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Research article

The impact of perceived childhood victimization and patriarchal gender ideology on intimate partner violence (IPV) victimization among Korean immigrant women in the USA



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ABSTRACT

Childhood victimization experiences are common among intimate partner violence (IPV) victims. This study examines the link between childhood physical and sexual victimization experiences and adulthood IPV among Korean immigrant women in the USA. As Korean immigrants often use physical punishment to discipline their children, and reporting sexual abuse is discouraged due to stigmatization in this community, cultural factors (e.g. patriarchal values) related to childhood victimization and IPV were also examined. Survey data from Korean immigrant women in the USA were collected. Using a case-control design, we compared 64 Korean immigrant women who have experienced IPV in the past year with 63 Korean immigrant women who have never experienced IPV in their lifetime. The findings of this study reveal that IPV victims, compared with non-victims, experienced higher childhood victimization rates. Logistic regression analysis demonstrated that childhood victimization and patriarchal gender ideology strongly predict IPV victimization among Korean immigrants. However, patriarchal values did not moderate the relationship between childhood victimization and IPV. To prevent IPV among Korean immigrant population, we need to make special efforts to prevent childhood abuse and change ingrained cultural attitudes about child physical and sexual abuse among immigrant communities through culturally sensitive programs.

1. Introduction

Childhood victimization is a risk factor for various adulthood problems including IPV (Currie & Widom, 2010; Greenfield & Marks, 2009; Thompson, Arias, Basile, & Desai, 2002; Widom et al., 2008; Widom, DuMont, & Czaja, 2007), and exposure to childhood violence is a serious social problem in the USA. Among a sample of 4503 children under 18 years, over 41% of children reported a physical assault, 2% experienced sexual victimization, and 13.7% reported maltreatment by a caregiver in the last year before the study was conducted in 2012 (Finkelhor, Turner, Shattuck, & Hamby, 2013). Amongst the general population, over 22% of males and 19% of females experienced physical abuse, and over 14% of males and 32% of females experienced sexual abuse when they were young (Briere & Elliot, 2003).

It is well known that childhood victimization—such as physical abuse, sexual abuse, maltreatment and neglect—is related to problems in adulthood such as negative economic outcomes (Currie & Widom, 2010), bad health (Greenfield & Marks, 2009; Thompson et al., 2002; Widom et al., 2008; Widom et al., 2007), violent behaviors toward others (Gover et al. 2008; McKinney, Caetano, Ramisetty-Mikler, & Nelson, 2009; Widom, 1989) and (re)victimization (Daigneault, Hebert, & McDuff, 2009; Widom,

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Czaja, & Dutton, 2014).

In particular, the relationship between childhood victimization by caregivers and adulthood domestic (or family) violence has been studied widely, as both occur within the family relationship. Daigneault et al. (2009) found that childhood victimization was the greatest risk factor for IPV in a Canadian sample. Findings from a recent study using the Ghana Demographic and Health Survey also reveal that females who witnessed family violence were more likely to have experienced physical and sexual IPV compared with those who had not (Tenkorang et al., 2013). Using data from a prospective cohort design study, Widom, DuMont, & Czaja (2014) also found that childhood abuse and neglect significantly increased the risk of IPV in adulthood. Other researchers have found similar results, suggesting that violent childhood experiences and exposure to domestic violence profoundly increase the risk of victimization and perpetration of IPV (Gomez, 2011;Schewe et al., 2006;Whitfield, Anda, Dube, & Felitti, 2003). Individuals who experienced childhood maltreatment, including abuse, are more likely to be victimized by multiple partners (Alexander, 2009) and different perpetrators, regardless of the relationship when they become adults (Desai, Arias Il Thompson, & Basile, 2002). In addition, women who witnessed their parents' violence are less likely to leave their abusive relationship compared to those who did not (Kim & Gray, 2008).

The purpose of the current study is to investigate the impact of perceived childhood victimization on IPV victimization among Korean immigrant women in the USA. Although Koreans make up large population in the USA, and child abuse and IPV among them might be happening at different frequencies from reported rates, not many scholars have examined this population (Chang, Rhee, & Weaver, 2006;Yick & Oomen-Early, 2008). Korean culture is influenced by Confucian philosophy, which emphasizes hierarchal family structures in which father figures have strong power and authority over children and their wives (Kim, Kim, & Kelly, 2006). These traditional patriarchal values might increase the risk of child abuse (Chang et al., 2006;Maker et al., 2005) and IPV (Hyman et al., 2011;Morse, Paldi, Egbarya, & Clark, 2012). Cultural factors from their home country play a role in defining, understanding and resolving childhood victimization and IPV among immigrants. This study compared 64 Korean immigrant women who experienced IPV in the past year and 63 Korean immigrant women who had never been in an abusive relationship in their lifetimes using case-control design. The participants were mostly in their 30s, not employed, and had college or higher degrees. Twenty-three percent of all participants reported childhood physical abuse and 11.9% of them reported childhood sexual abuse.

2. Literature review

2.1. Childhood physical and sexual abuse in asian immigrant communities

Researchers have uncovered mixed findings as to whether immigrant children are more or less likely to be victimized compared to the general population. According to one study (Dettlaff & Johnson, 2011), no significant difference was found between immigrant Latino children and US-born Latino children in the child maltreatment rate represented in the health welfare system. However, physical violence among immigrant Latino children was more prevalent than among US-born Latino children, whereas US-born Latino children experienced more emotional abuse than immigrant children. Another study (Meston, Heiman, & Trapnell, 1999) found that Asians reported higher rates of physical abuse, emotional abuse, and neglect when they were young, whereas non-Asian participants had higher rates of sexual abuse.

Among Asian populations, including Koreans, reported rates of child maltreatment are much lower compared to other populations (Zhai & Gao, 2009), but the rates of physical abuse compared with other types of abuse, such as sexual and emotional abuse, are higher (Chang et al., 2006; Zhai & Gao, 2009). We can explain this phenomenon with three possible factors. The lower rates of child maltreatment are a reflection of reality; they are less likely to abuse their children or they are low due to the dark figures of unreported crimes (Zhai & Gao, 2009). Many support the latter (Chang et al., 2006; Kim & Kim, 2005), arguing that because of limited access to health care or the criminal justice system due to language barriers, the stigma attached to it, and a lack of attention toward those populations (Kenny & McEachern, 2000), they are less likely to be detected. Another possible reason is that they are underreported because they and their communities do not perceive some abusive behaviors as "abuse."

Physical punishment is often used in many Asian countries as discipline, and the definition of abuse is different in each culture (Park, 2001). A close connection exists between physical abuse and physical punishment, and physical punishment can easily escalate into physical abuse (Zolotor, Theodore, Chang, Berkoff, & Runyan, 2008). It might be difficult for Asian-Americans to distinguish punishment from abuse in some extent; thus, they may abuse their children without realizing that it may constitute abuse. This brings up the distinction between family and cultural traditions, on one hand, and appropriate punishment against laws that define specific behaviors as abuse, on the other hand. Compared to many countries, laws in the United States define a broader range of behaviors as abusive. What is considered appropriate punishment in some societies is considered abusive in the United States (Park, 2001). This distinction is especially important in examining links between childhood maltreatment and later victimization. In this paper, I refer to legal proscriptions as "abuse" and corresponding behaviors as "abusive."

Accepting physical punishment as normal in Asian communities might increase the incidence of childhood abuse. For instance, Chang and colleagues (2006) analyzed the case files of 170 Korean immigrant families in Los Angeles reported by Children and Family Services and found that most reported child physical abuse incidents stemmed from Korean parents using physical punishment as a form of discipline. Parents may justify, in the name of discipline, actions that others may view as child physical abuse, regardless of their intentions to harm or not to harm their children, so the rate of child physical abuse in Asian immigrant populations might be higher than the reported rate.

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