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**Author:** Mieko Yoshihama, Deborah Bybee, Chic Dabby, Juliane Blazevski

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# **Lifecourse Experiences of Intimate Partner Violence and Help-Seeking among Filipina, Indian, and Pakistani Women: Implications for Justice System Responses**

## **Final Report**

NIJ Grant Number: 2005-WG-BX-0009

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# **Lifecourse Experiences of Intimate Partner Violence and Help-Seeking among Filipina, Indian, and Pakistani Women:**

## **Implications for Justice System Responses**

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# I. Executive Summary

## Background

Research on intimate partner violence (IPV) in Asian communities is critical given a nexus of interrelated, complex factors: high prevalence estimates of IPV against Asian women, the over-representation of Asian victims in IPV-related homicides, the lack of socio-culturally tailored and linguistically accessible assistance programs, the under-utilization of outside help by Asian battered women, and myriad structural, institutional, and socio-cultural barriers to help-seeking (Crites, 1990; Ho, 1990; Kanuha, 1987; McDonnell & Abdulla, 2001; Shimtuh, 2000; Tran, 1997; Raj, Silverman, McLeary-Sills, & Liu, 2004; Yoshihama, 2000, 2002; Yoshihama & Dabby, 2009; Yoshioka, Gilbert, El-Bassel, Baig-Amin, 2003). There are virtually no studies that specifically examine Asian battered women's experiences with the criminal justice system (CJS). Research on IPV over the lifecourse and related help-seeking efforts is also scarce but necessary given that IPV often recurs over the lifecourse and that survivors' decisions to seek help and the preferred and actual sources of help change over time and are shaped by the current situation, as well as past experiences of IPV and help-seeking (Bachman & Coker, 1995; Duterte et al., 2008; Fleury, Sullivan, Bybee, & Davidson, 1998; Hickman & Simpson, 2003; Jasinski, 2003).

## Goals

The goal of this research project is to enhance the understanding of Asian battered women's experiences in seeking help from the criminal justice system (CJS) and other (non-CJS) programs and develop recommendations for system responses to IPV in Asian communities. This project focused on selected Asian ethnic groups – Filipina, Indian and Pakistani. This project was jointly conducted by the University of Michigan School of Social Work and the Asian & Pacific Islander Institute on Domestic Violence of the Asian & Pacific Islander American Health Forum. This report addressed the following research questions:

- When do Asian battered women experience various types of IPV over their lifecourse?
- When do Asian battered women come into contact with CJS and non-CJS agencies?
- What kinds of responses do Asian battered women receive from CJS and non-CJS agencies?
- What responses do Asian battered women perceive as helpful?
- What are the barriers to contacting CJS agencies?
- What suggestions do Asian battered women have for improving CJS responses to IPV in Asian communities?

## Research Design and Methods

### Respondents

Given the enormous ethnic, socio-cultural, linguistic, and religious diversity among Asians, we focused on three major Asian subgroups: Filipinas, Indians and Pakistanis, with selection criteria limiting the sample to those between the ages of 18 and 60 who had experienced physical violence, sexual violence and/or stalking at the hands of an intimate partner while residing in the San Francisco Bay Area (comprised of nine counties). We used

a range of outreach methods (e.g., flyers at community venues and events, advertisements in various media outlets) to recruit respondents.

We conducted face-to-face interviews in English, Tagalog, and Hindi with a total of 143 women (87 Filipina women and 56 Indian and Pakistani women) who met the selection criteria. The respondents' mean age was 40.7 for Filipina and 34.5 for Indian/Pakistani women. The majority of the respondents (64.4% of Filipina and 82.1% of Indian/Pakistani women) were born outside the United States. Among foreign-born respondents, the mean age at which they came to the United States was 22-23 years old. At the time of the interview, 19.6% of Filipina women were married and another 27.6% were cohabiting with a partner; and among Indian/Pakistani women, 39.3% were married, and another 28.6% were cohabiting with a partner.

### *Life History Calendar Method and Interview Procedures*

To facilitate the respondents' memory retrieval of their life experiences over time, we used the Life History Calendar (LHC) method (Freedman, Thornton, Camburn, Alwin, & Young-DeMarco, 1988). The LHC method is designed to collect lifecourse data retrospectively and to improve respondents' memory recall by asking first about memorable and/or easily recalled events and recording their occurrences in a familiar calendar format and in a manner that is accessible to the respondents during the interview (Freedman et al., 1988; McPherson, Popielarz, & Drobnic, 1992).

During the interview, respondents were asked about their experiences in various aspects of their lives (e.g., residential moves, birth of children) followed by questions about their relationship history, prior to answering questions about IPV. Interviewers then asked respondents if they had experienced IPV in each of their intimate relationships using behavior-specific items: physical violence (5 items); sexual violence (3 items), and stalking (2 items). For each type of IPV reported, the interviewer probed about the age at which a respondent experienced that type of IPV for the first time, and if and when it occurred in subsequent years. Next, respondents were asked about their contact with CJS agencies and non-CJS programs such as legal assistance, shelter, domestic violence programs, as well as the types of responses they received from these agencies/programs. Victims do not typically initiate contact with CJS agencies and personnel, such as prosecutor/DA's office, DA victim/witness advocates, and criminal court, but tend to have contact with these agencies and personnel through their initial involvements with the police. Hence, in this report, we examined respondent-initiated contact with the police in great detail.

In the last part of the interview, respondents were asked open-ended questions concerning a) the most helpful response they have received from any individual or organization; b) reasons for not having contacted any CJS agencies (when applicable); and c) their suggestions for improving the CJS responses to Asian battered women.

### *Analytical Approaches*

To understand the timing of women's experience of IPV across the lifecourse, we examined the trajectories of three types of IPV – physical violence, sexual violence, and stalking. We used an analytic strategy known as multilevel modeling (MLM) to model women's individual and collective trajectories and assess whether the trajectories of IPV and

help-seeking varied by immigration/generational position<sup>1</sup> and age cohort. Responses to open-ended questions underwent content analysis.

## Key Findings

### *Summary of Trajectories of IPV over Women's Lifecourse*

- Physical violence was virtually ubiquitous, experienced by more than 95% of the women.
- A majority of women had experienced sexual violence (56.3% of Filipinas and 64.3% of Indians/Pakistanis) and stalking (67.8% of Filipinas and 50.0% of Indian/Pakistani women).
- In general, the probability of experiencing IPV increased rapidly in the early years, peaked in the mid- to late-twenties, and then gradually declined. An exception to this pattern was found for the probability of experiencing physical violence among Filipina women; Although overall rates of physical violence were lower for Filipinas interviewed at older ages (i.e., those born earlier), 1st generation Filipinas who were older at interview reported increasing levels of physical violence later in the lifecourse (e.g., peaking in the late thirties for women interviewed at 50).
- High levels of IPV were already experienced by some groups at age 16, the first year for which data were collected. Rates at this initial point were especially high for sexual violence among 1.5+ generations of Indian/Pakistani women (estimated at 18%) and for physical violence among 1.5+ generations of Filipinas interviewed at young ages (estimated at 30%).
- Trajectories of IPV varied by immigration/generational position and by cohort/age at interview (see *Similarities and Variations Across Immigration/Generational Position* and *Similarities and Variations Across Cohort/Age at Interview* for details).

### *Trajectories of Help-Seeking over Women's Lifecourse*

Respondents reported help-seeking from four sources: police, legal assistance, domestic violence (DV) shelters and non-shelter DV programs.

- Slightly more than half the respondents (51.7% of Filipina and 55.4% of Indian/Pakistani women) had called the police at least once.
- 43.7% of Filipina women and 60.7% of Indian/Pakistani women had sought legal assistance.
- With respect to DV programs, 25.3% of Filipinas and 41.1% of Indian/Pakistani women had used shelters; and 31.0% of Filipinas and 57.1% of Indian/Pakistani women had used non-shelter DV programs.

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<sup>1</sup> In this report, respondents' immigration/generational position were classified into the following two groups: 1st generation—those who immigrated to the United States at age 13 or later, and 1.5+ generations—those who immigrated to the United States before age 13 (often described as 1.5 generation)

We assessed the lifecourse trajectories of three types of IPV-related help-seeking – calling the police, seeking legal assistance, and using DV programs (shelter and non-shelter programs)<sup>2</sup>.

- All three types of help-seeking showed similar patterns across the lifecourse, with probabilities of seeking help generally increasing for women who were interviewed at younger ages (i.e., those born more recently) but remaining essentially zero for women interviewed when they were older (i.e., those born earlier).
- The use of legal assistance, but not other types of programs, was associated with cumulative experiences of physical violence in prior years.
- Experience of stalking was associated with all types of help-seeking in the same year among both Filipina and Indian/Pakistani women.
- Experience of physical violence was associated with all types of help-seeking, with the exception of DV program use among Indian/Pakistani women.
- Experiences of sexual violence was only related to calling the police within that same year and not other types of help-seeking.
- Trajectories of help-seeking varied by cohort/age at interview and, to some extent, by immigration/generational position, although the effect of the latter was not significant after controlling for timing of IPV (see *Similarities and Variations Across Immigration/Generational Position* and *Similarities and Variations Across Cohort/Age* for details).

#### *Source and Nature of the Responses Perceived as Helpful*

Respondents described the source and the nature of the response they received that they considered most helpful (most helpful response, hereinafter).

- Frequently mentioned sources of the most helpful response included friends and family, DV programs, legal assistance programs, and CJS agencies.
- Frequently mentioned types of responses included information and referrals, as well as tangible/concrete assistance and emotional support.
- Both the source and nature of the most helpful response varied somewhat by immigration/generational position and by cohort/age at interview (see *Similarities and Variations Across Immigration/Generational Position* and *Similarities and Variations Across Cohort/Age at Interview* for details).

#### *Perceived Barriers to Contacting CJS Agencies*

Filipina and Indian/Pakistani women reported a range of factors that compromised their ability and willingness to contact CJS agencies such as the police.

- Frequently mentioned barriers included: lack of knowledge/familiarity with the CJS system; fears about consequences or fears about their safety; shame, concerns about individual and family reputation and privacy; not wanting to jeopardize own or partner's immigration status; hoping their partner or the situation will change and not

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<sup>2</sup> We combined the use of shelter and non-shelter programs when analyzing trajectories because of relatively low rates of use and substantial overlap between utilization of these two types of programs.



being ready to call the police; and being threatened and/or prevented by the abuser from calling the police.

- Factors related to family and social networks identified as barriers to help-seeking included concerns for children (e.g., the need for a father) and family members (e.g., not wanting to burden them); and social isolation.
- Barriers to contacting CJS agencies varied somewhat by immigration/generational position (see *Similarities and Variations Across Immigration/Generational Position* for details).

#### *Similarities and Variations Across Immigration/Generational Position*

- Physical and sexual violence reported by both Filipina and Indian/Pakistani women occurred earlier in the lifecourse among the 1.5+ generations than the 1st generation. Stalking also occurred earlier in the lifecourse for 1.5+ generations of Indian/Pakistani women, although not for Filipinas.
- In general, the risk of experiencing IPV was higher for the 1.5+ generations compared to the 1st generation for both Filipina and Indian/Pakistani women.
- Two types of help, calling the police among Filipina women and seeking legal assistance among Indian/Pakistani women, were less commonly sought by the 1st generation, compared to the 1.5+ generations; however, once the timing of IPV was accounted for, immigration/generational differences in help seeking were not significant, suggesting that help-seeking *per se* does not differ by immigration/generational position, although IPV experience does.
- Information and referrals were most frequently mentioned as a most helpful response by both 1st and 1.5+ generations among Filipina and Indian/Pakistani women. The next frequently mentioned responses by the 1.5+ generations were empathic communication and safety planning/advice; These types of response were less frequently viewed as a most helpful response among 1st generation women.
- Perceived barriers to contacting CJS also varied considerably between the two groups of women. Among 1st generation respondents, the most frequently mentioned barriers included: lack of knowledge/familiarity, immigration status, hope for change/not ready, deciding there was no need for police intervention, and fear of consequences/safety. Except for fear of consequences/safety, these reasons were not among the most frequently mentioned for the 1.5+ generations. The 1.5+ generations most frequently mentioned shame/reputation/privacy, fear of consequences/safety, and general fear as reasons for the lack of prior CJS contact.

#### *Similarities and Variations by Cohort/Age at Interview*

- Cohort effects were found in the risk of stalking for both Filipina and Indian/Pakistani women, with the rate of stalking higher for women who were younger when interviewed (i.e., those born more recently) compared with those who were older when interviewed (i.e., those born earlier).
- Among Filipinas interviewed at younger ages, the 1.5+ generations were much more likely to experience physical violence early in the lifecourse. Among those interviewed at older ages, the 1st generation were more likely to experience physical violence later in the lifecourse. This pattern was in contrast to all other patterns of

IPV across the lifecourse, which typically increased rapidly in the early years, peaked in the mid- to late-twenties, and then gradually declined.

- Help-seeking trajectories varied by cohort/age at interview – in general, women who were interviewed at older ages were less likely than their younger counterparts to seek help from police, legal assistance and DV programs.

## **Important Themes to Consider in the Response to IPV in Asian Communities**

### *Police/Criminal Justice System Agencies are a Gateway to Assistance*

The majority (51.7% of Filipina and 55.4% of Indian/Pakistani respondents) had initiated contact with the police at least once prior to the interview, contrary to general perceptions that Asian battered women do not call the police. IPV experience was positively associated with the likelihood of calling the police in the year in which a woman experienced IPV, although this association was not consistently found for the probability of contacting legal assistance programs or DV programs. The majority of respondents who had contacted both the police and legal assistance programs had contacted the former before contacting the latter. There was a similar pattern in the use of DV programs – the majority of respondents contacted the police first and then a DV program. Together, these findings suggest that a contact with the police in the immediate aftermath of an IPV incident serve as an entry/gateway to getting in touch with other assistance programs.

### *Importance of Tailoring Programs to Asians*

For 1st generation respondents, domestic violence (DV) and legal assistance programs targeted to serve Asians tended to provide the most helpful responses, with 43.5% identifying Asian DV programs and 10.9% identifying Asian legal assistance programs as sources of the most helpful responses. This finding does not mean that programs not tailored to Asian battered women (non-Asian) do not have a role: 14.9% of Filipina women and 28.6% of Indian/Pakistani women contacted non-Asian DV programs, and 2.3% of Filipina women and 5.4% of Indian/Pakistani women sought help from non-Asian legal assistance programs. Given the saliency of socio-cultural barriers among 1.5+ generation women (e.g., shame/reputation/privacy and not burdening natal family), it is important that non-Asian agencies attend to socio-cultural factors pertinent to Asian battered women and tailor assistance programs to meet their needs.

### *Multi-Dimensional Support: Need for Tangible/Concrete and Emotionally Supportive Help*

A multi-dimensional approach to providing support was perceived as most helpful. Information and Referral (I&R), which were most frequently mentioned as the most helpful response by Filipinas and Indians/Pakistanis of both 1st and 1.5+ generations. In addition, multi-dimensions encompass tangible/concrete assistance (e.g., a place to stay, monetary help, help with child care, and food) and emotional support, safety planning/advice that promoted safety (e.g., encouraging victims to call police), and a range of responses that can be loosely categorized as “women-centered responses.”

### *Importance of Relational Aspects of Helping*

Respondents emphasized the importance of listening to, believing, and understanding the survivor; refraining from pressuring the survivor; not making victim-blaming comments; not

stereotyping the survivor; and not making assumptions about the survivor or the cultural group or community to which she belongs. Their recommendations mirror one of the most helpful responses described by many respondents – empathic communication and displays of caring/concern.

### *Socio-Culturally Informed and Competent Responses*

Respondents iterated how critical cultural competency was. They pointed to the importance of individual officers and staff of various agencies being informed about the socio-cultural values and norms that influence the types of IPV perpetrated and women’s willingness and ability to seek outside assistance. In addition to these individual-level changes, respondents suggested increased staffing and training and collaboration with Asian domestic violence programs and other non-CJS programs to strengthen the CJS agencies’ organizational capacity to work more effectively with Asian battered women.

### **Methodological Strengths and Limitations**

The combination of Life History Calendar (LHC) methods for data collection and multilevel modeling (MLM) approaches to data analysis is a promising strategy for examining women’s experience of IPV across the lifecourse. LHC interview methods offer improvements in memory cuing and recall, and MLM analysis makes full use of LHC data. Both are flexible and can be used to examine lifecourse trajectories of many types of experiences, including many of the issues pertinent to CJS agencies, such as crime perpetration and victimization, arrests, prosecutions, and sentences (Yoshihama & Bybee, in press).

This study makes an important contribution to the examination of cohort effect, which has not been extensively investigated in IPV research. One of the strengths of the MLM approach is the ability to examine the cohort effects, as well as the effects of substantive covariates while adjusting for cohort effects due to differences in respondents’ ages at the time of the interview. This study did indeed find substantial cohort effects in the lifecourse trajectories of IPV experience. Effects attributable to cohort may reflect several processes, including recall biases, historical shifts in women’s perceptions of what acts “count” as IPV, age-related differences in willingness to disclose IPV, or actual cohort differences in the level and timing of IPV, which may be related to changing relationship type or timing. The study also found substantial cohort effects on the probability of seeking help, which may reflect historical changes in availability of assistance programs and resources. More research is needed to examine these possible influences. Regardless of the source of these effects, it is important that analyses of self-report lifecourse data use methods such as MLM that can examine and control for cohort influences, both as a main effect and in interaction with other variables of interest.

This study used a non-probability sample recruited by community outreach efforts. This is consistent with the project’s main purpose: to enhance the understanding of the lifecourse trajectories of Asian battered women’s experiences of IPV and contact with CJS agencies and non-CJS programs, including an examination of barriers to contacting CJS agencies. Multi-method recruitment strategies resulted in obtaining a sample of women from a wide range of backgrounds. However, due to the use of a non-probability sample, the generalizability of the study’s findings is limited. Generalizability beyond the experiences of the three selected Asian ethnic groups is also limited, yet this represents a strength of this study

because it avoided the problem of aggregating the data from women of different ethnic backgrounds whose experiences may differ considerably.

## **Recommendations for Strengthening CJS Responses to IPV in Asian Communities**

Based on the study's findings, we present the following recommendations for strengthening CJS responses to IPV in Asian communities, along with next steps for future research.

### *CJS Responses to Asian Survivors/Victims*

**Recommendation #1: Adopt an integrated response model.** We recommend that police officers adopt an integrated response model that combines legal and support-oriented approaches to cases. This can be achieved by training police officers on an integrated response model; co-locating advocacy and support services within police departments much as what family justice centers do; and enhancing coordinated community responses (CCR) with collaboration between law enforcement and advocates providing socio-culturally and linguistically tailored programs.

**Recommendation #2: Identify high-risk and/or under-served groups and develop tailored intervention approaches.** The findings of this study point to substantial within-group variations in the lifecourse trajectories of IPV and help-seeking by women's age, immigration/generational position and cohort. For example, this study identified certain groups – e.g., Filipino, Indian and Pakistani adolescents and young adults – to be at a higher risk of experiencing IPV. It also found that some groups (e.g., older cohort) were less likely to contact CJS agencies than others. We recommend that CJS agencies analyze the demographics of the communities they serve to identify salient subgroups to whom targeted and/or tailored approaches may be necessary in order to reach out to them and to encourage help-seeking. CJS personnel should also understand the barriers Asian women face and how they can address them.

**Recommendation #3: Assess for stalking at all IPV incidents and at all points of contact with victims.** Given the high prevalence of stalking and a significant association of experiences of stalking and help-seeking found in this study, all CJS agencies, particularly law enforcement and investigation units, should include questions about stalking when taking reports, giving it as much weight as physical and sexual violence. Assessment for stalking should be included as one type of IPV regardless of whether the couple is separated or estranged.

**Recommendation #4: Design policies, practices and resources about IPV in Asian adolescent and young adult relationships that take socio-cultural prohibitions against dating into account.** Such policies and procedures are indicated by the study's results that women are at risk of IPV earlier in their lifecourse. CJS responses to Asian adolescents and young adults reporting IPV should assess how parents might respond to victims and what procedures will preserve confidentiality and safety for adolescent and young adult victims.

**Recommendation #5: Train CJS on abuses related to immigration status and how to address community and victim fears about immigration-related issues and the rights of immigrants.** All CJS agencies should be trained about abuse related to immigration status so that they can understand, respond to and investigate these abuses; consider safety implications and consequential impacts on children and adult family members; and be

familiar with legal remedies available to immigrant crime victims. In addition, because immigration-related fears are barriers to help-seeking, police officers should be trained to identify and address fears such as threats of deportation; how immigrants' experiences of calling police in their home countries affect their current attitudes toward seeking help from police; and how this can confer greater impunity to batterers.

**Recommendation #6: Make I&R (Information & Referral) assistance integral to outreach and advocacy.** CJS agencies are an important gateway to additional resources in battered women's long and winding trajectories of help-seeking. Recognizing the importance of I&R to victims, CJS personnel should provide and publicize up-to-date resources and referrals for battered women and explanations about such services.

#### *Collaboration and Outreach*

**Recommendation #7: Implement collaborative procedures for mutual training, problem-solving, and capacity building.** Specific recommendations include (a) CJS agencies should design trainings for advocates to deepen their understanding of CJS policies and procedures; (b) Domestic violence programs serving Asians should design trainings that improve CJS practices and strengthen CJS agencies' capacity to meeting the needs of Asian communities; and (c) CJS agency representatives and community-based-organizations should establish procedures to identify and address problems that arise in responding to cases of IPV in a spirit of collaboration instead of confrontation.

**Recommendation #8: Promote reporting of IPV and demystify CJS responses through enhanced community outreach and explanations of CJS roles and procedures.** Some survivors' comments indicated that they did not fully understand the criminal justice system. Demystifying the CJS would help reduce victim fears and batterer manipulation, which in turn could considerably encourage help-seeking.

**Recommendation #9: Include Asian programs in multi-disciplinary and/or CCR teams.** Domestic violence programs and legal assistance programs, especially those tailored to Asians, play an important role in the lives of the 1st generation Asian battered women. These programs are often at the forefront of innovative strategies to address diverse needs of their communities. Their inclusion and input into Coordinated Community Response teams will benefit all members of multi-disciplinary teams.

**Recommendation #10: Collaborate with community-based organizations in a manner that does not burden but strengthens their capacity.** We recommend that CJS agencies invest in collaborative efforts without burdening community-based organizations, e.g., expecting bilingual advocates or ad hoc interpreters to obviate the need for professional interpreters. Small community-based-organizations have limited resources, yet provide hours of unfunded services to other programs. We recommend that CJS agencies budget funds in order to integrate collaboration with community-based-organizations – such funds are available through VAWA's STOP funding and Grants to Encourage Community Solutions (formerly, Grants to Encourage Arrests).

#### *Systems Change*

**Recommendation #11: Understand how the culture of CJS agencies can adversely affect victims and make changes that maximize benefits to victims.** Respondents in this study pointed out that some attitudes and behaviors of CJS personnel (e.g., lack of empathy, emphasizing only the legal aspects of policies and procedures) were alienating. An

important step for CJS agencies to improving their responses to Asian and other ethnic communities is to understand how their own culture affects battered women. We recommend that CJS agencies engage in a critical analysis of their agency's culture because such an organizational/cultural audit can help develop strategies to minimize its deleterious effects and maximize its salutary ones. Thus, changes to CJS culture can help obviate negative community perceptions, fear, distrust, and decreased willingness in help-seeking, benefits that community policing in fact aim for.

**Recommendation #12: Enhance cultural competencies of CJS agencies at both individual and organizational levels.** Improving the cultural competency of individual CJS personnel is important; however, more attention needs to be paid to cultural competency at the organizational level. Without organizational commitment to serving Asian, and other, communities, training individual personnel on cultural competency will not have a lasting impact.

**Recommendation #13: Increase language access through provision of interpretation services.** All programs receiving federal funds (directly or indirectly) are obligated to comply with Title VI and provide meaningful access to victims and litigants with limited English proficiency. We recommend that CJS agencies conduct the 4-factor analysis in the DOJ Guidance to Federal Financial Assistance Recipients Regarding Title VI Prohibition Against National Origin Discrimination Affecting Limited English Proficient Persons. All CJS agency personnel, as well as advocates in community-based-organizations, should be trained in working with spoken and sign language interpreters.

### Next Steps for Future Research

Additional studies of lifecourse trajectories of IPV and help-seeking need to be conducted to examine whether the relationships observed for Filipina and Indian/Pakistani women are similar or different for other groups of Asian and other under-studied population groups. That said, moving beyond examination of *across-group* differences, elucidation of significant *within-group* variations in IPV remains an important area for future research. Given that variance in IPV trajectories was not completely explained by the model that included the respondent's age, age at interview, and immigration/generational position, future research should examine additional factors associated with variations in IPV risks. Additional areas of future research include detailed studies of IPV among Asian youth; analyzing the interrelationships among various types of IPV; changing IPV risks across relationship phases, and exploring factors that explain the general decline in IPV risk during the later years of the lifecourse.

## II. Introduction

### Goals and Research Questions

The goal of this research project is to enhance the understanding of Asian battered women's experiences in seeking help from the criminal justice system (CJS) and other (non-CJS) programs and develop recommendations for system responses to intimate partner violence (IPV) in Asian communities. This project was jointly conducted by the University of Michigan School of Social Work and the Asian & Pacific Islander Institute on Domestic Violence of the Asian & Pacific Islander American Health Forum.

With an overall aim of understanding lifecourse trajectories of women's experiences of IPV and help-seeking, we used a specialized methodology, the Life History Calendar (LHC) method (Freedman et al., 1988) to collect retrospective data. Using multi-level modeling, we examined the trajectories of Asian women's experiences of IPV and their contact with CJS and non-CJS agencies over their lifecourse. We also used descriptive and qualitative analyses to examine Asian battered women's experiences with CJS agencies and their recommendations for improving CJS responses. This report addresses the following research questions:

- When do Asian battered women experience various types of IPV over their lifecourse?
- When do Asian battered women come into contact with CJS and non-CJS agencies?
- What responses do Asian battered women receive from CJS and non-CJS agencies?
- What types of responses do Asian battered women perceive as helpful?
- What are the barriers to contacting CJS agencies?
- What suggestions do Asian battered women have for improving CJS responses to IPV in Asian communities?

The Asian population in the United States is not monolithic but is comprised of over 40 ethnic groups; the U.S. Census Bureau identified 24 Asian ethnic groups (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Groups differ considerably in migratory and historical experiences, as well as socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics. The Asian population as a whole is one of the fastest-growing ethnic groups in the United States. In 2000, there were approximately 11.9 million Asians in the United States, representing 4.2% of the total U.S. population (Barnes & Bennett, 2002; Grieco, 2001). The Asian population is projected to increase to 18.7 million to make up 5.5% of the total U.S. population by 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2008a, 2008b).

This study fills a general void in research on lifecourse experiences of IPV and help-seeking efforts and a specific gap in research on Asian women's lifecourse experiences. Given the enormous ethnic, socio-cultural, linguistic, and religious diversity among Asians, this study focused on three major Asian subgroups: Filipinas, Indians and Pakistanis. We conducted in-depth face-to-face interviews with a total of 143 women (87 Filipina women and 56 Indian and Pakistani women) who had experienced IPV in the San Francisco Bay Area. We selected a specific geographic locality because there can be wide variations in the types and levels of assistance and resources available across different regions of the United States. In the study site, the San Francisco Bay area, Asians make up 23 % of the population. Between 1990 and 2000, the Asian population grew by 44.6%, a much faster rate than the area's general population (12.2%) (Asian Pacific Fund, 2003). The largest

Asian group is Chinese, followed by Filipino and South Asian (e.g., Bangladeshi, Bhutanese, Indian, Nepali, Pakistani, and Sri Lankan).

This study assesses the timing of various types of IPV Filipino and Indian/Pakistani women experience over the lifecourse; the nature of their contact with CJS agencies; barriers to contacting CJS agencies; and their perceptions about helpful responses. Throughout the study, we refer to Asian communities in the aggregate, and to specific ethnic groups – Filipinos and Indian/Pakistani. The aggregate and disaggregate groups are not meant to be conflated, but as noted above, the diversity of Asians precluded a research study on all Asians.



## III. Background and Literature Review

### Intimate Partner Violence in Asian Communities

Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) is a pattern of abuse that includes physical, sexual, economic, and emotional violence, as well as various coercive and controlling tactics employed by one intimate partner against another to dominate, intimidate and subjugate the victim. Clearly IPV affects all populations; however, the socio-cultural, structural and institutional issues unique to Asian communities warrant focused examination. We review the literature on IPV in women of various Asian backgrounds, because although this report focuses on Filipina, Indian and Pakistani women, there is a scarcity of IPV studies that specifically assess these three groups.

Estimating the prevalence of IPV in Asian communities in the United States is challenging. Large-scale studies of representative samples that include various racial and ethnic groups tend to find a lower rate of IPV among an aggregated group of Asians or Asians and Pacific Islanders. For example, the National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS, Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000) found a lower lifetime rate of physical IPV for the aggregated group of Asian Pacific Islander women (12.8%<sup>3</sup>) than for other groups of women (21.2%-30.7%). The 2005 Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (BRFSS) survey in 16 states and 2 territories (Black & Breiding, 2008) also found a lower rate of lifetime IPV among the aggregated Asian group (9.7%) compared to other racial/ethnic groups (20.5%-29.2%). Studies of Asians conducted in local/regional settings have found a wide range of lifetime prevalence of IPV (14.0%-51.7%) and past-year rates (3.0-26.6%) (Hicks, 2006; Himelfarb Hurwitz, Gupta, Liu, Silverman, & Raj, 2006; Kim & Sung, 2000; Leung & Cheung, 2008; Raj & Silverman, 2002; Yick, 2000b; Yoshihama, 1999). These findings suggest that the prevalence of IPV in Asian communities is not consistently lower as found in large-scale studies, but may be higher. Due to the underreporting common to survey research, the true extent of IPV may be higher than these survey-based estimates.

Asian women and children are over-represented in IPV-related homicide statistics. Of women and children killed in IPV-related homicides in Massachusetts in 1991, 13% were Asian, although Asians represented only 2.4% of the state's population (Tong, 1992). In California's Santa Clara County, 31% (16 out of 51 cases) of IPV-related homicides from 1993-1997 involved Asians (Santa Clara County Death Review Sub-Committee of the Domestic Violence Council, 1997), although Asians comprised only 17.5% of the county's population.

Very few studies have investigated IPV among Filipina women in the United States. One study of a small convenience sample of undocumented Filipina women ( $n=45$ ) found that 20% of them had experienced physical, emotional, or sexual abuse at the hands of their intimate partners (Hoagland & Rosen, 1990). Most studies of IPV among South Asian women do not disaggregate ethnic groups. Two studies that used a convenience sample of South Asian women recruited from various community outreach methods found that between 21.2% and 40.8% of them had experienced intimate partners' physical and/or sexual violence (Himelfarb Hurwitz et al., 2006; Raj & Silverman, 2002). One notable

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<sup>3</sup> Because most studies of IPV in Asian communities assessed physical violence, for comparative purposes, the rates of physical violence are presented when available. In NVAWS, the reported rates of physical and/or sexual violence were 15.0% for Asian Pacific Islanders and 24.8-37.5% for other groups.

exception to the aggregation is a study of six Asian groups, which reported separate prevalence rates of past-year IPV for Filipino men and women (21.8%) and Indian men and women (19.5%); however, this study used a non-probability sample and did not provide rates separately for women and men (Leung & Cheung, 2008).

## Barriers to Help-Seeking

Battered women of all racial and ethnic backgrounds face many barriers that impede their access to assistance (Felson, Messner, Hoskin, & Deane, 2002; Fugate, Landis, Riordan, Naureckas, & Engel, 2005; Orloff, Dutton, Hass, & Ammar, 2003; Wachholz & Miedema, 2000; Wolf, Ly, Hobart, & Kernic, 2003). However, certain structural and institutional arrangements in U.S. society and socio-cultural factors pose particular barriers for Asian battered women.

### *Lack of Socio-culturally and Linguistically Tailored Programs*

In general, the lack of sufficient resources and services is a serious barrier for all victims of IPV; and a lack of socio-culturally and linguistically tailored programs compounds those barriers for Asian women. Asian activists have established programs across the country (over 150 according to the latest count by the Asian & Pacific Islander Institute on Domestic Violence); yet they do not meet existing levels of need. Even in San Francisco, where there are multiple organizations for Asian battered women, the need clearly exceeds the availability of services. For example, in FY 2007-2008, Asian Women's Shelter turned away 177 women and 88 children due to lack of shelter space; and only a total of 28 women and 18 children received shelter services (Yoshihama & Dabby, 2009). In many areas of the nation, there are simply no programs that are socio-culturally relevant and/or linguistically accessible for Asian women.

A lack of linguistically or socio-culturally competent programs can lead to inadequate and often discriminatory responses from institutions or professionals. Agencies not tailored to Asian battered women may lack the knowledge and skills needed to understand barriers and risks they face, and prevailing socio-cultural values and proscriptions (Almeida, 1993; Erez, Ammar, Orloff, Martin, & Pendelton, 2002). Incompetent responses can be lethal. Fatality reviews in Washington State found that the rate of IPV-related homicides was higher among immigrants such as Asians and Latinas although many had accessed the criminal and civil legal systems previously (Hobart, 2002). The report attributed the high rate of IPV-related homicides among immigrant women to inconsistent or insufficient responses by these systems.

### *Structural and Institutional Barriers*

There are many structural and institutional barriers; we review four salient ones here.

**(1) Immigration status.** When a battered woman's immigration status is used by her abusive partner to isolate and abuse her, she faces significant structural barriers. A recent study of South Asian women in Boston found that those on spousal dependent visas were more likely to experience IPV than those with other visas or immigration statuses (Raj et al., 2004). In the provision of the Marriage Fraud Act Amendments of 1986 (8 U.S.C. d1186a), a foreign spouse of a U.S. citizen or Legal Permanent Resident (LPR) is granted a two-year conditional residency status, requiring the citizen or LPR to petition on behalf of his/her foreign spouse in order for the latter to obtain permanent residency. A woman whose

immigration status depends on her husband's petition is vulnerable to his threats. He may threaten divorce or not to petition for her permanent residency, threaten her with deportation and/or the loss of their children if she discloses the abuse (Anderson, 1993; Dutton, Orloff, & Hass, 2000; Erez, 2002; Erez, Adelman, & Gregory, 2009; Hogland & Rosen, 1990; Orloff, Jang, & Klein, 1995). Such threats can inhibit her from contacting outside agencies and especially law enforcement. Although many legal recourses have been created over the years thanks to the ongoing efforts of advocates (Lin, Orloff, & Echavarria, 2007; Orloff & Kaguyutan, 2002), the lack of information on legal recourses, complicated requirements and procedures, and the lack of affordable attorneys continue to make immigrant battered women fearful of losing their legal status.

**(2) Racial discrimination.** Experiences of racism and discriminatory practices affect the willingness of Asians to acknowledge and address the problem of IPV in their own communities (Crenshaw, 1991; Dasgupta, 2000; Thomas, 2000; Yoshihama, 2009). In the face of historical and contemporary discrimination against many Asian groups in the United States, there is strong pressure to maintain a positive image of their own community (Bhuyan, Mell, Senturia, Sullivan, & Shiu-Thornton, 2005; Dasgupta & Jain, 2007; Richie & Kanuha, 1993; Shiu-Thornton, Senturia, & Sullivan, 2005). Racism and discrimination can also lower Asian battered women's willingness to seek help from outside agencies. They may not report their partner's violence to the authorities out of fear that they or their partners could be subjected to insensitive, discriminatory or abusive treatment by law enforcement and other agencies (Adelman, Erez, & Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2003; Bui, 2003; Bauer, Rodriguez, Quiroga, Flores-Ortiz, 2000; Crenshaw, 1991; Jang, Lee, & Morello-Frosch, 1990; Sharma, 2001; Warrier, 2000). Anti-immigrant policies and attitudes following the attacks of September 11th have further fueled such fears.

**(3) Community denial.** Given the strong pressure to maintain a positive community image as discussed above, acknowledging IPV as a problem is viewed as detrimental to the collective reputation of the community. Thus, those who disclose it may be criticized as cultural traitors or disloyal and be silenced, punished and/or threatened (Crenshaw, 1991; Erez, 2000; Rimonte, 1991; Yoshihama & Nakashima, 2006). When coupled with patriarchal ideology, IPV is further dismissed and not seen as a serious and urgent problem (Bhuyan et al., 2005; Dasgupta & Jain, 2007; Richie & Kanuha, 1993; Shiu-Thornton et al., 2005). Nilda Rimonte, a founder of the first shelter for Asian battered women in the United States, the Center for the Pacific Asian Family, recounted the reaction of community members: "After *Newsweek* quoted me as stating that there was a problem of wife-abuse in the Asian community, I received many irate phone calls from Asians angered by my exposure of the community's 'underbelly' " (Rimonte, 1991, p. 1313).

**(4) Socio-economic disparities.** Structural barriers arise when there are disparities within the couple's power and resources. Many immigrant Asian women experience IPV in the context of relationships and marriages characterized by economic and social disparities, particularly in marriages to U.S. military personnel, marriages through international brokers or dating services, and arranged marriages for bachelors in the U.S. marrying wives from their country of origin (Chin, 1994; Goel, 2005). Such relationships are often based on stereotypical expectations of women as subservient and passive, which can make foreign-born women especially vulnerable to their partners' power and control. In addition to the vulnerability related to immigration status discussed above, women may lack English language proficiency, knowledge of their legal rights, employable skills, and/or ability to drive. These barriers mirror the limited educational, occupational, and social opportunities

women may have faced in their country of origin (Erez et al., 2009; Goel, 2005; Yoshihama, 2009). Abusive partners may intentionally prohibit women's pursuit of these life-enhancing skills and knowledge. A woman's limited English proficiency serves as a barrier to accessing assistance, and it may be used by her abusive partner to silence her; e.g., an abuser with greater English proficiency might dominate communication with police officers arriving at the scene to investigate an IPV incident.

### *Socio-Cultural Barriers*

Socio-cultural values, practices, and norms provide a sense of identity and belonging and promote pride and strength in communities; however some can have a detrimental effect. Considerable across- and within-group variations exist; however, certain values, practices and norms generally shared among Asians can act as barriers to help-seeking for many Asian women, such as: the expectation to keep family conflicts within the family, a value placed on saving face and not shaming the family name, an emphasis on collective over individual well-being, and proscriptions against seeking outside assistance for family matters (Ahmad, Driver, McNally & Stewart, 2009; Crites, 1990; Ho, 1990; Kanuha, 1987; McDonnell & Abdulla, 2001; Shimtuh, 2000; Tran, 1997; Yoshihama, 2000). The degree of their salience varies depending on an individual's many positionalities, such as age, immigration status, religion/faith, socio-economic status, and sexual orientation.

Saving face, especially that of the family, is a value that guides the behavior of many Asians (Ahmad et al., 2009; Ayyub, 2000; Dasgupta, 2000; Yoshihama, 2000). There is also strong pressure to avoid shaming the family. In many Asian cultures, divorce is highly stigmatized and brings shame to a woman and her natal family (Ayyub, 2000; Liao, 2006; Tran, 1997). As Ayyub (2000) iterates, "No price the women will pay would be greater than the shame they would bring on the family if they chose to end their marriage (p. 243)." Purkayastha (2000) points out a gender imbalance in the stigmatization in IPV cases: "the stigmatization of the female without a corresponding stigmatization of the male (p. 216)." In such socio-cultural contexts, endurance and persevering through pain and suffering without complaining or disclosing them are highly valued (Yamashiro & Matsuoka, 1997). Strong cultural emphasis on these values may pressure women to refrain from seeking outside assistance (Lai, 1986; McDonnell & Abdulla, 2001; Tran, 1997; Yoshihama, 2000). Ho (1990) illustrates a socio-culturally rooted meaning of seeking help:

Seeking outside help and leaving home would not only cause Asian women to break away from their traditional expectation to persevere, keep peace, and care for the home and husband under any circumstances, it also would cause shame and loss of face for the entire family. (p. 143)

Belief in fate may also affect how Asian women react to IPV. They may accept it as a tragedy over which they have little control. These socio-cultural values are likely to hinder their help-seeking efforts (Crites, 1990; McDonnell & Abdulla, 2001; Tran, 1997; Yoshihama, 2000).

Patriarchal family structures can serve as a considerable barrier. Varying degrees of hierarchical, patriarchal family structures and rigid gender roles are found across all cultures, and traditional Asian families are no exception. These factors are likely to lead to tolerance and justification of men's violence against women (Abraham, 1998, 2000; Almeida & Del Vecchio, 1999; Ayyub, 2000; Bui & Morash, 1999; Chan & Leong, 1994; Crites, 1990; Dasgupta & Warrier, 1996; Erez, 2000; Ho, 1990; Kim, 1999; McDonnell & Abdulla, 2001; Rhee, 1997; Rimonte, 1989, 1991; Tran, 1997; Yoshihama, 2000, Yoshihama &

Nakashima, 2006). As in studies of people of other racial/ethnic backgrounds, studies of Asians have found that the stronger the patriarchal beliefs, the less likely respondents are to recognize a case example as IPV (Ahmad, Riaz, Barata, & Stewart, 2004; Yick 2000a). Asian men and women as a group were less likely to define a husband's shoving or "face smacking" as IPV compared to Euro Americans (Klein, Campbell, Soler, & Ghez, 1997). These findings collectively suggest that Asians under-recognize IPV, which in turn hinders timely help-seeking.

In many Asian families, when women marry, they live with their husband and in-laws. In the United States, this practice is common among Indians and Pakistanis. IPV in Asian families can involve abuse by in-laws in addition to abuse by the husband (Dasgupta, 2000; Fernandez, 1997; McDonnell & Abdulla, 2001; Mehrotra, 1999; Midlarsky, Venkataramani-Kothari, & Plante, 2006; New Visions Korean Committee; 2004; Preisser, 1999; Raj, Livramento, Santana, Gupta, & Silverman, 2006; Yoshihama, 2005; Yoshihama & Yunomae, 2000). This manifestation of IPV is not well recognized but frequently faced by Asian battered women. This can pose a challenge to police officers who arrive at the scene. If they are unaware of this dynamic, they would not fully investigate a report of IPV if a mother-in-law or sister-in-law who answers the door denies the abuse. In addition, in-laws can pressure the woman to keep the abuse hidden, and discourage or prohibit her from talking about it, let alone seeking outside assistance for it. In-laws can exert influence even if they do not reside with the woman (Shirwadkar, 2004): e.g., by texting instructions/behaviors to a daughter-in-law and checking with her husband if she is following them. Abusive in-laws and the presence of more than one perpetrator in the home are barriers to help-seeking.

One important aspect of these socio-cultural values, practices and norms is that their effects are often trans-generational; individuals, regardless of whether they are immigrants or born in the United States, embrace the values of their country of origin to varying degrees (Flores-Ortiz, 1993; Menjivar & Salcido, 2002; Yoshihama, 2000). The majority of Asians in the United States were born outside the United States. They bring with them and retain certain degrees of values and norms from their country and culture of origin, which are transmitted by parents, grandparents, other family members, media, and cultural and/or religious organizations. In a study of four generations of Japanese American women in Los Angeles, both immigrant women and U.S.-born women reported that gender role expectations and behavior norms in Japanese culture had influenced their responses to IPV (Yoshihama, 2000).

Personal knowledge and experiences of legal and other institutional responses to IPV in their country of origin affect how immigrants respond to IPV in the United States (Bauer et al., 2000; Davis, Erez, & Avitabile, 2001; Jang et al., 1990; Yoshihama, 2000, 2001). For example, if the legal system in the country of origin is perceived as corrupt or authoritarian, an immigrant from that country is less likely to contact the legal system in the United States. If IPV is recognized as a social problem or as a crime in her country of origin, an immigrant woman in the United States is more likely to reach out to people in her social network or outside agencies for assistance.

Lack of social support is a barrier to help-seeking. Immigration is often associated with a disruption or reduction in one's social support network – the limited availability of social support and the reliance on only proximal family members constrict help-seeking. In a study of Vietnamese women in Boston, an overwhelming majority of the respondents (over 90%) reported having only 0–2 individuals as sources of support (Tran, 1997). In a study conducted in Los Angeles, of the four generations of Japanese respondents interviewed, the

1st generation (those who were born in Japan and immigrated to the United States after age 13) had the smallest number of individuals who were available to provide support, and were the least satisfied with the available social support (Yoshihama & Horrocks, 2002). The limited availability of social networks in and of themselves lowers the amount of help an Asian battered woman receives from them. Moreover, because families and friends often serve as a source of information about legal and social service systems, available resources, and other practical matters, the limited social network for many Asian battered women diminishes their ability to seek help.

### **Asian Battered Women's Help-Seeking**

In light of the structural, institutional, and socio-cultural barriers reviewed above, battered Asian women may be reluctant to seek help outside the home or may even be unaware of its availability. Previous studies have found that only a small proportion of Asian battered women seek assistance from outside agencies. In a study of multi-ethnic Asian women in the Washington, D.C. area, only 15.7% of abused women reported having called the police, 9.0% obtained assistance from an outside agency, and 6.7% called a hotline or shelter (McDonnell & Abdulla, 2001). In a study of South Asian women in Greater Boston (Raj & Silverman, 2002), only 11.3% of the abused women who experienced IPV in their current relationship had received counseling. Asian battered women tend to use families and friends as sources of support. In the Washington D.C. study, 34.3% reported having sought help from their family, and 32.1% from friends (McDonnell & Abdulla, 2001). A study of women of Japanese descent found that 46.5% had sought help from family, and 73.6% from friends (Yoshihama, 2002). Many Asian battered women delay seeking help for a long period of time; for example, respondents in a study of Hindi-speaking battered women in Toronto described prolonged delays in seeking outside help (Ahmad et al., 2009). One woman remarked, "Women go very late for help and by that time half of their body is gone (Ahmad et al., 2009, p. 616)."

Help-seeking may not necessarily result in receiving the kind of assistance that is needed or desired (Latta & Goodman, 2005; Yoshihama, 2000; Yoshioka et al., 2003). Institutional responses and those of family and friends can include denial, victim-blaming, incompetence, cultural insensitivity, and/or an imposition of patriarchal family values.

#### *Across-Group Variations*

Comparisons of Asian battered women to battered women of other racial/ethnic backgrounds is problematic given the difficulty of finding studies with "representative" samples of battered women of a specific racial/ethnic background. Previous studies suggest that Asian battered women are more likely to rely on family and friends for support. A study, which used small samples of battered women of various racial/ethnic backgrounds (20 African American, 22 Hispanic, and 20 South Asian women) who were recruited at domestic violence programs, found that South Asian women were more likely to seek help from family members than African American or Hispanic women (Yoshioka et al., 2003). Upon disclosure, South Asian women were significantly more likely to be advised by family members "to stay in the marriage" than other groups of women (Yoshioka et al.). In another study conducted in Boston, only 3.1% of Asian battered women had ever obtained a restraining order against an abusive partner (Raj & Silverman, 2002), a much smaller proportion than that found in a study of women of all racial/ethnic backgrounds in

Massachusetts (over one third). A study of domestic violence cases processed through the Sacramento County District Attorney's Office in 1999-2000 found that compared to whites, Asians were less likely to have reported an incident of IPV and supported arrest, though they were no less likely to have supported prosecution (Kingsnorth & Macintosh, 2004).

### *Within-Group Variations*

Although Asian women as a group may be less likely to seek outside help when compared to women of other racial/ethnic backgrounds, there are considerable within-group variations as well. For example, a study of Japanese immigrant and Japanese American women in Los Angeles found that the likelihood of seeking help from friends and family differed significantly by immigration/generational position: U.S.-born respondents, compared to their Japan-born counterparts, were more likely to seek help from family (51.5% vs. 30.0%) and from friends (82.8% vs. 43.3%), and a significantly larger proportion of U.S.-born (23.2%) than Japan-born (6.7%) women who had experienced IPV used counseling (Yoshihama, 2002). In addition, Yoshihama found that the perceived effectiveness of various coping strategies varied significantly between Japan-born and U.S.-born women: the latter rated confronting the partner and seeking help from friends as being more effective strategies than did the former. In contrast, minimizing the seriousness of a situation and leaving the partner permanently were perceived as more effective among Japan-born women than U.S.-born women.

In addition to immigration/generational positions, other potential sources of within-group variations that may affect the likelihood of seeking outside help include factors such as religion/faith and socio-economic status (Dasgupta, 2000; Ely, 2004). Another potential source of within-group variation is cohort effects (variability between women who were born at different times), which have not been well investigated in previous studies. Women who grew up in a particular era may have different socialization experiences than those from another era. These socialization experiences can affect the degree of willingness to seek help, as well as the preferred methods and sources of help. Cohort differences in help-seeking may also reflect historical shifts in women's perceptions of what behaviors "count" as IPV or actual cohort differences in the level and timing of IPV, which may be related to historical changes in relationship type or timing. Differences among cohorts may also reflect historical changes in the type, accessibility, and acceptability of available help. A woman first experiencing IPV at age 20 in the 1990s had a different set of community resources from which to seek help than her counterpart who was 20 in the 1970s (Zink, Regan, Jacobson, & Pabst, 2003).

Despite the likely influences of historical changes in attitudes, relationships, and resources, it is unclear from previous research how cohort differences may affect help-seeking. One study of African American, Hispanic and South Asian battered women, recruited at domestic violence programs found that older women were more likely to have ever disclosed IPV to kin and non-kin members (Yoshioka et al., 2003). However, the positive association between age and lifetime disclosure probability may be a function of opportunity, in that older women may have had a longer interval between IPV incidents and the interview, resulting in more opportunities to disclose to others.

## Need for Research on Intimate Partner Violence over the Lifecourse

One critical research need is analysis of lifecourse IPV. This is not limited to studies of Asian women but applicable to research on IPV in general. IPV is not a single event but recurs over the lifecourse with attendant help-seeking efforts from various sources of assistance (Cattaneo, Stuewig, Goodman, Kaltman, & Dutton, 2007; Goodman, Dutton, Vankos, & Weinfurt, 2005; Hutchison & Hirschel, 1998; Krishnan, Hilbert, Van Leeuwen, & Kolia, 1997; Langan & Innes, 1986). A woman's decisions to seek help and the preferred and actual sources of help change over time and are shaped by a combination of factors that include the current situation, past experiences of IPV, past help-seeking efforts, and the responses received when seeking help (Akers & Kaukinen, 2009; Bachman & Coker, 1995; Berk, Berk, Newton, & Loske, 1984; Bowker, 1984; Buzawa, Hotaling, & Byrne, 2007; Coker, Derrick, Lumpkin, Aldrich, & Oldendick, 2000; Duterte et al., 2008; Fleury-Steiner, Bybee, Sullivan, Belknap, & Melton, 2006; Fleury et al., 1998; Gondolf, Fisher, & McFerron, 1988; Hart, 1993; Hickman & Simpson, 2003; Hutchison & Hirschel, 1998; Jasinski, 2003; Johnson, 1990; Kantor & Straus, 1990; West, Kantor, & Jasinski, 1998). However, most studies of IPV and battered women's help-seeking have been cross-sectional or longitudinal studies with a relatively short follow-up period (e.g., two years). These studies provide snapshots of women's experiences at given points in time or during a short time interval; however, they do not sufficiently elucidate lifecourse trajectories of women's experiences of IPV and help-seeking, such as when and what types of IPV a woman experienced and when and where she sought help for the first and subsequent times. Moreover, most cross-sectional studies examined factors associated with the likelihood of ever seeking help. In general, these studies found that older women or women with higher educational levels, and those with lower income were more likely to seek outside/professional help at least once sometime prior to the study (Coker et al., 2000; Hyman, Forte, Du Mont, Romans, & Cohen, 2009). These socio-demographic characteristics are measured at the time of the study, and thus do not represent their characteristics at the time of help-seeking. It is not surprising that older women were more likely to have sought help sometimes in the past because they have had a longer period of time to do so.

We designed this study and selected its methodology to address this neglected area of research—analyzing IPV over the lifecourse. We chose to collect data retrospectively instead of prospectively because longitudinal prospective studies to assess experiences of IPV over the lifecourse pose ethical and methodological challenges. The prospective longitudinal design is costly, requires a long study period, and is likely to suffer from sample attrition; all of which make it unsuitable because the high prevalence of IPV and its serious long-lasting negative effects on women's wellbeing require more urgent investigation. Moreover, following participants who experience IPV over time without making any interventions compromises their safety and wellbeing and is ethically untenable. Yet, intervening would jeopardize the study design necessary to examine the trajectories of IPV over the lifecourse. Concluding that enhancing respondents' recall in retrospective studies is a promising and necessary approach, we used the Life History Calendar (LHC) method (Freedman et al., 1988).

The LHC method is designed to collect lifecourse data retrospectively and to improve respondents' memory recall. We collected data on types and timing of IPV experienced by a woman, timing of contacts with the CJS and non-CJS agencies; and the responses received from those agencies. We used multilevel modeling (MLM) (Hedeker & Gibbons, 2006; Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002) to make full use of data gathered through LHC interviews. When



applied to study of IPV, this approach models each individual's changes in IPV experiences across the lifecourse and estimates an average model that describes the general trajectory of the sample or identified subgroups. MLM can incorporate covariates that reflect differences between individuals (e.g., country of origin, age at interview), as well as time-varying covariates that reflect changing characteristics or circumstances in a given individual (e.g., age, relationship status). Analyses can also examine interactions between individual-level and time-varying variables (e.g., to test whether lifecourse trajectories of IPV vary among women who were interviewed at different ages). MLM is especially useful for LHC data because it can appropriately incorporate lifecourse data that varies in length, as is common when respondents vary in age at the time they are interviewed.

Interrelated, complex factors – the high prevalence estimates of IPV in Asian communities, the over-representation of Asians in IPV-homicides, the lack of socio-culturally tailored and linguistically accessible assistance programs, the under-utilization of outside help among Asian battered women, and the presence of structural, institutional, and socio-cultural barriers to help-seeking make research on IPV in Asian communities critical. This project, the first NIJ-funded study of Asian battered women, focused on selected ethnic groups and assessed whether the trajectories of IPV and help-seeking varied by immigration/generational position and age cohort. It represents a major step toward filling the current dearth of empirical data on IPV and CJS interventions among Asian populations.

## IV. Research Design and Methods

We collected quantitative data on the lifecourse experience of IPV and contact with criminal justice system (CJS) and non-CJS agencies from Asian battered women through face-to-face semi-structured interviews. To facilitate the respondents' memory retrieval in obtaining data on their life experiences over time, we used the Life History Calendar (LHC) method (see *Life History Calendar Method* below). Interviews were conducted by trained, multi-lingual interviewers. We established an Advisory Committee to help guide the socio-cultural relevance of the research methodologies and the effectiveness of outreach and recruitment approaches.

### Study Population and Selection Criteria

We selected Filipina, Indian, and Pakistani women for the study based on a combination of their population size and population growth, as well as other factors, such as the relative absence of previous research. Amongst Asian populations in the United States, Filipinos are the second largest in population size, the third fastest-growing Asian population in the United States (Barnes & Bennett, 2002), and are severely understudied in current IPV literature. Filipina women are overrepresented in IPV-related homicide statistics. In San Francisco in 1999, three out of five IPV-related homicide victims were Filipina, and in Hawaii in 2000, five out of seven IPV-related homicides were Filipina (Yoshihama & Dabby, 2009). These are disproportionately high rates, given that Filipinos represented only 5.2% of San Francisco's population and 12.3% of Hawaii's. South Asians, of which Indians and Pakistanis are the largest subgroups, are the third largest in population size and the fastest growing Asian population in the United States at the present time (Barnes & Bennett, 2002; Logan, Stowell, & Vesselinov, 2001).

Specific selection criteria for this study were:

- Ages between 18 and 60
- Of Filipina, Indian or Pakistani descent
- Have experienced physical violence, sexual violence and/or stalking at the hands of an intimate partner while residing in the San Francisco Bay Area (comprised of nine counties).

Asians are often studied as one aggregated category despite immense variability within Asians based on language, religion/faith, and immigration status, among others. We avoided such aggregation by focusing on specific ethnic groups and conducted the analyses separately. However, conducting separate analyses is not meant to compare groups, since the use of small non-representative samples does not allow for meaningful comparison. The aim of the study is to examine and document the trajectories of IPV and help-seeking of selected groups of Asian women, with attention to certain key within-group variations such as differences by immigration/generational position and age at interview (cohort). In the future, we hope to conduct a similar study with other Asian subgroups.

### Recruitment Strategies and Materials

Community-based studies of IPV often recruit respondents by describing stress or women's health as the focus of their research. We elected not to do so and described the

project as a study of women who have experienced intimate partner violence and stalking for the following reasons. First, we regarded women's self-determination as fundamental, allowing them to make informed decisions about their participation. Secondly, recruiting under the guise of studies on stress or women's health would require screening all callers to establish that they have experienced IPV and are therefore eligible for the study. One potential disadvantage of our approach was that the use of explicit terms could deter prospective respondents, contributing to their fear of being identified as battered women. We sought to address this by placing recruitment materials strategically (e.g., in women's restrooms) and emphasizing confidentiality.

We developed various recruitment materials, including flyers, brochures, radio and newspaper advertisements, press releases, advertisements for movie screens, and promotional material such as pre-printed disposable nail files (emery boards). Recruitment materials described the eligibility criteria as women who have experienced violence and/or stalking in current or past intimate relationships, along with selected behavior-specific descriptions of physical violence, sexual violence, and stalking as examples. In order to reach women with limited English proficiency, recruitment materials were translated from English, using the back translation method, into the key languages spoken by potential respondents: Tagalog, Hindi, and Urdu.

Because one of the study's goals was to understand barriers to contacting CJS agencies, it was important to recruit a sufficient number of women who had not had contact with CJS agencies. Thus, we used a range of community outreach and engagement methods (e.g., distributing flyers at community venues and events and placing advertisements in various media outlets) rather than recruiting from CJS agencies. We also sought to reach women of diverse backgrounds, such as length of residency in the United States, fluency in English or native languages, and socio-economic status. For example, because people would access different media sources and outlets depending on their degrees of acculturation and English proficiency, we used both mainstream and ethnic media outlets.

We used a wider range of community outreach and engagement efforts. Although specific venues or outlets varied slightly across sampled ethnic groups, the following outreach and recruitment activities were carried out.

**Distribution or posting of flyers and other recruitment materials:**

- Distributing recruitment materials at community events and meetings
- Posting recruitment flyers at culturally-specific vendors (e.g., restaurants, grocery stores, beauty shops, clothing boutiques)
- Posting flyers at places of worship (e.g., churches, temples, mosques)
- Posting recruitment materials in women's restrooms at local ethnic-specific movie theaters

**Email and web-based activities:**

- Posting announcements on websites of community-based organizations
- Creating and maintaining website links to major community-based organizations and domestic violence programs
- Posting announcements on mainstream and ethnic-specific web outlets
- Distributing recruitment materials via e-mail and listserv

**Media activities:**

- Disseminating press releases
- Conducting media interviews
- Placing advertisements in culturally-specific print media outlets (e.g., ethnic papers, newsletters of community- and faith-based organizations)
- Placing advertisements on mainstream media outlets whose circulation covers areas with high concentrations of the study's target populations
- Displaying advertisements on film screens at local ethnic-specific movie theaters

**In-person/face-to-face activities:**

- Tabling and making presentations at community events and meetings
- Conducting outreach to staff of domestic violence, health care, social service, legal, and other programs, including individual meetings with, and presentations to, staff and management
- Holding individual meetings with community-based organizations, informants and stakeholders

The Project Coordinator and interviewers coordinated efforts to identify and recruit respondents from these multiple activities and sources.

**Contact and Interview Procedures**

To respond to calls from prospective respondents, we set up a multi-lingual toll-free line in an office of the Asian & Pacific Islander Institute on Domestic Violence, San Francisco, California. When a prospective respondent called the project's multi-lingual toll-free line to indicate her interest, she was asked to select a language option (English, Tagalog, or Hindi). In cases where staff was unable to receive calls, the caller was instructed to leave her contact information, the best times to reach her when she could speak freely and safely, and any special instructions (e.g., what to do if someone else answered the phone). When the interviewer spoke to a prospective respondent, she described the study and confirmed the caller's eligibility. During this initial contact, the interviewer emphasized the voluntary nature of the study and confidentiality of information shared. Upon ensuring the caller's eligibility and interest, the interviewer set up an appointment. If a prospective respondent declined, no further contact was made. In response to email contacts from prospective respondents, interviewers replied by email to obtain a phone number if it was not provided, and then followed the above steps.

After obtaining consent, interviewers conducted semi-structured face-to-face interviews. In cases where the respondent requested to be interviewed in a language other than English, she was matched with a bilingual interviewer. For the remainder of cases, the interviewer and the respondent were generally matched by ethnicity. In addition to the San Francisco office of the Asian & Pacific Islander Institute on Domestic Violence, interviews took place in the offices of local, community-based organizations.

To make participation in the study as convenient as possible, we offered compensation for childcare and/or transportation, as necessary. A small number of respondents used these options: 15 women received childcare assistance, and another 15 women received transportation assistance. All respondents received a small amount of cash for their participation (\$40 initially, later increased to \$75) and a list of community resources.

We also made an arrangement with a local clinician to be available on an as-needed basis; however, no respondent requested to speak to a counselor.

We developed and followed a number of procedures designed to ensure confidentiality and the safety of respondents. For example, in recording the prospective respondents' contact information (telephone numbers and email addresses), we followed a specific encoding system that was known only to key program staff. The prospective respondent was asked to provide first name only and had an option of using a pseudonym, if she preferred. We also asked the prospective respondents to indicate safe ways to contact them, such as the preferred time to be contacted and what to do if someone other than the prospective respondent answered the phone.

### **Life History Calendar (LHC) Method**

This study used a unique methodology—the Life History Calendar (Freedman et al., 1988) to facilitate the respondents' memory retrieval in obtaining data on women's lifecourse experiences. Although the LHC method can and has been used to assist in collecting qualitative data (e.g., Martyn & Belli, 2002), we used the LHC method to collect quantitative data through semi-structured face-to-face interviews.

The general procedure for the LHC method is to ask first about memorable and/or easily recalled events (e.g., births of children, immigration) and record their occurrences (timing) in a familiar calendar format and in a manner that is accessible to a respondent during the interview (Freedman et al., 1988; McPherson et al., 1992). The events recorded in the LHC instrument are then used to help respondents retrieve less easily recalled information such as IPV and help-seeking. The use of a familiar calendar format allows recording the timing of life events that occur repeatedly with complex temporal sequences, such as experience of IPV and help-seeking. Furthermore, the calendar format allows the interviewer and respondent to visually assess the accuracy of the reported timing of events and address any discrepancies in the information provided and recorded. Studies that compared retrospective reports collected by the LHC method and reports collected prospectively have found high degrees of agreement between the two (Caspi et al., 1996; Ensel, Peek, Lin, & Lai, 1996).

The LHC method has been applied to studies of various topics, such as stressful life events (Ensel, Peek, Lin, & Lai, 1996), employment and income (Belli, Shay, & Stafford, 2001; Kominski, 1990), and psychopathology (Lyketsos, Nestadt, Cwi, Heithoff, & Eaton, 1994; also see Belli, Stafford, & Alwin, 2009 for various applications of the LHC method). The LHC method has also been used in studies abroad: a study of youth violence in New Zealand (Caspi et al., 1996) and a study of fertility history in Nepal (Axinn, Pearce, & Ghimire, 1997).

Besides Caspi and colleagues' study of youth violence in New Zealand, which included an assessment of IPV, the LHC method was first applied to IPV in a study of low income women in Detroit, Michigan (Yoshihama, Clum et al., 2002). This study found high test-retest reliability and good construct validity (Yoshihama, Clum et al., 2002), and compared to a structured interview method, the LHC method elicited more reports of IPV incidents, especially those occurring in the distant past (Yoshihama, Gillespie et al., 2005). More recently, the LHC method was applied to a study of women's experiences of IPV and help-seeking in Tokyo, Japan, which used a design similar to the current study (Yoshihama & Bybee, 2009).

## LHC Instruments and Interviews

For this study, in addition to a calendar-like form (the LHC instrument, hereinafter), we developed an interview schedule to guide data collection in a semi-structured format. To facilitate the interview process, we also developed and used a Respondent Booklet, which listed a range of response options, such as a list countries for assessment of the respondent's and her partner's country of birth and a list of behavior-specific IPV items. These study instruments were translated using the back translation method into Tagalog and Hindi, the two major languages spoken by the respondents.

### *LHC Instrument*

On the LHC instrument, we placed various life events and situations on the vertical axis, and time units (the respondent's age) on the horizontal axis (Exhibit 4.1). Alternating columns were color-coded to help distinguish them and to minimize the risk of recording events in the wrong column.

**Vertical axis.** As seen in Exhibit 4.1, prior to asking about the respondent's experiences with IPV and help-seeking (the study's main focus), we asked about a number of life events and situations designed to serve as memory cues. To avoid asking questions for the sole purpose of using them as memory cues, which protracts interview length, we selected life events and situations that are conceptually and/or empirically linked to the study's main focus so that they could "double-up" as memory cues and covariates in analyses. Specific types of events and situations were selected based on previous research (Belli, 1998; Yoshihama, Clum et al., 2002). In general, we placed less sensitive questions first, a strategy designed to facilitate the development of rapport between the interviewer and respondent, before asking more sensitive questions.

We then placed various types of IPV using behavior-specific items (e.g., 5 items of physical violence, 3 items of sexual violence, and 2 items of stalking), followed by sources of help-seeking that included the police, other CJS agencies, and non-CJS agencies.

**Horizontal axis.** The time units in LHC-based studies can be in any increments of time (e.g., one year, month, week or day) appropriate to the study. We used the respondent's age as the time unit, primarily because of the relatively long recall period to be covered in this study would make it difficult for a respondent to accurately recall a smaller time unit in which a particular event occurred.

The LHC instrument began at age 16 and covered each age up to the respondent's age at interview (a maximum age of 60). Thus, depending on the age of a specific respondent, instrument size can be quite large. For respondents aged 25 or younger, the LHC instrument size was 22x8 inches (2 letter-sized pages); for older respondents, the size extended up to 22x40 inches (10 letter-sized pages).

### *Interview Administration*

During the LHC interview, the respondent and interviewer sat in front of a blank LHC instrument and a Respondent Booklet, and the interviewer filled out the LHC instrument in plain view of the respondent. As mentioned, prior to answering questions about IPV, respondents were asked about their experiences in various aspects of their lives – a strategy designed to build an overview of the respondent's life, which in turn aids in the recollection of other, more sensitive life events. Respondents were then asked about their relationship history, starting with their first intimate partner and about subsequent partners

chronologically (forward recall). Some respondents chose to provide their relationship history starting with the current partner and move their way backward (backward recall), and some respondents blended forward recall and backward recall. The main aim of this section of the interview was to identify all intimate partners in the respondent's life and obtain information about the timing of relationship formation, cohabitation, marriage, separation, and divorce, if any. As additional memory-priming information, respondents were then asked to identify memorable and/or significant events in their lives other than those events in the pre-selected domains (respondent-identified landmarks).

Subsequently, the interviewer asked the respondent whether she had experienced IPV in each intimate relationship enumerated in the previous section, using the following behavior-specific items:

- **Physical violence** (5 items):
  - Pushed, grabbed, or shoved you
  - Hit, slapped, or punched you (without object)
  - Kicked you
  - Strangled or choked you
  - Used knife, gun or other objects (e.g., cars, baseball bat, bleach/acid)
- **Sexual violence** (3 items):
  - Forced you to have sex against your will
  - Attempted to force you to have sex against your will
  - Forced you to have sex with others
- **Stalking** (2 items):
  - Followed, spied on, stood outside home/work, or had someone else do that
  - Made unwanted phone calls, text-messages, left unwanted letters, emails, gifts or items, or had someone else do that

The respondent was also asked to report any other forms of physical and/or sexual violence perpetrated by intimate partners. Additional questions assessed threats, and emotional and financial abuse. These items have been drawn from previous studies and practice-based information and incorporated types of IPV that are socio-culturally rooted, such as immigration-related IPV and violence perpetrated by in-laws.

In addition to the vertical axis of the LHC instrument, these various behavior-specific IPV acts were listed in the Respondent Booklet. The latter was designed to not only remind the respondent of the range of IPV to consider, but also to help her avoid vocalization of specific acts of IPV by pointing out the ones she had experienced on the booklet. For each type of IPV reported, the interviewer probed about the age at which she experienced that type of IPV for the first time, and whether it happened in subsequent years, and if so, at what ages. In general, respondents were asked about IPV chronologically forward, but depending on the preference and ease of recall for specific respondents, the interviewer altered the order of questions blending backward and forward recalls.

Subsequently, respondents were asked about their contact with the CJS and non-CJS agencies, as well as the types of responses they received from these agencies and programs. For each encounter with a specific type of program, the respondent was asked about the types of responses she received by selecting response options from the Respondent Booklet. In addition, the following three open-ended questions were asked:

- “Looking back, what were the most helpful responses (from any individual or organization you had contact with)?”
- “What are some of the reasons why you have not contacted the criminal justice system, such as the police and courts in the U.S.?” (This question was for those respondents who had not contacted any of the CJS agencies in the United States)
- “Overall, what suggestions do you have to improve the criminal justice system’s responses to Asian women who have experienced partner abuse?”

## Data Review, Coding and Cleaning

After the interviewer completed an interview and reviewed and cleaned the paper copy of the LHC instruments, the Project Coordinator reviewed them for thoroughness and accuracy using a detailed editing checklist. If missing data or inconsistencies were detected during the Project Coordinator’s review, the interviewer was asked for clarifications, which could necessitate the interviewer to re-contact the respondent.

The interviewer then coded the interview data electronically. The electronically-coded data were checked by the Project Coordinator for accuracy and completeness and then transferred to SPSS for further data cleaning before conducting analyses.

## Respondents

A total of 143 women were interviewed: 87 Filipina women and 56 Indian and Pakistani women. As shown in Exhibit 4.2, the respondents’ mean age was 40.7 for Filipina and 34.5 for Indian/Pakistani women. On average, both groups of women had 15-16 years of education, with the majority having an Associate’s degree or higher degree at the time of the interview. The majority of the respondents (64.4% of Filipina and 82.1% of Indian/Pakistani women) were born outside the United States. Among foreign-born respondents, the mean age at which they came to the United States was 22-23 years.

At the time of the interview, 73.6% of Filipina and 50.0% of Indian/Pakistani women were working. With respect to marital/relationship status at the time of the interview, 19.6% of Filipina women were married, with another 27.6% cohabiting with a partner. Among Indian/Pakistani women, 39.3% were married, and 28.6% were cohabiting with a partner at the time of interview.



## V. Trajectories of Intimate Partner Violence over Women's Lifecourse

### Analysis of Experience of IPV across the Lifecourse

To understand the timing of women's experience of IPV across the lifecourse, we examined the trajectories of three types of IPV – physical violence, sexual violence, and stalking.

In this report, we refer to two aspects of “age.” The first is a respondent's age at the time she was interviewed, which reflects the era in which she was born and is therefore important for understanding the historical context during her life; differences due to the era of an individual's birth are often referred to as cohort effects. The second aspect of age reflects the timing of various occurrences across an individual woman's lifecourse, such as a woman's age at which she first experienced IPV. For clarity, we use the term “age” when referring to various ages at which a given woman experienced IPV or help-seeking over her lifecourse, and we use the term “age at interview” when referring to differences between women interviewed at younger or older ages. The distinction between these two aspects of age is important in this report, which examined lifecourse trajectories of IPV experiences of women who were at different ages at the time of the interview. For example, it allows for differentiating the early-life experiences of women who were interviewed at younger ages (events that occurred relatively recently in history) and the early-life experiences of women who were interviewed at older ages (events that occurred in more distant past).

For analysis of IPV across the lifecourse, we used an analytic strategy known as multilevel modeling (MLM) to model individual and collective trajectories. Because we were interested in whether women had any experiences of a particular type of IPV in a given year, we used multilevel logistic regression, as implemented in HLM software (Raudenbush, Cheong, Bryk, & Congdon, 2004), to analyze the data. This approach models changes in the probability of experiencing IPV and provides ways to test whether changing probabilities are associated with covariates that change over time (known in MLM as Level 1 variables, e.g., age) and those that are constant over time but vary across women (Level 2 variables, e.g., a woman's “age at interview”). The effects of Level 1 variables can be estimated as random (i.e., estimated for each individual and then averaged) or fixed (i.e., estimated as the same for all women). Because we expected considerable variability in individual women's trajectories of IPV, we estimated Level 1 effects as random whenever possible, constraining an effect to be fixed (i.e., identical) across all women only when statistical analyses revealed that variability in the strength of the effect was minimal and nonsignificant.

We expected that women's trajectories of IPV would not be strictly linear but were likely to increase and decrease at various points; therefore we tested polynomial terms (age-squared and age-cubed) to capture trajectory curvilinearity. In all analyses, the quadratic (age-squared) effect was significant, but no significant cubic effects were found; consequently, all models incorporated only linear and quadratic terms. Because the LHC started at age 16 rather than 0, we “centered” age at 20, which was the age of the youngest woman at the time of the interview. In other words, we subtracted 20 from each age across the lifecourse, effectively setting age 20 as the model intercept or zero point. This is commonly done in longitudinal analysis (Hedeker & Gibbons, 2006; Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002) and has the advantage of both making the model intercept interpretable and

reducing collinearity among polynomial and interaction terms. For similar reasons, we centered age at interview to 35, which was near the mean age at which women were interviewed. We included the respondents' immigration/generational position in the model, classifying women into two groups: 1st generation—those who came to the United States at age 13 or later vs. 1.5+ generations—those who moved to the United States before age 13 (often referred to as 1.5 generation) and those who were born in the United States (generally referred to as second, third, etc. generation). We used these groups because the life experience of those who came to the United States in their pre-teen years may be more similar to the experience of those who were born in the United States (second generation) than to that of those who came as adolescents or as adults (1st generation) (Allensworth, 1997; Myers & Cranford, 1998).

Before conducting the MLM analysis, we carefully examined the data both statistically and graphically to discern trajectory shapes, assess the adequacy of variability for this type of modeling (both within women and between women), and to identify outliers and cases that might exert undue influence on the analyses. Because the amount of data each woman contributed to the analysis varied, depending on her age at the time she was interviewed (i.e., women who were older when interviewed had more years' experience to report), we carefully considered the influence exerted by women who were interviewed at older ages. Although we included the full set of data provided by each woman in the analysis, we truncated graphical presentations of lifecourse trajectories at age 40 (labeled in the graphs as 20, due to centering), focusing on the age ranges common to most respondents. All plotted trajectories begin at age 16 (labeled in the graphs as -4, due to centering at age 20).

Graphical presentations of results illustrate effects that were found to be significant in each model. When IPV trajectories were found to differ significantly by age at interview, graphs contain estimated lifecourse plots at two ages 30 and 50, which were chosen to illustrate points on the continuum of the ages at which women were interviewed. Trajectories plotted for women interviewed at age 30 (denoted as 30 at interview) illustrate the pattern of experiences typical of women born in the late 1970s, while those for women interviewed at age 50 (denoted as 50 at interview) illustrate the pattern of experiences typical of women born in the late 1950s. When IPV trajectories differed by immigration/generational position, we present estimated lifecourse trajectories of IPV for both 1st generation (those who came to the United States at age 13 or later) and 1.5+ generations (those who were born in the United States or immigrated to the United States before age 13). When trajectories differed by both age at interview and immigration/generational position, graphs illustrate four trajectories, for women in the 1st and 1.5+ generations, each interviewed at age 30 or age 50.

## Results

Exhibit 5.1 shows summaries of women's lifetime experiences of three types of IPV – physical violence, sexual violence, and stalking – for both Filipinas and Indian/Pakistani women. Physical violence was virtually ubiquitous, experienced by more than 95% of the women. The majority, 56.3% of Filipinas and 64.3% of Indian/Pakistani women, had experienced sexual violence; and 67.8% of Filipinas and 50.0% of Indian/Pakistani women, stalking. Women had endured physical violence for a median of 5 years (Filipina) or 3 years (Indian/Pakistani), with a range of 1 to 23 years. The number of years in which women experienced sexual violence was smaller (median=1 year for Filipinas and 2 years for

Indian/Pakistani women), although it ranged up to 31 years. Stalking was experienced for a median of 2 years, although ranges were broad (1-39 for Filipinas and 1-28 for Indian/Pakistani women).

The median age at first experience was 23 for physical violence and 23-25 for sexual violence and stalking, although ranges were broad, with a few women reporting that they did not experience IPV until their late forties to mid-fifties. A substantial number of women reported that they had already experienced IPV by age 16, which was the initial year for which data were collected. At age 16, 11.5% Filipinas and 12.5% Indian/Pakistani women experienced physical violence; 10.3% Filipinas and 8.9% Indian/Pakistani women experienced sexual violence; and stalking by 8.0% Filipinas and 7.1% Indian/Pakistani women.

In what follows, we present the results of MLM analyses, describing the estimated probability of experiencing physical violence, sexual violence, and stalking over the lifecourse for Filipina and Indian/Pakistani women separately. Recognizing a wide range of backgrounds of this report's readers, we present the results of each of these analyses in two stages. We first summarize findings using minimal statistical or otherwise technical language, referring to graphical presentations to illustrate results. For each analysis, this summary is followed by more detailed descriptions of findings using tables and statistics in addition to graphs. We hope that this will help readers in several ways: those who wish to capture summary findings without statistical details can skip the second part of the results for each analysis; those who prefer detailed statistical description can focus on the second part; and others can read both. To distinguish those two stages, they appear in different font sizes.

### *Physical Violence across the Lifecourse – Filipina Women*

In general, the probability of physical violence increased from age 16 through the early thirties and then declined in later years of the lifecourse. For Filipina women, trajectories of physical violence across the lifecourse differed both by a woman's age at interview and by her immigration/generational position. As shown in Exhibit 5.2, women interviewed at younger ages (i.e., those born more recently, graphically represented by the lines labeled age 30 at interview) reported much higher rates of physical violence. Rates for women interviewed at age 30 peaked at approximately 50% in a given year (meaning that 50% experience physical violence in a given year), compared with peaks below 30% for women interviewed at age 50.

First generation women tended to experience physical violence later in the lifecourse, compared with those who were born in the United States or immigrated before age 13 (referred to as "1.5+ generations" in Exhibit 5.2). For 1st generation women, the rates of physical violence peaked in the mid-thirties (mid-teens in Exhibit 5.2 due to centering), compared with peaks in the mid-twenties for women in the 1.5+ generations. This pattern was especially pronounced for 1st generation women interviewed at older ages (illustrated in Exhibit 5.2 as 1st generation, 50 at interview), who reported escalating rates of violence later in the lifecourse. Estimated rates for 1st generation women interviewed at age 50 remained below 15% through age 28 and did not peak until the late thirties, reaching a level of 30% at approximately age 37 (17 in the graph due to centering at 20).

Women who were interviewed at younger ages reported high levels of physical violence very early in the lifecourse. For the 1.5+ generations, this pattern was especially striking; an estimated 30% of those interviewed at age 30 had experienced physical

violence at age 16 (shown in the graph as -4, due to centering), compared to essentially zero at age 16 for women interviewed at age 50.

The statistical model of physical violence experienced by Filipinas is summarized in Exhibit 5.3. The left panel shows the fixed (average) effects of each covariate on the average estimated risk/of physical violence across the lifecourse. The odds ratio (*OR*) for the intercept indicates that, for the 1st generation (coded 0, with women in the 1.5+ generations coded 1) who were interviewed at 35 (the centered intercept for age at interview), the odds of having experienced physical violence at age 20 (the centered intercept of age) was 0.049. Across the lifecourse, there was a significant positive linear effect of age ( $OR=1.535$ ) as well as a significant negative effect of age-squared ( $OR=0.982$ ), indicating that the odds of experiencing physical violence increased over the early portion of the lifecourse and then declined. The overall pattern of this complex effect can be clearly seen in each of the modeled trajectories presented in Exhibit 5.2.

The bottom section of Exhibit 5.3 summarizes the effects of time-invariant covariates – the age of the woman when she was interviewed (age at interview) and her immigration/generational position. Both of these variables exerted significant effects on the intercept and linear trajectory of physical violence across the lifecourse, as did the interaction between age at interview and immigration/generational position. The nature of these effects can be seen in Exhibit 5.2, which shows that, for 1st generation women, those who were interviewed at younger ages had a higher probability of experiencing physical violence and of experiencing it earlier in the lifecourse. For the 1.5+ generations, this difference was even more striking: at age 20 (shown as 0 in the graph), the estimated probability of physical violence was ten times as great for the 1.5+ generations interviewed at age 30 compared with those interviewed at age 50 (probability = .5 vs. .05). Neither age at interview nor immigration/generational position had a significant impact on deceleration (the declining, curvilinear effect of age-squared) across the lifecourse. In other words, risk of experiencing physical violence declined at a similar rate in the later years of the lifecourse regardless of the age at interview or immigration/generational position. This is partly because women who were younger when interviewed made little contribution to the model of the later years of the lifecourse trajectory, leaving little variance in this portion of the model that could be explained by differences in age at interview. As these terms were not significant for any model of IPV across the lifecourse, they were trimmed from all subsequent models presented below.

The right panel of Exhibit 5.3 shows the random effects of the Level 1 variables, or the extent to which trajectories of physical violence across the lifecourse varied among the 87 Filipina women. All three terms – intercept, linear, and curvilinear effects of age – had large standard deviations that were significantly different from zero, indicating that women's individual trajectories varied substantially, despite the similarities in pattern that were reflected in the significant fixed or average effects. This suggests that variance in physical violence trajectories was not completely explained by the model and that more remains to be explained by variables other than age, age at interview, and immigration/generational position. This was the case in all models of IPV presented below.

### *Physical Violence across the Lifecourse – Indian/Pakistani Women*

For Indian/Pakistani women, trajectories of physical violence differed by immigration/generational position, and not by age at interview. As shown in Exhibit 5.4, women who were born in the United States or immigrated before age 13 (1.5+ generations) tended to experience higher rates of physical violence early in the lifecourse than women who immigrated as adults (1st generation). For the 1.5+ generations, rates of physical violence in a given year peaked at more than 45% in the mid-twenties, compared with a peak of 37% around age 30 for the 1st generation. Nearly 15% of the 1.5+ generations reported having experienced physical violence at age 16, compared with less than 2% of the 1st generation.

The statistical model of physical violence experienced by Indian/Pakistani is summarized in Exhibit 5.5. For Indian/Pakistani women, age at interview was not a significant covariate of lifecourse physical violence, and this variable was trimmed from the model. The OR for the intercept indicates that, for the 1st generation, the odds of having experienced physical violence at age 20 was 0.068. Across the lifecourse, there was a significant positive linear effect of age ( $OR=1.526$ ) as well as a significant negative effect of age-squared ( $OR=0.980$ ), indicating that the risk of physical violence increased over the early portion of the lifecourse and then declined. Trajectories differed significantly by immigration/generational position, with the odds of experiencing physical violence at age 20 in the 1.5+ generations 7 times as high ( $OR=7.105$ ) as in the 1st generation. Adjusting for this effect on the intercept, the odds of experiencing physical violence over time increased somewhat more slowly for the 1.5+ generations compared with the 1st generation ( $OR=0.815$ ). As with the Filipina women, immigration/generational position did not affect deceleration, and these nonsignificant interaction effects were trimmed.

### *Sexual Violence across the Lifecourse – Filipina Women*

For Filipina women, trajectories of sexual violence differed by immigration/generational position, and not by age at interview. Although rates of sexual violence were similar for the 1st and 1.5+ generations, timing differed (see Exhibit 5.6). For the 1st generation, rates of sexual violence were essentially 0 at age 16 but increased to a peak of nearly 10% by age 30, showing little subsequent decline through age 40. In contrast, for the 1.5+ generations, an estimated 5% experienced sexual violence at age 16, reaching a peak of around 8% in the early twenties and declining to below 2% by the mid-thirties.

The statistical model of sexual violence experienced by Filipinas is summarized in Exhibit 5.7. Age at interview was not a significant covariate and was trimmed from the model. The OR for the intercept indicates that, for the 1st generation, the odds of having experienced sexual violence at age 20 was 0.009. Across the lifecourse, there was a significant positive linear effect of age ( $OR=1.392$ ) as well as a significant negative effect of age-squared ( $OR=0.989$ ), indicating that the odds of experiencing sexual violence increased over the early portion of the lifecourse and then declined. Trajectories differed significantly by immigration/generational position, with the odds of sexual violence at age 20 in the 1.5+ generations eight times as high ( $OR=8.077$ ) as in the 1st generation. Adjusting for this effect on the intercept, the odds of experiencing sexual violence over time increased more slowly for the 1.5+ generations compared with the 1st generation ( $OR=0.764$ ).

### *Sexual Violence across the Lifecourse – Indian/Pakistani Women*

Trajectories of sexual violence for Indian/Pakistani women differed by immigration/generational position and not by age at interview. As with the Filipina women, timing of sexual violence differed for Indian/Pakistani women in the 1st vs. 1.5+ generations, with peak rates for 1st generation women occurring later in the lifecourse (early thirties vs. mid-twenties) (shown in Exhibit 5.8). However, in addition to differences in timing, peak rates of sexual violence for Indian/Pakistani women differed by immigration/generational position, peaking at 35% for the 1.5+ generations and above 15% for the 1st generation. An estimated 18% of the 1.5+ generations experienced sexual violence at age 16, compared with less than 1% of the 1st generation. Overall rates of sexual violence for both generational groups were much higher for Indian/Pakistani women compared with Filipinas.

The statistical model of sexual violence experienced by Indian/Pakistani women is summarized in Exhibit 5.9. Age at interview was not a significant covariate and was trimmed from the model. The OR for the intercept indicates that, for the 1st generation, the odds of having experienced sexual violence at age 20 was 0.027. Across the lifecourse, there was a significant positive linear effect of age ( $OR=1.410$ ) as well as a significant negative effect of age-squared ( $OR=0.985$ ), indicating that the odds of experiencing sexual violence increased over the early portion of the lifecourse and then declined. Trajectories differed significantly by immigration/generational position, with the odds of experiencing sexual violence at age 20 in the 1.5+ generations 15 times as high ( $OR=15.677$ ) as in the 1st generation. Adjusting for this effect on the intercept, the odds of experiencing sexual violence over time increased somewhat more slowly for the 1.5+ generations compared with the 1st generation ( $OR=0.794$ ).

### *Stalking across the Lifecourse – Filipina Women*

For Filipina women, trajectories of stalking differed by age at interview and not by immigration/generational position. As shown in Exhibit 5.10, rates of stalking were higher for women interviewed at younger ages (i.e., those born more recently), with those interviewed at age 30 reaching an estimated peak of 15% by the late twenties compared with a peak of 3% for those interviewed at age 50. In contrast to physical and sexual violence, experience of stalking changed relatively little across the lifecourse for Filipina women and did not show a significant tendency to decline as women aged.

The statistical model of stalking experienced by Filipinas is summarized in Exhibit 5.11. Immigration/generational position was not a significant covariate and was trimmed from the model. The OR for the intercept indicates that, for women who were interviewed at age 35 (the centered intercept for age at interview), the odds of having experienced stalking at age 20 was 0.066. Across the lifecourse, there was a significant positive linear effect of age ( $OR=1.098$ ) as well as a significant negative effect of age-squared ( $OR=0.997$ ), indicating that the odds of experiencing stalking increased over the early portion of the lifecourse and then declined. Age at interview had a significantly negative effect on the odds of having experienced stalking at age 20 (the centered intercept of age): for each year older in age at interview, the odds of experiencing stalking at age 20 were .058 lower ( $OR=0.942$ ). This effect can be seen in Exhibit 5.10, which shows a flatter estimated lifecourse trajectory for women interviewed at age 50 compared with women interviewed at age 30. Adjusting for this effect on the intercept (i.e., on the level of stalking at age 20), age at interview had no additional effect on the linear or curvilinear aspects of the lifecourse trajectory; in other words, the trajectory shape was not affected by age at interview.

### *Stalking across the Lifecourse – Indian/Pakistani Women*

For Indian/Pakistani women, trajectories of stalking differed both by a woman's age at interview and by her immigration/generational position. As illustrated in Exhibit 5.12, the largest effect was due to age at interview: women who were younger when interviewed (i.e., those who were born more recently) reported much higher rates of stalking, regardless of their immigration/generational position. For women who were interviewed at age 30, estimated peak rates in a given year reached nearly 50%, compared with peak rates of 12% for women who were interviewed at age 50. In addition, the timing of stalking across the lifecourse differed by immigration/generational position, with rates peaking in the late twenties for the 1.5+ generations and in the late thirties for the 1st generation. Overall rates of stalking were higher for Indian/Pakistani women compared with Filipinas, especially for women interviewed at younger ages.

The statistical model of stalking experienced by Indian/Pakistani women is summarized in Exhibit 5.13. For Indian/Pakistani women, both age at interview and immigration/generational position had a significant influence on the trajectory. The OR for the intercept indicates that, for 1st generation women who were interviewed at age 35, the odds of having experienced stalking at age 20 was 0.018. Across the lifecourse, there was a significant positive linear effect of age ( $OR=1.616$ ) as well as a significant negative effect of age-squared ( $OR=0.984$ ), indicating that the odds of experiencing stalking increased over the early portion of the lifecourse and then declined. Age at interview had a significantly negative effect on the odds of having experienced stalking at age 20: for each year older in age at interview, the odds of experiencing stalking at age 20 were almost 10% lower ( $OR=0.903$ ). The odds of experiencing stalking was also affected by immigration/generation position, with the 1.5+ generations more than 8 times as likely to have experienced stalking at age 20 as the 1st generation ( $OR=8.608$ ). After adjusting for this effect on the intercept, there was also a significant effect of immigration/generational position on the linear slope, with the odds of experiencing stalking increasing at a slightly slower rate for the 1.5+ generations ( $OR=0.838$ ). Both of these effects can be seen in Exhibit 5.12. Women interviewed at age 30 had much higher probabilities of experiencing stalking across the lifecourse; controlling for the effect of age at interview, the 1.5+ generations were likely to experience stalking earlier than the 1st generation, although the overall probability of experiencing stalking was similar regardless of immigration/generational position. For stalking among Indian/Pakistani women, only the intercept and the linear effect of age were modeled as random effects; the strongly decelerating trend in stalking over the later years of the lifecourse was fairly uniform and did not show significant variance across women (Exhibit 5.13).

### *Summary of Lifecourse Trajectories of IPV*

In general, risk of experiencing IPV showed patterns of increasing rates across the early portion of the lifecourse, reaching a peak in the late twenties to early thirties, and declining over the later years. However, there were several departures from this overall trend. For Filipina women, rates of stalking increased only slightly across the lifecourse and showed little evidence of later-life declines. For both physical and sexual violence in both ethnic groups, as well as stalking experienced by Indian/Pakistani women, peak rates occurred later in the lifecourse for 1st generation women, compared with women who were born in the United States or immigrated before age 13 (1.5+ generations). This pattern was especially striking for physical violence experienced by 1st generation Filipina women who were interviewed later in life, for whom rates were relatively low during the early portion of the lifecourse, reaching peak rates much later in life.

In general, early lifecourse rates of IPV were much higher for women who were born in the United States or immigrated before age 13 (1.5+ generations), compared with 1st generation women. Across most types of IPV in both ethnic groups (with the exception of stalking for Filipina women), rates of IPV experienced at age 20 were significantly higher for the 1.5+ generations compared with the 1st generation. Among Indian/Pakistani women in the 1.5+ generations, nearly 15% had already experienced physical violence and 18% had experienced sexual violence by age 16. Among Filipina women, differential rates of physical violence very early in the lifecourse were seen for the 1.5+ generations who were interviewed at younger ages. For Filipina women in the 1.5+ generations interviewed at age 30 (i.e., born in the late 70s), an estimated 30% had experienced physical violence at age 16.

## VI. Trajectories of Help-Seeking over Women's Lifecourse

We assessed the trajectories of three types of IPV-related help-seeking – calling the police, seeking legal assistance, and using domestic violence (DV) programs that provided either shelter or non-shelter services. We combined the two types of DV programs and examined their use together because of relatively low rates of use and substantial overlap in use of the two types of programs.

### Analysis of Help-Seeking for IPV across the Lifecourse

To assess the timing of women's help-seeking for IPV across the lifecourse, we used MLM to model women's individual and collective trajectories. As with the analysis of IPV presented in Section V, we used multilevel logistic regression, as implemented in HLM software (Raudenbush et al., 2004), to analyze the probability that a woman sought a particular type of help in a given year. This approach models changes in the probability of seeking help and provides ways to test whether changing probabilities are associated with covariates that change over time (known in MLM as Level 1 variables, e.g., age) and those that are constant over time but vary across women (Level 2 variables, e.g., a woman's age at interview). The effects of Level 1 variables can be estimated as random (i.e., estimated for each individual and then averaged) or fixed (i.e., estimated as the same for all women). Because we expected variability in individual women's trajectories, we estimated Level 1 effects as random whenever possible, constraining an effect to be fixed (i.e., identical) across all women only when statistical analyses revealed that variability in the strength of the effect was minimal and nonsignificant.

We expected that women's trajectories of IPV-related help-seeking would not be strictly linear but were likely to increase and decrease at various points; therefore we tested polynomial terms (age-squared and age-cubed) to capture trajectory curvilinearity. In most analyses, the quadratic (age-squared) effect was significant, but no significant cubic effects were found. Consequently, most models incorporated both linear and curvilinear terms as in the analyses of IPV in Section V. In most cases, intercept and linear effects of age were modeled as random effects, while quadratic effects were modeled as fixed, reflecting the relatively limited range of repeated help-seeking from a given source across the lifecourse.

Because the LHC instrument started at age 16 rather than 0, we "centered" age at 20, which was the age of the youngest woman at the time of the interview. In other words, we subtracted 20 from each age across the lifecourse, effectively setting age 20 as the model intercept or zero point. This is commonly done in longitudinal analysis and has the advantage of both making the model intercept interpretable and reducing collinearity among polynomial and interaction terms (Hedeker & Gibbons, 2006; Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002). For similar reasons, we centered age at interview to 35, which was near the mean age at which women were interviewed. For clarity, in the presentation of results, we consistently use "age" to refer to effects related to changes across the lifecourse; and "age at interview" to refer to variability among women in the age at which they were interviewed. We included the respondents' immigration/generational position in the MLM analyses, classifying women into two groups: 1st generation (those who came to the United States at age 13 or later) vs. 1.5+ generations (those who were born in the United States or moved to the United States



before age 13). In addition to age, immigration/generational position and age at interview, six additional time-varying variables were included in MLM analyses of help-seeking. Three of these were dichotomous variables indicating “contemporaneous” experience of IPV (physical violence, sexual violence, and stalking experienced in the same year as the help-seeking being modeled, i.e., the dependent variable). For each year of a woman’s lifecourse, if one of the three types of IPV had been experienced in that year, contemporaneous experience of that form of violence was coded=1; in years in which it had not been experienced, it was coded=0. In addition, we also included three parallel variables that reflected cumulative experience of each form of IPV, up to the year prior to the modeled help-seeking. For each year of a woman’s lifecourse, cumulative experience of each form of IPV was assigned a number indicating the count (number) of previous years in which the woman had experienced that form of violence. For each additional year in which a particular form of IPV was experienced, the value of this count increased by 1; for years in which the form of IPV had not been experienced, the count remained the same as in the previous year. To reduce collinearity between contemporaneous and cumulative IPV and to reduce redundancy of cumulative IPV with age, the cumulative number of years in which a respondent experienced each type of IPV was divided by the number of years since age 16, yielding a variable that reflected the proportion of prior years in which each form of IPV had been experienced. All of these IPV variables varied within woman over time.

Before conducting the MLM analysis of help-seeking trajectories, we carefully examined the data both statistically and graphically to discern trajectory shapes, assess the adequacy of variability for this type of modeling (both within women and between women), and to identify outliers and cases that might exert undue influence on the analyses. Because the amount of data each woman contributed to the analysis varied, depending on her age at interview, we carefully considered the influence exerted by women who were interviewed at older ages. Although we included the full set of data provided by each woman in the analysis, we truncated graphical presentations of estimated lifecourse trajectories at age 40 (labeled in the graphs as 20, due to centering), focusing on the age ranges common to most women. All plotted trajectories begin at age 16 (labeled in the graphs as -4, due to centering at age 20).

Graphical presentations of results illustrate effects that were found to be significant in each model. When help-seeking trajectories were found to differ significantly by age at interview, graphs contain estimated lifecourse plots at two ages, 30 and 50, which were chosen to illustrate points on the continuum of the ages at which women were interviewed. Trajectories plotted at age 30 illustrate modeled experiences typical of women born in the late 1970s, while those at age 50 illustrate experiences of women born in the late 1950s. When help-seeking trajectories differed by immigration/generational position, graphs contain lifecourse estimates for both 1st generation (those who came to the United States at age 13 or later) and 1.5+ generations (those who were born in the United States or immigrated before age 13). When trajectories differed by both age at interview and immigration/generational position, graphs illustrate four trajectories, for women in the 1st and 1.5+ generations, each interviewed at age 30 or age 50.

## Results

Exhibit 6.1 presents lifetime summaries of four types of IPV-related help-seeking – calling the police, seeking legal assistance, using domestic violence (DV) shelters, and using non-shelter DV programs –for both Filipinas and Indian/Pakistani women. Slightly more

than half the women had called the police at least once; and 43.7% of the Filipina women and 60.7% of the Indian/Pakistani women had sought legal assistance. With respect to DV programs, 25.3% of Filipinas and 41.1% of Indian/Pakistani women had used DV shelters; and 31.0% of the Filipinas and 57.1% of the Indian/Pakistani women had used non-shelter DV programs. While programs tailored to Asians were used frequently, 14.9% of Filipina women and 28.6% of Indian/Pakistani women contacted non-Asian DV programs, and 2.3% of Filipina women and 5.4% of Indian/Pakistani women sought help from non-Asian legal assistance programs (not shown in Exhibit). Although the median number of years in which women had sought help from any of these sources was 1, ranges varied widely, especially for police, which ranged as high as 17 years. For most of these sources, the median age at which women first sought help was between 29 and 33, which is similar to the peak ages in which IPV was experienced. As with initial IPV experience, the ranges of ages at which individual women first sought help varied widely, from 16 to 58.

As done in Section V, we present the results of MLM analyses, in two stages. We first summarize findings using minimal statistical or otherwise technical language, referring to graphical presentations to illustrate results. For each analysis, this summary is followed by more detailed descriptions of findings using tables and statistics along with graphs. To distinguish those two stages, they appear in different font sizes.

#### *Calling Police across the Lifecourse – Filipina Women*

The likelihood of calling the police in any given year was, as expected, related to experiences of IPV in that same year (i.e., contemporaneous IPV). Each of the three types of contemporaneous IPV had an independent effect on the odds of calling the police; women were more likely to contact the police in the same year in which they experienced physical, sexual, or stalking violence, after accounting for the effects of the other types of IPV; For example, women were significantly more likely to contact the police in the same year in which they experienced physical violence after accounting for the effects of sexual violence and stalking. Specifically, women who experienced physical violence in a given year were 18 times as likely to call the police in that year. In addition, women who experienced sexual violence in a given year were more than 3 times as likely to call the police in that year. Women who experienced stalking in a given year were nearly twice as likely to call the police in that year, although this effect showed only a trend toward statistical significance ( $p < .07$ ).

However, after accounting for the effects of contemporaneous IPV, cumulative experience of IPV in previous years did not add significantly to the likelihood that a woman would call the police. In other words, the odds of calling the police in a given year were increased only by IPV experienced in that year and were not affected by IPV experienced in prior years. In addition, holding constant the effect of IPV, the odds of calling the police were significantly higher for women who were younger when interviewed (i.e., born more recently), as can be seen in Exhibit 6.2.

The statistical model of calling the police by Filipina women is summarized in Exhibit 6.3. Two models are reported: the first illustrates the effects of age at interview and immigration/generational position, and the second incorporates the time-varying effects of IPV experience across the lifecourse. The initial model contains only age, age at interview, and immigration/generational position. The left panel of the initial model shows the fixed (average) effects of each covariate on the average estimated likelihood of calling the police across the lifecourse. The odds ratio (OR) for the intercept indicates that, for the 1st generation (coded 0, with the 1.5+ generations coded 1) who were interviewed at 35 (the centered intercept for age at interview), the odds of calling the police at age 20 (the centered intercept of age) was 0.004. Across the lifecourse, there was a significant positive linear effect of age ( $OR=1.437$ ) as well as a significant negative effect of age-squared ( $OR=0.988$ ), indicating that the odds of calling the police increased over the early portion of the lifecourse and then declined. The overall pattern of this complex effect can be clearly seen in each of the modeled trajectories presented in Exhibit 6.4. In general, the odds of calling the police increased from age 16 (labeled as -4, due to centering at age 20) to the early- to mid-thirties, then declined.

The bottom section of the initial model in Exhibit 6.3 summarizes the effects of time-invariant effects – a woman's age at interview and her immigration/generational position. Both of these variables exerted significant influence on the intercept and linear trajectory of calling the police across the lifecourse. Age at interview had a significantly negative effect on the odds of calling the police at age 20: for each year older in age at interview, the odds of having called the police at age 20 were almost 15% lower ( $OR=0.867$ ). Adjusting for this effect, there was also a significant effect of age at interview on the linear slope, with the odds of calling the police increasing at a slightly faster rate over the lifecourse for women who were older at interview ( $OR=1.008$ ). Calling the police was also associated with immigration/generation position, with the 1.5+ generations nearly 5 times as likely to have called police at age 20 as the 1st generation ( $OR=4.859$ ). After adjusting for this effect on the intercept, there was also a significant effect of immigration/generational position on the linear slope, with the odds of calling the police increasing over the lifecourse at a slightly slower rate for the 1.5+ generations ( $OR=0.909$ ). The effects of both immigration/generational position and age at interview (at two chosen points, ages 30 and 50) can be seen in Exhibit 6.2.

The final model in Exhibit 6.3 incorporates the time-varying influences of physical and sexual violence and stalking, all of which were positive. On average, contemporaneous (i.e., occurring in the same year) physical violence was associated with 18 times the odds of calling the police ( $OR=18.229$ ). Contemporaneous sexual violence was associated with 3 times the odds of calling the police ( $OR=3.229$ ). Contemporaneous stalking was associated with nearly doubled odds of calling the police ( $OR=1.833$ ), although this effect was not statistically significant ( $p=.07$ ). Controlling for the effects of contemporaneous IPV, cumulative experiences of these types of IPV did not make significant additional contributions to the prediction of calling the police. With the timing of IPV experience in the model, women's immigration/generational position was not significantly related to calling the police, suggesting that the effect of this variable was reflective of differences in timing of IPV experience between 1st and 1.5+ generations. Age at interview remained significantly predictive of calling the police, although only as it affected the intercept ( $OR=0.947$ ), indicating that the odds of calling the police at age 20 were 0.053 lower for each additional year of age at interview.

### *Calling Police across the Lifecourse – Indian/Pakistani Women*

As with Filipina women, the likelihood of Indian/Pakistani women calling the police in any given year was related to experiences of IPV in that same year (i.e., contemporaneous IPV). Indian/Pakistani women who experienced physical violence in a given year were 5 times as likely to call the police in that year. In addition, those who experienced sexual violence in a given year were more than twice as likely to call the police in that year, and women who experienced stalking in a given year were more than 3.5 times as likely to call the police in that year. Each of the three types of contemporaneous IPV had an independent effect on the odds of calling the police; women were significantly more likely to contact the police in the same year in which they experienced each form of IPV after accounting for the effects of the other types of IPV. However, similar to Filipina women, after accounting for the effects of contemporaneous IPV, cumulative experience of IPV in previous years did not add significantly to the likelihood that Indian/Pakistani women would call the police. In other

words the odds of calling the police in a given year were increased only by IPV experienced in that year and were not affected by IPV experienced in prior years. In addition, holding constant the effect of IPV, the odds of calling the police increased more rapidly across the lifecourse for women who were younger when interviewed (i.e., born more recently). As can be seen in Exhibit 6.5, the estimated probability of calling the police increased across the lifecourse, to approximately .04 (meaning, 4% would call the police) at age 30 for women interviewed at age 30, while it remained essentially zero for those who were interviewed at age 50.

The statistical model of calling the police by Indian/Pakistani women is summarized in Exhibit 6.6. Immigration/generational position was not significantly related to the odds of calling the police and was trimmed from the model. The *OR* for the intercept indicates that, for women who were interviewed at 35, the odds of having called the police at age 20 were 0.004. Across the lifecourse, there was a significant positive linear effect of age (*OR*=1.112). For Indian-Pakistani women, only the linear effect of age was significant, suggesting no noticeable deceleration in the rate of increase in the odds of calling the police over time. On average, contemporaneous physical violence was associated with 8 times the odds of calling the police (*OR*=8.733). Contemporaneous sexual violence was associated with 2 times the odds of calling the police (*OR*=2.585), and contemporaneous stalking was associated with 4 times the odds of calling the police (*OR*=4.343). Controlling for the effects of contemporaneous IPV, cumulative experiences of these types of IPV did not make significant additional contributions to the prediction of calling the police. Accounting for the effects of timing of IPV experienced, there was a significant effect of age at interview on the linear trajectory of the probability of calling the police (*OR*=0.989), such that each year older at the interview was associated with a 0.011 slower increase across the lifecourse in the odds of calling the police. This effect can be seen in Exhibit 6.5, where the modeled probability of calling the police shows no increase at all over time for women interviewed at age 50, compared with a substantial increase over time for women interviewed at age 30.

### *Seeking Legal Assistance across the Lifecourse – Filipina Women*

For Filipina women, the likelihood of seeking legal assistance in any given year was related to contemporaneous experiences of physical violence and of stalking. Women who experienced physical violence or stalking in a given year were more than twice as likely to seek legal assistance in that year. In addition, after accounting for the contemporaneous effects of experiencing physical violence or stalking in a given year, the odds of seeking legal assistance were increased by cumulative experience of physical violence in previous years. If a woman had experienced physical violence in all prior years since age 16, she would be nearly 5 times as likely to seek legal assistance in a given year; if she had experienced physical violence in half of the prior years since age 16, she would be more than twice as likely to seek legal assistance. In addition, holding constant the effects of IPV, the probability of seeking legal assistance was significantly higher for women who were younger when interviewed (i.e., born more recently). As can be seen in Exhibit 6.7, the estimated probability of seeking legal assistance increased slightly across the lifecourse, to approximately 0.05 at age 30 for women interviewed at age 30, while it remained essentially zero for those who were interviewed at age 50.

The statistical model of seeking legal assistance by Filipina women is summarized in Exhibit 6.8. Immigration/generational position was not significantly related to the odds of seeking legal assistance and was trimmed from the model. The OR for the intercept indicates that, for women who were interviewed at 35, the odds of seeking legal assistance at age 20 was 0.002. Across the lifecourse, there was a significant positive linear effect of age ( $OR=1.360$ ) as well as a significant negative effect of age-squared ( $OR=0.994$ ), indicating that the probability of seeking legal assistance increased over the early portion of the lifecourse and then declined. Time-varying physical violence was related to the odds of seeking legal assistance, both as a contemporaneous effect ( $OR=2.029$ ) and also as a cumulative effect ( $OR=4.737$ ). Experiencing physical violence doubled the odds of seeking legal assistance in the same year; in addition, each increase of .10 in the proportion of prior years in which a woman had experienced physical violence was associated with a nearly 0.5 increase in the odds of seeking legal assistance. Contemporaneous experience of stalking was also associated with 2.5 times the odds of seeking legal assistance in a given year ( $OR=2.486$ ). Holding constant these time-varying effects, age at interview had a significantly negative effect on the intercept, indicating that, for each additional year in a woman's age at interview, the odds that a woman had sought legal assistance at age 20 were 0.10 lower ( $OR=0.899$ ). This effect can be seen in Exhibit 6.7, where the modeled probability of seeking legal assistance increases over time for women interviewed at age 30 but remains very low for women interviewed at age 50.

### *Seeking Legal Assistance across the Lifecourse – Indian/Pakistani Women*

For Indian/Pakistani women, the likelihood of seeking legal assistance in any given year was related to experiences of stalking in that same year but not to contemporaneous experience of other types of IPV. Women who experienced stalking in a given year were more than 2.5 times as likely to seek legal assistance in that year. In addition, although the likelihood of seeking legal assistance was not related to experience of physical violence in the same year, it was related to the cumulative experience of physical violence in previous years. If a woman had experienced physical violence in all prior years since age 16, she would be nearly 6 times as likely to seek legal assistance in a given year; if she had experienced physical violence in half of the prior years since age 16, she would be nearly 3 times as likely to seek legal assistance. In addition, holding constant the effects of IPV, the odds of seeking legal assistance were significantly higher for women who were younger when interviewed (i.e., born more recently). As can be seen in Exhibit 6.9, the estimated probability of seeking legal assistance increased substantially across the lifecourse, to approximately .18 at age 30 for women interviewed at age 30, while it remained essentially zero for those who were interviewed at age 50. There were also immigration/generational differences, with 1st generation Indian/Pakistani women less likely than those in the 1.5+ generations to seek legal assistance. However, this difference was explained by generational differences in the timing of IPV. Compared with 1st generation Indian/Pakistani women, those in the 1.5+ generations tended to experience physical violence and stalking earlier in the lifecourse, when help-seeking was generally more common. Once the timing of IPV was accounted for, immigration/generational differences in seeking legal assistance were not significant.

The statistical model of seeking legal assistance by Indian/Pakistani women is summarized in Exhibit 6.10. Two models are reported: the first illustrates the effects of age at interview and immigration/generational position, and the second incorporates the time-varying effects of IPV experience across the lifecourse. The initial model contains only age, age at interview, and immigration/generational position. The OR for the intercept indicates that, for 1st generation women who were interviewed at 35, the odds of having sought legal assistance at age 20 was 0.001. Across the lifecourse, there was a significant positive linear effect of age ( $OR=1.833$ ), as well as a significant negative effect of age-squared ( $OR=0.988$ ), indicating that the probability of seeking legal assistance increased over the early portion of the lifecourse and then leveled off.

The bottom section of the initial model in Exhibit 6.10 summarizes the effects of time-invariant effects – the woman's age at interview and immigration/generational position. Age at interview had a significantly negative effect on the odds of seeking legal assistance at age 20: for each year older in age at interview, the odds of seeking legal assistance at age 20 were almost 20% lower ( $OR=0.806$ ). The probability of seeking legal assistance was also affected by immigration/generational position. Although the effect of immigration/generational position on the intercept was not significant, indicating there was no effect of this variable at age 20, there was a significant effect of immigration/generational position on the linear slope, with the odds of seeking legal assistance increasing over the lifecourse at a substantially slower rate for women in the 1.5+ generations ( $OR=0.830$ ). Both of these effects – for immigration/generational position and for age at interview – can be seen in Exhibit 6.11.

The final model in Exhibit 6.10 incorporates the time-varying influence of IPV that a woman experienced. On average, contemporaneous experience of stalking was associated with more than double the odds of seeking legal assistance ( $OR=2.601$ ). Cumulative experience of physical violence was also positively associated with seeking legal assistance ( $OR=5.700$ ), with each .10 increase in the proportion of prior years in which a woman had experienced physical violence associated with a 0.57 increase in the odds of seeking legal assistance. Sexual violence did not make an additional contribution to the model, after accounting for the effects of physical violence and stalking. With the timing of IPV experiences in the model, women's immigration/generational position was not significantly related to seeking legal assistance, suggesting that the effect of this variable was reflective of differences between 1st and 1.5+ generations in timing of IPV experienced across the lifecourse. Age at interview remained significantly predictive of seeking legal assistance, as can be seen in Exhibit 6.9, where the modeled probability of seeking legal assistance increases over time for women interviewed at age 30 while it remains very low for women interviewed at age 50.

### *Using Domestic Violence Programs across the Lifecourse – Filipina Women*

For Filipina women, the likelihood of using a domestic violence (DV) program (shelter or non-shelter) in any given year was related to experiences of physical violence and of stalking in that same year. Women who experienced physical violence in a given year were 3.5 times as likely to use a DV program in that year. In addition, women who experienced stalking in a given year were more than twice as likely to use a DV program in that year. Accounting for the effects of physical violence and stalking, sexual violence was not associated with use of DV programs. Cumulative experience of any type of IPV in previous years did not add significantly to the likelihood that a woman would use a DV program. In addition, holding constant the effect of IPV, the odds of using a DV program were significantly higher for women who were younger when interviewed (i.e., born more recently). As can be seen in Exhibit 6.12, the estimated probability of using DV program increased slightly across the lifecourse, to approximately .08 at age 30 for women interviewed at age 30, while it remained essentially zero for those who were interviewed at age 50.

The statistical model of using DV programs by Filipina women is summarized in Exhibit 6.13. Immigration/generational position was not significantly related to the likelihood of using DV programs and was trimmed from the model. The OR for the intercept indicates that, for women who were interviewed at 35, the odds of having used DV programs at age 20 were 0.001. Across the lifecourse, there was a significant positive linear effect of age ( $OR=1.469$ ) as well as a significant negative effect of age-squared ( $OR=0.995$ ), indicating that the probability of using DV programs increased during the early portion of the lifecourse and then declined. Experiencing physical violence in the same year was associated with nearly 4 times the odds of using DV programs ( $OR=3.797$ ). Experiencing stalking was associated with greater than twice the odds ( $OR=2.584$ ) of using a DV program. Experiencing sexual violence was not related to use of DV programs. Controlling for the time-varying effects of IPV, age at interview had a negative effect on use of DV programs, with each additional year in age at which a woman was interviewed was associated with a 0.18 reduction in the odds of having used DV programs at age 20 ( $OR=0.822$ ). This effect can be seen in Exhibit 6.12, where the modeled probability of using DV programs increases over time for women interviewed at age 30 and remains very low for women interviewed at age 50.

### *Using Domestic Violence Programs across the Lifecourse – Indian/Pakistani Women*

For Indian/Pakistani women, the likelihood of using a domestic violence (DV) program (shelter or non-shelter) in any given year was related only to experiences of stalking in that same year. Women who experienced stalking in a given year were 4.5 times as likely to use a DV program in that year. Neither contemporaneous physical or sexual violence nor cumulative experience of all three types of IPV in previous years was significantly associated with the likelihood that a woman would use a DV program. However, holding constant the effect of IPV, the odds of using a DV program were significantly higher for women who were younger when interviewed (i.e., born more recently). As can be seen in Exhibit 6.14, the estimated probability of using a DV program increased substantially across the lifecourse, to approximately .30 at age 30 for women interviewed at age 30, while it remained essentially zero for those who were interviewed at age 50.

The statistical model of using DV programs by Indian/Pakistani women is summarized in Exhibit 6.15. Immigration/generational position was not significantly related to the likelihood of using DV programs and was trimmed from the model. The OR for the intercept indicates that, for women who were interviewed at 35, the odds of having used DV programs at age 20 was 0.001. Across the lifecourse, there was a significant positive linear effect of age ( $OR=1.915$ ) as well as a significant negative effect of age-squared ( $OR=0.984$ ), indicating that the probability of using DV programs increased during the early portion of the lifecourse and then declined. Experiencing stalking in the same year was associated with more than 5 times the odds of using DV programs ( $OR=5.449$ ); accounting for this effect, neither physical nor sexual violence had an effect on use of DV programs. Cumulative IPV experience was also not related to DV program use. Controlling for these time-varying effects, age at interview had a negative effect on use of DV programs, with each additional year in age at which a woman was interviewed was associated with a 0.34 reduction in the odds of using DV programs at age 20 ( $OR=0.764$ ). This effect can be seen in Exhibit 6.14, where the modeled probability of DV program use increases over the lifecourse for women interviewed at age 30 but remains virtually at zero for those interviewed at 50.

### *Summary of Lifecourse Trajectories of IPV-related Help-Seeking*

All three types of help-seeking showed similar patterns across the lifecourse, with probabilities of seeking help generally increasing for women who were interviewed at younger ages (i.e., those born more recently) but remaining very low for women interviewed when they were older (those born earlier). Contemporaneous experience of stalking was associated with all types of help-seeking among both Filipina and Indian/Pakistani women in

other words, women were more likely to call the police, seek legal assistance, or use a DV program if they experienced stalking in a given year. Experience of physical violence was also associated with all types of help-seeking in the same year for Filipina women, but only with contacting the police for Indian/Pakistani women. For legal assistance, the cumulative experience of physical violence in prior years was also significantly associated with the odds of seeking help for both Filipina and Indian/Pakistani women; women who had experienced physical violence for a higher proportion of prior years were more likely to seek legal assistance. Sexual violence was only related to calling the police in the year it was experienced. In addition, help-seeking was not related to immigration/generational position, once immigration/generational differences in the timing of IPV were accounted for.



## VII. Agency Responses to Help-Seeking

For each year in which the respondent indicated that she sought help from the police, legal assistance program, DV shelter or DV non-shelter program, she was asked to indicate the types of responses she received at the respective agency from a range of response options printed on the Respondent Booklet. Specific response options varied somewhat across types of programs, reflecting the nature and purpose of their operations. For example, if the police were contacted, the respondent was asked to indicate the types of police response from the range of options, including: did not respond/did not show up; came and did nothing; interviewed partner and me separately; took pictures/collected evidence; helped with Emergency Protective Order; arrested the partner or other perpetrator; arrested the respondent; asked about or talked to children; called/involved Child Protective Services; transported the respondent (and/or children) to shelter or other assistance, called an ambulance; asked whether someone other than the respondent's partner had abused her; did not understand the respondent's situation/needs or did not believe her; addressed language difficulties; helped with safety planning; arranged for the respondent to talk to other staff (e.g., social worker, counselor, advocates); explained procedures, gave the respondent information about other programs and her options and/or rights; pressured the respondent to take action that she was not ready for; and made negative comments about the respondent's background. Four response options, however, were included across all types of programs: "addressed language difficulties," "didn't believe woman or didn't understand her situation," "believed the abuser or blamed the respondent," and "made negative comments about her ethnic, cultural or immigrant background." Some respondents mentioned other types of responses they had received; those that were similar to pre-existing categories were combined. We also combined certain pre-existing options with similar meaning, such as "didn't believe woman or didn't understand her situation" and "believed the abuser or blamed the respondent."

Some women had more than one encounter with a given agency over the years. In order to obtain an overview of the types of response a woman has received over the lifecourse, we conducted the following two types of analyses: a) using the individual as the unit of analysis, we calculated the proportion of women who reported ever experiencing specific types of responses, and b) using the person-year as the unit of analysis (i.e., counting the number of years in which a specific type of response was experienced, summing across all women) to capture the extent of women's multiple experiences over multiple years. We calculated the proportion of person-years in which women experienced specific types of responses by dividing the number of years in which a response was experienced by the number of years in which there were encounters with a given type of agency. Because a sizable number of women had multiple contacts with the same type of agency (e.g., a woman calling police multiple times), the latter analysis provides a summary of the frequency with which different types of responses occurred, considering all women's multiple contacts with a given type of agency across the lifecourse.

## Responses of Police

As presented in Exhibit 7.1, over a half of Filipina women ( $n=45$ , 51.7%) and Indian/Pakistani women ( $n=31$ , 55.4%) had called the police at least once. These 45 Filipina women called the police in a total of 95 person-years, and the 31 Indian/Pakistani women, in a total of 68 person-years; the numbers of person-years were equivalent to an average of a little over 2 person-years per woman, meaning that on average a woman called the police (at least once) in two different years.

For the most part, the police did what was expected, such as taking a report, making an arrest, and/or assisting with obtaining Emergency Protective Orders where appropriate. A significant minority of respondents reported that the police provided a range of assistance: explained procedures (27-52% of women); arranged for them to talk to other staff/agency (22-23% of women); and took them to a shelter, called an ambulance or provided other assistance (11-26% of women). In addition, 4-13% of respondents stated that the police had addressed language difficulties, such as finding an interpreter and speaking slowly.

Not all encounters with the police were positive. Some respondents (24.4% of Filipina and 16.1% of Indian/Pakistani women) reported that the police had not responded or shown up or had done nothing (16-18% of person-years in which women had contact with the police). The police did not uniformly interview the woman and the partner separately (49-68% of women; 32-38% of the person-years) or take pictures/collect evidence (29-55% of women; 18-27% of person-years). One in six Filipina women (15.6%) and one third of Indian/Pakistani women (35.5%) reported that the police did not believe them or did not understand their situations, and 7-9% reported having felt pressured to take an action they were not ready for. Four Filipina women and one Indian/Pakistani woman reported that they had been arrested.

## Responses of Legal Assistance Programs

The proportion of women who had sought legal assistance programs was slightly smaller than the proportion who had called the police: 38 Filipina women for a total of 59 person-years, and 34 Indian/Pakistani women for a total of 68 person-years (Exhibit 7.2).

Legal assistance programs provided assistance with a wide range of legal matters, such as divorce, separation, or annulment; child custody, visitation, or support; protective or restraining orders; and immigration issues. In addition to explanations of procedures and the provision of information (34-38% of women), 18-24% of the respondents reported receiving help with safety planning. According to Indian/Pakistani women, legal assistance programs addressed language difficulties in some cases; this type of response was not reported by any Filipina women.

A small minority of Indian/Pakistani women reported that legal assistance personnel did not believe them or did not understand their situations, and pressured them to take an action they were not ready for (11.8% and 14.7%, respectively), whereas no Filipina women reported these types of responses from legal assistance personnel.

## Responses of Domestic Violence Shelters

As indicated in Exhibit 7.3, 22 Filipina women had used a domestic violence (DV) shelter for a total of 30 person-years, and 23 Indian/Pakistani women had used a DV shelter for a total of 34 person-years. DV shelters provided a wide range of assistance:

information & referrals (e.g., explaining procedures, providing information, arranging for victims to talk with other staff/agencies); child care; safety planning; counseling; accompanying them to other agencies; and help with restraining order, immigration issues, and jobs. A sizable minority of Indian/Pakistani women (39.1%) reported that shelter staff had addressed language difficulties. No Filipina women reported that shelter staff had not believed her or understood her situation, whereas a small minority of Indian/Pakistani women reported this type of response (17.4%).

### **Responses of Non-Shelter Domestic Violence Programs**

Non-shelter DV programs were used by 27 Filipina women for a total of 42 person-years, and by 32 Indian/Pakistani women for a total of 70 person-years (Exhibit 7.4). Among the many types of assistance women had received, counseling was mentioned with the second highest frequency for both Filipina and Indian/Pakistani women. Information and referrals (e.g., explaining procedures, providing information, arranging for victims to talk with other staff/agencies) was another frequently reported response from the non-shelter DV programs. Very few women reported that program staff had not believed them or had not understood their situation.

## VIII. Source and Nature of Responses Perceived as Helpful

Respondents were asked an open-ended question, “Looking back, what were the most helpful responses from any individual or organization you had contact with?” Of the 83 respondents who answered this question, 76 respondents (29 Filipina and 47 Indian/Pakistani) provided information on the sources of most helpful responses, and 71 respondents (30 Filipina and 41 Indian/Pakistani women) provided information about the nature of the response that they considered to be most helpful.

### Sources of Most Helpful Responses

As shown in Exhibit 8.1, among the respondents as a whole, over 30% identified friends to be the source of the most helpful responses, followed by Asian domestic violence (DV) programs (27.6%), family (21.1%), various helping professionals (14.5%, e.g., counselor, psychologist, case manager), non-Asian DV programs (13.2%), and CJS agencies (11.8%).

Both Filipina and Indian/Pakistani respondents frequently identified friends and family as the source of the most helpful responses. For Indian/Pakistani women, the largest proportion of respondents identified Asian DV programs as the sources of the most helpful responses. Indian/Pakistani women also mentioned legal assistance programs with some frequency. Notably, of the six Indian/Pakistani women who mentioned legal assistance programs, four respondents specifically mentioned programs that are designed to serve Asians (Asian legal assistance programs, hereinafter). In contrast, Filipina women mentioned non-Asian DV programs, CJS agencies, and various helping professionals as the sources of most helpful responses.

### *Variations by Immigration/Generational Position*

Because the number of responses is too small to conduct analysis to assess variations by immigration/generational position for Filipina and Indian/Pakistani women separately, we present results of bivariate analyses (2-way cross-tabulation) by immigration/generational position for the entire group of respondents (not separately for Filipina women and Indian/Pakistani women).

Both the 1st generation and 1.5+ generations frequently identified friends and family to be the sources of the most helpful responses. For 1st generation respondents, what was most commonly identified as the most helpful source of help was Asian DV programs, and in contrast, this was one of the least frequently mentioned sources among the 1.5+ generations. In addition to Asian DV programs, 1st generation respondents mentioned Asian legal assistance programs as another common source of the most helpful responses. Of the seven 1st generation respondents who identified “legal assistance programs” as the source of most helpful responses, five mentioned Asian legal assistance programs. For the 1.5+ generations, CJS agencies, non-Asian DV programs, and various professionals were among the top four most frequently mentioned sources.

For both Filipina and Indian/Pakistani women and for both 1st and 1.5+ generations, friends and family served as an important source of support. This finding is consistent with previous studies (McDonnell & Abdulla, 2001; Raj & Silverman, 2002; Yoshihama, 2002). In addition, the results of this study indicate that Asian DV and Asian legal assistance

programs play an important role for 1st generation women. For the 1.5+ generations, non-Asian DV programs, CJS agencies, and various helping professionals played an important role.

### Nature of the Most Helpful Responses

Of the 71 respondents who provided responses regarding the nature of the most helpful responses, almost half of them (47.9%) mentioned some type of information and/or referrals as the most helpful response, followed by tangible/concrete assistance, such as a place to stay, monetary help, child care, and food (23.9%) and emotional support (23.9%) (Exhibit 8.2). In addition, one in five respondents (21.1%) reported displays of caring and/or concern to be the most helpful response; they mentioned acts that reflected individuals' concern for the respondent, willingness to help, "being there for me," "standing by me," taking personal interest in the respondent, and being supportive. One in six women (18.3%) mentioned various types of responses that can be categorized as "empathic communication" as the most helpful responses they had received. These included: (actively) listening, being non-judgmental, not blaming (the respondent), empathic/sympathetic responses, "no questions asked," acknowledging the respondent's strengths, validating the respondent as a person, and validating the respondent's dignity. Another 18% mentioned "safety planning and other advice to promote safety" (safety planning/advice, hereinafter), e.g., encouraging the respondent to call the police.

Other than "tangible/concrete assistance," "emotional support" or "display of caring/concerns," 15.5% mentioned a range of responses that can be loosely categorized as "women-centered responses." These included: providing options, letting the respondent ask questions, encouraging the respondent to pursue what she wants (e.g., education, financial independence), lessening isolation/alienation, and telling the respondent "you are not alone" and "it (partner's violence) is not your fault." Other responses identified as most helpful included: all-around help (e.g., continuous help, following up), a range of advocacy-oriented actions (e.g., assisting with finding/getting job, interpretation, and accompanying respondents to other agencies), and a range of expected professional actions (e.g., arresting the perpetrator, investigating the case, providing legal/medical advice and intervention).

Information and referrals were by far the most frequently mentioned of most helpful responses by both Filipina and Indian/Pakistani women. Displays of caring/concern was the second most frequently mentioned helpful response by Indian/Pakistani women (34.2%) but among the least frequently identified by Filipinas (3.3%).

#### *Variations by Immigration/Generational Position*

There were some notable differences between the 1st and 1.5+ generations. After information and referrals, which was most frequently mentioned by both groups; safety planning/advice was the second most frequently mentioned response by the 1.5+ generations although it was mentioned relatively infrequently (ranked 8th) among the 1st generation. Similarly, empathic communication was the second most frequently mentioned response by the 1.5+ generations, but it was ranked 8th by the 1st generation.

## IX. Perceived Barriers to Help-Seeking: Reasons for Not Contacting the Police

Respondents who had not contacted the police were asked an open-ended question, “What are some of the reasons why you have not contacted the criminal justice system, such as the police and courts in the U.S.?” Exhibit 9.1 presents a summary of the respondents’ answers, categorized by themes that emerged from content analysis.

### Lack of Knowledge/Familiarity

Overall, one in five respondents who answered this question ( $N=67$ ) mentioned a lack of knowledge/information as a reason for not contacting CJS agencies. Some mentioned a lack of information in general, such as “no information,” “no knowledge,” and “lack of knowledge” while others described specific types of knowledge and information they lacked, as illustrated by the following remarks: “did not know a whole lot about the system and rights,” “didn’t know a lot about laws,” and “lack of knowledge about resources and rights.” Others described contacting CJS agencies as a foreign idea; in the words of one respondent, “[it is] scary going to cops, it’s a foreign idea.”

### Immigration Status

Over a quarter of 1st generation respondents mentioned reasons related to their immigration status, which varied from being undocumented to being on conditional permanent residency status (via marriage to the partner), as well as concern for their partner’s immigration status (being worried that doing so might have resulted in their partners being deported).

### Shame and Privacy

#### *Shame/Reputation/Privacy*

A number of respondents mentioned concerns regarding shaming the family, tarnishing the reputation of the family and/or the respondent herself as reasons for the lack of CJS contact. Some of the respondents used specific words and expressions, such as “not to bring shame to the family,” “worried about my own reputation,” and “worried about my family’s reputation.” Closely related to the need to avoid shame and compromised reputation was the belief (or a felt pressure) that partners’ violence is a private matter so it should remain within the home, and that contacting outside agencies is prohibited by the family.

#### *Not Burdening Natal Family*

In addition to keeping partners’ violence hidden from people outside the family, some respondents also mentioned their desire to keep it hidden even from their own natal family members, such as parents and siblings: in one respondent’s words, “I did not want to make the family worry or [feel] burdened.”

## Fear

### *Fear of Consequences/Safety*

Respondents talked about various types of fear as reasons for not having contacted the police. One frequently mentioned type of fear was fear for one's safety. Respondents spoke of fear for their own safety or that of their children, in anticipation of their partner's retaliation. Specific remarks included, "[I am] afraid of him because I don't know what he can do to hurt me or my children," "he is high tempered; I don't know how he will react," "fear of death," "he would retaliate," and "fear of what they would do if I call [the police]," explaining that the partner and family would become more abusive towards her. Others expressed fears of various consequences, such as the possibility of children being taken away and the respondent herself being arrested.

### *General Fear*

Some respondents made a reference to fear in general. When speaking of general fear, the respondents' answers tended to be brief, such as "scared," "afraid," "scared, fear, afraid," and "out of fear."

## Factors Related to Relationship and Partner

### *Hope for Change/Not Ready*

A number of respondents mentioned hope for change (e.g., cessation of IPV) and not being ready to take an action, such as calling the police, which could drastically change relationship dynamics, as reasons for not having contacted CJS agencies.

### *Protecting Partner*

Some respondents did not contact the police because of their desire to protect the abusive partner from going to jail, getting arrested, losing a job, and/or "losing face" in the community. Another way that a respondent tried to protect her partner was by justifying that his abusive behavior was due to childhood experience, illness, etc., or that it was her fault.

### *Partner Threatened/Prevented*

Certain actions by abusive partners had a direct impact on women's ability and willingness to contact the police. Partners made threats that included: threats of physical harm to the respondent, children, and/or other family members; the threat of taking the children away; and threats that the police would not believe the respondent, would consider her crazy, and put her in a mental institution if she contacted them. Abusers also physically prevented respondents from contacting the police in various ways, including destroying the phone or taking it away from the respondent and continuously monitoring the respondent's movements and actions.

### *Family Members Prevented*

It is noteworthy that the partner was not the only individual who undermined the respondent's willingness or ability to contact the police. A small number of respondents reported that their in-laws, children and other family members prevented them from contacting the police.

## Deciding There Was No Need for Police Intervention

The assessment that the situation is not serious enough or that police intervention is not necessary was cited relatively frequently as a reason for the lack of contact with CJS agencies. Some respondents mentioned “I could handle the situation,” “I was able to protect myself” and “being street smart.” One Filipina respondent mentioned “*lumalaban*,” a Tagalog word for “fighting/standing up for something,” to assert that she was able to protect herself. Respondents also mentioned that police intervention was not needed because the partner was away/out of the country, had left the relationship or the relationship was over, or because the respondent had contacted other programs and resources that felt more comfortable and accessible.

## Factors Related to CJS Agencies

Certain aspects of CJS agencies/programs, perceived or actual, also influenced the respondents’ decisions not to contact CJS agencies. They included: perceptions that “CJS is not helpful,” “CJS involvement may make the situation worse,” “CJS would induce crime against abuser (in jail),” “CJS will not do anything,” “CJS procedures are not right; they assume things,” and “CJS takes (too long a) time.” Also mentioned was the limitation of CJS intervention in cases where there are no injuries or other signs of physical assault. A number of respondents stated a general sense of distrust in the criminal justice system, some of which stemmed from hearing about other people’s negative experience with it.

## Other Reasons

Other reasons mentioned for the lack of CJS contacts included:

- Concern for children’s need for a father, including “the partner was good to children.”
- Social isolation, such as “lack of support from family and friends,” “not having family or relatives around,” and “family not wanting to be burdened or bothered.”
- Desire to avoid current hassles or future troubles for the respondent, including “did not want to affect future prospect for relationship/marriage” and “not wanting a record as a victim.”
- A sense of denial about the seriousness of the situation or about being a victim of IPV.
- Financial reasons, such as lack of money and financial dependency on the partner.

As seen in Exhibit 9.1, the most frequently mentioned reasons were somewhat different between Filipina women and Indian/Pakistani women. The top five reasons mentioned by Filipina women were: lack of knowledge/familiarity, immigration status, shame/reputation/privacy, fear of consequences/safety, and partner threatened/prevented. For Indian/Pakistani women, the most frequently stated reasons were fear of consequences/safety and hope for change/not ready (32.0%); the latter was mentioned by only a couple of Filipina women (4.8%). The perception that CJS cannot be trusted or that CJS interventions are limited/ineffective (factors related to CJS agencies) was mentioned by 24.0% of Indian/Pakistani women, but only by 2.4% of Filipina women. The other frequently mentioned reasons Indian/Pakistani women stated (which overlapped with Filipinas) were: lack of knowledge/familiarity and shame/reputation/privacy.



## Variations by Immigration/Generational Position

Given that the number of responses is too small to analyze the variations by immigration/generational position for Filipina and Indian/Pakistani women separately, we present results of bivariate analyses by immigration/generational position for Filipina women and Indian/Pakistani women combined (as we did in the analysis of most helpful responses). As shown in Exhibit 9.1, the frequently mentioned reasons varied considerably between the two groups of women. Among 1st generation respondents, the most frequently mentioned reasons were lack of knowledge/familiarity, immigration status, hope for change/not ready, deciding there was no need for police intervention, and fear of consequences/safety. Except for fear of consequences/safety, these reasons were not among the most frequently mentioned by the 1.5+ generations. Instead, the 1.5+ generations most frequently cited shame/reputation/privacy, general fear, not burdening one's natal family, partner threatened/prevented, a sense of denial, and desire to avoid current hassle or future trouble for self, as reasons for the lack of CJS contact.

## X. Respondents' Suggestions for Improving CJS Responses to Intimate Partner Violence in Asian Communities

At the end of the interview, respondents were asked, "Overall, what suggestions do you have to improve the criminal legal system's responses to Asian women who have experienced partner abuse?" The following themes emerged from the responses of 85 women (35 Filipina and 50 Indian/Pakistani women) who answered this question. These thematic categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive; For example, the need to address culture and the importance of listening to and believing the survivor share an overlapping theme of importance of understanding. Even though some suggestions by respondents may show their limited knowledge about systems, we included them because they are indicative of the level of outreach by, and education about, the criminal justice system that are needed.

### Need to Address Culture and Language

The importance of addressing culture and linguistic needs was a prominent theme that emerged. Of the 85 respondents, 32 made a reference to this in one way or another, including references to the need for police officers and other CJS personnel to be more culturally informed and competent, as illustrated by the following remarks:

- "Police [officer] does not understand intricacies of our culture and DV in our culture - so need to get oriented to it - more education on that front [is] required."
- "[Need to] pay more attention to the cultural background of battered women."
- "If system could be more educated on the culture - they could have more compassion and understanding without pressuring decisions on [battered women]."
- "[CJS agencies] should know other cultures and traditions, be culturally competent."

Respondents also identified certain behaviors that may have a different meaning in a specific socio-cultural context: "In South Asian culture [when] women are scared and they cannot stop crying ... they are not mad." Another respondent spoke of the role of in-laws, explaining that there needs to be "more understanding of women's side; very common to suppress women; in-laws pressuring her to stay, mental control..."

A number of women made a specific reference to the role of socio-cultural factors that affect the survivor's willingness to pursue legal action against a partner, as illustrated by the following remark: "[It is a] common situation for South Asian women - they are emotionally trapped, so District Attorney should take legal action and look into factors where women [are] not coming forward [with pursuing a case]. Emotional threats experienced from husbands [are common]. District Attorneys should understand common situations (e.g., abusers and relatives blackmail and emotionally threaten the woman) and look into factors when women [are] not pursuing [their] case."

Correctly identifying the survivor's cultural background can be an important step to understanding her behavior and needs, as iterated by one respondent, "the police should check and understand the cultural background of women." One danger associated with paying attention to culture, however, is making overgeneralizations and/or stereotypical,

and erroneous, assumptions. One respondent suggested, “Be more knowledgeable about our culture and don't just stereotype and or categorize us into one group.” Another respondent (a Filipina) described her experience of being mistaken for a Latina and receiving what might have been “culturally appropriate” response had she been a Latina.

In addition to improving the knowledge and skills in addressing cultures in individual police officers and other staff, respondents also discussed the importance of *organizational* commitments to becoming more culturally informed and competent. They indicated that such commitment can be expressed in various forms, such as staff hiring and training. Some of the specific suggestions included: multi-cultural training, hiring “people from all cultures,” recruitment from “the community,” and hiring and designating a staff to work with Asian women (e.g., “Assigning someone to Asian women, someone that understands culture to help educate Asian women and understand them”). A number of respondents used terms such as “culturally appropriate services,” “more personnel (who are) culturally sensitive and appropriate services” and “cultural sensitivity.” Other respondents suggested types of program activities, such as “support groups for Asian or other similar backgrounds.”

Respondents emphasized the need to attend to linguistic barriers and recommended that CJS agencies employ more Asian interpreters and police officers, and more bilingual/bicultural staff (with some respondents recommending the hiring of female officers); and provide information in various languages, as illustrated by the following remarks:

- “Language barriers should be addressed.”
- “More Asian interpreters and police officers.”
- “Police department should have on-call bilingual staff.”
- “Provide information in various languages.”

## Collaboration with Asian Programs

Respondents suggested that CJS agencies strengthen their relationships with community-based organizations in order to increase their effectiveness. They pointed out that organizations working within Asian communities have expertise in working with Asians in general, and battered Asian women in particular. One respondent stated that “(CJS should) give more credibility to the South Asian organizations helping battered women; especially if battered women cannot converse in English, then these organizations become a spokesperson for those women...” Another suggested connecting survivors to local community-based organizations through referrals.

## Outreach and Prevention

In addition to strengthening relationships with Asian organizations, respondents recommended that CJS agencies reach out to community residents directly in different residential areas, in different languages, and promote bilingual/bicultural public relations through the use of ethnic media. Cultural centers and religious centers are among the specific venues suggested for effective outreach. One respondent emphasized the importance of making the CJS agencies less threatening, and suggested hiring more female police officers and publicizing their availability to “show softer side of CJS; women feel more comfortable going to women.”

The importance of prevention was also mentioned. For example, one respondent suggested prevention education starting at age 16 or earlier. Others suggested the provision of prevention-oriented information for immigrants at the airport as they are leaving their home country or at the time they apply for visas and changes in status, as illustrated by the following remark:

- “Awareness about women's rights, annulment, divorce, and domestic violence to Indian women at the airport; also let them know about their immigration rights.”

## **Listen, Believe and Understand**

There was a strong theme about the importance of listening to, believing in, and understanding the survivor; and refraining from pressuring her, making victim-blaming comments, stereotyping and making assumptions about the survivor or the cultural group or community to which she belongs.

Respondents made suggestions that would encourage survivors and make them confident that they were listened to:

- “Police should make women talk, instead of just asking [if] she is fine or not.”
- “Police should not put words in the woman's mouth when she is already upset and not thinking.”

Beyond listening to the survivor, respondents emphasized the importance of believing, as illustrated by the following remark: “Evidence is not the only thing - they need to believe you.” In describing the importance of believing the survivor, respondents pointed to the importance of refraining from questioning the authenticity of the survivor’s words and giving her the benefit of doubt, as illustrated by the following remarks:

- “They need to help out, don't question [the authenticity of] her [statement].”
- “If a woman is experiencing abuse, there shouldn't be any questioning [of the authenticity of her statement].”
- “Give benefit of doubt to the victim.”

Related to the importance of listening, believing and understanding is the need to take the time necessary to understand the situation:

- “ ‘Too emotional, too whiny and dependent women’ - these are often remarks [made about] battered women - please refrain [from victim-blaming and stereotyping] and understand.”
- “Be more understanding that the women victims may not want the abuser to be put in jail or punished, they just want the abuse to stop.”
- “Need to understand them, their circumstances.”

Prior behavior and records were identified as barriers that decreased the likelihood of being listened to and being believed. One respondent stated that because she had a misdemeanor and felony in her record and was incarcerated, the police officer did not listen to her. Another described an encounter with a police officer who talked only to the abuser, who painted a negative picture of his wife (e.g. earlier restraining order against another husband), and did not seek her side of the story.

A number of respondents referred to police officers’ tendency of granting more credibility to men than women, especially when the former have more resources, education, English proficiency, familiarity with U.S. social systems, and social status:

- “Police give men more credence especially who have stayed more in the US, with more finances and know how to navigate the system.”
- “More awareness [is needed about the reality] that abuse happens even in educated and affluent families - it is possible for academically brilliant men to do this at home.”

Several respondents described experiences where police officers did not take the time or effort to hear their side of the story or collect evidence. They suggested the need to cross-check information provided by the abuser with the survivor’s account and to collect evidence from neighbors because the “spouse is manipulative and women are scared sometimes to speak or defend [their story].” Other respondents emphasized the importance of avoiding making assumptions, noting that “police and courts should not assume things, [and] should find out the facts and circumstances before taking any action.” Several respondents made a reference to the need to take the time and effort before making an arrest in general, and the arrest of a woman in particular:

- “Do question or investigate before arresting.”
- “Educate police about arresting women when their partners call ... there needs to be thorough observation, enquiry about whether the woman is physically capable of injuring partner.”

### **Responsive, Sensitive, and Accessible CJS Agencies**

Another broad theme that emerged was the need for CJS agencies to be responsive, sensitive, and accessible. Examples of responsiveness and sensitivity included taking the matter/issue seriously and showing concern, as illustrated by the following remarks:

- “Always take the matter seriously.”
- “When cops come to the scene, they shouldn't be so distant and ambivalent - show some concern.”
- “[Police should] be kind, caring, compassionate, increase sensitivity/multicultural training.”
- “Hold their hand and take them there – [just] information and pamphlets doesn't help.”

The need for increased accessibility of CJS agencies was echoed in the following remarks:

- “Police station isn't inviting.” (from a respondent had to wait for three hours for assistance)
- “[Police should be] A place we can just call and go to, someone that will understand, and that is neutral.”

## Improving/Changing Policies and Procedures

Respondents commented on improving policies and procedures in several areas, including the following:

### *Re-opening a Case*

Several respondents made specific comments about the policies and procedures on re-opening a case: “If woman wants to re-open a case once it is dismissed, she should not be asked to produce evidence, proofs such as voicemails to prove the abuser is guilty and is blocking justice”; “District Attorneys should have better policies to re-open cases later, especially when a survivor was pressured by her family/abuser early on to drop the case.”

### *Addressing Emotional Abuse*

Others mentioned the need to re-examine and possibly change evidentiary standards currently used; one respondent stated that “police should not insist on marks/injuries/bruises as every abuse does not leave marks – hitting and slapping don't leave marks but is still a form of domestic violence.” Respondents also recommended that CJS address cases of emotional/verbal abuse, noting that having experienced “no physical abuse is a big barrier for a domestic violence case or to go to shelter; (police) should believe more in emotional and verbal abuse, and that the type of abuse should not matter.” These remarks illustrate the extent to which women feel harmed by emotional abuse and wish for the same level of responses that victims of physical abuse can receive.

### *Sanctions*

Respondents recommended that the response to abusers be made tougher, including stiffer sentences. In addition, several respondents mentioned the need for counseling and mentoring programs for batterers, including court mandated counseling and mental health counseling for abusers. As one respondent stated, “Men should have mentors and counseling because they come from messed up families and learn about violence and hurting women.”

### *Other Suggestions*

Other recommendations included extending the period of investigation (“It will be helpful if the cases are evaluated throughout the weeks and/or at least six months. This should help to check back on victims of abusers”); and the creation of a one-stop assistance unit that can “give resources and handouts, provide a counselor, provide job assistance and financial assistance.”

Several respondents who did not have any suggestions for improving CJS responses to IPV in Asian communities stated “they are already improved,” “they are good,” and “[this city's] police department is very good at helping.”

## XI. Summary of Findings and Recommendations

This final section is organized into the following 4 subsections:

- Summary of Findings: Trajectories of IPV; trajectories of help-seeking; sources and nature of helpful responses; barriers to contacting the CJS agencies; and similarities and variations across immigration/generational position and across birth cohorts/age at interview;
- Important Themes: Police/CJS agencies as the gateway to assistance, the importance of tailoring programs to Asians, multi-dimensional support, the importance of relational aspects of helping, and socio-culturally informed and competent responses;
- Methodological Strengths and Limitations of the Study;
- Recommendations for CJS responses to IPV in Asian Communities and Next Steps for Future Research.

### Summary of Findings

#### *Trajectories of IPV over Women's Lifecourse*

Physical violence was virtually ubiquitous, experienced by more than 95% of the women. The majority, 56.3% of Filipinas and 64.3% of Indian/Pakistani women, had experienced sexual violence; and 67.8% of Filipinas and 50.0% of Indian/Pakistani women, stalking.

The trajectories of IPV varied by immigration/generational position. In general, women in the 1.5+ generations experienced earlier abuse across the board, with the exception of stalking for Filipina women, which did not differ by immigration/generational position. In other words, physical and sexual violence reported by both Filipina and Indian/Pakistani women occurred earlier in the lifecourse among the 1.5+ generations. Stalking also occurred earlier in the lifecourse for Indian/Pakistani women in the 1.5+ generations, although not for Filipinas.

Trajectories also varied by cohort/age at interview, with the rate of reported stalking higher among both Filipina and Indian/Pakistani women who were younger when interviewed (i.e., those born more recently), and for Filipinas, the rate of physical violence was much higher among women interviewed at younger ages. In addition, although overall rates of physical violence were lower for Filipinas interviewed at older ages, 1st generation Filipinas who were older at interview reported increasing levels of physical violence later in the lifecourse (e.g., peaking in the late thirties for women interviewed at 50). This pattern was in contrast to all other patterns of IPV across the lifecourse, which typically increased rapidly in the early years, peaked in the mid- to late-twenties, and then gradually declined.

Another notable finding is high levels of IPV that were already experienced by some groups at age 16, which was the initial year for which data were collected. Rates at this initial point were especially high for sexual violence among the 1.5+ generations of Indian/Pakistani women (estimated 18% at age 16) and for physical violence among the 1.5+ generations of Filipinas interviewed at young ages (an estimated 30% at age 16).

This study's finding of higher IPV risk among the 1.5+ generations is consistent with other studies that documented higher IPV risk among US-born compared to foreign-born

women (Jasinski 1998; Lown & Vega, 2001; Sorenson & Telles, 1991), non-recent immigrants compared to recent immigrants (Hyman, Forte, Du Mont, Romans, & Cohen, 2006b; Ingram, 2007), or more acculturated individuals compared to less acculturated ones (Firestone, Lambert, & Vega, 1999; Garcia, Hurwitz, & Kraus, 2005).

Given that women are more at risk earlier in their lifecourse, prevention, education and community outreach must address IPV risk for Asian, and specifically Filipino, Indian and Pakistani adolescents and young adults. These efforts must particularly target adolescents of 1.5+ generations and their parents. Traditional Asian parents tend to impose strict restrictions on dating and sexual or romantic relationships before marriage; such rigid expectations hinder disclosure of IPV since it involves an admission of dating and/or intimacy. Clearly, the extent of reported IPV during teen years indicates how commonplace dating is. Parents need to be educated about how to recognize the signs of IPV victimization and perpetration in their adolescent children so that they can be empathic help-givers.

Increased understanding about lifecourse trajectories of IPV and periods of higher risk stands to inform IPV prevention and intervention and which population sub-groups should be targeted for services. As the above findings suggest, Filipino, Indian and Pakistani adolescents are one target group, and so are 1st generation Filipinas interviewed at older ages (i.e., born earlier), who reported elevated rates of physical violence later in the life course.

### *Trajectories of Help-Seeking over Women's Lifecourse*

Some types of help-seeking (specifically, calling the police by Filipina women and seeking legal assistance by Indian/Pakistani women) differed by immigration/generational position, although these differences were completely explained by immigration/generational differences in the timing of IPV experience, suggesting that the effect of this variable was reflective of differences in timing of IPV experience between 1st and 1.5+ generations.

Trajectories of help-seeking varied by cohort/age at interview. All three types of help-seeking showed similar patterns across the lifecourse, with probabilities of seeking help generally increasing for women who were younger at interview (i.e., those born more recently) but remaining essentially zero for women who were older at interview (those born earlier). In other words, women interviewed at older ages (e.g., those interviewed at age 50, who were born in the 1950s), were very unlikely to report having sought help of any type at any point in the lifecourse.

All types of help-seeking (calling the police, seeking legal assistance, and using DV programs) were more likely in the year in which IPV was experienced. In addition, the use of legal assistance, but not other types of programs, was associated with cumulative experiences of physical violence across the lifecourse.

Experience of stalking was associated with all types of help-seeking in the same year among both Filipina and Indian/Pakistani women. Experience of physical violence was also associated with all types of help-seeking in the same year for Filipina women; For Indian/Pakistani women, police contact was the only type of help-seeking associated with experience of physical violence in the same year. Experience of sexual violence was only related to calling the police in the same year for both Filipina and Indian/Pakistani women.

The finding that stalking was associated with help-seeking may suggest that stalking increases a level of fear and/or alarm that prompts women to seek outside help. It may also suggest that stalking is less strongly associated with victim-blaming or shame compared to



physical and sexual violence, and thus women might be more willing to seek outside help. Although surveillance by an abusive partner while a couple is together is not generally identified or labeled as stalking, pre-separation surveillance levels could be severe and should be assessed. If indeed stalking was a significant factor that was associated with help-seeking, more education about it (e.g., various stalking tactics abusers use) could prevent delays in help-seeking and promote more effective safety planning.

#### *Source and Nature of the Responses Perceived as Helpful*

When asked to identify the most helpful response respondents ever experienced, they mentioned friends and family, DV programs, legal assistance programs, and CJS agencies, although the frequency with which they identified specific types of programs varied somewhat by ethnicity and immigration/generational position. Information and referrals were perceived as being one of the most helpful responses, as well as tangible/concrete assistance and emotional support. Relational aspects of a helping encounter, such as empathic communication and displays of concern, were also identified as most helpful with some frequency. These results are similar to what battered women recruited from community-based agencies identified as helpful or desired responses (Hamilton & Coates, 1993; Wolf et al., 2003). For example, respondents in the Wolf et al.'s study, of which 22% were Asian, generated "a wish list for ideal police response to IPV calls" that included: provide consistency in response and take time to listen to women; get translators for non-English-speaking victims; take time to inform victims of rights and resources; and provide follow-up with victim.

#### *Perceived Barriers to Contacting CJS Agencies*

A range of factors impeded Filipina and Indian/Pakistani women's ability and willingness to contact the police. They included: lack of knowledge/familiarity, fear of consequences/safety, shame/reputation/privacy, immigration status, hope for change/not ready, and partner threatened/prevented. Factors related to the family and social network, such as concerns for children (e.g., need for the father) and family (e.g., not wanting to burden the natal family), as well as social isolation, were identified as additional barriers to help-seeking. These barriers are similar to the ones identified in studies of other populations (Fugate et al., 2005; Fleury et al., 1998; Petersen, Moracco, Goldstein, & Clark, 2004). However, the notion of shame and reputation, especially those related to family, may be particularly salient to Asian battered women. For example, previous studies reported that women wanted to protect the privacy/reputation of their immediate family, however, our study suggests that Asian women may extend this need for privacy; envisioning that the shame in reporting IPV would impact the reputations of both natal and marital families. A study of Hindi-speaking South Asian women in Toronto (Ahmad et al., 2009) also identified similar barriers: respondents reported that disclosure of IPV is "perceived to bring suffering and loss of respect especially for their family and parents (p. 617)."

Another barrier that appears salient to Asian, especially 1st generation battered women, is the lack of social support. This finding is consistent with several studies of South Asian battered women (Abraham, 2000; Ahmad et al., 2009). Immigrant women's social supports are disrupted not only by an abusive partner's power and control, but also by the immigration experience itself, e.g., leaving one's native country and relatives and friends behind.

### *Similarities and Variations Across Immigration/Generational Position*

In terms of the overall trajectory of IPV, the risk of experiencing IPV was higher for the 1.5+ generations compared to the 1st generation for both Filipina and Indian/Pakistani women. As previously discussed, immigration/generational position was not associated with help-seeking once the timing of IPV was controlled for.

Information and referrals were most frequently mentioned as a most helpful response by both Filipina and Indian/Pakistani women. The next frequently mentioned response by the 1.5+ generations was safety planning/advice. This type of response was less frequently viewed as a most helpful response among 1st generation women. Similarly, among the 1.5+ generations, empathic communication was also the second most frequently mentioned response, while this type of response was ranked 8<sup>th</sup> among the 1st generations. Perceived barriers to contacting CJS also varied considerably between the two groups. Among the 1st generation, the most frequently mentioned barriers included: lack of knowledge/familiarity, immigration status, hope for change/not ready, deciding there was no need for police intervention, and fear of consequences/safety. Except for fear of consequences/safety, these reasons were not among the most frequently mentioned among the 1.5+ generations. The 1.5+ generations most frequently mentioned shame/reputation/privacy, fear of consequences/safety, and general fear as reasons for the lack of prior CJS contact.

Some studies though have found that immigrant women were less likely to seek outside professional help (Ingram, 2007). Our study's findings, however, suggest more complex relationships among IPV, help-seeking, immigration/generational position and cohort/age at interview. Although immigration/generational position was associated with the probability of some types of help-seeking, these effects were explained by differences between 1st and 1.5+ generations in the timing of their experience of IPV. This suggests that help-seeking *per se* does not differ by immigration/generational position, although IPV experience does.

### *Similarities and Variations by Cohort/Age at Interview*

In terms of trajectories of IPV, cohort effects were found in the risk of stalking for both Filipina and Indian/Pakistani women. The rate of stalking was higher for women who were younger when interviewed compared to those who were older when interviewed. For experiencing physical violence among Filipina women, there was an interaction effect of cohort and immigration/generational position: Among those interviewed when young, the 1.5+ generations were much more likely to experience physical IPV early in the lifecourse; among those interviewed at older ages, the 1st generation women were more likely to experience physical IPV later in the lifecourse.

Overall, women who were older at interview were far less likely to seek help from any of the three sources: the police, legal assistance programs, and domestic violence programs. The significant variations in help-seeking by cohort/age at interview but not by immigration/generational position reported in this study may reflect certain degrees of historical shifts in attitudes, behaviors, and/or community resources available to women who experience IPV. This study's findings point to the importance of accounting for the nature of IPV in examining the likelihood of seeking help across different groups of individuals.

## **Important Themes to Consider in the Response to IPV in Asian Communities**

The following are some of the themes that emerged out of the findings of the present study, which are important to consider in developing and improving the response to IPV in Asian communities.

### *Police/Criminal Justice System Agencies are a Gateway to Assistance*

Contrary to the perception that Asian battered women do not call the police, they do. Of the respondents in this study, 51.7% of Filipina and 55.4% Indian/Pakistani women had contacted the police at least once prior to the interview. These numbers are higher than those found in previous community-based studies of Asian women (15.7%, McDonnell & Abdulla, 2001) or immigrant women (27.0%, Orloff et al., 2003). These numbers fall in the range found in studies of non-Asian women recruited from DV programs (58% - 67%, Coulter, Kuehnle, Byers, & Alfanso, 1999; Fleury et al., 1998) and a study of women recruited from public health centers and a hospital (38.0%, Fugate et al., 2005). Similar rates have been found in analyses of National Crime Survey and National Crime Victimization Survey (Bachman & Coker, 1995; Langan & Innes, 1986). The results may be a function of the sampling method. It is possible that women who are more “active help-seekers” were more likely to have participated in this study than those with a limited help-seeking tendency.

While these methodological issues limit the generalizability, the findings of this study point to an important role of the police in the aftermath of an IPV incident. A survey of police chiefs and prosecutors in the 50 largest cities in the United States (Davis et al., 2001) found that while the majority (70%) of police chiefs thought that immigrants faced greater hardship compared to non-immigrants, they tended to cite factors related to immigrant women (e.g., lack of English skills or knowledge of how the U.S. criminal justice system works); however, only a small proportion identified fear of authorities and/or deportation, fear of retaliation, or the perception of CJS as not being responsive to the needs of immigrants as barriers. Studies of immigrants, including this study, have consistently found fear and distrust to be barriers to contacting CJS agencies (e.g., Berk et al., 1984; Felson et al., 2002; Fleury et al., 1998; Fugate et al., 2005; Logan, Stevenson, Evans, & Leukefeld, 2004). One significant step for CJS agencies is to recognize a range of barriers faced by Asian battered women and develop concrete measures to mitigate them.

IPV experience was positively associated with the likelihood of calling the police in the same year although this association was not consistently found for the probability of contacting legal assistance programs or DV programs. Contact with the police in the immediate aftermath of an IPV incident can serve as an entry or gateway to getting in touch with other assistance programs. In fact, the majority of respondents who had contacted both the police and legal assistance programs contacted the police before contacting legal assistance programs. A similar pattern was also found for the use of DV programs. Among the respondents who had contacted both the police and a DV program, only one Filipina and three Indian/Pakistani respondents had contacted a DV program before contacting the police, with the majority having had contacted the police before contacting a DV program. A multi-state study of domestic violence shelter experiences found that approximately a quarter of respondents who participated in survey had heard about shelter from the police (Lyon, Lane, & Mennard, 2008). Taken together, it is clear that the police play an important role in battered women’s lifecourse trajectories of help-seeking.

### *Importance of Tailoring Programs to Asians*

In this study, 43.7% of Filipina women and 60.7% of Indian/Pakistani women had sought help from legal assistance programs. In addition, 25.3% of Filipina women and 41.1% of Indian/Pakistani women had sought help from DV shelters, and 31.0% of Filipina women and 57.1% of Indian/Pakistani women had sought help from non-shelter DV programs. These programs were relatively frequently identified as the sources of the most helpful responses in an open-ended question. For 1st generation respondents, the source of the most helpful responses tended to be those DV programs and legal assistance programs that target and tailor programs to Asians, with 43.5% identifying Asian DV programs and 10.9% identifying Asian legal assistance programs as sources of the most helpful responses.

This finding does not mean that non-Asian-tailored programs do not have a role: 14.9% of Filipina women and 28.6% of Indian/Pakistani women contacted non-Asian DV programs, and 2.3% of Filipina women and 5.4% of Indian/Pakistani women sought help from non-Asian legal assistance programs. The 1.5+ generations may call non-Asian agencies with greater frequency given their levels of English proficiency. Contacting non-Asian agencies may afford more anonymity because there is a lower likelihood of meeting members of their community. It is therefore important not to assume that all Asian women prefer Asian agencies and staff. Given the salience of some of the socio-cultural barriers among the 1.5+ generations (e.g., shame/reputation/privacy and not burdening family), non-Asian agencies need to attend to socio-cultural factors pertinent to Asian battered women, whether they are first or 1.5+ generations, and tailor assistance programs to meet their complex needs.

#### *Multi-Dimensional Support: Need for Tangible/Concrete and Emotionally Supportive Help*

This study's results suggest that a multi-dimensional approach to providing support is helpful. For example, frequently identified types of "most helpful responses" included tangible/concrete forms of assistance as well as other less-tangible responses. Information and referrals were by far the most frequently mentioned as the most helpful response by both Filipina and Indian/Pakistani women, and by the 1st generation and 1.5+ generations. Other highly ranked forms of tangible/concrete assistance included a place to stay, financial help, food, and child care. In terms of less-tangible forms of help, those that were frequently identified as most helpful include safety planning/advice, emotional support, display of caring/concern, and a range of responses that can be loosely categorized as "women-centered responses."

#### *Importance of Relational Aspects of Helping*

The nature of the most helpful responses frequently identified by the respondents in an open-ended question was empathic communication and display of caring/concern. These mirror the recurrent themes that emerged from the respondents' suggestions for improving CJS responses to IPV in Asian communities: the importance of listening to, believing and understanding the survivor; refraining from pressuring the survivor; not making victim-blaming comments; not stereotyping the survivor; and not making assumptions about the survivor or the cultural group or community to which she belongs.

These findings are consistent with other studies of battered women. For example, a focus group study of survivors and advocates (Weisz, 1999) elucidated the importance of relational aspect of helping; the author proposed an active, relational helping model for advocates who work with non-legal systems (e.g., shelters) that includes "empathic

relationships and empowerment through information (p. 145).” Reflecting the different roles of police officers, a recent study of police officers assigned to a domestic violence unit identified three types of roles played by those officers: Strict enforcers who focus mainly on “the legalistic issues surrounding domestic violence,” service officers who “focus mainly on the social services aspect of domestic violence,” and integrated investigators who combine legalistic and service-oriented approaches (Balenovich, Grossi, & Hughes, 2008). The authors emphasize that the third type “should be the goal of every police officer working in domestic violence (p. 27)”; Unfortunately, the smallest proportion of officers interviewed fell into this type. Previous studies report that receiving “encouraging responses” from the police (Erez & Belknap, 1998) and the survivor’s perception that she felt listened to, believed, and respected by police officers (Fleury-Steiner et al., 2006) were associated with willingness to cooperate with the legal system (e.g., investigation, prosecution) and the future intention to reuse the legal system. Taken together, it appears that being treated with empathic, caring, and validating responses is what battered women want and value, which in turn will help CJS agencies fulfill their role of investigating and prosecuting crimes.

### *Socio-Culturally Informed and Competent Responses*

Attention to socio-cultural and linguistic needs of the target populations is critically important. The respondents in this study pointed to the importance of individual officers and staff becoming more informed and competent about how socio-cultural values and norms affect the types of IPV perpetrated as well as women’s willingness and ability to seek outside assistance. Beyond *individual* level changes, the respondents suggested various ways in which CJS agencies can increase their *organizational* capacity to work more effectively with Asian battered women with enhanced staffing and training. These improvements, individual or organizational, cannot be made in isolation. Collaboration among CJS and non-CJS agencies, including Asian-specific organizations will allow for socio-culturally informed outreach and intervention in the target community.

### **Methodological Strengths and Limitations**

The combination of the Life History Calendar (LHC) methods for data collection and multilevel modeling (MLM) approaches to data analysis is a promising strategy for examining women’s experiences of IPV across the lifecourse. LHC interview methods offer improvements in memory cuing and recall, and MLM analysis makes full use of LHC data that are gathered. Both are flexible and can be used to examine lifecourse trajectories of many types of experiences, including many of the issues pertinent to CJS agencies, such as crime perpetration and victimization, arrests, prosecutions, and sentences (Yoshihama & Bybee, in press).

The combination of these methods can be used to examine the influence of many types of covariates. Time-varying covariates can be incorporated in various ways, conceptualized as contemporaneous (e.g., reflecting the immediate effect of changing circumstances on help-seeking, such as the effect of a sexual assault on the probability of calling the police); lagged—reflecting a delayed effect (e.g., changes in a woman’s employment situation or living situation on the probability of seeking legal assistance in a subsequent year); or cumulative—reflecting the compounding effect of a circumstance as it persists or recurs over time (e.g., the increasing impact of continual stalking on the probability of seeking help). All of these types of effects can be added to the model,

providing more explanatory information about women's lifecourse trajectories of IPV experience and help-seeking. Building on the models used in this study, future investigation should examine the extent to which additional covariates explain additional variance in IPV experiences and help-seeking over the lifecourse.

This study makes an important contribution to the examination of cohort effects, which have not been extensively investigated in IPV research. One of the strengths of the MLM approach is the ability to examine the cohort effects, as well as the effects of substantive covariates while adjusting for cohort effects due to differences in respondents' ages at interview. This study did indeed find substantial cohort effects on the probability of experiencing IPV. Effects attributable to cohort may reflect several processes, including recall biases, historical shifts in women's perceptions of what acts "count" as IPV, age-related differences in willingness to disclose IPV, or actual cohort differences in the level and timing of IPV, which may be related to changing relationship type or timing. The study also found substantial cohort effects on the probability of seeking help, which may reflect historical changes in availability of assistance programs and resources. More research is needed to examine these possible influences. Regardless of the source of these effects, it is important that analyses of self-report lifecourse data use methods such as MLM that can examine and control for cohort influences, both as a main effect and in interaction with other variables of interest.

This study used a non-probability sample recruited by community outreach efforts. This is consistent with the project's main purpose: to enhance the understanding of the lifecourse trajectories of Asian battered women's experiences of IPV and contact with CJS agencies and non-CJS programs, including an examination of barriers to contacting CJS agencies. Toward this end, inclusion of those women who have not sought help from CJS agencies was critical. Thus, unlike other studies which have recruited from CJS agencies and other agencies targeting battered women (e.g., the police, DA's office, shelters, protection order offices), we recruited respondents from a wide range of community outreach efforts rather than recruiting from CJS agencies.

We also sought to reach women of diverse backgrounds, such as length of residency in the United States, fluency in English or native languages, and socio-economic status. These multi-method recruitment strategies resulted in obtaining a sample of women of a wide range of backgrounds. However, due to the use of a non-probability sample, the generalizability of the study's findings is limited. Generalizability beyond the experiences of the three selected Asian ethnic groups is also limited; yet this represents a strength of the study because it avoided the problem of aggregating the data from women of different ethnic backgrounds whose experiences may differ considerably.

## Recommendations for Strengthening CJS Responses to IPV in Asian Communities

Based on the study's findings, we present the following recommendations for strengthening CJS responses to IPV in Asian communities, along with next steps for future research.

### *CJS Responses to Asian Survivors/Victims*

**Recommendation #1: Adopt an integrated response model.** We recommend that police officers adopt an integrated response model that combines legal and support-

oriented approaches to cases. The efficacy of these approaches is reported by Weisz's active, relational helping model (1999) and the integrated investigator model by Balenovich et al. (2008). Empathic communication and display of caring can enhance victim cooperation (Erez & Belknap, 1998; Fleury-Steiner et al., 2006). For CJS agencies, increased victim cooperation/participation is one tangible benefit of adopting an integrated response model. The integrated response model can be achieved by training police officers on an integrated response model; co-locating advocacy and support services within police departments much as what family justice centers do; and enhancing coordinated community responses (CCR) with collaboration between law enforcement and advocates providing socio-culturally and linguistically tailored programs.

**Recommendation #2: Identify high-risk and/or under-served groups and develop tailored intervention approaches.** The findings of this study point to substantial within-group variations in the lifecourse trajectories of IPV and help-seeking by women's age, immigration/generational position and cohort. For example, this study identified certain groups – e.g., Filipino, Indian and Pakistani adolescents and young adults – to be at a higher risk of experiencing IPV. It also found that some groups (e.g., older cohorts) were less likely to contact CJS agencies than others. We recommend that CJS agencies analyze the demographics of the communities they serve to identify salient subgroups to whom targeted and/or tailored approaches may be necessary in order to reach out to them and to encourage help-seeking. CJS personnel should understand the specific barriers Asian women face and address them.

**Recommendation #3: Assess for stalking at all IPV incidents and at all points of contact with victims.** Given the high prevalence of stalking and a significant association of experiences of stalking and help-seeking found in this study, all CJS agencies, particularly law enforcement and investigation units, should include questions about stalking when taking reports, giving it as much weight as physical and sexual violence. Assessment for stalking should be included as one type of IPV regardless of whether the couple is separated or estranged. Police and other CJS staff should assess for stalking at (a) all points of contact with victims; (b) for all IPV incidents, regardless of whether stalking is noted in police reports; and (c) in determining any preventive safety measures (e.g., recommending a victim get a new cell phone account so that the abuser cannot activate her phone's GPS tracking device or check her phone logs on-line). An additional benefit of such practice is that assessing for methods of stalking also helps victims become aware about possible methods abusers would employ, and become more vigilant about taking necessary precautions. Given that experiencing stalking was associated with help-seeking, CJS can play an important role in protecting victims by assessing risks of stalking and IPV.

**Recommendation #4: Design policies, practices and resources about IPV in Asian adolescent and young adult relationships that take socio-cultural prohibitions against dating into account.** Such policies and procedures are indicated by the study's results that women are at risk of IPV earlier in their lifecourse. CJS responses to Asian adolescents and young adults reporting IPV should assess how parents might respond to victims (e.g., denial, blame, rejection, abuse, or support); and what procedures will preserve confidentiality and safety for adolescent and young adult victims (e.g., if a young adult, who still lives with her parents, is a victim of date rape, ensure that the victim-police contacts do not inadvertently tip off her parents about the incident). Parental prohibitions against pre-marital romantic or intimate relationships can prevent IPV disclosure; youth-sensitive and youth-focused CJS

procedures that take into consideration socio-cultural issues are critical to further encourage help-seeking from this demographic group.

**Recommendation #5: Train CJS on abuses related to immigration status and how to address community and victim fears about immigration-related issues and the rights of immigrants.** All CJS agencies should be trained about abuse related to immigration status so that they can understand, respond to and investigate these abuses; consider safety implications and consequential impacts on children and adult family members; and be familiar with legal remedies available to immigrant crime victims (e.g., VAWA self-petitions). In addition, because immigration-related fears are barriers to help-seeking, police officers should be trained to identify and address fears, such as threats of deportation; how immigrants' experiences of calling police in their home countries affect their current attitudes toward seeking help from police; and how this can confer greater impunity to batterers. CJS personnel, along with advocates and community members, need to be well-informed about the roles and functions of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE, formerly INS), the rights of immigrants (documented or not), and how to protect and promote those rights. Misinformation or out-dated information can jeopardize people's legal status. The demarcation between law enforcement and ICE needs to be clearly maintained so that the former can be trusted by immigrant communities to handle IPV cases. Negative assumptions about immigrants must be challenged to counter anti-immigrant sentiments – the majority of immigrants are documented: they may be Legal Permanent Residents (LPRs), awaiting a change in status (e.g., from a fiancé's K-visa to an LPR), be on work or student visas, reside in the United States as political refugees, be U.S. citizens, and/or have mixed status within families.

**Recommendation #6: Make I&R (Information & Referral) assistance integral to outreach and advocacy.** CJS agencies are an important gateway to additional resources in battered women's long and winding trajectories of help-seeking. Recognizing the importance of I&R to victims, CJS personnel should provide and publicize up-to-date resources and referrals for battered women and explanations about such services.

#### *Collaboration and Outreach*

**Recommendation #7: Implement collaborative procedures for mutual training, problem-solving, and capacity building.** Specific recommendations include (a) CJS agencies should design trainings for advocates to deepen their understanding of CJS policies and procedures e.g., police departments can arrange a ride-along for new and experienced advocates; (b) Domestic violence programs serving Asians should design trainings that improve CJS practices and capacity to meet the needs of Asian communities (e.g., cultural competency training); and (c) CJS agency representatives and community-based-organizations should establish procedures to identify and address problems that arise in responding to cases of IPV in a spirit of collaboration instead of confrontation. Given the finding that many Asian battered women turn to families and friends for information, tangible assistance and emotional support, CJS agencies and advocates can educate community members and leaders on how to offer non-judgmental, non-prescriptive, support that avoids victim-blaming and encourages help-seeking.

**Recommendation #8: Promote reporting of IPV and demystify CJS responses through enhanced community outreach and explanations of CJS roles and procedures.** Some survivors' comments indicated that they did not fully understand the criminal justice



system. In collaboration with Asian domestic violence programs, CJS can identify ethnic enclaves and offer informational sessions on what happens when victims contact various parts of the system with specific explanations of departmental policies and procedures. For example, police departments could describe their legal responsibility to establish probable cause to make an arrest; the purposes of their interventions on the scene (e.g., asking many questions in order to write a thorough report); why they need the information they do; the possibilities of what can happen on the scene and why; and what to expect in terms of follow-up. Demystifying the CJS would help reduce victim fears and batterer manipulation, which in turn could encourage help-seeking.

**Recommendation #9: Include Asian programs in multi-disciplinary and/or CCR teams.** Domestic violence programs and legal assistance programs, especially those tailored to Asians, play an important role in the lives of the 1st generation Asian battered women. These programs are often at the forefront of innovative strategies to address diverse needs of their communities. Their inclusion and input into Coordinated Community Response teams will benefit all members of multi-disciplinary teams.

**Recommendation #10: Collaborate with community-based organizations in a manner that does not burden, but strengthens their capacity.** We recommend that CJS agencies invest in collaborative efforts without burdening community-based-organizations, e.g., expecting bilingual advocates or ad hoc interpreters to obviate the need for professional interpreters. Small community-based-organizations have limited resources, yet provide hours of unfunded services to other programs. We recommend that CJS agencies budget funds in order to integrate collaboration with community-based-organizations – such funds are available through VAWA’s STOP funding and Grants to Encourage Community Solutions (formerly, Grants to Encourage Arrests).

### Systems Change

**Recommendation #11: Understand how the culture of CJS agencies can adversely affect victims and make changes that maximize benefits to victims.** Just as community members share values and norms, CJS personnel share certain values and norms, which can have both positive and negative impacts on the individuals and communities they serve. Respondents in this study pointed out that some attitudes and behaviors of CJS personnel (e.g., lack of empathy, emphasizing only the legal aspects of policies and procedures) were alienating. An important step for CJS agencies to improving their responses to Asian and other ethnic communities is to understand how their own culture affects battered women.

We recommend that CJS agencies engage in a critical analysis of their agency’s culture often referred to as an organizational (cultural) audit (Bardpel & Sohal, 1999; Fletcher & Jones, 1992). Such analysis should pay attention to both the “what” (e.g., structures, policies) and “how” (e.g., attitudes and behavioral norms) of systems. Barriers faced by survivors in accessing CJS agencies are compounded by both “what” and “how,” as the respondents of this study collectively voiced. Examining organizational culture can help develop strategies to minimize its deleterious effects and maximize its salutary ones. Thus, changes to CJS culture can help obviate negative community perceptions, fear, distrust, and decreased willingness in help-seeking – benefits that community policing aim for. Practices that have positive effects on help-seeking, such as exhibiting empathy while questioning a victim to establish probable cause, can be highlighted in CJS staff trainings on IPV. By

incorporating an analysis of *its own* culture, cultural competency trainings for CJS personnel can go beyond learning the socio-cultural values and norms of *target* communities.

**Recommendation #12: Enhance cultural competencies of CJS agencies at both individual and organizational levels.** Improving the cultural competency of individual CJS personnel is important; however, more attention needs to be paid to cultural competency at the organizational level. Without organizational commitment to serving Asian, and other communities, training individual personnel on cultural competency will not have a lasting impact.

**Recommendation #13: Increase language access through provision of interpretation services.** All programs receiving federal funds (directly or indirectly) are obligated to comply with Title VI and provide meaningful access to victims and litigants with limited English proficiency. We recommend that CJS agencies conduct the 4-factor analysis in the DOJ Guidance to Federal Financial Assistance Recipients Regarding Title VI Prohibition Against National Origin Discrimination Affecting Limited English Proficient Persons: (i) the number or proportion of limited English proficient persons in the eligible service population; (ii) the frequency with which these limited English proficient persons come into contact with the program; (iii) the importance of the benefit or service to the limited English person; and (iv) the resources available and costs to the recipient of federal financial assistance; in order to determine what steps are required to ensure compliance.

Bilingual advocates, police officers, attorneys and other professionals should not be expected or pressed into interpreting for investigations, court proceedings or any situations outside the scope of their professional responsibilities: e.g., an Amharic-speaking police officer, responding to a domestic violence call can interview all parties in Amharic to gather information but is not qualified or trained to interpret when the police investigator interviews the victim. All CJS agency personnel, as well as advocates in community-based-organizations, should be trained in working with spoken and sign language interpreters.

## Next Steps for Future Research

Given the diversity across Asian groups and the resultant limited generalizability of this study, additional studies of lifecourse trajectories of IPV and help-seeking need to be conducted to examine whether the relationships observed for Filipina and Indian/Pakistani women were similar or different for other Asians and/or other under-studied population groups. That said, moving beyond an examination of *across-group* differences, and elucidating significant *within-group* variations in IPV is an important area for future research. Given that variance in IPV trajectories was not completely explained by the model that included the respondent's age, age at interview, and immigration/generational position, future research should examine additional factors associated with variations in IPV risks. Additional areas of future research include detailed studies of IPV among Asian youth; analyzing the interrelationships among various types of IPV; changing IPV risks across relationship phases (e.g., are women at a higher risk of various types of IPV at the beginning, middle, and later phases of an intimate relationship or post-relationship?); and exploring factors that explain the general decline in IPV risk during the later years of the lifecourse.

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This study has enhanced our understanding of Asian battered women's experiences over the lifecourse, resulting in recommendations for CJS agencies. We hope it will also have an impact on the field in general. The nexus of lifetime exposure to IPV and help-seeking over the lifecourse needs to be integrated into policy advocacy and to inform practice in all systems. Help-seeking is clearly complex as evidenced in findings – affected by types and timing of IPV experienced, immigration/generational status, and cohort (age at interview). The substantial within-group variations in the lifecourse trajectories of IPV and help-seeking found in this study point to the importance of tailoring prevention and intervention efforts based on immigration/generational position and cohort. It is important that both CJS and non-CJS agencies identify sub-groups that are at higher risk of experiencing IPV and those that have been under-served, and develop interventions that address their particular needs. Similarly, programs serving Asian battered women need to identify carefully who seeks help, how, when, and from whom, without making blanket assumptions that Asians do not contact CJS agencies. In fact, the police proved to be a gateway to other forms of assistance and resources. Finally, community outreach, IPV prevention, and socio-culturally informed and responsive interventions are furthered through collaboration. The Filipina, Indian and Pakistani women in this study have taught us a lot about their experiences and their needs; it is up to all of us to implement these lessons.

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Figure 4.1. An Illustrative Example of Life History Calendar

YEAR								
AGE	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
Residential move								
Schooling								
Work								
Children								
Relationship - Partner Initials [C,M,S,D,AN,W,AB,AW]								
1 Pushed, grabbed, or shoved you?	1		1		1		1	
2 Hit, slap, punch you? (w/o object)	2		2		2		2	
3 Kicked you?	3		3		3		3	
4 Strangled or choked you?	4		4		4		4	
5 Use knife,gun,other objects?[K,G,O]	5		5		5		5	
6 Forced you to have sex?	6		6		6		6	
7 Attempted to force you to have sex?	7		7		7		7	
8 Forced you to have sex with others?	8		8		8		8	
9 Oth physical or sex violence/abuse?	9		9		9		9	
12 Follow, spy on, outside hm/wk	10		10		10		10	
13 Unwanted phone calls/letters/items?	11		11		11		11	
1 Help-Seeking from XX <i>Response</i>	1		1		1		1	
2 Help-Seeking from YY <i>Response</i>	2		2		2		2	
3 <i>Response</i>	3		3		3		3	
AGE	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23

[Letters in brackets] denote coding used: C=cohabitation, M=marriage, S=separation, D=divorce, AN=annulment, W=widowhood, AB=abandonment, Aw=away, K=knife, G=gun, O=other.

Exhibit 4.2

Respondents' Characteristics

	Filipina women <i>N</i> =87	Indian/Pakistani women <i>N</i> =56
Mean age at interview ( <i>SD</i> )	40.71(11.13)	34.45 (9.45)
Mean number of children ( <i>SD</i> )	2.21 (1.52)	1.36 (1.60)
Mean years of education ( <i>SD</i> )	15.09 (3.84)	15.79 (3.97)
% HS diploma or GED	37.9%	19.6%
% having obtained Associate's degree or higher	56.3%	66.1%
% born outside the U.S.	64.4%	82.1%
Mean age at coming to the U.S. ( <i>SD</i> )	23.38 (12.80)	21.61 (9.65)
% working at interview	73.6%	50.0%
% married at interview	19.5%	50.0%
% cohabitation w/ partner at interview	8.0%	3.6%
% in non-cohabitating relationship at interview	17.2%	12.5%

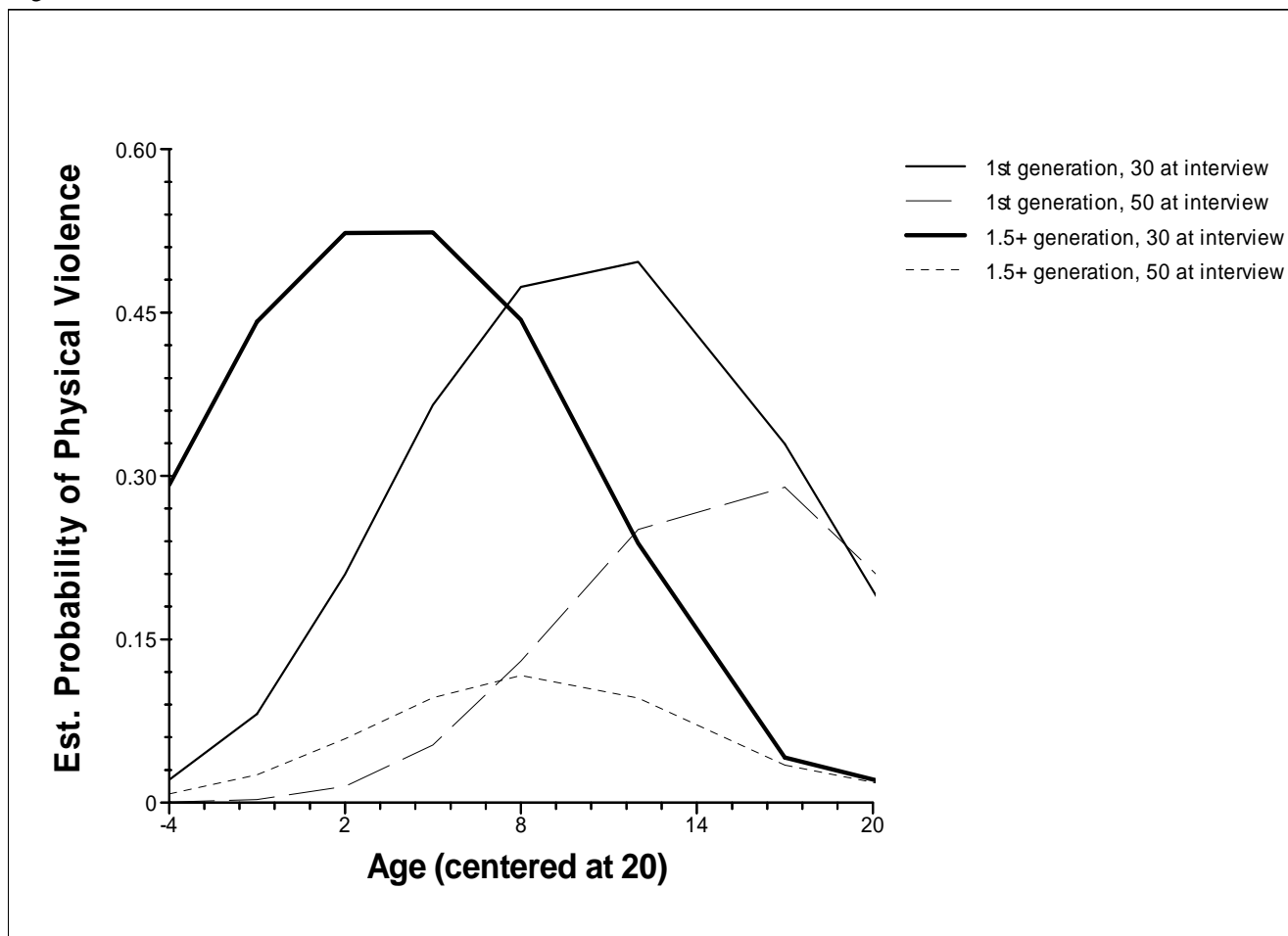


Exhibit 5.1  
 Summary of Lifetime IPV Experience

	Women who experienced		Number of years experienced				Age at first experience			
	#	%	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mdn</i>	Range	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mdn</i>	Range
Filipina Women ( <i>N</i> =87)										
Physical violence	83	95.4%	6.33	5.05	5	1-23	26.17	9.47	23	16-55
Sexual violence	49	56.3%	5.24	5.43	4	1-31	27.55	10.75	25	16-56
Stalking	59	67.8%	5.05	7.00	2	1-39	27.73	10.57	25	16-55
Indian/Pakistani Women ( <i>N</i> =56)										
Physical violence	54	96.4%	5.13	4.96	4	1-23	23.93	6.28	23	16-46
Sexual violence	36	64.3%	6.39	6.48	4	1-25	23.00	7.07	23	16-48
Stalking	42	75.0%	5.81	7.01	3	1-28	24.55	6.21	24	16-39

Exhibit 5.2

Filipina Women - Estimated Probability of Physical Violence across the Lifecourse, by Immigration/Generational Position and Age at Interview



Note: Plotted values are estimated from the multilevel model. Age at interview was analyzed as a continuous variable; the lines illustrate the effects of this variable at two selected points -- age 30 and age 50. Plotted values above the age at interview (e.g., values above 10 for those interviewed at age 30) are estimated from the overall model.

Exhibit 5.3

Filipina Women - Multilevel Logistic Regression Model of Physical Violence across the Lifecourse, by Age at Interview and Immigration/Generational Position

	Fixed (average) Effects			Random Effects		
	Coefficient	SE	T ratio (df=83-86)	Odds Ratio	SD	Chi-square (df=58-61)
Intercept	-3.008	0.543	-5.535 ***	0.049	2.491	338.223 ***
<u>Time-varying covariates (Level 1)</u>						
Age (linear effect)	0.428	0.070	6.124 ***	1.535	0.463	184.731 ***
Age-squared (curvilinear effect)	-0.018	0.003	-6.788 ***	0.982	0.017	149.438 ***
<u>Time invariant covariates (Level 2)</u>						
Age at interview	-0.161	0.039	-4.164 ***	0.851	----	
Age at interview X Age (linear)	0.009	0.003	3.069 **	1.009	----	
Immigration/generational position <sup>^</sup>	1.931	0.644	2.998 **	6.898	----	
Immigration/generational position X Age (linear)	-0.257	0.055	-4.647 ***	0.774	----	
Age at interview X Immigration/generational position	0.130	0.040	3.223 **	1.139	----	

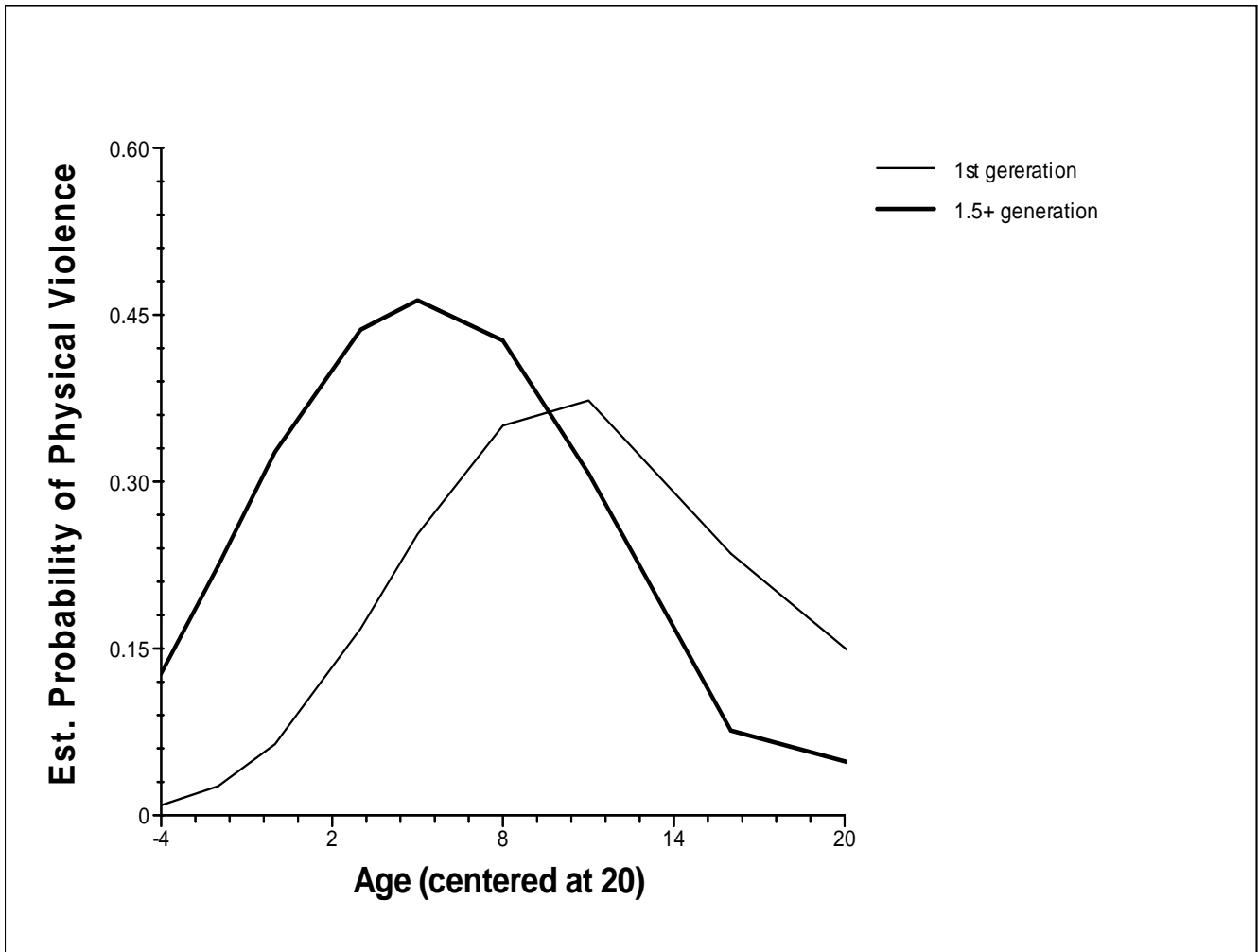
Level 2 *N* = 87 women; Level 1 *N* = 2,233 person-years.

<sup>^</sup> Reference group is the 1st generation.

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

Exhibit 5.4

Indian/Pakistani Women - Estimated Probability of Physical Violence across the Lifecourse, by Immigration/Generational Position



Note: Plotted values are estimated from the multilevel model.

Exhibit 5.5

Indian/Pakistani Women - Multilevel Logistic Regression Model of Physical Violence across the Lifecourse, by Immigration/Generational Position

	Fixed (average) Effects			Random Effects		
	Coefficient	SE	T ratio (df=51-52)	Odds Ratio	SD	Chi-square (df=50-51)
Intercept	-2.685	0.408	-6.580 ***	0.068	2.026	233.228 ***
<u>Time-varying covariates (Level 1)</u>						
Age (linear effect)	0.423	0.080	5.263 ***	1.526	0.400	138.498 ***
Age-squared (curvilinear effect)	-0.021	0.004	-5.216 ***	0.980	0.018	120.483 ***
<u>Time invariant covariates (Level 2)</u>						
Immigration/generational position <sup>^</sup>	1.961	0.694	2.825 **	7.105	----	
Immigration/generational position X Age (linear)	-0.205	0.076	-2.709 **	0.815	----	

Note: Age at interview was not a significant covariate and was trimmed from the final model.

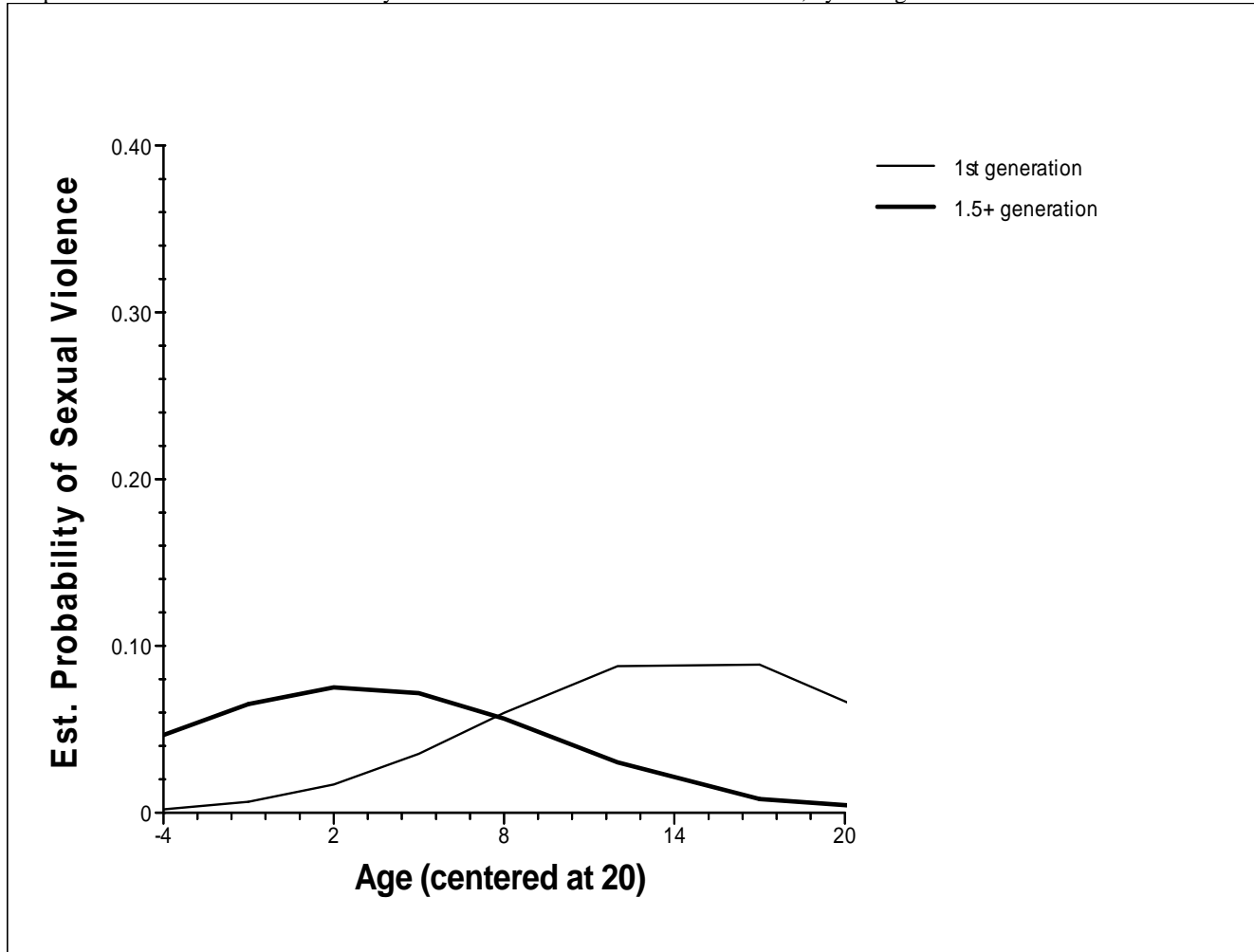
Level 2  $N = 53$  women; Level 1  $N = 1,027$  person-years.

<sup>^</sup> Reference group is the 1st generation.

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

Exhibit 5.6

Filipina Women - Estimated Probability of Sexual Violence Across the Lifecourse, by Immigration/Generational Position



Note: Plotted values are estimated from the multilevel model.

Exhibit 5.7

Filipina Women - Multilevel Logistic Regression Model of Sexual Violence Across the Lifecourse, by Immigration/Generational Position

	Fixed (average) Effects			Random Effects		
	Coefficient	SE	T ratio (df=85-86)	Odds Ratio	SD	Chi-square (df=67-68)
Intercept	-4.678	0.613	-7.320 ***	0.009	2.579	371.556 ***
<u>Time-varying covariates (Level 1)</u>						
Age (linear effect)	0.331	0.076	4.334 ***	1.392	0.358	98.339 **
Age-squared (curvilinear effect)	-0.011	0.003	-4.064 ***	0.989	0.014	90.800 *
<u>Time invariant covariates (Level 2)</u>						
Immigration/generational position^	2.089	0.772	2.705 **	8.077	----	
Immigration/generational position X Age (linear)	-0.269	0.065	-4.119 ***	0.764	----	

Note: Age at interview was not a significant covariate and was trimmed from the final model.

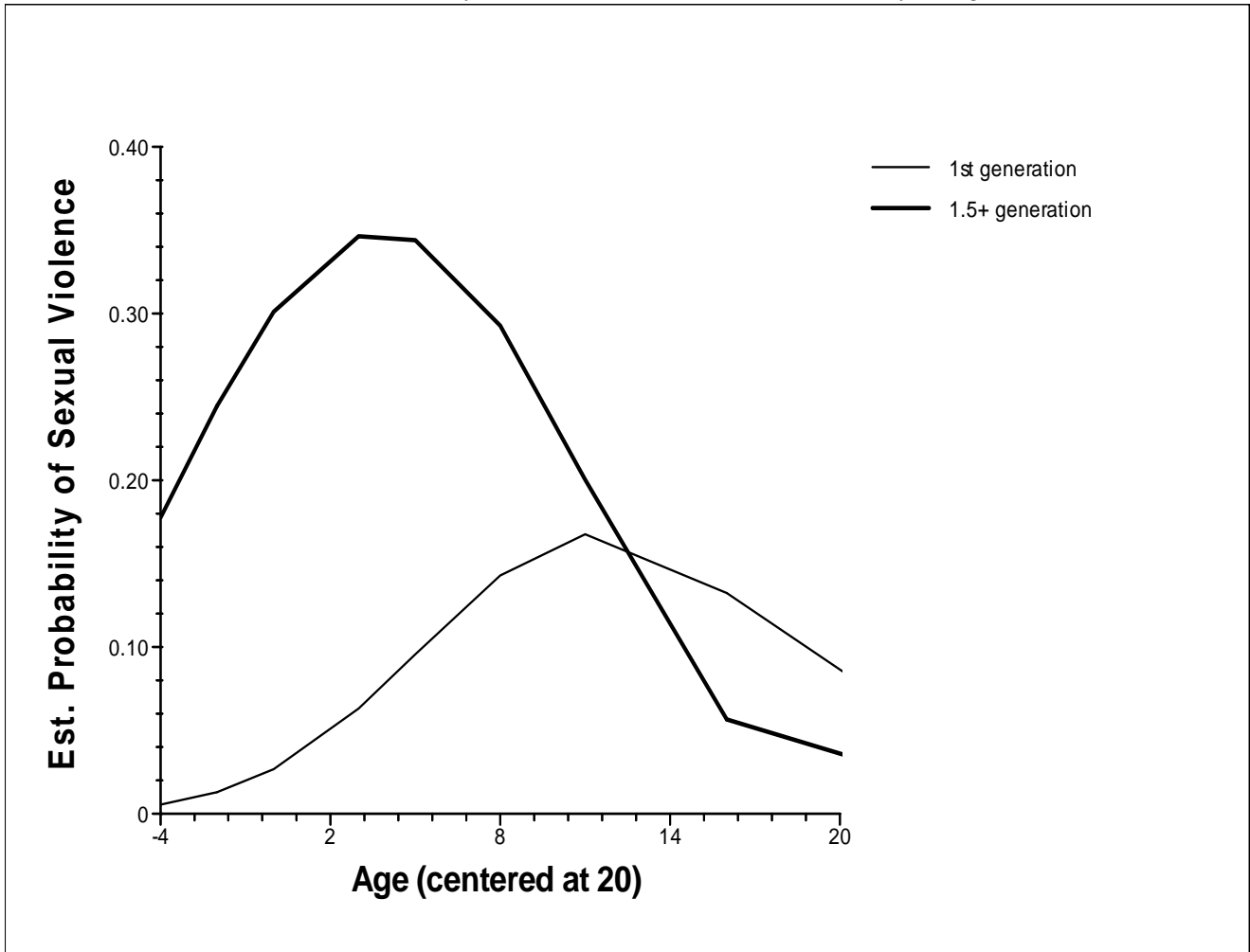
Level 2 *N* = 87 women; Level 1 *N* = 2,233 person-years.

^ Reference group is the 1st generation.

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

Exhibit 5.8

Indian/Pakistani Women - Estimated Probability of Sexual Violence across the Lifecourse, by Immigration/Generational Position



Note: Plotted values are estimated from the multilevel model.



Exhibit 5.9

Indian/Pakistani Women - Multilevel Logistic Regression Model of Sexual Violence Across the Lifecourse, by Immigration/Generational Position

	Fixed (average) Effects			Random Effects		
	Coefficient	SE	T ratio (df=51-52)	Odds Ratio	SD	Chi-square (df=46-47)
Intercept	-3.594	0.570	-6.301 ***	0.027	2.666	265.301 ***
<u>Time-varying covariates (Level 1)</u>						
Age (linear effect)	0.344	0.083	4.150 ***	1.410	0.349	73.995 **
Age-squared (curvilinear effect)	-0.015	0.004	-3.996 ***	0.985	0.016	80.285 **
<u>Time invariant covariates (Level 2)</u>						
Immigration/generational position^	2.752	0.965	2.851 **	15.667	----	
Immigration/generational position X Age (linear)	-0.230	0.079	-2.912 **	0.794	----	

Note: Age at interview was not a significant covariate and was trimmed from the final model.

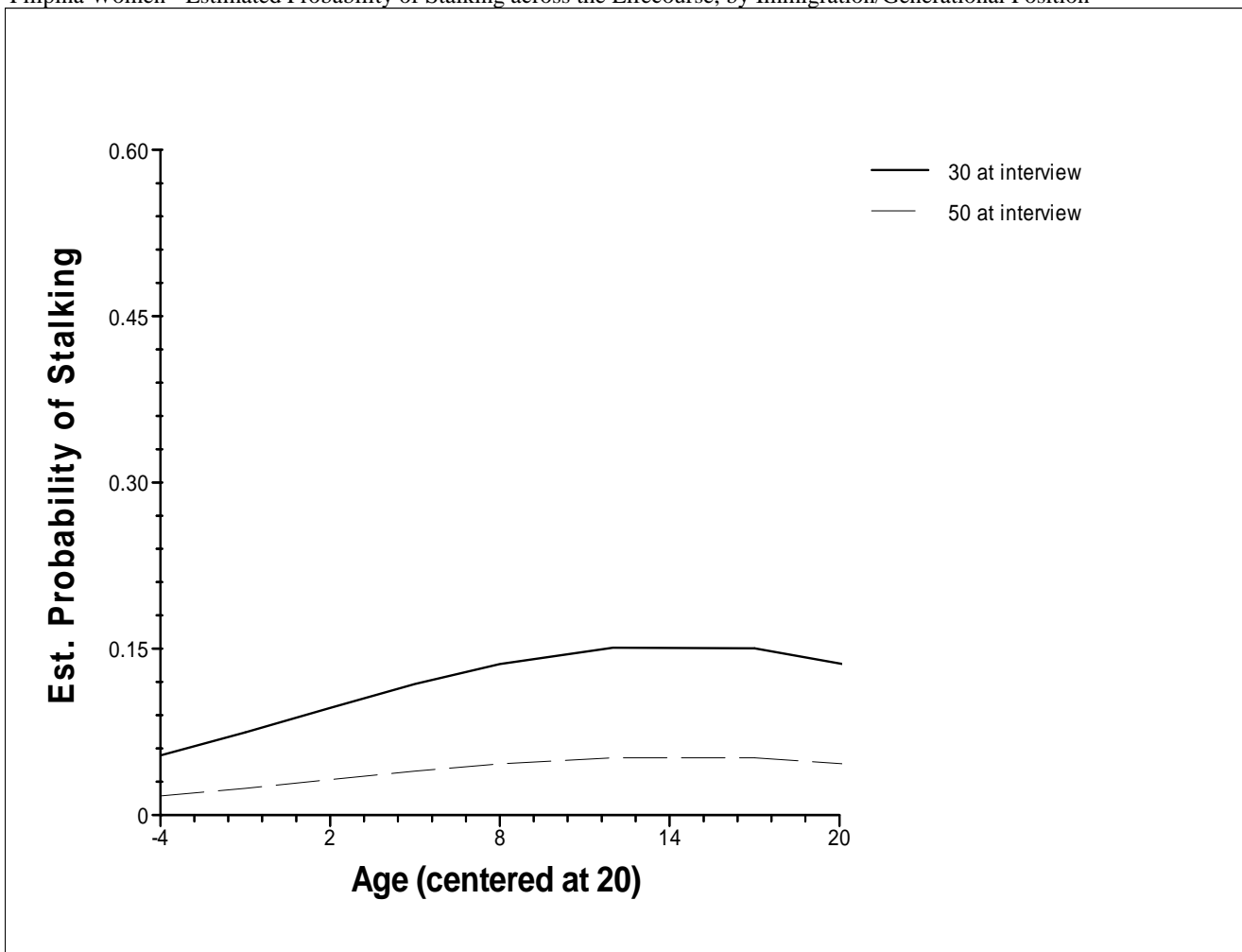
Level 2  $N = 53$  women; Level 1  $N = 1,027$  person-years.

^ Reference group is the 1st generation.

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

Exhibit 5.10

Filipina Women - Estimated Probability of Stalking across the Lifecourse, by Immigration/Generational Position



Note: Plotted values are estimated from the multilevel model. Age at interview was analyzed as a continuous variable; the lines illustrate the effects of this variable at two selected points -- age 30 and age 50. Plotted values above the age at interview (e.g., values above 10 for those interviewed at age 30) are estimated from the overall model.

Exhibit 5.11

Filipina Women - Multilevel Logistic Regression Model of Stalking across the Lifecourse, by Age at Interview

	Fixed (average) Effects			Random Effects		
	Coefficient	SE	T ratio (df=85-86)	Odds Ratio	SD	Chi-square (df=67-68)
Intercept	-2.713	0.302	-8.987 ***	0.066	2.046	203.891 ***
<u>Time-varying covariates (Level 1)</u>						
Age (linear effect)	0.094	0.045	2.074 *	1.098	0.281	107.245 **
Age-squared (curvilinear effect)	-0.003	0.002	-1.604 <sup>t</sup>	0.997	0.011	100.615 **
<u>Time invariant covariates (Level 2)</u>						
Age at interview	-0.059	0.024	-2.476 *	0.942	----	

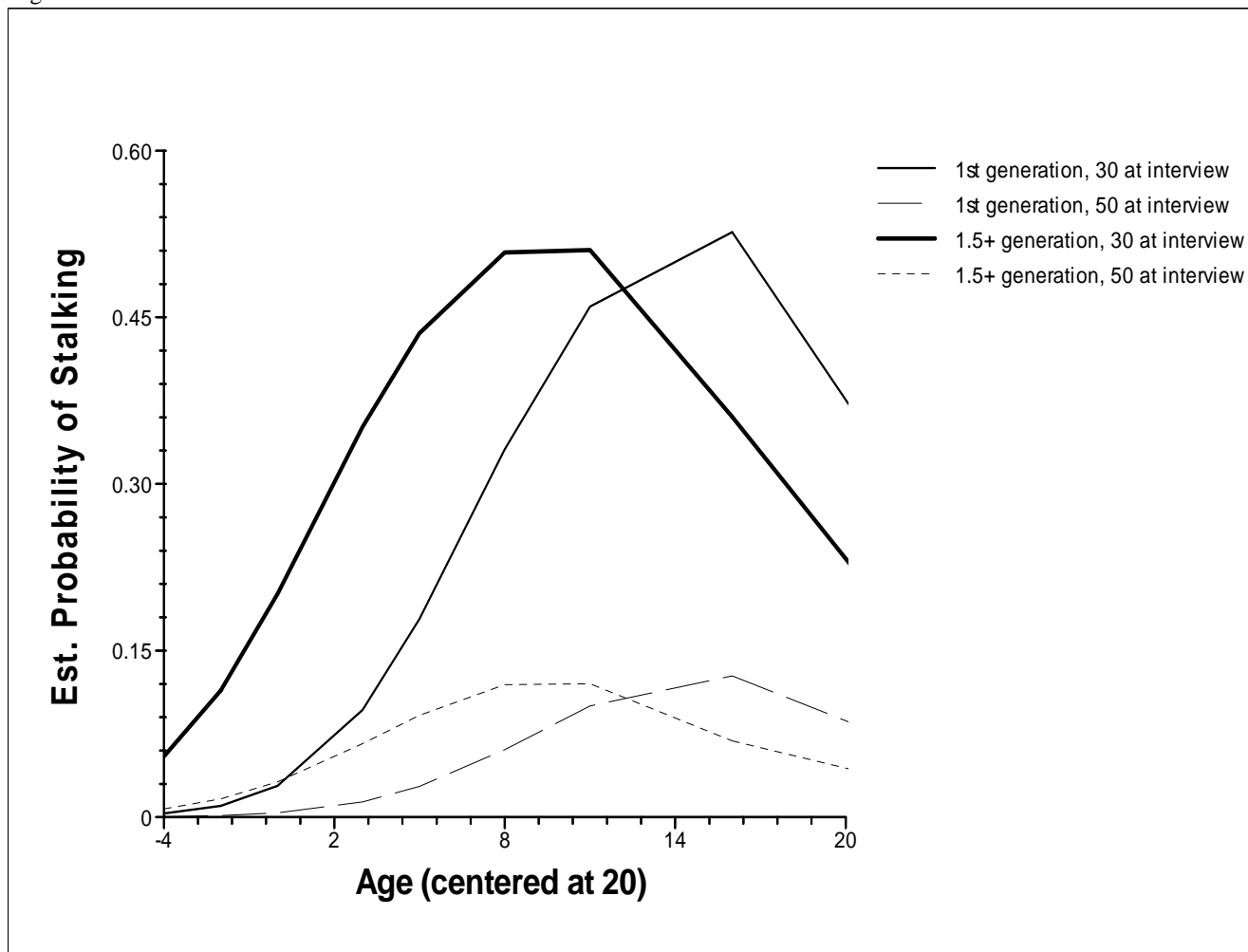
Note: Immigration/generational position was not a significant covariate and was trimmed from the final model.

Level 2 *N* = 87 women; Level 1 *N* = 2,233 person-years.

<sup>t</sup> *p* < .10. \**p* < .05. \*\**p* < .01. \*\*\**p* < .001.

Exhibit 5.12

Indian/Pakistani Women - Estimated Probability of Stalking across the Lifecourse, by Immigration/Generational Position and Age at Interview



Note: Plotted values are estimated from the multilevel model. Age at interview was analyzed as a continuous variable; the lines illustrate the effects of this variable at two selected points -- age 30 and age 50. Plotted values above the age at interview (e.g., values above 10 for those interviewed at age 30) are estimated from the overall

Exhibit 5.13

Indian/Pakistani Women - Multilevel Logistic Regression Model of Stalking across the Lifecourse, by Age at Interview and Immigration/Generational Position

	Fixed (average) Effects			Random Effects		
	Coefficient	SE	T ratio (df=50-51)	Odds Ratio	SD	Chi-square (df=50-51)
Intercept	-4.041	0.534	-7.567 ***	0.018	2.376	223.281 ***
<u>Time-varying covariates (Level 1)</u>						
Age (linear effect)	0.480	0.068	7.061 ***	1.616	0.177	130.817 ***
Age-squared (curvilinear effect)	-0.016	0.003	-6.090 ***	0.984	---	
<u>Time invariant covariates (Level 2)</u>						
Age at interview	-0.102	0.039	-2.612 ***	0.903	---	
Immigration/generational position^	2.153	0.898	2.396 *	8.608	---	
Immigration/generational position X Age (linear)	-0.177	0.088	-2.020 *	0.838	---	

Level 2 *N* = 53 women; Level 1 *N* = 1,027 person-years.

^ Reference group is the 1st generation.

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

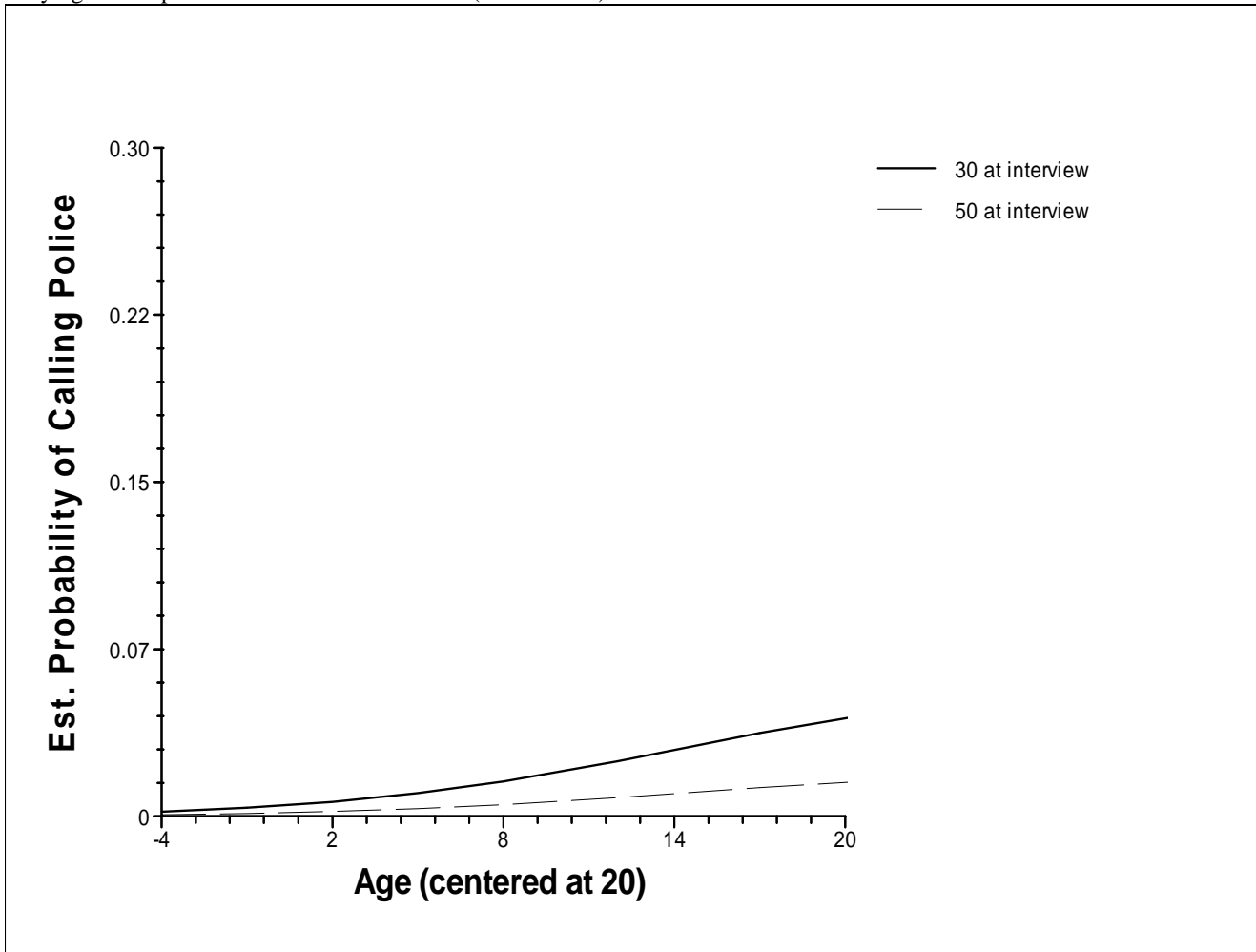
Exhibit 6.1

Filipina and Indian/Pakistani Women - Summary of Lifetime Help-seeking for IPV

	Women who sought help from each source		Number of years in which help was sought from each source				Age at which help was first sought from each source			
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mdn</i>	Range	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mdn</i>	Range
	Filipina women ( <i>N</i> =87)									
Called police	45	51.7%	2.11	2.60	1	1-17	32.04	10.23	30	16-56
Sought legal assistance	38	43.7%	1.55	1.41	1	1-9	34.32	8.88	33	21-56
Used domestic violence (DV) shelter	22	25.3%	1.36	0.95	1	1-5	32.86	10.97	29	20-58
Used non-shelter DV program	27	31.0%	1.59	1.31	1	1-7	35.22	9.30	33	23-58
Indian/Pakistani women ( <i>N</i> =56)										
Called police	31	55.4%	2.19	2.70	1	1-14	26.32	7.03	26	16-52
Sought legal assistance	34	60.7%	2.00	1.21	2	1-5	31.50	8.11	29	22-52
Used domestic violence (DV) shelter	23	41.1%	1.48	0.59	1	1-3	29.39	7.24	27	19-52
Used non-shelter DV program	32	57.1%	2.44	2.56	1	1-12	29.50	6.19	29	20-52

Exhibit 6.2

Filipina Women - Estimated Probability of Calling the Police across the Lifecourse, by Age at Interview, Controlling for Time-varying IPV Experienced across the Lifecourse (Final Model)



Note: Plotted values are estimated from the multilevel model. Age at interview was analyzed as a continuous variable; the lines illustrate the effects of this variable at two selected points -- age 30 and age 50. Plotted values above the age at interview (e.g., values above 10 for those interviewed at age 30) are estimated from the overall

Exhibit 6.3

Filipina Women - Multilevel Logistic Regression Model of Respondents' Calling Police across the Lifecourse, by Age at Interview, Immigration/Generational Position, and IPV Experienced

	Fixed (average) Effects			Random Effects		
	Coefficient	SE	T ratio (df=84-86)	Odds Ratio	SD	Chi-square (df=84-86)
<u>Initial model - age, age at interview, and immigration/generational position only</u>						
Intercept	-5.627	0.709	-7.936 ***	0.004	2.269	5.149 ***
<u>Time-varying covariates (Level 1)</u>						
Age (linear effect)	0.362	0.063	5.749 ***	1.437	0.100	0.010 ***
Age-squared (curvilinear effect)	-0.012	0.002	-5.488 ***	0.988	----	
<u>Time invariant covariates (Level 2)</u>						
Age at interview	-0.143	0.040	-3.575 ***	0.867	----	
Age at interview X Age (linear)	0.008	0.003	2.915 **	1.008	----	
Immigration/generational position^	1.581	0.818	1.983 *	4.859	----	
Immigration/generational position X Age (linear)	-0.095	0.046	-2.915 *	0.909	----	
<u>Final model - including time-varying IPV experienced</u>						
Intercept	-6.525	0.515	-12.676 ***	0.002	2.491	338.223 ***
<u>Time-varying covariates (Level 1)</u>						
Age (linear effect)	0.178	0.050	3.573 ***	1.195	0.463	184.731 ***
Age-squared (curvilinear effect)	-0.003	0.002	-2.101 *	0.997	----	
Physical violence (contemporaneous)	2.903	0.386	7.491 ***	18.229		
Sexual violence (contemporaneous)	1.104	0.371	2.972 **	3.229		
Stalking (contemporaneous)	0.606	0.335	1.812 †	1.833		
<u>Time invariant covariates (Level 2)</u>						
Age at interview	-0.054	0.025	-2.217 *	0.947	----	

Note: Immigration/generational position was not a significant covariate in Model 2 (controlling for IPV) and was trimmed from the final model.

Level 2 *N* = 87 women; Level 1 *N* = 2,233 person-years.

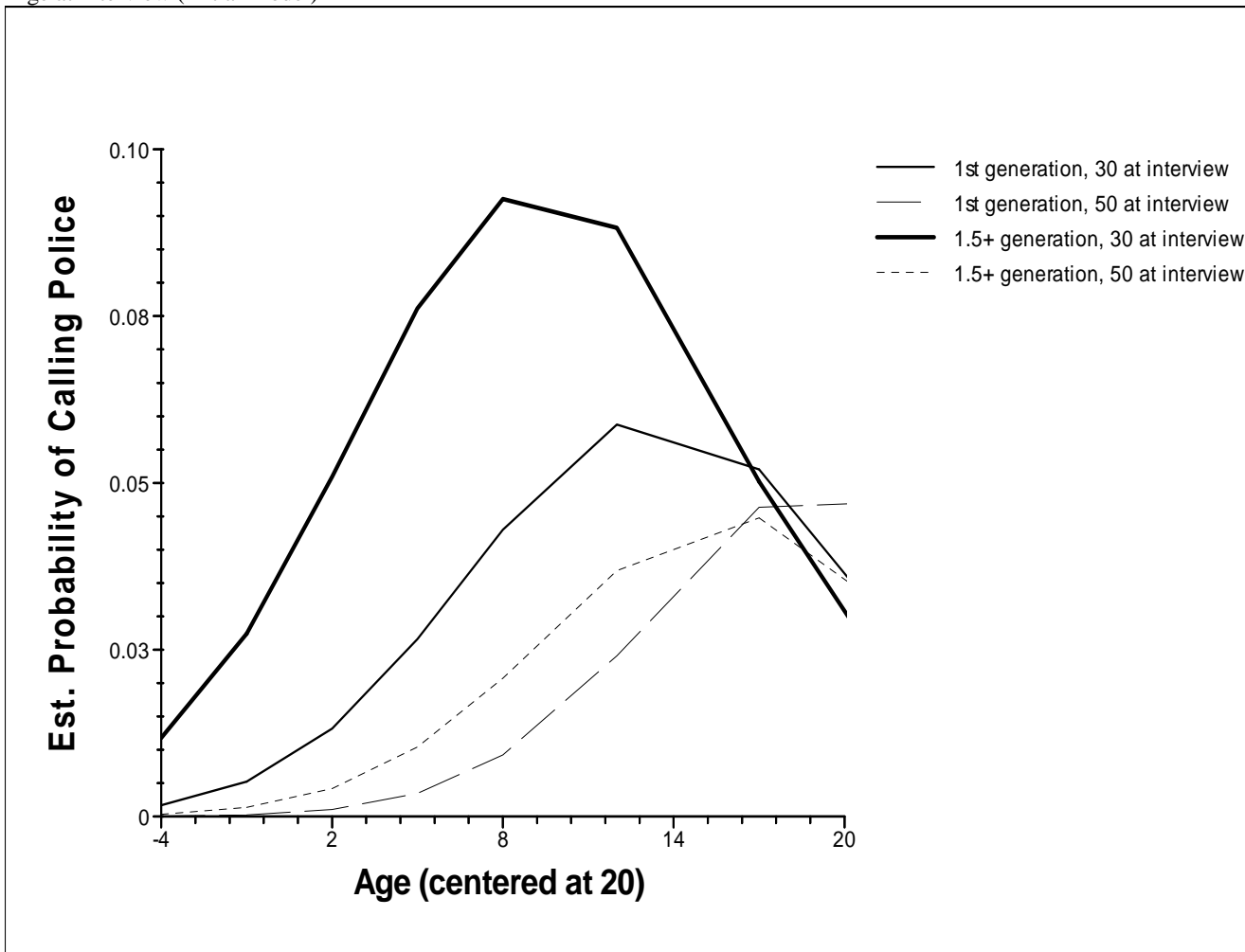
^ Reference group is the 1st generation.

† *p* < .10. \**p* < .05. \*\**p* < .01. \*\*\**p* < .001.



Exhibit 6.4

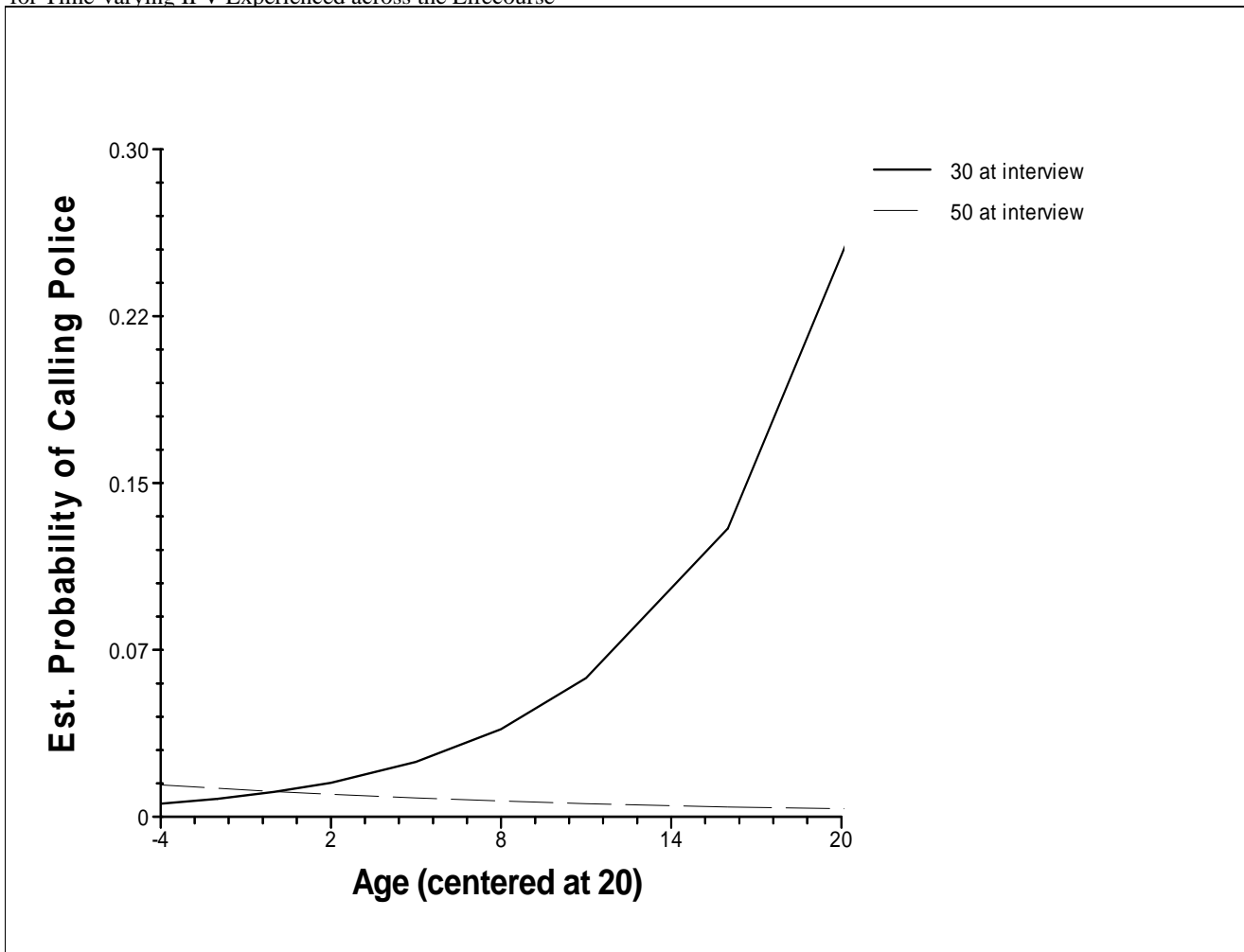
Filipina Women - Estimated Probability of Calling the Police across the Lifecourse, by Immigration/Generational Position and Age at Interview (Initial Model)



Note: Plotted values are estimated from the multilevel model. Age at interview was analyzed as a continuous variable; the lines illustrate the effects of this variable at two selected points -- age 30 and age 50. Plotted values above the age at interview (e.g., values above 10 for those interviewed at age 30) are estimated from the overall

Exhibit 6.5

Indian/Pakistani Women - Estimated Probability of Calling the Police across the Lifecourse, by Age at Interview, Controlling for Time-varying IPV Experienced across the Lifecourse



Note: Plotted values are estimated from the multilevel model. Age at interview was analyzed as a continuous variable; the lines illustrate the effects of this variable at two selected points -- age 30 and age 50. Plotted values above the age at interview (e.g., values above 10 for those interviewed at age 30) are estimated from the overall

Exhibit 6.6

Indian/Pakistani Women - Multilevel Logistic Regression Model of Respondents' Calling Police across the Lifecourse, by Age at Interview and IPV Experienced

	Fixed (average) Effects			Random Effects		
	Coefficient	SE	T ratio (df=51)	Odds Ratio	SD	Chi-square (df=51)
Intercept	-5.568	0.547	-10.186 ***	0.004	1.393	63.206
<u>Time-varying covariates (Level 1)</u>						
Age (linear effect)	0.106	0.042	2.501 *	1.112	0.128	47.327
Physical violence (contemporaneous)	2.167	0.442	4.900 ***	8.733	----	
Sexual violence (contemporaneous)	0.950	0.432	2.199 *	2.585	----	
Stalking (contemporaneous)	1.469	0.401	3.658 ***	4.343	----	
<u>Time invariant covariates (Level 2)</u>						
Age at interview	0.001	0.039	0.023	1.001	----	
Age at interview X Age (linear)	0.008	0.004	-2.457 *	0.989	----	

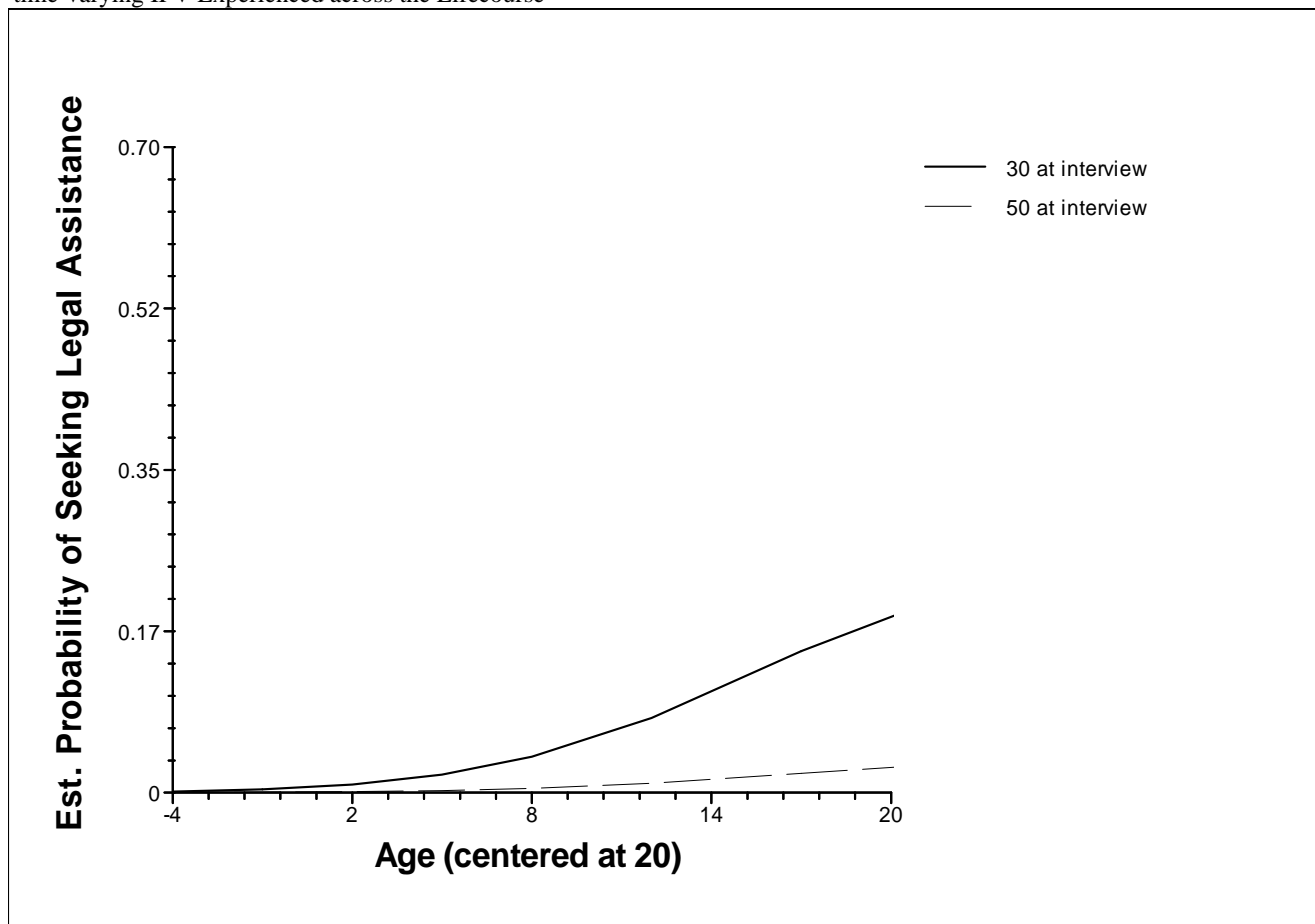
Note: Immigration/generational position was not a significant covariate and was trimmed from the final model.

Level 2  $N = 53$  women; Level 1  $N = 1,027$  person-years.

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

Exhibit 6.7

Filipina Women - Estimated Probability of Seeking Legal Assistance across the Lifecourse, by Age at Interview, Controlling for time-varying IPV Experienced across the Lifecourse



Note: Plotted values are estimated from the multilevel model. Age at interview was analyzed as a continuous variable; the lines illustrate the effects of this variable at two selected points -- age 30 and age 50. Plotted values above the age at interview (e.g., values above 10 for those interviewed at age 30) are estimated from the overall

Exhibit 6.8

Filipina Women - Multilevel Logistic Regression Model of Respondents' Seeking Legal Assistance across the Lifecourse, by Age at Interview and IPV Experienced

	Fixed (average) Effects			Random Effects		
	Coefficient	SE	T ratio (df=85)	Odds Ratio	SD	Chi-square (df=85)
Intercept	-6.447	0.613	-10.525 ***	0.002	1.080	146.867 ***
<u>Time-varying covariates (Level 1)</u>						
Age (linear effect)	0.308	0.065	4.757 ***	1.360	----	
Age-squared (curvilinear effect)	-0.006	0.002	-3.19 **	0.994	----	
Physical violence (contemporaneous)	0.707	0.335	2.112 *	2.029	----	
Physical violence (cumulative)	1.555	0.545	2.857 **	4.737	----	
Stalking (contemporaneous)	0.911	0.377	2.418 *	2.486	----	
<u>Time invariant covariates (Level 2)</u>						
Age at interview	-0.107	0.026	-4.132 ***	0.899	----	

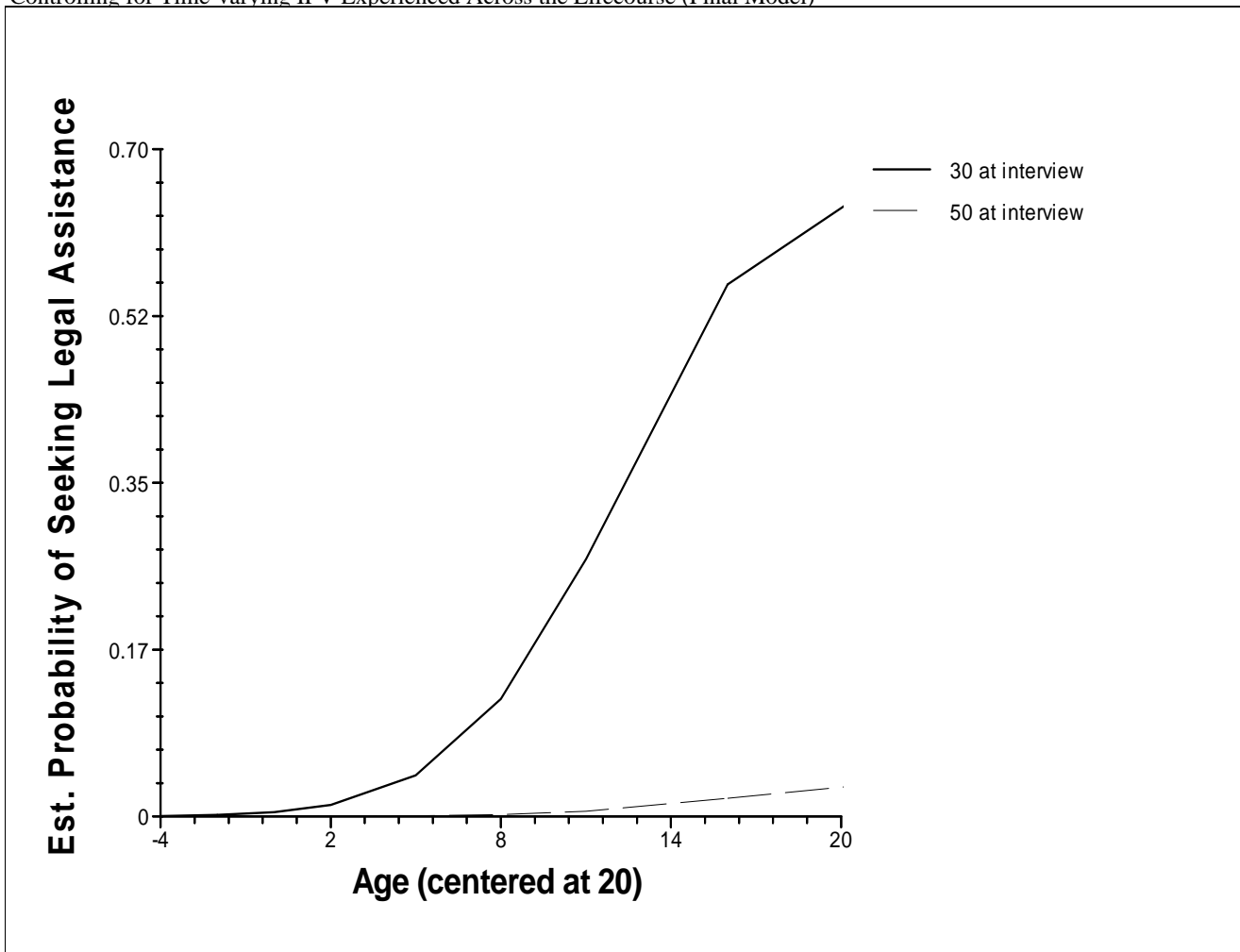
Note: Immigration/generational position and sexual violence were not significant covariates and were trimmed from the final model.

Level 2  $N = 87$  women; Level 1  $N = 2,233$  person-years.

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

Exhibit 6.9

Indian/Pakistani Women - Estimated Probability of Seeking Legal Assistance across the Lifecourse, by Age at Interview, Controlling for Time-varying IPV Experienced Across the Lifecourse (Final Model)



Note: Plotted values are estimated from the multilevel model. Age at interview was analyzed as a continuous variable; the lines illustrate the effects of this variable at two selected points -- age 30 and age 50. Plotted values above the age at interview (e.g., values above 10 for those interviewed at age 30) are estimated from the overall

Exhibit 6.10

Indian/Pakistani Women - Multilevel Logistic Regression Model of Respondents' Seeking Legal Assistance across the Lifecourse, by Age at Interview, Immigration/Generational Position, and IPV Experienced

	Fixed (average) Effects			Random Effects		
	Coefficient	SE	T ratio (df=50-51)	Odds Ratio	SD	Chi-square (df=50-52)
<u>Initial model - age, age at interview, and immigration/generational position only</u>						
Intercept	-6.873	0.787	-8.737 ***	0.001	2.025	77.995 **
<u>Time-varying covariates (Level 1)</u>						
Age (linear effect)	0.606	0.094	6.423 ***	1.833	0.124	70.651 †
Age-squared (curvilinear effect)	-0.012	0.003	-4.305 ***	0.988	----	
<u>Time invariant covariates (Level 2)</u>						
Age at interview	-0.216	0.040	-5.403 ***	0.806	----	
Immigration/generational position^	1.458	1.013	1.440	4.299	----	
Immigration/generational position X Age (linear)	-0.186	0.088	-2.115 *	0.830	----	
<u>Final model - including time-varying IPV experienced</u>						
Intercept	-7.042	0.740	-9.521 ***	0.001	1.936	76.160 *
<u>Time-varying covariates (Level 1)</u>						
Age (linear effect)	0.504	0.087	5.802 ***	1.655	0.134	86.646 ***
Age-squared (curvilinear effect)	-0.010	0.003	-3.484 ***	0.990	----	
Physical violence (cumulative)	1.740	0.630	2.763 **	5.700	----	
Stalking (contemporaneous)	0.956	0.357	2.677 **	2.601	----	
<u>Time invariant covariates (Level 2)</u>						
Age at interview	-0.209	0.039	-5.394 ***	0.812	----	

Note: Immigration/generational position and sexual violence were not significant covariates in Model 2 (controlling for IPV) and were trimmed from the final model.

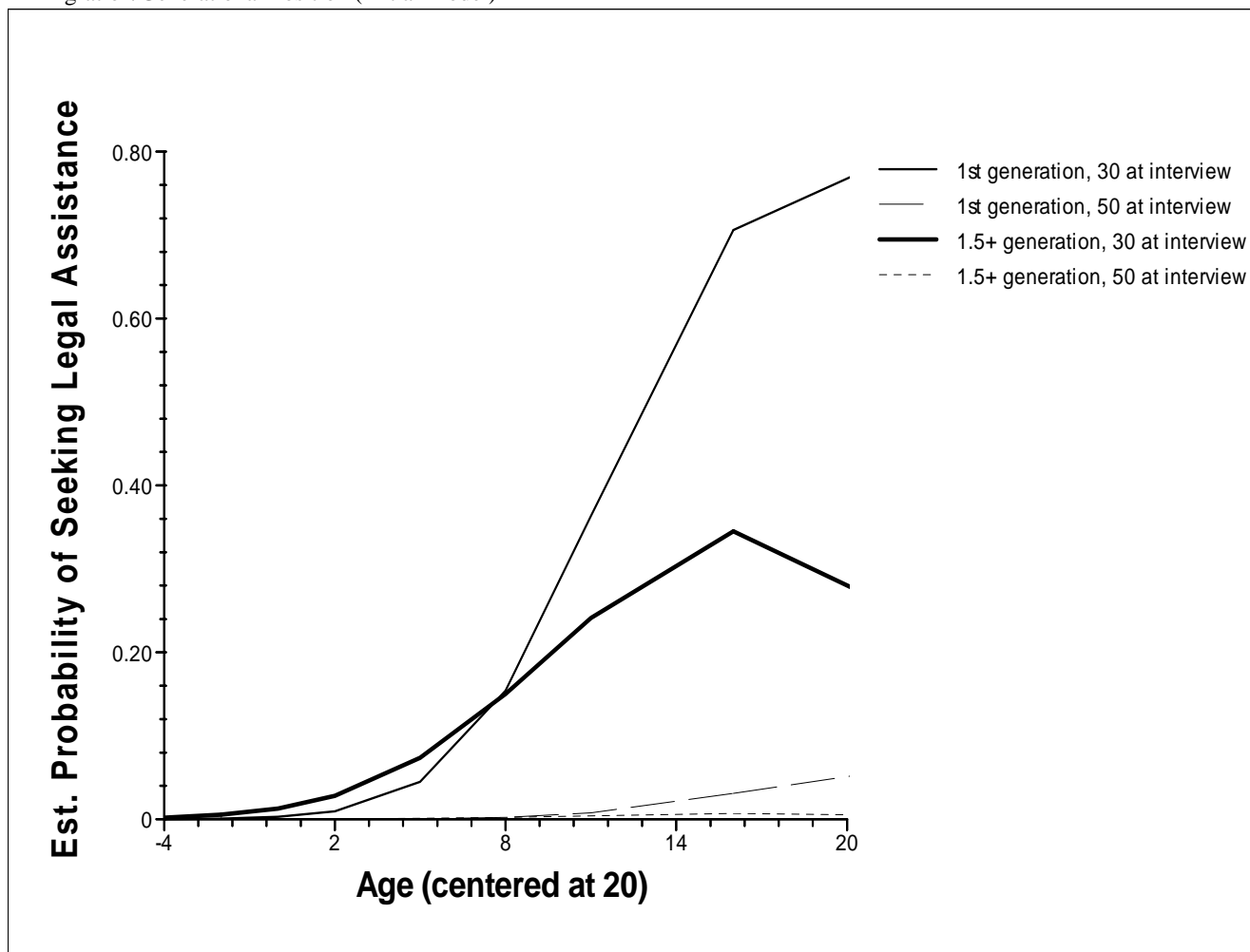
Level 2 *N* = 53 women; Level 1 *N* = 1,027 person-years.

^ Reference group is the 1st generation.

† *p* < .10. \**p* < .05. \*\**p* < .01. \*\*\**p* < .001.

Exhibit 6.11

Indian/Pakistani Women - Estimated Probability of Seeking Legal Assistance across the Lifecourse, by Age at Interview and Immigration/Generational Position (Initial Model)

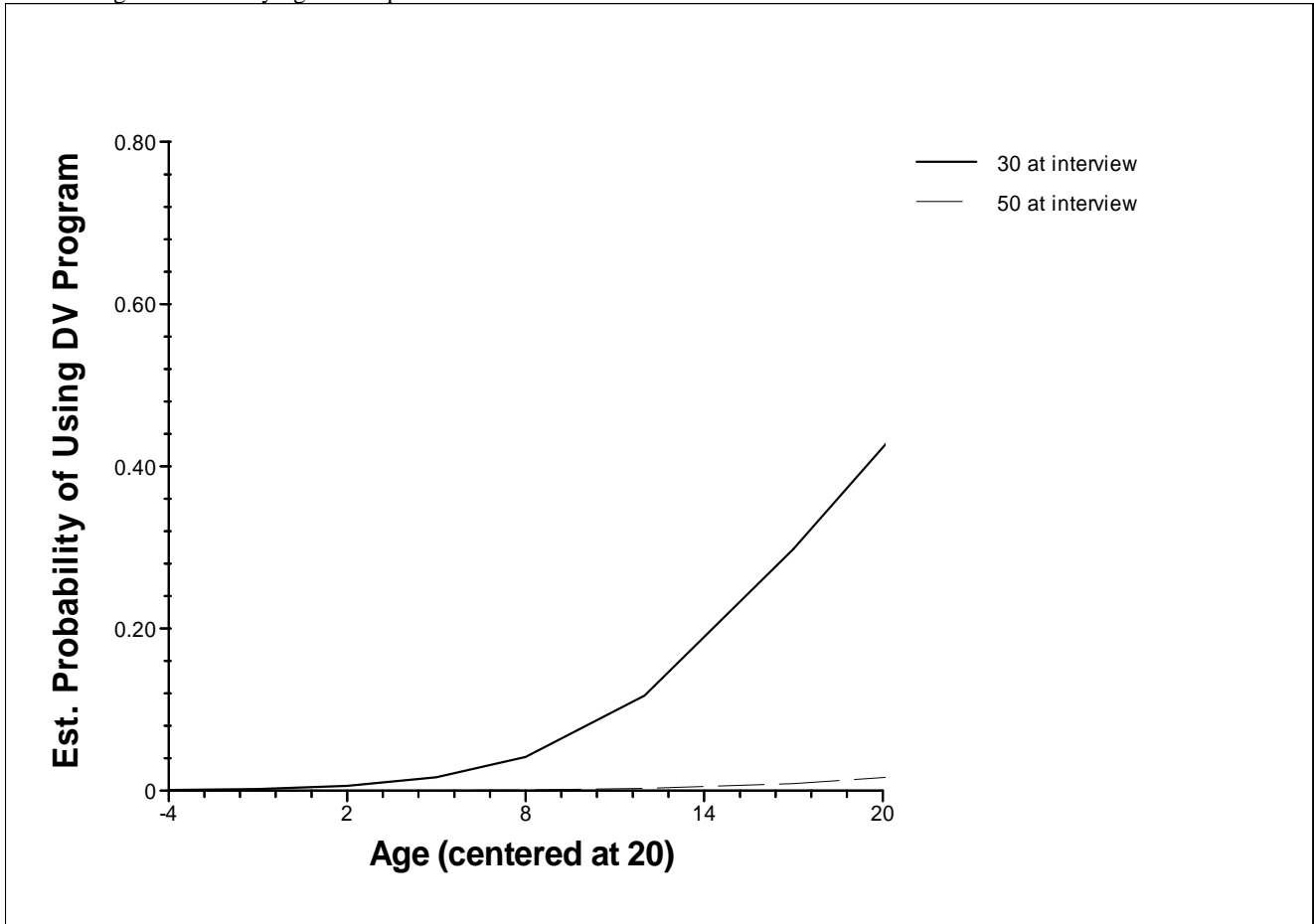


Note: Plotted values are estimated from the multilevel model. Age at interview was analyzed as a continuous variable; the lines illustrate the effects of this variable at two selected points -- age 30 and age 50. Plotted values above the age at interview (e.g., values above 10 for those interviewed at age 30) are estimated from the overall



Exhibit 6.12

Filipina Women - Estimated Probability of Using Domestic Violence Programs across the Lifecourse, by Age at Interview, Controlling for Time-varying IPV Experienced across the Lifecourse



Note: Plotted values are estimated from the multilevel model. Age at interview was analyzed as a continuous variable; the lines illustrate the effects of this variable at two selected points -- age 30 and age 50. Plotted values above the age at interview (e.g., values above 10 for those interviewed at age 30) are estimated from the overall

Exhibit 6.13

Filipina Women - Multilevel Logistic Regression Model of Respondents' Use of Domestic Violence Programs across the Lifecourse, by Age at Interview and IPV Experienced

	Fixed (average) Effects			Random Effects		
	Coefficient	SE	T ratio (df=85)	Odds Ratio	SD	Chi-square (df=85)
Intercept	-7.303	0.722	-10.109 ***	0.001	1.072	123.369 **
<u>Time-varying covariates (Level 1)</u>						
Age (linear effect)	0.385	0.079	4.898 ***	1.469	----	
Age-squared (curvilinear effect)	-0.005	0.002	-2.639 **	0.995	----	
Physical violence (contemporaneous)	1.334	0.385	3.468 ***	3.797	----	
Stalking (contemporaneous)	0.949	0.401	2.367 *	2.584	----	
<u>Time invariant covariates (Level 2)</u>						
Age at interview	-0.196	0.037	-5.341 ***	0.822	----	

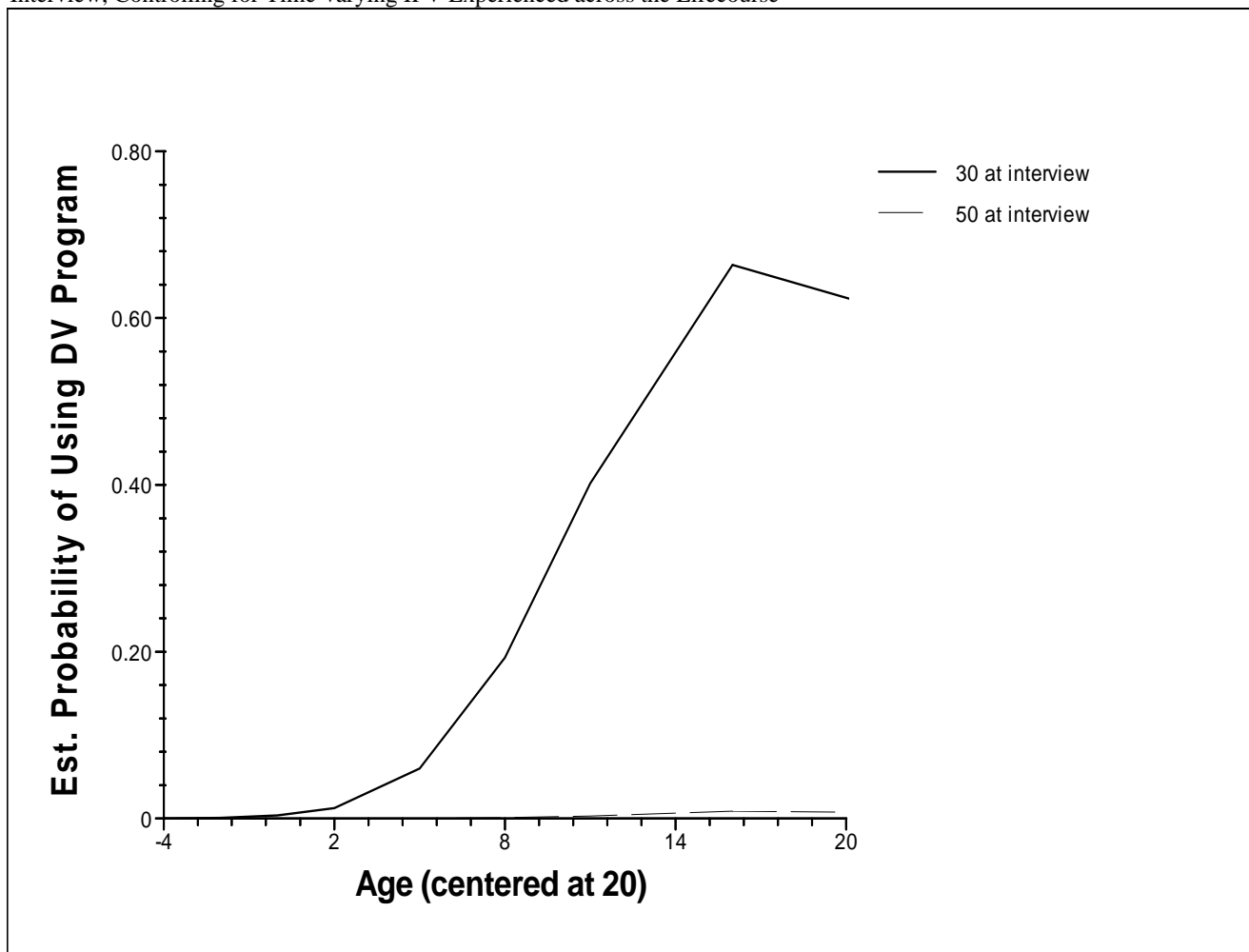
Note: Immigration/generational position and sexual violence were not significant covariates and were trimmed from the final model.

Level 2  $N = 87$  women; Level 1  $N = 2,233$  person-years.

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

Exhibit 6.14

Indian/Pakistani Women - Estimated Probability of Using Domestic Violence Programs across the Lifecourse, by Age at Interview, Controlling for Time-varying IPV Experienced across the Lifecourse



Note: Plotted values are estimated from the multilevel model. Age at interview was analyzed as a continuous variable; the lines illustrate the effects of this variable at two selected points -- age 30 and age 50. Plotted values above the age at interview (e.g., values above 10 for those interviewed at age 30) are estimated from the overall

Exhibit 6.15

Indian/Pakistani Women - Multilevel Logistic Regression Model of Respondents' Use of Domestic Violence Programs across the Lifecourse, by Age at Interview and IPV Experienced

	Fixed (average) Effects			Random Effects		
	Coefficient	SE	T ratio (df=51)	Odds Ratio	SD	Chi-square (df=51)
Intercept	-7.325	0.729	-10.052 ***	0.001	1.344	129.407 ***
<u>Time-varying covariates (Level 1)</u>						
Age (linear effect)	0.650	0.109	5.986 ***	1.915	----	
Age-squared (curvilinear effect)	-0.016	0.004	-3.613 ***	0.984	----	
Stalking (contemporaneous)	1.696	0.378	4.491 ***	5.449	----	
<u>Time invariant covariates (Level 2)</u>						
Age at interview	-0.269	0.050	-5.403 ***	0.764	----	

Note: Immigration/generational position, physical violence, and sexual violence were not significant covariates and were trimmed from the final model.

Level 2  $N = 53$  women; Level 1  $N = 1,027$  person-years.

\*\*\* $p < .001$ .

Exhibit 7.1

Responses of the Police (when woman called police)

	Filipina women (N = 87)				Indian/Pakistani women (N=56)			
	Women who called police (N=45)		Years in which women called police (N=95)		Women who called police (N=31)		Years in which women called police (N=68)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Took report	35	77.8%	51	53.7%	24	77.4%	37	54.4%
Interviewed woman and partner separately	22	48.9%	30	31.6%	21	67.7%	26	38.2%
Took pictures/collected evidence	13	28.9%	17	17.9%	17	54.8%	18	26.5%
Explained procedures; gave information about programs, options, and/or rights	12	26.7%	17	17.9%	16	51.6%	18	26.5%
Arrested partner or other perpetrator	22	48.9%	33	34.7%	17	54.8%	19	27.9%
Arrested woman	4	8.9%	5	5.3%	1	3.2%	1	1.5%
Helped woman obtain an Emergency Protective Order	15	33.3%	19	20.0%	9	29.0%	9	13.2%
Responded to woman's call about partner violating a restraining order	7	15.6%	8	8.4%	6	19.4%	6	8.8%
Asked about or talked with children	8	17.8%	8	8.4%	7	22.6%	7	10.3%
Involved Child Protective Services	5	11.1%	5	5.3%	5	16.1%	5	7.4%
Helped woman make arrangements for safety (safety planning)	10	22.2%	10	10.5%	14	45.2%	16	23.5%
Took woman to shelter, called ambulance, or provided other assistance	5	11.1%	5	5.3%	9	29.0%	11	16.2%
Arranged for woman to talk with other staff (e.g., social worker, counselor, advocate)	10	22.2%	11	11.6%	7	22.6%	9	13.2%
Asked woman whether someone other than partner had abused her	1	2.2%	1	1.1%	7	22.6%	7	10.3%
Addressed language difficulties (found translator, spoke slowly, etc.)	2	4.4%	2	2.1%	4	12.9%	4	5.9%
Didn't respond nor show up or came and did nothing	11	24.4%	17	17.9%	6	19.4%	9	13.2%
Didn't believe woman or didn't understand her situation	6	13.3%	6	6.3%	11	35.5%	13	19.1%
Pressured woman to take action she was not ready for	4	8.9%	12	12.6%	2	6.5%	2	2.9%
Other response (e.g. warned abuser)	4	8.9%	4	4.2%	4	12.9%	4	5.9%

Note: Column totals exceed 100% due to multiple responses.

Exhibit 7.2  
Responses of Legal Assistance Programs

	Filipina women (N=87)				Indian/Pakistani women (N=56)			
	Wmen who sought legal assistance (N=38)		Years in which legal assistance was sought (N=59)		Women who sought legal assistance (N=34)		Years in which legal assistance was sought (N=68)	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Helped with divorce, separation, or annulment	24	63.2%	35	59.3%	28	82.4%	53	77.9%
Helped with child custody, visitation, or support issues	20	52.6%	31	52.5%	15	44.1%	26	38.2%
Helped woman get a Protective or Restraining Order	18	47.4%	22	37.3%	15	44.1%	21	30.9%
Helped with immigration issues	8	21.1%	11	18.6%	10	29.4%	17	25.0%
Explained procedures, provided information about other programs, options, and/or rights	13	34.2%	17	28.8%	12	35.3%	20	29.4%
Helped woman make arrangements for safety (safety planning)	7	18.4%	10	16.9%	8	23.5%	17	25.0%
Addressed language difficulties (found translator, spoke slowly, etc.)	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	14.7%	8	11.8%
Didn't believe woman or didn't understand her situation	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	11.8%	6	8.8%
Pressured woman to take action she was not ready for	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	14.7%	10	14.7%

Note: Column totals exceed 100% due to multiple responses.

Exhibit 7.3

Responses of Domestic Violence Shelters

	Filipina women (N=87)				Indian/Pakistani women (N=56)			
	Women who sought legal assistance (N=22)		Years in which legal assistance was sought (N=30)		Women who sought shelter (N=23)		Years in which shelter was sought (N=34)	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Helped woman make arrangements for safety (safety planning)	7	31.8%	10	33.3%	14	60.9%	16	47.1%
Helped with necessities (food, clothing, financial)	3	13.6%	3	10.0%	3	13.0%	3	8.8%
Assisted with childcare	8	36.4%	12	40.0%	5	21.7%	8	23.5%
Provided counseling (individual or group)	15	68.2%	21	70.0%	21	91.3%	31	91.2%
Explained procedures, provided information about other programs, options, and/or rights	12	54.5%	17	56.7%	17	73.9%	22	64.7%
Took woman and children to get help (e.g., health care, court, other assistance)	6	27.3%	10	33.3%	8	34.8%	10	29.4%
Helped woman get a Protective or Restraining Order	3	13.6%	3	10.0%	11	47.8%	16	47.1%
Helped with immigration issues	5	22.7%	6	20.0%	7	30.4%	9	26.5%
Helped woman find a job, job training, education programs, or ESL classes	5	22.7%	6	20.0%	8	34.8%	13	38.2%
Helped woman learn financial management tasks	5	22.7%	10	33.3%	1	4.3%	1	2.9%
Addressed language difficulties (found translator, spoke slowly, etc.)	1	4.5%	2	6.7%	9	39.1%	13	38.2%
Didn't believe woman or didn't understand her situation	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	13.0%	4	11.8%
Pressured woman to take action she was not ready for	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	4.3%	1	2.9%

Note: Column totals exceed 100% due to multiple responses.

Exhibit 7.4

Responses of Non-shelter Domestic Violence Programs

	Filipina women (N=87)				Indian/Pakistani women (N=56)			
	Women who sought help from non-shelter DV program (N=27)		Years in which non-shelter DV assistance was sought (N=42)		Women who sought help from non-shelter DV program (N=32)		Years in which non-shelter DV assistance was sought (N=70)	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Asked about the abuse the woman had experienced	7	25.9%	14	33.3%	25	78.1%	59	84.3%
Provided or arranged for a place to stay	8	29.6%	8	19.0%	11	34.4%	12	17.1%
Helped woman make arrangements for safety (safety planning)	6	22.2%	12	28.6%	11	34.4%	21	30.0%
Assisted with childcare	2	7.4%	4	9.5%	2	6.3%	2	2.9%
Provided counseling (individual or group)	16	59.3%	26	61.9%	24	75.0%	50	71.4%
Explained procedures, provided information about other programs, options, and/or rights	17	63.0%	26	61.9%	19	59.4%	30	42.9%
Arranged for woman to talk with other staff (e.g., social worker, counselor, advocate)	12	44.4%	18	42.9%	19	59.4%	42	60.0%
Helped woman find a job, job training, education programs, or ESL classes	1	3.7%	1	2.4%	2	6.3%	2	2.9%
Helped woman learn financial management tasks	2	7.4%	2	4.8%	2	6.3%	3	4.3%
Helped with immigration issues	3	11.1%	3	7.1%	5	15.6%	12	17.1%
Recommended or provided couples counseling	1	3.7%	7	16.7%	1	3.1%	1	1.4%
Addressed language difficulties (found translator, spoke slowly, etc.)	1	3.7%	2	4.8%	6	18.8%	8	11.4%
Didn't believe woman or didn't understand her situation	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	6.3%	2	2.9%

Note: Column totals exceed 100% due to multiple responses.



Exhibit 8.1  
Sources of Most Helpful Responses

	Total (N=76)		Filipina (N=29)		Indian/ Pakistani (N=47)		First generation (N=46)		1.5+ generations (N=30)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Family	16	21.05%	7	24.14%	9	19.15%	8	17.39%	8	26.67%
Friends	23	30.26%	11	37.93%	12	25.53%	11	23.91%	12	40.00%
Asian domestic violence (DV) programs	21	27.63%	3	10.34%	18	38.30%	20	43.48%	1	3.33%
Non-Asian DV programs	10	13.16%	4	13.79%	6	12.77%	5	10.87%	5	16.67%
Community-based organizations	4	5.26%	2	6.90%	2	4.26%	4	8.70%	0	0.00%
Faith-based organizations	3	3.95%	1	3.45%	2	4.26%	2	4.35%	1	3.33%
Legal assistance programs	7	9.21%	1	3.45%	6	12.77%	7	15.22%	0	0.00%
Asian legal assistance programs	5	6.58%	1	3.45%	4	8.51%	5	10.87%	0	0.00%
Non-Asian legal assistance programs	1	1.32%	0	0.00%	1	2.13%	1	2.17%	0	0.00%
Lawyer	2	2.63%	0	0.00%	2	4.26%	2	4.35%	0	0.00%
Helping professionals, e.g., counselor, psychologist, case manager	11	14.47%	4	13.79%	7	14.89%	6	13.04%	5	16.67%
Health care provider, e.g., physician, emergency room staff, nurse, medical social worker, psychiatrist, etc.	4	5.26%	2	6.90%	2	4.26%	0	0.00%	4	13.33%
Criminal Justice System Agencies	9	11.84%	4	13.79%	5	10.64%	3	6.52%	6	20.00%
Police	6	7.89%	1	3.45%	5	10.64%	2	4.35%	4	13.33%
District Attorney's office	2	2.63%	2	6.90%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	6.67%
Criminal court	2	2.63%	2	6.90%	0	0.00%	1	2.17%	1	3.33%
Civil court, including PPO (personal protection order) center	3	3.95%	3	10.34%	0	0.00%	1	2.17%	2	6.67%
Non-helping professionals	6	7.89%	3	10.34%	3	6.38%	4	8.70%	2	6.67%

Note: Column totals exceed 100% due to multiple responses.

Exhibit 8.2  
Nature of Most Helpful Responses

	Total (N=71)		Filipina (N=30)		Indian /Pakistani (N=41)		First generation (N=42)		1.5+ generations (N=29)	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Information/referrals	33	46.48%	11	36.67%	22	53.66%	20	47.62%	13	44.83%
Tangible/concrete assistance	17	23.94%	6	20.00%	11	26.83%	12	28.57%	5	17.24%
Emotional support	15	21.13%	5	16.67%	10	24.39%	12	28.57%	3	10.34%
Display of caring/concern	15	21.13%	1	3.33%	14	34.15%	11	26.19%	4	13.79%
Empathic communication	13	18.31%	8	26.67%	5	12.20%	5	11.90%	8	27.59%
Safety planning/advice	13	18.31%	8	26.67%	5	12.20%	5	11.90%	8	27.59%
Women-centered responses	11	15.49%	6	20.00%	5	12.20%	9	21.43%	2	6.90%
All-around help	11	15.49%	4	13.33%	7	17.07%	9	21.43%	2	6.90%
Advocacy-oriented actions	9	12.68%	3	10.00%	6	14.63%	6	14.29%	3	10.34%
Professional actions	9	12.68%	3	10.00%	6	14.63%	4	9.52%	5	17.24%

Note: Column totals exceed 100% due to multiple responses.

Exhibit 9.1

Reasons for Not Contacting the Police/CJS Agencies

	Total (N=67)		Filipina (N=42)		Indian/Pakistani (N=25)		First generation (N=38)		1.5+ generations (N=29)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Lack of knowledge/familiarity	14	20.90%	8	19.05%	6	24.00%	11	28.95%	3	10.34%
Immigration status	10	14.93%	6	14.29%	4	16.00%	10	26.32%	0	0.00%
Shame and Privacy										
Shame/reputation/privacy	13	19.40%	5	11.90%	8	32.00%	3	7.89%	10	34.48%
Not burdening natal family	7	10.45%	2	4.76%	5	20.00%	2	5.26%	5	17.24%
Fear										
Fear of consequences/safety	14	20.90%	7	16.67%	7	28.00%	7	18.42%	7	24.14%
General fear	9	13.43%	5	11.90%	4	16.00%	3	7.89%	6	20.69%
Factors related to relationship and partner										
Hope for change/not ready	9	13.43%	2	4.76%	7	28.00%	6	15.79%	3	10.34%
Protecting partner	7	10.45%	3	7.14%	4	16.00%	2	5.26%	5	17.24%
Partner threatened/prevented	10	14.93%	5	11.90%	5	20.00%	5	13.16%	5	17.24%
Family member prevented	4	5.97%	1	2.38%	3	12.00%	3	7.89%	1	3.45%
Deciding there was no need for police intervention	9	13.43%	4	9.52%	5	20.00%	6	15.79%	3	10.34%
Factors related to CJS agencies <sup>^</sup>	7	10.45%	1	2.38%	6	24.00%	3	7.89%	4	13.79%
Other reasons										
Concerns for children	6	8.96%	3	7.14%	3	12.00%	4	10.53%	2	6.90%
Sense of denial/lack of awareness about IPV	6	8.96%	2	4.76%	4	16.00%	1	2.63%	5	17.24%
Social isolation/Lack of support	5	7.46%	2	4.76%	3	12.00%	3	7.89%	2	6.90%
Desire to avoid current hassles or future troubles	5	7.46%	2	4.76%	3	12.00%	0	0.00%	5	17.24%
Financial reasons	4	5.97%	2	4.76%	2	8.00%	4	10.53%	0	0.00%

Note: Column totals exceed 100% due to multiple responses.

<sup>^</sup> The perception that CJS cannot be trusted or that CJS interventions are limited/ineffective.