to assess changes in these variables according to sex, time, and migration status. As mentioned previously, this design can be applied to other immigrant communities, as well as to other sub-populations of immigrant communities such as teenagers or the elderly.

Second, this research has shown the utility of retrospective data in attitudinal research. In the absence of longitudinal research and prospective data, the use of both retrospective and current data allows the assessment of change over time. Without some baseline measure of attitudes or behavior, change cannot be assessed.

Third, this research has demonstrated the benefit associated with including the responses of husbands and wives. Previous research on immigrant families has often included the responses and descriptions of one household member. This research's inclusion of husband-wife dyads has shown that husbands and wives often possess vastly different attitudes regarding the appropriate roles of men and women and different perceptions of their responsibilities. Focusing on the responses of just one-half of a couple presents a biased view of family life. The issues that may cause disagreements and that may require negotiations are unknown.

Fourth, this research is one of the first studies to collect data in both origin and destination areas and to explicitly compare immigrants to non-immigrants both before and after migration. This provides a more accurate analysis of change because data on how non-immigrants have also changed are available.

Fifth, this research comprises one of the first large-scale demographic and ethnographic studies on Bangladeshis in the United States. The Bangladeshi community is growing rapidly and this research provides a vital baseline examination into the ways Bangladeshi families are affected by their migration to the U.S. Additionally, the Bangladeshi community in the United States is one of the country's newest immigrant groups. This research helps to examine how the adaptation of more recently arrived immigrant groups may

differ from the adaptation of immigrant groups with a much longer history of migration to the United States.

Sixth, this research combines qualitative and quantitative data in order to get a more complete picture of how gender role attitudes are affected by international migration. Quantitative data permits the assessment of statistical relationships between the factors that may cause changes in gender role attitudes, while qualitative data provides possible ethnographic explanations, clarifications, and illustrations.

Seventh, this research focuses on the attitudinal adaptation of immigrants rather than the behavioral adaptation of immigrants. While other studies comparing gender role attitudes across ethnic groups have been conducted, this is one of the first systematic studies of attitudinal change of recent immigrants. This focus will allow researchers to assess whether the factors influencing behavioral change also influence attitudinal change, whether attitudinal change occurs in the same direction as behavioral changes, and whether the relationships between these variables are consistent for all immigrant groups.

Eighth, this research suggests that the changes encountered immediately after immigration may not be sustained over the long-term. Short-term immigrants may experience a period of intense change as they are exposed to new ideas and to freedom from the cultural constraints that may have limited their autonomy and mobility. However, after the initial period of settlement and adjustment has passed, immigrants may reject these new ideologies and return to their traditional attitudes and behavior.

Ninth, this research provides an initial step in detailing the internalization of *purdah* among Bangladeshi immigrants to the United States. In the United States, Bangladeshi women do not wear the *burka* as often as their counterparts in Bangladesh. Bangladeshi women in the United States also communicate with unrelated men, and in some cases, name these men in their social networks. Bangladeshi men and women both appear to practice the "*purdah* of the mind" described by Kabeer (2000). The absence of the social repercussions, in terms of losing family honor and bringing shame to the family, associated with violating the physical requirements of *purdah* permits the transition to an internalized form of *purdah*.

Finally, this research demonstrates the need for new theories explaining the attitudinal adaptation of immigrants. Attitudes and

behaviors do not appear to change in parallel. Rather, behavioral changes occur often in response to practical needs. Immigrants may appear assimilated because their behavior differs from the behavior of non-immigrants who have remained in origin areas. However, this does not necessarily indicate that attitudinal changes have also occurred.

The findings of this research, as shown in the rejection of all four primary hypotheses, run counter to major theories of immigrant assimilation. In order to clarify the process of the attitudinal adaptation of immigrants, additional research should be conducted in three primary areas. First, research should be conducted on the attitudinal adaptation of other immigrant groups in order to assess whether the experience of Bangladeshi immigrants is representative of the attitudinal adaptation of all immigrants.

Second, research should be conducted to uncover the factors affecting the attitudinal adaptation of immigrants. This research has demonstrated that the traditional independent variables used in research on the behavioral adaptation of immigrants (social network composition, employment status, and time since migration) do not influence attitudinal change. New hypotheses that take into account other explanations of attitudinal change are needed. Possible factors may include religiosity and underemployment.

Third, research should be conducted to assess attitudinal change in relation to specific behaviors. Behavioral observations were not conducted in this project. However, the combination of attitudinal data with behavioral observations may allow for better explanations of immigrant adaptation.

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Appendix

QUESTIONS GUIDING LIFE HISTORY INTERVIEW

A. Questions regarding Childhood
A1. What was happening in your family, surrounding community, and the world at the time of your birth?
A2. Describe your childhood. // How would you describe your childhood?
A3. Describe some of the things you did in your childhood.
A5. How was your adolescence different from your childhood?
A6. How would you describe your parents?
A7. What beliefs or ideals do you think your parents tried to teach you?

B. Questions Regarding Spouses
B1. Describe the circumstances surrounding your marriage.
B2. Describe how you met your spouse.
B3. What were your feelings at that time? How did you feel?
B4. What do you think are the most important qualities for a wife to possess?
B5. What do you think are the most important qualities for a husband to possess?

C. Questions Regarding Children

C1. How would you describe your children?

C2. What values or lessons are you trying to impart to your children?

C3. Can you tell me an adult or adults that you think would be a good model for your son(s) to follow? Are there people you would like your son(s) to be like when they are grown? What characteristics do these people have that makes them good role models for your son(s) to follow?

C4. Can you tell me an adult or adults that you think would be a good model for your daughter(s) to follow? Are there people you would like your daughter(s) to be like when they are grown? What characteristics do these people have that makes them good role models for your daughter(s) to follow?

C5. Who do you think it is more important to educate, boys or girls? Why?

C6. What would you like to see your son(s) doing when they are your age? Do you think that it is likely that your son(s) will succeed? Why? Do you think that there is anything that you can do to help?

C7. What would you like to see your daughter(s) doing when they are your age? Do you think that it is likely that your daughter(s) will succeed? Why? Do you think that there is anything that you can do to help?

D. Questions Regarding Parenting

D1. What are the most important things a father can do for his sons? For his daughters?

D2. What are the most important things a mother can do for her sons? For her daughters?

E. Questions regarding Migration

E1. Describe the circumstances surrounding your migration to the US.

E2. What has been your best experience since you came to the US?

E3. What has been your worst experience since you came to the US?

E4. What kind of conflicts have you experienced since you arrived in the US between the way you were raised in Bangladesh and the way you are expected to behave in the US?

F. Questions Regarding Decisions and Influences

F1. What kind of role has Islam played in your life?

F2. Who has influenced you/shaped your life the most?

F3. What has been the most crucial decision in your life?

F4. How would you describe yourself at this point in your life?

F5. How do you feel about yourself at the age you are now?

F6. Is the way you see yourself now significantly different than it was in the past?

G. Questions Regarding Gender Roles

G1. How do you think opportunities for women in Bangladesh have changed over your lifetime? In the US?

G2. How do you think the roles of men and women in Bangladesh have changed over your lifetime? In the US?

G3. How do you think your roles as wife and mother have changed over the course of your marriage? How do you think your roles as wife and mother have changed since arriving in the US?

G4. How do you think your roles as husband and father have changed over the course of your marriage? How do you think your roles as husband and father have changed since arriving in the US?

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