PERCEPTIONS, PREVALENCE AND HELP-SEEKING RESOURCES OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AMONG SOUTH ASIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES

by

ABHA RAI

(Under the Direction of Y. Joon Choi)

ABSTRACT

South Asian immigrants have now become one of the largest and fastest growing immigrant groups in the United States. Similar to many other immigrant groups, domestic violence is a persistent problem among South Asians. While some studies of domestic violence among South Asians have examined its correlates, several gaps appear in this empirical evidence. These gaps are related to the use of small or single-site samples, reliance on culturally unresponsive instruments and the exclusion of men from this area of study. Additionally, empirical gaps persist relating to help-seeking within this community. Only a handful of studies have examined help-seeking from formal sources and none that have investigated the correlates of recommending help-seeking. The dissertation answers three main research questions: (1) what are the overall perceptions of and attitudes toward domestic violence among South Asian immigrants in the U.S.? (2) what are the prevalence rates of domestic violence victimization among South Asian immigrants in the U.S.? And, (3) what is the preference of help-seeking resources and correlates of recommending help-seeking among South Asian immigrants in the U.S.? The study relied on a cross-sectional survey design to recruit a multi-site sample of South Asian men and women (N=468) from across the U.S. The results show that women, those who were older, belonging to nuclear families, with liberal gender-role attitudes, non-religious and 1st

generation immigrants perceived domestic violence broadly – that is including other types of abuse rather than just physical violence. In study two, 48% of the sample reported experiencing at least one form of domestic violence. The rates of domestic violence experience were higher for women than for men. In study three, medical professionals were the most preferred help-seeking resource. The findings of this dissertation build a comprehensive study that incorporates the perceptions of and attitudes toward domestic violence held by South Asians. This is the first study that looked at various types of domestic violence victimization, specifically making comparisons between men and women. The identification of medical professionals as one of the most preferred help-seeking resources is striking. Overall, these findings have implications for social work practice, research, teaching and policy.

INDEX WORDS: South Asian, Immigrants, Domestic violence, Perceptions, Help-seeking, Prevalence

PERCEPTIONS, PREVALENCE AND HELP-SEEKING RESOURCES OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AMONG SOUTH ASIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES

by

ABHA RAI

B.A.L., Bangalore University-India, 2010

M.S.W., Indira Gandhi National Open University, India, 2013

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2020

PERCEPTIONS, PREVALENCE AND HELP-SEEKING RESOURCES OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AMONG SOUTH ASIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES

by

ABHA RAI

Major Professor:	Y. Joon Choi
Committee:	Orion Mowbray
	Jennifer Elkins

Electronic Version Approved:

Ron Walcott
Interim Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
May 2020

DEDICATION

To my husband- Tarun

&

My family- my parents, grandparents, in-laws, the sweetest niece and nephew-Meher & Neev

&

Frosty

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are so many people who have made it possible for me to achieve my lifelong dream of getting a Ph.D. I would sincerely like to thank each and every one of you. I do hope that I have personally reached out to you and expressed my gratitude for how thankful and truly blessed I am to have you in my life. I will always be grateful to my dissertation committee – Dr. Y. Joon Choi, Dr. Orion Mowbray and Dr. Jennifer Elkins. Thank you for your continued mentorship and support. I have learned so much from you all. A big thank you for always being my mentor, supporter, friend, and advisor. My journey would not have been this beautiful without your guidance. I want to take this opportunity to especially thank my chair, Dr. Y. Joon Choi for her relentless support, compassion, patience and belief in me and my passion. I could not have done this without you. Thank you for always being there to answer my questions and making me a better scholar. I will always look up to you and hope to have you as my mentor even in the future. My heartfelt gratitude goes out to my entire cohort, several friends I made along the program and the staff at UGA. There are several faculty members at UGA, who were a constant source of inspiration for me. You know how special your role has been in my journey.

I would also especially like to thank my mother – Seema Rai without whom I would not have even known how passionate of a social worker I truly am. You helped me realize my path and true calling. I miss you every day and I truly wish that you could be around to see me cross the finish line. Wherever you are, I know you are always watching over me. I learned to never give-up from my father – Maj. Pankaj Rai, with his tales from the army. I hope I have made you proud. My in-laws, Meena and Ashok Aggarwal, have been my constant source of strength throughout the program. Thank you for loving me and being there for me, always. You know

how valuable you are to me. A special shout-out to my husband – Tarun Aggarwal who has sacrificed so much just to help me fulfil my dream. Thank you for being patient with me while I spent hours writing. Thank you for picking up the slack at home and for providing me with all that I needed throughout this wonderful journey. You have indeed made this experience pleasant. It would be impossible to finish this Ph.D. without you. To my niece and nephew, I am grateful for your smiles, laughter and giggles.

I want to thank all my mentors – Dr. Mieko Yoshihama, Dr. Goutham Menon and several others who helped me along the way through my years in the program. I would like to express gratitude to the several funders and donors who believed in my vision and provided generous donations and funding support. Above all, I want to thank God without whom I do not exist. You showed me that trust and faith help overcome everything. This is not the end of my journey, but it is only a new beginning. I will continue to follow my path and strive to make each and every one in my life happy and proud of me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS v

LIST OF TABLES x

LIST OF FIGURES xii

LIST OF ACRONYMS USED xiii

CHAPTER

1 INTRODUCTION 1

Overview of the Literature 1

Purpose of the Study 6

Rationale for the Study 6

Theoretical Framework 8

Conceptual Framework 17

Data Collection Plan 17

Ethical Considerations 21

Data Analysis Plan 28

Proposed Dissertation Structure 29

Conclusion 31

References 33

2 EXAMINING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE PERCEPTIONS AND ITS CORRELATES AMONG SOUTH ASIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES 47

Abstract 48

Introduction....49

Purpose of the Study....53

Methods....53

Results....59

Discussion and Implications....65

Conclusion....70

References....71

3 DOMESTIC VIOLENCE VICTIMIZATION AMONG SOUTH ASIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES....85

Abstract....86

Introduction....87

Current Study....91

Theoretical Framework....91

Methods....93

Results....99

Discussion....102

Conclusion....110

References....112

4 INDIRECT EXPERIENCES WITH DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND HELP-SEEKING PREFERENCES AMONG SOUTH ASIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES....125

Abstract....126

Introduction....127

Methods....130
Results....136
Discussion....139
Conclusion....145
References....147
5 SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSION....162
Summary of Main Findings....164
Implications for Social Work....169
Limitations and Conclusion....174
References....175
APPENDICES....179
A ONLINE SURVEY....180
B PERMISSION TO USE THE PERCEPTIONS OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD DOMESTIC VIOLENCE QUESTIONNAIRE – REVISED (PADV-R)....194
C INCENTIVE SURVEY FOR PARTICIPANTS....195
D LIST OF SOUTH ASIAN ORGANIZATIONS AND NATIONAL DOMESTIC VIOLENCE HOTLINES....196

LIST OF TABLES

Page

Table 2.1: Sample Characteristics and Distribution of Study Variables 78

Table 2.2: Reliability of Measures Used in the Study 80

Table 2.3: Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses on DV Perceptions (Definitions of Domestic Violence) 81

Table 2.4: Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses on DV Perceptions (Use of Violence in Solving Family Matters) 82

Table 2.5: Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses on DV Perceptions (Causes of Domestic Violence).....83

Table 2.6: Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses on DV Perceptions (Contextual Justification of Domestic Violence).....84

Table 3.1: Sample Characteristics and Distribution of Study Variables 120

Table 3.2: Types of Domestic Violence Victimization among South Asians in the Sample 122

Table 3.3: Domestic Violence Prevalence Rates and Gender-differences 123

Table 3.4: Hierarchical Logistic Regression of the Correlates of Domestic Violence Experience.....124

Table 4.1: Sample Characteristics and Distribution of Study Variables 153

Table 4.2: Indirect Experience with Domestic Violence 155

Table 4.3: Indirect Experience with Domestic Violence and Gender-differences 156

Table 4.4: Usefulness of Help-seeking Resources.....157

Table 4.5: Help-seeking Resource Preference 158

Table 4.6: Help-Seeking Resource Preference by Socio-demographic Variables.....159

Table 4.7: Hierarchical Logistic Regression on Recommending a Help-seeking Resource to Domestic Violence Victims.....161

LIST OF FIGURES

Page

Figure 1: Intersectionality of identity-related factors 11

Figure 2: Acculturation strategies framework 14

Figure 3: Conceptual framework 17

LIST OF ACRONYMS USED

Acronym	**Meaning**
ATW-S	Attitude Toward Women Scale
AASWSW	American Academy of Social Work and Social Welfare
CBO	Community-based Organization
CJS	Criminal Justice System
CDC	Centers for Disease Control and Prevention
DV	Domestic Violence
PADV-R	Perceptions of and Attitudes Toward Domestic Violence Questionnaire-Revised
SA	South Asian
SAALT	South Asian Americans Leading Together
SAWO	South Asian Women's Organization
U.K.	United Kingdom
U.S.	United States
VAWA	Violence Against Women Act

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Overview of the Literature

South Asians (SAs) are one of the fastest growing and largest immigrant groups in the United States (U.S.) (SAALT, 2015). Estimates indicate that there are 5.4 million SAs in the U.S (SAALT, 2019), with national statistics suggesting a population increase of 97% from 2000 to 2013 (SAALT, 2015; US Census Bureau, 2010). SAs refer to individuals from one of the following seven SA countries: Bangladesh, Nepal, India, Bhutan, Maldives, Sri Lanka and Pakistan (Mahapatra, 2008; Raj & Silverman, 2007). Currently, Indians comprise approximately 80% of the total SA population in the U.S. (SAALT, 2015, Upadhyay et al., 2002; U.S. Census Bureau, 2010).

Domestic Violence among South Asians in the U.S.

Similar to other immigrant communities, domestic violence (DV) is a threatening and pervasive problem among SAs in the U.S. (Mahapatra & Rai, 2019; Nagaraj, 2016). Several terms including, "intimate partner violence (IPV)," "wife abuse," "spouse abuse" and "domestic violence" are used interchangeably within the SA community to describe violence within marriages. These terms refer to any form of coercion, power and/or control (physical, sexual, verbal, or mental) that is perpetrated on an individual by their spouse or extended kin. Most often, women are the victims of DV within SA families (Abraham, 2000a; Rai & Choi, 2018).

Although some national organizations, such as the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), predominantly use the term IPV (intimate partner violence) (Breiding et al., 2015), this study uses the term DV. The selection of this term reflects the reality that SA women

are often subject to violence by their in-laws as well as their spouses, which is distinct from violence just between intimate partners. DV is typically construed within the milieu of married couples in the SA context. However, sometimes DV also encompasses violence between couples who are dating or engaged (Breiding et al., 2015; Kumar, 2012; Syed, 2015). In both cases, the parties involved in DV are not just the intimate partners in SA families (Dasgupta, 2000).

While both men and women can experience DV, women most commonly experience DV within SA culture due to cultural norms (Purkayastha, 2000b; Rai & Choi, 2018). These cultural norms may include a power-differential between men and women, joint family households and rigid gender-role expectations associated with men and women (Goel, 2005). In addition, risk factors such as social isolation, language barriers, and economic, emotional and legal dependence on the husband put SA women at a higher risk of experiencing DV. These factors also force women to remain trapped in abusive relationships (Abraham, 2005; Adam & Schewe, 2007). DV results in severe physical and mental health consequences for both women experiencing violence and their children as well (Murugan, 2017; Nagaraj, 2016). These consequences ultimately affect the quality of life of women and any others who may be impacted by their experience of DV.

Prevalence rates and domestic violence tactics among South Asians. Scholars in the past have stated that the prevalence rates of DV among SAs are between 18-40% (Adam, 2000; Hurwitz et al., 2006; Mahapatra, 2008; 2012; Raj & Silverman, 2002). However, only certain studies suggest these higher prevalence rates (Raj & Silverman, 2002; 2003). Most studies point toward low prevalence rates because women are hesitant to acknowledge DV, let alone report it (Goel, 2005; Hurwitz et. al., 2006; Mahapatra, 2008). Although DV has a long history within

immigrant communities (Ahn, 2002; Choi, 2011; Yoshihama et al., 2011), the SA community tends to believe that it is immune to this "American" problem (Murugan, 2017).

Certain tactics of DV, such as abuse by the mother-in-law, financial abuse, immigration-related abuse and other specific forms of psychological abuse, such as restricted access to food and cellphones, are typical in the SA community (Abraham, 2005; Warrier, 2000). These forms of abuse may not be construed as DV by American communities, but are common tactics of control within SA households. Even so, many SA women and men regard these forms of violence as culturally acceptable behaviors rather than acknowledge them as forms of DV (Goel, 2005; Munisamy, 2000).

Cultural Values and their Relation to Domestic Violence

A possible reason for the denial of the occurrence of DV by SAs, may be due to the desire to safeguard the "model minority" myth common among Asian immigrant groups (Abraham, 2006). According to this myth, Asians are an ideal immigrant community, successful in keeping their family values and cohesiveness intact as they adapt to the American ways of life (Venkatramani-Kothari, 2007; Warrier, 2000). Therefore, to exemplify their esteemed position, SAs may have engaged in an active denial of the existence of DV in their community.

Most SA families embrace collectivistic family values, in contrast to the individualistic values promulgated by the American way of living (Shirwadkar, 2004). These collectivist family values force women to prioritize the interests of the entire household before safeguarding their own. Further, rigid gender-role stereotypes form the crux of the SA culture. Higher responsibility is placed on the sons of the house while women are assigned nurturing roles, for which they are trained from a young age (Goel, 2005; Rai & Choi, 2018). Women are often married off at a young age to unfamiliar and much older partners (Raghavan et al., 2018; Sabri et al., 2018).

Daughters are taught to be subservient to their fathers, brothers, and uncles before their marriage and to surrender to their husbands upon marriage. The stature of the husband is as high as "God" per the religious scriptures commonly embraced by this community (Goel, 2005; Munisamy, 2000). Some SA families do not even permit the wives to address their husbands on a first-name basis (Maharaj, 2006). In Sabri et al.'s (2018) study with SA women, one woman, while explaining how she was married, said that:

> I kept telling my family, you're marrying me off as an 18-year old to somebody who is 14 years older than me. Obviously, he is going to be very controlling. He knows what he is doing. He can manipulate a young child easily. (p.5).

A distinct hierarchy where the older male occupies a superior position exists within many SA households. This position allows him to make decisions for the entire family (Abraham, 2000b; Ahmed-Ghosh, 2004; Liao, 2006; Maharaj, 2006). Patrilocal residences, in which the married couple resides with the husband's parents are not uncommon within SA culture (Dasgupta & Warrier, 1996). A woman, once married into a family, is asked to embrace the new family as her own. Because family is afforded such primacy in the SA culture, *"bahar ke log"* or outsiders, are generally not allowed to comment on family issues (Abraham, 2000b; Ahmed, Reavey & Majumdar, 2009; Dasgupta, 2000, 2007; Munisamy, 2000). Therefore, a woman may not disclose family matters to anyone outside of her family lest she tarnish the family name or "izzat" (Gill, 2004). Due to the patriarchal cultural values, SA men and women may have different perceptions of DV. This perception may also be influenced by whether or not women live with their in-laws. Studies by Raj et al. (2006) and Wasim (2014) affirmed that women living with their in-laws reported higher instances of DV than women who were not.

Help-seeking among South Asians. Individuals who acknowledge experiencing DV and subsequently decide to seek help are more likely to do so from informal resources such as family and friends, rather than formal resources such as the police, the court, hospitals, counselors and/or social workers (Ayyub, 2000; Mahapatra & Dinitto, 2013; Merchant, 2000; Yoshihama et. al, 2011). It is therefore important to focus on the help-seeking resource preference and factors that make friends and family more likely to recommend help-seeking to victims. Thus far, the research about help-seeking in the context of DV has remained focused on SA women who are victims and has ignored men and community-members (Mahapatra & Rai, 2019).

Several factors, such as the burden of safeguarding the family reputation or "izzat" disempower women from seeking help and leaving abusive relationships (Gill, 2004; Rai & Choi, 2018). Often, personal networks such as parents, cousins and friends advise the abused woman to continue to stay in the abusive environment because they believe circumstances will eventually improve (Ayyub, 2000; Mahapatra & Rai, 2019; Merchant, 2000). The rare cases in which women experiencing DV are directed to seek formal help from "outsiders," are generally a response to extreme situations (Mahapatra, 2007). Particularly, with regard to formal help-seeking, limited literature exists regarding the specific resources that can be utilized by SA victims, leading to enormous gaps in this area.

Perceptions of domestic violence among South-Asians. There has been limited understanding on how SAs define DV. One study, conducted by Ahmad et al. (2017), used a sample of 11 participants to examine the differences in power and control tactics among SA men and women. While the study attempted to determine the meaning of DV within SA communities, it solely focused on physical and sexual violence and excluded all other forms of DV. The patriarchal and often traditional nature of the SA culture makes it impossible to separate culture

from violence. Many times, culture translates into violence, which has not yet been conclusively examined by scholars studying DV in SA families. To develop DV intervention and prevention programs in the SA community, it is vital to understand SA community member's perceptions of and attitudes toward DV.

Purpose of the Study

This research project takes a linear approach through the three studies that are proposed. Study 1 will examine the perceptions of and attitudes toward DV and its correlates. Study 2 will examine DV prevalence rates and the correlates of DV experiences. Study 3 will examine the preference of help-seeking resources and correlates of recommending help-seeking resources among SA immigrants in the U.S.

Rationale for the Study

Reasons such as the inability to separate DV from culture, denial about DV within the SA community, and fear of community ostracism (in case the status-quo of SA households is challenged through a marital discord or divorce), have been attributed to this reluctance in accepting the prevalence of DV within the SA community (Abraham, 2000a; Gill, 2004; Mehrotra, 1999). The distinct gaps in empirical evidence on DV among SAs, is the rationale for conducting the studies described below.

First, a review of the literature suggests that thus far, DV studies have been predominantly conducted with female SA victims (Grewal, 2004; Hunjan, 1997; Mahapatra, 2012; Maharaj, 2006). Only a handful of studies engage with non-victims (Aujla, 2013; Dhinsda, 2010; Syed, 2015). Therefore, any knowledge about DV in the SA community comes primarily from the point of view of women who are victims. The proposed research will overcome this gap by examining the perceptions of not only victims, but SA community members at large.

Second, by excluding men, we have not been able to accurately capture their perceptions of DV. The perceptions and attitudes of men in addition to women, have been examined in research conducted with other immigrant communities. In both Korean and Chinese immigrant communities, researchers have noted some differences in perceptions of DV among men and women (Ahn, 2002; Yick,1997). Therefore, understanding and including the perceptions of both men and women would be helpful, especially in creating awareness interventions for the SA community (Aujla, 2013; Dhinsda, 2010). These gaps warranted the inclusion of men alongside women as participants in the proposed research.

Third, studies with SAs in the past have suffered from some limitations, such as small or single-site samples (Murugan, 2017; Brar, 2013). Because of these hindrances, within-group variations across ethnicity, religion, immigration position, income, education level, and other socio-demographic characteristics have been unexplored in past studies (Brar, 2013; Grewal, 2004; Murugan, 2017; Yoshihama et al., 2012). The proposed research will overcome this gap by studying within-group variations and recruiting a multi-site sample for the studies.

Fourth, researchers in the past have largely used culturally unresponsive instruments such as the Conflict Tactics Scale to capture DV prevalence rates (Mahapatra, 2008; Murugan, 2017). These instruments primarily include questions about physical and sexual violence, which may not capture the psychological, emotional, financial, and immigration-related power and control tactics common within SA households. Therefore, the present research will utilize a modified version of a culturally responsive instrument known as the Perceptions and Attitudes Toward Domestic Violence Questionnaire – Revised (PADV-R) to capture DV victimization experiences and establish prevalence rates, both among men and women. This instrument was initially constructed by Yick (1997) for the Chinese immigrant community and subsequently tested by

Ahn (2002) in the Korean immigrant community. The present dissertation is the first time where this instrument is being culturally adapted for the SA immigrant community.

Fifth, scholars in the past have focused on understanding help-seeking behaviors among victims. Past research has indicated hesitation among victims in reporting cases of violence (Raj & Silverman, 2002; Mahapatra, 2008; Mahapatra & Rai, 2019; Murugan, 2017; Yoshihama et. al., 2011). Even if victims seek help or confide in someone, they are more likely to access support from informal sources such as "friends and family" (Mahapatra & Dinitto, 2013; Yoshihama et. al., 2011). Hence, gauging the preferences of these friends and family (e.g., SA community members) about resources for help-seeking is crucial. Thus far, only one study by Yoshihama and colleagues (2011) focused on help-seeking from the criminal justice system (CJS) and none thus far have examined the help-seeking role of "embassies" or even looked at first responders. To redress this gap, including questions about the CJS, embassies and/or first responders in the present research broadens our understanding of help-seeking resources preferred by SAs.

Theoretical Framework

Intersectionality Theory and Berry's Theory of Acculturation inform the study proposed in this dissertation research. These theories help us understand the extent to which individual identities and acculturation levels inform DV perceptions, DV victimization experiences, and help-seeking preference among SA immigrants. The theoretical frameworks used in these studies guided the different steps of this dissertation namely, selection of measures, recruitment strategies as well as study variables. All three studies have been developed on the premise of acknowledging power, status and identity differences among men and women. These differences among men and women may inform their perceptions and attitudes toward DV, DV experiences,

as well as preferences and viewpoints about help-seeking resources. Including the different "identity-related" variables as independent variables in the studies enabled an understanding of the influence of each of these factors on DV perceptions, experiences and preference of help-seeking.

Additionally, no research with immigrants would be complete without accounting for their levels of acculturation. Both structural factors, such as acceptance by the dominant group in the U.S, and individual factors, such as familiarity with the language and culture of American society, can inform perceptions and attitudes toward DV, DV experiences and help-seeking preference among SAs. Berry's theory of acculturation also informed the selection of the acculturation measure along with additional acculturation-specific questions that were included in the survey. Building, all three studies on the tenets of these two theories allowed for an explanation of the research questions posed in the subsequent sections.

Intersectionality Theory

Intersectionality theory draws heavily from Black feminism (Kapilashrami & Hankivsky, 2018). It arose in the 1960s and 1970s as a response to traditional feminism, which argued that women experienced violence only because of their gender (Crenshaw, 1989,1991; Mehrotra, 1999; Purkayastha, 2012; Symington, 2004). Drawing from the work of Crenshaw (1991), Greenwood (2008) outlines three epistemological underpinnings of intersectionality theory. First, intersectionality asserts social identities as being neither discrete nor exclusive. Second, social identities are grounded in social structures and systems, making them historically and contextually situated. Last, although identities are situated within individuals, they are affected and influenced by systems of power. Kelly (2011) combines these assumptions and explains the crux of intersectionality in the following words:

> Every social group has unique qualities; that individuals are positioned within social structures that influence power relationships; and that there are interactions between different social identities, for example, race, gender, and class that have multiplicative negative effects on health and well-being (p. E43).

A closer examination of these assumptions makes it clear that the identities of individuals cannot be viewed in a unidimensional manner (Cho et al., 2013; Cramer et al., 2017). The interaction of multiple identities can contribute to an individual's experience of violence (Lockhart & Danis, 2010). This theory allows us to examine the multilayered variations within a group, emphasizing the distinct social identities situated within every individual rather than those possessed by the entire group (Collins, 1990, 2000, 2010; Collins & Bilge, 2016).

Intersectionality theory disregards the universality of DV (Cramer et al., 2017; Crenshaw, 1991). The theory emphasizes that the racial, immigration-related, economic, and cultural identities of a woman may inform her experience of violence (Choi, 2011; Sokoloff & Pratt, 2005). No two individuals can experience violence in the same way because their intersectional identities differ (Bhuyan, 2006; Williams & Fredrick, 2015).

Relying on intersectionality theory allows scholars and researchers to acknowledge the multiple identities of women (see figure 1) that actively interact with each other and define their experience of violence (Carastathis, 2014; Collins, 1990, 2000; Crenshaw, 1997; Murugan, 2017). For instance, when working with victims of DV, practitioners and researchers designing interventions may need to examine these multilayered identities along all points of intersection that contribute to the survivors' experience (Brar & Phoenix, 2004; Lockhart & Danis, 2010).

Scholars such as Abraham (2000a), Dasgupta and Warrier (1996), and Yoshihama (1999) suggest that the universal conceptualization of DV may be inappropriate because it overlooks the

role of a given culture that may contribute to violence. SA women may not view economic abuse or a mother-in-law withholding food as DV (Dasgupta, 2000, 2007; Goel, 2005; Sabri et al., 2018), whereas women from the U.S., whose cultural dynamics are different, may perceive such restrictions as DV. A woman's understanding of DV depends on the amalgamation of numerous factors that constitute her identity.

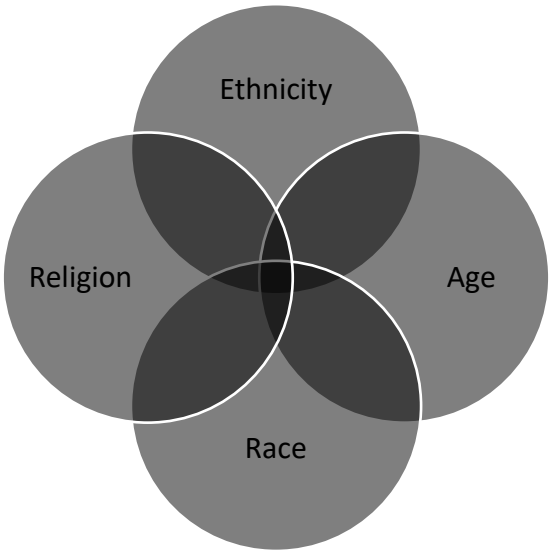


Figure 1. Intersectionality of identity-related factors.

In Sabri et. al.'s 2018 study with SA immigrant women, the consensus was that being pushed or beaten is not DV. The reason for this opinion is that in some parts of SA, "beating is acceptable if you didn't make the food right. So, when it occurs over here [in the U.S.], people think, it's ok, it's normal" (p.4). Similarly, in Yoshihama's (1999) study with Japanese women, overturning the dining table in anger or pouring liquid over a woman are forms of DV specific to Japanese culture. Such acts may not be construed as DV by SA women because they are not culturally specific to the community. Intersectionality theory allows us to move beyond the one

size fits all approach by focusing on the intersections of racial, ethnic, sexual, class, and religion-based identities (Abraham, 2000 a, b; Dasgupta, 2000).

This theory is slowly starting to gain popularity in research pertaining to the SA community and DV. SA scholars have used intersectionality theory to focus on women as victims of DV and to create services that cater to their specific needs (Bhuyan, 2006; Brar, 2013; Kharat, 2014; Lal, 2010; Murugan, 2017; Rudrappa, 2004). A review of the literature yielded one study that incorporates intersectionality theory and includes men in building an understanding of DV in the U.K. (Kaur, 2015).

Similar to the identity-factors discussed above that define the experience of violence for an individual, there may be multiple facets of an individual's identity, such as their religion, race, immigration status, gender, age and acculturation that contribute toward their perceptions of DV (see figure 1). The influence of these factors could differ for men and women. In this dissertation, the researcher has aimed to apply the tenets of intersectionality theory to both men and women belonging to the SA community to understand their perceptions of DV, DV experiences, knowledge and preference of help-seeking resources. By applying this theory to men, this research is instrumental in advancing the applicability of intersectionality theory to men.

Berry's Theory of Acculturation

Individuals and groups migrating to a new country meet and interact with the individuals and culture of the receiving country (Berry, 2015, 2017). This interaction allows for exchange and intermixing of culture, ensuing cultural change (Padilla, 1980). The process of cultural change is known as acculturation. It can be understood as, "cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between cultural groups and their individuals based on

educational or occupational background" (Berry, 2007, p72). This definition further states that acculturation differs based on gender, generational position (e.g. mother, son) and the end goal that individuals are trying to achieve.

Scholars believe acculturation brings about a change in both individuals who migrate to a new country as well as in individuals of the receiving country (Berry et al., 1997). Berry (2003, 2007, 2015, 2017) discusses several dimensions of acculturation including cultural variation across plural societies, acculturation strategies, psychological impacts of acculturation, etc. to holistically explain the process of acculturation. However, in this research, we will rely on Berry's (2003) model of acculturation, which explains acculturation as a function of different strategies employed by individuals. Several unidirectional, linear models for acculturation strategies (Castro, 2003) have been utilized in the past to explain acculturation. However, the one provided by Berry (2003) has been widely used in acculturation research because it is all-encompassing of the experience of immigrants (Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008).

Berry's (2003) model seeks to answer two critical questions: (a) To what extent does an individual seek to maintain ties to his or her own group when in a foreign country? and, b) To what extent does one wish to have recurring day-to-day interactions with members of the foreign culture? These decisions guide the process of acculturation for immigrants moving to a foreign country (Berry, 2017). The underlying assumptions of Berry's model are: (a) both the dominant and non-dominant groups must deal with acculturation, and (b) assimilation is not the end goal of acculturation for individuals in the non-dominant group (Berry, 2003, 2015, 2017). According to this model, two-dimensional acculturation can take place through the use of specific strategies, as explained below (see figure 2).

The left circle displays acculturation strategies for the non-dominant group, while the one on the right exhibits strategies for the dominant group. In the non-dominant group, when individuals do not wish to retain their own cultural identity and actively interact with others' cultures on a day-to-day basis, *assimilation* takes place. Contrastingly, when individuals make the choice of avoiding such interactions and refrain from mixing with individuals from another culture, continuing instead to hold onto their original culture, *separation* takes place (Berry, 2001, 2003, 2015, 2017).

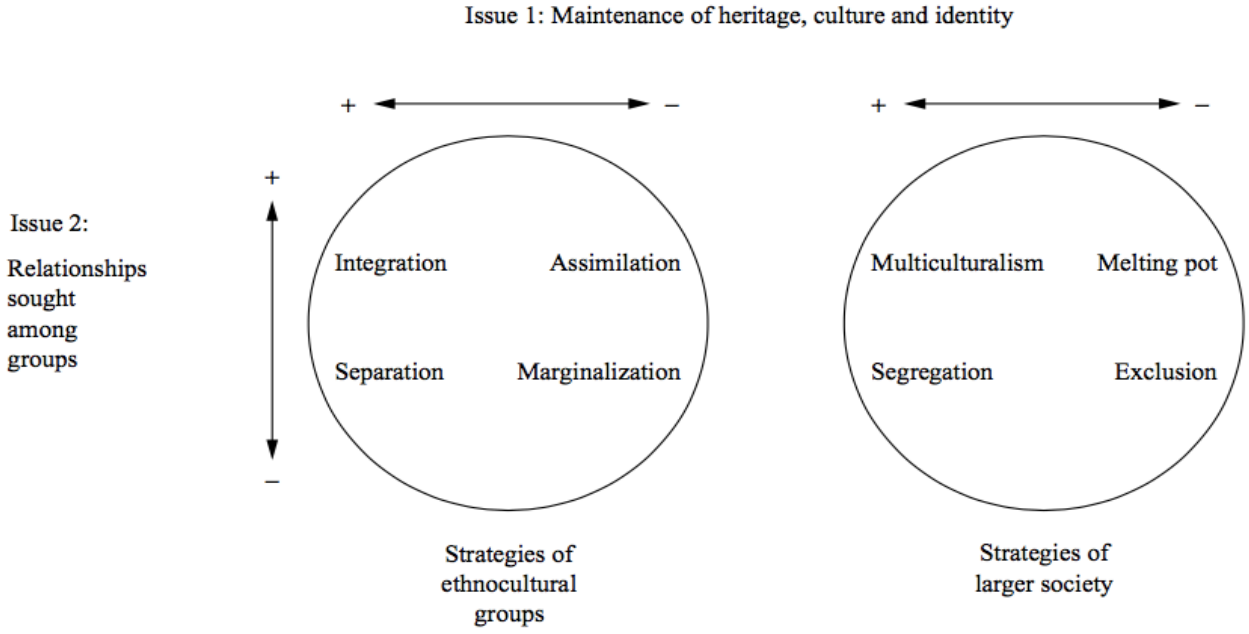


Figure 2. Acculturation strategies framework (Berry, 2003).

Next, some individuals choose to retain their original culture while continuing to engage in day-to-day interactions with other groups and cultures, thus allowing for *integration*. This option will enable individuals in the non-dominant group to maintain their cultural integrity while becoming a part of the more extensive social network of the dominant group. Last, some individuals may have a limited interest or possibility to maintain their own culture (e.g., through

enforced schooling) and/or minimal interest in interacting with others (due to discrimination and racism), leading to *marginalization* (Berry, 2001, 2003).

On the other hand, there are certain strategies adopted by the dominant group to influence the acculturation process of the non-dominant groups. It is easier for the non-dominant group to integrate into the dominant culture when the latter is welcoming and open to accepting change. Therefore, when the larger dominant group is more inclusive, it allows for *multiculturalism.* This approach allows both groups that come in contact to become acculturated, making it a bi-directional process (Berry, 2003). Further, in explaining the strategies adopted by the dominant group, Berry (2003) states that assimilation, when pursued by the dominant group, is termed as *melting pot*. Similarly, when the dominant group imposes marginalization on the non-dominant group, it is called *exclusion*. Lastly, when separation is forced on the non-dominant group by the dominant group, it is called *segregation* (Berry, 2001, 2003).

While these options exist, it is not always possible for the non-dominant group to select an acculturation strategy. It could so happen that the larger dominant group enforces certain acculturation strategies that the non-dominant group may have to accept (Berry, 2015, 2017). In their work on acculturation, Safdar et al. (2012) assert that these strategies have become difficult to understand in recent years because individuals may choose acculturation strategies that are distinct from the groups, they are part of. Or, in some cases, they could choose different strategies for different parts of their lives, such as for food, clothing, family life, or social relations.

Therefore, despite the utility of Berry's (2003) model of acculturation in explaining acculturation as a bi-directional process, it suffers from some of the limitations discussed above. Acculturation has a unique place within DV in the SA community. Research has shown that

lower-acculturated women are at a higher risk of experiencing DV (Mahapatra, 2012; Mahapatra & Rai, 2019). At times, women who are highly acculturated may also become vulnerable to DV because they may threaten the status quo (Purkayastha, 2000b; Raj & Silverman, 2007). Research about SAs indicates that less acculturated men and women have a more traditional view of gender role attitudes, and ultimately tend to endorse DV (Hunjan, 2003; Syed, 2015).

The literature review yielded two studies that relied on Berry's model of acculturation to study the process of acculturation among SAs and its relationship to DV (Krishnan & Berry, 1992; Mansur, 2011). The limited applicability of Berry's model among SAs is due to the focus of studies on understanding the risk factors of acculturation rather than the process itself. Acculturation is a crucial component in the studies part of this dissertation, because of their focus on understanding the perceptions, experiences and help-seeking preference in cases of DV, among SA immigrants in the U.S. From the diverse acculturation strategies proposed by Berry (2003), it is apparent that individuals may adopt distinct strategies. The adoption of these strategies could present differently in men and women, making this theory pivotal to the proposed research. Berry's Theory of acculturation explains acculturation as an integrative process with varied strategies for different areas of acculturation. Using this premise, an acculturation measure with diverse questions relating to behavioral, cultural and physical aspects of acculturation were included. In addition, new questions about neighborhood type and the ethnicity of spouse were added to the survey. By applying this theory, the dissertation studies examined the influence of acculturation on DV and help-seeking preference in the SA community.

Conceptual Framework

Based on the theoretical frameworks and purpose of the study, the researcher proposes the following conceptual framework.

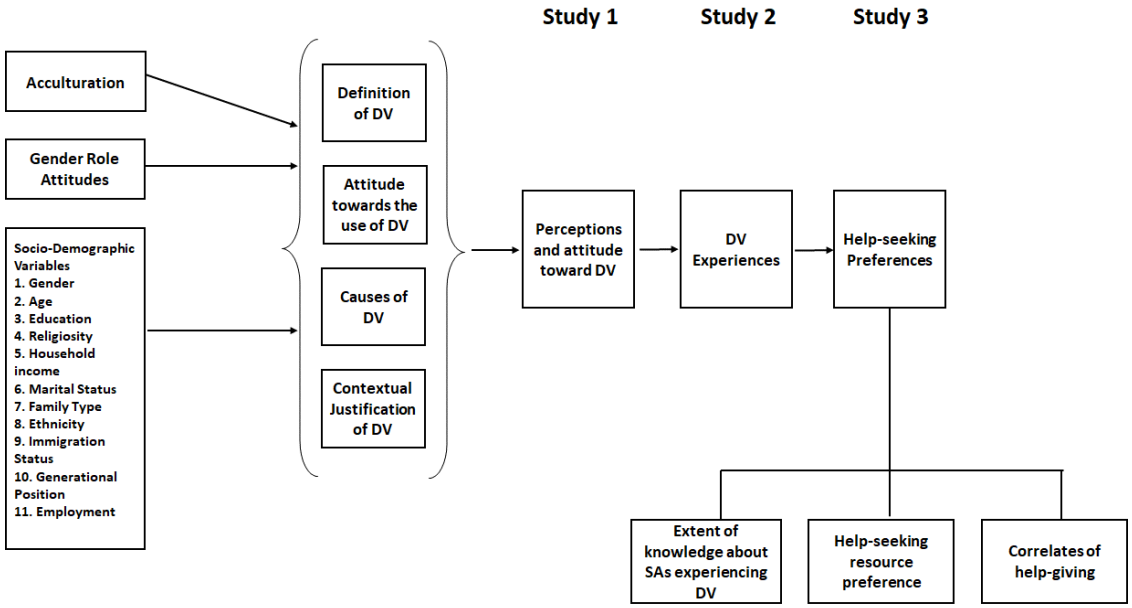


Figure 3. Conceptual framework.

Data Collection Plan

Research Design

Data collection for this dissertation employed a cross-sectional online survey design. This type of design entails an observational study in which both exposure and outcome can be simultaneously determined for each participant by using a single time-point (Engel & Schutt, 2013). A cross-sectional design also allows for concurrent analysis of several variables so as to provide accurate responses to sensitive questions that capture immigrant experiences (Rubin & Babbie, 2010).

Participants in this study completed an online Qualtrics survey to provide their responses to survey questions. Web surveys have become important in recent years because they serve as an inexpensive mode of data collection (Aday & Cornelius, 2006; Dillman, 2007; Tourangeau, et al., 2000). The visual design principles as outlined by Dillman et al. (2014) guided the layout of the survey. The survey was translated into Hindi, which is a common SA language (Agrawal, 2010; Mahapatra, 2008). Back translation methods relied upon by scholars in the past were used to translate the English survey to Hindi (Choi, 2011; Mahapatra, 2008). An English and Hindi speaking bilingual individual first translated the survey into Hindi. After this, the researcher, who is also bilingual in English and Hindi, read the translation and translated it back to English. The two translators compared the back translation to the original English survey to see whether there were any questionable areas. They then reworded any questions that were not translated correctly into Hindi.

According to the meta-analysis conducted by Shih and Fan (2008), the response rate for surveys is usually around 34%. However, based on the estimates suggested by Pederson and Nielsen (2016), the response rate for internet surveys can be anywhere between 15-20%. To encourage participation, participants were incentivized with a $5 gift card for survey completion. Incentives are considered a "good practice" in survey research (Church, 1993; Dillman, et al., 2014).

Sampling Procedures

The sampling frame included English or Hindi speaking SA men and women 18 years of age or older and currently residing in the U.S. Target sample size is usually contingent upon the availability and the willingness of the target population to take part in the study (Choi, 2011). Due to the sensitive nature of this research, it was difficult to estimate the number of participants

who would actually take part in the study. However, a power analysis using G-power 3.1 (Faul, et al., 2009) was conducted prior to beginning the studies. There are 13 independent variables in the overall study. While all the independent variables may not be used in each of the three studies, a minimum sample size using all 13 variables was calculated. Alpha level was set to 0.05, effect size (f^2) was set at 0.15 (medium), and power was set at 0.80 (Cohen, 1988; Rubin, 2013). The estimated sample size based on these parameters was 189.

Non-probability sampling methods were used to reach the estimated sample size. Non-probability sampling technique differs from random sampling in the sense that it does not offer an equal chance of representation for all participants. However, this type of sampling has often been used with SAs in studies conducted in the past (Dhinsda, 2010; Nagaraj, 2016). I used two recruitment strategies, which allowed a representation of a diverse group of participants in the study. The intentional recruitment of diverse participants allowed the integration of intersectionality theory to examine participant differences in the proposed studies.

First, the survey was administered to individuals by utilizing the researcher's personal network within the SA community and through the recruitment strategies included below:

(a) Posting/announcing information about the survey through radio channels (Radio Azad, etc.) and online Facebook groups (Dallas Desis, Indians in Atlanta, etc.).

(b) Using personal contacts and directly contacting participants across the U.S. to encourage study participation.

(c) Engaging with culturally specific places of worship and grocery stores.

(d) Engaging with SA CBO's to circulate information about the study within their networks.

Participants were asked to further share information about the survey within their own personal networks.

Second, participants were also recruited through Qualtrics research panels. Participants in the Qualtrics research panels are from across the U.S. and can either be identified or can voluntarily opt-in to enroll in the panels. Individuals who choose to enroll in Qualtrics panels directly can sign-up on the Qualtrics website (Saasa, 2018). However, Qualtrics heavily relies on social media to recruit participants. Based on the socio-demographic information provided by the participants, they are segregated into separate panels (C. Gideon, personal communication, October 10, 2018). These panels allow for the recruitment of study participants based on fixed numbers. Because the goal of the study was to recruit participants from diverse SA ethnic groups, Qualtrics research panels were used to ensure sample diversity. Each SA ethnic group was recruited to the approximate extent of their representation in the actual 5.4 million SA population in the U.S.

To recruit participants for the studies, Qualtrics first sent the survey to non-Indian SAs in the panels during the first two weeks, and then subsequently to Indians on their SA panel. The reason for disseminating the survey in two parts was to ensure that the researcher was able to gather responses from SAs who are not of Indian origin, since the researcher, as an Indian herself, was able to reach the Indian population. To avoid the duplication of participants, the opening line of the survey asked participants if they had already completed the survey. If the participant response was in the affirmative, they exited the survey using a skip logic question. Along with asking participants directly, the researcher also used birthdate and IP addresses of participants to screen for duplicate responses.

Data Collection Procedures

Data for the studies was collected through online surveys disseminated independently by the researcher and via Qualtrics research panels. The survey remained open for a total of four weeks to allow sufficient time for data collection. Participants were provided an informed consent letter that could be accessed before entering the survey. They were given the option of printing or saving a copy of the informed consent form if they chose to do so. Participants were allowed to enter the survey only after reading through the informed consent page.

For the participants being recruited both by the researcher and via Qualtrics, follow-up contacts were made every other week through text or email until the survey remained open. Survey methodologists such as Aday and Cornelius (2006) suggest that 2-3 follow-ups are considered good practice in survey research. The study participants recruited by the researcher through snowball sampling had the option of receiving a $5 amazon gift card for completing the survey. The participants were able to access a link at the end of the survey if they wished to enter their email to receive the gift card (see appendix C). Participants recruited through the Qualtrics research panels were provided incentives such as retail outlet points, cash, gift-cards or sky-miles on a point-based system directly by Qualtrics.

Ethical Considerations

Institutional Policies

The researcher obtained prior approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) by the Office of Research at the University of Georgia before beginning the research project (University of Georgia, n.d.). The IRB is guided by ethical principles pertaining to human subject research, as discussed in the Belmont Report, the Declaration of Helsinki and the Nuremberg Code (University of Georgia, n.d.).

Cultural Responsivity

The design of a research study must be aligned with the population being studied to be culturally sensitive (Agha & Rai, in press; Diller, 2007). A culturally sensitive research instrument allows the data that is collected to be reliable and valid (Rubin & Babbie, 2010). A culturally insensitive instrument can offend participants or dissuade them from answering questions (Rubin & Babbie, 2010). For these reasons and guided by intersectionality theory, this research study used the PADV-R questionnaire. This instrument is culturally responsive because it captures the different manifestations of DV by including questions about financial abuse, emotional abuse, and isolation that are common power and control tactics within SA communities.

Confidential Nature of the Study

The researcher ensured that the participant responses were anonymous and confidential. The IP addresses were deleted from the online web link once data were cross-checked for duplicates. Participants interested in claiming the gift card were given the option to enter their contact information and share it with the researcher through a separate link. All the data and report files that were associated with this study were saved in a password protected computer or online drive that was accessible only by the researcher and her dissertation committee.

Voluntary Nature of the Study

In congruence with the IRB principles for conducting ethical research with human subjects, the researcher explained the purpose and potential risks associated with the study to participants through the consent form. This study was not designed to pose any physical, psychological, mental, emotional, or financial risk to participants. Answering some questions about DV or gender-role attitudes may make participants uncomfortable; however, the risks were

thought to be minimal and similar to those present in everyday living. Additionally, a list of resources of SA community-based organizations, helplines, important numbers and websites were made available to participants at the end of the survey (see Appendix D). The researcher's contact information was also be provided in the consent form, should the participants have any questions about the study or accessing resources.

In addition to English, the survey was available in Hindi (a common SA language). This allowed the participants to access the survey and associated instructions in a SA language if they chose to do so, ultimately enhancing their ability to provide their free and informed consent (Fontes, 2004). Before taking the online survey, there was a clear section explaining the purpose and the voluntary nature of participation. Participants were informed of their rights as participants in the research study, and that they had the option of exiting the survey at any point, if they decided to do so (Campbell & Dienemann, 2001; Choi, 2011). Providing this information to participants allowed them to make an informed decision about their voluntary participation in the study.

Pilot Study

Prior to conducting the actual study, a pilot study with n=14 individuals was conducted in December 2018. The online survey link was shared with participants. Survey methodologists Aday and Cornelius (2006) and Dillman et al. (2014) emphasize the importance of pilot testing a survey. Pilot testing allows researchers the opportunity to test their instrument, questions and pinpoint any apparent issues with the questions. Hence, following these recommendations, a pilot study was conducted. The pilot study helped detect any underlying issues with the questions as well as gauge the clarity and face validity of the survey questions. To reserve SA immigrants in the U.S. for the actual study, the pilot study was conducted with SAs from other foreign

countries such as the United Kingdom (U.K.), Australia, Canada and Poland. The participants for the pilot study were recruited using the personal network of the researcher as well as through snowball sampling (Trochim & Donnelly, 2008).

Out of the 14 participants that took the survey, 9 identified as female and 5 identified as male. In terms of participant country, 5 were from Canada, 2 from Australia, 5 from the U.K. and 2 from Poland. 12 of the 14 participants were Indians, 1 was Pakistani and 1 Maldivian. The religious composition of the participants indicated that 8 practiced Hinduism, 1 practiced Sikhism, 1 Islam and 4 preferred not to answer the question.

Participants were given the option to provide their feedback about the survey by answering three additional questions. Overall, the participants stated that they found most questions clear and that they were able to complete the survey in under 15 minutes (the original completion time indicated to them). The main feedback indicated that the survey would benefit from more neutral language, and eliminating language that insinuated blame on men. Following this suggestion, key sentences used to explain sections were modified. For example, the sentence "_____ causes a man to use violence on his wife" was changed to "_____causes an individual to use violence on their spouse/partner." Similar changes were made throughout the survey to ensure that neutral language was employed and blame was not attributed to a specific gender. In addition to changing the language, some typos that were pointed out by study participants were corrected. Page breaks were added to make the survey more visually appealing. Last, the scoring of the modified version of the Attitudes Toward Women Scale was adjusted to match the scoring used in the other questions of the survey (i.e., 1=strongly agree, 2=agree, 3=agree somewhat, 4=disagree somewhat, 5=disagree, 6=strongly disagree). The pilot study was

helpful in establishing the face validity and clarity of questions. It was also useful in gauging the comfort level of participants with the length of the survey.

Instrumentation

Dependent variable. Perceptions of and attitudes toward DV was the primary dependent variable in the research. The dependent variable was measured using the modified version of the Perceptions of and Attitudes toward Domestic Violence Questionnaire-Revised (PADV-R) questionnaire (see Appendix A) created especially for Asian Americans by Yick (1997). The original instrument was tested with Chinese Americans (Yick, 1997) and then with Korean Americans (Ahn, 2002) residing in the U.S. It was developed in four extensive stages to understand the multidimensional concept of DV within the Asian community. Yick (1997) tested the content as well as the construct and face validity of the questions extensively during her pilot study with UCLA students before finalizing the instrument. The finalized questionnaire included the following subscales: (1) definitions of DV, (2) attitudes toward the use of interpersonal violence, (3) views about causes of DV, (4) beliefs about the justifications warranting the use of DV, (5) myths revolving around DV, and (6) the criminalization of DV. For the present research, subscales (1) to (4) were used (see appendix A).

The definitions of domestic violence scale-revised. This scale consists of three sub-scales: The Physical Aggression Subscale-Revised (consisting of three close-ended questions), the Sexual Abuse Subscale-Revised (consisting of one close-ended item), and the Psychological Aggression Subscale-Revised (consisting of six close-ended questions). All 10 items included in this scale utilize a six-point Likert-type scale, where 1 indicates “strongly agree” while 6 indicates “strongly disagree.” The overall Cronbach’s alpha for this scale in Yick’s (1997) study with 262 Chinese Americans was 0.82. Another study conducted by Ahn (2002) utilized this

scale with 223 Korean Americans and reported a Cronbach's alpha of 0.96. Seven new items were added in the present study by the researcher to represent specific ways in which DV can manifest within SA households. The Cronbach's alpha of this scale in the present study was 0.96.

The attitudes toward the use of interpersonal violence-revised scale. This scale consists of three sub-scales: The Sanctioning Hitting Subscale-Revised (consisting of two close-ended items), the Physical Force as Problem-Solving Subscale-Revised (consisting of two close-ended items), and the Physical Punishment with Children Subscale-Revised (consisting of three close-ended items). All 7 items included in this scale utilize a six-point Likert-type scale as indicated above. The overall Cronbach's alpha for this scale in Yick's (1997) study was 0.73 and 0.87 in Ahn's (2002) study. The Cronbach's alpha of this scale in the present study was 0.91.

The causes of domestic violence-revised scale. This scale consists of three sub-scales: The Structural/Cultural Causes Subscale-Revised (consisting of five close-ended items), the Environmental Causes Subscale-Revised (consisting of seven close-ended items), and the Individual-Related Causes Subscale-Revised (consisting of five close-ended items). All 17 items included in this scale utilize a six-point Likert-type scale as indicated above. The overall Cronbach's alpha for this scale in Yick's (1997) study was 0.91 and 0.90 in the study conducted by Ahn (2002). The Cronbach's alpha of this scale in the present study was 0.95.

The contextual justification scale-revised. This scale did not include any sub-scales and is used to measure the attitudes of participants about circumstances that warrant the use of violence in a marriage. All 11 items included in this scale utilize a six-point Likert-type scale as indicated above. The overall Cronbach's alpha for this scale in Yick's (1997) study was 0.80 and 0.97 in the study conducted by Ahn (2002). The Cronbach's alpha of this scale in the present study was 0.94.

Independent variables. Acculturation, gender-role attitudes, and socio-demographic variables were the independent variables in the study. The section below will discuss the instruments used to measure these variables.

Acculturation. Acculturation was measured using the short version of the Marin and Marin acculturation scale (Marin et al., 1987) (see appendix A). This scale consists of 12 open-ended questions aimed at measuring the level of acculturation. The questions are measured on a five-point Likert-type scale, with scores ranging from 1 to 5, where 1 indicates the lowest degree of acculturation and 5 indicates the highest degree of acculturation. Although this scale was initially developed by Marin et. al. (1987) to be used with the Hispanic population, Gupta and Yick (2001) tested the scale with Chinese Americans and found a Cronbach's alpha of 0.92. Yoshioka et al. (2003) used the scale with SAs and found a Cronbach's alpha of 0.78. This scale was also tested among SAs by Mahapatra (2008), who found a Cronbach's alpha of 0.91. The Cronbach's alpha of this scale in the present study was 0.89.

Gender-role attitudes. Gender-role attitudes will be measured using the modified version of the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (ATW-S) created by Yoshihama and colleagues (2014) (see appendix A). They created 15 items that comprise the modified version of the ATW-S by comparing the 15-item ATW-S developed by Spence and Helmreich (1978) and the 22-item ATW-S developed by Nelson (1988). For items that were both in the 15 and 22-item versions, they used the wording of the 22-item version because it was simpler. Second, they eliminated items that did not work well in their pilot study. The scoring for this scale was reversed in the present study to streamline the scoring for the entire survey. All questions are measured on a six-point Likert-type scale with scores ranging from 1 to 6. Lower scores indicated liberal gender-role attitudes and higher scores indicated conservative gender-role attitudes. In Yoshihama et

al.'s (2014) study, the overall Cronbach's alpha for the modified version of the scale was 0.74 for women and 0.75 for men. A different version of this scale was also tested in another study conducted with SAs by Bhanot and Senn (2007), in which they reported a Cronbach's alpha of 0.88. The Cronbach's alpha of this scale in the present study was 0.88.

Socio-demographic variables. Socio-demographic variables such as gender, age, religiosity, ethnicity, employment, household income, education level, immigration status, family type, generational position and marital status will be used in this study.

Data Analysis Plan

Each of the three studies utilized different analysis techniques. For study 1, descriptive statistics were used to examine the perceptions of DV. For the multivariate analysis, hierarchical multiple regression was used to examine the correlates of domestic violence perceptions. For study 2, hierarchical logistic regression was used to examine the correlates of domestic violence victimization experiences. For study 3, descriptive statistics were reported to examine participants' preferences about help-seeking resources. Hierarchical logistic regression was conducted to examine the relationship between the independent variables and recommending help-seeking resources. SPSS version 24 and Stata version 15 were used to test assumptions, analyze for missing data and examine relationships at the univariate and bivariate level in all the studies (Berkman & Reise, 2012; IBM Corp, 2017). In all studies, socio-demographic variables were entered in step 1 and acculturation and gender-role attitudes were entered in step 2. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 will subsequently discuss the data analysis plan for each of these studies expansively.

Proposed Dissertation Structure

Chapter 2: Examining Domestic Violence Perceptions and its Correlates among South Asian Immigrants in the United States.

Chapter 2 examines the perceptions of and attitudes toward domestic violence among SA immigrants in the United States. The purpose of this study is threefold. First, to understand the overall perceptions of and attitudes toward DV of SA immigrants in the U.S. Second, to examine the correlates of the perceptions of and attitudes toward DV, among SA immigrants in the U.S. Third, to make group-wise comparisons across the correlates and perceptions of and attitudes toward DV among SAs. This study will address three research questions:

1. What are the overall perceptions of and attitudes toward DV among SA immigrants residing in the U.S.?
    - H1: SAs will define DV as multiple forms of abuse, including physical, sexual psychological and others.
    - H2: SAs will not sanction the use of force between spouses but may do so for children as a problem-solving mechanism.
    - H3: SAs will attribute individual and environmental factors as the cause of DV rather than structural/cultural factors.
    - H4: SAs will disagree about the use of violence between married couples even in extreme situations.
2. Are there differences in the perceptions of and attitudes toward DV among SAs by socio-demographic variables (gender, age, religiosity, ethnicity, household income, education level, generational position, immigration status, family type, marital status), gender-role attitudes and acculturation levels?

- H1: There will be differences across these factors with regards to the perceptions of and attitudes toward DV among SAs.

3. What are the correlates of the perceptions of and attitudes toward DV among the SA immigrants in the U.S.?
    - H1: Gender, age, education, religiosity, ethnicity, household income, immigration status, generational position, marital status, family type, gender-role attitudes, and acculturation will be significantly associated with the perceptions of and attitudes toward DV within the SA immigrant community in the U.S.

Chapter 3: Domestic Violence Victimization among South Asian Immigrants in the United States.

Chapter 3 examines DV victimization experiences and establishes prevalence rates among SA immigrants in the U.S. The purpose of this study is to: 1) examine the prevalence rates of DV victimization among SA immigrants in the U.S.; and 2) explore the correlates of DV victimization experiences among SA immigrants in the U.S. This study addresses two research questions:

1. What are the prevalence rates of DV victimization experiences among SA immigrants (men and women) in the U.S.?
2. What are the correlates of DV victimization experiences among SA immigrants residing in the U.S.?
    - H1: Gender, age, education, religiosity, household income, generational position, family type, employment, ethnicity, gender-role attitudes and acculturation will be significantly associated with the DV victimization experiences among SA immigrants in the U.S.

Chapter 4: Indirect Experiences with Domestic Violence and Help-seeking Preferences among South Asian Immigrants in the United States.

Chapter 4 explores indirect experiences with DV and gauges the preference for help-seeking resources among SA immigrants in the U.S. The purpose of this study is as follows. First, to examine indirect experiences with DV, by capturing the knowledge among SAs about other SAs (friends or family members) experiencing DV. Second, to estimate the preference of SAs about help-seeking resources in cases of DV. Third, to make group-wise comparisons among SAs' preference for help-seeking resources. Last, to examine the correlates of recommending a help-seeking resource. This study explores five discussion questions.

1. What is the extent of knowledge among SAs about other SAs (friends or family) experiencing DV?
2. What is the extent of knowledge among SAs about available resources for DV?
3. What is the preference of SAs among available resources in cases of DV?
4. What are the differences in preference of SAs about DV help-seeking resources by socio-demographic variables (gender, age, marital status, religiosity, generational position, family type, household income) and gender-role attitudes and acculturation?
5. What are the correlates of recommending a help-seeking resource?
    - H1: Gender, age, education, marital status, religiosity, generational position, family type, household income, gender-role attitudes and acculturation will be correlates of recommending a help-seeking resource.

Conclusion

The main objective of this dissertation is to examine the perceptions of and attitudes toward DV among SA immigrants in the U.S. Past evidence indicates limited knowledge among

SAs on this topic. Specifically, this study aims to examine the perceptions toward DV among both SA men and women in the U.S. Next, not only do these studies establish direct DV victimization prevalence rates, but they also establish indirect experiences with DV, by asking SAs about others (friends and family members) experiencing DV. Third, the dissertation focuses on help seeking from formal resources, which has been understudied and underutilized by individuals experiencing DV within the SA community. Last, the study investigates the correlates of recommending help-seeking resource to victims, which is a first with this population. The studies make a contribution in theory building by applying intersectionality theory to men. Results from this dissertation will be helpful in contributing new knowledge to an understudied area. The findings can be used to construct awareness and bystander interventions for DV within the SA immigrant community.

References

Abraham, M. (2000a). *Speaking the Unspeakable: Marital Violence Among South Asian Immigrants in the United States.* New Brunswick, N. J. & London: Rutgers University Press.

Abraham, M. (2000b). Isolation as a form of marital violence: The South Asian immigrant experience. *Journal of Social Distress and the Homeless, 9*(3), 221-236.

Abraham, M. (2005). Domestic violence and the Indian diaspora in the United States. *Indian Journal of Gender Studies, 12*(2-3), 427-451.

Abraham, M. (2006). Model minority and marital violence: South Asian immigrants in the United States. *Cultural Psychology of Immigrants*, 197-216.

Adam, N.M. (2000). *Domestic violence against women within immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities in the U.S.* Dissertation Abstracts International, *61*(11), 4547A (Doctoral Dissertation; University of Illinois, Chicago).

Adam, N. M., & Schewe, P. A. (2007). A multilevel framework exploring domestic violence against immigrant Indian and Pakistani women in the United States. *Journal of Muslim Mental Health, 2(i)*, 5-20.

Aday, L.A., & Cornelius, L.J. (2006). *Designing and conducting health surveys: A comprehensive* guide (3rd edition). San Francisco: Jossey Bass, c.2006.

Agha, E., & Rai, A. (2020). Notes from the field: Culturally adapted research methods for South Asian participants. *Professional Development Journal, 23*(1) *(in press).*

Agrawal, A. (2010). *Life after wife abuse: South Asian women in the Greater Toronto area* Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses (Order No. MR68692) (Doctoral Dissertation; Carleton University, Ontario).

Ahmad, F., Smylie, J., Omand, M., Cyriac, A. & Campo, P.O. (2017). South Asian men and women and conceptions of partner violence. *Journal of Minority Health, 19,* 57-66.

Ahmed, B., Reavey, P., & Majumdar, A. (2009). Constructions of 'culture' in accounts of South Asian women survivors of sexual violence. *Feminism & Psychology, 19*(1), 7-28.

Ahmed-Ghosh, H. (2004). Chattels of society: Domestic violence in India. *Violence Against Women, 10*, 94-118.

Ahn, B. (2002). *The perceptions of and attitudes toward partner abuse among first-generation Korean-Americans: Their relationships to the incidence of partner abuse*. LSU Doctoral Dissertations. 2167 (Doctoral Dissertation, Louisiana State University).

Aujla, W. (2013). *Voicing challenges: South Asian immigrant women speak out about their experiences of domestic violence and access to services* Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses (Order No. MR93471) (Master's Thesis, Alberta University).

Ayyub, R. (2000). Domestic violence in the South Asian Muslim immigrant population in the United States. *Journal of Social Distress and the Homeless, 9*(3), 237-248.

Berkman, E.T. & Reise, S.P. (2012). *A conceptual guide to statistics using SPSS*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Berry, J.W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review, 46*, 5-68.

Berry, J.W. (2001). A psychology of immigration. *Journal of Social Issues, 57*(3), 615-631.

Berry, J.W. (2003). Conceptual approaches to acculturation. In Chun, K., Balls-Organista. P. & Marin, G. (Eds.), *Acculturation: Theory, method and applications* (pp 17-37). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Berry, J.W. (2007). Acculturation strategies and adaptation. In Lansford, J.E., Deater-Deckard, K. & Bornstein (Eds.), *Acculturation Strategies and Adaptation* (pp 69-81). New, York, New York: The Guilford Press.

Berry, J.W. (2015). *Intercultural adaptation to acculturation.* Paper presented at the Annual Conference, Canadian Psychological Association, Ottawa.

Berry, J.W. (Eds.) (2017). *Mutual intercultural relations.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brar, A. (2013). *The "unique" experiences of domestic violence of immigrant Sikh women through films.* Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses (Order No. MR95265).

Brar, A. & Phoenix, A (2004). Ain't I a woman? Revisiting intersectionality. *Journal of International Women's Studies, 5(3),* 75-86.

Bhanot, S., & Senn, C. (2007). Attitudes towards violence against women in men of South Asian ancestry: Are acculturation and gender role attitudes important factors? *Journal of Family Violence, 22*(1), 25-31.

Bhuyan, R. (2006). *Disciplining through the promise of "freedom": The production of the battered immigrant woman in public policy and domestic violence advocacy.* Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global (Order No. 3230731) (Doctoral Dissertation, Washington University).

Breiding, M.J., Basile, K.C., Smith, S.G., Black, M.C., Mahendra, R. (2015). Intimate partner violence surveillance uniform definitions and recommended data elements. *Atlanta, GA: CDC. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.*

Campbell, J. C., & Dienemann, J. D. (2001). Ethical issues in research on violence against women. *Sourcebook on violence against women,* 57-72.

Castro,V.S. (2003). *Acculturation and psychological adaptation*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press.

Carastathis, A. (2014). The concept of intersectionality in feminist theory. *Philosophy Compass, 9/5*, 304-314.

Cho, S., Crenshaw, K.W. & McCall, L. (2013). Toward a field of intersectionality studies: Theory, applications, and praxis. *Signs: Journal of Women in culture and Society, 38* (4), 785-810.

Cohen, J. (1988). *Statistical power analysis for the behavioral sciences* (2nd ed.). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Collins, P.H. (2010). The new politics of community. *American Sociological Review, 75*, 7-30.

Collins, P.H. (2000). It's all in the family: Intersections of gender, race, and nation. In U. Narayan & S. Harding (Eds.), *Decentering the Center: Philosophy for a multicultural, postcolonial, and feminist world (pp.* 156-176). Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Collins, P.H. (1990). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. Boston: UnwinHyman.

Collins, P.H. & Bilge, S. (2016). *Intersectionality*. Cambridge, UK; Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2016.

Cramer E.P., Choi Y.J., Ross A.I. (2017) Race, Culture, and Abuse of Persons with Disabilities. In: Johnson A., Nelson J., Lund E. (Eds). *Religion, Disability, and Interpersonal Violence,* Cham, Switzerland: Springer.

Choi, Y. (2011). *Determinants of clergy behaviors promoting safety of battered Korean immigrant women*. Dissertation Abstracts International, *A, 72*, 2155 (Doctoral Dissertation; Virginia Commonwealth University).

Church, A. H. (1993). Estimating the effect of incentives on mail survey response rates: A meta-analysis. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 57*(1), 62.

Crenshaw (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory, and antiracist policies. *University of Chicago Legal Forum, 140,* 139-167.

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford law review*, 1241-1299.

Dasgupta, S.D., & Warrier, S. (1996). In the footsteps of "Arundhati": Asian Indian women's experience of domestic violence in the U.S. *Violence Against Women, 2*, 238-259.

Dasgupta, S. D. (2000). Charting the course: An overview of domestic violence in the south Asian community in the united states. *Journal of Social Distress and the Homeless, 9,* 173- 185.

Dasgupta, S. D. (2007). *Body evidence: Intimate violence against south Asian women in America.* New York: NY: Rutgers University Press.

Dhinsda, M. K. (2010). *The role of cultural values and motives in dating violence among South Asian and white males.* Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global (Order No. 3444007) (Doctoral Dissertation, University of California).

Diller, J.V. (2007). *Cultural diversity: A primer for human subjects* (3rd ed.). Brooks/Cole: Belmont, CA.

Dillman, D.A., Smyth, J.D., & Christian, L.M. (2014). *Internet, mail, and mixed-mode surveys: The tailored design method*. New York: John Wiley, 2014.

Dillman, D. A. (2007). *Mail and internet surveys: the tailored design method*. Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley.

Engel, R.J., & Schutt, R.K. (2013). *The practice of research in social work.* (3rd Edition). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Faul, F., Erdfelder, E., Buchner, A., & Lang, A.G. (2009). Statistical power analyses using G*Power 3.1: Tests for correlation and regression analyses. *Behavior Research Methods, 41*, 1149-1160.

Fontes, L. A. (2004). Ethics in violence against women research: The sensitive, the dangerous, and the overlooked. *Ethics & Behavior, 14*(2), 141-174.

Gill, A. (2004). Voicing the silent fear: South Asian women's experiences of domestic violence. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice, 43*(5), 465-483.

Greenwood, R. M. (2008). Intersectional political consciousness: Appreciation for intragroup differences and solidarity in diverse groups. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 32,* 36–47.

Grewal, M. (2004). *Communicative planning for the marginalized: The case of abused Asian Indian immigrant women*. Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses (Order No. 3138161) (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Michigan).

Goel R. (2005). Sita's Trousseau: restorative justice, domestic violence, and South Asian culture. *Violence Against Women, 11,* 639-665.

Gupta, R., & Yick, A.G. (2001). Preliminary validation of the acculturation scale on Chinese Americans. *Journal of Social Work Research and Evaluation, 2*(1), 43–56.

Hunjan, S. (2003). *South Asian women in Canada: Experiences of intimate partner Violence.* Available from ProQuest Dissertations (Order No. NQ84603) (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Windsor).

Hurwitz, E. J., Gupta, J., Liu, R., Silverman, J. G., & Raj, A. (2006). Intimate partner violence associated with poor health outcomes in U.S. South Asian women. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health, 8*(3), 251-261.

IBM Corp. (2017). IBM SPSS Statistics for Windows, Version 25.0. Armonk, NY: IBM Corp.

Kaur, H. (2015). *Attitudes of South Asian men in the UK toward women and their understanding of, and justification for, domestic violence.* (Doctoral dissertation, London Metropolitan University).

Kharat, P. (2014). *Power, helplessness and compromising: Influences of resettlement on incidence of intimate partner violence*. Available from ProQuest (Order No. 3648642) (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Calgary).

Kapilashrami, A. & Hankivsky, O. (2018). Intersectionality and why it matters to global health. *The Lancet, 391*(10140), 2589-2591.

Kelly, U. A. (2011). Theories of intimate partner violence: From blaming the victim to acting against injustice: Intersectionality as an analytic framework. *ANS. Advances in Nursing Science, 34*(3), E29-51.

Krishnan, A. & Berry, J.W. (1992). Acculturative stress and acculturation attitudes among Indian immigrants to the United States. *Psychology and Developing Societies, 4*(2), 187-212.

Kumar, A. (2012). *Family matters: counseling South Asian immigrant domestic violence survivors in a moral border zone.* Available from Dissertation Abstracts International (Order No. 3514215) (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Southern California).

Lal, A. (2010). *A descriptive study, and exploration, of the services provided by seven South Asian domestic violence organizations in the United States*. (Masters' Thesis, University of Texas).

Liao, M. (2006). Domestic violence among Asian Indian immigrant women: Risk factors, acculturation, and intervention. *Women and Therapy, 29*(2), 23-39.

Lockhart, LL. & Danis, F.S. (2010). Domestic violence: intersectionality and culturally competent practice. New York: Columbia University Press: NY, New York.

Purkayastha, B. (2012). Patricia Hill Collins Symposium: Intersectionality in a transnational world. *Gender & Society, 26*(1), 55-66.

Purkayastha, B. (2000b). Liminal Lives: South Asian Youth and Domestic Violence. *Journal of Social Distress and the Homeless, (3),* 201.

Maharaj, A. (2006). *South Asian women and abuse: Advocate perspectives on domestic violence within South Asian communities.* Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses (Order No. 1434663) (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Massachusetts).

Mahapatra, N. (2008). *South Asian women and domestic violence: Incidence and informal and formal help -seeking.* Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses (Order No. 3341953) (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Texas-Austin).

Mahapatra, N. (2012). South Asian women in the U.S. and their experience of domestic violence. *Journal of Family Violence. 27*, 381-390.

Mahapatra, N. (2007). Formal help-seeking behaviors of South Asian women experiencing domestic violence. Unpublished manuscript.

Mahapatra, N. & Rai, A. (2019). Every cloud has a silver lining but… "pathways to seeking formal-help and South-Asian immigrant women survivors of intimate partner violence." Health Care for *Women International*, *40*(11), 1170-1196.

Mahapatra, N., & Dinitto, D. M. (2013). Help-seeking behaviors of South Asian women experiencing domestic violence in the United States. *Partner Abuse, 4*(3), 295-313.

Mansur, R. (2011). *Acculturation and its relationship to somatic tendencies among Bangladeshi and Asian Indian immigrants.* (Order No. 3464969) (Doctoral Dissertation, Alliant International University).

Marin, G., Sabogal, F., Marin, B. V., Otero-Sabogal, R., & Perez, E. J. (1987). Development of a short acculturation scale for Hispanics. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences,* 9, 183-205.

Merchant, M. (2000). A comparative study of agencies assisting domestic violence victims: Does the South Asian community have special needs? *Journal of Social Distress and the Homeless, 9*(3), 249-259.

Mehrotra, M. (1999). The social construction of wife abuse: Experiences of Asian Indian women in the United States. *Violence Against Women, 5*(6), 619-640

Munisamy, G. (2000). *Impact of intimate partner violence on health in Asian Indian immigrant women.* Dissertation Abstracts International (UMI Number 3370873) (Doctoral Dissertation, Illinois Institute of Technology).

Murugan, V. (2017). *Intimate partner violence among South Asian women in the United States: Prevalence and help-seeking behaviors.* Dissertation Abstracts International (Order No. 10606554) (Doctoral Dissertation, Washington University).

Nagaraj, N.C. (2016). *Violence and health among South Asian women in the US: a life course Perspective.* Dissertation Abstracts International (Order No. 10085746) (Doctoral Dissertation, The George Washington University).

Nelson, M. (1988). Reliability, validity, and cross-cultural comparisons for the Simplified Attitudes Towards Women Scale. *Sex Roles, 18*(5/6), 289–296.

Pederson, M.J., & Nielsen, C.V. (2016). Improving survey response rates in online panels: Effects of low-cost incentives and cost-free text appeal interventions. *Social Science Computer Review, 34* (2), 229-243.

Ragavan, M., Syed-Swift, Y., Elwy, A.R., & Bair-Merritt, M. (2018). The influence of culture on healthy relationship formation and teen dating violence: A qualitative analysis of South Asian female youth residing in the United States. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 00*(0), 1-27.

Rai, A., & Choi, Y. J. (2018). Socio-cultural risk factors impacting domestic violence among South Asian immigrant women: A scoping review. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 38*, 76-85.

Raj, A., & Silverman, J. (2002). Intimate partner violence amongst South Asian women in Greater Boston. *Journal of the American Medical Women's Association, 57*(2), 111-114.

Raj, A. & Silverman, J.G. (2003). Immigrant South Asian women at greater risk for injury from intimate partner violence. *American Journal of Public Health, 93*(3), 435-437.

Raj, A. & Silverman, J.G. (2007). Domestic violence help-seeking behaviors of South Asian battered women residing in the United States. *International Review of Victimology. 14*, 143-170.

Raj, A., Livramento, K. N., Santana, M. C., Gupta, J., & Silverman, J. G. (2006). Victims of intimate partner violence more likely to report abuse from in-laws. *Violence Against Women, 12*(10), 936-949.

Rubin, A. & Babbie, E. (2010). Research methods for social work. Brooks/Cole: Belmont, CA.

Rudrappa, S. (2004). Radical caring in an ethnic shelter: South Asian American women workers at Apna Ghar, Chicago. *Gender and Society, 18,* 588–609.

Saasa, K. (2018). *Social exclusion and African Immigrants in the United States.* Available from UGA Libraries Electronic Theses and Dissertations database (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Georgia).

Sabri, B., Simonet, M. & Campbell, J.C. (2018). Risk and protective factors of intimate partner violence among South Asian immigrant women and perceived need for services. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 24(3), 442-452.

Safdar, S.,Choung, K., & Lewis, J.R. (2012). A review of the MIDA model and other contemporary acculturation models. In E. Tartakovsky (Ed.), *Immigration: Policies, Challenges and Impact.* Hauppauge, NY: Nova Science.

Schwartz, S.J. & Zamboanga, B.L. (2008). Testing Berry's model of acculturation: a confirmatory latent class approach. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 14*(4), 275-285.

Shih, T. and Fan, X. (2008). Comparing response rates from web and mail survey: A meta-analysis. *Field Methods 20(3)*, 249-271.

Shirwadkar, S. (2004). Canadian domestic violence policy and Indian immigrant women. *Violence Against Women, 10*(8), 860-879.

Sokoloff, N. J., & Pratt, C. (2005). *Domestic violence at the margins: readings on race, class, gender, and culture.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.

South Asian Americans Leading Together. (2015). A demographic snapshot of South Asians in the United States. Retrieved from http://saalt.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Demographic-Snapshot-updated_Dec-2015.pdf (Accessed on May 3, 2018).

South Asian Americans Leading Together. (2019). Demographic snapshot of South Asians in the United States. Retrieved from https://saalt.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/SAALT-Demographic-Snapshot-2019.pdf (Accessed on March 11, 2020).

Spence, J. T., & Helmreich, R. L. (1978*). Masculinity and femininity: Their psychological dimensions, correlates and antecedents.* Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

StataCorp. (2017) Stata Statistical Software: Release 15. College Station, TX: StataCorp LLC

Syed, K. (2015). *The lived experiences of adult second generation South Asian American males who were exposed to intimate partner abuse as children*. Dissertation Abstracts International, 76 (Doctoral Dissertation, Alliant International University).

Symington, A. (2004). *Women's rights and economic change: Intersectionality: A tool for gender and economic justice* (No. 9). Retrieved from http://www.awid.org/publications/primers/intersectionality_en.pdf (Accessed on May 10, 2018).

Tourangeau, R., Rips, L. J., & Rasinski, K. A. (2000). *The psychology of survey response.* Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Trochim, W. M. K & Donnelly, J. P (2008). *Research methods knowledge base* (3rd ed). Thomson Custom Pub, Mason, OH.

Upadhyay, U.D., Vyas, A.N., Ghosh, A., Akram, S.A. (2002) Brown Paper: The Health of South Asians in the United States. The South Asian Public Health Association (SAPHA).

U.S. Census Bureau. Asian Population (2010). Retrieved from https://www.census.gov/library/publications/2012/dec/c2010br-11.html (Accessed May 01, 2018)

Venkataramani-Kothari, A. (2007*).* Understanding South Asian immigrant women's experiences of violence. In Dasgupta, S. (Ed.) *Body evidence: Intimate violence against South Asian women in America*, 20-45.

Warrier, S. (2000). *(Un)heard voices: Domestic violence in the Asian American community*. San Francisco: Family Violence Prevention Fund.

Wasim, F. (2014). *South Asian American daughter-in-law/ mother-in-law relationships, cultural values conflict, and help-seeking for domestic violence* Available from ProQuest Dissertations (Order No. 3641446) (Doctoral Dissertation, Georgia State University).

Williams, S.L. & Fredrick, E.G. (2015). One size may not fit all: the need for a more inclusive and intersectional psychological science on stigma. *Feminist Forum Commentary, 73,* 384-390.

Yick, A. G. (1997). Chinese-Americans' perceptions of and experiences with domestic violence and factors related to their psychological well-being. Available from Dissertation Abstracts International (Order No. 9823585) (Doctoral dissertation. University of California).

Yoshihama M., Blazevski J., & Bybee D. (2014). Enculturation and attitudes towards intimate partner violence and gender roles in an Asian Indian population: Implications for community-based prevention. *Society for Community Research and Action, 53,* 249-260.

Yoshihama, M., Ramakrishnan, A., Hammock, A. & Khaliq, M. (2012). Intimate partner violence prevention program in an Asian immigrant community: integrating theories, data and community. *Violence Against Women, 18*(7), 763-783.

Yoshihama, M., Bybee, D., Dabby, C., & Blazevski, J. (2011). *Life course Experiences of Intimate Partner Violence and Help-Seeking among Filipina, Indian, and Pakistani Women: Implications for Justice System Responses.* Retrieved from https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/236174.pdf (Accessed on May 1, 2018).

Yoshihama, M. (1999). Domestic violence against women of Japanese descent in Los Angeles: Two methods of estimating prevalence. *Violence Against Women, 5*(8), 869-897.

Yoshioka, M. R., Gilbert, L., El-Bassel, N., & Baib-Amin, M. (2003). Social support and disclosure of abuse: Comparing South Asian, African American, and Hispanic battered women. *Journal of Family Violence, 18*(3), 171-180.

CHAPTER 2

EXAMINING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE PERCEPTIONS AND ITS CORRELATES AMONG SOUTH ASIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES[1]

[1]Rai, A. To be submitted to *Journal of Family Violence.* (Other contributors to this article, such as dissertation committee members, are to be added at a later date).

Abstract

Purpose: Domestic violence is a significant health as well as safety concern in the United States. This problem disparately impacts South Asian immigrants in the United States. Despite the high prevalence of domestic violence, little is known about its perceptions among South Asians. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to examine the perceptions of and attitudes toward domestic violence among South Asian men and women. **Methods:** This cross-sectional study included a sample of male and female South Asian immigrants (N=468). Multiple hierarchical regression examined the relationship between the perceptions of domestic violence with socio-demographic factors along with acculturation and gender-role attitudes as correlates. **Results:** The findings suggested that overall there were significant differences in the definition of domestic violence, attitudes towards the use of interpersonal violence, the causes attributed to domestic violence, as well as the contextual justification of domestic violence among study participants by correlates. This study additionally allowed the testing of a new subscale to measure violence perpetuated by in-laws among South Asian immigrants. **Conclusions:** The current study is the first to clarify the perceptions of and attitudes toward domestic violence among the South Asian immigrants. The perceptions of domestic violence, as well as the significant relationships with correlates that emerged in this study have substantial implications for researchers, practitioners and policymakers.

Keywords: Domestic violence, South Asians, immigrants, perceptions, United States.

Introduction

Domestic violence (DV) is a threatening and pervasive problem in the United States (U.S.) (Nagaraj, 2016). The National Coalition Against Domestic Violence (NCADV) suggests that over 10 million Americans fall prey to DV almost every year (NCADV, 2015). With the increasing number of South Asians (SAs) in the U.S., this community is not immune to the issue of DV. SAALT (2019) estimates suggest that currently there are 5.4 million SAs in the U.S. SAs are one of the fastest growing and largest immigrant groups in the U.S. This group includes individuals from India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Maldives and Sri Lanka. Past research that has been conducted with this community suggests that about 18-40% of SAs experience DV (Mahapatra, 2012; Rai & Choi, 2018). However, community-based organizations and experts suggest that this rate is significantly higher (Murugan, 2017). According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC)'s National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS), minority groups are more vulnerable to experiencing DV compared to their White counterparts (Black et. al., 2011).

Scholars and practitioners continue to use DV and intimate partner violence (IPV) interchangeably. Per the CDC definition, IPV or DV includes acts of physical, sexual, or psychological harm perpetrated on a current or former partner or spouse (Black et. al., 2011). The culture of patriarchy, collectivism and traditionalism in immigrant families can contribute to DV in several unique ways that the dominant definition of DV fails to include. One of the most significant gaps present in the DV literature is the predominantly accepted definition of DV, which reflects the viewpoint of Western communities (Ahn, 2002; Murugan, 2017).

Additionally, the majority of instruments used to gauge DV, such as the Conflicts Tactics Scale (CTS) and the Hurt, Insulted, Threatened with Harm and Screamed (HITS) DV screening

tool are not culturally responsive to immigrant communities (Murugan, 2017, Sherin et al., 1998; Straus et al., 1996). Even within the literature about DV in SA communities, only the experiences of women have been included, ignoring men and other community members. These gaps have led to an incomprehensive understanding of the definitions and perceptions of DV. It is imperative to understand how the SA community defines DV so that researchers can design culturally responsive interventions and programs that meet community needs (Agha & Rai, in press).

Correlates of Domestic Violence Perceptions

Marriage within a SA family does not merely take place between the partners, but it is instead considered a union of two families (Ahmad et al., 2009; Purkayastha, 2000b). DV, which can be physical, emotional, sexual, verbal, immigration-related, or economic, can be perpetrated on one individual either by the partner/spouse or the partner/spouse's family in the SA community (Dasgupta, 2000). This collective perpetration makes families along with partners accountable for the violence. Often, the husband can be a spectator to the violence perpetrated on his wife by his own family (Goel, 2005; Raj et al., 2006). There are individual, environmental and structural/cultural factors that impact the perceptions of DV among SAs, which may in turn influence DV victimization and perpetration.

Individual factors. There is a paucity of studies within the SA literature that have demonstrated a clear relationship between age and DV experience among SAs (Bhanot & Senn, 2007; Mahapatra, 2012). Besides, scholars thus far have not examined the influence of age on the perceptions and attitudes toward DV. Predominantly the DV literature within the SA diaspora suggests that women are more prone to experiencing DV than men (Abraham, 2005). Based on this increased susceptibility of women, the perceptions of DV among men and women may

differ. There has only been one study that has focused on examining the perceptions of DV among SA men and women, conducted by Ahmad et al. (2017). Authors found similarities across the perceptions of sexual abuse, but differences in the ways in which male and female participants rationalized the use of violence. Research also indicates that higher levels of education may reduce DV experiences (Ackerson et al., 2008). However, the literature regarding the SA community has been agnostic about the nature of the relationship between education and DV experiences or perceptions (Ayyub, 2000). Other factors like mistrust and jealousy that have been seen to influence DV victimization, can certainly influence on DV perceptions as well (Ammar, 2000; Mahapatra & Rai, 2019). More investigation is needed to explore the role of these individual factors with DV perceptions.

Environmental factors. While anyone can experience DV regardless of their socio-economic status, in general, poverty has been stated as a risk factor of DV (Jewkes, 2002). However, the influence of poverty or income level on perceptions and definition of violence is not yet known. Religion and religious values have often been misused to justify the continuance of violence. Several SA religious practices and scriptures have been used to justify violence (Ayyub, 2000; Goel, 2005). Subsequently, religion or religiosity can have an influence on DV perceptions, but this connection remains unexamined. SA women are more vulnerable to abuse in a foreign country because of unfamiliarity with the language, social norms, or the culture of the new country (Kallivayalil, 2007). Upon arriving in a foreign country, a woman is generally bound to her husband and is dependent on him for economic as well as emotional support (Mahapatra, 2012; Purkayastha, 2000b). This dependency occurs because SA women usually accompany their partners/husbands to the U.S. on a dependent visa, leaving their own families behind (Balgamwalla, 2014). These differences in levels of acculturation as well as immigration

status can also impact how DV is experienced and perceived. Other factors like living in joint families, job-related stress and alcohol/substance use can also influence perceptions of DV (Dasgupta, 2000; Kaur & Garg, 2010). Examining the relationship between these environmental factors and DV perceptions may be critical while designing effective prevention programs.

Structural/cultural factors. Most SA families follow collectivistic family values in comparison to the individualistic values promulgated by the "American" way of living (Shirwadkar, 2004). Higher responsibility is placed on the sons of the household, while women are seen as having nurturing roles for which they are trained from a young age (Goel, 2005; Rai & Choi, 2018). In the interviews conducted by Ghuman (2003) with SA women, it was found that women are initiated into the role of being an ideal wife, an obedient caretaker of the house, and a slave to the demands made by her husband and in-laws from early childhood. Most SA women do not even acknowledge the abuse as a violation of their rights or as DV. In a recent study conducted by Sabri et al. (2018) with 16 SA immigrant women in the U.S., it was expressed that, although beating by the husband was deemed as unacceptable by some women, it was still endorsed by all study participants. "Izzat" or family honor is of the highest importance to SA women (Gill, 2004). Therefore, many women continue to face abuse in the name of protecting family honor. These rigid gender-role attitudes disenfranchise women and may certainly influence the perceptions of DV. The extent of this influence is yet to be examined. Since the literature on DV perceptions within the SA community is limited, scholars must delve into the exact individual, environmental and structural/cultural factors that influence these perceptions as well as those that inform the definition of violence.

Purpose of the Study

While past studies have examined the correlates of DV experiences among the SA community, there is an absence of studies that focus on the perceptions of DV (Murugan, 2017; Rai & Choi, 2018). In addition, previous research pertaining to DV in the SA community has suffered from gaps such as the use of small or single-site samples, the exclusion of men and a reliance on culturally unresponsive instruments. These limitations have resulted in the lack of a cohesive understanding of DV among SA immigrants in the U.S. Given these gaps, the purpose of the present study was to explore the perceptions of and attitudes toward DV among SA immigrants as well as investigate the correlates that inform these perceptions. This is the first study that examines the unique perceptions and definitions of DV among SA men and women in the U.S. The research questions for the study were: (1) What are the overall perceptions of and attitudes toward DV among SA immigrants residing in the U.S.? (2) Are there differences in the perceptions of and attitudes toward DV among SA immigrants by socio-demographic variables, gender-role attitudes and acculturation levels? and (3) What are the correlates of the perceptions of and attitudes toward DV among the SA immigrants in the U.S.?

Methods

Research Design

This study utilized a cross-sectional online survey design (Engel & Schutt, 2013). Participants completed an online Qualtrics survey to provide their responses. Web surveys have become important because they offer an inexpensive method of data collection (Aday & Cornelius, 2006). To translate the survey into Hindi, a common SA language, back translation was used (Choi, 2011). An IRB approval from the researcher's university was obtained prior to beginning the study. The first page of the survey contained the consent form explaining the

purpose of the study. The consent form let the participants know that they could exit the study at any time and that participation was completely voluntary. In order to be eligible for the study, the participants had to be South Asian, 18 years or older and residing in the U.S.

Study Participants and Procedures

Non-probability sampling techniques were employed to recruit participants in this study. Relying on snowball sampling, the survey was administered to individuals known to the researcher through social media, culturally specific grocery stores, places of worship and participant referrals. Snowball sampling technique may be the best method to employ with difficult to access populations (Trochim & Donnelly, 2008). Participants recruited through this technique were each eligible to sign up for a $5 Amazon Gift card using a separate link at the end of the survey as an appreciation for their time. Participants were also recruited through Qualtrics research panels. These panels allowed for the recruitment of participants based on fixed numbers from diverse ethnic groups. Qualtrics research panels were used to ensure diversity in the sample and recruit participants approximate to the extent of their ethnic representation in the population of 5.4 million SAs in the U.S. The reason for disseminating the survey in two parts was to ensure that the researcher was able to gather responses from SAs who are not of Indian origin, since the researcher, as an Indian herself, was able to reach the Indian population. Those recruited via Qualtrics were eligible to receive incentives based on a point system that could be redeemed for gift cards, sky miles and rewards. Data were collected between January-February 2019.

Instrumentation

Dependent variable. Perceptions of and attitudes toward DV was the primary dependent variable in the research. The dependent variable was measured using a modified version of the

Perceptions of and Attitudes toward Domestic Violence Questionnaire-Revised (PADV-R) created originally for Asian Americans by Yick (1997). Yick's finalized questionnaire included the following subscales: (1) definitions of DV, (2) attitudes toward the use of interpersonal violence, (3) views about the causes of DV, (4) beliefs about the justifications warranting the use of DV, (5) myths revolving around DV, and (6) the criminalization of DV. For the present research, subscales (1) to (4) were used.

The definitions of domestic violence scale-revised. This scale consists of three sub-scales: The Physical Aggression Subscale-Revised (three close-ended questions), the Sexual Abuse Subscale-Revised (one close-ended item), and the Psychological Aggression Subscale-Revised (six close-ended questions). All 10 items included in this scale utilize a six-point Likert-type scale, where 1 indicates "strongly agree" while 6 indicates "strongly disagree." In the present study, lower mean scores indicate that more items were considered as DV by participants while having higher mean scores indicates that lesser items were considered as DV. The overall Cronbach's alpha for this scale in Yick's (1997) study with 262 Chinese Americans was 0.82. Another study conducted by Ahn (2002) utilized this scale with 223 Korean Americans and reported a Cronbach's alpha of 0.96. Seven new items were added to this scale to represent the specific ways in which DV can manifest within SA households. Four of these seven items comprised a new subscale specially created about abuse through in-laws among immigrants. This subscale was called SMILE (Scale to Measure In-laws Exploitation and abuse).

Attitudes toward the use of interpersonal violence-revised scale. This scale consists of three sub-scales: The Sanctioning Hitting Subscale-Revised (two close-ended items), the Physical Force as Problem-Solving Subscale-Revised (two close-ended items), and the Physical Punishment with Children Subscale-Revised (three close-ended items). All 7 items included in

this scale utilize a six-point Likert-type scale as indicated above. Lower mean scores indicate that participants condoned violence to solve family matters and higher mean scores indicate that participants did not condone violence to solve family matters. The overall Cronbach's alpha for this scale in Yick's (1997) study was 0.73 and 0.87 in Ahn's (2002) study.

The causes of domestic violence-revised scale. This scale consists of three sub-scales: The Structural/Cultural Causes Subscale-Revised (five close-ended items), the Environmental Causes Subscale-Revised (seven close-ended items), and the Individual-Related Causes Subscale-Revised (five close-ended items). All 17 items included in this scale utilize a six-point Likert-type scale as indicated above. Lower mean scores indicate that participants attributed more causes for violence and higher mean scores indicate that participants indicated lesser causes for violence. The overall Cronbach's alpha for this scale in Yick's (1997) study was 0.91 and 0.90 in the study conducted by Ahn (2002).

The contextual justification scale-revised. This scale did not include any sub-scales and measures the attitudes of participants about circumstances that support the use of violence in a marriage. All 11 items included in this scale utilize a six-point Likert-type scale as indicated above. Lower mean scores indicate that participants accepted more circumstances that supported the use of violence among couples and higher mean scores indicate that participants accepted fewer circumstances that supported the use of violence among couples. The overall Cronbach's alpha for this scale in Yick's (1997) study was 0.80 and 0.97 in the study conducted by Ahn (2002).

Independent variables. Acculturation, gender-role attitudes, and socio-demographic information were the independent variables in this study.

Acculturation. Acculturation was measured using the short version of the Marin and Marin acculturation scale (Marin et al.,1987). This scale consists of 12 questions aimed at measuring the level of acculturation. The questions are measured on a five-point Likert-type scale with scores ranging from 1 to 5, where 1 indicates the lowest degree of acculturation and 5 indicates the highest degree of acculturation. Although this scale was initially developed by Marin et. al. (1987) to be used with the Hispanic population, Gupta and Yick (2001) tested the scale with Chinese Americans and found a Cronbach's alpha of 0.92. Yoshioka et al. (2003) used the scale with SAs and found a Cronbach's alpha of 0.78.

Gender-role attitudes. Gender-role attitudes were measured using the modified version of the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (ATW-S) created by Yoshihama et al. (2014). They created 15 items that comprise the modified version of the ATW-S by comparing the 15-item ATW-S developed by Spence and Helmreich (1978) and the 22-item ATW-S developed by Nelson (1988). The questions are measured on a six-point Likert-type scale with scores ranging from 1 to 6. In the present study, to ensure that the survey was streamlined, this entire scale was reverse coded. Lower scores indicate liberal or progressive gender-role attitudes and higher scores indicate conservative gender-role attitudes. In Yoshihama et. al.'s (2014) study, the overall Cronbach's alpha for this scale was 0.74 for women and 0.75 for men.

Socio-demographic variables. Socio-demographic variables such as gender (0=male, 1=female), age (0=18-35, 1=36 and older), education (0=less than high school, 1= high school, vocational training or undergraduate degree, 2=master's degree or higher) religiosity (0=not religious, 1=religious), household income (0=less than $95,000, 1=$95,001 and more), marital status (0=single/separated/divorced/widowed, 1=married/engaged/in a relationship), immigration status (0=US citizen/permanent resident,1=visa holder) generational position (0=1st generation,

1=1.5+ generation), family type (0=nuclear, 1=joint/extended) and ethnicity (0=Indian, 1=Pakistani, 2=Nepali, 3=Bangladeshi, 4=other) were used in this study. Income was coded as < and > $95,000 because estimates by the Pew Research Center indicate that the median income for SAs is as high as $110,000 (Pew Research Center, 2017). 1st generation refers to individuals who came to the U.S. at age 13 or after, and 1.5+ generation refers to individuals who were born in the U.S. or those who moved to the U.S. before age 13. Religiosity was originally measured by asking participants about the extent of their religiosity ranging from: not religious, not too religious, fairly religious and very religious. The response categories of variables were combined because of poor within-cell distribution.

Data Analysis Plan

Participant responses were screened for duplicates prior to data analyses. SPSS version 24 and Stata version 17 were used to test assumptions related to multiple regression, analyze for missing data, examine descriptive statistics and relationships at the univariate and bivariate level (Berkman & Reise, 2012; IBM Corp, 2017; StataCorp, 2017). All VIF values were lower than 10, indicating no multicollinearity between independent variables (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). There were no issues with linearity, normality and homoscedasticity. The missingness was less than 5%. Each of the four subscales used within the PADV-R utilized six-point Likert type responses ranging from 1(strongly agree) to 6(strongly disagree). To report the findings and test the hypotheses, a mean score for participants' responses for each subscale was calculated. Prior to beginning the analysis, chi-square was used to examine differences in demographic characteristics between participants recruited by the researcher and those recruited via Qualtrics panels. The test was statistically insignificant, indicating no differences between participants recruited via the two methods.

Descriptive statistics (continuous) and frequencies (categorical) were noted for the independent variables. At the bivariate level, t-test, ANOVA or correlations were utilized for group-wise comparisons and to examine the relationship between the independent and dependent variables (Calderwood, 2012). For the multivariate analysis, the researcher used hierarchical multiple regression to predict the correlates of perceptions and attitudes toward DV. Socio-demographic variables were included in model 1, and gender-role attitudes and acculturation were added in model 2, along with demographic variables. Pairwise deletion was used to handle missingness. The reliability of the Marin and Marin acculturation scale and the ATW-S scale was determined by calculating the Cronbach's alpha values (Bland & Altman,1997). The acceptable Cronbach's alpha values are a minimum of 0.7(Bland & Altman, 1997). The content and face validity of the instrument were also assessed. For content and face validity, the items were assessed for clarity and meaning through the pilot study.

Results

Sample Characteristics

Descriptive statistics of the sample are included in Table 2.1. The total sample size for this study was N=468 from each of the seven SA ethnic communities and across all 50 U.S. States. Of the sample 44% were male and 56% were female participants. The majority of the sample was Indian (69.1%), followed by Pakistani (11.5%), Bangladeshi (6.2%), Nepali (5.1%) and others including those from Sri Lanka, Bhutan and Maldives (8.1%).

Bivariate Analysis

At the bivariate level, we saw that gender, education, religiosity, household income, immigration status, generational position, family type, ethnicity and gender-role attitudes had a statistically significant relationship with the definition of DV. Post-hoc analyses suggested that

for education, there was a statistically significant difference between the less than high school and master's or higher group ($p<0.001$), and the high school or higher and master's or higher group ($p<0.001$). For ethnicity, there was a statistically significant difference between Indian and Bangladeshi participants ($p<0.001$). Further, we saw that gender, education, religiosity, household income, immigration status, generational position, family type, ethnicity and gender-role attitudes were significantly related to attitudes toward the use of interpersonal violence. Post-hoc analysis suggested that for education, there was a statistically significant difference between the less than high school and the high school and higher group ($p<0.01$), and the high school and more and the master's degree or higher group ($p<0.001$). For ethnicity, there was a statistically significant difference between the Indian and other ($p<0.05$), and the Bangladeshi and other group ($p<0.05$). Next, we saw gender, education, religiosity, immigration status, and gender-role attitudes were statistically significantly related to the causes of DV. Post-hoc analysis suggested that for education, there was a statistically significant difference between less than high school and master's or higher group ($p>0.001$). Last, we observed that education, religiosity, household income, marital status, acculturation and gender-role attitudes were statistically significantly related to the contextual justification of DV. Post-hoc analysis suggested that for education, we saw that there was a statistically significant difference between the less than high school and master's or higher category ($p<0.05$) (see Table 2.1).

Analyses of Dependent Variable, PADV-R

As part of the PADV-R, the researcher created and tested a new subscale called SMILE to measure abuse through in-laws, in this study. This subscale, which comprised of four items was added to the Definitions of Domestic Violence Scale. The Cronbach's alpha for the SMILE

scale was 0.92. Cronbach's alpha of all instruments included in the study, ranged between 0.88-0.96 (see Table 2.2).

In describing each subscale of the PADV-R, the researcher relied on the scoring created by Ahn (2002) based on which mean scores of < 3.51 belonged to the "agree category" and mean scores > 3.52 belonged to the "disagree" category. For the *Definitions of Domestic Violence* scale, participant responses were less than 3.51 (close to the "agree" category) for questions on physical, sexual, psychological/emotional, financial, verbal, immigration-related and in-laws abuse, indicating that these forms of abuse were considered a form of DV. The mean scores of all items ranged from 2.37 - 3.42. The lowest mean was for the item, "pushing one's spouse/partner real hard during an argument" and the highest was for the item, "demanding to know where one's spouse/partner is all the time." For *Attitudes toward the Use of Interpersonal Violence* scale, the mean scores of all the items were greater than 3.52 (close to the "disagree" category), indicating that SAs did not sanction the use of force to solve family matters, both for spouses and children. The mean scores of all items ranged from 4.48 - 5.27. The lowest mean was for the item, "spanking a child is an effective way to discipline" and the highest was for the item, "in general, it is okay for a woman to hit her husband/partner." For *Attitudes toward the Causes of Domestic Violence* scale, the mean scores of all but 2 items were less than 3.51 (close to the "agree category) indicating that participants attributed individual, environmental as well as structural/cultural causes for DV. The mean scores ranged from 2.65-3.70. Two items had the lowest mean score. These items were, "inability to control a bad temper" and "alcohol." The highest mean score was for the item "an overcrowded house." For *Attitudes toward the Contextual Justification of Domestic Violence* scale, an additional item reflecting a socio-cultural cause about "disagreement with in-laws" was added to the scale by the researcher. Nine of the 11

included items had a mean score greater than 3.52 (close to the “disagree” category), indicating that SAs did not sanction the use of violence among couples. The mean scores ranged between 3.13 - 4.67. The lowest mean score was for the item, “he acted in self-defense” and the highest was for the item, “she was unwilling to have sex.”

Multiple Hierarchical Regression

Each of the four outcome variables forming the PADV-R questionnaire were tested. For each analysis, all the assumptions for multiple regression were performed. The variables were included in a hierarchical manner such that the socio-demographic variables were entered first in model 1, followed by adding acculturation and gender-role attitudes in model 2.

Definitions of domestic violence. Lower mean scores on the dependent variable indicated that more items were considered as violence within the larger definition of DV. Model 1 was significant [$F(10,412)=7.817, p<0.001$] and accounted for 15.9% of the variance. According to model 1, female participants considered more types of DV within the definition of DV in comparison to men ($B= -0.327$, $p<0.01$). Older participants in comparison to younger ones considered more types of DV within the larger definition of DV ($B=-0.359$, $p<0.05$). Individuals with higher education considered more types of DV within the larger definition of DV ($B=-0.384$, $p<0.01$). Religious participants considered lesser types of DV within the larger definition of DV in comparison to non-religious participants ($B=0.304$, $p<0.05$). Individuals belonging to the 1.5+ generation, considered lesser types of DV within the larger definition of DV ($B=0.333$, $p<0.05$). Last, those who were from joint families considered lesser types of DV within the larger definition of DV in comparison to others ($B=0.378$, $p<0.05$). In model 2, after adding gender-role attitudes and acculturation, the effects of gender, religiosity, generational position and family type disappeared, while age and education remained significant ($B=-0.396$, $p<0.01$, $B=-$

0.244, p<0.05). As gender-role attitudes became conservative, individuals considered lesser types of violence within the larger definition of DV (B=0.508, p<0.001). Acculturation produced non-significant results. Overall, the model was significant [F(12, 410)=9.253, p<0.001 and accounted for 21.3% of the variance in the definition of DV (see Table 2.3).

Attitudes toward the use of interpersonal violence. Lower mean scores on the dependent variable indicated that individuals condoned violence to solve family matters. Model 1 was statistically significant [F(10, 412)=8.743, p<0.001 and accounted for 17.5% of the variance. In model 1, women in comparison to men had higher scores on this subscale (B=0.365, p<0.01, indicating that women were less likely to condone violence to solve family matters. Individuals who were not religious were less likely to condone violence to solve family matters (B=-0.288, p<0.01). Individuals who were single/ widowed/ divorced/ separated were less likely to condone violence to solve family matters in comparison to those who were married/engaged or in a relationship (B=-0.340, p<0.01). Individuals who were 1st generation were less likely to condone violence to solve family matters in comparison to those who were 1.5+ or higher (B=-0.583, p<0.001). Last, individuals from nuclear families were less likely to condone violence to solve family matters (B=-0.281, p<0.05). In model 2, after adding acculturation and gender-role attitudes, the effects of gender, religiosity, and family type disappeared, while marital status and generational position remained significant (B=-0.314, p<0.01; B=-0.419, p<0.01). For gender-role attitudes, we saw that individuals with a progressive view of gender-roles were less likely to condone violence to solve family matters (B=-0.601, p<0.01). Overall, the model was significant [F(12, 410)=14.359, p<0.001 and accounted for 29.6% of the variance in attitudes toward the use of interpersonal violence (see Table 2.4).

Causes of domestic violence. Lower mean scores on the dependent variable indicated that individuals attributed more causes (individual/environmental/structural) for DV. Model 1 was statistically significant [$F(10, 409)=4.652$, $p<0.001$] and explained 10.2% of the variance. In model 1, women attributed more causes for DV in comparison to men ($B=-0.430$, $p<0.001$). Individuals with higher education attributed more causes for DV than those with lower levels of education ($B=-0.319$, $p<0.01$). Religious individuals attributed lesser causes for DV ($B=0.229$, $p<0.05$). In model 2, after adding acculturation and gender-role attitudes, the effects of education and religiosity disappeared, while gender remained significant ($B=-0.241$, $p<0.01$). For acculturation and gender-role attitudes, it was observed that individuals who were more acculturated ($B=0.186$, $p<0.05$) and those who had conservative gender-role attitudes ($B=0.552$, $p<0.001$) attributed lesser reasons as the causes of DV. Overall the model was significant [$F(12, 407)=7.719$, $p<0.001$ and explained 18.5% of the variance in the causes of DV (see Table 2.5).

Contextual justification of domestic violence. Lower mean scores indicated that participants accepted more circumstances that supported the use of violence among couples. Model 1was statistically significant [$F (10, 412] =2.186$, $p<0.05$], explaining 5% of the variance. In model 1, individuals with a higher income accepted lesser circumstances for the use of violence among couples ($B=0.329$, $p<0.05$). Individuals who were single/widowed/ divorced/separated also accepted lesser circumstances for the use of violence among couples ($B=-0.319$, $p<0.05$). In model 2, after adding acculturation and gender-role attitudes, household income ($B=0.259$, $p<0.05$) and marital status ($B=-0.269$, $p<0.05$) remained significant. More acculturated individuals accepted lesser circumstances supporting the use of violence among couples ($B=0.292$, $p<0.01$). Those with progressive gender-role attitudes accepted lesser circumstances that justified the use of violence among couples ($B=-0.261$, $p<0.001$). Overall the

model was significant [F (12, 410)]=3.776, p<0.001], and explained 10% of the variance in the contextual justification of DV (see Table 2.6).

Discussion and Implications

Past research with the SA immigrant community has predominantly focused on examining the experiences of female victims (Kaur, 2015). Owing to this focus, there has been a minimal emphasis on examining the definitions and perceptions of DV from the standpoint of SA immigrants as a whole (Ahmad et. al., 2017). In addressing this gap, the findings generated by the present study advance the discussion about the perceptions and attitudes toward DV among SA men and women. The study generated new knowledge regarding how the SA community views DV. SAs identified unique tactics of violence and defined DV as encompassing multiple forms of abuse such as physical, psychological/emotional, sexual, in-laws related, verbal, economic and immigration-related. Even within the literature about DV experiences in the SA community, studies have predominantly focused only on emotional, physical and sexual abuse (Raj & Silverman, 2002; Raj et. al., 2006). There are only handful studies (Raj et. al., 2006; Raghavan & Iyengar, 2017) that have looked at abuse by in-laws and virtually none that have specifically examined immigration-related abuse.

The present study highlights the definitions and perceptions of DV from the viewpoint of both men and women, paving the way for future scholars to incorporate these less-known manifestations of violence into their studies. Past literature with the SA community has highlighted SA women's experience of physical violence. Additionally, women have also feared the use of violence against their children (Chaudhuri et al., 2014). However, of interest in the current study is the finding that, overall, participants did not sanction the use of force between spouses or for children. This finding runs counter to past studies, in which SA men expressed

their desire to use force as a mechanism to discipline their wives (Ghuman, 2003; Prasad & Periyan, 2019). This is an important finding that portrays a more positive view of SA community and reflects their non-violent beliefs. The finding about both individual/ environmental factors (e.g., alcohol and drug use, acculturation levels) as well as structural factors (e.g., rigid-gender role attitudes, patriarchal culture) influencing DV perpetrations confirm previous research's findings (Goel, 2005; Kaur & Garg, 2010; Mahapatra & Rai, 2019; Rai & Choi, 2018; Murugan, 2017).

In addition to examining the perceptions of DV, the current study specifically examined the correlates of DV perceptions and attitudes. This is the first study that delves into the correlates of DV perceptions and attitudes, utilizing a multi-site sample. This study involves the use of one of the largest samples when it comes to DV research in the SA community, obtaining responses both from men and women. Some of the important study findings were that participants who were women, those who were older, more educated, non-religious, belonging to 1st generation, from nuclear families, and those with progressive gender-role attitudes considered more types of violence as DV. Women may have broader definitions of DV due to their own experiences of being subservient to the male members of their families. It was surprising to note that individuals belonging to the 1st generation had a broader view of DV. At times, individuals born and permanently living in a foreign country such as the U.S., often referred to as 1.5+ or higher, may try hard to hold on to their cultural values in an attempt to safeguard their culture (Adam, 2000). This desire to preserve dogmatic cultural values may have a negative impact on their perceptions of DV, as seen in these study participants. However, it is important to mention that the findings about generational position are in contradiction to previous findings in a study of Portuguese-speaking immigrant women (Okeke-Ihejirika et al.,

2018). More investigation that examines how these issues operate within the larger framework of the SA diaspora is needed.

Next, we saw that women, those who were non-religious, single/separated/divorced/ widowed, belonging to the 1st generation, those from nuclear families and participants with more progressive gender-role attitudes, did not condone the use of violence to solve family matters. Gender and generational position stand out even in this case. Women may not condone the use of violence due to their own experiences of DV victimization (Mahapatra & Rai, 2019) and individuals belonging to 1.5+ or higher may continue to condone the use of family violence due to their urge to protect the regressive SA cultural values. Since generation position has not yet been included as a correlate within DV research among SAs, it is essential that future scholars explore these generational differences.

Additionally, it was also observed that women, those with higher education, non-religious, less acculturated and participants with liberal gender-role attitudes, attributed more causes for DV in comparison to others. These findings are plausible given that more educated individuals and those with liberal gender-role attitudes may have a better chance of separating culture from violence and thus not dismissing violence as being "cultural." Men may attribute fewer causes for violence as they may be bound by traditional family values, South Asian DV movements, movies and media that may be portraying violence as only encompassing physical abuse. It was expected to observe that individuals who identified as being non-religious would attribute more causes for DV in comparison to those who were religious. Religion has often been used to justify violence as part of cultural tradition (Ayyub, 2000). Therefore, individuals who are not religious did not dismiss violence as an aspect of culture by embracing a broader definition of DV.

Last, it was seen that individuals with a higher income, those who were single/separated/ divorced/widowed, more acculturated and participants with more progressive gender role-attitudes accepted lesser circumstances that justified the use of violence among couples. While low-income had been found to be related to DV experience (Jewkes, 2002), this study demonstrates that income is also related to DV perceptions. It is striking to see that individuals with a higher income accepted fewer circumstances that justified the use of violence. At the same time, it is also interesting to see a relationship between acculturation and lesser justification of violence. Additional investigation is warranted to further elucidate this relationship.

Along with the above-stated contributions in building empirical evidence, this study makes a noteworthy contribution to research by testing a revised culturally responsive instrument, namely the PADV-R, for the first time with the SA immigrant community. Examining abuse by in-laws allowed the researcher to develop and test a new scale called SMILE, currently the only instrument that measures violence by in-laws among immigrants. Establishing the reliability and validity of these new instruments makes available culturally responsive instruments that can be tested and incorporated into future research conducted by scholars. The correlates that emerge through the study findings can be useful in developing DV awareness and prevention interventions specific to the SA community. These interventions and awareness programs can subsequently be adapted and expanded to diverse immigrant communities. Particularly, the differences across socio-demographic factors like age, gender, religion, immigration status and generational position, among others can be incorporated directly into the interventions. Since this is the first study that includes the perceptions of the entire SA community, involving both men and women, these findings can also be beneficial in initiating conversations about engaging men in DV prevention movements (API, n.d.). Past research has

demonstrated that the SA culture is not monolithic. Hence, future practitioners and researchers are encouraged to collaborate and use their study findings to gain an in-depth understanding about the aspects of the SA culture that translate into violence.

Social workers are one of the main providers of services to DV victims and their families (Choi & An, 2016). Therefore, it is essential for them to be trained to adequately respond to the needs of immigrants facing DV. The study findings can be brought into classrooms by instructors, to encourage social work students to learn more about DV and its definition in immigrant communities. These conversations will better prepare students to engage with immigrant clients. While immigration status was not statistically significant in the present study, it could influence the perceptions of and attitudes toward DV. Therefore, it is vital for policy advocates and community agencies to be adequately trained in providing immigration-related support and making immigrants aware of their rights in a foreign country (Murugan, 2017).

Limitations

DV continues to be a complicated phenomenon. The SA immigrant culture and its tenets translate into violence in several ways, which needs to be studied in the future. Despite the multiple unique contributions of this study, there are some limitations associated with it. First, this study only looked at examining the definitions and perceptions of DV through a fixed set of questions. There could be several other ways in which DV manifests in the SA culture that was not captured through the questions asked in the study. Second, the participants were required to complete a self-reported survey which may have introduced some level of bias into the study findings. Finally, while the study collected data from across the U.S. states, the predominantly high levels of acculturation among study participants could be specific to this particular sample.

This uneven distribution of acculturation could somewhat impact the generalizability of the study.

Conclusion

Despite its limitations, this study makes notable contributions by quantitatively investigating the perceptions of DV among SA immigrants. The biggest strength of this exploratory study is in its examination of the definitions of the entire SA community, including both men and women. Among other areas, these findings can help generate new conversations that can be pivotal in moving away from treating DV as a women's problem. Future researchers and practitioners are encouraged to focus on larger studies that aim at viewing DV an issue that confronts entire communities rather than a particular gender. These efforts can be integral in building community consciousness along with culturally responsive DV interventions and awareness programs for immigrants. Ultimately, the study findings could be used by future scholars who are interested in conducting DV research with diverse immigrant communities.

References

Abraham, M. (2005). Domestic violence and the Indian diaspora in the United States. *Indian Journal of Gender Studies, 12*(2-3), 427-451.

Ackerson, L. K., Kawachi, I., Barbeau, E. M., & Subramanian, S. V. (2008). Effects of individual and proximate educational context on intimate partner violence: A population-based study of women in India. *American Journal of Public Health, 98*(3), 507-514.

Aday, L.A., & Cornelius, L.J. (2006). *Designing and conducting health surveys: A comprehensive* guide (3rd edition). San Francisco: Jossey Bass, c.2006.

Agha, E., & Rai, A. (2020). Notes from the field: Culturally adapted research methods for South Asian participants. *Professional Development Journal, 23*(1) *(in press).*

Ahmad, F., Smylie, J., Omand, M., Cyriac, A. & Campo, P.O. (2017). South Asian men and women and conceptions of partner violence. *Journal of Minority Health, 19,* 57-66.

Ahn, B. (2002). *The perceptions of and attitudes toward partner abuse among first-generation Korean-Americans: Their relationships to the incidence of partner abuse*. LSU Doctoral Dissertations. 2167 (Doctoral Dissertation, Louisiana State University).

Ahmad, F., Driver, N., McNally, M. J., & Stewart, D. E. (2009). "Why doesn't she seek help for partner abuse?" An exploratory study with South Asian immigrant women. *Social science & medicine*, *69*(4), 613-622.

Ammar, N. (2000). In the shadow of the pyramids: Domestic violence in Egypt. *International Review of Victimology, 7*(3), 29-66.

Asian Pacific Institute on Gender-based violence.(n.d). Engaging men. Retrieved from https://www.api-gbv.org/culturally-specific-advocacy/community-and-systems-engagment/engaging-men/ (Accessed on January 9, 2020).

Ayyub, R. (2000). Domestic violence in the South Asian Muslim immigrant population in the United States. *Journal of Social Distress and the Homeless, 9*(3), 237-248.

Balgamwalla, S. (2014). Bride and prejudice: How US immigration law discriminates against spousal visa holders. *Berkeley Journal of Gender, Law & Justice, 29*(1), 24-71.

Berkman, E.T., & Reise, S.P. (2012). *A conceptual guide to statistics using SPSS*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Bhanot, S., & Senn, C. (2007). Attitudes towards violence against women in men of South Asian ancestry: Are acculturation and gender role attitudes important factors? *Journal of Family Violence, 22*(1), 25-31.

Black, M. C., Basile, K. C., Breiding, M. J., Smith, S. G., Walters, M. L., Merrick, M. T., Chen, J., & Stevens, M.R. (2011). National intimate partner and sexual violence survey. Atlanta, GA: CDC. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

Bland, J. M., & Altman, D. G. (1997). Statistics notes: Cronbach's alpha. *Bmj*, *314*(7080), 572.

Calderwood, K.A. (2012). Teaching inferential statistics to social work students: A decision-making flow chart. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work, 32,* 133-147.

Chaudhuri, S., Morash, M., & Yingling, J. (2014). Marriage migration, patriarchal bargains, and wife abuse: A study of South Asian women. *Violence Against Women, 20*(2), 141-161.

Choi, Y. (2011). *Determinants of clergy behaviors promoting safety of battered Korean immigrant women*. Dissertation Abstracts International, *A, 72*, 2155 (Doctoral Dissertation; Virginia Commonwealth University).

Choi, Y.J. & An, S. (2016). Interventions to improve responses of helping professionals to intimate partner violence: a quick scoping review. *Research on Social Work Practice, 26*(1), 101-127.

Dasgupta, S. D. (2000). Charting the course: An overview of domestic violence in the south Asian community in the united states. *Journal of Social Distress and the Homeless, 9,* 173- 185.

Engel, R.J., & Schutt, R.K. (2013). *The practice of research in social work.* (3rd Edition). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Ghuman, P.S. (2003). *Double loyalties: South Asian adolescents in the west*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Gill, A. (2004). Voicing the silent fear: South Asian women's experiences of domestic violence. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice, 43*(5), 465-483.

Goel R. (2005). Sita's Trousseau: restorative justice, domestic violence, and South Asian culture. *Violence Against Women, 11,* 639-665.

Gupta, R., & Yick, A.G. (2001). Preliminary validation of the acculturation scale on Chinese Americans. *Journal of Social Work Research and Evaluation, 2*(1), 43–56.

IBM Corp. (2017). IBM SPSS Statistics for Windows, Version 25.0. Armonk, NY: IBM Corp.

Okeke-Ihejirika, P., Yohani, S., Muster, J., Ndem, A., Chambers, T., & Pow, V. (2018). A scoping review on intimate partner violence in Canada's immigrant communities. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse,* 1-23.

Jewkes, R. (2002). Intimate partner violence: Causes and prevention. *The Lancet, 359* (9315), 1423-1429.

Kallivayalil, D. (2007). Feminist therapy: its use and implications for South Asian immigrant survivors of domestic violence. *Women & Therapy, 30*(3/4), 109-127.

Kaur, H. (2015). *Attitudes of South Asian men in the UK toward women and their understanding of, and justification for, domestic violence.* (Doctoral dissertation, London Metropolitan University).

Kaur, R., & Garg, S. (2010). Domestic violence against women: a qualitative study in a rural community. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Public Health, 22*(2), 242-251.

Mahapatra, N., & Rai, A. (2019). Every cloud has a silver lining but… "pathways to seeking formal-help and South-Asian immigrant women survivors of intimate partner violence." Health Care for *Women International*, *40*(11), 1170-1196.

Mahapatra, N. (2012). South Asian women in the U.S. and their experience of domestic violence. *Journal of Family Violence. 27*, 381-390.

Marin, G., Sabogal, F., Marin, B. V., Otero-Sabogal, R., & Perez, E. J. (1987). Development of a short acculturation scale for Hispanics. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences,* 9, 183-205.

Murugan, V. (2017). *Intimate partner violence among South Asian women in the United States: Prevalence and help-seeking behaviors.* Dissertation Abstracts International (Order No. 1060664) (Doctoral Dissertation, Washington University).

Nagaraj, N.C. (2016). *Violence and health among South Asian women in the US: a life course Perspective.* Dissertation Abstracts International (Order No. 10085746) (Doctoral Dissertation, The George Washington University).

National Coalition against Domestic Violence. (2015). *Domestic violence national statistics.* Retrieved from https://ncadv.org/learn-more (Accessed on May 18, 2018).

Nelson, M. (1988). Reliability, validity, and cross-cultural comparisons for the Simplified Attitudes Towards Women Scale. *Sex Roles, 18*(5/6), 289–296.

Pew Research Center. (2017). Key facts about Asian Americans, a diverse and growing population. Retrieved from https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/09/08/key-facts-about-asian-americans/ (Accessed on Jan 21, 2020).

Prasad, S. & Periyan, R. (2019). Factors influencing intimate partner violence. *Indian Journal of Community Health, 31*(1),4-9.

Purkayastha, B. (2000b). Liminal Lives: South Asian Youth and Domestic Violence. *Journal of Social Distress and the Homeless, (3)*, 201.

Rai, A., & Choi, Y. J. (2018). Socio-cultural risk factors impacting domestic violence among South Asian immigrant women: A scoping review. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 38*, 76-85.

Raj, A., Livramento, K. N., Santana, M. C., Gupta, J., & Silverman, J. G. (2006). Victims of intimate partner violence more likely to report abuse from in-laws. *Violence Against Women, 12*(10), 936-949.

Raj, A., & Silverman, J. (2002). Intimate partner violence amongst South Asian women in Greater Boston. *Journal of the American Medical Women's Association, 57*(2), 111-114.

Raghavan, M., & Iyengar, K. (2017). Violence perpetrated by mothers-in-law in Northern India: perceived frequency, acceptability, and options for survivors. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 1-23.

Sabri, B., Simonet, M. & Campbell, J.C. (2018). Risk and protective factors of intimate partner violence among South Asian immigrant women and perceived need for services. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 24(3), 442-452.

Sherin, K.M., Sinacore, J.M., Li, X.Q., Zitter, R.E., Shakil, A. (1998). HITS: a short domestic violence screening tool for use in a family practice setting. *Fam Med, 30*(7), 508-512.

Shirwadkar, S. (2004). Canadian domestic violence policy and Indian immigrant women. *Violence Against Women, 10*(8), 860-879.

StataCorp. (2017) Stata Statistical Software: Release 15. College Station, TX: StataCorp LLC.

Straus, M.A., Hamby, S.L., Boney-McCoy, S., and Sugarman, D.B. (1996). *The Revised Conflict Tactics Scales (CTS2).* Durham, NH: Family Research Laboratory, University of New Hampshire.

Spence, J. T., & Helmreich, R. L. (1978*). Masculinity and femininity: Their psychological dimensions, correlates and antecedents.* Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

South Asian Americans Leading Together. (2019). Demographic snapshot of South Asians in the United States. Retrieved from https://saalt.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/SAALT-Demographic-Snapshot-2019.pdf (Accessed on March 11, 2020).

Tabachnick, B. G., & Fidell, L. S. (2001) *Using multivariate statistics* (4th Ed.). Needham, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

Trochim, W. M. K., & Donnelly, J. P (2008). *Research methods knowledge base* (3rd ed). Thomson Custom Pub, Mason, OH.

Yick, A. G. (1997). *Chinese-Americans' perceptions of and experiences with domestic violence and factors related to their psychological well-being.* Available from Dissertation Abstracts International (Order No. 9823585) (Doctoral dissertation. University of California).

Yoshihama M., Blazevski J., & Bybee D. (2014). Enculturation and attitudes towards intimate partner violence and gender roles in an Asian Indian population: Implications for community-based prevention. *Society for Community Research and Action, 53,* 249-260.

Yoshioka, M. R., Gilbert, L., El-Bassel, N., & Baib-Amin, M. (2003). Social support and disclosure of abuse: Comparing South Asian, African American, and Hispanic battered women. *Journal of Family Violence, 18*(3), 171-180.

Table 2.1

Sample Characteristics and Distribution of Study Variables (N=468)

Variables	n	%	M	SD	ANOVA/r DV perceptions1	ANOVA/r DV perceptions2	ANOVA/r DV perceptions3	ANOVA/r DV perceptions4
Gender					5.776**	7.207**	16.751***	0.022
Male	198	44						
Female	252	56						
Age					0.283	0.112	1.857	0.001
18-35	291	64.2						
36 and older	162	35.8						
Education					15.813***	9.276***	8.942***	3.745*
No school or less than high school	175	37.8						
High school, vocational or undergraduate degree	113	24.5						
Master's degree or higher	174	37.7						
Religiosity					11.196**	13.707***	4.240*	5.813*
Not religious	204	45.2						
Religious	247	54.8						
Household Income					10.386**	9.375**	0.298	7.108**
less than $95,000	271	60.5						
$95,001 and more	176	39.5						
Marital Status					0.046	2.313	0.719	3.749*
Single/separated/divorced/widowed	127	28.3						
Married/engaged/in a relationship	322	71.7						
Immigration Status					26.504***	21.163***	8.977**	3.502
U.S. citizen/Permanent resident	353	77.1						
Visa holder	105	22.9						
Generational Position					15.310***	39.818***	2.697	0.361
1st Generation	314	70.2						
1.5+ Generation	133	29.8						

Variables	n	%	M	SD	ANOVA/r DV perceptions1	ANOVA/r DV perceptions2	ANOVA/r DV perceptions3	ANOVA/r DV perceptions4
Family Type					14.020***	16.737***	2.602	0.081
Nuclear	366	82.1						
Joint/Extended	81	17.9						
Ethnicity								
Indian	313	70.2			4.260**	3.562**	2.403	0.081
Pakistani	52	11.7						
Nepali	23	5.2						
Bangladeshi	28	6.3						
Others	30	6.6						
Acculturation			3.06	0.69	-0.028	0.009	0.076	0.192***
Gender-role Attitudes			2.64	0.85	0.410***	-0.495***	0.385***	-0.202***

**Note: DV perceptions were measured using the modified version of the PADV-R, which includes four subscales: DV 1- Definition of domestic violence, *DV 2- Attitude toward the use of interpersonal violence, *DV 3-Causes of domestic violence, *DV 4- Contextual justification of domestic violence.*

Table 2.2

Reliability of Measures used in the Study

Measure	**Reliability**
Perceptions and attitude toward domestic violence questionnaire-revised	
Definitions of domestic violence scale-revised	0.96
Attitudes toward the use of interpersonal violence scale-revised	0.91
Causes of domestic violence-revised scale	0.95
Attitude toward the contextual justification of domestic violence	0.94
Marin & Marin acculturation scale (short version)	0.89
Attitude toward women scale (modified version)	0.88

Table 2.3

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses on DV Perceptions (Definitions of Domestic Violence) N=422

Variables	**DV Perceptions 1 Model 1**				**DV Perceptions 1 Model 2**			
	B	**SE**	**β**	**95% CI**	**B**	**SE**	**β**	**95% CI**
Gender *(Ref: male)*	-0.327*	0.362	-0.106	-0.617--0.037	-0.157	0.147	-0.051	-0.46-0.133
Age *(Ref: 18-35)*	-0.359*	0.148	-0.112	-0.668--0.050	-0.396**	0.153	-0.124	-0.696--0.095
Education *(Ref: no school)*	-0.384**	0.157	-0.217	-0.591--0.177	-0.244*	0.107	-0.138	-0.453--0.034
Religiosity *(Ref: non-religious)*	0.304*	0.105	0.099	0.018-0.591	0.169	0.144	0.055	-0.114-0.452
Household Income *(Ref: <95,000)*	-0.162	0.146	-0.052	-0.465-0.140	-0.057	0.151	-0.018	-0.353--0.239
Marital Status *(Ref: sing/sep/div/wid)*	0.081	0.154	0.024	-0.244-0.406	0.047	0.161	0.014	-0.270-0.364
Immigration Status *(Ref: U.S. citizens/GC)*	-0.236	0.166	-0.065	-0.695-0.224	-0.140	0.228	-0.038	-0.589-0.308
Generational Position *(Ref: 1st generation)*	0.333*	0.234	0.099	0.007-0.659	0.226	0.168	0.067	-0.104-0.557
Family Type *(Ref: nuclear)*	0.378*	0.189	0.095	0.007-0.749	0.277	0.184	0.070	-0.084-0.639
Ethnicity *(Ref: Indian)*	0.139	0.067	0.111	-0.009-0.270	0.070	0.067	0.056	-0.062-0.201
Acculturation					-0.105	0.104	-0.047	-0.310-0.099
Gender-role Attitudes					0.508***	0.103	0.280	0.306-0.709
Constant	2.613***	0.362		1.900-3.325	1.682**	0.548		0.633-2.786

Note: B=unstandardized coefficient, **β=standardized coefficient, SE= standard error, CI = confidence interval, *P<0.05,**P<0.01 ***P<0.001*

Table 2.4

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses on DV Perceptions (Use of Violence in Solving Family Matters), N=422

Variables	**DV Perceptions 2 Model 1**				**DV Perceptions 2 Model 2**			
	B	**SE**	**β**	**95% CI**	**B**	**SE**	**β**	**95% CI**
Gender *(Ref: male)*	0.365**	0.110	0.157	0.148-0.581	0.162	0.105	0.069	-0.044-0.367
Age *(Ref: 18-35)*	0.171	0.117	0.071	-0.060-0.401	0.208	0.109	0.086	-0.006-0.421
Education *(Ref: no school)*	0.083	0.078	0.062	-0.071-0.237	-0.089	0.076	-0.067	-0.238-0.060
Religiosity *(Ref: non-religious)*	-0.288**	0.108	-0.124	-0.502--0.075	-0.151	0.103	-0.065	-0.352-0.051
Household Income *(Ref: <95,000)*	0.191	0.115	0.081	-0.034-0.417	0.074	0.107	0.032	-0.136-0.285
Marital Status *(Ref:sing/sep/div/wid)*	-0.340**	0.123	-0.133	-0.582--0.097	-0.314**	0.115	-0.123	-0.540--0.089
Immigration Status *(Ref: U.S. citizens/GC)*	0.169	0.174	0.061	-0.174-0.511	-0.046	0.162	0.017	-0.273-0.365
Generational Position *(Ref: 1st generation)*	-0.583***	0.123	-0.231	-0.826--0.340	-0.419**	0.120	-0.166	-0.654--0.184
Family Type *(Ref: nuclear)*	-0.281*	0.141	-0.094	-0.558--0.005	-0.165	0.131	-0.055	-0.422-0.092
Ethnicity *(Ref: Indian)*	-0.045	0.050	-0.048	-0.143-0.053	0.041	0.048	0.044	-0.052-0.135
Acculturation					0.016	0.074	0.010	-0.130-0.162
Gender-role Attitudes					-0.601***	0.073	-0.441	-0.745--0.457
Constant	6.139***	0.270		5.608-6.670	7.524***	0.390		6.758-8.290

Note: B=unstandardized coefficient, β=standardized coefficient, SE= standard error, CI = confidence interval, *P<0.05,P<0.01 ***P<0.001*

Table 2.5

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses on DV Perceptions (Causes of Domestic Violence), N=419

Variables	**DV Perceptions 3 Model 1**				**DV Perceptions 3 Model 2**			
	B	**SE**	**β**	**95% CI**	**B**	**SE**	**β**	**95% CI**
Gender *(Ref: male)*	-0.430***	0.127	-0.168	-0.679--0.181	-0.241*	0.124	-0.094	-0.486--0.003
Age *(Ref: 18-35)*	0.049	0.135	0.019	-0.216-0.315	0.027	0.129	0.010	-0.227-0.280
Education *(Ref: no school)*	-0.319**	0.090	-0.218	-0.496--0.141	-0.151	0.090	-0.103	-0.328-0.026
Religiosity *(Ref: non-religious)*	0.229*	0.125	0.090	-0.016--0.475	0.144	0.122	0.057	-0.095-0.384
Household Income *(Ref: <95,000)*	0.141	0.132	0.054	-0.119-0.401	0.235	0.127	0.090	-0.015-0.485
Marital Status *(Ref: sing/sep/div/wid)*	-0.125	0.142	-0.044	-0.404-0.154	-0.122	0.136	-0.043	-0.390-0.146
Immigration Status *(Ref: U.S. citizens/GC)*	0.082	0.201	-0.027	-0.312-0.477	0.214	0.193	0.071	-0.165-0.593
Generational Position *(Ref: 1st generation)*	0.106	0.142	0.038	-0.174-0.386	-0.113	0.142	-0.041	-0.392-0.167
Family Type *(Ref: nuclear)*	0.059	0.162	0.018	-0.259-0.378	-0.043	0.156	-0.013	-0.348-0.263
Ethnicity *(Ref: Indian)*	0.140	0.057	0.135	-0.027-0.253	0.052	0.057	0.050	-0.059-0.163
Acculturation					0.186*	0.088	0.101	0.012-0.359
Gender-role Attitudes					0.552***	0.087	0.369	0.382-0.723
Constant	3.211***	0.311		2.599-3.822	1.357**	0.463		0.447-2.267

Note: B=unstandardized coefficient, β=standardized coefficient, SE= standard error, CI = confidence interval, *P<0.05,**P<0.01 ***P<0.001

Table 2.6

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses on DV Perceptions (Contextual Justification of Domestic Violence), N=422

Variables	**DV Perceptions 4 Model 1**				**DV Perceptions 4 Model 2**			
	B	**SE**	**β**	**95% CI**	**B**	**SE**	**β**	**95% CI**
Gender *(Ref: male)*	0.099	0.129	0.040	-0.154-0.351	0.013	0.129	0.005	-0.241-0.267
Age *(Ref: 18-35)*	0.124	0.137	0.047	-0.146-0.394	0.156	0.134	0.060	-0.107-0.420
Education *(Ref: no school)*	0.088	0.092	0.055	-0.093-0.268	0.027	0.094	0.019	-0.157-0.211
Religiosity *(Ref: non-religious)*	-0.222	0.127	-0.089	-0.472-0.027	-0.103	0.127	-0.041	-0.352-0.145
Household Income *(Ref: <95,000)*	0.329*	0.134	0.129	0.065-0.593	0.259*	0.132	0.101	-0.001--0.519
Marital Status *(Ref: sing/sep/div/wid)*	-0.319*	0.144	-0.114	-0.602--0.035	-0.269*	0.141	-0.096	-0.547--0.009
Immigration Status *(Ref: U.S. citizens/GC)*	0.155	0.204	0.057	-0.246-0.556	0.128	0.200	0.043	-0.266-0.522
Generational Position *(Ref: 1st generation)*	0.152	0.144	0.055	-0.133-0.436	0.125	0.148	0.046	-0.165-0.416
Family Type *(Ref: nuclear)*	0.021	0.165	0.006	-0.303-0.344	0.078	0.162	0.024	-0.239-0.396
Ethnicity *(Ref: Indian)*	0.024	0.058	0.034	-0.091-0.139	0.049	0.059	0.048	-0.066-0.165
Acculturation					0.292**	0.091	0.160	0.113-0.472
Gender-role Attitudes					-0.261**	0.090	-0.175	-0.438--0.083
Constant	3.993***	0.316		3.371-4.614	3.758***	0.481		2.821-4.711

Note: B=unstandardized coefficient, **β=standardized coefficient, SE= standard error, CI = confidence interval, *P<0.05,**P<0.01 ***P<0.001.*

CHAPTER 3

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE VICTIMIZATION AMONG SOUTH ASIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES[1]

[1]Rai, A. To be submitted to *Violence Against Women.* (Other contributors to this article, such as dissertation committee members, are to be added at a later date).

Abstract

Domestic violence is a serious social problem in the United States. Small community studies show high rates of domestic violence victimization among South Asians in the U.S. The purpose of the study was to examine domestic violence victimization rates among this population using a sample drawn from all 50 U.S. states. The study also identifies the correlates of domestic violence victimization using hierarchical logistic regression. This is the first study to examine and compare domestic violence victimization among South Asian men and women. Implications for research, practice and policy are discussed.

Keywords: Domestic violence, South Asians, quantitative, victimization, multi-site, United States.

Introduction

Domestic violence (DV) has devastating effects on individuals and communities, including South Asian (SA) communities in the United States (U.S.) (Nagaraj, 2016). Although SAs are one of the most rapidly growing immigrant groups in the U.S., focus on establishing DV victimization rates among these groups has thus far been limited. While past research points to a prevalence rate of 18-40%, community experts assert that the victimization rates are in fact much higher (Adam, 2000; Rai & Choi, 2018). 75% of SAs are foreign-born (SAALT, 2019). The SA group includes individuals from India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Maldives and Sri Lanka. Statistics suggest that there are currently 5.4 million SAs in the U.S. (SAALT, 2019).

DV is defined as physical, sexual, or psychological harm perpetrated on one partner by the other (Black et. al., 2011). Owing to the multifaceted nature of the SA culture, along with values of patriarchy, collectivism and male dominance, DV manifests in several distinctive ways within this community (Goel, 2005). Therefore, DV can be experienced in ways other than merely physical, sexual, or psychological abuse by individuals within the SA community. Even within the DV studies conducted with SAs, scholars have predominantly focused on physical, sexual and psychological abuse, often overlooking other unique ways in which the SA culture translates into violence.

The inconsistency in accurate DV victimization rates reflects the methodological limitations of past studies. Some of the main limitations are: (a) an overemphasis on understanding the experience of SA women who have been primarily viewed as victims, (b) the use of instruments that do not capture the unique types of DV victimization in SA families, (c) the reliance on studies using small samples, (d) the exclusion of men from DV research, and (e) lumping SAs in with other ethnic groups (Brar, 2013; Murugan, 2017). These limitations have

prevented researchers from demonstrating a comprehensive understanding of DV victimization and its correlates among SA immigrants. While past studies have examined some individual-level correlates of DV, important factors related to one's generational position, religiosity, family type and employment have been missing from the research conducted within the SA diaspora altogether. These factors can have an impact on the victimization experienced by individuals within the SA community. Additionally, these individual-level factors can help practitioners create targeted DV awareness intervention strategies by focusing on specific sub-groups (e.g. older individuals, less educated, more acculturated, etc.). Given these limitations, the goal of the present study was to establish accurate DV victimization rates and specifically examine individual-level correlates of DV victimization experiences.

Domestic Violence Victimization among South Asians

While DV can be a problem confronted by many communities, the unique dimensions of the SA culture, amalgamated with immigration stressors, increases the vulnerability of this community. Owing to the cultural norms among SAs, women experience violence more often than men. According to past research, SA women experience physical, emotional and sexual abuse. In the study conducted by Mahapatra (2012), with 215 participants, 38% of SA women reported experiencing either psychological, sexual or physical abuse in the past year. Even in Hurwitz et al.'s (2006) study regarding lifetime experiences, about 21% of the 208 women reported experiencing physical and sexual abuse. In Raj and Silverman's (2002) study with 160 SA women, 30% reported physical and 18.8% reported experiencing sexual abuse at the hands of their male partner, in their lifetime. Additionally, in the study conducted by Raj et al. (2006), 6% women reported emotional abuse by in-laws in the past year, which was higher than emotional abuse by their partners. This is one of the only studies that has looked at abuse by in-laws,

despite it being an important constituent of DV within the SA community. Despite these prevalence rates, scholars and practitioners believe that DV in SA communities is severely underreported (Mahapatra, 2008; Murugan, 2017).

Correlates of domestic violence victimization experiences. There are very few studies that have examined the influence of individual factors on DV victimization. Despite the inclusion of factors like age, income and education in models, scholars have not been able to provide a conclusive relationship between these factors and DV victimization experiences among SAs (Bhanot & Senn, 2007; Mahapatra, 2012). Predominantly, scholars have remained agnostic about these individual-level factors and have instead focused on how structural factors, such as lack of services and immigration barriers, impact DV victimization among SAs. While both men and women can experience DV, the deep-rooted cultural values, collectivist nature of SA families, inherent patriarchy and rigid gender-role attitudes make women more prone to experiencing violence (Purkayastha, 2004; Dasgupta, 2000, 2007). Patriarchal beliefs can create differences in gender-role expectations and lead to power imbalances.

SA cultural mandates clearly define roles for men and women. While women are expected to be nurturing wives, caring mothers and perfect homemakers, men are expected to toil hard at work to be the providers for the family (Ghuman, 2003). If a woman deviates from this role, men have the right to use violence to discipline their wives and push them back toward their gender-specific roles (Ammar, 2000). Owing to these expectations, women may frequently dismiss experiencing violence as "culture." In the study conducted by Ahmad et al. (2004), about 53% women approved patriarchal beliefs and did not acknowledge their own experience of violence. In a scoping review by Rai and Choi (2018), the authors identified conservative gender-role and IPV supporting attitudes as a consistent risk factor of DV victimization in the

SA culture. Religion and religiosity have been an important influence in DV conversations among SAs. Several SA religious practices and religious scriptures have been used to justify DV. These religious edifices reinforce the gender-roles by idolizing the husband, forcing the women to stay subservient to men and thus increasing their likelihood of experiencing DV (Ayyub, 2000; Goel, 2005).

Other correlates such as social isolation, lack of familiarity with the American lifestyle, language, and economic, emotional and immigration-related dependence on the husband/partner also make SA women more susceptible to experiencing DV (Abraham, 2005; Adam & Schewe, 2007). Scholars such as Bhanot and Senn (2007) found that low levels of acculturation were related to restrictive gender-role behaviors, thus enhancing the risk of DV victimization. Marriage within the SA cultures takes place very differently than it does in the "American" culture. Often, marriage is arranged by the parents without the couple, even having the opportunity to see each other in person (Purkayastha, 2000b). Upon arriving to a new country, in the absence of friends or family, in most cases, a woman is solely bound to her husband for economic, emotional and immigration-related support (Mahapatra, 2012). In the first three years of moving to the U.S., the wife, usually on a dependent visa has no independent status or access to resources (Balgamwalla, 2013). Many times, women do not know the English language, which the husband/partner uses as a way to control women (Rai & Choi, 2018). The onus of acquainting the woman to the American lifestyle, language and necessary life-skills is on the husband. This creates a power differential, hampering the position of the woman moving to the U.S. (Merali, 2008). This difference can increase her risk of DV victimization. Notwithstanding the focus of past studies on these correlates, there is a need for a study with a large sample from

all 50 U.S. states to demonstrate the correlates of DV victimization experiences among both men and women.

Current Study

As indicated above, the research pertaining to DV within the SA immigrant diaspora suffers from two main limitations. The first one being an inaccurate understanding of DV victimization and the second being a lack of studies focusing on correlates of DV victimization. Given these limitations, the present study includes two main research questions. These questions were: (1) What are the prevalence rates of DV victimization among SA immigrants in the U.S.? (2) What are the correlates of DV victimization among SA immigrants residing in the U.S.?

Theoretical Framework

This study has been developed on the premise of acknowledging power, status, and identity-differences among men and women, and examining how these differences inform their DV victimization experiences. No research with immigrants can be complete without accounting for their levels of acculturation and subsequently inferring how acculturation levels inform DV victimization. Therefore, both intersectionality theory and Berry's theory of acculturation informed the proposed study. Both theoretical frameworks that have been used in this study inform the various steps of this study including data collection, recruitment strategies, selection of measures and identification of study variables.

Intersectionality theory draws heavily from Black feminism (Kapilashrami & Hankivsky, 2018). This theory disregards the universality of DV (Cramer et al. 2017). Relying on intersectionality theory allows scholars to acknowledge the multiple identities of individuals that actively interact with each other and comprise their experience of violence (Collins, 1990, 2016; Crenshaw, 1997; Murugan, 2017). The theory emphasizes that the racial, immigration-related,

economic and cultural identities of individuals inform their experience of DV (Choi, 2011; Sokoloff & Pratt, 2005). No two individuals can experience violence in the same way because of the differences in the factors that make up their identity (Lockhart & Danis, 2010).

Scholars have suggested that a universal conceptualization of DV may not be appropriate because it overlooks the role of a given culture in contributing to violence (Yoshihama et al., 2012). SAs may not view economic abuse or a mother-in-law withholding food as DV (Goel, 2005; Sabri et al., 2018), whereas individuals from the American culture may perceive this behavior as violence. This theory is slowly starting to gain popularity in research pertaining to the SA community and DV. Predominantly, this theory has been utilized with SA women to understand DV. Thus far, there has only been one study that has included men while applying an intersectionality lens (Kaur, 2015). The multiple facets of an individual's identity, such as gender, income, religiosity, ethnicity, family composition, etc. may inform DV victimization experiences. By utilizing intersectionality theory, we investigated the influence of these correlates on DV victimization among SA men and women in the U.S. Applying the facets of intersectionality theory to men along with women expands the scope of the theory.

Further, research with immigrants cannot be complete without examining the impact of acculturation on their identities. Thus, incorporating Berry's theory of acculturation to assess the acculturation levels of SAs and its influence on DV victimization is essential (Berry, 2003, 2015). When individuals and groups migrate to a new country, they meet and interact with the individuals and culture of the receiving country (Berry, 2015). This allows for exchange and intermixing of culture, ensuing cultural change. The process of cultural change is known as acculturation. It can be understood as, "cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between cultural groups and their individuals" (Berry, 2007, p.72). This

definition further states that acculturation differs based on gender, generational position as well as by the end goal that individuals aim to achieve.

Berry (2003) explains acculturation as a function of the strategies adopted by individuals. These strategies can cause individuals to integrate or isolate themselves from the host culture. Certain individuals may have more opportunities to acculturate than others. Scholars suggest that SA women may have fewer opportunities of acculturation in the U.S. in comparison to men because of their dependency on men, which leads to lower levels of acculturation (Mahapatra, 2012; Purkayastha, 2000b). Limited acculturation among SA women may increase their risk of DV victimization. Berry's (2003) theory thus far has only been used in two studies conducted with SAs by Krishnan & Berry (1992) and Mansur (2011). Acculturation is a crucial component in the present research as it allows us to demonstrate the role of acculturation in DV victimization experiences. Berry's (2003) theory of acculturation was significant in dictating the selection of an acculturation measure with diverse questions relating to behavioral, cultural and physical aspects. Given the importance of these two theoretical approaches, the study integrated correlates that capture individual factors and the acculturation levels of SAs.

Methods

The current study relied on a cross-sectional study design (Engel & Schutt, 2013) and data was collected through online Qualtrics surveys. The survey was translated into Hindi, a common SA language, using back translation methods (Choi, 2011; Mahapatra, 2008). Informed consent procedures approved by the researcher's University IRB were followed. The consent form explained to participants that their participation in the study was voluntary and they could

exit the survey at any time. To be eligible for the study, the participants had to be of South Asian origin, 18 years and older and currently residing in the U.S.

Study Participants and Procedures

The data for the study was collected using non-probability sampling techniques. Snowball sampling was used by the researcher for data collection through her personal network. Participants were also recruited through Qualtrics research panels. Participants were recruited in two parts because the researcher, being an Indian herself was able to administer the survey to the Indian sub-group. Recruiting participants via Qualtrics panels allowed for the collection of survey responses from non-Indian sub-groups within the SA community across all 50 U.S. States. The panels provided the researcher an opportunity to recruit a diverse sample of participants approximate to the extent of their representation in the population of 5.4 million SAs in the U.S.

The researcher used snowball sampling and administered the survey to individuals within her personal network, through Facebook groups, radio channels, culturally specific grocery stores and relied on participant referrals. Snowball sampling technique is suggested as an appropriate strategy to be employed with hard to access populations (Trochim & Donnelly, 2008). Participants recruited by the researcher were each eligible to sign-up for a $5 Amazon Gift card using a separate link at the end of the survey. This incentive was given to participants to express gratitude for their participation in the study. Along with snowball sampling, Qualtrics research panels were employed to recruit participants. Participants that were recruited via the Qualtrics panels were eligible to receive incentives based on a point system. The points could be redeemed for gift cards, sky miles and rewards. For participants recruited via both methods, 2

follow-ups were sent as suggested by leading survey methodologists Aday and Cornelius (2006). Data collection took place between January-February 2019.

Instrumentation

Dependent variable. A modified version of the Indirect Experiences with Domestic Violence Subscale-Revised was used to measure DV victimization among SA men and women. Due to the unique ways in which DV manifests in SA immigrant community, it was important to select an instrument that allowed participants to respond to distinct types of DV. Therefore, relying on the premise of intersectionality theory of DV being different in immigrant communities, a subscale culturally adapted for SAs for used. The original subscale is part of the Perceptions and Attitudes Toward Domestic Violence Questionnaire - Revised (PADV-R). The Indirect Experiences subscale was originally developed by Yick (1997) to measure indirect experiences of DV, separately about friends and family experiencing DV. The entire subscale consisted of 12 close-ended questions, in two sets of 6 questions each, about friends and family, respectively. In Yick's (1997) study, the six original questions pertained to friends and family members who had experienced any form of physical, emotional, or sexual abuse by their partner. All responses are 'yes/no.' In the present study, only one set of six questions was used to measure SA men and women's direct DV victimization experiences. Nine additional questions specific to the dynamics of DV, such as immigration-related abuse, economic abuse and abuse through in-laws within the SA community were added to this subscale. In total, this subscale consisted of 15 items in the present study. Cumulative DV experience scores were calculated for all participants. The cumulative score was dichotomized as 0=no experience of DV, 1=experience of any DV. Yick (1997) administered the questions separately for friends and family by repeating the first set of six questions twice. She reported two separate reliability

coefficients for these subsections when she tested it with Chinese Americans; one for the friends, and the other for the relatives' section. The Kuder-Richardson coefficient in Yick's study was 0.74 for the friends and 0.72 for the family section. Ahn (2002), who tested a single set of 6 questions with Korean immigrants reported a Cronbach's alpha of 0.80. The Cronbach's alpha for this subscale was 0.93 in the present study.

Independent variables. The independent variables in the study were acculturation, gender-role attitudes and socio-demographic information. Guided by intersectionality theory, these variables were included to account for how differences in identities influences distinct types of DV victimization experiences.

Acculturation. This study measured acculturation with the short version of the Marin and Marin acculturation scale (Marin et al.,1987). This instrument is used to measure acculturation and consists of 12 questions. The questions are scored from 1 to 5. For the purpose of this study the mean scores were dichotomized using 2.51 as the cut-off point, where 0=low acculturation, 1=high acculturation. Using mean scores to split the sample allows the creation of dichotomous categories, giving the researcher an opportunity to use the mutually exclusive categories in data analysis. Since there were fewer cases in the lower scoring groups, combining categories was beneficial to allow for meaningful interpretations (MacCallum et al., 2002; Nagaraj, 2016. This scale was initially developed by Marin et al. (1987) for the Hispanic population. However, this scale has been tested with SAs by Yoshioka et al. (2003), who found a Cronbach's alpha of 0.78. Mahapatra (2008) also tested this scale with SAs and reported a Cronbach's alpha of 0.91. The Cronbach's alpha of this scale was 0.89 in the present study.

Gender-role attitudes. In this study, gender-role attitudes were measured utilizing the modified version of the Attitude Toward Women Scale (ATW-S) by Yoshihama et al. (2014).

The authors developed an adapted version of the ATW-S by contrasting and comparing the 15-item scale developed by Spench and Helmreich (1978), with the 22-item scale developed by Nelson (1988). To streamline the entire survey, the questions in this scale were reverse-coded. The scores ranged from 1-6. For the purpose of this study, the mean scores were dichotomized using 3.51 as the cut-off point, where 0=liberal gender-role attitudes, 1=conservative gender-role attitudes. Mean cut-off points were used to create mutually exclusive categories for data analysis. This approach has been suggested by scholars in the past to simplify their data or to address the issue of fewer cases in specific categories (McCallum et al., 2002; Reyes et al., 2016). Using the AWT-S, Yoshihama et al. (2014) reported a reliability coefficient of 0.74 for women and 0.75 for men. A variation of the ATW-S was tested in the study by Bhanot and Senn (2007), who reported a Cronbach's alpha of 0.84. The Cronbach's alpha of this scale was 0.88 in the present study.

Socio-demographic variables. The demographic information was collected through questions created by the researcher. The variables were categorized as follows: gender (0=male, 1=female), age (0=18-35, 1=36 and older), education (0=less than high school, 1= high school, vocational training or undergraduate degree, 2=master's degree or higher), household income (0=less than $95,000, 1=$95,001 and more), family type (0=nuclear, 1=joint/extended), religiosity (0=not religious, 1=religious), generational position (0=1st generation, 1=1.5+ generation), employment (0=not working, 1=working), ethnicity (0=Indian, 1=Pakistani, 2=Nepali, 3= Bangladeshi, 4=other). For generational position, 1st generation refers to individuals who came to the U.S. at age 13 or older, and 1.5+ refers to individuals who were either born in the U.S. or moved to the U.S. prior to age 13. Income was coded as < and > $95,000 because the median income for SAs is as high as $110,000 (Pew Research Center,

2017). Religiosity was originally measured by asking participants about the extent of their religiosity ranging from not religious, not too religious, fairly religious and very religious. The response categories of several variables were combined due to poor within-cell distribution.

Data Analysis Plan

IP addresses and participant birth dates were screened to avoid data duplication before beginning the study analyses. SPSS version 24 and Stata version 17 were used to test for logistic regression analysis assumptions, analyze for missing data, and examine relationships at the univariate and bivariate level (Berkman & Reise, 2012; IBM Corp, 2017; StataCorp, 2017). Prior to beginning the analysis, chi-square was used to examine differences among participants recruited by the researcher and those recruited via Qualtrics panels with regards to socio-demographic variables. There were no statistically significant differences across the two samples. Frequencies were noted for the categorical independent variables. The missingness in the IVs was less than 5%. There were no issues with the assumptions of logistic regression. At the bivariate level, chi-square was used to examine the relationship between the independent and dependent variables (Calderwood, 2012).

DV prevalence rates were calculated by examining frequencies of victimization experience for each type of DV. Differences across gender were also noted. For the multivariate analysis, the researcher utilized hierarchical logistic regression to predict the correlates of DV victimization experiences. Different models using SPSS version 24 (Berkman & Reise, 2002; Stata Corp, 2017) were tested. Only socio-demographic variables were included in model 1, and acculturation along with gender-role attitudes were added in model 2. Nagelkerke R^2 was used to assess the variance explained (Field, 2005). The researcher examined the reliability of the Marin and Marin and the ATW-S scale by calculating the Cronbach's alpha values (Bland &

Altman,1997). The acceptable Cronbach's alpha values have to be a minimum of 0.7 (Bland & Altman, 1997).

Results

Sample Characteristics

The total sample size of N=468 for the study was from all 50 U.S. States and SA ethnic groups. Overall, 44% of the sample included men and 56% included women. About 37.8% had no school or lower than a high school education, while 24.5% had high school, vocational training or an undergraduate degree and 37.7% had a master's degree or higher. A high proportion (64.2%) was between the ages of 18-35 years. A larger proportion (60.5%) of participants had an income of lesser than $95,000, were 1st generation (70.2%) and lived in a nuclear family (82.1%). Most participants were employed at the time of taking the survey (75.4%) and were religious (54.8%). In terms of ethnicity, 70.2% were Indians, 11.7% were Pakistani, 6.3% were Bangladeshi, 5.2% were Nepali, and 6.6% were from other countries (Sri Lanka, Bhutan, Maldives). An overwhelming proportion of the sample reported high acculturation (81.4%) and had liberal gender-role attitudes (76.6%) (see Table 3.1).

Bivariate Relationships

At the bivariate level, education (χ^2 (2)=13.226, p<0.01), age (χ^2 (1) =4.315, p<0.05), generational position (χ^2 (1)=19.769, p<0.001), family type (χ^2 (1)= 14.206, p<0.001), employment (χ^2 (1)= 8.090, p<0.01), ethnicity (χ^2 (4)= 10.505, p<0.05) and gender-role attitudes (χ^2 (1)= 6.266, p<0.05) had a statistically positive significant relationship with DV victimization experiences. According to the chi-square results, older individuals, those living in joint families, belonging to 1.5+ generation, employed and with conservative gender-role attitudes were more likely to experience DV victimization (see Table 3.1). Post-hoc tests using adjusted residuals for

education and ethnicity were conducted according to which individuals in the high school, vocational training or undergrad degree and those belonging to the Bangladeshi ethnic group were statistically significant groups ($p<0.05$).

(see Table 3.1).

Domestic Violence Victimization Prevalence

Out of the total sample, the highest form of DV victimization was physical violence (48%), followed by emotional (38%), economic (35%), verbal (27%), immigration-related (26%), in-laws related (19%) and ultimately sexual violence (11%) (see Table 3.2). 41% of male and 57% of female participants reported experience of physical abuse (n=224). The most commonly experienced form of physical abuse was "being pushed/grabbed by partner/spouse." 35% of male and 43% of female participants reported experience of emotional abuse (n=176). The most commonly experienced form of emotional abuse was "not allowed by spouse to meet/speak to friends or family." 29% of male and 42% of female participants reported experience of economic abuse (n=163). The most commonly experienced type of economic abuse was, "not allowed to spend money without approval from spouse/partner." 22% of male and 34% of female participants reported experience of verbal abuse (n=128). 25% of male and 29% of female participants reported experience of immigration-related abuse (n=123). The most commonly experienced immigration-related abuse was, "felt threatened about being deported by spouse/partner." 19% of male and 21% of female participants reported experience of in-laws related abuse (n=91). Last, 10% of male and 12% of female participants reported experience of sexual abuse (n=50). (See Tables 3.1 & 3.3). Survey Monkey and the American Research Group margin of error calculator were used to calculate the margin of error, which was between 4.5-5% for the present sample.

Hierarchical Logistic Regression to Predict the Correlates of DV Victimization

In model 1, it was observed that those with a high school education/vocational training or undergraduate degree had 2.659 times higher odds of experiencing DV in comparison to those with no school or less than high school education (OR=2.659, p<0.01, 95% CI 1.346-5.255). Individuals who belonged to 1.5+ generation had 1.766 times higher odds of experiencing DV (OR=1.766, p<0.05, 95% CI 1.048-2.975). Those individuals who belonged to joint families or lived with extended families had 2.341 times higher odds of experiencing DV in comparison to those who lived in nuclear families (OR=2.341, p<0.01, 95% CI 1.263-4.342). Last, individuals who were employed had 1.796 times higher odds of experiencing DV than those not working (OR=1.796, p<0.05, 95% CI 1.040-3.102). Overall, the model was statistically significant (χ^2 (13) = 49.578, p<0.001, explaining 16.4% of the variance. The model correctly classified 65.5% of the cases (see Table 3.4).

In model 2, gender-role attitudes and acculturation were added as correlates in addition to the socio-demographic variables. The findings about all the socio-demographic variables in model 2 were similar to model 1. Therefore, individuals with a high school education/vocational training or undergraduate degree had 2.795 times higher odds of experiencing DV (OR=2.745, p<0.01, 95% CI 1.401-5.574). Individuals who belonged to 1.5+ generation had 1.678 times higher odds of experiencing DV (OR=1.678, p<0.05, 95% CI 0.984-2.863). Individuals in a joint/extended family had 2.273 times higher odds of experiencing DV (OR=2.273, p<0.01, 95% CI 1.223-4.225). Last, individuals who were working had 1.758 times higher odds of experiencing DV (OR=1.758, p<0.05, 95% CI 1.008-3.066). Both acculturation and gender-role attitudes were not related to DV victimization. Overall, the model was statistically significant (χ^2 (15)=50.825, p<0.001, explaining 16.8% of the variance. The variance in model 2 was not much

higher than observed in model 1, indicating that gender-role attitudes and acculturation did not add unique variance. The model classified 66.51% of the cases correctly (see Table 3.4).

Discussion

The current study is an integral step in questioning the women-centered focus within the present South Asian DV literature. Past empirical evidence pertaining to DV within the SA diaspora has suffered from limitations, such as the use of small and single-site samples, dependence on culturally unresponsive instruments to investigate DV victimization, and an exclusive focus on women's victimization. One of the biggest strengths of the present study is that it addresses the glaring limitations of past research. In particular, the study collected survey responses from both women and men, contributing new knowledge about DV victimization among SA men. In doing so, the present study is the first one to make comparisons about DV victimization rates among SA men and women in the U.S. This study utilized one of the largest samples (N=468), drawn from all 50 U.S. states. The two sampling methods allowed the researcher to collect data from across the seven SA ethnic groups. Finally, utilizing a culturally responsive instrument (Agha & Rai, in press), namely the Indirect Experiences with Domestic Violence Subscale-Revised for the first time with the SA community expands our knowledge about the unique types of DV experienced by SA immigrants. This study is the most up to date in establishing DV victimization prevalence rates among SA men and women.

Scholars studying DV within SA communities have primarily looked at physical, sexual and psychological/emotional abuse (Mahapatra, 2012; Raj & Silverman, 2002). The present study deconstructs the distinct power and control tactics within the SA community by examining physical, emotional, economic, verbal, immigration, in-laws-related and sexual DV among SAs. The highest form of DV experience was physical (48%), followed by emotional (38%),

economic (35%), verbal (27%), immigration-related (26%), in-laws (19%) and sexual (11%). The victimization rates in this study confirm past empirical evidence about physical DV victimization experience being the highest (Mahapatra, 2012; Hurwitz et. al., 2006). The rates of emotional and sexual DV experiences were higher in comparison to past studies (Mahapatra, 2012; Raj & Silverman, 2002; Mahapatra & Rai, 2019). There has only been a single study by Raj et al. (2006) that has examined abuse by in-laws among SA women. The current study findings point to a subsequently higher prevalence rate in abuse perpetrated in-laws abuse, 19% compared to 6% in the previous study.

Interestingly, while the rates of victimization for each type of DV were higher for women, victimization among men was not negligible. The victimization rates for men ranged from 41% of physical abuse to 10% of sexual abuse; as compared to 57% of physical abuse to 12% of sexual abuse among women. The patriarchal SA culture creates a power imbalance among men and women, subsequently increasing the dependency of women on men (Purkayastha, 2000b; Dasgupta, 2007). Scholars and experts in the past have noted that this increased dependency enhances women's vulnerability to experiencing DV. Owing to patriarchy and gender-role stereotypes that disempower women, South Asian DV scholars have continued to focus on the experiences of women. However, the findings of the present study demonstrate that it is essential to examine DV among SA men, in addition to women.

The economic (29% in men vs. 42% in women), in-laws (19% in men and 21% in women) and immigration-related (25% in men vs. 29% in women) DV victimization rates stand out the most in this study. Empirical evidence within the SA diaspora continues to point toward an economic imbalance within SA households favoring men (Rai & Choi, 2018; Nagaraj, 2016). Economic control has often been cited as a tactic of DV perpetration. It was surprising to see that

economic victimization was prevalent and high among men, similar to the women in our study. This may imply that a good portion of SA men are dependent on women economically, which has not been previously captured in the literature.

The patrilocal nature of SA marriages often requires a woman to move-in with her husband's family (Mahapatra & Rai, 2019). Even if she does not move in with the family, marriage is viewed as an integration of two families in the SA community, rather than merely a union of two individuals. The husband's family usually has the upper hand in making familial decisions and even commenting on the intimate relationship between the husband and wife. Based on these cultural aspects of SA families, scholars have noted that women are at a risk of being victimized by their in-laws (Goel, 2005; Raj et al., 2006). It was fascinating to note that in our present study, both men and women experienced DV through their in-laws and the prevalence rates (19% vs. 21%) were not very disparate.

It has been documented that the legal status of women is tied to that of their husbands among SA immigrants (Balgamwalla, 2012; 2013; Bhuyan, 2008). Usually, the male partner/husband is responsible for sponsoring the woman at least up to three years after she moves to the U.S. Despite this idea of dependence on the male partner for legal status, in our study immigration-related DV experience was as high as 25% for men. The reason for this high victimization could be that several 1st generation men in the study sample were dependent on their female partners for sponsorship and were victimized by them.

Along with examining the DV victimization rates, this study makes an important contribution in identifying the correlates of DV victimization. Education, generational position, family type and employment significantly predicted DV victimization among study participants. For education, it was observed that individuals who had a high school, vocational training or

undergraduate degree almost had a 2.8 times higher likelihood of being a DV victim than those with less than high school education. Education has been often used as a control variable in studies conducted with SA participants, making its effect on the model unknown (Bhanot & Senn, 2007). This is interesting because the broader DV literature has not been consistent regarding the influence of education on DV victimization either. While scholars (Boy & Kulczyki, 2008) have considered low levels of education as a risk factor of DV victimization, Jewkes (2002) asserts that with an increase in education, the risk of DV victimization actually increases up to a certain point, after which it declines. In our study, we saw that only individuals in the middle education category were at risk of DV victimization in comparison to those with less than high school education. Participants with the highest level of education in the current sample were altogether not at risk of DV victimization. Those with a high school diploma, vocational training, or an undergraduate degree may be acquiring new skills and trying to become independent, threatening the status quo in SA households. For women especially, seeking education may be seen as a threat and may increase their likelihood of victimization. For participants with no education or less than a high school diploma, reported DV victimization was not significant because while participants may be experiencing violence, they may be unaware of it being DV or not empowered enough to confront it. Jewkes (2002) explains this curvilinear relationship by stating that women who are starting to seek education may be empowered to challenge the gender-norms without fully understanding its impact, leading to an increased risk of victimization. They are however able to better comprehend and tackle the impact of challenging gender-norms after seeking more education, ultimately reducing their risk of victimization.

For generational position, it was observed that participants who belonged to the 1.5+ generation were 1.7 times more likely to be victimized than those who were from the 1st generation. While this is surprising, a possible explanation could be that individuals belonging to the 1.5+ generation may be more traditional than those who are newer immigrants (Gupte, 2015). By staying far away from their countries of origin or ancestral lineage, 1.5+ generation individuals may be more motivated to safeguard their culture. Often times, individuals in the SA community may be experiencing abuse in the name of culture (Gill, 2004). Owing to this traditionalism, their experience of DV victimization may be higher in comparison to 1st generation immigrants.

Next, we saw that individuals from joint families had 2.3 times higher odds of being a DV victim in comparison to those who lived in nuclear families. This finding corroborates past research suggesting that individuals living with their in-laws are more prone to experiencing DV (Goel, 2005; Raj et. al., 2006). The patrilocality entrenched within the SA culture can increase the risk of DV victimization among SA women. The coercive mechanisms used by families, in addition to the intimate partner, makes DV within the SA community so unique. While both men and women experienced abuse by in-laws in this study, it is important to note that the prevalence rates for women (21%) were slightly higher than they were for male participants (19%).

Last, those who were employed had 1.8 times greater likelihood of experiencing DV victimization as compared to those who were not employed. This is an interesting finding because one may expect that having a job may increase the feeling of freedom and reduce dependency. However, according to SA scholars like Abraham (2000a) and Dasgupta (2007), the pressure to conform to gender-roles may force SA women to remain accountable to their spouse/partner. Women who are independent but are married to men who may be averse to

losing control may continue to be victimized irrespective of their employment status. Based on prevalence rates, while both men and women experienced economic abuse in this sample, the prevalence rates were much higher for women, 42% vs. 29% for men. A possible explanation for the victimization of men in the sample could be that due to the increased economic dependency of SA women on men, they may also be feeling victimized. This was a noteworthy finding given that owing to the patriarchal nature of the SA culture, economic abuse has been seen to be typical among SA women (Mahaptra & Rai, 2019; Murugan, 2017).

Gender was not a significant predictor of DV victimization in the present study. However, upon examining prevalence rates, women reported higher victimization in comparison to men. Seeking education and securing employment opportunities could be viewed as a sign of high acculturation among women within the SA community. When women become more acculturated, it could increase their experience of DV victimization (Dasgupta, 2000). The present study is the first one that included more comprehensive risk factors of DV victimization. Therefore, it is imperative for future scholars and researchers to include these correlates in subsequent models and study their effects to build a cohesive body of literature. Scholars are also encouraged to integrate theoretical approaches, such as those included in the present research, while studying correlates that impact DV victimization, to allow for the inclusion of correlates based on a sound theoretical premise.

Implications

Along with creating new knowledge about the unique types of DV victimization experiences as well as establishing precise prevalence rates among SAs, this study contributes to research in a myriad of ways. First, testing the modified version of the Indirect Experiences with Domestic Violence Subscale-Revised for the first time with the SA community helps establish its

validity and reliability. Second, this was one of the only few studies to utilize an intersectionality framework and apply it to SA men. Intersectionality theory has been traditionally widely used to study DV among women. The central premise of the theory has been that gender alone cannot contribute to violence because a woman's experience of DV is compounded by different factors in addition to her gender (Lockart & Danis, 2010). However, based on the findings of the current study, intersectionality theory can also be applied to men to study the influence of different factors on men's DV victimization. Future researchers can rely on the study findings to test the modified new instrument as well as use an intersectionality lens with men and women from diverse immigrant groups. The novel finding about DV victimization rates, as well as the unique tactics of DV within SA families, can be useful in adding to the curricula to train students belonging to the helping profession. Helping professionals (i.e., counselors, social workers, advocates, nurses, police officers, etc.) are bound to come in frequent contact with victims (Choi & An, 2016) and it is important for them to be adequately trained. Therefore, helping professionals who will subsequently interact with victims need to be equipped with the skills needed to deal with DV issues in immigrant families (Rai, Choi & Khandare, 2019). Educators must provide mock simulation activities to enhance preparedness among students.

Given the findings about the distinct forms of DV such as immigration, in-laws related, economic, verbal, sexual, emotional and physical among SAs, it is essential for practitioners to design culturally sensitive interventions. Including information about all the types of violence as well as the services available to obtain support will be pivotal in encouraging more immigrant victims to report cases of DV. The study findings strongly suggest that DV is not a problem that only SA women face. Developing DV interventions targeting both men and women will allow men facing DV to feel supported. The specific study findings about employed individuals facing

victimization, calls for an urgent alliance between employers and practitioners. Employers with a large number of SAs can be trained to screen for DV and provide counseling support to potential victims. Service providers tend to offer services for incoming immigrants, but as seen in the present study, those belonging to the 1.5+ generation were at a higher risk of victimization as compared to newly arriving immigrants. Therefore, it is imperative to include services that are available to all SAs irrespective of whether or not they are new immigrants. Practitioners are also encouraged to collaborate with specific service providers such as hospitals and the criminal justice system, to make them aware of the unique attributes of DV among immigrants. Building updated screening tools for service providers can increase reporting and provide appropriate services to individuals feeling victimized by their partners/in-laws.

The legal status of many immigrants is tied to their spouse. Necessary documentation such as seeking a driver's license, opening a bank account or even obtaining a work visa is often dependent on the spouse. Individuals with jobs in our study were at a higher risk of DV victimization. Several of those who had jobs could be participants on H-4 dependent visas or with permanent residency attached to their spouse's primary visa/residency. Owing to this, the primary visa holders automatically become more powerful in comparison to those on a dependent visa. Policy activists are encouraged to propose changes to the H-4 dependent visa rule, which jeopardizes individuals on such visas. Immigration services must propose visa rules that enhance equality and fairness among immigrants. Improved accessibility of the VAWA will allow immigrant DV victims to make use of the provisions within the Act, which can offer legal support and respite.

Limitations

DV research continues to be critical within immigrant communities. Despite the valuable contributions of the present study, it suffers from some limitations. First, the study examined unique forms of DV victimization among SAs using specific questions. Given the complexity of the SA culture, there could be several other tactics that could translate into violence which may have not been included in the present study. Therefore, it is imperative for future researchers examining DV prevalence to expand on the existing instrument and include unique forms of violence that confront SA families. Second, the study relied on a cross-sectional design that disallows temporal sequencing and drawing causal inferences. It would be helpful to note victimization experiences over a period of time through a longitudinal approach that was missing in this study. The time at which violence was experienced – earlier on or later in the relationship, could have implications for prevention efforts, which future researchers are encouraged to focus on. Third, the high levels of acculturation and liberal gender-role attitudes, as reported by the study participants, could limit the generalizability of this study in some ways. Fourth, dichotomizing the acculturation and gender-role attitudes variables could have led to the creation of superfluous binaries, which may have impacted the results. However, because of fewer number of cases in certain categories combining these categories was necessary. Last, the legal status of participants could not be included in the study as a covariate due to multicollinearity issues. Future investigators are encouraged to include this variable and examine its relationship with DV victimization.

Conclusion

Notwithstanding the limitations of the present study, it contributes to an understudied area. Examining DV victimization rates as well as making comparisons across men and women

is one of the most significant contributions of the present study. These findings could encourage collaborations between researchers and practitioners when designing awareness programs that can focus on including both men and women. The study findings can also pave way for immigrant scholars to study distinct forms of abuse in diverse immigrant groups. As a research community, we have spent extensive time viewing DV as a problem faced by women alone. This study is integral in reopening the gendered conversations concerning DV. Overall, the present study is an important step forward in DV research in immigrant communities.

References

Abraham, M. (2000a). *Speaking the Unspeakable: Marital Violence Among South Asian Immigrants in the United States.* New Brunswick, N. J. & London: Rutgers University Press.

Abraham, M. (2005). Domestic violence and the Indian diaspora in the United States. *Indian Journal of Gender Studies, 12*(2-3), 427-451.

Adam, N. M., & Schewe, P. A. (2007). A multilevel framework exploring domestic violence against immigrant Indian and Pakistani women in the United States. *Journal of Muslim Mental Health, 2(i)*, 5-20.

Adam, N.M. (2000). Domestic violence against women within immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities in the U.S. *Dissertation Abstracts International, 61*(11), 4547A (Doctoral Dissertation; University of Illinois, Chicago).

Aday, L.A., & Cornelius, L.J. (2006). *Designing and conducting health surveys: A comprehensive* guide (3rd edition). San Francisco: Jossey Bass, c.2006.

Agha, E., & Rai, A. (2020). Notes from the field: Culturally adapted research methods for South Asian participants. *Professional Development Journal, 23*(1) *(in press).*

Ahmad, F., Riaz, S., Barata, P., & Stewart, D.E. (2004). Patriarchal beliefs and perceptions of abuse among South Asian immigrant women. *Violence Against Women, 10,* 262-282.

Ahn, B. (2002). *The perceptions of and attitudes toward partner abuse among first-generation Korean-Americans: Their relationships to the incidence of partner abuse*. LSU Doctoral Dissertations. 2167 (Doctoral Dissertation, Louisiana State University).

Ammar, N. (2000). In the shadow of the pyramids: Domestic violence in Egypt. *International Review of Victimology, 7*(3), 29-66.

Ayyub, R. (2000). Domestic violence in the South Asian Muslim immigrant population in the United States. *Journal of Social Distress and the Homeless, 9*(3), 237-248.

Balgamwalla, S. (2013). A woman's place: Dependent spouse visa holders and the legacy of coverture. Retrieved from https://law.ubalt.edu/centers/caf/pdf/Sabrina%20Balgamwalla.pdf (Accessed on December 20, 2019).

Balgamwalla, S. (2014). Bride and prejudice: How US immigration law discriminates against spousal visa holders. *Berkeley Journal of Gender, Law & Justice, 29*(1), 24-71.

Berkman, E.T. & Reise, S.P. (2012). *A conceptual guide to statistics using SPSS*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Berry, J.W. (2007). Acculturation strategies and adaptation. In Lansford, J.E., Deater-Deckard, K. & Bornstein (Eds.), *Acculturation Strategies and Adaptation* (pp 69-81). New, York, New York: The Guilford Press.

Berry, J.W. (2015). *Intercultural adaptation to acculturation.* Paper presented at the Annual Conference, Canadian Psychological Association, Ottawa.

Berry, J.W. (2003). Conceptual approaches to acculturation. In Chun, K., Balls-Organista. P. & Marin, G. (Eds.), *Acculturation: Theory, method and applications* (pp 17-37).

Black, M. C., Basile, K. C., Breiding, M. J., Smith, S. G., Walters, M. L., Merrick, M. T., et al. (2011). *National intimate partner and sexual violence survey.* Atlanta, GA: CDC. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

Boy, A., & Kulczycki, A. (2008). What we know about intimate partner violence in the Middle East and North Africa. *Violence Against Women, 14*(1), 53-70.

Brar, A. (2013). *The "unique" experiences of domestic violence of immigrant Sikh women through films.* Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses (Order No. MR95265).

Bland, J. M., & Altman, D. G. (1997). Statistics notes: Cronbach's alpha. *Bmj*, *314*(7080), 572.

Bhanot, S., & Senn, C. (2007). Attitudes towards violence against women in men of South Asian ancestry: Are acculturation and gender role attitudes important factors? *Journal of Family Violence, 22*(1), 25-31.

Bhuyan, R. (2006). *Disciplining through the promise of "freedom": The production of the battered immigrant woman in public policy and domestic violence advocacy.* Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global (Order No. 3230731) (Doctoral Dissertation, Washington University).

Calderwood, K.A. (2012). Teaching inferential statistics to social work students: A decision-making flow chart. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work, 32,* 133-147.

Choi, Y. (2011). *Determinants of clergy behaviors promoting safety of battered Korean immigrant women*. Dissertation Abstracts International, *A, 72*, 2155 (Doctoral Dissertation; Virginia Commonwealth University).

Choi, Y.J. & An, S. (2016). Interventions to improve responses of helping professionals to intimate partner violence: a quick scoping review. *Research on Social Work Practice, 26*(1), 101-127.

Collins, P.H. (1990). Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment. Boston: UnwinHyman.

Collins, P.H. & Bilge, S. (2016). *Intersectionality*. Cambridge, UK; Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2016.

Cramer, E.P., Choi, Y.J. & Ross, A.I. (2017). Race, culture, and abuse of persons with disabilities. In Johnson, A.J., Nelson, J.R. & Lund, E.M. (Eds.). *Religion, disability, and interpersonal violence* (pp89-110). Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing

Crenshaw, K. (1997). Intersectionality and identity politics: Learning from violence against women of color. In Shanley, M.L. & Narayan, U. (Eds.) *Reconstructing political theory: feminist perspectives.* Philadelphia, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press (pp. 178-193).

Dasgupta, S. D. (2007). *Body evidence: Intimate violence against south Asian women in America.* New York: NY: Rutgers University Press.

Dasgupta, S. D. (2000). Charting the course: An overview of domestic violence in the south Asian community in the united states. *Journal of Social Distress and the Homeless, 9,* 173- 185.

Engel, R.J., & Schutt, R.K. (2013). *The practice of research in social work.* (3rd Edition). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Field, A. (2005). *Discovering statistics using SPSS*. (3rd Edition). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Ghuman, P.S. (2003). *Double loyalties: South Asian adolescents in the west*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Gill, A. (2004). Voicing the silent fear: South Asian women's experiences of domestic violence. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice, 43*(5), 465-483.

Goel R. (2005). Sita's Trousseau: restorative justice, domestic violence, and South Asian culture. *Violence Against Women, 11,* 639-665.

Gupte, M. (2015). *The role of 'honor' in violence against South Asian women in the United States.* Manavi Occasional Paper (No. 11). New Brunswick, NJ: Manavi.

Hurwitz, E. J., Gupta, J., Liu, R., Silverman, J. G., & Raj, A. (2006). Intimate partner violence associated with poor health outcomes in U.S. South Asian women. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health, 8*(3), 251-261.

IBM Corp. (2017). *IBM SPSS Statistics for Windows, Version 25.0.* Armonk, NY: IBM Corp.

Jewkes, R. (2002). Intimate partner violence: Causes and prevention. *The Lancet, 359*(9315), 1423-1429.

Kapilashrami, A. &Hankivsky, O. (2018). Intersectionality and why it matters to global health. *The Lancet, 391*(10140), 2589-2591.

Kaur, H. (2015). *Attitudes of South Asian men in the UK toward women and their understanding of, and justification for, domestic violence.* (Doctoral dissertation, London Metropolitan University).

Krishnan, A. & Berry, J.W. (1992). Acculturative stress and acculturation attitudes among Indian immigrants to the United States. *Psychology and Developing Societies, 4*(2), 187-212.

Lockhart, LL. & Danis, F.S. (2010). Domestic violence: intersectionality and culturally competent practice. New York: Columbia University Press: NY, New York.

MacCallum, R.C., Zhang, S., Preacher, K.J. & Rucker, D.D. (2002). On the practice of dichotomization of quantitative variables. *Psychological Methods, 7*(1), 19-40.

Mahapatra, N. (2008). *South Asian women and domestic violence: Incidence and informal and formal help -seeking.* Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses (Order No. 3341953) (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Texas-Austin).

Mahapatra, N. (2012). South Asian women in the U.S. and their experience of domestic violence. *Journal of Family Violence. 27*, 381-390.

Mahapatra, N. & Rai, A. (2019). Every cloud has a silver lining but… "pathways to seeking formal-help and South-Asian immigrant women survivors of intimate partner violence." Health Care for *Women International*, *40*(11), 1170-1196.

Marin, G., Sabogal, F., Marin, B. V., Otero-Sabogal, R., & Perez, E. J. (1987). Development of a short acculturation scale for Hispanics. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences,* 9, 183-205.

Merali, N. (2008). Theoretical frameworks for studying female marriage migrants. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 32*, 281-289.

Murugan, V. (2017). *Intimate partner violence among South Asian women in the United States: Prevalence and help-seeking behaviors*. Dissertation Abstracts International (Order No. 10606554) (Doctoral Dissertation, Washington University).

Nagaraj, N.C. (2016). *Violence and health among South Asian women in the US: a life course Perspective.* Dissertation Abstracts International (Order No. 10085746) (Doctoral Dissertation, The George Washington University).

Nelson, M. (1988). Reliability, validity, and cross-cultural comparisons for the Simplified Attitudes Towards Women Scale. *Sex Roles, 18*(5/6), 289–296.

Padilla, A.M. (Ed.). (1980). *Acculturation: Theory, models, and some new findings.* Boulder: CO, Westview.

Purkayastha, B. (2004). Skilled migration and cumulative disadvantage: the case of highly qualified Asian Indian immigrant women in the US. *Geoforum, 36* (2005), 181-196.

Purkayastha, B. (2000b). Liminal Lives: South Asian Youth and Domestic Violence. *Journal of Social Distress and the Homeless, (3),* 201.

Pew Research Center. (2017). Key facts about Asian Americans, a diverse and growing population. Retrieved from https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/09/08/key-facts-about-asian-americans/ (Accessed on Jan 21, 2020).

Rai, A., Choi, Y.J., & Khandare, L. (2019). State of domestic violence content in MSW curriculum in the U.S. *Perspectives on Social Work, 15*(1), 15-27.

Rai, A., & Choi, Y. J. (2018). Socio-cultural risk factors impacting domestic violence among South Asian immigrant women: A scoping review. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 38*, 76-85.

Raj, A., Livramento, K. N., Santana, M. C., Gupta, J., & Silverman, J. G. (2006). Victims of intimate partner violence more likely to report abuse from in-laws. *Violence Against Women, 12*(10), 936-949.

Raj, A., & Silverman, J. (2002). Intimate partner violence amongst South Asian women in Greater Boston. *Journal of the American Medical Women's Association, 57*(2), 111-114.

Reyes, H.L.M., Foshee, V.A., Niolon, P.H., Reidy, D.E. & Hall, J.E. (2016). Gender role attitudes and male adolescent dating violence perpetration: normative beliefs as moderators. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 45*(2), 350-360.

Sabri, B., Simonet, M. & Campbell, J.C. (2018). Risk and protective factors of intimate partner violence among South Asian immigrant women and perceived need for services. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *24* (3), 442-452.

South Asian Americans Leading Together. (2019). Demographic snapshot of South Asians in the United States. Retrieved from https://saalt.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/SAALT-Demographic-Snapshot-2019.pdf (Accessed on March 11, 2020).

Sokoloff, N. J., & Pratt, C. (2005). *Domestic violence at the margins: readings on race, class, gender, and culture.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.

Spence, J. T., & Helmreich, R. L. (1978*). Masculinity and femininity: Their psychological dimensions, correlates and antecedents.* Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

StataCorp. (2017) *Stata Statistical Software: Release 15*. College Station, TX: StataCorp LLC.

Trochim, W. M. K & Donnelly, J. P (2008). *Research methods knowledge base* (3rd ed). Thomson Custom Pub, Mason, OH.

Yick, A. G. (1997). *Chinese-Americans' perceptions of and experiences with domestic violence and factors related to their psychological well-being.* Available from Dissertation Abstracts International (Order No. 9823585) (Doctoral dissertation. University of California).

Yoshihama M., Blazevski J., & Bybee D. (2014). Enculturation and attitudes towards intimate partner violence and gender roles in an Asian Indian population: Implications for community-based prevention. *Society for Community Research and Action, 53,* 249-260.

Yoshihama, M., Ramakrishnan, A., Hammock, A. & Khaliq, M. (2012). Intimate partner violence prevention program in an Asian immigrant community: integrating theories, data and community. *Violence Against Women, 18*(7), 763-783.

Yoshioka, M. R., Gilbert, L., El-Bassel, N., & Baib-Amin, M. (2003). Social support and disclosure of abuse: Comparing South Asian, African American, and Hispanic battered women. *Journal of Family Violence, 18*(3), 171-180.

Table 3.1

Sample Characteristics and Distribution of Study Variables (N=468)

			DV Experiences Yes		
Variables	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**	**Chi-square**
Gender					0.145
Male	198	44	84	43.1	
Female	252	56	106	54.4	
Education					13.226**
No school or less than high school	175	37.8	57	29.2	
high school, vocational or undergraduate degree	113	24.5	61	31.3	
Master's degree or higher	174	37.7	75	38.5	
Age					4.315*
18-35	291	64.2	112	57.4	
36 and more	162	35.8	78	40	
Household income					0.538
less than $95,000	271	60.5	117	60	
95,001 and more	176	39.5	71	36.4	
Generational Position					19.769***
1st Generation	314	70.2	112	57.4	
1.5+ Generation	133	29.8	75	38.5	
Family Type					14.206***
Nuclear	366	82.1	141	72.3	
Joint/Extended	81	17.9	47	24.1	
Employment					8.090**
Not working	111	24.6	35	17.9	
Working	341	75.4	154	78.9	
Religiosity					0.055
Not religious	204	45.2	86	44.1	
Religious	247	54.8	103	52.8	
Ethnicity					10.505*
Indian	313	70.2	119	61.1	
Pakistani	52	11.7	21	10.8	

			DV Experiences Yes		
Variables	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**	**Chi-square**
Nepali	23	5.2	10	5.1	
Bangladeshi	28	6.3	16	8.2	
Others	30	6.6	19	9.7	
Gender-role Attitudes					6.266*
Liberal	342	76.6	135	69.2	
Conservative	105	23.4	54	27.7	
Acculturation					0.228
low	82	18.6	34	17.4	
high	355	81.4	150	76.9	

Note: *P<0.05,P<0.01 ***P<0.001*

Table 3.2

Types of Domestic Violence Victimization among South Asians in the Sample (N=468)

Type of Violence	Experienced by Sample (n) out of N=468	Experienced by Sample out of N=468 (%)
Physical	224	48%
Emotional	176	38%
Economic	163	35%
Verbal	128	27%
Immigration	123	26%
In-laws	91	19%
Sexual	50	11%

Table 3.3

Domestic Violence Prevalence Rates and Gender-differences (N=468)

	Specific Type of DV Experience Total (N)	Specific Type of DV Experience for Men (n)	Specific Type of DV Experience for Men of all men (%)	Specific Type of DV Experience for Women (n)	Specific Type of DV Experience for Women of all women (%)
Physical Abuse					
Been pushed/grabbed by partner/spouse	106	36		70	
Been threatened with a gun/knife by spouse/partner	37	11	41%	26	57%
Been slapped by spouse or partner	81	34		47	
Emotional Abuse					
Not allowed by spouse/partner to leave the house	54	18		36	
Not allowed by spouse/partner to meet/speak to friends or family	74	30	35%	44	43%
Felt threatened by spouse/partner about children being taken away	48	21		27	
Economic Abuse					
Felt that you would be unable to secure or keep job because of pressure from spouse/partner	54	20	29%	34	42%
Not allowed by spouse/partner to have a personal bank account	44	15		29	
Not allowed to spend money without approval from spouse/partner	65	22		43	
Verbal Abuse					
Been verbally insulted by spouse/partner	128	43	22%	85	34%
Immigration Abuse					
Not allowed by spouse/partner to keep custody of immigration papers (passport and green card)	37	13		24	
Not allowed to maintain legal residency because spouse/partner failed to file legal papers and/or residency documents	39	17	25%	22	29%
Felt threatened about being deported by spouse/partner	47	20		27	
In-laws Abuse					
Been insulted verbally/physically/emotionally by in-laws	91	38	19%	52	21%
Sexual Abuse					
Been forced to have sex with spouse/partner	50	20	10%	30	12%

**Total men in the sample= 198*
**Total women in the sample= 252*

Table 3.4

Hierarchical Logistic Regression of the Correlates Domestic Violence Experience (N=380)

Variable	**DV Experiences**			**DV Experiences**		
	SE	**OR**	**95% CI**	**SE**	**OR**	**95% CI**
Gender *(Ref: male)*	0.237	1.111	0.698-1.767	0.239	1.135	0.711-1.814
Education *(Ref: no school or less than high school)*						
high school, vocational or undergraduate degree	0.347	2.659**	1.346-5.255	0.352	2.795**	1.401-5.574
Master's degree or higher	0.3	1.425	0.791-2.567	0.311	1.547	0.841-2.848
Age *(Ref: 18-35)*	0.24	1.545	0.965-2.473	0.243	1.556	0.967-2.504
Household Income *(Ref: less than $95,000)*	0.245	1.033	0.639-1.669	0.246	1.046	0.647-1.693
Generational Position *(Ref: 1st generation)*	0.266	1.766*	1.048-2.975	0.273	1.678*	0.984-2.863
Family Type *(Ref: nuclear family)*	0.315	2.341**	1.263-4.342	0.316	2.273**	1.223-4.225
Employment *(Ref: not working)*	0.279	1.796*	1.040-3.102	0.284	1.758*	1.008-3.066
Religiosity *(Ref:not religious)*	0.237	0.965	1.263-4.342	0.24	0.95	0.594-1.519
Ethnicity *(Ref: Indian)*						
Pakistani	0.38	1.236	0.587-2.600	0.381	1.242	0.588-2.621
Nepali	0.548	0.762	0.260-2.232	0.549	0.762	0.260-2.235
Bangladeshi	0.49	1.252	0.479-3.271	0.497	1.154	0.436-3.055
Other	0.502	2.308	0.863-6.170	0.513	2.093	0.765-5.724
Acculturation *(Ref: low)*				0.296	0.976	0.547-1.742
Gender-role Attitudes *(Ref: liberal)*				0.291	1.383	0.782-2.446
Constant	0.376	0.199		0.451	0.187	
Pseudo R2	0.164			0.168		
Chi Square	49.578***			50.825***		
(-)2 log likelihood	472.996			471.748		

*Note: *p<0.001, **p<0.01, *p<0.05, Pseudo R square= Nagelkerke R square*

CHAPTER 4

INDIRECT EXPERIENCES WITH DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND HELP-SEEKING PREFERENCES AMONG SOUTH ASIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES[1]

---

[1]Rai, A. To be submitted to *Journal of Interpersonal Violence.* (Other contributors to this article, such as dissertation committee members, are to be added at a later date).

Abstract

The South Asian culture disempowers individuals experiencing domestic violence from recognizing and reporting victimization. This problem has led to inconsistent reporting of domestic violence prevalence rates. However, before community agencies can develop programs, it is essential to understand the exact nature and prevalence of domestic violence experiences among South Asians. Additionally, past research has found that informal help-seeking through friends and family members is one of the most preferred help-seeking resources among victims of domestic violence. Therefore, it is critical for community-members to be knowledgeable about help-seeking resources. The goal of the study was to examine indirect experience with domestic violence as well as gauge the help-seeking resource preference among South Asian community members. This cross-sectional study included a sample of 468 South Asian men and women across the United States. Descriptive statistics was used to establish rates of indirect experience with domestic violence. Hierarchical logistic regression was used to examine the correlates of recommending a help-seeking resource to a friend or family member experiencing domestic violence. The overall findings suggested that SA community members knew more women than men who had experienced DV. Of the nine help-seeking resources, medical professionals were the most preferred resource among participants. This is the first study to explore indirect experiences, preference for help-seeking resources and correlates of recommending help-seeking resources among South Asians in the U.S. The study findings are beneficial in developing bystander training interventions for community members to support victims of domestic violence. It is imperative for community agencies to engage, even with non-victims in the South Asian community, to reduce overall victimization.

Keywords: Help-seeking, South Asian, immigrants, prevalence, domestic violence.

Introduction

The research on domestic violence (DV) within the South Asian (SA) community is much needed. Several reasons such as, the increased risk of victimization due to immigration barriers, cultural taboos curbing the acceptance of DV, underrepresentation of SAs in DV research, and not including men's voice and experiences in DV research, make DV investigation critical (Balgamwalla, 2013; Kaur, 2015; Murugan, 2017). Despite estimates indicating that 5.4 million SAs currently reside in the U.S., in comparison to other immigrant groups, violence research has been minimal with this population (SAALT, 2019; Yoshihama et al., 2011). This community includes individuals who are originally from one of the seven SA countries, namely, India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Maldives, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. SAs are one of the fastest-growing immigrant groups in the U.S. (SAALT, 2019).

DV refers to coercive and abusive behavior that is used by one intimate partner or their extended kin to control the other intimate partner (Rai & Choi, 2018). Although men can be victims of DV, previous research with the SA community has focused solely on women (Goel, 2005). Prevalence rates indicate that 18- 40% of SAs experience some form of DV (Mahapatra, 2012; Rai & Choi, 2018). However, most studies point to lower rates of victimization (Hurwitz, et al., 2006; Mahapatra, 2008). Community-based organizations (CBOs) assert that actual DV prevalence rates are much higher than what is presented in the extant empirical evidence (Murugan, 2017). Studies with the SA community have predominantly focused on physical, sexual and verbal abuse. Given the cultural values of collectivism and patriarchy implicit within the SA culture, DV can present in many different ways.

Due to the stigma attached to DV, victims are often hesitant to acknowledge, let alone report victimization. In other patriarchal cultures, such as among Chinese and Korean

immigrants, scholars have explored indirect DV experiences by asking community-members about friends and family members experiencing DV (Ahn, 2002; Yick, 1997). However, this approach has not been used with the SA community thus far, leading to studies pointing to lower rates of prevalence than there actually might be. Individuals may be more forthcoming about DV experiences when asked about others, rather than disclosing their own experiences. For CBOs to provide appropriate support to DV victims, it is essential to understand the unique forms and the extent of DV victimization.

Family honor is of utmost importance in SA families, making discussions about DV experiences and help-seeking a taboo (Goel, 2005; Mahapatra & Rai, 2019). Additionally, since DV is considered a private matter, victims are often hesitant to seek help (Yoshihama et al., 2011). Given the overall perceptions of DV within the SA community, the community members believe that they are immune to this "American" problem, often discouraging victims from seeking help (Merchant, 2000). SA women are dissuaded from seeking help on the pretext of bringing "shame" and "dishonor" to the family (Goel, 2005). Other barriers like the fear of deportation and community ostracism may discourage immigrant women from seeking help (Ahmad et al., 2009). Often, informal sources such as friends and family members advise victims to continue staying in abusive relationships in the hopes of an improved future (Mahapatra & Rai, 2019). In rare circumstances, when victims are directed to seek help from formal sources (such as culturally specific CBOs, the criminal justice system [CJS], hospitals, etc.) they are instructed to only do so only in extreme cases (Mahaptra and DiNitto, 2013).

The study conducted by Raj and Silverman (2002) with SA women in the Greater Boston area pointed to lower rates of formal help-seeking by SA women, compared to the general population. Out of 160 women, only 7% sought medical assistance and 11% indicated that they

received counseling services. On the other hand, in the study conducted by Mahapatra and DiNitto (2013) with N=57 SA female victims, 60% sought informal help. Raj & Silverman's (2007) study echoed the finding of SA women relying more on informal sources in comparison to formal sources of help-seeking. An important aspect of help-seeking was highlighted in the study conducted by Mahapatra and Rai (2019) through their theme, *"Help-seeking began within the community first and then led to formal help-seeking"* (p.12). In their study with 9 SA women, who were all either victims, most participants identified help-seeking first from family members, such as, parents and close friends rather than relying on other sources of formal help-seeking. Family and community-members provided women with information about available community resources, information on local shelters, etc. which was found to be helpful. The support from friends and family members as being helpful for victimized women, was also a pivotal theme identified in the study by Yoshihama et al. (2011).

While help-seeking among victims has been examined, the factors that are related to recommending help-seeking resources have not yet been examined within the SA community. Even with the broader American population, there are only a handful studies that have examined help-giving or recommending help-seeking to victims (Beeble, et al., 2008; Goodkind, et al., 2003). At the individual level, gender has been identified as a predictor of recommending help, such that women are more likely than men to recommend a help-seeking resource to a DV victim (Goodkind et.al., 2003). Due to the limited number of studies that have focused on help-giving, the exact correlates are not known. Since informal help-seeking is preferred by victims within the SA community, it is essential to examine the correlates that may increase the likelihood of recommending a help-seeking resource. At the same time, it is necessary to assess the knowledge and preference of help-seeking resources among community-members before they can provide

recommendations to victims. Specifically, it is vital to learn more about the community's choice of resources such as the CJS and the U.S. consulate/embassies, among others. Thus far, only one study has looked at the involvement of the CJS as a help-seeking resource (Yoshihama et al., 2011) and none that have examined the role of the U.S. consulate/embassies. The CJS can be an important resource as it can provide legal support to DV victims. Through frequent interaction with immigrants in the U.S., embassies can play an important role in supporting DV victims and providing them with resources (UN, 2005).

Owing to the limited nature of research in the area of recommending help-seeking resourced and inconsistent findings about DV prevalence rates, this exploratory study sought to answer five main research questions: (1) What is the extent of knowledge among SAs about other SAs (friends or family) experiencing DV? (2) What is the extent of knowledge among SAs about available resources for DV? (3) What is the preference of SAs among available resources in cases of DV? (4) What are the differences in preferences of SAs about DV help-seeking resources, by socio-demographic variables? (5) What are the correlates of recommending a help-seeking resource?

Methods

This study applied an online cross-sectional survey design (Engel & Schutt, 2013). Participants self-reported their responses through the online survey. To provide participants the opportunity to respond to the survey in a language that they are familiar with, the survey was translated into Hindi, a common SA language. Back translation methods were used for the translation (Choi, 2011; Mahapatra, 2008). The IRB protocol procedures stipulated by the researcher's university were followed. The consent form provided the study information to participants and explained that participation in the study was voluntary. To enroll in the study,

participants were required to be of South Asian origin, 18 years or older and currently residing in the United States.

Study Participants and Procedures

Non-probability sampling techniques were used to recruit study participants. For snowball sampling, the researcher used her personal network, participant referrals and Facebook groups to invite participants to take the survey. This sampling technique may be an appropriate technique to be used with populations that are difficult to reach (Trochim & Donnelly, 2008). Participants recruited through snowball sampling were eligible to sign-up by clicking a separate link and receive a $5 Amazon gift card as an appreciation for their time.

In addition, Qualtrics research panels were used to recruit participants. These panels ensure the recruitment of participants from diverse SA ethnic groups. Sample diversity to the extent of the participants' representation in the population of 5.4 million SAs in the U.S. was ensured. The participants recruited via Qualtrics research panels were eligible to receive an incentive directly through Qualtrics based on a point system. They could use the points to redeem gift-cards, sky miles, or other rewards. Two follow-up emails were sent to all participants, as suggested by prominent survey methodologists, Aday and Cornelius (2006). Data for the study was collected between January-February 2019. It was essential to use two recruitment methods because the researcher, being of Indian origin, was able to recruit Indian participants. Using the Qualtrics panels allowed the opportunity to administer the survey to non-Indian participants.

Study Variables

Dependent variable. For the multivariate logistic regression, the main dependent variable for the study was recommending a help-seeking resource. A dichotomous help-seeking

variable (0=no, 1=yes) was used to measure if participants would recommend a help-seeking resource to a friend or family member experiencing DV victimization.

Independent variables. For the multivariate logistic regression, the independent variables were acculturation, gender-role attitudes and socio-demographic information.

Acculturation. Acculturation was measured using the short version of the Marin and Marin scale created by Marin et al. (1987). This instrument measures acculturation through 12 questions. All responses range between 1-5. The mean acculturation scores were dichotomized using 2.51 as the cut-off point, where 0=low acculturation and 1=high acculturation. Since there were fewer cases in the lower scored groups, combining categories and using the mean scores to split the sample enabled a meaningful interpretation. This strategy has been suggested by scholars in the past to dichotomize Likert responses on a case-by-case basis (McCallum et al., 2002; Nagaraj, 2016).While this scale was initially developed to be used with the Hispanic population, it has been tested with SAs by scholars such as Yoshioka et al. (2003) and Mahapatra (2008) who found a Cronbach's alpha of 0.78 and 0.91, respectively. The Cronbach's alpha for this scale was 0.89 in the present study.

Gender-role attitudes. Gender-role attitudes were measured using the modified version of the Attitude Toward Women Scale (ATW-S). The modified version of the ATW-S was developed by Yoshihama et al. (2014). They developed the modified version by comparing the items in the 15-item scale by Spench and Helmreich (1978) and the 22-item scale by Nelson (1988). The overall scores ranged between 1 and 6. To streamline the entire survey used in the present study, the ATW-S was reverse coded. The mean gender-role attitude scores were dichotomized using 3.51 as the cut-off point, where 0=liberal gender role-attitudes and 1=conservative gender-role attitudes. Mean cut-off scores were used to create mutually exclusive

categories due to poor within cell distribution as suggested by MacCallum et al. (2002) and Reyes et al. (2016). Yoshihama and colleagues (2014) tested this scale in their study with SAs and reported a Cronbach's alpha of 0.74 for women and 0.75 for men. Bhanot and Senn who used a modified version of the ATW-S, reported a Cronbach's alpha value of 0.84. The Cronbach's alpha for this scale was 0.88 in the present study.

Socio-demographics. Gender (0=male, 1=female), age (0=18-35, 1=36 and older), education (0=less than high school, 1= high school, vocational training or undergraduate degree, 2=master's degree or higher), religiosity (0=not religious, 1=religious), household income (0=less than $95,000, 1=$95,001 and more), marital status (0=single/separated /divorced/widowed, 1=married/engaged/in a relationship), family type (0=nuclear, 1=joint/extended), ethnicity (0=Indian, 1=Pakistani, 2=Nepali, 3=Bangladeshi, 4=other) and generational position (0=1st generation, 1=1.5+ or higher) were used as socio-demographic variables. In this study, 1st generation referred to individuals who came to the U.S. at or after the age of 13 and 1.5+ higher generation referred to those who were either born here or moved here before the age of 13. The Pew Research Center (2017) estimates the median income for SAs as $110,000. Therefore, income was coded as < and > $95,000 for this study. Religiosity was originally measured by asking participants about the extent of their religiosity ranging from not religious, not too religious, fairly religious and very religious. Categories for several variables in the present study were combined due to poor within-cell distribution.

Other key variables. Several other variables were used to report the preference of help-seeking among community-members and to indicate indirect experiences of DV.

Help-seeking preference. Participants were asked three separate questions to gauge their willingness to recommend resources, extent of usefulness, and preference for help-seeking

resources. Nine help-seeking resources (hospital/emergency room, medical professionals, U.S. consulate/embassy, police, courts, lawyers, SA organizations, social workers/counselors/mental health professionals and places of religious worship) were included as options from which, participants could select.

Indirect experience with domestic violence. A modified version of the Indirect Experiences with Domestic Violence Subscale-Revised was used to measure indirect DV victimization experienced by SA men and women. The complete subscale consisted of 12 close-ended questions (two sets of six questions) about friends and family experiencing DV. These questions inquired about physical, emotional, or sexual abuse. In the original study conducted by Yick (1997), two sets of six questions were used to report DV experiences, about friends and family members separately. Yick reported two separate reliability coefficients for friends and family as 0.74 and 0.72. Ahn (2002) who utilized only one set of 6 questions, reported a Cronbach's alpha of 0.80. In the present study, only one set of six questions was used to measure indirect DV experiences among friends or family members. Additionally, nine new questions about immigration-related, economic and in-laws abuse were added to the subscale. In total, this subscale consists of 15-items in the present study. All responses are 'yes/no' (0=no, 1=yes). Cumulative rates of indirect experience with domestic violence for physical, emotional/psychological, economic, sexual, verbal, in-laws and immigration-related abuse were calculated. The Cronbach's alpha for this scale was 0.93 in the current study. A single question (0=no, 1=yes) asking participants if DV victimization is a problem in the SA community was also included in the survey.

Data Analysis Plan

Participant birthdates and IP addresses were screened for duplicates before beginning the analyses. SPSS version 24 and Stata version 17 were used to test the assumptions of the logistic regression analysis, analyze for missing data and examine the descriptive statistics (Berkman & Reise, 2012; IBM Corp, 2017; StataCorp, 2017). Prior to beginning the study analyses, chi-square tests were used to examine differences by socio-demographic variables, among participants recruited by the researcher and through the Qualtrics panels. There were no statistically significant differences across participants recruited via the two sampling techniques. Missingness in all the variables was less than 5%. There were no issues with the assumptions of logistic regression. Descriptive statistics were examined for participants' willingness to recommend a help-seeking resource, and gauge preferences for help-seeking resources. To establish rates of indirect experience with DV about friends and family members, cumulative victimization for each type of DV was calculated. Prior to conducting the multivariate logistic regression, chi-square was used to examine the bivariate relationships. In past studies, acculturation and gender-role attitudes have been seen to influence DV experiences (Mahapatra, 2012; Nagaraj, 2016). In the present study, the goal was to isolate the influence of these variables on socio-demographic variables, while examining the correlates of recommending a help-seeking resource. Hierarchical logistic regression was used to examine the influence of socio-demographic variables separately from acculturation and gender-role attitudes. For the hierarchical logistic regression model, socio-demographic variables were entered in step 1. Acculturation and gender-role attitudes were added in step 2 to examine any unique variance that these variables added to the model. Nagelkerke R^2 was used to examine the variance explained

by the models (Field, 2005). The reliability was calculated using a minimum cut-off Cronbach's alpha value of 0.7 (Bland & Altman, 1997).

Results

Sample Characteristics

The sample (N=468) was collected from across the 50 U.S. states representing each of the seven ethnic SA groups. Overall, 44% were male and 56% were female participants. A high proportion of the sample was Indian (70.2%). Majority of the participants (64.2%) were between the age of 18-35 years. Almost an equal proportion of the sample had less than high school (37.8%), high school, vocational or undergraduate degree (24.5%) and a master's degree or higher (37.7%) education (see Table 4.1).

Indirect Experience with Domestic Violence in the Community

To get an idea about DV victimization, study participants were asked if DV is common in SA households. Out of N=468, 60.8% said yes, 19% said no and 20.2% said that they did not know. When asked about others (friends or family members) experiencing DV, 32.3% participants mentioned that they knew none, 44% said that they knew 1-3 people, 8.5% said that they knew 4-6 people, 3.9% said that they knew 7 to 10 people and 11.3% said that they knew more than 10 people. Of the friends or family experiencing DV, 59.8% were female and 40.2% were male victims. Physical abuse (51%) was the most common form of indirect DV, followed by emotional abuse (49%), economic abuse (46%), immigration-related (35%), verbal abuse (32%), in-laws abuse (23%) and ultimately sexual abuse (11%). Further, when examining the distribution of each type of DV, overall indirect experience with DV were found to be higher for women than for men. The rates of indirect experience with DV were higher for women when it came to each DV type – physical (42% for men vs. 62% for women), emotional (44% for men

vs. 57% for women), economic (42% for men vs. 53% for women), verbal (29% for men vs. 37% for women), in-laws (20% for men vs. 27% for women) and sexual (8% for men vs.14% for women). The rates for immigration-related abuse were comparable between men and women (37% for men vs. 36% for women) (see Tables 4.2, 4.3).

Preferences for Help-seeking Resources

Participants were asked to respond to a list of help-seeking resources and indicate whether or not the resources were considered helpful for DV victims. Based on participant responses, 80.7% said yes and 19.3% said no to the police; 79% said yes and 21% said no to social workers/counselors/ mental health professionals; 74.4% said yes and 25.6% said no to courts; 73.5% said yes and 26.5% said no to hospital/emergency rooms; 73.1% said yes and 26.9% said no to medical professionals; 72.8% said yes and 27.2% said no to lawyers; 70.2% said yes and 29.8% said no to South Asian organizations; 58.7% said yes and 41.3% said no to U.S. consulate/embassy; and 48% said yes and 52% said no to places of religious worship (see Table 4.4). A detailed view of participant response for each help-seeking resource by socio-demographic variables is included in Table 4.6.

Ultimately, when participants were asked to rank the help-seeking resources, medical professionals were the most preferred, followed by the police, hospital/emergency room, courts, U.S. consulate/embassies, SA organizations, social workers/counselors/mental health professionals, lawyers and ultimately places of religious worship (see Table 4.5).

Hierarchical Logistic Regression to Predict Recommending a Help-seeking Resource

Bivariate relationships. Gender (χ^2 (1)=7.873, p<0.01), education (χ^2 (2) =21.371, p<0.001); religiosity (χ^2 (1)=13.808, p<0.001), generational position (χ^2 (1)=9.437, p<0.01), family type (χ^2 (1) =15.767, p<0.001), household income (χ^2 (1) =5.112, p<0.05), and gender-

role attitudes (χ^2 (1) =14.737, p<0.001) had statistically significant positive relationships with recommending a help-seeking resource. Women, those who were religious, belonged to 1.5+ generation, were from joint families, had higher household incomes and with conservative gender-role attitudes were more likely to recommend a help-seeking resource (see Table 4.1). Upon conducting a post-hoc analyses using adjusted residuals, the master's or higher degree group was statistically significant (p<0.05). Of the total sample, 88.5% answered yes to recommending a help-seeking resource to a friend or family member in the future in case of DV victimization.

Correlates of recommending a help-seeking resource. A hierarchical logistic regression was performed to understand the correlates of recommending a help-seeking resource. Socio-demographic variables were entered in step 1 and acculturation and gender-role attitudes were entered in step 2. In model 1, we saw that women had 2.902 times higher odds of recommending a help-seeking resource to DV victims (B=2.902, p<0.05, 95% CI 1.343-6.273). Individuals who were religious in comparison to those who were not religious had a 77.5% less chance of recommending a help-seeking resource (B=0.225, p<0.01, 95% CI 0.087-0.577). Individuals belonging to the 1.5+ generation had a 53.8% less chance of recommending a help-seeking resource to a friend or family member in comparison to individuals belonging to the 1st generation (B=0.462, p<0.05, 95% CI 0.217-0.986). Last, individuals from joint families than those from nuclear families, had a 58.5% less chance of recommending a help-seeking resource (B=0.415, p<0.05, 95% CI 0.176-0.897). Overall, the model was statistically significant $\chi^2(8)$ = 42.723, p<0.001, explaining 22% of the variance in the dependent variable. 91.1% cases were correctly classified in this model (see Table 4.7).

In model 2, we added gender-role attitudes and acculturation as covariates. The effect of generational position disappeared. Women had 2.946 times higher odds of recommending a help-seeking resource to a friend or family in case of DV victimization as compared to men (B=2.946, $p<0.05$, 95% CI 1.336-6.498). Individuals who were religious had 79.6% lesser chance of recommending a help-seeking resource (B=0.207, $p<0.01$ 95% CI 0.079-0.545). Those from joint families had about 59.5% lesser likelihood than those in nuclear families to recommend a help-seeking resource to a friend or family member experiencing DV (B=0.405, $p<0.05$ 95% CI 0.179-0.918). Last, individuals who had conservative gender-role attitudes had a 58.3% lesser chance of recommending a help-seeking resource (B=0.417, $p<0.05$, 95% CI 0.192-0.908). Acculturation was not related to recommending a help-seeking resource. Overall, the model was statistically significant ($\chi^2(10) =43.370$, $p<0.001$) explaining 24.7% of the variance in the dependent variable. The variance in model 2 was higher than model 1. 90.8% cases were correctly classified in this model (see Table 4.7).

Discussion

This study is important in lending insight into the indirect experience of DV and preferences for help-seeking resources among SA community members. As high as 60% of the study participants acknowledged the presence of DV in SA families, making evident that DV is a genuine problem. The recognition of DV as a problem within the SA community, as well as high indirect experience with DV, stands in contrast to past empirical evidence in which the SA community expressed being immune to this "American" problem (Merchant, 2000; Murugan, 2017). Based on participant responses, of those friends/family members who experienced DV victimization, about 60% were women. Additionally, the high rates of indirect DV experiences among women, between 14-62% for different types of DV, align with high prevalence of direct

DV experiences among SA women, as suggested by scholars (Abraham, 2000a; Rai & Choi, 2018). An interesting observation of this study is that community members reported knowing men (40%) who were DV victims. Because past DV research has not examined victimization among men, victimization rates among men are unknown (Kaur, 2015). This is the first study to adopt a distinctive approach within DV research in SAs, by viewing it as a problem faced both by men and women. Further, indirect experience with DV that surfaced through participant responses points to the presence of distinct types of DV that occur within SA families, such as physical, economic, immigration-related, emotional/psychological, verbal, sexual and in-laws abuse. Identifying the distinguishing attributes of DV victimization in diverse immigrant communities is essential, given the unique needs (Agha & Rai, in press) of such communities.

As a consequence of the desire to uphold family honor, conversations about DV are not welcome in SA families. This conservative value-oriented characteristic of SA families increases the risk of prolonged victimization, ultimately discouraging victims from help-seeking (Mahapatra & DiNitto, 2013). Notwithstanding the urgency of help-seeking research within the SA community, the focus of researchers and scholars on this topic has been limited (Mahapatra & Rai, 2019). One of the main contributions of the present study has been to examine the preferences for help-seeking resources and correlates of recommending a help-seeking resource among SA community members.

A majority of study participants (70% and higher) found hospitals/emergency rooms, medical professionals, police, courts, lawyers, South Asian CBOs and social workers /counselors /mental health professionals to be helpful. Two help-seeking resources, which were the U.S. consulate/embassies and places of religious worship, were considered less helpful than the above listed resources. Several reasons, including the lack of awareness, discomfort or uncertainty of

the resource's utility, could have led to a hesitance in considering these two resources as valuable. Despite listing several resources as helpful, the order of help-seeking resources stands out. The most preferred resource was medical professionals, followed by the police, hospital/emergency rooms, courts, U.S. consulate/embassies, SA organizations, social workers/counselors/mental health professionals, lawyers and lastly places of religious worship. Despite past research reporting lower utilization of the CJS due to barriers such as an absence of trust and awareness, and unfamiliarity (Yoshihama et. al., 2011), SA men and women in the current research thought of the CJS (police and courts) as being helpful. It was also interesting to note the SA community member's perception of social workers. Scholars in the past have opined that social workers may come in frequent contact with DV victims. They have emphasized on the need to train social workers to be culturally responsive to the needs of diverse communities (Agha & Rai, in press; Choi & An, 2018; Rai et al., 2019). Even with these efforts of the social work profession, social workers, along with counselors and mental health professionals were low on the list of preferred help-seeking resources. This finding raises serious questions about the need for social work to be presented as a more approachable and useful resource for immigrant DV victims, given social workers' specialized training. While places of religious worship can be an important resource for immigrants, they were perceived as the least helpful resource. Past research has discussed the lack of support from religious organizations (Mahapatra, 2008). Scholars have urged religious organizations to involve themselves in DV prevention efforts due to their long-standing relationship of trust with the SA community (Mahapatra & DiNitto, 2013). In spite of this push by scholars, religious organizations continue to be perceived as unhelpful by community members.

Although help-seeking preferences has been examined to some extent within the SA community, to date no studies have investigated help-seeking resources by SA community members. Empirical evidence indicates that informal resources and support through friends and family have been the most sought-after help-seeking resource (Mahapatra & Rai, 2019; Raj & Silverman, 2007). Therefore, the current study is a crucial step in examining the correlates of recommending help-seeking resource's that make SAs more likely to recommend a resource to a friend or family member experiencing DV victimization. Broadly, we observed that participants who were women, non-religious, belonged to 1st generation, from nuclear families and had progressive gender-role attitudes displayed a higher likelihood of recommending a help-seeking resource to their friend or family member experiencing DV.

Of the identified factors, the finding about gender is striking. Women were almost two times more likely to recommend a help-seeking resource to a DV victim. A possible explanation could be that since DV victimization rates are higher for women (Abraham, 2000a), they may empathize more with others who may be facing a similar situation. This finding about gender conforms with the study conducted by Beeble et al. (2008) with non-immigrants. Religion and religious values have been used to justify the perpetuation of violence (Ayyub, 2000; Goel, 2005). Further, religious leaders have been seen to discourage individuals experiencing DV from leaving abusive relationships as it can bring dishonor to families (Choi, 2011; Mahapatra, 2008). Therefore, it is obvious that those who were non-religious may not be bound by such religious values, ultimately recommending help-seeking to someone who may be facing DV. Similarly, individuals living in a nuclear family with their spouse and/or children, may be subject to a lesser influence of collectivist family values than those living in joint or extended families with in-laws. This reduced influence of the traditional collectivist family values may lessen DV

victimization among those living away from their in-laws (Raj et al., 2006). Further, this reduced influence of conservative family values, may also make such individuals more likely to recommend a help-seeking resource to other friends or family members experiencing DV (Shirwadhkar, 2004).

We saw that individuals belonging to 1st generation were more likely to recommend a help-seeking resource, which was surprising. One may expect that individuals who immigrate to a new country may be fearful or unaware of the new laws of a foreign country and may not recommend help-seeking. However, the relationship that was observed in the present study was the opposite. More investigation is warranted to examine the nature of generational position and recommending a help-seeking resource, particularly to delineate the influences of any confounding variables, such as acculturation, gender-role attitudes or personal experiences of victimization. Ultimately, those with progressive gender-role attitudes may lean toward egalitarianism (Bhanot & Senn, 2007; Montgomery, 2009) and disapprove of DV perpetration, leading them to recommend help-seeking. These findings are an important step in building new empirical evidence about preferences for help-seeking resources as well as recommending help-seeking resources within the SA diaspora. However, more research is needed in the future to establish the correlates of help-giving as well as examining differences by socio-demographic characteristics.

Implications

The findings of the present study have important implications for research, practice as well as policy. The study tests a new subscale, the Indirect Experiences with Domestic Violence Subscale-Revised for the very first time with SAs, establishing its reliability and validity. Additionally, this study determines rates of indirect experience with DV, gauges the preference

for help-seeking resources, as well as identifies the correlates of recommending help-seeking resources. The findings regarding help-seeking preferences can be used by practitioners to develop awareness modules for the SA community. These modules can focus on awareness generation for specific types of help-seeking resources that are not currently perceived as helpful, or those not among the most preferred help-seeking resources. Imparting information about help-seeking resources to community members could increase their likelihood of recommending the resource in the future to a friend or family member who may be a DV victim.

The correlates of recommending help-seeking resources that have been identified in this study are crucial in forming alliances between practitioners and researchers to develop bystander trainings for SA community members. Individuals from certain groups, such as women, 1st generation immigrants, non-religious, those from nuclear families and with progressive gender role-attitudes were more likely to recommend help-seeking. It is imperative for practitioners to create bystander training modules and pay specific attention to groups that are not likely to recommend a help-seeking resource to a friend or family member potentially experiencing DV. These trainings may assist such individuals and prepare them for recommending help-seeking resources in the future. Lastly, policy advocates must make the provisions of the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) known to members of the SA community. By being aware of the support that can be accessed through the VAWA, community members can encourage their friends and family members experiencing DV, to access the VAWA. Based on the current stipulations of the VAWA, only 10,000 self-petitions can be filed by DV victims (American Migration Council, 2019). This number is very small compared to the 5.4 million SAs and approximately 39 million immigrants from other immigrant communities currently residing in the U.S. (Zong et al., 2019). There is an urgent need to expand the number of self-petitions that

can be filed by DV victims through the VAWA. Making this change and creating awareness about the VAWA will help DV victims escape their experiences of abuse.

Limitations

Despite making novel contributions, there are a few limitations associated with the present study. First, the study examined DV victimization of friends and family members using a set of specific questions. Owing to the multifaceted nature of the SA culture, there could be several other ways in which individuals may be victimized, which may not have been included in the present study. Second, the study followed a cross-sectional design that does not allow for cause and effect to be known as all of the data is collected at a single time point. Third, the high levels of acculturation and liberal gender-role attitudes among study participants may limit its generalizability to some extent. Last, dichotomizing instruments may have led to the creation of superfluous binaries. However, based on the general challenges associated with acculturation measures, dichotomizing is an appropriate approach to examine distinct groups of participants in statistical analyses. The acculturation measure that was used in the present study has been widely used by previous scholars, yet it may not fully capture the extent of integration among participants. Another distinct concept called enculturation (Yoshihama et al., 2014) is starting to gain popularity which future scholars are encouraged to explore.

Conclusion

The present study is a one of a kind research endeavor to examine indirect experience with DV. Because DV is almost a forbidden topic within the SA community, victims may often hesitate to report or even acknowledge victimization. Therefore, establishing rates of indirect experience with DV could be helpful, especially for service providers, in understanding the extent and types of DV victimization among SAs. Along with focusing on victims, it is

imperative for practitioners to work with friends and family members of victims to adequately train them in recommending appropriate resources to the victim. This present study is integral in building cohesive knowledge about bystanders and their role in DV prevention. Future researchers and scholars are also encouraged to replicate this study with diverse immigrant communities and in turn build new knowledge for other minority communities.

References

Abraham, M. (2000a). *Speaking the Unspeakable: Marital Violence Among South Asian Immigrants in the United States.* New Brunswick, N. J. & London: Rutgers University Press.

Aday, L.A., & Cornelius, L.J. (2006). *Designing and conducting health surveys: A comprehensive* guide (3rd edition). San Francisco: Jossey Bass, c.2006.

Agha, E., & Rai, A. (2020). Notes from the field: Culturally adapted research methods for South Asian participants. *Professional Development Journal, 23*(1) *(in press).*

Ahmad, F., Driver, N., McNally, M. J., & Stewart, D. E. (2009). "Why doesn't she seek help for partner abuse?" An exploratory study with South Asian immigrant women. *Social Science & Medicine, 69*(4), 613-622.

Ahn, B. (2002). *The perceptions of and attitudes toward partner abuse among first-generation Korean-Americans: Their relationships to the incidence of partner abuse*. LSU Doctoral Dissertations. 2167 (Doctoral Dissertation, Louisiana State University).

American Migration Council (2019). Violence against women Act (VAWA) provides protections for immigrant women and victims of crime. Retrieved from https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/violence-against-women-act-vawa-immigration (Accessed on February 7, 2020).

Ayyub, R. (2000). Domestic violence in the South Asian Muslim immigrant population in the United States. *Journal of Social Distress and the Homeless, 9*(3), 237-248.

Balgamwalla, S. (2013). A woman's place: Dependent spouse visa holders and the legacy of coverture. Retrieved from https://law.ubalt.edu/centers/caf/pdf/Sabrina%20Balgamwalla.pdf (Accessed on December 20, 2019).

Beeble, M.L., Post, L.A., Bybee, D., & Sullivan, C.M. (2008). Factors related to willingness to help survivors of intimate partner violence. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 23*(12), 1713-1729.

Berkman, E.T. & Reise, S.P. (2012). *A conceptual guide to statistics using SPSS*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Bhanot, S., & Senn, C. (2007). Attitudes towards violence against women in men of South Asian ancestry: Are acculturation and gender role attitudes important factors? *Journal of Family Violence, 22*(1), 25-31.

Bland, J. M., & Altman, D. G. (1997). Statistics notes: Cronbach's alpha. *Bmj*, *314*(7080), 572.

Choi, Y. (2011). *Determinants of clergy behaviors promoting safety of battered Korean immigrant women*. Dissertation Abstracts International, *A, 72*, 2155 (Doctoral Dissertation; Virginia Commonwealth University).

Choi, Y.J. & An, S. (2016). Interventions to improve responses of helping professionals to intimate partner violence: a quick scoping review. *Research on Social Work Practice, 26*(1), 101- 127.

Engel, R.J., & Schutt, R.K. (2013). *The practice of research in social work.* (3rd Edition). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Field, A. (2005). *Discovering statistics using SPSS*. (3rd Edition). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Goodkind, J.R., Gillum, T.L., Bybee, D.I., & Sullivan, C.M. (2003). The impact of family and friends' reactions on the well-being of women with abusive partners. *Violence Against Women, 9,* 347-373.

Goel R. (2005). Sita's Trousseau: restorative justice, domestic violence, and South Asian culture. *Violence Against Women, 11,* 639-665.

Hurwitz, E. J., Gupta, J., Liu, R., Silverman, J. G., & Raj, A. (2006). Intimate partner violence associated with poor health outcomes in U.S. South Asian women. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health, 8*(3), 251-261.

IBM Corp. (2017). *IBM SPSS Statistics for Windows, Version 25.0*. Armonk, NY: IBM Corp.

Kaur, H. (2015). *Attitudes of South Asian men in the UK toward women and their understanding of, and justification for, domestic violence.* (Doctoral dissertation, London Metropolitan University).

MacCallum, R.C., Zhang, S., Preacher, K.J. & Rucker, D.D. (2002). On the practice of dichotomization of quantitative variables. *Psychological Methods, 7*(1), 19-40.

Mahapatra, N. (2008). *South Asian women and domestic violence: Incidence and informal and formal help -seeking.* Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses (Order No. 3341953) (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Texas-Austin).

Mahapatra, N. (2012). South Asian women in the U.S. and their experience of domestic violence. *Journal of Family Violence. 27*, 381-390.

Mahapatra, N. & Rai, A. (2019). Every cloud has a silver lining but… "pathways to seeking formal-help and South-Asian immigrant women survivors of intimate partner violence." Health Care for *Women International*, *40*(11), 1170-1196.

Mahapatra, N., & Dinitto, D. M. (2013). Help-seeking behaviors of South Asian women experiencing domestic violence in the United States. *Partner Abuse, 4*(3), 295-313.

Marin, G., Sabogal, F., Marin, B. V., Otero-Sabogal, R., & Perez, E. J. (1987). Development of a short acculturation scale for Hispanics. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences,* 9, 183 205.

Merchant, M. (2000). A comparative study of agencies assisting domestic violence victims: Does the South Asian community have special needs? *Journal of Social Distress and the Homeless, 9*(3), 249-259.

Montgomery, S. R. (2009). *South Asian immigrants' perceptions of abuse in marital conflicts: When are male abusive tactics an acceptable method of managing conflicts?* Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses *(*Order No. 3372134) (Doctoral Dissertation, Boston College).

Murugan, V. (2017). Intimate partner violence among South Asian women in the United States: Prevalence and help-seeking behaviors. *Dissertation Abstracts International* (Order No. 10606554) ((Doctoral Dissertation, Washington University).

Nelson, M. (1988). Reliability, validity, and cross-cultural comparisons for the Simplified Attitudes Towards Women Scale. *Sex Roles, 18*(5/6), 289–296.

Pew Research Center. (2017). Key facts about Asian Americans, a diverse and growing population. Retrieved from https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/09/08/key-facts-about-asian-americans/ (Accessed on Jan 21, 2020).

Rai, A., Choi, Y.J., & Khandare, L. (2019). State of domestic violence content in MSW curriculum in the U.S. *Perspectives on Social Work,* 15(1), 15-27.

Rai, A., & Choi, Y. J. (2018). Socio-cultural risk factors impacting domestic violence among South Asian immigrant women: A scoping review. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 38*, 76-85.

Reyes, H.L.M., Foshee, V.A., Niolon, P.H., Reidy, D.E. & Hall, J.E. (2016). Gender role attitudes and male adolescent dating violence perpetration: normative beliefs as moderators. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 45*(2), 350-360.

Raj, A. & Silverman, J.G. (2007). Domestic violence help-seeking behaviors of South Asian battered women residing in the United States. *International Review of Victimology. 14*, 143-170.

Raj, A., Livramento, K. N., Santana, M. C., Gupta, J., & Silverman, J. G. (2006). Victims of intimate partner violence more likely to report abuse from in-laws. *Violence Against Women, 12*(10), 936-949.

Raj, A., & Silverman, J. (2002). Intimate partner violence amongst South Asian women in Greater Boston. *Journal of the American Medical Women's Association, 57*(2), 111-114.

Spence, J. T., & Helmreich, R. L. (1978*). Masculinity and femininity: Their psychological dimensions, correlates and antecedents.* Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

StataCorp. (2017) Stata Statistical Software: Release 15. College Station, TX: StataCorp LLC.

Shirwadkar, S. (2004). Canadian domestic violence policy and Indian immigrant women. *Violence Against Women, 10*(8), 860-879.

South Asian Americans Leading Together. (2019). Demographic snapshot of South Asians in the United States. Retrieved from https://saalt.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/SAALT-Demographic-Snapshot-2019.pdf (Accessed on March 11, 2020).

Trochim, W. M. K & Donnelly, J. P (2008). *Research methods knowledge base* (3rd ed). Thomson Custom Pub, Mason, OH.

United Nations (2005). Vienna Convention on Consular Relations 1963. Retrieved from http://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/9_2_1963.pdf (Accessed on May 18, 2018).

Yick, A. G. (1997). *Chinese-Americans' perceptions of and experiences with domestic violence and factors related to their psychological well-being.* Available from Dissertation Abstracts International (Order No. 9823585) (Doctoral dissertation. University of California).

Yoshihama M., Blazevski J., & Bybee D. (2014). Enculturation and attitudes towards intimate partner violence and gender roles in an Asian Indian population: Implications for community-based prevention. *Society for Community Research and Action, 53,* 249-260.

Yoshihama, M., Bybee, D., Dabby, C., & Blazevski, J. (2010). Life course Experiences of Intimate Partner Violence and Help-Seeking among Filipina, Indian, and Pakistani Women: Implications for Justice System Responses. Retrieved from https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/236174.pdf (Accessed on Jan 29, 2020).

Yoshioka, M. R., Gilbert, L., El-Bassel, N., & Baib-Amin, M. (2003). Social support and disclosure of abuse: Comparing South Asian, African American, and Hispanic battered women. *Journal of Family Violence, 18*(3), 171-180.

Zong, J., Batalova, J. & Burrows, M. (2019). Frequently requested statistics on immigrants and immigration in the United States. Migration Policy Institute. Retrieved from https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/frequently-requested-statistics-immigrants-and-immigration-united-states (Accessed on February 7, 2020).

Table 4.1

Sample Characteristics and Distribution of Study Variables (N=468)

			Help-seeking (Yes)	
Variables	n	%	n	Chi-square
Gender				7.873*
Male	198	44	172	
Female	252	56	236	
Age				2.588
18-35	291	64.2	267	
36 and older	162	35.8	142	
Education				21.371***
high school or less	175	37.8	149	
high school, vocational or undergraduate degree	113	24.5	92	
Master's degree or higher	174	37.7	168	
Marital Status				2.263
Single/separated/divorced/widowed	127	28.3	119	
married/engaged/in a relationship	322	71.7	287	
Religiosity				13.808***
Not religious	204	45.2	196	
Religious	247	54.8	211	
Generational Position				9.437**
1st Generation	314	70.2	292	
1.5+ Generation	133	29.8	112	

			Help-seeking (Yes)	
Variables	n	%	n	Chi-square
Family Type				15.767***
Nuclear	366	82.1	337	
Joint/Extended	81	17.9	62	
Household income				5.112*
less than $95,000	271	60.5	238	
95,001 and more	176	39.5	164	
Ethnicity				5.998
Indian	313	70.2	286	
Pakistani	52	11.7	44	
Nepali	23	5.2	22	
Bangladeshi	28	6.3	25	
Others	30	6.6	25	
Gender-role Attitudes				14.737***
Liberal	342	76.6	315	
Conservative	105	23.4	82	
Acculturation				0.354
low	82	18.6	71	18.2
high	355	81.4	320	81.8

*Note: *P<0.05,**P<0.01 ***P<0.001*

Table 4.2

Indirect Experience with Domestic Violence (N=468)

Type of DV	**Overall Indirect Experience (%)**
Physical	51%
Emotional	49%
Economic	46%
Immigration-related	35%
Verbal	32%
In-laws	23%
Sexual	11%

Table 4.3

Indirect Experience with Domestic Violence and Gender-differences (N=468)

Type of DV	**Indirect Experience**	**Indirect Experience for Men (n)**	**Indirect Experience for Men (%)**	**Indirect Experience for Women (n)**	**Indirect Experience for Women (%)**
Physical	240	83	42%	157	62%
Emotional	231	88	44%	143	57%
Economic	216	83	42%	133	53%
Immigration-related	163	73	37%	90	36%
Verbal	152	58	29%	94	37%
In-laws	106	39	20%	67	27%
Sexual	52	16	8%	36	14%

**Total men in the sample=198*
**Total women in the sample=252*

Table 4.4

Usefulness of Help-seeking Resources (N=468)

Resource	Yes	No
Hospital/Emergency room	73.5	26.5
Medical professional	73.1	26.9
U.S. consulate/embassy	58.7	41.3
Police	80.7	19.3
Courts	74.4	25.6
Lawyers	72.8	27.2
South Asian organizations	70.2	29.8
Social workers/counselors/mental health professionals	79	21
Places of religious worship	48	52

Table 4.5

Help-seeking Resource Preference (N=468)

Resource	**Rank**
Medical professional	1
Police	2
Hospital/emergency room	3
Courts	4
U.S. consulate/embassies	5
South Asian organizations	6
Social workers/counselors/mental health professionals	7
Lawyers	8
Places of religious worship	9

Table 4.6

Help-seeking Resource Preference by Socio-demographic Variables (N=468)

	Medical Professional	**Police**	**Hospital/ Emergency Room**	**Courts**	**U.S. Consulate/ Embassies**	**South Asian organizations**	**Social workers/counselors /mental health professionals**	**Lawyers**	**Places of religious worship**
Variables	**n**	**n**	**n**	**n**	**n**	**n**	**n**	**n**	**n**
Gender									
Male	135	156	145	149	115	126	146	139	85
Female	190	203	185	186	148	189	210	184	123
Age									
18-35	221	245	228	228	184	209	241	224	126
36 and older	105	116	103	108	80	108	116	100	85
Education									
less than high school	118	139	122	128	97	110	127	119	94
high school, vocational or undergraduate degree	67	69	65	67	57	78	77	62	46
Master's degree or higher	141	154	143	139	111	128	151	143	74
Marital Status									
Single/separated/divorced/widowed	100	102	103	105	76	87	109	98	55
married/engaged/in a relationship	224	256	226	228	186	228	245	223	155
Religiosity									
Not religious	162	177	163	159	120	151	179	160	76
Religious	162	182	166	175	143	165	176	162	134

	Medical Professional	Police	Hospital/ Emergency Room	Courts	U.S. Consulate/ Embassies	South Asian organizations	Social workers/counselors /mental health professionals	Lawyers	Places of religious worship
Variables	**n**	**n**	**n**	**n**	**n**	**n**	**n**	**n**	**n**
Generational Position									
1st Generation	241	270	241	242	185	235	263	236	141
1.5+ Generation	81	87	86	90	76	78	89	84	68
Family Type									
Nuclear	270	301	276	274	216	266	295	266	170
Joint/Extended	48	52	47	54	44	45	53	51	36
Household income									
less than $95,000	182	194	180	187	147	176	199	173	122
95,001 and more	139	161	145	143	115	137	152	145	88
Ethnicity									
Indian	231	261	236	240	183	231	255	232	138
Pakistani	35	40	34	39	36	32	37	32	32
Bangladeshi	14	16	8	15	11	16	20	13	9
Nepali	20	21	9	22	13	16	17	21	12
others	19	17	20	14	16	18	21	20	17
Gender-role Attitudes									
Conservative	267	295	260	267	200	254	289	257	162
Liberal	52	57	63	61	57	54	59	57	47
Acculturation									
low	59	66	57	54	47	64	64	53	43
high	256	281	260	269	206	239	277	259	165

Table 4.7

Hierarchical Logistic Regression Analysis on Recommending a Help-Seeking Resource to Domestic Violence Victims (N=394)

	Help-seeking			Help-seeking		
Variables	Model 1			Model 2		
	SE	OR	95%CI	SE	OR	95%CI
Gender *(Ref: male)*	0.393	2.902*	1.343-6.273	0.404	2.946*	1.336-6.498
Age *(Ref: 18-35 years)*	0.393	0.803	0.372-1.737	0.395	0.819	0.378-1.776
Marital Status *(Ref: single/separated/divorced/widowed)*	0.495	0.418	0.158-1.101	0.502	0.430	0.161-1.149
Religiosity *(Ref: not religious)*	0.482	0.225**	0.087-0.577	0.494	0.207**	0.079-0.545
Generational Position *(Ref: 1st generation)*	0.387	0.462*	0.217-0.986	0.401	0.515	0.235-1.129
Family Type *(Ref: nuclear)*	0.415	0.398*	0.176-0.897	0.417	0.405*	0.179-0.918
Household income *(Ref: less than 95,000)*	0.454	1.710	0.702-4.164	0.459	1.509	0.614-3.709
Gender-role Attitudes *(Ref: liberal)*				0.397	0.417*	0.192-0.908
Acculturation *(Ref: low)*				0.452	1.726	0.711-4.190
Constant	0.649			0.793		
Pseudo R 2	0.220			0.247		
chi square	42.723***			48.370***		
(-2) log likelihood	203.904***			198.257***		

*Note: Pseudo R^2 is Nagelkerke R^2, SE= standard error, OR=odds ratio, CI = confidence interval, *P<0.05,**P<0.01 ***P<0.001.*

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSION

South Asians (SAs) are one of the largest and fastest-growing immigrant population groups in the United States (U.S.). Based on the recent SAALT estimates, there are 5.4 million SAs in the U.S. (SAALT, 2019). The SA community includes individuals from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Maldives and Sri Lanka. Indians comprise approximately 80% of the total SA population (SAALT, 2015). Similar to other immigrant and non-immigrant communities in the U.S., domestic violence (DV) is a cause of growing concern among SAs. Several reasons such as patriarchal values, traditionalism, rigid gender-role attitudes, acculturation and immigration-related stress make SA immigrants more prone to experiencing DV in the U.S. DV refers to any form of coercion, power and/or control-physical, sexual, verbal or mental that can be perpetrated on an individual by their spouse/partner or extended kin (Abraham, 2000a; Rai & Choi, 2018).

Despite the growth of SAs over the past few years, DV research has been limited in this community. The studies that have been conducted in the past suffer from limitations such as – the use of small or single-site samples, exclusion of men from DV research, lumping all SAs together without disaggregation, and the reliance on culturally unresponsive instruments. Due to the unique aspects of the SA culture, such as, collectivism, safeguarding family honor, power imbalance among men and women; DV presents in many unique ways (Goel, 2005). Studies conducted in the past have not focused on the specific attributes of the SA culture that contribute to violence. The Western instruments that have been used to measure DV disregard the cultural

nuances within the SA culture that manifest into violence (Murugan, 2017). Furthermore, past empirical evidence has suggested DV prevalence rates of 18-40% within the SA community (Adam, 2000; Rai & Choi, 2018). However, most studies point to lower prevalence rates. Community experts have strongly asserted that DV prevalence rates are much higher than those suggested by past studies (Murugan, 2017). Because saving face or "izzat," is extremely important within SA families, women experiencing abuse have often been discouraged from seeking help (Dasgupta, 2007; Gill, 2004). The limited studies that have examined help-seeking in SA households assert that women prefer support through informal sources, such as friends and family in comparison to formal sources such as the police, hospitals etc. Therefore, it is important to gauge the help-seeking preference of these informal resources as well, along with those of victims.

Ultimately, before any meaningful DV prevention interventions can be implemented within the SA community, it is essential to understand DV comprehensively. The goal of this three-paper dissertation was to answer the following research questions: (1) what are the overall perceptions of and attitudes toward DV among SA immigrants in the U.S.? (2) what are the prevalence rates of DV victimization among SA immigrants (men and women) in the U.S.? (3) what are the preferences of help-seeking resources and correlates of recommending help-seeking resources among SA immigrants in the U.S.? This dissertation takes a linear approach by examining the meaning, incidence as well as preferences of DV help-seeking resources among the SA immigrant community. The sections below will elaborate the main findings of this dissertation and finally present the study limitations and implications.

Summary of Main Findings

Chapter 2: Examining Domestic Violence Perceptions and its Correlates Among South Asian Immigrants in the United States

Chapter 2 examined the perceptions of and attitudes toward DV among SA men and women in the U.S. In addition, the study also determined the correlates of DV perceptions among SAs. The modified version of the Perceptions of and Attitudes Toward Domestic Violence Questionnaire - Revised (PADV-R) was used to measure the perceptions of and attitudes toward DV. There are four components of the PADV-R: (a) definitions of DV, (b) attitudes toward the use of interpersonal violence, (c) causes of DV, and (d) contextual justification of DV (Ahn, 2002; Yick, 1997). Overall, participants defined DV as physical, sexual, psychological/emotional, verbal, financial, immigration-related, and in-laws abuse, within the larger definition of DV. SAs did not sanction the use of force between spouses or for children to solve family matters. Participants attributed individual, environmental as well as structural/cultural causes to DV perpetration. Lastly, participants disagreed about the use of violence between couples even in extreme situations. It is important to note that this study allowed for the testing of a new scale called SMILE (Scale to Measure In-laws Exploitation & abuse), which is the first instrument to measure abuse by in-laws among immigrants.

The findings about the correlates of DV perceptions and attitudes are particularly interesting. With regards to the definition of DV, it was observed that women, those who were older, had high levels of education, were non-religious, belonged to 1st generation, were from nuclear families and had liberal gender-role attitudes considered more types of violence within the larger definition of DV. Next, for the attitudes toward the use of interpersonal violence, it was seen that, women, those who were not religious, belonged to the 1st generation, were

single/separated/divorced/widowed, from nuclear families and had liberal gender-role attitudes were less likely to condone the use of violence to solve family matters. For the causes of DV, the findings indicated that women, those with high education, non-religious, less acculturated and with liberal gender-role attitudes attributed more individual, environmental and structural /cultural causes for DV. Finally, for the contextual justification of DV it was observed that, participants with a higher income, those who were single/separated/divorced/widowed, more acculturated and with liberal gender-role attitudes accepted lesser circumstances that justified the use of violence among couples.

The study findings are important in highlighting the definition and perceptions of DV from the point of view of both men and women. Among other findings, it was noteworthy to observe that women considered DV to encompass more types of violence, which could be due to their own experiences of victimization (Ayyub, 2000; Mahapatra & Rai, 2019). Women in the past have primarily been the victims of physical DV and have also feared the use of violence on their children (Chaudhuri et al., 2014). However, the findings pointed to participants not sanctioning the use of force between spouses or for children. Other correlates of DV perceptions and attitudes, such as, religiosity, generational position, acculturation, family type, marital status, income and gender-role attitudes are important in building preventive efforts for the SA community.

Chapter 3: Domestic Violence Victimization among South Asian Immigrants in the United States

Chapter 3 examined DV victimization experiences among immigrant SA men and women residing in the U.S. The study also established the correlates of DV victimization among SAs. Results point to unique types of DV victimization experiences reported by SAs. The

Indirect Experiences with Domestic Violence Subscale-Revised, a subscale of the PADV-R, was used to measure DV among participants. The highest form of DV experience was physical (48%), followed by emotional (38%), economic (35%), verbal (27%), immigration (26%), in-laws (19%), sexual abuse (11%). The finding about physical DV victimization rates being the highest confirms past research with the SA community (Hurwitz et al., 2006; Mahapatra, 2012). Emotional and sexual DV prevalence rates were higher in the present study than in studies conducted earlier (Mahapatra, 2012; Mahapatra & Rai, 2019; Raj & Silverman, 2002). Thus far, there has only been one study that has been conducted to examine abuse perpetrated by in-laws among SA women (Raj & Silverman, 2002). The current findings point to a significantly higher prevalence rate of 19% in comparison to 6% as demonstrated through the earlier study. Examining the differences in prevalence rates across men and women, it is noteworthy to mention that while the victimization rates for women were higher, the prevalence rates for men were not negligible. The DV victimization rates for women ranged from 57% for physical abuse to 12% for in-laws abuse, as compared to 41% and 10% for men.

Based on the regression findings, it was seen that education, generational position, family type and employment status significantly predicted DV victimization among SAs in the U.S. While correlates such as generational position and education have been included as controls in previous studies, their effect on DV victimization was unknown (Bhanot & Senn, 2007). Study findings about education and employment align with the literature on acculturation. According to this literature, the increase in levels of education and pursuit of employment opportunities by women, may be seen as a threat to the status quo in SA households (Abraham, 2000a; Dasgupta, 2007). While gender was not a significant predictor of DV victimization in the study, the

prevalence rates for women were indeed higher. This high prevalence rate for women makes the discussion on acculturation and the dependency of women, valuable.

The findings about generational position and family type are also interesting. Past studies have not examined these two factors as correlates of DV victimization experiences. It was surprising to observe that participants who belonged to the 1.5+ or higher generation were more likely to experience DV victimization in comparison to those belonging to the 1st generation. A possible explanation could be that individuals may be more traditional by staying far off from their country of origin or ancestral lineage (Gupte, 2015). Owing to their traditionalist values, those belonging to the 1.5+ or later generation, continue to experience DV in the name of culture without even realizing it. Lastly, individuals from joint families had a higher likelihood of experiencing DV victimization. This result corroborates past evidence, per which individuals living with in-laws are more prone to experiencing DV. The patrilocal nature of SA marriages has been found to increase the experience of DV victimization among SA women (Goel, 2005; Mahapatra & Rai, 2019; Raj et al., 2006). Overall, these findings have important implications for practitioners, who may take into consideration the unique tactics of abuse in SA communities when designing DV support programs.

Chapter 4: Indirect Experiences with Domestic Violence and Help-seeking Preferences Among South Asian Immigrants in the United States

Chapter 4 examined the preferences for help-seeking resources among SA immigrants in the U.S. The study also examined rates of indirect experience with DV as well as the correlates of recommending a help-seeking resource to a friend or family member experiencing DV victimization. Researcher-created questions were used to measure the preferences for help-seeking resources among study participants. The modified version of the Indirect Experiences

with Domestic Violence Subscale-Revised, a sub-scale of the PADV-R, was used to measure indirect experience with DV.

Based on the study findings, the most preferred help-seeking resource was medical professionals, followed by the police, hospitals/emergency rooms, courts, U.S. consulate /embassies, SA organizations, social workers/counselors/mental health professionals, lawyers and ultimately places of religious worship. The study participants were asked if they knew of a friend or family member experiencing DV victimization. Per the participant responses, the rates of indirect experience with DV were established. Out of the total sample, physical abuse (51%) was the highest form of indirect experience, followed by emotional (49%), economic (46%), immigration-related (35%), verbal (32%), in-laws (23%) and finally sexual abuse (11%). Broadly, participants who were women, non-religious, belonging to the 1st generation, from nuclear families and those with more progressive gender-role attitudes had a higher likelihood of recommending a help-seeking resource to a friend or family member experiencing DV.

The study findings are integral in lending insight into the indirect experience with DV and preferences for help-seeking resources from the standpoint of SA community members. As high as 60% of study participants said that DV is common within SA households. These high numbers made evident the ubiquitous nature of DV in SA families. This finding is in contrast to the past view of the SA community, who considered themselves as being immune to the issue of DV (Merchant, 2000). Participants indicated that of the friends or family members with DV experiences known to them, 60% were women. The higher rates of indirect DV experiences for the different types of DV among women, 14-62% vs. 8- 42% for men aligns with past research that indicates a higher likelihood of DV victimization experiences among SA women (Rai & Choi, 2018).

The correlates of recommending a help-seeking resource established through this study are instrumental in developing bystander awareness interventions and support programs. In particular, this intervention will be important in integrating groups that are unlikely to recommend a help-seeking resource to a friend or family member experiencing DV victimization. Overall, this study is a step forward in building empirical evidence in the area of preferred help-seeking resources and recommending help-seeking resources among the SA community members. Potentially, the study can be replicated with other immigrant communities to establish this type of knowledge in diverse minority communities as well.

Implications for Social Work

Research Implications

The findings of this study have significant implications for social work research. This is the first dissertation that examines the definition of DV, victimization rates both among men and women, as well as the preference for help-seeking resources among the SA community. Investigating the three stages of DV – perceptions, victimization and help-seeking, builds holistic scholarship in the area of DV research among SAs. This dissertation research is important in promoting the use of theoretical frameworks in study design. Using the intersectionality lens among SA men furthers the adaptability of the tenets of intersectionality theory; which is a unique contribution of this dissertation. The study findings about DV perceptions and victimization could be used directly to develop DV prevention interventions both for SA men and women. The knowledge of help-seeking that emerges from this dissertation could be pivotal in building bystander trainings. The distinctive approach adopted through this dissertation is vital in re-opening DV conversations within the SA diaspora, that have exclusively focused on women thus far.

In addition to building a foundation for intervention research, the culturally responsive instruments that were tested through the studies are an important contribution for future scholars. Past empirical evidence with immigrants has fervently pointed to the dearth of culturally responsive instruments being utilized in DV research (Mahapatra, 2008; Murugan, 2017). Therefore, testing the PADV-R generates information about the reliability, validity and suitability of a new instrument for DV research. This dissertation also tests for the first time a new scale called SMILE, used to measure abuse by in-laws among immigrants. This scale can be tested by researchers with other SA participants and immigrant communities. Future research is warranted to examine the unique attributes of DV perceptions, victimization and help-seeking among the SA immigrant community. Scholars are encouraged to move away from utilizing "Western" instruments or approaches that disregard the diversity of immigrants and how that may impact the prevalence and recognition of DV within such communities (Agha & Rai, in press).

Practice Implications

The findings from this dissertation have immense implications for social work practice and intervention development. Establishing the perceptions of and attitudes toward DV as well as examining its correlates is an important step in documenting the extent to which the DV definition among SAs differs from its "Western" definition. The multifaceted nature of the SA culture translates into DV in several distinct ways (Goel, 2005; Rai & Choi, 2018; Murugan, 2017). The unique types of DV among SAs - such as immigration, in-laws related, economic, verbal, emotional/psychological, sexual and physical abuse, diversifies the meaning of DV among immigrants. It is essential to incorporate the unique attributes of DV in awareness interventions and support programs, for family members and victims. Clinicians can also use this

information while providing direct services to immigrant clients. Being aware of the distinct types of DV experiences among immigrants will help clinicians support and respond to immigrant client needs adequately.

The DV victimization rates determined through this dissertation are both for men and women. Embracing a holistic view of DV, as well as obtaining an estimate of both male and female victimization rates, will allow practitioners to expand existing DV intervention programs that predominantly focus on women (Aujla, 2013; Dhinsda, 2010). Further, through the understanding of help-seeking preferences among the broader SA community, practitioners and researchers can collaborate and work with resources such as the U.S. consulate/embassies and religious officials to prepare them to be more helpful to the community. Ultimately, it is imperative for social work practitioners to popularize the hotlines and support services they operate to better support immigrant DV victims. These efforts will help the SA community comprehend the role of social workers in cases of DV and allow social workers to improve their unhelpful image, as seen through this dissertation. Practitioners can also utilize the findings generated about specific groups of participants that are more likely to recommend a help-seeking resource to a friend or family member experiencing DV, in bystander trainings. These trainings can enhance the preparedness among friends or family members to support victims of DV. The findings of this dissertation are a novel contribution in furthering not only DV research, but also prevention programs that can greatly reduce victimization rates.

Policy Implications

The findings of this dissertation are crucial in establishing the perceptions of DV, among both SA men and women. Along with investigating DV perceptions, its correlates were also established. Even though immigration status was not statistically significant in the multivariate

model, it may have an impact on the perceptions of and attitudes toward DV. It is possible that individuals who are dependent on their spouse or partner for a visa or green card may have a narrower view of DV. They may continue experiencing DV because their legal status is tied to that of their partner, leading to an increased dependency on the primary visa holder (Balgamwalla, 2013, 2014). Hence, it is imperative for social workers and policy advocates to campaign for equal legal rights to be made available to both the primary (H-1) and dependent (H-4) visa holders to ensure a balance of power.

While establishing DV victimization rates, the study findings pointed to higher DV victimization rates among SA women. These high rates of DV among women could also be due to the power imbalance imposed by the visa regulations described above, which needs to be addressed. Also, the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA), a DV redressal law available to immigrants, needs to become more accessible. There are several procedural formalities that accompany the actual VAWA application. Often times, victims may not be aware of these procedural requirements and require support to seek out the benefits offered by the legislation. Further, the onus of proving abuse is on the victim, which unfairly disadvantages them (USCIS, n.d.). Policy advocates are encouraged to examine the VAWA stipulations and make them more user-friendly for immigrants. They can partner with CBOs serving immigrant communities to help immigrant victims file VAWA applications.

Ultimately, the SA community needs to be made more aware of the stipulations and redressal mechanisms within the VAWA. This will encourage them either to recommend or self-utilize the VAWA, in times of need. Based on the current regulations, only 10,000 self-petitions can be filed by victims under the VAWA. This is a very small fraction of the approximately 44 million immigrants in the U.S. (Zong et al., 2019). There is a pressing need to increase the

number of VAWA self-petitions. Social workers are encouraged to engage in macro social work and propose policies to support victims and reduce DV victimization among immigrant communities.

Social Work Education Implications

The exponentially growing population of immigrants in the U.S. calls for the emerging body of social work professionals to be adequately trained in working with immigrants. The NASW Code of Ethics and the core values of the social work profession urge social workers to safeguard social justice and promote human wellbeing (NASW, 2017). Further, *Stopping Family Violence* is one of the grand challenges specified by the American Academy of Social Work and Social Welfare (AASWSW) (Uehara et. al., 2013). Because AASWSW is a leading social work organization, it is imperative that social work students to be adequately trained in handling family violence cases (Rai et al., 2019).

The study findings help establish new knowledge about DV and its tactics in SA immigrant communities, by recognizing within-group variations. This knowledge is helpful in guiding classroom conversations about the cultural facets of the SA community that translate into violence. These conversations will equip students to better support immigrant clients and communities, using a person-in-environment approach. Additionally, understanding the preferred help-seeking resources will further enable students to liaise with agency personnel at their internships and jobs to provide adequate support to immigrant victims of DV. It is pressing and necessary that current social work educators take upon themselves the responsibility of sufficiently training the new body of social work professionals.

Limitations and Conclusion

There are some limitations associated with this dissertation. First, it relied on a cross-sectional design that limits determining temporal precedence. Second, the data were collected through self-reported surveys which could have introduced bias in participant responses. Third, the measures used to gauge the perceptions of DV as well as establish DV victimization rates were somewhat limited. Owing to the multidimensional nature of the SA culture, DV could manifest and be experienced by members of the SA community in many different ways. The study did not capture every single one of those tactics. Fourth, while the researcher was able to recruit participants from across all ethnic groups, relying on non-probability sampling methods somewhat limits the external validity of the study. Fifth, dichotomizing variables may have led to the creation of superfluous binaries which may impact the results to some extent. Last, the list of help-seeking resources provided to participants was not exhaustive, which could impact the understanding of help-seeking resource preference within the SA community.

Despite the limitations associated with this dissertation, it makes a noteworthy contribution in establishing the perceptions of and attitudes toward DV within the SA immigrant community for the very first time. By establishing DV victimization rates and making comparisons among men and women, this study debunks the myth surrounding DV being only a women's issue. Building knowledge about the most preferred resource expands DV research within the SA community as a whole. The most significant contribution of this dissertation is its utilization of a multi-site sample of 468 men and women from all 50 U.S. states. This is one the largest samples concerning DV research within the SA immigrant community. Overall, this dissertation takes a step forward in building knowledge about an understudied area and lays the foundation for future immigrant scholars to expand DV research in diverse communities.

References

Abraham, M. (2000a). *Speaking the Unspeakable: Marital Violence Among South Asian Immigrants in the United States.* New Brunswick, N. J. & London: Rutgers University Press.

Adam, N.M. (2000). Domestic violence against women within immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities in the U.S. *Dissertation Abstracts International, 61*(11), 4547A (Doctoral Dissertation; University of Illinois, Chicago).

Agha, E., & Rai, A. (2020). Notes from the field: Culturally adapted research methods for South Asian participants. *Professional Development Journal, 23*(1) *(in press).*

Ahn, B. (2002). *The perceptions of and attitudes toward partner abuse among first-generation Korean-Americans: Their relationships to the incidence of partner abuse*. LSU Doctoral Dissertations. 2167 (Doctoral Dissertation, Louisiana State University).

Aujla, W. (2013). *Voicing challenges: South Asian immigrant women speak out about their experiences of domestic violence and access to services* Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses (Order No. MR93471) (Master's Thesis, Alberta University).

Ayyub, R. (2000). Domestic violence in the South Asian Muslim immigrant population in the United States. *Journal of Social Distress and the Homeless, 9*(3), 237-248.

Balgamwalla, S. (2013). A woman's place: Dependent spouse visa holders and the legacy of coverture. Retrieved from https://law.ubalt.edu/centers/caf/pdf/Sabrina%20Balgamwalla.pdf (Accessed on December 20, 2019).

Balgamwalla, S. (2014). Bride and prejudice: How US immigration law discriminates against spousal visa holders. *Berkeley Journal of Gender, Law & Justice, 29*(1), 24-71.

Bhanot, S., & Senn, C. (2007). Attitudes towards violence against women in men of South Asian ancestry: Are acculturation and gender role attitudes important factors? *Journal of Family Violence, 22*(1), 25-31.

Chaudhuri, S., Morash, M., & Yingling, J. (2014). Marriage migration, patriarchal bargains, and wife abuse: A study of South Asian women. *Violence Against Women, 20*(2), 141-161.

Dasgupta, S. D. (2007). *Body evidence: Intimate violence against south Asian women in America.* New York: NY: Rutgers University Press.

Dhinsda, M. K. (2010). *The role of cultural values and motives in dating violence among South Asian and white males.* Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global (Order No. 3444007) (Doctoral Dissertation, University of California).

Gill, A. (2004). Voicing the silent fear: South Asian women's experiences of domestic violence. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice, 43*(5), 465-483.

Goel R. (2005). Sita's Trousseau: restorative justice, domestic violence, and South Asian culture. *Violence Against Women, 11,* 639-665.

Gupte, M. (2015). *The role of 'honor' in violence against South Asian women in the United States.* Manavi Occasional Paper (No. 11). New Brunswick, NJ: Manavi.

Hurwitz, E. J., Gupta, J., Liu, R., Silverman, J. G., & Raj, A. (2006). Intimate partner violence associated with poor health outcomes in U.S. South Asian women. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health, 8*(3), 251-261.

Mahapatra, N. (2008). *South Asian women and domestic violence: Incidence and informal and formal help -seeking.* Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses (Order No. 3341953) (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Texas-Austin).

Mahapatra, N. (2012). South Asian women in the U.S. and their experience of domestic violence. *Journal of Family Violence. 27*, 381-390.

Mahapatra, N. & Rai, A. (2019). Every cloud has a silver lining but… "pathways to seeking formal-help and South-Asian immigrant women survivors of intimate partner violence." Health Care for *Women International*, *40*(11), 1170-1196.

Murugan, V. (2017). *Intimate partner violence among South Asian women in the United States: Prevalence and help-seeking behaviors.* Dissertation Abstracts International (Order No. 10606554) (Doctoral Dissertation, Washington University).

National Association of Social Workers. (2017). *Code of Ethics of the National Association of Social Workers.* Washington, DC. NASW Press.

Rai, A., Choi, Y.J., & Khandare, L. (2019). State of domestic violence content in MSW curriculum in the U.S. *Perspectives on Social Work, 15*(1), 15-27.

Rai, A., & Choi, Y. J. (2018). Socio-cultural risk factors impacting domestic violence among South Asian immigrant women: A scoping review. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 38*, 76-85.

Raj, A., Livramento, K. N., Santana, M. C., Gupta, J., & Silverman, J. G. (2006). Victims of intimate partner violence more likely to report abuse from in-laws. *Violence Against Women, 12*(10), 936-949.

Raj, A., & Silverman, J. (2002). Intimate partner violence amongst South Asian women in Greater Boston. *Journal of the American Medical Women's Association, 57*(2), 111-114.

South Asian Americans Leading Together. (2015). A demographic snapshot of South Asians in the United States. Retrieved from http://saalt.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Demographic-Snapshot-updated_Dec-2015.pdf (Accessed on May 3, 2018).

South Asian Americans Leading Together. (2019). Demographic snapshot of South Asians in the United States. Retrieved from https://saalt.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/SAALT-Demographic-Snapshot-2019.pdf (Accessed on March 11, 2020).

Uehara, E. S., Barth, R. P., Olson, S., Catalano, R. F., Hawkins, J. D., Kemp, S., . . . Sherraden, M. (2014). *Identifying and tackling grand challenges for social work* (Grand Challenges for Social Work Initiative Working Paper No. 3). Baltimore, MD: American Academy of Social Work and Social Welfare.

United states Citizenship and Immigration Services (n.d.). Battered spouse, children and parents. Retrieved from https://www.uscis.gov/humanitarian/battered-spouse-children-and-parents (Accessed on February 10, 2020).

Yick, A. G. (1997). *Chinese-Americans' perceptions of and experiences with domestic violence and factors related to their psychological well-being.* Available from Dissertation Abstracts International (Order No. 9823585) (Doctoral dissertation. University of California).

Zong, J., Batalova, J. & Burrows, M. (2019). Frequently requested statistics on immigrants and immigration in the United States. Migration Policy Institute. Retrieved from https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/frequently-requested-statistics-immigrants-and-immigration-united-states (Accessed on February 7, 2020).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Online Survey

I request you to contact me in case you would like to use the modified items in the instrument or the SMILE scale. Please contact me: abha.rai@icloud.com.

***(insert information about the survey and consent)*

Have you already taken this survey? *(Participants to exit the survey should they answer yes)*

Yes
No

Do you identify as South Asian? *(if no, skip to the end)*
(South Asians include individuals from one of the following eight SA countries: Bangladesh, Nepal, India, Bhutan, Maldives, Sri Lanka and Pakistan

Yes
No

Are you 18 years of age or older? *(if no, skip to the end)*

Yes
No

Do you currently live (not visiting) in the U.S.? *(if no, skip to the end)*

Yes
No

I. We are interested in your opinions about what behaviors are considered violence between spouses or couples. Answer how much you agree or disagree whether the behavior is considered violence between spouses or couples. There are six choices for you to choose from. Circle the number that best reflects your opinion.

1=STRONGLY AGREE	4=DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
2=AGREE	5=DISAGREE
3=AGREE SOMEWHAT	6=STRONGLY DISAGREE

*(Partner here includes fiancé, boyfriend, girlfriend, live-in relationships).

Key Sentence:
(_____) is considered violence between spouses/partners.
(INSERT WITH ITEMS BELOW)

a.	Punching one's spouse/ partner's face real hard during an argument	1	2	3	4	5	6
b.	Arguing with one's spouse/partner	1	2	3	4	5	6
c.	Forcing one's spouse/ partner to have sex	1	2	3	4	5	6
d.	Constantly threatening to use an object to hurt one's spouse/partner	1	2	3	4	5	6
e.	Demanding to know where one's spouse/partner is all the time	1	2	3	4	5	6
f.	Disagreeing with one's spouse/partner about how much to spend on personal items	1	2	3	4	5	6
g.	Criticizing one's spouse/partner in front of others	1	2	3	4	5	6
h.	Throwing objects at one's spouse/partner	1	2	3	4	5	6
i.	Pushing one's spouse/ partner	1	2	3	4	5	6
j.	Not allowing spouse/ partner to make any decisions	1	2	3	4	5	6
k.	Disagreeing about who will do certain household chores	1	2	3	4	5	6
l.	Always disregarding one’s spouse's/partner's opinions and feelings	1	2	3	4	5	6
m.	Not being aware of one's spouse's/partner's feelings on a political issue	1	2	3	4	5	6

n.	Not allowing one's spouse/partner to have a bank account in his/her name	1	2	3	4	5	6
o.	Not allowing one's spouse to maintain independent control over their finances	1	2	3	4	5	6
p	Not allowing one's spouse to maintain control over their passport or immigration papers	1	2	3	4	5	6
q.	Not filing for residency permit for one's spouse/partner	1	2	3	4	5	6
r.	Interference about whereabouts by in-laws	1	2	3	4	5	6
s.	Interference over financial matters by in-laws	1	2	3	4	5	6
t.	Demeaning tone used by in-laws	1	2	3	4	5	6
u.	Physical harm by in-laws	1	2	3	4	5	6

II. People have different opinions about how to handle family matters and how to solve problems in the family. Read following statements and answer how much you agree or disagree with that statement.

1=STRONGLY AGREE	4=DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
2=AGREE	5=DISAGREE
3=AGREE SOMEWHAT	6=STRONGLY DISAGREE

*(Partner here includes fiancé, boyfriend, girlfriend, live-in relationships).

Again, you will choose your answer from six choices.

a.	In general, it is okay for a man to hit his wife/partner	1	2	3	4	5	6
b.	Spanking a child is an effective way to discipline	1	2	3	4	5	6
c.	It is important to have a family meeting at least once a month to discuss any family problems	1	2	3	4	5	6

d.	Hitting is a good way to solve problems	1	2	3	4	5	6
e.	It is important for a husband and a wife to resolve conflicts before going to bed	1	2	3	4	5	6
f.	Hitting should be used if nothing else works	1	2	3	4	5	6
g.	Hitting a child with a belt is an appropriate form of discipline	1	2	3	4	5	6
h.	In general, it is okay for a woman to hit her husband/partner	1	2	3	4	5	6
i.	Communication is the most important thing in a marriage	1	2	3	4	5	6
j.	The use of physical punishment teaches children self-control	1	2	3	4	5	6

III. People have different opinions about why violence happens between spouses or couples. We are interested in your opinions about what might cause violence between spouses or couples. Answer how much you agree or disagree with the key sentence below. Again, you will choose your answer form six choices.

1=STRONGLY AGREE	4=DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
2=AGREE	5=DISAGREE
3=AGREE SOMEWHAT	6=STRONGLY DISAGREE

*(Partner here includes fiancé, boyfriend, girlfriend, live-in relationships).
Key Sentence:
(_____) causes an individual to use violence on their spouse/partner.

(INSERT ITEMS BELOW)

a.	Job pressure	1	2	3	4	5	6

b.	An overcrowded house	1	2	3	4	5	6
c.	Inability to control a bad temper	1	2	3	4	5	6
d.	Stress from immigrating to the U.S.	1	2	3	4	5	6
e.	Women's lower status compared to men's in the South Asian culture	1	2	3	4	5	6
f.	A woman wanting to make more decisions in the home	1	2	3	4	5	6
g.	Past experiences with violence during childhood	1	2	3	4	5	6
h.	Lack of education	1	2	3	4	5	6
i.	Arguments that get out of hand	1	2	3	4	5	6
j.	Belief that women are the properties of men	1	2	3	4	5	6
k.	Mental illness	1	2	3	4	5	6
l.	Belief that men are authority figures over women	1	2	3	4	5	6
m.	Lack of trust in a marriage	1	2	3	4	5	6
n	Poverty	1	2	3	4	5	6
o.	Alcohol	1	2	3	4	5	6
p.	Belief that wives should be obedient	1	2	3	4	5	6
q.	Drugs	1	2	3	4	5	6
r.	Disagreement with in-laws	1	2	3	4	5	6

IV. People have different opinions about when it is or isn't acceptable to hit. Read the key sentence with various situations listed below from a to l, inserted in the blank of the sentence. Answer how much you agree or disagree. You will have to choose your answer from six choices.

1=STRONGLY AGREE	4=DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
2=AGREE	5=DISAGREE
3=AGREE SOMEWHAT	6=STRONGLY DISAGREE

*(Partner here includes fiancé, boyfriend, girlfriend, live-in relationships).

Key Sentence:
You just found out that a man hit his wife real hard because _____.

(INSERT ITEMS BELOW)

a.	They caught their spouse/partner having an affair	1	2	3	4	5	6
b.	They caught their spouse/partner drunk	1	2	3	4	5	6
c.	They acted in self-defense	1	2	3	4	5	6
d.	The spouse/partner was screaming hysterically	1	2	3	4	5	6
e.	The spouse/partner was unwilling to have sex	1	2	3	4	5	6
f.	The spouse/partner was always nagging	1	2	3	4	5	6
g.	They were in a bad mood	1	2	3	4	5	6
h.	The spouse/partner was trying to hurt their child	1	2	3	4	5	6
i.	The spouse/partner do not spend enough time at home	1	2	3	4	5	6
j.	They found the spouse/partner flirting with someone else	1	2	3	4	5	6
k.	The spouse/partner did not obey him	1	2	3	4	5	6
l.	The spouse/partner was arguing with the in-laws	1	2	3	4	5	6

V. **Have you or any South Asian friends or family members of yours in the U.S. experienced the following situations? Please answer yes or no. If your answer is yes, click Y, and if your answer is no, click N.**

(Partner here includes fiancé, boyfriend, girlfriend, live-in relationships)

		Self		**Others**	
a.	Been pushed or grabbed by their spouse/partner?	Y	N	Y	N
b.	Been threatened with a gun or knife by their spouse/partner?	Y	N	Y	N
c.	Been verbally insulted by their spouse/partner?	Y	N	Y	N
d.	Been forced to have sex by their spouse/partner?	Y	N	Y	N

e.	Been slapped by their spouse/partner?	Y	N	Y	N
f.	Not allowed by spouse/partner to leave the house	Y	N	Y	N
g.	Not allowed by spouse/partner to meet/speak to friends or family	Y	N	Y	N
h.	Not allowed by spouse/partner to keep custody of immigration papers (passport and green card)	Y	N	Y	N
i.	Been insulted (verbally, physically or emotionally) by in-laws	Y	N	Y	N
j.	Not allowed to maintain legal residency because spouse/partner failed to file legal papers and/or residency documents	Y	N	Y	N
k.	Felt threatened about being deported by spouse/partner	Y	N	Y	N
l.	Felt threatened by spouse/partner about children being taken away	Y	N	Y	N
m	Felt threatened by spouse/partner about securing/keeping job	Y	N	Y	N
n.	Not allowed by spouse/partner to have a personal bank account	Y	N	Y	N
o.	Not allowed to spend money without approval from spouse/partner	Y	N	Y	N

How many such people (friends or family members) do you know?

None
1-3
4-6
7-10
More than 1

Do they identify as:

Male
Female
Don't know
N/A

The questions below are about your knowledge and preference about resources that you are most likely to recommend to someone you know experiencing domestic violence.

Do you think domestic violence is common in South Asian households?

Yes
No
Don't know

If a friend, neighbor or relative confides in you about being abused by spouse or in-laws, what will your response be?

Recommend a resource for potential help-seeking
Ask them not to disclose the matter because it is private.

Do you think the following resources could be helpful in case someone you know experiences domestic violence?

Hospital/Emergency room	Yes	No
Medical professionals	Yes	No
U.S. Consulate/embassy	Yes	No
Police	Yes	No
Courts	Yes	No
Lawyers	Yes	No
South Asian organizations	Yes	No
Social Workers/Counselors/Mental health professionals	Yes	No
Places of religious worship	Yes	No

Which one of the following resources are you most likely to recommend to a friend or family in case they experience domestic violence? *(Pick your top three choices)*

Hospital/Emergency room
Medical Professional
U.S. Consulate/embassy
Police
Courts
Lawyers
South Asian organizations
Social Workers/counselors/mental health professionals
Place of religious worship
Other (Please enter formal help-seeking options such as a formal agency only)
None of the above

What is your reason for making the above recommendation?

I believe that my recommendation would be the closest in proximity to where the victim resides

I do not know about other resources
I do not believe that other resources would be helpful
Other (please specify in the space below)_____

The questions below are about your lifestyle in the U.S.

Please select the answer below that best reflects your response.

Please circle the answers that best reflects your response.	Only Native Language	Native Language better than English	Both Equally	English better than Native Language	Only English
In general, what language(s) do you read and speak?	1	2	3	4	5
What was the language(s) you used as a child?	1	2	3	4	5
What language(s) do you usually speak at home?	1	2	3	4	5
In which language(s) do you usually think?	1	2	3	4	5
What language(s) do you usually speak with your friends?	1	2	3	4	5
In what language(s) are the T.V. programs you usually watch?	1	2	3	4	5
In what language(s) are the radio program you usually listen to?	1	2	3	4	5
In general, in what language(s) are the movies, T.V. and radio programs you prefer to watch and listen to?	1	2	3	4	5
	All South Asians	More South Asians than Americans	About Half & Half	More Americans than South Asians	All Americans
Your close friends are:	1	2	3	4	5
You prefer going to social gatherings/parties at which people are:	1	2	3	4	5
The persons you visit or who visit you are:	1	2	3	4	5

If you could choose your children's friends, you would want them to be:	1	2	3	4	5

The questions below are about your thoughts about the roles of men and women within South Asian families.

1=STRONGLY AGREE	4=DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
2=AGREE	5=DISAGREE
3=AGREE SOMEWHAT	6=STRONGLY DISAGREE

8. There are many jobs that men can do better than women.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9.* Women should be given equal opportunity with men in all professions.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10. On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11.* If a woman goes out to work, her husband should share in the housework, such as washing dishes, cleaning and cooking.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12. It is ridiculous for a man to stay at home to raise the children.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13. In general, the father should have more authority than the mother in bringing up children.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14.* A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15.* Women earning as much as their dates should pay for themselves when going out with them.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Items in * denote that they are reverse coded.

Please provide me with some information about yourself.

Please enter your birth date:

(Use MM/DD/YY format only).

How old are you (in years)?

18-25
26-35
36-50
51 and above

Do you identify as:

Male
Female
Other

Which religion do you follow?

Hinduism
Christianity
Sikhism
Buddhism
Islam
None
More than one
Prefer not to answer
Other (please specify in the space below)

How religious are you?

Not religious
Not too religious
Fairly religious
Very religious

What is your ethnicity? (Please click the option that best helps identify your lineage).

Indian
Pakistani
Nepali
Bhutanese
Maldivian
Bangladeshi
Sri Lankan
Other (please specify in the space below)

What is your employment status?

Full-time
Part-time
Not working

What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

No school education
Less than high school
High school graduate
Vocational training/specialized course
Undergraduate degree
Master's degree
PhD degree
Other, please specify in the space below

What is your household annual income?

None
Less than $15,000
$15,001 to $25,000
$25,001 to $35,000
$35,001 to $45,000
$45,001 to $55,000
$55,001 to $65,000
$65,001 to $75,000
$75,001 to $85,000
$85,001 to $95,000
$95,001 or more

What is your main source of income?

Self
Spouse/partner
Parents
Others

What is your status in the US?

U.S. Citizen
Permanent resident or green card holder
Visa holder
Undocumented
Other (please specify in the space below)

Please select your generational position.

1st generation (those who came to the U. S. at age 13 or later)
1.5+ generation (those who moved to the U. S. before age 13 or were born in the U. S.

How long have you lived in the United States?

1-3 years
4-8 years
8-15 years
15 years or more
Born in the U.S.

What is your marital status?

Single
Engaged
In a relationship
Married
Divorced
Separated
Widowed

Is your spouse/boyfriend/girlfriend/fiancé

South Asian
American
Other Ethnic Group (please specify)

What type of family do you consider yourself living in currently?

Nuclear (a nuclear family includes a couple living with their dependent children)
Joint/Extended (a joint family includes extended family such as living with in-laws, and/or cousins along with spouse, and/or children).

What is your current state of residence? *(Drop state option list)*

Who lives in your neighborhood?

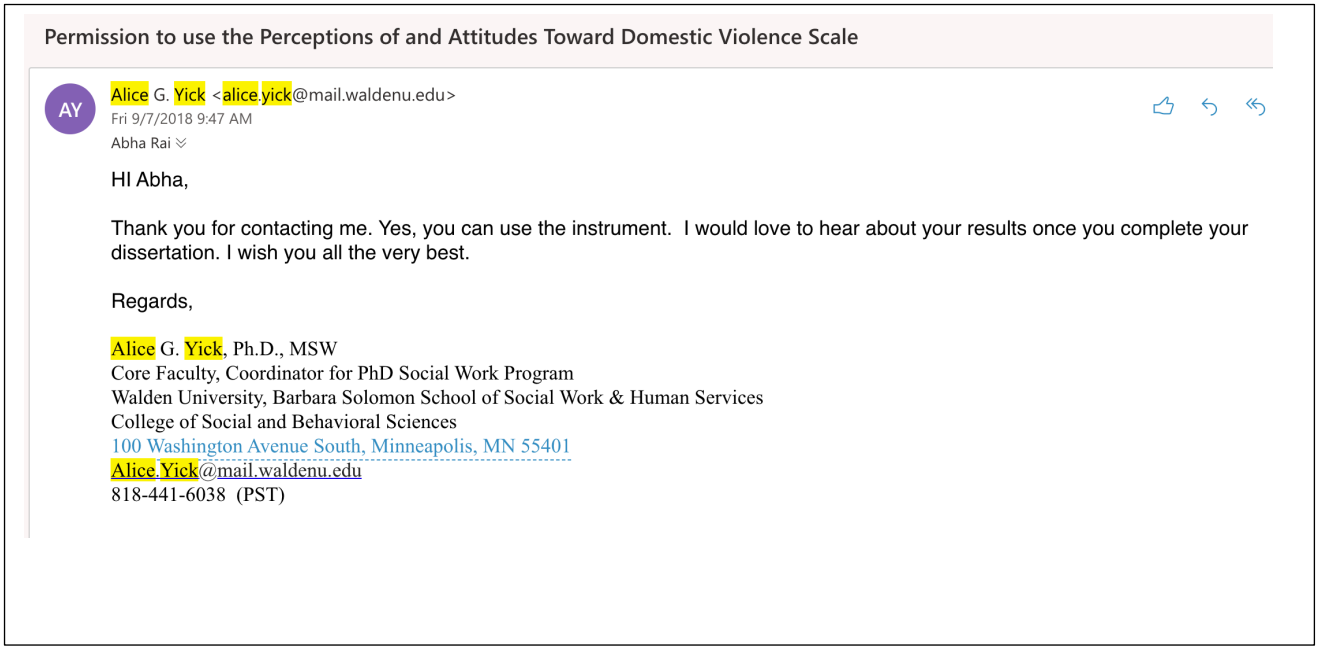
Mostly South Asians
An equal mix of South Asian and Americans
Mostly Americans
A mix of South Asians and other ethnic groups who are not Americans.

***(insert thank you information and sign-up link for gift card for participants not through the Qualtrics panel).*

***(insert DV resources for everyone)*

APPENDIX B

Permission to Use the Perceptions of and Attitudes toward Domestic Violence Questionnaire - Revised (PADV-R)



Permission to use the Perceptions of and Attitudes Toward Domestic Violence Scale

AY

Alice G. Yick <alice.yick@mail.waldenu.edu>
Fri 9/7/2018 9:47 AM
Abha Rai

HI Abha,

Thank you for contacting me. Yes, you can use the instrument. I would love to hear about your results once you complete your dissertation. I wish you all the very best.

Regards,

Alice G. Yick, Ph.D., MSW
Core Faculty, Coordinator for PhD Social Work Program
Walden University, Barbara Solomon School of Social Work & Human Services
College of Social and Behavioral Sciences
100 Washington Avenue South, Minneapolis, MN 55401
Alice.Yick@mail.waldenu.edu
818-441-6038 (PST)

APPENDIX C

Incentive Survey for Participants

Thank you for completing the survey. Please provide your information below so I can email you the e-gift card.

Email:

Please feel free to email me, Abha Rai at abha.rai@uga.edu should you have any questions/concerns. Thanks!

APPENDIX D

List of South Asian Domestic Violence Organizations and National Domestic Violence Hotlines

NATIONAL DOMESTIC VIOLENCE HOTLINES

The National Domestic Violence Hotline
1-800-799-7233 (SAFE)
www.ndvh.org
National Dating Abuse Helpline
1-866-331-9474
www.loveisrespect.org

Americans Overseas Domestic Violence Crisis Center
International Toll-Free (24/7)
1-866-USWOMEN (879-6636)
www.866uswomen.org

National Center for Victims of Crime
1-202-467-8700
www.victimsofcrime.org

National Resource Center on Domestic Violence
1-800-537-2238
www.nrcdv.org and www.vawnet.org

Futures Without Violence: The National Health Resource Center on Domestic Violence
1-888-792-2873
www.futureswithoutviolence.org

National Center on Domestic Violence, Trauma & Mental Health
1-312-726-7020 ext. 2011
www.nationalcenterdvtraumamh.org

SOUTH ASIAN RESOURCES BY STATE

ALABAMA

AshaKiran
PO Box 1021, Huntsville, AL 35807
24 hour Hopeline: (256)-509-1882 and Toll free Crisis line: (800)-793-3010
Email**:** ashakiran@ashakiran.com
Phone**:** (256) 698 – 4446
Website: http://www.ashakiranonline.org/

ARIZONA

ASAFSF, Arizona South Asians for Safe Families
PO Box 2748, Scottsdale, AZ 85252-2748
Hotline: 1-877-SAFE-711 (1-877-723-3711)
Email: info@asafsf.org, asafsf@gmail.com
Website: http://www.asafsf.org
ASAFSF is a registered, non-profit, community-based organization providing support and services to victims of domestic violence in the South Asian community in Arizona

CALIFORNIA

Maitri
PO Box 697 Santa Clara, CA 95052
Helpline (888) 8 MAITRI (800.862.4874) Mon- Fri 9:00 AM to 1:00 PM
Office (408) 436 8398
Fax (408) 503 0887
Email: maitri@maitri.org
Website: http://www.maitri.org
Cultural Displacement, Conflict Resolution and Domestic Violence – Transitional House services available.

Narika
P.O. Box 14014
Berkeley, CA 94714
Hotline (800) 215 7308 Office (510) 540 0754 Fax (510) 540 0201
Email: narika@narika.org
Website: http://www.narika.org
DV organization

Orphans & Battered Women Foundation International, Inc.

2680 N. Vista Glen Road
Orange, CA 92867-1739
Office (714) 637 1613
Fax (323) 725 6969

Sahara
17918 South Pioneer Blvd. Suite 206
Artesia, CA 90701
Hotline (888) 724 2722
Office (562) 402 4132
Fax (562) 402 6096
Email: saharaorg@yahoo.com Website: www.charityfocus.org/sahara
DV organization

My Sahana
P.O. Box 361301
Milpitas, CA 95036-1301
Office: (408) 657 9569
Website: www.mysahana.org
Awareness about mental health, emotional health and overall well-being in the South Asian community by providing culturally-sensitive information as well as helpful resources and tips

South Asian Network
18173 South Pioneer Blvd. Suite 1
Artesia, CA 90701
Help line (800) 281 8111
Office (562) 403-0488
Fax: (562) 403 0487
Email: saninfo@southasiannetwork.org
Website: www.southasiannetwork.org

Trikone

P. O. Box 14161
San Francisco, CA 94414
Voice mail (415) 487 8778
Email: trikone@trikone.org
Website: http://www.trikone.org
Serving Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender South Asians.

CONNECTICUT

Sneha
P.O. BOX 271650
West Hartford, CT 06127-1650

GEORGIA
Raksha, Inc.
P.O. Box 12337 Atlanta, Georgia – 30355
Office (404) 876 0670
Toll Free (866) 725 7423
Toll Free (877) 672 5742
Helpline (404) 842 0725
Fax (404) 876-4525
Email: raksha@raksha.org
Website: http://www.raksha.org
DV organization

ILLINOIS

Apna Ghar
4753 N. Broadway, Suite 502 Chicago, IL 60640
Crisis line (800) 717 0757 Illinois only
Out of State (773)334 4663
Office (773) 334 0173
Fax (773) 334 0963
Email: info@apnaghar.org
Website: http://www.apnaghar.org
DV Organization – Shelter services available.

Hamdard Center
228 E. Lake Street, Suite 300
Addison, IL 60101
Office (630) 835 1430 (630) 860 9122
Email: admin@hamdardcenter.org
Website: www.hamdardcenter.org

Khuli Zaban
Chicago/Illinois/ Ohio/Michigan/Indiana areas
Phone (312) 409 2753
The South Asian/Middle Eastern Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Women's Organization

MARYLAND

ASHA Asian (Women's) Self- Help Association
P.O. Box 34303
West Bethesda, MD 20827
Hotline (800) 799.7233
Office (202) 207 1248
Email: asha@ashaforwomen.org
Website: http://www.ashaforwomen.org
DV organization.

Counselors Helping Asian Indians (CHAI, Inc.)
4517 Redleaf Court
Ellicott City, MD 21043
Office (410) 461 1634 Ext 2
Email: raziachai@hotmail.com

MASSACHUSSETS

Asian Task Force Against Domestic Violence
24 Hour Multilingual Hotline: (617)338-2355
Email: info@atask.org
Website: www.atask.org

Saheli

P O Box 1345
Burlington, MA 01803
Office (866) 4SAHELI
Website: www.saheliboston.org

MICHIGAN

Michigan Asian Indian Family Center (MAIFS)
28650 11 Mile Rd Suite 218 Farmington Hills, MI 48336
Hotline (888) 664 8624
Office (248) 477 4985
Email: info@maifs.org
Website: http://www.maifs.org/
Helping DV victims, widowed/divorce spouses, mental depression & medical illness patients, and elderly persons.

NEW JERSEY

Manavi P.O. Box 3103 New Brunswick , NJ 08901
Office (732) 435 1414

Fax (732) 435 1411
Email: Manavi@manavi.org
Website: http://www.manavi.org
DV Organization, Transitional House services available.

NEW YORK

Islamic Center of Long Island, Domestic Violence Committee
835 Brush Hollow Road
Westbury, NY 11590
Office (516) 333-3495Fax (516) 333 7321
Email: icli.icli@verizon.net

Pragati
11-45 Union Turnpike, Lower Level
Forest Hills, NY 11375
Office (516) 487 0929
Fax (718) 459 2971
Email: pragatiinc@aol.com

Saathi of Rochester
P O Box 92
East Rochester, NY 14445
Office (585) 234 1050
Email: saathi_rochester@yahoo.com
Website: www.saathiofrochester.org

Sakhi for South Asian women
PO Box 20208
Greeley Square Station
New York, NY, 10001
Helpline (212) 868 6741
Office (212) 714 9153
Fax (212) 5648745
Email: contactus@sakhi.org
Website: www.sakhi.org

NORTH CAROLINA

KIRAN
1012 Oberlin Rd, Raleigh NC, 27605
Office phone: 919-831-4203
Office fax: 919-839-6203 24/7 Crisis Hotline: 1-877-NC-KIRAN
Email: kiran@kiraninc.orgWebsite: www.kiraninc.org
DV organization – Promote the self-reliance and empowerment of South Asian women who are in crisis through outreach, peer support, and referrals in a confidential manner.

OHIO

ASHA- Ray of Hope
4900 Reed Road, Suite 300, Columbus Ohio -43220
Email: asharayofhope@sbcglobal.net
Office number: 614-326-2121
Helpline number: 614-565-2918 (24/7)

OREGON

South Asian Women's Empowerment and Resources Alliance (SAWERA)
P.O. Box 91242 Portland, OR 97291 0242Helpline (503) 778 7386
Office (503) 641 2425
Email: sawera@sawera.org
Website: http://www.sawera.orgDV – organization – Provides free referrals to South Asian women domestic violence (DV) victims seeking shelter, legal help, job placement, child care and counseling.

PENNSYLVANIA

Service and Education for Women Against Abuse (SEWAA)
P.O. Box 1591 Havertown, PA 19083
Office (215) 62 – SEWAA
Email: sewaa@sewaa.net
Website: http://www.sewaa.net

TEXAS

Asians Against Domestic Abuse (AADA)
PO Box. 420776 Houston TX 77242Office (713) 339 8300
Email: info@addainc.org
Website: www.aadainc.org
DV help to all Asian women

An-Nisa' Hope Center
P. O. Box 1086,Spring, TX 77383-1086
Tel: (713) 339-0803 Fax: (281) 719-0355
Email: info@annisahopecenter.org
Website: https://www.annisahopecenter.org/
Services Include: Education and Career Training, Shelter, Medical and Legal Assistance, and Outreach. Promoting a new beginning through: Outreach, Education, Counseling. Bridging the gap with: Training, Job placement, Medical and legal aid. Other Goals: Providing a safe and healthy, Islamic Environment

Chetna
P O Box 832802
Richardson, TX 75083
Email: chetna_dsw@yahoo.comDaya
P.O. Box 571774
Houston, TX 77257
Office (713) 981 7645
Email: info@dayahouston.org
Website: http://www.dayahouston.org
DV organization

Saheli
P. O. Box 3665
South 5th Street
Austin, TX 78764
Office (512) 703 8745
Email: saheli@saheli-austin.org
Website: http://www.saheli-austin.org
DV Organization – to work toward preventing abuse in family relationships, to break the cycle of violence and pursue a cycle of peace.

WASHINGTON

Chaya
P. O. Box 22291
Seattle, WA 98122-0291
Toll-free (877) 922 4292
Hotline (206) 325 0325
Office (206) 568 7576
Email: chaya@chayaseattle.org
Website: https://www.apichaya.org/
DV organization – Provides translation and interpretation services, referrals to shelters, counseling, medical services, legal and immigration services, community outreach, and training.

WASHINGTON D.C

Khush DC
Website: http://www.khushdc.org
DV organization – Provides a safe and supportive environment, promotes awareness and acceptance, and fosters positive cultural and sexual identity for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Questioning(LGBTQ) and additional gender or sexual minority South Asians in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area.