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APPLYING CRIMINAL EVENTS THEORY TO INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE AS REPORTED BY KOREAN WOMEN IN THE U.S.

By

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Intimate partner violence (IPV) is a complex event comprised of environmental settings and the sequence of actors' behaviors. Nevertheless, our knowledge of the mechanism regarding the elements of IPV event is limited. Few IPV studies have included situational determinants that, even when efforts have been made, have been examined individually, rather than jointly. This limits the understanding of the interrelationships and dynamics of the factors in the IPV event. The purpose of this dissertation is to develop an event-based framework for IPV so as to increase our understanding of common factors associated with IPV, situational dynamics that lead to the escalation of violence and the circumstances under which women will seek help. To do this, the present study identifies distal and proximal influences on IPV as well as barriers to helpseeking, using a content analysis with a novel method, "might-cause chain analysis" (MCA) of 393 episodes on an anonymous Internet forum. MCA, created based upon the fishbone diagram, depicts the distances and interrelationships of the elements of IPV events covering the time and events from the most distal to the most proximate "causes" of violence. Findings from this study indicate that violence occurring between intimate partners among populations of Korean immigrants in the U.S varies. Among this

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population, the majority of IPV is non-physical, including verbal, psychological, sexual and economic violence. With the categorization of IPV into physical and non-physical forms, this dissertation addresses (1) the occurrence of IPV contingent on or triggered by different precursors; (2) IPV victims' help-seeking and barriers; (3) the influence of individual, cultural/structural, and situational factors on the occurrence of the IPV; and (4) the consequences of IPV, such as mental health implications and police involvement. Results from Chi-square analysis reveal that the dichotomy of IPV is blurred with respect to those variables. With a few exceptions, the determinants as well as the consequences are not statistically significant between the two types of IPV. This highlights the significance of non-physical forms of IPV. As such, the present study discusses theoretical recommendations and policy implications based on these findings.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

The goal of this dissertation was to explore the contextual domains of intimate partner violence (IPV) among South Korean (hereafter, Korean) communities in the U.S. This study began with the axiom that violence is an event and includes use of an event-based perspective as a framework for understanding the extent of situational dynamics that lead to violence, the circumstances of help-seeking, and the determinants involved in IPV. To do so, a temporal approach, which is identifying the sequential patterns, as used with the elements of events as a unit of observation to investigate the chain of events in setting the stages for IPV. The current study employed a content analysis of narratives posted on an anonymous Internet forum, describing IPV events from their own experiences as Korean women in the U.S.

The reason that this project drew from online postings was due to the difficulty of obtaining IPV data for Asian groups in the U.S. First of all, knowledge is limited for the nature and specific situational context of IPV among this population (see Lee & Hadeed, 2009, for a review). Also, there is little consensus about how much IPV occurs among Asian Americans. The IPV among Asian immigrant communities is presumed to be a serious epidemic (see Raj & Silverman, 2002), while nationally representative surveys have reported that Asians are the lowest in the prevalence of IPV among racial/ethnic groups in U.S (Black et al., 2011; Breiding, Black, & Ryan, 2008; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a).

Secondly, because Asians are ethnic minorities in the U.S., some estimates are commonly unreported in a nationwide IPV survey, due to large standard errors (e.g., Black et al., 2011; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a). Thirdly, traditional Asian values such as

strong family bonds might discourage Asian respondents from revealing their experiences of violence in the home (Lee & Hadeed, 2009; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a). Finally, measuring violence depends on diverse perceptions within cultures of Asian communities, which are so diverse that, for example, more than 30 primary languages fall into only one ethnic category (Lee, 1997; Yick, 2007; Yoshihama, 1999). Therefore, efforts to exploit data sources are essential, particularly for Korean population, one of many Asian groups.

Besides the lack of research resources, recent reviews of IPV studies also have emphasized the need for building a framework to address the content of IPV events, which are complex and heterogeneous (Dixon & Browne, 2003; Wilkinson & Hamerschlag, 2005). In a review of typology studies, Dixon and Browne (2003) concluded that spouse abusers are difficult to categorize into a homogeneous group. To understand IPV comprehensively, they suggested that situational factors such as context, triggers of IPV, and victims' behavioral action should be considered. In another review, Wilkinson and Hamerschlag (2005) found that violent events are not a unitary but are shaped by a set of "motivation, perceptions of risk and opportunity, and social control setting attributes" (p. 334).

It was the intention of the current project to develop an approach for unraveling the complexity of IPV, and so diagraming events was utilized. A diagram can represent a helpful way of thinking about complex events. To reduce the potential for arbitrariness in diagraming and thinking about complex events, the concept of event-based perspective was applied to explain how and with what framework IPV can be diagramed. Chapter 3

includes discussion of this concept, and Chapter 5 includes descriptions of the specific methods of this study.

It is worth noting here that recognizing distal and proximal influences on IPV, for the purpose of the present study, is useful as a principle to dissect the violent "event" encapsulated in time and space. The concept of the distal and/or proximal mechanism was developed to explain causations in the field of the law (Beale, 1920; McLaughlin, 1925) and biology (see Mayr, 1998). Criminological concerns about this mechanism have been found in recent studies of violence (violence against women in particular), with biological perspectives (Ellis & Walsh, 1997; Goetz, Shackelford, & Camilleri, 2008; Goetz & Shackelford, 2008; Hall & Hirschman, 1993; Keljo & Crawford, 1999) and integrated/situational perspectives (Babcock, Costa, Green, & Eckhardt, 2004; Bell & Naugle, 2008; DeMaris, Benson, Fox, Hill, & Wyk, 2003; Holtzworth-Munroe & Stuart, 1994; Leonard & Quigley, 1999).

In a chain of events or causal chains, the proximal factor is the unit of immediate or closest settings to the occurrence of the IPV, while the distal factors are remote and reach IPV via intermediary units (see Bell & Naugle, 2008, for discussion of distal and proximal antecedents). The chain, however, is not limited to the precursors but also can be considered with the consequences of IPV, such as proximate outcomes. Tedeschi and Felson (1994) addressed proximate outcomes expected to be produced immediately after the violence, which is often valued to motivated actors when violence occurs, because it could be related to *terminal outcome* or motive. For example, a husband who is threatening his wife expects her compliance (proximate outcome) so he can satisfy his

desire (terminal outcome). Likewise, the feature of the chain could be illustrated as the shape of a web centered on violence with interconnected elements of events.

Interestingly, this spatio-temporal conceptualization of events is found to be somewhat similar to what the linguist Steven Pinker (2008) noted for languages in human mind: "EVENTS ARE OBJECTS and TIME IS SPACE" (p. 6). In the concept of temporality, proximal and distal time of an event can be also understood as the distance of objective actions from the violence. Thus, it was critical to find a way to objectify and distribute IPV events for this project. The ideas and criteria informing this objectification and distribution of events are expanded in Chapter 3.

After this introduction, Chapter 2 continues with a review of relevant literature, beginning with the estimates of IPV that U.S. nationwide representative surveys have reported since the 1980s. In the literature review, estimations from seven surveys/surveillances are synthesized according to six types of IPV. Then, factors related to IPV are assigned into three themes—(a) antecedents; (b) situational dynamics; and (c) consequences of IPV, which represent a temporal ordering—and these themes are discussed. The following section provides characteristics of Korean immigrants and the culture of origin and reviews prior IPV studies for Koreans in the U.S.

Chapter 3 introduces the theoretical framework for the analysis of IPV as an event. It also elaborates on the event-based perspective to warrant a situational or event-oriented approach based on data derived from narratives. Chapter 4 articulates research questions on four primary topics. Chapter 5 discusses the data and methods used for the current investigation, describing the process and information about the data selected and coding procedures. In addition, this chapter introduces a novel method named might-

cause chain analysis (MCA) with specific usages, which plays an important role in the analysis of IPV events with diagraming.

Findings are presented in Chapter 6 through 8. Chapter 6 starts with the discussion of the characteristics of victims and perpetrators and then continues to describe the type, temporal distribution, and interrelationship of IPV as well as the precursors of the IPV. Chapter 7 focuses on the relationship of victims' help-seeking and help-seeking barriers and how they are related to IPV. Chapter 8 discusses the consequences of IPV as well as risk factors related to the occurrence and prevention of IPV.

Finally, after revisiting the research questions, theoretical recommendations and policy implications based on these findings are discussed in Chapter 9 as well as limitations and future research agenda.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

Estimates of IPV in the U.S.

When estimates of IPV are reported, they are referred to as either prevalence or incidence (see Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a). Prevalence of IPV refers to the number of persons who have experienced cases (i.e., victimization or perpetration of IPV) within a specific time period, such as lifetime or previous 12 months (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a). Incidence of IPV, on the other hand, refers to the number of the new cases within a specific period, such as a victimization rate—the number of separate victimization of IPV per 1,000 or 100,000 persons that occurred in a specific calendar year (Campbell, 2000; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a). For IPV measurement, Campbell (2000) suggested the use of prevalence because the incidence may not be appropriate for ongoing acts due to the difficulty in determining whether a person is a "new case" of IPV (e.g., whether it is a repeat victimization). Also, IPV usually has been measured by asking persons if they experienced the incidents within the prior year, and in this determination, *past year prevalence* is the most appropriate terminology (Campbell, 2000).

The prevalence of IPV has been estimated with several population-based national surveys, including the National Family Violence Survey (NFVS), conducted first in 1975 and re-administered in 1985 (Straus & Gelles, 1990b); the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH), a longitudinal survey conducted in 1987 with a 5-year follow-up (Sorenson, Upchurch, & Shen, 1996; Zlotnick, Kohn, Peterson, & Pearlstein, 1998); the National Longitudinal Couples Survey (NLCS), a component of the National Alcohol Survey conducted in 1995 with a follow up in 2000 (Caetano, Field, Ramisetty-Mikler, & McGrath, 2005; Schafer, Caetano, & Clark, 1998); the National Violence Against

Women Survey (NVAWS), designed for comprehensive measure of violence against women, conducted in 1995 (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a); the (optional) IPV module within the Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (BRFSS) that is an annual survey for public health problems by the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC; Breiding et al., 2008; Edwards, Black, Dhingra, McKnight-Eily, & Perry, 2009); and the National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS), a recent IPV-specified surveillance generated by the CDC (Black et al., 2011). The incidence of IPV has been reported by the NVAWS but also by the annual National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS; Durose, 2005; Rand & Rennison, 2005; Rennison, 2003; Rennison & Welchans, 2000). Detailed methodologies about the surveys are shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1. Population-Based Nationwide Surveys Measuring Intimate Partner Violence in the U.S.

	Year			Data collection	Measure of Physical	Other IPV measures in published
Surveys NFVS	started 1985	N 4,302	Target population Married or cohabiting U.S. residents age 18 or older (including recently separated/divorced people)	method Telephone interview	CTS	estimates
NSFH	1987	13,007	Married U.S. residents age 18 or older	In-person interview (with self-administered questionnaires)	P-HST	
NVAWS	VAWS 1995 18,000		U.S. residents age 18 or older	Telephone M-CTS interview		Rape, stalking, and psychological IPV
NLCS	1995	1,599	Married or cohabiting U.S. residents age 18 or older	In-person interview	M-CTS	Forced sex included in the CTS
BRFSS	2005	70,156	U.S. residents age 18 or older	Telephone interview	Any	Unwanted sex and threatening
NISVS	2010	16,507	U.S. residents age 18 or older	Telephone interview	M-CTS	Rape, stalking, and psychological aggression
NCVS	Annual	About 80,000	U.S. residents age 12 or older	In-person and telephone interview	Simple & aggravated assaults	Rape/sexual assault and robbery

Note. CTS = Conflict Tactic Scale; M-CTS = modified CTS; P-HTS = physical violence-hitting, shoving, and throwing; Any = any violence (e.g., "hurting you in any way"); NFVS = National Family Violence Survey (Straus & Gelles, 1990a); NSFH = National Survey of Families and Households (Sorenson et al., 1996); NVAWS = National Violence Against Women Survey (Coker et al., 2002; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a); NLCS = National Longitudinal Couples Survey (Schafer et al., 1998); BRFSS = Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (Breiding et al., 2008); NISVS = National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (Black et al., 2011); NCVS = National Crime Victimization Survey (Rand & Rennison, 2005).

The prevalence and incidence of IPV are measured based on how the concepts of violence are operationalized. When the term 'violence' is defined, it generally refers to the intended 'physical harm and/or force' to others ("Violence," n.d.; Gelles & Straus, 1979; Reiss & Roth, 1993; Tittle, 2004). The intentionality does not require the occurrence of the consequence (i.e., physical injury) to be violence. Feminist researchers, however, have criticized this general perception for relying heavily on legalistic criteria to narrow the concept of violence (Renzetti, 2004). They conceptualized violence in terms of 'any form of gendered power and control' (Pence &

Paymar, 1993; Yllo, 2005). This perspective assumes that violence is socially constructed because there are socially, historically, and culturally expected behaviors in societies. In a male-dominant society, for example, women are expected to be lower status, and to maintain power, men are expected to use various tactics of coercive control (Pence & Paymar, 1993; Yllo, 2005). Feminism has contributed to broadening the definition of violent behaviors by emphasizing victims' perceptions, including sexual, psychological, and economic violence (Renzetti, 2004).

Another conceptual definition, one that social psychologists have used, is 'forms of aggression' (Felson, 2004; Kazdin, 2000). This perspective limits violence to disposition toward human behaviors, while, like the feminists' perspectives, it also broadens the typology of violence. Aggression is defined as an intention to harm others (Felson, 2004), and various malevolent acts that intended not only physical but also psychological, sexual, and emotional harm can be included in the category of violence. This chapter includes discussion of prevalence and incidence based on the types of IPV that general population surveys have measured.

Prevalence estimates of IPV.

While the estimates of IPV in general populations began with efforts to assess physical violence, recent survey attention has focused on the combination of physical with other forms of violence. As shown in Table 2.2, only physical IPV was found in early surveys (see NFVS & NSFH), but sexual and psychological IPV have been added since the 1990s.

Any IPV. Physical and sexual violence are included with other IPV, such as intimate partners' stalking, threatening, or psychological violence, in lifetime or during

past 12 months; it implies the seven combinations¹, like Boolean logic notations, of (a) physical IPV alone; (b) sexual IPV alone; (c) other IPV alone; (d) physical and sexual IPV; (e) physical and other IPV; (f) sexual and other IPV; and (g) physical, sexual, and other IPV. As shown in Table 2.2, in lifetime prevalence, any IPV ranges 25.5% to 35.6% for male-to-female IPV (MFIPV) and 7.9% to 28.5% for female-to-male IPV (FMIPV). All of the studies indicated that women are more likely to report their victimization of any IPV in their lifetime. This asymmetry does not differ from the past-year prevalence. With the exception of the NLCS (1995), surveys' reported annual prevalence rates of any IPV including physical and sexual IPV range 1.4% to 5.9% for MFIPV and 0.7% to 5.0% for FMIPV, which indicate that women are more likely than men to be victims. The prevalence rate from the NLCS (1995) is substantially higher than that conducted by other surveys, indicating that men are more likely than women to be victims: 13.6% for MFIPV and 18.2% for FMIPV.

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¹ The NVAWS aged 18-65 (Coker et al., 2002) has three combinations—physical IPV alone, sexual IPV alone, and psychological IPV alone because the set of the IPV does not include the intersections.

Table 2.2. Lifetime and Past-year Prevalence of Intimate Partner Violence in the U.S.

Lifetime Prevalence					Past-year Prevalence					
IPV by type	NVAWS (1995)	NVAWS (1995) aged 18-65	BRFSS (2005)	NISVS (2010)	NFVS (1985)	NSFH (1987)	NVAWS (1995)	NLCS (1995)	BRFSS (2005)	NISVS (2010)
Male-to-Female (MF) IPV	(1),0)	10 00	(2000)	(2010)	(1)00)	(1)0/)	(1))()	(1))()	(2000)	(2010)
Any IPV*	25.5	29.7	26.4	35.6			1.8			5.9
Physical and/or sexual	24.8		23.6	33.0			1.5	13.6	1.4	
Physical IPV	22.1		20.2	32.9	11.6	2.9	1.3			4.0
Physical IPV alone	17.1	13.3	13.4	20.2				12.9		
Sexual IPV	7.7		10.2	9.4			0.2	0.7		0.6
Sexual IPV alone	2.7	4.3	3.4	1.6						
Psychological IPV**		12.1		48.4						13.9
Coercive power/control		6.9		41.1						10.7
Expressive/verbal aggression		5.2		40.3						10.4
Threatening			19.2	22.0						
Female-to-Male (FM) IPV										
Any IPV*	7.9	23.3	15.9	28.5			1.1	18.2		5.0
Physical and/or sexual	7.6		11.5	28.2			0.9	18.2	0.7	
Physical IPV	7.4		10.7	28.2	12.4	2.9	0.9			4.7
Physical IPV alone	7.3	5.8	10.0	26.2				17.6		
Sexual IPV	0.3		1.5					0.6		
Sexual IPV alone	0.2	0.1	0.8							
Psychological IPV**		17.3		48.8						18.1
Coercive power/control		6.8		42.5						15.2
Expressive/verbal aggression		10.5		31.9						9.3
Threatening			8.7	9.8						

Note. *Physical, sexual, OR psychological IPV for NVAWS aged 18-65; **Psychological alone IPV for NVAWS (1995) aged 18-65; NFVS = National Family Violence Survey (Straus & Gelles, 1990a); NSFH = National Survey of Families and Households (Sorenson et al., 1996); NVAWS = National Violence Against Women Survey (Coker et al., 2002; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a); NLCS = National Longitudinal Couples Survey (Schafer et al., 1998); BRFSS = Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (Breiding et al., 2008); NISVS = National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (Black et al., 2011).

Physical IPV. Physical violence is an important domain that has assessed and represented IPV. In Table 2.2, without exception, all surveys include the prevalence of physical violence. Furthermore, the physical IPV accounts for the majority of any IPV in both lifetime and past-year prevalence. For example, the NVAWS (1995) has shown that physical IPV accounts for 86.7% and 72.2% of any MFIPV in lifetime and past-year prevalence, respectively, and for 93.7% and 81.8% of any FMIPV in lifetime and past-year prevalence, respectively. Likewise, two other surveys have indicated prevalence of physical violence the BRFSS (2005) with 85.6% of any MFIPV and 93.0% of any FMIPV in lifetime prevalence; and the NISVS (2010) with 92.4% and 67.8% of any MFIPV in lifetime and past-year prevalence, respectively, and 98.9% and 94.0% of any FMIPV in lifetime and past-year prevalence, respectively.

The prevalence rates of physical IPV differ by gender in lifetime. Women are more likely to be victims: in the NVAWS (1995), 22.1% for MFIPV versus 7.4% for FMIPV (MFIPV to FMIPV Ratio = 3.0:1); in the BRFSS (2005), 20.2% versus 10.7% (ratio = 1.9:1); and in the NISVS (2010), 32.9% versus 28.2% (ratio = 1.2:1). In the past-year prevalence, however, results are somewhat symmetrical or mixed: in the NFVS (1985), 11.6% for MFIPV versus 12.4% for FMIPV, (MFIPV to FMIPV ratio = 0.9:1); in the NSFH (1987), 2.9% versus 2.9%, (ratio = 1.0:1); in the NVAWS (1995), 1.3% versus 0.9%, (ratio = 1.4:1); and in the NISVS (2010), 4.0% versus 4.7%, (ratio = 0.9:1).

Physical IPV alone. Some victims may suffer from multiple forms of IPV.

Physical IPV alone has been reported in some surveys (e.g., the NVAWS [1995] aged 18-65 and the NISVS [2010]) or derived logically from the reported combination of IPV (e.g., the NVAWS [1995] and the BRFSS [2005]). Table 2.2 provides the prevalence

rates of physical IPV alone by gender (only shown in lifetime prevalence): in the NVAWS (1995), 17.1% for MFIPV versus 7.3% for FMIPV; in the NVAWS (1995) aged 18-65, 13.3% versus 5.8%; in the BRFSS (2005), 13.4% versus 10.0%; and in the NISVS (2010), 20.2% versus 26.2%. These figures point out that surveys, except the NISVS (2010), indicated the prevalence rate of physical IPV alone is also higher for female victims than for male victims.

A more significant finding, however, is that men are more likely than women to use multiple forms of violence against their partners. As noted in Table 2.2, the proportions that account for physical IPV alone of any IPV increase. For example, the NVAWS (1995) has shown that physical IPV alone covers 67.1% of any MFIPV, while it covers as much as 92.4% of any FMIPV. In other words, 32.9%, the rest of physical IPV alone for MFIPV, corresponds to six other possible combinations including (a) sexual IPV alone; (b) stalking alone; (c) sexual IPV and stalking; (d) sexual IPV and physical IPV; (e) stalking and physical IPV; and (f) sexual IPV, stalking, and physical IPV. Except (a) and (b), the associations of specific behaviors constitute two or more types of violence. Of these categories, single behaviors of IPV account for small proportions. For instance, (a) sexual IPV alone and (b) stalking alone are only 2.7 percentage points and 0.7² percentage points, respectively, of any MFIPV 25.5%. The results of other surveys are similar for the proportions of physical IPV alone of any IPV: 56.8% (MFIPV) versus 87.9% (FMIPV) for the BRFSS (2005) and 56.7% versus 91.9% for the NISVS (2010).

Sexual IPV. As noted in Table 2.2, sexual IPV is not found in surveys conducted in the 1980s surveys, but it is found in surveys conducted in the 1990s and 2000s. For the prevalence, sexual IPV comes from rape (NISVS, 2010; NVAWS, 1995), forced sex

² Physical, sexual, and/or stalking IPV – physical and/or sexual IPV: 25.5% - 24.8% = 0.7%.

(NLCS, 1995), and unwanted sex (BRFSS, 2005). The operational definitions of rape and unwanted sex are associated with 'completed or attempted forced penetration' (Black et al., 2011; Breiding et al., 2008; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a) but varied in the scope. The NISVS (2010) included the definition from the NVAWS (1995), augmented with this detail: "completed alcohol/drug-facilitated rape" (Black et al., 2011, p. 42). Unwanted sex in the BRFSS (2005) was broader than the definition of the rape, which included not only the actions that are defined by the NISVS (2010) but also other forms of sexual violence such as forced indecent acts in sexual matters (Breiding et al., 2008). Only NISVS (2010) measured independently sexual violence other than rape, which is not included in the prevalence. It involves 'made to penetrate', 'sexual coercion', 'unwanted sexual contact', and 'non-contact unwanted sexual experiences' (Black et al., 2011).

It is evidently reported that most victims of sexual IPV are women. Data in Table 2.2 indicate that approximately 8% to 10% of women in the U.S. have been sexually victimized in their lifetimes and less than 1% during past 12 months. For men, the victimization of sexual IPV is rarely captured. Two surveys have provided lifetime victimization of sexual IPV: 0.3% (NVAWS) and 1.5% (BRFSS), and one survey (NLCS) showed 0.6% past-year prevalence rate. The different figures might come from the definitions that capture different scopes of sexual IPV. As shown in Table 2.2, the survey with broader definitions is likely to have higher prevalence rates. Also, for the comparison of lifetime prevalence, the victimization rate of sexual IPV for women is approximately 26 times (NVAWS) and 7 times (BRFSS) higher than that for men.

Regarding other sexual violence by partners, the NISVS has shown a narrower gap between female and male victims in the prevalence rate as compared to sexual IPV. Almost 17% of women in the U.S. have been victimized in the forms of sexual IPV other than rape in their lifetimes and 2.3% during past year; for men in the U.S., 8.0% in lifetime and 2.5% in past 12 months (Black et al., 2011). For lifetime prevalence, women are approximately 2 times higher than men in the victimization of other sexual violence; however, women are slightly higher (0.2 percentage points) than men in the victimization during past 12 months.

Sexual IPV alone. The prevalence of sexual IPV only is quite lower than sexual IPV. Table 2.2 includes sexual IPV alone in lifetime prevalence, which shows 1.6% to 4.3% for female victims and 0.1% to 0.8% for male victims. These figures indicate, as noted above, multiple forms of victimization. The victims who have been victimized sexually also are likely to experience other violence by partners. The proportions of sexual IPV alone over sexual IPV for women range from 17.0% (NISVS) to 33.3% (BRFSS) and 35.1% (NVAWS). For men, it increases to 55.3% (BRFSS) and 66.7% (NVAWS).

Psychological IPV. Growing attention has been focused on psychological IPV (Black et al., 2011; Coker et al., 2002; DeKeseredy, 2000; Foran et al., 2012); however, there is the lack of consensus about how to define and classify it as IPV (Black et al., 2011). For example, the NVAWS measured control and verbal abuse but did not include them in the prevalence and incidence (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a). Coker et al. (2002) extracted the abuse of power/control and verbal abuse from the NVAWS and classified them into psychological IPV alone (also see Table 2.2). The NISVS, the most recent and

comprehensive survey for IPV, operationalized psychologically aggressive behaviors such as any expressive aggression and any coercive control into psychological 'aggression,' rather than violence, which was not included in the IPV prevalence (Black et al., 2011). More specifically, the expressive aggression relates to verbal abuse such as insults (e.g., calling victims a loser, fat, or names) and lowering partners' self-esteem and storming out; coercive control involves various threats and control such as tyrannical decision-making in areas concerning economic choice, relationship, partners' behaviors, or other.

The 'threatening' category might vary in the classification of IPV in survey measurement. The conflict tactic scale (CTS), regarding IPV as a family conflict, considers threatening to be a part of physical violence by a partner (see Table A1; Schafer et al., 1998; Straus, 1979; Straus & Gelles, 1990a). The modified CTS is divided, though. The NVASWS included threats in the physical IPV, such as threatening with gun and/or knife; however, the NISVS separated threats from physical IPV and, as discussed above, assigned them to psychological aggression (Black et al., 2011; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a). The BRFSS used an IPV module measuring threatening independently as violence and included it in the prevalence (Breiding et al., 2008). Threatening in the BRFSS is incorporated in the psychological IPV category, as shown in Table 2.2.

Surveys have yet to measure psychological IPV uniformly, so the comparative results should be read carefully. In the lifetime prevalence for women, the results from the NVAWS reexamined by Coker et al. (2002) indicate psychological IPV alone; thus, 12.1% of women aged 18 to 65 in the U.S. have been victimized psychologically by their partners without any other IPV, as shown in Table 2.2. Of the female IPV victims, 6.9

percentage points come from coercive power/control, and 5.2 percentage points come from expressive/verbal aggression. On the other hand, the NISVS shows 48.4% of women aged 18 or older in the U.S. have experienced of any types of psychological IPV, implying both psychological IPV alone and as overlapped with other IPV. The female victims are shown almost evenly in the subcategories of psychological IPV, coercive power/control (41.1%), and expressive/verbal aggression (40.3%). The BRFSS surveyed threatening physical harm as an IPV, reporting it as something that 19.2% of women in the U.S. have experienced. Besides the BRFSS, there is no other individual measure of threatening to compare. With regard to threatening, the item 'coercive control' in the NISVS included the 'made threats to physical harm' category (Black et al., 2011). Nearly half (45.5%) of female victims who have experienced psychological IPV, according to the NISVS, suffered from the threats of physical harm by their partners; so, as compared to the BRFSS survey, the recalculated prevalence rate for threatening is 22.0%³, which is not quite different to the BRFSS.

Only NISVS provides the past 12 months prevalence of psychological IPV in Table 2.2. Approximately 14% of women in the U.S. have been victimized psychologically in past year, and they are evenly divided into coercive power/control (10.7%) and expressive/verbal aggression (10.4%).

In the lifetime prevalence of psychological IPV for men, the results show similar or higher prevalence compared to women. In Table 2.2, the NVAWS shows that 17.3% of men in the U.S. aged 18 to 65 have experienced psychological IPV alone.

Specifically, 6.8% of men have suffered from coercive power/control, and 10.5% have suffered from expressive/verbal aggression. Men are more likely than women to be

 $^{^{3}}$ 48 4% * 45 5% = 22 0%

victimized verbally but are similar to women in coercive power/control. This asymmetrical result, however, needs to be read cautiously. It does not directly report that women are more likely to use psychological harm on their partners. It is not the total of psychological IPV, but a part of it. In other words, it might be possible to indicate that women are more likely to commit psychological violence alone against their partners; likewise, men are more likely to use multiple forms of IPV. The NISVS shows a symmetrical result between female and male respondents: 48.8% of men aged 18 or older have experienced psychological IPV in their lifetimes. Specifically, 42.5% and 31.9% of the men has been suffered from coercive power/control and expressive/verbal aggression, respectively. With regard to threatening, according to the BRFSS and the NISVS, the proportion of men who suffered from it was less than that of women: 8.7% of men (versus 19.2% of women) victimized as shown in the BRFSS and 9.8% of men (versus 22.0% of women) victimized as shown in the NISVS.

For the past-year prevalence for men, 18.1% of adult males in the U.S., which is approximately 4 percentage points higher than that of female victims, reported their victimization by psychological IPV in the NISVS. Compared to that of female victims, the prevalence of coercive control/power is higher (15.2%) and expressive/verbal aggression is similar (9.3%) for male victims.

These findings highlight psychological violence between intimates. Research has revealed that psychological IPV is associated significantly with the occurrence of other IPV or health conditions for female and male victims (Coker et al., 2002; Follingstad, Rutledge, Berg, Hause, & Polek, 1990; Pico-Alfonso, 2005). The prevalence rate of

 $^{^4}$ In the NISVS, 20.1% of men reported 'made threats to physical harm' (Black et al., 2011). Thus, 20.1% * 48.8 = 9.8%

psychological IPV is quite high compared to that of other forms of IPV, which could capture a wide range of victims who may suffer from the harmful effects of IPV. This recognition of high prevalence rate among so many victims is leading to more discussion about the psychological forms of IPV.

Incidence estimates of IPV.

The incidence of IPV comes from a question asking how many cases of IPV victimization have occurred during a given period. Two sources, the NVAWS (1995) and the NCVS, are discussed here. The NVASW is a comprehensive one-time measure of U.S. adults' concerns about their 'personal safety' as reported in the mid-1990s (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000b) and provides both prevalence and incidence rates of IPV (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a). The rates of any physical IPV victimization per 1,000 persons were 44.2 for women and 31.5 for men—the estimated number of the victimization was over 4.5 million for women and 2.9 million for men. The victimization rate of rape by intimates was 3.2 per 1,000 persons for women, but that item was not reported for men due to an insufficient number of respondents; the estimated number of the victimization was 322,230 for women. Stalking by intimates annually occurred in 5.0 per 1,000 persons for women and 1.8 per 1,000 persons—the estimated number of victimization was 503,485 for women and 185,496 for men.

The NCVS is an annual survey of general crime that victims are willing to report (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a). On average, interviews are conducted with a sample of approximately 45,000 households with all household members aged 12 or older, resulting in approximately 80,000 people, every 6 months for 3 years for a total of seven interviews per participant (Rand & Rennison, 2005). The NCVS provides violent crime

rates by intimates including current or former spouses, boyfriends, and girlfriends, which are equivalent to the NVAWS (Rennison & Welchans, 2000). In 1998, the NCVS reported that the overall rate of IPV was 7.7 per 1,000 women and 1.5 per 1,000 men—estimated number of victimization was 876,340 for women and 157,330 for men (Rennison & Welchans, 2000), dropping to 3.1 per 1,000 women and 0.8 per 1,000 men in 2010; the estimated number of victimization was 407,700 for women and 101,530 for men (Truman, 2011). The IPV incidence from the NCVS includes rape/sexual assault, robbery, and aggravated and simple assaults. For example, in 1998, the IPV incidence rates per 1,000 persons of rape/sexual assault, robbery, aggravated assault, and simple assault were 0.6, 0.9, 1.2, and 5.0 for women, respectively; and only 0.5 and 1.0 for aggravated and simple assaults, respectively, were reported for men due to insufficient respondents (Rennison & Welchans, 2000). These figures are much lower, compared to the NVAWS, but still point out that the IPV victimization is much higher in women than men.

The IPV estimates between the NVAWS and the NCVS, however, are not comparable due to methodological differences (e.g., the target population aged 18 or older for the NVAWS versus aged 12 or older for the NCVS). For comparison, Rand and Rennison (2005) recalibrated the estimate of IPV against women from the NCVS by matching to the NVAWS, for example, excluding 12 to 17 years from the age range, excluding sexual assault and robbery from the type of violence, and setting the same time period (annual estimate of 1995). The adjusted incidence rates were 0.8 per 1,000 women for rape by partners (estimated number: 82,653 victimization) and 26.7 per 1,000

women for physical violence by partners (estimated number: 2,676,438), which becomes more comparable with the estimates of the NVAWS (Rand & Rennison, 2005).

Furthermore, by taking into account sampling error, the differences in rape rates per 1,000 women (0.8 of the adjusted NCVS versus 3.2 of the NVAWS) are not statistically significant at the 0.05 level, while the differences in physical IPV were statistically significant at the 0.05 level (26.7 per women of the adjusted NCVS versus 44.2 per 1,000 women of the NVAWS; Rand & Rennison, 2005). Rand and Rennison (2005) provided possible explanations for the differences between the two surveys: The NVAWS might overestimate IPV by telescoping (a recall problem of respondents) and drawing more victimization by explicit screen questions; and the NCVS might underestimate IPV by counting repeat or series victimizations as 'one' incidence.

Risk Factors of IPV

This section discusses various risk factors that studies have reported or questioned about the correlates of IPV. They are grouped into three themes: individual, cultural/structural, and situational factors. A sociological approach to criminal events has been popular in criminology (Akers, 1992; Cullen, 2011; Laub, 2006; Loseke & Bodnarchuk, 2005). It contributes to understandings of individual and cultural/structural factors in the current study as well. Psychological explanations are also included for some individual factors. The importance of focusing on situational factors has increased in recent reviews of IPV literature (Dixon & Browne, 2003; National Research Council, 2004; Wilkinson & Hamerschlag, 2005); however, researchers' knowledge of those factors is still limited because situational determinants have not been popular in research on IPV (Wilkinson & Hamerschlag, 2005). In keeping with two reviews of IPV research

(see Stith & McMonigle, 2009; Wilkinson & Hamerschlag, 2005), the current investigation selects situational factors that happen mainly before IPV.

Individual factors.

Age. It is known that IPV is more common among younger people. Evidence from government estimates, for example, indicates that males or females aged 16 to 24 (from the NCVS) and 20 to 29 (from the NIBRS) experience the highest victimization rates of IPV (Greenfeld et al., 1998; Rennison & Rand, 2003). Differing from the results of the NCVS and NIBRS, however, recent victimization studies have found that age is not a significant risk factor of IPV relative to other factors. Two representative surveys sponsored by the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), the NVAWS and the IPV module within BRFSS, show that age does not significantly associate with the increased likelihood of IPV (Breiding et al., 2008; Edwards et al., 2009; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000, for women). Furthermore, if age is significant, the effect is weak. Stith, Smith, Penn, Ward, and Tritt (2004) conducted a meta-analysis of IPV risk factors and found that the effect size of age for female victim risk factors was very small (r = -0.07). Also, although the NIBRS indicates that both younger women and men are more likely to be victimized significantly, after controlling for other factors, the odds of being victimized are similar among age groups (odds ratio = 0.98; Warner, 2010).

Race/ethnicity. Numerous studies with representative samples have reported that the prevalence rate of IPV is higher among African American groups, various among Hispanic origin, and lower among Asian immigrants than among White respondents (Black et al., 2011; Field & Caetano, 2004, for comparison in national victimization surveys such as NLCS, NVAWS, and NFVS; Rennison & Welchans, 2000; Sorenson et

al., 1996). However, the effect of race/ethnicity on IPV is contentious. NIBRS indicates that the effect of race/ethnicity (White versus Non-white) is not significant (Warner, 2010). Also, after controlling for other risk factors, especially socioeconomic status, the effect of race/ethnicity varies. For example, using data from the NCVS 1993-1999, Rennison and Planty (2003) found that the rates of IPV for female and male African American victims were the highest; however, after controlling gender and income, the effect of race/ethnicity disappeared. The NFVS also shows that the higher level of any violence for females and males in the past year among Hispanic, compared to White, respondents may be due to younger marriage, socioeconomic disparity, or the urbanicity of residence (Straus & Smith, 1990). Besides the socioeconomic and demographic factors, the IPV among Asian communities might be underreported, resulting from cultural effects such as collectivity or strong family bonds (see Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a).

Nevertheless, some research indicates the significance of the likelihood that IPV occurrence is increased in African American but decreased in Hispanic respondents (Sorenson et al., 1996; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a). Research from longitudinal data of the NLCS examines the past-year IPV rate from 1995 to 2000 for couples who remained together among race/ethnic groups (Caetano et al., 2005). Comparing to Whites, IPV among African Americans is more likely to reoccur but less likely to be remitted; however, new incidence (not in 1995, but in 2000) is not significantly different between the two groups. Comparing Hispanic groups to Whites indicates that only the new violence is more likely to occur but data are not significant between the two groups for

reoccurrence and remission. Thus, the IPV among racial/ethnic groups varies and should be considered with other risk factors.

Marital status. Cohabiting relationships, single marital status, and divorced/separated marital status are associated with the likelihood of IPV.

Married versus cohabiting. Research has indicated that marital status is associated with IPV. Brownridge and Halli (2000) reviewed 14 empirical studies from 1981 to 1998 for MFIPV in the U.S., Canada, and New Zealand. They found that, regardless of methodological differences, all studies consistently indicated approximately 2 to 4 times higher rates of IPV in cohabiting relationship than in married status. Recent studies also have shown that the odds of being a victim of IPV is higher for cohabiting women than for married ones (Caetano, Cunradi, Schafer, & Clark, 2000; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a)

Married versus non-marital status. Studies have reported that people who are married are less likely to be the victims of IPV than are non-married ones, such as divorced/separated, never married, or widowed. The NCVS shows the highest rates of IPV for both women and men in divorced/separated relationship, followed by those who have never married (Rennison & Welchans, 2000). Using data from the BRFSS survey administering the IPV module in three states (Hawaii, Nebraska, and Virginia), Edwards et al. (2009) found that "previously married" corresponded to the highest rate of being a victim in all types of IPV (e.g., any IPV, threatened/attempted physical violence, physical violence only, sexual violence only, and physical & sexual violence), followed by "never married." However, these studies do not indicate whether the occurrence IPV took place before or after being divorced or separated.

Personality disorder/typology of male batterers. Psychopathological studies of partner abuse have attempted to identify the personal characteristics that increase individual deviant or propensity for perpetrating IPV. Hamberger and Hastings (1986) examined 99 men who attended a domestic violence treatment program by using the Millon Clinical Multiaxial Inventory (MCMI; Millon, 1983) to assess personality disorders. From the factor-analyzed protocols, they found three orthogonal factors, labeled as schizoidal/borderline (Factor 1), narcissistic/antisocial (Factor 2), and passive dependent/compulsive (Factor 3), which corresponded closely to the descriptions of personality disorders in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual, third edition (DSM-III). The three factors accounted for 80% of the factor variance.

Since that study, research based on the reports of wife batterers has been conducted to classify them (Gondolf, 1988; Hamberger, Lohr, Bonge, & Tolin, 1996; Holtzworth-Munroe & Stuart, 1994; Saunders, 1992; Tweed & Dutton, 1998). It has been reported that batterers are heterogeneous groups that have commonalities of the threefold classification for personality disorders. According to Dutton (2006), the three subtypes of each study can be classified into (a) first group (including *Antisocial/Narcissistic, Generally violent/Antisocial, Generally violent*, and *Instrumental/Uncontrolled*); (b) second group (including *Schizoid/Borderline*, *Dysphonic/Borderline*, *Emotionally volatile*, and *Impulsive/Undercontrolled*); and (c) third group (including *Dependent/Compulsive*, *Family only*, *Emotionally suppressed*, and *Impulsive/Overcontrolled*).

Based on Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart's (1994) review of previous typology studies, the characteristics of Generally violent/Antisocial or the first group should be

responsible for moderate to severe IPV, including psychological and sexual abuse. This group is likely to engage in both familial and extra-familial violence with problems with alcohol or drug use. Dysphonic/Borderline or the second group is likely to engage in moderate to severe IPV, including psychological and sexual abuse. This group was expected to target primarily family members, but some extra-familial violence was also expected. Behaviorally, these men are psychologically depressed and emotionally volatile and might have problems with alcohol and drug use. The last or Family only group should engage in the least severe and family-only IPV, including psychological and sexual abuse. These men are the least likely to engage in extra-familial violence. This group is expected to constitute majority (up to 50%) of batterers. Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart also hypothesized a developmental model of marital violence with three distal and five proximal variables that were expected to be related causally to IPV. Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994) further suggested the integrated model of variables correlated to IPV, with three *distal factors*, including genetic/prenatal influences, childhood family experiences, and peer experiences, and five proximal factors, including attachment to others, impulsivity, social skills, attitude toward women, and attitude toward violence.

Later, they tested their three subtypes of batterers, comparing 102 community volunteers of violent and nonviolent men and validating the typology model with a cluster analysis, along with fourth subtype labeled as low-level antisocial batterers (Holtzworth-Munroe, Meehan, Herron, Rehman, & Stuart, 2000). These typology studies, however, have been criticized for measurement issues such as overdiagnosed personality disorders in batterers (Gondolf, 1999) or inconsistent findings (Hart, Dutton,

& Newlove, 1993), sampling limitations such as relying on a clinical sample (Guille, 2004), and ignoring contextual factors (Dixon & Browne, 2003).

Cultural/structural factors.

Masculinity/patriarchal culture. Gender is an important area to understand the social structure of IPV occurrence. According to Messerschmidt (1993), men have lived under enormous pressure that they must prove their masculinity through their dominance of the labor market and women and their heterosexuality. Successes in sports, schools, and employment are good ways to prove it; however, if these ways of showing success are blocked, crime can be a method to demonstrate their masculinity. In this context, assault of women by men, such as a husband's beating a wife, is a "resource for affirming 'maleness'" (p.149). The gendered social structure of the division of labor and power and heterosexuality as normative belief effects constructing masculinity and violence (Messerschmidt, 1993)

Similarly, traditional feminist perspective on IPV argues that women are the victims of violence by men in intimate relationships because of a male-dominated or patriarchal culture (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Dobash, Dobash, Wilson, & Daly, 1992; Kurz, 1997; Loseke & Kurtz, 2005; Yllo, 2005). Such a patriarchal culture institutionalizes women as subordinates to male authority, reinforces their acceptance of an inferior status, and condones men's violence against women (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). Thus, this conventional or male dominance belief/attitude is a key factor to understanding why men commit violence against their intimate partners. However, the family conflict perspective argues that gender issues are "just 'a' factor in domestic violence" (Kurz, 1997, p. 450). Also, women are often as violent as men (Straus, 1999)

for a review; Straus & Gelles, 1990a; Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980). In this equivalence, marital power is a key factor associated with IPV. Violence by husbands occurs more often in male-dominant families, and violence by wives is more common in female-dominant families (Straus & Coleman, 1990).

Contemporary feminist perspectives, however, have diverged, a shift that has diminished feminist scholars who support the single-factor explanation for female victimization (DeKeseredy, 2011). Nevertheless, feminists agree that gender is the priority to understand violence against women (DeKeseredy, 2011; Miller, 2003). To understand IPV through feminist perspectives, Loseke and Kurz (2005) emphasized IPV as a gendered phenomenon that can be understood by the consideration of social positions of women and men in a society, including the gendered context, meaning, and consequence of violence. The gendered context, similar to the emphasis by traditional feminism, is understood through how societies or institutions view proper gender roles and relationships, for example, tolerance of men's violence against women; for gender inequality in education, politics, and labor forces; and for the division of labor in households. The meaning of violence, according to Loseke and Kurz, is accepted differently by women and men. For women, the violence means fear and is frequently used for self-defense, while men use violence as the instrumental way to keep their authority, honor, and self-esteem. Finally, the different consequences of violence have been reported in data that indicate many more women suffer from physical and psychological injuries from violence than do men (Loseke & Kurz, 2005). The health consequences of IPV will be discussed in Aftermaths of IPV section of this chapter.

Contemporary feminists also agree that gender is intertwined with other factors such as race and class (DeKeseredy, 2011; Miller, 2003). Recently, factors that push women into risky situations of violence have been explored as a theoretical framework. The situational framework is attentive to gendered opportunity and examination of situational dynamics of violence (Miller & Mullins, 2006). For example, spouse-killings by women who have been abused, according to feminist analysis, often result from the culmination of their long-term victimization (Miller & Mullins, 2006).

Socioeconomic disparity. Although researchers have warned against confining vulnerability of being an IPV victim to poor people (e.g., myths of IPV; see Barnett, Miller-Perrin, & Perrin, 2011; Gelles, 1997), representative survey research has consistently indicated an association between the occurrence of IPV and socioeconomic status (SES): low levels of income, unemployment, and education are risk factors for IPV.

Income. Research has revealed that low household income contributes to increased risk of IPV. Evidence from the 1975 NFVS provided that "low" income (\$9,000 or less) families had a higher annual rate of wife assault than did "high" income (\$22,000 or more) families (16.4 and 3.5 per 100 husbands, respectively; Straus, 1990). Similarly, using a hierarchical log-linear analysis of 1985 NFVS, Kantor and Straus (1990) reported that the rate of wife abuse was higher in blue collar families than in white collar families. Data from the NCVS between 1993 and 1998 show an inverse relationship between IPV and annual household income: The lowest annual income (less than \$7,500) made a greater contribution to the highest rate of victimization for both females and males (20.3 and 2.6 per 1,000 people, respectively), while the highest annual

income (\$75,000 or more) showed the lowest victimization rate for both females and males (3.3 and 0.9 per 1,000 people respectively; Rennison & Welchans, 2000). On the basis of multivariate logistic analysis of data from the 1987-1988 NSFH, Sorenson et al. (1996) found that compared to households with income from \$25,000 to \$39,999, respondents with lower household income were approximately 50-70% more likely to report physical IPV; however, those with higher household income (\$40,000 or more) showed no significant effect of income on physical IPV. Finally, Cunradi et al. (2002) examined the data from 1995 NLCS and suggested that compared to other socioeconomic factors such as employment status and level of education, annual household income had greater contribution to the likelihood of IPV.

Besides household level of income, some studies have examined individual level of income between partners to find relative influence on the probability of IPV. Using data from the 1987-1988 NSFH, Anderson (1997) found that male and female perpetration against intimates were connected incomparably to relative income level between partners. Anderson divided the compatibility of income between partners in a household into five levels by which one partner earns (a) much less income (30% or less of couple's earnings); (b) less income (31% - 45%); (c) similar income (46% - 54%); (d) more income (55% - 69%); and (e) much more income (70% or more). Interestingly, a relatively much higher income level of female partners showed increased likelihood of IPV for both partners. When female partners earned much more income, the odds of the MFIPV and MFIPV were approximately 6 times and 3 times higher, respectively. When female partners earned much less income, however, the odds of MFIPV were roughly 40% lower.

Unemployment. Unemployment has been commonly reported to be related with IPV. Data from the IPV module within the BRFSS for three states indicated that except 'unable to work,' unemployment status was the highest rate for all types of IPV ('sexual violence only' for exception; Edwards et al., 2009). Comparing IPV between Hispanic and White ethnicities, the 1985 NFVS found that the rate of the IPV was different in the level of employment status (Straus & Smith, 1990). In White, the rate of MFIPV was the highest when male partners were unemployed and when female partners were full-time employed. In Hispanic, the rate of MF was the highest when both male and female partners were employed. For the rate of FMIPV, women of Hispanic origin were more likely to report the IPV when female and male employment status were unemployed and part-time, respectively, while White women were more likely to report the IPV when female and male employment status were full-time and unemployed, respectively.

However, the effect of unemployment on IPV is not clear. Using data from the 1995 NLCS, Cunradi et al. (2002) examined the effect of socioeconomic diversity on the IPV among race/ethnic groups and concluded that the impact of employment status on the likelihood of IPV was weak or nonexistent. On the basis of logistic regression of data from Waves 1 and 2 of the NSFH, furthermore, there was negligible or no effect of employment status on the probability of IPV (Fox, Benson, DeMaris, & Wyk, 2002).

Education. The level of education or partner's education is subject to the expressions of IPV. The education level has commonly reported an association with a risk of IPV. Sorenson et al. (1996) used multivariate logistic analysis of data from the 1987-1988 NSFH to examine the relationship between education and IPV. Respondents with a college degree were 30% less likely to report physical abuse by partners compared

to those with a high school education. Respondents with less than a high school education, however, were 40% more likely to report IPV compared to those with a high school education. Results from other studies show similar results but are not confined to inverse relationship. Using the IPV module within the BRFSS of 18 U.S. states and territories, research revealed that compared to women with a college degree, those with less than a high school education, a high school education, and some college education were 29%, 7%, and 51% more likely to report lifetime MFIPV, respectively (Breiding et al., 2008).

Partner education level also has been reported to be related to IPV. From the data of the 1987-1988 NSFH, Anderson (1997) found a curvilinear relationship between partner's level of education and the occurrence of IPV. Men with both higher and lower level of education compared to women partners were more likely to report their male-to-female IPV perpetration. Women with slightly less education (46% - 49% education ratio of female to male) were more likely to report FMIPV. The NVAWS also reported that women were at higher risk of IPV when they had higher levels of education than did their partners (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a).

Situational factors.

Violent argument/verbal aggression. Verbal aggression or interpersonal dispute is a significant precipitator of IPV. According to the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) administered by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), approximately 80% of IPV events indicated that arguments happened before the violence (Greenfeld et al., 1998). The NVAWS reported that verbally abusive partners increased the likelihood of any IPV victimization for women by a factor of 7.6 (Tjaden &

Thoennes, 2000a). Two meta-analytic studies shows strong effect size of verbal aggression on physical MFIPV (Schumacher, Feldbau-Kohn, Slep, & Heyman, 2001; Stith et al., 2004). A recent path-analysis with longitudinal data revealed that both verbally aggressive husbands and wives are predicted to be physically aggressive themselves and that wives' verbal aggression is a predictor of physical IPV by their spouses, but husbands' verbal aggression is not (Schumacher & Leonard, 2005). Furthermore, using national population-based surveillance data, Saltzman et al. (2003) found that heated argument was the one of highest risk factors of physical IPV for pregnant women, as will be discussed in the Pregnancy section, even though pregnancy might be 'a protective factor' of IPV (Chan et al., 2009; Jasinski, 2004; Taillieu & Brownridge, 2010).

There may be a question of whether verbal aggression and argumentativeness can be used interchangeably. In the level of severity, some arguments might be distinguished from a heated argument, but few studies examined the relationship of IPV with violent and nonviolent arguments separately (see Jacobson et al., 1994, for an exception). Rather, violent argument is not always distinguished from verbal aggression. For example, the category of verbal aggression includes "heated argument" in the CTS (Straus & Gelles, 1990a), "bad argument" (Felson, Ackerman, & Yeon, 2003), "verbal argument" (Hotaling & Sugarman, 1986), and "unresolved argument" (Leonard & Senchak, 1996). Verbal aggression is operationalized necessarily with shouting/yelling and name-calling (Coker et al., 2002; Johnson, 1996; Straus, Hamby, Boney-McCoy, & Sugarman, 1996; Straus, 1979; Vissing, Straus, Gelles, & Harrop, 1991), and it can be assumed that the violent or heated argument might be as well.

Access to weapon. IPV with weapons is relatively rare (Bureau of Justice Statistics, n.d.-d; Greenfeld et al., 1998; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a); however, when weapons are used, the severity of IPV increases. For example, recent results from the NCVS (2007-2011) reported that approximately 84% of aggravated assaults by intimates involved any types of weapons⁵ (Bureau of Justice Statistics, n.d.-b). The NVAWS examined the risk factor of injury based on lifetime prevalence rate, finding that weapon use was marginally significant (p = 0.057) with the likelihood of rape victimization for women and positively significantly (p < 0.05) with physical IPV against men (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a). Moreover, 44.5% of convicted offenders for IPV reported that they used weapons (Durose, 2005), and accessibility to weapon increases the fatality of violence. In general, for violence related injury in 2001, the lethality rate was highest for the firearm gunshot, followed by cut/pierce (Vyrostek, Annest, & Ryan, 2004). For a review of homicide during 1980-2008, the most common weapon for intimate partner homicide (IPH) was firearm—almost 61% of homicides against intimates were committed with guns (Cooper & Smith, 2011).

Results from case-control studies reported that the availability of a gun in the home increased the likelihood of a homicide occurring in home (Kellermann et al., 1993) and against female intimates (Campbell et al., 2003; Wiebe, 2003a). Saltzman and associates (1992) examined incident data of the city of Atlanta, Georgia, and argued that the likelihood of death in firearm-associated domestic assaults were 3 times higher than knives/cutting objects-associated, 23.4 times higher than other weapons/bodily force-associated, and 12 times higher than nonfirearm-associated ones. From a review of

 $^{^{5}}$ The author combined the number of aggravated as sault during 2007-2011 and performed this analysis.

homicide during 1980-2008, 64.5% of female IPH victims and 58.1% of male IPH victims⁶ were killed by a gun (Cooper & Smith, 2011). However, the proportion of gun involved IPH has decreased since 1980 for both female and male victims. Particularly, since 2000, the majority of weapon-use for male IPH has been other weapons (knives, blunt objects, or personal weapons). Specifically by relationships, spouses, ex-spouses, and girlfriends were more likely to be killed by guns, while boyfriends and partners in same-sex relationships were more likely to be killed by knives. Additionally, the proportion of being killed by bodily force was relatively higher for wives, girlfriends, and same-sex relationship partners than any other intimates (Cooper & Smith, 2011).

Contrary to the IPH, most nonfatal IPV involves relatively less use of firearms or other weapons (Catalano, n.d.; Greenfeld et al., 1998; Kyriacou et al., 1999; Schafer et al., 1998; Straus & Gelles, 1990a; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a). According to the NCVS 2001-2005, only 21.6% of IPV involved weapons (Catalano, n.d.). Although women were more likely to be victimized by intimates, male IPV victims were more likely to report the victimization with weapons (31.5% versus 19.5% for female IPV victims). For both female and male IPV victims, blunt objects were most frequently used (17.7% for male and 6.4% for female victims), and a firearm was the least prevalent weapon (0.5% for male and 3.6% for female victims; Catalano, n.d.; see also Greenfeld et al., 1998; Kyriacou et al., 1999, for reports from emergency departments). The discrepancy—more weapon-use by female perpetrators—might happen due to gender differences in physical size and strength (Felson, 1996; Kernsmith & Craun, 2008); however, the use of a gun for IPV is more common among men (see also Wiebe, 2003b). Data indicating least use of

⁶ The author performed this analysis using computer files provided by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (n.d.-a) *Homicide Trends in the U.S., 1980-2008* (http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov/index.cfm?ty=pbdetail&iid=2221).

firearms in nonfatal IPVs could be shown because of the lethality of a gun, which can be captured in the homicide data when a victim dies due to a gunshot wound.

Furthermore, researchers have found that access to a gun/weapon is not a significant risk factor or predictor for the occurrence of IPV, as reported from analyses with a clinical sample (Coker, Smith, McKeown, & King, 2000; Hanson, Cadsky, Harris, & Lalonde, 1997; Weisz, Tolman, & Saunders, 2000) and from nationwide samples (Vest, Catlin, Chen, & Brownson, 2002). These studies examined association by comparing a group of IPV involving a gun to a group of non-IPV (Hanson et al., 1997; Vest et al., 2002), abused women with any gun in home to abused women without a gun in the home (Coker, Smith, et al., 2000), and the pretest of abused women at the time of appearing in court to the posttest of them after 4 months (Weisz et al., 2000).

These results, however, do not decrease the risky characteristics of weapon-use in IPV. In a typology study of wife abusers, a cluster analysis revealed that very severe abusers (categorized as *Type 1* or *the sociopathic batterer*) were more likely to use a weapon against their wives and children (Gondolf, 1988). Also, under a certain situation such as pregnancy, perpetrators' access to a gun is a significant risk factor in pregnant women's IPV victimization (McFarlane et al., 1998). In addition, of those who reported the experiences of any type of a threat according to the NCVS 2001-2005, approximately 18% and 23% of female and male victims, respectively, showed that the threatening occurred with a weapon (Catalano, n.d.). Furthermore, a weapon-use, especially a firearm, is related to both IPH and previous assault by intimates (Campbell, Glass, Sharps, Laughon, & Bloom, 2007, for a review of the risk factors of IPH). Thus, although a direct link between weapon use and nonfatal IPV is not clearly determined,

continued or severe IPV might increase the likelihood of using a weapon, which is related to IPH.

Leaving relationship. Victims' leaving or attempting to leave relationships increases the likelihood of severity of IPV (Block & Christakos, 1995; Moracco, Runyan, & Butts, 1998; Wilson & Daly, 1993). Block and Christakos (1995) studied 2,556 homicide cases by intimate partners in Chicago between 1965 and 1993 and reported that when women threatened or attempted to leave, they were at a greater risk of being killed by partners. Of 586 femicide cases of North Carolina between 1991 and 1993, Moracco, Runyan, and Butts (1988) found that half of lethal violence by male partners occurred soon after the women's attempting/threatening to leave and separate from partners. Comparing police reports from three countries (Canada, Australia, and Chicago in the U.S.), it was found that partner homicide motivated by estrangement occurred within the first year of separation (Wilson & Daly, 1993). Beside homicide studies, using data from telephone interviews with over 12,000 women in the 1993 Violence Against Women Survey of Canada, Johnson (1995) found that after separation, there was significant increase of severity in nonlethal IPV for both seriously and less seriously abused women.

Alcohol use. Research has reported significant correlation between alcohol use and the severity or frequency of IPV (Caetano, Schafer, & Cunradi, 2001; Fals-Stewart, 2003; Greenfeld et al., 1998; Pridemore & Eckhardt, 2008). For example, data from incarceration or incidents reported to police show that about 50% of convicted IPV offenders in state prisons and jails were drinking only or drinking and taking drugs at the time of IPV; the rate of offenders who were drinking at the time of IPV was 25.5% for simple assault and 28.0% for aggravated assault (Greenfeld et al., 1998). Data from a

victimization survey, 1995 NLCS, indicate that between 29% and 41% of men and between 4% and 24% of women among ethnic groups were drinking at the time of IPV (Caetano et al., 2001).

With regard to temporality of alcohol as a risk antecedent, Fals-Stewart (2003) studied men who entered a domestic violence treatment problem and domestically violent men who entered an alcoholism treatment problem to examine the association between male partners' alcohol consumption and physical MFIPV, with daily logs by male and female partners to record male partners' drinking and MFIPV for 15 months. The results found that both any and severe MFIPV were significantly higher on male partners' days of drinking than on days of no drinking, a finding that supports the proximal effect model (see Leonard & Quigley, 1999) that "violence is more likely shortly after consumption of alcohol" due to the acute effect of alcohol (Fals-Stewart, 2003, p. 41). On the other hand, Leonard (1999) argued that drinking patterns (e.g., alcohol consumption and alcohol dependency) and acute alcohol use were both distal and proximal risk factors for MFIPV.

However, the causal link between alcohol use and IPV is debatable. As Gelles and Cavanaugh (2005) stated, "Evidence from cross-cultural research, laboratory studies, blood tests of men arrested for wife beating, and survey research all indicates that although alcohol use may be *associated* with intimate violence, alcohol is not a primary *cause* of the violence" (p. 177). For example, using data from 1993 Violence Against Women Survey of Canada, Johnson (2000) reported that the effect of alcohol use on MFIPV disappeared after controlling for variables including the context of coercive control and male dominance. Furthermore, a recent study conducting a path analysis of risk factors for partner aggression indicated that the pattern of alcohol use (excessive

alcohol consumption and problem drinking) was not a significant predictor of IPV (O'Leary, Slep, & O'Leary, 2007).

Pregnancy. The difficulty in estimating the prevalence of IPV during pregnancy is well known due to the variety of measurements and samples (Gazmararian et al., 1996; Goodman, 2009; Jasinski, 2004; Taillieu & Brownridge, 2010). In a review of 13 studies published before 1996, Gazmararian et al. (1996) found that the majority of the studies used clinical samples and examined physical assault alone with relationships including spouse, acquaintance, or non-specified perpetrators. They reported the prevalence of violence among pregnant women ranged 0.9% to 20.1%, while the rate in the majority of the studies was placed between 3.9% and 8.3%. A recent review identified the prevalence of IPV during pregnancy in the U.S. ⁷ as physical assault ranged between 0.9% and 30%, sexual abuse ranged between 1% and 2.8%, and emotional/verbal abuse ranged between 1.5% and 36% (Taillieu & Brownridge, 2010). Although most studies used clinical samples, two studies were based on nationwide population surveys, reporting that the prevalence rates of IPV during pregnancy were 5.3% for physical assault from the Pregnancy Risk Assessment Monitoring System (PRAMS) administered by the CDC and 1.7% for physical and 7.5% for emotional abuses from the Fragile Families Study of 20 large U.S. cities administered by the Center for Research on Child Wellbeing (cf. Charles & Perreira, 2007; see Taillieu & Brownridge, 2010, for review).

It has been reported that pregnancy alone is not a risky antecedent or a context of IPV; these reports resulted from research using nationwide population-based surveillance or probability samples by comparing pregnant women to a non-pregnant group (Jasinski & Kantor, 2001; Vest et al., 2002) or comparing the pregnant period to a given

⁷ Of 18 studies for the review, six studies for non-U.S. were excluded.

comparison period (e.g., *before* or *after* pregnancy; Charles & Perreira, 2007; Saltzman et al., 2003). To the contrary, several studies reported the possibility of pregnancy as 'a protective factor' due to the respite of IPV (Chan et al., 2009; Taillieu & Brownridge, 2010; see also Jasinski, 2004, for review). For example, Saltzman et al (2003) reported that the prevalence of physical IPV during pregnancy, as noted previously, was 5.3%, which was significantly lower than both *before* (7.2%) and *after* (8.7%) pregnancies. In addition, Chan et al. (2009) interviewed more than 3000 pregnant women in Hong Kong and concluded that first pregnancies may be "protective factors" that would decrease IPV and in-law conflict (p. 107). Furthermore, factors that place women at risk of being victimized by intimates may be similar to both pregnant and non-pregnant groups, such as history of violence, low socioeconomic status, low level of social support, unwanted pregnancy/premature parenting, age, alcohol use, or social isolation (Jasinski, 2004; Taillieu & Brownridge, 2010).

The pregnancy, although of insufficient evidence supporting direct association with IPV, may contribute to women's risk in a leading role as a pathway or a distal precipitator, which influences on other factors connected to the IPV (see Byun, 2012). Jasinski (2004) suggested "the cumulative effect of multiple stressors" for pregnancy-related IPV (p. 55). This might be done, according to Jasinski, by creating new strain or intensifying preexisting strains. Couples who are first-time parents or who have an unwanted pregnancy may experience more stress than those who are not. Pregnancy might also be contingent on or affect other stressful situations such as economic hardship, poverty, unemployment, and so forth. Increased level of stress may contribute to increase

the risk of IPV (Jasinski, 2004; Straus, 1990; see Stith et al., 2004, for meta-analytic review of career/life stress on male IPV).

Self-defense. There is ongoing dispute regarding the equivalence of IPV between men and women. For asymmetry of women's violence, self-defense has been often cited as major reason (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Dobash, Dobash, Wilson, & Daly, 1992).

According to Johnson and Ferraro (2000), 80% of FMIPV were reactions to ongoing MFIPV. Using a clinical sample, Gondolf (1998) suggested that 66% of FMIPV were self-defense. Also, self-defense is common when women commit homicide, regardless of the victim/offender relationship (Felson & Messner, 2000).

Situational Dynamics of IPV

As will be discussed in Chapter 3, the prevailing view of situational/interactionist perspectives is that violence could be understood as the culmination of a dynamic process "contingent on either interactions with other individuals ... or [of] the attributes of the setting where a putative event might occur" (Wilkinson & Fagan, 2001, p. 170). Thus, a situation or a condition, as well as an individual, could be considered a unit of analysis responsible for the contingency.

Transactions.

Violence between the intimates, as other interpersonal violence, occurs through interpersonal conflicts or transactions. Luckenbill and Doyle (1989) provided a conceptual framework to explain how the interpersonal conflict escalates to violence. They considered dispute-related violence as a product of three successive events: naming, claiming, and aggressing. First, at the naming phase, A (or an adversary) considers the negative outcome as an injury that B (or a victim) has caused, and the negative outcome

is transformed into a grievance: A blames B for this. Second, at the claiming phase, the grievance is transformed into reparation. The victim responds to the grievance: B demands reparation from A. At final phase, A rejects B's claim, and this interaction (naming and claiming) is transformed into a "dispute." According to Luckenbill and Doyle (1989), aggressiveness can be defined as "the willingness to persevere and use force to settle the dispute" (p. 423). The likelihood of transforming the aggressiveness into violence may vary, depending on the situation.

Another transaction style that may be engaged in that could escalate conflict is the demand/withdraw interaction (Christensen & Heavey, 1990). In this pattern, the demanding partner tries to change the other through requests, criticism, and complaints, while the other withdraws from the pressure through avoidance, defensiveness, and passive inaction (Christensen & Heavey, 1990). Initially, this pattern was used to explain the characteristics of martial conflict or gender differences in communication processes. For example, distressed couples were more likely to report demand/withdraw interaction (Christensen & Shenk, 1991), and male partners were significantly more likely to withdraw, while female partners were likely to show more demanding, though it was not significant (Christensen & Heavey, 1990). Later, the demand/withdraw interaction was reported as linked to occurrence of IPV. Compared to nonviolent groups, batterers were more demanding (Berns, Jacobson, & Gottman, 1999). More specifically, studies revealed high levels of both husband demand/wife withdraw and wife demand/husband withdraw in husband violence (Babcock, Waltz, Jacobson, & Gottman, 1993; Berns et al., 1999; Holtzworth-Munroe, Smutzler, & Stuart, 1998).

Understanding situations that surround couples may contribute to researchers' knowledge of the demand/withdraw interaction within intimate relationships. Individuals live their daily routines, which are associated with "specific roles with specific contexts or domains" (Kennedy & Brunschot, 2001, p. 31). For example, the context of intimacy is associated with the role of husband and wife or boyfriend and girlfriend in heterosexual relationship. By trying to understand the extent and nature of circumstances, it could be possible to derive situational determinants of conflict.

Chain of events.

The attributes of the settings where IPV might occur involve various factors. Research has begun to emphasize the importance of building multifactor frameworks by which various characteristics of individuals can interact with context. Bell and Naugle (2008) suggested developing a contextual framework to understand the complexity of IPV, with integrating various factors associated with IPV. One of the factors that considers contextual units of analysis is an antecedent of IPV, which is divided into distal/static and proximal factors by the level of temporality and impact. Distal/static antecedents are background factors that influence remotely but not necessarily directly on IPV, such as childhood abuse, criminal background, genetic make-up, and demographic and socioeconomic background. Proximal antecedents, such as verbal and physical aggression, interpersonal conflict, and stressors, are considered temporally closer to and as having a greater direct effect on IPV than distal/static factors.

Another example comes from Dutton's (1995) *nested ecological theory* that provides four levels of variables related to individuals and their environment. Stith et al. (2004) conducted a meta-analysis to examine the risk factors of IPV and three levels of

the nested ecological theory. With regard to male offenders' risk factors, the exosystem level or most distal factors to IPV had the smallest effect sizes in general. A medium effect size was found on career/life stress; the effect sizes of the offender's employment status, income, age, and education were weak and negative. The *microsystem* level or conflict pattern showed that emotional/verbal abuse, forced sex, and marital satisfaction had strong effect size, while one moderate effect size for history of partner abuse and one small effect size for jealousy were found. Finally, the *ontogentic* level or individual characteristics of abusers had strong effect sizes for attitudes condoning violence and illicit drug use and moderate effect sizes for other risk factors such as sex-role ideology, anger/hostility, alcohol use, and depression. With respect to female victims' risk factors, the exosytem level did not emerge, but one microsystem with strong effect size for female violence toward male partners and two *ontogenic* levels with moderate effect sizes for female depression and fear of partner violence appeared. This research indicates proximal and individual characteristics were likely to have strong effect on IPV. However, it does not show how the risk factors are related one another or mediated by others. Likewise, even when efforts have been made to understand IPV situations, much of this research examines them individually rather than jointly, limiting understanding about their interrelationships (see also DeMaris et al., 2003).

The multiple factors in the IPV event are intertwined and complex. For example, Foran and O'Leary (2008) examined the relationship MFIPV and three risk factors of problem drinking, jealousy, and anger control. Interestingly, men who had high jealousy score but no anger control problem were at greater risk for perpetrating IPV when alcohol was engaged. Foran and O'Leary explained that if a man is jealous and does not have a

problem with anger control, problem drinking might "push him" to engage in severe IPV. He might be able to control himself while sober; however, alcohol might disinhibit his angry and aggressive response to his jealousy.

The complexity can be presented in the form of a web of various factors. For instance, Schafer, Caetano, and Cunradi (2004) conducted a path analysis in ethnic groups (White, Black, and Hispanic) by gender to examine the relationship between risk factors (e.g., history of child abuse, impulsivity, and alcohol consumption) and IPV. Although results varied by gender and ethnicity, they found that overall, a history of child abuse by parents had an effect on both impulsivity and problem drinking; impulsivity was also associated with problem drinking; and the drinking problem was a risk factor for both MFIPV and FMIPV. Another study conducted structural equation modeling (SEM) with 453 representative community samples and reported three strong proximal predictors (direct paths to IPV) for both male-to-female and female-to-male IPV: dominance/jealousy, marital adjustment (i.e., marital satisfaction), and partner responsibility attributions (i.e., responsibility for undesirable or unpleasant behavior to the partner). Impulsivity, education, power imbalance, perceived stress, and depressive symptoms were distal and associated with other risk factors but not directly related to the IPV (O'Leary et al., 2007).

Understanding the distal and proximal factors of IPV may be important in IPV studies. Roth (1994) presented reasons why researchers should be attentive to both distal and proximal situations:

It is important for prevention purposes to view a violent event as the outcome of a long chain of preceding events, which might have been broken at any of several links, rather than as the product of a set of factors that can be ranked in order of importance. (p. 6)

The connection of risk factors may not be limited within an event. As will be discussed in the next section, IPV events involve aftermaths. Aftermaths might play a role in connecting to the beginning of the next IPV. For example, using the data from interviews of 2,547 Hispanic women and men extracted from the 2000 National Household Survey on Drug Abuse (NHSDA), Cunradi (2009) reported that women's problem drinking was positively related with IPV victimization. Interestingly, a study reported that women's alcohol consumption significantly increased after IPV victimization, compared to male abusers' pattern (Barnett & Fagan, 1993). These two separate studies provide insight into the possible link of the continuum of IPV.

Aftermaths of IPV

The aftermaths of IPV may vary. This project focuses on victims' quality of life and help-seeking strategies after IPV. This section explores how research has discussed the physical, psychological, and economical harms of IPV and victims' efforts to seek help.

Physical injuries.

One of the most obvious consequences of IPV is physical injury. Population-based research has consistently provided data indicating that female IPV victims are more likely to be injured than male IPV victims (Black et al., 2011; Greenfeld et al., 1998; Schafer et al., 2004; Sorenson et al., 1996; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a; Warner, 2010). According to the NISVS, of those who experienced any IPV (rape, physical violence, and/or stalking by an intimate partner) during their lifetime, 41.6% (or more than 17 million) of women and nearly 14% (or approximately 5.5 million) of men reported being injured; with that, 22.1% (nearly 9.4 million women) and 5.5% (nearly 1.8 million men),

respectively, needed medical care as a result of the IPV (Black et al., 2011). It is also annually estimated that over 1.8 million women and nearly 0.6 million men are injured due to physical IPV, along with approximately 0.5 million women and over 0.1 million men seeking medical care for their injuries (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a). Bruise was the most common injury (occurring in nearly half of patients due to IPV), followed by cut/stab wound/internal injury (16.9%), rape/sexual assault (2.2%), gunshot wound (1.0%), concussion/head injury (0.9%), and other injuries (6.4%), according to evidence from a national sample of hospital emergency departments (Greenfeld et al., 1998). Also, the most common part of body injured was the head/face with over 50% of patients treated for injuries to this area (Greenfeld et al., 1998).

Although most injuries by IPV are relatively minor (e.g., bruise), it could have serious effects on victims' health if the violence continues because the most commonly injured body is head or face. Research has warned of negative neurological altercation by head/face assaults resulting in *traumatic brain injury*, such as neuropsychological deficits or cognitive disabilities (Deering, Templer, Keller, & Canfield, 2001; Jackson, Philp, Nuttall, & Diller, 2002; Monahan & O'Leary, 1999; Valera & Berenbaum, 2003). Traumatic brain injury is defined as "acquired damage to the brain that results when the head is hit, strikes a stationary object or is shaken violently" (see Strom & Kosciulek, 2007, p. 1137). Deering et al. (2001) investigated the negative effects of IPV on victims' brains with clinical samples by comparing 19 female IPV victims to 10 comparison women; the result were stunning: During the average 5.9 years of victims' relationships, there were an average 945.1 total assaults, 219.7 head blows, and 2.8 concussions. Also, over 50% of the victims scored in the impaired level on both the neuropsychological and

the neurological functioning tests, although none of comparison women did. In addition, the traumatic brain injury might result in lifetime physical, cognitive, and psychosocial dysfunctions of individuals (Morton & Wehman, 1995; National Institutes of Health, 1999; Strom & Kosciulek, 2007). This impaired functioning may have negative effects on interpersonal relationships (Morton & Wehman, 1995).

Physical and mental health outcomes.

Those who suffer from IPV report poor or adverse health conditions. The NISVS asked all survey participants about various health outcomes, including asthma, irritable bowel syndrome (IBS), diabetes, high blood pressure, frequent headaches, chronic pain, difficulty sleeping, activity limitations, poor general physical health, and poor general mental health (Black et al., 2011). The prevalence of the various outcomes was examined by comparing those who had experienced any IPV to those who had not during their lifetime. The results indicated that the prevalence rates were ranged from 3.4% (poor mental health) to 37.7% (difficulty sleeping) for female IPV victims; all but high blood pressure were significantly higher than in women without any IPV history. For male IPV victims, the adverse health outcomes were ranged from 2.7% (poor mental health) to 33.0% (difficulty sleeping), and they showed significantly higher prevalence rate of frequent headaches, chronic pain, difficulty sleeping, activity limitations, poor general physical health, and poor general mental health, compared to men without any IPV history (Black et al., 2011). In addition, the NISVS also reported that adult women in the U.S. had experienced a sexually transmitted disease (1.5%) and pregnancy (1.7%) in their lifetime as resulting from rape by an intimate partner. Another nationwide health surveillance (BRFSS) found that, compared to non-victims, both female and male IPV

victims were more likely to smoke, drink alcoholic beverages heavily, and contract HIV or sexually transmitted diseases; moreover, female IPV victims had a higher body mass index (BMI; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2008).

The IPV also influences victims' mental health outcomes or psychological conditions. The NISVS measured psychological impacts on victims by asking whether fear, being concerned for safety, and any posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptoms were experienced (Black et al., 2011). The PTSD symptoms included having nightmares; trying hard not to think about it or avoiding being reminded of it; feeling constantly on guard, watchful, or easily startled; and feeling numb or detached from others, activities, or surrounds. Results indicated gender difference among those who had experienced any IPV in their lifetime. Approximately 72%, 62%, and 63% of female victims experienced fear (estimated over 34 million women), safety concern (over 26 million), and any PTSD symptoms (over 26 million), respectively; while approximately 18%, 16%, and 16% of male victims experienced fear (estimated nearly 6 million men), safety concern (5 million), and any PTSD symptoms (5.3 million), respectively. Also, a meta-analytic review of mental health problems estimated the lifetime prevalence for female IPV victims of 47.6% for depression, 17.9% for suicidality, and 63.8% for PTSD, 18.5% for alcohol abuse, and 8.9% for drug abuse, which had a 3 to 6 times greater likelihood than female non-victims (Golding, 1999). Low self-esteem also has been reported as a consequence of IPV victimization (Anderson, 2002; Cascardi & O'Leary, 1992; Orava, McLeod, & Sharpe, 1996).

Employment status.

The NISVS estimated that 28% of female victims (nearly 12 million women) and 13.6% of male victims (approximately 4.4 million men) experienced time off at least one day from work/school as a result of any IPV in their lifetime (Black et al., 2011). These results might indicate negative effects on productivity. A recent study with web-based survey (N = 2,373) examined work outcomes and salaries by the three groups of current victimization, lifetime victimization, and no victimization (Reeves & O'Leary-Kelly, 2007). Results indicated that IPV victims were at increased risk of absenteeism, tardiness, and distraction at work as compared to non-victims. Also, the annual salary of non-victims was significantly higher than that of current victims but not lifetime victims. In addition, U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO; 1998) reviewed literature of 14 studies on welfare and IPV and found five studies indicating work interference by partners, such as discouraging female IPV victims from working (ranged 16% to 60%) and preventing the victims from working (ranged 33% to 46%).

The effect of IPV on work, however, has received mixed support. From an indepth literature review of 20 IPV studies among welfare recipients, Tolman and Raphael (2000) suggested that IPV did not necessarily affect victims' unemployment but did interfere with women's ability to sustain job stability by increasing risk of serious physical and mental health problems. The GAO (1998) concluded that, despite the effects of work interference, IPV did not result in unemployment for welfare recipients and other low-income female victims. One study with a larger representative female sample of the general population in California, however, found the impact of IPV on unemployment of female victims, compared to non-victims (Kimerling et al., 2009).

Specifically, only psychological IPV was significant after controlling demographic variables. Furthermore, data from a longitudinal study spanning 13 years of 234 adolescent mothers were analyzed to examine the cumulative effect of IPV on unemployment and welfare use (Lindhorst, Oxford, & Gillmore, 2007). Results indicated that IPV was not related to employment status before welfare reform but increased the risk of unemployment for women after that. As Swanberg et al. (2005) noted, IPV "does not prevent victims from working; however, it does prevent victims from maintaining long-term stable jobs" because of various reasons, such as safety or health issues (p. 303).

Help-seeking.

IPV victims actively seek help or use various strategies to solve their problems (Block, 2000; Bowker, 1983, 1986, 1993; Gondolf & Fisher, 1988; Goodman, Dutton, Weinfurt, & Cook, 2003; Hutchison & Hirschel, 1998; Kaukinen, 2004; Leone, Johnson, & Cohan, 2007; Shannon, Logan, Cole, & Medley, 2006). For example, the NCVS 1992-96 (Greenfeld et al., 1998) revealed that approximately three-fourths of female IPV victims were involved in active self-defense: *nonconfrontational*, 43% (e.g., calling the police or other help), *confrontational*, 34% (e.g., struggling and shouting; 30% without weapon and 4% with weapon). Also, according to the NCVS 2007-11 (Bureau of Justice Statistics, n.d.-c), nearly 60% of IPV victimization was reported to the police.

Furthermore, a survey with statewide representative samples showed that approximately 87% and 57% of female and male IPV victims, respectively, talked to someone (e.g., family, friends, doctors, or support group) to seek help (Coker, Derrick, Lumpkin, Aldrich, & Oldendick, 2000).

With respect to victims' assessment of help sources, Bowker (1983, 1986, 1993) found seven personal strategies to stop or escape from IPV: (a) talking husbands out of further beating, (b) husbands' promising to end IPV, (c) nonviolent threatening (e.g., call the police, leave home, get a divorce, etc.), (d) hiding, (e)passive defense (covering their faces or body with their hands), (f) avoiding (conversation or keeping out of husbands' sight), and (g) fighting back physically (counterviolence). He also demonstrated that the most victims were not helpless, even if the personalized strategies did not work, but involved actively in seeking help by turning to informal networks (family, friends, inlaws, and neighbors) or formal help sources (lawyers and physicians, law enforcement, counseling therapy services, women's groups, battered women's shelters).

Goodman and colleagues (2003) developed the help-seeking typology by generating the IPV Strategies Index with 39 items and classifying them into six categories: *placating* (e.g., trying to avoid him), *resistance* (e.g., fighting back physically; sleeping separately), *legal* (e.g., calling police; filing petition for a protection order), *formal network* (e.g., trying to get help from clergy, doctor, or counselor), *safety planning* (e.g., working out escape plan; removing or hiding weapons), and *informal* network (e.g., staying with family or friends). These index items were evaluated by analysis of clinical samples of 406 women with at least 1-year follow-up (Goodman et al., 2003). In the use of strategies, female IPV victims were more likely to use and begin with private strategies (placating and resistance) than public strategies (legal or formal network).

In the perceived effectiveness of help-seeking strategies and sources, Bowker (1983) indicated that the most helpful personal strategies in ending violence were nonviolent threat (12%) and aggressively defending self (10%), while the least helpful

strategies were getting husband to promise cessation (14%) and talking husband out of abuse (7%). With regard to help sources, informal and formal networks, such as talking to friends (14%) and contacting a women's group (10%) were the best; however, legal resources such as calling the police (11%) and contacting a lawyer or D.A. (8%), were least effective (Bowker, 1983). In a clinical sample of 757 urban and rural female IPV victims, however, Shannon and colleagues (2006) found that overall, criminal justice or legal resources were the most effective, followed by informal and formal resources. With respect to the helpfulness of personalized strategies and help sources, Goodman and colleagues (2003) found that private or personal strategies (placating and resistance), although commonly used behaviors, were the least effective to change or reduce IPV. Rather, the most helpful strategy was an informal network, followed by legal, safety planning, and formal network. Seven items (out of 39) were reported as helpful by 70% or more of the sample; these items, shown in order are talked to a domestic violence program (Formal); kept important phone numbers (Safety planning); hid important papers (Safety planning); called police (Legal); talked to family members (Informal); sent kids to family/friends (Informal); and stayed with family or friends (Informal). Overall, informal networks have been reported as helpful sources but not personalized strategies. Interestingly, legal sources or the police have been perceived as better sources in helpfulness since Bowker's (1983) study.

Although IPV victims seek help in multiple ways, all potential resources may not be sought. For example, some victim might contact only friends, not the police. In addition, the reasons why some IPV victims did not seek help are not fully revealed (Fugate, Landis, Riordan, Naureckas, & Engel, 2005). With data from the Chicago

Women's Health Risk Study (CWHRS; see Block, 2000), Fugate et al. (2005) investigated barriers to help-seeking of female IPV victims by four help sources, such as agency or counselor, medical care, talking to someone, and the police. Barriers to seeking the agency/counselor were, according to Fugate et al., external reasons (e.g., no money, insurance, or time), partners' prevention, lack of knowledge or resources (e.g., who/how to contact or where to go), shame, and criticism. Partners' prevention and logistical barriers (e.g., lack of child care or transportation) were the reasons for not seeking medical care. Barriers to talking to someone were isolation (e.g., no one to talk to), privacy, and shame/embarrassment. Reasons why IPV victims could not call the police were partners' prevention/threats, lack of resource or knowledge (e.g., no phone; unsure how to call the police), distrust of the police, and the police as family members.

From their comprehensive literature review of studies on the role of structure and violence against immigrant women in the U.S., Raj and Silverman (2002) identified immigrant context as vulnerability to IPV; for example, some immigrant women were undocumented or relying for legal status on their spouses, isolated (e.g., no family in the U.S.), and not culturally and linguistically competent in the U.S. (see also Menjivar & Salcido, 2002). Immigrant women, according to Raj and Silverman (2002) were less likely to use both informal and formal help for IPV, compared to nonimmigrant women, because of the vulnerable immigrant context. Shim and Hwang (2005) interviewed six qualified Korean social workers of an agency for domestic violence victims in New York City area to investigate barriers for Korean battered women to calling the police. The found that the Korean female IPV victims feared their husbands' arrest because of (1) *lack of information* (e.g., lack of awareness of available services and legal supports); (2)

fear of the unknown or fear of unknown life without a husband (due to victims' cultural and social dependency on their husbands for living in the U.S.); and (3) victims blaming community (e.g., blameworthy for being beaten and victim-blaming attitudes from victims' acquaintances or in-laws).

Korean Immigrants in the U.S.

Characteristics of Korean immigrants.

Demographic characteristics. It is estimated that the majority of Koreans in the U.S. are familiar with their culture of origin. The 2010 U.S. Census indicated that Koreans are recent immigrants to the U.S. The number of Korean immigrants increased more than 19 times in 4 decades: approximately 70,000 were in the country in 1970 a number that grew to 1,423,784 by 2010 (Gibson & Jung, 2002; U.S. Census Bureau, n.d.-b). By 2010, over one million (74.4%) of them were not born in the U.S. (U.S. Census Bureau, n.d.-c). Furthermore, the origin country, Korea, is monolingual; a large proportion of Korean people in the U.S. are fluent in Korean: The percentage of those speaking only English at home is just 21.4% for Korean immigrants aged 5 years and over, compared to 79.4% for the total U.S. population aged 5 years and over (U.S. Census Bureau, n.d.-c).

According to the U.S. 2007-2009 American Community Survey (ACS) 3-Year Estimates (U.S. Census Bureau, n.d.-d), Korean immigrants differed from the total U.S. population in characteristics including marital status, educational attainment, poverty rate, and sex-ratio. First, Korean immigrants were less likely to be divorced or separated than the total population. The percentages of married, divorced, and separated Koreans aged 15 or older were 57.2%, 5.2%, and 1.1%, respectively, compared with figures of

49%, 10.6%, and 2.2%, respectively, in the total population aged 15 or older. Second, in the level of education of adults among aged 25 and older, a higher proportion of Koreans (52.6%) had a bachelor's degree or greater, compared with the total U.S. population (27.8%). Although of a higher education level, Korean married couples (8.8%) faced a poverty rate of, twice that of the total population (4.8%). Finally, the sex ratio of Korean adults aged 18 and older (77 males per 100 females) was lower than that of the total population (95 males per 100 females).

Korean immigrant women. Of the total Korean immigrant population in 2010, there were 783,949 women, representing 55.1% (U.S. Census Bureau, n.d.-b). Women in their 20s, 30s, and 40s were almost equally distributed, with each age group representing 16.1%, 17.5%, and 16.3%, respectively, which was higher than other age⁹ groups (U.S. Census Bureau, n.d.-e). Additionally, in the Korean population aged 16 and older, approximately 53% of Korean women in the U.S. participated in the labor force, which was lower than the proportion of all American women (59.5%; U.S. Census Bureau, n.d.-d). Also, 46.5% of Korean women aged 25 or older in the U.S. had a bachelor's or higher degree. Although this figure is higher than all American women aged 25 or older (27.2%), gender differences in educational attainment was larger for Korean immigrants: 60.8% of Korean men in the U.S. and 28.4% of all American men had a bachelor's degree or more (U.S. Census Bureau, n.d.-d). Furthermore, in the U.S., 70% of Korean women married Korean spouses, while 90% of the Korean men married within their community (Le, n.d.).

⁸ Median household income was similar: Korean (\$53,303) versus total population (\$51,369).

⁹ Median age of Korean women in the U.S. was 38.3 years, which was almost identical to that of all American women (38.5 years). However, Korean men in the U.S. were younger, with a median age of 33.9 years, than Korean women and all American men (the median age of whom was 35.8 years).

In summary, it is estimated that the majority of Korean women in the U.S. are first generation, familiar with their culture of origin, aged 20 to 49, highly educated (among 25 and older), fluent in Korean, employed outside the home (among 15 and older), married (among 15 and older), and married to Korean spouses.

Korean culture of origin. A harmony of people with their environment is "a central feature of Asian philosophy," developed by Buddhism, Hinduism, and Confucianism (Chung, 1992, p. 29). Confucian ideology institutionalizes harmony in human interactions by arranging roles hierarchically for each member of society (Chung, 1992). Specifically, this institutionalized harmony is based on five interpersonal relationships: superior (ruler) and subordinate (subject), parents and children, husband and wife, older and younger siblings, and friendships (Chung, 1992; Moon, 2005). In these relationships, each party has expected obligations and behaviors toward the other. For example, in the family, parents are supposed to love and care for their children, and children should practice filial piety and be good sons and daughters; husbands are supposed to be good providers, and wives should be good listeners; and older siblings are supposed to be kind, while younger siblings should be respectful (Chung, 1992; Moon, 2005). Additionally, children are taught not to retort or present counterarguments to superiors or seniors (Chung, 1992).

Although South Korea has been rapidly and highly industrialized since the 1960s (Amsden, 1992; H. Park, 2003), Confucian ideology survives in Korean society as a tradition (Min, 2001). In another tradition, the Korean family structure is based on collectivism. Collectivity is taught in the family, emphasizing the group's interest, a group-oriented identity, and shared resources with in-group members (Chung, 1992;

Moon, 2005). Thus, Korean persons' "sense of identity and belonging is provided within the rigid boundaries of family" (Moon, 2005, p. 73).

These traditional family values, however, may create disadvantageous conditions for women. For example, a wife is considered subordinate to her husband and expected to be a housekeeper, while a husband is the head of the family, has absolute power, and is expected to work outside the home (Lee, 2005). Furthermore, the family boundaries could be rigid for a new member to enter, such as in the traditional conflict between a mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, in which women become "scorned apprentices to their mother-in-law" to "earn' membership into husband's family" (Kim, 2006, p. 523). Literature on IPV among Korean immigrants in the U.S. addresses the connections between traditional beliefs and incidents of IPV against Korean women (Lee, 2005; Moon, 2005; Rhee, 1997; Song, 1987; Tran & Jardins, 2000).

With regard to family power in particular, however, Korean traditional values may have changed since industrialization. For example, two nationwide randomized surveys in Korea (telephone interviews with over 1,500 couples, see Kim & Emery, 2003; face-to-face interviews with over 6,000 couples, see Ministry of Gender Equality, 2005) investigated the relationship of IPV with martial power relationships based on who is responsible for final decision-making and including power categories of male dominant, female dominant, divided power, and egalitarian (see Coleman & Straus, 1990, for Decision Power Index). According to these studies, male dominant families were in the minority in Korea (14.7% for Kim & Emery, 2003; 4.0% for Ministry of Gender Equality, 2005), but the majority relationship was divided power (48.8% for Kim & Emery, 2003; 51.6% for Ministry of Gender Equality, 2005). The male dominant power

was related to higher risk of IPV; however, the majority of IPV occurs in the majority power type: divided power. Furthermore, contrary to the family conflict perspective (Straus, 1999; Straus & Gelles, 1990a), the rate of MFIPV was higher than those of FMIPV and mutual IPV in all type of martial power, even in female dominant families (Kim & Emery, 2003). Because Korean-Americans are recent immigrants, it is assumed that they are not much different from people in their origin country. Therefore, in addition to the cultural factors, other conditions that family members bring to violent events should be included for study of IPV in Korean immigrant communities.

Prior research on IPV among Korean immigrants in the U.S.

The scope of IPV in Korean American communities is unclear. No nationwide population-based research exists to investigate IPV among Korean immigrants (Kim, Lau, & Chang, 2006). Yet, few community-based empirical studies have been conducted with convenience samples (see Liles et al., 2012, for an exception). Song (1987) recruited 150 Korean women in the Chicago area through purposive sampling to investigate sociocultural factors associated with MFIPV. She found a high rate (60%) of lifetime physical violence by husbands and argumentative situations occurring before the physical assault. The reasons for arguments, in order, were in-laws and relatives, children, chores and responsibilities, money, and employment. Song also found that women who reported holding traditional values were more likely to be abused than those who reported that they were less traditional.

In the mid-1990s, telephone interviews with 256 Korean families in the Chicago and the New York City areas were conducted (Kim & Sung, 2000). With a research design consistent with the NFVS (Straus & Gelles, 1990b; Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz,

1980), Kim and Sung (2000) measured marital power, life stress, and IPV with the CTS (Straus, 1979). They found that the past-year prevalence rates of any and severe IPV were 18.8% and 6.3%, respectively, a finding quite similar to those of the NFVS (18.7%) and 6.4% for any and severe violence in 1985). Unlike the NFVS, however, Kim and Sung found significant gender differences in rates of perpetration, with husbands perpetrating significantly more violence than wives (18.0% and 6.3% respectively, for husband's perpetration of any and severe violence, compared to 8.2% and 0.8% for wife's perpetration). They also found that marital power and life stress were associated with IPV. Regarding the types of martial power with the Decision Power Index (Coleman & Straus, 1990), in the prevalence of any IPV in the past year, male-dominated families had the highest (33%), and egalitarian families were the lowest (12%). Regarding the level of stress, the likelihood of any MFIPV in the past year was over 21 times higher when respondents reported high levels of life stress as compared to low levels of stress. Interestingly, the highest level of stress (M = 5.8) was found in the male dominant families, while the lowest (M = 4.7) was found in the egalitarian and female dominant families. The five highest ranked stressors for Korean immigrants, according to Kim and Sung (2000), were difficulties in speaking English, trouble with others at work, discrimination, financial problems, and trouble with employers.

In contrast, however, a recent study with community samples reported that life stressors had no direct association with IPV within Korean immigrant communities (Lee, 2007). Lee surveyed Korean women in Texas through purposive sampling to investigate risk factors for IPV. With responses from 136 Korean women, Lee found that approximately 30% of the sample reported past-year physical MFIPV. Religious

involvement, their experiences of physical violence in childhood, and male partners' alcohol dependence were positively related to IPV, but male partners' alcohol consumption was negatively related to the IPV.

Besides these community-based studies with convenience samples, a recent statewide study was conducted with representative sample (N = 592) in California to investigate IPV against Korean immigrant women, with analysis of the types of IPV and risk factors by age (Liles et al., 2012). Findings indicated that the past-year prevalence rates of physical assault, psychological aggression, sexual coercion, and injury were 2.0%, 27.4%, 17.3%, and 1.2%, respectively. Compared to the prevalence of the U.S. total population discussed previously, physical IPV was not much different, but psychological and sexual IPV showed much higher rates of victimization in the previous 12 months (see also Table 2.2, for comparison). These prevalence rates differed by three age groups (18-39, 40-54, and 55 or older). For example, physical IPV and injury were not significantly different among age groups; however, psychological and sexual IPV were more prevalent among the youngest group (<40).

Marital power structure was measured based on the Decision Power Index (Coleman & Straus, 1990) and indicated that overall 67.2% of respondents reported an equalitarian power structure, followed by male dominant (20.0%), divided (7.8%), and female dominant (5.0%) powers (Liles et al., 2012). In this power structure, significant age differences were shown. The proportions of the male dominant increased in older groups, while the female dominant was higher in younger group. In addition to the marital power, immigration stress, social support, alcohol use, acculturation, and demographic characteristics were also assessed as risk factors. Due to the small rate of

physical IPV and injury and sexual IPV in oldest group, Liles and associates examined the relationships of risk factors with psychological IPV. Only immigration stress was related to psychological IPV for all three groups, which were positively associated with the likelihood by the factors of 2.2 to 4.6. Male domination was significant only for middle age group, 2.4 times higher likelihood of psychological IPV, compared to non-male domination. Employed women in the youngest group (<40) had an almost 3 times higher likelihood of being abused psychologically than those who were not employed within the age group. Women with social support, such as material aid or acquaintances to help, were more likely to be victims of psychological IPV in the youngest age group. Education and acculturation were not significant for all three groups but were marginally significant in the group under age 40.

These studies introduced and presented risk factors for IPV, highlighting the vulnerability of Korean women in the U.S. However, knowledge about IPV among Koreans in the U.S. is limited because of methodological limitations and insufficient studies. With the consideration of this insufficiency, the existing studies have limitations to generalizability from inconsistent findings. The past-year prevalence rates of physical violence against female partners range from 2.0% to 30.0%. The results of alcohol use as a risk factor are controversial. Another limitation is that the specific situations in which IPV occurs among Korean immigrants have not been fully revealed. This limitation encourages more situation/context-based discussion about the occurrence of IPV in Korean communities in the U.S.

Chapter 3. Analytical Framework

Violence as an Event

The concepts of events and acts are different. Acts involve people and the instances of their behaviors, but events include the context as well as sequence of the acts (Meier, Kennedy, & Sacco, 2001). The idea of sequential fashion has been discussed in criminology for a better understanding of crime events (Felson, 2006; Meier et al., 2001; Sacco & Kennedy, 2002; Sawyer, 2012) and is also found in Einstein's notion that "time has no independent existence apart from the order of events by which we measure it" (Barnett, 2005, p. 19). Time itself is not observed but can be perceived as "the order of events." By the same standard, the elements of IPV events are the order of actors' acts or conditions (i.e., actors' internal or external conditions that surround the IPV). The analysis of the present study starts by questioning how meaningful elements of IPV can be recognized.

Event contiguity and priority.

One approach to recognizing meaningful elements of IPV is by utilizing event contiguity and priority. This concept assumes that individual acts or conditions are interrelated temporally within an event, and prior events are necessary for the later one. The perspective of event contiguity and priority presents the occurrence of IPV as contingent on prior acts or conditions. However, this perspective is required to recognize coincident or simultaneous acts occurring. For example, day comes before night, but day does not cause the coming night. By removing simultaneity, interdependent factors of IPV remain.

The concept of event contiguity and priority are closer to causality, which is an amalgam of interrelated acts. As the philosopher Hume noted, the cause is contiguous with the effect in time and space, is placed prior to the effect in time, is in constant conjunction with the effect, and has counterfactual relationship—that is, the effect does not occur without the cause (see Beauchamp, 1981, for Hume's four elements of causation). However, event contiguity and priority themselves do not guarantee the causality: They are necessary but not sufficient for the cause. It is commonly admitted that X causes Y if X is both a necessary and a sufficient condition of Y. X is a necessary condition of Y if Y cannot happen without X occurring; X is a sufficient condition of Y if Y always happens when X happens. However, factors that are both necessary and sufficient are rarely found in social science (Maxfield & Babbie, 2010). The sequential nature of the event might help to determine the necessary connection of various factors by event contiguity and priority; however, how can it be used to explain causality without the potential of sufficient condition?

INUS condition.

An INUS condition is an acronym of the first letters of the italicized word, "an *insufficient* but *necessary* part of a condition which is itself *unnecessary* but *sufficient*" condition (Mackie, 1965, p. 245). In short, an INUS condition is called a factor that plays a crucial role in possible causes. According to Shadish, Cook, and Campbell (2001), "Most causes are more accurately called inus conditions" (p. 5), which is not determined but probabilistic for occurrence of the effect.

Kuipers (2001) explained the causality of "persistent delinquent," one of juvenile delinquents Moffitt (1993) suggested, with an INUS condition. The cause of being a

persistent delinquent, continuing deviant behaviors after adolescence age, might be explained by an abnormal neuropsychological architecture of brain such as ADHD (attention deficit hyperactivity correlation). According to Kuipers (2001), the ADHD is an insufficient but necessary part of a condition that is itself unnecessary but sufficient for persistent delinquent behavior. The ADHD alone does not guarantee persistent delinquent (*insufficient*) and is part of possible causes (*necessary part*). It is also part of a *sufficient* condition to be persistent delinquent in combination with the full causes; however, this condition is *unnecessary* because there might be other sets of conditions for the persistent delinquent behavior.

IPV might be able to form a web of possible causes through an event perspective. As discussed above, research has examined risk factors of IPV, including being in an unmarried, cohabiting couple (Caetano et al., 2000; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a); being an ethnic minority (Field & Caetano, 2004, for comparison in national victimization surveys such as NLCS, NVAWS, and NFVS; Rennison & Welchans, 2000; Sorenson et al., 1996); experiencing partner jealousy (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a); being a less educated woman (Sorenson et al., 1996); low income household (Cunradi et al, 2002); using alcohol/drugs (Caetano, Schafer & Cunradi, 2001); and having ready access to weapon (Kellermann et al., 1993). Such risk factors might be able to explain IPV in terms of various levels such as individual, structural, or situational context. These influences, however, should be considered in concert; their confluence would be necessary for an INUS condition. For example, suppose that the correlation between male partner's jealousy and low level of female partner's education is commonly found. The jealousy alone is not sufficient for disturbing further education of female partner, but it is part of

possible cause of the disturbance. The correlation might be examined whether it happens jointly with other factors. It might be part of a sufficient condition for increased likelihood in combination with the full causes; however, this condition is unnecessary because other conditions might be.

In sum, interconnected acts and conditions in an event can be distributed in time order and could be examined in concert by testing how they are connected necessarily. Even though the interrelated factors are insufficient parts of an effect such as the occurrence of IPV, by the standard of INUS condition, they could be the parts of possible causes of the effect, which could play meaningful roles to explain the event's occurring.

Event-Based Perspectives on IPV

Event-based perspective considers IPV a violent event comprised of various acts and condition in time order. Each element of the event is viewed as a unit of observation, and the temporality of the unit is a key concept of analysis. Also, it adopts 'emergence' view—crime event resulting from a complex process of interpersonal or individual-context interactions (Sawyer, 2012). Recently, research on IPV has emphasized the importance of building an integrative framework that considers the contextual factors associated with the occurrence of violence (Bell & Naugle, 2008; Dixon & Browne, 2003; Meier et al., 2001; Wilkinson & Hamerschlag, 2005; Winstok, 2007). For example, in the early 2000s, U.S. Congress asked the National Research Council (NRC) to develop a research agenda to enhance the understanding of gendered violence, including IPV. The NRC (2004) recommended that there be "more research addressing the situational contexts and dynamic interactions" of the violence (p. 4). Also, from an in-depth review of the literature, the NRC concluded that "[a]t this point, we have no evidence that a

separate theory is needed to explain violence by intimates" (pp. 14–15). Wilkinson and Hamerschlag (2005) suggested that violence in intimate relationships is similar to violence in non-intimate relationships, based on situational perspectives with an emphasis on the occurrence of IPV.

Situational/interactional perspectives.

When the term 'situation' is used, it has generally referred to the *immediate* environment settings of the event (Birkbeck & LaFree, 1993; Clarke & Cornish, 1985; see Meier et al., 2001, for discussion of situational theories). The immediate settings can be regarded as interaction. Winstok (2007) operationalized "interaction as comprised of two consecutive acts," suggesting it as a unit of observation for violence (p. 359). The one unit involves two parties' action (an immediate reason) and reaction (an immediate result), for instance, a curse and then a slap (Winstok, 2007). In an event with a series of interactions, there may be multiple units interrelated, which means one unit is contingent on another immediate unit. Situational or interactionist perspectives emphasize a "contingent nature" (Wilkinson & Fagan, 2001, p. 184). There are contingent acts and events that lead to IPV: interpersonal dynamics, such as exchanges of words and actions, and "contingent pathway[s] from distal factors such as gaining access to guns, to the proximal factors that determine whether they are used" (Wilkinson & Fagan, 2001, pp. 183-184). Accordingly, under the temporal context of the event, the immediate environment settings of the occurrence of IPV can be extended to remote or distal situations, and vice versa. For example, if a woman does not have a driver's license (e.g., husband's interference, her fear of driving, etc.), then she might experience increased dependence on her husband. Her asking him to give her a ride one day might be

contingent on the increased dependence, which might cause him to feel bothered and, if he refuses, they may begin arguing. In this example, the condition of her lack of a driver's license is not an immediate situation but is rather a distal context that might (jointly) cause the argument or IPV (see Byun, 2012).

There is an argument that violence is sometimes the culmination of violent transactions between individuals (Felson, 1993; Luckenbill, 1977; Wilkinson & Fagan, 2001; Winstok, 2007; Wolfgang, 1957). According to a social interactionist perspective (Felson & Tedeschi, 1993; Tedeschi & Felson, 1994), violence is viewed as an intended harmdoing action, which emerges from conflict in human relationships. The harm intended behaviors are divided into two forms, dispute-related and predatory violence, based on offenders' values of harm towards victims. Dispute-related violence is regarded as violence whose goal is to harm others, while predatory violence is defined as violence that is indifferent or less important to harm (e.g., robbery; Felson, 2004). Dispute-related violence results from social control reactions to perceived wrongdoing (Felson, 1993). Individuals are motivated to punish when grievance emerges from the belief that they have been wronged. Felson described that it is usually starts from hostile verbal exchange but escalates to physical violence. The dynamics of violent events might be influenced or determined by actors' decisions but also by situations surrounding them (Tedeschi & Felson, 1994; Wilkinson & Fagan, 2001), and yet little is known how offenders, victims, and situational factors are interrelated in IPV (Wilkinson & Hamerschlag, 2005).

Criminal event perspective (CEP).

The CEP views the crime as a "social event" (as cited in Sacco & Kennedy, 2002, p. 8), which is isolated in time and space, influenced by some systemic patterns, and involved in the interaction of humans with people or environments (Sacco & Kennedy, 2002). It considers IPV a confluence of individual conditions or acts in a temporal context. In sum, the CEP is placed as a framework to explain criminal events by focusing on (a) crime, not criminality; (b) interpersonal interactions (for violent crime); (c) spatial context and temporal distributions of the events such as precursors, transactions, and aftermaths; (d) integrating the theories of offender, victim, and situation; and (e) the holistic view of criminal events (Meier et al., 2001). This perspective places itself not in the position of a theory but as a tool not to neglect the larger context surrounding criminal acts (Anderson & Meier, 2004; Meier et al., 2001).

To understand IPV comprehensively, CEP might be a well-suited tool. The CEP includes contextual factors for understanding of violence considering criminal events in which interpersonal dynamics and context are involved (e.g., dispute). Also, the CEP adopts a situational/interactional approach to violence so that the complexity of IPV might be explained by sorting out "the proximal effects of situational elements from the distal influence" of risk factors (Wilkinson & Fagan, 2001, p. 170). Furthermore, according to the CEP, the reality of IPV can be understood "only when we consider all aspects of the criminal event" because situations influence IPV in concert, not in isolation (Meier et al., 2001, p. 22). The holistic perspective of the CEP—"criminal event becomes more than the sum of its parts"—might be helpful to understand all aspects of

IPV regarding an emergence or product of the interactions between partners (Meier et al., 2001, p. 4).

With regard to all aspects of IPV, the CEP considers crime as an event structured by a process of precursors to the act, the act itself, and the aftermath of the act. It considers IPV a confluence of individual conditions or acts in a temporal context. For example, research with Conflict Tactics Scales (CTS) has revealed that FMIPV is equivalent to MFIPV (Straus, 1999); however, this equivalence has been criticized and was part of a long-standing debate over the structure of IPV. The CEP also argues, as do other critics, that the CTS measures only violent acts but does not capture the context and aftermath of the act (Meier et al., 2001). It fails to distinguish self-defense from mutual assault. It does not consider the consequence of IPV: Compared to men, women are more severely injured and suffer from poor health outcomes (see Aftermaths of IPV section above).

Crime's stages.

Another temporal approach to understanding a violent event is the crime's stages (Felson, 2006). Felson described crime as viewed as a complex event but suggested it can be simplified into three stages: the prelude, the incident, and the aftermath, which are drawn from the CEP's temporal context (Sacco & Kennedy, 2002; see Felson, 2006). To sort out the three stages, the incident is focused first, and then the immediate occurrences before and after the crime are considered. Compared to the CEP, the crime's stages are a narrower unit. The stages are comprised of three successive happenings, while the temporal context of CEP is interested in "immediate and relatively close" to criminal act (Meier et al., 2001, p. 3). Furthermore, the crime's stages take the form of the

interpretation of crime from the offender's concern and actions, but the CEP includes various viewpoints and occasions to identify factors relevant to the occurrence of crime.

The crime's stages provide practical way to sort out the sequence of acts or conditions within a criminal event. Felson (2006) suggested a semantic diagram to describe the event with a standard form of a single sentence and diagram techniques. The diagram is comprised of offender (subject), crime verb (type of crime), crime object (what the offender[s] did upon), and *motive* (sentence ending with the form of a prepositional or infinitive phrase). For example, a MFIPV can be described in a single sentence: a husband hits his wife to have sex, where the subject of this sentence is the husband, the crime verb is to hit, the crime object is his wife, and the motive is having sex. Also, multiple crime verbs in time order can indicate the sequential patterns of crime occurring. Moreover, simplified forms of the crime event also benefit analysis of the crime in sequence. The three consecutive stages of crime are relatively narrower than the CEP's temporality; however, they could play a part of a larger sequence (Felson, 2006). For example, Felson argued that the aftermath of an event can become the prelude to the next event. In this relation, crime's stages can be extended to the distal stage of the occurrence of crime, and vice versa. The sequential patterns of crime's stages, however, focus more on the arrangement of the happenings in order than in relation mechanism. That is, approaching a crime from this perspective, an investigator is interested more in the question, "What happened right before this occurrence?" than "How/why did this happen before the occurrence?"

Narratives of violent events.

Criminal events have a history (Meier et al., 2001), and the history is comprised of stories or narratives that account for connected acts or conditions. The narrative in criminology has focused on qualitative data collection (Miller, 2005), such as narrative records including police records, court decisions, or scripted interviews (Belknap & Graham, 2000; Dobash & Dobash, 1984; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh, & Lewis, 1998; Hughes & Short, 2005; Luckenbill, 1977; Rosen, Stith, Few, Daly, & Tritt, 2005). However, recent interest in situational or process of crime has been attentive to the narratives of participants as theoretical framework (see Agnew, 2006; Miller, 2005; Presser, 2009, 2010; Sandberg, 2010). For example, narrative criminology, introduced by Lois Presser (2009, 2010), extends the criminal events by situating "stories as antecedents to crime" of participants (Presser, 2009, p. 178). Crime is viewed not as a single criminogenic act but as the process of criminalization of offenders, which could be narrated in temporally ordered statements (Presser, 2009). Presser challenged questions about authenticity of the narratives by offenders due to subjectivity. She argued that subjectivity is inevitable in positivistic criminology, pointing out that strain, social learning, and rational choice theories, for example, rely on individuals' interpretation or perception of their circumstances and behaviors (see Agnew, 1992; Akers, 2009; Clarke & Cornish, 2001).

Another example of the narrative framework is articulated via *storylines* (Agnew, 2006). According to Agnew, storylines are "key events and conditions leading up to a crime or series of related crimes" (p. 120). Storylines include objective and perceived events and conditions that influence the likelihood of crime occurring. Drawn from the

CEP, however, storyline focused more on probable factors or the combination of the factors that linked to the occurrence of crime (Agnew, 2006). Storylines are often found in the narratives that actors (such as criminals or victims) present in various forms, for example, in police or court records, newspaper, interviews, or online communication messages.

With regard to temporality in particular, the written records, as Agnew (2006) noted, have utility for better understanding the situational factors that surround crime, including IPV. As discussed previously, an example comes from a study with an innovative methodology of using diary to record daily alcohol consumption and IPV of male partners (Fals-Stewart, 2003). With the daily log, the researcher could collect preceding events before the IPV (see Rhatigan, Moore, & Street, 2005). As Bell and Naugle (2008) indicated, this strategy "might be particularly suitable for assessing contextual variables proximally related to IPV" (p. 1105).

Chapter 4. Research Questions

The purpose of the present study is to develop an event-based framework for IPV so as to increase understanding of contexts surrounding IPV, particularly among Korean immigrants in the U.S. Guided by the analytic framework discussed in Chapter 3, the current study explores *all aspects* of IPV that Korean immigrant women perceived. More specifically, this study dissects IPV events with the elements—actor, act/condition, and time—as units of observations and examines the situational dynamics that lead up to and the aftermaths following IPV by identifying the units and their relationship with one another. The current study also investigates specific types of IPV and the internal and external conditions for a perpetrator and a victim.

It is evident that attaining the objectives of this research depends on appropriate data that record specific events by time order. For the purpose of this study, the dataset has been constructed by deriving from the narratives of Korean women living in the U.S. With this data frame and the analytical framework discussed in Chapter 3, four primary research questions are addressed in this project.

RQ1. Precursors of IPV Events.

- a. What are the antecedents of the IPV event that Korean female IPV victims (or perpetrators) narrate?
- b. What are the distal and proximal precipitators to the IPV event?
- c. How are the precursors related to one another? How are the chains of situations formulated?
- d. How do the female IPV perpetrators describe their internal conditions?

Preliminary study demonstrates this expectation with findings that the elements of IPV event are in a temporal ordering from proximal to distal context; various acts and situations that are related to IPV form the chain of situations (see Byun, 2012). By the same standard of the preliminary study but with a larger sample, the current investigation is to find more comprehensive and detailed findings about the situational dynamics leading up to IPV, which means that internal and external conditions of the Korean immigrant women living in the U.S. are examined in concert, enhancing understanding about their interrelationships. Furthermore, IPV perpetrators may experience conflict produced by occurring in the mind. When internal conflicts are narrated, the record is available to sequence them.

RQ2. Types of IPV and Transactions.

- a. What are specific types of IPV occurring among Korean immigrants?
- b. How do Korean female IPV victims or perpetrators report the transactions of IPV? How are the chains of the violence formulated?
- c. Are types of IPV experienced/described differently? How are the precursors of IPV different by type?

Having reviewed published estimates of IPV, it has become apparent that the meaning of IPV has broadened. IPV is not merely physical assault but includes various forms of impairing partners' life such as sexual and psychological aggressions. Thus, it is necessary to use the criteria or definitions that provide comprehensive IPV typologies with detailed actions. These violent acts, by the logic of event-based perspective, can be explained as transactions in a temporal ordering: a beginning and an end and exchanges of words and acts. It is assumed that the transactions may vary by time, such as first or

recent occurrences of IPV and by perpetrators, that is, female and male partners.

Circumstances related to the IPV are also expected to vary; for example, sexual IPV alone and physical IPV with verbal aggression might be connected to different antecedents and aftermaths.

RQ3. Aftermaths of IPV Events.

- a. What are the consequences of IPV that Korean female IPV victims or perpetrators encounter? What are the physical and psychological harms of IPV?
- b. What do the female victims want to cope with their situations after IPV?
- c. What are the perceived barriers to victims' help-seeking?
- d. How do the aftermaths of IPV differ by the type of IPV?

As to all aspects of IPV, this project will explore the consequences and help-seeking of IPV. As discussed previously, aftermaths of IPV need to be considered because they are sometimes connected to the next IPV. This project, based on previous literature review, includes physical and psychological health-based outcomes for consideration. Furthermore, the present study assumes that IPV victims are active help-seekers. This assumption can be questioned about the victims, if any, who are shown not to seek help. Narratives by victims are expected to report how they perceive their circumstances with possible or potential blocks for their activity including help-seeking. There might be storylines about IPV victims' reasons for encountering difficulty in trying to do what they want. This is important for the prevention of IPV. It is obvious support can be made available to those who need help by providing what they need. By same

logic, what victims want resulting from the IPV, in this project, could be possible ways to cope with or be helped from the violent situation. The victims' reasons are, thus, anticipated as the barriers.

RQ4. Risk Factors of IPV Events.

a. How do Korean female IPV victims or perpetrators describe their risk factors? How do the common factors differ by the type of IPV?

Given the previous literature reviews, various risk factors are expected to be found in IPV events. However, they might not be uncovered easily or reported consistently in free-form writings. Nevertheless, the present study explores the factors associated with IPV. To find these factors in the unstructured narratives of IPV events, some techniques are needed to extract valid statements. This project does not limit findings to risk factors that are given in the literature review of Chapter 2. Rather, it anticipates new inquiries of IPV.

Chapter 5. Methodology

The present study conducts a content analysis of unstructured narratives from an Internet forum with a novel method called the "might-cause chain" approach, which will be discussed in this chapter. Before undertaking present study, there was an attempt to demonstrate the credibility of this project with a preliminary study ¹⁰. Borrowing some way to describe the methodology from the preliminary study, this chapter explains the data sources and the methods utilized to address each research question.

Data Collection

Online posts as data sources. This project involves Internet postings by Korean women living in the U.S. Analyzing Internet posts with the intention of seeking information, especially in an anonymous forum, are well suited to investigate the situational effects of IPV for Korean immigrants. First, the online postings are narratives told with the purpose of communication. For questioning or even judging, a poster writes her story; members read and reply. If the poster wants to ask questions or to hear opinions from others, it is necessary to describe her situation in detail. Research has reported that Internet communities or forums are more naturalistic and unobtrusive, and participants are more positively involved, compared to focus groups or interviews (Cowley & Radford-Davenport, 2011; Kozinets, 2002; Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, & Sechrest, 1999).

Recently, analyzing Internet posts or communications has been incorporated particularly into health-based or psychological analysis. With regard to unobtrusive observation, Lasker and colleagues (2005) conducted a content analysis of messages

¹⁰ The preliminary study focused on the precursors of IPV with a relatively small sample and was published in a peer-reviewed journal in November, 2012 (see Byun, 2012).

posted to an electronic mailing list (listserv) of an Internet community for persons with a rare disease. They found that members were more likely to seek and share empirical information about their own experiences rather than socioemotional topics. Horne and Wiggins (2009) examined messages and their replies posted to two Internet forums on the theme of suicide and showed that members demonstrated their authentic identities of suicide thoughts and activities through narratives with formatting (e.g., characteristics of initial posts about suicide), rationally describing their problems, going "beyond depression," and not explicitly asking for help. Giles and Newbold (2011) also found members' attempts to demonstrate their identities (e.g., as being 'officially diagnosed') with typical initial posts in online mental health communities or interactions with exchange narratives, which are valued in online forums for the purpose of communication. Identifying their status is valued in online forums for the purpose of supporting members. That is, it is necessary for a helper to convince other members of his or her authenticity about the mental illness in the forums.

Second, anonymity ensures unlimited discussions, even on issues that people are reluctant to bring up in face-to-face conversations. Third, Korean people are familiar with the Internet, especially for obtaining information. According to Korean government statistics (Internet Statistics Information System, 2006), 97.7%, 90.0%, and 64.1% of women in Korea aged in their 20s, 30s, and 40s, respectively, used the Internet at least once a month in 2006. Moreover, Korea was ranked third in the world in time spent using the Internet (comScore, 2006). In addition, 86.8% of Korean women who used the internet reported that the main reason for doing so was to obtain information (Internet Statistics Information System, 2006). It is thus quite likely that Korean immigrant

women in the U.S. would have usage patterns similar to those of women in their origin country. As to Internet usage by race/ethnicity in the U.S., although detailed ethnicities were not indicated, over 80.5% of Asian-only households reported that they were available to access the Internet at home, which was highest rate among race/ethnic groups (U.S. Census Bureau, n.d.-a).

Procedures. An anonymous online forum of a portal website for Korean married women living in the U.S. was selected for the present study. The website uses Korean as its primary language and requires a sign up for free membership. Members can communicate voluntarily on the forum by writing and replying to posts. The purpose of the forum is to share members' feelings, experiences, and life problems. To alleviate the risk of gossip, the forum is anonymous.

To increase the validity of authenticity amid the anonymity, only posters' descriptions of direct experiences of IPV were selected. This focus was chosen for two reasons. First, analyzing only direct experiences avoids the potential for including repeat data from a single episode. For example, it may be possible that one woman posted her direct experiences of IPV, but a friend who knew about the incidence also posted the story. The other reason is the impact of privacy. Third parties, while familiar with episodes of IPV, nonetheless may be limited in their knowledge of inside stories regarding events between intimate partners. In addition, to control the situational effects within the U.S., this project included only posts indicating IPV that occurred in that country.

The present study classified the narratives from the Internet forum into four units: posting, episode, incident, and offense. A *post* or *posting* is defined here as a written

message on the Internet forum, comprised of a title and stories of IPV incidents posted by an individual author. Multiple posts about continued or related stories by one poster are combined into one *episode*. Each *incident* of the episode should include at least one offense. Finally, *offense* is an individual violent act involving an offender and a victim.

Using three keywords, two Korean words meaning violence (pokryuk and pokhang) and the English word violence, 2816 posts were searched. Of them, irrelevant posts were removed, including posts about sibling, school, or other violence, opinions about violence, IPV not taking place in the U.S., and indirect experiences. Excluding these left 710 posts. Of that number, 40 postings were identified as "duplicates," which means the contents of these postings appeared in another posting, too. Excluding these 40 postings left 670 posts that presented the episodes as a unit. The 670 episodes each include at least one offense. The present investigation recognized the type of IPV offenses by incident and typical level. Incident level or IPV is encapsulated by time, such as "he hit me yesterday," which points out when it happened. On the other hand, typical IPV is determined when but the offense indicates general patterns of violence, such as "he is always yelling at me, and then starts throwing something when he is angry." This dissertation used the IPV incidents to examine the contextual domains encapsulated by time. Applying this classification identified 393 episodes that included at least one IPV incident, and those episodes comprised the sample of the current study.

The period of posting is approximately two years (December 25, 2005, to December 31, 2007), and almost all posts were written in Korean. The language usage of the posts reflects the female spouse's perspective. For example, a "mother-in-law" in this study means the poster's husband's mother.

Content Analysis

Content analysis is often classified into qualitative and qualitative methods (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Morgan, 1993). Conceptual distinction between them, however, has been questioned (Holsti, 1969; Krippendorff, 2004). Fundamentally, "all reading of text is qualitative" (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 16), but "all [coded] data are potentially quantifiable" (Holsti, 1969, p. 11). These notions seem to be close to what Morgan (1993) denoted, "quantitative approach of qualitative data" (p. 113). Some arguments posit that content analysis is flexible or not firmly defined as a method for analyzing text records (see Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

This dichotomy might be more distinct regarding when to depend on subjectivity/objectivity rather than quantification. Hsieh and Shannon (2005) defined qualitative content analysis as "a research method for the *subjective* interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns" (p. 1278, emphasis added), while Neuendorf (2002) briefly referred to "systematic, *objective*, quantitative analysis of message characteristics" (p. 1, emphasis added). By this standard, the content analysis can be regarded as a technique to analyze the characteristics of text data *systematically* with emphasis on subjectivity (e.g., qualitative) or objectivity (e.g., quantitative; see also Holsti, 1969, & Krippendorff, 2004, for definitions).

Another classification is inductive and deductive content analyses (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). The inductive approach moves from the specific to the general, by which a researcher first observes and then combines particular instances. This strategy is recommended for use when previous studies or knowledge are not enough or when the

knowledge is fragmented. Coding is derived from text data by the processes of open coding (i.e., note while reading data to describe all aspects of the context), creating categories and grouping, and abstraction (general description of topic). On the other hand, according to Elo and Kyngäs, the deductive approach moves from the general to the specific, in which the structure of analysis is already operationalized based on previous knowledge. The deductive mode is recommended for testing theory in a new context or comparing categories at different time periods. Before coding, it is necessary to establish categories on the basis of previous studies. All the text records are then coded in accordance with the identified categories.

Guided by these classifications of content analysis, the present study focused on objectivity, using both deductive and inductive approaches to correspond with research questions.

Might-Cause Chain Analysis (MCA)

The present study used diagrammed IPV episodes as an analytical tool for a content analysis. Results from the preliminary study indicated that IPV events contain various acts that are intertwined with several situations, which seem to be in a continuous flow (Byun, 2012). For better understanding of the situational context of IPV, research needs to extract actors' acts and conditions from the "flow" and then find how the acts and the conditions are linked with one another. To do this, this study used a novel method named "might-cause chain," which extracts and arranges contiguous events or conditions of IPV from the narratives. In brief, the might-cause chain analysis (MCA) is the diagramming of sequential happenings through a process of answering questions. It is based on the idea of the semantic and fishbone diagrams. The semantic diagram is

introduced in the crimes' stage section in Chapter 3, and the fishbone diagram is explained here.

The fishbone diagram, also known as cause-and-effect diagram or Ishikawa diagram (incorporating its creator's name), is named because of its similarity in appearance to a fishbone. It is a problem-solving tool that identifies and organizes possible causes and show interactions between them (Kelleher, 1995). This diagram is structured based on the concept that one cause can be another's effect. To connect potential causes, the "might cause check" is utilized (Kelleher, 1995). It begins with setting out one problem to be solved and placing it as the fish head of the diagram. Overall, the direction of diagramming is from the smallest bones to the head. From a brainstorm or survey, possible causes for the problem are gathered. Of these, the most specific cause is placed in the smallest bone (denoted by A) of the fishbone. A might cause one of the possible causes (denoted by B), and B is placed in the next biggest bone. Now B is an effect of A. Then, B also might cause one of the possible causes (denoted by C). C is put in the next biggest bone and is an effect of B. Repeating this process, the diagramming finally reaches the head, the problem to be solved. This diagram shows how the problem is contingent on all of the possible causes.

The concept of the MCA came from the fishbone diagram, but its approach follows the opposite trajectory, moving from the head of the fish to its smallest bones. The process of using the MCA in the context of analyzing narratives of IPV follows. First, violence is extracted and coded from the postings, and each coded offense can be placed into the fish head. Then, the one violent act in the head can be traced back to prior acts or conditions. The way to track back is simply through the process of questions and

answers. The MCA is employed for the precursors of and the help-seeking after IPV, so this section explains the usages separately.

The MCA for precursors.

For antecedents of IPV, the MCA is the process of answering two questions: First, what happened right before this occurrence? Second, if a situation is found, then was this directly related to or did it cause the occurrence? If an act or condition right before the violence is identified from these questions, it is the immediate situation preceding IPV and called the *trigger*. Then, the trigger is also traced back to prior situations. Acts or conditions that might cause the trigger are named *Reason 1*. This chain is continued until it reaches the farthest situation found, which is termed *distance*. Figure 5.1 shows a fishbone-shaped diagram that represents this sequence from trigger to distance.

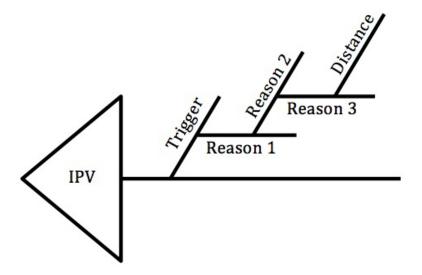


Figure 5.1. Might-cause Chain Diagram. This figure shows a diagram with five small bones (lines) of the fish skeleton; however, the number of the lines is not restricted to five.

When the temporality (e.g., trigger, reason 1, etc.) is determined, parsimonious connection is necessary to avoid overlapped or inflated connection. Thus, iterative connection is restricted. It is explained with an example as follow.

Example. The following narrative comes from a sample posting, written in Korean, and is (literally) translated into English:

I am married for two months, after four years of dating. Yesterday [night], (a) *my heart felt heavy* (b) *due to* (c) *in-law matters*, so (d) *I was crying* alone. While (e) *I was trying to go outside* (because I needed some fresh air), my husband heard me and rushed out [of a room], then said to me why I was trying to go out at night. Where could I go at that time? FYI, this is an apartment. Well, I had no place to go. I would've gone round the apartment complex for a while. But, (f) *he told me not to go outside*, because it would be dangerous, and to give the key back. (g) *I threw the key at him*. (h) *Then*, (i) *he shoved me*. ... It hurt and I was shocked, so crying so hard. I demanded him let me out because I was filled with loathing and could not be with him in same space. However, he (j) *blocked [restrained] my way*. He might worry about neighbors calling the police, I presumed. I (k) *attempted to go out [leave] stubbornly*; he (l) *shoved* me (m) *again*. I fell over the table [emphasis added].

From this story, 10 clues are found for the MCA as indicated below:

- Two violent acts: (g) throwing and (i and l) shoving;
- Five modes: (a) heart felt heavy and (d) crying [(a) and (d) are classified into stress], (c) in-laws, (e and k) leaving, and (f and j) restraining; and,
- Three conjunctions: (b) due to, (h) then, and (m) again.

Figure 5.2 shows a MCA diagram created, based on these clues, by software named CmapTool (Novak & Cañas, 2006, 2008) and will be explained in next section.

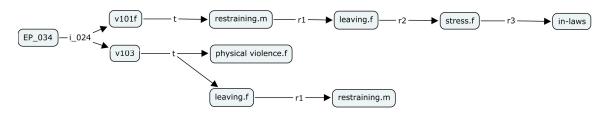


Figure 5.2. Example of MCA for Precursors. Notations at the end: m (male partners did); f (female partners did).

In the figure, the left rectangle contains the episodes number, and the number on arrow-line (called "link") indicates the incident number. The next two rectangles show the offense codes, and the alphabet notions on the link arrows indicates the level of time such as trigger (t), Reason 1 (r1), Reason 2 (r2), and so forth.

Specific offense was coded with specific forms of violence defined by the Office on Violence Against Women (OVAW), administered by the U.S. Department of Justice. The present study built up a coding sheet, based on the definitions, including the specific offense (see Appendix B for the coding sheet). Each offense was found based on the definition and put into the "fishhead" in the MCA. In the example shown in Figure 5.2, two offense codes appear: Item v101f is *throwing* by the actor "f," female partner (i.e., poster), and v103 indicates *grabbing*, *pulling hair*, *pushing/shoving*, *dragging*. Without the notion f, offense codes mean male partners' violence. Later, v101f will be classified into female-to-male (FM) IPV and v103 into male-to-female (MF) IPV by actors. Then, each one is placed into a single fish head, so now two fishbone maps exist.

Shoving by husband. To trace back to prior actions, the last act must be found. The MCA starts from an objective act, which is here an offense. In the narrative above, the first fishbone starts with the latest act, (i) shoving (v103). Then, its first question asks, "What happened right before the shoving?" The action of (k) leaving corresponds to this question as the immediate act. The next question asks, "Did the throwing cause or was it related to the shoving?" The content and adjacency of the sentences support their connection, so (k) leaving is coded as *trigger*.

One immediate act to the trigger, (f) restraining (blocking), is found with the two questions above, then it is coded as *Reason 1*. Next act of Reason 1 can be *leaving*

(demanding to leave); however, this action violates the parsimonious connection. If leaving is coded into Reason 2, it shows an $iterative\ link$ because the trigger is leaving, such as leaving (t) \leftarrow restraining (r1) \leftarrow leaving (r2). Because MCA adopts the chain or tree structure, the branches can be easily exponentiated by extending to distal level. For example, as a probability tree diagram shows, if two branches keep extending to next level, the number of branches increase by the second power of two. Thus, the leaving is not linked to the $reason\ l$ and exhibits no further connection.

The *shoving* has another immediate act, as (m) *again* noted. The husband also shoved poster because she threw a key at him. This action worked as a trigger. However, it needs also consideration of the iteration. If the *throwing* is connected as a trigger, then extended to distal, the situations can be overlapped because the throwing is regarded as an offense and put into another fishhead. If the next situations, such as reason 1, 2, 3, and so forth, are extended from both the trigger and the fishhead, the situations are inflated. Thus, it has to be decided which one should be used. The present study used the decision rule that the fishhead was the primary reason. In this case, the *throwing* can be used only as a trigger, but the next connection from here was restricted. Rather, it moved to the fishhead position as an individual offense, and from there, the next connection was extended. Figure 5.2 shows this example.

Throwing by poster. The poster threw a key at her husband because he *restrained* her way, which, as the immediate act prior to this offense, is a trigger. In the next move, one immediate act prior to the trigger, (f) restraining is found: (e) leaving, whose relationship to the trigger is verified by the two questions above, is named *reason 1*. In a

sentence, 'the husband restrained (*trigger*) the poster because (or once) the poster tried to leave (*reason 1*).'

Repeating the first and second questions, two acts prior and related to reason 1 are found: (a) heart felt heavy and (d) crying. These two individual modes are classified as *stress* because they share the characteristics representing the poster's stressful condition. In a sentence, 'the poster wanted to leave (*reason 1*) because of the stress' that is denoted by *reason 2*.

In sentence form, the stress (*reason 2*) happened (b) due to in-law matter that is termed *reason 3*. *Reason 3* satisfies the first and second questions, especially with the conjunction (b) "due to." Finally, the reason 3 is the farthest away from the offense (g) throwing, which is a distant situation. Moreover, no additional distal condition is found.

The MCA for help-seeking barriers.

The help-seeking barriers are about the aftermaths of IPV occurring. All postings are written after that the posters experienced IPV. Some victims seek help but may encounter some conditions that prevent them from acting on their seeking. For example, a poster want to get divorced, but she is also concerned about her visa status after the divorce. The possibility of unstable immigrant status in the U.S. plays an important role in disadvantaged situations.

For help-seeking in IPV, the MCA is also utilized in the process of answering two questions: First, what do victims want (1st Q.); second, if any want is specified, what makes it hard to do/be (2nd Q.)? The first question identifies the notions that victims want (called *wish*). After determining the victims' wishes, the second question is used to discover barriers. What makes it hard to fulfill the wish? If an answer is found, it is

considered an immediate barrier, called the *proximal*. Then, the proximal barrier is traced back to distal barriers by asking 'what makes it hard to do the proximal?' The answer becomes *reason 1*. The chain is extended until it reaches the farthest hurdle, *distance*.

An alternative way to following the two-question process is to fill out a sentence form with appropriate information during open coding. Drawn from the semantic diagram, it can be represented with the "want but hard because" sentence framework. For example, I want *wish*, but it is hard because of *reason 1*, which is hard because of *reason 2*, ... so on.

Example. The following narrative comes from another sample posting, written in Korean and (literally) translated into English:

My heart feels heavy. [I know that] divorce is more difficult, but ... I came here [the U.S.] relying only on my husband, but he didn't devote himself to family; rather he did [thing to me] several times, like beatings?? ... I don't know if it is appropriate to write this [on here], but anyway... He broke my faith on him because of his lies; moreover, he hit me again even though he had apologized and promised not to do again... I decided to get divorced and now it is during a divorce; however, my heart is torn when I think about my only child. [After divorce, perhaps I may work and can live even though it is on a very tight budget... [I don't know] (a) if I can raise my two-year old baby well because (b) my [immigrant] status may be unstable and (c) I can't speak English [well]. In the future, it will happen like visiting school to meet and talk to [my child's] teachers ... I will probably have (d) no time to learn English if (e) I will bring up my child. Yet, (f) I am uncomfortable with the idea of giving custody to my baby's father [husband]; my lawyer said, once I give the custody to him, it is hard to take it back. Even though it will happen in the future, do you think that I'd better claim all my rights [as a mother] now? Or... I live in LA, so it is convenient to live [as a Korean] without speaking English [well], but ... Whether I don't have enough confidence to live [on my own] in the future??? Please encourage me. (g) I want to get divorced and live the best life [emphasis added].

In this story, the poster expresses her willingness to get divorced as well as contiguous worries. With the semantic diagram, that willingness can be shown in sentence forms as below:

- [wish] I want to get divorced; but
 - o [immediate] it is difficult because of *custody*
 - o [immediate] it is difficult because of bring up my *child*
 - [reason1] which is because of my *immigrant status*
 - [reason1] which is because I can't speak *English* well
 - [reason2] which is because I have *no time to learn*
 - o [distance] which is because of my *child*

There are two immediate barriers: raising her child and custody. Also, bringing up her child is placed in both proximal and distal barriers to getting divorced. She regards unstable immigrant status and speaking English as (potential) barriers for raising her child. Furthermore, based on her perception, circularity is evident in her concerns about both her low English skills and raising her child: She may find it difficult to raise her child well because of her English is so weak; her skills in English will not improve because she will have no time to learn because she will be raising her child.

The MCA with concept-map software.

This project uses a concept-mapping computer program for coding the MCA. Basically, the MCA is a technique of anatomizing events by diagramming. The concept map is a diagrammatic tool to organize and represent knowledge; its model was developed by Dr. Joseph D. Novak in the early 1970s at Cornell University (Novak & Cañas, 2006, 2008). The elements of the concept map are concepts, lines, and links of

words/phrases. According to Novak and Cañas (2008), in the concept map diagram, the concepts appear as circles or boxes. Lines connect two concepts. Linking phrases are words on the lines that explain the relationship between two concepts.

CmapTools is software specialized for creating the concept map, developed at the Institute for Human and Machine Cognition (IHMC; the latest verion of CmapTools for Windows, Mac, and Linux can be downloaded without cost for non-profit use at http://cmap.ihmc.us). The present study uses CmapTool (v5.05.01, released on November 1, 2012) because it benefits the MCA for coding, organizing, and analyzing.

Appendix A1 illustrates how CmapTools codes and organizes a narrative for the MCA shown in Figure 5.2. On the left side in Appendix A1, CmapTools draws a diagram that codes IPV events intuitively based on the MCA. Rounded rectangles represent the elements of IPV events, such as violence and condition/situation. Arrow lines indicate the direction and connection of relationship between the elements. The linking phrases (that is, the words on the lines) specify the positions of the elements in the chain, such as incident number ("i_024"), trigger (t), and reasons (r1, r2, and r3). CmapTools automatically constructs propositions drawn from the diagrammed concept, following the idea that "propositions contains two or more concepts connected using linking words or phrases to form a meaningful statement" are called "semantic units, or units of meaning" (Novak & Cañas, 2008, p. 1). The diagrams correspond to three columns on the right side in CmapTools, which constructs propositions. The left column indicates the rounded rectangles at the beginning of the arrow line, and the last columns match the one on the end of the arrow. The middle column shows the words on the arrow

lines. These propositions can be exported as tab-delimited text that keeps the three separate fields.

Appendix A2 shows how CmapTools can be collated into a spreadsheet for analyzing as well as organizing data. This step is done by using Microsoft Excel to import the exported text file as noted above. Other spreadsheets also can work with CmapTools, which uses universal format such as the text file with tab-delimited separation. As shown in Appendix A2, three columns are populated, which correspond exactly to the three columns in CmapTools. Interpretation of the spreadsheet data starts from Column C. Column B indicates the position of Column C. Column A goes after Column C in time order. In a standard form, it can be represented in the following way: "Column C is the Column B" or "Column C is the Column B of Column A." For example, for the first row, physical violence (throwing by female partner) is the trigger of v103 (shoving by male partner) shown in Appendix A1; for the fifth row, leaving (by female partner) is the reason (3) of the stress (of female partner); and, for the last row, v101f (throwing by female partner) is Incident # 24 that belongs to Episode # 34.

The MCA is enhanced in this collaboration. First, a spreadsheet computes. As shown in Appendix A2, the items are easily counted; for example, focusing on third column, Incident # 24 has two physical IPV ("i_024" of second column indicates violence) and three triggers ("t" of second column). Also, the spreadsheet sorts and filters data. The MCA can use these functions to organize and analyze data. For example, Microsoft Excel sorts data by the second column (linking phrase of CmapTools) or filters out some types of IPV for comparison. Furthermore, Microsoft Excel includes the pivot table function, which creates a cross tabulation from raw data. Following this process,

the current study coded the data of the online postings with CmapTools and then collated the exported data with Microsoft Excel for the research questions that require the MCA method to answer.

Coding Procedures

This project adopted the human coding method in three stages. The first phase is to code violence by intimates (for the entire Research Question [(RQ2]), involving mainly a deductive approach, with the inclusion of inductive reasoning. The second phase was to code situations and help-seeking of IPV (for RQ1 and parts of Research Question 3 [RQ3.b & .c]), using an inductive strategy with a novel method, the "might-cause chain" approach, that was introduced in the preliminary study of this project and will be discussed more in this chapter. Finally, the third phase is to code consequences and background factors of IPV (for RQ3.a & RQ4), involving mainly an inductive approach with the inclusion of deductive reasoning.

The coding procedure is separated to improve objectivity. The phases are divided by themes to measure. In particular, the results of Phase 2 are structured to rely on the outcomes of Phase 1, because the purpose of this project was to find various situational factors based on the violence. Questioning the soundness of the violence coding, then, affects directly the outcomes of the situation coding. Working these two themes in one stage could reduce the chance to inspect reliability of the coding.

To develop objectivity, this project assesses the inter-coder reliability test for the phase with deductive approach as its main method. The phase whose main methods are inductive, however, are not involved in the test because that phase on open coding whose purpose is to describe all aspects of the context due to a lack of previous knowledge (Elo

& Kyngäs, 2008). Thus, the present study conducted Phase 1 with the content analysis protocol, which is emphasized for reliable coding. The protocol is defined as "the documentary record that defines the study in general and the coding rules applied to content in particular" (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2005, p. 127), and the current study follows this definition.

Phase 1.

The purpose of the first step was to extract and code violent acts from the episodes that posters described. The data from this stage correspond to Research Question 2 regarding the types of IPV and transactions (RQ2.a, b, & c). An initial step was completed before entering Phase 1 by operationalizing IPV categories and then developing coding protocol though coder training.

Classification of IPV. The present study adapted the categories of domestic violence from the Office on Violence Against Women (OVAW), administered by the U.S. Department of Justice, because of comprehensive and specific operationalization of IPV. Those categories suggest five types of violence, including physical, sexual, emotional, economic, and psychological violence, all of which include specific acts. The specific forms of violence that the present study used can be found in Appendix B.

In the OVAW's classification, verbal violence is not an independent category. Some posts analyzed in the current investigation, however, revealed that the term *uner pokryuk* in Korean (literally, "verbal violence") was used frequently and independently. The preliminary study found that nearly 30% of IPV was verbal violence (Byun, 2012). This project regarded name-calling, insult, and yelling as verbal violence (see Psychological IPV in Chapter 2 and Verbal aggression in Chapter 3 for these criteria).

Moreover, by merging emotional IPV into psychological IPV, this study identified and analyzed data according to five categories of IPV: physical, sexual, economic, psychological, and verbal violence.

Coding protocol and coder training. Coding protocol was advanced through coder training. Two coders were involved in Phase 1. They were required to understand completely narratives written in Korean whose topics are about violence. A Korean woman who is married, earned her bachelor's degree in the field of criminal justice in Korea, and in the U.S. for more than 5 years joined this project as Coder B. Besides her understanding of Korean reading, another reason why of Coder B was a good fit for this role in the study is her comprehension of the context of married Korean immigrant women in the U.S., who are the authors of the data in this study. Coder A is the researcher of the current investigation.

Although Phase 1 relied on deductive content analysis methods, it also included inductive features. It does not find and select a category given for the meaning of violence in an episode, but extracts all IPV events based on operational definitions. This phase embraced open-ended category selection. For example, given that Coder A selects four offenses, hitting, punching, calling names, and destroying property, Coder B chooses the same offenses plus one more, abusing pets. Even though the two coders agree on the nature of four offenses, basically, the coding has disagreement as a result of the fifth offense, abusing pets. The protocol needed to consider such variation in coding.

From the online forum for this project, 60 posts were selected with same keywords used in this project but from a different time period (2010). In each session of coder training, the two coders read 10-15 posts, tested and assessed inter-coder reliability,

discussed the results, and developed the coding protocol. The IPV from the 60 posts were coded in the first five training sessions. The sixth training included the retest of inter-coder reliability with 15 randomly selected posts from the 60 posts written in 2010. Another 45 posts were selected by the same way but from yet another year (2009). The coder training was continued until it reached 0.80 of Scott's pi (Scott, 1955) and Cohen's kappa (Cohen, 1960). After an additional four training sessions, it was decided to enter Phase 1.

An initial list of 43 items (i.e., violent acts) was developed in the coding protocol, based on the classification of IPV. During the coder training sessions, to improve reliability by removing ambiguity, some items were adjusted. First, the terms *pokryuk* or *pokahang* (meaning violence in Korean) or *violence* was coded as "hitting" in the old version. However, it added an item "violence" into the coding protocol, so the terms could be classified into an individual item. Also, "pushing/shoving," "grabbing," and "pulling hair," which had been separated, were combined into one item. In addition, "hitting face" was added to the item "hitting with fist." Moreover, an item "hitting with object/weapons" was added to the physical IPV. An item "constant criticism" was included in emotional IPV section. Finally, for economic IPV, two items were combined into one: "maintaining total control over financial resources and victim's access to money." The protocol was also developed along with detailed operationalization through the coder trainings. In the final round, a total of 33 items were included in the coding protocol (see Appendix B).

¹¹ After prospectus defense, the emotional IPV was suggested to be combined into psychological IPV. Thus five offenses of emotional IPV moved to psychological IPV, nothing changed, but with code number starting wit 308.

Phase 1 proceeded with the established coding protocol. First, two coders independently coded only offenses. For efficiency, half of data were coded by Coder A, and the rest by Coder B. The inter-coder reliability test was conducted on a 20~25% sample of data. After the coding was completed, Coder A assigned the offenses to three types of time (recent, before the recent, and first) and gender of perpetrators and grouped them into research units. As discussed previously, the present study used four units—posts, episode, incident, and offense. Finally, based on the offense coding and grouping, identification (ID) numbers were assigned to incidents and episodes.

Inter-coder reliability test. Phase 1 assessed how the offenses that this project used for analysis were objectively selected. The present study computed Scott's pi and Cohen's kappa for the inter-coder reliability test through the coding protocol, and the final result was acceptable: 0.80 of Scott's pi (Scott, 1955) and Cohen's kappa (Cohen, 1960).

It is worth noting here the logic of computing the inter-coder reliability that this study adapted. The two coders were compared for their agreement on the coding about the occurrence of offenses. However, the variation of coding should be considered first as noted above. Phase 1 was designed to discover offenses in the unstructured narratives. Basically, coding is conducted based on the "being" of a category. In other words, a coder is supposed to select one (or more) options among given or existing categories. What if, however, a coder does not select any item and leaves the category unchecked? Is that action regarded as a kind of answer or just missing? This problem was considered in the context of the current project.

The first concern was with unchecked items. Phase 1 was conducted with the established 33 types of offense, and theoretically all items could have been selected by checking either "yes" or "no" (e.g., hitting "yes," pushing/shoving "no," kicking "no," etc.). For efficiency, however, in Phase 1 only the "yes" (indicated by "did" column in the coding sheet; see Appendix B) was selected, and the corresponding unselected category was regarded as an answer "no," indicating that actions in categories not selected did not occur. The problem was, however, that most offenses of the 33 types included in the coding protocol were not found in a narrative. The preliminary study showed that 95 posts contained 246 offenses, which resulted in an average of 2.6 offenses per posting (Byun, 2012). In this context, the inter-coder reliability was inflated. Of 33 items, for example, even if Coder A selected 10 items and Coder B selected nothing, 23 items would remain in agreement between the coders. Thus, the agreement on the unchecked items between the two coders was excluded in the computation of inter-coder reliability for this research.

The next concern was the pair of the selected items for agreement between the two coders. To discuss more in detail, the example noted above is repeated here:

Given that Coder A selects four offenses, hitting, punching, calling names, and destroying property, Coder B chooses the same offenses plus one more, abusing pets. Even though the two coders agree on the nature of four offenses, basically, the coding has disagreement as a result of the fifth offense, abusing pets. The protocol needed to consider such variation in coding.

If the unit of comparison is a posting, this example shows only disagreement between the two coders. However, if the unit is a category (i.e., the types of offense), then four offenses are agreed upon, but one is not. The inter-coder reliability tests measure only existing items (see Cohen, 1960; Scott, 1955). To use them, then, some modification is

needed to fit the criteria of the tests. Here is the simplified example above with adjustment:

- Coder A: hitting, punching, calling names, destroying, *null*.
- Coder B: hitting, punching, calling names, destroying, abusing pets

 In the modification, an item *null* is added to correspond to the item, abusing pets. With this alteration, the percentage of agreement is 80%. ¹² Likewise, the present study uses the *null* as the equivalence of the not-selected item to the selected item for computing the inter-coder reliability test. ¹³

Phase 2.

The purpose of second phase was to extract situational factors occurring before and after IPV events from the episodes, corresponding to research questions regarding precursors and help seeking of IPV (RQ1.a, b, c, & d and RQ3.b & c). To conduct this stage, MCA was utilized based on the results from Phase 1.

Inter-coder reliability test. To reduce the chance of discretion, as in Phase 1, the researcher (Coder A) and Coder B utilized MCA independently. Because the inter-coder reliability test of offense in Phase 1 was acceptable for MCA precursors, this phase focused on MCA for help-seeking barriers.

With the CmapTools software (Novak & Cañas, 2006, 2008), the two coders utilized MCA independently for coder training. In the initial inter-coder reliability test, help-seeking and barriers were extracted at once in each episode by the MCA. Because

¹² (4/5)*100

¹³ In December 2010, the author personally contacted Dr. Jocelyn A. DeAngelis Williams, a faculty member who taught the course of content analysis at the School of Communication and Information, Rutgers University, to ask about this "null" idea for applying to inter-coder reliability. The answer was "make sense."

of an initial low coefficient of agreement for inter-coder reliability, the coders reviewed the narratives for developing the coding scheme. More efforts were found to be necessary to overcome potential barriers to developing reliability for the MCA. First, the occurrence of help-seeking and barriers were not independent. Each level of barrier was contingent on the other barriers or help-seeking. For example, without help-seeking, there were no barriers. Thus, if Coder A found a help-seeking item, but Coder B did not, the disagreement was not limited to help-seeking but also involved extracting barriers. Moreover, the open-coding approach did not ensure development of reliability. The narratives were free-style writing, and, although the theme was the experiences of IPV, there were many chances to go deeper between the lines. The interpretation of the narratives could relied on coders' perspectives or personal experiences. Without consideration and agreement on certain events, independent works did not guaranteed improvement of the MCA's reliability.

To resolve this disagreement, Coder A conducted the MCA with approximately 10% of the episodes for help-seeking and barriers (n = 30) with an updated approach. It was done by help-seeking and each level of barriers. For example, the MCA was not conducted all at once per episode; instead, after resolving help-seeking between coders based on the agreed help-seeking, the barriers were extracted next. This process was done at three levels: help-seeking, first or immediate barriers, and second or distal barriers. From this approach, the coefficients of agreement were 45.5% for help-seeking and the immediate barriers and 36.4% for the second or distal barriers. Although the agreements were low, they showed the variations of the coefficient for each item. Appendix C1

provides the inter-coder reliability of each item. Limitations and future methods to address this low inter-coder reliability are discussed in Chapter 9.

Phase 3.

The purpose of the third phase was to code the risk factors and consequences of IPV. The data from this step were anticipated to answer to Research Question 4 (RQ4) and parts of Research Question 3 (RQ3.a & d). Mixed methods with inductive/deductive approaches were utilized based on a grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss, 2007; Morgan, 1993). Grounded theory provides the iterative or emergent technique for the coding process. Using this process, the researcher read the episodes and captured the emergent themes for coding. As a result of having completed the previous two phases, the coders were already familiar with the content of the narratives.

Inter-coder reliability test. Coder A first set up the coding that emerged in the previous phases and also added some new variables from the iterative process. Using mixed methods, the risk factors were captured from inductive content analysis. The postings were not in a standardized form, and the contents did not necessarily contain all variables. For example, an episode without information about children does not mean the poster does not have children. Thus, each item was set with a theme (e.g., demographic or socioeconomic characteristics), and then, through an open-coding method, coders simply checked a box to indicate yes (or no, if possible). This approach simplified the coding scheme but increased the number of items.

Also, to capture the consequence of IPV, the victims' psychological health conditions were investigated by a deductive approach with established measurements based on previous research, which were adapted for the present study. Physical health

conditions were also searched, but that search was conducted at the level of whether there was physical injury or whether victims received medical care. Mental health conditions were investigated through the multiple diagnosis items for various psychological conditions, for example, posttraumatic disorder (PTSD) for IPV victims, developed by the NISVS (Black et al., 2011). While coding in this stage, the researcher checked whether the posts contained the symptoms provided in the indexes of the NISVS. The other diagnosis indexes will be explained in detail in Chapter 8.

To test inter-coder reliability, more than 10% of episodes were randomly selected (n = 40). With 40 samples, three sets of test were utilized (first 10 episodes, and then 15 each). Overall, the coefficient of agreement was 70.0%, and Appendix C2 shows the reliability of each item.

Chapter 6. Nature, Precursors, and Transactions of IPV

The sample size for this study comprised 670 episodes from 710 online postings consisting of 2380 offenses by intimate partners (see Table 6.2). Of the total episodes, 393 included at least one incident of IPV, which had total of 561 incidents, including 1552 precursors (see Table 6.7). Given these data, this section will discuss the nature of IPV and how the IPV and the precursors work in concert.

Characteristics of Posters and Spouses

Who are the posters?

In the present study, posters were Korean female narrators who posted their IPV experiences on the Internet. Assumptions were made regarding posters' familiarity with Korean language and culture; despite living in the U.S., posters were thought to not only understand the written language, but also to be able to describe and freely discuss their life experiences and feelings written in Korean. Posters narrated their IPV experiences primarily in the role of victims: Of 393 episodes studied, only 32 (8.1%) indicated the IPV was committed by the posters whereas the majority was committed by spouses only (58.8%) or committed by both (33.1%).

Table 6.1 provides detailed information on the posters, extracted from episodes, including individual, cultural/structural, and situational factors. A few episodes (n = 27) indicated the posters' ages, which were evenly distributed between posters in their 20s (40.7%) and 30s (51.9%), with a few into their 40s (7.4%). *Marital status* was disclosed in 172 episodes (43.8% of the episodes), indicating that most were married when the IPV occurred, with an average of 5.1 years of marriage. With respect to *marital quality*, 18 episodes (4.6%) contained evidence stating others did not know IPV occurred behind

closed doors, due to a normal outward appearance of their marriage. In addition, 22 episodes (5.6%) were found that reported the only problem in their marriage was the IPV. For episodes involving *children*, 192 episodes reported the presence of at least one child while 26 episodes reported no children.

To construct a more meaningful measure for socioeconomic status, the four items 14 studied that were found in fewer than 15 episodes were combined into *economic status of household* in Table 6.1. The economic status of household was measured through self-reporting. Status was classified as "upper" if the posters noted their economic status as "upper" and their or their spouses' occupational level as "upper or professional." It was regarded as "lower" if the posters indicated their economic status as "lower" and spouses as "unemployed" or "incompetent." As shown in Table 6.1, the posters reporting lower economic status (73.4%) were more numerous. For *educational level*, posters had studied for 13 years or more (university or college attendance; n = 31) with undergraduate or graduate students representing (n = 18).

As to the immigrant status of the posters, Table 6.1 shows that the majority (67.2%) were not U.S. citizens or permanent residents. Furthermore, it was found that there were episodes (n = 50) indicating posters' immigration status was attached to that of their husband. Of those that reported their years of living in the U.S., the majority were in the country two years or less (n = 22). To measure the circumstances of their immigrant conditions, a search was conducted regarding where posters' parents and siblings resided. Of the episodes revealing this information (n = 142), most lived outside the U.S. An assumption was made that the majority lived in South Korea.

¹⁴ They were (1) posters' economic status, occupational levels for (1) posters and (2) spouses, spouses' (3) unemployment and (4) incompetence. Before the combination, the economic status of household was found in 40 episodes.

Table 6.1. Characteristics of Posters and Spouses

Variables	n ^a	%
Demographic characteristics		
Age		
Posters	27 (6.9)	
20-29	11	40.7
30-39	14	51.9
40-49	2	7.4
Spouses	8 (2.0)	
20-29	2	25.0
30-39	3	37.5
40 or more	3	37.5
Marital status when the IPV occurred	172 (43.8)	
Unmarried	10	5.8
Married	162	94.2
Marital years in average, if currently married	5.1 years	
Marital quality		
Others seeing no problem with marriage at all	18 (4.6)	
No problem with marriage, except IPV	22 (5.6)	
Children	217 (55.2)	
Yes	191	88.0
No	26	12.0
Economic status of household	64 (16.3)	
Upper	17	26.6
Lower	47	73.4
Education level		
Posters	49 (12.5)	
13 years or more	31 (7.9)	
Currently student (13 years or more)	18 (4.6)	
Spouses	64 (16.3)	
13 years or more	45 (11.5)	
Currently student (13 years or more)	19 (4.8)	
Nativity and Immigrant Status		
Posters		
Nativity/immigrant status	61 (15.5)	
U.S. citizen or Green Card holder (permanent resident)	20	32.8
Non U.S. citizen or Green Card holder	41	67.2
Temporary Green Card holder	6	9.8
Other visa status or legal resident status	29	47.5
Undocumented	6	9.8
Dependent immigrant/visa status on husband	50 (12.7)	
Year(s) living in the U.S.	40 (10.2)	
Less than one year	9	22.5
1-2 year(s)	13	32.5
3-5 years	7	17.5
6-9 years	7	17.5
10 years or more	4	10.0
Spouses		
Nativity/immigrant status	67 (17.0)	
U.S. citizen or Green Card holder (permanent resident)	36	53.7
Non U.S. citizen or Green Card holder	31	46.3
Non O.S. Chizch of Ofech Card holder		
	2	3.0
Temporary Green Card holder Other visa status or legal resident status	2 27	3.0 40.3

Table 6.1. (continued)		
Variables	n	%
<u>Places where family primary lives</u>		
Posters	142 (36.1)	
In the U.S.	10	7.0
Not in the U.S.	132	93.0
Spouses	85 (21.6)	
In the U.S.	34	40.0
Not in the U.S.	51	60.0
Personality		
Posters		
"I am hot-tempered/violent/explosive with low self-control"	31 (7.9)	
Spouses		
"My spouse is basically good"	41 (10.4)	
"He is":	126 ^b	
Hot-tempered/violent/aggressive	42	33.3
Explosive with low self-control	40	31.7
Abnormal/sadistic	16	12.7
Jealous	12	9.5
A perfectionist	8	6.3
Timid/self-reproachful/with victim mentality	8	6.3
"My spouse is basically good but he is also"	$20^{\rm c}$	
Explosive with low self-control	10	50.0
Hot-tempered/violent/aggressive	4	20.0
Jealous	2	10.0
Timid/self-reproachful/with victim mentality	2	10.0
Abnormal/sadistic	2	10.0
Other Characteristics		
Posters were:		
Worried about financial security after divorce	54 (13.7)	
Not fluent in spoken English	15 (3.8)	
Abused because spouse knows her disadvantaged situation	14 (3.6)	
Spouses were:		
"Jekyll and Hyde"	25 (6.4)	
Not very attached to Korean culture	32 (8.1)	
English as his primary language	27 (6.9)	
American (U.S-born, "1.5 generation," or Korean-American)	26 (6.6)	
Non-Korean ethnicity regardless of his nationality	16 (4.1)	
Perspectives		
Posters:		
Were uncertain whether non-physical form of abuse was violence	22 (5.6)	
Admitted traditional/patriarchal perspectives	6 (1.5)	
Spouses:		
Believed violence was only physical or was severely injured	18 (4.6)	
Had traditional/patriarch perspectives	57 (14.5)	
Purpose of posting		
To obtain specific information	100 (25.4)	
To obtain judgment from other posters Note: ^a Percentages of episodes ($N = 393$) in parentheses. ^b Total number of c	117 (29.8)	

Note: $^{\text{a}}$ Percentages of episodes (N = 393) in parentheses. $^{\text{b}}$ Total number of characteristics appeared in 122 episodes (28.5%), difference due to multiple responses. $^{\text{c}}$ Total number of characteristics appeared in 19 episodes (4.8%), difference due to multiple responses.

Regarding the posters' personality, episodes contained posters who revealed themselves with a violent personality or low self-control (n = 31). It was also found that posters had a certain level of instability such as a lack of financial security (n = 54) and a lack of ability to speak English (n = 15), and predatory spouses (n = 14) (see Table 6.1). There were also episodes that posters indicated that they were not sure if non-physical forms of abuse should be referred to as violence (n = 22) and a number of revealing traditional or patriarchal perspectives (n = 6).

Finally, the motivation behind posting was examined. If a posting contained a request of specific information or judgment based on the decision (for example, "I decided to get divorced, but do you think that I should go back to Korea with my kids?"), it was coded into the episodes *to obtain specific information* (n = 100). If a posting requested only advice as to what they should do or of confirming if they were right or wrong, it was coded into the episodes *to obtain a judgment from other posters* (n = 117). For this category, multiple coding was available on one episode.

Who are the spouses?

Spouses were referred to as male partners of the posters. As noted above, most were husbands (see Table 6.1).

As shown in Table 6.1, there were a few episodes (n = 8) indicating an age distribution, but showing they were older than posters, which were either (37.5%) into their 30s and 40s or more. Regarding the spouses' educational level, 45 episodes showed educational attainment of some college or more and 19 episodes showing current undergraduates or graduate students.

The immigrant status of spouses varied. Of those reporting this information, more than half were U.S. citizens or permanent residents, which mean they were more stable status. The place where the family primary lived also varied. Of the episodes that provided this information, 40% indicated their spouses' family lived in the U.S while 60% did not.

Some episodes indicated spouses' personality related to IPV as seen in Table 6.1. Forty-one episodes indicated that a spouse was a "good person." With respect to IPV related with personality traits, six types of personality characteristics were found (with multiple responses) in 112 episodes appearing 126 times. The majority (33.3% of the 126 times) were hot-tempered, violent, or aggressive, followed by explosive with low self-control (31.7%), abnormal/sadistic (12.7%), jealous (9.5%), perfectionist (6.5%) and timid/self-reproachful/with victim mentality (6.5%).

Interestingly, for those who reported both that their spouse was a good person along with the characteristics of the violent-prone personality (n = 20), 50% of them reported "explosive with low self-control" (see Table 6.1). It is important to note that lack of self-control itself may be distinct from a violence-prone personality. There were episodes (n = 25) indicating spouses as "Jekyll and Hyde," or a disconnect between public and private behaviors, treating a spouse very well in front of others in public, but harshly in home.

An inference was also made regarding the spouses' cultural base, based on circumstances, such as ethnicity and English usage. It can be inferred that a spouse of non-Korean ethnicity, using English as a primary language, would be classified as U.S.-born or "1.5 generation" (foreign born, but raised in the U.S.) or Korean-American (little

attachment to Korean culture/perspectives; n = 32). Finally, there were episodes indicating that violence was indicated only if it was physical or severely injured (n = 18) and had traditional/patriarchal perspectives (n = 57).

What Specific Types of IPV Are Occurring?

Table 6.2 provides the detailed information about the type, time, and target of IPV. Five types of IPV¹⁵ with 31 individual offenses were captured: 11 offenses for physical IPV, two offenses for verbal IPV, 12 offenses for psychological IPV, and three offenses each for sexual and economic IPV. The IPV offenses are further classified into incident and typical levels. The incident IPV is determined by three stages of IPV occurrence: posters' first experiences of perpetration or victimization of IPV (*first*), the most recent IPV (*last*), and IPV occurring between the *first* and the *last* (*before the last*). Habitual or typical patterns of IPV occurring without time indicators were coded into the *typical* category. Finally, the target of the IPV was classified into male-to-female IPV (MFIPV) or female-to-male IPV (FMIPV).

As shown in Table 6.2, 1208 (50.8% of all) offenses are IPV incidents; the majority were classified as physical, happened at the *last* (N = 751), and were perpetrated by male partners (N = 951). In the typical IPV, the most frequent type of IPV was verbal violence (n = 468, 39.9%), followed by psychological violence (n = 283; 24.1%), physical violence (n = 228; 19.4%), economic violence (n = 39; 3.3%) and sexual violence (n = 25; 2.1%).

¹⁵ "Violence" is not considered here a single type of IPV because of its ambiguity--it was coded when a poster did not specify the types of IPV, but used the sole word "violence" (*pokryuk* or *pokhang* in Korean), meaning an IPV had occurred.

Table 6.2. Percentage of the Type of IPV by Level of Time and Offenders

Types of IPV	Incident						Typical
	<u>-</u>	Time			Offenders		
			Before the		Male partner	Female partner	
	All	Last	Last	Last	(MFIPV)	(FMIPV)	
	N=1208	N=751	<i>N</i> =313	<i>N</i> =144	<i>N</i> =951	N=257	<i>N</i> =1168
Violence*	5.5	4.7	4.8	11.1	5.6	5.1	11.0
Physical IPV	34.3	30.2	40.3	42.4	34.4	33.9	19.5
throwing something at a victim	1.7	1.7	1.6	2.1	1.4	3.1	0.3
hitting	10.0	8.7	11.8	13.2	9.5	12.1	9.0
grabbing, pulling hair, pushing/shoving, dragging	7.9	6.5	9.3	12.5	9.1	3.5	3.1
hitting with fist/object; hitting face	3.3	3.6	3.2	2.1	3.8	1.6	0.9
choking	2.2	2.4	2.6	0.7	2.6	0.8	0.2
slapping	3.1	2.5	3.2	6.3	2.5	5.4	0.6
kicking	2.4	1.7	4.5	1.4	2.7	1.2	0.6
biting, pinching, or scratching	0.9	0.7	1.6	0.7	0.3	3.1	0.6
butting	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0
denying a victim medical care	0.3	0.1	1.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.1
forcing alcohol/drug use	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
hitting with objects/weapons	0.8	1.1	0.0	1.4	0.5	1.9	0.3
Verbal IPV	33.5	37.5	27.8	25.0	31.3	41.6	39.9
calling names/insulting	19.8	22.2	15.3	16.7	19.1	22.2	22.1
yelling at a victim	13.2	14.6	12.5	7.6	11.7	19.1	11.5
Psychological IPV	24.7	25.7	24.3	20.1	26.1	19.5	24.1
destroying property	8.9	9.5	8.0	8.3	8.8	9.3	9.2
intimidating/threatening	5.2	6.1	3.2	4.9	5.9	2.7	2.6
threatening divorce	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.7	0.5	0.4	0.3
expelling or threatening (or trying) to expel from house	3.1	2.7	4.8	2.1	3.3	2.7	2.3
threatening with a weapon/object	1.0	0.5	2.2	0.7	0.9	1.2	0.3
threatening the destruction of victim's property;							
threatening or trying to harm or harming victims'							
family, friends, or children	0.7	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.4	0.3
abusing pets	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0
damaging victim's relationship with his or her children	0.5	0.7	0.3	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.2
diminishing victim's ability	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.6	0.4	0.9
forcing isolation from family, friends, school and/or work;							
doubting spouse's faithfulness; stalking	0.6	0.4	1.0	0.7	0.7	0.0	2.8
insulting by ridicule behaviors	1.2	1.6	0.3	0.7	1.1	1.6	0.7
constant criticism	1.2	1.1	1.9	0.0	1.3	0.8	3.9

Table 6.2. (continued)

Types of IPV	Incident						Typical
		Time			Offenders		
	All <i>N</i> =1208	Last <i>N</i> =751	Before the Last N=313	Last <i>N</i> =144	Male partner (MFIPV) N=951	Female partner (FMIPV) N=257	<i>N</i> =1168
Sexual IPV treating victim in a sexually demeaning manner; sexual	1.2	1.1	1.3	1.4	1.5	0.0	2.1
harassment	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.8
forcing unwanted sex	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.0	0.6	0.0	1.2
marital rape	0.3	0.1	0.3	1.4	0.4	0.0	0.2
Economic IPV	0.9	0.8	1.6	0.0	1.2	0.0	3.3
forcing victim's attendance at employment maintaining total control over financial resources and	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.6
victim's access to money	0.7	0.5	1.3	0.0	0.8	0.0	2.6
using victim's money without permission	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.1

Note: *Posters did not specify the types of violence, but just noted "violence."

Physical violence.

As shown in Table 6.2, the most common violence occurring in IPV incidents was physical violence (n = 414; 34.3% of all IPV offenses). Approximately half of the physical IPV involved two types of violent behavior, *hitting* (n = 121; 10.0%) and *grabbing, pulling hair, pushing/shoving, dragging* (n = 96; 7.9%). In the level of time, physical violence is the most frequent IPV occurring in the *first* (42.4%), and the *before the last* (40.3%), but not in the *last* IPV (30.1%). Byun (2012) suggested that a possible reason for the decline of these ranks and percentages might be the impact of physical violence on posters' memories or actual changes in the forms of IPV through interactions. These reasons might also apply to the results of current research and when compared with the typical IPV (see Table 6.2). In the typical level, the percentage of physical violence was reduced (19.5% of all typical IPV), ranking third among the types of IPV occurring. With regard to physical violence, the proportions of which changed in the number of incidents and percentage, it was relatively lower in the typical IPV. This might be explained by various forms of IPV being involved through multiple IPV occurrences.

Table 6.2 shows that both male (N=951; 34.4% of MFIPV) and female (N = 257; 33.9% of FMIPV) partners used physical violence in IPV incidents; however, a significant difference was not found in the offenders' use of this violence. In MFIPV, hitting was the most frequent (n = 90; 9.5%), but it did not differ in frequency to the second-ranked, grabbing, pulling hair, pushing/shoving, dragging (n = 87; 9.1%). These two offenses represented more than half of physical violence perpetrated by male partners. For FMIPV, hitting was also the most frequent (n = 106; 9.0%); however, the second-ranked offense was slapping (n = 14; 5.4%), a different outcome when compared

with MFIPV. These two offenses were reported more than half of the time in female-to-male physical violence.

Verbal violence.

Table 6.2 indicates that 33.5% of IPV involved verbal violence, slightly less frequently than physical violence and ranking second among IPV types in the incident level. In a single form of offense, however, *calling names/insulting* (n = 239; 19.8%) was the most frequent IPV of all incidents; *yelling at a victim* (n = 160; 13.2%) ranked second. Differently from physical violence in the level of time, the percentage of verbal violence increased from the *first*, through the *before the last* to the *last* (25.0%, 27.8%, and 37.5%, respectively). In particular, in the *last*, verbal violence was the most frequent type of IPV. In addition, this was dissimilar to physical violence in the gender difference. The percentage using verbal violence among female partners (41.6%) was 10.3 percent higher than that of male partners (31.3%).

In the *typical* violence, verbal violence was the more frequent IPV (n = 468; 39.9%); in a single form, *calling names /insulting* and *yelling at a victim* were 22.1% and 11.5% of typical IPV, respectively. The proportions of these offenses were similar to those in the *last* of the incident (22.2% and 14.6%, respectively).

Psychological violence.¹⁶

Table 6.2 shows that 239 or 24.7% of all types of IPV in the incidents were psychological violence. The most frequent form of psychological IPV was *destroying* property (n = 108; 8.9%), followed by various forms of threats: *intimidating/threatening*

¹⁶ In Table 6.2, the frequency of psychological IPV is equal to the sum of the psychological IPV offenses at incident level; however, for typical level, sum of the psychological IPV offenses is 275. Another 8 offenses (0.7%) were coded just as "psychological violence," which was worded as "violence" (pokryuk or poking in Korean) with words meaning "psychology" or "mental" (simri or jeongsin in Korean).

(n = 63; 5.2%), expelling or threatening (or trying) to expel from house (n = 38; 3.1%), threatening with a weapon/object (n = 12; 1.0%), threatening the destruction of victim's property; threatening or trying to harm or harming victims' family, friends, or children (n = 9; 0.7%), and threatening divorce (n = 6; 0.5%). When combined, these five classifications of threats were the most frequent form of psychological IPV (n = 128; 10.6% of the incident IPV).

Different from physical violence in the level of time but similar to verbal violence, psychological violence was found more in the *last* (n = 193, 25.7%) and least in the *first* (n = 29; 20.1%). For the offenders represented in Table 6.2, the percentage of psychological violence was greater in MFIPV (n = 248; 26.1%) than in FMIPV (n = 50; 19.5%). In a single form of psychological offense, *destroying property* most frequently occurred in both MFIPV (n = 84; 8.8%) and FMIPV (n = 24; 9.3%). In terms of the five threats combined, threatening was a tactic used most frequently by male partners (n = 109; 11.5% of MFIPV), more than female partners (n = 19; 7.4% of FMIPV).

In the typical level, the percentage of psychological IPV (24.1%) was similar to that of the incident IPV (see Table 6.2). *Destroying property* (n = 108; 9.2%) was most frequent as a single form of psychological offense; dissimilar to the incident IPV, however, sum of the threats (n = 67; 5.7%) was not the majority of psychological IPV.

Sexual and economic IPV.

Sexual and economic IPV were rarely indicated in the episodes, among incident IPV (n = 14; 1.2% and n = 11; 0.9%, respectively) compared to typical IPV (n = 25, 2.1% and n = 39, 3.3%, respectively). Only male partners perpetrated these incidents. For both incident and typical levels of IPV, the most frequent offense was *forcing unwanted sex*

for sexual IPV and maintaining total control over financial resources and victim's access to money for economic IPV.

How are the Types of Violence Related to One Another?

Table 6.3 indicates how IPV correlates with other violence. In 561 IPV incidents, twenty-six IPV combinations were found. The combination of two IPVs was the most frequent (10 types), followed by the three IPV combinations (seven types), one IPV alone (six types), and four IPV combinations (three types). However, the most frequent IPV incident occurred in the *verbal IPV only* –22.3% of all IPV incidents reported verbal violence only. It was almost equally distributed in the level of time with approximately 22%. Including the verbal IPV alone, the top seven or more than 30 incidents appearing in Table 6.3 were followed by *physical IPV only* (17.8%), *psychological IPV only* (13.4%), *verbal & psychological IPV* (13.0%), *physical & verbal IPV* (7.5%), *physical & psychological IPV* (5.7%), and *physical & verbal & psychological IPV* (5.5%). In the top seven, the combination of two IPVs and the occurrence of an IPV alone were most common (three each), followed by a three IPV combination. In addition, three types of IPV (verbal, physical, and psychological) made the top seven combinations, with each IPV appearing four times equally.

Table 6.3. Percentage of the Type of IPV Incident by Co-occurrence and Level of Time

	All	Last	Before the	First
Combination of IPV Incidents	<i>N</i> =561	N=326	last <i>N</i> =170	N=65
Verbal only	22.3	22.7	21.8	21.5
Physical only	17.8	14.7	23.5	18.5
Psychological only	13.4	12.0	17.1	10.8
Verbal & Psychological	13.0	18.1	6.5	4.6
Physical & Verbal	7.5	8.0	7.1	6.2
Physical & Psychological	5.7	4.9	7.1	6.2
Physical & Verbal & Psychological	5.5	6.1	4.1	6.2
Violence only	3.7	3.7	4.1	3.1
Violence & Physical	3.0	1.8	2.9	9.2
Violence & Physical & Psychological	1.2	0.9	0.6	4.6
Sexual only	0.9	0.3	1.2	3.1
Violence & Verbal	0.9	1.2	0.6	0.0
Violence & Physical & Verbal	0.9	1.2	0.0	1.5
Economic only	0.7	0.3	1.8	0.0
Violence & Physical & Verbal & Psychological	0.5	0.3	0.0	3.1
Psychological & Economic	0.4	0.3	0.6	0.0
Violence & Psychological	0.4	0.3	0.0	1.5
Verbal & Psychological & Economic	0.4	0.6	0.0	0.0
Verbal & Psychological & Sexual	0.4	0.6	0.0	0.0
Physical & Verbal & Psychological & Sexual	0.4	0.3	0.6	0.0
Physical & Sexual	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.0
Verbal & Economic	0.2	0.0	0.6	0.0
Verbal & Sexual	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.0
Physical & Psychological & Economic	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.0
Physical & Verbal & Sexual	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.0
Physical & Verbal & Psychological & Economic	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.0

Although research on IPV has consistently reported the co-occurrence of verbal hostility during or before physical IPV (see Greenfeld et al., 1998; Schumacher, Feldbau-Kohn, Slep, & Heyman, 2001; Stith, Smith, Penn, Ward, & Tritt, 2004), a sizable proportion of IPV without verbal or other violence (i.e., *physical IPV only*) was reported in this study. Some possible explanations might be related to the decline of physical violence in rank and percentage throughout the level of time, as discussed previously. In a forum allowing for free-styled writing, posters' most common recollection might be of physical violence or some posters might not perceive verbal aggression as violence. In the level of time, the percentage of *physical IPV only* incidents ranked first at *the before the last* incidents, but third in the *last* happenings (see Table 6.3).

Non-physical IPV only vs. physical IPV included.

Considering posters' memories or perceptions, recoding IPV might improve the mutual exclusiveness of IPV incident types. Presently, the types of IPV are classified into two forms: (1) *non-physical IPV only*, excludes the physical forms of violence, but includes verbal, psychological, sexual (excluding marital rape), and economic violence, and (2) *physical IPV included* that involves at least one of physical offense, "Violence," and marital rape of sexual violence. With this classification, the top seven in Table 6.3 could be classified such that (1) the incidents containing *non-physical IPV only* (n = 273; 48.7% of the IPV incidents) with verbal IPV only, psychological IPV only, and verbal and psychological IPV; and (2) the incidents that were *physical IPV included* (n = 205; 36.5%) with physical IPV only, physical & verbal IPV, physical & psychological IPV, and physical & verbal & psychological IPV.

Table 6.4 illustrates the updated classification of all IPV incidents with *non-physical IPV only* and *physical IPV included*. As seen in Table 6.4, 561 incidents contained 1208 offenses; almost 60% of these offenses were classified into *non-physical IPV only*. At the incident level, 51.3% of the incidents had only non-physical offenses, but 48.7% of the incidents included at least one offense classified as *physical IPV included*. Finally, at the level of the episodes including the incidents, the majority were still non-physical (51.9%).

This dichotomization was more sensitive when *physical IPV* was included. For example, for an episode involving multiple IPV incidents, if an incident had one physical offense, and others did not, the episode became *physical IPV included*.

Focusing on the level of time for the incident level, *non-physical IPV only* occupied a majority in the *last* (51.3%), but not in the *first* (36.9%). *Physical IPV included* generated an opposite result, the least in the *last* (44.8%), but most in the *first* (63.1%).

Table 6.4. Non-Physical and Physical IPV Offense, Incident, and Episode

Types	Offense	Incident				Episode
		All	Last	Before the last	First	
	N=1208	N=561	N=326	N=170	N=65	N = 393
Non-physical IPV only	724 (59.9)	288 (51.3)	180 (55.2)	84 (49.4)	24 (36.9)	204 (51.9)
Physical IPV included	484 (40.1)	273 (48.7)	146 (44.8)	86 (50.6)	41 (63.1)	189 (48.1)
Physical IPV	414 (34.3)					
Violence	66 (5.5)					
Marital rape	4 (0.3)					

Note: Percentages in parenthesis

The current investigation, therefore, consistently indicates that the majority of IPV are in non-physical forms; the proportions of physical forms of IPV are found higher in the *first* than in the most recent or the *last* happenings, during the proportions of non-physical forms of IPV increase from the *first* to the *last* occurrences.

Joint occurrence of IPV.

Table 6.5 provides the joint occurrence of individual IPV types at the incident level. The second column in Table 6.5 indicates the number of incidents that include the IPV occurring. For example, 243 incidents had at least one physical offense. With this total of each IPV incidents, the intersections of the rows and columns illustrate joint occurrences. For example, the intersection of *physical IPV* in the row and *verbal IPV* is 85, indicating the number of incidents containing both physical and verbal IPV. Likewise, 77 incidents included a co-occurrence of at least both physical *and*

psychological IPV, and both verbal *and* psychological IPV (114 incidents) (see Table 6.5).

Table 6.5. Joint distribution of the type of IPV

				&		
Types	Incident (<i>N</i> =561)	Verbal IPV	Psychological IPV	Sexual IPV	Economic IPV	Violence
Physical IPV	243	85	77	4	2	32
Verbal IPV	294		114	6	4	13
Psychological IPV	233			4	6	12
Sexual IPV	12				0	0
Economic IPV	11					0
Violence	60					

Note: Number of incidents. Sum of incidents is not equal to total incident due to the occurrence of IPV was not mutually exclusive in the incidents.

Using this table, conditional probability, or the conditional probability of the cooccurrence of one event given another event occurring (Bachman & Paternoster, 2008) can be calculated for the IPV. The basic form of conditional probability can be written as:

$$P(B|A) = P(A \text{ and } B)/P(A)$$
 (1)

where P(B|A) denotes "conditional probability of event B given A" (Bachman & Paternoster, 2008, p. 217), and P(A and B) denotes the joint probability or the probability of co-occurrence of two events (A and B) at the same time.

As Table 6.5 displays, the first column shows the IPV, with the rest of the columns indicating the given situations. For this table, conditional probability is calculated as follows. With the equation 1, the conditional probability of *physical IPV* (as B in the equation 1) "given" *verbal IPV* (as A in the equation 1) occurrence can be noted as:

P(physical IPV|verbal IPV) = P(verbal IPV and physical IPV)/P(verbal IPV)

With the total of 561 incidents, the joint probability of verbal and physical IPV (85/561 = 0.15) is divided by the probability of verbal IPV occurring (294/561=0.52). Then, the result of 0.15/0.52 is 0.289 or 28.9 in percentage. This can be interpreted as: when verbal IPV has occurred in the episodes, the probability of physical IPV reported also is approximately 30%.

Table 6.6 provides the conditional probabilities of one IPV *given* another IPV occurring. To read a conditional probability, begin with IPV type in the first column and then find the given IPV in the headings from second to seventh columns.¹⁷

Table 6.6. Conditional Probability of Joint Occurrence of IPV

	Given					
Types	Physical IPV	Verbal IPV	Psychological IPV	Sexual IPV	Economic IPV	Violence
Physical IPV		28.9%	33.0%	33.3%	18.2%	53.3%
Verbal IPV	35.0%		48.9%	50.0%	36.4%	21.7%
Psychological IPV	31.7%	38.8%		33.3%	54.5%	20.0%
Sexual IPV	1.6%	2.0%	1.7%		0.0%	0.0%
Economic IPV	0.8%	1.4%	2.6%	0.0%		0.0%
Violence	13.2%	4.4%	5.2%	0.0%	0.0%	

The likelihood of each type of violence occurring based on the six given IPV variables is provided below, starting from the given condition of IPV in the right column of Table 6.6.

When given "violence" appeared. When the word *violence* was reported in an incident from online postings, ¹⁸ the probability of physical violence reported along with

¹⁷ For example, the conditional probability of physical IPV given psychological IPV occurring is the intersection of physical IPV in the first and fourth columns, psychological IPV heading, or 33.0%.

¹⁸ Violence was coded when, in the episode, (1) the sole word "violence" appeared and (2) types of offense were multiple with the sole word "violence," but ambiguous due to free-styled writing. However, violence was not coded when the episode clearly showed the type of offense although sole word "violence" was reported. For example, "There was violence yesterday. My husband hit and pushed me and

it was 53.3%. In other words, based on the perception of the Korean immigrant women who posted the episodes, the word "violence" (*pokryuk* or *pokhang* in Korean) seems to be closely related to the meaning of physical IPV. However, when physical IPV was related in a posting, the probability a poster also reported the word "violence" was 13.2% (at the bottom of the second column in Table 6.6). Verbal and Psychological IPV are shown in approximately one in five incidents that had contained references to "violence;" however, sexual and economic IPV were not related to references to violence.

When given economic IPV. The economic IPV column provides the conditional probabilities of the IPV types when the occurrence of economic IPV has been reported (see Table 6.6). Psychological IPV was most closely associated with economic IPV (54.5%). Table 6.5 reports that 11 incidents involved economic IPV. Thus, the conditional probability, 54.5%, indicates that nearly six incidents out of the 11 are likely to have psychological IPV. This can also be found in Table 6.3. There were four combinations including at least both economic and psychological IPV (see Table 6.3). The sum of the frequencies is six: psychological & economic IPV incidents (n = 2), verbal & psychological & economic IPV incidents (n = 2), physical, psychological & economic IPV incidents (n = 1).

When given sexual IPV. The conditional probability of verbal IPV occurring given the occurrence of sexual IPV is 50.0% (see Table 6.6). Physical and Psychological IPV appear in one in three incidents. Economic IPV and "violence" were not associated with the occurrence of sexual IPV.

yelled at me that I did not have any right to live in this house." In this incident episode, three types of IPV were coded as physical (hitting and pushing), verbal (yelling), and psychological (threatening to expel from house) IPV, but not as violence.

When given psychological IPV. Verbal IPV was more closely related to psychological IPV (see Table 6.6). Of the incidents involving psychological IPV, nearly half (48.9%) contained verbal IPV. Physical IPV followed in frequency with a 33.0% chance of being reported when psychological IPV appeared in an incident. Other IPV, such as sexual and economic IPV and "violence," showed low probabilities of co-occurrence when psychological IPV was reported, 1.7%, 2.6%, and 5.2%, respectively.

When given verbal IPV. Verbal IPV displayed relatively greater probabilities (from 21.7% to 50.0%) when other IPV were present (see Table 6.6). When verbal IPV was indicated, on the other hand, psychological IPV (38.8%) was more closely associated with the co-occurrence. Physical IPV (28.9%) was the second most frequent occurrence given the presence of verbal IPV in an incident, followed by "violence" (4.4%), sexual IPV (2.0%), and economic IPV (1.4%).

When given physical IPV. When physical IPV was reported, the conditional probabilities of it occurring with verbal and the psychological IPV were 35.0% and 31.7%, respectively (see Table 6.6), followed by "violence" (13.2%) and sexual and economic IPV were 1.6% and 0.8%, respectively.

In sum, the conditional probability of one IPV occurrence given that another IPV was present provides the magnitude of the association between the types of IPV. These findings suggest that the physical form of violence was more likely to represent the meaning of violence for Korean immigrant women who posted their IPV experiences. In addition, psychological IPV coupled with economic IPV was the most frequent co-occurring condition. Furthermore, verbal IPV was most frequent in the co-occurrence of

IPV, being the highest in the other three types of given IPV, sexual, psychological, and physical violence.

What are Distal and Proximal Precipitators to the IPV?

Of the total IPV incidents (N=561), 435 (75.8%) described at least one precursor of IPV. The number of incidents that included MFIPV and FMIPV was 370 (66.0% of the IPV incidents) and 151 (26.9%), respectively. Table 6.7 shows the percentages and average intervals of precursors for MF-and FMIPV. From the IPV incidents, 83 precursors (N = 1552) were found, of which 73 were precursors in MFIPV (N = 1105; 75.2%) and 61 precursors in FMIPV (N = 447; 28.8%).

As Table 6.7 shows, the most frequent precursor was *argument*. In both MFIPV and FMIPV: 132 arguments occurred, 11.9% of all precursors appeared in MFIPV incidents, and 54 arguments, 12.1% of all precursors reported in FMIPV incidents. The next five most frequent precursors in rank order were *physical violence*, *criticizing*, *verbal violence*, *trifles*, and *demanding/requesting* for MFIPV and *physical violence*, *verbal violence*, *psychological violence*, *losing self-control*, and *demanding/requesting* for FMIPV.

Table 6.8 illustrates the distributions of all possible precursors for MF-and FMIPV throughout five levels of temporality in sequences. *Trigger* represents immediate acts or conditions before the IPV. *Reasons 1* through 3 indicate contiguous antecedents listed as possible causes or mediators for triggers or other situations. Finally, *Reason 4* or *Distance* is situated remotely from IPV. When these temporalities are read in Table 6.8, not all posterior precursors are contingent on the prior situations; however, all of the prior ones are connected to the later one. For example, not all triggers are dependent on the

conditions of Reason 1, which means some posters noted very little information about situations, but only immediate contexts of IPV. However, all the precursors of Reason 1 are connected to the triggers, because the might-cause chain analysis (MCA) for precursors starts from the IPV offenses that are extended to the prior conditions through Trigger.

The temporal distributions of the precursors can be summarized into average intervals as shown in Table 6.7. The interval of each precursor, indicating the distance from Trigger, was calculated by assigning numbers to each temporality from 0 (Trigger) to 4 (Distance); then, the average numbers of each precursor were computed. Thus, the most frequent precursor, for example, *argument*, is shown with an average interval 0.4, indicating its appearance closer to Trigger in IPV events.

Table 6.7. Percentage and Distance of Precursors for MFIPV and FMIPV

Table 6.7. Fercentage and Distance of Frecursors		N = 1105)	FMIPV (N = 447)		
Precursors	%	Interval	%	Interval	
Argument	11.9	0.4	12.1	0.4	
Physical violence	7.0	0.7	11.2	0.6	
Criticizing	6.9	0.5	3.6	0.6	
Verbal violence	6.7	0.8	8.7	0.4	
Trifles	6.1	0.6	2.9	1.1	
Demanding/requesting	5.9	1.1	4.7	1.0	
Psychological violence	4.6	1.2	5.6	0.6	
Refusing	4.3	0.6	2.2	0.9	
In-laws	3.3	1.6	3.6	1.9	
Domestic work	2.4	1.8	2.5	2.5	
Retorting	2.2	0.2	0.4	1.0	
Leaving	2.1	0.4	1.3	0.3	
Divorce claim	1.9	0.7	0.0	N/A	
Social/recreational activities	1.7	1.3	0.9	1.5	
Children	1.7	1.7	2.2	1.9	
Losing self-control	1.6	0.1	5.1	0.1	
Avoiding	1.6	0.6	1.3	0.8	
Stress	1.6	1.3	3.1	0.9	
Pregnancy	1.6	2.0	0.9	1.3	
Business/job	1.6	2.5	1.6	2.4	
Alcohol	1.5	0.8	2.5	0.9	
Restraining	1.4	0.1	0.9	0.0	
Having affairs	1.4	1.5	1.3	0.0	
Neglecting	1.2	1.6	2.0	1.7	
Financial problem	1.2	2.0	1.6	1.3	
Behaving angrily in response to	1.0	0.4	0.2	0.0	
Reporting to the police	0.9	0.1	0.0	N/A	
Expressing opinion	0.9	0.6	0.4	2.0	
Sexual & economic violence	0.9	1.8	0.7	0.3	
Health problem	0.8	1.3	0.9	1.3	
Parents	0.8	1.6	0.9	1.0	
Violence	0.7	0.4	0.9	1.3	
Mistreating/disciplining child	0.7	0.8	1.1	0.2	
Late return home	0.7	2.3	1.1	0.4	
Crying	0.5	0.0	0.2	3.0	
Provoking words	0.5	0.3	0.7	0.7	
Lie	0.5	0.7	0.4	0.5	
Telephoning	0.5	1.0	0.0	N/A	
Bring up bad history in marriage	0.5	0.2	0.4	0.0	
Ex-wife	0.5	2.2	0.0	N/A	
Shopping	0.5	2.4	0.9	2.8	
Immigration/visa status	0.5	2.6	0.7	2.7	
Bossing around	0.4	1.5	0.0	N/A	
Feeling of being alone	0.4	1.8	0.2	2.0	
Mistake/fault	0.3	0.3	1.1	1.0	
Playing video/online game	0.3	1.0	0.0	N/A	
Scared/injured child	0.3	1.3	0.2	0.0	
Having coddled	0.3	2.7	0.4	1.0	
Not on good terms with husband for a while	0.3	2.7	0.2	3.0	
Warning	0.2	0.5	0.0	N/A	
Gambling	0.2	1.0	0.7	0.3	
Advice from others	0.2	1.0	0.0	N/A	
	v. =			- 1/ - 1	

Table 6.7. (continued)

Table 6.7. (continued)	MFIPV (<i>N</i> = 1105)			FMIPV (N = 447)	
Precursors	%	Interval	%	Interval	
Seeking help	0.2	1.0	0.0	N/A	
Conflict with others	0.2	1.5	0.2	2.0	
Apologizing	0.2	2.0	0.7	0.7	
Without driver's license	0.2	2.5	0.0	N/A	
Few acquaintance	0.2	4.0	0.0	N/A	
Screaming	0.1	0.0	0.0	N/A	
Sounding out	0.1	0.0	0.0	N/A	
Taking	0.1	0.0	0.0	N/A	
Move	0.1	1.0	0.2	1.0	
Separation	0.1	1.0	0.4	1.5	
Smoking	0.1	1.0	0.2	2.0	
Document	0.1	1.0	0.0	N/A	
Telling on	0.1	2.0	0.2	2.0	
Driving	0.1	2.0	0.0	N/A	
Lack of social/recreational activities	0.1	2.0	0.0	N/A	
Lower relative status	0.1	2.0	0.0	N/A	
Cultural differences	0.1	2.0	0.0	N/A	
Menstruation	0.1	2.0	0.0	N/A	
Religious faith	0.1	2.0	0.0	N/A	
Nowhere to go	0.1	3.0	0.0	N/A	
Comforting	0.1	4.0	0.2	2.0	
Consenting to be struck	0.0	N/A	0.4	0.0	
Denying	0.0	N/A	0.2	0.0	
Meeting with a woman/a man	0.0	N/A	0.2	0.0	
Feeling of social isolation	0.0	N/A	0.4	1.0	
Begging	0.0	N/A	0.2	1.0	
Depression	0.0	N/A	0.2	1.0	
Routine	0.0	N/A	0.2	2.0	
Watching porn	0.0	N/A	0.2	2.0	
Study	0.0	N/A	0.4	3.0	
Newlywed	0.0	N/A	0.2	4.0	

Note: In Interval, 0 = Trigger, 1 = Reason 1 (r1), 2 = Reason 2 (r2), 3 = Reason 3 (r3), and 4 = Distance (r4 or farther).

For MFIPV in Table 6.8, 1105 precursors are distributed into Trigger (N = 490; 44.3%), Reason 1 (N = 348; 31.5%), Reason 2 (N = 165; 14.9%), Reason 3 (N = 69; 6.2%), and Distance 19 (N = 33; 3.0%). The first three ranked precursors, excluding the forms of violence, of each temporality in Table 6.8 are: (1) *argument*, *criticizing* by male and female partners, and *trifles* for Trigger; (2) *argument*, *demanding/requesting* by male and female partners, and *criticizing* by male and female partners for Reason 1; (3) *demanding/requesting* by female and male partners, *in-laws*, and both *children* and

¹⁹ There were 28, 4, and 1 precursors in Reason 4, 5, and 6, respectively, and they were added to Distance.

pregnancy for Reason 2; (4) business/job, in-laws, and demanding/requesting by female and male partners for Reason 3; and (5) domestic work, late return home of male partners, and both financial problem and trifles for Distance (see Byun, 2012 for examples indicating how the precursors were connected and reached to IPV).

In Table 6.8, for FMIPV, 447 precursors are distributed into Trigger (N = 205; 45.9%), Reason 1 (N = 136; 30.4%), Reason 2 (N = 68; 15.2%), Reason 3 (N = 31; 6.9%), and Distance²⁰ (N = 7; 1.6%). As the MFIPV results display, the top three precursors, excluding forms of violence, of each temporality for FMIPV are: (1) *argument*, *losing self-control* by female partner, and *demanding/requesting* by male and female partners for Trigger; (2) *criticizing* by male and female partners, *trifles*, and *alcohol* by male and female partners for Reason 1; (3) *argument*, *demanding/requesting* by female and male partners, and *domestic work* for Reason 2; (4) *in-laws*, *business/job*, and *domestic work* for Reason 3; and *domestic work*, *children*, and *immigration/visa status* for Distance.

 20 There were 6 and 1 precursors for Reason 4 and 5, respectively, and they were added to Distance.

Table 6.8. Temporal Distribution of Precursors of MFIPV and FMIPV

	Distribution of Precurso	ors of MFIPV and FMII	PV	
MFIPV				
Trigger $(n = 490)$	Reason 1 ($n = 348$)	Reason 2 ($n = 165$)	Reason 3 $(n = 69)$	Distance $(n = 33)$
Argument (19.6)	Physical IPV.m (10.1)	Demanding/requesting [f (4.2), m (4.2)]	Business/job (11.6)	Domestic work (9.1)
Criticizing [m (5.3), f (3.9)]	Verbal IPV [m (8.6), f (0.3)]	In-laws (6.1)	In-laws (8.7)	Late return home.m (9.1)
Trifles (8.6)	Argument (8.0)	Children (5.5)	Psychological IPV.m (8.7)	Psychological IPV m (6.1), f (3.0)]
Physical IPV [f (6.5), m (0.2)]	Demanding/requesting [m (4.6), f (2.6)]	Pregnancy (5.5)	Demanding/requestin $g[f(4.3), m(2.9)]$	Financial problem (6.1)
Verbal IPV [f (6.1), m (0.2)]	Criticizing [m (6.3), f (0.6)]	Business/job (4.8)	Domestic work (5.8)	Trifles (6.1)
Refusing [f (4.5), m (1.0)]	Psychological IPV.m (6.0)	Verbal IPV [f (3.0), m (1.2)]	Immigration/visa status (5.8)	Few acquaintance.f (6.1)
Demanding/requesting $[f(2.9), m(1.2)]$	In-laws (5.2)	Criticizing [m (2.4), f (1.2)]	Argument (4.3)	Verbal IPV.m (6.1)
Retorting.f (4.1) Losing self-control.m (3.5)	Trifles (4.9) Domestic work (3.7)	Domestic work (3.6) Having affairs [m (3.0), f (0.6)]	Stress.f (4.3) Verbal IPV.m (4.3)	Pregnancy (6.1) Shopping (6.1)
Leaving.f (3.3)	Refusing [f (1.7), m (1.7)]	Physical IPV [f (1.8), m (1.8)]	Children (2.9)	Social/recreation al activities.m (3)
Psychological IPV [f (2.7), m (0.6)]	Stress [f (2.3), m (0.6)]	Refusing [m (1.8), f (1.8)]	Having affairs.m (2.9)	Neglecting.m (3)
Restraining.f (2.9)	Neglecting.m (2)	Trifles (3.6)	Not on good terms with husband for a while (2.9)	Children (3)
Avoiding.f (2.4)	Social/recreational activities [f (0.9), m (0.9)]	Argument (3)	Physical IPV.m (2.9)	Business/job (3)
Divorce claim [f (1.2), m (1.2)]	Alcohol.m (1.7)	Financial problem (3)	Pregnancy (2.9)	Demanding/requ esting.f(3)
Behaving angrily in response to f (1.8)	Having affairs [f (0.9) , m (0.9)]	Neglecting [m (2.4), f (0.6)]	Refusing $[f(1.4), m(1.4)]$	Parents (3)
Reporting to the police.f (1.8)	Sexual & economic IPV.m (1.7)	Psychological IPV [m (1.8), f (1.2)]	Sexual & economic IPV.m (2.9)	Comforting.m (3)
Alcohol.m (1.4)	Children (1.4)	Social/recreational activities [f (1.2), m (1.2)] (3)	Apologizing.m (1.4)	Having coddled.f (3)
Crying.f (1.2)	Financial problem (1.4)	Alcohol.m (2.4)	Bossing around.m (1.4)	Ex-wife (3)
Expressing opinion.f (1.2)	Leaving [m (1.1), f (0.3)	Avoiding [f (1.8) , m (0.6)]	Criticizing.m (1.4)	Physical IPV.m (3)
Violence (1.2)	Divorce claim [m (3)] (1.1)	Divorce claim [m (1.2), f (0.6)] (2.4)	Divorce claim (1.4)	Without driver's license.f (3)
Social/recreational activities [f (0.6), m (0.2)] (1)	Late return home.m (1.1)	Health problem [f (1.2), m (0.6)]	Ex-wife (1.4)	Sexual & economic IPV.m (3)
Bring up bad history in marriage (0.8)	Lie.m (1.1)	Behaving angrily in response to.f (1.2)	Expressing opinion.f (1.4)	` '

Table 6.8. (continued)

Frigger $(n = 490)$	Reason 1 ($n = 348$)	Reason 2 ($n = 165$)	Reason 3 $(n = 69)$	Distance
Provoking words.f	Mistreating/disciplinin	Feeling of being	Feeling of being	(n = 33)
0.8)	g child.m (1.1)	alone.f (1.2)	alone. $f(1.4)$	
Mistreating/disciplinin g child.f (0.6)	Pregnancy (1.1)	Leaving.f (1.2)	Financial problem (1.4)	
stress [f (0.4), m (0.2)]	Retorting.f (1.1)	Parents (1.2)	Having coddled.f (1.4)	
Children (0.4)	Bossing around [m (0.6) , f (0.3)]	Scared/injured child (1.2)	Health problem.m (1.4)	
Having affairs.m (0.4)	Expressing opinion [f (0.6), m (0.3)]	Shopping (1.2)	Nowhere to go.f (1.4)	
Health problem.f (0.4)	Health problem.f (0.9)	Stress [f (0.6) , m (0.6)]	Parents (1.4)	
n-laws (0.4)	Parents (0.9)	Telephoning [f (0.6), m (0.6)]	Social/recreational activities.m (1.4)	
ie [f (0.2), m (0.2)]	Advice from others.f (0.6)	Conflict with others.m (0.6)	detivities.m (1.1)	
Mistake/fault.f (0.4)	Avoiding.m (0.6)	Cultural differences (0.6)		
Parents (0.4)	Ex-wife (0.6)	Driving.f (0.6)		
Telephoning.f (0.4)	Gambling.m (0.6)	Ex-wife (0.6)		
Domestic work (0.2)	Provoking words.m (0.6)	Lack of social/recreational activities (0.6)		
Seeling of being alone.m (0.2)	Restraining.m (0.6)	Late return home.f (0.6)		
Playing video/online game.m (0.2)	Telephoning.m (0.6)	Lower relative status.f (0.6)		
regnancy (0.2)	Apologizing.m (0.3)	Menstruation (0.6)		
scared/injured child (0.2)	Bring up bad history in marriage (0.3)	Mistreating/disciplinin g child.m (0.6)		
screaming.f (0.2)	Business/job (0.3)	Not on good terms with husband for a while (0.6)		
seeking help.f (0.2)	Conflict with others.m (0.3)	Playing video/online game.m (0.6)		
Shopping (0.2)	Document (0.3)	Religious faith (0.6)		
ounding out.f (0.2)	Having coddled.f (0.3)	Seeking help.f (0.6)		
Caking.m (0.2)	Immigration/visa status (0.3)	Sexual & economic IPV.m (0.6)		
Varning.f (0.2)	Losing self-control.f (0.3)	Telling on.m (0.6)		
	Mistake/fault.m (0.3)	Violence (0.6)		
	Move (0.3)			
	Playing video/online			
	game.m (0.3)			
	Reporting to the police.f (0.3)			
	Separation (0.3)			
	Smoking.m (0.3)			
	Violence (0.3)			
	Warning.m (0.3)			
	Without driver's			
	license.f (0.3)			

Table 6.8. (continued)

Table 6.8. (continued	1)			
FMIPV				
Trigger $(n = 205)$	Reason 1 ($n = 136$)	Reason 2 $(n = 68)$	Reason 3 $(n = 31)$	Distance $(n = 7)$
Argument (19)	Physical IPV [f (5.1), m (4.4)]	Argument (8.8)	In-laws (19.4)	Domestic work (28.6)
Physical IPV.m (14.6)	Verbal IPV [f (8.1), m (1.5)]	Demanding/requesting $[f(5.9), m(2.9)]$	Business/job (12.9)	Children (14.3)
Verbal IPV.m (11.7)	Criticizing [m (3.7), f (2.9)]	Physical IPV.m (7.4)	Domestic work (9.7)	Immigration/vis a status (14.3)
Losing self-control.f (10.2)	Trifles (6.6)	Domestic work (5.9)	Children (6.5)	Newlywed (14.3)
Psychological IPV.m (6.8)	Alcohol [m (5.1), f (0.7)] (5.9)	Psychological IPV [m (4.4), f (1.5)]	Demanding/requestin g.f (6.5)	Physical IPV.f (14.3)
Demanding/requesting $[m (3.4), f (1.0)]$	Argument (5.9)	Children (4.4)	Neglecting.m (6.5)	Shopping (14.3)
Criticizing [m (2.9), f (0.5)]	Psychological IPV [m (3.7), f (1.5)]	In-laws (4.4)	Study [f (3.2), m (3.2)] (6.5)	
Stress.f (3.4)	In-laws (4.4)	Neglecting [m (2.9), f (1.5)]	Argument (3.2)	
Having affairs.m (2.9)	Financial problem (3.7)	Stress.f (4.4)	Crying.m (3.2)	
Leaving [m (1.5), f (0.5)]	Refusing [m (2.2), f (1.5)]	Business/job (2.9)	Expressing opinion.f (3.2)	
Mistreating/disciplinin g child.m (2.0)	Demanding/requesting .f (2.9)	Financial problem (2.9)	Not on good terms with husband for a while (3.2)	
Restraining [$f(1.5)$, m (0.5)]	Avoiding.m (2.2)	Health problem.f (2.9)	Physical IPV.m (3.2)	
Late return home.m (1.5)	Children (2.2)	Immigration/visa status (2.9)	Pregnancy (3.2)	
Refusing.m (1.5)	Neglecting.m (2.2)	Mistake/fault.m (2.9)	Shopping (3.2)	
Alcohol [f (0.5) , m (0.5)]	Stress.f (2.2)	Refusing.m (2.9)	Stress.f (3.2)	
Avoiding.m (1.0)	Apologizing.m (1.5)	Shopping (2.9)	Trifles (3.2)	
Bring up bad history in marriage (1.0)	Domestic work (1.5)	Social/recreational activities [m (1.5)] (2.9)	Violence (3.2)	
Consenting to be struck.m (1.0)	Feeling of social isolation [m (0.7), f (0.7)]	Verbal IPV.m (2.9)		
Gambling.m (1.0)	Having coddled.m (1.5)	Alcohol.m (1.5)		
Mistake/fault.m (1.0)	Late return home.m(1.5)	Avoiding.m (1.5)		
Sexual & economic IPV.m (1.0)	Parents (1.5)	Comforting.f (1.5)		
Trifles (1.)	Pregnancy (1.5)	Parents (1.5)		
Apologizing.m (0.5)	Provoking words.m (1.5)	Feeling of being alone.f (1.5)		
Behaving angrily in response to.m (0.5)	Retorting.f (1.5)	Losing self-control.f (1.5)		
Children (0.5)	Social/recreational activities [m (0.7)] (1.5)	Conflict with others.m (1.5)		
Denying.m (0.5)	Violence (1.5)	Routine.f (1.5)		
Health problem. $f(0.5)$	Begging.m (0.7)	Separation (1.5)		
In-laws (0.5)	Business/job (0.7)	Smoking.m (1.5)		
Lie.m (0.5)	Depression.f (0.7)	Telling on.m (1.5)		
Meeting with a woman/a man.m (0.5)	Expressing opinion.f (0.7)	Trifles (1.5)		

Table 6.8. (continued)

FMIPV				·
Trigger $(n = 205)$	Reason 1 ($n = 136$)	Reason 2 $(n = 68)$	Reason 3 $(n = 31)$	Distance $(n = 7)$
Neglecting.m (0.5)	Gambling.m (0.7)	Watching porn.m (1.5)		
Parents (0.5)	Health problem.f (0.7)			
Pregnancy (0.5)	Leaving.[f (0.7) , $m(0.7)$]			
Provoking words.m (0.5)	Lie.m (0.7)			
Scared/injured child (0.5)	Losing self-control.f (0.7)			
Violence (0.5)	Mistake/fault.m (0.7)			
	Mistreating/disciplinin			
	g child.m (0.7)			
	Move (0.7)			
	Separation (0.7)			
	Sexual & economic			
	IPV.m (0.7)			

Note: Number of percentages in parentheses. Notations of precursors in the end: m (male partners did); f (female partners did).

Characteristics of triggers.

As Table 6.8 shows, various triggers were found from MCA. This table can be interpreted as showing IPV is triggered by immediate situations contingent on prior conditions. Some debate is possible on the counterfactual use of the trigger, for example, if an argument had been avoided or not occurred, (1) IPV would not happen or (2) other would have triggered the IPV. Regardless of the dispute, however, triggers are critical to the occurrence of IPV because they are the most adjacent to the violence. Thus, this section discusses triggers that MCA found.

Table 6.8 provides 42 triggers (N = 490) for MFIPV and 36 triggers (N = 205) for FMIPV. Not all triggers were contingent on Reason 1, but all were connected to IPV, as noted in an earlier section. Based on shared characteristics, the preliminary study suggested seven different triggers (Byun, 2012). The present study provides the characteristics of triggers with the adaptation of the types from the preliminary study (e.g., adding one more type, *responsive/continued IPV*, but excluding *others*).

Verbal hostility. The present study found various forms of verbal aggression: argument, criticism, retort, provoking words, ²¹ warning and verbal violence. Verbal hostility accounted for 40.2% of the frequency of all triggers for MFIPV and 34.6% of the frequency of all triggers for FMIPV. Argument, the most frequent trigger, represents a verbal dispute. Criticism and warning infer unfavorable words, based on right and wrong, in order to blame or persuade one's partner. Retort and provoking words represent a hostile verbal response to a partner's action or words. Finally, verbal violence, as shown in Table 6.2, includes name-calling/insulting and yelling.

Demand/resist/withdrawal. These findings show a pattern of interaction similar to those found in studies on IPV, identified in the literature as demand/withdraw interaction (Babcock, Waltz, Jacobson, & Gottman, 1993; Berns, Jacobson, & Gottman, 1999; Christensen & Heavey, 1990; Christensen & Shenk, 1991; Holtzworth-Munroe, Smutzler, & Stuart, 1998). As discussed in Chapter 2, demanding behaviors involve requests, criticism and complaints while withdrawal behaviors include avoidance, defensiveness and passive inaction (Christensen & Heavey, 1990). Within this classification, the present study found that triggers were involved in the demand/withdraw interaction: demanding behaviors included criticizing, demanding/requesting, restraining, and warning; withdrawing behaviors included avoiding, crying, and expressing opinion.

Furthermore, it was found that *refusing* and *retorting* were more likely to be contingent on *demanding/requesting* and *criticizing* of Reason 1, respectively (see Table

²¹ Words were coded into *provoking words* when an actor stirred up the IPV (e.g., "crush that, thinking it as your mom."), but into *verbal violence* when an actor insulted (see Byun, 2012 for examples)

6.10 in next section). Thus, *refusing* and the *retorting* of the trigger were classified into the resist.

Demand/resist/withdrawal accounted for 30.8% and 12.2% of the frequency of all triggers for MFIPV and FMIPV, respectively. Therefore, the two types of trigger-verbal hostility and demand/resist/withdrawal accounted for a large proportion, covering 57.6% (excluding the overlap such as criticizing) for MFIPV and 43.4% (excluding the overlap) for FMIPV.

Reciprocity of violence. Table 6.8 illustrates that physical, verbal, psychological, sexual, and economic IPV, as well as violence, also appeared as triggers, which indicate that IPV continued. Three types of IPV appeared as triggers for MFIPV (17.6% of triggers), and with respect to the actors of the violence, 15.3% were committed by female partners; while all types of violence were found in triggers for FMIPV (34.6% of triggers), and with respect to the actors of the violence, almost all were committed by male partners (34.1%, excluding violence).

Relationship problems. These findings indicate that problems with a partner in a relationship were immediate conditions prior to the occurrence of IPV. Leaving, divorce claim, having affairs, feeling of being alone were characterized as relationship problems, and having affairs, leaving, and husband's meeting with a woman were found in FMIPV. Relationship problems accounted for 6.3% of all triggers for MFIPV and 5.4% of all triggers for FMIPV.

Perceived culpability. Some IPV occurred because victims' prior acts were perceived as culpable. This perception was found especially when posters described their motivation as perpetrators; thus, most of the perceived culpability was found in FMIPV.

When the culpable situations triggered the IPV, it was reported that posters were motivated to punish or prevent their partners from further wrongdoing. This included partners' having affairs, mistreating/disciplining child, late return home, alcohol, consent to be struck (due to his previous wrongdoing), gambling, denying (his previous IPV), lie, meeting with a woman, and scared/injured child in FMIPV, which accounted for 12.2% of Triggers. It was also found in MFIPV, based on the triggers of perceived culpability of FMIPV, when posters indicated that their partners committed violence as a response to posters' mistreating/disciplining child, lie, mistake/fault, and scared/injured child, which accounted for 1.6%.

Internal stimuli. Another motivation posters described involved internal stimuli. This internal "spark" was reported as occurring just prior to IPV when posters indicated perpetrators' *loss of self-control*, *stress*, *bring up bad history in marriage*²², and a*lcohol* for both MFIPV and FMIPV. It was also more frequent in FMIPV (15.6% of triggers for FMIPV and (6.3% of triggers for MFIPV).

Responsive/continued IPV. In terms of the actors, there were precursors triggering (1) responsive and (2) continued IPV. Triggers as responsive IPV occurred countering partners' actions, while continued IPV was violence as an extension of perpetrators' triggers or continued violence. Simply, responsive IPV had different actors in the violence and trigger (e.g., MFIPV by female partners' triggers); and continued IPV had the same actors in the violence and trigger (e.g., MFIPV by male partners' triggers).

As Table 6.8 shows, there were triggers whose actors could be specified: triggers committed by both male and female partners, male partner only, and female partner only. With regard to the percentages of triggers by actors, the majority of triggers were

²² This code is equivalent to "bad memories" in the preliminary study.

indicated as *responsive IPV* for both IPV: MFIPV triggered by male (16.2), female (51.3%) partners, FMIPV triggered by male (58.3%), and female (18.6%) partners.

Table 6.8 considers the first 10 triggers. Responsive MFIPV was associated with female partners' criticizing physical IPV, verbal IPV, refusing, demanding/requesting, retorting, leaving, psychological IPV, restraining, and avoiding. Responsive FMIPV was also found with male partners' physical IPV, verbal IPV, psychological IPV, demanding/requesting, criticizing, having affairs, leaving, mistreating/disciplining child, and late return home.

Continued MFIPV was associated with male partners' criticizing physical IPV, verbal IPV, refusing, demanding/requesting, losing self-control, psychological IPV, divorce claim, alcohol, and social/recreational activities, while continued FMIPV was found with nine triggers – female partners' losing self-control, demanding/requesting, criticizing, stress, leaving, restraining, alcohol, health problem, and pregnancy.

Interestingly, these findings indicate that the trigger as *continued FMIPV* did not contain violence, while MFIPV did (2.3%). Limited to the IPV as trigger, thus, it indicates that all female-to-male IPV were responsive. Furthermore, as already noted, *reciprocity of violence*, the percentage of violence as responsive IPV in trigger, was twice as frequent (34.1%) for FMIPV when compared to MFIPV (15.3%). Therefore, these results suggest that IPV continued by responding to or extending violence and that FMIPV was more likely to be responsive to their partners' violence.

Characteristics of distal context with average intervals.

Precursors were not distributed in regular intervals from IPV, but order ranked in sequence (i.e., posterior and prior conditions). With average intervals of 2.0 or more

(represented in Table 6.7), there were 21 distal precursors for MFIPV, including pregnancy, financial problem, apologizing, telling on, driving, lack of social/recreational activities, lower relative status, cultural differences, menstruation, and religious faith, which were interval 2.0; ex-wife, late return home, shopping, business/job, without driver's license, immigration/visa status, having coddled, not on good terms with husband for a while, and no place to go, which were interval 3.0 or less; and few acquaintance, and comforting, which were interval 4.0. For FMIPV, 16 distal precursors were found including expressing opinion, smoking, conflict with others, feeling of being alone, telling on, comforting, routine, and watching porn, which were interval 2.0; business/job, domestic work, immigration/visa status, shopping, crying, not on good terms with husband for a while, and study, which were on an interval of 3.0 or less; and newlywed (interval 4.0).

These distal situations were classified into five types: daily routine, living conditions, culture/perspective, disadvantageous situations, and some actions. Daily routine included *shopping, smoking, routine, watching porn, domestic work*, and *study*. Living conditions had *pregnancy, financial problem, lack of social/recreational activities, lower relative status, menstruation, ex-wife, business/job, not on good terms with husband for a while, conflict with others, feeling of being alone, and newlywed. Culture/perspective involved <i>cultural differences* and *religious faith*. Disadvantageous situations were *having no driver's license, immigrant/visa status, no place to go,* and *few acquaintances*. Finally, some actions were *apologizing, telling on, driving, late return home, having coddled, comforting, expressing opinion,* and *crying*.

Twenty-four most frequent precursors.

The temporal distributions of precursors (shown in Table 6.8) can be summarized by the measure of intervals from the trigger. Table 6.9 provides the frequency and the average distance of 24 most frequent precursors for MF-and FMIPV. These 24 precursors were selected from Table 6.7 by searching for the 20 most frequently represented precursors for each MF-and FMIPV. From the selection, four precursors (non-overlapped): alcohol, neglecting, financial problem, and having affairs were not in the top 20 of MFIPV, and retorting, divorce claims, social/recreational activities, pregnancy were not in the top 20 of FMIPV. Including these non-overlapped conditions, the 24 precursors represent 82.1% and 81.4% of the total number of precursors for MFIPV and FMIPV, respectively (see Table 6.9). These 24 precursors were classified into three levels, based on shared characteristics, from three internal acts (losing selfcontrol, stress and alcohol), through 12 words and actions (argument, physical violence, criticizing, verbal violence, demanding/requesting, psychological violence, refusing, retorting, leaving, divorce claim, avoiding and neglecting) to nine circumstances including daily routine, living conditions and cultural factors (trifles, in-laws, domestic work, children, social/recreational activities, business/job, pregnancy, having affairs and financial problem).

Ordered by the intervals from trigger for MFIPV, Table 6.9 shows that these precursors included *losing self-control, retorting, argument, leaving, criticizing, trifles, avoiding, refusing, divorce claim, physical violence, alcohol, verbal violence, demanding/requesting, psychological violence, social/recreational activities, stress,*

having affairs, in-laws, neglecting, children, domestic work, pregnancy, financial problem, and business/job.

Figure 6.1 also illustrates the associations between distance and frequency of the 24 precursors for MF-and FMIPV, presented in Table 6.9. Values on the horizontal axis indicate the distance (interval values), and vertical axis shows the frequency in percentage. Similarities and discrepancies of the precursors between MFIPV and FMIPV are found on Figure 6.1. For example, the positions of *argument* are similar (the upper left on the charts of both MF-and FMIPV), representing a proximity to trigger with high frequency; the positions of *losing self-control* are similar on the horizon axis but different on the vertical axis (lower left for MFIPV, meaning close to Trigger but not much in frequency and middle left for FMIPV, meaning close to Trigger and more frequent than MFIPV); and the positions of *retorting* are different on horizon axis, but similar on the vertical axis (lower left for MFIPV, indicating close to Trigger with low frequency and the lower middle for FMIPV, indicating not very close to Trigger as MFIPV, but with similarly low frequency).

Proximal, middle, and distal groups of the 24 precursors. Using interval values (see Table 6.9 and Figure 6.1), the 24 precursors are clustered into three groups: proximal, middle, and distal. The precursors with interval values are placed into the proximal group from 0.0 to 0.9; the middle group from 1.0 to 1.9; and the distal group from 2.0 or greater. With this classification, the proximal group includes 12 precursors each for MFIPV (losing self-control, retorting, argument, leaving, criticizing, trifles, avoiding, refusing, divorce claim, physical violence, alcohol, and verbal violence) and FMIPV

(having affairs, losing self-control, leaving, argument, verbal violence, criticizing, physical violence, psychological violence, avoiding, stress, refusing, and alcohol).

In the middle group, nine precursors are included for MFIPV (demanding/requesting, psychological violence, social/recreational activities, stress, having affairs, in-laws, neglecting, children, and domestic work) and for FMIPV (retorting, demanding/requesting, trifles, pregnancy, financial problem, social/recreational activities, neglecting, in-laws, and children). Finally, the distal group contains three precursors for MFIPV (pregnancy, financial problem, and business/job) and two for FMIPV (business/job and domestic work).

With respect to the classification of the 24 precursors, the distributions showed some discernable patterns: *internal acts*, *words and actions* were mostly found in proximal and middle groups while *circumstances* were most frequently found in middle and distal groups.

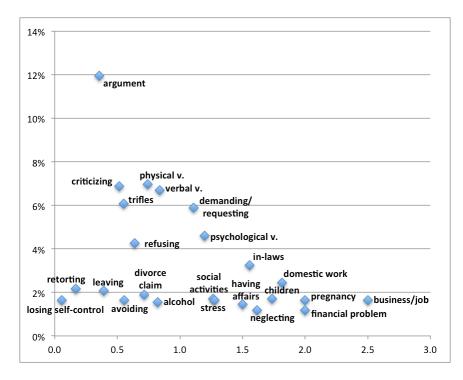
Table 6.9. Frequency and Average Distance of 24 Most Frequent Precursors for MFIPV and FMIPV

Table 6.9. Frequency and Average Di	MFIPV	requent Prect	FMIPV and	u riviir v
Precursors	# (%)	Interval	# (%)	Interval
Losing self-control	18 (0.1)	0.1	23 (5.1)	0.1
Losing self-control.f	1 (0.1)	1.0	23 (5.1)	0.1
losing self-control.m	17 (1.5)	0.1	0 (0.0)	N/A
Retorting.f	24 (2.2)	0.2	2 (0.4)	1.0
Argument	132 (11.9)	0.4	54 (12.1)	0.4
Leaving	23 (2.1)	0.4	6 (1.3)	0.3
leaving.f	19 (1.7)	0.3	2 (0.4)	0.5
leaving.m	4 (0.4)	1.0	4 (0.9)	0.3
Criticizing	76 (6.9)	0.5	16 (3.6)	0.6
criticizing.m	53 (4.8)	0.6	11 (2.5)	0.5
criticizing.f	23 (2.1)	0.3	5 (1.1)	0.8
Trifles	67 (6.1)	0.6	13 (2.9)	1.1
Avoiding	18 (1.6)	0.6	6 (1.3)	0.8
avoiding.f	15 (1.4)	0.4	0 (0.0)	N/A
avoiding.m	3 (0.3)	1.3	6 (1.3)	0.8
Refusing	47 (4.3)	0.6	10 (2.2)	0.9
refusing.f	32 (2.9)	0.5	2 (0.4)	1.0
refusing.m	15 (1.4)	1.0	8 (1.8)	0.9
Divorce claim	21 (1.9)	0.7	0 (0.0)	N/A
divorce claim.m	11 (1.0)	0.6	0 (0.0)	N/A
divorce claim.f	7 (0.6)	0.3	0 (0.0)	N/A
Physical violence	77 (7.0)	0.7	50 (11.2)	0.6
physical violence.m	42 (3.8)	1.2	42 (9.4)	0.5
physical violence.f	35 (3.2)	0.2	8 (1.8)	1.4
Alcohol	17 (1.5)	0.8	11 (2.5)	0.9
alcohol.m	17 (1.5)	0.8	9 (2.0)	1.0
alcohol.f	0 (0.0)	N/A	2 (0.4)	0.5
Verbal violence	74 (6.7)	0.8	39 (8.7)	0.4
verbal violence.m	38 (3.4)	1.3	28 (6.3)	0.2
verbal violence.f	36 (3.3)	0.3	11 (2.5)	1.0
Demanding/requesting	65 (5.9)	1.1	21 (4.7)	1.0
demanding/requesting.f	34 (3.1)	1.1	12 (2.7)	1.5
demanding/requesting.m	31 (2.8)	1.2	9 (2.0)	0.4
Psychological violence	51 (4.6)	1.2	25 (5.6)	0.6
psychological violence.m	35 (3.2)	1.5	22 (4.9)	0.5
psychological violence.f	16 (1.4)	0.5	3 (0.7)	1.3
Social/recreational activities	19 (1.7)	1.3	4 (0.9)	1.5
social/recreational activities.m	8 (0.7)	1.8	2 (0.4)	1.5
social/recreational activities.f	8 (0.7)	0.9	0(0.0)	N/A
Stress	18 (1.6)	1.3	14 (3.1)	0.9
stress.f	14 (1.3)	1.4	14 (3.1)	0.9
stress.m	4 (0.4)	1.0	0(0.0)	N/A
Having affairs	16 (1.4)	1.5	6 (1.3)	0.0
having affairs.m	12 (1.1)	1.6	6 (1.3)	0.0
having affairs.f	4 (0.4)	1.3	0 (0.0)	N/A
In-laws	36 (3.3)	1.6	16 (3.6)	1.9
Neglecting	13 (1.2)	1.6	9 (2.0)	1.7
neglecting.m	12 (1.1)	1.6	8 (1.8)	1.6
neglecting.f	1 (0.1)	2.0	1 (0.2)	2.0
Children	19 (1.7)	1.7	10 (2.2)	1.9
Domestic work	27 (2.4)	1.8	11 (2.5)	2.5
Pregnancy	18 (1.6)	2.0	4 (0.9)	1.3
Financial problem	13 (1.2)	2.0	7 (1.6)	1.3
Business/job	18 (1.6)	2.5	7 (1.6)	2.4
Sum	907 (82.1)		364 (81.4)	

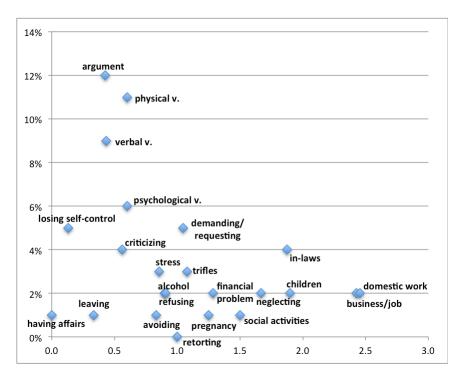
Note: In Interval, 0 = trigger, 1 = Reason 1 (r1), 2 = Reason 2 (r2), 3 = Reason 3 (r3), and 4 = distance (r4 or farther). Notations of precursors at the end: m (male partners did); f (female partners did). Total N = 1105 for MFIPV and 447 for FMIPV.

Figure 6.1. Frequency and Average Distance of 24 Most Frequent Precursors for MFIPV and FMIPV

a. MFIPV



b. FMIPV



Note: The most frequent precursors for MFIPV (n = 24) and FMIPV (n = 23) were selected to depict the distance of them. X-axis represents the distance from Trigger and Y-axis indicates the frequencies in percentages of the precursors appeared in the IPV incidents.

How are the Chains or Transactions of Precursors Formulated?

Might-cause chain analysis (MCA) illustrates the connections between IPV precursors. Two situations are connected directly together in sequence. This adjacency is expanded by linking to the next in the IPV event. With the expansion, all precursors can be connected directly or indirectly, and finally with the IPV offense that is the latest act in the level of time. Precursors are temporally distributed (see Figure 6.1) with being connected "in" prior precursors and/or "out" to the posterior ones or offenses. This "inand-out" connection, in the temporal distribution, can be considered to be the transaction of precursors to the IPV offense. In this section, the transactions of IPV precursors will be discussed in terms of the in-and-out association.

In-and-out connections of precursors.

Table 6.10 provides the in-and-out relationships of 21 precursors that were selected from the most frequent 24 ones (see Table 6.9), excluding three types of IPV²³ (physical, verbal, and psychological violence) and their connections with other precursors (contiguous events). In this table, the selected 21 precursors (first column) are presented by grouping them into three temporal units, proximal, middle, and distal groups for MFIPV and FMIPV.

The in-and-out contiguous events in MFIPV. A Table 6.10 shows, losing self-control in the proximal group for MFIPV was connected "from" or contingent on nine other precursors appearing 13 times—argument was the most frequent—in the IPV incidents and was directly linked "to" or influenced on two other acts, mostly MFIPV (n = 20) and reminding a female victim of a bad history in marriage (n = 1). Likewise, the

²³ The reason was that the violence in the temporal distribution was connected mostly to other violence, but to few other situations. This was due to the current project being coded the exchange of violence during the fight; thus, individual types of IPV appeared in Reason 1 through Distance.

in-and-out depicts contiguous three points of a prior condition (*In*) linking through the precursor of *And*, to the posterior one (*Out*), with two lines from left to right, indicating temporal direction.

Retorting by victims, the next closest precursor to the IPV, was contingent on 13 other precursors and connected to four other acts (see Table 6.10). The most frequent event was that victims retorted due to or responding directly to partners' criticism (n = 10). The next was reported that it occurred during argument (n = 5), followed by other aggressive situations. Through *retorting*, various prior conditions were concentrated to just four posterior ones--most of them was MFIPV (n = 20)

The occurrence of an *argument*, which was the most frequent precursor among IPV incidents, was contingent on 19 immediate conditions, and four most frequent prior ones of the In were trifles, in-laws, criticizing, and refusing. *Argument* triggered MFIPV (n = 96) far more than other posterior situation. The next largest was retorting of victims, appearing five times in IPV incidents, followed by the perpetrators' loss of self-control, victims' attempts to leave and divorce claim. These findings indicate that there was a discrepancy in the relationship between types and frequencies: The number of precursor types in the Out (16 types) was slightly less than those in the In (19 types), however, more than twice for the frequencies of the occurrence (n = 132 for Out vs. n = 62 for In).

Table 6.10. In-And-Out Contiguous Situations of 3 Temporal Groups of Precursors for MFIPV & FMIPV

Table 0.10. III-	Conting-	itiguous	Situations of 3 Temporal Groups of Precursors for MFIPV & FMIPV
Precursors	ency	N	Contiguous Events
MFIPV	-		<u>-</u>
Proximal group	T (T)	0 (12)	
Losing self- control	In (From)	9 (13)	argument (5), trifles (1), criticizing.m (1), retorting.f (1), stress.m (1), verbal IPV.f (1), reporting to the police.f (1), having coddled.f (1), mistreating/disciplining child.m (1)
	Out (To)	2 (18)	MFIPV (17), bring up bad history in marriage.f (1)
Retorting.f	In (From)	13 (29)	criticizing.m (10), argument (5), psychological IPV.m (3), demanding/requesting.m (2), in-laws (1), refusing.m (1), stress.f (1), physical IPV.m (1), verbal IPV.m (1), restraining.m (1), provoking words.m (1), mistake/fault.m (1), bossing around.m (1)
	Out (To)	4 (24)	MFIPV (20), argument (2), criticizing.m (1), losing self-control.m (1)
Argument	In (From)	19 (62)	trifles (15), in-laws (8), criticizing [m (5), f (2)], refusing [m (4), f (3)], psychological IPV.m (2), economic IPV.m (2), leaving [m (1), f (1)], financial problem (2), divorce claim (2), avoiding.m (2), neglecting.m (2), telephoning.f (2), immigrant/visa status (1), stress.f (1), social/recreational activities (1), expressing opinion.f (1)
	Out (To)	16 (132)	MFIPV (96), retorting.f (5), losing self-control.m (5), leaving.f (3), divorce claim [m (2), f (1)], demanding/requesting [f (1), m (1)], criticizing.m (2), refusing.f (2), provoking words [f (1), m (1)], avoding.f (2), bring up bad history in marriage (2), behaving angrily in response to.f (2), crying.f (2), expressing opinion.f (2), separation (1), social/recreational activities.f (1)
Leaving	In (From)	11 (25)	having affairs [m (5), f (2)], argument (3), physical IPV.m (3), psychological IPV.m (2), Verbal IPV.m (2), ex-wife (2), lie.m (2), criticizing.m (1), business/job.f (1), violence (1), restraining.m (1)
	Out (To)	6 (23)	MFIPV (16), argument (2), restraining.f (2), demanding/requesting.f (1), in-laws (1), seeking help.f (1)
Criticizing	In (From)	32 (75)	refusing [f (6), m (1)], domestic work (7), trifles (6), financial problem (5), demanding/requesting.f (5), social/recreational activities [f (3), m (1)], verbal IPV (4), in-laws (3), alcohol.m (3), children (3), avoiding [f (1), m (1)], neglecting [f (1), m (1)], argument (2), late return home [f (1), m (1)], parents (2), criticizing.m (1), retorting.f (1), expressing opinion.f (1), physical IPV.m (1), having affairs.f (1), bossing around.m (1), shopping.f (1), lie.m (1), advice from others.f (1), conflict with others.m (1), having coddled.f (1), mistreating/disciplining child.m (1), bring up bad history in marriage.m (1), behaving angrily in response to.f (1), scared/injured child (1), playing video/online game.m (1)
	Out (To)	13 (76)	MFIPV (45), retorting.f (10), argument (7), avoiding.f [f (3), m (1)], stress.f (2), demanding/requesting.m (1), criticizing.f (1), refusing.f (1), leaving.f (1), losing self-control.m (1), seeking help.f (1), behaving angrily in response to.f (1), expressing opinion.f (1)
Trifles	In (From)	7 (8)	social/recreational activities (2), in-laws (1), neglecting.m (1), telephoning.m (1), domestic work (1), late return home.m (1), move (1)
	Out (To)	7 (67)	MFIPV (42), argument (15), criticizing [m (5), f (1)], in-laws (1), losing self-control.m (1), divorce claim.m (1), screaming.f (1)
Avoiding	In (From)	11 (20)	criticizing [m (3), f (1)], verbal IPV.m (3), psychological IPV.m (2), expressing opinion [f (1), m (1)], argument (2), demanding/requesting.m (2), sexual IPV.m (1), alcohol.m (1), neglecting.m (1), social/recreational activities.m (1), provoking words.m (1)
	Out (To)	5 (18)	MFIPV (12), argument (2), criticizing [f (1), m (1)], demanding/requesting.m (1), restraining.m (1)

Table 6.10. (continued)

	Conting-		
Precursors	ency	N	Contiguous Events
Refusing	In (From)	17 (57)	demanding/requesting [m (16), f (14)], in-laws (7), financial problem (2), stress.f (2), argument (2), verbal IPV.m (2), apologizing.m (2), criticizing.m (1), psychological IPV.m (1), sexual IPV.m (1), business/job.m (1), divorce claim.m (1), telephoning.m (1), bossing around.m (1), separation (1), warning.m (1), comforting.m (1)
	Out (To)	9 (47)	MFIPV (27), argument (7), criticizing $[m (6), f (1)]$, demanding/requesting.f (1), retorting.f (1), in-laws (1), domestic work (1), restraining.f (1), behaving angrily in response to.f (1)
Divorce claim	In (From)	7 (13)	argument (3), having affairs [m (2), f (1)], stress.f (2), verbal IPV.m (2), trifles (1), physical IPV.m (1), parents [siblings' bossing around (1)]
	Out (To)	7 (21)	IPV (12), demanding/requesting [m (2), f (1)], argument (2), refusing.f (1), restraining.f (1), not on good terms with husband for a while (1), documen (1)
Alcohol	In (From)	2 (2)	business/job (1), social/recreational activities.m (1)
	Out (To)	7 (17)	MFIPV (7), criticizing.f (3), argument (2), late return home.m (2), physica IPV.m (1), avoiding.f (1), lie.m (1)
Middle group			
Demanding/ requesting	In (From)	27 (50)	children (6), in-laws (4), domestic work (4), divorce claim [m (2), f (1)], demanding/requesting.m (3), pregnancy (3), health problem [f (2), m (1)], financial problem (2), argument (2), shopping (2), parents (2), criticizing.f (1), refusing.m (1), economic IPV (1), leaving.m (1), business/job.f (1), avoiding.f (1), neglecting.m (1), stress.f (1), verbal IPV.m (1), having affairs.m (1), bossing around.f (1), ex-wife (1), without driver's license.f (1), having coddled.f (1), not on good term with husband for a while (1), religious faith (1)
	Out (To)	9 (65)	refusing [f (17), m (13)], IPV (20), criticizing.m (5), demanding/requesting.f (2), retorting.f (2), avoiding.f (2), in-laws (1), scared/injured child (1)
Social/recreati onal activities	In (From)	1 (1)	argument (1)
onal activities	Out (To)	10 (19)	MFIPV (5), criticizing $[m (3), f (1)]$, trifles (2), late return home.m (2), argument (1), restraining.f (1), telephoning.m (1), feeling of being alone.m (1), avoiding.f (19)
Social/recreati onal activities Stress	In (From)	15 (36)	business/job (6), verbal IPV.m (4), domestic work, psychological IPV.m (3), physical IPV.m (3), pregnancy (3), in-laws (2), criticizing.m (2), economic IPV.m (2), neglecting.m (2), financial problem (1), conflict with others.m (1), mistreating/disciplining child.m (1), health problem.m (1), lack of social/recreational activities.f (1)
	Out (To)	12 (18)	MFIPV (3), criticizing.m (2), refusing.f (2), having affairs.f (2), divorce claim.f (2), argument (1), demanding/requesting.f (1), retorting.f (1), losing self-control.m (1), restraining.f (1), behaving angrily in response to.f (1), health problem.m (1)
Having affairs	In (From)	3 (5)	stress.f (2), feeling of being alone.f (2), no place to go.f (1)
	Out (To)	7 (16)	leaving [f (5), m (2)], divorce claim [f (2), m (1)], MFIPV (2), demanding/requesting.f (1), criticizing.m (1), lie.m (1), sounding out.f (1)

Table 6.10. (continued)

Table 6.10. (c			
Draguegorg	Conting-	λſ	Contiguous Events
Precursors In-laws	In (From)	9 (11)	Contiguous Events in-laws [conflict with in-laws (1), verbal violence by the in-law (1)], neglecting.m (2), trifles (1), refusing.f (1), leaving.f (1), demanding/requesting.f (1), telling on.m (1), parent [criticizing] (1), scared/injured child (1)
	Out (To)	14 (36)	argument (8), refusing.f (7), demanding/requesting [f (2), m (2)], criticizing.m (3), in-laws [conflict with in-laws (1), criticizing by in-laws (1)], domestic work (2), stress.f (2), MFIPV (2), retorting.f (1), financial problem (1), trifles (1), bring up bad history in marriage.m (1), behaving angrily in response to.f (1), expressing opinion.f (1)
Neglecting	In (From)	6 (11)	domestic work (4), children (2), pregnancy (2), business/job.f (1), parents
	Out (To)	9 (13)	(1), playing video/online game.m (1) argument (2), criticizing [f (1), m (1)], in-laws (2), stress.f (2), demanding/requesting.f (1), trifles (1), lie.f (1), parents [criticizing by parents (1)]
Children	In (From)	1(1)	health problem.f (1)
	Out (To)	7 (19)	demanding/requesting [f (3), m (3)], criticizing.m (3), domestic work (3), mistreating/disciplining child [f (1), m (1)], neglecting.m (2), MFIPV (2), no place to go.f (1)
Domestic	In (From)	4 (8)	children (3), in-laws (2), pregnancy (2), refusing.m (1)
work	Out (To)	10 (27)	criticizing.m (7), demanding/requesting [f (2), m (2)], stress [f (3), m (1)], neglecting [m (3), f (1)], bossing around.m (2), mistreating/disciplining child [f (1), m (1)], trifles (1), behaving angrily in response to f (1), expressing opinion.f (1), MFIPV (1)
Distal group			
Pregnancy	In (From)		
	Out (To)	9 (18)	demanding/requesting.f (3), stress.f (3), health problem.f (3), domestic work (2), parents [siblings' bossing around (2)], neglecting.m (2), financial problem (1), business/job.f (1), MFIPV (1)
Financial problem	In (From)	4 (8)	business/job [m (3), f (1)], immigrant/visa status [foreign student (2)], in- laws (1), pregnancy (1)
	Out (To)	6 (13)	criticizing $[m (4), f (1)]$, argument (2), demanding/requesting.m (2), refusing $[f (1), m (1)]$, business/job. $f (1)$, stress. $f (1)$
Business/ job	In (From)	2 (2)	financial problem (1), pregnancy (1)
	Out (To)	9 (18)	stress.f (6), financial problem (4), argument (2), demanding/requesting.f (1), refusing.f (1), leaving.f (1), alcohol.m (1), neglecting.f (1), lack of social/recreational activities (1)
FMIPV			
Proximal group			
Having affairs	In (From)		
-	Out (To)	1 (6)	FMIPV (6)
Losing self- control	In (From)	21 (32)	stress.f (5), argument (3), trifles (2), provoking words.m (2), avoiding.m (2), apologizing.m (2), having coddled.m (2), physical IPV.m (1), verbal IPV.m (1), psychological IPV.m (1), criticizing.m (1), leaving.m (1), financial problem (1), alcohol.f (1), mistake/fault.m (1), feeling of social isolation.f (1), lie.m (1), begging,m (1), mistreating/disciplining child.m
			(1), depression.f (1), watching porn.m (1)
	Out (To)	2 (23)	FMIPV (21), argument (2)
Leaving	In (From) Out (To)	4 (5) 3 (6)	argument (2), violence (1), psychological IPV.f (1), stress.f FMIPV (4), losing self-control.f (1), restraining.m (1)

Table 6.10. (continued)

D	Conting-	3.7	
Argument Argument	In (From)	18 (33)	Contiguous Events trifles (6), criticizing [m (4), f (2)], refusing.m (3), in-laws (2), financial problem (2), losing self-control.f (2), verbal IPV.m (1), psychological IPV.m (1), economic IPV.m (1), demanding/requesting.f (1), retorting.f (1), children (1), alcohol.m (1), domestic work 91), shopping (1), avoiding.m (1), social/recreational activities.m (1), neglecting.m (1)
	Out (To)	10 (54)	FMIPV (39), losing self-control.f (3), criticizing.m (2), leaving.m (2), provoking words.m (2), avoiding.m (2), demanding/requesting.m (1), retorting.f (1), telling on.m (1), bring up bad history in marriage (1)
Criticizing	In (From)	12 (15)	refusing [f (2), m (1)], argument (2), demanding/requesting.f (1), retorting. (1), financial problem (1), mistake/fault.m (1), shopping.f (1), avoiding.m (1), pregnancy (1), health problem.f (1), neglecting.f, smoking.m
	Out (To)	5 (16)	FMIPV (7), argument (6), refusing.m (1), losing self-control.f (1), avoiding.m (1)
Avoiding	In (From)	4 (5)	argument (2), verbal IPV.f(1), criticizing.f(1), expressing opinion.f(1)
J	Out (To)	4 (6)	FMIPV (2), losing self-control.f (2), argument (1), criticizing.f (1)
Stress	In (From)	15 (27)	in-laws (7), neglecting.m (4), children (2), business/job.f (2), domestic work (2), verbal IPV.m (1), financial problem (1), late return home.m (1), immigrant/visa status [foreign student (1)], feeling of social isolation.m, pregnancy (1), move (1), health problem.f (1), study.f (1), newlywed (1)
	Out (To)	4 (14)	FMIPV (7), losing self-control.f (5), demanding/requesting.f (1), leaving.f (1)
Refusing	In (From)	3 (11)	demanding/requesting [f (7), m (2)], criticizing.f (1), expressing opinion.f (1)
	Out (To)	4 (10)	FMIPV (3), argument (3), criticizing [m (2), f (1)], retorting.f (1)
Alcohol	In (From) Out (To)	1 (2) 7 (11)	social/recreational activities (2) late return home.m (4), FMIPV (2), argument (1), mistake/fault.m (1), lie.m (1), mistreating/disciplining child.m (1)
Meddle group			
Retorting.f	In (From) Out (To)	2 (2) 2 (2)	argument (1), refusing.m (1) argument (1), criticizing.m (1)
Demanding/ requesting	In (From)	15 (19)	physical IPV.m (3), financial problem (2), domestic work (2), argument (1), in-laws (1), children (1), business/job.f (1), immigrant/visa status [foreign student.f (1)], stress.f (1), shopping (1), feeling of being alone.f (1), separation (1), parents [financial help from parents (1)], neglecting.m (1), not on good terms with husband for a while (1)
	Out (To)	5 (21)	refusing [m (7), f (2)], FMIPV (9), argument (1), criticizing.m (1), consenting to be struck.m (1)
Trifles	In (From)	1(1)	shopping (1)
	Out (To)	6 (13)	argument (6), losing self-control.f (2), FMIPV (2), restraining.f (1), apologizing.m (1), mistreating/disciplining child.m (1)
Pregnancy	In (From)		
	Out (To)	4 (4)	stress.f (1), parents [sibling's bosing around (1)], criticizing.f (1), FMIPV (1)
Financial problem	In (From)	3 (3)	business/job.m (1), immigrant/visa status [foreign student (1)], mistake/fault.m (1)
	Out (To)	5 (7)	argument (2), demanding/requesting.m (2), criticizing.m (1), losing self-control.f (1), stress.f (1)
Social/recreati	In (From)		
onal activities	Out (To)	3 (4)	alcohol.f (2), argument (1), late return home.m (1)

Table 6.10. (continued)

	Conting-		
Precursors	ency	N	Contiguous Events
Neglecting	In (From)	4 (10)	domestic work (6), children (2), in-laws (1), business/job.f (1)
	Out (To)	6 (9)	stress.f (4), argument (1), demanding/requesting.f (1), criticizing.m (1), conflict with others.m (1), FMIPV (1)
In-laws	In (From)	3 (6)	in-laws [in-laws' bossing around (1), and physical (1) & verbal (1) violence], parents [parents (1) & criticizing (1)], telling on.m (1)
	Out (To)	7 (16)	stress.f (7), in-laws [conflict with in-laws (3)], demanding/requesting.f (1), expressing opinion.f (1), neglecting.m (1), FMIPV (1)
Children	In (From)	2 (2)	business/job.m (1), study.m (1)
	Out (To)	7 (10)	domestic work (2), stress.f (2), neglecting.m (2), argument (1), demanding/requesting.m (1), mistreating/disciplining child.m (1), IPV (1)
Distal group			
Business/job	In (From)		
	Out (To)	6 (7)	stress.f (2), demanding/requesting.f (1), children (1), financial problem (1), feeling of being alone.f (1), neglecting.f (1)
Domestic	In (From)	1 (2)	children (2)
work	Out (To)	4 (11)	neglecting[m(5), f(1)],demanding/requesting.f (2), stress.f (2), argument(1)

Note: Frequencies of precursors in parentheses. Notations of precursors at the end: m (male partners did); f (female partners did).

However, *criticizing* showed almost identical frequencies between In (n = 75) and Out (n = 76), but differed as to the number of types. Criticism was contingent on 32 other prior conditions representing the largest number in Table 6.10. This indicates that it was influenced by the greatest number of various antecedents, but connected to 13 posterior conditions, 60% less than the prior ones. The most frequent five precursors of *criticizing* were refusing, domestic work, trifles, financial problem, and demanding/requesting, which had appeared five or more times. Similar to other precursors as shown above, the majority of the criticism was linked directly to MFIPV.

The potential reasons for female victims' attempt to leave or *leaving*, suggested in Table 6.10 for MFIPV, were partners' cheating, followed by argument, MFIPV, ex-wife matters, lies, criticism, business/job, and responding to partner's restraint. This attempt was delivered directly to mostly partners' IPV. Based on the finding that MFIPV was

a. The conditions of *In* are also referred to as prior conditions/situation, antecedents, or the precursors of an precursor.

b. The conditions of *Out* are also referred to as posterior conditions/situations

found as both the prior conditions in the *In* and posterior acts in the *Out*, illustrating that the prior IPV was connected directly to the next IPV through this precursor, which indicated IPV increased or continued.

In Table 6.10, the other five selected precursors in the proximal group provide similar patterns to those shown above. First, each precursor had contiguous in-and-out conditions. Second, proportions of conditions between In and Out varied. For example, the ratio of prior conditions (In) to posterior ones (Out) was 1.0 for trifles and divorce claim (identical), greater than 1.0 for avoiding and refusing (narrowed to posterior conditions), and less than 1.0 for *alcohol* (widened to posterior conditions). Third, all precursors of the proximal group were linked directly to MFIPV and, without exception; IPV was the most frequent connection in the *Out*. For example, the frequency of MFIPV was 17 out of 18, or 94.4% of all posterior conditions to which *losing self-control* was delivered. Likewise, the percentage of MFIPV in the Out for each precursor was 83.3% for retorting, 72.7% for argument, 69.6% for leaving, 59.2% for criticizing, 62.7% for trifles, 66.7% for avoiding, 57.4% for refusing, 57.1% for divorce claim, and 41.2% for alcohol. Finally, precursors contained various forms of IPV in prior conditions (In), except for trifles and alcohol, coupled with the fact that IPV appeared as a precursor in the in-and-out situations, representing increasing or continuing offenses in an IPV event.

In the middle and distal groups (Table 6.10), the selected precursors of the *And* column display similarity with those in the proximal group in terms of having in-and-out associations (except *pregnancy*) and disproportions of the contiguous prior and posterior conditions between *In* and *Out*. Differences were also found; first, when compared to the proximal group, the number of conditions were fewer in the prior conditions (*In*) and

more in the posterior ones (Out). The precursors of the proximal group were contingent on nearly 13 antecedents on average (M=12.8 of In) and were linked to almost eight conditions in average (M=7.6 of Out). On average, those of the middle and distal groups were contingent on the prior conditions of approximately eight (M=8.3 of In for middle group) and three (M=3.0 of In for distal group), but were delivered to other precursors or MFIPV of nearly 10 (M=9.8 of Out for middle group) and eight (M=8.0 of Out for distal group). Second, among the 11 selected precursors in the middle and distal groups, MFIPV was the most frequent connection in the posterior conditions (Out), with the exceptions of social/recreational activities and stress. Furthermore, three precursors (neglecting, financial problem, and business/neglecting) were not directly connected to MFIPV.

With respect to escalating marital conflict by demand/withdraw interaction (Christensen & Heavey, 1990), findings from the in-and-out connection suggest that precursors might play an important role in situational determinants of conflict, endorsing the role of the daily routine (see Kennedy & Brunschot, 2001) or living conditions as well as cultural factors. For example, demanding/requesting for MFIPV was contingent mostly on *daily routines* such as children, domestic work, other demanding/requesting, and shopping, *living conditions* such as pregnancy, health problem, financial problem, and *cultural factors* such as in-laws and parents (see Table 6.10).

The in-and-out contiguous events in FMIPV. Although precursors of FMIPV were captured nearly 60% less frequently when compared to those in MFIPV, in-and-out connections also existed, except in four out of 20 selected precursors. Table 6.10 shows having affairs in the And column, the closest to the IPV in the temporality, pregnancy and social/recreational activities in the middle group, and business/job in the distal group

were not contingent on any other conditions. Furthermore, 13 selected precursors were found with no forms of violence in the prior conditions. This might suggest that the length of transactions be shorter than that of MFIPV.

Nevertheless, the interactions between precursors of FMIPV were similar with those of MFIPV in several ways. First, there was a discrepancy of conditions between In and Out. For example, the ratio of prior conditions (In) to the posterior ones (Out) is 1.0 for avoiding and retorting (identical), greater than 1.0 for losing self-control, stress, demanding/requesting, criticizing, argument, and leaving, and less than 1.0 for alcohol, trifles, children, domestic work, in-laws, financial problem, neglecting, and refusing. Second, all selected precursors in the proximal group were connected to FMIPV and the violence was the most frequent condition in the Out, with the exception of alcohol, while the IPV was not most frequent in the middle and distal groups, except for demanding/requesting. Furthermore, the five selected precursors (retorting, financial problem, social/recreational activities, business/job, and domestic work) were not connected directly to the FMIPV in the Out. Finally, in the three temporal groups, the number of posterior conditions (Out) was highest in both middle and proximal group, but least in the proximal group. On average, for example, the selected precursors were connected directly to other posterior conditions or FMIPV of more than four (M=4.4 for proximal group) and of five (M=5.0 for both middle and distal groups each) and were contingent on approximately 10, four, and one antecedent of the proximal (M=9.8), middle (M=4.3), and distal (M=1.0) groups, respectively.

With regard to the precursors, *argument* and *criticizing* of FMIPV show similar patterns to those of MFIPV. *Argument* was also the most frequent precursor in FMIPV;

the most frequent precursor of *argument* was trifles and criticizing. The next three frequent prior conditions of the argument were the same with MFIPV: *refusing*, *in-laws*, and *financial problem*. Compared with the prior situations in the *In*, conditions in the *Out* were fewer in the number of types (10 for *Out* vs. 18 for *In*) but greater in the frequencies (n = 54 for *Out* vs. n = 33 for *In*). *Criticizing* was also similar with MFIPV. Compared to the conditions of the *Out*, those of the *In* (n = 15 vs. n = 16 for *Out*) were almost identical in frequency, but were twice as numerous in the number of types (12 types vs. 5 for *Out*). The most frequent precursor of *criticizing* was the same as that of MFIPV: *refusing*.

It is important to note here that *losing self-control*, the description of posters' (i.e., female perpetrators') own internal conflict or feeling²⁴ right before IPV, was reported frequently, with 21 prior conditions and direct delivery to two acts (see FMIPV in Table 6.10). Similar to that of MFIPV, it reached violence (n = 21 for FMIPV) and one other precursor with similar frequencies (n = 2 for argument), even though the proportions of these two were higher than those of MFIPV due to the smaller number of total precursors in FMIPV. The loss of self-control was, however, contingent more on various prior situations with higher frequency than that of MFIPV. As reported in the preliminary study (Byun, 2012), the free-styled writings of postings did not reveal the standardized background factors of posters, such as personality. They illustrated, however, that their experiences regarding levels of self-control were influenced by various conditions, which were reduced *immediately* by argument, trifles, partners' various verbal aggressions and offenses, avoidance, apology, criticism, attempt to leave, lie, and mistakes/unpleasant

²⁴ Although male partners losing self-control were also reported in MFIPV, they were from the description or perception of posters (female victims) based on external conditions of the perpetrators.

behaviors, and poster's alcohol consumption and *gradually* by financial problem, partners' coddling, and posters' stress, feeling of social isolation, and depression (see also Byun, 2012).

Relationships of precursors between In and Out.

The selected 21 precursors discussed in the preceding section can be classified, based on the ratio of In to Out in the number of conditions, into three types: receiver, giver, and symmetry. Receiver indicates the ratio greater than 1 (In > Out), which means prior conditions vary more than posterior ones, while giver shows a ratio less than 1 (In < Out), which is opposite in meaning to receiver. The value of the ratio is 1 is symmetry, meaning equal number of conditions between In and Out. (In = Out).

Figure 6.2 depicts the in-and-out connections of precursors for both MFIPV and FMIPV, drawn by CmapTool (version 5.05.01; IHMC). Briefly speaking, there were 9 *receivers*, 10 *givers* and two *symmetries* for MFIPV; for FMIPV, 20²⁵ were classified into six *receivers*, 12 *givers* and two *symmetries*. In this figure, the words contained in rectangles are all precursors and IPV shown in Table 6.10. They are connected to each other by arrow lines and the words "linked to" at the point the lines begin to scatter. The arrows on the lines and the linking words represent the direction of time.

In Figure 6.2a for MFIPV, bold and larger font words in the rectangles represent the selected 21 precursors. *Receivers* are contained in shaded rectangles, including losing self-control (*ratio* = 5.0), retorting (3.3), demanding/requesting (3.3), criticizing (2.5), avoiding (2.0), refusing (2.0), leaving (2.0), stress (1.3), and argument (1.3). *Givers*, on the other hand, are the ones linked to bold and large linking word "linked to" with thick and solid arrow lines, including pregnancy (giving only) social/recreational activities

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²⁵ Divorce claim was not found in FMIPV.

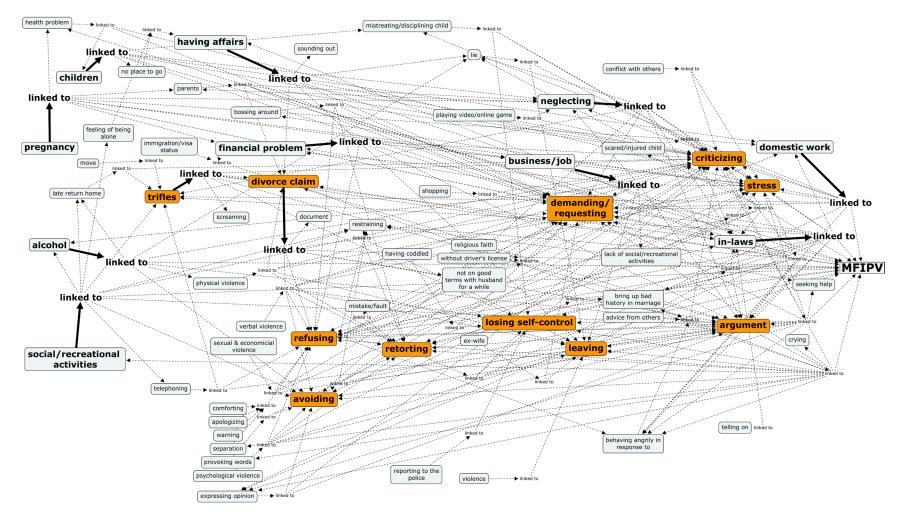
(ratio = 0.1), children (0.1), business/job (0.2), alcohol (0.3), domestic work (0.4), having affairs (0.4), in-laws (0.6), financial problem (0.7), and neglecting (0.7). The two precursors in shaded rectangle and with thick and solid arrow lines, divorce claim and trifles are *symmetries*.

Figure 6.2b illustrates the in-and-out connection of FMIPV, showing that six precursors are *receivers*: losing self-control (ratio = 10.0), demanding/requesting (3.3), stress (3.3), criticizing (2.5), argument (1.7), and leaving (1.3). *Givers* are found in having affairs, pregnancy, social/recreational activities and business/job without the values of ratio (i.e., giving only); alcohol (ratio = 0.1), trifles (0.2), domestic work (0.3), children (0.3), in-laws (0.4), financial problem (0.6), neglecting (0.7), and refusing (0.8). Two *symmetries* are shown in retorting and avoiding.

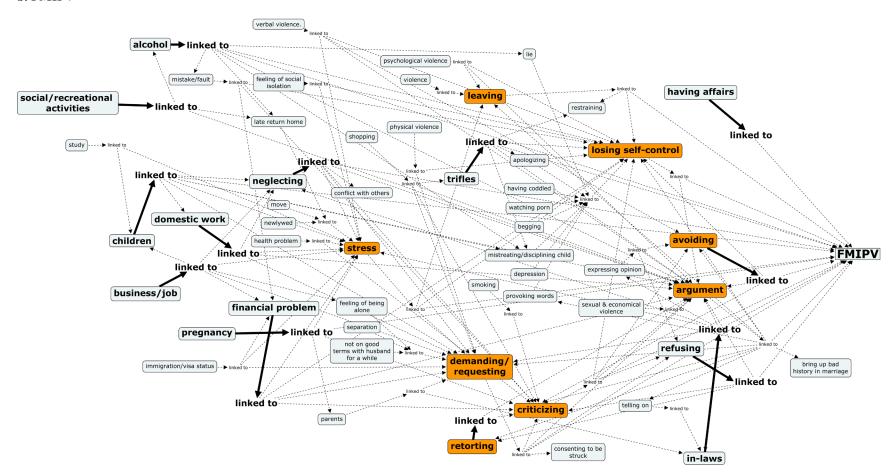
The connections diagrammed in Figure 6.2 indicate that the precursors appear to gravitate toward *receivers* and converge. *Givers* are less connected from the other conditions when compared to the *receivers*, but appear to spread out. These *convergent* and *divergent* tendencies of IPV precursors are also distinct in temporal distribution.

When limited to MFIPV incidents (Table 6.10 and Figure 6.2a), it was found that 77.8% (or seven in nine) *receivers* belonged to proximal group while the other two, demanding/requesting and stress, belonged to the middle group. All *symmetries* were found in the proximal group. Finally, 90.0% (or 9 in 10) of *givers* were the precursors of middle and distal groups. Based on these associations, therefore, it is suggested that the connections were more convergent when precursors were closer to IPV, while the connections were more divergent when the precursors were situated remotely.

Figure 6.2. The 21 Most Frequent Precursors and Their Contiguous Situations for MFIPV and FMIPV **a. MFIPV**



b. FMIPV



Note: The 21 most frequent precursors and their contiguous situations depict the in-and-out connections and transactions of MF-and FMIPV events.

How are the Transactions of Precursors Different by the Types of IPV?

To answer this question, precursors were tagged with the types of IPV incident and allocated through the temporal distribution. As shown in the previous section, the variability of the IPV types has been reduced with various offenses grouped into five types of IPV and violence (see Table 6.2). These six groups are then dichotomized into non-physical IPV only, and physical IPV included (see Table 6.4). Table 6.4 shows that the total IPV incidents are classified by their respective IPV dichotomy. With this classification, the precursors are categorized into either (1) non-physical IPV only, or (2) physical IPV included.

As discussed previously, transactions could be determined as precursors were connected, moving from distal to proximal positions. It is reported that each level of time contains different precursors (see Table 6.8). Correspondingly, this section examines whether the relative frequencies of the precursors in the context of the types of IPV are different or not at the level of the temporality.

Table 6.11 provides three joint distributions of precursors and a dichotomous type of IPV, with three levels of temporality for MFIPV, and one joint distribution of them for all in FMIPV. Using Microsoft[®] Excel[®] 2010, a Chi-square statistic was conducted at each level of time to test the null hypothesis that the occurrences of the precursors were unrelated with the physical and non-physical type of IPV. To avoid the inflation of the value of Chi-square statistic, only precursors whose *expected frequencies* with 5 or greater were selected (Fox, Levin, & Forde, 2013), excluding three types of IPV²⁶ (physical, verbal, and psychological violence). Furthermore, although the temporal

²⁶ As mentioned above, the majority of violence appearing in the temporal distribution was because the current project coded the exchange of violence during the fight. It connected largely to other violence, but few other situations. To focus on the connection with other precursors, they were excluded.

distribution of precursors were divided into five levels, from the trigger (the closest to IPV) to distance (farthest from IPV), the last three distal precursors are combined into one category, Reason 2 or farther. This strategy was employed because the frequency of each level of the three was insufficient for analysis (see Table 6.8). The Trigger, Reason1, and Reason 2 or farther might correspond to the proximal, middle, and distal groups of precursors that are noted in the previous section.

For MFIPV in Table 6.11, at trigger level, 54.9% and 45.1% of 445 incidents containing triggers were found in the non-physical and the physical IPV, respectively. For the Chi-square statistic, 11 triggers (argument, criticizing, trifles, refusing, demanding/requesting, retorting, losing self-control, leaving, restraining, divorce claim and avoiding) were selected. Overall, only three triggers (argument, criticizing and trifles) were statistically significant, while the others were unrelated or independent from the occurrence of the type of IPV.

With respect to the significant triggers, *argument*, the most frequent precursor, was found more in physical IPV ($\chi^2 = 6.767$, df = 1, p < 0.01): 17.8% of non-physical IPV incidents and 30.3% of physical IPV incidents contained the *argument* as a trigger. However, the other two triggers showed that they were more involved in non-physical IPV: 14.2% of non-physical IPV incidents and 7.0% of physical IPV incidents included *criticizing* as a trigger ($\chi^2 = 4.789$, df = 1, p < 0.05) and 14.2% of non-physical IPV incidents and 5.4% of physical IPV incidents included *trifles* as a trigger ($\chi^2 = 7.704$, df = 1, p < 0.01).

Table 6.11. Percentage of Precursors by Type of IPV and Level of Time

Table 6.11. Percentage of	MFII		ille	
	Non-physical IPV	Physical IPV		
Precursors	only	included	Chi-square	p-value ($df = 1$)
	Trigge	er (t)		
Argument	17.8	30.3	6.767	0.009**
Criticizing	14.2	7.0	4.789	0.029*
Trifles	14.2	5.4	7.704	0.006**
Refusing	5.8	7.6	0.494	0.482
Demanding/ requesting	6.7	2.7	3.270	0.071
Retorting	5.3	4.3	0.212	0.645
Losing self-control	2.7	5.9	2.633	0.105
Leaving	2.7	5.4	1.951	0.162
Restraining	2.7	4.3	0.817	0.366
Divorce claim	3.1	2.7	0.058	0.810
Avoiding	1.8	4.3	2.249	0.134
N	225	185		
	Reason	1 (r1)		
Argument	8.1	15.2	2.884	0.089
Demanding/ requesting	10.7	8.6	0.294	0.588
Criticizing	10.1	8.6	0.146	0.703
In-laws in trouble	7.4	6.7	0.045	0.833
Trifles	5.4	8.6	0.944	0.331
Domestic work	7.4	1.9	3.611	0.057
Refusing	4.0	5.7	0.371	0.542
N	149	105		
	Reason 2 or farthe			
Demanding/ requesting	9.4	8.0	0.133	0.715
Business/job	7.1	8.0	0.062	0.803
In-laws in trouble	9.4	4.0	2.357	0.125
Domestic work	6.3	5.0	0.165	0.685
Pregnancy	6.3	5.0	0.165	0.685
Children	7.9	2.0	3.652	0.056
N	127	100		
	FMII	PV		
	Non-physical IPV	Physical IPV		
Precursors	only	included	Chi-square	p-value ($df = 1$)
	Al			
Argument	18.9	14.2	1.089	0.297
Losing self-control	7.3	6.8	0.032	0.858
Demanding/ requesting	6.7	6.2	0.036	0.849
Criticizing	4.3	5.6	0.275	0.600
In-laws	4.9	4.9	0.001	0.980
Stress	5.5	3.1	1.094	0.296
Trifles	2.4	5.6	1.985	0.159
Alcohol	3.0	3.7	0.104	0.748
Domestic work	3.0	3.7	0.104	0.748
Refusing Children	3.0 3.0	3.1 3.1	0.000 0.000	0.985 0.985
Cinidicii	3.0	3.1	0.000	0.983
N	164	162		

 $\frac{N}{Note}$: The unit of analysis is an incident. *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001

Unlike the results found when analyzing the triggers, Table 6.11 shows that there were no precursors whose relationship to the occurrence of the type of IPV was statistically significant at the other two levels of time, Reason 1 and Reason 2 or farther. Thus, the null hypothesis stating that the frequencies of precursors are not different within the two types of incidents is not rejected. Findings suggest that the occurrence of precursors at the beginning or distal level of the IPV does not determine the IPV types, physical or non-physical of IPV, but some at the proximal level do.

In Table 6.11, FMIPV has only one joint distribution but is not specified in the level of time due to the lack of precursor size. The frequency of precursors at each level was not sufficient to analyze (see Table 6.8). Eleven precursors were selected based on the same criteria of MFIPV. The results indicate no significant difference between the occurrence of precursors and the type of IPV. Findings indicate that the occurrences of the 11 precursors were independent in the occurrence of *non-physical IPV only* incidents and *physical IPV incidents* included. Thus, it is also suggested that the type of IPV by female offenders was not determined by the transaction of precursors.

Summary of Findings

Throughout the 393 episodes, a number indicated the characteristics of posters and their spouses. The majority of posters were young (20s and 30s), married, non-U.S citizen, lived 2 years or less in the U.S. and had children. Sixty-four episodes indicated their economic status, upper (26.6%) and lower (73.4%) and 49 episodes showed posters' educational attainment (some college or more). Fifty posters reported their immigrant status was attached to their spouses' legal status. Of 142 episodes, 93.0% indicated posters' family were not in the U.S. Thirty-one posters admitted they had a violence-

prone personality. Some episodes showed posters' disadvantageous situations such as worries concerning financial security after divorce (n = 54), not fluent in English speakers (n = 15), and abuse related to spouses knowing of their handicapped situations (n = 14). A few episodes showed posters' traditional/patriarchal perspectives (n = 6) and 22 posters were uncertain as to whether non-physical IPV was actually considered violence. Finally, in terms of the purpose of the postings, episodes indicated either or both specific information (n = 100 episodes; 25.4%) and judgment from others (n = 117; 29.8%).

On the other hand, the episodes show that the majority of spouses were middle aged (30s or older) and U.S. citizens. Sixty-four episodes indicated spouses' educational attainment (some college or more). Of 85 episodes, 60.0% indicated spouses' family did not live in the U.S. Of a total of 126 violent-prone personality appearances, spouses were hot-tempered or violent/aggressive (33.3%), explosive with low self-control (31.7%), abnormal or sadistic (12.7%), jealous (9.5%), perfectionists (6.3%), and timid, self-reproachful or with victim mentality (6.3%). In addition, there were episodes in which spouses displayed "Jekyll and Hyde" tendencies (n = 25) and were unattached to Korean culture (n = 32), derived from the fact that posters described spouses as American, non-Korean, or English speakers. Finally, with regard to spouses' perspectives, there were episodes indicating that violence was only classified as being physical or involving severe injuries (n = 18) and had traditional/patriarch perspectives (n = 57).

This chapter highlights that IPV comes in various forms, dichotomized into non-physical and physical forms, with the non-physical form of IPV being the majority. In addition, IPV was triggered by various precursors which were contingent on prior

conditions and stretched out to the distal context. The contingent nature of an IPV event found gradual or instant loss of self-control by external prior conditions. This finding calls into question the measurement of self-control using basic assumptions on a static level (see also Agnew, 2006).

Verbal form played a critical role in the transaction of IPV. The most frequent single form of offense was name-calling/insult. The majority of incidents included verbal violence (n = 294; 52.4%). Furthermore, verbal violence was more connected to and co-occurred with other type of IPV. With respect to precursors, verbal exchanges, such as *verbal hostility* and *demand/resist/withdrawal*, were quite frequent in the dynamics of precursors. They triggered IPV or mediated other precursors connected with the IPV.

MCA illustrated the connections or the transactions of precursors formulated in the form of a network. In the network, precursors were connected either directly or indirectly with one another, from distal context to immediate situations. Based on the formulation of the interconnection model relying on the *in-and-out connection*, it was found that the precursors closer to IPV possessed more convergent connections, while the farther from IPV, the more divergent were the connections. The transactions of precursors, however, were not much different in the two types, non-physical and physical forms of IPV.

Chapter 7. Help Seeking and Its Barrier of IPV

This chapter will highlight the strategies female victims in this study used to cope after IPV. It will further illustrate perceived barriers to their ability to seek help. Might-cause chain analysis (MCA) was utilized to extract what victims (i.e., posters) wanted from the 393 episodes that included 561 IPV incidents, as discussed in the preceding section. From the episodes, 32 types of help seeking (N = 671) and 99 types of barriers (N = 1333) were found (see Tables 7.1 and 6.12).

MCA first questioned what victims wanted to improve or overcome their situations caused by violence. It was found that 296 or 75.6% of the episodes, containing 445 IPV incidents, indicated at least one "want" that had been acted upon or was only in mind (see Table 7.1). For help seeking, MCA examined the posters' awareness of barriers by questioning what made it difficult or caused reluctance for the victims. Of the 296 episodes containing help-seeking, 236 (79.7%) indicated at least one barrier (see Table 7.2). *Immediate barriers*, which were nearest or direct barriers to the help seeking, were found in 236 episodes (77 types). With MCA, this was traced back to the reason of immediate barriers occurred, which are *middle barriers* (N = 170 episodes, 78 types). The middle barriers were contingent on *distal barriers* (N = 86 episodes, 56 types) that were situated remotely, the last in the temporal distribution of barriers.²⁷

What do Victims Want after IPV?

Table 7.1 provides a list of what victims wanted after IPV. Of the 32 help-seeking behaviors, the most frequently reported was divorce or termination of their intimate relationship. Almost 65% of 296 episodes that contained help seeking indicated

²⁷ There were 6 temporal levels of the barriers. Barrier 1, 2, and 3 were corresponded to immediate, middle, and distal barriers, respectively. There were 29, 10, and one episodes containing barrier 4, 5, and 6. These were classified into the distal barrier.

that the victims wanted "to get divorced/end relationship" with their male partners.

Regarding the next five most frequent help-seeking behaviors, victims wanted "to get help," "to maintain a marriage/intimate relationship," "to report to the police," "to avoid having any contact with him," and "to commit suicide."

Victims also needed help, which appeared in 95 or 32.1% of the episodes (see Table 7.1). Specifically, they wanted to get advice or encouragement (n = 42; 14.2%), legal counsel for divorce (n = 28; 8.1%), and marriage counseling or therapy (n = 22; 7.4%). A few episodes indicated that victims wanted to get help (n = 5; 1.7%) or legal counsel (n = 1; 0.3%) without specification and to get legal counsel for their husband's arrest due to IPV (n = 1; 0.3%).

Although the most frequent victims' want was to end an intimate relationship, maintaining intimate relationship also appeared frequently (n = 50; 16.9%, see Table 7.1). The occurrence of those two wants (ending and maintaining), however, was not exclusive. There were some postings with contradictory wants in an episode, which indicated posters' internal conflict between ending and maintaining the relationship.

Posters also indicated they wanted to file a police report concerning IPV (n = 43; 14.5%, see Table 7.1). Some victims had reported the incident after or during the IPV, but most were reluctant due to the awareness of barriers. The fifth most frequent help-seeking behavior was to avoid having any contact with their male partners, appearing in 36 episodes (12.2%). Specifically, victims wanted to leave the house (n = 26; 8.8%), to separate (n = 9; 3.0%), and to obtain a restraining order from court (n = 1; 0.3%).

Table 7.1. Percentage	of the Heln	Seeking of IPV	Victims $(N = 296)$
Table 7.1. I CICCINASC	01 1110 11010	DUCKINE OF IT V	\mathbf{v} iculis $\mathbf{v}/\mathbf{v} = 2201$

Table 7.1. Percentage of the Help Seeking of IPV	
Help seeking ("I wanted")	%
To get divorced/end relationship	64.9
To get help	32.1
to get advice/encouragement	14.2
to get legal counsel for divorce	8.1
to get marriage counseling/therapy	7.4
to get help	1.7
to get legal counsel	0.3
to get legal counsel for his arrest	0.3
To maintain a marriage/intimate relationship	16.9
To report to the police	14.5
To avoid having any contact with him	12.2
to leave home	8.8
to separate from him	3.0
to obtain a restraining order against him	0.3
To commit suicide	10.1
To return/visit home country	8.4
To fix his behavior	7.8
to fix his behavior.violence	6.8
to fix his behavior.alcohol	0.3
to fix his behavior.gambling	0.3
to fix his violence towards children	0.3
To become independent	5.7
to get a job	4.1
to become independent	1.0
to have a driver's license	0.7
To refuse to have sex with him	5.4
To retaliate	5.4
To get/keep custody of children	5.1
To recover relationship with him	5.1
to forgive him	2.4
to love	1.4
to receive an apology from him	1.4
To vent feelings/situations to someone/parents	4.7
To talk with him	4.1
To have social/recreational activities	3.7
To get alimony/child support from him	3.4
To be dissociated from in-laws	3.0
To live in the U.S.	2.7
To kill him/him to be dead	2.0
To study	1.7
Not to be patient anymore	1.4
To have peace of mind	1.4
Him not to have an arrest record	0.7
Not to get/keep custody of children	0.7
To be pregnant	0.7
To document his promise	0.7
To get Green Card	0.7
To have an abortion	0.7
Him not to boss around	0.3
Not to argue	0.3
Not to be pregnant	0.3

Some episodes indicated that victims wanted to kill themselves due to suffering from IPV (n = 30, 10.1%). Although suicide was not viewed as an actual help-seeking behavior aimed at improving their situations, it does represent the complex state of victims, indicating the difficulty in seeking an "exit" and a strong desire to be away from their male partners. Table 7.1 provides the other wants that victims sought.

Why can Victims Not do What They Want?

Table 7.2 provides 99 perceived barriers to help seeking by level of time with the frequency and average distance. MCA found 77 immediate barriers (N = 236) that were directly connected, as perceived possible blocks to help seeking. The five most frequent immediate barriers were victims' fear (36.9%), children (30.5%), violence (26.3%), refusing (14.8%), and victims' lack of knowledge or information (12.3%).

The immediate barriers were contingent on 78 *middle barriers* (N = 170), (see Table 7.2). Victims indicated that these barriers caused the immediate barriers. The rank of the middle barriers differed from immediate barriers. The five most frequent middle barriers in order were *lack of financial security* (21.2%), *children* (20.0%), *violence* (18.2%), victims' *parents* (10.6%), and victim as *dependent* (8.8%).

Tracing back to prior reasons, MCA examined *distal barriers* (N = 86) that might cause the occurrence of the middle barriers (see Table 7.2). They also provided different rank orders regarding the other two barriers. The top five distal barriers were *violence* (31.4%), victim as *dependent* (17.4%), *demanding/requesting* (12.8%), and *unstable immigrant/visa status* (10.5%).

Table 7.2. Percentage of Barriers by Level of Time and Average Distance

_			vel of Time			
Barriers ^a		Immediate ^a	Middle ^b	Distal ^c	Interval ^d	
Children	44.9	30.5	20.0	5.8	0.4	
Doing violence	44.5	26.3	18.2	31.4	0.7	
Fear.f	37.3	36.9	1.8	1.2	0.1	
Lack of financial security	24.6	9.7	21.2	10.5	0.8	
Refusing	19.1	14.8	5.3	7.0	0.5	
Parents	18.6	10.6	10.6	2.3	0.5	
Lack of knowledge/information.f	15.7	12.3	6.5	1.2	0.3	
Unstable immigrant/visa status	14.0	8.9	7.1	10.5	0.8	
Demanding/requesting	12.3	2.1	8.2	12.8	1.4	
In-laws	11.9	7.6	5.9	4.7	0.7	
Dependent	11.4	0.8	8.8	17.4	1.7	
Apology.m	11.0	10.6	0.0	1.2	0.1	
Divorce	10.2	3.8	6.5	7.0	1.0	
Lack of ability to earn a living	9.7	4.2	6.5	7.0	0.9	
Morality of divorce.f	9.7	9.7	1.2	0.0	0.1	
Social stigma/losing face	9.7	6.8	4.7	0.0	0.3	
Personality	8.1	3.8	3.5	5.8	0.9	
Difficulty of getting/keeping custody of children	7.6	3.8	6.5	0.0	0.6	
Difficulty of the divorce process.f	7.0	5.5	2.4	0.0	0.2	
Blaming.m	6.8	5.9	1.8	0.0	0.2	
No place to go.f	6.8	5.1	2.4	1.2	0.2	
Record/arrest.m	6.4	1.7	5.3	7.0	1.2	
Difficulty of raising children alone.f	5.9	1.3	8.2	1.2	0.9	
Few acquaintance.f	5.9	3.4	4.7	1.2	0.6	
Living without husband.f	5.9	0.0	8.2	0.0	1.0	
Loving him.f	5.5	5.1	0.6	0.0	0.1	
Business/job	5.1	0.4	1.8	9.3	1.8	
Lack of fluency in English.f	5.1	3.0	2.4	2.3	0.6	
Career interruption.f	4.7	1.3	2.4	8.1	1.4	
Ego.m	4.7	0.4	5.9	1.2	1.1	
Hope of his change.f	4.7	4.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Leaving.f	4.7	0.0	6.5	1.2	1.1	
Being good except for violence.m	4.2	4.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Feeling of unfairness.f	4.2	3.0	1.2	1.2	0.5	
Married and came to the U.S./living in the U.S.f	4.2	0.0	3.5	5.8	1.6	
New life/start.f	4.2	0.8	5.3	0.0	0.8	
Violence level	4.2	2.5	1.8	1.2	0.5	
Difficulty of getting help.f	3.4	1.7	2.9	0.0	0.6	
Feeling of sympathy for him.f	3.4	3.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Lack of evidence of violence	3.4	3.0	1.2	0.0	0.2	
Lack of mobility/transportation.f	3.4	2.5	1.2	1.2	0.4	
Place	3.4	0.4	3.5	4.7	1.3	
Advice	3.0	2.1	0.0	2.3	0.6	
Difficulty of getting alimony/child support.f	3.0	0.8	2.9	0.0	0.7	
Lack of ways/means of communication	3.0	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Pregnancy	3.0	1.3	1.8	3.5	1.2	
Avoiding.m	2.5	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Family of origin	2.5	0.8	2.9	1.2	0.9	
	2.5			3.5		
Having an affair Homemaker.f		0.4	2.4		1.4	
	2.5	0.0	1.2	5.8	2.1	
Lack of preparation/divorce in preparation.f	2.5	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Man of ability.m	2.5	1.3	1.2	1.2	0.7	
Reporting to the police.f	2.5	0.4	2.4	2.3	1.4	
Foreign student	2.1	0.0	0.0	5.8	2.4	
Lack of self-control.m	2.1	0.0	2.4	1.2	1.2	

Lie.m	2.1	0.8	0.6	2.3	1.4
Returning to South Korea.f	2.1	0.8	1.2	1.2	0.8
Spending money	2.1	0.0	2.4	1.2	1.2
Study	2.1	1.3	1.2	0.0	0.4
Value of family members.m	2.1	0.4	1.8	1.2	1.4
Age.f	1.7	0.8	0.6	1.2	0.8
Brazen justification of wrongdoing/violence.m	1.7	1.3	0.6	0.0	0.3
Jekyll & Hyde.m	1.7	0.8	0.6	1.2	0.8
Religion/belief	1.7	1.3	1.2	1.2	0.7
Without a driver's license.f	1.7	0.8	0.6	2.3	1.0
Alcohol.m	1.3	0.0	0.6	2.3	2.0
Controlling document.m	1.3	0.4	1.8	0.0	0.8
Criticizing	1.3	0.4	0.0	2.3	1.3
Denial of violence.m	1.3	0.4	1.2	0.0	0.7
Feeling of guilt.f	1.3	0.8	0.6	0.0	0.3
Having helped/supported him.f	1.3	0.0	1.2	1.2	1.3
Newly married/engaged.f	1.3	0.8	0.6	0.0	0.3
Cultural difference	0.8	0.4	0.6	0.0	0.5
Domestic work	0.8	0.0	0.6	1.2	2.0
Gossiping	0.8	0.4	1.2	0.0	0.7
Having coddled.f	0.8	0.0	0.6	1.2	2.0
Ineffectiveness	0.8	0.8	0.0	1.2	0.7
Lack of physical power/health.f	0.8	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
Poor mental health.f	0.8	0.4	0.6	0.0	0.5
Shared debt	0.8	0.0	0.6	1.2	1.5
Being considered a kidnapping and others ^e	6.4	3.8	5.9	4.7	0.8

Note: Notations of barriers at the end: m (male partners did); f (female partners did). The unit of analysis is an episode: ${}^{a}N = 236$, ${}^{b}N = 170$, and ${}^{c}N = 86$.

Table 7.2 also provides the average distance of barriers under the interval column. The interval of each barrier, indicating the distance from immediate barrier, was calculated by assigning numbers to each temporality from 0 (barrier 1) to 5 (barrier 6);²⁸ average numbers of each barrier were then computed.

Figure 7.1 illustrates the associations between the average distance and percentages of the 25 most frequent barriers found in the episodes shown in Table 7.2. Values on the horizontal axis show the interval values (distance), corresponding to immediate (0), middle (1), and distal (2) barriers in average; the vertical axis shows the

^dIntervals represent the distance of barriers after help-seeking in average: 0 = immediate, 1 = middle, and 2 or more = distal barriers.

^eBarriers appeared only in one episode, including being estranged from him, going to shelter.f, deportation, different jurisdiction, ex-wife, feeling of depression.f, feeling of hatred/anger.f, gambling.m, having gun.m, lack of respect for him.f, lack of responsibility.m, neglecting.m, night, restraining order.m, seeking help.f, separation, student.f, and telling on.m,

²⁸ There were 6 temporal levels: Immediate (barrier 1), middle (barrier 2), and distal (barrier 3, 4, 5, and 6) barriers.

percentages of each barrier. The closest barriers to help seeking were *fear*, *apology*, and *morality of divorce*, while the farthest ones were *dependent*, *demanding/requesting*, male partners' *record or arrest* due to IPV (see Figure 7.1).

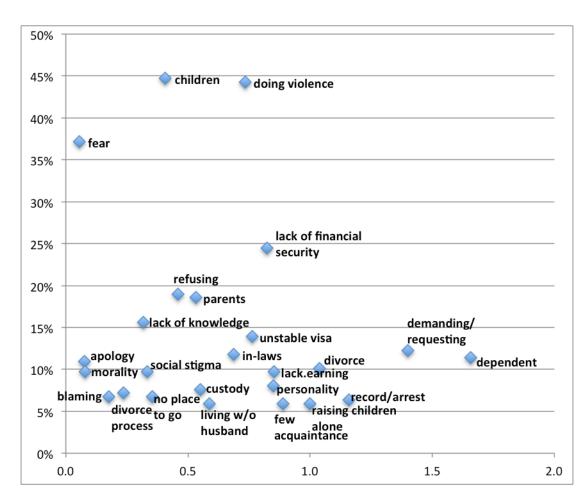


Figure 7.1. Percentage and Average Distance of 25 Most Frequent Barriers

Note: The most frequent barriers (n = 25) were selected to depict the distance of them. The X-axis represents the distance from immediate barriers and the Y-axis indicates the percentages of the episodes showing the barriers.

How are the Barriers Associated with Help Seeking and Other Barriers?

MCA illustrates the connection between help seeking and barriers to help seeking.

The barriers appeared differently based on the relationships with others.

Help seeking connected to immediate barriers.

Table 7.3 provides the association of help seeking with immediate barriers. The first column shows the immediate barriers with the frequencies of episodes indicating the connection with help seeking (N = 236). The rest of the columns indicate the 10 most frequent help-seeking behaviors that were linked to immediate barriers. As shown in Table 7.3, 154 episodes contained the "to get divorced/end relationship" help-seeking behavior that was connected to at least one immediate barrier, followed by [2] "to maintain a marriage/intimate relationship" (n = 36), [3] "to report to the police" (n = 33), [4] "to get help" (n = 31), [5] "to avoid having any contact with him" (n = 25), [6] "to return/visit home country" (n = 18), [7] "to talk with him" (n = 12), [8] "to become independent" (n = 11), [9] "to get/keep custody of children" (n = 10), and [10] "to fix his behavior" (n = 10).

In Table 7.3, representing first help seeking, victims wanted *to get divorce or end intimate relationship* due to IPV, but they also thought that it would be difficult because of their fear, children, partners' apology, their morality of divorce, and unstable immigrant /visa status, etc. The victims' fear represented the most frequent barrier. Episodes indicated that when ending relationship appeared as a help-seeking behavior, 26 middle barriers caused fear, such as lack of financial security (n = 16 episodes), children (n = 14), living without husband (n = 12), difficulty of raising children alone (n = 7), parents (n = 7), difficulty of getting/keeping custody of children (n = 6), new life/start (n = 6), lack of ability to earn a living (n = 4), etc.

 Table 7.3. Help-seeking of IPV Victims and Immediate Barriers

		Help	-seeki	ng ("I	wante	ed")*					
Immediate Barriers ^a ("but it was difficult because	of")	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]
Fear.f	87	59	4	17	3	7	4		1	1	1
Children	72	56	2	1		4	3				
Doing violence	62	7	26	6	4	1	2	4	2		1
Refusing	35	12			8		1		2	6	1
Lack of knowledge/information.f	29	12		4	8		2				4
Apology.m	25	20		2		1	4				
Parents	25	14	1				2	1			1
Morality of divorce.f	23	20				1	1				
Lack of financial security	23	9	1	1	6	2	2		1	1	
Unstable immigrant/visa status	21	14					1		5	2	
In-laws	18	3	4	1				2			2
Social stigma/losing face	16	9		2			2				
Blaming.m	14		8	1	2			3			2
Difficulty of the divorce process.f	13	13									
No place to go.f	12	1				11					
Loving him.f	12	11					1				
Hope of his change.f	11	10		1							
Lack of ability to earn a living	10	9					1			2	
Being good except for violence.m	10	10									
Difficulty of getting/keeping custody of children.f	9	8					3				
Divorce	9	2	5			1					
Personality	9		3						1		
Few acquaintance.f	8			1	4	1					
Feeling of sympathy for him.f	8	3		4							
Feeling of unfairness.f	7	6									
Lack of ways/means of communication	7	1		2				3			1
Lack of fluency in English.f	7			1	3				1	1	
Lack of evidence of violence	7			6							
Avoiding.m	6	1	1					2	1		
Lack of mobility/transportation.f	6				2	2	1				
Lack of preparation/divorce in preparation.f	6	5		1							
Violence level	6					1					3
Advice	5	2				2					
Demanding/requesting	5	1						1	1		1
Difficulty of getting help.f	4	1			1		1				1
Record/arrest.m	4			3							
Difficulty of raising children alone.f	3	2		1			1				
Man of ability.m	3	2					1			1	
Religion/belief	3	2					1				
Pregnancy	3	2							1		
Study	3	2		1							
Career interruption.f	3	1							1	1	
Brazen justification of wrongdoing/violence.m	3		2					1			
Lack of physical power/health.f	2	1									1
Without a driver's license.f	2					1					
Ineffectiveness	2			1	2						
New life/start.f	2	2									
Difficulty of getting alimony/child support.f	2	2									
Returning to South Korea.f	2	2									
Newly married/engaged.f	2	2									
Dependent	2	1	1								
Age.f	2	1									
Feeling of guilt.f	2	1									
Lie.m	2			2							

Table 7.3. (continued)

	Help-seeking ("I wanted")*									
Immediate Barriers ^a ("but it was difficult because of")	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]
Jekyll & Hyde.m 2		2								
Family of origin 2	1									
Being considered a kidnapping and 20 others ^b										

Note: Ten most frequent "wants" (help-seeking) of victims were selected. Notations of barriers at the end: m (male partners were or did); f (female partners were or did). The unit of analysis is an episode. $^aN = 236$ (episodes that contained both help-seeking and immediate barriers). bB Barriers appeared only in one episode, including business/job, controlling document.m, criticizing, cultural difference, denial of violence.m, ego.m, feeling of depression.f, feeling of hatred/anger.f, gambling.m, gossiping, having an affair, lack of respect for him.f, lack of responsibility.m, neglecting.m, night, place, poor mental health.f, reporting to the police.f, restraining order.m, value of family members.m.

*Help-seeking, "I wanted":

[1] to get divorced/end relationship	(N = 154)
[2] to maintain a marriage/intimate relationship	(N = 36)
[3] to report to the police	(N = 33)
[4] to get help	(N = 31)
[5] to avoid having any contact with him	(N = 25)
[6] to return/visit home country	(N = 18)
[7] to talk with him	(N = 12)
[8] to become independent	(N = 11)
[9] to get/keep custody of children	(N = 10)
[10] to fix his behavior	(N = 10)

Note: Total N of episodes of each help-seeking occurring with immediate barriers in parenthesis.

Although victims wanted *to maintain intimate relationship*, they also felt that it would be difficult due to partners' violence, blaming, and divorce claim, posters' fear, inlaws, etc. The fear was shown to be the third most frequent barriers here, which was contingent on two middle barriers such as violence (n = 2) and in-laws (n = 1) (see Table 7.3).

Posters who were IPV victims indicated that they wanted *to report to the police* during or after IPV; however, it was difficult because of (1) their fear (n = 17) contingent on partners' arrest or being recorded, unstable immigrant/visa status after his arrest, children, victims' lack of knowledge/information about future happenings, etc. (see also Appendix D for detailed information about the barriers affecting victims' fear); (2) partners' (psychological) violence (n = 6) by incapacitating posters such as destroying phone (n = 3) and camera (n = 1), threatening (n = 1), and handcuffing (n = 1); (3) lack of

evidence of violence (n = 6); (4) victims' lack of knowledge/information on how to report (n = 4); (5) victim's feeling of sympathy for him (n = 4), etc. (see Table 7.3).

Table 7.3 provides other help-seeking behaviors associated with immediate barriers. *Getting help* also would be difficult because of victims' lack of knowledge/information on how to obtain, partners' refusal, lack of financial security, partners' (verbal) violence, victims with few acquaintance, etc.

In order *to avoid having any contact with him*, victims would need to overcome the situations of their having no place to go, fear (no connection with middle barriers), children, lack of financial security and mobility/transportation, etc.

Some posters who were IPV victims wanted to *return/visit home country*, but also felt fear due to a lack of knowledge/information about their future or the next step after leaving.²⁹ In addition, other barriers such as partners' apology, children, difficulty of getting/keeping custody of children and lack of financial security made them reluctant to decide to return.

The reasons cited for difficulty *to talk with him* were violence, blaming, lack of communication skill (one-sided argument), in-laws (in-laws' favoritism and interference) and partner's avoidance.

Eleven episodes indicated that victims wanted *to become independent* (*to get a job*), but they felt difficulty because of their unstable immigrant/visa status, partners' (psychological) violence (such as threatening to expel from the U.S. and diminishing her ability by refusing her study or work) and avoidance of support, and posters' lack of fluency in English.

²⁹ One poster indicated that she felt fear because her husband had done everything so that it would be the first time for her to buy a flight ticket and use the airport alone (ep# 531).

The posters who wanted *to get/keep custody of children* expressed difficulty because of partners' refusal and posters' unstable immigrant/visa status, lack of ability to earn a living, fear (due to lack of knowledge/information, difficulty of raising children alone, and unstable immigrant/visa status) and lack of fluency in English.

Finally, when the posters wanted to improve their situation, they often cited *fixing their partners' behaviors*. However, they recognized the difficulty in this task because of their lack of knowledge/information on how to go about it. It is important to note that the violence level increased when posters did violence or retaliated to fix partners' violence, in-laws' blaming and avoidance of help and partner's refusal of poster's request for therapy.

Immediate barriers connected to middle reasons.

Table 7.4 provides the association between immediate barriers with middle barriers. In the first column, 78 middle barriers (or reasons) that caused the occurrence of the immediate barriers are shown with the frequencies of episodes (N = 170). The most frequent middle barrier was the "lack of financial security;" 36 episodes included this factor with the connection to immediate barriers. The next eight (or shown 12 episodes or more) were "children" (n = 34), partners' "doing violence" (n = 31), victims' "parents" (n = 18), victim as a "dependent" (n = 15), "demanding/requesting" (n = 14), "difficulty of raising children alone" for victims n = 14), "living without husband" (n = 14) and "unstable immigrant/visa status" (n = 12).

Table 7.4. Immediate Barriers Contingent on Middle Barriers

Table 7.4. Immediate Barriers Contingent on	Middle										
			nediate								
Middle Barriers ^a Causing Immediate Barriers		[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]
Lack of financial security	36	18	1		2	1		1	8	,	
Children	34	17	2		1	1			1	5 ^b	
Doing violence	31	6		10	5					1	1
Parents	18	9									4 ^c
Dependent	15				1		14				
Demanding/requesting	14		11			1		4			
Difficulty of raising children alone.f	14	11			1					2	
Living without husband.f	14	13									
Unstable immigrant/visa status	12	5					1				
Lack of knowledge/information.f	11	8							2		
Lack of ability to earn a living	11	4		1	4						
Divorce	11		6	5							
Difficulty of getting/keeping custody of children	11	8	_	_		4					
Leaving.f	11		5	5				2			
Ego.m	10		4			4		3			
In-laws	10	4	1					1			
New life/start.f	9	8									
Record/arrest.m	9	7		1	1						
Refusing	9		7					2			
Few acquaintance.f	8	1									
Social stigma/losing face	8	3				3					
Married and came to the U.S./living in the U.S.f	6										
Personality	6		5								
Place	6					1					
Difficulty of getting alimony/child support.f	5	1			3						
Difficulty of getting help.f	5				2			1			1
Family of origin	5									1	1
Career interruption.f	4				2						
Difficulty of the divorce process.f	4	3		1							
Having an affair	4			2				1			
Lack of fluency in English.f	4	2			1						
Lack of self-control.m	4		4								
No place to go.f	4	2						1			
Reporting to the police.f	4		2	1				1			
Spending money	4		1			3					
Blaming.m	3	1									
Business/job	3				2	1					
Controlling document.m	3				1						
Pregnancy	3							2			
Value of family members.m	3		2								
Violence level	3										
Denial of violence.m	2										
Fear.f	2										
Feeling of unfairness.f	2	2									
Gossiping	2	1									
Having helped/supported him.f	2				1						
Homemaker.f	2	1									
Lack of evidence of violence	2										
Lack of mobility/transportation.f	2	1							1		
Man of ability.m	2									1	1
Morality of divorce.f	2										
Religion/belief	2										1
Returning to South Korea.f	2	1									
Study	2										
•											

Age.f	1	1							
Being estranged from him	1	1							
Deportation	1	1							
Feeling of guilt.f	1	1							
Going to shelter.f	1	1							
Loving him.f	1	1							
Poor mental health.f	1	1							
Shared debt	1				1				
Student.f	1				1				
Having coddled.f	1		1						
Brazen justification of wrongdoing/violence.m	1								
Alcohol.m	1								
Being considered a kidnapping	1								
Cultural difference	1								
Different jurisdiction	1							1	
Domestic work	1					1			
Jekyll & Hyde.m	1								1
Lie.m	1								
Newly married/engaged.f	1								
Restraining order.m	1								
Seeking help.f	1			1					
Separation	1			1					
Telling on.m	1								
Without a driver's license.f	1						1 27	01	

Note: Ten most frequent immediate barriers that appeared with the middle ones were selected. Notations of barriers at the end: m (male partners were or did); f (female partners were or did). The unit of analysis is an episode. ${}^{a}N=170$ (episodes that contained immediate barriers).

^bChildren need/like father (n=3), children's education in the U.S. (n=1) and mixed-race (n=1).

*Immediate Barriers

[1] fear.f	(N=77)
[2] doing violence	(N=42)
[3] apology.m	(N=23)
[4] lack of financial security	(N=18)
[5] refusing	(N=15)
[6] unstable immigrant/visa status	(N=15)
[7] blaming.m	(N=11)
[8] difficulty of the divorce process.f	(N=11)
[9] children	(N=9)
[10] parents	(N=9)

Note: Total *N* of episodes of each immediate barrier contingent on middle barriers in parenthesis.

Similar to Table 7.3, the 10 most frequent immediate barriers contingent on middle ones were selected, appearing in the next 10 columns of Table 7.4. Victims' "fear" (n = 77) was the most frequent immediate barrier among the ones connected to at least one middle barrier (N = 170), followed by [2] "doing violence" (n = 42), [3] partners' "apology" (n = 23), [4] "lack of financial security" (n = 18), [5] "refusing" (n = 15), [6] "unstable immigrant/visa status" (n = 15), [7] partners' "blaming" (n = 11), [8]

^cMarried despite my parents' opposition (n=3), and parents' help/support (n=1).

"difficulty of the divorce process" for victims (n = 11), [9] "children" (n = 9) and [10] victims" "parents" (n = 9).

In Table 7.4, on victims' *fear*, the first immediate barrier, the most frequent reason (middle barrier) affecting it was a "lack of financial security," shown in 18 episodes, followed by "children" (n = 17), "living without husband" (n = 13), "difficulty of raising children alone" for victims (n = 11), victims' "parents" (n = 9), victims' "lack of knowledge/information" (n = 8), "difficulty of getting/keeping custody of children" for victims (n = 8), new life/start (n = 8), etc.

In the next column, when victims' help seeking was involved, partners' violence was contingent on 13 factors, shown as the middle barriers. The factors differed from the precursors in the previous section, not only including immediate occurrence of precursors prior to IPV, but also static factors perceived by the victims, such as personality. The most influential reason for *violence* was "demanding/requesting" (n = 11). Specifically, five demanding types were shown in the episodes: partners' demanding obedience (n = 6)and for having sex (n = 1) and victims' demanding for therapy (n = 2), stopping (n = 1), and recreation (n = 1). Victims' "refusing" was also relatively frequently shown (n = 7)among the precipitators of violence. Four types of refusing were found: victims refused partners' demands for sex (n = 4), obedience (n = 1), living with in-laws (n = 1), and relationship recovery (n = 1). In addition, victims' "divorce claim" was the third most frequent factor (n = 7). Victims' attempts and history of "leaving" and partners' "personality" were reported in five episodes each. In particular, the personality related to the *violence* was clarified with partners' temper (n = 4) and jealousy (n = 1). Partners' "ego" (self-righteousness) and the "lack of self-control" were indicated in four episodes

each. These reasons causing the occurrence of partners' violence, except ego and personality, were found frequently in the precursors of IPV, as discussed in the preceding section.

Other immediate barriers are contained in Table 7.4. These include partners' apology, shown third under the Immediate Barriers column, after violence (n = 10), victims' attempt to leave (n = 5) and divorce claim (n = 5). Next, the victims perceived that the *lack of financial security* was influenced by partners' economic violence (n = 5), victims' lack of ability to earn a living (n = 4) and difficulty of getting alimony/child support (n = 3) as well as partner refused (refusing) to have therapy, to get divorced, victims to have a job and child custody, and to help victims, because of difficulty of getting/keeping custody of children (n = 4), partners' ego (self-reverence, n = 4), spending money (n = 3), social stigma/losing face (n = 3), etc. Furthermore, victims' unstable immigrant/visa status was largely caused because they were dependents of their partners (n = 14). It was also found that partners blamed victims (blaming), because of partners' demanding obedience (n = 3) or victims requesting for therapy (n = 1) and partners' self-righteousness (ego, n = 3). In addition, victims' difficulty of the divorce process was mostly due to their lack of financial security (n = 8). For factors involving *children*, some victims believed that their children needed or liked their father (n = 3); they did not want their children to lose the opportunity to have an education in the U.S. (n = 1); and were concerned about the disadvantages of mixed-raced children living in South Korea (n = 1). Finally, victims worried about their *parents*' response to their marriage problems, particularly when they married in the face of their parents' opposition (n = 3) or if parents had supported the marriage financially (n = 1).

Middle barriers connected to distal reasons.

The first column of Table 7.5 reveals that 56 distal barriers were connected to middle barriers (N = 86). The most frequent distal factor was "doing violence" (n = 27), and next 10 ones or shown 6 or more episodes were "dependent" (n = 15), "demanding/requesting" (n = 11), "lack of financial security" (n = 9), "unstable immigrant/visa status" (n = 9), "business/job" (n = 8), "victims' career interruption" (n = 7), "divorce" (n = 6), "lack of ability to earn a living" (n = 6), partners' "record/arrest" (n = 6) and "refusing" (n = 6).

In the next column, the 10 most frequent middle barriers are shown. The top middle barrier was "doing violence" (n = 20), followed by [2] "lack of financial security" (n = 16), [3] "unstable immigrant/visa status" (n = 14), [4] "refusing" (n = 10), [5] victims' "leaving" (n = 7), [6] "difficulty of getting/keeping custody of children" (n = 6), [7] "demanding/requesting" (n = 6), [8] "divorce" (n = 6), [9] victims' "career interruption" (n = 6) and [10] "lack of ability to earn a living" (n = 5).

In Table 7.5, the most frequent distal reason for *violence*, the first middle barrier contingent on distal factors, was "divorce" claim (n = 5). This was different from the most frequent factors at middle level, demanding/requesting (see Table 7.4). However, the second factor of the distal level was the same as that of the middle level: victims' "refusing" (n = 3), which was the response to partners' demanding for work, serving inlaws, and obedience. Victims' violence and partners' abnormal or violent personality and alcohol consumption were also reported as distal reasons, each in two episodes.

Table 7.5 provides the distal reasons of the *lack of financial security* were "business/iob" (n = 5) including unemployment, victims' "career interruption" (n = 5),

economic (n = 3) and psychological (n = 1) "violence," victims' "lack of ability to earn a living" (n = 2), etc., which were different, with the middle reasons shown in Table 7.4. Business or job conditions and career interruption were more frequent at the distal level.

Table 7.5. Middle Barriers Contingent on Dist	al Barri										
		Mid	dle Ba	rriers	*						
Distal Barriers ^a Causing Middle Barriers		[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]
Doing violence	27	2	4			5		1	4	1	
Dependent	15			12							
Demanding/requesting	11				9			1			
Lack of financial security	9		1				1	1			
Unstable immigrant/visa status	9		1				2				
Business/job	8	1	5								
Career interruption.f	7		5				1				1
Divorce	6	5									
Lack of ability to earn a living	6		2				1				
Record/arrest.m	6	1		1			1				
Refusing	6	3				1	2				
Children	5					1				1	
Foreign student	5		1	4							
Homemaker.f	5		1								4
Married and came to the U.S./living in the U.S.f	5									2	
Personality	5	2									1
In-laws	4							2	1		
Place	4							_	-		
Having an affair	3					1			1		
Pregnancy	3		1			_			_		
Advice	2		•					1		1	
Alcohol.m	2	2						-		-	
Criticizing	2	1						1			
Ex-wife	2	1						•	1		
Lack of fluency in English.f	2	•							•		1
Lie.m	2										-
Parents	2				1						
Reporting to the police.f	2				•						
Without a driver's license.f	2										
Age.f	1									1	
Apology.m	1				1						
Deportation	1	1			•						
Difficulty of raising children alone.f	1										
Domestic work	1										
Ego.m	1	1									
Family of origin	1	1									
Fear.f	1	1			1						
Feeling of unfairness.f	1				1						
Few acquaintance.f	1				1						
Having coddled.f	1										
Having gun.m	1										
Having helped/supported him.f	1		1								
Ineffectiveness	1		1								
Jekyll & Hyde.m	1										
Lack of knowledge/information.f		1									
Lack of knowledge/information.1	1	1									

Lack of mobility/transportation.f	1		
Lack of self-control.m	1	1	
Leaving.f	1		
Man of ability.m	1		
No place to go.f	1		
Religion/belief	1		1
Returning to South Korea.f	1		
Spending money	1	1	
Value of family members.m	1		
Violence level	1		

Note: Ten most frequent middle barriers of victims were selected. Notations of barriers at the end: m (male partners were or did); f (female partners were or did). The unit of analysis is an episode ${}^{a}N=86$ (episodes that contained distal barriers).

*Middle Barriers	
[1] doing violence	(N=20)
[2] lack of financial security	(N=16)
[3] unstable immigrant/visa status	(N=14)
[4] refusing	(N=10)
[5] leaving.f	(N=7)
[6] difficulty of getting/keeping custody of children.f	(N=6)
[7] demanding/requesting	(N=6)
[8] divorce	(N=6)
[9] career interruption.f	(N=6)
[10] lack of ability to earn a living	(N=5)

Note: Total *N* of episodes of each distal barrier contingent on middle barriers in parenthesis.

For the third middle barrier displayed in Table 7.5, the most frequent distal reason, $unstable\ immigrant/visa\ status$, displayed the same pattern as the middle reason shown in Table 7.4, which indicates that frequently, a victim was a "dependent" of her partner (n = 12). This was followed by "foreign student" (n = 4). It was also reported that victims refused (refusing) partners' "demanding/requesting" sex (n = 4), obedience (n = 4), living with in-laws (n = 1), help (n = 1), and stopping (n = 1). Five episodes indicated that victims left or attempted to leave because of a partners' "violence" in the form of physical or non-physical (verbal and psychological) violence, which appeared in the distal level.

For the sixth middle barrier shown in Table 7.5, six episodes displayed victims who were well-aware of the *difficulty to get or keep child custody* when their immigrant/visa status was unstable (n = 2), partners refused (n = 2) and their economic

status was not secured, such as lack of financial security (n = 1) and inability to earn a living (n = 1), which were shown as distal reasons. It was also reported, in seventh, that various distal factors *demanded* victims, such as "in-laws," "advice" from others, partner's "violence," "criticizing," and "demanding" obedience, and victim's "lack of financial security" and "religion/belief." The most frequent distal factor that caused victims' *divorce* claim, in eighth, was a partners' "violence," which was consistent with the result of the immediate barrier to *maintaining intimate relationship* in help seeking (see Table 7.3 for comparison). The episodes showed victims' *career interruption* occurred because they were "married" and had "children." Finally, the distal reasons of victims' *lack of ability to earn a living* were found; they perceived that it was because they had lived as "homemakers." (n = 4).

How are the Help Seeking and Barriers Different by the Types of IPV?

This section addresses how IPV affects help-seeking behavior and perceived barriers to help seeking. It questioned whether victims' help seeking and their awareness of barriers, regardless of help-seeking patterns, varied by types of IPV. The answer to this question was built upon the work done in the previous section on precursors and transactions of IPV. As discussed earlier, IPV was categorized into two types, *non-physical IPV only* and *physical IPV included*. The episodes containing the help seeking and barriers were dichotomized by this classification and then analyzed.

As noted earlier, 296 episodes, including 445 IPV incidents, contained at least one form of help seeking. Of them, 131 episodes (44.3%) that included 225 IPV incidents (50.6%) were classified into the *non-physical IPV only*, while 165 episodes (55.7%) with 220 IPV incidents (49.4%) were into the *physical IPV included*.

The proportions of barriers by the types of IPV showed similar patterns, especially among those engaging in help seeking. For perceived barriers, 236 episodes included 362 IPV incidents and reported at least one barrier. 114 of these episodes (48.3%) with 182 incidents (50.3%) were categorized into *non-physical IPV only*; 122 episodes (51.7%) with 180 incidents (49.7%) were *physical IPV included*.

Table 7.6 provides four joint distributions concerning the types of IPV including help seeking and three barriers. In this table, the number of episodes of each help-seeking behavior shown in Table 7.1 and of each barrier at the level of time shown in Table 7.2 were divided into the two IPV types. These joint relationships were examined using a Chi-square statistic, through Microsoft® Excel® 2010, testing the two null hypotheses that (1) the occurrences of the help seeking are unrelated with the physical and non-physical type of IPV and (2) that the occurrences of the barriers at each level of time are unrelated with the physical and non-physical type of IPV. To avoid inflation of the value of the Chi-square statistic, only help seeking and barriers whose *expected frequencies* with 5 or greater were selected (Fox et al., 2013).

Results suggest that the relationship of 17 help-seeking types with the type of IPV is not statistically significant, except for victims who wanted "to get divorced/end relationship," "to report to the police," and "to retaliate." These were found more frequently in physical IPV; the ending relationship accounted for a large portion of frequency and the police report was quite robust (p < .001). Results suggest that, regardless of whether the IPV victims were victimized physically or non-physically, except for those showing the three significant help-seeking behaviors, their needs for help did not greatly differ.

Table 7.6. Percentage of Help seeking and Barriers by Type of IPV

Table 7.6. Percentage of Help seeking and Barrie				
	Non-physical	Physical IPV		m1
	IPV only $(N = 204)$	included $(N = 189)$	Chi-square	p-value $(df = 1)$
Help-seeking	(11 204)	(11 107)	CIII Square	(uj 1)
To get divorced/end relationship	40.2	58.2	6.510	0.011*
To get help	19.6	29.1	3.657	0.056
To maintain a marriage/intimate relationship	11.8	13.8	0.306	0.580
To report to the police	4.9	17.5	14.141	0.000***
To avoid having any contact with him	6.4	12.2	3.599	0.058
To commit suicide	6.4	9.0	0.884	0.347
To return/visit home country	6.4	6.3	0.000	0.993
To fix his behavior	5.4	6.3	0.154	0.695
To become independent	5.4	3.2	1.115	0.291
To refuse to have sex with him	2.5	5.8	2.735	0.098
To retaliate	2.0	6.3	4.641	0.031*
To get/keep custody of children	2.9	4.8	0.852	0.356
To recover relationship with him	3.4	4.2	0.165	0.685
To vent feelings/situations to someone/parents	2.9	4.2	0.459	0.498
To talk with him	2.0	4.2	1.659	0.198
To have social/recreational activities	2.9	2.6	0.031	0.178
To get alimony/child support from husband	2.0	3.2	0.568	0.451
10 get anniony/ennu support nom nusuanu		3.2	0.308	0.431
Immediate Barriers	Barriers			
Fear f	17.2	27.5	4.753	0.029*
Children	12.7	24.3	7.198	0.007**
Doing violence	13.2	18.5	1.736	0.188
Refusing	7.8	10.1	0.538	0.463
Lack of knowledge/information.f	3.9	11.1	6.872	0.009**
Parents	3.4	9.5	5.724	0.007
Apology.m	3.4	9.5	5.724	0.017
Lack of financial security	3.9	7.9	2.702	0.100
Morality of divorce.f	5.4	6.3	0.154	0.695
Unstable immigrant/visa status	5.4	5.3	0.002	0.965
In-laws	2.9	6.3	2.488	0.115
Social stigma/losing face.f	2.0	6.3	4.641	0.031*
Blaming.m	1.5	5.8	5.210	0.022*
Difficulty of the divorce process.f	0.5	6.3	10.181	0.001**
No place to go.f	2.0	4.2	1.659	0.198
Loving him.f	2.5	3.7	0.504	0.178
Hope of his change.f	2.5	3.2	0.184	0.668
Lack of ability to earn a living	3.4	1.6	1.311	0.252
Being good except for violence.m	2.5	2.6	0.015	0.904
	2.3	2.0	0.013	0.704
Middle Barriers				
Lack of financial security	5.4	13.2	6.575	0.010*
Children	7.4	10.1	0.827	0.363
Doing violence	5.4	10.6	3.350	0.067
Parents	3.4	5.8	1.222	0.269
Dependent	3.4	4.2	0.165	0.685
Demanding/requesting	4.4	2.6	0.859	0.354
Difficulty of raising children alone.f	2.9	4.2	0.459	0.498
Living without husband.f	2.9	4.2	0.459	0.498
Unstable immigrant/visa status	2.5	3.7	0.504	0.478
Lack of knowledge/information.f	1.5	4.2	2.674	0.102
Lack of ability to earn a living	4.4	1.1	3.942	0.047*
Divorce	2.0	3.7	1.065	0.302

Table 7.6 (continued)

	Non-physical IPV only (N = 204)	Physical IPV included (N = 189)	Chi-square	p-value (<i>df</i> = 1)
Middle Barriers (continued)				
Difficulty of getting/keeping custody of children.f	2.5	3.2	0.184	0.668
Leaving.f	2.0	3.7	1.065	0.302
In-laws	1.5	3.7	1.923	0.166
Ego.m	2.9	2.1	0.262	0.609
Distal Barriers				
Doing violence	5.9	7.9	0.603	0.438
Dependent	4.4	3.2	0.393	0.531
Demanding/requesting	2.5	3.2	0.184	0.668

Note: The unit of analysis is an episode. Notations of barriers at the end: m (male partners were or did); f (female partners were or did). *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001

Table 7.6 also provides three joint distributions of the immediate, middle, and distal barriers with the two types of IPV. Of 19 immediate barriers that (possibly) blocked victims' help seeking, eight were statistically significant between non-physical and physical IPV: Fear of help seeking, children, lack of knowledge/information, parents, husbands' apology, social stigma/losing face, husbands' blaming, and difficulty of the divorce process. They all were found more frequently in physical IPV included. On the other hand, the middle barriers (shown in Table 7.6) indicate that most of them were not statistically significant between non-physical and physical IPV, except for two barriers, lack of financial security and lack of ability to earn a living. While the lack of financial security was found more in physical IPV, the lack of ability to earn a living was found more in non-physical IPV. Distal barriers show insignificant differences between the two types of IPV. From the findings, therefore, in terms of the occurrence of help seeking and barriers to help seeking, the aftermath of IPV did not differ over the two types of violence.

Summary of Findings

MCA investigated help seeking as to what victims sought out after IPV, and barriers to help seeking, specifically questioning why it was difficult to do what they wanted. What the victims sought after IPV was (1) away from their spouses (i.e., perpetrators) *temporally* or *permanently*, but also a considerable number of episodes indicated that (2) victims wanted not to end the relationship. There were also victims who wanted (3) to react to the IPV directly, such as filing a police report, retaliation, refusing to have sex with him and (4) to get empowerment or security, such as getting advice/encouragement, becoming independent, keeping custody of kids, etc.

From these help-seeking strategies, various barriers were searched and distributed temporally, which divided into three levels: *immediate barriers* (nearest to or directly blocking the help seeking), *middle barriers* (the reasons of the immediate barriers occurring), and *distal barriers* (the reason for the middle barriers occurring). A large proportion of them shared their characteristics with "fear" and "lack" (or loss): fear to realize the help seeking such as being away from their husband, filing a police report, maintaining relationships, etc.; and lacks that represented victims' disadvantageous situations such as the lacks of financial security, knowledge/information, help, acquaintances, stability of living, place to go, fluency in English speaking, etc. Also, the burden of childcare and the cultural and immigrant context reinforced victims' disadvantageous situations for seeking help. The occurrences of immediate, middle, and distal barriers as well as the help seeking were not much different across the non-physical and physical forms of IPV.

Chapter 8. Risk Factors and Consequences of IPV

This chapter will discuss common factors concerning the occurrence, prevention, and consequences of IPV and how they are associated with IPV type on individual, cultural/structural, and situational tiers.

How do Posters Describe the Occurrence, Prevention and Consequence of IPV?

Occurrence. As shown in Table 8.1, there were episodes (n = 73) indicating that the time at which the first IPV occurred, a majority had been in the relationship for less than one year (74.0%). Also, 53 episodes reported that the IPV incidents occurred when posters were pregnant. Approximately 198 episodes indicated violence was repeated or regularly occurred. As previously discussed in the section concerning precursors, argument was the most frequent antecedents of IPV. A question was also raised as to "When did the IPV happen?" In light of this question, episodes were found indicating the circumstances of the IPV (Table 8.1). The five most frequent occasions that IPV occurred were while posters and spouses were spending leisure time such as watching TV and eating something (24.0%), driving (22.7%), doing domestic work (13.3%), on the phone (13.3%), and at the table eating (10.7%). These all generally involved their daily routine activities.

Prevention. Table 8.2. provides what the posters did to prevent or stop IPV and how they worked. As seen, 160 episodes were found showing their reactions to spouses' violence, appearing 215 times. Filing a police report was the most frequent method (15.3%), followed by leaving (14.0%), fighting back (11.6%), divorce claim (10.7%), demanding promise or others (7.0%), avoiding (6.0%), separation (5.6%), and threatening to file a police report or something else (4.7%).

Table 8.1. Occurrence of IPV

Variables	n ^a	%
First IPV occurring since cohabiting.	73 (18.6)	
Less than one year	54	74.0
1-2 year(s)	10	13.7
3-5 years	4	5.5
6-9 years	3	4.1
10 years or more	2	2.7
IPV occurred at the time of pregnancy	53 (13.5)	
IPV repeated or regularly occurred	198 (50.4)	
Violence occurred (besides argument) while posters and spouses (or		
one of them) were:	72 (18.3)	
At leisure	18	24.0
Driving	17	22.7
Doing domestic work	10	13.3
On the phone	9	12.0
At the table eating	8	10.7
Taking care of their baby/children	5	6.7
Resting at bedtime	3	4.0
Shopping	2	2.7
Ready for work in the morning	1	1.3
At the scene of husband's cheating	1	1.3
Being reconciled by his apology	1	1.3

Note: $^{\text{a}}$ Percentages of episodes (N = 393) in parentheses.

Questions were raised as to what reactions served as prevention. To answer this, instances of episodes indicating IPV had stopped one year or more since a reaction were searched. There were a few episodes (n = 28) which indicated an answer for this question. As Table 8.2 shows, filing a police report (n = 12 episodes) was the most effective reaction found in the episodes, divorce claim, separation, and crying/expressing opinion (n = 3 for each). Threatening and fighting back were also found in two episodes each. Three other reactions were mentioned, informing in-laws/parents, leaving, and getting legal counsel for divorce (n = 1 for each).

From these findings, questions were raised as to the reactions stopping IPV. The highest one was the police report, 36.4% or 12 out of 33 police reports, followed by threatening to report the incident to the police, crying/expressing opinion and getting legal counsel for divorce (33.3% for each), while the least representative ones were leaving (3.3%) and fighting back (8.0%).

Table 8.2 provides further investigation into the factor of police involvement. There were 56 episodes indicating that the police intervened because someone (n = 19) or posters (n = 42) called. Of the episodes, 17 showed that posters were reluctant or hesitated to have police arrest their spouses. Also, 30 episodes reported the IPV after the police report: IPV still continued regardless of police involvement (53.3%); continued, but patterns changed (26.7%) such as physical to verbal IPV; and decreased or stopped (20%).

In addition to police contact, who the posters contacted to seek help was also investigated. Table 8.2 shows those 45 episodes were found, indicating the total number of contacts appearing 66 times, which provided the posters' contact for help seeking. Of them, posters contacted in-laws (28.8%) and parents (24.2%), followed by friends (15.2%), mental health/marriage counselor (7.6%), lawyer and siblings (6.1% for each), clergy (4.5%), etc. Questions were also raised regarding their responses. They were recognized by six items (see Table 8.2): Posters (1) got some words (34.1%); (2) got some actual help (24.4%); were blamed, refused, or received unfavorable responses (29.3%); (4) made them worried (4.9%); (5) got some burden (4.9%); and (6) nothing happened (2.4%).

Table 8.2. Prevention of IPV

Table 8.2. Prevention of IPV		
Variables	n ^a	%
Reactions to IPV	215 ^b	
Police report	33	15.3
Leaving	30	14.0
Fighting back	25	11.6
Divorce claim	23	10.7
Demanding	15	7.0
demanding promise	12	5.6
demanding apology	2	0.9
demanding counseling	1	0.5
Avoiding	13	6.0
Separation	12	5.6
Threatening	10	4.7
threatening to report to the police	6	2.8
threatening to inform in-laws/parents/others	2	0.9
threatening to leave	1	0.5
threatening to divorce	1	0.5
Informing in-laws/parents	9	4.2
Trying to getting help from mental health/ marriage counseling	7	3.3
Placating	7	3.3
Recording	6	2.8
Crying	5	2.3
Expressing opinion	4	1.9
Holding a child	3	1.4
Getting legal counsel for divorce	3	1.4
Refusing	3	1.4
Obtaining a restraining order	2	0.9
Attempting to commit suicide	1	0.5
Birth control	1	0.5
Expelling husband	1	0.5
Hiding weapons	1	0.5
Taking a phone	1	0.5
ruking a phone	1	0.5
IPV stopped or pattern changed after:	28 (7.1)	
Police report	12	42.8
Divorce claim	3	10.7
Separation	3	10.7
Crying/expressing opinion	3	10.7
Crying	1	3.6
expressing opinion	1	3.6
crying and expressing opinion	1	3.6
Threatening to report to the police	2	7.1
Fight back	2	7.1
Informing in-laws/parents	1	3.6
Leaving	1	3.6
Getting legal counsel for divorce	1	3.6
Getting legal counsel for divolec	1	3.0
Police (arrived):	61°	
Was called by others	19	33.9
Was called by posters	42	76.4
Posters (reluctance):	17	
Did false report	10	
Did not want their spouse to be arrested	16	

Table 8.2. (continued)

Variables	n	%
After the police came, IPV:	30 (7.6)	
Continued	16	53.3
Continued, but pattern changed	8	26.7
Decreased or stopped	6	20.0
Posters' contact	66 ^d	
In-laws	19	28.8
Parents	16	24.2
Friend	10	15.2
Mental health/marriage counselor	5	7.6
Lawyer	4	6.1
Sibling	4	6.1
Clergy	3	4.5
Doctor	2	3.0
Social worker/domestic violence program	2	3.0
Daughter	1	1.5
Responses from help, posters:	41 ^e	
[1] Got some words (advice, information, encouragement, etc.)	14	34.1
[2] Got some actual help (money, child care, a place to stay, etc.)	10	24.4
[3] Got blamed, refused, or unfavorable responses	12	29.3
[4] Worried them	2	4.9
[5] Got some burden	2	4.9
[6] Nothing happened	1	2.4

Note: ^aPercentages of episodes (*N* = 393) in parentheses. ^bTotal number of reactions appeared in160 episodes (40.7%, difference due to multiple responses. ^cTotal number of time of police arrival appeared 56 episodes (14.2%), difference due to multiple response. ^dTotal number of contacts appeared 45 episodes (11.5%), difference due to multiple response.

eTotal number of time of responses appeared 37 episodes (9.4%), difference due to multiple response.

The association between posters' contacts and the responses they received were explored. Among the 37 episodes indicating both contacts and responses, each row in Table 8.3 indicates posters' contact while each column represents the six responses. Interestingly, the most frequent contact for posters were in-laws, but the least favorable response was also in-laws. As found in Table 8.3, all the contacts provided posters some response such as advice, information, or encouragement. Among those who contacted in-laws (n = 18), 61% reported that in-laws blamed the posters, refused posters' help seeking, or responded unfavorably. Parents and friends were reported helpful, of which 31.3% and 40.0% provided posters with actual help, but unfavorable responses were also found (18.8% for parents and 20.0% for friends). Clergy and doctors also could provide

posters with actual help (33.3% for each). Posters indicated that they received some advice from a counselor (50%) and a lawyer (25%), but also some burden (25% for each) such as financial needs.

 Table 8.3. Percentage of the Association of Posters' Contacts and Responses

	Responses					
Posters' contact	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
In-laws $(n = 18)$	16.7	11.1	61.1	11.1		
Parents $(n = 16)$	37.5	31.3	18.8	12.5		
Friend $(n = 10)$	40.0	40.0	20.0			
Mental health/marriage counselor $(n = 4)$	50.0			25.0	25.0	
Social worker/domestic violence program $(n = 4)$	50.0	25.0	25.0			
Lawyer $(n = 4)$	25.0			25.0	25.0	25.0
Sibling $(n = 3)$	66.7			33.3		
Clergy $(n = 3)$	66.7	33.3				
Doctor $(n = 3)$	33.3	33.3				33.3
Daughter $(n = 1)$	100.0					

Note: N = 66 (episodes including multiple responses). Row marginal total.

- [1] Got some words (advice, information, encouragement, etc.)
- [2] Got some actual help (money, child care, a place to stay, etc.)
- [3] Got blamed, refused, or unfavorable responses
- [4] Worried them
- [5] Got some burden
- [6] Nothing happened

Consequences. Some posters who were victims reported their physical or mental health after IPV experiences. In Table 8.4, there were 51 episodes indicating that posters were injured (including bruises) from the IPV and 7.8% of them reported receiving medical care.

To scrutinize the mental health of IPV victims, specific diagnostic indices were used. "Hwa-byung," known as a Korean culture-bound or anger syndrome, is a somatic or mental disorder (Lin, 1983; Lin et al., 1992; Min, Suh, & Song, 2009; Park, Kim, Schwartz-Barcott, & Kim, 2002) and was listed in the glossary of *Culture-bound Syndrome of Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, Fourth Edition (DSM-IV) (Min, Suh, & Song, 2009). The literal meaning of hwa-byung is *fire disease*, ("hwa" and "byung" mean fire and disease, respectively), and the *fire* in this word

represents or expresses anger. Thus, it seemed to be appropriate to use the symptoms of hwa-byung as criteria for the psychological health of Korean female IPV victims.

From the 17 items of seven categories of the hwa-byung index (J. Kim, 2011), 14 items under five categories, major and related somatic symptoms, major and related psychological symptoms and psychological hypofunction, were used. Appendix E provides detailed information on the index. With this index, an episode was marked as hwa-byung if at least one symptom that was caused by the IPV³⁰ was found.

Besides hwa-byung, the possibility of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) was also investigated. Research has reported the risk of poor mental health for IPV victims with PTSD symptoms (Black et al., 2011; Dutton, Kaltman, Goodman, Weinfurt, & Vankos, 2005; Golding, 1999; Pico-Alfonso, 2005). To determine the symptoms of PTSD, four items provided by Black et al (2011) were used. Detailed information about the index can be found in Appendix E. Like hwa-byuung, episodes were marked as PTSD if at least one symptom of the index was found.

Other symptoms such as depression, loss of self-confidence, feeling guilty, and fear of future violence were also included. However, it was found that, technically, these symptoms could slightly overlap with those of hwa-byung, because the hwa-byung index was more comprehensive and included conceptual definitions. Thus, to improve the distinction and clarification of coding, the priority of the index relied on hwa-byung. For example, depression was marked only if posters clearly indicated the words or closely related to words of depression and suicide.

With these indices, it was found that 210 episodes (53.4%) contained at least one symptom of the diagnostic items due to the IPV. Table 8.4 provides that 148 episodes

³⁰ For example, if the symptom happened due to husband's cheating, it was not selected.

(37.7%) reported at least one symptom of hwa-byung, 60 episodes (15.3%) included PTSD, and 75 episodes (19.1%) showed other symptoms.

Table 8.4. Physical and Mental Health of IPV Victims

Variables	n ^a	%
Physical health condition, posters:		
Were injured	51 (13.0)	
Received medical care for the injury(ies)	4	7.8
Psychological health conditions for poster	210 (53.4)	
"Hwa-byung"	148 (37.7)	
PTSD	60 (15.3)	
Other symptoms	75 (19.1)	
Depression	21 (5.3)	
Loss of self-confidence	10 (2.5)	
Feeling guilty	5 (1.3)	
Fear of future violence	25 (6.4)	
1 cm of future violence	23 (0.4)	

Note: ^aPercentages of episodes (N = 393) in parentheses.

How are the Risk Factors and Consequences of IPV Different According to IPV Type?

The purpose of this section is to determine the associations between various factors noted above with the type of IPV. Table 8.5 provides the joint distributions of two IPV types, *non-physical IPV only* and *physical IPV included*, by individual, cultural/structural, and situational factors and the consequence of violence. Each distribution was examined by Chi-square statistic, using Microsoft[®] Excel[®] 2010 to test the two null hypotheses that the risk factor or the consequence of IPV was unrelated to the non-physical and physical IPV. To avoid inflation of the value of Chi-square statistic, only risk factor and the consequence of IPV whose *expected frequencies* with 5 or greater were selected (Fox et al., 2013).

Individual factor.

To learn how the individual characteristics affected the type of IPV, violent-prone personality shown in Table 6.1 was selected. Two personality types, perfectionist and

timid/self-reproachful/with victim mentality, were excluded because the expected values were insufficient for Chi-square statistics. As shown in Table 8.5, each personality was not related to the type of IPV that occurred. The p-value of each characteristic shows quite high or close to 1, which means they are very similar. It was clear that the personality preceded the IPV event; thus, it was not sufficient to conclude that the violent personality affected the occurrence of the IPV types.

Table 8.5. Percentage of the Association of Type of IPV by Individual, Cultural/Structural, and Situational Factors

	Type			
	Non-physical IPV	Physical IPV	_	p-value
Variables	only $(n = 204)$	included $(n = 189)$	Chi-square	(df=1)
Personality (spouses)				
Jealous	4.4	1.6	1.541	0.214
Hot-tempered/violent/aggressive	11.3	10.1	0.108	0.742
Explosive with low self-control	10.8	9.5	0.084	0.771
Abnormal/sadistic	4.4	3.7	0.007	0.934
No problem with marriage, except IPV	5.4	5.8	0.032	0.858
Economic status (household)				
Upper	4.4	4.2	0.251	0.616
Lower	10.3	13.8	0.091	0.763
Spouses:				
Had traditional/patriarch perspectives	14.2	14.8	0.024	0.876
Were not American by nationality	8.3	7.9	0.019	0.890
Were not much attached to Korean culture	11.3	4.8	5.110	0.024*
Disadvantageous situations (posters)	43.6	40.7	0.194	0.660
disadvantageous immigrant context	29.4	24.9	0.744	0.388
Pregnancy	9.8	17.5	4.264	0.039*
Police arrived	7.8	21.2	12.217	0.000***
IPV by:				
Spouses only	64.7	52.4	2.535	0.111
Posters only	7.8	8.5	0.047	0.829
Both	27.5	39.2	4.062	0.044*
Psychological health condition (posters)				
Hwa-byung only	26.0	23.8	0.018	0.892
Other symptoms only	8.3	7.9	0.035	0.852
PTSD only	8.3	4.8	1.184	0.276
Hwa-byung + other symptoms	5.4	4.8	0.000	0.983
Hwa-byung + PTSD	3.9	5.3	0.773	0.379
Hwa-byung + PTSD + other symptoms	3.4	2.6	0.062	0.804
PTSD + other symptoms ^a	1.0	1.1		

Note: ^aThe expected number of episodes was insufficient to calculate Chi-square static. *p < .05. ***p < .001

Cultural/structural factors.

The occurrence of non-physical or physical IPV was also examined according to cultural or structural factors. For these factors, marital quality, economic status of household, and spouses' cultural characteristics can be seen in Table 6.1.

Marital quality. Twenty-two episodes indicated there was no problem with the marriage, except for the incidents of IPV. Thus, it was questioned which types of IPV were related to marital quality. These findings suggest that there was no difference between the types of IPV, with a large p-value (0.86).

Economic status (household). As shown in Table 8.5, 64 episodes are assigned by upper and lower level with the two IPV types. Finding indicates that upper ($\chi^2 = 0.25$, df = 1, ns) or lower ($\chi^2 = 0.09$, df = 1, ns) economic status was not related to the type of IPV.

Culture/perspectives. Three characteristics were selected to examine how cultural factors were related to the occurrence of IPV types. As shown in Table 8.5, they are episodes indicating the spouse had traditional/patriarchal perspectives, were not American by nationality and were not attached to Korean culture. To find the effect of culture, circumstantial evidence was used; for example, the variable "not attached to Korean culture" used the combination of three items, as noted above, such as English as his primary language, references as U.S. born, "1.5 generation," and Korean-American and Non-Korean ethnicity, as found in Table 6.1. This was necessary because the information did not come from standardized narratives, but from free-styled writing.

Findings show that traditional/patriarchal perspectives ($\chi^2 = 0.02$, df = 1, ns) and the American nationality ($\chi^2 = 0.02$, df = 1, ns) were not related to the type of IPV, but

non-Korean culture was related to the type of IPV ($\chi^2 = 5.11$, df = 1, p < 0.05). It was found that spouses who were not attached to Korean culture were more likely to be involved in non-physical forms of IPV.

Situational factors.

To determine how situational factors were related to the occurrence of IPV types, five variables were selected: Posters' disadvantageous and immigrant context, pregnancy, police involvement and the occurrence of IPV by actors.

Disadvantageous situations of posters. From Table 6.1, the variable of disadvantageous situations was comprised of disadvantageous immigrant situation and two others, "posters worried about financial security after divorce" and were "abused because spouses knows her disadvantageous situation." It was regarded as the disadvantageous immigrant situation, from Table 6.1, when posters were "undocumented," had "dependent immigrant visa status on husband," were "not fluent in English speaking," and their family lived "not in the U.S."

From the findings, these situational factors were not related to the type of IPV (χ^2 = 0.19, df=1, ns for disadvantageous situation; χ^2 = 0.74, df=1, ns for disadvantageous immigrant situation).

Pregnancy. As shown in Table 8.5, when posters were pregnant, there were 20 episodes indicating non-physical IPV occurred while 33 episodes indicating the occurrence of physical IPV. The difference was statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 4.26$, df = 1, p < 0.05), which means that there were more episodes with physical IPV happening among the episodes during which the posters reported that they were pregnant.

Police involvement. Table 8.5 shows that the type of IPV was strongly related to police involvement. Forty episodes were found in *physical IPV included* while 16 episodes were in non-physical IPV only, with the difference being statistically significant $(\chi^2 = 12.22, df = 1, p < 0.001)$. To clarify the direction between the police arrival and IPV, it was worth noting here that 10 episodes of male-to-female IPV contained police reports as precursors. Of them, three were attempts and seven were police arrivals. In addition, 16 episodes reporting IPV continued after police involvement. Excluding these episodes (n = 19), due to three episodes that overlapped) wherein filing a police report might be possible as antecedents, results indicated that the difference was still significant $(\chi^2 = 7.29, df = 1, p < .05)$. Thus, these findings suggest the police report was more likely when physical forms of IPV were included.

IPV by perpetrators. It was questioned as to whether the type of IPV was related to the type of actors (or perpetrators). Of 393 episodes, the majority indicated the spouse only IPV (n = 231), showing 132 were found in *non-physical IPV only* while 99 were found in *physical IPV included*. However, this difference was not significant ($\chi^2 = 2.54$, df = 1, ns). IPV by posters only was found in the two types of IPV with 16 episodes each; it was also not statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 0.05$, df = 1, ns). Differing from unidirectional IPV, however, the IPV indicated by both posters and spouses involved were found more in *physical IPV included* (n = 74) while 56 episodes were in *non-physical IPV only*; their difference was significant ($\chi^2 = 4.06$, df = 1, ns).

Consequences of IPV.

A final analysis examined the association of the type of IPV with the consequence of IPV. To test a relationship with the consequences of IPV, seven combinations of

mental health conditions were selected. The majority was the hwa-byung only (n = 53 for non-physical IPV only vs. n = 45 for physical IPV included), followed by other symptoms only (n = 17 vs. n = 15), PTSD only (n = 17 vs. n = 9), Hwa-byung and other symptoms (n = 11 vs. n = 9), Hwa-byung and PTSD (n = 8 vs. 10), Hwa-byung and PTSD and other symptoms (n = 2 vs. n = 2).

For relationships with the type of IPV, most of the mental health types were found in *non-physical IPV only*, except one (Hwa-byung & PTSD). However, these differences were not statistically significant. Findings suggest that although the types of IPV could be distinguished from each other based on the forms, the consequences or effect of them were not different. In other words, physical IPV also could harm the mental health of IPV victims, just as non-physical IPV did.

To identify the effects of verbal and physical IPV in terms of psychological harm to the victims, further investigation was conducted by separating the *verbal IPV only* and *physical IPV only* from *non-physical IPV only* and *physical IPV included*, respectively. The association of mental health conditions and the four types of IPV are shown in Table 8.6. Overall, of 393 total episodes, the percentages of *non-physical IPV only* (*without verbal IPV only*), *verbal IPV only*, *Physical IPV included* (*without physical IPV only*), and *Physical IPV only* were 34.1%, 17.8%, 36.4%, and 11.7%, respectively. Results from Chi-square statistics indicated that there were no significant differences in psychological harm in the four IPV types. Both verbal and physical forms of IPV negatively affected the victims' mental health.

Table 8.6. Percentage of Mental Health Condition by Type of IPV (N = 210)

	Type of I	IPV			•	
Non-physical IPV only ^a	Verbal IPV only	Physical IPV included ^b	Physical IPV only	Chi-square	p-value	df
37.6	17.1			0.462	0.497	1
37.6	17.1	36.2		0.630	0.730	2
37.6	17.1	36.2	9.0	2.086	0.555	3
		36.2	9.0	0.971	0.324	1

Note: ^awithout verbal IPV only. ^bwithout physical IPV only. Each cell indicates the percentage of episode that reported at least one mental condition by the type of IPV. The frequencies (percentages) from total 393 episodes are non-physical IPV without verbal IPV only (n = 134; 34.1%), verbal IPV only (n = 70; 17.8%), physical IPV included without physical IPV only (n = 143; 36.4%), and physical IPV only (n = 46; 11.7%).

Summary of Findings

This chapter discusses common factors involving the occurrence, prevention, and consequences of both non-physical and physical forms of IPV. The majority of episodes involving the occurrence of IPV showed that the first violence transpired less than one year (74.0%) since the couple had begun cohabitation. Fifty-three episodes reported IPV occurred at the time of pregnancy. In addition, just over half of the total episodes (n = 198; 50.4%) indicated IPV had been repeated or regularly occurred. Furthermore, besides argument, IPV occurred when they were at leisure (24.0%) such as watching TV, driving (22.7%), doing domestic work (13.3%), on the phone (12.0%), at the table eating (10.7%), etc.

With respect to the prevention of IPV, the police played an important role. The most frequently used attempt to stop IPV was police involvement, including filing a police report (n = 33; 15.3%) or threatening to do so (n = 6; 2.8%). Furthermore, the most effective reaction was also the police report (42.8%). With regard to further police involvement, 56 episodes (14.2%) were found reporting the police arrivals.

Approximately one-third of the episodes showed that the victims did not want their spouses to be arrested. Furthermore, 30 episodes indicated that more than half of the

episodes reported that IPV did not change but continued, regardless of police involvement.

Besides police contact, whom the posters who were IPV victims contacted the most was also examined. The most frequent contact for victims were in-laws; however, more than 60% of the episodes containing the story of contacting in-laws reported that victims received unfavorable responses such as blame or refusal to help.

The consequences of IPV were explored in terms of the physical and psychological health conditions of victims. While a great deal of clarification concerning physical health conditions was not in the episodes, numerous mental health conditions were found (n = 210) by using established diagnostic index for mental health. This was especially true if there is a somatic or mental disorder for Korean people, named "hwabyung," known as Korean culture-bound or anger syndrome (Lin, 1983; Lin et al., 1992; Min, Suh, & Song, 2009; Park et al., 2002), which was officially listed in the Glossary of Culture-bound Syndrome of Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, fourth edition (DSM-IV) (Min, Suh, & Song, 2009). Besides hwa-byung, posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptoms that fit the diagnostic index provided by Black et al. (2011) and other symptoms (without index, but with language that indicated the symptoms) such as depression, loss of self-confidence, feeling guilty, and fear for future violence were also investigated. Findings showed that, of total 393 episodes, 37.7% indicated at least one hwa-byung symptom due to IPV victimization; 15.3% reported PTSD; and 75% included other symptoms – specifically, fear of future violence (6.4%), depression (5.3%), loss of self-confidence (2.5%) and feeling guilty (1.3%).

The effects of individual, cultural/structural, and situational factors on the two IPV types, non-physical and physical, were also investigated. From Chi-square statistics, most determinants were not statistically significant between the types of IPV, with the exception of four variables. First, episodes reporting spouses who were not attached to Korean culture were found more frequently in the non-physical forms of IPV ($\chi^2 = 5.11$, df = 1, p < .05). Next, episodes indicating pregnancy at that time of IPV were found in more in physical IPV ($\chi^2 = 4.26$, df = 1, p < .05). Furthermore, victims file a police report significantly more often when they were victimized physically ($\chi^2 = 12.22$, df = 1, p < .001). This significance remained after excluding the episodes reporting that police involvement was the precursors of IPV and that IPV continued even though the police were involved. Finally, there were no significant difference in the type of IPV between the occurrence perpetrated by spouses only and by posters only; however, mutual IPV were more frequently found in the physical forms of IPV ($\chi^2 = 4.06$, df = 1, p < .05).

Mental health outcomes were also assessed in terms of the type of IPV that occurred. The symptoms of poor mental outcomes, however, were not statistically significant in the difference between the types of IPV. Regardless of experiences of non-physical and physical forms of IPV, victims suffered from poor mental health outcomes. To investigate how the forms of IPV such as verbal and physical forms affected psychological harm, the present study separated verbal IPV only and physical IPV only from the two IPV types. Results indicated that these four types of IPV were also unrelated to the occurrence of the mental health outcome. In other words, the effects of verbal and physical forms of IPV on psychological health of victim did not differ.

Chapter 9. Discussion and Conclusion

This dissertation investigated an anonymous Internet forum as the means to explore the environmental settings of IPV among Korean immigrants in the U.S. Might-cause chain and content analysis of IPV episodes on the forum disclosed the situational settings of IPV such as precursors, transactions, and aftermaths, and common factors associated with the IPV. The significance of these findings is discussed in this chapter by revisiting the research questions. Then, theoretical implications, limitations of the current study, future research agenda and policy implications are also discussed.

Review of Research Questions

(1) Precursors of IPV events.

What are the antecedents of IPV events that Korean female IPV victims (or perpetrators) narrate? What are distal and proximal precipitators to the IPV?

Findings from might-cause chain analysis (MCA) show that IPV were contingent on various precursors that were intertwined. A total of 83 types of precursors were searched, but their frequencies were quite skewed. Twenty-four precursors represented approximately 82% of the total in the frequency distribution. These 24 precursors could be stratified into three levels from three internal acts (losing self-control, stress, and alcohol), through 12 words and actions (argument, physical violence, criticizing, verbal violence, demanding/requesting, psychological violence, refusing, retorting, leaving, divorce claim, avoiding and neglecting) to nine circumstances, including daily routine, living conditions, and cultural factors (trifles, in-laws, domestic work, children, social/recreational activities, business/job, pregnancy, having affairs and financial problem). However, these did not work merely as static background factors of IPV, but

as situational dynamics. Each precursor was connected in or out to another one, which means they influenced or were continent on another precursors. With these connections, although all precursors did not trigger or appear immediately prior to IPV, they could be linked directly or indirectly with one another and finally connected to individual IPV offenses. In the temporal distribution, which was classified into proximal, middle, and distal groups, *internal acts* and *words and actions* were found most often in proximal and middle groups and *circumstances* were mostly in middle and distal groups.

How are the precursors related to one another? How are the chains of situations formulated? MCA illustrated a network of precursors to IPV. In contingent nature, two precursors are connected directly together in sequence and expanded by linking to the next, and then these connections represent a network in an IPV event. This network could be referred to as in-and-out connection. As discussed in the proceeding chapter and seen in Table 6.10, with the exception of pregnancy in male-to-female IPV (MFIPV) and having affairs, social/recreational activities, business/job in female-to-male IPV (FMIPV), all precursors were contingent on or "connected in" from prior condition(s), and without exception, all influenced or "connected out" to the next precursors. These networks were formed temporally with repeating a question, "which occurred first?"

By using the ratio within in-and-out connection, most of the 24 selected precursors could be classified into either *receiver* or *giver*. Receivers were those that connected more in from prior conditions, while givers were those that were connected more out to other precursors. Findings indicated that the receivers were found more frequently in proximal and middle groups and givers were more found in middle and

distal groups. In the network of the IPV event, the connections of precursors converged in the receivers and diverged from givers. Therefore, results suggest that the closer precursors were to the IPV offense, the more convergent were their associations, while the farther from the IPV offense, the more divergent were the connections.

How do the female IPV perpetrators describe their internal conditions? In the preliminary study, Byun (2012) pointed out that MCA revealed the internal stimuli of female perpetrators triggered, such as loss of self-control and bad memory. In the present investigation, self-control also played an important role in sparking IPV. It was the fourth most frequent trigger for FMIPV, and almost all instances appeared immediately prior to IPV (average interval: 0.1). Findings indicated that the female perpetrators described their loss of self-control occurred instantly or gradually by prior conditions. This finding suggested that self-control could be changed temporally and questioned the measurement of self-control with basic assumption on static level (see also Agnew, 2006).

(2) Types of IPV and transactions.

What are specific types of IPV occurring among Korean immigrants? How do Korean female IPV victims or perpetrators report the transactions of IPV? How are the chains of the violence formulated? Adapting IPV definitions provided by the Office on Violence Against Women (OVAW) and administered by the U.S. Department of Justice, the present study found physical forms of violence could not represent IPV. Various IPVs, five types with 31 individual offenses were found: physical, verbal, psychological, sexual, and economic IPV; the majority were non-physical forms, especially the verbal IPV. Gender differences were also found; the proportion of physical

³¹ In this dissertation, the code "bad memory" was changed to "bring up bad history in marriage."

IPV in MFIPV and FMIPV were similar (around 34%), but female used more verbal IPV, while male used more psychological IPV. Sexual and economic IPV were found only in MFIPV.

The present investigation also discovered temporal differences for IPV with three levels of time, last, before the last, and first time IPV. Findings consistently indicated that the majority of IPV are non-physical. The highest proportion of physical IPV was found in the first IPV (42.4%), decreased to 30.2% with the most recent IPV occurrence. Therefore, results seemed to suggest that an IPV rather be a "collective noun" indicating the group of various forms of offenses by an intimate.

By an incident as a unit, the IPV that involved physical offense was also not the majority. Verbal IPV only was the most frequent IPV incident (22.3%), the next was the physical IPV only (17.8%) and psychological IPV only (13.4%), and these three "only" were the top most frequent types of IPV incidents. Although IPV studies have reported the co-occurrence of verbal aggression with physical IPV, the physical IPV only might be reported here because the most impactful on the posters' memories might be the physical form of violence or some posters might not perceive verbal aggression as violence. Applying this assumption to other types, the IPV should be interpreted carefully as perceived violence.

To find out the how IPV offenses were related to one another in the IPV event, joint probability of the co-occurrence of each type of offenses was computed. From the results, there might be discrepancy in the meaning of IPV between the Korean immigrant women who posted the episodes and findings from current investigation. When the word "violence" (pokryuk or pokhang in Korean) occurred in an IPV incident, probability of

physical violence being reported was the highest (53.3%). Furthermore, verbal IPV was frequently shown with other types of violence. When IPV incidents contained physical, psychological or sexual IPV, the highest probability concurrently reported was verbal IPV.

With the possibility that non-physical forms of IPV could be ignored when physical IPV occurred, all types of IPV were regrouped into two categories: *Physical IPV included* (including physical IPV, violence, and marital rape) and *Non-physical IPV only* (all but the *Physical IPV included*).

Although this dichotomization was more sensitive to being turned into *Physical IPV included* because just one physical offense could make an incident or an episode turned, results from the regrouping indicated that *non-physical IPV only* was the majority in the all units: 59.9%, 51.3%, and 51.9% in the unit of offense, incident, and episode, respectively.

In sum, it might be possible that physical forms of IPV could represent the perception of the IPV among Korean female immigrants in the U.S.; however, findings indicated that non-physical forms of IPV were more likely to be connected with one another, especially with verbal IPV, and represented the IPV occurrence.

How are the precursors of IPV different by the types? This dissertation examined the association of the two types of IPV with precursors in the temporal distribution by a non-parametric statistics, Chi-square, for MFIPV and FMIPV separately. It was conducted at the three levels of time, Trigger (or proximal), Reason 1 (or middle), and Reason 1 or farther (or distal) for MFIPV while FMIPV did not separate but combined the level of time into one, due to an insufficient number of precursors to test.

For MFIPV, findings revealed that the occurrence of precursors at the middle and proximal levels were not different between *non-physical IPV only* and *physical IPV included* while at the trigger level, the selected precursors for the test showed different patterns between the dichotomous type of IPV. By each test of precursors, *argument, criticizing, trifles*, and *requesting* were statistically significant at the 90% confidence level. With these precursors, with the exception of arguments, more were found in *non-physical IPV only*. For FMIPV, not all precursors differed between the two types of IPV. Findings suggested that the type of IPV might not be determined at the beginning or distal level, but through the process and by the type of the trigger, it would be different for MFIPV; the types of FMIPV would not be determined by the precursors.

(3) Aftermath of IPV events.

What are the consequences of IPV that Korean female IPV victims or perpetrators encounter? What are the physical and psychological harms of the IPV?

To consider all aspects of violence, aftermaths of IPV were also searched. Physical and psychological health conditions were investigated. Because the episodes did not narrate IPV experiences corresponding to standardized forms or questions, the search of physical health conditions was done by open coding that carefully perused the episodes. The physical conditions were well- clarified in the episodes, but 51 episodes (13.0%) indicated injuries consisting of bleeding, bruising or pain were sustained. Of them, in four episodes (7.8% of the injured cases), there were reports that medical care due to physical IPV was received. As the seriousness of the injuries or pain was not clear, the proportion of the medical care received did not reveal the level of victims' medical situations.

On the other hand, psychological health conditions were found in abundance (n =210), compared with the number of episodes including physical conditions, by using established diagnostic indices for mental health. This was especially true if the somatic or mental disorder common to Korean people, hwa-byung, known as a Korean culturebound or anger syndrome, (Lin, 1983; Lin et al., 1992; Min, Suh, & Song, 2009; Park et al., 2002) and officially listed in the Glossary of Culture-bound Syndrome of Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, fourth edition (DSM-IV) (Min, Suh, & Song, 2009), was present. Besides hwa-byung, the posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptoms with the diagnostic index provided by Black et al. (2011) and other symptoms (without index, but with words meaning the symptoms) such as depression, loss of selfconfidence, feeling guilty, and fear for future violence were also investigated. Findings showed that, of the 393 total episodes, 37.7% indicated at least one hwa-byung symptom due to IPV victimization; 15.3% reported PTSD; and 75% included other symptoms – specifically, fear of future violence (6.4%), depression (5.3%), loss of self-confidence (2.5%), and feeling guilty (1.3%).

Besides health conditions, there were episodes indicating that posters who were IPV victims tried to prevent or stop further violence from their spouses. The police played an important role in these efforts. The most frequent reaction to stop IPV was the police report (n = 33; 15.3%). The involvement of police was also found in the threatening to the report to the police (n = 6; 2.8%). In this effort, of the episodes reporting that IPV stopped or changed, filing a police report was the most frequent (12 out of 33 or 36.4%), followed by threatening to report the incident to the police (33.3%). With regard to further police involvement, the question was asked as to whether the

police were called during or after IPV. In this investigation, 56 episodes (14.2%) were found reporting police responses. Approximately one-third of the episodes showed that the victims did not want their spouses to be arrested. Furthermore, 30 episodes indicated whether the IPV pattern changed after the police report. Findings showed that in more than half of the episodes reported, IPV did not change but instead continued, regardless of police involvement.

In addition to police contact, it was also investigated who the posters who were IPV victims contacted. Interestingly, in-laws were found as most researchable but least helpful. The most frequent contact of the victims were in-laws; however, more than 60% of the episodes containing the story of contacting in-laws reported that victims received unfavorable responses such as blame or refusal. It is possible that the least helpful or most unpleasant responses from family might cause additional psychological harm to a victim, which is closely related to the meaning of violence.

What do the female victims want to cope with their situations after IPV? What are the perceived barriers to victims' help seeking? MCA revealed (1) what victims wanted after IPV and (2) why it was difficult to do what they wanted. MCA conceptualized the former question as help seeking and the latter as a barrier. Findings showed that Korean female IPV victims sought out or perceived their needs for help. Of total 393 episodes, 296 (79.7%) reported at least one help-seeking effort. Barriers were searched from the help seeking and 236 episodes (79.7% of 296 episodes) reported at least one barrier. Based on the concept of temporality from MCA, barriers were classified into three levels of time: immediate barriers (nearest to or directly blocking the

help seeking), *middle barriers* (the reasons of the immediate barriers occurring), and distal barriers (the reason of the middle barriers occurring).

What the victims wanted most to recover from their unpleasant situations after IPV was (1) away from their spouses (i.e., perpetrators) *temporarily* (to avoid having any contact with him) or *permanently* (to get a divorce, legal counsel for divorce, commit suicide, and return to home country), although there was considerable number of episodes indicating that (2) victims did not want to end their relationships such as maintaining/recovering intimate relationship with their spouses and to get help to fix their spouse. There were also (3) victims who wanted to react to the IPV directly, such as police report, retaliation, refusing to have sex with him. Finally, (4) empowerment, or security was also found, such as getting advice/encouragement, becoming independent, keeping custody of children, etc.

From these help-seeking strategies, 99 types of barriers (N = 1333) were searched. With these quite large numbers, it was found that many barriers were shared with "fear" and "lack" (or loss). There were victims who feared to practice help seeking such as being away from their husband, filing a police report, maintaining relationship, etc. Almost all fear was found to be an immediate barrier to the help seeking. The "lack" represented victims' disadvantageous situations; some of them suffered from the lack of financial security, knowledge/information, help, acquaintances, stability of living, place to go, fluency in spoken English, etc.

Besides the fear and the lack, another significant barrier for Korean female victims was the burden of childcare, which was the most frequent sole barrier. Victims could not be free because they felt a strong responsibility for their children's future and

security. In addition, the disadvantageous situations of victims, according to the episodes, were their financial or immigrant dependence on their spouse and were found in the distal level.

Living without a husband, English-speaking, morality of divorce, lack of evidence of violence, and parents reinforced their disadvantageous situations due to cultural or immigration context. Shim and Hwang (2005) pointed out that the barriers of Korean female IPV victims to the contact of the police was the fear of life without their husbands in the U.S.; living in the foreign country (or "unknown world") made the victims depend more on their husbands who were "cultural and social brokers" (p. 317). This could block their practice or opportunity (voluntarily) to communicate with the "unknown world." One posting was written to ask the information on how to get a flight ticket. The poster, who was a recent immigrant, wanted to go back to Korea due to her husband's act of IPV but was fearful because she had never bought a flight ticket or used the airport alone (#531). Another poster, who had lived for three years in the U.S., also noted feeling barriers, "I can't speak English, and I don't know America at all, because I have been a just homemaker" (ep# 497, translated into English).

There were episodes indicating feelings of guilt when they thought or planned for divorce. Some posters reported that they wanted to file a police report but hesitated because there was little evidence of violence. Furthermore, there were episodes frequently involving worry about their parents, especially when they wanted to get divorced. Most of them noted their parents did not live in the U.S. and the posters did not want to hurt them. The posters may have driven by filial piety or "being a good child" who does not worry parents that is emphasized in Korean family values.

How do the aftermaths of IPV differ by the type of IPV? This dissertation also investigated how the two types of IPV, non-physical and physical forms of violence, were associated with the aftermaths of the IPV. To find the associations, help seeking, barriers and consequences of IPV were examined using a Chi-square statistic.

Help seeking and barriers with the type of IPV. Containing sufficient frequencies for Chi-square statistic, 17 help seeking, 19 immediate barriers, 16 middle barriers, and three distal barriers were selected. Results indicated that the occurrence of the type of help seeking were not different between the two IPV types, with the exception of three: victims' ending relationship with spouse, the police report, and retaliation. These "wants" of victims were found significantly more often in the physical IPV.

Barriers showed altered patterns in the temporal distribution. Of the 19 immediate barriers, approximately 40% of those that were statistically significantly were found more frequently in physical IPV. Those barriers were *fear* of help seeking, *children, lack of knowledge/information, parents*, husbands' *apology, social stigma/losing face*, husbands' *blaming*, and *difficulty of the divorce process*. On the other hand, the middle barriers indicated only two barriers were significantly different, but the others were not; those two barriers were *lack of financial security* (found more in physical IPV) and *lack of ability to earn a living* (found more in non-physical IPV). Furthermore, the three distal barriers showed an insignificant difference between the two types of IPV. These findings suggest that help seeking did not greatly differ between the two types. Those who were victimized physically or non-physically did not have particularly different needs to overcome their unpleasant situations due to IPV. For the

barriers, as precursors showed, they showed different patterns through temporality. To be closer to distal level, thus, the barriers were not very different between the IPV types.

Police involvement and mental health conditions with the type of IPV. As consequences of IPV, it was also examined how the types of IPV were differently associated with the police arrival and psychological health conditions of IPV victims. Finding indicated that police involvement was different between non-physical and physical IPV, and the difference was quite robust ($\chi^2 = 12.22$, df = 1, p < .001). Victims made police reports significantly more often when they were victimized physically. This significance remained after excluding the episodes reporting that police involvement was not consequences but preceded the IPV and that IPV continued even though the police were involved. Thus, findings suggested that the type of IPV could affect the police report as a consequence.

Psychological or mental health outcomes were also assessed with the type of IPV that occurred. Findings showed that six types of mental health outcome, as discussed earlier, were combined into seven types of outcomes: Hwa-byung only; other symptoms only; PTSD only; hwa-byung and other symptoms; hwa-byung and PTSD; hwa-byung and PTSD and other symptoms. These symptoms, however, were not statistically significant in the difference between the types of IPV. Regardless of experiences of either non-physical and physical forms of IPV, victims suffered from poor mental health outcomes.

(4) Risk factors of IPV events.

How do Korean female IPV victims (or perpetrators) describe their risk factors? How do they judge their partners after IPV? How do the common factors differ by the type of IPV?

The present study investigated the effects of individual, cultural/structural, and situational factors of the determination of the two IPV types. Findings indicated that spouses' personality traits indicating a tendency to violence traits such as jealous, hottempered, low self-control, and abnormal/sadistic characteristics did not affect the occurrence of non-physical and physical forms of IPV. Furthermore, marital quality, economic status of household, spouses' traditional/patriarchal perspectives and nationality and disadvantageous context, including immigrant and economic situations, were not found to differ in the types of IPV. Only three variables indicated significant differences between non-physical and physical IPV. First, episodes reporting spouses who were not much attached to Korean culture were found more often in the nonphysical forms of IPV ($\gamma^2 = 5.11$, df = 1, p < .05). Next, episodes indicating pregnancy at that time of IPV were more frequently found in physical IPV ($\chi^2 = 4.26$, df = 1, p < .05). Finally, there were no significant differences in the type of IPV between the occurrence perpetrated by spouses only and by posers only; however, mutual IPV were more found in the physical forms of IPV ($\chi^2 = 4.06$, df = 1, p < .05).

Theoretical Implications

In the present study, an event-based perspective was applied to IPV with three elements: actor, act/condition, and time. Using these elements, this study intended to explore *all aspects* of IPV – precursors, transactions, and aftermaths. From these

findings, this dissertation supports the need for an event-based framework with the consideration of the temporal context of IPV (Agnew, 2006; Byun, 2012).

In the spatio-temporal conceptualization (or time-space) that represents the distance as time continuum in a space (see Pinker, 2008), the proximal acts/conditions to IPV indicate immediate situational settings while the acts or conditions that move away from the IPV imply distal or earlier happenings. Likewise, help-seeking barriers are also illustrated in the time-space, with distal and immediate barriers to help seeking. The temporal distributions were depicted with MCA developed with the basic assumption of the contingent nature that the occurrence of an element of the event depends on prior element(s) (see Wilkinson & Fagan, 2001).

An event-based perspective suggests that IPV occurs with triggering situations, such as internal (perceived culpability and loss of self-control) and external (verbal hostility, demand/resist/withdrawal interaction, relationship matters, reciprocity of violence, and responsive/continued IPV) immediate precursors to the violence. These proximal elements were contingent on prior acts or conditions, stretching out to distal context. Situations at the distal level were grouped into daily routine, living conditions, culture/perspective, disadvantageous situations, and some actions. Event perspectives point out that at the very beginning, IPV starts with the conditions that do not vary with people's daily life (although disadvantageous situations such as immigrant status or few acquaintances were also indicated). Through contingent pathways, these structural/cultural/situational factors are delivered to proximal situations to IPV.

From the assumptions regarding posters' familiarity with Korean culture, IPV among Korean immigrants should be considered along with their cultural factors.

Findings from MCA confirmed that the previous studies on IPV among Korean immigrants in the U.S. addressed the idea that Confucianism and traditional family values influence disadvantageous situations of Korean immigrant women (Lee, 2005; Moon, 2005; Rhee, 1997; Song, 1987; Tran & Jardins, 2000). One of the important values of Confucianism emphasized in the Korean family is "being a good son/daughter" who does not worry parents, or *filial piety* (Min & Kim, 2011; Moon, 2005). Assumptions were made regarding this value influencing on IPV as a precursor (see Byun, 2012 for an example) and a barrier. For example, parents frequently appeared as a barrier to help seeking, especially in ending an intimate relationship with a spouse. Posters were worried about hurting parents when they heard of their daughter's divorce. Furthermore, the risk factors from traditional Korean values such as a strong bond were also found. *In*laws, especially mothers-in-law, appeared frequently as a precursor of IPV. The involvement of in-laws might be easier due to the Confucian consideration of a woman as having lower status in a family (Chung, 1992; Moon, 2005). Additionally, rigid family boundaries based on strong family bonds that could be strict to a woman, especially as a new member of family, appeared as the traditional conflict between a mother-in-law and daughter-in-law (Kim, 2006). With MCA, the present study found that cultural factors appeared as environmental settings.

With respect to contingent pathways, *demanding/requesting* was noted from the findings. In supporting the demand/withdraw interaction (Christensen & Heavey, 1990), results suggested that the demanding/requesting might work as a motive or an "engine" of IPV for three reasons. First, demanding/requesting was found in both MFIPV and FMIPV, as a middle condition that was placed between proximal and distal levels.

Second, as a middle situation, it connected the daily life with the triggers of IPV, contingent mostly on daily routine, living conditions and cultural factors that were shown in the distal level. This suggests that daily life requires various demands/requests. Lastly, as shown in Table 6.10 and Figure 6.2, it was found that the life conditions converged on the demanding/requesting, and connected to triggers. It appeared that demanding/requesting was pulling and pushing them towards the immediate situations of IPV, especially connected with the demand/resist/withdrawal patterns of the trigger.

In addition, event-based framework formulated transaction or interrelation of the elements of the event as a *network*. With MCA, the elements were illustrated as interconnecting with one another in the precursors and help-seeking barriers. The interconnections in the network are expected to provide the INUS condition³² for a causal relationship, as discussed in Chapter 3, suggesting the combination or co-occurrence of prior conditions increasing the possibility of the IPV occurring. Moreover, from the network, it was found that the IPV types –non-physical and physical forms – were not frequently determined at the beginning or distal level. This network also indicated the elements representing various risk factors of IPV, such as individual (e.g., loss of self-control), cultural/structural (e.g., in-laws and financial problem) and situational (e.g., pregnancy) determinants.

Furthermore, this dissertation, with its event-based perspective, emphasized the recognition between form and delivery of IPV. The form is a particular type of violence and the delivery is the consequence of the form. For example, findings suggested that not only psychological but also verbal and physical forms of IPV were contributed to the

³² This is an acronym of the first letters of the italicized word, "an *insufficient* but *necessary* part of a condition which is itself *unnecessary* but *sufficient*" condition (Mackie, 1965, p. 245).

poor mental health of victims. It is worth noting here that if violence is defined *strictly* based on the harm-based concept (e.g., physical or psychological health consequences), the distinction of the IPV types becomes blurred.

With these considerations of an event-based perspective on IPV, theoretical recommendations are provided below.

IPV as a collective noun. IPV events can be better understood with various forms of violence. The current study revealed that there were a number of IPV offenses in IPV events. The physical offenses, although having significant impact on the victims, were not major in the frequency distribution. Further, in their relationship with precursors, transactions, and aftermaths, non-physical forms of IPV were significant. Non-physical IPV was affected by various precursors and was more connected with other types of offenses in the IPV events. Furthermore, the victims of non-physical IPV did not differ in their help-seeking from those who were victims of physical IPV; they were also suffered from help-seeking barriers and poor mental health in ways that were similar to those seen with physical IPV. Thus, it is recommended that IPV should be regarded as various or collective violent acts.

Form of IPV as a medium. To understand the various offenses, concrete definitions that easily distinguish an act from others are required. This dissertation, thus, carefully suggests a medium-based definition for this. When IPV is defined, two concepts known as behavioristic and attributional definitions (Tedeschi & Felson, 1994) are used. Behaviorism defines violence based on the specific forms or behaviors such as the measure of physical violence of Conflict Tactic Scale (CTS; Straus, Hamby, Boney-McCoy, & Sugarman, 1996; Straus, 1979). To measure violence, it provides specific acts

or behaviors on a list. Theoretically, the list can contain all behaviors, but on a practical level, it is impossible or unnecessary. With this behavioristic definition, by including or excluding behaviors, the concept of violence can be broad or narrow (Renzetti, 2004; Tedeschi & Felson, 1994). On the other hand, the attributional definition focuses on the intention such as harm (Felson, 2004; Kazdin, 2000) or gendered power and control (Pence & Paymar, 1993). Any form of behaviors thus can be deemed violence if the intention is present. By including the term "any form," this concept could contribute to broadening the definition of violence to encompass not only physical, but also psychological, sexual, and economic violence; however, because of the "any form," defining intention is not always clear (see Tedeschi & Felson, 1994 for discussion).

In the definition of IPV, these two concepts are not used exclusively, but complementarily. For example, the Office on Violence Against Women (OVAW) defines physical abuse with a behavioral concept as "hitting, slapping, shoving, grabbing, pinching, biting, hair pulling, etc." and psychological abuse with both behavioral and attributional concepts as "[e]lements of psychological abuse include - but are not limited to - causing fear by intimidation; threatening physical harm to self, partner's family or friends...." Furthermore, even though physical force is used, the intention is "to engage in a sexual act against his or her will, whether or not the act is completed;" therefore, this behavior is defined as sexual violence based on the intention (Saltzman, Fanslow, McMahon, & Shelley, 2002, p. 12).

The definitions from these two concepts used in concert, however, are not always clear, especially for psychological violence. There is the lack of consensus as to how to define and classify it as IPV (Black et al., 2011); thus, the prevalence varies: 12.1% to

48.4% for lifetime in MFIPV and 17.3% to 48.3% in FMIPV (Black, 2011; Coker et al., 2002). Furthermore, there is consensus that verbal aggression exists (Black, 2011; Coker et al., 2002; Johnson, 1996; Straus et al., 1996; Straus, 1979; Vissing, Straus, Gelles, & Harrop, 1991), but it was not included in the IPV prevalence (Black, 2011; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000).

The present study used verbal IPV as a separate type of IPV and found it had a significant impact on an IPV event. Through this research, it was clear that most of psychological IPV offense were in a verbal form. Various threats were delivered to victims with words. Furthermore, for the consequence of IPV, findings indicated that victims' mental health were not different between verbal IPV only group and other groups. Even though the definition of psychological IPV for the current research indicates any forms "causing fear" (Office on Violence Against Women, n.d.), victims of physical IPV only also suffered from poor mental health.

Thus, the current study is attentive to the form of IPV, especially as a medium. IPV can be measured based on how the intention to harm others is delivered to a victim. Physical, verbal, or economic IPV victims might suffer from intended harm by an intimate. With this definitional concept, if an offender threatens with words, it will be counted as a verbal form of violence; if an offender destroys property – it does not matter whether he or she throws the object at a victim (currently coded into physical violence) or to the ground to break the object (currently coded into psychological violence); both will be measured as physical forms of violence.

Time. Time is the key concept of the event-based perspective. Findings from the current investigation indicate that time should not be ignored in the IPV or event studies.

In this dissertation, time was used for data collection. Based on the contingent nature of an event, MCA extracted various conditions or acts from free-styled written online postings and collected quite a large amount of them. The present study also used time to organize the collection by temporal ordering and classified them into meaningful relationships such as proximal, middle, and distal groups. With this distribution of acts/conditions or situations, the study could find a network or chain of IPV events, and how each condition in the network was connected others, either directly or indirectly.

Findings also indicated the influence of time or level of time on the results of this research. For example, precursors were found differently in the level of time. Also, it was found that the level of self-control of perpetrators could be different temporally. Furthermore, the continuum of IPV is expected from the findings. There were victims who wanted to maintain their intimate relationship with their spouses; however, it was also reported that it was difficult because their violence. Violence might weaken their relationship and worsen marital satisfaction, and then as a result, affect current violent situations. This is an example of what criminal event perspective (CEP) argues about "all aspects of the criminal event" (Meier, Kennedy, & Sacco, 2001, p. 22).

Self-control. The current study found that posters described internal stimuli such as self-control, which was most frequently reported as the immediate condition triggering IPV. As will be discussed shortly, both the instant or gradual loss of self-control were reported, which had been affected by various conditions. This finding supports Agnew's (2006) temporal framework concerning the levels of self-control. Agnew argued that, for a period of time, individuals' level of self-control fluctuates with "temporary loss of self-control" by various events (p. 123).

In addition, from the finding of spouses' violent-prone personality, those who were *explosive with low self-control* were reported frequently. However, of posters who reported spouses as being both "good" and "evil," 50% indicated he was good but was also *explosive with low self-control*. Based on this finding, although it needs further investigation, it is suggested that the level of self-control might not be stable as we thought it would be. Posters who were victims might endure because their spouses did not always lose self-control. Although little attention has been paid to self-control in the IPV studies (Pratt, Turanovic, Fox, & Wright, 2013), with the concept of event-based perspective considering all aspect of violence, it is suggested that the level of self-control should be considered in the IPV events, along with temporality.

Criminal event theory as an integrative model. The present study suggests, based on findings, an idea of building criminal events theory as an integrative model of IPV. To better understand the complexity of IPV, research has suggested the construction of an integrative framework that takes into consideration various factors associated with IPV (Bell & Naugle, 2008; Dixon & Browne, 2003; Meier et al., 2001; Wilkinson & Hamerschlag, 2005). With the distance concept from this research, that is "how far from violence," the distances of precursors and barriers in the IPV event were found. Various conditions were distributed within the IPV events, and these were classified into three levels such as proximal, middle, and distal groups. From the findings, the level of distance indicated some characteristics, for example, in the precursors for MFIPV, internal conditions such as loss of self-control was found in the proximal; some interaction such as demanding/requesting was found in middle; and social/situational factors such as pregnancy, or financial problem were found in distal groups. Although

this distribution needs more effort to be improved with follow-up research and gathering more data, this distance concept could be a way of integrating various risk factors.

A concept layering risk factors is found in Dutton's (Dutton, 1995, 2006; Stith et al., 2004) *nested ecological theory*. It is similar to the distance concept and suggests four levels of variables: macrosystem, exosystem, microsystem, and ontogenetic. According to Dutton (2006), in the nested ecological theory, the closest level to violence is ontogenetic, containing variables of individual characteristics of abusers such as personality. The next level is the microsystem, with variables indicating interactional or conflict patterns such as communication pattern. Third, the distance level from violence is the exosystem, the variables of which include demographic or socioeconomic factors. Finally, the distal level is macrosystem, with variables representing outward peripheral of the layers with broad factors such as cultural beliefs and values.

Like nested ecological theory, criminal events theory uses the concept of the levels or layers. However, it is closer to a path and bottom-up model. Criminal events theory comes from the concept of network in the IPV event; variables, although assigned to different layers, are connected to one another. In addition, based on data collection, the distance of each variable would be determined and through the accumulation of research results, the level of variables would be changed. Figure 9.1 illustrates 24 most frequent precursors, discussed in Chapter 6, by the three distance levels from MFIPV.

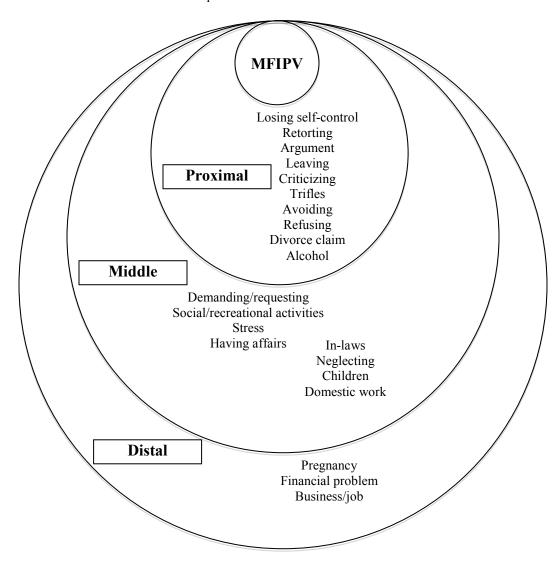


Figure 9.1. Distance Model of 24 Most Frequent Precursors for MFIPV

Limitations

Results from this dissertation should be interpreted with consideration of its limitations. First, the current study used a sample of Internet postings, which was not representative of the Korean population in the U.S. It is necessary to understand the scope of the current efforts. The present study investigated the experiences from a narrowly focused group, Internet users who could read and write messages in Korean.

Also, this dissertation focused on the events that posters (or other members who replied) perceive as violence. Its search used three keywords meaning violence, which means that it was highly probable that postings would be selected containing events that at least one of posters and repliers perceived as 'violence.' For example, if a posting used word "hit" to express IPV, but did not contain "violence," the post was not included in the current investigation. This selection was necessary, however, because of the huge number of postings (more than 150,000 for two-year period) in the forum. As a result, the findings cannot be generalized to Korean immigrants in the U.S.

Another limitation to the present study included the use of online postings as free-styled or unstructured "self-reports." The size of each variable for risk factors of IPV was not consistent with the number of episodes (nearly 400), but was instead irregular. For example, the ages of posters and spouses were found only in 27 and 8 episodes, respectively, while 217 episodes indicated whether posters had a child. This restricted the ability to conduct multivariate quantitative analyses to determine how a variable affected the dependent variable when the effects of other factors were held constant. With regard to this consideration, this dissertation used a simple non-paramedic statistic to find the relationship of various factors with type of IPV. Thus, the domain of analysis for the current study was limited to the events that IPV occurred, excluding non-IPV events.

The next limitation is the low level of inter-coder reliability of MCA. After launching this novel method in the present investigation, it was found that MCA is potentially vulnerable to setting agreement between coders due to its discretion in extracting the elements (act/condition) from narratives. The number of selections is not

closed, which means one coder might find three conditions, but another might find five or even nothing. Furthermore, because MCA illustrates such a chain reaction of situations, each level of situation code occurring depends on the previous one. For example, help seeking is found from the question "what victims wanted" in the episodes; the finding of an immediate barrier depends on the existence of the help seeking. If there is disagreement in the help seeking criteria between coders, it can also influence finding the immediate barriers. This dependency is applied to the all level of barriers. MCA is a newly introduced method; the accumulated findings from this method would be necessary to improve reliability.

In addition, this research relied exclusively on women's perspectives as victims to investigate their husband's IPV. It may be possible that some posters described the behaviors and circumstances of the perpetrators based on a self-centered interpretation or a misunderstanding.

The results from non-physical and physical forms of IPV should be interpreted with careful consideration of its limitation. The distinction between violence and triggers were not always clear. Findings indicate verbal hostility and continued IPV as triggers, which means it might be another form of violence. It might happen, as noted above, because the present study is unobtrusive, relying on posters' perception or memories regarding violence. To compensate for this bias, the current investigation set up the physical IPV as a baseline, such as at least one physical offense turned the whole incident into the code, *physical IPV included*. However, the other form, *verbal IPV only*, did not fully guarantee there was no physical IPV.

Finally, the present study did not examine the background factors of individuals; thus, there was no systemic information available on victims or perpetrators. Some posts indicated the stories of posters' violence against their husband; however, the baseline for measuring the conditions of IPV was lacking. In the case of *losing self-control*, for example, there was no information available about posters' inherited level of self-control in accounting for their reported loss of self-control.

Future Research

In spite of its limitations, this dissertation contributes by (1) introducing a novel method MCA for applying event-based framework to IPV study, (2) expanding scholarly understanding of the situational contexts of IPV, from immediate circumstances to distal "cause," (3) formulating events as a network, (4) utilizing the Internet as data source in the field of criminology and (5) creating a better understanding of IPV victims within the Korean immigrant community.

These findings provide some insight for future research with the idea of a *network* analysis. Network analysis is known as an approach "to examine the ties among the members of the system" (McGloin & Kirk, 2011, p. 210). Using MCA, the present study formulated the elements of events (actor, act/condition, and time) as a network and, within the network, all of the elements were tied directly or indirectly. Moreover, the tied elements showed particular shapes such as *convergent* or *divergent* connections to IPV. This feature provides some idea of networking components in a structure. In terms of networking, analyzing the relationships among the components (i.e., elements of the event such as precursors) might indicate the magnitude of the relationship (e.g., which elements are strongly tied), pathways (e.g., how many degrees the elements are

separated), and roles of the element (e.g., what is the most connected element or which are *givers*, *receivers*, or *hubs*). With all of this in mind, future research is suggested for developing appropriate algorithm to characterize the structure of IPV in more general features.

Another idea from the network is the semantic network analysis. MCA is based on the idea of semantic analysis, which is one of text analysis methods completed by examining the relationship of words. Words that linked to one another configure the network and meaning. With respect to narratives of the present study, findings are expected to determine how the semantic networks of words from the stories illustrate the posters' perception of the meaning of IPV and their violent circumstances. The present study attempted to find the perception of violence by the joint probability of co-occurrence of IPV and revealed that the meaning of the word *violence* was closely related to physical violence. With semantic network analysis, further investigation is expected.

With the idea of network, future research is suggested to develop the event-based framework by applying the MCA to other violent events involving family members, IPV among various ethnic groups, and other related interdisciplinary efforts. The network of precursors established from these efforts would provide more sufficient and reliable links among precursors, which increases the chance of being contingent on preceding conditions that could work as possible causes. Not all prior conditions might cause the posterior ones; however, the combinations of possible cause might increase the probability to occur. This is what INUS condition³³ explains and what Shadish, Cook,

³³ For example, not all prior conditions guarantee the occurrence of the posterior one (*insufficient*), but might be a part of a combination of possible causes (necessary part) to occur. The combination of full possible causes would be *sufficient* to the occurrence of the posterior condition, but might be also *unnecessary* if other combination would cause to the occurrence of it.

and Campbell (2001) noted about the probabilistic for occurrence of the effect (see Chapter 3). Thus, a well-developed network with event-based framework would provide the causal process of IPV or other violence.

Future research is suggested concerning improving the reliability of MCA. Based on the limitations as discussed in the preceding section, this might be accomplished by limiting the discretion and controlling the level of time. To limit the discretion of selecting situations in the textual narratives, building up the coding scheme with at least three or more coders is suggested. The "majority decision" among coders would be helpful and make it easier to ensure reliability. Also, this scheme needs be done by level of time. For example, in terms of help seeking and barriers, coders first find only help seeking, then agree with findings. Based on the agreed help seeking, the next step is to find the immediate barriers. This stepwise coding with three or more coders would compensate the reliability of each level for MCA.

Policy Implications

With regard to resources of help seeking, the present study found the importance of online support for those seeking help with IPV. A considerable number of episodes indicated that the purpose of the online posting was to obtain specific information for help seeking. Furthermore, the IPV victims suffered from the *lack of knowledge/information* that was ranked 7th out of 99 barriers. With recent growing number of Internet users in the U.S. (Pew Research Center, n.d.), as Cameron (2011) argued from investigating the social support for IPV victims from online communities, supporting or collaborating with online community or anonymous forums may increase

"the potential value of a strong, compassionate, and readily available online support community for survivors" (p. 191).

Findings indicated that the police played an important role in help seeking and the consequences of IPV for Korean female IPV victims living in the U.S. The most frequent contact to seek help and the most helpful, although the results were not always good, was the police. However, it does not mean that the victims and the police were well-connected and the victims were positive for the police contact, but that is more closely aligned to the meaning of the last resort, because the police reports were also found to be the precursors of IPV and help-seeking barriers. Nevertheless, it was encouraging that there was more active police involvement for IPV in the Korean immigrant community. Frustration might happen when the police would not come or calling them did not work. The finding indicates that Korean immigrant community in the U.S. perceived the police as the accessible help sources.

Efforts to remove barriers would encourage the involvement of police because the finding pointed out that the fourth most frequent help seeking was to report to the police. However, the barriers that were revealed in this research included distal level such as U.S. immigrant policy. To focus more on the immediate or possibly changeable barriers, two deserve attention: (1) the lack of evidence of violence and (2) the lack of knowledge/information. The former is the second most frequent barrier to the police report. Victim judged that police would not work if there was little evidence of violence. Also, victims who do not know how to contact or what would happen to her in future would be reluctant to call the police. It would be helpful if the victims are given information that focusing on future happening.

Finally, findings from current investigation emphasized the importance of non-physical forms of IPV. However, results revealed that police contact occurred more frequently in the case of physical IPV; victims of verbal or psychological IPV, although the consequences were not much different, were reluctant to report to the police. One of reasons was, as discussed, the lack of evidence of violence. Thus, it should start from a consensus that verbal forms of violence represent a serious intention to harm.

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Appendices

Appendix A: CmapTools

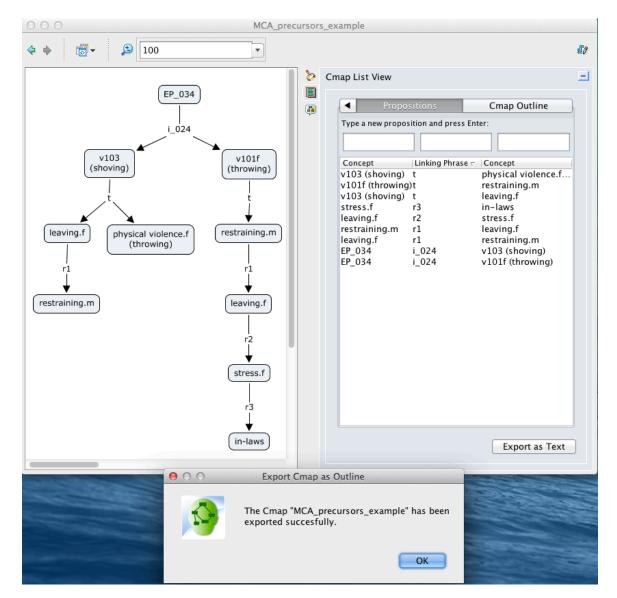
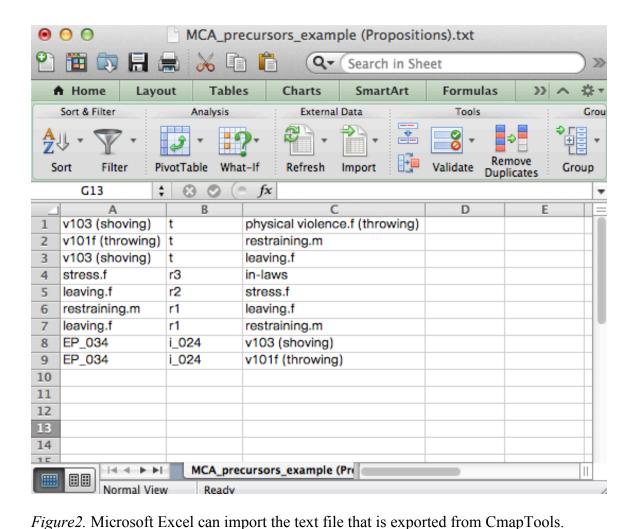


Figure 1. The example discussed in the MCA for Precursors section in Chapter 5 is diagramed in CmapTools, the concept-mapping tool. CmapTools transforms the diagramed concepts into propositions as three columns, Concept, Linking Phrases, and Concept. The button "Export as Text" on the lower right corner exports the proposition as a text file.



Standard form of interpretation: "Column C is the column B" or "column C is the column

B of column A." Notations at the end: m (male partners did); f (female partners did).

Appendix B: Coding Sheet for Violence

c1. Coding Sheet for Violence (English version) Ver. coding2_v5.2

			v2.	Ove	rall
<u>v1. II</u>		Vi-l	الدائل	. 1	o a natoro
Туре	Code OO1	Violence "폭력/폭행 violence"	did	≥2	- 8
-		물건던지기 throwing something at a victim	0	\wedge	Δ
		때리기/손찌검/구타/ hitting			
		잡기, 누르기, 머리채 잡기,		~	
	103	밀기/밀치기/내동댕이치기, 끌기 grabbbing,	\circ	\Diamond	Δ
		pulling hair, pushing/shoving, dragging			
-	104	주먹으로 때리기; 얼굴을 때리기 hitting with fist/object; hitting face	0	\Diamond	
<u> </u>	105	목 조르기 choking	\circ	\Diamond	\triangle
Physical	106	뺨 때리기 slapping	\bigcirc	\Diamond	
Ф	107	발로 차기 kicking	\bigcirc	\Diamond	
	108	물기, 꼬집기, 할퀴기 biting, pinching, or scratching	\bigcirc	\Diamond	\triangle
	109	담뱃불로 지지기 butting	0	\Diamond	Δ
	110	치료 방임 denying a victim medical care	0	\Diamond	Δ
	111	약물 강요 forcing alcohol/drug use	0	\Diamond	Δ
	112	물건/흉기로 때리기 hitting with objects/weapons	\circ	\Diamond	
bal	201	욕/모욕 calling names/insulting	\circ	\Diamond	Δ
Ver	202	소리지르기 yelling at a victim	0	\Diamond	\triangle
	301	물건 부수기 destroying property	\circ	\Diamond	Δ
	302	위협/때린다고 협박 intimidating/threatening	\circ	\Diamond	
Psychological	303	이혼하겠다고 협박 threatening divorce	\circ	\Diamond	
	304	집에서 쫓아내거나 그리하겠다고 협박 expelling	\bigcirc	\Diamond	
	305	or threatening (or trying) to expel from house 흉기/물건으로 위협 threatening with a weapon/	0	^	
		피해자의 물건을 훼손하겠다고 협박; 피해자의	0		
	300	가족/친구/아이를 해치거나, 해치려 하거나,			
		해친다고 협박 threatening the destruction of	\bigcirc	\Diamond	
		victim's property; threatening or trying to harm or			
	207	harming victims' family, friends, or children	_	^	E.
	307	애완동물을 학대/학대하겠다 협박 abusing pets	\bigcirc	$\langle \rangle$	\triangle

^{*}A: attempted

c1. Coding Sheet for Violence (English version) $\text{Ver. coding}2_\text{v}5.2$

			v2.	Ove	rall
<u>v1. II</u>): 	er der on			
Туре	Code	Violence	did	≥2	Α*
	401	아이와의 관계를 손상시키는 행위 damaging victim's relationship with his or her children	0	\Diamond	\triangle
-	402	피해자의 능력을 손상시키는 행위 diminishing victim's ability	0	\Diamond	Δ
Emotional	403	다른 사람과 관계를 갖지 못하게 방해; 의심 (의부/의처증); 스토킹 forcing isolation from family, friends, school and/or work; doubting spouse's faithfulness; stalking	0	\Diamond	Δ
	404	모욕적 행위 insulting by ridicule behaviors	0	\Diamond	Δ
	405	지속적인 비판 constant criticism	0	\Diamond	Δ
er	501	성추행 treating victim in a sexually demeaning manner; sexual harassment	0	\Diamond	Δ
ext	502	원하지 않는 성관계를 강요 forcing unwanted sex	0	\Diamond	Δ
	503	강간 marital rape	\circ	\Diamond	Δ
Economical Sexua	601	직업 통제 forcing victim's attendance at employment	0	\Diamond	Δ
	602	재산/금전 통제 maintaining total control over financial resources and victim's access to money	0	\Diamond	Δ
	603	절도 using victim's money without permission	0	\Diamond	Δ
Etc	[8				
			v2.	Ove	rall
		Items	yes		
	v5.				
	v6.				
	v7.				
	v8.				
ETC	v9.				
_	v10.				
	v11.				
	v12.				
	v13.				

*A: attempted

Appendix C: Inter-coder Reliability Test

Table 1. Help-seeking and Barriers

Help-seeking	% Agreement	Total N
Him not to boss around	0.0%	2
Not to be patient	50.0%	2
Not to get/keep custody of children	0.0%	1
To avoid having any contact with him	100.0%	1
To become independent	0.0%	3
To commit suicide	50.0%	2
To document his promise	0.0%	1
To fix his behavior.violence	50.0%	6
To forgive him	0.0%	2
To get a job	75.0%	4
To get advice/encouragement	12.5%	8
To get alimony/child support from him	100.0%	1
To get divorced/end relationship	83.3%	18
To get help	66.7%	9
To have a driver's license	0.0%	1
To have social/recreational activities	0.0%	4
To leave home	33.3%	3
To live in the U.S.	0.0%	2
To maintain a marriage/intimate relationship	42.9%	7
To receive an apology from him	100.0%	1
To recover relationship with him	50.0%	2
To refuse to have sex with him	100.0%	1
To report to the police	0.0%	3
To retaliate	66.7%	3
To return/visit home country	66.7%	3
To study	100.0%	1
To vent feelings/situations to someone/parents	0.0%	1
NA (not selected)	28.6%	7
To be dissociated from in-laws	0.0%	1
To get green card	0.0%	1
Total	45.5%	101

Table 1. (continued)

Immediate Barriers	% Agreement	Total N.
Age	0.0%	1
Avoiding	0.0%	1
Being good except for violence	0.0%	1
Brazen justification of wrongdoing	0.0%	1
Children	62.5%	8
Controlling document	100.0%	1
Cultural difference	0.0%	1
Demanding/requesting	50.0%	2
Denial of violence	0.0%	1
Difficulty of getting help	0.0%	1
Difficulty of raising children alone	100.0%	3
Divorce claim	0.0%	1
Doing violence	60.0%	5
Fear	66.7%	3
Feeling of hatred/anger	0.0%	2
Feeling of unfairness	100.0%	1
Few acquaintance	0.0%	2
Having an affair	100.0%	1
Hope of his change	0.0%	1
In-laws	50.0%	2
Lack of ability to earn a living	0.0%	2
Lack of evidence of violence	0.0%	1
Lack of financial security	60.0%	5
Lack of getting help	0.0%	1
Lack of knowledge/information	0.0%	3
Lack of mobility/transportation	25.0%	4
Lack of physical power/health	100.0%	1
Lack of respect for him	0.0%	1
Lack of ways/means of communication	100.0%	1
Lack ok knowledge/information	100.0%	1
Married and came to the U.S./living in the U.S	0.0%	1
NA [not selected]	0.0%	3
New life/start	0.0%	1
Night	0.0%	1
No place to go	0.0%	1
Parents	100.0%	4
Personality	50.0%	2
Place.rural area/small town	66.7%	3
Refusing	100.0%	4
Religion/belief	0.0%	1
Restraining	0.0%	1
Social stigma/losing face	100.0%	2
Unstable immigrant status	66.7%	3
Without a driver's license	0.0%	2
Total	45.5%	88

Table 1. (continued)

Middle and Distal Barriers	% Agreement	Total N.
Domestic work	100.0%	1
Business/job	100.0%	1
Lack of financial security	100.0%	1
Place.rural area/small town	75.0%	4
Few acquaintances/relatives/Koreans	50.0%	2
Criticizing	0.0%	1
Feeling of unfairness	0.0%	1
Blaming	0.0%	1
Divorce	0.0%	1
Married and came to the U.S./living in the U.S.	0.0%	2
Children will be abused	0.0%	2
Doing violence	100.0%	2
Lack of evidence of violence	0.0%	1
Being estranged from him	0.0%	1
Controlling document.	0.0%	1
NA [not selected]	0.0%	1
Difficulty of raising children alone	0.0%	1
Children will hurt	0.0%	1
Children need/like father	100.0%	2
Parent	0.0%	1
No place to go	100.0%	1
Lack of mobility/transportation	0.0%	1
Without a driver's license	0.0%	1
Children	0.0%	1
Ego	0.0%	1
Total	36.4%	33

Table 2. Risk Factors and Consequences of IPV

Variables	% Agreement $(N = 247)$	Total N
Demographic Characteristics	(11 217)	1011111
Posters' age	100.0%	3
Posters' marital status when IPV occurred	0.0%	2
Marital quality		
Others seeing no problem with marriage at all	50.0%	4
No problem with marriage, except IPV	50.0%	2
Children	92.6%	27
Economic status of household	53.8%	26
Posters' educational level	60.0%	5
Posters' studentship	100.0%	2
Spouses' educational level	83.3%	6
Nativity and Immigrant Status		
Posters' immigrant status	57.1%	7
Posters' dependency of immigrant status on spouses	33.3%	3
Posters' years of living in the U.S.	42.9%	7
Spouses' immigrant status	36.4%	11
Place where family lives (Spouses)	81.8%	11
Place where family lives (Posters)	68.4%	19
Spouses' personality trait (good person)	81.8%	11
Spouses' personality trait	52.9%	17
Posters' violent personality	83.3%	6
Other Characteristics		
Posters' worries about financial security after divorce	85.7%	7
Posters' lack of ability to speak English	100.0%	1
Posters were abused because spouses knows her disadvantageous situation	100.0%	2
"Jekyll and Hyde" (spouses)	100.0%	3
Spouses' cultural base	85.7%	7
Perspectives		
Posters were uncertain whether non-physical form of abuse was violence	66.7%	3
Spouses had traditional/patriarch perspectives	50.0%	10
Spouses believed violence was only physical or severely injured	75.0%	4
Purpose of posting		
To obtain specific information	50.0%	18
To obtain judgment from others	63.0%	27
Occurrence and Prevention of IPV		
Spouses' first IPV since cohabiting	61.5%	13
IPV during pregnancy	85.7%	7
IPV repeated or regularly occurred	80.8%	26
Police arrival, called by someone	75.0%	4
Police arrival, called by posters	100.0%	5
Posers' false report	100.0%	1
Posers wanted the police not to arrest spouses	100.0%	2
Violence after the police involvement	33.3%	3
Help-seeking	66.7%	3
Consequences of IPV		
Physical injury due to IPV	100.0%	9
Medical care due to IPV	100.0%	1
Posters' psychological health conditions (hwa-byung, PTSD, and other		
symptoms)	78.6%	28
Total	70.0%	353

Appendix D: Barriers Causing Fear, by Help-Seeking

Help-seeking (Want)	Barriers Causing Fear (fear-barriers)
To get divorced/end relationship	lack of financial security (16), children (14), living without husband.f (12), difficulty of raising children alone.f (7), parents (7), difficulty of getting/keeping custody of children.f (6), new life/start.f (6), lack of ability to earn a living (4), difficulty of the process of divorce.f (3), lack of knowledge/information.f (2), doing violence (2), social stigma/losing face.f (2), lack of fluency in English.f (2), unstable immigrant/visa status (1), in-laws (1), feeling of unfairness.f (1), no place to go.f (1), age.f (1), deportation (1), difficulty of getting alimony/child support.f (1), few acquaintance.f (1), going to shelter.f (1), homemaker.f (1), lack of mobility/transportation.f (1), loving him.f (1), and returning to South Korea.f (1)
To report to the police	record/arrest.m (5), unstable immigrant/visa status (3), children (2), lack of knowledge/information.f (2), doing violence (1), being estranged from him (1), feeling of guilt.f (1)
To return/visit home country	lack of knowledge/information.f (2), new life/start.f (2), parents (1), and difficulty of getting/keeping custody of children.f (1)
To leave home	lack of knowledge/information.f (2), feeling of unfairness.f (1), and no place to $go.f(1)$
To maintain a marriage/intimate relationship	doing violence (2), and in-laws (1)
To get marriage counseling/therapy	difficulty of getting/keeping custody of children.f (2), record/arrest.m (1)
To get/keep custody of children	lack of knowledge/information.f (1), difficulty of raising children alone.f (1), and unstable immigrant/visa status (1)
To vent feelings/situations to someone/parents	parents (1), social stigma/losing face.f (1), and in-laws (1)
To become independent (to get a job)	lack of knowledge/information (1), and doving violence (1)
To live in the U.S	unstable immigrant/visa status (1), and social stigma/losing face.f (1)
To retaliate	lack of financial security (1), and difficulty of raising children alone.f(1)
Not to get/keep custody of children	children (1)
To be pregnant	difficulty of raising children alone.f (1)
To commit suicide	children (1)
To refuse to have sex with him	being estranged from him (1)
To separate from him	living without husband.f(1) Notations of herriors at the and: we (male partners' or he did): f(famel

Note: Number of episode in parentheses. Notations of barriers at the end: m (male partners' or he did); f (female partners' or she did).

Appendix E: Lists of Hwa-byung and PTSD

Check "yes" if a poster indicated at least one symptom of the hwabyung list below:

Major or related somatic symptoms

- 1) 가슴이 아픔/답답함 Chest discomfort
- 2) 열감 Burning sensation
- 3) 치밀어 오름 Surge up
- 4) 목이나 명치에 뭉쳐진 덩어리가 느껴짐 A feeling of a mass on throat or in the epigastrium
- 5) 입이나 목이 자주 마름 Dryness of mouth or thirst
- 6) 두통이나 어지러움 Headache or dizziness
- 7) 불면증 Insomnia or sleep disorder
- 8) 가슴의 두근거림 Palpitation

Major or related psychological symptoms

- 9) 억울하고 분한 감정을 자주 느낌 (Frequent) emotion of unfairness and mortification
- 10) 마음의 응어리나 한 Emotional grudge or ill will
- 11) 사소한 일에도 화가 나거나 분노가 치밀어 오름 Easily reveal rage or anger to trivial matters
- 12) [낮은 자존감] 삶이 허무하게 느껴지거나 자신이 초라하고 불쌍하게 느껴짐 [low-self esteem] Feelings of emptiness with life or misery towards oneself
- 13) 두렵거나 깜짝깜짝 놀람 Easily stunned or frightened

Psychological hypofunction

14) 집안일, 직장일, 대인관계 상의 어려움 Distress or impairment in family affair, occupation, relationship

Source: Kim, J. (2011). Development of Clinical Guideline for Hwa-byung. In *Clinical Practice Guidelines Development in Traditional Medicine in East Asia*. Seoul, Korea.

Check "yes" if a poster indicated at least one symptom of the PTSD list below:

- 15) 사건에 관한 악몽having nightmares
- 16) 사건에 관한 원치않는 괴로운 생각이나 이미지가 떠오름] trying hard not to think about it or avoiding being reminded of it [or Pictures about it popped into my mind.]
- 17) 지나치게 경계하게 되거나 (예: 주변에 누가 있는지 점검하기, 등 뒤에 다른 사람이 있으면 불편함 등), 쉽게 놀라게 됨(예: 누군가 다가오는 경우 크게 놀람) feeling constantly on guard, watchful, or easily startled
- 18) 정서적으로 마비된 것을 느끼거나((예: 울 수 없거나 사랑하는 감정을 느끼기 어려움), 주변 사람들과 소원하거나 단절된 느낌, 또는 중요한 활동에 대한 관심이나 참여가 줄어듬 feeling numb or detached from others, activities, or surroundings

Source: Black, M. C., Basile, K. C., Breiding, M. J., Smith, S. G., Walters, M. L., Merrick, M. T., ... Stevens, M. R. (2011). *National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey: 2010 Summary Report*. Atlanta, GA: National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, Division of Violence Prevention and Control.

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