

**Should I Stay or Should I Go? Chinese Heterosexual and Non-heterosexual/Lala  
Women Envisioning Transnational Migration, Career, and Family Formation**

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Doctoral Dissertation

Department of Psychology

April 29, 2024

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### **Abstract**

In this era of globalization, many Chinese women, both heterosexual and non-heterosexual, are migrating abroad, leaving mainland China for freer lives in economically developed countries (Kam, 2020; Li et al., 2019; Miles, 2020). In mainland China, Chinese women face pressure to enter heterosexual marriage to fulfill social and familial obligations (Kam, 2013, 2020; UNDP, 2016) and they face the left-over women stigma if they stay unmarried after turning thirty years old (Fincher, 2016). However, for Chinese non-heterosexual women, their lives have been restricted not only by the patriarchal Confucianist culture but also by the LGBTQ+-unfriendly laws and policies. While many Chinese non-heterosexual women choose to enter heterosexual marriage or to live a non-heterosexual life away from their hometowns in urban areas of mainland China (Huang & Brouwer, 2018; Lo, 2020), many other Chinese non-heterosexual women choose to move abroad (Kam, 2020). For both Chinese heterosexual and non-heterosexual women, while transnational migration could bring challenges, it also provides the opportunity to live a new life, pursue a new career, and to form a family based on their own authentic decisions in a new place, where they can escape the restrictions posed by the patriarchal Confucianist culture in the homeland.

This study explored Chinese women's migration aspirations and plans and how they envisioned future career and family formation in this process. As the culture cycle framework states that cultural ideas, institutions, and individuals constantly interact (Markus & Connor, 2014; Markus & Kitayama, 2010), Chinese women's aspirations and plans regarding migration, career, and family formation might be influenced by cultural ideologies, interpersonal factors such as parental support, and also their personal characteristics, such as sexual orientations. The first aim of the study was to investigate the demographic characteristics of Chinese women who aspired to migrate abroad versus those who wanted to stay in mainland China, and specifically, whether Chinese non-heterosexual women were

more likely than Chinese heterosexual women to express the desire to migrate. The second aim was to test whether Chinese non-heterosexual and heterosexual women differed in their career and family formation aspirations and plans based on their plans to migrate abroad versus stay in mainland China. The final aim was to examine what variables (e.g., cultural influences) were associated with Chinese heterosexual and non-heterosexual women's aspirations and plans regarding migration, career, and family formation.

Quantitative data were collected in the context of an online anonymous questionnaire survey via Qualtrics. A purposive convenience sampling method was employed. The final sample included 876 Chinese women who were living in mainland China, were 18-35 years old, did not have any children, and were single or unmarried. Among the 876 participants, 461 self-identified as heterosexual women and 415 as non-heterosexual women (167 lesbian, 185 bisexual, 52 pansexual, 7 asexual, and 4 other non-heterosexual sexual orientations). The quantitative measurements of the survey assessed participants' aspirations and plans regarding migration and family formation and the associations between aspirations and plans and potentially relevant factors (e.g., endorsement of Chinese and Western cultural ideas).

Results regarding migration aspirations showed that Chinese non-heterosexual women expressed stronger desires and intentions regarding leaving their homeland and migrating to another country than did their heterosexual peers. In addition, Chinese non-heterosexual women were more likely than their heterosexual counterparts to indicate that their motivations for migration were to live a freer life than in the homeland, for the more LGBTQ+-friendly environment in the destination country, and to marry a same-sex partner. Moreover, regarding pursuing a career abroad, non-heterosexual women were more likely than heterosexual women to indicate first becoming a student in the destination country as their most likely pathway.

Additionally, the results showed significant negative associations between aspirations

for cooperative marriage and the desires for migration among Chinese non-heterosexual women. The fewer Chinese non-heterosexual women's desires and intentions for cooperative marriage, the stronger their desires for migration. This finding potentially implied that transnational migration provided Chinese non-heterosexual women more freedom regarding their life choices (e.g., marriage choices).

Furthermore, results of this study suggested that Chinese women's sexual orientation, interpersonal support network (e.g., social support from family), experiences with intersectional stigmas (e.g., left-over women stigma), and endorsement of Chinese and Western cultural values all might play a role in how they envisioned their future lives.

In short, this study contributed to understanding of how young adult Chinese women envisioned their future career and families in the prospect of migrating to another country versus staying in the homeland. This study also identified factors at individual, interpersonal, and cultural levels associated with Chinese heterosexual and non-heterosexual women's future lives across cultural settings, implying the importance of incorporating a perspective of globalization in research and practices to understand and promote the development and well-being of Chinese young women.



## **Should I Stay or Should I Go? Chinese Heterosexual and Non-heterosexual Women Envisioning Transnational Migration, Career, and Family Formation**

### **Introduction**

In 2020, about 281 million people around world were living outside of their country of origin, and almost half of all international migrants worldwide were women or girls (UNDESA, 2020); among them, an estimated 10.5 million were Chinese citizens living overseas (Haugen & Speelman, 2022; UNDESA, 2020). In this contemporary era of increasing transnational mobility, many Chinese women are migrating abroad, leaving mainland China for freer lives in economically developed countries (Kam, 2020; Li et al., 2019; Li & Chen, 2021; Miles, 2020). In mainland China, women face pressure to enter heterosexual marriage and have children to fulfill social and familial obligations (Kam, 2013, 2020; UNDP, 2016), and they face gendered economic inequalities (Fincher, 2016), and the *left-over women stigma* if they stay unmarried after turning thirty years old (Fincher, 2016; To, 2013). In 2021, the Chinese government announced the three-child policy (Xinhua, 2021a), which might impose even more severe pressure on Chinese women to marry an opposite-sex partner and have children in that context. While many Chinese non-heterosexual women, like their heterosexual peers, choose to enter heterosexual marriage or to live a non-heterosexual life away from their hometowns in mainland China (Huang & Brouwer, 2018; Lo, 2020), some Chinese non-heterosexual women choose to move abroad (Kam, 2020).

For Chinese non-heterosexual women, the more LGBTQ+-friendly circumstances in Western countries might be particularly attractive (Kam, 2020). For both Chinese heterosexual and non-heterosexual women, transnational migration provides more freedom for them to pursue their life goals as they can escape the restrictions posed by the Confucianist patriarchal culture in the homeland. For Chinese non-heterosexual women living away from their hometowns (in big cities in China or overseas), the physical (and

psychological) distance between the new place where they live and their hometown could protect them from parental opposition to their non-heterosexuality and offer them control over their personal lives; the physical distance may also help to alleviate the family pressure to enter heterosexual marriage (Kam, 2007; Kam, 2020; Zheng, 2022).

Though previous studies showed some Chinese non-heterosexual women aspired for or did migrate to foreign countries for freer non-heterosexual lives (Kam, 2020; Li & Patterson, 2022b), it is unclear whether Chinese non-heterosexual women in mainland China would be more likely than their heterosexual peers to aspire for migration. Further, little is known about how Chinese non-heterosexual women think about pursuing a career and forming a family (e.g., getting married and becoming parents) in the context of transnational migration. This study aimed to explore how Chinese women think about future transnational migration, career, and family formation and, particularly, the role of individual factors (e.g., sexual identity), interpersonal factors (e.g. marital pressures from parents), and cultural factors in how they think about their future career, family formation and place of residence.

To better situate the research questions regarding Chinese non-heterosexual women's migration and prospective career and family formation in the relevant literature, the introduction was presented based on the following outline:

(1) An overview of Chinese culture, particularly about Confucianism and patriarchy: First, based on the cultural circle framework, to illustrate the background against which many Chinese women might aspire for transnational migration, a brief review was first presented regarding the Chinese cultural setting and its dominant Confucian cultural traditions, which are characterized by patriarchal and male-dominant ideologies and practices.

(2) Women in mainland China: Situated in a cultural context of dominant Confucianist ideologies in mainland China, women face patriarchal pressures and social inequalities related to their gender/sex in their everyday lives. A brief review was presented

about the lives and experiences of women in mainland China, especially about the gender inequalities they face and how their lives (e.g., career and family formation) might be affected by gender inequalities.

(3) Non-heterosexual/Lala women in mainland China: While all women in mainland China face patriarchal pressures and gender inequalities in a patriarchal Confucianist cultural setting, non-heterosexual/Lala women experience unique pressures and challenges related to their non-heterosexual sexual orientation. A brief review was presented regarding the lives of non-heterosexual/Lala women in mainland China (e.g., legal rights and social attitudes, lesbianism in Chinese culture). It was also discussed regarding the social inequalities and stress related to these women's non-heterosexual sexual orientations and the prevalent anti-homosexual ideas in modern China.

(4) Chinese women's choice of nationwide or transnational migration: After reviewing the social inequalities and constraints that Chinese heterosexual and non-heterosexual women face, literature about nationwide and transnational migration as a possible choice of many Chinese women to escape from the constraints they face in their hometown and homeland was reviewed.

(5) Chinese women's careers in Chinese and transnational context: Multi-level factors (e.g., individual and cultural factors) might be associated with Chinese women's achievement of life goals in career and other financial matters in their homeland or in other places abroad. A review of research was presented on Chinese women's experiences in the workplace and their journey of pursuing a meaningful career in mainland China and in the transnational context.

(6) Chinese women's family formation in Chinese and transnational context: In the patriarchal and pronatalist cultural context in China, many women choose to enter heterosexual marriage and give birth to children, in this way fulfilling their expected roles as

a wife and a mother. Meanwhile, regardless of their sexual orientations, when Chinese women envision possible migration in the future, family formation might be (or might not be) part of their vision. Hence, lastly, research on Chinese women's prospective family formation in the Chinese context and the context of transnational migration was reviewed. Specifically, it was also illustrated regarding how sexual orientation might play a role in Chinese women's future family formation in Chinese context and the transnational context.

### **Overview of Chinese Culture: Confucianism and Patriarchy**

Many patriarchal pressures that Chinese women face are associated with the cultural ideologies of Confucianism. Among the many components of Chinese culture, Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism have been argued to be the three most-influential, with Confucianism being the most important one over its more than 2000 years of history in China (Guang, 2013; Sundararajan, 2015; Tang, 1995).

Confucianism refers to the philosophical and ideological systems built by Confucius (i.e., Kongzi in Chinese pinyin) around 6th century BCE and other Confucianist philosophers such as Mengzi and Xunzi in subsequent centuries in ancient China (Tang, 1995; Sundararajan, 2015). Confucianism values the relational-based way of thinking and strong relational ties among people, and its core values include but are not limited to, ren (benevolence or nurturance), li (ritual action), he (harmony), and rang (yielding) (Schwartz, 1985; Sundararajan, 2015). Confucianism has been viewed as pro-natalist, strongly encouraging reproduction of male offspring to continue the patrilineal family (Tang, 1995).

Filial piety has been noted as a crucial Confucianist value affecting marital and parenting aspirations among Chinese people, regardless of their heterosexual or non-heterosexual sexual orientations (Engebretsen, 2009; Hu & Wang, 2013; Quach et al., 2013; Steward et al., 2013; Wang, 2015). Filial piety emphasizes an individual's obligations in their relationships with older family members, especially their parents and grandparents. Scholars'

definitions of filial piety vary, but generally share the following components (Tang, 1995; Hu & Wang, 2013): (a) respect for and obedience to older family members; (b) obligations to take care of parents and grandparents; (c) obligations to continue the patrilineal family bloodline. Thus, the endorsement of Confucianism might be expected to increase aspirations for marriage and parenthood and living arrangements that are in close proximity to parents.

In addition to Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism both are influential in Chinese cultural setting. The core values of Buddhism include Kong (emptiness) and Wu (enlightenment) (Adamek, 2005; Sundararajan, 2008). The core values of Daoism include transcendence, solitude, freedom, harmony, and balance in family lives, with limited emphasis on relational ties between individuals (Jia & Ge, 2012; Sundararajan, 2015). Buddhism has been viewed as tolerant towards homosexuality (Cheng, 2018a) but suggested as anti-natalistic (i.e., opposing reproduction and childbearing; Coates, 2014; Skirbekk et al., 2015). Throughout Chinese history, Buddhist values have, however, been integrated with Confucian values (Hinsch, 2002); Buddhist values seem not to contradict the core value of Confucianism, filial piety. Similarly, Daoism shares some key values with Confucianism in pursuing harmony and Dao (Kirkland, 2008; Low, 2012). As Buddhism and Daoism have been suggested as highly associated with and influenced by Confucianism throughout Chinese history (e.g., Low, 2012; Sundararajan, 2015), this study assessed the religion or religious beliefs that participants identified with, including Buddhist and Daoist beliefs, but focused specifically on endorsement of Confucian values.

Traditional femininity in traditional Chinese culture values women's docile temperament, dependence on and obedience to men (e.g., particularly father, husband, and sons), and good housekeeping skills (Chang et al., 2011; Gui, 2020). As they likely violate traditional gender role expectations, women who are well-educated, financially independent, and successful in a career might be regarded as less feminine than their peers and less

appealing for men to marry in China (Zhou & Zhu, 2004; Gui, 2020). Gui's study (2020) on single career-oriented Chinese women found that the women interviewees face stigmas (e.g., perceived as "deviant" and "irresponsible") based on traditional femininity in Chinese culture. One example of stigmas about women violating the traditional gender role expectations is that women who are not married to men by the age of 30 years old might be labeled as "leftover" in the marriage market (i.e., the "leftover women" stigma; Fincher, 2016; Gui, 2020). The All-China Women's Federation, the largest state-sponsored women's rights organisation in China, labeled single women over 27 years old 'leftover women (ShengNv in Chinese pinyin),' a stigmatizing term, for their failure of not marrying a man (Fincher, 2016). The patriarchal discourse about women's expected roles of wives to their husbands has remained strong in Chinese women's lives in modern China.

In short, all women in China face patriarchal pressures in the Chinese cultural setting where patriarchal Confucianist ideologies are dominant. Having described the Chinese cultural context that all women are influenced by and interact with in mainland China, the lives and experiences of these Chinese women in this context were reviewed.

## **Women in Mainland China**

### ***Demographics of Chinese Women and Gender Inequality in Mainland China***

Based on the most recent 2020 national census data in China, among the national population of 1.4 billion persons, 688.44 million persons (48.76%) were females, and the sex ratio (female=100, male to female) among the population was 105.07 (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2021). Furthermore, the most recent sex ratio at birth was 111.3, decreasing by 6.8 compared with that in the 2010 census data (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2021), which is still higher than the sex ratio at birth of 103 to 107 without any human intervention (The Lancet Editorial, 2011). The history of imbalanced sex ratio at birth with more boys than girls born in China shows the long-lasting preference for sons and

gender bias, situated in the Chinese cultural context within the dominant patriarchal Confucianist ideologies.

Gender bias (sometimes, called “son preference” or “gender preference”) in family formation in China has been well-documented and has been achieved by methods such as sex-selected abortion, female infanticide, abandonment of girls, and continued gender bias in child rearing, often more severe in rural areas (Jimmerson, 1990; Lei & Pals, 2011; Poston Jr, 2002; Wang, 2005). Preferences for sons in Chinese families are associated with social customs (e.g., patrilineal ties and the dowry systems), cultural values (e.g., Confucian ideology), and economic factors (e.g., elder care for parents) (Tang, 1995; Wang, 2005). In traditional Chinese culture, the ideal family is composed of four generations of the patrilineal side living together with as many male offspring as possible (Tang, 1995; Wang, 2005).

**Sex-selected Abortion and Imbalanced Sex Ratio at Birth.** Starting in the early 1980s, the one-child policy, along with ultrasound technology which made prenatal sex determination and sex-selective abortion possible, has been linked to a distorted sex ratio at birth with more boys being born than girls in China (The Lancet Editorial, 2011). The sex ratio at birth without any human intervention is between 103 and 107 boys born for every 100 girls (The Lancet Editorial, 2011). However, for example, based on the 2010 Chinese census, the sex ratio at birth was 118 boys born for every 100 girls, which was the highest sex imbalance in the world (i.e., 118.1 to 100; The Lancet Editorial, 2011; Xinhua, 2021b). The more recent 2020 Chinese census showed a less distorted but still imbalanced sex ratio at birth of 111 boys born for every 100 girls (i.e., 111.3 to 100; Xinhua, 2021b).

Although the Chinese government has prohibited non-medical use of prenatal sex determination and sex-selective abortion since the 1980s, the illegal business of sex-selective abortion has continue to thrive because of great demand for this service and the large profits derived from it (The Lancet Editorial, 2011). Under the one-child policy, people endorsing

the Chinese cultural traditions favoring sons are willing to pay a large amount of money for the ultrasound service of prenatal sex determination and then can terminate the pregnancy of any female embryo or fetus; for example, people might pay 3500 CNY (556 USD) for the ultrasound test for prenatal sex determination (The Lancet Editorial, 2011).

### ***Influence of Gender Inequality on Chinese Women***

Such gender inequality has influenced the lives of Chinese women and rendered them at a disadvantage in terms of financial resources and educational and occupational opportunities. In the patriarchal tradition, adult daughters receive fewer resources from families of origin than do adult sons (Hu, 2017). For example, Wang's (2005) research, which used the 1990 China Census data and was based on fieldwork in Beijing and surrounding areas, found lower levels of educational attainment among daughters than sons in rural families and higher labor force participation rates of rural female adolescents, as compared to male adolescents, in China. One report on women factory workers in the manufacturing industry in China found most of the interviewees had an education level of middle school (Business for Social Responsibility, 2013). Parental educational investments in boys and girls might be more complicated than favoring sons in all perspectives in all areas in mainland China; one study in rural northwest China found that though girls received lower educational expectations from their mothers and were more likely than boys to be called on for household chores, economic investments in education for boys and girls were similar (Hannum, Kong, & Zhang, 2008). Given that gender inequality plays a role in Chinese women's education and economic development, their capacities for migration within or crossing the country's border might be limited due to various social and economic disadvantages.

In addition, the cultural norms about women's role as the housekeeper and men as the breadwinner, which includes the wife's disproportionately heavy domestic work



responsibility even among dual-earner couples, has remained strong in modern China (Luo & Chui, 2018; Zuo & Bian, 2001). Based on the Chinese tradition, young married couples are to choose patrilocal residence and care for the man's parents (not the woman's parents) (Logan, Bian, & Bian, 1998; Xu & Xia, 2014).

Furthermore, Chinese women continue to face gender inequality outside of their families in modern Chinese society, including societal stigmas against women, such as the leftover women stigma for not getting married to a man during the marriageable age and gender discrimination in the workplace (Fincher, 2016). Relevant to the leftover women stigma against unmarried women, well-educated and independent career-oriented women are perceived as not feminine enough and less fit for the image of prospective wives based on traditional femininity in China (Gui, 2020). Unmarried women without a husband cannot legally give birth to a child in China, as only married heterosexual couples have the right to have children according to China's population policy (Liu, 2021). The social stigma of leftover women and legal discrimination against unmarried women becoming mothers are two examples of Chinese women facing gender-related inequalities in their lives.

Nonetheless, Chinese women's singlehood by choice could be viewed as demonstrating these women's resistance to the patriarchal cultural ideas of womanhood and creation of new womanhood that values individual independence and meaningful connections with others (Yu & Tian, 2022; Zhang, 2020). Moreover, through fieldwork research on heterosexual and queer women who were labeled "leftover women" in China, Liu (2021) described two stigma-management strategies used by these women, including accumulating sufficient financial resources to justify individual's choice of singlehood and "identity-hopping" (e.g., entering a legal heterosexual marriage in order to get a divorce). Confronting social stigma related to their gender, some Chinese women have shown active agency by challenging traditional gender role expectations and pursuing life goals based on their own.

There has also been gender inequality in the workplace. Regarding this bias, a recent study in China found that a female applicant was 7.6% less likely to receive a callback from hiring firms for on-site interviews than a male applicant (Zhang, Jin, Li, & Wang, 2021). Though significant progress in promoting gender equality has been made in China in the past decades (e.g., women's role as a 'social person' liberated from traditional patriarchal systems and increased participation in the workforce), Chinese women still are disadvantaged in terms of representation in more prestigious occupations, higher income, and political resources (Yang, 2020).

## **Non-heterosexual/Lala Women in Mainland China**

### ***Demographics of Chinese Non-heterosexual/Lala Women***

In this study, Chinese non-heterosexual/Lala women include Chinese women who identify as lesbian, bisexual, and pansexual or with other non-heterosexual identities. The term, Lala, is also used in the Chinese queer community to refer to women who self-identify as non-heterosexual or women who are attracted to women (e.g., Kam, 2013). The term Lala is related to the pronunciation of the English word lesbian in Cantonese and Mandarin Chinese. After discussing this term with members of the community of Chinese non-heterosexual women to learn which term they prefer, non-heterosexual and Lala were used interchangeably; the term lesbian/Lala was used depending on the term(s) used in the corresponding studies.

The exact number of non-heterosexual women in mainland China is unknown, but there are some available estimates. Liu et al. (2015) estimated that there are 12 million lesbian women in mainland China, based on the population data of 2013 China Statistical Yearbook and the multilayer sampling survey of the Chinese adult population by Pan in 2010 (Pan & Huang, 2013). Based on research in other countries (Newport, 2018; Office of National Statistics, 2018), a possible estimate is that about 2-5% of the 688 million (i.e., 13 to

34 million) total women in mainland China identify as members of sexual minority groups. In addition, it was estimated that there are 2-4 million *tongfu* (i.e., a lesbian woman's husband) in China (Tang & Yu, 2014).

### ***History of Female Same-sex Eroticism in the Chinese Cultural Setting***

Homosexuality is not a new concept to Chinese people, Homosexuality has existed long before the country's westernization and industrialization in recent centuries (Wu, 2003). Compared to male homosexuality, which has been well-documented in ancient China, female homosexuality has remained relatively invisible throughout historical records and other materials, likely due to the subordinate status of women in a patriarchal society (Shi, 2013).

Contradicting the popular idea that ancient Chinese society was relatively tolerant toward female same-sex sexuality, Shi's (2013) critical genealogy analysis study on pre-modern Chinese female same-sex relationships first indicated the scarcity of materials about female homosexuality, compared to the relative abundance of materials about male homosexuality. Shi's study (2013) further showed that while male same-sex sexuality was tolerated or even encouraged by the male-dominant culture, female homosexuality was not accepted and was even suppressed in ancient Chinese society, due to these women's failure to fulfill patriarchal expectations of being an obedient, loyal, and reproductive wife to her husband while pursuing same-sex desires.

In more recent 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, along with the process of westernization and industrialization, the idea of homosexuality as pathologized was imported from the West to China (Wu, 2003). Homosexual behavior was punished after 1949 until it was completely decriminalized in 1997 in mainland China (Wu, 2003; Zheng, 2014). Moreover, homosexuality was further depathologized in 2001 in the Chinese mainland when the Chinese Classification of Mental Disorders (CCMD-3) removed the diagnosis of homosexuality (Wu, 2003).

After the 1980s reform and open policy in mainland China, Chinese lesbian and gay communities have been developing, especially in urban and more economically developed areas (Engebretsen, 2013; Kam, 2013; Wu, 2003). For example, Engebretsen (2013) and Kam (2013) both documented the recent proliferation of Lala (/non-heterosexual women) communities in Beijing and Shanghai, the two largest cities in mainland China, and the growing visibility and community connections of Lala women in Chinese society, especially when the Internet became popular among Chinese people during the late 1990s and early 2000s.

### ***Legal Rights and Social Attitudes regarding Non-heterosexual/Lala Women***

Same-sex marriage has not been legalized yet in Chinese mainland. Since 2017, *Voluntary guardianship* is an available option that can provide some legal protection for same-sex couples in mainland China (Peng, 2022). In a voluntary guardianship, one's partner can be designated as one's legal guardian, who promises to pursue the ward's best interests. This can offer a legal link, but the application process in the public notary office can be challenging (Peng, 2022).

Regarding social attitudes toward non-heterosexuality, a recent survey on 10,932 heterosexual participants in China showed that heterosexual people held generally friendly attitudes toward the LGBT community (Wang et al., 2019; Wang et al., 2020). However, the survey (Wang et al., 2019; Wang et al., 2020), which also included 18,193 non-heterosexual participants, showed that Chinese non-heterosexual participants reported severe discrimination from both family members and social services. Another recent study on women with same-sex attraction in mainland China indicated that though Chinese society might seem tolerant towards LGBTQ+ people, the cultural unintelligibility of non-heterosexuality has been a source of stress for Chinese non-heterosexual women (Wei et al., 2021).

### ***Minority Stress among Chinese Non-heterosexual/Lala Women***

Based on the minority stress model (Brooks, 1981; Meyer, 2003; Meyer & Frost, 2013; Rich et al., 2020), proximal (e.g., internalized homonegativity and concealment motivation) and distal stressors (e.g., experiences of anti-gay prejudice) might influence the lives of non-heterosexual individuals and detract from their health and well-being. The minority stress model considers stressors specifically related to individuals' minority status and thus is illuminating in examining the lives and experiences of individuals who identify as members of sexual minority groups. For example, higher levels of internalized homonegativity have been suggested as associated with increased rates of mood and anxiety disorders and substance use among non-heterosexual individuals (e.g., Frost & Meyer, 2009; Hamilton & Mahalik, 2009). In addition to the minority stress model, a strength model emphasizes the personal and collective strengths that are associated with resilience and positive mental and physical health (Perrin et al., 2019).

In the Chinese cultural setting, Wei et al. (2021) used a grounded theory approach to investigate the minority stigma faced by Chinese non-heterosexual women in mainland China. They found that cultural unintelligibility toward non-heterosexuality and pressure to marry are the two main sources of minority stigma that women with same-sex attraction face in mainland China. Similarly, another study suggested that perceived pressure to undertake heterosexual marriage is a source of minority stress among lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals in China (Zheng, Hart, Noor, & Wen, 2020).

### ***Double Marginalization in terms of Sexual Orientation and Gender Inequality***

The groundbreaking intersectionality framework was originated from Black feminist theory and coined by Crenshaw (1989), which examines individuals' intersecting identities (e.g., race/ethnicity, sex/gender, sexual orientation, and social class) with a focus on the intersecting challenges that people face as their disadvantaged statuses intersect with each

other (Crenshaw, 1989; Collins, 1990). In the case of Chinese non-heterosexual/Lala women, many intersecting factors related to their intersecting identities might influence their lives and experiences. For example, Cheng's (2018b) phenomenological study on Chinese lesbian participants illustrated the double marginalization that Chinese lesbian women face outside and inside the LGBTQ+ communities due to their sexual orientation and gender. For Chinese non-heterosexual/Lala women living overseas, their intersecting racial, ethnic, gender, and diasporic identities, and other factors, such as their language capacity and student status, might render them even more disadvantaged compared with their peers in the local LGBTQ+ community in the host country (Li & Chen, 2021).

### ***Lesbianism as a Family Issue in Chinese Society***

Despite the rapid economic development in the Chinese mainland since the 1980s reform and open policy, Chinese society remains patriarchal and largely male-dominated, and many gender inequality issues are still salient (Bauer, Feng, Riley, & Xiaohua, 1992; Fincher, 2016; Yang, 2020). Aligning with the patriarchal Confucianist values, Chinese gay men are expected to continue the paternal family bloodline and are in an advantaged status in gender power relations (e.g., in terms of parental financial support, education, employment); in contrast, non-heterosexual/Lala women are expected to conform to patriarchal control and heteronormative femininity (Cheng, 2018b; Huang & Brouwer, 2018).

In such a patriarchal Confucian cultural setting, being a lesbian/non-heterosexual/Lala woman is not just a personal issue but a family one, because daughters are expected to fulfill the roles of a wife and a mother (Cheng, 2018b). Chinese women, regardless of their sexual orientations, are expected by their families and the Chinese society to enter a heterosexual marriage and have children to continue the husband's patrilineal family (Cheng, 2018b; Fincher, 2016; UNDP, 2016; Wei, 2010). The family pressure of marriage can be so salient that it drives some Chinese non-heterosexual women into heterosexual marriage (e.g.,

fraudulent marriage or cooperative marriage; Kam, 2013; Zhu, Stok, Bal, & de Wit, 2022).

In particular, there is an age range considered suitable for women to enter heterosexual marriage in China, approximately around 25-30 years old, and marital pressure increases as age increases until it reaches around late twenties or above (Cheng, 2018b; Fincher, 2016). Chinese heterosexual and non-heterosexual/Lala women all face the stigmatization of *left-over women* (or DaLingQingNian or LaoGuNiang) if they stay unmarried after turning thirty years old. If this happens, parents lose face and are ashamed for their unmarried daughter in front of their relatives, neighbors, and the society at large (Fincher, 2016; Kam, 2007; To, 2013). In the Chinese cultural setting, the *left-over women* stigma is associated with the traditional gender role expectations of women becoming obedient and reproductive wives to their husbands (Fincher, 2016; Liu, 2021).

**Coming Out Issues in the Familial Context.** In contrast to the western model of coming out among queer people, many Chinese non-heterosexual/Lala women might choose to live a non-heterosexual life with their families of origin rather than coming out and leaving their families of origin (i.e., the coming with model; Huang & Brouwer, 2018; Lo, 2020). However, while they choose to maintain close connections with their parents and fulfill their familial (and often heteronormative) obligations as a daughter, they have to deal with the stresses related to their non-heterosexual identities on daily bases (Lo, 2020). Especially among those who maintain or want to maintain good relationships with parents, the pressures of living a heterosexual life that daughters received from parents could be extremely heavy, and daughters might even consider entering cooperative marriage to repay or please their parents (Kam, 2007; Lo, 2020).

**Family Distancing.** Family distancing is a common strategy that Chinese heterosexual and non-heterosexual women use to gain more autonomy over their personal lives (e.g., marriage decision; Kam, 2020; Martin, 2021). As summarized in a review article

by Zhu et al. (2022), facing familial pressure to enter heterosexual marriage, Chinese queer people might choose to psychologically or physically disconnect themselves from family (e.g., leaving the hometown to live in other places). Living in another city or even in another country alleviates pressure for both the lesbian daughters and their parents. For example, parents could use the excuse of daughters living far away and out of their control to avoid talking about daughters' unmarried status with relatives and neighbors (e.g., Kam, 2007; Kam, 2020; Zheng, 2022). Moreover, a recent study during Covid-19 pandemic based on interviews on 20 Chinese female queer students in Australia (Zheng, 2022) showed that the physical distance between Chinese female queer students in Australia and their parents back home in the Chinese mainland could play a protective role in queer students' queer identity development (e.g., coming-out and negotiation with parents).

### **Chinese Women's Choice of Nationwide and Transnational Migration**

In line with the increasing urbanization and geographical mobility in mainland China in recent years, many Chinese women leave their hometowns and move to large cities in order to pursue education, work, wealth accumulation and more autonomous lives (Davin, 1996; Day & Xia, 2019; Jacka, 2006; Wu & Zhou, 1996). Moreover, with the growing Chinese middle-class population in this globalizing era, many Chinese women, regardless of their sexual orientations, go abroad for education, work, and travel; some seek permanent residency in the host countries (Kam, 2020; Martin, 2021).

#### ***Nationwide Migration among Chinese Women***

Chinese women's migration from their hometowns to more economically developed areas, where they could find more economic and educational opportunities, has been documented since the start of the marketing reform in the 1980s (Davin, 1996; Jacka, 2006). In particular, a specific term *Dagongmei* (working girls/women factory workers) emerged to describe those young women in late adolescence and in their early twenties who move from



rural areas to urban areas and work in foreign-owned and local-owned factories, pursuing more economic and educational opportunities (e.g., Ngai, 2005). Many of these Dagongmei work in the light manufacturing sector (Ngai, 2005). Previous research has shown a generational difference such that younger women care more about career development opportunities than did their older counterparts (Wang, 2012).

Like their heterosexual peers, many Chinese non-heterosexual women leave their hometowns and migrate to large cities (e.g., Kam, 2013; Liu, 2019). An emerging question of interest is what factors motivate Chinese non-heterosexual women from less developed and rural areas to migrate to big cities. In particular, one might ask if there are any factors uniquely related to non-heterosexual identities?

In addition to more education and job opportunities in big cities, living away from their families and hometown social networks reduces lesbian daughters' interaction with their parents, relatives, acquaintances, colleagues, and neighbors and thus alleviates the pressure of living heteronormative lives for both lesbian daughters and their parents (Kam, 2007; Liu, 2019; Zhu, Stok, Bal, & de Wit, 2022). Kam's (2007) study on Chinese Lala women in Shanghai discussed the increasing geographical mobility that many Lesbian women and gay men undertook as they left their hometowns and migrated to big cities such as Shanghai. The anonymity of living in a new city enabled individuals, including those who identify as non-heterosexual, to pursue their desired way of living (Kam, 2007). Cheng's (2018b) phenomenological study on four Chinese lesbian women illustrated that whether and how one should come out to parents and family acceptance issues can be major concerns among lesbian women in China, especially those living in rural areas. To seek more freedom in living one's desired way of life and to alleviate pressure from parents to live a "normal" (i.e., heteronormative) life, many Chinese lesbian/Lala women left their hometowns and migrated to big cities (Engebretsen, 2013; Kam, 2007; Lo, 2020). Moreover, some informants in

Kam's study (2007) even planned to go abroad to live a freer life.

### ***Transnational Migration among Chinese Women***

With the rapidly growing economic development and greater geographical mobility in the Chinese mainland, many Chinese women go overseas for travel, education, work, and migration (Cebolla-Boado, Hu, & Soysal, 2018; Kam, 2020; Martin, 2021). For example, Martin's research (2021) documented the phenomenon of "Study-abroad Fever" (LiuXueRe) in mainland China, relating to the rising Chinese middle class population. Like their heterosexual peers, many Chinese non-heterosexual women also aspire to, plan to, or have chosen to go abroad in pursue of freer lives and seeking more educational and occupational opportunities (Kam, 2020; Li & Chen, 2021; Martin, 2021), rather than staying in the homeland (Huang & Brouwer, 2018).

In recent years, a term *NeiJuan* (内卷, or *Juan Juan*; i.e., involution) has been popular among young adults in China, which is used to describe the current high-pressure conditions in education and labor markets, and more specifically, the irrational and inefficient competition between people for resources, or huge input for little output (Li, 2021; Yi et al., 2022). In Martin's study (2021) on Chinese overseas women students in Australia, some of the Chinese participants described their motivations for studying abroad as including the desire to avoid high-pressure lives in the homeland, including the added gendered pressures for women of marrying a man and becoming a mother. For Chinese women, *NeiJuan*, gendered pressures of entering marriage and motherhood (e.g., Kam, 2020), and gender inequalities in the labor market (e.g., Zhang, Jin, Li, & Wang, 2021), might motivate them to consider pursuing a career and life in places other than their homeland.

Regardless of their sexual orientations, Chinese women might be motivated to undertake transnational migration by the vision of more educational and occupational opportunities (e.g., less *NeiJuan*) and more personal space and freedom in foreign countries

compared to their homeland. In recent decades, Chinese women's most common transnational migration pathways have been student migration, high-skilled migration, and business investor migration (Miles, 2020; Wong, 2003). The destinations of Chinese women's transnational migration include more economically developed countries such as Australia, Canada, the United States, and many European countries such as France and Germany (Kam, 2020; Li et al., 2019; Latham & Wu, 2013; Miles, 2020; Ryan, 2002; Wang et al., 2021). For example, during the 2022 - 2023 academic year, 289,526 Chinese international students were studying in the United States, making up 27% of the more than one million of international students in the United States (Open Doors, 2023). Student migration has also developed into a pathway for high-skilled migration (e.g., visa status of high-skilled professionals for migration to obtain permanent residency) in Australia, North America, and Europe (Miles, 2020). More Chinese international students chose to return to their homeland in recent years compared to earlier decades; still, a significant number of them chose not to return (Martin, 2021; Miles, 2020).

For Chinese women, there are both pros and cons in terms of going abroad versus staying in the homeland. For instance, one could experience familiar food and customs but not an LGBTQ-supportive environment in the homeland, in contrast to more educational and economic opportunities and LGBTQ-friendly environment but xenophobia and racism in Western countries (e.g., Kam, 2020; Li & Chen, 2021; Zhang & Brym, 2019). In addition, there are both pros and cons regarding proximity to family members, including more contact with parents but less autonomy in living one's life under parents' surveillance (e.g., Kam, 2007; Martin, 2021).

### ***Covid-19 Pandemic and Changing Global Mobility***

One additional question is, how would transnational middle-class cultures change in light of the Covid-19 pandemic? For example, Martin (2021) posed relevant questions

regarding Chinese women studying in the West after the Covid-19 pandemic. The immobility due to the pandemic and related travel and border restrictions significantly contributed to Chinese international students' anxiety during the pandemic (Ma & Miller, 2021). It is unclear whether and how immobility during the pandemic and the changing mobility after the pandemic will affect Chinese women's transnational migration.

The changing global mobility during the Covid-19 pandemic might have an influence on Chinese non-heterosexual women's lives in the host countries. A recent study based on interviews with 20 Chinese female queer students in Australia during the Covid-19 pandemic (Zheng, 2022) showed that the physical distance (related to immobility due to the pandemic and related border restrictions) between Chinese female queer students in Australia and their parents at home in China played an important role in queer students' queer identity development (e.g., coming-out and negotiation with parents). For example, some Chinese female queer international students felt that the physical distance from parents in China gave them more personal room and flexibility in living a non-heterosexual life in the host country and choosing whether or not to come out to their parents (Zheng, 2022).

**Rising Anti-Asian Violence around the World.** There are many challenges related to being an ethnic or racial minority person in Western countries. In particular, during the Covid-19 pandemic, the Atlanta spa shootings happened in the United States in 2021, in which six of the eight victims killed by the shootings were women of Asian descent. This underlined the intersection of misogyny and xenophobia that Asian women face, and triggered discussion about increasing anti-Asian violence around the world (Haynes, 2021). Furthermore, Li and Chen (2021) conducted interviews and observations among Chinese queer women in Australia who reported experiencing racial prejudice and exclusion when using Western dating apps. As this study (Li & Chen, 2021) and recent increasing reports of anti-Asian crimes (Haynes, 2021; Perng & Dhaliwal, 2022; Wang & Santos, 2022) suggested,

Chinese heterosexual and non-heterosexual/Lala women, who are living in Western societies that are White-dominant, might experience racial exclusion and prejudice, which have become more aggressive since the recent Covid-19 pandemic.

One emerging question of interest is, whether and to what extent would concerns about anti-Asian or anti-Chinese hate incidents be associated with Chinese heterosexual and non-heterosexual/Lala women's aspirations and plans regarding migrating abroad?

### **Chinese Women's Careers in Chinese and Transnational Contexts**

#### ***Chinese Women's Career Development in the Chinese Context***

In modern China, especially since China's socialist revolution promoting gender equality in economic and social life, Chinese women have shown higher educational attainment along with stronger economic performance, and higher labor force participation rates (Li, 2016; Liu, 2018; Yang, 2020). But Chinese women still face gender inequalities in their education and career development, such as lower parental education expectations for girls than boys and the dilemma of motherhood penalty in the workplace (Yang, 2019; Ji, Wu, Sun, & Guo, 2017). In recent decades, under the larger context of *NeiJuan* (i.e., involution) in education and labor market and recurrence of traditional gender concepts in China, Chinese women have experienced a shift in social attitudes about women's labor force participation, from encouraging to somewhat discouraging, such as strong voices in mass media calling women to go back home and leave the jobs to men (Gu, 2013).

***NeiJuan* (i.e., involution) in Education and Labor Market.** The term "*NeiJuan*" (内卷; i.e., involution) has been used by many Chinese people to describe the high-pressure competition in education and labor market, such as the hypercompetitive college entrance exam for getting into top universities and colleges and overtime work in the workplace (Li, 2021; Yi et al., 2022). The high-pressure conditions have motivated some young Chinese women to pursue less pressured and more free lives overseas, such as moving to Australia

(Martin, 2021).

**Gender Inequalities in Education.** Research on gender inequalities in education in China has shown complicated findings, suggesting fewer or similar economic investments from parents on girls' education compared with those on boys, but fewer educational expectations and more burden of household chores on and shorter length of education of girls than boys (Hannum, Kong, & Zhang, 2008; Wang, 2005). For example, one study in the central and western regions in China, which were more poverty-stricken compared to the eastern regions, found that in those regions girls from families living in poverty had a strong desire to change the current living environment, aspired to become teachers or white-collar workers in cities, but could not obtain adequate education, due to various familial and societal factors (Wang, 2017). In Wang's study (2017), only 43% of parents pay attention to their daughters' learning situation, and 11% of parents never cared for their daughters, giving less attention to daughters than to sons (Wang, 2017). Efforts to provide educational opportunities to school-age girls in poverty-stricken rural areas in China have been made by the government, private enterprises, and individuals, such as the famous model Teacher Guimei Zhang who built the Huaping Girls' High School in Yunnan province; many students of this school succeeded in being admitted into universities and colleges (Zhu, 2020).

In urban areas of China, previous research found that daughters who were only children received similar educational investments and expectations from parents compared to only sons, suggested as an unintended consequence of the one-child policy since 1980s (Tsui & Rich, 2002). Though parental investments for girls' education in urban areas seem equal compared to those for boys' education, inequalities have been suggested in girls' education experiences at school. For example, girls in Chinese high schools were less likely to choose science courses than boys, and this was related to girls' lack of confidence and interest in science, limited support from teachers, and underrepresentation of women in STEM (i.e.,

science, technology, engineering, and math) (He et al., 2020).

In short, Chinese girls and young women face gender discrimination in education, especially in rural areas. However, many are able to find educational opportunities and obtain adequate education (e.g., Kam, 2020; Zhu, 2020). This, in turn, allows them to pursue their dreams in big cities in China or even overseas.

**Gender Discrimination in Workplace.** Chinese women face workplace gender discrimination in recruitment, compensation, rights protection, promotion, and retirement (Liu, Dong, & Zheng, 2010; Yang, 2020; Zhang, Jin, Li, & Wang, 2021). Chinese women might also suffer from negative effects of maternal responsibilities in the workplace (Shen, 2022; Zhang & Wang, 2022), and recent recurrence of traditional gendered cultural ideas that put pressure on women in their expected social “responsibilities” of getting married and becoming mothers (Gu, 2013).

The motherhood penalty in the labor market (i.e., the negative effects of becoming mothers such as less work time and salary) is associated with Chinese women's career development and their thoughts and plans regarding becoming mothers. For example, a recent study on 528 college student with an average age of 20 years old in China found the fear of the negative effects of motherhood is related to women college student' thoughts about motherhood (Xu et al., 2023); only 34.3% of female college students in Xu et al's study (2023) aspires to become parent as compared to 47.1%, of men, and women college students viewed having children as less important than did men college students. Moreover, women college students were more concerned about the negative effects of parenthood in the labor market and on their personal lives (e.g., having less freedom and money; Xu et al., 2023). A study using data from the China Health and Nutrition Survey from 1989 to 2015 found that childbirth negatively affected women's wages among single and married mothers, and the motherhood penalty even became more important over time (Shen, 2022). A study on women

migrant workers in urban areas in China found that compared with single women migrant workers, married women migrant workers face worse working conditions (in terms of pay, work environments, and social security benefits). Furthermore, in the context of the three-child policy since 2020, mothers of multiple children might suffer from even greater employment exclusion related to their maternal status (Zhang & Wang, 2022).

In addition, there has been a recurrence of traditional gender concepts in China, along with the rapid economic development. Chinese women have experienced the shift in social attitudes about women's labor force participation, from encouraging in the socialist revolution era to somewhat discouraging, such as strong voices in mass media calling women to go back home and leave the jobs to men (Gu, 2013).

In short, for Chinese women, *NeiJuan* and gender inequalities in education and workplace (Yang, 2020; Yi et al., 2022) might motivate them think about pursuing a career and a new life in places other than their homeland.

### ***Chinese Women's Career Development in Transnational Context***

Chinese women pursuing a career in countries other than their homeland might choose to first become an international student in the host country (e.g., Kam, 2020; Martin, 2021). For example, Martin's study (2021) found that living away from their families of origin in China, Chinese women international students in Australia had more freedom in obtaining their career goals, not having to follow the gendered expected life courses in Chinese cultural setting (e.g., becoming wives of men at marriageable ages). Following student status, many Chinese international students might continue the migration process via high-skilled migration and pursuing their new careers in the host country (Miles, 2020).

Motherhood penalties have also had negative effects on Chinese women's career and lives overseas. One recent study on Chinese women scholars in universities and research institutes in countries other than their homeland found that many Chinese women scholars



face the challenges or burdens of motherhood on their job search (e.g., no time for job search during pregnancy), work hours (e.g., spending more time on childbearing and household chores compared to male colleagues), and academic achievements (Wang, 2023). Dealing with the balance (or imbalance) between career and family is a crucial task for many Chinese women scholars' career development overseas (Wang, 2023).

Lastly, sexual orientation might play a role in how individuals envision their career development over time. A study in the United States revealed that compared to their heterosexual peers, discrepancies between desires and expectations of non-heterosexual people in achieving life goals such as a meaningful career and stable housing were salient (Tate & Patterson, 2019). As the minority stress model suggested (Brooks, 1981; Meyer, 2003; Meyer & Frost, 2013), stressors related to an individual's sexual minority status might have a negative impact on their well-being and lives. Hence, in addition to gender inequalities that all women face in their career development, non-heterosexual women might face stressors related to their sexual orientations in how they view and plan about their career in the transnational context.

### **Chinese Women's Family Formation in Chinese and Transnational Context**

Chinese women have *marriage freedom* (i.e., the marriage law in mainland China protects the rights of women aged 20 years old and above in getting married to any man and getting a divorce based on their free will), but in a patriarchal and heteronormative context (Cheng, 2018b; Yeung & Hu, 2016). In such a context, Chinese women, regardless of their sexual orientations, are expected by their families and by Chinese society (and, in many cases, also by themselves) to enter a heterosexual marriage at a suitable age (i.e., in their twenties; Fincher, 2016).

Chinese heterosexual and non-heterosexual women's family formation aspirations and plans might be associated with (1) support and pressure received from their families, (2)

endorsement of Chinese cultural ideas, and (3) the Western cultural ideologies if they endorse any (e.g., Huang & Brouwer, 2018; Kam, 2013; Li & Patterson, 2022ab; Zhu, Stok, Bal, & de Wit, 2022).

### ***Chinese Women's Family Formation in the Chinese Context***

**Marriage Autonomy in a Heteronormative Confucian Context.** Chinese people have *marriage freedom*, but in a heteronormative context. The Marriage Reform Law in 1950s in mainland China defined marriage as a voluntary contract based on people's free choice (Yeung & Hu, 2016). Though Chinese people have made enormous progress in terms of female emancipation (Edwards, 2000), the patriarchal hierarchy and heterosexual marriage system remain of strong influence on the lives of Chinese people (Cheng, 2018b; Wu & Dong, 2019; Yang, 2020). Specifically, in the Chinese cultural setting, familial collectivism and the Confucian filial piety in particular are associated with Chinese people's views and actual practices regarding family formation, such as the obedient and reproductive role of a wife to her husband (Cheng, 2018b; Zheng, Hart, Noor, & Wen, 2020).

Confucian filial piety has been argued to be a crucial factor associated with marital and parenting aspirations and decisions among Chinese non-heterosexual individuals (Engebretsen, 2009; Hu & Wang, 2013; Quach et al., 2013; Steward et al., 2013; Wang, 2015). Filial piety emphasizes an individual's familial obligations, including respecting elderly family members and continuing the bloodline of the paternal family through a traditional heterosexual marriage (Tang, 1995; Hu & Wang, 2013).

For non-heterosexual individuals in mainland China, the pressures from heteronormative views can drive them into heterosexual marriage, such as cooperative marriages or fraudulent ones (Zhu, Stok, Bal, & de Wit, 2022). Li Yinhe (2002), a pioneering scholar in queer issues in mainland China, documented that Chinese lesbians and gay men often enter heterosexual marriage. Kam (2007 and 2013) indicated that unmarried Lala

women (especially those who stay single over the suitable age for marriage) are doubly stigmatized by the heteronormative discourse in Chinese society. Many informants for Kam's study (2007 and 2013) chose to leave their hometown to live in big cities in China or even planned to go abroad to pursue freer lives as lesbians (/Lalas). More recent studies have also demonstrated that Chinese lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals face social, parental or familial, and internalized pressures to marry a heterosexual partner and have children (Wang, 2020; Zheng et al., 2020).

### **Chinese Women's Family Formation in the Changing Socio-historical Context.**

Chinese women's family formation aspirations and plans might be associated with the ever-changing socio-historical and economic contexts, cultural influences, interpersonal considerations related to these contextual factors, and personal characteristics (e.g., sexual orientation).

*Marriage and Family Norms in Modern China.* Norms regarding marriage and the family system in the Chinese mainland have been changing since the reform and open policies were implemented in the 1980s (Davis, 2014; Yeung & Hu, 2016). With the impact of modernization and urbanization, still, in the Chinese cultural context, the extended family fulfills its role in taking care of young children and elderly parents (Xu & Xia, 2014). Previous research has demonstrated that marriage in the Chinese context is more than between two partners but rather forms "an alliance between two families" (Chao, 1983; Wang, 2020). Furthermore, researchers have argued that nuclear families are anchored within the traditional extended family network in China (Xu & Xia, 2014; Yeung & Hu, 2016).

Family size on average has been 3-5 people per family in mainland China, based on national population censuses since 1950; the data has been collected based on the Hukou residency registration system (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2021; Xu & Xia, 2014). In Chinese society, the family type of one household registered in the Hukou system could be

the nuclear family or extended family, so the family size shown in the census data might reflect the actual living arrangements of the nuclear family or extended family living together. The 1982, 1990, 2000, 2010, and 2020 census data showed that the nuclear family household structure was dominant in China, accounting for nearly 70% of households, and small families made up the majority (80%) of households when including single-person households (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2021; Zeng & Wang, 2004; Wang, 2006; Xu & Xia, 2014). After the start of the *three-child policy* in mainland China (Xinhua, 2021a), the average family size of a nuclear or extended family household might increase with more children being born.

***Gender Inequality Issues regarding Family Formation.*** Patriarchal expectations of gendered roles of women as wife and mother in a heterosexual marriage are still salient in Chinese society (Luo & Chui, 2018; Yang, 2020). Compared to adult sons in China, adult daughters receive fewer resources from their families of origin (Hu, 2017). For instance, parents in urban areas usually provide financial support for their sons to buy an apartment, and in rural areas, parents usually help to build a house for their sons; women are expected to marry a man and be dependent on her husband (Xu & Xia, 2014). In addition, compared to the “diamond bachelors” (i.e., the term used for unmarried Chinese men above the age of 30), Chinese women who remain unmarried above their late twenties or age thirty are stigmatized as “leftover women” (Zhang, 2020).

***Only Child Status and Recent Three-child Policy.*** In the context of the *one-child per family policy* in mainland China since 1980, many Chinese women born after 1980 are the only child of their parents, which might be associated with even greater pressures for the only child to continue the family bloodline (typically of the husband's family in a heterosexual marriage) and to take care of the elderly parents and grandparents (e.g., Wang, 2020; Liu, Dong, & Zheng, 2010). Some studies investigated relevant gender inequality issues for

daughters who are the only child of their parents, such as in parental support for housing and marital expectations (e.g., Fincher, 2016; Xu & Xia, 2014). For instance, some parents believe and strictly follow the Chinese tradition that it is their duty to give financial support in housing only to sons but not daughters, even when they have only one daughter but no son. Instead of helping their only daughters in housing, some Chinese parents even choose to help another male relative to buy a home (Fincher, 2016). Another example is that many women who are the only child of their parents are affected by the leftover women stigma that is endorsed not only by the Chinese society but also by their parents; regardless of their only child status, many women are expected by their parents to enter heterosexual marriage before they reach the age of 30 and to obtain financial support from the husband but not their parents (Fincher, 2016).

In 2015, the Chinese government announced the end of the one-child policy and introduced the *two-child policy*; in the subsequent five years, the birth rate in China has been in greater decline (Macrotrends, 2023). The age range of participants in this study is 18-40 years old (in the year of 2023), and the corresponding birth years are 1983-2005; thus, it can be expected that the majority of participants of this study would be the only child in their families.

In 2021, the Chinese government announced the *three-child policy*, which allows a couple to have up to three children, together with some childbearing and childcare support measures, to alleviate the decreasing birth rate (Xinhua, 2021a). As same-sex marriage is not legalized in mainland China, the three-child policy would provide support only for heterosexual couples. This recent policy change that encourages childbearing might be associated with young Chinese women's family formation plans, such as the number of children that they plan to have (i.e., from one child to three children). Many young Chinese women who are most likely the only child of their parents are likely to create larger families

(i.e., their children will have siblings if they decide to give birth to more than one child); in this study, the Chinese women participants who envision staying in their homeland might be most likely influenced by this three-child policy.

***Influence of Globalization and Western Ideologies.*** Since the reform and open policies implemented in 1978 in mainland China, Chinese young people are increasingly influenced by Western ideologies including marriage values and individualism (Davis, 2014; Triandis, 2018; Yeung & Hu, 2016). In particular, the “post-90s” generation (i.e., young adults born in or after 1990) is an especially globalized generation in mainland China, related to the access to Internet including global queer ideologies (Wang, 2020). In the context of increasing globalization and cultural interchanges, Chinese women’s ideas about family formation might be affected by the Western cultural ideas (e.g., individualism). For example, individuals influenced by individualist ideas tend to value educational opportunities, and to prefer to enter marriage and childbearing at later ages (Erfani & Beaujot, 2006).

***Family Formation among Non-heterosexual/Lala Women.*** Non-heterosexual people, like their heterosexual peers, might hope to form their own families (e.g., getting married and becoming parents). Specifically, in the Chinese cultural setting, Wei’s (2016) qualitative interview study with families of same-sex couples who were parents in China showed that many had started to pursue parenthood once their partnerships were stable. Moreover, Wei (2016) found that gay men showed stronger interest than did lesbian women in having children. Research has suggested disparities between heterosexual individuals’ aspirations for forming a family and the aspirations of non-heterosexual individuals. Compared to heterosexual individuals, individuals of sexual minority groups reported fewer aspirations toward parenthood in both Chinese and American settings (Li & Patterson, 2022a; Salinas-Quiroz, Costa, & Lozano-Verduzco, 2020; Tate et al., 2019).

Some Chinese gay men and lesbian women seemed to be interested in entering

parenthood, and cultural factors such as filial piety may have played a role in shaping their aspirations (Wang, 2020; Wei, 2010; Wei, 2016; Wang & Zheng, 2021). Concerns about *elder care* is a potential source of familial pressure (Hildebrandt, 2019) that might be associated with Chinese non-heterosexual women's family formation and migration aspirations and plans. Influenced by the economic changes (i.e., from planned economy to market economy) and recent changes in the pension system and social security system in China, many parents might have to rely on their children for financial support when they retire (Xu & Xia, 2014). Thus, the pressure to have children might affect young adults, regardless of sexual orientation.

**Social Support and Family Formation.** Previous studies conducted in Western countries on both heterosexual and non-heterosexual adults have shown that individuals who perceive themselves as receiving considerable social support are more inclined to become parents (Keim, Klarner, & Bernardi, 2013; Langdrige, Sheeran & Connolly, 2005; Tate et al., 2019). In terms of financial support for forming a family, Chinese traditional familial culture still has an influence on this process, such as that some lesbian women equate parental or familial financial capability with their own financial capability when considering forming their own families, especially among those who are the only child of their parents (Wang, 2020). Though many Chinese parents refuse to provide their only daughters with financial support in housing (Fincher, 2016), some other Chinese parents in Wang's study were supportive of helping their only daughters in buying housing; their daughters thought of this as what parents naturally do for their children, regardless of the child's gender/sex.

**Cooperative Marriage among Chinese Non-heterosexual/Lala Women.** In the Chinese cultural setting, Confucianist values such as filial piety push individuals to enter heterosexual marriage and have children who will continue the father's family bloodline. To meet such expectations, individuals face pressures from their families and society to marry an opposite-sex partner. As a response to such pressures, some people of sexual minority groups

in mainland China might choose to enter *cooperative marriage*, a special form of heterosexual marriage (typically between a non-heterosexual man and a non-heterosexual woman) in the LGBTQ+ Chinese communities, to cope with the pressures of entering a heterosexual marriage (Kam, 2013). As distinct from the mixed-orientation marriage in the Western context (Tornello & Patterson, 2012), cooperative marriage in the Chinese context is characterized by transparency about sexual identities of partners and mutual consent of both partners, at least one of whom identifies as non-heterosexual, before they enter into such a relationship.

Some researchers have viewed cooperative marriages as pragmatic and beneficial, demonstrating significant alliances between non-heterosexual men and women in China (Wang, 2019; Zhu, 2017). However, other researchers suggested that, to meet familial and socio-cultural expectations of a heterosexual marriage, individuals who chose to enter a cooperative marriage often sacrifice their well-being and face challenges to balance their heterosexual marriages in public and non-heterosexual lives in private (Ren, Qu, & Guo, 2021). Moreover, one previous study investigated the gender inequality issues in cooperative marriage, showing that non-heterosexual women are in more disadvantaged economic and social positions than their gay male counterparts who are seeking partners for cooperative marriage (Liu & Tan, 2020).

There has been a scarcity of nationwide studies regarding non-heterosexual people's choice of entering cooperative marriage. A recent report (Beijing LGBTQ+ Institute, 2021) on 9,355 sexual and gender minority individuals in China showed that 33.5% of the cisgender non-heterosexual participants had considered cooperative marriage. A survey by WeiLaiJia Family (2021) on 2,900 Chinese non-heterosexual women showed that some couples in cooperative marriage might bring up children together - a few of the 252 women participants who had or planned to raise children with their same-sex partner used the sperm of their



cooperative marriage husband.

### ***Chinese Women's Family Formation in Transnational Context***

Chinese heterosexual and non-heterosexual/Lala women's family formation aspirations and plans might be associated with their expectations and plans of future residency in Western countries (versus in the homeland). Particularly for Chinese Lala/non-heterosexual women, compared to circumstances in the Chinese mainland, more LGBTQ+-friendly environment and more resources supporting family planning of queer women in Western countries might be attractive to those who want to have children (Flores, 2021; Kam, 2020).

**Cultural Values in Western Countries.** Chinese women, especially the young generations growing up in the era of increasing globalization and Internet accessibility, might have absorbed Western ideologies and been influenced by Western cultural ideas (e.g., individualism; Martin, 2021; Triandis, 2018). Moreover, Western culture is often perceived as more accepting of LGBT individuals compared to East Asian culture (Kam, 2020; Zhang & Brym, 2019). As it has been suggested that people influenced by individualist values place significant importance on educational opportunities, and have a preference for delaying marriage and parenthood (Erfani & Beaujot, 2006), Chinese women who envision migrating to Western countries might hold ideas regarding family formation in line with this pattern.

**Different Norms of Marriage and Childbearing in Western Countries.** Chinese women who plan to migrate to Western countries might be affected by the norms regarding marriage and family in the host countries. For example, in Western Europe, in addition to marriage and childbearing within marriage, cohabitation and childbearing within cohabitation have become more common or even normative (Lesthaeghe, 2010). Still, some non-heterosexual people might choose to stay in mixed-orientation marriage (Tornello & Patterson, 2012). Moreover, compared to the nuclear family in Chinese culture that maintains

a close relationship with the extended family network, the nuclear family in Western culture is more isolated and has a clearly defined boundary (Xu & Xia, 2014; Parsons, 1943). The norms that are different from the norms in China might also be associated with how Chinese women envision their future families in the process of transnational migration.

**Aspirations for Cooperative Marriage in Transnational Context.** One recent study showed that non-heterosexual Chinese international students who expected future residency in Western countries reported fewer aspirations toward cooperative marriage, compared to their non-heterosexual peers who expected to return to China after graduation (Li & Patterson, in press). Similarly, as there is less need to act in a heterosexual way in more LGBTQ+-friendly Western societies, Chinese non-heterosexual women who plan to migrate to Western countries might express fewer aspirations regarding cooperative marriage compared to their counterparts who intend to stay in the Chinese mainland.

### **Summary of Literature Review**

In line with rapid economic development and increasing globalization after the 1980s reform and open policy in the Chinese mainland, many Chinese women leave their hometowns and migrate to big cities within the nation, and others even migrate to other countries (e.g., Miles, 2020; Ryan, 2002). In Chinese women's transnational migration, gender and sexual orientation have been suggested as related to their various motivations and considerations regarding migration and family formation (e.g., Kam, 2020; Martin, 2021).

Moreover, Chinese heterosexual and non-heterosexual/Lala women's future career and family formation and their thoughts about migration might be associated with individual factors (e.g., sexual identity), interpersonal factors (e.g., social support), and cultural factors (e.g., endorsement of Confucian filial piety versus Western ideologies) (e.g., Li & Patterson, 2022b). In the era of globalization, Chinese traditional culture values have been challenged by ideas from Western culture (Davis, 2014; Wang et al., 2015; Yeung & Hu, 2016); hence,

regarding the role of culture factors in Chinese women's thoughts on future migration, career, and family formation, both cultural factors inside and outside of Chinese cultural setting are likely to be important.

In all, more research should be done to enhance understanding of how Chinese heterosexual and non-heterosexual/Lala women envision prospective career, marriage and parenthood in the context of migrating to another country versus staying in mainland China.

### **Present Study**

This study aimed to explore an overarching research question, how do Chinese heterosexual and non-heterosexual/Lala women in contemporary mainland China think about migrating abroad (or not) in the future and pursuing a career and forming a family? From the standpoint of the culture cycle model (Fiske, Kitayama, Markus, & Nisbett, 1998; Markus & Connor, 2014; Markus & Kitayama, 2010), shown in Figure 1, Chinese women's future migration, career, and family formation might be associated with factors on the individual, interpersonal, institutional, and cultural levels. Therefore, this study had three primary goals.

The first goal of this study was to investigate the role of demographics (e.g., education level and income) and sexual orientation-related factors in Chinese women's aspirations and plans regarding migration. Previous qualitative studies suggested variation among migration aspirations and practices among Chinese non-heterosexual women (Kam, 2013, 2020). Still, it was unclear whether a woman's sexual orientation would be associated with her aspiration for migration to another country. In other words, this study examined whether non-heterosexual women might be more likely than heterosexual women to aspire for transnational migration. Furthermore, this study explored whether factors related to one's non-heterosexual sexual orientation (e.g., internalized homonegativity, concealment motivation, and experience with prejudice against non-heterosexuality) might be associated with their migration aspirations. In addition, for those who expressed aspirations for

migration, this study investigated the plans they had. This study also explored the pathways of migration that Chinese women envisioned, such as becoming international students and pursuing skilled worker migration.

The second goal was to test whether Chinese heterosexual and non-heterosexual/Lala women differed in their aspirations and plans regarding career and family formation (e.g., marriage and parenthood) based on their aspirations and plans regarding migrating abroad versus staying in mainland China. There were two main objectives related to the second goal. The first was to examine whether Chinese women's future career plans varied together with migration aspirations and sexual orientation. The second objective was to investigate whether Chinese women's aspirations and plans for family formation were associated with their migration aspirations and sexual orientation.

Same-sex marriage has not been legalized in mainland China, so Chinese non-heterosexual women who were in a romantic relationship with a same-sex partner were not able to register for legal marriage unless they traveled or migrated to other countries or regions where same-sex marriage had been legalized. As previous research suggested non-heterosexual individuals had fewer aspirations regarding getting married and becoming parents than their heterosexual peers (e.g., Salinas-Quiroz et al., 2020; Tate et al., 2019), this study investigated whether Chinese non-heterosexual women in mainland China would report fewer marital and parenting aspirations than their heterosexual peers. However, a destination of migration where same-sex marriage had been legalized might offer Chinese non-heterosexual women the legal right to marry a same-sex partner if they wanted to do so. Hence, this study examined the interaction of migration aspiration and sexual orientation in Chinese women's thoughts about future family formation. It explored questions such as whether Chinese non-heterosexual women who envisioned migration to other places would have higher aspirations for getting married than their non-heterosexual peers who preferred to

stay in the homeland.

The final goal was to examine what variables were associated with Chinese heterosexual and non-heterosexual women's aspirations and plans regarding future migration. Based on the culture cycle framework (Fiske et al., 1998; Markus & Connor, 2014; Markus & Kitayama, 2010), as shown in Figure 1, this study aimed to examine the role of personal, interpersonal, and cultural factors in Chinese women's aspirations and plans for migration (e.g., migration aspiration, migration pathway, and migration destination). Specifically, this study examined the extent to which Chinese women subscribed to the tenets of Chinese or Western cultural ideologies and how this might be linked to their views about transnational migration. Drawing from the minority stress model (Brooks, 1981; Meyer, 2003; Meyer & Frost, 2013), this study also examined how proximal and distal stressors related to non-heterosexual sexual orientations, including internalized homophobia and experiences with prejudice against non-heterosexuality, might be associated with Chinese non-heterosexual women's aspirations and plans regarding future migration.

### **Hypotheses**

For the first goal of this study, it was expected that there would be associations between participants' demographics and sexual orientation-related factors and their migration aspirations. In addition to the patriarchal pressures that all Chinese women face, Chinese non-heterosexual women also face challenges related to their non-heterosexual sexual orientations (e.g., Kam, 2020); hence, it was expected that non-heterosexual women would be more likely than heterosexual women to aspire to migrate to other places that they perceived as more supportive for LGBTQ+ people than their homeland. Regarding other demographics and migration, as the literature suggested an association between the growing middle class and increasing transnational mobility in Chinese society (e.g., Martin, 2021), it was expected that income and education would be associated with Chinese women's future transnational

migration. Specifically, it was hypothesized that, compared with women who would like to stay in the homeland, women who aspired to migrate abroad were more likely to be from more advantaged social class groups (e.g., higher monthly income and have higher education levels).

Furthermore, regarding sexual orientation-related factors and migration, as previous research suggested the motivation of living an authentic and freer non-heterosexual life behind Chinese queer women's choice of transnational migration (e.g., Kam, 2020), it was hypothesized that among Chinese non-heterosexual women, higher level of internalized homonegativity and concealment motivation would be associated with stronger aspirations for staying in the homeland and fewer aspirations for migration to other countries. In addition, it was hypothesized that a higher level of experiences with prejudice against non-heterosexuality would be associated with stronger aspirations for migration to other countries among non-heterosexual participants.

With respect to the second goal of this study about future career, as potentially motivated by escaping from the high-pressured education system and job market in Chinese society (Martin, 2021), for Chinese women who aspired to or planned to migrate abroad, it was hypothesized that they would report higher desires and expectations regarding having a meaningful career and obtaining other educational and financial goals compared with those who envisioned staying in the homeland. As Chinese non-heterosexual women face both patriarchal pressures and pressures related to their non-heterosexual sexual orientations in the Chinese cultural setting, and as societal environments in Western countries are relatively more supportive in terms of LGBTQ+ concerns (e.g., Kam, 2020; Zhang & Brym, 2019), it was hypothesized that Chinese non-heterosexual women who aspired to migrate abroad would express stronger desires and more positive expectations regarding achieving a meaningful career and other educational and financial goals than Chinese non-heterosexual

women who envisioned staying in mainland China; it was also hypothesized that Chinese non-heterosexual women who envisioned staying in the homeland would have the lowest desires and expectations for having a meaningful career and obtaining other life goals. There was no specific hypothesis regarding the migration plans (e.g., pathways such as student migration and high-skilled migration) of Chinese heterosexual and non-heterosexual women who aspired to migrate abroad.

With respect to the second goal of this study about future family formation, previous research suggested one motivation of Chinese non-heterosexual women's migration to other countries was related to the freedom in the destination country, including forming a family with a same-sex partner (e.g., Kam, 2020). Hence, it was hypothesized that Chinese non-heterosexual women who aspired to migrate abroad would express stronger aspirations and more positive plans regarding getting married and having children than Chinese non-heterosexual women who envisioned staying in mainland China. However, pressures to get married and become parents from family and Chinese society tend to be weaker when living in foreign countries as the physical distance between individuals and their parents increases (Martin, 2021). Moreover, individualist values in the Western cultural context are associated with delayed marriage and parenthood (Erfani & Beaujot, 2006). Thus, Chinese heterosexual women who aspired to migrate abroad were expected to report fewer aspirations and plans regarding marriage and parenthood compared with those heterosexual women who envisioned staying in the homeland. Thus, an interaction effect of migration aspiration and sexual orientation on aspirations for forming a family (e.g., desires for becoming a parent) was expected.

Regarding family formation plans, previous research showed that Chinese non-heterosexual international students envisioned more diverse pathways to having children (e.g., adoption and other assisted reproduction techniques) than did their heterosexual peers (Li &

Patterson, 2022b). Therefore, it was also hypothesized that, among those aspiring to become parents, Chinese non-heterosexual women would report more diverse pathways toward parenthood than Chinese heterosexual women.

In addition, regarding cooperative marriage, non-heterosexual Chinese international students who expected to live in Western countries in the future had fewer aspirations towards cooperative marriage than did non-heterosexual Chinese students who expected to return to China after graduation (Li & Patterson, 2022c). Therefore, it was hypothesized that Chinese non-heterosexual women who aspired to migrate abroad would express fewer aspirations and more negative attitudes towards cooperative marriage compared to those who did not wish to migrate.

Regarding the third goal of this study, based on the culture cycle model (Markus & Connor, 2014; Markus & Kitayama, 2010), individuals' thoughts about future migration might be affected by personal characteristics, social interactions, and cultural ideologies. Hence, it was hypothesized that individual, interpersonal (i.e., social interaction), and cultural factors would be significantly associated with Chinese women's aspirations and plans regarding transnational migration. (1) On the individual level, for Chinese non-heterosexual women, it was hypothesized that higher levels of internalized homonegativity and concealment motivation would be associated with fewer aspirations for migrating abroad.

(2) On the interpersonal level, it was hypothesized that, for both heterosexual and non-heterosexual women, stronger social support from parents, friends, and significant others would be associated with fewer aspirations for migration. Moreover, it was hypothesized that, for non-heterosexual women, more experiences with prejudice against non-heterosexuality would be associated with stronger aspirations for migration to other places where the society was relatively more supportive towards LGBTQ+ people compared to the homeland (Zhang & Brym, 2019). In addition, previous research indicated both heterosexual and non-



heterosexual Chinese women's wishes to live away from their parents for freer lives (e.g., Kam, 2007; Martin, 2021). Therefore, it was hypothesized that lower qualities of relationships with parents would be associated with stronger aspirations for migration, for all women.

(3) On the cultural level, previous research showed the dreams of living a freer life in a cultural setting that is more open and supportive of LGBTQ+ people motivate Chinese heterosexual and non-heterosexual women to start their migration journey to Western countries (e.g., Kam, 2020; Martin, 2021). Therefore, it was hypothesized that, for both heterosexual and non-heterosexual women, stronger endorsement of Western culture would be associated with stronger aspirations for migration. In contrast, stronger endorsement of Chinese culture would be associated with fewer aspirations for migration, as endorsement of Chinese Confucian values such as filial piety has been suggested as being associated with Chinese individuals' wishes to live close to parents (e.g., Tang, 1995).

## **Method**

### **Participants**

In total, 876 Chinese women were recruited to participate in this study, including 415 non-heterosexual women (e.g., lesbian, bisexual, pansexual, and other non-heterosexual identities) and 461 heterosexual women. To be eligible to participate in this study, participants had to be living in mainland China, 18-35 years old, without any children, and unmarried. For the purpose of analysis, this study only included women who identified as cisgender, as transgender women might face unique challenges related to their non-cisgender identity that future research could explore.

An eligibility test was employed to ensure an adequate number of participants who met the requirements as described above were recruited in each of the two subgroups (i.e., heterosexual and non-heterosexual). Regarding sexual orientation, participants were asked to

check one response to the statement “What is your sexual orientation? (check one)”

Responses included “Heterosexual/Straight,” “Lesbian,” “Bisexual,” “Pansexual,” and “Other (please specify).”

### **Procedure**

A purposive convenience sampling method was employed in this study. Recruitment strategies include reaching out to Chinese women's communities to recruit participants who identified as heterosexual or members of sexual minority groups. Multiple recruitment strategies were used, including contacting scholars and community organizations that worked with queer people in mainland China and asking for their assistance in recruiting participants, reaching out to Chinese heterosexual and non-heterosexual women through the investigator's personal network (as she was an international student from mainland China), and posting advertisements through email and on social media online platforms such as XiaoHongShu and WeChat. Due to the recruitment pathways and relevant factors (e.g., most of the scholars and community organizations worked with queer people living in the urban areas in mainland China), it was expected that the heterosexual and non-heterosexual women recruited shared some similarities in demographic (e.g., currently living in urban areas).

Advertisements provided a brief description of this study, a website link and a QR code linked to the online survey, and contact information for the researchers. Through the website link and QR code, participants who were interested in the study were directed to the online survey on the Qualtrics platform. One example of recruitment material was included in the Appendices.

Advertisement materials were written in English for review by American scholars and members of an Institutional Review Board (IRB) and for later translation; then, the advertisements in English were translated into simplified Chinese. Only advertisements translated into Chinese were sent out for recruitment. The investigator can speak both

Chinese and English fluently. Advertisement materials in English were first written up. After the materials were translated from English to Chinese, two other scholars who were fluent in both Chinese and English assisted in reviewing and proofreading the translation (e.g., ensuring the accuracy of the semantics).

Each participant received 4 USD ( $\approx$  27 CNY) as compensation for their participation. In addition, strategies used to avoid bots and other fake responses in the online questionnaire survey included restricting the number of submissions from a single IP address, deleting responses that had a repetitive and meaningless pattern of answers, and deleting responses with a duration that was too short to fill out the survey (i.e., fewer than 200 seconds). Open-ended qualitative questions were included at the end of the survey as another way to detect bots or fake responses (i.e., based on whether the responses to the open-ended questions were meaningless or showed a repetitive pattern).

This study was approved by the Institutional Review Board for Social Sciences (IRB-SBS) at the University of Virginia in June 2023.

### **Sample Size and Power Analysis**

To determine required sample size for this study, power analysis was conducted by using the WebPower package on R (Zhang, Mai, & Yang, 2023). The types of planned statistical analyses include correlational analysis, ANOVA and ANCOVA, and regression analysis, and required sample sizes were obtained based on these different analyses.

First, for zero-order bivariate correlations (i.e., without any other variables being partial out), assuming an effect size  $r = 0.30$  (i.e., the conventional medium level of correlational effect size measure  $r$ ; Cohen, 1988), a reasonable power of 0.80, and the significance alpha level being 0.05, the required sample size was about 84 for a two-sided test.

Second, for one-way ANOVA, assuming a medium effect size  $f = 0.25$  (Cohen, 1988), a reasonable power of 0.80, and the significance alpha level being 0.05, the required total

sample size is about 128, with the number of groups ranging from 2 to 5. For two-way ANOVA, if each of the two factors had three levels, the required total sample size was 196.

Lastly, for regression analyses, assuming a medium effect size  $f^2 = 0.15$  (Cohen, 1988), a reasonable power of 0.80, and a significance alpha level being 0.05, the required total sample size was about 98 when the number of predictors was 6. When the number of predictors reached 15, the required total sample size was 139.

Considering the suggested sample sizes based on power analyses for sample size planning, and due to the limited amount of funding and time for data collection (i.e., during the summer of 2023), the original total sample size was anticipated to be 500 (i.e., 250 non-heterosexual women and 250 heterosexual women). In total, the final sample size of this study was 876, thereby meeting and even exceeding anticipated levels.

As this study had one single sample size for most of the statistical tests, not all effects would have the same statistical power (i.e., some might be overpowered while other underpowered). In addressing this issue, Anderson (2019) suggested that researchers focus on the focal effect; in the case that researchers have primary interests in multiple effects, Anderson (2019) also recommended that researchers conduct the sample size planning that will power the study to detect the “hardest to detect” effect. In addition, the 2-group design of this study aimed at examining the primary question of interest (i.e., whether non-heterosexual women are more likely than heterosexual women to aspire for transnational migration). However, when examining whether women’s future career and family formation differed as a function of migration aspiration and sexual orientation, the four subgroups (i.e., non-heterosexual and migrate, non-heterosexual and stay in the homeland, heterosexual and migrate, and heterosexual and stay in the homeland) were further not equally allocated. Unequal group allocation might lower statistical power when holding other factors constant (Anderson, 2019); this concern should be acknowledged when analyzing the data. It should

also be noted that some statistical analyses were conducted within the group of non-heterosexual women (e.g., the analysis for examining whether non-heterosexual Chinese women's aspirations for moving abroad would be associated with internalized homonegativity). In all, the larger-than-anticipated sample size proved to be a benefit for some analyses.

## **Measures**

### ***Demographics***

Demographic information were collected about participants' age, sexual orientation, gender identity, sex assigned at birth, only child status, education level, current occupation or major, parental occupation(s), individual monthly income, place of current residence in China, religion, and relationship status.

### ***Aspirations and Plans regarding Future Migration***

**Aspirations regarding Future Migration versus Staying in the Homeland.** Both desires and intentions regarding future migration were assessed. Participants responded to two items regarding migration, "I would like to [i.e., desire to or want to] migrate to another country in the future." and "I have a real intention [i.e., I plan or am going to plan] to migrate to another country in the future." Participants reported on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree). Higher scores indicated stronger desires or intentions regarding migration in the future. The Cronbach's  $\alpha$  for the two items was .89 in this study.

Participants responded to two items regarding staying in the homeland, "I would like to [i.e., desire to or want to] stay in my own country in the future." and "I have a real intention [i.e., I plan or am going to plan] to stay in my own country in the future." Participants reported on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree). Higher scores indicated stronger desires or intentions regarding staying in the homeland. The Cronbach's  $\alpha$  for the two items was .94 in this study.

**Pathways of Future Migration.** Regarding future migration (i.e., pursuing future residency in places other than the homeland), participants responded to two items about the pathways of pursuing future residency and career abroad. The items about future migration were “If you would like to migrate to another country, IDEALLY, which pathway would you take into consideration the most?” and “If you would like to migrate to another country, which pathway would you MOST LIKELY to take?” Participants chose one of the following options for each of the items: (1) student migration (i.e., first becoming a student in the destination country); (2) high-skilled migration; (3) business investor migration; (4) other pathways (please specify); (5) do not want to migrate to another country, so not applicable.

A definition of each of the migration pathways was provided to the participants. Regarding student migration, the definition was that the movement of an individual “who has moved across an international border away from his or her habitual place of residence for the purpose of undertaking a programme of study (International Organization for Migration, 2011).” Regarding high-skilled migration, the definition was that individuals “either have a work permit or are helped by their host organizations to obtain work and resident permits” upon their arrival in the destination country (Oleribe & de la Fuente, 2022). Regarding business investor migration, the definition was that individuals investing in or starting a business in another country in order to obtain residency or citizenship (Wong, 2003).

**Destination of Migration.** Participants responded to two items about the destination if they aspired to migrate abroad. One item was “If you would like to migrate to another country, which country or region would you take into consideration the most (/would be your top choice)?” Participants wrote down the name of the country they were considering. The other item was “If you plan to migrate to another country, which country you are planning about?” Participants wrote down the name of the country they were planning about.

**Ideal and Planned Timing for Migration.** Participants responded to two items, “If

you would like to migrate to another country, approximately when (in years to come) do you think would be the ideal timing?” and “If you have the plan to migrate to another country, approximately when (in years to come) do you plan to do so?” Participants wrote down their answers about how many years they would like to or planned to migrate to another country. Participants could skip these two items by checking “not applicable.”

### ***Aspirations and Plans regarding Future Career***

#### **Desires regarding Future Career and Other Educational and Financial Goals.**

Participants responded to four items assessing their future life desires, selected from the original eight items of Tate and Patterson's study (2019). The other four items in Tate and Patterson's study (2019) were not selected because they were not relevant to this study or they repeated other assessments. One question was asked “Rate how much you *desire* the following to describe you at the time you are over 40 years old.” Participants then responded to the following 4 items: (1) obtain educational goals, (2) have a meaningful job, (3) live in ideal housing, and (4) be financially stable. Participants responded on a scale ranging from 1 - “Very undesired” to 5 - “Very desired” with 3 - “Neither desired nor undesired” for each of the four items. The internal reliability of the original eight items in Tate and Patterson's (2019) study was  $\alpha = 0.75$ . In this study, the Cronbach's  $\alpha$  for the selected four items was .73.

#### **Expectations regarding Future Career and Other Educational and Financial**

**Goals.** Participants responded to four items assessing their future life expectations, selected from the original eight items of Tate and Patterson's study (2019). One question was asked “For the following statements, regardless of your desires, rate how *likely* the following will describe you at the time you are over 40 years old.” Participants then responded to the following 4 items: (1) obtain educational goals, (2) have a meaningful job, (3) live in ideal housing, and (4) be financially stable. Participants responded on a scale ranging from 1 - “Very unlikely” to 5 - “Very likely,” with 3 - “Neither likely nor unlikely.” The internal

reliability of the original eight items in Tate and Patterson's (2019) study was  $\alpha = 0.79$ . In this study, the Cronbach's  $\alpha$  for the selected four items was .74.

**Pathways of Future Career Abroad.** Regarding pursuing future career abroad, participants who expressed aspirations for migrating abroad responded to two items assessing the pathways of pursuing career in a new country that they thought would be ideal and most plausible. The item about ideal pathways of future career abroad was "If you would like to pursue a career abroad, IDEALLY, which pathway would you take into consideration the most?" Participants chose one of the following options: (1) first becoming a student in the destination country; (2) directly get a job in the host country; (3) some other pathways (please specify); (4) do not want to migrate to another country, so not applicable. The other item about plausible pathways of future career abroad was "If you would like to pursue a career abroad, which pathway would you MOST LIKELY to take?" Participants responded to the same four options.

### *Aspirations and Plans regarding Family Formation*

**Marital Aspirations.** Both marital desires and intentions were assessed. Marital desire was assessed by an item adapted from Costa and Bidell's study (2017), "I would like to [i.e., desire to or want to] get married in the future." Marital intention was assessed by one item, "I have a real intention [i.e., I plan or am going to plan] to get married in the future.", also adapted from Costa and Bidell's study (2017). Participants responded to the two items using a 7-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree). Higher scores indicated stronger marital desires and intentions. In Costa and Bidell's study (2017), information about reliability or validity of these two items was not provided. For these two items in this study, Cronbach's  $\alpha$  was .94.

For participants who identified as non-heterosexual, they responded to one additional question about the gender/sex of their partner they aspired to marry, and possible responses



included “Same-gender/sex,” “Opposite-gender/sex,” “Same-gender/sex or opposite-gender/sex,” and “Other (please specify).”

**Parenting Aspirations.** Both parenting desires and intentions were assessed. Parenting desire was assessed by one item adapted from Costa and Bidell’s study (2017), “I would like to [i.e., desire to or want to] have children in the future.” Parenting intention was assessed by one item, “I have a real intention [i.e., I plan or am going to plan] to have children in the future.”, also adapted from Costa and Bidell’s study (2017). Participants responded to the two items on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree). Higher scores indicated stronger desires or intentions toward becoming parents. Regarding reliability, Cronbach’s  $\alpha$  was .96 for these two items in this study.

**Ideal Age for Marriage.** All participants answered to one item, “Approximately what age (in years) do you think would be the ideal time for you to get married?” Participants responded to this item by writing an age in years.

For participants who identified as non-heterosexual, they responded to one additional question about the gender/sex of their partner they thought they would marry. Possible responses included “Same-gender/sex,” “Opposite-gender/sex,” “Same-gender/sex or opposite-gender/sex,” and “Other (please specify).”

**Ideal Age for Parenthood.** Participants reported the ideal age of becoming a parent on one item, “Approximately what age (in years) do you think would be the ideal time for you to have a child/children?” Participants responded to this item by writing an age in years. Participants could consider the ideal age of becoming a parent in the context of same-sex or opposite-sex marriage or other situations, as they preferred.

**Pathways to Marriage (versus singlehood).** Participants responded to two items, “If you would like to get married, IDEALLY, which pathway would you take into consideration the most?” Participants chose one of the following options: (1) register for legal same-sex

marriage in a region where same-sex marriage is legalized; (2) register for legal opposite-sex marriage; (3) host a wedding ceremony but do not register for legal marriage (including the case that same-sex marriage is not legal yet where the participant lives); (4) register for Voluntary Guardianship; (5) other pathways (please specify); (6) not sure/don't know; (7) do not want to get married, so not applicable. Participants also responded to the other item, "If you would like to get married, which pathway do you EXPECT that you will take?"

Participants could choose one of the same seven options of the first question.

**Pathways to Parenthood (versus voluntary childlessness).** Participants responded to one item, "If you would like to have children, which pathway would you take into consideration the most?" Participants chose one of the following options: (1) having biological children via sex with an opposite-sex partner; (2) adoption; (3) surrogacy; (4) donor insemination; (5) other assisted reproduction techniques or other pathways (please specify); (6) not sure/don't know; (7) do not want to become parents, so not applicable.

**Ideal Family Size and Gender/sex of Children.** Participants responded to questions about the family size, and the gender/sex of children that they thought would be ideal, adapted from the Taiwan Social Change Survey (Academia Sinica, n.d.). Questions included, "Ideally, how many children would you like to have?" and "Ideally, what gender/sex would you like your children to be? (please answer this question regarding each of your future children, if you would like to have more than one child)." Participants filled in their answers to these questions. Participants could skip these questions if not applicable.

**Living with Parents (/Parental Figures) in the Future.** All participants responded to two questions about whether they would live with parents (/parental figures), ideally and in their expectations. One question about the ideal living arrangement with parents was "IDEALLY, what would be your arrangement regarding living with your parents (/parental figures) at the time you are over 40 years old?" Five options included: (1) I will live with my

parents (/parental figures); (2) I will live next door to my parents (/parental figures); (3) I will live near my parents (/parental figures); (4) I will live far away from my parents (/parental figures); (5) Not Sure/Don't Know. These two questions were adapted from a question from the Taiwan Social Change Survey (Academia Sinica, n.d.). The other question about expected living arrangement was "Based on your EXPECTATIONS, what would be the arrangement regarding living with your parents (/parental figures) at the time you are over 40 years old?" Participants could choose from the same five options of the first question.

**Desires, Intentions, and Attitudes regarding Cooperative Marriages.** Participants read an instruction before they answered to the items, "Cooperative marriages or cooperative romantic relationships refer to the heterosexual marriage or romantic relationship constituted by partners who clearly know each other's sexual orientations and willingly pretend to be a heterosexual couple in such marriage or romantic relationship. At least one of the partners (in such a relationship) must self-identify as non-heterosexual."

Participants who identified as members of sexual minority groups responded to two items that assessed their desires for cooperative marriages and romantic relationships, "I would like to (i.e., want to) engage in a cooperative romantic relationship." and "I would like to engage in a cooperative marriage." Participants also responded to two items that assessed their intentions to participate in a cooperative marriage or romantic relationship, "I have a real intention (i.e., plan or am going to plan) to engage in a cooperative romantic relationship" and "I have a real intention to engage in a cooperative marriage." Participants reported on a Likert scale (from 1 "Strongly Disagree" to 7 "Strongly Agree"). The average scores of the two items for desires and of the other two for intentions were computed. Higher scores indicated stronger desires and intentions for cooperative marriages and romantic relationships. The Cronbach's  $\alpha$  were .94 for desires and .96 for intentions in this study.

Moreover, all participants responded to four items that assessed their attitudes toward

cooperative marriages and romantic relationships. The four items were: “A cooperative romantic relationship is reasonable.” “A cooperative marriage is reasonable.” “It is reasonable that couples in cooperative romantic relationships have children.” “It is reasonable that couples in cooperative marriages have children.” Participants reported on a Likert scale (from 1 “Strongly Disagree” to 7 “Strongly Agree”). The average scores of the four items were computed and higher scores revealed more positive attitudes toward cooperative marriages and romantic relationships. Regarding reliability, Cronbach’s  $\alpha$  was .92 for attitudes in this study.

### ***Personal Factors***

**Concealment Motivation and Internalized Homonegativity.** Participants who self-identified as members of sexual minority groups answered questions on two subscales of the Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Identity Scale (LGBIS) that assessed their concealment motivation and internalized homonegativity (Mohr & Kendra, 2011). The Concealment Motivation subscale was about the motivation to protect one’s privacy as a non-heterosexual person (e.g., “I prefer to keep my same-sex romantic relationships rather private”). The Internalized Homonegativity subscale was about the rejection of one’s non-heterosexual identity (e.g., “If it were possible, I would choose to be straight”). Participants reported on a Likert scale (from 1 “Disagree Strongly” to 6 “Agree Strongly”). The total scores of each of the subscales were used. Regarding reliability, Cronbach’s  $\alpha$  were .78 for concealment motivation and .85 for internalized homonegativity in this study.

### ***Interpersonal Factors***

**Perceived Social Support.** All participants responded to the Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (MSPSS; Zimet et al., 1988) that assessed their perceived social support from family, friends, and significant other. For example, items included “I get the emotional help and support I need from my family/friends/significant other.” Participants

answered on a Likert scale (from 1 “Very Strongly Disagree” to 7 “Very Strongly Agree”). Summed scores on four items for each of the three subscales (i.e., perceived social support from family, friends, and significant others) were calculated. Higher scores revealed greater perceived social support. The Cronbach's  $\alpha$  were .89 for support from family, .85 for friends, and .86 for significant other in this study.

**Quality of Family Relationships.** All participants responded to three items assessing their relationships with their mother (for the other three items, with their father) using a combination of scores from three items, assessing frequency of communication, quality of contact, and parental closeness, which were adapted from items used in a previous study on non-heterosexual adults in the United States (Patterson, Tate, Sumontha, & Xu, 2018). Regarding frequency of communication with parents, the item was “How often do you communicate with your mother or mother figure (for the other item, your father or father figure) in person, on the telephone, zoom, WeChat, or other social media apps, exchange letters, or exchange email?” Participants responded on a scale from 0-never to 5-almost every day, and scores of “0” and “1” were scored as “1” based on Patterson et al.'s study for the purpose of analysis (2018). Higher scores indicated more frequent communication with parents.

Regarding quality of contact, the item was “You are satisfied with the way your mother or mother figure (for the other item, your father or father figure) and you communicate with each other,” and participants responded on a scale ranged from 1-strongly agree to 5-strongly disagree. This item were reverse coded, and higher scores indicated higher quality of communication.

Regarding parental closeness, the items were “How close do you feel to your father or father figure?” and “How close do you feel to your mother or mother figure?” Participants responded on a scale ranged from 1-not at all close to 5-very close. Higher scores indicated

closer relationships with parents.

Quality of relationships with parents was measured by a combined score of frequency of communication, quality of contact, and parental closeness (i.e., adding up scores of corresponding domains), ranging from 3–15; with higher scores showing closer relationships with parents (i.e., with mothers or mother figures and fathers or father figures). In Patterson et al.'s study (2018), Cronbach  $\alpha$  were 0.73 for mother or mother figures and 0.79 for father or father figures. In this study, the Cronbach's  $\alpha$  were .69 for mother or mother figures and .90 for father or father figures.

**Marital Pressures from Family.** All participants answered two items assessing the marital pressures from parents and grandparents, "Have you ever experienced pressures to get married from parents?" and "Have you ever experienced pressures to get married from grandparents?" Participants reported on a 4-point scale (0 - Not at All, 4 - A Lot). Average scores of the two items were calculated and higher scores indicated stronger marital pressures from family members. The Cronbach's  $\alpha$  of the scale was .71 in this study.

**Experiences with Left-over Women Stigma.** All participants answered four items, "Have you ever been the target of the left-over women stigma enacted by other people in OFFLINE spaces (e.g., being called a left-over woman or warned not to become a left-over woman in any ways) (/for the other item, in ONLINE spaces)?" and "Have you ever seen others be the target of the left-over women stigma acted by other people in OFFLINE spaces (/for the other item, in ONLINE spaces)?" Participants responded on a 4-point scale (0 - Never, 1 - Rarely, 2 - Sometimes, 3 - Often, 4 - Always). Average scores of the four items were calculated, and higher scores indicated more frequent experiences with the left-over women stigma. The Cronbach's  $\alpha$  of the scale was .77 in this study.

**Experiences with Prejudice against Non-heterosexuality.** Participants who self-identified as non-heterosexual answered four items, "Have you ever been the target of

prejudice acted by other people against non-heterosexuality in OFFLINE spaces (/for the other item, in ONLINE spaces)?” and “Have you ever seen others be the target of prejudice acted by other people against non-heterosexuality (e.g., from friends, colleagues, acquaintances, or News) in OFFLINE spaces (/for the other item, in ONLINE spaces)?” Participants reported on a 4-point scale (0 - Never, 1 - Rarely, 2 - Sometimes, 3 - Often, 4 - Always). Average scores of the four items were calculated and higher scores indicated more frequent experiences with prejudice against non-heterosexual people. The Cronbach's  $\alpha$  of the scale was .71 in this study.

**Experiences with Anti-Asian Prejudice.** Participants living in the Chinese mainland might have encountered Anti-Asian prejudice on the Internet or while they traveled, studied, or worked in other countries before, or had heard about others' experiences with anti-Asian prejudice. All participants responded to four items assessing their experiences with anti-Asian prejudice, “Have you ever been the target of prejudice acted by other people against Asian people in OFFLINE spaces (/for the other item, in ONLINE spaces)?” and “Have you ever seen others be the target of prejudice acted by other people against Asian people (e.g., from friends, colleagues, acquaintances, or News) in OFFLINE spaces (/for the other item, in ONLINE spaces)?” Participants reported on a 4-point scale (0 - Never, 1 - Rarely, 2 - Sometimes, 3 - Often, 4 - Always). Average scores of the four items were calculated and higher scores indicated more frequent experiences with anti-Asian prejudice. The Cronbach's  $\alpha$  of the scale was .80 in this study.

**Anticipatory Race-Related Stress.** Participants responded to four items that were selected from Utsey et. al. (2013), which assessed their anticipatory race-related stress. For example, “I believe there is a good chance that I will experience racism in the future.” Participants responded on a 7-point Likert scale (from 1 “Strongly Disagree” to 7 “Strongly Agree”). The Cronbach's  $\alpha$  of this scale was .83 in this study.

### ***Cultural Factors***

**Endorsement of Filial Piety.** Participants responded to six items that assessed their endorsement of the cultural value of filial piety, which was a core value in Confucianism (Hu & Wang, 2013; Academia Sinica, n.d.). For example, “Be grateful to your parents for raising you.” Participants reported on a Likert scale (from 0 “Not Important At All” to 4 “Absolutely Important”) for all the items; following Hu & Wang (2013), average scores were calculated. Higher scores indicated stronger endorsement of filial piety. The Cronbach’s  $\alpha$  of the scale was .84 in this study.

**Acculturation to the Western Culture.** Participants answered nine questions that assessed acculturation to Western Culture; these were adapted from the Asian American Multidimensional Acculturation Scale (AAMAS; Gim Chung et al., 2004). An example was, “How much do you feel you have in common with people from Western countries?” Participants reported on a Likert scale (from 1 “Not Very Much” to 6 “Very Much”). I only adapted items from the Cultural Identity and Cultural Knowledge subscales of the Asian American Multidimensional Acculturation Scale, except for one item (“How proud are you to be a part of”) from the Cultural Identity subscale, which did not apply to the participants. Scores for all the nine items from the two subscales were summed, with higher scores revealing greater acculturation. The Cronbach’s  $\alpha$  of the scale was .82 in this study.

### **Analytic Plan**

Correlational analysis, chi-square tests, ANOVA and ANCOVA, and regression analysis were conducted via SPSS 29.0 and R to examine Chinese heterosexual and non-heterosexual/Lala women’s aspirations and plans regarding future migration, career, and family formation and relevant factors.

First, as preliminary analyses, correlational analysis and ANOVA analysis were conducted to explore the demographic characteristics (e.g., sexual orientation) of Chinese



women who aspired to migrate abroad versus those who wanted to stay in mainland China. Furthermore, correlational analyses were conducted to examine the associations between sexual orientation-related factors and non-heterosexual women's migration aspirations.

Second, ANCOVA analysis was conducted to examine whether Chinese heterosexual and non-heterosexual women differed in their career (e.g., desires and expectations of having meaningful career in the future) and family formation aspirations and plans (e.g., marriage and parenthood) based on their plans to migrate abroad versus stay in mainland China.

Third, more advanced linear and logistic regression analyses were conducted to investigate what and how variables (e.g., qualities of family relationships and endorsement of filial piety) were associated with Chinese heterosexual and non-heterosexual women's aspirations and plans regarding future migration. The possible interaction between sexual orientation and all other predictors was included in the regression analyses. Missing values were handled using the Expectation Maximization algorithm in SPSS.

## **Results**

In this section, demographic characteristics of participants in this study were presented first. Then, results regarding the role of demographics, sexual orientation, and sexual orientation-related factors in Chinese women's aspirations and plans regarding migration were presented.

Furthermore, the results regarding Chinese women's future career and family formation based on sexual orientation and migration aspiration were presented, which explored whether Chinese heterosexual and non-heterosexual/Lala women differed in their aspirations and plans regarding career and family formation based on their aspirations and plans regarding migrating abroad versus staying in mainland China. Specifically, results of preliminary analyses examining whether Chinese women's future career and family formation differed as a function of sexual orientation were presented. Then, results regarding

Chinese women's future career and family formation as a function of sexual orientation and migration aspiration were presented.

Finally, results regarding what variables (e.g., personal, interpersonal, and cultural factors) were associated with Chinese heterosexual and non-heterosexual women's aspirations and plans regarding future migration were presented.

### **Demographics**

After the data screening (i.e., those cases in which the answers to 70% or more questions were missing were deleted), the final sample had 876 participants, including 461 participants who identified as heterosexual women and 415 non-heterosexual women (167 lesbian women, 185 bisexual, 52 pansexual, 7 asexual, and 4 other non-heterosexual sexual orientations). All the participants self-identified as cisgender women of Chinese nationality.

The demographic characteristics of participants were shown in Table 1. Results showed that compared to heterosexual counterparts, there were fewer non-heterosexual participants who grew up in municipalities or townships or villages; in contrast, more non-heterosexual participants grew up in prefecture-level cities,  $\chi^2(3) = 15.18, p = .002$ . Moreover, compared to their heterosexual peers, more non-heterosexual participants were living in prefecture-level cities at the time of the study, and fewer non-heterosexual participants were living in county-level cities, townships, or villages,  $\chi^2(3) = 12.03, p = .007$ . More non-heterosexual women grew up in urban areas than did their heterosexual counterparts ( $\chi^2(1) = 4.32, p = .038$ ); more non-heterosexual women than heterosexual women were currently living in urban areas ( $\chi^2(1) = 4.10, p = .043$ ).

In addition, non-heterosexual women were more likely to be in a romantic relationship than their heterosexual peers,  $\chi^2(1) = 9.99, p = .002$ .

There were no other demographic differences as a function of sexual orientation.

Hence, in subsequent analyses, romantic relationship status, place where women grew

up, and place of current residence were included as control variables in ANCOVA and regression analyses.

### **The Role of Sexual Orientation and Relevant Factors in Chinese Women's Future Migration**

To examine the demographic characteristics of Chinese women who aspired to migrate abroad versus those who wanted to stay in mainland China, chi-square tests and ANOVA analyses were conducted (see Table 2). Moreover, chi-square tests and ANOVA analyses were conducted to examine associations between Chinese women's potential future migration and their sexual orientation (see Table 3 and Table 4). In addition, correlational analyses were conducted to examine the associations between sexual orientation-related factors and non-heterosexual women's migration aspirations (see Table 3 and Table 5).

Results were presented in the following subsections regarding (a) demographic characteristics of Chinese women who aspire to migrate, (b) the role of sexual orientation in Chinese women's aspiration and plans regarding future migration, (c) the role of sexual orientation-related and other relevant factors in Chinese women's migration aspirations, and (d) the role of sexual orientation-related and other relevant factors in Chinese women's migration plans.

#### ***Demographic Characteristics of Chinese Women who Aspire to Migrate Abroad versus to Stay in Mainland China***

Most women wanted to stay in mainland China, but there were differences as a function of education and relationship status in this regard. As shown in Table 2, compared with Chinese women who would like to stay in the homeland (i.e., those who expressed neutral or negative desires or intentions regarding migrating to another country;  $n = 500$ ), Chinese women who aspired to migrate abroad (i.e., those who expressed positive desires or intentions regarding migrating to another country;  $n = 328$ ) were more likely to reported

having higher education levels,  $\chi^2 (3) = 9.36, p = .025$ . In addition, Chinese women who aspired for migration to another country were more likely than their peers who did not report such aspirations to be in romantic relationship with a partner,  $\chi^2 (1) = 6.29, p = .012$ . Those women who aspired to migrate abroad and their peers who aspired to stay in the homeland reported similarly on other demographic characteristics.

### ***The Role of Sexual Orientation in Chinese Women's Aspirations and Plans regarding Future Migration***

To show how much on average Chinese women aspired for future migration versus staying in the homeland, the means and standard deviations of continuous variables regarding future migration among heterosexual and non-heterosexual women were calculated (see Table 3). Then, to explore whether Chinese women's migration aspirations differed based on their sexual orientation, Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) was conducted. Results showed a significant effect for sexual orientation when assessing the four items about future migration versus staying in the homeland (Wilks' Lambda = 0.89,  $F(4, 817) = 24.67, p < .001$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .108$ ).

Moreover, as shown in Table 3, results of ANOVA analyses on desires and intentions regarding future migration versus staying in the homeland as a function of sexual orientation, without any control variable, suggested that non-heterosexual women expressed stronger desires and intentions regarding future migration than did their heterosexual peers,  $F(1, 834) = 75.32, p < .001$ , and  $F(1, 843) = 49.91, p < .001$ . In addition, non-heterosexual women expressed fewer desires and intentions regarding staying in their homeland than did their heterosexual peers,  $F(1, 826) = 88.90, p < .001$ , and  $F(1, 826) = 88.45, p < .001$ .

Furthermore, to examine whether non-heterosexual women would be more likely than heterosexual women to aspire to migrate to other places that are more supportive for LGBTQ+ people than their homeland, chi-square analyses of migration destinations were

conducted (i.e., regions where same-sex marriage had been legalized versus those where same-sex marriage had not been legalized yet at the time of the study). as shown in Table 4, non-heterosexual women were more likely to report country or region where same-sex marriage had been legalized as the destination if they planned for migration in the future than did heterosexual women,  $\chi^2 (1) = 4.34, p = .037$ . However, non-heterosexual women and their heterosexual peers were similarly likely to view country or region where same-sex marriage had been legalized as the ideal destination for potential future migration.

### *The Role of Sexual Orientation-related and Other Relevant Factors in Chinese Women's Aspirations regarding Migration*

Correlational analyses were conducted to examine associations between aspirations regarding future migration versus staying in the homeland and relevant personal, interpersonal, and cultural factors (see Table 3).

Results showed that, consistent with the hypotheses, among Chinese non-heterosexual women, higher level of internalized homonegativity and concealment motivation were associated with stronger desires and intentions for staying in the homeland (regarding internalized homonegativity and desires and intentions for staying in the homeland,  $r = .29, p < .001$ , and  $r = .30, p < .001$ ; regarding concealment motivation and desires and intentions for staying in the homeland,  $r = .18, p < .001$ , and  $r = .16, p = .002$ ). However, contrary to the hypotheses, there were no significant correlations between Chinese non-heterosexual women's internalized homonegativity and concealment motivation and their desires and intentions for migration to other countries.

In addition, consistent with the hypotheses, higher level of experiences with prejudice against non-heterosexuality were associated with stronger desires and intentions for migration to other countries among Chinese non-heterosexual women ( $r = .24, p < .001$ , and  $r = .19, p < .001$ ). Among Chinese non-heterosexual women, more experiences with prejudice against

non-heterosexuality were associated with fewer desires and intentions regarding staying in their homeland ( $r = -.21, p < .001$ , and  $r = -.25, p < .001$ ).

Moreover, regarding other interpersonal factors among non-heterosexual women, more experiences with left-over women stigma were associated with stronger desires and intentions for migration ( $r = .25$  and  $r = .21, p < .001$ ) and fewer desires and intentions for staying in their homeland ( $r = -.19$  and  $r = -.18, p < .001$ ). Moreover, among non-heterosexual women, stronger desires and intentions for migration were associated with more experiences with anti-Asian prejudice ( $r = .15, p = .002$ , and  $r = .16, p = .002$ ); stronger desires for migration were associated with higher levels of anticipatory race-related stress ( $r = .11, p = .031$ ). Compared to non-heterosexual women who had fewer aspirations for future migration, those who had stronger aspirations for migrating abroad had more experiences with prejudice against Asians and were more likely to anticipate race-related stress. Similarly, for heterosexual women, stronger desires and intentions for migration were associated with more experiences with anti-Asian prejudice ( $r = .23$  and  $r = .28, p < .001$ ). Results seemed to suggest that when Chinese women envision migrating abroad, they were aware of anti-Asian prejudice and potential stress associated with racism.

Regarding cultural factors, among non-heterosexual women, stronger endorsement of filial piety was associated with fewer desires and intentions for migration ( $r = -.41$  and  $r = -.27, p < .001$ ) and stronger desires and intentions for staying in their homeland ( $r = .46$  and  $r = .49, p < .001$ ). Among non-heterosexual women, stronger acculturation to the Western culture was also associated with greater desires and intentions for migration ( $r = .35$  and  $r = .42, p < .001$ ) and fewer desires and intentions for staying in their homeland ( $r = -.26$  and  $r = -.28, p < .001$ ). Similarly, among heterosexual women, stronger endorsement of filial piety was associated with fewer desires for migration ( $r = -.27, p < .001$ ) and stronger desires and intentions for staying in their homeland ( $r = .30$  and  $r = .37, p < .001$ ). Among heterosexual

women, stronger acculturation to the Western culture was also associated with greater desires and intentions for migration ( $r = .36$  and  $r = .35$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and fewer desires and intentions for staying in their homeland ( $r = -.24$  and  $r = -.24$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

### ***The Role of Sexual Orientation-related and Other Relevant Factors in Chinese Women's Plans regarding Migration***

The means, standard deviations, and counts of variables regarding plans of future migration and relevant factors were calculated among heterosexual and non-heterosexual participants. Furthermore, ANOVA and chi-square tests were conducted to examine whether plans regarding future migration differed as a function of sexual orientation (see Table 4). Lastly, correlational analyses were conducted to examine the associations between plans regarding future migration and relevant personal, interpersonal, and cultural factors (see Table 5).

Regarding motivations for future migration, as shown in Table 4, heterosexual women were more likely to choose reunion with family members in the destination as their motivation than were non-heterosexual women ( $\chi^2(1) = 7.50$ ,  $p = .006$ ). In contrast, compared to heterosexual women, non-heterosexual women were more likely to indicate that their motivations for migration were to live a freer life than in the homeland, the more LGBTQ+-friendly environment in the destination country or region, or to get married to a same-sex partner in the destination country ( $\chi^2(1) = 12.68$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\chi^2(1) = 60.16$ ,  $p < .001$ , and  $\chi^2(1) = 23.38$ ,  $p < .001$ , correspondingly). There were no significant differences in terms of migration motivations, including reunion with a partner, education opportunities, and occupational opportunities, as a function of sexual orientation. The other motivations that were filled in by participants included avoiding NeiJuan (内卷; i.e., involution), seeking for better social security and medical security system, attracted by lower population density in the destination, motivated by childhood dream, living away from some traditional cultures

that the participant found difficult to accept, to have lots of fresh fruit and local snacks, seeking more gender equality, and political factors, to live in a women-friendly environment, and avoiding domestic urban investment debt dilemma.

Regarding pathways of future migration, results showed that non-heterosexual women were more likely to view student migration and less likely to view business investor migration as the ideal pathway of migration than were their heterosexual counterparts ( $\chi^2(3) = 11.42, p = .010$ ).

Regarding destination of hypothetical future migration (i.e., participants were asked if they were to migrate, then which country or region would they choose?), non-heterosexual women were more likely than heterosexual women to report country or region where same-sex marriage is legalized as the destination,  $\chi^2(1) = 4.34, p = .037$  (see Figure 2).

Additionally, regarding ideal and planned timing for hypothetical future migration, there were no significant difference as a function of sexual orientation.

Furthermore, as shown in Table 5, results of correlations among Chinese non-heterosexual women showed that higher levels of acculturation to the Western culture were associated with earlier ideal and planned timing for hypothetical migration ( $r = -.22$  and  $r = -.24$ , both  $p < .001$ ). However, among non-heterosexual women, there were no significant associations between ideal and planned timing for hypothetical migration and internalized homonegativity and concealment motivation or other interpersonal and cultural factors.

In addition, results of correlations among heterosexual women showed that higher social support from friends and higher levels of anticipatory race-related stress were associated with later ideal and planned timing for hypothetical migration (for support from friends,  $r = .15, p = .009$ , and  $r = .13, p = .022$ ; for anticipatory race-related stress,  $r = .14, p = .010$ , and  $r = .15, p = .008$ ). In contrast, higher levels of acculturation to the Western culture were associated with earlier ideal and planned timing for hypothetical migration ( $r = -.23$ , and



$r = -.24$ , both  $p < .001$ ).

### **Chinese Women's Future Career and Family Formation based on Sexual Orientation and Migration Aspiration**

What was the role of sexual orientation and migration aspiration in how Chinese women thought about their future career and family formation? To explore this question, preliminary ANOVA and Chi-square analyses (see Tables 3, 4, and 5) were first conducted. Then, ANCOVA analyses were conducted to examine whether Chinese women's future career and family formation differed as a function of their sexual orientation, migration aspiration, and the interaction between sexual orientation and migration aspiration (see Table 6).

Results were presented in the following subsections regarding (a) analyses of Chinese women's future career and family formation as a function of their sexual orientation (i.e., heterosexual versus non-heterosexual) and (b) analyses of these women's future career and family formation as a function of their sexual orientation and migration aspiration.

#### ***Analyses of Future Career and Family Formation as a Function of Sexual Orientation***

In this subsection, the results of analyses of Chinese women's aspirational ideas about future career and family formation as a function of their sexual orientation was presented. Then, results regarding these women's plans for future career and family formation as a function of sexual orientation were presented.

**Aspirations regarding Future Career and Family Formation.** To explore whether women's aspirations differ based on their sexual orientation, MANOVA analyses were conducted. Results showed a significant effect for sexual orientation when assessing the eight items about future career and other financial goals (Wilks' Lambda = 0.98,  $F(8, 834) = 2.21$ ,  $p = .025$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .021$ ) and the four items regarding future marriage and parenthood (Wilks' Lambda = .81,  $F(4, 823) = 47.62$ ,  $p < .001$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .188$ ).

Moreover, the results of univariate analyses showed that (see Table 3), compared to

heterosexual women, non-heterosexual women reported lower levels of expectations regarding having a meaningful job, living in ideal housing, and being financially stable by the age of 40 years old,  $F(1, 863) = 6.52, p = .011$ ,  $F(1, 868) = 10.15, p = .001$ , and  $F(1, 869) = 9.18, p = .003$ . Moreover, non-heterosexual women reported fewer desires and intentions regarding getting married and becoming parents,  $F(1, 838) = 123.59, p < .001$ ,  $F(1, 835) = 139.34, p < .001$ ,  $F(1, 841) = 146.40, p < .001$ , and  $F(1, 839) = 171.41, p < .001$ .

**Plans regarding Future Career Abroad.** as shown in Table 4, the results showed that non-heterosexual women were more likely than their heterosexual counterparts to report first becoming a student in the destination country as the most likely pathway of pursuing a career abroad,  $\chi^2(2) = 13.61, p = .001$ . In contrast, heterosexual women were more likely than non-heterosexual women to report that the most likely pathway for them pursuing a career abroad was directly getting a job in the destination country.

**Plans regarding Future Family Formation.** as shown in Table 5, non-heterosexual women indicated a later ideal age for marriage and for parenthood than did their heterosexual peers ( $F(1, 773) = 57.95, p < .001$ , and  $F(1, 728) = 41.68, p < .001$ ). Non-heterosexual women were more likely than heterosexual women to report the ideal and expected pathways to marriage, if they would like to get married, to be (1) registering for legal same-sex marriage, (2) hosting a wedding ceremony but not registering for legal marriage, and (3) registering for Voluntary Guardianship ( $\chi^2(5) = 322.27, p < .001$ , and  $\chi^2(5) = 271.04, p < .001$ ).

Regarding pathways to parenthood, among those who would like to have children, non-heterosexual women were more likely than their heterosexual counterparts to describe adoption, surrogacy, donor insemination, other assisted reproduction techniques or other pathways as the pathways they preferred ( $\chi^2(5) = 223.48, p < .001$ ). Moreover, non-heterosexual women were more likely to report that, ideally, they would like to have one girl

than did their heterosexual peers,  $\chi^2(7) = 38.40, p < .001$ ; in contrast, heterosexual women were more likely to indicate that they would like to have one boy or one girl and one boy.

Regarding future living arrangements with parents (or parental figures), heterosexual women were more likely than non-heterosexual women to report living with, living next door to, and living near parents (or parental figures) as the ideal and expected living arrangements in the future; on the contrary, non-heterosexual women were more likely to indicate living far away from parents (or parental figures) as ideal and expected ( $\chi^2(4) = 54.55, p < .001$ , and  $\chi^2(4) = 43.11, p < .001$ ).

**Views about Cooperative Marriage.** The results showed that, on average, non-heterosexual women reported low levels of desires and intentions regarding entering a cooperative marriage ( $M = 2.46, SD = 1.74$ , and  $M = 2.38, SD = 1.72$ ; both means were lower than 4, the neutral point of a 1-7 Likert scale that represents “neither agree nor disagree”).

Results of ANOVA on attitudes about cooperative marriage as a function of sexual orientation showed that non-heterosexual women reported more negative attitudes toward cooperative marriage than did their heterosexual counterparts ( $F(1, 818) = 20.37, p < .001$ ). Compared to the indifferent attitudes of heterosexual women toward cooperative marriage (i.e., the average score of heterosexual women's attitudes was close to 4, the neutral point of a 1-7 Likert scale, which means “neither agree nor disagree”), non-heterosexual women's attitudes toward such a marriage were rather negative.

### ***Future Career and Family Formation as a Function of Sexual Orientation and Migration Aspiration***

Did Chinese heterosexual and non-heterosexual women differ in their career (e.g., desires and expectations of having meaningful career in the future) and family formation aspirations and plans (e.g., marriage and parenthood) based on their plans to migrate abroad versus stay in mainland China? To examine this question, MANCOVA analyses were

conducted first. Results showed a significant effect of migration aspiration (Wilks' Lambda = .97,  $F(8, 738) = 2.84$ ,  $p = .004$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .030$ ) but no significant effect of sexual orientation or the interaction of sexual orientation and migration aspiration when assessing the eight items about future career and other financial goals. Furthermore, when assessing the four items regarding future marriage and parenthood aspirations, results showed significant effects of sexual orientation (Wilks' Lambda = .83,  $F(4, 753) = 38.73$ ,  $p < .001$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .171$ ) and migration aspiration (Wilks' Lambda = .97,  $F(4, 753) = 5.28$ ,  $p < .001$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .027$ ); however, the interaction effect of sexual orientation and migration aspiration was not significant.

In the following subsection, the univariate ANCOVA analyses results of aspirations regarding career and other life goals (i.e., education goals, ideal housing, and financial stability) as a function of sexual orientation and migration aspiration were first presented. Then, the ANCOVA analyses results of aspirational ideas regarding family formation (e.g., marital and parenthood aspirations, ideal age for marriage and parenthood, ideal family size, and views about cooperative marriage) were presented.

**Aspirations regarding Having a Meaningful Job.** As shown in Table 6, Chinese women's desires regarding having a meaningful job differed as a function of the interaction of sexual orientation and migration aspiration,  $F(1, 769) = 4.40$ ,  $p = .036$ . Among women who did not aspire to migrate abroad in the future, those who self-identified as non-heterosexual expressed fewer desires regarding getting a meaningful job at the age of 40 years old than did their heterosexual counterparts (see Figure 3). In contrast, among women who expressed aspirations for migrating abroad, non-heterosexual women reported higher desires regarding having a meaningful job than did their heterosexual peers.

Furthermore, Chinese women's expectations regarding having a meaningful job differed as a function of their migration aspiration,  $F(1, 764) = 7.65$ ,  $p = .006$ . Chinese

women who expressed no aspirations for migrating abroad reported higher expectations regarding having a meaningful job when they reached the age of 40 years than did their peers who reported such aspirations, which was contrary to the hypotheses.

**Aspirations regarding Obtaining Educational Goals.** Contrary to the hypotheses, Chinese women's desires and expectations regarding obtaining educational goals did not differ as a function of their sexual orientation, migration aspiration, or the interaction between sexual orientation and migration aspiration.

**Aspirations regarding Living in Ideal Housing.** Chinese women's expectations regarding living in ideal housing differed as a function of sexual orientation,  $F(1, 767) = 6.49$ ,  $p = .011$ . Chinese non-heterosexual women reported fewer expectations regarding living in ideal housing when they reached the age of 40 years than did their heterosexual peers. Additionally, regarding desires, there was no significant effect of sexual orientation, migration aspiration, or the interaction of these two factors.

**Aspirations regarding being Financially Stable.** Chinese women's expectations regarding being financially stable differed as a function of their migration aspiration,  $F(1, 769) = 10.66$ ,  $p = .001$ . Chinese women who expressed no aspirations for migrating abroad reported higher expectations regarding being financially stable when they reached the age of 40 years than did their peers who reported such aspirations, which was contrary to the hypotheses. In addition, regarding desires to become financially stable, there was no significant effect of sexual orientation, migration aspiration, or the interaction of these two factors.

**Aspirations for Marriage.** Chinese women's desires for getting married differed as a function of their sexual orientation,  $F(1, 767) = 108.39$ ,  $p < .001$ , and migration aspiration,  $F(1, 767) = 9.65$ ,  $p = .002$ , but not the interaction of these two factors. Similarly, Chinese women's intentions for getting married differed as a function of their sexual orientation,  $F(1,$

765) = 122.95,  $p < .001$ , and migration aspiration,  $F(1, 765) = 15.06, p < .001$ . Non-heterosexual women expressed fewer marital desires and intentions than did their heterosexual counterparts. Moreover, women who expressed no aspirations for migrating abroad reported higher marital desires and intentions than did their peers who reported aspirations for migrating abroad, which is contrary to the hypotheses (see Figure 4).

**Aspirations for Parenthood.** Chinese women's desires for becoming parents differed as a function of their sexual orientation,  $F(1, 771) = 110.11, p < .001$ , and migration aspiration,  $F(1, 771) = 8.43, p = .004$ . Chinese women's intentions to become parents differed as a function of their sexual orientation,  $F(1, 769) = 131.12, p < .001$ , and migration aspiration,  $F(1, 769) = 15.95, p < .001$ , but not the interaction of these two factors. Non-heterosexual women expressed fewer parenting desires and intentions than did their heterosexual counterparts. Moreover, Chinese women who expressed no aspirations for migrating abroad reported higher parenting desires and intentions than did their peers who reported aspirations for migrating abroad, which is contrary to the hypotheses (see Figure 3).

**Ideal age for Marriage.** Chinese women's ideal age for marriage differed as a function of their sexual orientation,  $F(1, 712) = 47.21, p < .001$ , and migration aspiration,  $F(1, 712) = 10.19, p = .001$ . Non-heterosexual women reported later ideal ages for getting married than did their heterosexual counterparts (see Table 6). In addition, Chinese women who expressed no aspirations for migrating abroad reported earlier ideal ages for getting married than did their peers who reported aspirations for migrating abroad.

**Ideal age for Parenthood.** Chinese women's ideal age for becoming parents differed as a function of their sexual orientation,  $F(1, 671) = 33.35, p < .001$ , and migration aspiration,  $F(1, 671) = 6.96, p = .009$ . Non-heterosexual women reported later ideal ages for becoming parents than did their heterosexual counterparts (see Table 6). In addition, Chinese women who expressed no aspirations for migrating abroad reported earlier ideal ages for becoming

parents than did their peers who reported aspirations for migrating abroad.

**Ideal Family Size.** Chinese women's ideas about ideal family size differed as a function of their sexual orientation,  $F(1, 573) = 3.90, p = .049$ . Chinese women who expressed no aspirations for migrating abroad envisioned smaller family size (i.e., ideally, how many children they would have) than did their peers who reported aspirations for migrating abroad (for heterosexual women who wanted to migrate,  $Mean_{adjusted} = 1.51, SE = 0.06$ ; for heterosexual who did not want to migrate,  $Mean_{adjusted} = 1.46, SE = 0.04$ ; for non-heterosexual women who wanted to migrate,  $Mean_{adjusted} = 1.49, SE = 0.06$ ; for non-heterosexual who did not want to migrate,  $Mean_{adjusted} = 1.34, SE = 0.05$ ).

**Views about Cooperative Marriage.** as shown in Table 6, Chinese non-heterosexual women's desires and intentions for cooperative marriage differed as a function of their migration aspirations,  $F(1, 352) = 9.60, p = .002$ , and  $F(1, 351) = 10.70, p = .001$ . Consistent with the hypotheses, Chinese non-heterosexual women who aspired to migrate abroad reported fewer desires and intentions for entering cooperative marriage than did their peers who did not aspire to migrate abroad.

In addition, Chinese women's attitude about cooperative marriage differed as a function of sexual orientation,  $F(1, 756) = 21.28, p < .001$ , and the interaction between sexual orientation and migration aspiration,  $F(1, 756) = 15.95, p < .001$ . Among Chinese non-heterosexual women, those who expressed aspirations for migration abroad reported more negative attitudes about cooperative marriage than did their peers who did not aspire to migrate abroad, which is consistent with the hypothesis (see Figure 5). In contrast, among Chinese heterosexual women, those who aspired to migrate abroad reported less negative attitudes toward cooperative marriage than did their peers who did not aspire to migrate abroad (see Figure 5).

### **Predictors of Chinese Women's Future Migration**

When envisioning migration, career, and family, how would personal (e.g., sexual orientation), interpersonal (e.g., social support), and cultural factors (e.g., endorsement of filial piety) be associated with young adult Chinese women's aspirations and plans? To explore this question, linear and logistic regression analyses were conducted.

Specifically, in this section, the regression analysis results regarding Chinese women's thoughts about future migration, including their desire and intention regarding transnational migration versus staying in the homeland, migration motivation, migration destination, and migration pathway were presented.

### ***Predictors of Desire and Intention regarding Migration versus Staying in the Homeland***

Results showed that sexual orientation was significantly associated with Chinese women's desires and intentions regarding migration versus staying in the homeland (see Tables 7, 8, 9, and 10). Compared with their heterosexual peers, Chinese women who identified as members of sexual minority groups indicated higher desires and intentions for migration to other countries or regions in the future (for desires,  $\beta = .33, p < .001$ ; for intentions,  $\beta = .29, p < .001$ ), while they indicated fewer desires and intentions for staying in their homeland (for desires,  $\beta = -.35, p = .002$ ; for intentions,  $\beta = -.13, p < .001$ ).

In addition to sexual orientation, interpersonal factors (i.e., quality of relationship with father or father figure and experiences with left-over women stigma) and cultural factors (i.e., acculturation to the Western culture) were associated with Chinese women's desire and intention regarding migration versus staying in their homeland. Higher levels of relationship quality with father or father figure were associated with fewer desires and intentions for future migration (for desires,  $\beta = -.17, p < .001$ ; for intentions,  $\beta = -.17, p < .001$ ) and stronger desires and intentions for staying in the homeland (for desires,  $\beta = .10, p = .006$ ; for intentions,  $\beta = .12, p < .001$ ). In contrast, higher levels of experiences with left-over women stigma were associated with stronger desires and intentions for transnational migration (for



desires,  $\beta = .10, p = .001$ ; for intentions,  $\beta = .11, p < .001$ ) and fewer desires for staying in the homeland ( $\beta = -.08, p = .007$ ).

Specifically, at the interpersonal level, the interaction of social support from family and sexual orientation was also significantly associated with migration desire (for social support from family \* sexual orientation,  $\beta = -.22, p = .009$ ; see Figure 6) and the desire for staying in the homeland (for social support from family \* sexual orientation,  $\beta = .22, p = .047$ ; see Figure 7). When perceiving less support from family, Chinese non-heterosexual women reported stronger desires for migrating abroad; however, when perceiving greater support from family, these non-heterosexual women expressed much fewer desires for future migration. In contrast, Chinese heterosexual women reported, on average, neutral to negative migration desire, and the magnitude of decrease in their migration desire as perceived social support from family increases was relatively smaller than that among non-heterosexual women.

Contrary to the interaction effect of social support from family and sexual orientation on migration desire, the interaction effect of these two factors on Chinese women's desire for staying in the homeland was that: When perceiving less support from family, Chinese non-heterosexual women reported little desires for staying in their homeland; however, when perceiving greater support from family, these non-heterosexual women reported much stronger desires for staying in their homeland. In contrast, heterosexual women reported, on average, neutral to positive desire for staying in the homeland, and the magnitude of increase in their desire for staying as perceived social support from family increases was relatively smaller than that among non-heterosexual women.

Additionally, higher levels of social support from friends were associated with fewer intentions for migration ( $\beta = -.09, p = .002$ ). Moreover, greater social support from family was associated with stronger intention for staying in the homeland ( $\beta = .11, p = .005$ ).

Additionally, greater social support from significant other were associated with stronger desires for staying in the homeland ( $\beta = .10, p = .002$ ).

Furthermore, at the cultural level, higher levels of endorsement of filial piety were associated with fewer desires for transnational migration ( $\beta = -.19, p < .001$ ) and stronger desires and intentions for staying in the homeland (for desires,  $\beta = .26, p < .001$ ; for intentions,  $\beta = .31, p < .001$ ). In addition, the interaction of endorsement of filial piety and sexual orientation was significantly associated with Chinese women's intentions for transnational migration (for endorsement of filial piety \* sexual orientation,  $\beta = -.17, p = .006$ ; see Figure 8). Chinese non-heterosexual women who indicated little endorsement of filial piety expressed high intentions to migrate to another country; however, those non-heterosexual women who showed high levels of endorsement of filial piety reported little intention to migrate abroad. In contrast, heterosexual women indicated, on average, little intention to migrate overseas, regardless of how much they endorsed the value of filial piety; higher levels of endorsement of filial piety were associated with even fewer such intentions. In addition, higher levels of acculturation to the Western culture were associated with stronger desires and intentions for future migration (for desires,  $\beta = .32, p < .001$ ; for intentions,  $\beta = .37, p < .001$ ) and fewer desires and intentions for staying in the homeland among Chinese women (for desires,  $\beta = -.27, p < .001$ ; for intentions,  $\beta = -.30, p < .001$ ).

Lastly, among all the significant predictors of women's desires and intentions regarding migration or staying in the homeland, acculturation to the Western culture explained the largest amount of variances (for migration desires, 9.3%; for migration intentions, 12.9%; for desires regarding staying, 6.7%; for intentions regarding staying, 8.5%). Endorsement of filial piety explained the second largest amount of variances (for migration desires, 2.4%; for desires regarding staying, 4.2%; for intentions regarding staying, 5.9%).

### ***Predictors of Migration Motivation***

Logistic regression analyses were conducted regarding migration motivation with data from Chinese women who indicated at least positive desire or intention for transnational migration (see Table 11; for preliminary analyses, see Table 1 in Appendices). Preliminary logistic regression analyses were first conducted to obtain the odds ratio of sexual orientation, if it was significant, when including only it and control variables (i.e., relationship status, place grew up, and place of residence) in the model, without considering all other potential predictors. Based on the preliminary logistic regression analyses, Chinese non-heterosexual women were more likely to indicate that their motivation for migration was to live a freer life (regression coefficient estimate = 0.86, odds ratio = 2.36,  $p < .001$ ), the more LGBTQ+-friendly environment in the destination country (coefficient estimate = 2.68, odds ratio = 14.53,  $p < .001$ ), and to get married with a same-sex partner (coefficient estimate = 2.44, odds ratio = 11.53,  $p < .001$ ) than did their heterosexual peers.

Furthermore, regarding motivation of seeking education opportunities in the destination country, results of logistic regression analyses that included personal, interpersonal and cultural factors as predictors showed that quality of relationship with father or father figure, marital pressure from family, anticipatory race-related stress, the interaction of quality of relationship with father or father figure and sexual orientation, and the interaction of endorsement of filial piety and sexual orientation were significantly associated with such motivation. Specifically, higher levels of marital pressure from family (coefficient estimate = -0.67, odds ratio = 0.51,  $p = .009$ ) and lower anticipatory race-related stress (coefficient estimate = 0.52, odds ratio = 1.67,  $p = .027$ ) were associated with a lower likelihood of being motivated to migrate to other countries for education opportunities. Additionally, regarding the interaction effect of quality of relationship with father or father figures and sexual orientation (for quality of relationship with father \* sexual orientation,

coefficient estimate = -0.32, odds ratio = 0.73,  $p = .019$ ), results showed that: Chinese non-heterosexual women who reported higher quality of relationship with their father or father figure had slightly lower likelihood of being motivated by seeking educational opportunities (see Figure 9). In contrast, among Chinese heterosexual women, higher quality of relationship with their father or father figure was associated with higher likelihood of being motivated by educational opportunities in the destination country. Lastly, regarding the interaction effect of endorsement of filial piety and sexual orientation on the motivation of educational opportunities (for endorsement of filial piety \* sexual orientation, coefficient estimate = -1.09, odds ratio = 0.34,  $p = .023$ ), results showed that: Chinese non-heterosexual women's stronger endorsement of filial piety was associated with lower likelihood of being motivated by seeking educational opportunities abroad (see Figure 10). In contrast, heterosexual women's stronger endorsement of filial piety was associated with higher likelihood of being motivated by educational opportunities overseas.

Regarding the motivation of pursuing occupational opportunities, social support from significant other, quality of relationship with father or father figure, quality of relationship with mother or mother figure, marital pressure from family, the interaction of social support from significant other and sexual orientation, and the interaction of quality of relationship with mother or mother figure and sexual orientation were significantly associated with such motivation. Specifically, stronger support from significant other (coefficient estimate = -0.14, odds ratio = 0.87,  $p = .040$ ) and higher levels of marital pressure from family (coefficient estimate = -0.74, odds ratio = 0.48,  $p = .003$ ) were associated with a lower likelihood of being motivated to migrate to other countries for occupational opportunities. In contrast, greater quality of relationship with father or father figures was associated with greater likelihood of being motivated to migrate for occupational opportunities (coefficient estimate = 0.31, odds ratio = 1.37,  $p = .008$ ). Moreover, regarding the interaction effect of social support from

significant other and sexual orientation on such motivation (for social support from significant other \* sexual orientation, coefficient estimate = 0.16, odds ratio = 1.18,  $p = .039$ ), results showed that Chinese non-heterosexual women who reported stronger support from significant other had a higher likelihood of being motivated by occupational opportunities (see Figure 11). In contrast, heterosexual women's likelihood of reporting such motivation did not differ on how much they perceived receiving support from significant other. In addition, regarding the interaction of quality of relationship with mother or mother figure and sexual orientation on such motivation (for quality of relationship with mother \* sexual orientation, coefficient estimate = 0.28, odds ratio = 1.33,  $p = .044$ ), results showed that: a higher quality of relationship with mother or mother figure was associated with a higher likelihood of being motivated by occupational opportunities among both heterosexual and non-heterosexual women; however, when the quality of relationship with mother increases, the magnitude of the increase in the likelihood of such motivation was smaller among heterosexual women than that among non-heterosexual women (see Figure 12).

Lastly, regarding the motivation for the more LGBTQ+-friendly environment in the destination country, the interaction of social support from friend and sexual orientation and the interaction of experience with anti-Asian prejudice and sexual orientation were significantly associated with such motivation. Specifically, regarding the interaction effect of social support from friend and sexual orientation (for social support from friend \* sexual orientation, coefficient estimate = 0.39, odds ratio = 1.48,  $p = .023$ ), results showed that: Chinese non-heterosexual women's stronger social support from friends was associated with a higher likelihood of being motivated by the more LGBTQ+-friendly environment abroad (see Figure 13). Furthermore, regarding the interaction of experience with anti-Asian prejudice and sexual orientation on being motivated to migrate for the more LGBTQ+-friendly environment (for experience with anti-Asian prejudice \* sexual orientation,

coefficient estimate = -1.93 , odds ratio = 0.15,  $p = .024$ ), results showed that: among Chinese non-heterosexual women, more experiences with anti-Asian prejudice were associated with a lower likelihood of being motivated by the more LGBTQ+-friendly environment in the destination country (see Figure 14). In contrast, Chinese heterosexual women indicated, on average, little to no such motivation when considering migration abroad, regardless of how much they perceived having support from friends or experienced anti-Asian prejudice.

### ***Predictors of Migration Destination***

Logistic regression analyses were conducted to examine what factors might be associated with whether Chinese women considered migration destinations that had legalized same-sex marriage versus regions that had not legalized same-sex marriage at the time of the study (see Table 12; for preliminary analyses, see Table 2 in Appendices). Based on the preliminary logistic regression analyses with control variables and sexual orientation as the predictors, non-heterosexual women had a higher likelihood of indicating regions where same-sex marriage had been legalized as the ideal and planned destinations of hypothetical migration (for ideal destination, coefficient estimate = 0.44, odds ratio = 1.55,  $p = .038$ ; for planned destination, coefficient estimate = 0.45, odds ratio = 1.56,  $p = .027$ ) than did their heterosexual counterparts.

Furthermore, results of logistic regression analyses that included personal, interpersonal and cultural factors as predictors showed that the quality of Chinese women's relationship with their father or father figure was significantly associated with their thoughts about ideal and planned destinations of hypothetical migration. Chinese women who reported higher levels of relationship quality with their father or father figures were less likely to indicate regions where same-sex marriage had been legalized as their ideal and planned destinations of hypothetical migration (for ideal destination, coefficient estimate = -0.17, odds ratio = 0.84,  $p = .033$ ; for planned destination, coefficient estimate = -0.18, odds ratio =

0.83,  $p = .018$ ), regardless of their sexual orientation.

### ***Predictors of Migration Pathway***

Logistic regression analyses were conducted to examine what factors might be associated with the migration pathways that Chinese women considered (i.e., student migration, high-skilled migration, business investor migration; see Table 13; for preliminary analyses, see Table 3 in Appendices). Based on the preliminary logistic regression analyses with control variables and sexual orientation as the predictors, Chinese non-heterosexual women were more likely to indicate student migration as the ideal and likely pathways of future migration than were their heterosexual peers (for ideal pathway, coefficient estimate = 0.62, odds ratio = 1.86,  $p < .001$ ; for likely pathway, coefficient estimate = 0.60, odds ratio = 1.82,  $p < .001$ ). Additionally, Chinese women who were in romantic relationship were more likely to indicate high-skilled migration as the ideal and likely pathway of future migration than were those women who were single (for ideal pathway, coefficient estimate = 0.36, odds ratio = 1.44,  $p = .046$ ; for likely pathway, coefficient estimate = 0.48, odds ratio = 1.62,  $p = .009$ ).

Moreover, results of logistic regression analyses of ideal migration pathway (i.e., student migration, high-skilled migration, and business migration) that included personal, interpersonal and cultural factors as predictors showed that: quality of Chinese women's relationship with their father or father figure, acculturation to the Western culture, and the interaction of endorsement of filial piety and sexual orientation were significantly associated with student migration as the ideal pathway of future migration. Regardless of sexual orientation, a higher quality of relationship with father or father figure (coefficient estimate = -0.15, odds ratio = 0.86,  $p = .006$ ) and lower levels of acculturation to Western culture (coefficient estimate = 0.08, odds ratio = 1.09,  $p < .001$ ) were associated with a lower likelihood of thinking of student migration as an ideal pathway to migrate abroad. In addition,

among Chinese non-heterosexual women, greater endorsement of filial piety was associated with a lower likelihood of thinking of student migration as the ideal pathway for potential future migration (for endorsement of filial piety \* sexual orientation, coefficient estimate = -0.60, odds ratio = 0.55,  $p = .017$ ; see Figure 15). In contrast, heterosexual women's higher endorsement of filial piety was associated with a higher likelihood of considering student migration as ideal.

Furthermore, Chinese women who reported higher levels of experiences with left-over women stigma were more likely to indicate high-skilled migration as the ideal pathway (coefficient estimate = 0.41, odds ratio = 1.51,  $p = .038$ ), regardless of sexual orientation.

In addition, the interaction of endorsement of filial piety and sexual orientation significantly predicated business migration as the ideal pathway (coefficient estimate = 1.00, odds ratio = 2.71,  $p = .016$ ). When perceiving little endorsement of filial piety, Chinese non-heterosexual women had a lower likelihood of seeing business migration as ideal than did their heterosexual peers (see Figure 16). In contrast, when perceiving greater endorsement of filial piety, non-heterosexual women showed a slightly greater likelihood of viewing business migration as ideal.

Lastly, regarding likely pathway of future migration, results showed that acculturation to the Western culture and the interaction of acculturation to the Western culture and sexual orientation were significantly associated with student migration as likely. When perceiving little acculturation to the Western culture, Chinese non-heterosexual women had a much higher likelihood of viewing student migration as likely than did their heterosexual counterparts (for acculturation to the Western culture \* sexual orientation, coefficient estimate = -0.05, odds ratio = 0.95,  $p = .038$ ; see Figure 17). In contrast, when perceiving strong acculturation to the Western culture, non-heterosexual women had a slightly lower likelihood of viewing student migration as likely than heterosexual women.



Moreover, social support from friend and experience with left-over women stigma were significantly associated with high-skilled migration as the likely pathway. Regardless of women's sexual orientation, less social support from friend (coefficient estimate = -0.09, odds ratio = 0.92,  $p = .031$ ) and more experiences with left-over women stigma (coefficient estimate = 0.41, odds ratio = 1.50,  $p = .040$ ) were associated with a higher likelihood of viewing high-skilled migration as likely.

In addition, the interaction of anticipatory race-related stress and sexual orientation was significantly associated with business migration as the likely pathway (coefficient estimate = -0.63, odds ratio = 0.53,  $p = .021$ ). When reporting little anticipatory race-related stress, non-heterosexual women had a slightly higher likelihood of viewing business migration as likely than did heterosexual women (see Figure 18). However, when reporting high anticipatory race-related stress, non-heterosexual women had a slightly lower likelihood of viewing business migration as likely than did their heterosexual peers.

### **Results Summary**

In summary, this study explored (a) the role of sexual orientation and other relevant factors in young adult Chinese women's thoughts about future migration, (b) the role of sexual orientation and migration aspiration in shaping young adult Chinese women's ideas about future career and family formation, and (c) predictors at individual, interpersonal, and cultural levels of young adult Chinese women's future migration.

First, regarding the role of sexual orientation and other relevant factors in women's future migration, the main findings were as follows:

1. Consistent with the hypothesis, non-heterosexual women expressed stronger desires and intentions regarding leaving their homeland and migrating to another country than did their heterosexual peers.
2. Non-heterosexual women were more likely to indicate that their motivations for

migration were to live a freer life than in the homeland, find a more LGBTQ+-friendly environment in the destination country or region, and to marry a same-sex partner. Moreover, non-heterosexual women were more likely than heterosexual women to report a country or region where same-sex marriage is legalized as the destination if they considered migration in the future.

3. Furthermore, higher level of experiences with prejudice against non-heterosexuality were associated with stronger desires and intentions for migration to other countries among non-heterosexual women. In contrast, stronger endorsement of filial piety was associated with fewer desires and intentions for migration among women, regardless of their sexual orientation.
4. Finally, non-heterosexual women were more likely to view student migration and less likely to view business investor migration as the ideal pathway of migration, as compared to their heterosexual peers.

Second, regarding Chinese women's future career and family formation as a function of their sexual orientation and migration aspiration, the main findings were as follows:

1. Regarding the idea of pursuing a career abroad, non-heterosexual women were more likely than their heterosexual peers to indicate first becoming a student in the destination country as their most likely pathway.
2. Regarding ideas about future living arrangements, non-heterosexual women were more likely than their heterosexual peers to report living far away from parents (or parental figures) as ideal and expected.
3. Regarding future career and other life goals, non-heterosexual women who did not aspire to migrate abroad expressed fewer desires regarding having a meaningful job than did their heterosexual counterparts. In contrast, non-heterosexual women who aspired to migrate reported more desire regarding having a meaningful job than did

heterosexual women. However, women's desires and expectations regarding educational goals did not differ as a function of their sexual orientation, migration aspiration, or the interaction between these two factors.

4. Regarding aspirations for future marriage and parenthood, non-heterosexual women expressed fewer marital and parenting desires and intentions than did their heterosexual counterparts. Moreover, regardless of their sexual orientation, women who did not aspire to migrate reported higher marital and parenting desires and intentions than did their peers who did aspire to migrate.
5. Regarding ideal age for marriage and parenthood, non-heterosexual women reported later ideal ages for getting married and becoming parents than did their heterosexual peers. In addition, women who expressed no aspirations for migrating abroad reported earlier ideal ages for getting married and having children than did their peers who reported such aspirations.
6. Women who expressed no aspirations for migrating abroad envisioned having fewer children than did their peers who reported aspirations for migrating to other countries.
7. Regarding views about cooperative marriage, non-heterosexual women who aspired to migrate abroad reported fewer desires and intentions for entering cooperative marriage than did their non-heterosexual peers who did not aspire to migrate abroad. Moreover, non-heterosexual women who expressed aspirations for migration abroad reported more negative attitudes about cooperative marriage than did their peers who envisioned staying in the homeland.

Lastly, regarding predictors of Chinese women's future migration, the main findings were as follows:

1. Predictors of women's future migration aspiration

- a. In addition to sexual orientation at the personal level, at the interpersonal level, women's higher levels of experiences with left-over women stigma were associated with their stronger desires and intentions for transnational migration and fewer desires for staying in the homeland.
- b. The interaction of social support from family and sexual orientation was also significantly associated with migration desire: When perceiving less support from family, non-heterosexual women reported stronger desires for migrating abroad; however, when perceiving greater support from family, these non-heterosexual women expressed much less desire for future migration. In contrast, heterosexual women reported, on average, neutral to negative migration aspiration.
- c. Additionally, higher levels of social support from friends were associated with fewer intentions for migration. Moreover, greater social support from significant other were associated with stronger desires for staying in the homeland.
- d. Regarding cultural factors, non-heterosexual women who indicated little endorsement of filial piety expressed stronger intentions to migrate to another country; however, those non-heterosexual women who showed high levels of endorsement of filial piety reported very little intention to migrate abroad. Regardless of how much they endorsed the value of filial piety, heterosexual women indicated, on average, little intention to migrate overseas.
- e. Specifically, among all the significant predictors, acculturation to the Western culture explained the largest amount of variances in women's aspirations for future migration. Endorsement of filial piety explained the second largest amount of variances in such aspirations.

## 2. Predictors of women's future migration motivation

- a. Regarding motivation for pursuing education opportunities overseas, non-heterosexual women's stronger endorsement of filial piety was associated with lower likelihood of such a motivation. In contrast, heterosexual women's stronger endorsement of filial piety was associated with higher likelihood of such a motivation.
- b. Regarding motivation of occupational opportunities, non-heterosexual women who reported stronger support from significant other had a higher likelihood of being motivated by occupational opportunities. In contrast, heterosexual women's likelihood of reporting such motivation did not differ on how much they perceived receiving support from significant other.
- c. Regarding motivation for the more LGBTQ+-friendly environment overseas, non-heterosexual women's stronger social support from friends was associated with a higher likelihood of indicating such motivation. Furthermore, among non-heterosexual women, more experiences with anti-Asian prejudice were associated with a lower likelihood of reporting such motivation.

### 3. Predictors of women's future migration destination

- a. Based on the results of preliminary logistic regression analyses with control variables and sexual orientation as the predictors, non-heterosexual women were more likely to report regions where same-sex marriage had been legalized as the ideal and planned destinations of hypothetical migration (odds ratio = 1.55 and odds ratio = 1.56) than were their heterosexual peers.
- b. Results of logistic regression analyses examining the effects of personal, interpersonal and cultural factors showed that: women who reported higher levels of relationship quality with their father or father figures were less likely to indicate regions where same-sex marriage had been legalized as their ideal and

planned destinations of hypothetical migration.

#### 4. Predictors of women's future migration pathway

- a. Regarding ideal pathway of student migration, among non-heterosexual women, greater endorsement of filial piety was associated with a lower likelihood of thinking of student migration as ideal. In contrast, heterosexual women's higher endorsement of filial piety was associated with a higher likelihood of considering student migration as ideal.
- b. Regarding ideal pathway of high-skilled migration, women who reported higher levels of experiences with left-over women stigma were more likely to indicate high-skilled migration as ideal.
- c. Regarding ideal pathway of business migration, when perceiving little influence of filial piety, non-heterosexual women had a lower likelihood of viewing business migration as ideal than did their heterosexual peers. In contrast, when perceiving greater endorsement of filial piety, non-heterosexual women showed a slightly higher likelihood of seeing business migration as ideal.
- d. Regarding likely pathway of student migration, when perceiving little acculturation to the Western culture, non-heterosexual women were much more likely to view student migration as likely than did their heterosexual peers. In contrast, when perceiving greater acculturation to the Western culture, non-heterosexual women had a similar likelihood of viewing student migration as likely as compared to heterosexual women.
- e. Regarding likely pathway of high-skilled migration, regardless of women's sexual orientation, less social support from friends and more experiences with left-over women stigma were associated with a higher likelihood of viewing high-skilled pathways as likely.

- f. Regarding likely pathway of business migration, when reporting little anticipatory race-related stress, non-heterosexual women had a slightly higher likelihood of viewing business migration as likely than did heterosexual women. However, when reporting high anticipatory race-related stress, non-heterosexual women had a slightly lower likelihood of viewing business migration as likely than did heterosexual women.

In summary, results showed that sexual orientation played a critical role in young adult Chinese women's thoughts regarding transnational migration, career, and family formation in the future. Furthermore, results showed that sexual orientation interacted with other factors at the interpersonal and cultural levels in predicting how young women envisioned the lives they wanted to live. It should be noted that the associations between predictors and women's thoughts about migration, career, and family formation suggested by regression analysis results did not imply any causal relationships.

### **Discussion**

Most people pursue their life goals in the context of life in their homeland, but nowadays, some youth and young adults can consider pursuing their life goals not in their homeland but in another country (e.g., Cebolla-Boado et al., 2018; Kam, 2020; Martin, 2021). Consistent with the globalizing trend of transnational migration among some young adults, this study showed that in contemporary mainland China, many young adult women were envisioning their future lives not in their homeland but in other nations. However, when it comes to why and how young adult women think about leaving their homeland and starting a new life in another country, there has been a knowledge gap in understanding how sexual orientation and other ecological factors might play a role. This study contributed to filling this knowledge gap by exploring young adult Chinese women's aspirations and plans regarding their future lives as a function of sexual orientation and transnational migration.

Results of this study showed that sexual orientation played an important role in Chinese women's thoughts about migrating overseas versus staying in their homeland. Chinese women who self-identified as non-heterosexual were more likely to report aspirations to leave their homeland and migrate to other places around the world than were their heterosexual peers. This association of sexual orientation and Chinese women's migration aspirations was consistent with results of previous studies on the Chinese queer diaspora (e.g., Kam, 2020; Suen & Chan, 2021). Sexual orientation further played a role in how Chinese women planned possible future migration (e.g., motivation of migration, aspired pathways, and destinations of migration).

Moreover, Chinese women's ideas about other aspects of their future lives were correlated with their sexual orientation and aspirations for transnational migration. Consistent with previous studies (e.g., Li & Patterson, 2022a and 2022b; Tate & Patterson, 2019), the results suggested a difference between heterosexual and non-heterosexual women in their aspirations for achieving future career goals and entering marriage and parenthood. Moreover, Chinese heterosexual and non-heterosexual women's aspirations for future career and family formation varied depending upon whether they aspired to migrate abroad or stay in their homeland. When young adult Chinese women envisioned their future, their ideas were associated with not only their sexual orientation but also the prospect of transnational migration, which was viewed as attractive among some but not others of these young women.

Furthermore, this study suggested that young adult Chinese women's aspirations and plans regarding future migration, career, and family formation were associated with factors at many levels of analysis. Interpersonal (e.g., social support) and cultural factors (e.g., endorsement of filial piety), some of them interacting with sexual orientation, were associated with how Chinese women thought about whether they should stay in mainland China or leave their homeland. The results highlighted the importance of incorporating a globalized



perspective and an ecological multicultural framework in understanding contemporary young adult Chinese women's development.

### **Chinese Women's Transnational Migration and Sexual Orientation**

When young adult Chinese women think about transnational migration, does sexual orientation matter? This study suggested that sexual orientation was associated with how Chinese women thought about migrating abroad versus staying in their homeland. Previous research documented transnational migration among both heterosexual and non-heterosexual populations (Cebolla-Boado et al., 2018; Kam, 2020; Martin, 2021). However, results of this study suggested that non-heterosexual women might think differently than others about whether, why, and how they would want to migrate abroad.

First, non-heterosexual Chinese women were more likely to aspire to migrate abroad to another country than did their heterosexual peers. Considering the constrained LGBTQ+ legal rights and unwelcoming social attitudes toward LGBTQ+ people in Chinese society (Kam, 2013, 2020; Zhang & Brym, 2019), non-heterosexual women face sexual orientation-related minority stress (e.g., experiences with prejudice against non-heterosexuality). Living in another place where there is greater protection of LGBTQ+ legal rights and more positive social attitudes toward LGBTQ+ people might seem particularly attractive for non-heterosexual people. Additionally, a higher level of internalized homonegativity, stronger concealment motivation, and more experiences with prejudice against non-heterosexuality were linked to greater aspirations to migrate abroad, highlighting the specific factors related to sexual identity that may be associated with non-heterosexual women's aspirations to escape the unfriendly environment in their homeland (e.g., Kam, 2020).

Second, as expected, results of this study regarding Chinese women's motivations for migration showed that non-heterosexual Chinese women were more likely to be motivated by the wish to live a freer life than in the homeland, for the more LGBTQ+-friendly environment

in the destination country or region, and be able to marry a same-sex partner. In other words, transnational migration has been an attractive choice for some Chinese women to escape from the constraints they face in their homeland. The attraction of migrating to another country and living a freer life there was particularly prominent among non-heterosexual women.

How exactly would Chinese women migrate to another country, if they aspired to do so? Results of this study showed that sexual orientation played a role in how Chinese women considered possible pathways for transnational migration. Non-heterosexual Chinese women were more likely to think of student migration and less likely to see business investor migration as the ideal pathway of migration, as compared to their heterosexual peers. This might be related to the intersectional stigma and financial disadvantage faced by non-heterosexual women (e.g., Cheng, 2018b; Kam, 2013; Wei et al., 2021). Though non-heterosexual women, on average, more of them aspired to migrate abroad and wanted to migrate at an earlier time, they might have fewer resources than their heterosexual peers for initiating business migration.

Did same-sex marriage matter when Chinese women envisioned possible future migration? Results of this study showed that non-heterosexual women were more likely to envision migration to a country or region where same-sex marriage was legalized as their destination than were heterosexual women. This finding can supplement the results suggesting a higher likelihood of Chinese non-heterosexual women being motivated to migrate abroad to live a freer life as a member of LGBTQ+ communities.

In summary, results of this study suggested the association between sexual orientation and whether Chinese women would want to and how they would plan to leave their home country and migrate to other places around the world. Overall, by comparing non-heterosexual Chinese women with their heterosexual counterparts, the findings added to the

existing literature about migration among Chinese women (e.g., Kam, 2020; Martin, 2021) and populations worldwide (e.g., Leblang & Helms, 2023) that sexual orientation mattered in transnational migration and that non-heterosexual women had a higher likelihood than others of aspiring to pursue a new life overseas. Furthermore, some non-heterosexual Chinese women were motivated to pursue more freedom living as non-heterosexual individuals through transnational migration, rather than being motivated by educational, financial, or other reasons that are not related to sexual orientation (e.g., Leblang & Helms, 2023; Martin, 2021).

### **Chinese Women's Ideas about Future Lives Across Sexual Identities and Aspirations about Migration**

When young adult Chinese women considered transnational migration, how did they make their life choices regarding career and family formation? More specifically, did their ideas about future career and family formation vary across sexual orientation and aspirations for transnational migration? Results of this study suggested that, overall, young adult Chinese women's thoughts about how to achieve their career goals and form a family did vary based on their sexual orientation and on how much they aspired to migrate abroad.

#### ***“Study-abroad Fever”: Envisioning Career Across Sexual Orientations and Migration Aspirations***

How did young adult Chinese women envision their future careers in the context of decisions about migration? Did sexual orientation and migration aspiration matter when women considered goals relevant to education, work, and financial success? In light of gender inequalities in education and the job market in mainland China (e.g., Hannum et al., 2008; Wang, 2005; Zhang et al., 2021), researchers have recently documented the “Study-abroad Fever” (Liu Xue Re) in mainland China among young Chinese women (e.g., Martin, 2021). In this study, Chinese women expressed a variety of thoughts about pathways for

pursuing a career abroad, including student migration.

When Chinese women envisioned future career development, sexual orientation and migration aspiration mattered. Specifically, Chinese women's desires and expectations regarding achieving career and financial goals differed across sexual orientation and migration aspirations. As expected, Chinese non-heterosexual women who aspired to migrate to another country expressed stronger desires to have a meaningful career than their non-heterosexual peers who did not aspire to migrate abroad. This finding suggested that, compared with staying in their homeland, transnational migration might provide non-heterosexual women more hope that they would be able to achieve their career goals.

However, contrary to hypotheses, the findings showed fewer expectations regarding having a meaningful job and being financially stable among Chinese women who expressed aspirations for migration than those who did not aspire to migrate abroad, regardless of women's sexual orientation. This finding might be related to the lengthy procedure of transnational migration. The corresponding questionnaire items in this study assessed these women's desires and expectations regarding achieving their life goals at the age of 40 years old. One possible explanation was that, as some Chinese women start their migration journey in their late 20s or early 30s, when they finally have adequate resources to do so, they might need to wait for many years to finish their course of study and to get permanent residency in the destination country. In other words, women who aspired to migrate abroad and who had strong desires to achieve their career and financial goals may not expect to achieve their goals by the age of 40. More research is needed to test whether these women would have higher expectations if they were asked to envision their lives at a later age.

Moreover, if migrating abroad, non-heterosexual women were more likely than their heterosexual peers to envision first becoming a student in the destination, but not directly getting a job there. This finding potentially indicated the intersectional disadvantages faced

by non-heterosexual women in mainland China (e.g., Cheng, 2018b; Kam, 2013; Wei et al., 2021; Zheng et al., 2020); they might not, on average, have adequate resources for directly starting a new career in another country.

In all, consistent with previous studies that documented the “Study-abroad Fever” among young Chinese people, results of this study further indicated that this phenomenon might manifest differently among heterosexual and non-heterosexual Chinese women.

Considering the multiple disadvantages faced by them, student migration might be a more attractive and plausible pathway for non-heterosexual than heterosexual women to pursue their career and other financial goals in a new place.

### ***Envisioning Marriage and Parenthood Across Sexual Orientations and Migration Aspirations***

How did young adult Chinese women envision their future marriage and parenthood, if at all? Did sexual orientation and aspirations regarding transnational migration matter in their visions of their future family lives? Living in contemporary Chinese society where patriarchal, heteronormative Confucianism has remained dominant, both heterosexual and non-heterosexual women faced pressures to enter heterosexual marriage (e.g., Kam, 2013; UNDP, 2016; Zhu et al., 2022). Results of this study illustrated Chinese women’s aspirations regarding future marriage and parenthood across sexual orientation, as well as their desires to leave the homeland and migrate to another country.

First, did Chinese women want marriage and parenthood in the transnational context? Results of this study showed that, among Chinese women who envision migrating abroad, family formation might be (or might not be) part of their vision. Specifically, regardless of sexual orientation, Chinese women who planned to stay in mainland China reported higher marital and parenting desires and intentions than did their peers who reported aspirations for migrating abroad. This finding was contrary to the hypotheses; however, it can be explained

by the pro-natalist cultural values and the recent adoption of policies designed to encourage childbearing in mainland China. Both heterosexual and non-heterosexual young women who were living and expecting to continue to live in such a sociocultural context might prioritize getting married and having children. On the contrary, women who aspired to migrate overseas might prioritize other life goals in addition to or instead of family formation.

What about Chinese women's plans regarding forming a family, if they wish to have one? Chinese women who would stay in the homeland envisioned having fewer children than did their peers who wished to migrate. Though the Chinese government announced its "three-child policy" in 2021, young adult Chinese women who would stay did not want more children than did their peers who wanted to move to other countries; this finding might be related to the high-pressure conditions (i.e., *NeiJuan*) and gender inequalities in education and labor markets in contemporary Chinese society (Li, 2021; Xu et al., 2023; Yi et al., 2022; Zhang et al., 2021), when women considering the costs of raising more than one child. Furthermore, Chinese women who preferred to stay in mainland China reported earlier ideal ages for getting married and having children than did their peers who wanted to leave. This finding might be explained by the high pressures to get married and have children faced by Chinese women living in the traditional Confucianist cultural context.

Lastly, did Chinese non-heterosexual women want to enter cooperative marriage, by getting married to an opposite-sex non-heterosexual partner? Researchers have documented that some non-heterosexual individuals in mainland China might enter heterosexual marriages or cooperative marriages to cope with pressures from family and society (e.g., Kam, 2013; Zhu et al., 2022). However, results from this study showed, on average, few aspirations for cooperative marriage among non-heterosexual Chinese women. Furthermore, non-heterosexual women who aspired to migrate overseas had fewer aspirations to enter cooperative marriage than did their counterparts who preferred to stay in mainland China.

The prospect of transnational migration might have provided non-heterosexual women with more freedom in making decisions about marriage. Another possible explanation is that Chinese non-heterosexual women who had the resources to migrate abroad also had the resources to escape a heterosexual marriage or a cooperative marriage.

In summary, Chinese women's ideas about future marriage and parenthood were associated with sexual orientation and with aspirations for migration. Moreover, considering the more LGBTQ+friendly environment in Western countries, transnational migration potentially provided non-heterosexual Chinese women with more freedom in forming a family with a same-sex partner if they so desired.

### **Chinese Women's Future Lives in an Ecological Culture Model**

When envisioning migration, how would personal, interpersonal, and cultural factors combine in association with young adult Chinese women's life choices? By examining these factors, results of this study suggested an ecological cultural model. Specifically, at the personal level, sexual orientation interacted with interpersonal and cultural factors in how Chinese women envisioned their future lives. At the interpersonal and cultural levels, factors such as experiences with left-over women stigma and endorsement of filial piety played a role in Chinese women's visions into the future.

Living as a young woman in contemporary Chinese society with its dominant, patriarchal Confucian cultural traditions (e.g., Chang et al., 2011; Gui, 2020), both heterosexual and non-heterosexual women might face left-over women stigma. Their experiences with left-over women stigma were associated with their visions of their future lives. For instance, Chinese women who had more experiences with left-over women stigma had stronger aspirations for leaving their homeland and pursuing a new life in other places worldwide. These women might be attracted to living a freer life as young women in Western countries (e.g., Martin, 2021), away from the constraints posed by the patriarchal culture in

mainland China. In addition, Chinese women who had more experiences with left-over women stigma were more likely to envision high-skilled migration if they wish to migrate, which can be explained by that left-over women stigma typically targets more easily women over thirty years old, who are likely to have higher socio-economic status (e.g., Fincher, 2016), who may have more resources and higher expectations to migrate through the high-skilled migration pathway.

Moreover, at the interpersonal level, family support was a crucial factor that linked to Chinese women's aspirations to migrate abroad. On average, it was non-heterosexual women who reported low social support from their families who also aspired to migrate. In contrast, non-heterosexual women who received moderate or high family support were not likely to aspire to migrate. In addition, a higher quality of relationship with father was associated with both heterosexual and non-heterosexual women's fewer aspirations for migration. These findings potentially suggested the crucial role of family relationship and support when non-heterosexual women considered whether they should move away from their home country, in pursuit of a freer life in other places or for other motivations. This finding implied that strong family support and good quality of relationship with father might have protected some non-heterosexual women from an environment that was relatively unfriendly toward LGBTQ+ people in mainland China.

Experiences with anti-Asian prejudice were also associated with Chinese women's ideas about where they should live. The more experiences with anti-Asian prejudice non-heterosexual women had, the lower the likelihood that they were motivated by the more LGBTQ+-friendly environment in the destination country. This finding might be related to the decision-making process when these non-heterosexual women were considering migrating to another country. As they started to learn about the local LGBTQ+ communities in the destination, some of them might have noticed the intersectional stigma faced by



LGBTQ+ people of color within these communities (e.g., Sadika et al., 2020; Skinta & Nakamura, 2021), and thus, they might not perceive the environment in the destination as welcoming all LGBTQ+ people.

At the cultural level, endorsement of filial piety played a critical role when Chinese women envisioned their future lives. Chinese non-heterosexual women who indicated little endorsement of filial piety expressed stronger intentions to migrate to another country. Filial piety, as a core value of Confucianism, emphasizes an individual's obligation to take care of elders and continue the patrilineal family, and this is typically related to the expectation that adult children should not live far from their parents (e.g., Sundararajan, 2015; Tang, 1995). Chinese women who were not much influenced by filial piety might perceive more freedom to live in another country.

Acculturation to the Western culture also played an important role in Chinese women's thoughts about their future lives. First of all, in this study, Chinese women who were living in mainland China felt influences of Western culture and acculturation to the Western culture to various extents. As expected, young adult Chinese women who endorsed more Western cultural values were more likely to aspire to move to Western countries and start a new life there.

In summary, results of this study suggested that young Chinese women's views of their future lives were associated with individual identities, interpersonal experiences, and cultural contexts, as expected on the basis of the cultural circle model.

### **Theoretical Implications**

Results of this study added to understanding of young adult Chinese women's aspirations for their future lives. The data illustrated that young adult Chinese women might consider leaving their homeland and pursuing their life goals in another country. Furthermore, results of this study contributed to understanding of how multiple factors (e.g., sexual

orientation, interpersonal interactions, cultural ideologies) might be associated with Chinese women's ideas and plans about their future lives. By examining these varied factors, results of this study contributed to a more thorough understanding of how Chinese women envision their future career and family formation, and especially the prospect of leaving their homeland and migrating to another country.

Moreover, by comparing Chinese non-heterosexual women with their heterosexual peers, this study added to understanding the role of sexual orientation, interacting with other interpersonal and cultural factors, in how non-heterosexual Chinese women might envision pursuing their life goals. It particularly examined the intersectional stigma (e.g., stigma against non-heterosexual women and stigma against Asian individuals in the white-dominant Western world) faced by Chinese women who identified as non-heterosexual as they navigated the prospect of migrating to another country.

Furthermore, this study added a psychological perspective to the existing theories of migration, which usually have focused on educational, economic and political forces (e.g., Leblang & Helms, 2023; Martin, 2021). Specifically, the findings of this study highlighted the importance of considering an ecological culture model that examines the association between psychological factors and personal characteristics, such as sexual identities (e.g., sexual orientation), and women's aspiration and plan to migrate. In addition to personal characteristics, women's social support network (e.g., relationships with family members and others) and endorsement of values from Chinese and Western cultures were also associated with their visions of possible future migration to other countries.

Lastly, results of this study created a potential "portrait" of the characteristics of a likely future migrant woman versus a woman who was most likely to stay home in mainland China. Women who were likely to migrate were: (a) identifying themselves as non-heterosexual, (b) strongly acculturated to Western culture and perceiving little influence of

Chinese cultural values, (c) receiving little family support, (d) having poor relationship quality with father, and (e) experiencing stigmatization of left-over women. On the contrary, women who were least likely to plan migration away from mainland China were those who were well supported in their family and social network and who strongly endorsed Chinese cultural values and disregarded Western culture. This potential “portrait” of a likely future migrant woman can help policymakers and practitioners create policies and practices to address challenges faced by women at personal, psychological, and cultural levels that may “drive them away” from their homeland, promoting women’s development and well-being in a broader global society.

In all, the findings of this study added a new dimension of an ecological culture model to the existing literature at the intersection of young adult development and transnational migration through focusing on a sample of young Chinese heterosexual and non-heterosexual women.

### **Practical Implications**

From a practical standpoint, the present findings highlighted the importance of cultural responsiveness in policies and practices in supporting young adults, taking into account the unique challenges associated with sociocultural influences and intersectional stigma that young adult Chinese women may face. This study highlighted the role of interpersonal and cultural factors across Chinese and Western cultural settings in how Chinese women envision and pursue future migration.

Moreover, findings from this study contributed to raising awareness of challenges queer Chinese women might face. Additionally, findings of this study had the potential to inform how best policymakers and practitioners could support Chinese immigrants of diverse sexual orientations through a culturally competent approach. For instance, health care and counseling researchers and practitioners in universities and colleges can employ a perspective

of multicultural competence (e.g., O'Hara, Chang, & Giordano, 2021; Sue, Sue, Neville, & Smith, 2022) to better foster sense of belonging and inclusion and support the development and well-being of Chinese international students of diverse sexual identities. Additionally, learning about the experiences of students who are living at the intersection of being racial and ethnic minorities and non-heterosexual could better prepare classroom teachers and educators to promote the academic performance and well-being of international students. For example, teachers and educators can incorporate identity safety cues (e.g., cues in teaching materials that are associated with diverse sexual and gender identities, racial and ethnic identities, and multicultural contexts) into their teaching to signal identity safety, create a more inclusive environment, and enhance students' performance in the classrooms (Howansky, Maimon, & Sanchez, 2022).

### **Strengths and Limitations**

This study had multiple strengths. First, this study quantified migration aspirations of a large sample of young adult Chinese women in contemporary mainland China. Second, it included an understudied population of Chinese non-heterosexual women and contributed to improving the understanding of how intersectional stigma (e.g., stigma faced by an individual who identifies as a non-heterosexual woman) might impact their development. This study examined a critical time point in the long procedure of transnational migration, before young adults start the actual migration journey. This allowed examination of how they envision and plan leaving their home country and migrating to another place. Fourth, this study incorporated an intersectionality perspective in a global context. It examined how Chinese women's experiences with anti-Asian prejudice and anticipatory race-related stress might be related to their ideas about future lives.

While this study had many strengths, it also had some limitations. First, this study used the purposive convenience sampling approach when reaching out to and collecting data

from young adult Chinese women in mainland China. The results were based on data collected from a wave of relatively young, well-educated Chinese women in mainland China in 2023, and they might not be true of other populations or across generations. Second, all data were collected from one source, young Chinese women, but not from their friends and family members. Furthermore, this study employed a cross-sectional design and, thus, cannot lead to causal inferences and was not able to examine any changes over time. Future research can explore the generalizability of these findings in other populations across other settings, as well as across times. In addition, this study had many hypotheses and statistical analyses, which might pose an issue regarding family-wise error rate; however, it has been argued that researchers may conceptualize family-wise error in relation to how many different tests are conducted on the same null hypothesis in the same study (Rubin, 2017). Considering that this study was exploratory, alpha-level adjustments may be less necessary, and p values may still have meanings when interpreting the results (Althouse, 2016; Rubin, 2017). Nonetheless, the results should be interpreted with caution in terms of the issue of possible inflation of the alpha level. Lastly, some measurements (e.g., experiences with left-over women stigma and experiences with anti-Asian prejudice) were created and used for this study for the first time, and future research is needed to test their reliability and validity among more diverse populations.

### **Future Directions**

Based on the findings and in light of this study's strengths and limitations, many future directions exist for researchers to explore. Researchers in the field of young adult development studies and queer studies should pay more attention to the globalization perspective and incorporate such a perspective into their research. For instance, future researchers can do a series of mixed-method follow-up studies, and if possible, employ a longitudinal design to investigate the development, well-being, and health of Asian

immigrants in Western countries at the intersection of diverse racial and ethnic identities and sexual orientations.

Future research should continue to address questions regarding young adult development in the transnational context, such as how young adult Asian immigrants make life choices in transnational contexts (e.g., from Asia to Western countries)? Do intersectional identities and sociocultural and institutional factors affect how they envision and fulfill their life goals (e.g., regarding career development and family formation), and are these domains associated with important health outcomes? How can policies and practitioners better support youth and young adults' development and well-being across diverse sexual orientations, racial and ethnic identities, and cultures? Specifically, for instance, considering that Buddhism and Daoism are influential in Chinese cultural setting (Adamek, 2005; Sundararajan, 2008), in addition to Confucianism, future researchers can investigate the associations between influences of Buddhism and Daoism (and other religious or spiritual beliefs if important to the individual) and how Chinese women envision lives in the transnational context.

Moreover, considering that transgender women and gender nonconforming individuals might face unique challenges related to their non-cisgender identity, future researchers could explore how they pursue their life goals in the context of possible migration options.

Furthermore, future researchers can employ an interdisciplinary approach that examines psychological, economic, political, and institutional factors to achieve a comprehensive understanding of the migration of individuals across diverse sexual identities and cultural settings. For instance, this approach could help researchers better understand why some Chinese queer women decided to quit their well-paid job and well-established career in mainland China and migrate to Australia (Kam, 2020). In other words, this approach

could provide insights into the reasons why some women may quit a financially stable life in their homeland and migrate to other places, driven by the aim of having a more liberated life as a non-heterosexual individual in the destination country. Future researchers can continue to explore psychological and cultural factors, combined with personal characteristics, that may be associated with individuals' migration decisions, in addition to economic and political considerations.

Additionally, future researchers can also benefit from incorporating a minority strength model (Perrin et al., 2019) into their research to explore and understand how personal and collective strengths might be associated with resilience and positive mental and physical health among young adult LGBTQ+ migrants.

Lastly, future scholars should also value developing research outreach with communities, incorporating the Community-Based Participatory Research approach (e.g., Espinosa, & Verney, 2021; Hacker, 2013). In particular, future scholars might undertake studies in working with Asian queer immigrants who are living at the intersection of communities of color, immigrant communities, and LGBTQIA+ communities in Western countries, aiming to develop actionable and sustainable community research and programs for improving their development and well-being. The ultimate goal of future researchers' research outreach should be to contribute to addressing societal issues, potentially informing research and practices in promoting the well-being of individuals across diverse sexual orientations, racial and ethnic identities, and transnational contexts.

## **Conclusions**

This study showed that multi-level ecological factors were associated with how young adult Chinese women in contemporary mainland China thought about their future lives. This study revealed that sexual orientation matters in transnational migration: Chinese non-heterosexual young adults were more likely than their heterosexual peers to aspire to migrate

abroad. Furthermore, transnational migration provides young adult Chinese women across diverse sexual orientations more freedom regarding their life choices than they would have at home in mainland China.

To pursue life goals in the homeland or to pursue a new life in a new place, carrying with them hopes and concerns about the future, Chinese women are active agents in navigating opportunities and challenges even before they actually begin the transnational migration journey. This study demonstrated that multiple personal, interpersonal, and cultural factors were associated with Chinese women's aspirations and plans, consistent with an ecological cultural cycle model.

Situated in a cultural context of dominant Confucianist ideologies in mainland China, factors such as experiences with left-over women stigma and endorsement of filial piety were associated with Chinese women's ideas about where they should live and pursue their life goals. Furthermore, interpersonal and cultural factors, interacting with sexual orientation, were related to Chinese women's ideas about their future lives. For Chinese women who identified as non-heterosexual, intersectional stigma targeting non-heterosexual women posed challenges when they pursued their life goals in mainland China, and transnational migration provided them with more freedom in life choices such as marriage choice.

However, the journey of transnational migration is not the same as moving to paradise. Endorsement of cultural values and intersectional stigma might be associated with substantial challenges when young adults pursue their life goals in the transnational context. Even before starting the transnational migration process, some Chinese women were aware of rising anti-Asian racism around the world. When they envisioned pursuing a new life in a new place in another country, they would have new opportunities, as well as face new challenges.

In summary, in this globalized contemporary era, many young adult Chinese women are considering questions about where they should live in the future, with hopes to thrive in



the place they choose. Whether in their homeland or another country, they hope to achieve their life goals as best they can. When young adult Chinese women approach the question of whether they should stay in mainland China or migrate abroad, this study's findings suggested that their sexual orientation, interpersonal support network and experiences with intersectional stigmas, and endorsement of cultural values across Chinese and Western cultural settings all might play a role in how they think and plan. Specifically, this study's findings demonstrated the critical role of sexual orientation interacting with ecological factors at multiple levels in young adult Chinese women's environments. The findings highlighted the value of incorporating a global perspective in understanding and promoting young adults' development and well-being, especially among those who are considering possible transnational migration to start a new (and hopefully, better) life in a new place.

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## Tables and Figures

Table 1

*Demographic Characteristics of Chinese Women as a Function of Sexual Orientation (N = 876)*

	Sexual Orientation		ANOVA or $\chi^2$ test
	Heterosexual (n = 461)	Non-heterosexual (n = 415)	
<b>Mean Age (in years)</b>	23.98 (3.38)	24.01 (3.52)	$F(1, 874) = 0.02$ ( $< 1$ )
<b>Only Child</b>	287 (62.66%)	255 (61.45%)	$\chi^2(1) = 0.14$ ( $< 1$ )
<b>Highest Level of Education</b>			
High School Degree or Less than a High School Degree	21 (4.59%)	22 (5.37%)	$\chi^2(3) = 4.82$
Some College, but No Degree, or Associate's Degree	122 (24.64%)	103 (25.12%)	
Bachelor's Degree	221 (48.25%)	177 (43.17%)	
Master's or Doctoral or Professional Degree	94 (20.52%)	108 (26.34%)	
<b>Current Occupation</b>			
Managers	23 (5.02%)	22 (5.30%)	$\chi^2(6) = 7.60$
Professional Technicians and Associate Professionals	72 (15.72%)	57 (13.73%)	
Clerical Support Workers	44 (9.61%)	25 (6.02%)	
Service and Sales Workers	66 (14.41%)	50 (12.05%)	
Student	17 (3.71%)	20 (4.82%)	
Others	206 (44.98%)	207 (49.88%)	
Monthly Income			
Less than 2,000 CNY	30 (6.55%)	34 (8.19%)	$\chi^2(4) = 2.14$
2,000 - 5,000 CNY	89 (22.14%)	59 (18.21%)	
5,000 - 10,000 CNY	106 (26.37%)	92 (28.40%)	
10,000 - 20,000 CNY	120 (29.85%)	95 (29.32%)	
More than 20,000 CNY	66 (16.42%)	60 (18.52%)	
	21 (5.22%)	18 (5.56%)	
<b>Place Participant Grew up in</b>			
Municipality/Special District	142 (30.80%)	102 (24.76%)	$\chi^2(3) = 15.18^{**}$
Prefecture-level City/Autonomous Prefecture/League	135 (29.28%)	169 (41.02%)	
County/County-level City	105 (22.78%)	91 (22.09%)	
Township/Village	79 (17.14%)	50 (12.14%)	
<b>Place Participant Grew up in - Urban v. Rural</b>			
Urban	382 (82.86%)	362 (87.86%)	$\chi^2(1) = 4.32^*$
Rural	79 (17.14%)	50 (12.14%)	
<b>Place of Residence in China</b>			
Municipality/Special District	203 (44.23%)	178 (43.00%)	$\chi^2(3) = 12.03^{**}$
Prefecture-level City/Autonomous Prefecture/League	139 (30.28%)	163 (39.37%)	
County/County-level City	82 (17.86%)	55 (13.29%)	
Township/Village	35 (7.63%)	18 (4.35%)	
<b>Place of Residence in China - Urban v. Rural</b>			

	Urban	424 (92.37%)	396 (95.65%)	$\chi^2 (1) = 4.10^*$
	Rural	35 (7.63%)	18 (4.35%)	
<b>Religion</b>				
	Agnostic	55 (12.28%)	54 (13.30%)	$\chi^2 (5) = 2.93$
	Atheist	240 (53.57%)	194 (47.78%)	
	Buddhist	34 (7.59%)	36 (8.87%)	
	Catholic/Christian Orthodox	4 (0.89%)	4 (0.99%)	
	Other	17 (3.79%)	17 (4.19%)	
	Not Sure/Don't Know/Don't Want to Answer	98 (21.88%)	101 (24.88%)	
<b>Relationship Status</b>				
	Single	339 (76.87%)	267 (67.09%)	$\chi^2 (1) = 9.99^{**}$
	In Romantic Relationship with a Same-Sex or Opposite-Sex Partner or a Partner of Other Non-binary Gender	102 (23.13%)	131 (32.91%)	

*Note.* Standard deviations or percentages are given in parentheses. ANOVA means analysis of variance. 1 USD  $\approx$  7 CNY. Missing cases are not counted for each variable.

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ .



**Table 2***Demographic Characteristics of Chinese Women as a Function of Migration Aspiration (N = 828)*

	Migration Aspiration		ANOVA or $\chi^2$ test
	Positive Migration Aspiration (n = 328)	Neutral or Negative Migration Aspiration (n = 500)	
<b>Mean Age</b> (in years)	24.16 (3.45)	23.92 (3.45)	$F(1, 826) = 0.96$ ( $< 1$ )
<b>Only Child</b>	204 (62.58%)	311 (62.32%)	$\chi^2(1) = 0.01$ ( $< 1$ )
<b>Highest Level of Education</b>			
High School Degree or Less than a High School Degree	14 (4.35%)	26 (5.22%)	$\chi^2(3) = 9.36^*$
Some College, but No Degree, or Associate's Degree	69 (21.43%)	141 (28.31%)	
Bachelor's Degree	150 (46.58%)	233 (46.79%)	
Master's or Doctoral or Professional Degree	89 (27.64%)	98 (19.68%)	
<b>Current Occupation</b>			
Managers	20 (6.10%)	22 (4.43%)	$\chi^2(6) = 12.27$
Professional Technicians and Associate Professionals	48 (14.63%)	74 (14.89%)	
Clerical Support Workers	30 (9.15%)	34 (6.84%)	
Service and Sales Workers	33 (10.06%)	80 (16.10%)	
Student	11 (3.35%)	24 (4.83%)	
Others	155 (47.26%)	234 (47.08%)	
	31 (9.45%)	29 (5.84%)	
<b>Monthly Income</b>			
Less than 2,000 CNY	46 (17.97%)	95 (22.04%)	$\chi^2(4) = 6.97$
2,000 - 5,000 CNY	64 (25.00%)	122 (28.31%)	
5,000 - 10,000 CNY	74 (28.91%)	129 (29.93%)	
10,000 - 20,000 CNY	55 (21.48%)	65 (15.08%)	
More than 200,000 CNY	17 (6.64%)	20 (4.64%)	
<b>Place Participant Grew up in - Urban v. Rural</b>			
Urban	283 (86.28%)	418 (84.10%)	$\chi^2(1) = 0.73$
Rural	45 (13.72%)	79 (15.90%)	
<b>Place of Residence in China - Urban v. Rural</b>			
Urban	307 (94.17%)	466 (93.39%)	$\chi^2(1) = 0.21$
Rural	19 (5.83%)	33 (6.61%)	
<b>Religion</b>			
Agnostic	48 (14.91%)	58 (11.93%)	$\chi^2(5) = 4.73$
Atheist	158 (49.07%)	251 (51.65%)	
Buddhist	24 (7.45%)	43 (8.85%)	
Catholic/Christian Orthodox	4 (1.24%)	4 (0.82%)	
Other	9 (2.80%)	23 (4.73%)	
Not Sure/Don't Know/Don't Want to Answer	79 (24.53%)	107 (22.02%)	
<b>Relationship Status</b>			
Single	210 (67.31%)	363 (75.47%)	$\chi^2(1) = 6.29^*$
In Romantic Relationship with a Same-Sex or Opposite-Sex Partner or a Partner of Other Non-binary Gender	102 (32.69%)	118 (24.53%)	

Note. Standard deviations or percentages are given in parentheses. ANOVA means analysis of variance. 1 USD

≈ 7 CNY. Missing cases are not counted for each variable.

\*  $p < .05$ .

**Table 3**

*Descriptives, ANOVA Analyses, and Correlations regarding Aspirations about Future Migration, Career, Family Formation, and Personal, Interpersonal, and Cultural Factors among Heterosexual and Non-heterosexual Women (N = 876)*

	Heterosexual <i>M (SD)</i>	Non-heterosexual <i>M (SD)</i>	ANOVA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
<i>Aspirations regarding Future Migration</i>																	
1. Desire regarding future migration	3.23 (1.82)	4.33 (1.82)	$F(1, 827) = 75.32^{***}$	1.00	.81** *	- .70** *	-.69***	-.07	-.06	-.06	-.15***	-.05	-.07	-.09*	- .19** *	-.16***	-.14**
2. Intention regarding future migration	2.75 (1.70)	3.59 (1.75)	$F(1, 828) = 49.91^{***}$	.77** *	1.00	- .57** *	-.63***	-.01	-.06	-.07	-.09	-.06	-.04	-.09	- .15** *	-.11*	-.07
3. Desire regarding staying in the homeland	5.37 (1.58)	4.28 (1.76)	$F(1, 826) = 88.90^{***}$	- .72** *	- .59** *	1.00	.89***	.16***	.15***	.18** *	.22***	.17** *	.11*	.22***	.23** *	.24***	.19***
4. Intention regarding staying in the homeland	5.59 (1.54)	4.49 (1.80)	$F(1, 826) = 88.45^{***}$	- .73** *	- .68** *	.86** *	1.00	.09*	.09*	.09*	.19***	.13*	.10*	.17***	.24** *	.25***	.23***
<i>Aspirations regarding Future Career</i>																	
5. Desire regarding obtaining educational goals	4.14 (0.99)	4.05 (1.00)	$F(1, 866) = 1.88$	.07	.10*	.08	.02	1.00	.36***	.44** *	.30***	.32** *	.14**	.37***	.23** *	.14***	.06
6. Expectation regarding obtaining educational goals	4.10 (0.95)	4.05 (1.00)	$F(1, 870) = 0.66 (<1)$	.06	.03	.03	.00	.36***	1.00	.31** *	.38***	.28** *	.26** *	.31***	.34** *	.15**	.11*
7. Desire regarding having a meaningful job	4.42 (0.86)	4.37 (0.87)	$F(1, 869) = 0.83 (<1)$	.12*	.05	.03	-.02	.37***	.28***	1.00	.29***	.54** *	.06	.43***	.18** *	.09	.04
8. Expectation regarding having a meaningful job	3.93 (0.93)	3.76 (0.96)	$F(1, 863) = 6.52^*$	-.06	-.04	.16**	.11*	.13**	.36***	.30** *	1.00	.14**	.48** *	.17***	.59** *	.27***	.23***
9. Desire regarding living in ideal housing	4.38 (0.86)	4.29 (0.91)	$F(1, 871) = 2.08$	.04	-.04	.08	.03	.26***	.24***	.53** *	.21***	1.00	.15** *	.55***	.09	.11*	.06
10. Expectation regarding living in ideal housing	3.80 (0.98)	3.59 (0.98)	$F(1, 868) = 10.15^{**}$	-.09	-.04	.16**	.11*	.05	.28***	.15**	.51***	.29** *	1.00	.13**	.57** *	.19***	.21***
11. Desire regarding being financially stable	4.58 (0.71)	4.56 (0.74)	$F(1, 869) = 0.17 (<1)$	.07	-.03	-.03	-.02	.27***	.17***	.43** *	.07	.57** *	.04	1.00	.19** *	.09	.02
12. Expectation regarding being financially stable	4.03 (0.90)	3.85 (0.88)	$F(1, 869) = 9.18^{**}$	- .13**	-.11*	.21** *	.21***	.001	.26***	.14**	.45***	.20** *	.55** *	.13**	1.00	.19***	.18***
<i>Aspirations regarding</i>																	

*Family Formation*

13. Marital desire	4.88 (1.61)	3.57 (1.80)	$F(1, 838) = 123.59***$	-	-.07	.22** *	.24***	.06	.05	.02	.09	.01	.08	-.04	.14**	1.00	.85***
14. Marital intention	5.00 (1.68)	3.56 (1.85)	$F(1, 835) = 139.34***$	-	-.07	.26** *	.29***	.0003	.02	.04	.15**	.05	.12*	-.06	.13**	.87***	1.00
15. Parenting desire	4.32 (1.91)	2.78 (1.78)	$F(1, 841) = 146.40***$	-	-.07	.18** *	.16***	.04	.002	-.003	.07	-.02	.09	-.03	.07	.52***	.51***
16. Parenting intention	4.48 (1.97)	2.76 (1.83)	$F(1, 839) = 171.41***$	-	-.09	.21** *	.21***	.003	-.03	-.03	.04	-.03	.09	-.07	.06	.53***	.55***

*Personal Factors*

17. Age	23.98 (3.38)	24.01 (3.52)	$F(1, 874) = 0.02 (< 1)$	-.03	.03	.001	.01	-.13**	-.05	-.16**	.11*	-.09	.09	-.09	.09	.09	.12*
18. Concealment motivation	-	11.56 (3.59)	-	-.01	.01	.18** *	.16**	.07	.04	.11*	.06	.12*	.02	.07	.07	.17***	.21***
19. Internalized homonegativity	-	6.83 (3.66)	-	-.20	-.04	.29** *	.30***	-.07	-.08	-.05	.02	-.03	-.03	-.08	.06	.37***	.40***

*Interpersonal Factors*

20. Social support from family	21.34 (4.87)	18.52 (5.75)	$F(1, 846) = 59.51***$	-	-	.40** *	.39***	.03	.10*	.07	.22***	.04	.20** *	.01	.18** *	.24***	.27***
21. Social support from friends	22.16 (3.93)	22.19 (3.58)	$F(1, 857) = 0.01 (< 1)$	-.11*	-.14**	.19** *	.13*	.16**	.23***	.18** *	.22***	.17** *	.06	.18***	.19** *	.03	.04
22. Social support from significant other	20.70 (4.94)	20.31 (4.87)	$F(1, 862) = 1.37$	-	-.08	.21** *	.18***	.08	.20***	.15**	.29***	.14**	.19** *	.08	.19** *	.31**	.31***
23. Quality of relationship with mother figures	10.83 (2.55)	9.90 (2.92)	$F(1, 861) = 24.98***$	-	-	.30** *	.28***	.08	.12*	.15**	.15**	.10*	.15**	.07	.10*	.09	.11*
24. Quality of relationship with father figures	9.67 (2.81)	8.19 (3.18)	$F(1, 855) = 52.36***$	-	-	.36** *	.37***	-.04	-.01	-.05	.19***	-.08	.18** *	-.08	.20** *	.25***	.26***
25. Marital pressures from family	1.41 (1.16)	1.56 (1.10)	$F(1, 866) = 3.76$	.05	.09	-.07	-.06	-.11*	-.13**	-.09	-.12*	.03	-.05	-.06	-.03	.13*	.17***
26. Experiences with left-over women stigma	1.55 (0.88)	1.90 (0.81)	$F(1, 860) = 37.30***$	.25** *	.21** *	-	-.18***	-.05	-.05	.03	-.06	.02	-.12*	.03	-.02	-.04	.01
27. Experiences with prejudice against non-	-	2.09 (0.73)	-	.24** *	.19** *	-	-.25***	-.06	-.01	.10*	-.05	.09	-.08	.09	-.08	-.08	-.03

heterosexuality																		*
28. Experiences with anti-Asian prejudice	1.30 (0.82)	1.43 (0.79)	$F(1, 859) = 5.18^*$	.15**	.16**	-.10	-.08	-.05	-.005	-.12*	-.10*	-.14**	-.09	-.18***	-.04	.04	.09	
29. Anticipatory race-related stress	4.19 (1.27)	4.58 (1.11)	$F(1, 853) = 22.36***$	.11*	.03	-.04	-.04	.17***	.15**	.14**	-.02	.15**	-.08	.14**	-.03	-.16**	-.10*	
<i>Cultural Factors</i>																		
30. Endorsement of filial piety	2.58 (0.76)	2.00 (0.90)	$F(1, 820) = 100.79***$	-.41**	-.27**	.46**	.49***	-.02	-.10	.06	.11*	.09	.15**	.01	.16**	.37***	.42***	
31. Acculturation to the Western culture	28.95 (7.80)	30.03 (7.16)	$F(1, 820) = 4.19^*$	.35**	.42**	-.26**	-.28***	.005	.09	-.05	.05	-.09	.06	-.07	.03	.03	.05	

Table 3 (continues)

	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	
<i>Aspirations regarding Future Migration</i>																		
1. Desire regarding future migration	-.13**	-.13**	.12**	-	-	-.19***	-.11*	-.07	-.23**	-.29***	.13**	.26**	-	.23**	.09	-.27***	.30***	
2. Intention regarding future migration	-.02	-.03	.02	-	-	-.11**	-.14***	-.05	-.18**	-.17***	.19**	.27**	-	.28**	.08	-.08	.37***	
3. Desire regarding staying in the homeland	.19**	.18**	-.10*	-	-	.28***	.20***	.19***	.28**	.30***	-.12*	-.25**	-	-.23**	-.03	.36***	-.24***	
4. Intention regarding staying in the homeland	.19**	.20**	-.08	-	-	.25***	.19***	.17***	.25**	.30***	-.05	-.18**	-	-.18**	.01	.35***	-.24***	
<i>Aspirations regarding Future Career</i>																		
5. Desire regarding obtaining educational goals	.15**	.13**	-.07	-	-	.20***	.21***	.23***	.18**	.15***	-.09	-.10*	-	-.11*	-.01	.12*	.08	
6. Expectation regarding obtaining educational goals	.09	.08	-.02	-	-	.23***	.21***	.19***	.27**	.12*	-	-.05	-	-.18**	.03	.02	-.01	
7. Desire regarding having a meaningful job	.01	-.03	-.01	-	-	.18***	.23***	.22***	.20**	.10*	-.11*	-.07	-	-.18**	.04	.05	-.11*	

8. Expectation regarding having a meaningful job	.27** *	.30** *	-.08	-	-	.37***	.26***	.27***	.31** *	.33***	.00	-	-	-.13**	.29***	.11*	
9. Desire regarding living in ideal housing	.05	.02	-.05	-	-	.13*	.17***	.16**	.15**	.05	-.08	-.08	-	.15**	.04	-	
10. Expectation regarding living in ideal housing	.21** *	.23** *	- .15**	-	-	.35***	.33***	.31***	.20** *	.26***	.03	-.10*	-	-.08	.25***	.18***	
11. Desire regarding being financially stable	.02	.01	-.01	-	-	.12**	.18***	.15***	.18** *	.02	-	-	-	.06	.00	-.17**	
12. Expectation regarding being financially stable	.17** *	.20** *	-.08	-	-	.32***	.37***	.29***	.24** *	.27***	-.04	-	-	-.14***	.19***	.12**	
<i>Aspirations regarding Family Formation</i>																	
13. Marital desire	.71** *	.69** *	-.07	-	-	.38***	.25***	.33***	.25** *	.31***	.04	-	-	-.18***	.46***	.12**	
14. Marital intention	.69** *	.72** *	-.08	-	-	.38***	.22***	.30***	.20** *	.32***	.07	-	-	-.10*	.43***	.16***	
15. Parenting desire	1.00	.91** *	-.05	-	-	.35***	.11*	.22***	.20** *	.31***	.07	-	-	-.22***	.45***	.14***	
16. Parenting intention	.90** *	1.00	-.07	-	-	.36***	.12**	.22***	.21** *	.36***	.15**	-	-	-.22***	.47***	.17***	
<i>Personal Factors</i>																	
17. Age	.12*	.13*	1.00	-	-	-.20***	-	-.22***	-.12**	-.15**	.25** *	.09	-	.00	.01	-.09	-.02
18. Concealment motivation	.16**	.15**	.03	1.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
19. Internalized homonegativity	.35** *	.39** *	.02	.32** *	1.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Interpersonal Factors</i>																	
20. Social support from family	.23** *	.24** *	.01	.10	.22** *	1.00	.58***	.47***	.60** *	.58***	-.07	-.27	-	-	.49***	.11*	
21. Social support from friends	.03	-.03	.06	.06	-.09	.30***	1.00	.56***	.37** *	.27***	-.07	-	-	-.09	.26***	.09	
22. Social support from	.18**	.16**	.12*	.23**	.10	.33***	.45***	1.00	.23**	.20***	-.01	-	-	-.06	-.04	.31***	.18***

significant other	*			*					*			.15**					
23. Quality of relationship with mother figures	.16**	.11*	-.001	.07	-.003	.64***	.24***	.15**	1.00	.56***	-	-	-	-.02	.26***	-.04	
24. Quality of relationship with father figures	.27**	.27**	.04	.08	.23**	.61***	.15**	.25***	.51**	1.00	-.01	-	-	-.11*	-.06	.46***	.12**
25. Marital pressures from family	.13*	.12*	.25**	.09	.19**	-.12*	-.09	.06	-	-.01	1.00	.42**	-	.35**	.19***	.18***	.21***
26. Experiences with left-over women stigma	-.05	-.07	.17**	.08	.07	-.20***	-.04	-.08	-	-.16***	.41**	1.00	-	.64**	.39***	-.20***	.14**
27. Experiences with prejudice against non-heterosexuality	-.08	-.08	.03	.03	-.10*	-.18***	-.01	.01	-.13*	-.17***	.31**	.53**	1.00	-	-	-	-
28. Experiences with anti-Asian prejudice	-.01	.03	.04	.01	.09	-.04	-.07	-.07	-.12*	-.03	.25**	.42**	.35***	1.00	.39***	-.08	.27***
29. Anticipatory race-related stress	.00	.00	-.02	.04	-.05	-.07	.10*	-.03	-.01	-.09	.07	.22**	.25***	.35**	1.00	-.13**	-
<i>Cultural Factors</i>																	.18***
30. Endorsement of filial piety	.31**	.33**	.11*	.31**	.46**	.49***	.11*	.30***	.35**	.51***	.16**	-.10	-.17**	-.01	-.09	1.00	.13**
31. Acculturation to the Western culture	.05	.05	.06	.04	.10*	.004	-.04	.06	-.01	.05	.08	.19**	.10	.21**	.04	-.002	1.00

Note. The lower left half is based on data of non-heterosexual participants, and the other half of heterosexual participants. *M* represents mean and *SD* represents standard deviation. ANOVA were conducted with sexual orientation being the factor. Concealment motivation and internalized homonegativity were only assessed among non-heterosexual participants. For heterosexual participants, *n* = 461. For non-heterosexual participants, *n* = 415. Missing cases are not counted for each variable.

\* *p* < .05. \*\* *p* < .01. \*\*\* *p* < .001.

**Table 4**

*Plans regarding Future Migration, Career, Family Formation among Chinese Women as a Function of Sexual Orientation (N = 876)*

	Sexual Orientation		ANOVA or $\chi^2$ test
	Heterosexual (n = 461)	Non-heterosexual (n = 415)	
<b><i>Future Migration</i></b>			
<b>Motivation for Migration</b> (multiple choice)			
Reunion with family members	20 (4.71%)	11 (5.73%)	$\chi^2 (1) = 7.50^{**}$
Reunion with partner	10 (7.35%)	15 (7.81%)	$\chi^2 (1) = 0.02$
Education opportunities	40 (29.41%)	69 (35.94%)	$\chi^2 (1) = 1.53$
Occupational opportunities	59 (43.38%)	76 (39.58%)	$\chi^2 (1) = 0.47$
To live a freer life	79 (58.09%)	147 (76.56%)	$\chi^2 (1) = 12.68^{***}$
The more LGBTQ+-friendly environment	8 (5.88%)	87 (45.31%)	$\chi^2 (1) = 60.16^{***}$
To marry a same-sex partner	3 (2.21%)	39 (20.31%)	$\chi^2 (1) = 23.38^{***}$
Other	1 (0.74%)	8 (4.17%)	$\chi^2 (1) = 3.51$
<b>Ideal Pathways of Future Migration</b>			
Student migration	149 (48.22%)	182 (58.33%)	$\chi^2 (3) = 11.42^*$
High-skilled migration	102 (33.01%)	97 (31.09%)	
Business investor migration	57 (18.45%)	31 (9.94%)	
Other pathways	1 (0.32%)	2 (0.64%)	
<b>Likely Pathways of Future Migration</b>			
Student migration	165 (52.88%)	195 (62.10%)	$\chi^2 (3) = 6.66$
High-skilled migration	103 (33.01%)	83 (26.43%)	
Business investor migration	42 (13.46%)	32 (10.19%)	
Other pathways	2 (0.64%)	4 (1.27%)	
<b>Ideal Destination of Hypothetical Migration</b> (The country or region where, or part of where, same-sex marriage was legalized at the time of the study is marked with an asteroid and as <i>Italic.</i> )			
<i>USA*</i>	99 (28.61%)	55 (16.67%)	<i>For heterosexual, 263 cases of countries or regions where same-sex marriage was legalized, and 83 where not. For non-heterosexual, 268 cases of countries or regions where same-sex marriage was legalized, and 62 where not.</i> $\chi^2 (1) = 2.71$
<i>Canada*</i>	15 (4.34%)	24 (7.27%)	
<i>UK*</i>	36 (10.69%)	23 (6.97%)	
<i>Germany*</i>	13 (3.76%)	21 (6.36%)	
<i>France*</i>	15 (4.34%)	20 (6.06%)	
Japan	21 (6.07%)	18 (5.45%)	
<i>Australia*</i>	17 (4.91%)	17 (5.15%)	
<i>Iceland*</i>	7 (2.02%)	16 (4.85%)	
Singapore	22 (6.36%)	13 (3.94%)	
<i>New Zealand*</i>	17 (4.91%)	13 (3.94%)	
<i>Netherlands*</i>	5 (1.45%)	11 (3.33%)	
<i>Nordic region (Northern Europe)*</i>	3 (0.87%)	11 (3.33%)	
<i>Finland*</i>	5 (1.45%)	10 (3.03%)	
<i>Europe*</i>	8 (2.31%)	9 (2.73%)	
<i>Norway*</i>	5 (1.45%)	9 (2.73%)	
South Korea	11 (3.18%)	8 (2.42%)	
<i>Switzerland*</i>	6 (1.73%)	7 (2.12%)	
<i>Spain*</i>	3 (0.87%)	7 (2.12%)	
Italy	5 (1.45%)	6 (1.82%)	
Russia	18 (5.20%)	6 (1.82%)	



Denmark*	3 (0.87%)	4 (1.21%)	
Sweden*	1 (0.29%)	4 (1.21%)	
Taiwan*	0	3 (0.91%)	
Malaysia	2 (0.58%)	2 (0.61%)	
Thailand	2 (0.58%)	2 (0.61%)	
Hong Kong	0	2 (0.61%)	
Scotland*	0	1 (0.30%)	
Portugal*	0	1 (0.30%)	
Nigeria	0	1 (0.30%)	
Qatar	0	1 (0.30%)	
Chinese cultural area*	0	1 (0.30%)	
Philippines	0	1 (0.30%)	
North America*	0	1 (0.30%)	
Ethiopia	0	1 (0.30%)	
Southeast Asia	0	1 (0.30%)	
Ireland*	2 (0.58%)	0	
Argentina*	1 (0.29%)	0	
Bali island	1 (0.29%)	0	
Mexico*	1 (0.29%)	0	
European Union*	1 (0.29%)	0	
Vietnam	1 (0.29%)	0	
<b>Planned Destination of Hypothetical Migration</b>			
USA*	79 (25.65%)	51 (17%)	<i>For heterosexual, 222 cases of countries or regions where same-sex marriage was legalized, and 86 where not. For non-heterosexual, 238 cases of countries or regions where same-sex marriage was legalized, and 62 where not. <math>\chi^2 (1) = 4.34^*</math></i>
Canada*	17 (5.52%)	26 (8.67%)	
Germany*	15 (4.87%)	21 (7%)	
UK*	31 (10.06%)	20 (6.67%)	
France*	19 (6.17%)	20 (6.67%)	
Australia*	16 (5.19%)	20 (6.67%)	
Japan	23 (7.47%)	18 (6%)	
Singapore	22 (7.14%)	12 (4%)	
New Zealand*	15 (4.87%)	12 (4%)	
Finland*	4 (1.30%)	11 (3.67%)	
Netherlands*	3 (0.97%)	10 (3.33%)	
Iceland*	4 (1.30%)	10 (3.33%)	
South Korea	12 (3.90%)	8 (2.67%)	
Europe*	1 (0.32%)	8 (2.67%)	
Italy	5 (1.62%)	7 (2.33%)	
Norway*	4 (1.30%)	6 (2%)	
Russia	16 (5.19%)	5 (1.67%)	
Switzerland*	4 (1.30%)	5 (1.67%)	
Spain*	2 (0.65%)	5 (1.67%)	
Sweden*	1 (0.32%)	4 (1.33%)	
Nordic region (Northern Europe)*	0	3 (1%)	
Denmark*	2 (0.65%)	3 (1%)	
Hong Kong	1 (0.32%)	3 (1%)	
Philippines	0	2 (0.67%)	
Thailand	3 (0.97%)	2 (0.67%)	
Chinese cultural area*	0	1 (0.33%)	
Qatar	0	1 (0.33%)	
Southeast Asia	0	1 (0.33%)	
Taiwan*	0	1 (0.33%)	
Nigeria	0	1 (0.33%)	
Ireland*	2 (0.65%)	1 (0.33%)	

	Maldives	0	1 (0.33%)	
	Malaysia	2 (0.65%)	1 (0.33%)	
	<i>Argentina*</i>	1 (0.32%)	0	
	Bali island	1 (0.32%)	0	
	Egypt	1 (0.32%)	0	
	<i>Brazil*</i>	1 (0.32%)	0	
	<i>Portugal*</i>	1 (0.32%)	0	
<b>Timing for Hypothetical Migration (in years)</b>				
	Ideal timing for migration	8.67 (5.71)	8.59 (6.10)	$F(1, 625) = .03 (<1)$
	Planned timing for migration	9.18 (5.91)	9.20 (6.45)	$F(1, 607) = .002 (<1)$
<b><u>Future Career</u></b>				
<b>Ideal Pathways of Future Career Abroad</b>				
	First become a student	165 (52.55%)	184 (57.50%)	$\chi^2(2) = 2.48$
	Directly get a job	148 (47.13%)	136 (42.50%)	
	Other pathways	1 (0.32%)	0	
<b>Likely Pathways of Future Career Abroad</b>				
	First become a student	149 (47.60%)	195 (60.75%)	$\chi^2(2) = 13.61^{**}$
	Directly get a job	164 (52.40%)	124 (38.63%)	
	Other pathways	0	2 (0.62%)	
<b><u>Future Family Formation</u></b>				
	<b>Ideal Age for Marriage</b>	28.82 (3.95)	31.32 (5.21)	$F(1, 773) = 57.95^{***}$
	<b>Ideal Age for Parenthood</b>	30.61 (3.98)	32.75 (4.97)	$F(1, 728) = 41.68^{***}$
<b>Ideal Pathways to Marriage</b>				
	Register for legal same-sex marriage	42 (10.40%)	164 (51.25%)	$\chi^2(5) = 322.27^{***}$
	Register for legal opposite-sex marriage	319 (78.96%)	42 (13.13%)	
	Host a wedding ceremony but do not register for legal marriage	23 (5.69%)	32 (10.00%)	
	Register for Voluntary Guardianship	3 (0.74%)	31 (9.69%)	
	Other pathways	0	5 (1.56%)	
	Not sure/don't know	17 (4.21%)	46 (14.37%)	
<b>Expected Pathways to Marriage</b>				
	Register for legal same-sex marriage	41 (10.17%)	132 (40.49%)	$\chi^2(5) = 271.04^{***}$
	Register for legal opposite-sex marriage	325 (80.65%)	68 (20.86%)	
	Host a wedding ceremony but do not register for legal marriage	25 (6.20%)	41 (12.58%)	
	Register for Voluntary Guardianship	2 (0.50%)	34 (10.43%)	
	Other pathways	0	3 (0.92%)	
	Not sure/don't know	10 (2.48%)	48 (14.72%)	
<b>Pathways to Parenthood</b>				
	Having biological children via sex with an opposite-sex partner	330 (84.83%)	68 (27.64%)	$\chi^2(5) = 223.48^{***}$
	Adoption	29 (7.46%)	87 (35.37%)	
	Surrogacy	17 (4.37%)	24 (9.76%)	
	Donor insemination	3 (0.77%)	43 (17.48%)	
	Other assisted reproduction techniques or other pathways	0	3 (1.22%)	
	Not sure/don't know	10 (2.57%)	21 (8.54%)	

<b>Ideal Family Size</b>	1.48 (0.55)	1.41 (0.61)	$F(1, 624) = 2.31$
<b>Gender/sex of Children</b>			
One girl	104 (27.66%)	114 (47.90%)	$\chi^2(7) = 38.40^{***}$
One boy	70 (18.62%)	25 (10.50%)	
Two girls	23 (6.12%)	21 (8.82%)	
One girl and one boy	114 (30.32%)	43 (18.07%)	
Two boys	22 (5.85%)	10 (4.20%)	
One child - no matter the sex/gender	18 (4.79%)	6 (2.52%)	
Two children - no matter the sex/gender	9 (2.39%)	3 (1.26%)	
Other situations	16 (4.26%)	16 (6.72%)	
<b>Ideal Living Arrangement with Parents (/Parental Figures)</b>			
Live with parents (/parental figures)	95 (21.21%)	38 (9.64%)	$\chi^2(4) = 54.55^{***}$
Live next door to parents (/parental figures)	44 (9.82%)	26 (6.60%)	
Live near parents (/parental figures)	229 (51.12%)	178 (45.18%)	
Live far away from parents (/parental figures)	61 (13.62%)	116 (29.44%)	
Not sure/don't know	19 (4.24%)	36 (9.14%)	
<b>Expected Living Arrangement with Parents (/Parental Figures)</b>			
Live with parents (/parental figures)	88 (19.69%)	40 (10.15%)	$\chi^2(4) = 43.11^{***}$
Live next door to parents (/parental figures)	46 (10.29%)	23 (5.84%)	
Live near parents (/parental figures)	207 (46.31%)	161 (40.86%)	
Live far away from parents (/parental figures)	69 (15.44%)	112 (28.43%)	
Not sure/don't know	37 (8.28%)	58 (14.72%)	

*Note.* Standard deviations or percentages are given in parentheses. ANOVA means analysis of variance. Missing cases are not counted for each variable. For ideal and likely pathways of future migration, cases of “Do not want to migrate, so not applicable” were not included. For the Motivation for Migration, only participants who indicated positive migration desires or intentions were included (i.e., scores of migration desires or intentions were above the neutral point of 4 on the 1-7 Likert scale; for heterosexual women,  $n = 136$ ; for non-heterosexual women,  $n = 192$ ), and they could choose multiple options as they saw fit; hence, the corresponding percentages add up to more than 100%.

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

**Table 5**

*Descriptives, ANOVA Analyses, and Correlations between Plans regarding Future Migration, Career, Family Formation, and Personal, Interpersonal, and Cultural Factors among Heterosexual and Non-heterosexual Women (N = 876)*

	Heterosexual <i>M (SD)</i>	Non-heterosexual <i>M (SD)</i>	ANOVA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
<i>Plans regarding Future Migration</i>																			
1. Ideal timing for hypothetical migration (in years)	8.67 (5.71)	8.59 (6.10)	$F(1, 625) = .03 (<.1)$	1.00	.93** *	.10	.06	.01	-.11	-.14*	.09	.08	.02	.05	.05	-.05	.07	-.02	.11
2. Planned timing for hypothetical migration (in years)	9.18 (5.91)	9.20 (6.45)	$F(1, 607) = .002 (<.1)$	.89**	1.00	.11	.08	-.04	-.09	-.13*	.08	.05	.04	.04	.04	-.08	.08	-.05	.10
<i>Plans regarding Future Family Formation</i>																			
3. Ideal age for marriage	28.82 (3.95)	31.32 (5.21)	$F(1, 773) = 57.95***$	.09	.09	1.00	.80** *	.04	.14**	.03	-.13**	-.15**	.10*	.15* *	.13* *	-.04	.10*	-.18** **	.08
4. Ideal age for parenthood	30.61 (3.98)	32.75 (4.97)	$F(1, 728) = 41.68***$	.05	-.003	.62** *	1.00	-.04	.11*	.05	-.12*	-.12*	.05	.11*	.16* **	-.07	.12*	-.19* **	.04
5. Ideal family size	1.48 (0.55)	1.41 (0.61)	$F(1, 624) = 2.31$	.06	.16*	.06	-.09	1.00	.14**	.08	-.06	-.08	-.05	-.03	-.06	-.05	.00	-.03	-.05
<i>Aspirations regarding Future Migration</i>																			
6. Desire regarding future migration	3.23 (1.82)	4.33 (1.82)	$F(1, 827) = 75.32***$	-.17* *	-.17**	.17**	.21** *	.04	1.00	.81** *	-.70** *	-.69** *	-.07	-.06	-.06	-.15** *	-.05	-.07	-.09*
7. Intention regarding future migration	2.75 (1.70)	3.59 (1.75)	$F(1, 828) = 49.91***$	-.22** **	-.27** *	.07	.15*	-.02	.77** *	1.00	-.57** *	-.63** *	-.01	-.06	-.07	-.09	-.06	-.04	-.09
8. Desire regarding staying in the homeland	5.37 (1.58)	4.28 (1.76)	$F(1, 826) = 88.90***$	.08	.14*	-.17**	-.17**	.06	-.72** *	-.59** *	1.00	.89** *	.16* **	.15* **	.18* **	.22** *	.17* **	.11*	.22** *
9. Intention regarding staying in the homeland	5.59 (1.54)	4.49 (1.80)	$F(1, 826) = 88.45***$	.15*	.20** *	-.20** *	-.17**	.04	-.73** *	-.68** *	.86** *	1.00	.09*	.09*	.09*	.19** *	.13*	.10*	.17** *
<i>Aspirations regarding</i>																			

*Future Career*

10. Desire regarding obtaining educational goals	4.14 (0.99)	4.05 (1.00)	$F(1, 866) = 1.88$	.07	.06	.02	.13*	-.14*	.07	.10*	.08	.02	1.00	.36**	.44**	.30**	.32**	.14*	.37**
11. Expectation regarding obtaining educational goals	4.10 (0.95)	4.05 (1.00)	$F(1, 870) = 0.66 (<1)$	.13*	.08	.07	.19**	-.04	.06	.03	.03	-.004	.36**	1.00	.31**	.38**	.28**	.26**	.31**
12. Desire regarding having a meaningful job	4.42 (0.86)	4.37 (0.87)	$F(1, 869) = 0.83 (<1)$	.10	.06	.08	.08	-.08	.12*	.05	.03	-.02	.37**	.28**	1.00	.29**	.54**	.06	.43**
13. Expectation regarding having a meaningful job	3.93 (0.93)	3.76 (0.96)	$F(1, 863) = 6.52^*$	.11	.09	.04	.14*	.02	-.06	-.04	0.16*	.11*	.13*	.36**	.30**	1.00	.14*	.48**	.17**
14. Desire regarding living in ideal housing	4.38 (0.86)	4.29 (0.91)	$F(1, 871) = 2.08$	.11	.15*	.03	.04	-.09	.04	-.04	.08	.03	.26**	.24**	.53**	.21**	1.00	.15*	.55**
15. Expectation regarding living in ideal housing	3.80 (0.98)	3.59 (0.98)	$F(1, 868) = 10.15**$	.04	.05	-.05	.07	-.02	-.09	-.04	.16**	.11*	.05	.28**	.15*	.51**	.29**	1.00	.13**
16. Desire regarding being financially stable	4.58 (0.71)	4.56 (0.74)	$F(1, 869) = 0.17 (<1)$	.11	.11	.10	.06	-.10	.07	-.03	-.03	-.02	.27**	.17**	.43**	.07	.57**	.04	1.00
17. Expectation regarding being financially stable	4.03 (0.90)	3.85 (0.88)	$F(1, 869) = 9.18**$	.07	.11	-.05	.07	.02	-.13**	-.11*	.21**	.21**	.001	.26**	.14*	.45**	.20**	.55**	.13**

*Personal Factors*

18. Age	23.98 (3.38)	24.01 (3.52)	$F(1, 874) = 0.02 (<1)$	-.04	-.08	.31**	.27**	.06	-.03	.03	.001	.01	-.13*	-.05	-.16*	.11*	-.09	.09	-.09
19. Concealment motivation	-	11.56 (3.59)	-	.04	.07	-.12*	-.04	.00	-.01	.01	.18**	.16**	.07	.04	.11*	.06	.12*	.02	.07
20. Internalized homonegativity	-	6.83 (3.66)	-	-.05	-.04	-.28**	-.24**	.18**	-.20	-.04	.29**	.30**	-.07	-.08	-.05	.02	-.03	-.03	-.08

*Interpersonal Factors*

21. Social support from family	21.34 (4.87)	18.52 (5.75)	$F(1, 846) = 59.51***$	.09	.10	-.15**	-.11	.16*	-.37**	-.29**	.40**	.39**	.03	.10*	.07	.22**	.04	.20**	.01
22. Social support from friends	22.16 (3.93)	22.19 (3.58)	$F(1, 857) = 0.01 (<1)$	.04	-.01	.04	.07	-.02	-.11*	-.14**	.19**	.13*	.16*	.23**	.18**	.22**	.17**	.06	.18**
23. Social support from significant other	20.70 (4.94)	20.31 (4.87)	$F(1, 862) = 1.37$	.06	.04	-.13*	-.10	-.03	-.18**	-.08	.21**	.18**	.08	.20**	.15*	.29**	.14*	.19**	.08
24. Quality of relationship with mother	10.83 (2.55)	9.90 (2.92)	$F(1, 861) = 24.98***$	.08	.11	-.03	-.07	.06	-.25**	-.27**	.30**	.28**	.08	.12*	.15*	.15**	.10*	.15*	.07

figures									*	*									
25. Quality of relationship with father figures	9.67 (2.81)	8.19 (3.18)	$F(1, 855) = 52.36***$	.08	.09	.21** *	-.14*	.02	.36** *	.28** *	.36** *	.37** *	-.04	-.01	-.05	.19** *	-.08	.18** **	-.08
26. Marital pressures from family	1.41 (1.16)	1.56 (1.10)	$F(1, 866) = 3.76$	-.06	-.05	-.04	.03	.00	.05	.09	-.07	-.06	-.11*	.13* *	-.09	-.12*	.03	-.05	-.06
27. Experiences with left-over women stigma	1.55 (0.88)	1.90 (0.81)	$F(1, 860) = 37.30***$	-.04	-.05	.08	.15* *	.05	.25** *	.21** *	.19** *	.18** *	-.05	-.05	.03	-.06	.02	-.12*	.03
28. Experiences with prejudice against non-heterosexuality	-	2.09 (0.73)	-	-.03	.00	.08	.07	.03	.24** *	.19** *	.21** *	.25** *	-.06	-.01	.10*	-.05	.09	-.08	.09
29. Experiences with anti-Asian prejudice	1.30 (0.82)	1.43 (0.79)	$F(1, 859) = 5.18*$	-.04	-.03	.01	-.08	.08	.15**	.16**	-.10	-.08	-.05	-.005	-.12*	-.10*	.14* *	-.09	.18** *
30. Anticipatory race-related stress	4.19 (1.27)	4.58 (1.11)	$F(1, 853) = 22.36***$	.02	.06	.15**	.05	-.15*	.11*	.03	-.04	-.04	.17* **	.15* *	.14* *	-.02	.15* *	-.08	.14**
<i>Cultural Factors</i>																			
31. Endorsement of filial piety	2.58 (0.76)	2.00 (0.90)	$F(1, 820) = 100.79***$	.11	.11	.24** *	.22** *	.04	.41** *	.27** *	.46** *	.49** *	-.02	-.10	.06	.11*	.09	.15* *	.01
32. Acculturation to the Western culture	28.95 (7.80)	30.03 (7.16)	$F(1, 820) = 4.19*$	.22* **	.24** *	.00	.09	.07	.35** *	.42** *	.26** *	.28** *	.005	.09	-.05	.05	-.09	.06	-.07

Table 5 (continues)

	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
<i>Plans regarding Future Migration</i>																
1. Ideal timing for migration (in years)	.08	-.01	-	-	-.02	.15**	.02	.05	-.10	-.02	.09	-	-.02	.14**	-.04	-.23***
2. Planned timing for migration (in years)	.06	.02	-	-	-.04	.13*	.00	.03	-.09	-.02	.07	-	-.01	.15**	-.05	-.24***
<i>Plans regarding Future Family Formation</i>																
3. Ideal age for marriage	-.06	.37** *	-	-	.18** *	-.07	-.16***	-.01	-.13**	-.01	.14**	-	.04	.17** *	-.27***	.00

4. Ideal age for parenthood	-.04	.35** *	-	-	-.18** *	-.06	-.11*	-.02	-.11*	-.01	.13*	-	.08	.14**	-.25***	.02
5. Ideal family size	-.08	.08	-	-	.00	-.07	-.06	.03	-.04	.12*	.05	-	.01	.07	.01	.06
<i>Aspirations regarding Future Migration</i>																
6. Desire regarding future migration	-.19** *	.12**	-	-	-.19** *	-.11*	-.07	-.23***	-.29** *	.13**	.26** *	-	.23***	.09	-.27***	.30***
7. Intention regarding future migration	-.15**	.02	-	-	-.11**	-.14***	-.05	-.18***	-.17** *	.19***	.27** *	-	.28***	.08	-.08	.37***
8. Desire regarding staying in the homeland	.23** *	-.10*	-	-	.28** *	.20***	.19***	.28***	.30** *	-.12*	-.25** *	-	-.23***	-.03	.36***	-.24***
9. Intention regarding staying in the homeland	.24** *	-.08	-	-	.25** *	.19***	.17***	.25***	.30** *	-.05	-.18** *	-	-.18***	.01	.35***	-.24***
<i>Aspirations regarding Future Career</i>																
10. Desire regarding obtaining educational goals	.23** *	-.07	-	-	.20** *	.21***	.23***	.18***	.15** *	-.09	-.10*	-	-.11*	-.01	.12*	.08
11. Expectation regarding obtaining educational goals	.34** *	-.02	-	-	.23** *	.21***	.19***	.27***	.12*	-.13**	-.05	-	-.18***	.03	.02	-.01
12. Desire regarding having a meaningful job	.18** *	-.01	-	-	.18** *	.23***	.22***	.20***	.10*	-.11*	-.07	-	-.18***	.04	.05	-.11*
13. Expectation regarding having a meaningful job	.59** *	-.08	-	-	.37** *	.26***	.27***	.31***	.33** *	.00	-.15** *	-	-.18***	-.13**	.29***	.11*
14. Desire regarding living in ideal housing	.09	-.05	-	-	.13*	.17***	.16**	.15**	.05	-.08	-.08	-	-.13**	.15**	.04	-.18***
15. Expectation regarding living in ideal housing	.57** *	-.15**	-	-	.35** *	.33***	.31***	.20***	.26** *	.03	-.10*	-	-.08	-.12**	.25***	.18***
16. Desire regarding being financially stable	.19** *	-.01	-	-	.12**	.18***	.15***	.18***	.02	-.20***	-.14** *	-	-.26***	.06	.00	-.17**
17. Expectation regarding being financially stable	1.00	-.08	-	-	.32** *	.37***	.29***	.24***	.27** *	-.04	-.13** *	-	-.13**	-.14** *	.19***	.12**
<i>Personal Factors</i>																
18. Age	.09	1.00	-	-	-.20**	-.19***	-.22***	-.12**	-.15**	.25***	.09	-	.00	.01	-.09	-.02

					*												
19. Concealment motivation	.07	.03	1.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
20. Internalized homonegativity	.06	.02	.32** *	1.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
<i>Interpersonal Factors</i>																	
21. Social support from family	.18** *	.01	.10	.22** *	1.00	.58***	.47***	.60***	.58** *	-.07	-	.27** *	-	-.17***	-	.49***	.11*
22. Social support from friends	.19** *	.06	.06	-.09	.30** *	1.00	.56***	.37***	.27** *	-.07	-	.17** *	-	-.12**	-.09	.26***	.09
23. Social support from significant other	.19** *	.12*	.23** *	.10	.33** *	.45***	1.00	.23***	.20** *	-.01	-	.15** *	-	-.06	-.04	.31***	.18***
24. Quality of relationship with mother figures	.10*	-.001	.07	-.003	.64** *	.24***	.15**	1.00	.56** *	-.21***	-	.26** *	-	-.24***	-.02	.26***	-.04
25. Quality of relationship with father figures	.20** *	.04	.08	.23** *	.61** *	.15**	.25***	.51***	1.00	-.01	-	.22** *	-	-.11*	-.06	.46***	.12**
26. Marital pressures from family	-.03	.25** *	.09	.19** *	-.12*	-.09	.06	-.19***	-.01	1.00	.42** *	-	.35***	.19** *	.18***	.21***	
27. Experiences with left-over women stigma	-.02	.17** *	.08	.07	-	-.04	-.08	-.16***	-	.41***	1.00	-	.64***	.39** *	-.20***	.14**	
28. Experiences with prejudice against non-heterosexuality	-.08	.03	.03	-.10*	-	-.01	.01	-.13*	-	.31***	.53** *	1.00	-	-	-	-	
29. Experiences with anti-Asian prejudice	-.04	.04	.01	.09	-.04	-.07	-.07	-.12*	-.03	.25***	.42** *	.35** *	1.00	.39** *	-.08	.27***	
30. Anticipatory race-related stress	-.03	-.02	.04	-.05	-.07	.10*	-.03	-.01	-.09	.07	.22** *	.25** *	.35***	1.00	-.13**	-.18***	
<i>Cultural Factors</i>																	
31. Endorsement of filial piety	.16**	.11*	.31** *	.46** *	.49** *	.11*	.30***	.35***	.51** *	.16**	-.10	-	-.01	-.09	1.00	.13**	
32. Acculturation to the Western culture	.03	.06	.04	.10*	.004	-.04	.06	-.01	.05	.08	.19** *	.17** *	.21***	.04	-.002	1.00	

*Note.* The lower left half is based on data of non-heterosexual participants, and the other half of heterosexual participants. *M* represents mean and *SD* represents standard deviation. ANOVA were conducted with sexual orientation being the factor. Concealment motivation and internalized homonegativity were only assessed among non-



heterosexual participants. For heterosexual participants,  $n = 461$ . For non-heterosexual participants,  $n = 415$ . Missing cases are not counted for each variable.

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

**Table 6***Aspirations and Plans regarding Future Career and Family Formation as a Function of Sexual Orientation and Migration Aspiration among Chinese Women (N = 876)*

	Heterosexual (n = 461) Madj (SE)		Non-heterosexual (n = 415) Madj (SE)		ANCOVA or $\chi^2$ test		
	Migration Aspiration	No Migration Aspiration	Migration Aspiration	No Migration Aspiration	Effect of Sexual Orientation	Effect of Migration Aspiration	Effect of Sexual Orientation * Migration Aspiration
<i>Aspirations regarding Future Career</i>							
1. Desire regarding obtaining educational goals	4.23 (0.09)	4.17 (0.06)	4.13 (0.07)	4.02 (0.07)	$F(1, 766) = 2.87$	$F(1, 766) = 1.30$	$F(1, 766) = .07 (< 1)$
2. Expectation regarding obtaining educational goals	4.10 (0.08)	4.16 (0.06)	4.03 (0.07)	4.04 (0.07)	$F(1, 770) = 1.88$	$F(1, 770) = 0.23$	$F(1, 770) = 0.11 (< 1)$
3. Desire regarding having a meaningful job	4.45 (0.07)	4.48 (0.05)	4.50 (0.06)	4.26 (0.06)	$F(1, 769) = 1.76$	$F(1, 769) = 2.97$	<b><math>F(1, 769) = 4.40^*</math></b>
4. Expectation regarding having a meaningful job	3.75 (0.08)	4.00 (0.06)	3.71 (0.07)	3.85 (0.07)	$F(1, 764) = 1.89$	<b><math>F(1, 764) = 7.65^{**}</math></b>	$F(1, 764) = 0.61 (< 1)$
5. Desire regarding living in ideal housing	4.48 (0.08)	4.38 (0.05)	4.35 (0.06)	4.28 (0.06)	$F(1, 770) = 3.02$	$F(1, 770) = 1.73$	$F(1, 770) = 0.03 (< 1)$
6. Expectation regarding living in ideal housing	3.72 (0.09)	3.83 (0.06)	3.50 (0.07)	3.67 (0.07)	<b><math>F(1, 767) = 6.49^*</math></b>	$F(1, 767) = 3.53$	$F(1, 767) = 0.16 (< 1)$
7. Desire regarding being financially stable	4.62 (0.06)	4.58 (0.04)	4.64 (0.05)	4.54 (0.05)	$F(1, 769) = 0.02$	$F(1, 769) = 1.86$	$F(1, 769) = 0.35 (< 1)$
8. Expectation regarding being financially stable	3.84 (0.08)	4.12 (0.05)	3.79 (0.07)	3.93 (0.07)	$F(1, 769) = 3.34$	<b><math>F(1, 769) = 10.66^{**}</math></b>	$F(1, 769) = 1.08$
<i>Aspirations regarding Family Formation</i>							
1. Marital desire	4.65 (0.15)	5.01 (0.10)	3.30 (0.13)	3.73 (0.12)	<b><math>F(1, 767) = 108.39^{***}</math></b>	<b><math>F(1, 767) = 9.65^{**}</math></b>	$F(1, 767) = 0.07 (< 1)$
2. Marital intention	4.76 (0.15)	5.14 (0.10)	3.19 (0.13)	3.82 (0.13)	<b><math>F(1, 765) = 122.95^{***}</math></b>	<b><math>F(1, 765) = 15.06^{***}</math></b>	$F(1, 765) = 0.94 (< 1)$
3. Parenting desire	4.10 (0.16)	4.37 (0.11)	2.52 (0.14)	3.05 (0.14)	<b><math>F(1, 771) = 110.11^{***}</math></b>	<b><math>F(1, 771) = 8.43^{**}</math></b>	$F(1, 771) = 0.84 (< 1)$
4. Parenting intention	4.18 (0.17)	4.55 (0.11)	2.36 (0.14)	3.13 (0.14)	<b><math>F(1, 769) = 131.12^{***}</math></b>	<b><math>F(1, 769) = 15.95^{***}</math></b>	$F(1, 769) = 1.92$
<i>Plans regarding Family Formation</i>							
1. Ideal age for marriage (in years)	29.79 (0.39)	28.42 (0.26)	31.84 (0.35)	31.04 (0.34)	<b><math>F(1, 712) = 47.21^{***}</math></b>	<b><math>F(1, 712) = 10.19^{**}</math></b>	$F(1, 712) = 0.73 (< 1)$
2. Ideal age for parenthood (in years)	31.32 (0.39)	30.36 (0.25)	33.21 (0.36)	32.38 (0.34)	<b><math>F(1, 671) = 33.35^{***}</math></b>	<b><math>F(1, 671) = 6.96^{**}</math></b>	$F(1, 671) = .04 (< 1)$
3. Ideal family size	1.51 (0.06)	1.46 (0.04)	1.49 (0.06)	1.34 (0.05)	$F(1, 573) = 1.66$	<b><math>F(1, 573) = 3.90^*</math></b>	$F(1, 573) = 1.11$
<i>Views about Cooperative Marriage</i>							
1. Desire for Cooperative Marriage	-	-	2.16 (0.13)	2.71 (0.13)	-	<b><math>F(1, 352) = 9.60^{**}</math></b>	-
2. Intention for Cooperative Marriage	-	-	2.06 (0.12)	2.63 (0.12)	-	<b><math>F(1, 351) = 10.70^{**}</math></b>	-
3. Attitude about Cooperative Marriage	4.12 (0.16)	3.56 (0.10)	2.98 (0.13)	3.48 (0.13)	<b><math>F(1, 756) = 21.28^{***}</math></b>	$F(1, 756) = 0.04 (< 1)$	<b><math>F(1, 756) = 15.95^{***}</math></b>

*Note.* For the two-way ANCOVA (Analysis of Covariance) analysis, education, place grew up, place of residence, and relationship status were controlled. Missing cases are not counted for each variable. Madj represents the adjusted means accounting for the controlled variables. SE represents standard error. \*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

**Table 7***Regression Analysis of Chinese Women's Migration Desire on Personal, Interpersonal, and Cultural Factors with Moderation by Sexual Orientation (N = 829)*

Predictor	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	Variance Explained by Predictor	Total <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	Adjusted <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>
Constant	2.84	.33		8.69	< .001		.343	.335
Relationship Status	0.17	.12	.04	1.36	.173	.002		
Education 2	-0.41	.15	-.10	-2.79	.005	.006		
Education 3	-0.29	.13	-.08	-2.25	.024	.004		
Sexual Orientation	1.25	.33	.33	3.83	< .001	.012		
Quality of Relationship with Father Figure	-0.10	.02	-.17	-4.69	< .001	.018		
Experiences with Left-over Women Stigma	0.22	.07	.10	3.33	.001	.009		
Endorsement of Filial Piety	-0.42	.08	-.19	-5.43	< .001	.024		
Acculturation to the Western Culture	0.08	.01	.32	10.78	< .001	.093		
Social Support from Family * Sexual Orientation	-0.04	.02	-.22	-2.63	.009	.006		

*Note.* For Relationship Status, 0 = single, 1 = in relationship with same-sex, other-gender, or opposite-sex partners. For Sexual Orientation, 0 = heterosexual, 1 = lesbian/gay/bisexual/pansexual/other non-heterosexual sexual orientations. For Education 2, 1 = some college, 0 = others. For Education 3, 1 = bachelor's degree, 0 = others. Stepwise method was used (if  $p < .05$ , the variables were entered; exclusion criteria was set to  $p = .10$ ), and only the final model is presented here. Missing values were handled using the Expectation Maximization algorithm in SPSS.

**Table 8***Regression Analysis of Chinese Women's Migration Intention on Personal, Interpersonal, and Cultural Factors with Moderation by Sexual Orientation (N = 829)*

Predictor	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	Variance Explained by Predictor	Total <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	Adjusted <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>
Constant	1.71	.40		4.32	< .001		.288	.282
Relationship Status	0.15	.12	.04	1.30	.193	.001		
Sexual Orientation	1.02	.22	.29	4.61	< .001	.018		
Quality of Relationship with Father Figure	-0.10	.02	-.17	-5.01	< .001	.022		
Social Support from Friends	-0.04	.01	-.09	-3.10	.002	.008		
Experiences with Left-over Women Stigma	0.22	.06	.11	3.54	< .001	.011		
Acculturation to the Western Culture	0.09	.01	.37	12.20	< .001	.129		
Endorsement of Filial Piety * Sexual Orientation	-0.26	.09	-.17	-2.76	.006	.007		

*Note.* For Relationship Status, 0 = single, 1 = in relationship with same-sex, other-gender, or opposite-sex partners. For Sexual Orientation, 0 = heterosexual, 1 = lesbian/gay/bisexual/pansexual/other non-heterosexual sexual orientations. Stepwise method was used (if  $p < .05$ , the variables were entered; exclusion criteria was set to  $p = .10$ ), and only the final model is presented here. Missing values were handled using the Expectation Maximization algorithm in SPSS.

**Table 9**

*Regression Analysis of Chinese Women's Desire for Staying in the Homeland on Personal, Interpersonal, and Cultural Factors with Moderation by Sexual Orientation (N = 829)*

Predictor	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	Variance Explained by Predictor	Total <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	Adjusted <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>
Constant	4.54	.38		11.92	< .001		.370	.361
Relationship Status	-0.24	.11	-.06	-2.08	.038	.003		
Education 2	0.31	.13	.08	2.32	.021	.004		
Education 3	0.25	.11	.07	2.14	.033	.003		
Sexual Orientation	-1.20	.38	-.35	-3.11	.002	.007		
Quality of Relationship with Father Figure	0.06	.02	.10	2.77	.006	.006		
Social Support from Family	0.01	.02	.02	0.34	.731	.000		
Social Support from Significant Other	0.04	.01	.10	3.12	.002	.008		
Experiences with Left-over Women Stigma	-0.16	.06	-.08	-2.70	.007	.006		
Endorsement of Filial Piety	0.53	.07	.26	7.36	< .001	.042		
Acculturation to the Western Culture	-0.06	.01	-.27	-9.28	< .001	.067		
Social Support from Family * Sexual Orientation	0.04	.02	.22	1.99	.047	.003		

*Note.* For Relationship Status, 0 = single, 1 = in relationship with same-sex, other-gender, or opposite-sex partners. For Sexual Orientation, 0 = heterosexual, 1 = lesbian/gay/bisexual/pansexual/other non-heterosexual sexual orientations. For Education 2, 1 = some college, 0 = others. For Education 3, 1 = bachelor's degree, 0 = others. Stepwise method was used (if  $p < .05$ , the variables were entered; exclusion criteria was set to  $p = .10$ ), and only the final model is presented here. Missing values were handled using the Expectation Maximization algorithm in SPSS.

**Table 10**

*Regression Analysis of Chinese Women's Intention for Staying in the Homeland on Personal, Interpersonal, and Cultural Factors with Moderation by Sexual Orientation (N = 829)*

Predictor	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	Variance Explained by Predictor	Total <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	Adjusted <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>
Constant	4.63	.28		16.60	< .001		.352	.348
Relationship Status	-0.05	.11	-.01	-0.46	.645	.0002		
Sexual Orientation	-0.44	.10	-.13	-4.31	< .001	.015		
Quality of Relationship with Father Figure	0.07	.02	.12	3.32	< .001	.009		
Social Support from Family	0.03	.01	.11	2.82	.005	.006		
Endorsement of Filial Piety	0.61	.07	.31	8.63	< .001	.059		
Acculturation to the Western Culture	-0.07	.01	-.30	-10.36	< .001	.085		

*Note.* For Relationship Status, 0 = single, 1 = in relationship with same-sex, other-gender, or opposite-sex partners. For Sexual Orientation, 0 = heterosexual, 1 = lesbian/gay/bisexual/pansexual/other non-heterosexual sexual orientations. Stepwise method was used (if  $p < .05$ , the variables were entered; exclusion criteria was set to  $p = .10$ ), and only the final model is presented here. Missing values were handled using the Expectation Maximization algorithm in SPSS.

**Table 11***Logistic Regression Analysis of Chinese Women's Migration Motivations on Personal, Interpersonal, and Cultural Factors (N = 310)*

Migration Motivation	Predictor	Coefficient Estimate	SE	z value	p	Odds Ratio	95% Confidence Interval of Odds Ratio	AIC	R <sup>2</sup>
Education Opportunities	Intercept	-3.52	1.98	-1.78	.075	-	-	400.34	.124
	Quality of Relationship with Father	0.29	0.12	2.46	<b>.014</b>	1.33	[1.07, 1.71]		
	Marital Pressure from Family	-0.67	0.26	-2.62	<b>.009</b>	0.51	[0.30, 0.83]		
	Anticipatory Race-related Stress	0.52	0.23	2.22	<b>.027</b>	1.67	[1.08, 2.72]		
	Quality of Relationship with Father * Sexual Orientation	-0.32	0.14	-2.34	<b>.019</b>	0.73	[0.55, 0.94]		
	Endorsement of Filial Piety * Sexual Orientation	-1.09	0.48	-2.27	<b>.023</b>	0.34	[0.13, 0.85]		
Occupational Opportunities	Intercept	-0.37	1.82	-0.20	.839	-	-	419.38	.132
	Social Support from Significant Other	-0.14	0.07	-2.06	<b>.040</b>	0.87	[0.75, 0.99]		
	Quality of Relationship with Father	0.31	0.12	2.64	<b>.008</b>	1.37	[1.10, 1.76]		
	Quality of Relationship with Mother	-0.29	0.12	-2.46	<b>.014</b>	0.75	[0.58, 0.93]		
	Marital Pressure from Family	-0.74	0.25	-2.96	<b>.003</b>	0.48	[0.28, 0.76]		
	Social Support from Significant Other * Sexual Orientation	0.16	0.08	2.07	<b>.039</b>	1.18	[1.01, 1.38]		
	Quality of Relationship with Mother * Sexual Orientation	0.28	0.14	2.01	<b>.044</b>	1.33	[1.02, 1.77]		

To Live a Freer Life	Intercept	1.56	1.71	0.91	.361	-	-	380.98	.133
The More LGBTQ+-friendly Environment	Intercept	-4.27	3.16	-1.35	.176	-	-	316.61	.307
	Social Support from Friend * Sexual Orientation	0.39	0.17	2.27	<b>.023</b>	1.48	[1.07, 2.14]		
	Experience with Anti-Asian Prejudice * Sexual Orientation	-1.93	0.85	-2.26	<b>.024</b>	0.15	[0.02, 0.70]		

*Note.* In addition to intercept, only significant predictors are presented. For Sexual Orientation, 0 = heterosexual, 1 = lesbian/gay/bisexual/pansexual/other non-heterosexual sexual orientations. Place Women Grew up in, Place of Residence, and Relationship Status were controlled. For Relationship Status, 0 = single, 1 = in relationship with same-sex, other-gender, or opposite-sex partners. For Place Women Grew up in and Place of Residence, 0 = urban, 1 = rural. AIC represents Akaike information criterion. Logistic regression analyses of migration motivation were conducted with data from Chinese women who indicated at least positive desire or intention for transnational migration. Logistic regression for reunion with family members with personal, interpersonal, and cultural factors as predictors was not conducted because of the small size of the group who chose this option ( $n = 25$ ). Similarly, logistic regressions for reunion with partner, getting married with a same-sex partner, and other were not conducted because of the small sizes of the corresponding groups who chose the specific option ( $n = 23$ ,  $n = 41$ , and  $n = 9$ ). Model  $R^2$  was calculated by  $1 - (\text{Residual Deviance}/\text{Null Deviance})$ .



**Table 12***Logistic Regression Analysis of Chinese Women's Migration Destination on Personal, Interpersonal, and Cultural Factors (N = 573)*

Migration Destination	Predictor	Coefficient Estimate	SE	z value	p	Odds Ratio	95% Confidence Interval of Odds Ratio	AIC	R <sup>2</sup>
Ideal Destination of Hypothetical Migration	Intercept	3.03	1.39	2.17	<b>.030</b>	-	-	598.00	.083
	Quality of Relationship with Father	-0.17	0.08	-2.13	<b>.033</b>	0.84	[0.71, 0.98]		
Planned Destination of Hypothetical Migration	Intercept	2.20	1.32	1.67	.095	-	-	636.84	.075
	Quality of Relationship with Father	-0.18	0.08	-2.37	<b>.018</b>	0.83	[0.71, 0.96]		

*Note.* In addition to intercept, only significant predictors are presented. For Ideal Destination of Hypothetical Migration and Planned Destination of Hypothetical Migration, 0 = regions where same-sex marriage was not legalized yet, 1 = regions where same-sex marriage was legalized. For Sexual Orientation, 0 = heterosexual, 1 = lesbian/gay/bisexual/pansexual/other non-heterosexual sexual orientations. Place Women Grew up in, Place of Residence, and Relationship Status were controlled. For Relationship Status, 0 = single, 1 = in relationship with same-sex, other-gender, or opposite-sex partners. For Place Women Grew up in and Place of Residence, 0 = urban, 1 = rural. AIC represents Akaike information criterion. Model R<sup>2</sup> was calculated by 1 - (Residual Deviance/Null Deviance).

**Table 13***Logistic Regression Analysis of Chinese Women's Migration Pathway on Personal, Interpersonal, and Cultural Factors (N = 787)*

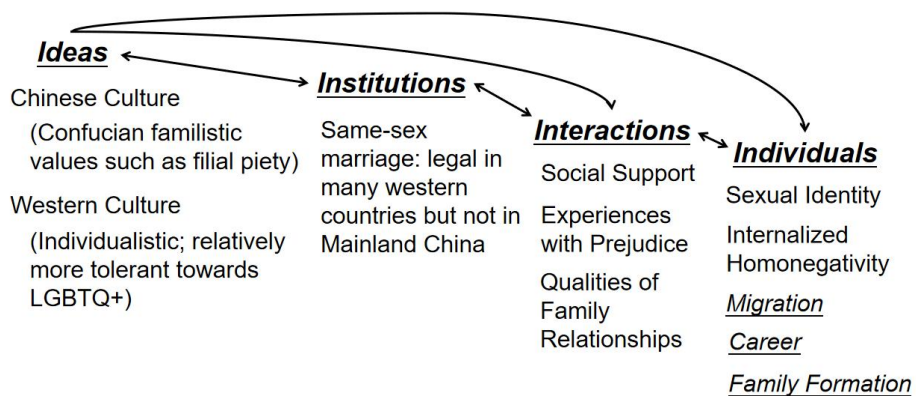
Migration Pathway	Predictor	Coefficient Estimate	SE	z value	p	Odds Ratio	95% Confidence Interval of Odds Ratio	AIC	R <sup>2</sup>
<i>Ideal Pathways of Future Migration</i>									
Student Migration	Intercept	-1.92	0.98	-1.95	.051	-	-	995.38	.116
	Quality of Relationship with Father or Father Figure	-0.15	0.05	-2.77	<b>.006</b>	0.86	[0.77, 0.96]		
	Acculturation to the Western Culture	0.08	0.02	4.81	<b>&lt; .001</b>	1.09	[1.05, 1.13]		
	Endorsement of Filial Piety * Sexual Orientation	-0.60	0.25	-2.39	<b>.017</b>	0.55	[0.34, 0.90]		
High-skilled Migration	Intercept	-0.28	1.05	-0.27	.790	-	-	872.26	.052
	Experiences with Left-over Women Stigma	0.41	0.20	2.07	<b>.038</b>	1.51	[1.03, 2.24]		
Business Investor Migration	Intercept	-4.73	1.41	-3.35	<b>&lt; .001</b>	-	-	524.72	.098
	Endorsement of Filial Piety * Sexual Orientation	1.00	0.42	2.40	<b>.016</b>	2.71	[1.21, 6.22]		
<i>Likely Pathways of Future Migration</i>									

Student Migration	Intercept	-0.83	0.94	-0.88	<b>.378</b>	-	-	1008.28	.117
	Acculturation to the Western Culture	0.08	0.02	4.64	< <b>.001</b>	1.08	[1.05, 1.12]		
	Acculturation to the Western Culture * Sexual Orientation	-0.05	0.02	-2.07	<b>.038</b>	0.95	[0.90, 1.00]		
High-skilled Migration	Intercept	-0.41	1.05	-0.39	.699	-	-	846.64	.050
	Support from Friend	-0.09	0.04	-2.15	<b>.031</b>	0.92	[0.84, 0.99]		
	Experience with Left-over Women Stigma	0.41	0.20	2.06	<b>.040</b>	1.50	[1.02, 2.23]		
Business Investor Migration	Intercept	-7.59	1.74	-4.36	< <b>.001</b>	-	-	457.66	.137
	Anticipatory Race-related Stress * Sexual Orientation	-0.63	0.27	-2.30	<b>.021</b>	0.53	[0.31, 0.91]		

*Note.* Only intercept and other significant predictors are shown in the table. For Sexual Orientation, 0 = heterosexual, 1 = lesbian/gay/bisexual/pansexual/other non-heterosexual sexual orientations. Place Women Grew up in, Place of Residence, and Relationship Status were controlled. For Relationship Status, 0 = single, 1 = in relationship with same-sex, other-gender, or opposite-sex partners. For Place Women Grew up in and Place of Residence, 0 = urban, 1 = rural. Missing values of continuous variables were handled using the Expectation Maximization algorithm in SPSS. Model  $R^2$  was calculated by  $1 - (\text{Residual Deviance}/\text{Null Deviance})$ .

**Figure 1**

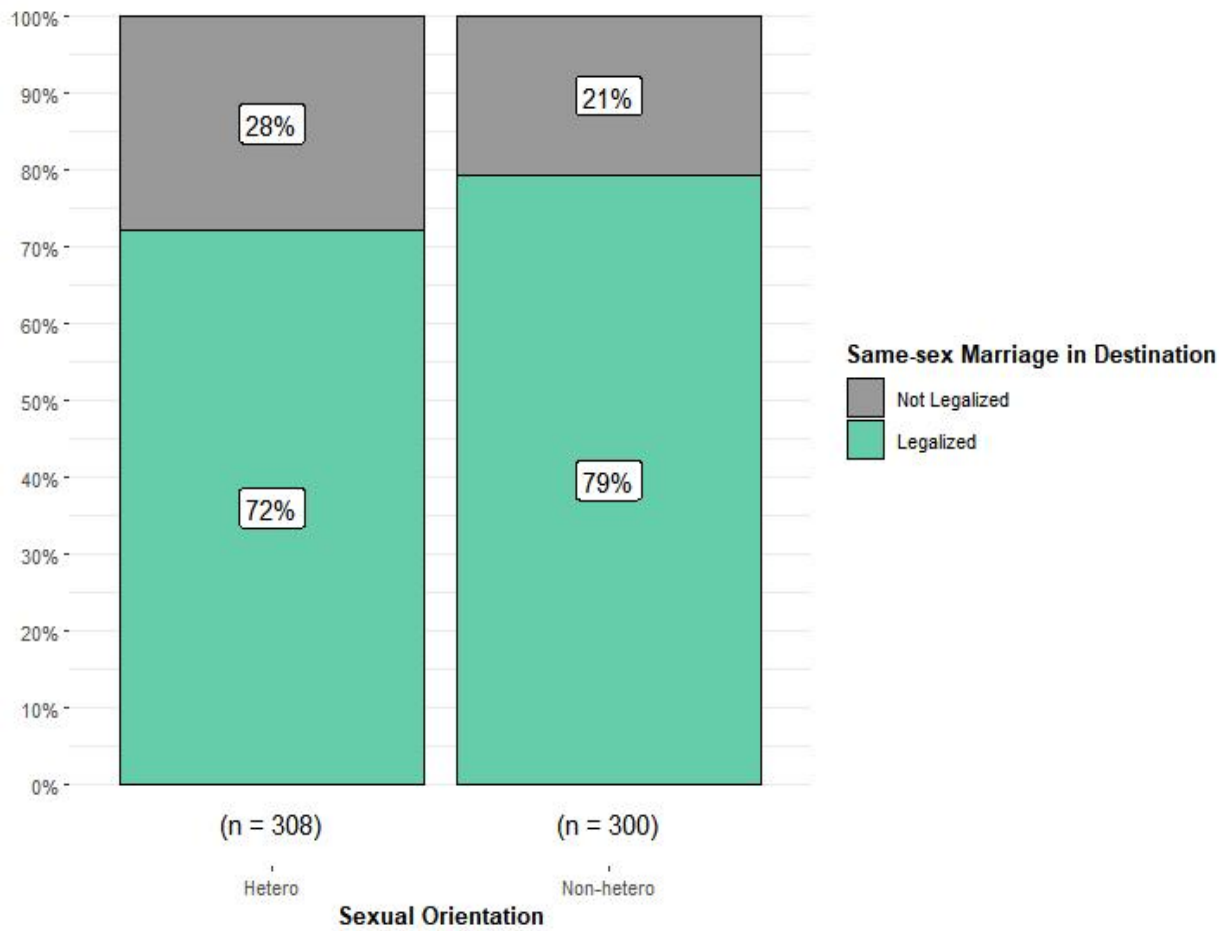
*A Culture Cycle Model for Future Migration among Chinese Heterosexual and Non-heterosexual Women*



*Note.* The conceptual model was created based on the culture cycle model (Fiske et al., 1998; Markus & Connor, 2014; Markus & Kitayama, 2010). It should be noted that this study employed a cross-sectional design; the directionality of the paths in Figure 1 was hypothesized based on the literature.

**Figure 2**

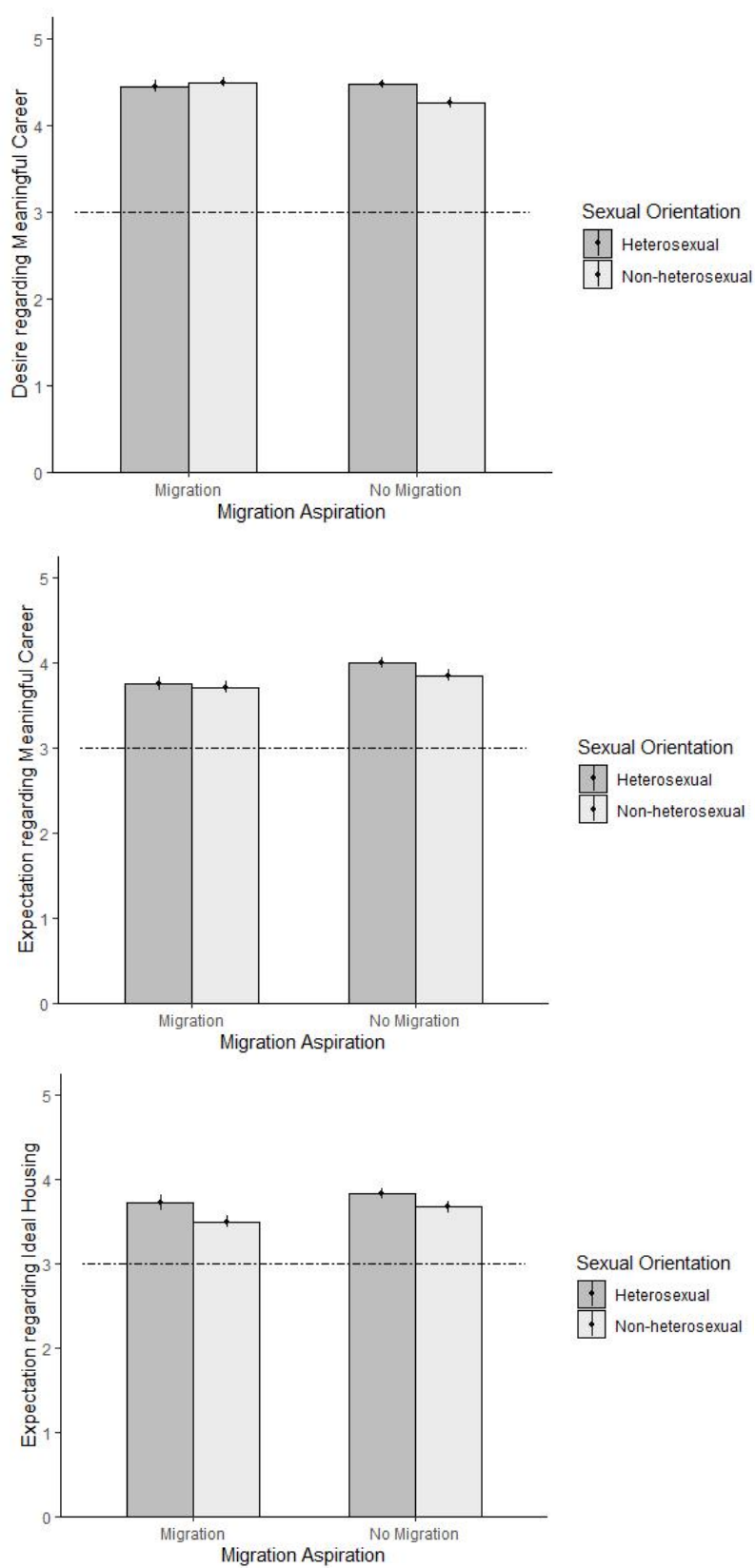
*Planned Destination of Hypothetical Migration by Sexual Orientation among Chinese Women (N = 608)*

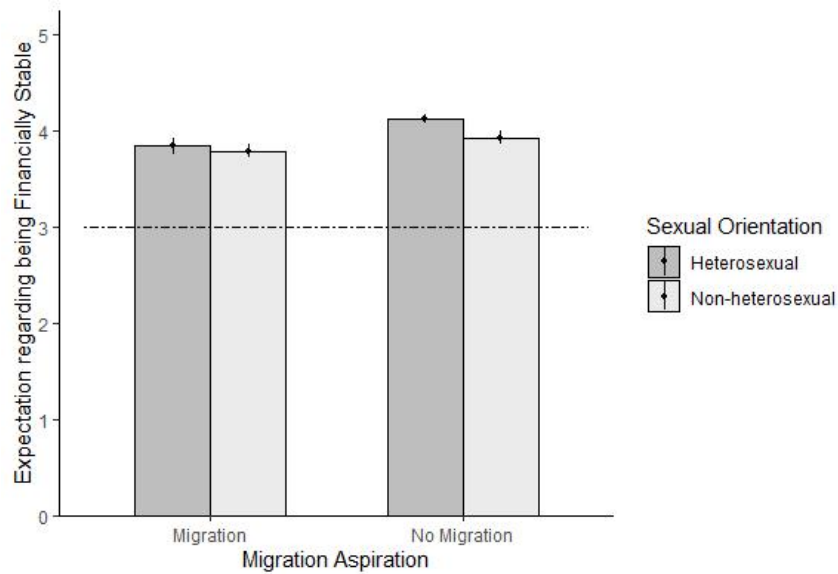


*Note.* The legal status of same-sex marriage in the destination was categorized based on the year 2023 when the data was collected. This plot was generated using the ggstatsplot R package (Patil, 2021).

**Figure 3**

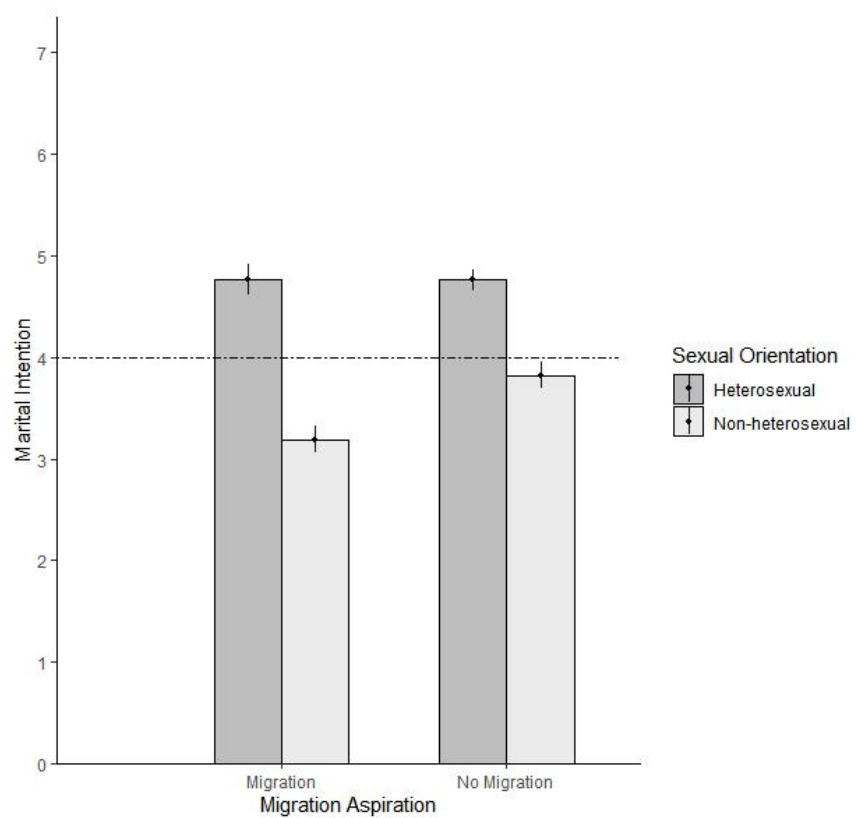
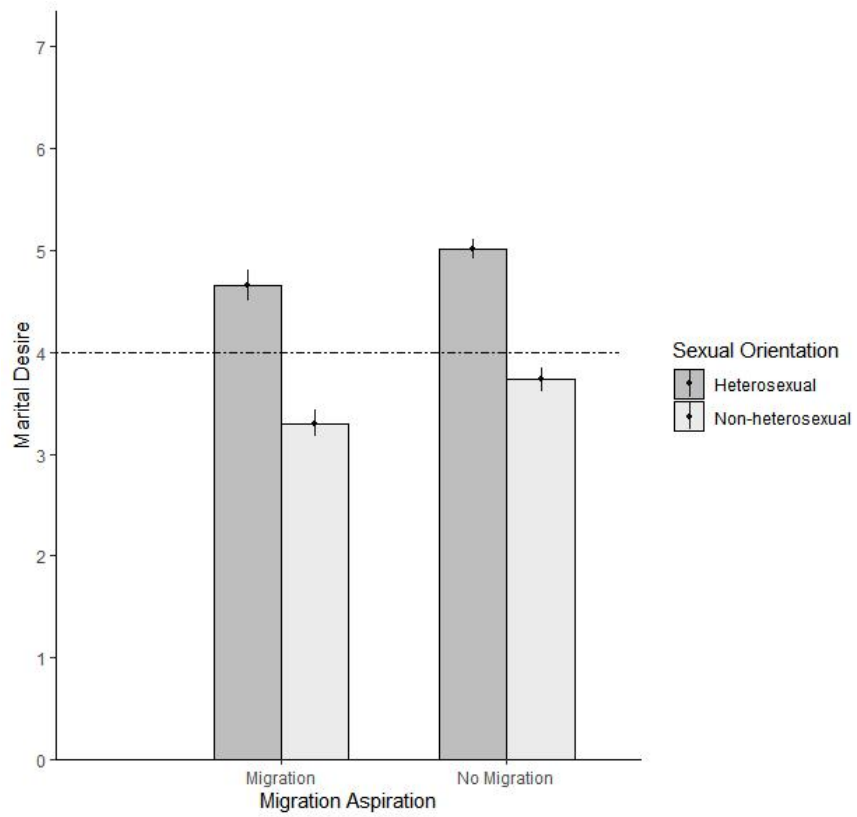
*Desire and Expectation regarding Meaningful Career and Financial Goals by Migration Aspiration and Sexual Orientation among Chinese Women*



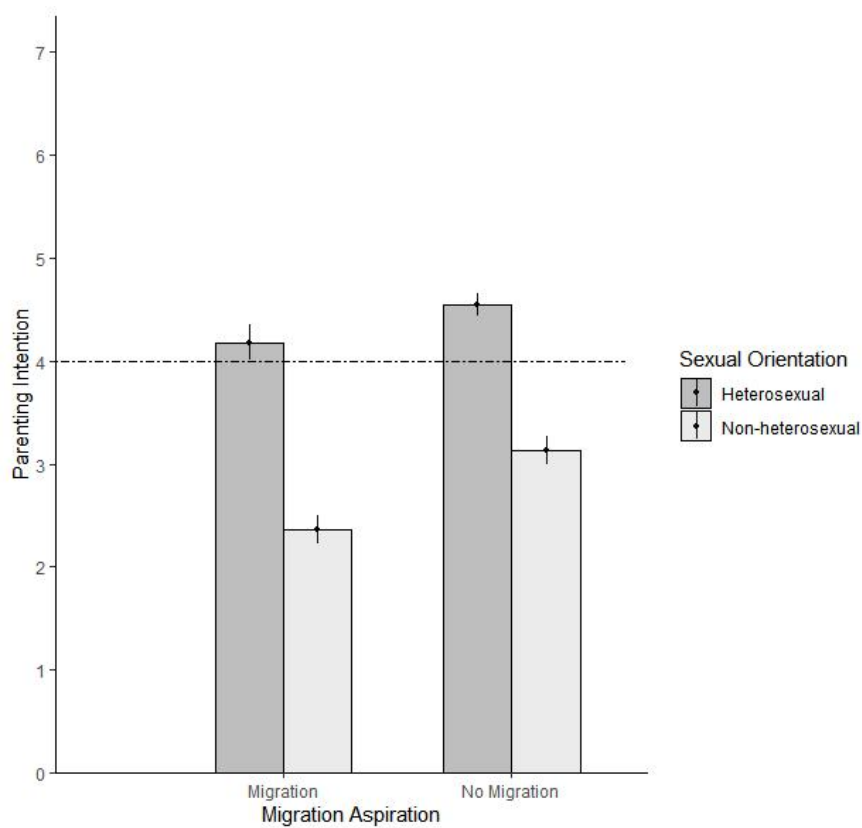
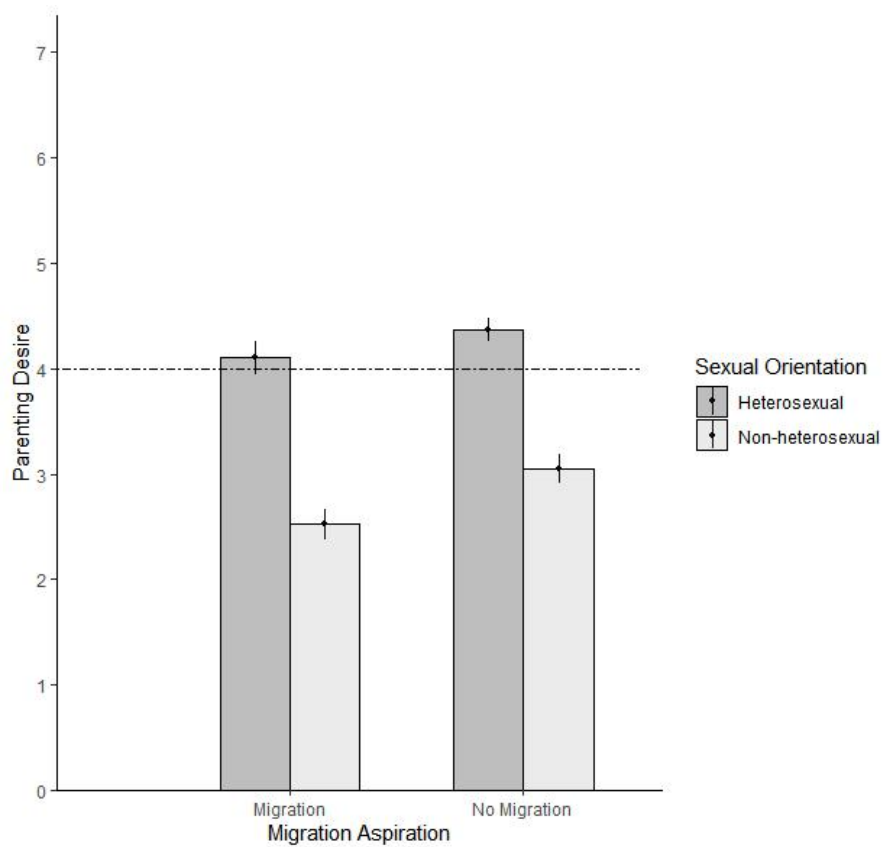


*Note.* The horizontal dashed line represents the neutral point of 3 on the 1-5 Likert scale (i.e., “Neither desired nor undesired”). The vertical lines on the bars represent the standard errors. For desire regarding meaningful career,  $N = 779$ . For expectation regarding meaningful career,  $N = 774$ . For expectation regarding ideal housing,  $N = 777$ . For expectation regarding being financial stable,  $N = 779$ .

**Figure 4**  
*Marital Desire and Intention and Parenting Desire and Intention by Migration Aspiration and Sexual Orientation among Chinese Women*

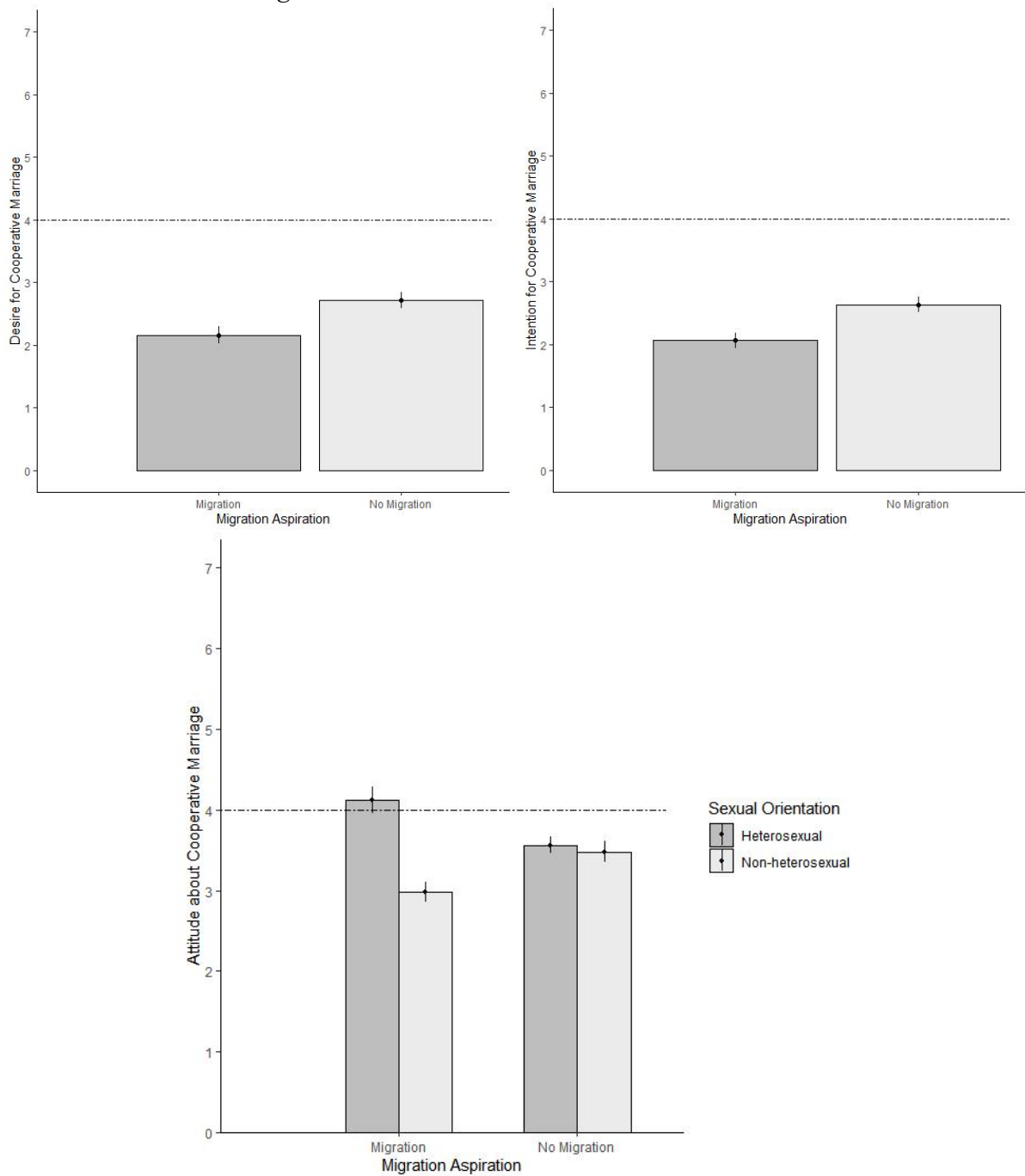






*Note.* The horizontal dashed line represents the neutral point of 4 on the 1-7 Likert scale (i.e., “Neither desired nor undesired”). The vertical lines on the bars represent the standard errors. For marital desire,  $N = 777$ . For marital intention,  $N = 775$ . For parenting desire,  $N = 781$ . For parenting intention,  $N = 779$ .

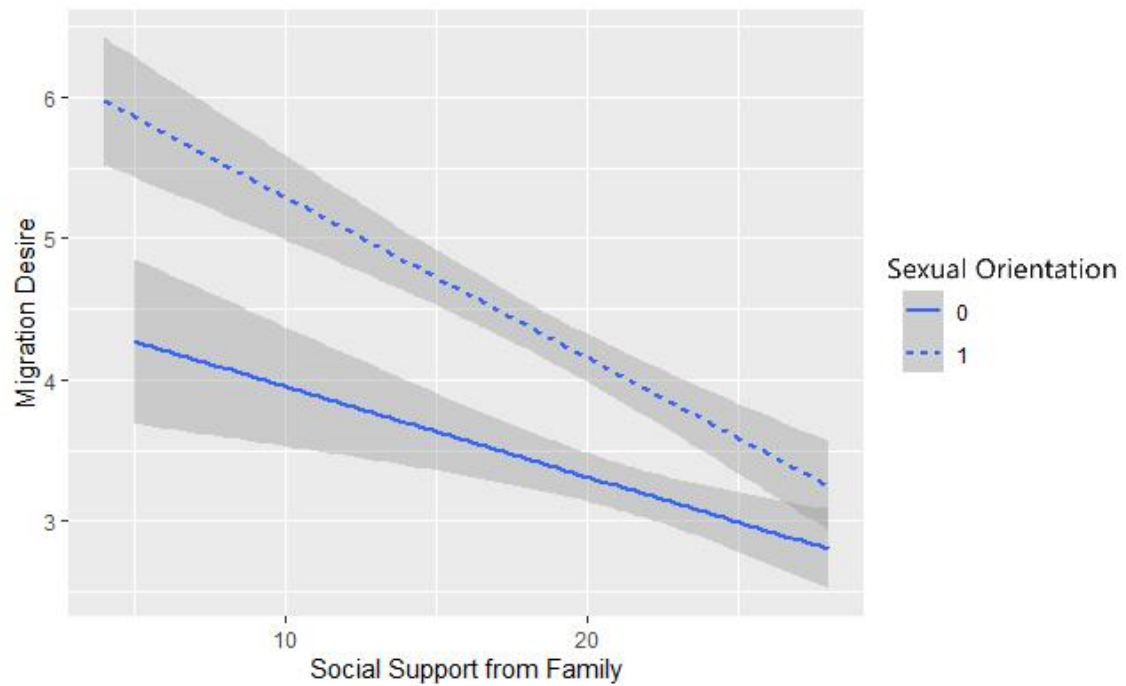
**Figure 5**  
*Desire, Intention, and Attitude about Cooperative Marriage by Migration Aspiration and Sexual Orientation among Chinese Women*



*Note.* The horizontal dashed line represents the neutral point of 4 on the 1-7 Likert scale (i.e., “Neither desired nor undesired”). The vertical lines on the bars represent the standard errors. For desire,  $N = 360$ . For intention,  $N = 359$ . For attitude,  $N = 766$ .

**Figure 6**

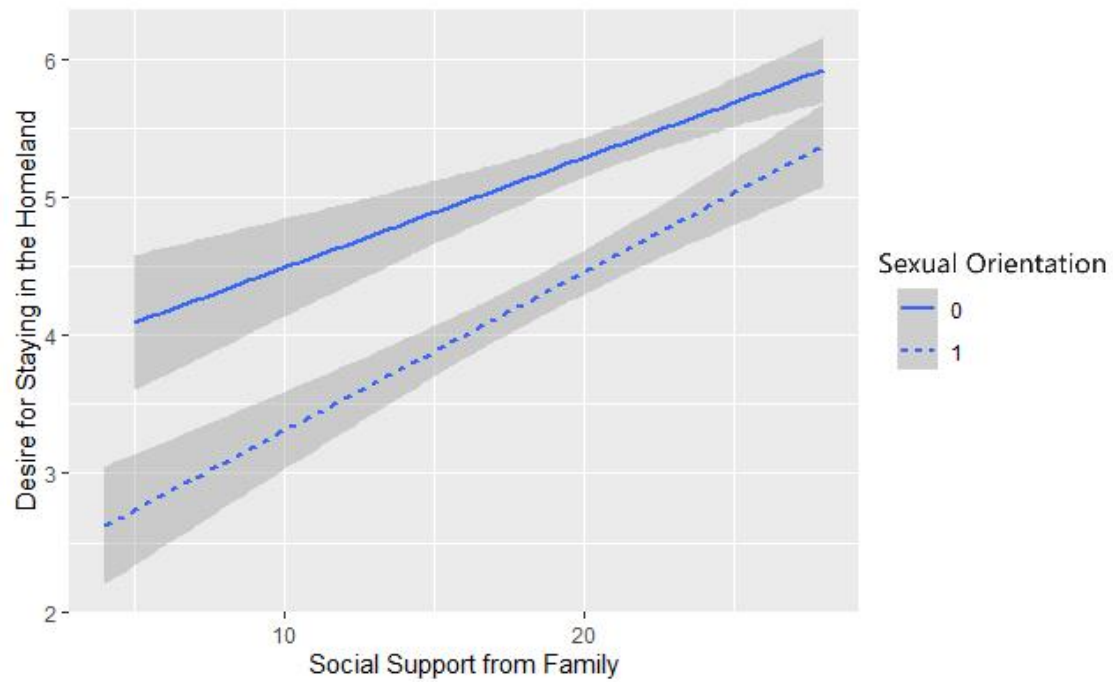
*Chinese Women's Desires for Transnational Migration by Interaction of Social Support from Family and Sexual Orientation (N = 829)*



*Note.* For Sexual Orientation, 0 = heterosexual, 1 = lesbian/gay/bisexual/pansexual/other non-heterosexual sexual orientations. The grey band areas around the regression lines show the 95% confidence interval. The neutral point of migration desire is 4 on the 1-7 Likert scale (i.e., “Neither desired nor undesired”).

**Figure 7**

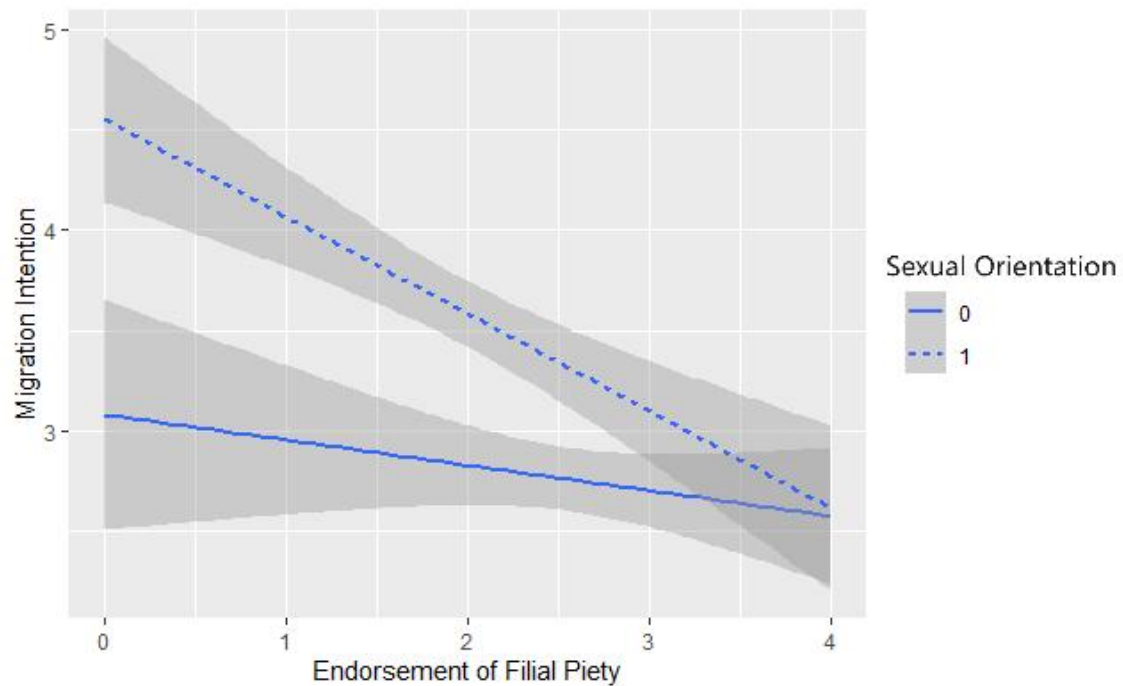
*Chinese Women's Desires for Staying in the Homeland by Interaction of Social Support from Family and Sexual Orientation (N = 829)*



*Note.* For Sexual Orientation, 0 = heterosexual, 1 = lesbian/gay/bisexual/pansexual/other non-heterosexual sexual orientations. The grey band areas around the regression lines show the 95% confidence interval. The neutral point of desire for staying in the homeland is 4 on the 1-7 Likert scale (i.e., “Neither desired nor undesired”).

**Figure 8**

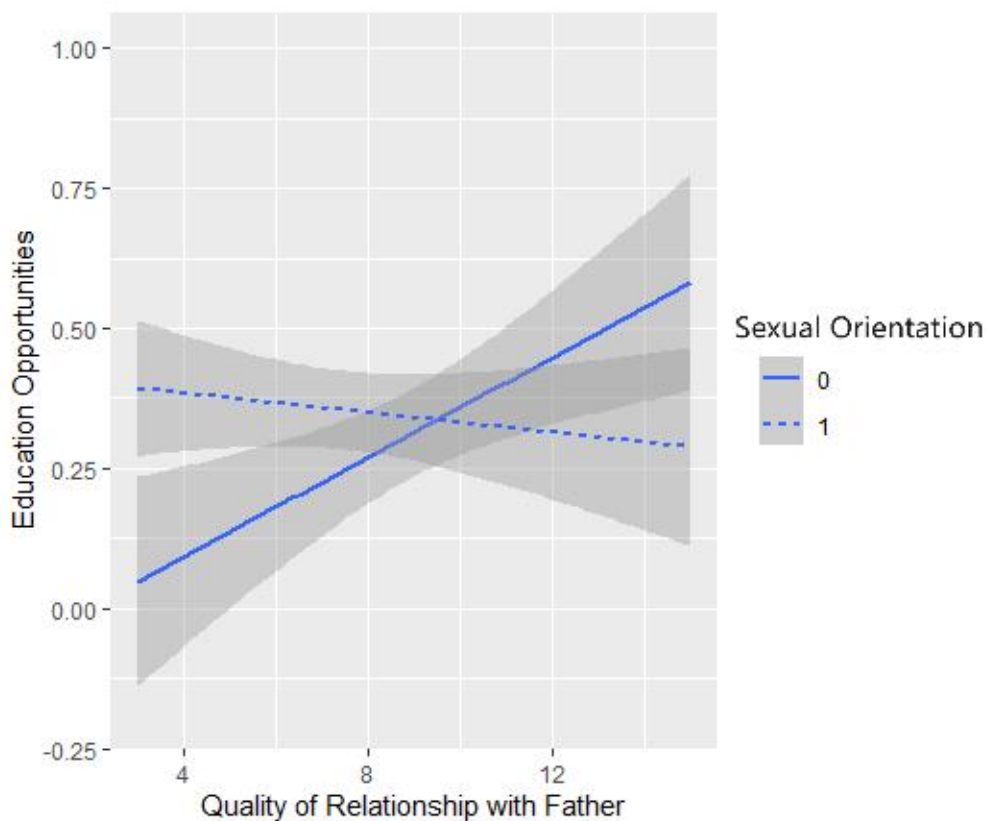
*Chinese Women's Intentions for Transnational Migration by Interaction of Endorsement of Filial Piety and Sexual Orientation (N = 829)*



*Note.* For Sexual Orientation, 0 = heterosexual, 1 = lesbian/gay/bisexual/pansexual/other non-heterosexual sexual orientations. The grey band areas around the regression lines show the 95% confidence interval. The neutral point of migration intention is 4 on the 1-7 Likert scale (i.e., “Neither desired nor undesired”).

**Figure 9**

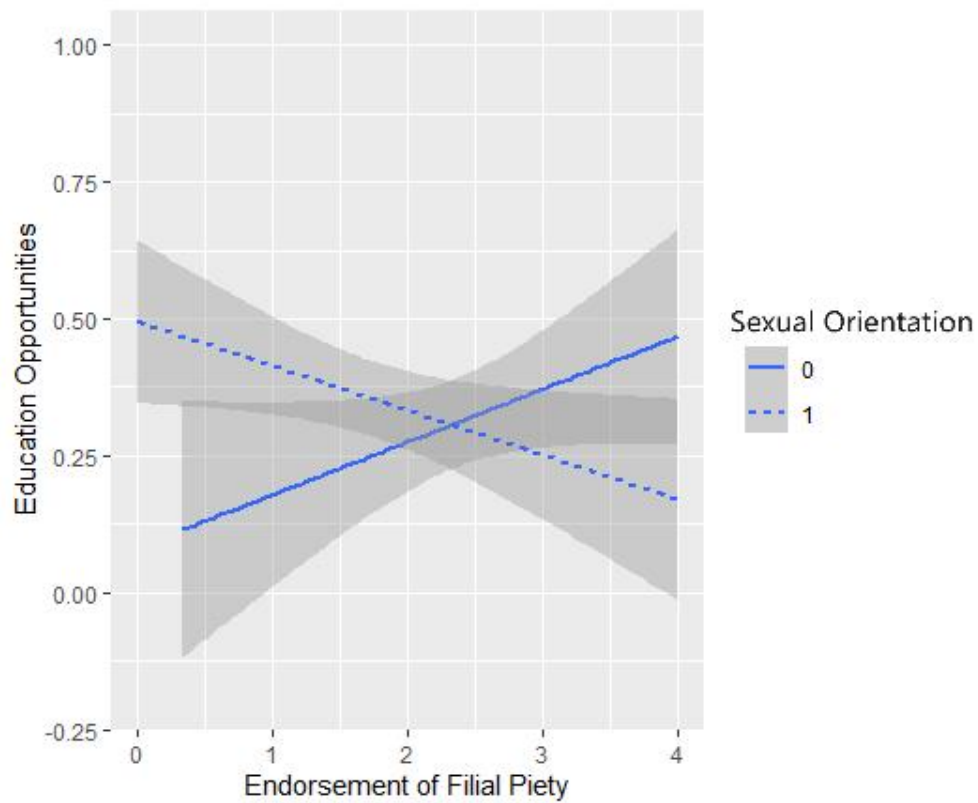
*Chinese Women's Migration Motivation of Education Opportunities in the Destination by Interaction of Quality of Relationship with Father and Sexual Orientation (N = 310)*



*Note.* For Sexual Orientation, 0 = heterosexual, 1 = lesbian/gay/bisexual/pansexual/other non-heterosexual sexual orientations. The grey band areas around the regression lines show the 95% confidence interval. Logistic regression analyses of migration motivation were conducted with data from Chinese women who indicated at least positive desire or intention for transnational migration.

**Figure 10**

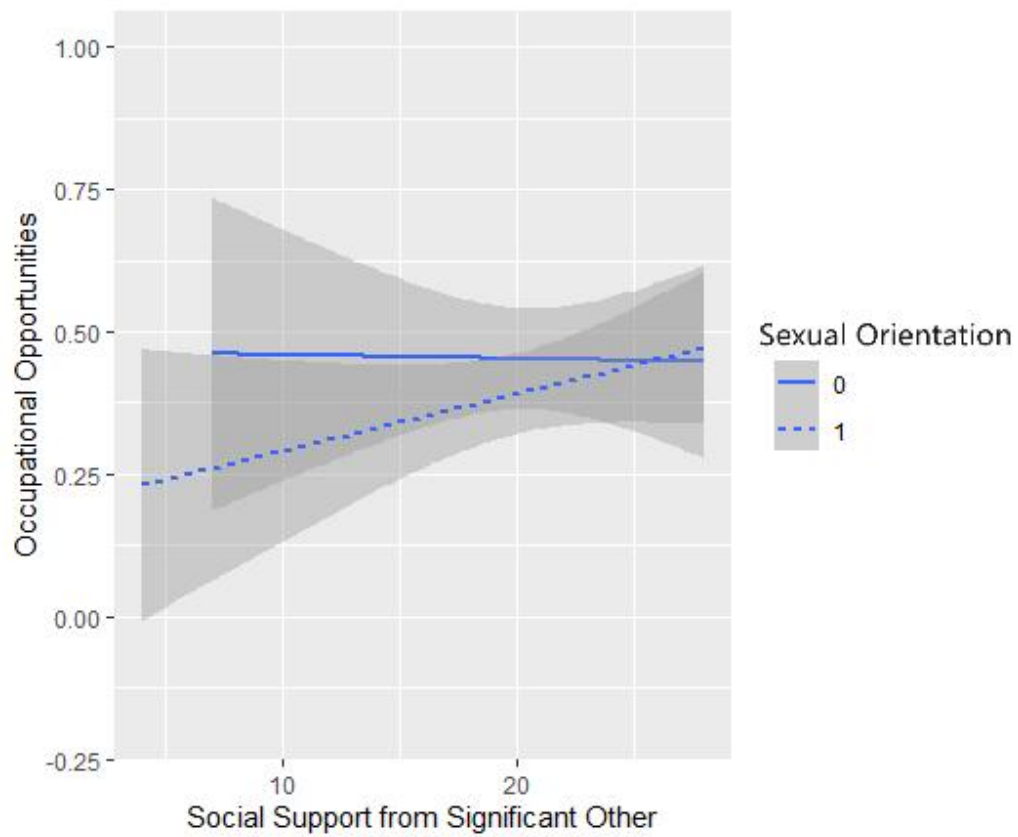
*Chinese Women's Migration Motivation of Education Opportunities in the Destination by Interaction of Endorsement of Filial Piety and Sexual Orientation (N = 310)*



*Note.* For Sexual Orientation, 0 = heterosexual, 1 = lesbian/gay/bisexual/pansexual/other non-heterosexual sexual orientations. The grey band areas around the regression lines show the 95% confidence interval. Logistic regression analyses of migration motivation were conducted with data from Chinese women who indicated at least positive desire or intention for transnational migration.

**Figure 11**

*Chinese Women's Migration Motivation of Occupational Opportunities in the Destination by Interaction of Social Support from Significant Other and Sexual Orientation (N = 310)*

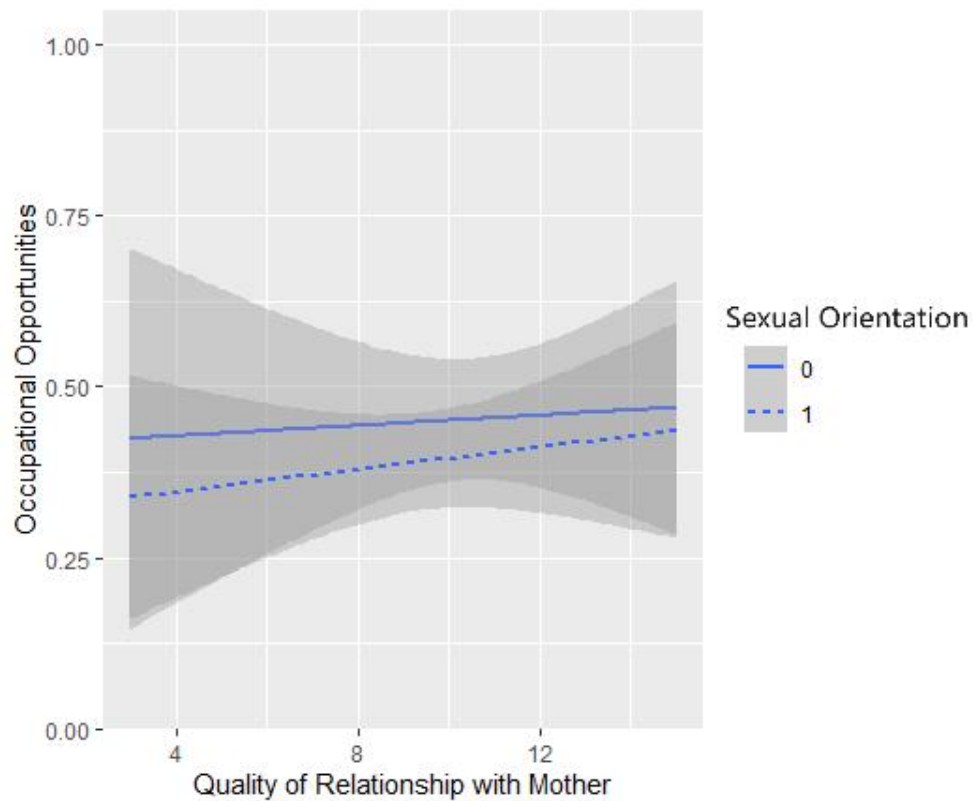


*Note.* For Sexual Orientation, 0 = heterosexual, 1 = lesbian/gay/bisexual/pansexual/other non-heterosexual sexual orientations. The grey band areas around the regression lines show the 95% confidence interval. Logistic regression analyses of migration motivation were conducted with data from Chinese women who indicated at least positive desire or intention for transnational migration.



**Figure 12**

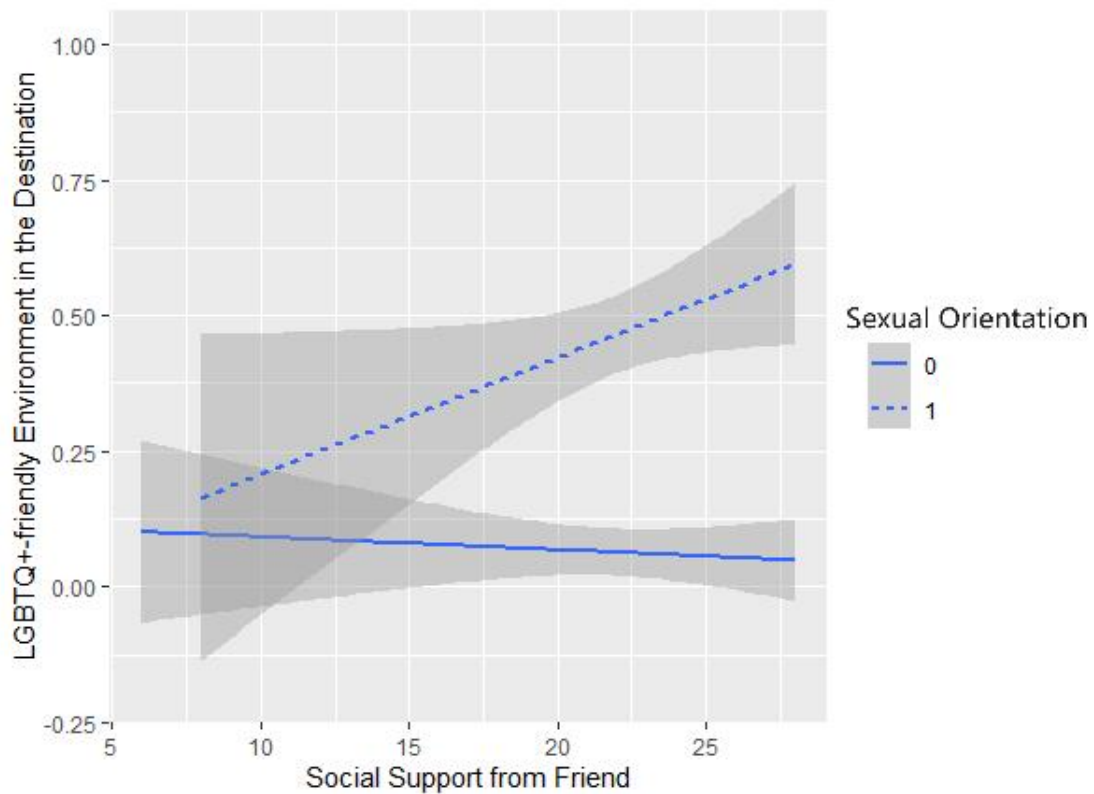
*Chinese Women's Migration Motivation of Occupational Opportunities in the Destination by Interaction of Quality of Relationship with Mother and Sexual Orientation (N = 310)*



*Note.* For Sexual Orientation, 0 = heterosexual, 1 = lesbian/gay/bisexual/pansexual/other non-heterosexual sexual orientations. The grey band areas around the regression lines show the 95% confidence interval. Logistic regression analyses of migration motivation were conducted with data from Chinese women who indicated at least positive desire or intention for transnational migration.

**Figure 13**

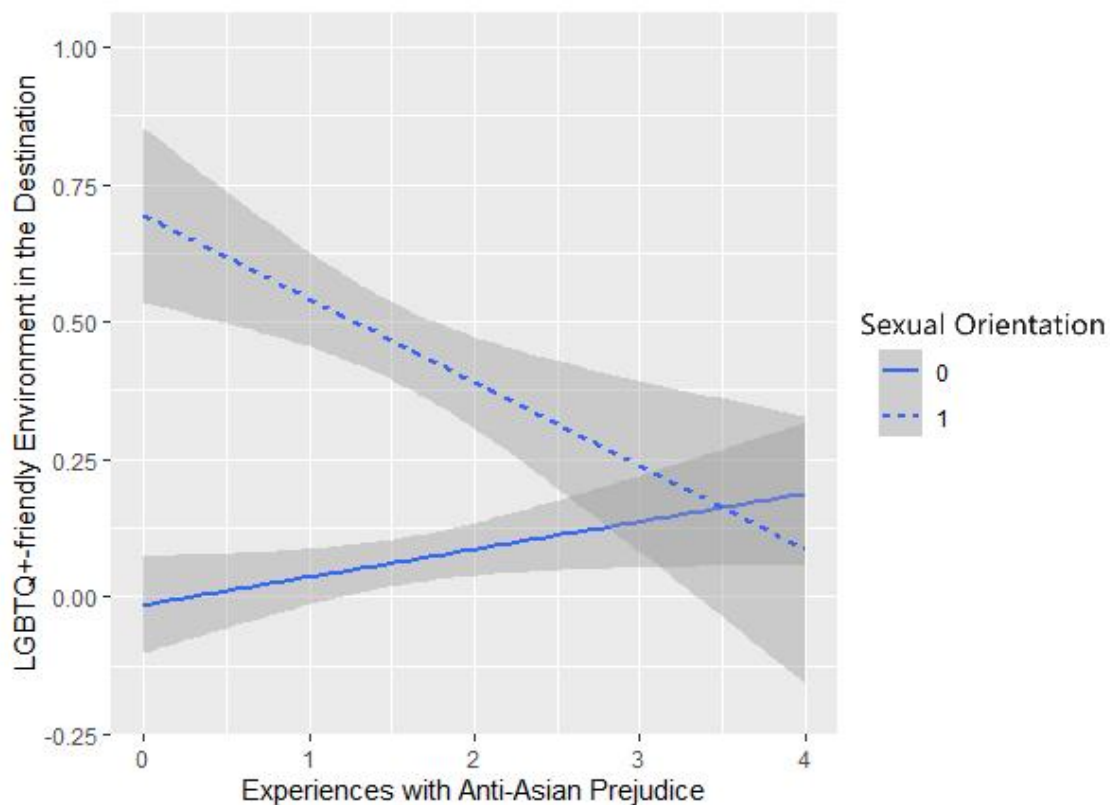
*Chinese Women's Migration Motivation of LGBTQ+ Friendly Environment in the Destination by Interaction of Social Support from Friend and Sexual Orientation (N = 310)*



*Note.* For Sexual Orientation, 0 = heterosexual, 1 = lesbian/gay/bisexual/pansexual/other non-heterosexual sexual orientations. The grey band areas around the regression lines show the 95% confidence interval. Logistic regression analyses of migration motivation were conducted with data from Chinese women who indicated at least positive desire or intention for transnational migration.

**Figure 14**

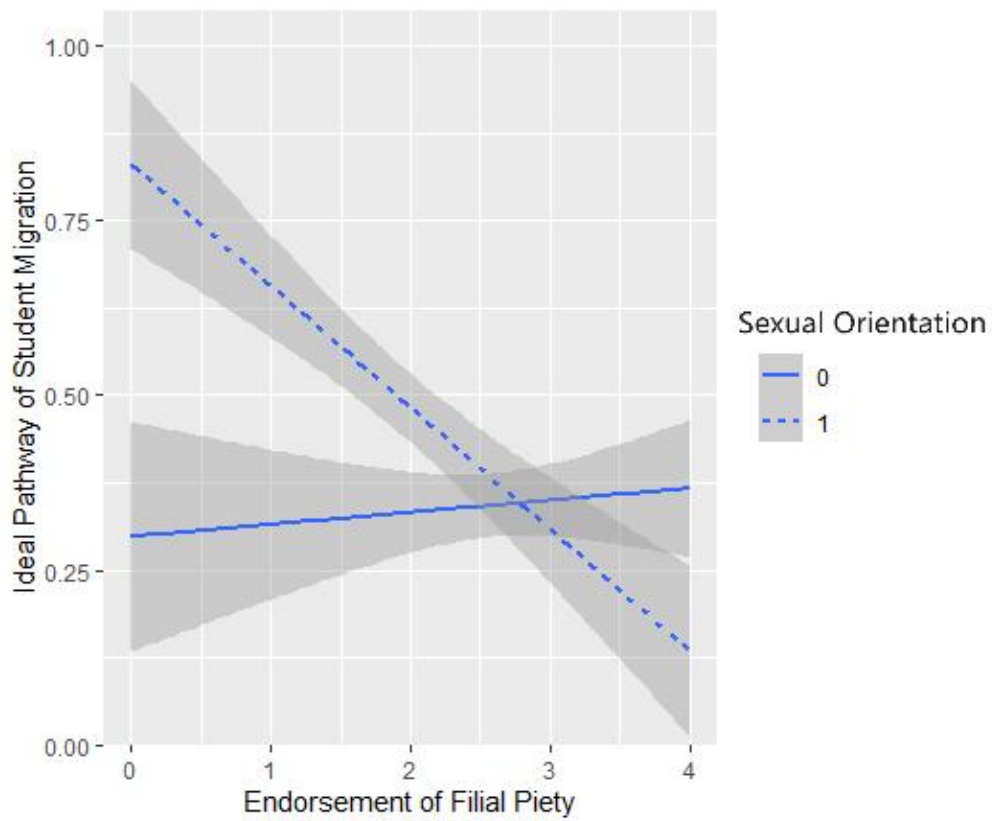
*Chinese Women's Migration Motivation of LGBTQ+ Friendly Environment in the Destination by Interaction of Experiences with Anti-Asian Prejudice and Sexual Orientation (N = 310)*



*Note.* For Sexual Orientation, 0 = heterosexual, 1 = lesbian/gay/bisexual/pansexual/other non-heterosexual sexual orientations. The grey band areas around the regression lines show the 95% confidence interval. Logistic regression analyses of migration motivation were conducted with data from Chinese women who indicated at least positive desire or intention for transnational migration.

**Figure 15**

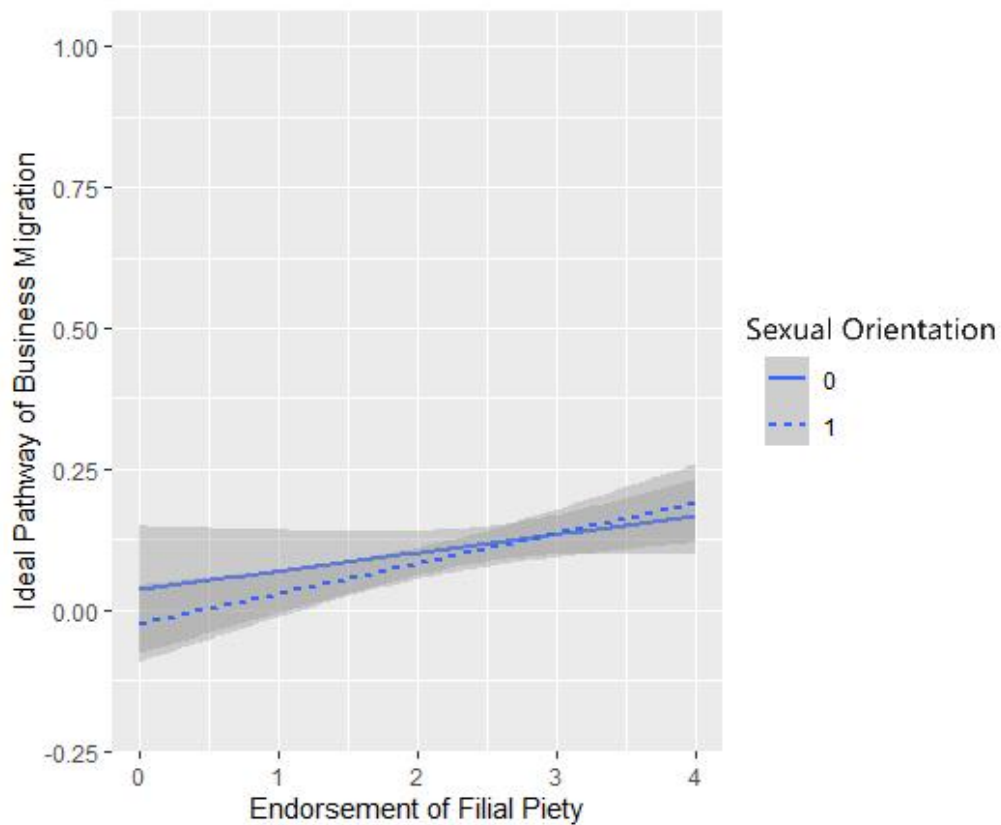
*Chinese Women's Ideal Migration Pathway of Student Migration by Interaction of Endorsement of Filial Piety and Sexual Orientation (N = 787)*



*Note.* For Sexual Orientation, 0 = heterosexual, 1 = lesbian/gay/bisexual/pansexual/other non-heterosexual sexual orientations. The grey band areas around the regression lines show the 95% confidence interval.

**Figure 16**

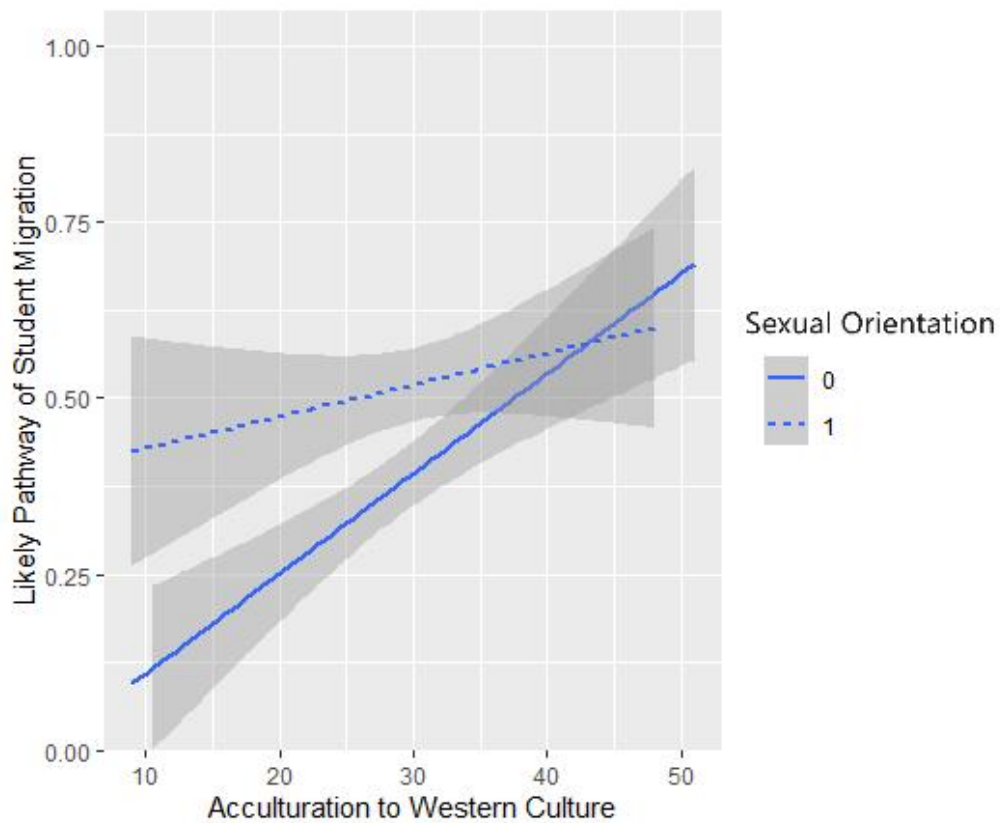
*Chinese Women's Ideal Migration Pathway of Business Migration by Interaction of Endorsement of Filial Piety and Sexual Orientation (N = 787)*



*Note.* For Sexual Orientation, 0 = heterosexual, 1 = lesbian/gay/bisexual/pansexual/other non-heterosexual sexual orientations. The grey band areas around the regression lines show the 95% confidence interval.

**Figure 17**

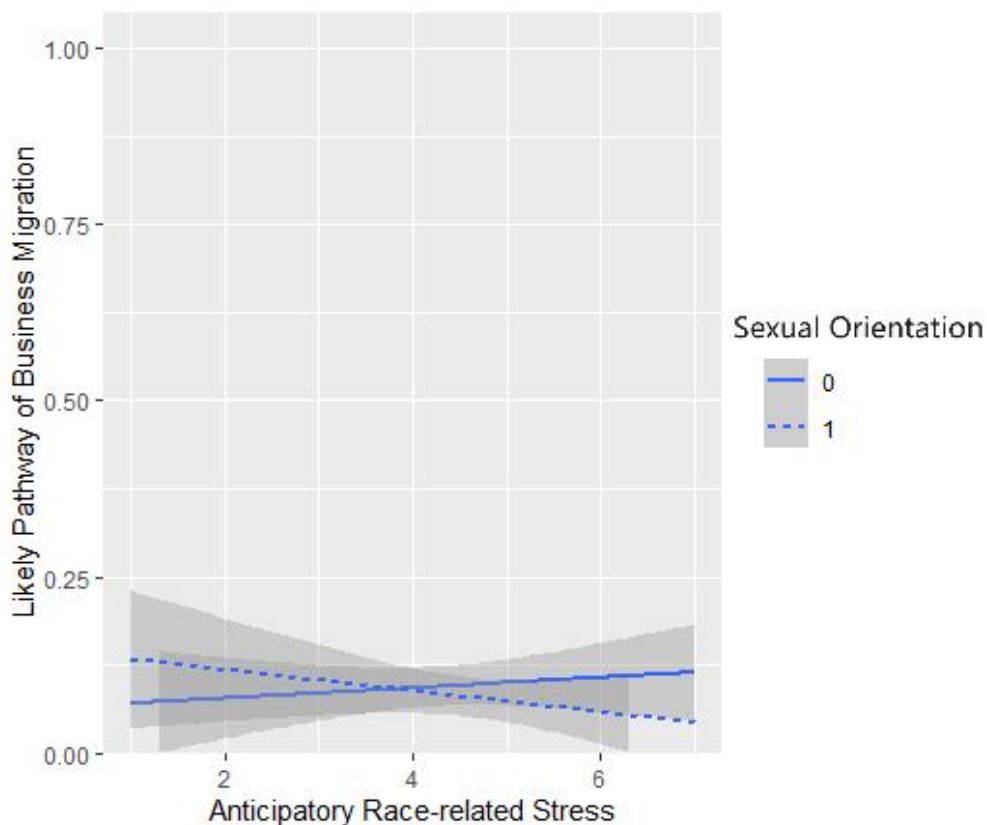
*Chinese Women's Likely Migration Pathway of Student Migration by Interaction of Acculturation to Western Culture and Sexual Orientation (N = 787)*



*Note.* For Sexual Orientation, 0 = heterosexual, 1 = lesbian/gay/bisexual/pansexual/other non-heterosexual sexual orientations. The grey band areas around the regression lines show the 95% confidence interval.

**Figure 18**

*Chinese Women's Likely Migration Pathway of Business Migration by Interaction of Anticipatory Race-related Stress and Sexual Orientation (N = 787)*



*Note.* For Sexual Orientation, 0 = heterosexual, 1 = lesbian/gay/bisexual/pansexual/other non-heterosexual sexual orientations. The grey band areas around the regression lines show the 95% confidence interval.

## Appendices

**Table 1**

*Preliminary Logistic Regression Analysis of Migration Motivations on Sexual Orientation Controlled (N = 310)*

Migration Motivation	Predictor	Coefficient Estimate	SE	z value	p	Odds Ratio	95% Confidence Interval of Odds Ratio	AIC	R <sup>2</sup>
Reunion with family members	Intercept	-2.14	0.34	-6.28	< .001	-	-	178.25	.032
	Sexual Orientation	-0.79	0.43	-1.83	.068	0.45	[0.19, 1.05]		
Reunion with partner	Intercept	-2.80	0.42	-6.69	< .001	-	-	171.74	.013
	Sexual Orientation	0.07	0.45	0.16	.871	1.08	[0.45, 2.69]		
Education opportunities	Intercept	-0.58	0.22	-2.66	.008	-	-	399.96	.014
	Sexual Orientation	0.18	0.25	0.71	.478	1.19	[0.73, 1.96]		
Occupational opportunities	Intercept	-0.34	0.21	-1.62	.105	-	-	425.98	.012
	Sexual Orientation	-0.20	0.24	-0.85	0.40	.82	[0.51, 1.30]		
To live a freer life	Intercept	0.39	0.21	1.83	.067	-	-	375.15	.031
	Sexual Orientation	0.86	0.26	3.35	< .001	2.36	[1.43, 3.91]		
The more LGBTQ+-friendly environment	Intercept	-2.89	0.41	-7.11	< .001	-	-	319.51	.183
	Sexual Orientation	2.68	0.41	6.52	< .001	14.53	[6.89, 35.06]		
To get married with a same-sex partner	Intercept	-4.18	0.64	-6.56	< .001	-	-	219.61	.135
	Sexual Orientation	2.44	0.62	3.93	< .001	11.53	[3.96, 49.25]		
Other	Intercept	-4.76	1.04	-4.57	< .001	-	-	84.80	.082
	Sexual Orientation	1.62	1.07	1.52	.129	5.07	[0.91, 94.91]		

*Note.* For Sexual Orientation, 0 = heterosexual, 1 = lesbian/gay/bisexual/pansexual/other non-heterosexual sexual orientations. Place Women Grew up in, Place of Residence, and Relationship Status were controlled. For Relationship Status, 0 = single, 1 = in relationship with same-sex, other-gender, or opposite-sex partners. For



Place Grew up and Place of Residence, 0 = urban, 1 = rural. AIC represents Akaike information criterion. Logistic regression analyses of migration motivation were conducted with data from Chinese women who indicated at least positive desire or intention for transnational migration. Model  $R^2$  was calculated by  $1 - (\text{Residual Deviance}/\text{Null Deviance})$ .

**Table 2***Preliminary Logistic Regression Analysis of Migration Destination on Sexual Orientation (N = 573)*

Migration Destination	Predictor	Coefficient Estimate	SE	z value	p	Odds Ratio	95% Confidence Interval of Odds Ratio	AIC	R <sup>2</sup>
Ideal Destination of Hypothetical Migration	Intercept	1.17	0.16	7.55	<.001	-	-	596.61	.011
	Sexual Orientation	0.44	0.21	2.07	.038	1.55	[1.03, 2.34]		
Planned Destination of Hypothetical Migration	Intercept	1.05	0.15	7.00	<.001	-	-	631.36	.014
	Sexual Orientation	0.45	0.20	2.22	.027	1.56	[1.06, 2.33]		

*Note.* For Sexual Orientation, 0 = heterosexual, 1 = lesbian/gay/bisexual/pansexual/other non-heterosexual sexual orientations. For Ideal Destination of Hypothetical Migration and Planned Destination of Hypothetical Migration, 0 = regions where same-sex marriage is not legalized yet, 1 = regions where same-sex marriage is legalized. Place Women Grew up in, Place of Residence, and Relationship Status were controlled. For Relationship Status, 0 = single, 1 = in relationship with same-sex, other-gender, or opposite-sex partners. For Place Grew up and Place of Residence, 0 = urban, 1 = rural. AIC represents Akaike information criterion. Model R<sup>2</sup> was calculated by 1 - (Residual Deviance/Null Deviance).

**Table 3***Preliminary Logistic Regression Analysis of Migration Pathway on Sexual Orientation (N = 787)*

Migration Pathway	Predictor	Coefficient Estimate	SE	z value	p	Odds Ratio	95% Confidence Interval of Odds Ratio	AIC	R <sup>2</sup>
<i>Ideal Pathways of Future Migration</i>									
Student migration	Intercept	-0.69	0.12	-5.96	<.001	-	-	1055.40	.018
	Sexual Orientation	0.62	0.15	4.18	<.001	1.86	[1.39, 2.50]		
High-skilled migration	Intercept	-1.26	0.13	-9.56	<.001	-	-	867.66	.006
	Relationship Status	0.36	0.18	2.00	.046	1.44	[1.00, 2.05]		
	Sexual Orientation	0.05	0.17	0.27	.788	1.05	[0.75, 1.46]		
Business investor migration	Intercept	-1.96	0.17	-11.47	<.001	-	-	527.09	.009
	Sexual Orientation	-0.46	0.24	-1.86	.063	0.63	[0.39, 1.02]		
<i>Likely Pathways of Future Migration</i>									
Student migration	Intercept	-0.53	0.11	-4.62	<.001	-	-	1073.00	.017
	Sexual Orientation	0.60	0.15	4.06	<.001	1.82	[1.36, 2.43]		
High-skilled migration	Intercept	-1.31	0.13	-9.80	<.001	-	-	835.64	.010
	Relationship Status	0.48	0.19	2.61	.009	1.62	[1.13, 2.33]		
	Sexual Orientation	-0.15	0.18	-0.83	.406	0.86	[0.61, 1.22]		
Business investor migration	Intercept	-2.19	0.19	-11.74	<.001	-	-	467.57	.022
	Sexual Orientation	-0.23	0.26	-0.89	.373	0.79	[0.48, 1.31]		

*Note.* For Sexual Orientation, 0 = heterosexual, 1 = lesbian/gay/bisexual/pansexual/other non-heterosexual sexual orientations. Place Women Grew up in, Place of Residence, and Relationship Status were controlled. For Relationship Status, 0 = single, 1 = in relationship with same-sex, other-gender, or opposite-sex partners. For Place Grew up and Place of Residence, 0 = urban, 1 = rural. AIC represents Akaike information criterion. Model  $R^2$  was calculated by  $1 - (\text{Residual Deviance}/\text{Null Deviance})$ .

**Contact Email for Assistance in Recruitment**

Dear \_\_\_\_\_,  
尊敬的 \_\_\_\_\_:

I hope this email finds you well. My name is Yanbin Li, a doctoral student in the Department of Psychology at the University of Virginia, and I am doing research on how Chinese women think about their future career and family formation. My study aims to explore how would personal (such as sexual orientation), interpersonal (such as social support from family), and cultural factors (such as endorsement of filial piety) might be associated with Chinese women's thoughts on pursuing their career and building their families in their homeland versus other places around the world. I am writing to ask if you could help share recruitment information with anyone who might be interested in participate in this study.

您好！我是黎燕斌，是弗吉尼亚大学心理系社群心理学的博士生，我正在进行一项研究，研究主题是中国女性如何思考未来事业和家庭。我的研究旨在探究个人因素（例如性取向）、人际因素（例如家庭支持）、和文化因素（例如对孝道文化的认同）如何影响中国女性在国内或是在国外追求她们的事业和家庭目标。我请求您帮忙将研究招募信息分享给任何可能会对参加研究感兴趣的人。

I sincerely invite people who meet the following eligibility requirements to participate in my study:

我真诚地邀请符合以下条件的人参与这项研究：

- Between 18 and 40 years old.
- 年龄在 18-40 岁之间。
- Identify as cisgender woman.
- 自我认同为顺性别女性。
- Identify as heterosexual, lesbian, bisexual, pansexual, or with any other non-heterosexual sexual orientations.
- 自我认同为异性恋、同性恋、双性恋、泛性恋、或其它任何非异性恋的性取向。
- Identify nationality as China.
- 国籍为中国。
- Currently live in Chinese mainland.
- 目前居住在中国大陆地区。
- Currently do not have any children.
- 目前没有抚育任何孩子。
- Currently unmarried or single.
- 目前未婚或单身。

I would truly appreciate it if you could also give advice or suggestions about how to reach out to Chinese women.

如果您能分享一些如何联系到更多中国女性的建议，我将非常感谢。

Thank you so much for your time and help!

感谢您抽出时间阅读这封信件，也非常感谢您的帮助！

Very best regards,

Yanbin (Pronouns: She/Her/Hers)

Ph.D. Candidate in Community Psychology

University of Virginia

**Endorsement of Filial Piety (Measurement Example #1)**

To what extent are the following statements important to you? Please check the degree of importance on a scale from 0 to 4, where 0 means “not important at all” and 4 means “absolutely important.”

	0 - Not Important At All	1	2	3	4 - Absolutely Important
1. Be grateful to your parents for raising you.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. Be nice and kind to your parents regardless of how they have treated you.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Give up your aspirations to meet your parents' expectations.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Say something good about your parents to save their face.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. Support your parents' livelihood to make their lives more comfortable.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. Do something to glorify your family.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*Reference*

Hu, X., & Wang, Y. (2013). LGB identity among young Chinese: The influence of traditional culture. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 60(5), 667-684.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2013.773815>

**Nine Items Adapted from Asian American Multidimensional Acculturation Scale (Measurement Example #2)**

Please choose your response to each question.

	1 - Not Very Much	2	3	4	5	6 - Very Much
1. How much do you feel you have in common with people from Western countries	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. How much do you identify with the Western culture	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. How much do you interact and associate with people from Western countries	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. How much would you like to interact and associate with people from Western countries	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. How negative do you feel about people from Western countries	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
9. How knowledgeable are you about the culture and traditions of Western countries	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
10. How much do you actually practice the traditions and keep the holidays of Western countries	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
11. How often do you listen to music or watch movies and read magazines from Western countries	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
12. How knowledgeable are you about the history of Western countries	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*Reference*

Gim Chung, R. H., Kim, B. S., & Abreu, J. M. (2004). Asian American multidimensional acculturation scale: development, factor analysis, reliability, and validity. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 10*(1), 66. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1099-9809.10.1.66>

**Anticipatory Race-Related Stress (Measurement Example #3)**

Please indicate below how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

	1 - Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	7 - Strongly Agree
1. When I am around White people, I expected them to say or do something racist.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. I believe that most people of color will experience some form of racism in the future.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. I know if I go where there are mostly White people, there is a good chance I will experience racism.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. I believe there is a good chance that I will experience racism in the future.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*Reference*

Utsey, S. O., Belvet, B., Hubbard, R. R., Fischer, N. L., Opare-Henaku, A., & Gladney, L. L. (2013). Development and validation of the prolonged activation and anticipatory race-related stress scale. *Journal of Black Psychology, 39*(6), 532-559. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798412461808>