INDO-CANADIAN MEN'S PERCEPTIONS

OF MAJOR INFLUENCES ON THEIR ABUSIVE BEHAVIOUR

TOWARDS THEIR WIVES

By

IONA BRIERTON JOSEPH

B.S.N., University College of the Cariboo, 1994

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

ᶜ MASTER OF SCIENCE IN NURSING

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The School of Nursing

We accept this thesis as conforming

to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

April 1999

© Iona Brierton Joseph, 1999

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the head of my department or by his or her representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of _Nursing_

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

Date _March 29/99_

Abstract

Violence in families has been identified as a major social and public health concern (Humphreys & Fulmer, 1993). There is limited information on family violence within specific cultural groups. Of the literature available, the major focus is primarily on the abuse of women and children, while there is very little literature pertaining to the men who are the perpetrators of abuse. Furthermore, there is even less research literature focusing on how cultural values, beliefs and other factors may influence an abuser's behaviour.

Police records indicate that violence within the Indo-Canadian community in British Columbia is a concern. The Indo-Canadian population comprises one of the largest minority groups in the Lower Mainland area of British Columbia. It is projected that by the year 2000, 39% of the Vancouver population will be Indo-Canadian (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1992).

The purpose of this study was to describe Indo-Canadian male abuser's perceptions of major influences on their abusive behaviour towards their wives. An understanding of these perceptions and factors contributing to male violence with the Indo-Canadian culture was studied and obtained.

Three participants from an 'Assaultive Men's Program' who had been charged with abusing their wives, volunteered for this study. A qualitative, descriptive method formed in the context of the social interactionist approach to violence was used to direct this study. Data for this qualitative study was analyzed using a process of (inductive) content analysis. Two major categories (concepts) emerged from the data: 1) the acculturation process and 2) family life. Each of these categories also had separate themes. The

acculturation process that the participants experienced was described within two separate themes: 1) work related stressors and 2) feelings of isolation. The family life category was also described within four separate themes: 1) changing family structure, 2) family expectations and values, 3) the nature of communication, and 4) decision-making. Further discussion related to these themes is highlighted and the implications for nursing of practice, education and research were identified.

Table of Contents

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

List of Figures

Acknowledgements

My sincere appreciation to all of the individuals who agreed to participate in this study. They gave so generously of their time and energy so that others may benefit from their experience.

To Ninu Kang, Coordinator of the 'Assaultive Husbands Program' at MOSAIC who was responsible for assisting me with recruiting volunteers for this study. Thank you for your enthusiam in supporting this research study.

To my thesis committee members, Raymond Thompson, Janet Ericksen and Judy Lynam. To Ray, my committee chair, thank you for your support, encouragement and your incredible patience. Thank you for the many hours you spent nurturing my thoughts and ideas, for your promptness and your willingness to meet at a moment's notice. Your kindness, sincerity and dedication did not go unnoticed and will always be remembered. To Janet, thank you for your excellent academic leadership and direction throughout the research process. Your knowledge and expertise in the area of 'family violence' have been invaluable. To Judy, thank you for your valuable suggestions and your overall contribution which were necessary for the completion of this study.

My special thanks to my family, who have been such a blessing in my life. To my love, Tahir, my husband, thank you for your assistance in translating the interviews for this study. Your love, patience, support, encouragement and sacrifices during this process have enabled me to accomplish my academic goals. To my precious parents, thank you for your love and constant encouragement. Your tremendous support and prayers during this long journey was sincerely appreciated.

I thank my Heavenly Father and Lord Jesus Christ, for giving me the strength, wisdom, guidance and endurance needed to complete this project.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Background to the Problem

Violence in families has been identified as a major social and public health concern (Humphreys & Fulmer, 1993). According to the National Clearinghouse on Family Violence (1994), family violence can be defined as abuse of power within relationships of the family, involving trust, or dependency. It can include many forms of abusive behaviour such as emotional, psychological, physical and sexual assault, financial exploitation, and homicide. Spousal assault, or more specifically violence against women (also referred to in the literature as abuse of women in intimate relationships), is a growing epidemic that is often hidden, under-reported, and under-estimated (British Columbia Institute of Family Violence (BCIFV), 1994, p.3). Moss (1991) stated that "battering is the single most common cause of injury to women, more frequent than auto accidents, muggings and rape combined" (p.19). In a national survey of ever-married women 18 years of age and over, approximately 36% reported being assaulted at least once since the age of 16. Six percent of those assaulted resulted in severe injury requiring medical attention, while just over one-fourth (9%) of assaults were reported to the police (BCIFV, 1994). Many times the violence that occurs within the family can lead to the death of individual or multiple family members. In a research study released in 1994 by the B.C. Institute on Family Violence, 37% of all homicides were domestic murders. Of these, 46 per cent involved women being killed by intimate male partners.

Information on family violence within specific cultural groups is limited. BCIFV data (1994) suggests that individuals who have little control over events in their daily lives

are most susceptible to family violence. The BCIFV suggested that rates of violence are higher among the poor, the elderly, the disabled, the mentally ill, and certain ethno-cultural groups. Statistics indicating the occurrence of family violence within certain ethno-cultural groups are unavailable. However, police records have indicated that violence within the Indo-Canadian community is a concern. For example in Vancouver, between the months of January and July in 1995, eleven percent of the suspects charged with spousal assault were Indo-Canadian Males (Vancouver Police Department, personal communication, 1995). Population statistics indicated that there were over 26,000 Indo-Canadian people in Vancouver in 1996. Projections suggest that by the year 2000, the Indo-Canadian people will comprise 39% of the Vancouver population (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1992). In addition, there is a lack of specialized programs available for Indo-Canadian men who perpetrate abuse, and the Indo-Canadian women who are abused, who live within the Lower Mainland area of British Columbia.

The Indo-Canadian population comprises one of the largest minority cultural groups in the Lower Mainland area of British Columbia. According to Hess, Markson, and Stein (1989) minority groups have been accorded a "status based on a relative lack of power" (p. 39). The lack of power, control over resources, lack of opportunity, (more specifically problems with employment) barriers due to language, assimilation to the mainstream population, racism, and discrimination have been issues that minority groups within a multicultural society have faced. Often the lack of resources available to minority group families has left them poorly prepared to deal with these stresses that have been linked with interpersonal violence (Campbell & Campbell, 1993). Stressors that

newcomers to Canada face are heightened when there are limited sources of support. In addition, changes in roles and family structure may lead to family conflict. Anderson, Waxler-Morrison, Richardson, Herbert, and Murphy (1990) explained that as women become more independent than they were in their countries of origin and more aware of their rights, their husbands may grow resentful of their westernization.

As a health professional with an Indian background, I have become aware of the incidence of spousal abuse among acquaintances, co-workers, friends, and relatives. The prevalence of spousal abuse among people that I was in contact with was overwhelming and has triggered my interest in gaining a better understanding of this very issue. I was quite amazed at the extent that people I knew were experiencing violence from their husbands.

As I began working on my literature review for this thesis, I found that most literature pertained to the abuse of women and children and also focused on what was being done to help them. The more I read, I asked myself why there was so little focus on research on men, the perpetrators of abuse. I believe that if men abuse women, then we should be attempting to gain a better understanding of their behaviour so that we can better deal with this issue. Although abuse of women is a very serious and complex issue, I think that going to the root cause of the problem, the behaviour of abusive men, is necessary in order to manage this problem more effectively.

Although there has been an increased focus on the issue of family violence and its effects on the victims, there has been very little literature pertaining to the perpetrator of abuse. In the past, abused women have been the source for providing information on the

psychological and sociological characteristics of the abuser (Brisson, 1981). Hamberger and Hastings (1986) agreed that, although a profile of psychological characteristics of abusers based on direct examination exists, most research describing characteristics of the abuser has been based on reports from the abuser's victim or from clinical observation by health professionals.

The literature that is available on men who abuse their partners examines personality disorders, psychological and social status, abuse within family of origin, and physiological differences in batterers. According to Else, Wonderlich, Beatty, Christie, and Staton (1993), studies which have examined the characteristics and personality traits of men who abuse revealed significant psychopathology, alcohol abuse, paranoid traits, and mild depression. Hamberger and Hastings (1988) reported that approximately 85% of batterers meet the criteria for personality disorder with borderline, passive-aggressive, schizoid, avoidant, and antisocial characteristics. In a study by Murphy, Meyer, and O'Leary (1993) which examined the association between family of origin violence and self-reports by partner-assaultive men, the results indicate significant trauma histories and psychological difficulties which suggest a continuity of social and emotional development from childhood maltreatment to adult relationship violence.

Furthermore, there has been even less research literature focusing on how cultural values, beliefs, and other factors may influence an abuser's behaviour. Campbell and Campbell (1993) would have agreed that because these variables have not been studied extensively, "it is unknown to what extent they contribute to the social-structural context causing violence" (p.297). Spradley (1991) discussesed how culture is "often an

overlooked dimension of health care" (p.499). Spradley defined culture as the "beliefs, values and behaviour that are learned by members of social groups" (p.499). Violence can also be considered a cultural value. Felson and Tedeschi (1993a) believed that coercion has been used in all (cultural) societies. Gelles and Cornell (1983) stated that India has characteristically been a non-violent society which greatly emphasizes the subordinate role of women. So perhaps then one must question whether the society's values and beliefs toward non-violence are in congruence with one's personal or familial beliefs or whether it is an idealistic view of India's society.

The problem of family violence involves complex issues that affect each member of the family. Campbell (1993) argued that nursing as a profession using holistic, client based theories is "ideally suited to understand the needs of the family members" experiencing violence (p. 349).

Nurses may come into contact with families in various settings such as the hospital, clinic, school or community. Nurses' unique position as primary care providers gives them the opportunity and morally obligates them to act as client advocates (Campbell, 1993; Henderson & Ericksen, 1994). Client advocacy involves nurses in the identification, prevention, education, and intervention against family violence. Campbell (1993) stated that as a professional nurse's primary focus is the client rather than the problem, the nurse is better prepared than other professionals to help clients who are experiencing family violence. Newberger and Bourne (1978) recognized that "nursing's ability to conceptualize the familial and social context of problems of violence" is also being identified by other health professionals (p. 601).

Health professionals must be constantly aware of the total context of people's lives. In addition to ethno-cultural factors, social and economic factors may also contribute to one's health. When working with immigrants, nurses must be sensitive to the hardships that result from the process of uprooting and resettling in a new country. Social and economic conditions may play a significant part in one's experience of health and illness (Anderson, Waxler-Morrison, Richardson, Herbert, & Murphy, 1990). Canada is a multicultural society with many ethnic and cultural groups represented. Culturally sensitive family nursing care is based on understanding and respecting the diverse backgrounds and perspectives of Canadian families today. In addition, cultural sensitivity provides direction for recognizing power imbalances. Culturally sensitive health care providers are aware of the dynamics which can impact power imbalances within the family such as family structure, roles, values, and (religious) beliefs (Campbell & Humphreys, 1993).

The Indo-Canadian community is currently the second fastest growing immigrant population in the Vancouver and Lower Mainland Area. Although individuals from this ethnic population often share beliefs, values, and experiences, "factors such as social class, religion, level of education, and area of origin (rural or urban)" result in widespread diversity among the group which can influence any one Indo-Canadian individual's practices and behaviours (Anderson et al. 1990, p. 247). Both men and women experience a process of adjustment while trying to cope with their new lives in Canada. They encounter language barriers, discrimination, changes in life style, status, income, and employment which can contribute to social isolation and feelings of frustration, hopelessness, and despair.

The process of migration and adjustment to a new culture can impose additional strain and stress to the family structure (Assanand, Dias, Richardson, & Waxler-Morrison, 1990). For example, a woman who may have traditionally stayed at home, while her husband was the breadwinner, now needs to find employment outside the home. This situation can be threatening to the traditional husband who fears his wife is becoming westernized and perhaps in contact with other men in the workplace.

The experience of women working outside the home often results in their increased independence and assertiveness. This change in their wives's nature may be interpreted by some husbands as being rebellious, resulting in the husband feeling even more threatened. The husband's reaction to his wife may be one of exerting increased control and resorting to violence (Assanand et al. 1990).

Significance of the Study

Each year in the Vancouver and Lower Mainland area of British Columbia, the immigrant population within the Indo-Canadian community increases with the migration of individuals and families from India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Africa, and Fiji. With the prevalence of abuse of Indo-Canadian women by their partners within this growing population, the need for nursing research in the area of family violence is tremendous. Nurses are ideally positioned to make major contributions to the knowledge base of family violence. Although other disciplines have conducted and published family violence literature, relatively few nursing studies have been reported (Humphreys & Fulmer, 1993).

The area of family violence has come to the forefront in the past decade. There has been extensive research focusing on the victims and the impact that family violence has on

them. However, there is very little literature pertaining to the perpetrator of abuse.

Existing literature describing characteristics of the abuser has been based mostly on

reports from the abusers' victims or from clinical observation (Hamberger & Hastings,

1986). Furthermore, there is limited knowledge of male abusers' perceptions of major

influences on their abusive behaviour. The information gained from this study may provide

a greater awareness of these influences and thus contribute to a greater understanding of

the abuser's behaviour. In the future this information may contribute to the development

and implementation of culturally sensitive programs aimed at understanding and

preventing violence within the family.

Problem Statement

With the increasing influx of Indo-Canadian immigrants and the prevalence of

abuse of women by their partners within the Indo-Canadian community, there is a need to

gain information focusing on the perpetrator of abuse.

To date, no studies have been conducted which explore the perspectives of Indo-

Canadian men who abuse their wives. The perceptions that assaultive Indo-Canadians

husbands have about major influences on their abusive behaviour needs to be researched

and understood.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to describe Indo-Canadian male abusers' perceptions

of major influences on their abusive behaviour. An understanding of these perceptions will

be helpful in identifying factors contributing to male violence within the Indo-Canadian

culture. Additionally, the information gained from this study will be helpful in further

developing and implementing culturally sensitive violence prevention programs.
Furthermore, this study will contribute to the development of the knowledge base related
to the precursors of male violence.

Objective

To describe assaultive Indo-Canadian men's perceptions of major influences in
their lives leading to their (abusive and violent) behaviour towards their wives.

Conceptual Framework

The theoretical framework which provides direction for this study is the social
interactionist perspective, as proposed by Tedeschi and Felson (1994). The social
interactionist perspective provides a comprehensive theory of aggression. This conceptual
framework is used to explore aggressive behaviour in individuals. This approach attempts
to integrate previously separate literatures on aggression and violence, social power and
influence, social conflict and negotiation, retributive justice, and self-presentation.
Tedeschi and Felson (1994) stated that "according to social interactionist theory, an
individual engages in harmful actions in order to gain compliance, redress grievances, and
promote or defend valued identities" (p.295).

The social interactionist perspective is based on four basic principles (Felson &
Tedeschi, 1993b). First, this approach interprets aggression as an instrumental behaviour,
a means to achieving certain values or goals. For example, aggression may be used to
influence others. The actor is viewed as one who makes decisions while considering the
benefits, costs and moral values (Felson & Tedeschi, 1993a). In other words, the greater
the anticipated value of an outcome and the lower the expected cost associated with a

coercive action, the more likely a coercive action will be performed. There are three kinds of coercive action: use of threats, bodily force, and punishment. Alternatively the greater the anticipated costs for performing a coercive act, the less likely the coercive act will be performed (Tedeschi & Felson, 1994).

Felson & Tedeschi (1993a) described the decision making process as one involving elements including the expectations of success in the achievement of outcomes, the value of outcomes, and the expectations and negative values of costs. This assumes the complete rationality of the decision maker who is viewed as having foresight before acting. However when the decision making occurs quickly, the behaviour appears impulsive and spontaneous (Tedeschi & Felson, 1994). Second, this approach views aggressive behaviour as a normal consequence of conflict in human relations. Additionally, aggression is used as a strategy that individuals use in order to achieve compliance. Coercive actions, such as causing harm and forcing compliance are valued because the actor believes it will lead to tangible benefits. The actor may use coercion to control the behaviour of other people. In order to achieve compliance of an individual the group may use threats and punishments to obtain love, status, information, money, goods, or one's physical well-being and security (Felson and Tedeschi, 1993a).

Third, the social interactionist perspective emphasizes situational factors in the development of interactions which are coercive and aggressive. Harm-doing is explained by the relationship between the parties, the dynamics of the interchange between them, and the presence or absence of third parties. Although this perspective focuses on situational factors, it also recognizes the importance of individual differences (Felson and

Tedeschi, 1993a). In other words, outcome is not known but is influenced by the individuals or third parties involved. A person might consider the impact that third parties would have on the cost of performing a coercive act. For example a brother or father may intervene on the side of an abused wife. The fear of punishment from these third parties may deter the use of coercion (Tedeschi & Felson, 1994).

The final principle requires an understanding of why people engage in harm-doing by examining their perceptions, judgements, expectations, and values (Felson & Tedeschi, 1993a). Thus, beliefs about justice and equity, assigning blame and what people say to excuse or justify their behaviour are central to this principle. Actors often view their own harm doing as legitimate and even moralistic (Felson and Tedeschi, 1993a). People believe that virtuous behaviour should be rewarded and blameworthy behaviour should be punished (Tedeschi & Felson, 1994). Retributive justice refers to the belief that blameworthy behaviour ought to be punished. The motive to restore justice is associated with grievances or complaints in regards to punishing those who unfairly treat others (Felson and Tedeschi, 1993a).

Describing Indo-Canadian men's perceptions of influences on their abusive behaviour towards their wives is in keeping with the social interactionist perspective because it examines one's perceptions and values while trying to seek understanding of factors influencing an individual's behaviour. This framework can also be applied cross-culturally because it recognizes the importance of how one's culture influences one's beliefs and values and consequently impacts one's behaviour and incorporates power and social relation. This theory is based on the belief that varying forms of coercion exist

across all cultures and are used in all societies (Felson & Tedeschi, 1993a). Felson and Tedeschi (1993a) offered five guidelines for assessment and application of this framework cross-culturally. These guidelines are as follows: 1) The use of coercion to force compliance, usually for economic or sexual purposes, 2) the use of coercion by grievances to restore justice and exact social control, 3) types of offenses and the expression of grievances, 4) the role of third party intervention assistance, and lastly 5) the role of social identities in coercive interactions.

Research Question

What are Indo-Canadian men's perceptions of major influences on their abusive behaviour toward their wives?

Definition of Terms

1. **Indo-Canadian Men** - men who live in Canada and have origins from India and Pakistan, and who speak the Hindi, Urdu, English and/or Punjabi languages (Mosaic Assaultive Husband Programs Brochure).
   Note: Although the terms 'Indo-Canadian' and 'South Asian' can be used interchangeably, 'Indo-Canadian' will be used because members of the contact organization (MOSAIC) men's group have been identified by this term.

2. **wives** - women married to perpetrators of abuse

3. **major influences** - factors that the participants verbalize as being significant to/influential on their behaviour.

4. **perception** - ones level of awareness or understanding: point of view about/regarding an event or an experience

5. **abusive behaviour** - the manner in which one or more persons conducts oneself using force aimed towards another person, can be emotional, physical, sexual or financial in nature. Involves the abuse of power within relationships of trust and dependency.

Assumptions

The researcher has made the following assumptions in this study:

1. That abusive men can identify and verbalize the influences on their behaviour.

2. That abusive men will be truthful and honest in their responses during the interview.

3. That the translator used to assist in data collection accurately conveys the subjects' responses to the researcher.

Limitations

The researcher has identified several limitations of this study:

1. This study will be based upon the reports of men who volunteer to share their perceptions of major influences in their individual lives; therefore each view will be unique, individual, and non-generalizable to other abusive men.

2. Participants who volunteer in this study have been court-ordered to attend counselling and therefore, may be reluctant to respond.

3. The responses and the information that the participants divulge to the researcher may be selective.

Summary

This study was designed to understand the perceptions that Indo-Canadian males have of major influences on their abusive behaviour towards their wives. This section outlined the background and significance of this research problem along with the purpose, objectives, and conceptual framework of this study. The social interactionist perspective (Felson & Tedeshi, 1993ab.) was the framework selected to provide direction for this study. The Social Interactionist Approach to Violence is a theoretical framework based on the belief that varying degrees of coercion exists and are used by all societies across all cultures. The research question to be addressed in the study was presented. The definition of terms, assumptions, and limitations of this study were also identified. In the following section, theories of aggression and violence will be presented and current literature relevant to this study will be presented.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, literature exploring factors which help to understand the behaviour of the male abuser is presented. Although there is considerable research which focuses on the area of family violence, there is a limited body of literature which explores violence from the perspective of men who abuse. This review provides the background and context which directs this research study. Two key areas are discussed. These are: theories of aggression and violence, with a focus on intergenerational aggression; and social and psychological factors associated with family violence, concentrating on characteristics of the abuser, and cultural issues.

Theories of Aggression/Violence

There are numerous theories pertaining to the causation of wife abuse; they can be classified primarily as being either psychological or sociological theories. Psychological theories used to explain violent behaviour include psychoanalytic theory, social learning theory, and social `support theory. Sociological theories explaining violence include sociocultural theory, subcultural theory, sex-role theory, feminist theory, and stress theory.

Psychological Theories of Violence

The psychoanalytic theory was the earliest psychological theory to provide an explanation for wife abuse (Russell, 1988). This theory identified personality traits that characterize violent individuals, which may have developed in early childhood as psychiatric disorders. Some of these psychiatric diagnoses include antisocial, passive-aggressive, obsessive-compulsive, paranoid, and borderline personality types (Russell, 1988).

In contrast, social learning theory as developed by Bandura (1973) can be applied to wife abuse. The behaviour begins when an individual learns to respond violently to situations by modelling the abusive behaviour of family members, peers, and significant others. This theory provides an explanation of why violence is passed down from one generation to the next. Many of the research studies that will be examined in this section explore this perspective. Research indicates that men who abuse have a high incidence of having witnessed family violence as children (Russell, 1988). This can be explained by the concept of intergenerational transmission of violence, a key concept that will be examined in depth in the next section. Russell (1988) explained that the social learning theory also sheds some light on why some women remain in abusive relationships because they may have grown up in a abusive home and learned to accept, tolerate, and perhaps even expect violence in their marital relationship. Social learning theory is primarily useful as a theory of socialization; however it ignores the social context of aggressive behaviour. In addition, social learning theory does not consider how situational factors can impact and influence aggression or and individual's motive for aggression. While interviewing men for this research study, the presence or absence of patterns of abuse will be explored as a possible influence on their abusive behaviour.

DeKeseredy (1988) used social support theory to explain abuse of women. Social support theory has generally been used to explain the role of social support in the maintenance of health and the prevention of disease (DeKeserdy, 1988). DeKerserdy stated that research reveals a strong association between positive social support and well-being. There are two models which illustrate this relationship: 1) the main-effect model

and 2) the buffering model. The main effect model reasons that ones' level of well-being increases as their social support increases and as integration into social networks occurs. The buffering model argues that social support protects people from the negative effects of stressful life events. However, DeKerserdy's (1988) social support model illustrated that social support from male peers or integration into a male social network may lead to wife abuse. DeKersedy (1988) recounted research by Bowker (1983) that supports the positive relationship between the frequency and severity of beatings and one's contact with male friends. Bowker (1983) explained that men who abuse their wives are heavily integrated into male social networks which encourage "standards of gratification" (p.7) by dominating their wives.

Sociological Theories of Violence

Levine (1986) presented an analysis of major sociocultural changes contributing to the weakening of moral standards which were normally primary deterrents of family and interpersonal violence. Levine suggested that these changes include widespread residential mobility, the weakening of parental authority, and the impact of the media and popular culture by portraying themes of violence and sexuality. When discussing the functions of the traditional family prior to the industrial revolution, Levine (1986) explained that children helped their parents with tasks, adopted their family's culture and religion, learned family roles, values, and standards that were consistent with the community. These deeply entrenched values also functioned as social constraints deterring individuals from misbehaving.

Levine (1986) believed that with certain sociocultural conditions, such as the industrial revolution and changes in the economy, there was a weakening in the traditional standards and behavioral norms which encouraged "impulse-gratification, self-centredness, and the tendency to live in and for the present" (p. 5). An additional change involved the widespread occupational, social, and residential mobility. Individuals and families were uprooted from their communities.This contributed to them becoming distant from their families and from sharing their cultural traditions and beliefs.

Levine (1986) also explained that the pursuit of self-fulfilment and individual interest has been another influential factor in changing our culture. This has resulted in children spending little time with their parents and a decline in parental authority.

Lastly, the mass media and popular culture entertains children and youth through TV, music, and even sports as it candidly presents aggression, violence, and sexual degradation of women. This has resulted in widespread public acceptance and approval of expressions of aggression (Levine, 1986). Levine does not suggest that abusive and aggressive behaviour and violence didn't exist previously, only that it has become more accepted and tolerated by society. In addition, Levine does not suggest that abuse has increased or decreased, but offers an explanation for the change in familial and cultural values.

Similarly, Campbell and Humphreys (1993) discussed the subculture of violence as consisting of value judgements, or a social value system, which is removed from and yet a part of a larger value system. Campbell and Humphreys (1993) explained that although a subculture may have common values with a dominant culture, their values may also

conflict with those in the larger culture. Campbell and Humphreys referred to Wolfgang

and Ferracuti's (1967) identification of the subculture as a "potent theme of violence

current in the cluster of values that make up the life style, the socialization process, the

interpersonal relationships of individuals living in similar conditions" (p.25). Lastly, they

summarized that participants in the subculture are expected to respond to certain stimuli

with violence (Campbell & Humphreys).

A familiar and very basic theory is the sex-role theory which suggests that

throughout the process of socialization, girls are taught to be passive and submissive.

Boys on the other hand, are taught to be aggressive and in control; this contributes to

setting the stage for abuse in adult relationships (Russell, 1988).

Similarly, feminist theory explains wife abuse as a form of domination and control

by men of women (Bograd, 1988). The feminist view implies that patriarchy is the major

causing factor of wife abuse. According to Dobash and Dobash (1979) "Men who assault

their wives are actually living up to cultural prescriptions that are cherished in Western

society - aggressiveness, male dominance and female subordination - and they are using

physical force as a means to enforce that dominance" (p. 24).

Farrington (1986) applied the general stress model to the occurrence of family

violence. Farrington described the stress model's seven components: 1) a stressor stimulus,

2) objective demand (ie., the objective reality of a particular stressor stimulus,

3) subjective demand (perceptions of an individual), 4) and individual's capability to

respond to a stressor stimuli, 5) coping behaviour used by an individual in response to a

stressor, 6) the stress level of an individual as a result of the stress experience,

7) consequences of the stress experience. Farrington (1986) was of the belief that the general stress model can be applied to both individuals and social systems such as social organization and social groups. The modern family is not stress free; rather the family experiences a number of events that can represent stressor stimuli such as economic self-sufficiency, socialization of children, and satisfying marital relations. In order to meet the demands of each day, each individual utilizes various skills, attributes, and resources to manage demands posed by the stressor stimuli. Similarly at the level of the family, these resources include: 1) internal family resources ie., family cohesiveness, ability to communicate, 2) social support system ie., extended family and community, and 3) the combined personal resources of family members. The general stress model views aggression and violence as one possible response to stressor stimuli. Farrington (1986) suggested that violence is encouraged by societal norms that reinforce the relationships between stress, frustration, and violent behaviour and legitimizes violence within the family context. This framework views violence as a type of coping mechanism, which one uses in an attempt to respond to a difficult, problematic, or stressful situation.

Intergenerational Aggression

Intergenerational transmission of aggression theory claims that aggression within the family of origin predicts the later enactment of family aggression (MacEwen, 1994; Tedeschi & Felson, 1994). Nearly three decades ago, Curtis (1963) expressed his concerns that abused children would become violent criminals in adulthood. The intergenerational transmission theory explains how the exposure to aggression in one generation increases the likelihood of aggressive behaviour in a later generation (Doumas, Margolin, & John,

1994). The intergenerational theory of violence can be linked to the third principle of the social interactionist perspective framework. The social interactionist perspective emphasizes situational factors in the development of coercive and aggressive interactions. In addition, harm-doing is explained by the relationship between the parties, the dynamics of the interchange between them, and the presence or absence of third parties (Felson & Tedeschi, 1993a). As mentioned earlier, the current research study explored patterns of abuse from one's family of origin as a possibly significant factor on the abusive behaviour of participants.

MacEwen's (1994) study, which attempted to refine the theory of intergenerational transmission of violence, considered several features of family origin aggression: frequency and severity of aggression, the impact of family of origin aggression, identification with parents, model and observer genders, and whether the aggression was witnessed or experienced. Seventy-three college students volunteered, 21 who had been in a dating relationship of at least 3 months in the past year, and 52 who were currently involved in a relationship lasting an average of a year and a half. Various statistical measures were used to determine the significance of each feature of family of origin aggression. The results of the study support the notion that there are features of family of origin aggression that impact on the risk of emerging/enacting later relationship aggression. First, both mothers' and fathers' aggression in the family of origin predicted to a significant level their current use of relationship aggression. Secondly, both the interaction between witnessed and experienced aggression were predictive of current

relationship aggression. In addition, family of origin aggression suggests that exposure to negative, family of origin aggression is more predictive of current relationship aggression.

In MacEwen's (1994) study, participants were college students in dating relationships rather than married. However, this highlights interesting information that relationship aggression may commence prior to marriage among some couples. In the current study, participants will be married men. In addition, the concept of family of origin aggression/violence may arise when the participant's discussed their parent's relationship.

Murphy, Meyer, and O'Leary (1993) examined the association between family of origin violence, self-reports of psychopathology, and levels of current abusive behaviour. They compared 24 maritally violent (MV) men, 24 nonviolent men from a discordant marriage (DNV), and 24 nonviolent men (HNV) from happy well-adjusted marriages. As predicted, the research findings indicated that maritally violent men (MV) men had been subjected to significantly more physical punishment and abuse in their families of origin than either comparison group. Fifty percent of the MV men versus 12.5% of the DNV men and 0% of the HNV men were coded into the "severe" childhood abuse history category. In addition, physical abuse of the mother by the father or another male partner in the family of origin was reported significantly more often (54%) by the maritally violent group than by the contrast groups (DNV: 21%, HNV: 21%). When either a history of severe childhood abuse or physical abuse of the mother were considered together, 70% of the MV men, 29% of the DNV men, and 21% of the HNV men reported one or the other type of violence in the family of origin. Furthermore, for the maritally violent men's group (MV), a history of severe physical abuse in childhood was positively

associated with levels of current psychopathology and various personality disorders. Results from this study suggest that a history of severe childhood abuse and physical abuse of the mother in the family of origin is correlated significantly with the frequency of physical and psychological aggression perpetrated by MV men in their current relationships.

The Murphy et al. (1993) study used a controlled group for comparison, unlike the previous MacEwen (1994) study. Both the MacEwen (1994) and Murphy et al. (1993) studies explored the concept of family of origin aggression and childhood abuse as a possible contributing factor towards current levels of psychopathology and personality disorders among the violent men (MV). The MacEwen (1994) study did not look at how family of origin impacts on psychopathology and personality disorders. The current study will not be examining the impact of family of origin aggression on the development of psychopathology and personality disorders.

Doumas, Margolin, and John (1994) studied the intergenerational transmission of aggression across three generations in 181 community families. Ninety-one females and ninety males with at least one child age 8 to 11 years were recruited through public announcements. The research sought to address the extent to which child abuse and marital abuse in the family of origin is predictive of marital conflict and parental aggression, and the potential for child abuse from the first generation to the second and third generations. Using a written and verbal questionnaire, both mothers and fathers were asked to respond to questions concerning aggression in the family of origin, aggression in the marital and parental relationships, and current child aggression. Results of this research

partially support the intergenerational transmission of aggression hypothesis; however, patterns of transmission seem to be different for males and females.

Exposure to aggressive behaviour was predictive of aggression across three generations of males. Specific results indicate that exposure to marital aggression in the family of origin may be predictive of both marital and parental aggression in second generation males, while child abuse potential in the second generation may be predictive of aggression in third generation males. Aggression in boys in the third generation may also be predicted when there is a parental history of marital aggression.

In contrast, exposure to aggression may not be predictive of aggressive behaviour across any of the three generations for females. However, a history of marital aggression in the family of origin may be predictive of being the recipient of marital aggression for second generation wives. This study is unique in that intergenerational transmission of aggression is studied across three generations. In addition this study also accounts for differences in aggression between males and females. For the proposed research study, only abusive husbands will be interviewed, not families.

Cantrell, MacIntyre, Sharkey, and Thompson (1995) explored violence in the marital dyad as a predictor of violence in the peer relationships of adolescent and young adult relationships. Cantrell et al. defined peer relationships as "friends or acquaintances" of the same or opposite sex. Two hundred and fifty six people, 144 women and 112 men, between the ages of 18 and 20 years who were first year college students, were administered a demographic questionnaire and the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS), which is used to measure how two people resolve conflicts.

Research findings from the study indicated that a history of parental violence was predictive of violence in same-sex peer relationships, both with father to mother violence, and mother to father violence. A history of parental violence with father to mother, and mother to father was also predictive of opposite-sex peer relationships. This meant that parental violence was predictive of violence between boys and girls. Furthermore, the data also suggested that fathers were more powerful models of violent behaviour than were mothers.

In summary, marital violence experienced by a child seems to predict peer violence by that child as an adult or late adolescent. In addition, these findings support theory which claims that violence within the family leads to violence in interpersonal relationships outside the family. Similar to the MacEwen (1994) study, this study interviewed college students. This study also examined the impact of violence on family members such as children, as well as its' impact on interpersonal relationships outside the family such as with peers violence.

Hoglund and Nicholas' (1995) research focused on the relationship between an abusive environment within the family and proneness to shame, guilt, anger, and hostility in college students. One hundred and seven males and 101 females students from an undergraduate psychology class at a university participated. Results of the study revealed that there may be an important connection between exposure to emotional abusiveness and shame proneness, anger, and aggression. The greater exposure to emotional abusiveness was related to higher shame while exposure to physical abusiveness did not indicate a significant relationship to feelings of shame.

Results revealed that greater exposure to emotional abusiveness but not physical abusiveness was significantly related to higher shame, hostility, and expressed anger and unexpressed anger. Additionally, there was no significant relationship between both emotional and physical abusiveness with guilt. However, results from this study revealed a significant relationship between emotional abusiveness and the experience and expression of anger and hostility. In general, results from this study emphasized the importance of family interactions which are abusive, specifically emotional abusiveness in relation to later problems with shame, anger, and hostility in young adulthood. Again, like MacEwen's (1994) and Cantrell et al. (1995) studies, this study also interviewed college students who were not abusive. However the Hoglund and Nicholas study focused on how family violence impacts one's proneness to specific feelings of shame, guilt, anger and hostility. For the current research study, it may have been possible that feelings of shame guilt, anger, and hostility may have surfaced when subjects talked about their childhood memories.

In a similar study, Dutton, van Ginkel, and Starzomski (1995) researched the role of shame and guilt in the intergenerational transmission of abusiveness. One hundred and forty court referred and self-referred males with prior histories of wife assault underwent testing and clinical assessment. Study results indicated that shame and guilt scale scores correlated significantly with abusiveness, anger, trauma symptoms, and borderline personality in adult perpetrators of physical abuse. In addition, partial correlations suggest that shaming experiences had a greater impact on the abusive adult personality than experiences of physical abuse. One's experiences of being shamed were also found to

contribute to one's personality formation, as parental abusiveness contributed to behaviour demonstrating borderline anger and a tendency to project blame in adulthood. Data from this study support the notion that attacks on one's self-concept within the family of origin has significant effects on the maintenance of a low self-concept in adulthood (Dutton et al. 1995). The Hoglund and Nicholas (1995) study and the Dutton et al. (1995) study indicated that emotional abusiveness as compared to physical abusiveness have a significantly higher impact on feelings of low self-concept in adulthood. The current research study did not directly address feelings of shame and guilt, nor was the participant's personality explored. Rather, the focus was the subjects' perceptions of influences on their abusive behaviour toward their wives.

Recently, researchers and theorists have considered that the intergenerational transmission theory may need to be expanded to be more gender-sensitive. Langhinrichsen-Rohling, Neidig, and Thorn (1995) recognized this need in their study of one hundred and ninety-nine military couples. The subjects who were mandated for marital violence treatment were interviewed conjointly about past and current marital violence, childhood victimization, type of parental violence witnessed, and subjective impressions of childhood emotional and/or physical abuse. The majority of couples (83%) were mutually aggressive. The majority (55.3%) of the military husbands were classified as severely aggressive while 37.2% of the wives were designated as severely aggressive. Husbands were less likely to report being injured and reported less significant injuries from the marital aggression than their wives. One hundred and thirty-three (66.8%) of the husbands reported receiving no injuries as a result of the aggression, while seventy (35.2%) of the

wives reported no injuries. Additionally, wives were more likely to report higher levels of experiencing fear. As well, wives were likely to blame themselves for past marital aggression more than their husbands. Assessment of past childhood victimization from their parents revealed that about half (49.2%) of the military husbands indicated childhood victimization, in contrast to 59.3% of the wives. There was a slightly significant correlation for husbands, but not for wives, between the level of childhood victimization and the level of perpetration of violence within the marital relationship.

In summary, husbands in this non-voluntary military sample were more severely aggressive, less likely to be injured, and less fearful of their spouses' aggression than were their wives. In contrast to the previous studies, this study provided only weak support for the intergenerational transmission of aggression theory. The prevalence results indicated that neither the witnessing nor the experiencing of parental aggression was necessary for engaging in subsequent marital aggression. Results from this study indicated that it seems to make a difference whether you received childhood abuse from your mother or your father. Preliminary findings from this study indicated for both husbands and wives, that childhood victimization from mothers predicted marital perpetration, whereas childhood victimization from fathers predicted marital victimization (Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al. 1995). This study is noteworthy because it compares both the husband and wife's perceptions of family violence.

In their research, Stith and Farley (1993) presented and tested a predictive model of male spousal violence. In this model, severe physical violence perpetrated by a husband was related to one exogenous variable (observing marital violence during childhood) and

five endogenous variables (the participant's level of marital stress, his attitude regarding the acceptability of marital violence, his level of sex-role egalitarianism, his level of alcoholism and his level of self-esteem). Sex-role attitudes and attitudes approving of marital violence were the strongest predictors of the use of severe physical violence in marriage. Observation of violence in childhood directly influenced both egalitarianism and approval of marital violence which both directly influenced the use of severe violence. In addition, observation of parental violence was related to decreased self-esteem which influenced level of alcoholism and approval of marital violence. This study indicated that observing marital violence during childhood influenced ones' attitudes towards marital violence. In the current research study it was possible that the participants could have discussed their attitudes towards marital violence, although it would have been difficult to determine whether there would have been a connection between observations of childhood violence and attitudes towards marital violence.

<div align="center">

Social and Psychological Factors Associated

with Family Violence

<u>Characteristics of the Abuser</u>

</div>

In the past, researchers have tried to learn more about men who abuse their wives, their characteristics, and why they are abusive (Barrera, Palmer, Brown, & Kalaher, 1994). Several common characteristics of violent families have been identified in the research literature. Some of these include observed and experienced childhood abuse and abusive families.

Roberts (1987) examined 234 men who had been charged with abusing women. This study focused on psychosocial characteristics as well as the relationship between abuse and such variables as age, race, alcohol and/or drug abuse, the assailant's relationship to the abused woman, criminal history, and employment status. The profile that emerged from the findings of this study suggested that the characteristics of the abuser include: a young man between the ages of 20 and 34; is cohabiting rather than in a marital relationship; is either unemployed or working in a blue collar job; and is likely to be an excessive drinker or drug abuser. The profile of an abuser as suggested by this study cannot be generalized to all men who have been charged with abusing women. Studies examining the association between alcohol and abuse is be explored later in the literature review.

Barrera, Palmer, Brown, and Kalaher (1994) conducted a research study which investigated the characteristics of 86 court-involved men (CI) and 42 non-court involved (NCI) men who abused their wives and were attending a treatment program. Comparisons between the two groups of men were made in the following areas: demographic, personal, and family characteristics; the history and nature of their abusive behaviour; and their relationship with their abused partner. In addition, this study also looked at the relationship between drinking and violent behaviour, and both the abuser's and their partner's views of their social supports. The demographic characteristics showed that NCI men had significantly more years of education, were more likely to be employed full-time, and tended to earn more money that the court-involved men. In this study men in both groups had a history of family violence as children. There were no significant differences

between court-involved men and non-court involved men in witnessing parental violence as children, in experiencing physical abuse by their parents, or in exhibiting deviant behaviour in their adolescence and teens. However, there was a significant difference between the two groups in their histories of violence in intimate relationships. The CI men reported fewer physical assaults during the past year and a tendency for a higher number of separations from the abused partner than the NCI men. There were no significant differences on reported verbal and emotional abuse to the partner. Both groups had significantly higher scores in the areas of hypochondriasis, depression, alienation, anxiety, and impulsiveness. The CI group had higher denial and social introversion scores while the NCI group had significantly higher interpersonal problem scores. Both groups of men reported similar scores in their perception of the effects of alcohol on the relationship; however, more CI men reported alcohol to be a significant factor in the last assault, although this remains somewhat unclear. Perhaps this might indicate that CI men tend not to accept responsibility for their violent behaviour. The non-court involved (NCI) men reported having more social supports from outside the family than men in the court involved (CI) group, suggesting that social isolation and the lack of social support as a significant concern among the CI group. Lastly, partners of CI men reported seeking more help after the last assault. The NCI men came for treatment on their own rather than by court persuasion, which could mean they were more receptive to getting help.

Patterns of family and nonfamily violence were explored by Shields, McCall, and Hanneke (1988) in a study using both criminological and family violence approaches. In-depth interviews were conducted with 86 abusive husbands, using descriptions of their

violence toward 12 possible categories: attitudes towards violence in general, and toward violence directed at specific targets; attitudes towards their own marriages, marriage in general, and women in general; degree of family responsibility; history of depression and suicide attempts, involvement in gambling; involvement in the criminal justice system: degree of jealousy regarding wife's interpersonal relationships: childhood socialization to violence; history of drug and/or alcohol abuse: help-seeking for problems with violence, marriage, drugs/alcohol, or other personal psychological concerns; loyalty to the marital relationship; and background demographic characteristic. Chi square test and simple ANOVAS revealed the variables were significantly related to violence patterns. Data confirmed the existence of three patterns of male violence-'family only', 'nonfamily only', and 'generally violent'.

The 'family only' classification was given to a respondent if he was only violent with members of his family (such as a spouse, former spouses, adult children, parents, and in-laws). The 'nonfamily only' classification was given to a respondent who was violent with one, two, or all three of nonfamily targets (such as friends or acquaintances, authority figures or strangers). Lastly, the 'generally violent' classification was given to respondents whose most severe target category was a combination of family and friends. Research findings from this study were relevant to the current research study because they suggested that the values and attitudes regarding the use of interpersonal violence are probably learned and supported by the social groups in which these men participate. In addition, these findings support the notion that violence is culturally transmitted (Shields et al. 1988). Shields et al. (1988) believed that the acceptance of the use of violence seems

to be passed on to younger generations by the families as well as by social groups outside the family.

Saunder's (1992) study of 182 men undergoing assessment in a treatment program for men who abuse categorized three typologies of these men: family-only aggressors, generalized aggressors, and emotionally volatile aggressors. The six variables of depression, anger, generalized violence, severity of violence, attitudes towards women, and alcohol use were entered into the cluster analysis. Findings indicated that type 1 men, or "family-only" aggressors, reported low levels of anger, depression, and jealousy. These men were least likely to be abused as children and to be violent outside the home. They reported the most marital satisfaction, the least marital conflict, and least incidence of psychological abuse. Alcohol was associated with their violence half the time, and some had been arrested for driving while drunk. Type 2 men, or the "generally violent" aggressors, were the most likely to be violent outside the home. They reported experiencing severe childhood abuse yet only reported low to moderate levels of depression and anger. Their violence was strongly associated with alcohol use and reported the most frequent use of severe violence. Their attitudes about sex roles were more rigid than those of type 1 men. They reported moderate rates of marital satisfaction and conflict, and the high rates of arrest for drunk driving and violence reflect their alcohol use and severe violence. Type 3 men were younger and better educated. Type 3 men, or the "emotionally volatile" aggressors, reported the highest levels of anger, depression, and jealousy. Although they reported moderate levels of being severely violent, they reported being the most psychologically abusive and the least satisfied in their relationships. This

study is similar to the Shield et al. (1988) study in that it grouped the abusers into categories which identifies whether they are being aggressive within the family or outside the family.

Another study comparing violent men with non-violent men had 177 participants who were divided into three groups: 87 maritally violent men (MV); 42 maritally nonviolent, but maritally discordant men (NVD); and 48 maritally nonviolent, maritally satisfied men (NVS) (Barnett & Hamberger, 1992). This study hypothesized that the men who were violent would score lower than the men who were nonviolent when being measured for a normal personality, indicating a less healthier adjustment.

The California Psychological Inventory (CPI) was used to assess a broad spectrum of positive personality traits which may occur in individuals and are believed to be important for social interaction. The CPI has four categories: Class I measures poise, ascendancy, self-assurance and interpersonal adequacy; Class II measures socialization, responsibility, intrapersonal values, and character; Class III measuring achievement potential and intellectual efficiency; and Class IV, which measures intellectual and interest modes (Barnett & Hamberger). Results from the assessment of maritally violent men on the California Psychological Inventory (CPI) demonstrated that the violent group of men scored significantly lower than the two nonviolent groups. In addition, the MV group appeared to be less well adjusted than nonviolent men. More specifically the maritally violent men seem to be rigid, stereotyped, and unresourceful in problem-solving approaches. They exhibited difficulty with developing close, intimate relationship's and difficulty trusting others. In addition, the maritally violent men were likely to be moody,

impulsive, self-centred, demanding, and emotionally anxious and defensive. Overall, when compared with nonviolent men, maritally violent men's characteristics differed in the three general areas of: 1) problems with intimacy, trust, and mutuality in relationships; 2) impulsivity and emotional variation; and 3) rigid, stereotyped approaches to problem solving. Again this study simply provided a comparison between violent and nonviolent men. The previous two studies, Shield et al. (1988) and Saunders (1992) only looked at differences among abusers themselves.

In a study focusing specifically on the interpersonal behaviours of males who abuse women, Allen, Calsyn, Fehrenbach, and Benton (1989) investigated one hundred batterers who were part of a treatment program. The behaviours were measured using the Fundamental Interpersonal Relationship Orientation Behaviour Scale (FIRO-B), an instrument that was designed to assess expressed and wanted inclusion, control, and affection. Inclusion refers to the need to associate with other people; control refers to the extent to which a person assumes responsibility, makes decision, or dominates people; affection reflects the degree to which a person becomes emotionally involved with others. The abusive men had lower scores in both expressed and wanted inclusion and affection dimensions. Allen et al. (1989) explained that low wanted control implies that men who abuse would not want to be controlled by others while low expressed control suggests that they do not feel like taking charge in a leadership role or responsibility in decision making. The abusive men were also found to be more likely to be uncomfortable around others, as well as cautious and selective about initiating and developing close, intimate relationships. These men also had difficulty expressing affection and being deeply intimate. Results from

this study suggested that violent acting out may be more related to the abuser's inadequacies in social inclusion and intimacy rather than his attempts to control others' behaviour through his needs for power and control (Allen et al. 1989). This study offered a contrasting perspective to research which indicated abusers have a need to control; rather this study highlighted the abusers' inadequacies with intimacy and interpersonal relationships.

Personality Traits/Psychopathology

There are many studies that suggest that personality traits and disorders are common among men who abuse their wives.

Bersani, Chen, Pendleton, and Denton (1992) investigated 75 court-referred abusers using the Taylor-Johnson Temperament Analysis (T-JTA) in order to determine if a selection of psychological variables can constitute a profile of the abuser. The T-JTA is a tool used to measure independent personality variables and detect behaviourial tendencies of normal population. Additionally, it consists of nine subscales of bipolar traits which can provide clients with an evaluation of their feelings about themselves. When Bersani et al. compared the sample of abusers with a samples of males and females (2316) from a general population they found that, although their sample of abusers did reveal some consistent differences, they could not determine a distinct profile for them. A two factor rotation with the T-JTA bipolar variables was used: factor one being internal/emotional balance and factor two being social interaction. For factor one, the abusers had high scores for the nervous, depressive, indifferent, subjective, hostile and impulsive subscales which represents a man who is highly nervous and depressive and internally conflicted. For

factor two, abusers had high scores on the active/social, expressive/responsiveness and dominant subscales. This represents a man who has socially acceptable attributes, prefers social interaction, and is highly outgoing. Bersani et al. concluded that the combination of factors one and two reveal a profile of men who lack the ability to achieve positive social interaction, even though they are highly social. In addition, they claimed that although these men are exposed to social interaction, they possess negative styles of interaction. This may explain their inability to deal with problems effectively through communication, thereby resulting in the use of violence and coercion in order to get their voice heard.

Else, Wonderlich, Beatty, Christie, and Staton (1993), studied a group of twenty-one abusers comparing them to a group of non-abusing men. The study attempted to identify personality traits and psychological and cognitive characteristics for men who abuse women. The major finding from this study is that batterers scored higher than control subjects on measures of borderline and antisocial personality disorder. This was determined by use of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personal Inventory (MMPI) a 566-item self-report measure used to assess personality and psychopathology. When administering the Hostility and Direction of Hostility Questionnaire (HDHQ), the sample of abusers also reported more acting out of hostility and self-criticism than the control subjects. The study also revealed that there was a greater number of marital separations and divorces among the abusers (52%) versus 10% among the control group. In this sample group of male abusers, 43 % were married compared to 86 % from the control group. The abusers were more likely than the control subjects to have experienced physical or emotional abuse as children, which may predispose them to becoming violent with their female partners.

Hamberger and Hastings (1986) conducted a replication of a previous study (1985) which examined the personality profiles of men who abused their partners. Three personality profiles categories were found in the present and the initial study: schizoidal/borderline, narcissistic/anti-social, and dependent/compulsive personality disorders. Ninety-nine men attending a treatment program participated in the replication study and were administered various tests such as the Millon Clinical Multitaxial Inventory (MCMI), a personality inventory, the Beck Depression Inventory (BDI) which describes four levels of depressive symptoms, and the Novaco Anger Scale (NAS), requiring the subject to rate his degree of anger arousal to different scenarios. Using the MCMI, factor analysis was calculated on the first eight scales (the Basic Eight) with the three personality profile categories. The eight scales were asocial, avoidant, submissive gregarious, narcissistic, aggressive, conforming, and negativistic. This second study replicated the findings of the previous study with eighty-seven subjects exhibiting evidence of personality disorder. Both studies also found considerable dysphoria in the form of depression and proneness to anger.

Although both studies by Hamberger and Hastings (1985, 1986) used large samples, they did not use comparison groups. Hastings and Hamberger's (1988) more recent study was intended to be an extension of findings from earlier studies (1985, 1986) and compared male abusers with control groups from maritally discordant and maritally satisfied dyads on measures of personality style, disorder and dysphoria, using the same three measurements tools: the Beck Depression Inventory (BDI), the Millon Clinical Multiaxial Inventory (MCMI), and the Navaco Anger Scale (NAS). The male abuser's

were divided into two groups: those with alcohol problems and those without alcohol problems in order to examine the interactive effects of alcohol abuse and other factors. Significant differences were found between men who abuse and nonabusers on most of the personality test scales. On the BDI abusers showed more evidence of dysphoria and on the MCMI abuser showed evidence of personality disorder, mood disturbances, and cognitive and affective problems. Although it may be argued that abusers are more anger-prone that nonabusers, the NAS scores revealed the abusers scores lower giving this argument very little support and perhaps indicating that the NAS may not be the best instrument to use for abusers. The three main hypotheses for the study were also supported. Hypotheses 1, stated that abusers would show greater evidence of psychopathology based on the three measurement tools. It was supported in that the abusers showed higher levels of anxiety, depression, somatic complaints, alienation, need for approval, sensitivity to rejection, moodiness , predictability, and as well more intense borderline personality characteristics that did nonabusers. Hypotheses 2 stated that abusers would show higher scores on the MCMI, related to the three personality types as found in the earlier study, was also partly supported. Hypotheses 3, that alcoholic abusers would show higher scores that nonalcoholic abusers, was supported by data indicating that basic personality processes and depression are intensified when the abuser has alcohol abuse problems as well.

Many researchers have made attempts to examine the personality of abusers (Bersani et al. 1992; Else et al. 1993; Gondolf, 1988; Hamberger & Hastings, 1986, 1991; Shields, McCall, & Hanneke, 1988). However, little research has explored behaviourial patterns of an abuser (Gondolf, 1988). Gondolf's (1988) study interviewed women who

were living in shelters over a 18 month period, from 1984 to 1985, in order to gain an understanding of their husband's abusive behaviour. The interview consisted of questions pertaining to their husband's background, his different kinds of abuse, and his range of antisocial behaviour. Other questions pertained to the women's background and help-seeking (Gondolf, 1988). Findings from this study resulted in the grouping of these men into three behaviourial categories: Type I - The Sociopathic Batterer, Type II - The Antisocial Batterer, and Type III - The Typical Batterer. The Sociopathic Batterer was considered to be extremely abusive to his wife and children. His abuse may have included the use of a weapon and involved sexual demands; he may have been arrested for general violence and substance abuse. In addition, his wife may have sought help from police and legal assistance. The Antisocial Batterer was extremely verbally and physically abusive, probably less likely to have been arrested than the sociopathic batterer, and his wife may also have sought various help measures. Finally, The typical batterer committed even less severe verbal and physical abuse, less use of weapons, with lower levels of arrests involving general violence than the previous men. In addition, the typical batterer was more likely to apologize after abusive incidents and the wife was more likely to return to or stay with him. This study is similar to previous studies that have also categorized men into character groupings which describe their behaviour. This study is different than previous studies in that this study interviewed women who have been abused by their husbands in order to obtain data regarding their husband's abusive behaviour.

Attitudinal Characteristics

A sample of male military personnel with a recent history of spouse abuse were compared with samples of males who were nonabusive (control groups) in order to examine three attitudinal characteristics: 1) attitudes toward self, 2) attitudes toward others and 3) rigidity of the value orientation (Neidig, Friedman, & Collins, 1986). The Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory (SEI) was used to measure self-esteem, an 'attitude toward self'. Three 'attitudes towards others': such as 'expectations of others' was measured using the Generalized Expectations of Other Questionnaire, while 'attitudes toward women' was measured using a shortened version of the Attitudes Towards Women Scale to assess the subject's attitudes toward sex-roles; lastly 'empathy' was measured using the Mehrabian and Epstein Empathy Scale was used to assess the subject's capacity for empathy. 'Attitudes of Dogmatism' and Rigidity were measured using the Dogmatism Scale (D Scale) and Revised Authoritarianism Scale which measures factors such as punitiveness, traditional values, rigidity, and a belief in using physical force. There was a significant statistical difference found in the mean scores of the abusive samples and the control samples when using the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory. Neidig, Friedman, and Collins (1986) believed that insecurity, depression and sensitivity to criticism, all resulting from low self-esteem, could be translated into anger and aggression in order to relieve a sense of anxiety and fearfulness. This study is similar to the study by Shields et al. (1988) in that both measured the men's attitudes and beliefs towards abuse as well as their attitudes towards the use of physical force.

Stress

Barling and Rosenbaum (1986) explained that work stressors and experiences have often been associated with wife abuse. In their study looking at the association between work stress and husbands' abusive behaviour, Barling and Rosenbaum administered various questionnaires assessing work involvement, organizational commitment, job satisfaction, and work stress to separate groups of maritally a) satisfied, b) dissatisfied, nonabusive and c) dissatisfied, abusive husbands. Results indicated that abusive husbands reported more work events and a greater negative stress impact than the distressed, nonabusive and satisfied husbands. In addition, results showed that the occurrence of stressful work events and their negative impact were related to wife abuse.

In a related study, MacEwen and Barling (1988) believed that examining multiple stressors would more likely achieve an accurate understanding to what an individual experiences and thus looked at both work and life stressors in relation to marital aggression. The 275 couples participating in this study were interviewed at three different times, one month prior to their wedding, and at six and 18 months thereafter. The only significant finding of the study was that multiples stress measured six months after marriage predicted women's marital aggression 18 months after their wedding. There were no significant findings for predicting marital aggression for men. Unlike the Barling and Rosenbaum (1986) study, this study lacked the use of a control group of maritally distressed or abusive couples.

Julian and McKenry (1993) also compared perceived life stressors with 42 violent men and 50 nonviolent men. The group of violent men reported significantly more life

stressors. In addition, these same men also viewed their relationship with their female partners significantly more negatively. Julian and McKenry believed that a poor relationship may in itself act as a stressor for men who have poor coping resources, and the lack of perceived power thereby resulting in them resorting to violence. The impact of work and life stress on abusive and aggressive behaviour were also explored in the current research study.

Alcohol Use

Studies have shown that although there is an association between alcohol and abuse, there is no evidence to indicate a causal relationship. Conner and Ackerly (1994) believed that, based on current research, the "role of physiological and cognitive changes brought on by alcohol, the interaction of alcohol and frustration in producing aggression, and needs for personal power in men who drink and then aggress all appear to be promising explanation for the alcohol-battering link" (p.153).

Although male abusers reported greater problems with alcohol on the Revised Michigan Alcoholism Screening Test (MAST), a 24 item self report questionnaire which is commonly used as a screening test for alcohol abuse, the difference was not significant (Else et al. 1993).

Hastings and Hamberger's (1988) study examining personality characteristics of spouse abusers suggested that personality processes and depression are intensified when the abuser has an alcohol problem as well. In comparison to nonalcoholic abusers, alcoholic abusers show greater moodiness, hypersensitivity to rejection, and discomfort in intimate relationships. The research findings indicated that the association between alcohol

and abuse was not significant. However, for the proposed study, alcohol was explored as a possible contributing factor of influence on their abusive behaviour toward their wives.

Jealousy/Insecurity

Barnett, Martinez, and Bluestein (1995) hypothesized that maritally violent men are more jealous than maritally nonviolent men when they researched 180 cohabiting men. These men were categorized into four groups: a) 44 maritally violent, uncounselled wife abusers (MVU); b) 46 maritally violent, counselled wife abusers (MVC); c) 46 nonviolent, unhappily married (discordant) men (NVD); and d) 44 nonviolent, satisfactorily married men (NVS). Using parts of two measuring scales, the Anxious Romantic Attachment Test (ARAT) and White's Chronic Jealousy Scale, scores of the MVU and MVC groups significantly surpassed those for the NVS group while they were not significantly greater than those of the NVD group. In addition the NVD group's scores also significantly exceeded those of the NVS group, therefore, the MVU, MVC, and MVD were jealous while the nonmaritally violent, satisfactorily married group (MVS) was not. The issue of jealousy was not directly explored in the current research study.

Social Skills

Recently, researchers have begun to study the social behaviours of violent men. Holtzworth-Munroe and Anglin (1991) examined the social skills of maritally violent husbands, as compared to nonviolent husbands, using responses to problematic marital situations. Fifty-six male subjects who were either married or common-law were recruited, resulting in three subject groups: 22 maritally violent husbands, 17 nonviolent and maritally distressed husbands and 17 nonviolent and nondistressed husbands. Assuming

that violent men would generally offer less competent responses than nonviolent men, the goal of this study was not only to compare the responses offered by violent and nonviolent men to problematic marital situations; the researchers also wanted to explore whether there might be certain types of situations in which violent men might be more likely to offer incompetent responses.

For each group, the presence or absence of marital violence was confirmed with the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS); the level of marital satisfaction was assessed using the Short Marital Adjustment Test (SMAT). Participants were then presented with a series of 22 problematic marital situation vignettes which represented a variety of marital issues. The subject was asked to pretend that the situation was occurring in his relationship. He was then asked "What would you say or do in this situation?" (Holtzworth-Munroe & Anglin, 1991, p. 261). There were five types of conflict represented among the marital vignettes: jealousy, rejection from the wife, wife's challenging or publicly embarrassing the husband, wife wants something from the husband and wife teases the husband. As hypothesized, violent men offered significantly less competent responses than nonviolent men only in certain types of marital conflict situations involving rejection from the wife, challenges from the wife and jealousy. The competency level of responses were determined by a five point scale of competency. Rating criteria was developed. Examples of competent responses included negotiating mutually agreeable compromises and explaining thoughts and feelings. Incompetent responses included threatening statements or behaviours such as name calling and sarcasm.

The research findings indicated that violent men have difficulty generating competent responses in problematic marital situations. This suggests that violent men have social skills deficits. The current research study did not examine the social skill deficits of violent husbands.

Anger and Hostility

Hershorn and Rosenbaum (1991) studied the construct of Over Versus Undercontrolled Hostility among 41 maritally violent men. According to Megargee (1967) the undercontrolled hostile (UH) individual had few controls towards the expression of angry or aggressive impulses. He may have been frequently aggressive and against a number of people. Such men may be similar to Hamberger and Hastings (1986) narcissistic/antisocial subtype and those described by Saunders (1992) as 'generally violent' aggressors who were also most likely to be violent outside the home and experienced severe childhood abuse. The overcontrolled hostile (OH) individual has strong inhibitions against anger and aggression. The OH individual finds the acknowledgement or the expression of anger unacceptable. These men come from homes where they did not witness marital violence but did experience firm discipline and maternal rejection. The OH men may be similar to Hamberger and Hastings (1986) passive dependent/compulsive subtype. Hershorn and Rosenbaum hypothesized that overcontrolled hostile abusers (OH) would demonstrate more severe but less frequent violence directed at their wives, lower levels of hostility, have experienced low parental warmth, and high parental punitiveness.

Undercontrolled hostile abusers would demonstrate more frequent and less severe violence directed at others in addition to wives, a higher level of hostility, and come from

families characterized by violence, parental discipline involving the use of physical punishment, ridicule, rejection, and inconsistency. Results indicated that OH men were indeed more likely to use more severe forms of violence while UH men were significantly more frequently violent. UH men were significantly more likely to have witnessed abuse of their mothers. UH men were more significantly more aggressive than OH men. OH mens' mothers were found to be significantly more rejecting than mothers of UH men. Lastly, trends suggest that both OH mothers and fathers were more firm in their discipline.

Self-esteem

Self-esteem is one of the traits frequently encountered in the literature on spouse abuse. Neidig, Friedman, and Collins' (1986), examined the attitudinal characteristics of males who have engaged in spouse abuse. The study revealed that the scores (from the Coopersmith (1967) Self-esteem Inventory which measures self-esteem) of their sample of abusive males significantly differed from the sample groups of nonabusive men. Coopersmith (1967) defined self-esteem as the evaluative component of self-concept. It is the extent to which a person believes himself to be capable, significant, and successful and worthy. Coopersmith stated that individuals with high self-esteem can be described as active, expressive, and social while he describes those with low self-esteem as fearful and depressed, incapable of expressing or defending themselves, self-conscious, and overly sensitive to criticism.

Power/Control

Dutton and Strachan (1987) explored the need for power among 25 wife abusers, 24 maritally conflicted but nonabusive males and 25 satisfactorily married men. They

hypothesized that a high need for power and a deficit in verbal ability could produce chronic frustration, thereby increasing the risk of violence. The Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), which uses pictures to draw out responses indicative of attitudinal and motivational factors, and the Spouse Assertiveness Scale (SAS) to measure verbal assertiveness, were the instruments used to obtain the data. These measures had been used in prior research with abusive husbands. Results from the TAT alone indicated that wife abusers did not differ from the maritally conflicted nonassaultive males and thus the hypothesis was not supported; however they did differ on assertiveness (SSA) scores. Both the wife abusers and the maritally conflicted nonassaultive males had a strong need to control their wives but lacked the verbal ability to satisfy their needs. This may have contributed to marital conflict. Dutton and Strachan (1987) believed that this combination produces a chronic state of frustration within marriage. They added that if assaultive behaviour was learned in order to establish power, it could contribute to increased likelihood of abusive behaviour.

In a related study, Babcock, Waltz, Jacobsen, and Gottman (1993) studied the concept of marital power, and the relation between communication patterns, power discrepancies, and domestic violence. Babcock et al. believed that a marital relationship where there is a power discrepancy, and the husband is subordinate, may contribute to an increased risk for husband to wife violence. Three groups of married men were compared: domestically violent (DV), maritally distressed/nonviolent (DNV) and maritally happy/nonviolent (HNV) using the construct of marital power divided into 3 domains: power bases, power processes and power outcomes.

Power bases included one's personal assets such as skills, knowledge, resources, and rewards which could form the base for one partner's control over another. Power processes are techniques used when interacting in order to gain control such as assertiveness and problem-solving. Lastly, power outcomes looked at who makes the final decisions.

Research findings indicated that DV couples were more likely than the 2 nonviolent groups to engage in husband demand/wife withdraw interactions. Additionally, within the DV group, husbands with poor communication skills and those who had less power in making decisions were physically abusive toward their wives. Babcock et al. (1993) believe that the withdrawing role is associated with power because those who demand something are in a less powerful position. The research findings from this study indicated that DV men compensate for their lack of marital power with physical aggression.

Petrik, Petrik Olson, and Subotnik (1994) conducted a study on powerlessness and the need to control with 36 physically abusive male veterans who volunteered while participating in a six month weekly outpatient treatment program. Female partners were also invited to participate although they were not part of the formal treatment program.

The Fundamental Interpersonal Relations Orientation-Behaviour Scale (FIRO-B), a 54 item questionnaire measuring control, was verbally administered to the men and women over the telephone both at the beginning and end of the 6 month treatment program. After the men completed the test they were asked to respond to it a second time, as they perceived their partners would. Additional data for this study were obtained from

two control scales: the 'expressed control scale' which measures leadership qualities ranging from feeling powerful to feeling powerless and the 'wanted control scale' measuring the degree of tolerance for being controlled. Results from this study indicated that there was one significant difference between men's self-perceptions and women's perceptions of men. Prior to treatment, the women's perceptions of the men were higher on the 'expressed control scale', than the men perceived themselves, although after treatment, the difference was no longer significant. The 'wanted control scale' revealed similarities between how the men and women perceived one another, indicating that women's perceptions of men having a low tolerance for being controlled were accurate. Petrik et al. (1994) summarized that men feelings of powerlessness and a low tolerance for being controlled resulted in a consequent need to control.

Cultural Issues

The 'Assaultive Husbands Program' offered by MOSAIC provides group therapy for men with origins from India and Pakistan. This is a culturally specific group which recognizes that these men require treatment that considers parts of their culture when addressing the problem of wife abuse. There are many cultural issues that may influence one's behaviour which also need to be considered. The program assists men in understanding that abuse is wrong and not acceptable and that they are responsible for their abusive actions. The program enables the men to understand the roots of violence, the power issues, and sex-role stereotypes that then help them to improve their cultural esteem. In the current study, many of the men who were interviewed have gone through the process of immigrating to Canada.

Immigration/Acculturation

An immigrant family whose first language is not English goes through a complex process of adapting to life in a new country (Dunaway, 1990). Many of the difficulties immigrants face occur within the social context of living in a new country and adjusting to a new setting where language, values and cultural norms may be quite unfamiliar or even threatening (Weibe, 1985). Weibe explained that adapting to a new society entails not only learning a new language but learning the political, social and economic structures of a new culture. Many immigrants have a desire to preserve social practices including their own cultural values and traditions. However Wiebe (1985) believed that although the desire to maintain a cultural identity may provide a sense of security, it may also contribute to a difficult integration.

The many stresses arising out of the immigration process may provide the context for wife abuse (Dunaway, 1990). Many immigrant men experience difficulty integrating into Canadian society. Wiebe (1985) explained that they may lose their social and economic status and face changes in family roles. The men may feel inferior and inept and incapable of fulfilling their roles as head of the household, decision maker, and breadwinner. Wiebe (1985) suggested that when this happens, wives may become the recipients of their feelings of inferiority, anger, insecurity, and frustration.

Culture Shock

Pedersen (1995) defined culture shock as "the process of initial adjustment to an unfamiliar environment" (p.1). Oberg (1960) was the first to introduce the term of culture shock to describe the anxiety resulting from not knowing what to do in a new culture.

Pederson (1995) stated that recent literature recognizes that culture shock applies to any new situation, job, relationship, or perspective requiring a new identity or a role adjustment. Generally, Pedersen (1995) added that culture shock occurs when an individual is required to adjust to an unfamiliar social system where previous ways of coping cannot be used. He discussed six indicators that suggest the occurrence of a culture shock adjustment. First, familiar behavioral cues about how a person is to respond are either missing or have taken on a different meaning. Second, values considered positive by the person are not respected by the hosts. Third, a state of disorientation results in feelings of anxiety, depression, hostility and anger. Fourth, there is dissatisfaction and disappointment with new ways and some idealization of the past. Fifth, coping skills used in the past are not effective. Sixth, the individual experiences feelings of frustration, despair and hopelessness about successfully integrating into the new society.

Experiencing a new culture can be difficult. The work of Oberg (1960) and Adler (1975) described five stages of culture shock in a more neutral sense (Pederson 1995). The first stage, also termed the "honeymoon stage", is when the newcomer experiences the curiosity and excitement of a tourist, but has the identity with roots from the country of origin. The second stage involves disintegration of familiar cues as well the individual is overwhelmed by the new culture. The individual feels inadequate and blames him/herself for any difficulties encountered. The third stage involves a reintegration of new cues and an increased ability to function in the new culture. An individual may have emotions of anger and resentment towards the new culture for the difficulties encountered. In the fourth stage, the process of reintegration continues and the individual begins to have a

balanced perspective for both positive and negative elements and for the previous home and new culture. The fifth stage which is described as reciprocal interdependence occurs when the individual feels comfortable biculturally in both the old and the new cultures. This stage is controversial because it is questionable as to whether one can actually achieve this ideal stage of multiculturalism (Pedersen, 1995).

Early descriptions of culture shock compared it to a negative, disease-like state while current theory and research views it more positively as a process of intercultural learning leading to greater self-awareness and personal growth (Pedersen, 1995). The literature indicates that the process of immigration can be a stressful one for families which puts them at an increased risk for family violence. For the current research study, participants included those who had recently immigrated to Canada and thus were experiencing the difficulties associated with integrating into a social system.

Summary

The literature exploring the behaviour of male abusers has been discussed. This review of the literature focused on two key areas: theories of aggression and violence; and social and psychological factors associated with family violence. The following section will describe the qualitative research approach to research used for this study.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to describe Indo-Canadian male abusers' perceptions of major influences on their abusive behaviour. A qualitative, descriptive method framed in the context of the social interactionist approach to violence was selected as the research method for this study, because this method permitted the researcher to explore an area about which little is known, as is true of the problem being studied. The social interactionist perspective approach to aggression and violence, as discussed extensively in the first chapter, was the conceptual perspective used to guide the current research study.

A Qualitative Approach to Research

Qualitative research offers a holistic approach to questions and recognizes the complexity of human realities. The focus of qualitative research is on human experience (Oiler Boyd, 1990). Additionally, qualitative research is used to provide insightful reflections and understanding of the participant's experience or perspective, through the description of events (Field & Morse, 1985). Qualitative research can focus on meaning; it attempts to understand how people make sense of their reality and experiences (Creswell, 1994). Nursing is a humanistic discipline which values and believes that "human phenomenon is holistic and meaningful" (Omery, 1983, p.62), which makes this method particularly appropriate for this nursing problem.

This study was designed to achieve a description of major influences based on the participants' perceptions of possible factors contributing to their assaultive behaviour directed towards their wives.

Selection of Participants

In qualitative research, participants are selected because they can shed light on the events being studied, and because they are willing to talk to the researcher (Field & Morse, 1995; Sandelowski, 1986). In this study, participants were purposefully selected based on their desire to provide information related to their knowledge and experience of the topic and on the theoretical needs of the study (Field & Morse, 1985).

Selection Criteria

The participants for this study were Indo-Canadian men, who had been charged and convicted of assault against their partner, and had been court-ordered to attend the 'Assaultive Husband Program' offered by a community based immigrant settlement agency that provides services to residents in the Vancouver area. The criteria for the selection of the participants were as follows:

1) Self-identified as an Indo-Canadian man , 2) attended the 16 week 'Assaultive Husband Program' which operated from the agency MOSAIC, and 3) ability to communicate in either Hindi, Punjabi, Urdu, and/or English.

Selection/Recruitment Procedures

Approval has been granted from the University of British Columbia Ethical Review Committee for Research and Other Studies involving Human Subjects (Appendix F), a copy of the completed proposal was also submitted for review to the Coordinator of the

'Assaultive Husband's Program' at the community agency, MOSAIC. A formal letter of information was sent to the Coordinator of the program, requesting permission to recruit subjects from within the 'Assaultive Husband's Program'. Two previous meetings and telephone conversations were held between the researcher and the coordinator. Official access had been given to interviewing members from the 'Assaultive Husband Program'. A letter of support from the coordinator of the men's program was also submitted with the proposal to the UBC Ethical Review Board (Appendix E).

Participants were recruited from the 'Assaultive Husband's Program' that is operated by the immigrant and settlement agency, MOSAIC. Third party recruitment took place. The researcher provided the coordinator with copies of an introductory letter (Appendix A) describing the study for distribution to members of the program on the researcher's behalf. The introductory letter was written in English, as the majority of members could read English, but then explained further in Hindi and Punjabi by the coordinator of the men's group. The coordinator then identified men in the group who met the study criteria. Those interested informed the coordinator of their willingness to participate, by leaving their name and telephone number. The researcher then contacted by telephone those interested persons in order to provide further information and answer questions. Interviews were scheduled at the agency, and written consents (Appendix E) were obtained from those who agreed to participate.

Sample Size

Sandelowski (1986) suggested that sample size in qualitative research cannot be predetermined because it is "dependent on the nature of the data collected (p.31). In

contrast to quantitative research, sample sizes in qualitative research are usually small due

to the magnitude and depth of data collected from each participant that must be analyzed.

At the same time, because sample sizes in qualitative research studies tend to be small,

they are not representative in the quantitative sense. According to Field and Morse (1985),

the two principles of 'appropriateness and adequacy' guide qualitative sampling. The

principle of appropriateness is measured by the identification of a participant who can best

inform the research. The principle of adequacy is determined by the amount of data

available to develop a rich description of the phenomenon being research. When the stage

of data saturation has been reached, no further interviews need to be conducted; when

there is no new data emerging, an adequate sample size has been obtained, this is called

data saturation. It was estimated that a sample of five to seven men would be required to

attain data saturation. Although it was hoped that at least five men would be able to

participate in this study, there were only three participants. The researcher deemed this

sample size to be both 'appropriate' and 'adequate'.

Data Collection Procedure/Interview Process

Semistructured interviews were conducted with each subject volunteer. The

interviews were open-ended, thereby encouraging the participant to share experiences and

express feelings spontaneously. The semistructured interview is used when the researcher

knows what to ask the participant but is unsure of how the participant may respond (Field

& Morse, 1985). The semistructured interviews allowed the participants freedom in

responding while assisting the interviewer to remember what to ask (Field & Morse,

1985). The participants were asked open-ended questions which encouraged responses in

their own words (LoBiondo-Wood & Haber, 1990). Trigger questions (Appendix D) were used in conducting the interview for the purpose of keeping the participant focused on the topic. However, Field & Morse stressed the importance of letting the participants "tell their stories with minimal interruptions" (p.90).

This study required the use of a translator to assist the researcher with the data collection phase of the study. The translator, the researcher's husband, had been chosen because of his language fluency and cultural knowledge that was helpful when interviewing Indo-Canadian men who had been charged with assaulting their wives and had been court-ordered to attend MOSAIC'S sixteen week 'Assaultive Husband Program'.

During the initial contact and throughout the interviewing process, it was extremely important for the researcher to establish rapport, credibility, and trust with the participant (Field & Morse, 1985). Burns and Grove (1993) discussed the importance of the nature of the relationship between the participant and the researcher and how it can impact the collection and interpretation of data. As the researcher conducting this study, it was important to make sure the participant was comfortable in the setting, by reassuring the participants of my genuine interest in learning more about their experiences, while respecting their comments without judging them. It was also important to clarify the purpose of the research interview, to remind the participants that the interviews were be strictly confidential, and ask them if they had any questions. It was also important to inform the men of exceptions where confidentiality may be breached. These exceptions were based on the ethical and legal obligations that the researcher chose to comply with. Such exceptions included: 1) when there is information presented regarding the intent to

harm oneself or another person; 2) if information regarding child abuse is disclosed; and 3) if the court subpoenaed the researcher for data.

In the initial interview with the participant, the researcher explained the purpose of the study and how the study would progress. Those participating were told that the interviews would be strictly confidential and that their participation was voluntary. Following an explanation of the study, written consents (Appendix B) were obtained from the participants. Interviews took place at the agency, MOSAIC. It was important to consider the safety of the participants and the researcher when a research and interview site was selected, given the nature of the topic and the legal circumstances surrounding the situation. Because the participants had been convicted of abusing their wives, it was possible that data from the interviews may be subpoenaed by the courts. For this reason, research data was to be kept at the University of British Columbia.

Interviews took approximately ninety minutes to two hours. All participants were interviewed once, and additional interviews were not required as there was no need for clarification of information. Interviews were audio-taped. Field notes were also kept. The field notes provided the researcher with an opportunity to record personal thoughts including such things as impressions, insights, ideas and problems, and were taken after the interview, so as not to disturb the interview process. Field notes were also used to supplement the data gathered through the interview. Audio-taped interviews were then transcribed by the researcher with the assistance of the translator. During the analysis phase of the study, both the transcripts and the field notes were coded.

Based on personal and previous experience in interviewing as well as being from the Indo-Canadian community, the researcher felt that in order to successfully interview the participants, she required the assistance of a translator who met the following criteria. Firstly, the researcher felt that the translator assisting her should be capable of communicating in all three languages spoken by the participants: Hindi, Urdu, and Punjabi as well as familiarity with the culture of these men. It was the researcher's experience that familiarity with the culture of these men allowed the researcher and translator to approach them in a culturally appropriate manner. Within the Indo-Canadian culture, conversations between men and women are sometimes considered inappropriate. The researcher believed that the men who were interviewed responded more openly with the presence of an another Indo-Canadian male. The presence of a male translator was necessary due to the nature and sensitivity of the topic of this research and the legal context surrounding the participation of those being interviewed.

It was also important for the assisting translator to be trained in basic interviewing skills as well an understanding of the purpose of the study, methodology, and data collection strategies used for this study. Basic interviewing skills included review of attending behaviours, and using open ended questions. After the interviews had taken place, the researcher required the assistance of the translator in translation of the taped interview so that the data could be correctly and accurately transcribed. The translator was made aware of his role in the research study, received basic interviewing training, and was asked to sign a statement of confidentiality (Appendix C).

Data Analysis

Data from this qualitative study was analyzed using (inductive) content analysis. Content analysis involves the simplification of recorded language to a set of categories that represent the presence, frequency, intensity, or nature of selected characteristics, and can be used for identifying, measuring, describing and making inferences about specific characteristics within text (Markoff, Shapiro, & Weitman, 1977).

Fowler (1986) discussed two key processes which are involved in content analysis: specifying characteristics of the content requiring measurement and application of rules for identifying, coding, and recording the characteristics. Content analysis was an appropriate measurement strategy for nursing research and for this study, because it provided a more systematic and objective approach to assessing information (Waltz, Strickland, & Lenz, 1991).

Content analysis has several features that make it a useful technique for nursing research (Waltz et al. 1991). Analysis is applied to recorded information allowing for an exact replay of the original communication (Waltz et al.). Content analysis places an emphasis on the content of the communication rather than the process or paralingual aspects such as pitch, volume, or gestures (Waltz et al.). By incorporating detailed rules, content analysis is designed to achieve objectivity while examining recorded information (Waltz et al.). Content analysis is systematic in that specific criteria are applied consistently in order to select and process the content to be analyzed (Waltz et al.). Content analysis' characteristics, achieving objectivity, and being systematic, make it useful

for drawing scientific conclusions (Waltz et al.). Finally, content analysis has a wide variety of potential qualitative applications (Waltz et al.).

All of the features identified by Waltz et al. (1991) were important in considering the use of content analysis for the qualitative study of exploring and describing the perceptions of Indo-Canadian men of influences on their abusive behaviour towards their wives. The content of the interviews with these men provided the information needed while transcription of the taped interviews allowed for exact replay of the original communication.

In addition to useful features, there were many advantages of using content analysis as a nursing measurement technique (Waltz et al. 1991). Waltz et al. explained that major advantages include information that is easily accessible at a low cost, characteristics of an individual can be studied unobtrusively, information can be made useful for scientific inference, and categorical schemes which are developed after data collection do not constrain or bias the data.

In qualitative research, the process of data analysis occurs during the same time as data is being collected. In this study, as the data was being collected, it was analyzed for emerging themes and concepts. This was done by looking for patterns and common ideas in the subjects' responses. In qualitative analysis the researcher is engaged in several activities including: collecting and sorting data into categories, and writing the qualitative narrative (Creswell, 1994). Following the transcription of the interviews, the researcher with the assistance of the translator, compared the transcript and the audio tapes for errors and corrected them.

Data Analysis Procedure

Content analysis involves a multi-step procedure guided by the purpose of the investigation (Waltz et al. 1991). The purpose of this study was to describe the Indo-Canadian male abusers' perceptions of major influences on their abusive behaviour (directed towards their wives). The social interactionist perspective was used to guide this study and to analyze the data. The third principle of the framework which involves examining one's perceptions and values while trying to seek understanding of factors which may influence and individual's behaviour, provided guidance and direction to the analysis as the researcher attempted to describe Indo-Canadian men's perceptions of influences on their abusive behaviour towards their wives. The following nine step procedure was suggested by Waltz et al. (1991).

Step 1

. The first step in the analysis procedure was to define the universe of content. The universe of content refers to the total recorded information about which characteristics will be described or inferences drawn. The universe of content in this study was the total of the tape-recorded interviews with Indo-Canadian men (Waltz et al. 1991).

Step 2

The second step involves the identification of characteristics or concepts. There is no limit to number of characteristics that can be examined, as long as the selection is directed by the purpose of the investigation. This is the initial phase of partitioning or subdividing the content into units and categories. For this study, the concepts that were

documented were responses indicating/identifying major influences on abusive behaviour based on the perceptions of Indo-Canadian men (Waltz et al. 1991).

<u>Step 3</u>

In the third step, the unit of analysis was selected. Units of analysis commonly used in nursing are words, phrases, themes, items, and space-and-time measures. For this study the selected unit of analysis were categories and themes. Themes are sentences or positions about something. Although themes are more difficult and complex than words, they can impart more meaning. The use of themes requires very little inference, so consistency in identifying the units so that categories can be established. This is called unitizing reliability. The themes were directly taken from the participant's words. Phrases which were significant were highlighted as they occurred in the dialogue allowing for themes to be derived from their underlying meaning (Waltz et al. 1991).

<u>Step 4</u>

In the fourth step of the analysis process, a sampling plan was developed. The sampling plan determines how the universe will be sampled. In this study, as is generally true when content analysis is applied inductively, the entire universe was examined (Waltz. Et al. 1991). However, it was difficult to carry out this step as part of the analysis, because it can't really be applied to study in nursing.

<u>Step 5</u>

The fifth step involved developing a scheme for categorizing the content. According to Waltz et al. (1991), this is the most difficult yet crucial step in content analysis. This was carried out inductively by identifying clusters of similar data through a

"data-shuffling-and-sorting procedure" and deriving categories from the data itself (p. 304). Clustered data or categories were used as the basis for forming and developing concepts moving from the concrete to abstract. For the construction of categories, each unit of the content was assigned unequivocally to one category. The categories were very close to the words used in the original text by the participants as recommended in order to avoid distortion of meaning.

Four strategies to help construct categorical schemes were suggested by Waltz et al. (1991). These strategies were used in the study. The first strategy is to read and listen to the available material in order to develop a sense of language used and possible data divisions. First the interviews were transcribed with the assistance of a translator which allowed the researcher to become familiar with the data. Then the interviews were read by the researcher in order to get an impression for individual categories.

The second strategy was to examine existing categorical schemes developed by other content analysts. It was difficult to find existing categorical schemes related to the content of this current study. However, there were some suggested categories in literature that helped to form the basis for some of the categories and themes used in this study.

The third strategy involves asking experts in the field to evaluate the scheme's relevance, clarity and completeness. This was done by requesting thesis committee members to critique the categorical schemes and provide feedback. These activities also addressed the final strategy for categorizing using the inductive approach, which is to avoid premature closure and delayed closure by sharing the categories and collaborating

with others (Waltz et al. 1991). This researcher used a combination of all four strategies when constructing categorical schemes.

Step 6

The sixth step of the content analysis procedure was to develop explicit coding and scoring instructions. This involved developing specific criteria for processing the content, as well as for analyzing the data (Waltz et al. 1991). This step in the analysis was not carried out in this study.

Step 7

The seventh step in the procedure of content analysis is to pretest the categories and coding instructions. This can be done by applying the category scheme to small portions of the first interview. It is preferable that at least two coders analyze the same material in order to assess interrater reliability and clarify discrepancies. Again, these categories could have been forwarded to the thesis committee for pretesting.

Step 8

The eighth step refers to coder selection and training to assess interrater reliability which must be established before the actual data analysis. This step was not taken as the researcher analyzed the data alone.

Step 9

The final step of the content analysis procedure involved performing the analysis. The data was coded according to prescribed procedure using category schemes for the entire interview. Themes relating to the perceptions of Indo-Canadian men of major influences on their abusive behaviour towards their wives were identified. Themes were

coded and categorized. Content was processed several times before all information needed was extracted. Data gathering and analysis was done simultaneously throughout the study.

In retrospect, this nine step procedure to data analysis for this study may not have been the most effective data analysis method as it was not congruent with the social interactionist framework that was used to guide this study. Steps four and six could not be carried out as outlined in the data analysis procedure. This was in part due to it's emphasis on 'measurement' and 'objectivity', concepts that are not consistent with the social interactionist perspective. Perhaps a more effective method of analysis that could have been used was the qualitative method of analysis as outlined by Sandelowski (1995).

Reliability and Validity

Validity and reliability are determined differently in qualitative research. Sandelowski (1986) proposed that Guba and Lincoln's (1981) criteria be used to judge validity and reliability of rigor of a qualitative study. The researcher attempted to achieve rigor through the examination of the data using the following criteria: 1) truth value, 2) applicability, 3) consistency, and 4) neutrality. (Guba & Lincoln, 1981).

1) Truth value refers to the credibility of the research findings as "faithful descriptions or interpretations of a human experience" (Sandelowski, 1986, p. 30). Additionally, it also refers to the credibility that participants and other people such as researchers recognize. In this study, identification of major themes through data analysis were validated with the participants of the study during the conclusion of the interviews by asking then for their clarification and verification of major influences on their abusive behaviour toward their wives.

2) Applicability or fittingness of the data refers to the applicability of the research findings to other settings. Fittingness can be achieved when readers outside of the study determine the findings to be meaningful and applicable to their experiences (Sandelowski, 1986). For this study, the researcher established fittingness through validation of emerging themes with members of the thesis committee.

3) Consistency (auditabilty) is achieved in a study when another researcher can follow the decision trail of the researcher and also arrive at similar or comparable conclusions (Sandelowski, 1986). Again for this study, thesis committee members reviewed the decision trail.

4) Neutrality (confirmability) is achieved when truth value, auditability, and applicability are established. Objectivity or "freedom from bias" are criteria of neutrality which can be achieved when reliability and validity have been established (Sandelowski, 1986).

Ethical Considerations

The following steps were taken to ensure that the participants' rights were protected:

1) Written approval was obtained from the University of British Columbia Office of Research Studies (Appendix F)

2) Written support to conduct the study was obtained from the coordinator of the agency (Appendix E).

3) Participants received a letter of information explaining the study (Appendix A) and a copy of their written consent (Appendix B).

4) Participants were informed that participation in the study was strictly voluntary and that participants could choose to withdraw at any time.

5) Participants were assured that their participation or withdrawal from this study would not jeopardize any services they received, or their legal status.

6) Participants agreed to having a translator and this translator signed a statement of confidentiality (Appendix C).

7) All identifying information was removed from transcripts. Participant were identified by code numbers on audio-tapes and on other data.

8) Items that identified the participants such as consent forms, audio-tapes, transcripts, and other relevant information were kept in a locked file cabinet.

9) Participants were advised that audio-tapes, transcripts, and all other research data would remain confidential and shared only by the members of the thesis committee, the translator, and the researcher.

10) Prior to the commencement of the recorded interview, participants were clearly informed of the three exceptions when confidentiality regarding disclosure of information might be breached. These exceptions were based on the ethical and legal obligations that the researcher chose to observe and included: 1) if there was information presented regarding the intent to harm oneself or another person, 2) if information regarding child abuse was disclosed and 3) if the courts were to subpoena the researcher for data.

11) The participants were informed that any part of, or all of the taped information could be erased if desired.

12) The audio-tapes were to be erased upon the completion of the study.

Summary

The qualitative research method using content analysis was selected for this study. This research method guided the researcher to a greater understanding of Indo-Canadian men's perceptions of major influences on their abusive behaviour towards their partners. The data collection and analysis procedure were discussed at length. In addition, a discussion of reliability and validity followed, along with ethical considerations of subjects. In the following section, a description of the participants and the findings of the current research study will be presented.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to describe Indo-Canadian male abusers' perceptions of major influences on their abusive behaviour toward their wives. The men who participated in the study met the selection criteria, which were: Indo-Canadian men, attending the 'Assaultive Men's Program' from MOSAIC, who were able to communicate in either the Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi and/or English languages. Three Indo-Canadian men who had been charged with abusing their wives were interviewed. Although it was the researcher's intent to interview a minimum of five persons, there were only three men who volunteered from MOSAICS' Assaultive Men's Group which consisted of nine participants. The interviews were tape recorded and then transcribed. The data were analyzed using content analysis in order to identify themes and categories of themes. This chapter presents a brief description of the participants and a description of the themes which evolved from the interview analyses.

The interviews were conducted using semi-structured questions (Appendix D). The interviews began with the researcher asking the participants for demographic information about their background. Beginning the interviews in this manner was viewed as a non-threatening way to begin the interviews, as well as an opportunity to develop rapport between the researcher, translator, and participants.

Description of the Participants

All three of the participants were originally from India. The participants' ages ranged from thirty to fifty six years. The length of time they had lived in Canada ranged

from four years to twenty-six years. Two of the men were married in India; one man was married in Canada while here on a visit. The length of time they had been married ranged from six years to thirty years. Two of the men were separated from their wives while the other man was living with his wife. One man had most recently emigrated from Europe. Two of the men were sponsored by their wives who were already Canadian citizens. One man came to Canada as a visitor and later became a landed immigrant. This same man sponsored his wife and daughter who arrived in Canada three years later. Between the three men, there were eight children who ranged in age from preschool to adulthood. Two of the men were high school graduates and one was a university graduate. All three participants were employed in working class occupations. Their occupations at the time of the interviews varied from being a driver to working in the maintenance field.

Major Influences of Abusive Behaviour

Two main categories emerged from the data. These categories were subdivided into major themes which these men identified as being influences on their abusive behaviour towards their wives. Figure 1 shows these categories and themes.

Figure 1: Categories and Themes of Indo-Canadian Mens' Perceptions of Major Influences on Their Abusive Behaviour Towards Their Wives.

The Acculturation Process	Family Life
Work Related Stressors	Changing Family Structure
Feelings of Isolation	Family Expectations and Values
	Communication
	Decision Making

The Acculturation Process

Acculturation is the process of adapting to a life in a new country (Dunaway, 1990). All three of the participants, originally from India, had experienced migration to Canada and thus the acculturation process.

The participants described two themes related to the acculturation process as influences on their abusive behaviour: 1) work-related stressors, and 2) feelings of isolation. The participants stated difficulties they encountered as they attempted to adapt in Canada contributed to their levels of stress and feelings of frustration and hopelessness.

Work Related Stressors

Finding employment is an immediate concern that immigrant men face upon arriving in a new country (Dunaway, 1990). Many men may not be able to find jobs at the level they were accustomed to in the past and lose the economic status they had in their country of origin (Wiebe, 1985; Dunaway, 1990). The existence of stressors at work has been associated with wife abuse (Barling & Rosenbaum, 1986; Julian & McKenry, 1993).

The men in this study described work related stressors. They described this stress as taking several forms: 1) decline in economic status, 2) frustration and disappointment over working conditions, and 3) on-the-job stressors.

Decline in Economic Status

One man had difficulty finding work after coming to Canada. He described his disappointment in lost expectations and even questioned his move here.

> When I came to Canada, so I found that Canada is not that, it's not that good...I was quite upset...why I moved from there...I left my family. And

here, what I was expecting, I didn't get that thing, right so. It's hard to get the jobs and everything.

He made comparisons between his economic situation prior to migration and his situation here.

...from my background, I didn't have any problem with money...was okay there...but here, I was thinking that I left a very good job in (place), and here I have nothing.

He identified that he had several jobs before he was able to able to establish himself in a job that met with his satisfaction. This man experienced a decline in his economic status which frustrated him. He felt this put a strain on his marriage. During this period of adjustment in finding suitable employment, he felt that his wife's support was lacking.

I was feeling that my wife was not supporting me as she should, so these things make a problem in our house. So these kinds of things put too much stress on the marriage.

Frustration and Disappointment Over Working Conditions

Another man expressed frustration and disappointment with his work in the first few years in Canada. He made comparisons between the working conditions of his current job and his past job in Europe. He discussed how the benefits and salary differed in Europe from here and that the working conditions there were more satisfying.

Yah, so we don't get paid any overtime, no stat holidays, nothing. But in (place) we had very good jobs, doesn't matter if we are labourers, they had very good laws, right? So they pay about five weeks in a year, with pay, the holidays. And they pay two extra payments in a year, that's for the Christmas money and the holiday money. So this way they pay about three payments in a year more right. You work eleven months and you get fourteen pays. So these kinds of things were...I was thinking...

On-The-Job Stressors

The third man expressed the stress and strain of his present job as a taxi driver/owner. He described the daily challenges of his job, which he felt put a strain on him: the importance of always keeping his customers happy; having to sit for long periods of time; having to deal with troublesome customers; fears about being involved in an accident; and being penalized for traffic violations. The following quote illustrates his work stressors:

> Yes, tension. Then you have to think about the ride and which route you should take. There is ten minutes. Then you have to watch each driver. The problem is even if we haven't had an accident, and if they hit you, then you will have a problem. It costs me eighty dollars everyday to have the car standing. So if I hit someone, then there's a problem and if someone hits me, then there's a problem. That tension is always on my mind.

He also discussed how these work related stressors influenced his behaviour with his wife and family.

Yes, sometimes I would get angry when I would return home from work. He described how he would often bring home his worries from work, and how he would be forced to restrain his thoughts and feelings inside. He began to drink in order to cope with these stressors.

He says that when he would come home from work, he would have one or two drinks to help him relax. When his wife would react to his drinking in anger, he would drink one or two more. He said he drank "...in order to numb myself..." About his family, he described how when he would arrive home from work "...then all of them would go to their rooms and I would be left alone in the livingroom". He described feeling hurt and

alone because of his family's lack of concern and disinterest in him and his work:

> ...I would think that there is tension at work, when I come home, then no one talks to me. Then I would go to the kitchen and I would have one or two more drinks.

He felt that his wife was constantly nagging him about his drinking, even in front of guests. Even his children would tell him to stop drinking. He acknowledged that "...drinking alcohol was a mistake", that it was not good for his health nor his family life and realized that his drinking was another influence on his abusive behaviour towards his wife.

Feelings of Isolation

Two of the participants discussed feeling alone and isolated from family members. Both of these men emigrated to Canada and initially didn't have any of their own family members or relatives living here; this contributed to their feelings of isolation. Smith (1985) suggested that as individuals move farther away from family members, the opportunity for social support diminishes and thus contributes to feelings of aloneness and isolation. In the current study, participants' feelings of isolation may have also contributed to their ability to deal with the stressors in their lives and their abusive behaviour towards their wives (Qualls, Justice, & Allen, 1980).

One of the men experienced difficulties with his wife's family. Although he lived with his wife's family when he came to Canada, he expressed feeling alone because her family would not agree with his decisions. He felt he was in the minority:

> I was thinking that I'm alone here, so what I want to do or what I want to make decisions, they don't agree with them right so, because they are in majority right.

The other man expressed how he often felt alone because his wife would take her children's side and protect them from being disciplined by him.

> If I want to discipline the children, then the wife shouldn't take their side, if the wife discipline them, then I shouldn't take the children's side. Then I should remain quiet, and watch them that what they do, what they don't do.

He also described how he felt when his family wouldn't talk to him when he was in the home.

> No one listened, sometimes when I would go home, so when I arrive home, then all of them would go to their rooms and I would be left alone in the livingroom. ...I would feel they don't even have a little love in their heart. Like someone has come home, and you should ask how was their day and how are they, so the tension that you bring home can be finished. But in my mind, I would think that there is tension at work, when I come home, then no one talks to me... So I would feel hurt.

Family Life

In the Indian culture, it is common for a couple to live with the husband's family. This family may include two, three, or more generations of family members (Dunaway, 1990). It is also common for someone emigrating from India to later sponsor his family members who, when they arrive in Canada, become a part of the household. This joint family structure can be a source of tension and strain, especially for a young couple. The participants in this study discussed family structure, family expectations and values, communication patterns, and decision-making as influences on their abusive behaviour.

Changing Family Structure

The extended family structure of these men contributed to tension and strain and stress in their marriages which, they felt, influenced their abusive behaviour towards their

wives. Two of the participants lived with their wives' families when first emigrating to Canada. In contrast, the other participant lived by himself when he came to Canada.

The families of the two participants who had initially lived with their wives' families had similar structures which included the parents-in-law, an older married sister-in-law and her husband, and a younger sister-in-law. After initially living with their wives' families, these men went through various living situations including: living apart from the wife's family home, then sponsoring their parents from India, who after arriving to Canada, shared their home with their parents who they had sponsored. One man described his adjustment to living with his wife's family after being sponsored.

> It was very difficult, And the main thing from a single life to a married life, right...Because I had five, six years in (place) as a single, right. ...I felt first, when I got here, that single was better, that why I married, why did I do this right? These things were in my mind.

After several years, this man sponsored his parents to Canada. This man shared how after some time, his parents left to return to India because of his wife's behaviour toward them.

> The day that this happened was like when she was too abusive to my parents and they decided to go back to India. They said if you can live with her, you live, we are going back.

Another man described why he and his wife no longer live with her family.

> She said that I don't want to live with them, she sometimes used to fight with her mother. There were probably problems between mother and daughter, which I didn't know about.

He explains how tension between his wife and her family existed when they all lived together and "...then we moved, then it was okay".

At the time of the interview, one man continued to live with his parents while

being separated from his wife and child; in contrast, the other man continued to live with his wife and children while his parents live with his brother.

The third participant also experienced various changing patterns of living with family members. He lived alone when he first came to Canada, then sponsored his wife and young daughter from India. A few years later, he also sponsored his younger brother, younger sister, and his mother to Canada who lived with his family for a period of six months, then they moved into their own place. This man believed that,

> ...these circumstances may be due to my wife not being able to get along with them.

Since the time of his separation from his wife, he has been living alone.

The participants explained that changes in the family structure were often the result of family disputes. Issues leading to these disputes will be discussed more specifically in the following thematic categories which address family expectations and values, communication, and decision making.

Family Expectations and Values

Each family has a set of values that guides and influences their interactions and behaviour within their family (Skolnick & Skolnick, 1992). The three men who participated in this study described values held by various members of their family including their own, their inlaws, and their wives which they perceived as having influenced their abusive behaviour towards their wives.

One of the men discussed the pressures that he felt from his parent's inlaws, while living with his wife's family, when he first came to Canada. These pressures contributed to

his feelings of frustration, obligation and helplessness which he felt influenced his abusive behaviour towards his wife. Because he felt that his inlaws were interfering in his business, he talked about wanting to move from their home; however, his wife's family did not want them to move out and offered their basement as the sole alternate:

> But they didn't want me to move out. They said okay if you want to move out, you can move in the basement right, but you can't go out from this house.

He expressed his increasing frustration with his inlaws treatment of him:

> So we lived in the basement about a year and half. But after that I said I can't take this thing anymore. Because they are always there, and they are always interfering....yah always treated down, yah, that's right. That's the way I felt.

In addition he discussed his feelings of obligation to his wife's family, because they had sponsored him as an immigrant to Canada. He believed that they were not the only problem. Despite the fact that his inlaws interfered with him and his wife, he suggested that "if my wife agrees with me and I agree with my wife, so nobody can interfere then". By this he meant that if his wife would take a stand for him and his views then he would not be subject to his inlaws dominance over him and his life. He felt controlled by his inlaws and his wife.

This same man also discussed his wife's behaviour towards his parents and her expectations of them as stressful. He felt that his wife was verbally abusive towards his parents when they came from India to live with them in Canada. He explained that she would convey her expectations of them indirectly. For example, she would talk about how other parents living with their children would contribute to the household financially. He

felt his parents were incapable of working outside the home due to their health problems;
however, they were helped by taking care of their children, making meals, and cleaning.
He felt his wife's expectation that his parents contribute financially to the household was
unnecessary. He explained:

> ...we were not financially bad anyway, right. She was doing eighteen dollar
> per hour job. I was doing eighteen dollars, we were making a very good
> living, so we never had a problem with money.

Another man described the expectations he and his wife had for each other as
stressful. He felt frustrated because his wife did not meet his expectations and that this
may have influenced his abusive behaviour towards his wife. He expected that his wife
should support him when he disciplined their children:

> If I want to discipline the children, then the wife shouldn't take their side, if
> the wife discipline them, then I shouldn't take the children's side. Then I
> should remain quiet and watch them that, what they do what they don't do.

He believed that his wife's refusal to listen to him resulted in their problems.

> She would not listen. If she would listen then these problems would not
> exist today.

This same man felt that his wife interfered in his taxi business. He felt she
constantly criticized and questioned how he conducted himself at work. In addition, he
said that his wife was not aware of the danger of picking up rides in the downtown area at
night, and insisted he do so, because she wanted him to make more money. However, he
explained how he was more concerned about risking his personal safety.

In contrast to the other two men who were living in a extended family system, one participant enjoyed living with his wife's family. He did, however feel the strain of problems between his wife and her mother.

> She said that I don't want to live with them, she sometimes used to fight with her mother, and I never said anything between them. There were probably problems between mother and daughter, which I don't know about. But then I used to feel pressure as well, because my mother-in-law would say take her, go somewhere else.

Although this participant acknowledged this as stressful, he denied that it influenced his abusive behaviour toward his wife.

Cultural Issues

During the interviews, one of the men initiated discussion pertaining to culture as an influence on his abusive behaviour, whereas the other two men were specifically asked how their cultural background had influenced their abusive behaviour towards their wives.

The man who initiated a discussion on culture as an influence on his abusive behaviour spoke about how literature and the lyrics in many Indian folk songs mention controlling women with physical power and violence.

> I think there are so many songs in our culture and the things that most people say always, the women should be beaten, should be controlled with power or something like that, yah, with physical power.

He acknowledged that abusing one's wife is, on the surface unacceptable to the family, although it still occurs.

> No, that's not accepted, no. Whenever it happens, mostly the relatives gather and they ask why are you doing this? It's not allowed, but still it's happening...

He reported that in India it is hard for a wife to report her husband's abusive behaviour to

the police because Indian authorities believe that a woman who reports is "not a good woman" and "she can't hold the family or something". The system and the society in India doesn't support and protect women who have been abused, whereas the system in Canada recognizes the rights of the abused women. Therefore in India men get away with abusing their wives. He also explained how the Indian culture doesn't allow women to make decisions by themselves, and discourages a woman's independence. For example, he questioned his wife's behaviour when it excluded him from making household decisions.

> These kinds of things like my wife, made a decision by herself, these things are not acceptable right so that is also a influence.

He acknowledged that his culture and its values may have influenced his abusive behaviour towards his wife.

> The living of Punjab or from India there is a little bit of influence that why the woman don't do whatever the husband does, (or) says right, so that thing, I think that I have in my mind.

Another cultural problem for this man was that parents do not usually live with their married daughter(s). He identified a cultural saying that "nobody wants to eat from the daughter's house". One of this man's motivations for wanting to move out of his wife's family's home was also that the Indian culture frowns upon a husband living with his wife's family. He was in a situation where he was dependent on his wife's family. This contributed to his feelings of frustration and helplessness.

Communication

The nature of the communication patterns between spouses was perceived as an influence on the participants' abusive behaviour towards their wives.

Two of the participants described problems with communication in their marital relationship.

Participant 1

This couple's relationship was complex. This participant expressed that he and his wife "had a lack of communication". The most prevalent complaint that he made about their communication was that his wife would not ask him for his opinion toward any decision, or even include him in the making of these decisions: "...She didn't even talk

> ....right,....she didn't even ask, what shouldn't we do or what should we do
> right, she just did...so this thing made a clash between us.."

He was frustrated with his wife's exclusion of him, because he believed that they should do everything together.

> So I felt very helpless, that why did she do this by herself? She should talk
> to me...

He expressed how his wife's behaviour created a distance between them: he felt that this was the source of their problems and an influence on his abusive behaviour.

Participant 2

This participant discussed how his views and his wife's views differed as a result of lack of communication. This man expressed that after thirty years of marriage, he and his wife did not have an understanding of one another. He complained of feeling frustrated when his wife never listened to him. When asked how he confronted his wife about her behaviour towards him, the participant responded by saying:

> I could have told her, but which thing would I tell her, if there was one,
> then I could tell her. When I would come home and no one would talk to
> me, then what is a man to do?

He acknowledged that he had difficulty confronting his wife as well as his children, and that he often kept his thoughts to himself:

> I could have, but I didn't talk very much, because I was afraid they might talk back.

Although he found it difficult to discuss his thoughts and feelings with his wife and children, he stressed the importance of communication in marriage and understanding between partners. He felt that because their communication and understanding towards one another was poor, this caused feelings of frustration and helplessness which he attributed as being an influence on his abusive behaviour towards his wife.

Decision Making

For the men being interviewed for this study, decision making was often a source of conflict within the marriage. Two of the men talked about their wives making major household decisions without including them in the decision-making. For the participants, feelings of helplessness from being excluded from making decisions was an influence on their abusive behaviour towards their wives.

One of the participants discussed how one sided decision making in his marriage was a constantly negative influence on his behaviour. He discussed how his wife always made all the major household decisions without seeking his opinion or advice. He said, "Yah, everytime .... she does what she want to do". He shared several examples to illustrate her behaviour: 1) his wife payed off his truck loan without telling him, using money he intended to use to buy another truck 2) his wife cancelled his name from a joint

account, without telling him, after he accidentally had written a cheque that bounced, and 3) his wife cancelled both of their credit cards without telling him.

He acknowledged that he and his wife "had a lack of communication". He expressed how his wife's behaviour created a distance between them.

Yah, so these kinds of things, made me apart from her actually.

He believed that his wife's family thought that he was incapable of making decisions as a new immigrant, and therefore they thought they had the right to make decisions on his behalf because they sponsored him to Canada. He said, "I always felt that because I was sponsored here and they are in power right, so I have no power". As a result, he often felt helpless.

The other participant also expressed how his wife would make decisions concerning the children, family, or finances and kept them hidden from him. He explained that,

> Some things related to the wedding, some things related to money. One or
> two things like that...One big decision she made without asking me.

He believed that when his wife did things without telling him, it would become troublesome. His wife's behaviour led to his distrust in her, and contributed to the distance within their marriage.

Summary

In this chapter, Indo-Canadian men's perceptions of major influences on their abusive behaviour towards their wives were presented. The men who participated in this study described two major categories of factors which they perceived influenced their

abusive behaviour towards their wives: 1) the acculturation process and 2) family life. Each of these categories had separate themes. These themes were discussed and supported by excerpts from the data.

The acculturation process category was related to the difficulties that these men experienced upon emigrating to Canada. Themes included: 1) work related stressors and 2) feelings of isolation. The men described the demands of their work as being stressful. The participants also described their feelings of isolation from their wives and their own families as influencing their abusive behaviour.

The family life category included themes in the following areas: changing family structure, family expectations and values, communication, and decision-making. The changing family structure theme looked at the participants' perceptions of the existence of joint and extended family structures, and how this was often a source of strain and stress on the marriages of the participants. The family expectations and values theme included participants' perceptions of how familial expectations and cultural values influenced their beliefs, attitudes, values, and behaviour about abuse of women. The participants described how they often felt pressured by various familial and cultural expectations and values. The communication theme included the participants' perceptions of communication patterns between themselves and their wives. The participants identified the existence of communication problems and the lack of understanding in their marital relationship, and their influence on the abusive behaviour. The decision-making theme included the participants' perceptions of how decisions were made in the family and the marriage relationship and who made these decisions. The participants described how decision

making was often a source of conflict within their marriage. They described feelings of

helplessness when their wives failed to include them in major household decision-making,

which they felt was an influence on their abusive behaviour.

The following chapter will discuss these findings in relation to literature pertaining

to abuse as well as the conceptual perspective that was selected to guide the study.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

In the preceding chapter, the findings were presented from interviews with Indo-Canadian men who shared their perceptions of major influences on their abusive behaviour toward their wives. Themes that were derived from the data analysis were: work-related stressors, feelings of isolation, changing family structure, family expectations and values, communication, and decision-making. Three of these themes have been identified for further discussion: 1) feelings of isolation, 2) family expectations and values, and 3) decision-making. These themes are be discussed in relation to the relevant literature and the social interactionist perspective used to direct the study (Tedeschi and Felson, 1994).

Feelings of Isolation

Two of the men discussed feeling alone and isolated from family members. These men found this stressful and attributed this stress as contributing to their abusing their wives. The literature on isolation suggests that individuals without a social support system or network often resort to undesirable coping mechanisms such as drug and alcohol abuse, or even aggression in an effort to deal with stress and to relieve psychological discomfort (Qualls et al. 1990). Qualls et al. (1980) believed that social isolation is at the negative end of the social support continuum. Derne (1995) explained that men often rely on other family members for support. The participants in this study often felt alone and isolated because they didn't have anyone to turn to when they felt they needed support. One man had no other family members residing in Canada that he could depend on for support. Another man was estranged from most of his family members, including his children. Smith (1985) maintained that individuals who experience life stress but who have

strong social support would be protected from developing psychological symptomatology, including feelings of isolation. This suggests that those lacking in social support, such as the participants of this study, are more prone to experiencing feelings of isolation. Smith (1985) theorized that minority status leads to alienation and social isolation. He believed that this can happen when one partially relinquishes one's former culture and has not yet achieved full acceptance in one's new culture. In this study, the participants found themselves in a new social structure for example living in non-traditional extended family arrangements, that differed from the one they were accustomed to in India.

Family Expectations and Values

The extended family is the most important social unit in the Indian culture (Dunaway, 1990). It includes the nuclear group of parents and children and also grandparents and siblings and their families (Dunaway, 1990). The head of the household is often the most established, financially-secure male, and he usually makes the decisions in relation to work, marriages, property, and discipline (Dunaway, 1990). The extended family is the source of one's personal identity. Interdependence is the primary value placed within the extended family (Dunaway, 1990; Wiebe, 1985). Extended families are important sources of support, security, and assistance, both emotionally and financially. Emotionally, the strong family bonds provide lifelong security. Economically, the sharing of resources enables the family to enjoy comforts that might be otherwise inaccessible (Dunaway, 1990)

The participants in this study discussed their adjustment when they lived in extended families, at various periods in time, after emigrating to Canada. They described

how the extended family structure contributed to strain, stress, and tension in their marriages. The stress and strain that was present was due to the unfamiliarity of new surroundings as well as uncertainty about the kind of behaviour expected from family members (Jain, 1992).

Within the Indo-Canadian extended family, the woman's place is in her husband's house (Dunaway, 1990). This was not the case for these participants. Two of the participants initially lived with their wives' families upon emigrating to Canada. For these two men, who emigrated from India leaving their families of origin, the family structure was opposite to the typical Indian family where the daughter lives with her husbands' family.

In the Indo-Canadian culture an individual is defined as a part of his family and community; therefore, loyalty to one's family and one's elders is essential and takes precedence over personal interests or feelings (Dunaway, 1990). Reliance on the family is encouraged, which reinforces dependency and a strong sense of obligation (Dunaway, 1990). One of the participants in this study discussed how his feelings of obligation towards his wife's family for sponsoring him to Canada made him feel controlled by them, and was in turn a stressor influencing his abusive behaviour.

Extended family traditions place a strong emphasis on a son's loyalty to his parents; this includes taking care of them. A wife's expectations of her husband's parents to contribute financially to the household of the couple who live with the wife's family are contrary to the cultural norm that a married man live with his parents and help to support them. The participants' were fully aware of expectations that included their responsibility

for their parents. Some literature indicates that all family members pool their financial resources (Dunaway, 1990). However, for one of the participants, his wife complained that his parents did not financially contribute to the household.

In traditional Indian families women are often expected to relinquish their interests for those of the family (Dunaway, 1990). Women's roles often consist of child rearing and taking care of the household. Men's roles include providing for the physical needs of their family as breadwinners and as the primary decision makers in the household. Dunaway (1990) suggested that immigrant men may encounter changes in family roles in a society where there are different expectations and values. Men may experience feelings of inferiority and inadequacy as they are unable to fulfil their socially prescribed roles as head of the household and sole breadwinners (Wiebe, 1985). The two participants in this study who were sponsored by their wives were also initially financially dependent on them and their families. This dependent status of these men was contrary to their expected role within the family, that of head of household. The lack of power and influence which these men felt was a source of frustration for them.

One participant discussed how, in India, it is difficult for a woman to report her abusive husband to the police, because the Indian police do not think that a woman has a right to discredit her husband and other family members in that way. The Indian police do not support and protect women who have been abused by their husbands, and consequently men in India tend to get away with abusing their wives. Dunaway (1990) reported that some women emigrate from countries where authority figures (especially those in uniforms) do not provide every citizen with protection and support. Dunaway

added that in some cases it is seen as inappropriate for women to seek help from a male police officer.

The participants in this study did not realize that, in Canada, it is considered a criminal offence to abuse their wives. They felt that if they had known the legal ramifications of their abusive behaviour they might have been able to prevent this from happening. It was only after being legally charged with abusing their wives that they learned of how serious an issue it really is in this country. The participants felt that unfamiliarity with new cultural values led to their abusive behaviour towards their wives.

Decision Making

Every family has a certain power structure and authority pattern. The power structure in a family is usually revealed by the pattern of decision-making in a household (Lal, 1989).

Decision-making was often a source of conflict within the marriages of these participants. One participant discussed how his wife always made all the major household decision without consulting him first for his opinion. His wife's one-sided decision making was contrary to the way that decisions are made in household of an Indian family.

Assanand et al. (1990) explained that in an Indian family, the man usually has the leadership role as head of the household and as the major decision maker. In addition, in a traditional Indian family, a woman is seen as the possession of her husband and is taught to be submissive and to obey him.

Babcock et al. (1993) indicated that when there is a marital relationship where there is a power discrepancy and the husband is subordinate, there is an increased risk for husband to wife violence (Babcock et al, 1993).

Other cultural values related to decision-making contributed to these Indian mens abuse of their wives: 1) values about communication in general, 2) values about confrontation, and 3) values about expression of intimacy.

Western society values the ability to express ideas and feelings openly. Within the culture in India, there is a different attitude toward open and free communication of thoughts and feelings (Skolnick & Skolnick, 1992). For the participants in this study, lack of communication within the marital relationship was identified as an influence on their abusive behaviour. In the Indian culture, what and how something may be communicated depends on the characteristics of an individual and the nature of the relationship. (Skolnick & Skolnick, 1992). These characteristics can influence behaviour such as, who initiates conversation, speaking softly or loudly, maintaining contact or looking away, changing subjects, and being accommodating or tolerant. One man discussed how, over the years, he and his wife did not have an understanding of one another.

In addition, the Indian culture highly values harmonious interpersonal relationships, and thus confrontation is avoided when possible (Skolnick & Skolnick, 1992). Because of this the style of communication may be indirect. Being direct is avoided as it may lead to disagreement and confrontation. Instead one relies on the sensitivity of the other person to understand what is being said (Sloknick & Skolnick, 1992). This style of communication can lead to misunderstandings within a relationship if one is not "in tune" with the other

person. One participant acknowledged that he had difficulty confronting his wife and his children. He would often put the responsibility on them, avoiding direct confrontations with them.

The literature discusses how the nature of the husband-wife relationship in Indian culture actually discourages interactions between husband and wife. It is feared that the overt expression of intimacy and emotion might cause friction in regard to other family relationships. So it can be said that the Indian culture encourages limited husband-wife intimacy, and discourages direct communication (Lal, 1989). These participants also did not communicate directly with their wives.

The participants in this study described problems with communication in their marital relationship. One participant felt that his wife did not ask him for his opinion or discuss things with him before making decisions. This was frustrating for the participant as he thought that he and his wife should discuss things together before arriving at a decision. He described how his wife's exclusion of him in making household decisions created a wedge in their relationship.

In this chapter, significant themes that were discussed in relation to relevant literature were: 1) feelings of isolation, 2) family values, and 3) decision-making.

The literature supports the notion that those who lack social support are more prone to experiencing feelings of isolation. The literature also indicates that traditionallly in an extended Indian family, the woman's place is in her husband's home, however this was not the case for all ot the participants. The literature supports the notion that

extended Indian families encourage interdependence, and a sense of obligation and loyalty especially towards to the son's parents.

The literature on communication illuminated how the communication style of Asian people and the encouragement of limited interactions between husband and wife, may contribute towards misunderstandings within relationships. The literature discussed how the pattern of decision-making in a household usually reveals the power structure in a family. The literature also supports the notion that when men perceive themselves to be subordinate and powerless in a marital relationship there is an increased risk for husband to wife violence.

The social interactionist perspective as proposed by Tedeschi and Felson (1994) was selected to provide direction for this study. This framework is based on four principles which are used to explore aggressive behaviour in individuals. First, this approach interprets aggression as an instrumental behaviour, as a means to achieving certain values or goals. Second, this approach views aggressive behaviour as a normal consequence of conflict in human relations which is used in order to achieve compliance, or control the behaviour of other people. Third, the social interactionist perspective emphasizes situational factors in the development of interactions which are coercive and aggressive. Harm-doing is explained by the relationship between the parties, the dynamics of the interchange between them, and the presence or absence of third parties. This principle is most clearly exemplified in the current study. The three men interviewed found themselves in a social structure where few of their traditional resources were available to them. These men found themselves in family situations which were contrary to the usual

Indian family configuration. Usual patterns of coping were ineffective in this new situation.

The final principle requires an understanding of why people engage in harm-doing by examining their perceptions, judgements, expectations, and values. This principle was also demonstrated as it related directly to the objective and purpose of the study, that is, to describe the perceptions of three Indo-Canadian men of the influences on their abusive behaviour towards their wives. This study has been based primarily on the third and fourth principles, because it explores Indo-Canadian men's perspectives of major influences on their abusive behaviour towards their wives.

Summary

This chapter has focused on three significant themes arising from the findings of the study which are: 1) feelings of isolation, 2) family values and 3) decision-making. These themes have been discussed in relation to relevant literature as well as based on the social interactionist perspective which was the conceptual framework used to guide this study.

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND

IMPLICATIONS FOR NURSING

Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the research study and findings. Conclusions generated by the study findings are presented, and implications of these findings for nursing practice, education, and research are discussed.

Summary

Violence in families has been identified as a major social & public health concern (Humphreys & Fulmer, 1993). There is limited information on family violence within specific cultural groups; however, police statistics indicate that violence within the Indo-Canadian community is a concern. Between January and July of 1995, eleven percent of the suspects charged with spousal assault were Indo-Canadian males (Vancouver Police Department, personal communication, 1995). The Indo-Canadian population comprises one of the largest minority groups in the Lower Mainland area of British Columbia. By the year 2000, it is projected that 39% of the Vancouver population will be Indo-Canadian (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1992).

As a health professional with an Indian background, my interest in family violence was triggered when I became aware of the overwhelming incidence of spousal abuse among acquaintances, co-workers, friends, and relatives. My desire to gain a better understanding of this issue led me to this thesis. As I began working on this research, it became very obvious that the literature available pertained mostly to the women and children who are abused, while there was very little literature pertaining to the men who

are the perpetrators of this abuse. Furthermore, there is even less research literature focusing on how cultural values, beliefs, and other factors may influence an abuser's behaviour. Campbell and Campbell (1993) argued that because these variables have not been studied extensively, "it is unknown to what extent they contribute to the social-structural context causing violence" (p.297). I believe that in order to manage this problem more effectively, we must attempt to gain a better understanding of Indo-Canadian men and their behaviour, which seems to be the root cause of the problem.

Nurses may come into contact with families experiencing violence in various settings such as hospital, clinic, schools, and the community. Campbell (1993) argued that the nursing profession is "ideally suited to understand the needs of the family members" experiencing violence (p.349).

Nurses are ideally positioned to make major contributions to the knowledge base of family violence. Although other disciplines have conducted and published family violence literature, relatively few nursing studies have been reported (Humphreys & Fulmer, 1993).

The purpose of this study was to describe Indo-Canadian male abusers' perceptions of major influences on their abusive behaviour towards their wives. An understanding of these perceptions help us to identify factors contributing to male violence within the Indo-Canadian culture. Such findings will be helpful in further developing and implementing culturally sensitive violence prevention and intervention programs. In addition, these findings may contribute to the development of the knowledge base related to the precursors of male violence.

There were three participants who volunteered for this study. Each of the participants was part of MOSAICS' 'Assaultive Men's Program' and had been charged with abusing his wife. A qualitative, descriptive methodology framed in the context of the social interactionist approach to violence was used to direct this study. Three separate interviews were conducted with each of the participants, with the assistance of a translator, using semi-structured questions (Appendix D). All of these interviews were audio-taped and then transcribed by the researcher with the assistance of the translator.

Data for this qualitative study was analyzed using a process of (inductive) content analysis, which began during the data was being collected and continued following data collection. Data was analyzed for emerging themes and concepts. The two major categories emerging from the data were: 1) the acculturation process and 2) family life. Each of these categories had separate themes which were discussed and supported by data and relevant literature.

The acculturation process that the participants experienced was described within two separate themes: 1) work related stressors and 2) feelings of isolation. The participants discussed the difficulties they encountered as they attempted to adapt to living and working in Canada. The participants described their disappointment finding work, made comparisons between their present and past work and economic situations, and discussed work stressors and ways of coping with them. They perceived these difficulties as contributing to their levels of stress and feelings of frustration and hopelessness which, in turn, contributed to their abusive behaviour towards their wives. The participants also

described feeling alone and isolated from family members and felt that they didn't have anyone to talk to or go to for support.

The family life category was described within four separate themes: 1) changing family structure, 2) family expectations and values, 3) the nature of communication, and 4) decision-making. The participants discussed their changing family structure and the frustrations of living in an extended family with their wives families. They discussed how they often felt pressured by various familial and cultural expectations and values. They described how extended families often encourage dependence and obligation toward family members. In addition, they described how the Indian culture actually contributes to abuse of women by failing to protect and support abused women and ignoring men who abuse their wives. The participants described the communication styles that were used within their marriages that contributed to breakdown in effective communication and misunderstandings between spouses. The participants described how their wives were often the primary decision-makers within their households. The participants often felt excluded and helpless in these situations and felt that their wives' exclusion of them created distance and distrust.

Conclusions

The following conclusions have been formulated based on the findings and discussion of the findings of this study:

1) The participants felt isolated from their families which they attributed to lack of family support and understanding of their circumstances or point of view.

2) The participants experienced various changes in their family structure which were secondary to immigration and related to family disputes.

3) The participants felt ill equipped living in a non traditional Indian extended families structure, (living with the wife's family) and this contributed to stress and strain in their marriage.

4) The participants often felt powerless within the family context. These feelings were magnified by obligations and pressures by, in particular, extended family members and their expectations of them.

5) The participants stated that various cultural values that they held originated from their Indian culture and structure influenced their abusive behaviour.

6) The participants had difficulty communicating with their wives and children (and avoided confrontations with them).

7) The participants described how they felt helpless when they were excluded from making major household decisions by their wives, yet expected this was a role they could assume with respect to their wives.

8) The social interactionist perspective was useful in providing direction for this study because it was used explore the participants' perceptions of major influences on their abusive behaviour towards their wives and highlighted the importance of situational factors.

Implications for nursing practice, education, and research are explored, based on the conclusions of this study.

Implications for Nursing

<u>Practice</u>

In the study, the Indo-Canadian men discussed their feelings and perceptions of major influences on their abusive behaviour towards their wives. They discussed how their feelings of isolation from family members influenced their abusive behaviour. In order to understand abusive Indo-Canadian men, nurses in practice must have a nonjudgemental approach to dealing with abusive men, while also being considerate of these men's perceptions about their abusive behaviour.

In Indian families, questions about family life may seem intrusive (Waxler-Morrison, Anderson & Richardson, 1990). It is important that the nurse be aware of this and other cultural values so that he/she can be sensitive to the client's reluctance to respond openly. The nurse must demonstrate a genuine interest in clients and what they have to say, and be careful about the appropriateness of the timing and phrasing of questions for each individual (Waxler-Morrison et al. 1990).

The Indo-Canadian men who participated in this study discussed how their family structure and cultural values influenced their abusive behaviour. Nurses in practice must be culturally sensitive and aware of how family values may influence one's behaviour. The men discussed how in India, men who abused their wives could get away with it, because the police neither penalized abusive behaviour nor protected women who were abused by their husbands. The men in this study maintained this cultural view, even while being in Canada. In addition, these men were not aware of the Canadian laws criminalizing wife abuse until after they were charged with abusing their wives. This suggests that the

immigrant population from India may not realize the legal implications of wife abuse. However, nurses can bridge this knowledge gap to immigrant men by providing this educational intervention, which is within the scope of nursing practice. The participants also discussed how the difficulties they encountered as they attempted to adapt in Canada contributed to their levels of stress and feelings of frustration and hopelessness.

Based on this study's findings, nurses could assess one's work-related stressors paying particular attention to one's economic status, working conditions and on-the-job stressors.

As new immigrants to Canada, apart from family members in India, the participants also discussed feelings of aloneness and isolation from family members here. Nurses can inquire into these family and individual stresses. In addition, nurses need to assess one's feelings of isolation and level of support as these factors may contribute to one's ability to deal with the stressors in one's life and how it impacts their abusive behaviour (Qualls et al. 1980).

Findings from this study indicate that support needs to be available for immigrant men who have feelings of isolation and little or no support. Nurses must be aware of appropriate resources available for men who abuse, such as support groups and aggression management. Nurses can also provide resources and support services for men who abuse or who are at risk for abusing by implementing prevention programs in various community settings. Nurses specifically targeting programs for Indo-Canadian males may choose to provide support services at the men's workplace.

The findings of this study also indicate that immigrant men may be poorly prepared to deal with the challenges that they face upon emigrating. Nurses can anticipate these changes may occur from emigrating and assist families to develop skills with respect to decision-making, communication, and conflict resolution.

Education

The findings of this study indicate that Indo-Canadian men's who abuse their wives face a number of difficulties in adjusting to Canadian life when they emigrate from India. The many stresses arising out of the immigration process may provide context for wife abuse (Dunaway, 1990). The participants indicated that work-related stressors, and feelings of isolation were predominantly challenging. Nurses need to be aware of the acculturation process that people who emigrate from other countries experience so that they can understand these stressors that new immigrants are challenged with. Nurses need to be exposed to literature that discusses the importance of social support and isolation. In addition, for nurses to assist and support immigrant men who abuse women, nurses require educational preparation related to developing and implementing support interventions such as support groups.

Nurses also need to be aware of how cultural and familial values can influence one's behaviour. Nurses need to be educationally informed of the importance that one's extended families plays in one's life. In addition, the nurse needs to be aware of how for an Indo-Canadian man, identity is defined as a part of his family: and therefore loyalty to one's family and one's elders is essential and takes precedence over personal interests or feeling (Dunaway, 1990). These values also influence family structure as it relates to

communication, and decision-making. Nurses need to be aware that although the extended family is an important source of support, security and assistance it also encourages a strong sense of obligation and reinforces dependency on its members.

Nurses need to aware of the existence of traditional roles within a extended family and how they relate to decision-making within a household. In this study, the men had feelings of frustration because they had to give up their roles of leadership and decision-making to their wives. Based on these findings, nurses need to aware of how Indo-Canadian men's experience feelings of inferiority and inadequacy when they are unable to fulfil their socially prescribed roles as head of the household and sole breadwinners (Weibe, 1985).

The study findings indicate that nurses may also require an awareness of how communication patterns and styles may influence Indo-Canadian mens' abuse of women. The Indo-Canadian men acknowledged that they had difficulty confronting their wives and communicating with them, and thus tended to keep their thoughts and feelings inside. Nurses should be aware that unlike in the west, the communication style tends to be indirect and interactions between the husband and wife are discouraged within families.

In order for nurses to provide this information to new immigrants, they must also be educationally prepared to do so. The literature has indicated that nursing education on family violence is lacking in many nursing programs and does not receive the equal time and value that other client problems do (Henderson & Ericksen, 1994; Humphreys & Fulmer, 1993). This is especially important because study findings have suggested that

Ones' level of education about abuse may determine one's desire to intervene (Henderson & Ericksen, 1994).

Research

The findings of this study suggest that nursing research into family violence is needed in many areas. This study looked at Indo-Canadian men's perceptions of major influences on their abusive behaviour toward their wives. A study focusing on both the husbands and wife's perceptions of the man's abusive behaviour would provide a more comprehensive and balanced perspective towards understanding one's abusive behaviour towards his wife.

The participants volunteered for this study while they were near completion of a four month program for assaultive husbands. A study of assaultive husbands prior to program and then after program sessions are completed could be implemented to determine if their level of awareness/self-perception changes over time and with their exposure to information.

The men in this study expressed having feelings of isolation and lack of support from their wives and other family members which they felt contributed to their abusive behaviour towards their wives. It would be useful to conduct a study focusing on immigrant mens' awareness level of existing and available support and appropriate resources they may need. In the same way, it would be useful to conduct a study which evaluates the effectiveness/accessibility of resources for men who are either abusive or "at risk" for abusing their wives.

For this study, there were only three participants who volunteered from a group of nine individuals. A replication of this study with different and larger samples of participants would provide more comprehensive findings and analysis of themes.

In this chapter, the researcher has provided a summary regarding this qualitative descriptive study of Indo-Canadian men's perceptions of major influences on their abusive behaviour towards their wives. Important conclusions from the findings of this study were presented. Finally implications for nursing practice, education, and further research were discussed.

References

Adler, P. S. (1975). The transitional experience: An alternative view of culture shock. Journal of Humanistic Psychology, 15(4), 13-23.

Allen, K., Calsyn, D. A., Fehrenbach, P., & Benton, G. (1989). A Study of the interpersonal behaviours of male batterers. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 4(1), 79-89.

Anderson, J. M., Waxler-Morrison, N., Richardson, E., Herbert, C., & Murphy, M. (1990). Conclusion: Delivering culturally sensitive health care. In N. Waxler-Morrison, J. Anderson, & E. Richardson (Ed.), Cross-cultural caring: A handbook for health professionals in western Canada(pp. 245-267). Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press.

Assanand, S., Dias, M., Richardson, E., & Waxler-Morrison, N. (1990). The south asians. In N. Waxler-Morrison, J. Anderson, & E. Richardson (Ed.), Cross-cultural caring: A handbook for health professionals in western Canada(pp. 141-180). Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press.

Babcock, J. C., Waltz, J., Jacobson, N. S., & Gottman, (1993). Power and violence: The relation between communication patterns, power discrepancies, and domestic violence. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 61(1), 40-50.

Bandura, A. (1973). Aggression: A social learning analysis. Englewood Cliff, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Barling, J. & Rosenbaum, A. (1986). Work stressors and wife abuse. Journal of Applied Psychology, 71(2), 346-348.

Barnett, O. W., & Hamberger, L. K. (1992). The assessment of maritally violent men on the California psychological inventory. Violence and Victims, 8(1), 15-28.

Barnett, O. W., Martinez, T. E., & Bluestein, B. W. (1995). Jealousy and romantic attachment in maritally violent and nonviolent men. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 10(4), 473-486.

Barrera, M., Palmer, S., Brown, R.,& Kalaher, S. (1994). Characteristics of court-involved men and non-court-involved men who abuse their wives. Journal of Family Violence, 9(4), 333-345.

Bersani, C. A., Chen., Pendleton B. F., & Denton, R. (1992) Personality traits of convicted male batterers. Journal of Family Violence, 7(2), 123-134.

Bograd, M. (1988). Feminist perspectives on wife abuse: An introduction. In M. Bograd & K. Yllo (Eds.), Feminist perspectives on wife abuse(pp. 17-26). Beverly Hills: Sage.

Bowker, L. H. (1983). Beating wife-beating. Lexington Books, Toronto.

Brisson, N. J. (1981). Battering husbands: A survey of abusive men. Victimology: An International Journal, 1, 338-344.

British Columbia Institute of Family Violence. (1994). Family violence in British Columbia: A brief overview. Vancouver, BC: Author.

Burns, N., & Grove, S. K. (1993). The practice of nursing research: conduct, critique, and utilization. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: W.B. Saunders Company.

Campbell, J. C. (1993). Clinical Issues in perinatal and women's health nursing. AWHONN'S, 4(3), 343-513.

Campbell, D., & Campbell, J. (1993). Nursing care of families using violence. In J. Campbell & J. Humphreys (2nd ed.). Nursing care of survivors of family violence. St. Louis, Missouri: Mosby-Year Book Inc.

Campbell, J., & Humphreys, J. (1993). Nursing care of survivors of family violence (2nd ed.). St. Louis, Missouri: Mosby-Year Book Inc.

Cantrell, P. J., MacIntyre, D. L., Sharkey, K. J., & Thompson, V. (1995). Violence in the marital dyad as a predictor of violence in the peer relationships of older adolescents/young adults. Violence and Victims, 10(1), 35-40.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada. (1992). Immigration Statistics. Ottawa, ON: Author.

Conner, K.R., & Ackerley, G. D. (1994). Alcohol-related battering: Developmental treatment strategies. Journal of Family Violence, 9(2), 143-155.

Coopersmith, S. (1967). The antecedent of self-esteem. San Francisco: Freeman.

Creswell, J. W. (1994). Research design: Qualitative and quantitative approaches. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Curtis, G. C. (1963). Violence breeds violence - perhaps? American Journal of Psychiatry, 120, 386-387.

DeKeseredy, W. S. (1988). Woman abuse in dating relationships: The relevance of social support theory. Journal of Family Violence, 3(1), 1-13.

Derne, S. (1995). Culture in action: Family life, emotion and male dominance in Banaras, India. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press.

Dobash, R. E., & Dobash, R. P. (1979). Violence against wives: A case against the patriarchy. New York: Free Press.

Doumas, D., Margolin, G., & John, R. S. (1994). The intergenerational transmission of aggression across three generations. Journal of Family Violence, 9(2), 157-175.

Dunaway, J. (1990). Wife assault: Victim support worker handbook. Vancouver, BC: Justice Institute of BC.

Dutton, D. G., & Strachan, C. E. (1987). Motivational needs for power and spouse-specific assertiveness in assaultive and nonassaultive men. Violence and victims, 2(3), 145-156.

Dutton, D. G., van Ginkel, C., & Starzomski, A. (1995). The role of shame and guilt in the intergenerational transmission of abusiveness. Violence and Victims, 10(2), 21-35.

Else, L., Wonderlich, S. A., Beatty, W. W., Christie, D. W., & Staton, R. D. (1993). Personality characteristics of men who physically abuse women. Hospital and Community Psychiatry, 44(1), 54-58.

Farrington, K. (1986). The application of stress theory to the study of family violence: Principles, porblems and prospects. Journal of Family Violence, 1(2), 131-147.

Felson, R. B., & Tedeschi, J. T. (1993a). A social interactionist approach to violence: Cross-cultural applications. Violence and Victims, 8(3), 295-310.

Felson, R. B., & Tedeschi, J. T. (1993b). Aggression and violence: Social interactionist perspectives. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Field, P. A., & Morse, J. M. (1985). Nursing research: The application of qualitative approaches. Rockville, Maryland: Aspen Publishers.

Fowler, J. (1986). Survey research method. Applied social research series, 1(4). Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Gelles, R. J., & Cornell, C. P. (1983). International perspectives on family violence. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company.

Gondolf, E. W. (1988). Who are those guys? Toward a behavioral typology of batterers. Violence and Victims, 3(3), 187-203.

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1981). Effective evaluation . San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Hamberger, L. K., & Hastings, J. E. (1985). Personality correlates of men who abuse their partners: Some preliminary data. Paper presented at the meeting of the Society for Personality Assessment. Berkely, Calif., March 15, 1985).

Hamberger, L. K., & Hastings, J. E. (1986). Personality correlates of men who abuse their partners: A cross-validation study. Journal of Family Violence, 1(4), 323-341.

Hastings, J. E., & Hamberger, L. K. (1988). Personality characteristics of spouse abusers: A controlled comparison. Violence and Victims, 3(1), 31-63.

Henderson, A., & Ericksen, J. (1994). Enhancing nurses' effectiveness with abused women. Journal of Psychosocial Nursing, 32(6), 11.

Hershorn, M., & Rosenbaum, A. (1991). Over-vs. undercontrolled hostility: Application of the construct to the classification of maritally violent men. Violence and Victims, 6(2), 151-158.

Hess, B. B., Markson, E. W., & Stein, P. J. (1989). Sociology. (3rd ed.). New York: MacMillan.

Hoglund, C. L., & Nicholas, K. B. (1995). Shame, guilt, and anger in college students exposed to abusive family environments. Journal of Family Violence, 10,2), 141-157.

Holtzworth-Munroe, A. H., & Anglin, K. (1991). The competency of responses given by maritally violent versus nonviolent men to problematic marital situations. Violence and Victims, 6(4), 257-269.

Humphreys, J., & Fulmer, T. T. (1993). Future directions for nursing. In J. Campbell & J. Humphreys (Eds.). Nursing care of survivors of family violence. (pp. 371-383). St. Louis, Missouri: Mosby-Year Book Inc.

Jain, R. S. (1992). Family violence in India. New Delhi India: Radiant Publishers.

Julian, T. W., & McKenry, P. C. (1993). Mediators of male violence toward female intimates. <u>Journal of Family Violence, 8</u>(1), 39-56.

Lal, A.K. (1989). <u>The urban family: A study of Hindu social system.</u> New Delhi, India: Concept Publishing Company.

Langlinrichsen-Rohling, J., Neidig, P., & Thorn, G. (1995). Violent marriages: Gender differences in levels of current violence and past abuse. <u>Journal of Family Violence, 10</u>(2), 159-176.

Levine, E. M. (1986). Sociocultural causes of family violence: A theoretical comment. <u>Journal of Family Violence, 1</u>(1), 3-12.

LoBiondo-Wood, G., & Haber, J. (1990). <u>Nursing research: Methods, critical appraisal, and utilization.</u> St. Louis, Missouri: C. V. Mosby Company.

MacEwen, K. E. (1994). Refining the intergenerational transmission hypothesis. <u>Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 9</u>(3), 350-365.

MacEwen, K. E., & Barling, J. (1988). Multiple stressors, violence in the family of origin, and marital aggression: A longitudinal investigation. <u>Journal of Family Violence, 3</u>(1), 73-87.

Markoff, J., Shapiro, G., & Weitman, S. (1977). Toward integration of content analysis and general methodology. In Heise, D. (Eds.). <u>Social Methodology</u> (pp. 1-58). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Megargee, E. I. (1967). Development and validation of and MMPI scale. <u>Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 72</u>, 519-528.

Moss, V. A. (1991). Battered women and the myth of masochism. <u>Journal of Psychosocial Nursing, 29</u>, 19-23.

Murphy, C. M., Meyer, S., & O'Leary, K. D. (1993). Family of origin violence and MCMI-II psycholopathology among partner assaultive men. <u>Violence and Victims, 8</u>(2), 165-175.

National Clearinghouse on Family Violence. (1994). <u>Family violence and substance abuse: A fact sheet.</u> Ottawa: Health Canada.

Neidig, P. H., Friedman, D. H., & Collins, B. S. (1986). Attitudinal characteristics of males who have engaged in spouse abuse. <u>Journal of Family Violence, 1</u>(3), 223-233.

Newberger, E. H., & Bourne, R. (1978). The medicalization and legalization of child abuse. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 48, 593-607.

Oberg, K. (1960). Cultural shock: Adjustment to new cultural environments. Practical Anthropology, 7, 177-182.

Oiler Boyd, C. (1990). Qualitative approaches to research. In G. Lobiondo-Wood & J. Haber (Eds.). Nursing research: Methods, critical appraisal, and utilization. (pp. 182-208). St Louis, Missouri: C. V. Mosby.

Omery, A. (1983). Phenomenology: A method for nursing research. Advances In Nursing Science, 5(2), 49-63.

Pederson, P. (1995). The five stages of culture shock: Critical incidents around the world. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Petrik, N. D., Petrik Olson, R. E., & Subotnik, L. S. (1994). Powerlessness and the need to control, the male abuser's dilemma. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 9(2), 278-285.

Qualls, P. E., Justice, B., & Allen, R. H. (1980). Isolation and psychological functioning. Psychological Reports, 46, 279-285.

Roberts, A. R. (1987). Psychosocial characteristics of batterers: A study of 234 men charged with domestic violence offenses. Journal of Family Violence, 2(1), 81-93.

Russell, M. (1988). Wife assault theory, research, and treatment: A literature review. Journal of Family Violence, 3(3), 193-208.

Sandelowski, M. (1986). The problem of rigor in qualitative research. Advances in Nursing Science, 8(3), 27-37.

Sandelowski, M. (1995). Qualitative analysis: What it is and how to begin. Research in Nursing & Health, 18, 371-375.

Saunders, D. G. (1992). A typology of men who batter: Three types derived from cluster analysis. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 62(2), 264-275.

Shields, N. M., McCall, G. J., & Hanneke, C. R. (1988). Patterns of family and nonfamily violence: Violent husbands and violent men. Violence and Victims, 3(2), 83-96.

Sloknick, A. S., & Skolnick, J. H. (1992). Family In transition: Rethinking marriage, sexuality, child rearing and family organization.(7th ed.). New York, NY: Harpen Collins Publishers.

Smith, E. M. J. (1985). Ethnic minorities: Life stress, social support and mental health issues. Counselling Psychologist, 13(4), 537-579.

Spradley, B. W. (1991). Readings in community health nursing (Fourth Edition). Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: J. B. Lippincott Company.

Stith, S. M., & Farley, S. C. (1993). A predictive model of male spousal violence. Journal of Family Violence, 8(2), 183-199.

Tedeschi, J. T., & Felson, R. B. (1994). Violence, aggression and coercive actions. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Waltz, C., Strickland, O., & Lenz, E. (1991). Measurement in Nursing Research (2nd Ed.). Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Company.

Waxler-Morrison, N., Anderson, J. M., & Richardson, E. (1990). Cross-cultural caring- A handbook for health professionals in Western Canada. Vancouver, BC: The University of British Columbia Press.

Wiebe, K. (1985). Violence against immigrant women and Children: An overview for community workers. (2nd Ed.). Vancouver: Women Against Violence Against Women.

Wolfgang, M., & Ferracuti, F. (1967). The subculture of violence. London: Tavistock.

Appendix A School of Nursing
T201–2211 Wesbrook Mall
Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6T 2B5

Tel: (604) 822-7417
Fax: (604) 822-7466

INFORMATION LETTER TO PARTICIPANTS

My name is Iona Brierton Joseph. I am a registered nurse and a student in the Master of Science in Nursing (MSN) program at the University of British Columbia.

For my master's thesis, I am interested in gaining a greater understanding of Indo-Canadian Men who have been abusive towards their wives. My research topic is 'Indo-Canadian Men's Perceptions of Major Influences on Their Abusive Behaviour Towards Their Wives'. Through this study I hope to explore **your** own perceptions of those influences leading towards your abusive behaviour toward your wife. Additionally, an understanding of these perceptions of major influences could be helpful in identifying contributing factors of male violence within the Indo-Canadian Culture/Community.

I am in need of volunteer participants who would be willing to share their experiences/story. This letter is to invite you to participate in my research study. Your involvement in the study will include being interviewed and audio-taped. Participation will involve one interview for about an hour with the possibility of one or two follow-up interviews to clarify and validate information, for a total time commitment of approximately one to three hours. You will be interviewed by myself. In addition there will be a translator, who is my husband, Tahir Joseph.

Participation in this study is strictly voluntary and participants may choose to withdraw at any time. Refusal to participate or withdrawal from the study will not result in harmful consequences to your participation in the Men's group at MOSAIC or threaten your probation. All information including audio tapes are for research purposes and will be confidential, and kept in a locked filing cabinet, only the interviewer, the translator and my faculty advisors will have access to this information. Additionally, the participant has the right to request deletion of any part of the audio tape. After the audiotapes have been reviewed and the research study is completed, the audiotapes will be erased. Participants will not be identified in any reports relating to this project.

Appendix D

SAMPLE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Tell me what you think has influenced you behaviour towards your wife.

Thinking back to your childhood, what were your earliest memories with your parents?

Can you describe your childhood discipline experiences?

Describe your father's relationship with your mother.

Describe your relationship with your wife, in the past and presently.

Can you tell us how decisions are made in your family and who makes them?

Can you describe what work and life stressors you have recently experienced?

How do you think religious beliefs influence your behaviour?

How do you think your cultural background influence your behaviour?

If you are an recent/past immigrant to Canada, what difficulties in adjusting to Canadian culture did you encounter? How have these factors impacted you and family? (possible factors may include: employment, language barriers, racism, change in status, income, etc.