

The Impact of Teen Intimate Partner Violence on Subsequent New Dating Experiences Among Latinas

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THE IMPACT OF TEEN INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE ON
SUBSEQUENT NEW DATING EXPERIENCES AMONG LATINAS

by

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Marquette University, in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
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ABSTRACT
THE IMPACT OF TEEN INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE ON SUBSEQUENT
NEW DATING EXPERIENCES AMONG LATINAS

Lucia J. Stubbs, M.A.

Marquette University, 2016

Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) is experienced by Latinas (Villavicencio, 2008; González-Guarda, Peragallo, Vasquez, Urrutia, & Mitrani, 2009) at comparable and higher rates to women of other racial/ethnic backgrounds (Black et al., 2011; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), 2011). Young Latinas, in particular, appear to be disproportionately affected by IPV in comparison to young non-Latina white women (CDC, 2011). The negative outcomes associated with IPV in women, including Latinas, range from physical health issues (e.g., death, injuries including broken bones and concussions), and illnesses (e.g., gastrointestinal issues, headaches, and cardiovascular problems), to mental health problems (e.g., depression, anxiety, and negative interpersonal relationship patterns) (Caetano & Cunradi, 2003; Krishnan, Hilbert, & VanLeeuwen, 2001; Brown et al., 2003). Despite these negative outcomes, women do engage in and navigate new relationships. It is unknown, however, how they approach these subsequent dating experiences. Understanding dating/relationships among Latinas following adolescent IPV is particularly important as the literature indicates adolescence marks a critical time for the initial development of interpersonal romantic relationship behaviors and dynamics, which can form lasting patterns (Makepeace, 1986; Lerner & Galambos, 1998; Glass, 2003).

The purpose of the present study, therefore, was to explore how adolescent IPV influences subsequent, new dating experiences among Latinas. Grounded theory research methodology (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) was utilized to examine this topic. Eleven adult Latinas participated in interviews during which they were asked to discuss their dating, partner, and relationship expectations and behaviors subsequent to adolescent IPV.

Results revealed that Latinas who experienced adolescent IPV underwent changes that led to an increased focus on self-protection, which was incorporated into subsequent partner/relationship expectations (e.g., less traditional gender roles, which also influenced other expectations including partnership; emotional support/space; self-expression/communication), relationship goals (e.g., a desire for an IPV-free relationship; monogamy; companionship) and new behaviors in dating/relationships (e.g., period of being single; cautious, slower approach to dating/relationships). Additionally, results indicated that most of the participants had entered subsequent satisfying, IPV-free relationships. Discussion of the findings, implications, and limitations of the present study are included. Directions for future research are also provided.

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Chapter I: Introduction

Statement of the Problem

Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) transcends social, economic, cultural, religious, and gender orientation lines; yet specific communities, such as the Latina population appear to be particularly affected by partner violence (Villavicencio, 2008; González-Guarda, Peragallo, Vasquez, Urrutia, & Mitrani, 2009). Recent prevalence rates show that 37.1% adult Latinas experience IPV, which is slightly higher than non-Latina White women (34.6%), but lower than African American women (43.7%; Black et al., 2011). Adolescent Latinas are also suggested to be at significant risk for partner abuse with 10.6% being affected, as compared to 11.8% of African American and 7.7% non-Latina White females (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), 2011). The severe, deleterious, and direct effects of IPV have been noted in the literature, including physical health effects such as homicide (Fagan & Browne, 1994), injuries (Boyle, Robinson, & Atkinson, 2004; Grisso et al., 1991), broken bones and facial trauma (Vavaro & Lasko, 1993; Zachariades, Koumoura, & Konsolaki-Agouridaki, 1990), tendon or ligament injuries and/or neurological problems (Eby, Campbell, Sullivan, & Davidson, 1995), chronic headaches (Gelles & Straus, 1990), chronic irritable bowel syndrome (Bergamn & Brismar, 1991), and cardiovascular problems (Koss & Heslet, 1992). More indirect effects of IPV include mental health issues such as depression (Campbell, 2002; McCauley et al., 1996; Golding, 1999), anxiety issues including posttraumatic stress disorder (Gleason, 1993; Golding, 1999), suicidality (Golding, 1999), and/or dysfunctional interpersonal relationship patterns (Furman & Flanagan, 1997). Given

these negative effects, it is important to understand how Latinas who survive IPV manage to negotiate future relationships and experience well-being in their lives.

IPV generally is described as physical violence, emotional, psychological, or verbal abuse, and/or sexual abuse committed by an intimate partner including current or former spouses, cohabitating partners, boyfriends, girlfriends, and/or dating partners (Carlson, 2011; Davis, 2008; Sugarman & Hotaling, 1989). Common to the definition of IPV is the attempt to control or dominate another person by aggressive acts and coercive behaviors that cause some degree of harm (Wolfe, Wekerle, Reitzel-Jaffe, Lefebvre, 1998). However, there are numerous and disparate definitions used to describe IPV (World Health Organization (WHO), 2002; Saltzman, Fanslow, McMahon, Shelley, 2002). Much of the current research indicates that IPV is a significant problem among adolescents and young adults today (O'Keefe, Brockopp, & Chew, 1986; Henton, Cate, Koval, Lloyd, & Christopher, 1983; National Research Council, 1996).

Recent research of the negative effects associated with adolescent IPV have highlighted substance abuse, unhealthy weight control tactics, risky sexual behaviors, pregnancy, sexually transmitted infections (STIs), mental health issues (particularly depression, anxiety, and shame), and suicidality among victims (Silverman et al., 2001; Silverman, Raj, & Clements, 2004; Roberts, Auinger, & Klein, 2005; Campbell & Lewandoski, 1997; Weiss et al., 2015; Beck et al., 2011; Street & Arias, 1999; Sipple & Marshall, 2011; Kasturirangan et al., 2004). Research among adult women indicates that those who experience IPV have poorer physical and mental health in comparison to women with no IPV histories (Family Violence Prevention Fund (FVPPF), 2010; Black et al., 2011). Findings from the National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey

(Black et al., 2011) showed that more women with IPV histories than those without reported having difficulty sleeping (37.7%; 21.0%), activity limitations (35.0%;19.7%), chronic pain (29.8%; 16.5%), frequent headaches (28.7%; 16.5%), asthma (23.7%; 14.3%), diabetes (12.6%; 10.2%), irritable bowel syndrome (12.4%; 6.9%), overall poor physical health (6.4%;2.4%), and overall poor mental health (3.4%; 1.1%; it was not indicated if this was statistically different than findings among non-abused women). Additionally, eight out of the ten Leading Health Indicators (LHIs) have been linked to IPV, such that women affected by partner abuse are more likely to experience or engage in: obesity, tobacco use, substance abuse, suffer from serious mental health problems, risky sexual behaviors, injuries and homicides, not obtaining immunizations for their children, and a lack of or fail to access preventative health care (FVPPF, 2010).

More specifically, some research has indicated that Latinas in the U.S. who have experienced IPV are also more likely to have mental health consequences such as depression (Caetano & Cunradi, 2003) and suicidal ideation or suicide attempts (Krishnan et al., 2001) as compared to women from other racial/ethnic backgrounds. Additionally, victimized adult Latinas also report indirect consequences associated with IPV including higher dissatisfaction in their intimate relationships, higher impulsivity, and more anxiety in comparison to non-victimized women (Brown et al., 2003). Importantly, research among Latina adolescents has shown that victims of dating violence have an increased likelihood for engaging in risky sexual behaviors (Silverman et al., 2001). More specifically, IPV that occurs during adolescence has been associated with early initiation of sexual activity (before 15 years, 13 years, and 11 years; Silverman et al., 2004; Kim-Godwin, Clements, McCuiston, & Fox, 2009), non-condom use at last

time of intercourse (Silverman et al., 2004), and multiple sexual partners (Silverman et al., 2001; Silverman et al., 2004). Coupled with these risky sexual behaviors are serious negative sexual health outcomes for teens experiencing dating violence as they are at a heightened risk for STIs and pregnancy (Silverman et al., 2001; Silverman et al., 2004; Decker, Silverman, & Raj, 2005; Roberts et al., 2005; Coker et al., 2000).

Teen dating violence usually occurs during one of the most critical developmental periods in the lifespan (Makepeace, 1986; Jackson, 1999) and holds the capacity to determine how individuals approach subsequent relationships. Adolescence is a time when most people begin dating and they often lack the emotional skills to effectively communicate their feelings and cope with frustrations (Mulford & Giordano, 2008). Adolescence also marks the time when individuals start forming identities (Glass, 2003) and relationship patterns (Lerner & Galambos, 1998). Research has indicated that young people that experience IPV have a higher likelihood of continuing to have abusive relationships in their future (O'Keefe et al., 1986; Smith, White, and Holland, 2003; Arriaga & Foshee, 2004; O'Keefe, 2005; Wekerle and Wolfe, 1999).

Although dating violence is a significant issue with severe consequences, little is known about dating violence among racial/ethnic minority youth populations (Rayburn et al., 2007) and subsequent dating/relationship experiences among such women who survive adolescent IPV (Flasch, Murray, & Crowe, 2015; Neustifter & Powell, 2015; Neustifter, 2009; Taylor, 2004; Anderson, 1994; Weiss, 2004; NiCarthy, 1987; Herman, 1992). However, authors have indicated that IPV must be understood in consideration of Latinas' unique cultural context (Sanderson, Coker, Roberts, Tortolero, & Reininger, 2004; Barney, Duran, Shelley, Tobar, & Barajas-Mazaheri, 2007). Women's

sociocultural contexts have been recognized as being significantly influential in their experience of and response to IPV, specifically in their interpretations of partner abuse and recourse when a partner is abusive (Dutton, Orloff, & Hass, 2000; Brabeck & Guzman, 2009). Several specific cultural factors have been identified as important in understanding IPV among Latina/o youth because of their prominence and correlations to IPV, including (Sanderson et al., 2004; Barney et al., 2007) gender roles (Brabeck & Guzman, 2009, West, Kaufman Kantor, & Jasinski, 1998; Perilla, Bakeman, & Norris, 1994), immigration and acculturation (Pearlman, Zierler, Gjelsvik, & Verhoek-Offendahl, 2003; Kaufman Kantor, Jasinski, & Aldarondo, 1994), and *familismo* (Sorenson, 1996; Firestone, Lambert, & Vega, 1999; Sanderson et al., 2004; Barney et al., 2007; Villavicencio, 2008). Much remains to be understood concerning how IPV experiences during youth influences young Latinas' subsequent dating beliefs and behaviors within their unique cultural context.

Gaps in the Literature

National quantitative surveys (e.g., the National Institute of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, National Violence Against Women Survey, Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance Survey) are the primary sources of data on IPV among young Latinas. Such research studies have been extremely helpful in providing data about the pervasiveness of partner abuse within the Latina/o population in comparison to other racial/ethnic groups. Although past self-report survey data has yielded different prevalence estimates regarding the percent of Latinas' affected by IPV, consistently across all studies Latinas are found to be affected by partner abuse (González-Guarda et al., 2009; Caetano, Shafer, Clark, Cunradi, & Raspery, 2000; Cunradi, Caetano, & Shafer, 2002; Murdaugh, Hunt, Sowell,

& Santana, 2004). However, beyond the prevalence estimates, these large-scale surveys provide little information about Latinas' experiences of IPV, nor do they examine cultural factors. Additionally, such quantitative analyses have not examined the subjective experiences of young Latinas or the impact that IPV has upon subsequent dating relationships among such women. Research findings conducted broadly among young women and adolescents using both quantitative and qualitative methods indicate that early abusive relationships can negatively impact subsequent relationships. However, of the few studies that concentrate on IPV among Latinas, even less include the personal experiences of Latina youth (Bradley & Davino, 2002) and none have focused on how IPV experiences affect young Latina women's subsequent, new dating relationships. Thus, the purpose of this study is to examine the new dating experiences among single, young Latinas after surviving IPV as a teen.

Rationale for the Study

IPV has been noted to disproportionately affect young Latinas (CDC, 2011; CDC, 2010; CDC, 2008; Howard & Qi Wang, 2003) and to have numerous negative effects on psychosocial functioning (Silverman, Raj, Mucci, & Hathaway, 2001; Silverman et al., 2004; Roberts et al., 2005; Campbell & Lewandoski, 1997). Given that most Latinas will find themselves navigating future romantic relationships after such a traumatic experience, understanding how they do this is important. Therefore, the proposed study seeks to build upon the existing IPV research by conducting a qualitative exploration of the effects of IPV on subsequent dating experiences among Latinas. This study will include individual interviews of Latina young women 18 to 35 years of age who self-report at least one past IPV relationship during adolescence. Latina women between the

ages of 18 to 35 were chosen because young Latinas are particularly affected by partner abuse and across racial/ethnic groups women 16 to 24 are the highest in reporting initial IPV experiences (Rennison & Welchans, 2000; Greenfield et al., 1998). Latinas in young adulthood were chosen over those in their adolescence because due to developmental factors (Lerner & Galambos, 1998) older Latinas will likely be better able to effectively convey how their IPV experiences influence their dating perspectives and behaviors.

Data will be analyzed using grounded theory methodology (Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Strauss & Corbin, 1998), which seeks to establish theories through a process of data collection and analysis (Fassinger, 2005). As a part of this process data are examined by three coding procedures: open, axial, and selective coding. Data analysis also includes the *constant comparative analysis method* (CCM; Glaser, 1965; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Grounded theory is a fitting methodology for the proposed study as it is specifically used to develop a theory from the detailed accounts and unique cultural context of the participants.

Research Questions

The overarching focus of inquiry for the proposed study is “How does teen intimate partner violence influence subsequent, new dating experiences among adult Latinas?” Participants will be asked to describe how their past IPV experience has impacted their dating beliefs and behaviors in some of the following ways: (a) “What were Latinas’ dating/relationship expectations subsequent to adolescent IPV, including their views regarding gender roles?” (b) “How were Latinas able to reinitiate dating/relationships following adolescent IPV?” (c) “What are Latinas’

partner/relationship experiences subsequent to undergoing adolescent IPV?” and (d) “What are Latinas’ future romantic relationship goals?”

Definition of Terms

For the purposes of this study, *Latina/o* denotes a heterogeneous group with different subgroups. *Latina/o* will be used to encompass other related terms such as Hispanic, Chicana, and national origin descriptions such as Puerto Rican and Mexican. Also the term *Latina* will refer to females of Latin descent in the U.S. The terms *teen dating violence*, *adolescent IPV*, *partner abuse*, and *intimate partner violence* will refer to psychological/emotional, sexual, and/or physical abuse or the threat of violence by at least one former partner (Glass et al., 2003; Sugarman & Hotaling, 1989) within a dating relationship between a male and female. The terms *teen dating violence* and *intimate partner violence* will be used as they were in the literature. Due to the nuanced relationship differences between heterosexual and homosexual relationships, the scope of this study will focus primarily on IPV experiences of Latinas involved in a heterosexual relationship.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This proposed study is designed to examine Latinas' beliefs and approaches to romantic relationships after experiencing IPV as a teen. Thus, this chapter will be a review of the relevant literature related to IPV literature including definitions, prevalence rates, theories of IPV, cultural factors, and consequences. This will be followed by a consideration of the lack of research about the long-term effects of IPV among survivors, specifically, among Latinas and with a focus on their subsequent intimate relationships.

Largely the IPV literature has focused on preventative measures, treatment, and the short-term implications of IPV, leaving the long-term consequences of IPV, specifically its impact upon subsequent, new dating experiences largely unexplored (Anderson & Sanderson, 2003; Crowell & Burgess, 1996). However, research findings and anecdotal data indicate that IPV survivors desire to date and many go on to develop non-violent intimate relationships after an abusive relationship (e.g., Dugan & Hock, 2006). Much of the research on IPV specifically among Latinas has examined the after effects of abuse narrowly in terms of help-seeking or non-help-seeking behaviors (Dutton et al., 2000; Brabeck & Guzman, 2009). Left unexamined are the dating experiences that women, in particular, that Latina women have after surviving an abusive dating relationship, as most research has focused on White, African American, and/or more broadly women of various race-ethnic backgrounds (Flasch, Murray, & Crowe, 2015; Neustifter & Powell, 2015; Neustifter, 2009; Taylor, 2004; Anderson, 1994; Weiss, 2004; NiCarthy, 1987; Herman, 1992). Neglecting to examine the subsequent, new dating perspectives and behaviors of IPV survivors disregards a critical aspect of their development and well-being.

Dating Relationships

Dating and romantic relationships are identified as dominant and normative features of development that usually are initiated during adolescence (Shulman, Davila, & Sachar-Shapira, 2011). More than 70% of adolescents report having had a romantic relationship by the age of 18 years (Carver, Joyner, & Udry, 2003). Intimate relationships have particular centrality in the lives of adolescent females and these young women often experience notable pressures to be involved in such relationships (Chung, 2007).

However, dating in early adolescence is indirectly correlated with significant negative consequences such as higher rates of substance use, delinquency, psychological and behavioral issues, and lower levels of educational achievement (Brown & Theobald, 1996; Cauffman & Steinberg, 1996; Grinder, 1996; Konings, Dubois-Arber, Narring, & Michaud, 1995; Wright, 1982). Beyond these negative outcomes, intimate relationships are powerful as they hold the power to facilitate positive or negative developmental trajectories in key ways (Florsheim & Moore, 2008).

On the other hand, adolescent romantic relationships can also contribute to interpersonal competence (Neeman, Hubbard, & Masten, 1995), a more complicated and differentiated self, and future attachments (Furman & Wehner, 1997). More specifically, romantic relationships in adolescence are hypothesized as being a major conduit for processing issues related to identity and individuation (Coates, 1999; Connolly & Goldberg, 1999; Erikson, 1968). Adolescents may also develop relational patterns that influence subsequent relationships, extending even into marriages (Erikson, 1968; Furman & Flanagan, 1997; Sullivan, 1953). Furthermore, researchers suggest that the types of romantic experiences and relationships adolescents have may significantly

influence the impact that they have on individuals (Brown, Feiring, & Furman, 1999). Given the significant influence that adolescent dating experiences and romantic relationships have for development throughout the lifespan, in particular interpersonal dynamics, it is important to consider how abusive adolescent relationships affect subsequent dating. There is room for considerable expansion on the existing research on this topic as few studies have specifically examined new dating experiences among young women, in particular, Latinas who have experienced teen dating violence. In order to better understand this phenomenon and how researchers might go about exploring these unique experiences, it is important to consider the context of this issue in terms of definitions, prevalence, theories of IPV, cultural factors, and consequences.

Definitions of Intimate Partner Violence

There have been wide inconsistencies in the definitions of IPV, however the World Health Organization (WHO, 2002; 2010) and CDC have attempted to provide universal terms and definitions to create clarity and improve IPV research efforts (WHO, 2002; WHO, 2010; Saltzman et al., 2002; CDC, 2010). IPV is described by the WHO (2010) as, “Behavior within an intimate relationship that causes physical, sexual or psychological harm, including acts of physical aggression, sexual coercion, psychological abuse, and controlling behaviors” (p.11). The CDC (2010) offers this definition of IPV: “Occurs between two people in a close relationship...and includes current and former spouses and dating partners; Physical, sexual, or psychological harm by a current or former partner or spouse. This type of violence can occur among heterosexual or same-sex couples and does not require sexual intimacy” (para. 1). As can be seen, these

definitions are similar except for the CDC's explicit recognition that IPV can occur among various types or relationships, partners, and with or without sexual contact.

The terms and definitions considered as partner violence largely shapes the research on this issue. Many researchers postulate that this lack of consensus has led to many of the disputes regarding the number of women affected by IPV (Gordon, 2000; Saltzman et al., 2002; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a). Take, for example, a researcher who defines IPV more broadly to include acts such as stalking and other psychological forms of abuse in addition to physical abuse. This will produce larger prevalence estimates than a researcher who uses a more narrow definition of abuse (DeKeseredy, 2000).

Furthermore, a definition that partitions out and measures various types of abuse such as, physical, sexual, and emotional abuse, will likely produce different estimates than one that combines all types of violence together (Gordon, 2000). Thus, the definitional criteria used in research can lead to large variance in prevalence rates (Lewis & Fremouw, 2001). Additionally, the differences in definitional criteria for IPV have resulted in much confusion and ambiguity (Lewis & Fremouw, 2001).

Researchers have asserted that the lack of clarity and consensus of the IPV definition has led to this issue being largely ignored (WHO, 2002; Saltzman et al., 2002). This is further complicated by the fact that standards of acceptable behavior and what is constituted as harm are culturally influenced and constantly under review as social norms and beliefs continuously evolve (WHO, 2002). Therefore, there are infinite ways of defining violence, depending on the purpose of the definition and who is providing the definition (WHO, 2002). Among Latinas in particular, there may be cultural differences

in relationship expectations, the names they ascribe to abuse, and their interpretations of what constitutes abuse. These cultural differences will be examined later.

Prevalence Rates

Locating consistent statistics regarding the extent of IPV among Latinas is extremely challenging as many studies often report widely varying prevalence estimates. Estimates of partner abuse among Latinas has ranged from 17.3% (National Family Violence Resurvey; Straus & Smith, 1990) to 77% (Texas Council on Family Violence, 2003) and victimization analyses prior to the mid-to-late 1990s consistently showed that Latinas were victimized at disproportionately higher rates than other racial/ethnic groups (Brown, 2009). Yet, findings such as the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS; Rennison, 2002) and survey data from a 2003 study (Rennison & Rand) have shown comparable rates of partner violence for Latinas and non-Latina White women.

In comparison to non-Latina White women, national and local population-based probability surveys and statewide surveillance systems found elevated (Kaufman Kantor et al., 1994; Sorenson & Telles, 1991; Straus & Smith, 1995; Straus & Smith, 1990), lower (Sorenson, Upchurch, & Shen, 1996), and similar (Rennison & Welchans, 2000) rates of IPV among Latinas. The most recent IPV prevalence estimates (2011) collected by the CDC via the National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS) shows that Latina women (35.2%; 37.1%) report higher incidences of physical violence and a combination of any type of abuse (i.e., rape, physical violence, and/or stalking) in comparison to non-Latina White women (31.7%; 34.6%; Black et al., 2011). However, it should be mentioned that control variables (e.g., socioeconomic status, area of residence, age, substance use, etc.) were not noted as a part of the data analysis for in the NISVS

findings. Similar to the NISVS findings, Caetano et al. (2008) examined IPV among Latinas/os, non-Latina/o African Americans and Whites, and Mixed Race-Ethnicity couples and yielded results indicating that Latinas/os (15%) and African Americans (17%) had the highest rates of mutual violence in comparison to Whites (7%).

Other studies, such as the NVAWS (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000b) and BJS (Catalano, Smith, Snyder, & Rand, 2009) found comparable prevalence rates of IPV between Latina and non-Latina women. Still, other studies have found lower rates of partner violence among Latinas in comparison to women of other racial/ethnic groups. One such study by Denham et al. (2007) found lower prevalence rates of IPV among Latinas in comparison to non-Latina White and African American women. More specifically, Denham and colleagues (2007) examined IPV and sociodemographic factors among southern rural Latinas (19.5%) and found lower adult lifetime prevalence of IPV in comparison to non-Latina White (25.2%) and African American women (31.8%). Denham et al.'s study also found that Latinas were more likely to report having experienced physical violence by a partner within the past six months, however, this did not remain statistically significant when the researchers controlled for sociodemographic variables (i.e., marital status, living arrangement, adults in the home, education, health insurance, acculturation, language preference, length of time living in the United States). However, other studies that have controlled for variables of income, age, alcohol use, residing in an urban area (Kantor et al., 1994; Sorenson & Telles, 1991; Straus & Smith, 1990), impulsivity, and family history (Caetano et al., 2000) yielded results showing comparable prevalence rates between Latinas and non-Latina White women.

Prevalence studies have also shown within group differences in certain IPV related variables among Latinas. For example, some studies also show that partner abuse is more common among U.S. born Latinas/os compared to immigrant Latinas/os, however, other studies have found higher rates of IPV among immigrant Latinas/os (Hogeland & Rosen, 1990; Aguilar Hass, Dutton, & Orloff, 2000). Additionally, research suggests that Latinas overall (Dutton et al., 2000; Gondolf, Fisher, & McFerron, 1988), and in particular women of Mexican-origin tend to stay longer in abusive relationships (Torres, 1991; West, 1998), return to the abusive relationship more frequently (Brabeck & Guzman, 2008), identify fewer behaviors as abusive (Torres, 1991), and are less likely to seek resources to leave the abusive relationship than non-Latina African American and/or White women (West et al., 1998).

The few studies that investigated IPV among Latina adolescents have, similar to the adult studies among Latinas, yielded inconsistent prevalence estimates (Howard & Wang, 2003; Coker et al., 2000; O'Keefe, 1997; Ackard & Neumark-Sztainer, 2002; Ozer, Tschann, Pasch, & Flores, 2004). For instance, research among Latina/o adolescents has yielded prevalence estimates as small as 2.0% (Coker et al., 2000) and as large as 23.1% (Ackard & Neumark-Sztainer, 2002). Irrespective of the conflicting prevalence statistics, a majority of the research shows that Latina adolescents report higher rates of abuse than their male adolescent counterparts (CDC, 2011; CDC, 2010; Ackard & Neumark-Sztainer, 2002; O'Keefe, 1997). For instance, studies have shown higher rates of dating violence and date rape among Mexican adolescent females (6.7%; 4.2%) in comparison to Mexican adolescent males (5.7%; 3.2%; Ackard & Neumark-Sztainer, 2002). A recent study by Sabina and Cuevas (2013) entitled Dating Violence

Among Latino Adolescents (DAVILA) funded by the NIJ, found in the past year (2011) among Latinas/os 12 to 18 years old the following prevalence rates: 19.5% experienced at least one form of partner violence, 14.8% experienced psychological partner violence, 6.6% experienced physical partner violence, 5.6% experienced sexual partner violence, and 1.0% experienced stalking.

Mixed findings in prevalence estimates of IPV among Latinas could be due to multiple reasons: whether or not the researcher chooses to control for certain demographic variables, confounding variables, definitional issues in measurement, and/or the measurement of different types of abuse. Regardless, it is clear that Latinas are impacted by partner abuse, which is concerning. In order to more fully understand the ways in which partner violence affects Latinas it is important to combine the data on prevalence rates with the theoretical conceptualizations of IPV.

Theories of Intimate Partner Violence

There are no established IPV frameworks to guide research and practice among Latina populations in particular. However, within the general U.S. population, the dynamics of partner violence and the psychological characteristics of victims have been explained with several different paradigms, including psychoanalytic, social learning, family systems, and more recently, feminist and multicultural/intersection (Flores-Ortiz, 1993). The most widely utilized theory in IPV research is social learning theory (Bandura, 1965, 1973), along with related theories (i.e., intergenerational transmission theory; Ehrensaft, et al., 2003; comprehensive background-situational model of dating violence; Riggs and O'Leary, 1989). However, feminist, ecologically based, and multicultural theories (Bograd, 1984; Comas-Diaz, 1991; Luepnitz, 1988; McGoldrick &

Carter, 1989) are used to conceptualize IPV among women of color. Additionally, within the past 20 years, a shift from deficit-based to strength-focused conceptualizations of IPV has ushered in resilience theory (Greene, 2002; Hamby & Gray-Little, 1997; Davis, 2002; Taylor, 2004).

Social learning theory and other theories based off of this framework are probably the most widely used models to understand IPV (Lewis & Fremouw, 2001; Follette & Alexander, 1992; O'Keefe, 1998; Tontodonato & Crew, 1992). Social learning theory comes from developmental theory by Bandura (1965, 1973) and is based on the premise that expectations, values, self-perceptions, goals, and intentions interact to direct behavior. Added to this, youths' behavior and the environment are suggested as having a reciprocal cause-and-effect relationship (Bandura, 1989). It is suggested that this reciprocal interaction influences the development of cognition as well as self-regulation of behaviors and emotions. Researchers believe that social learning theory offers a better understanding regarding influences on youth's behavior, particularly, because it considers environmental influences on development (Ehrensaft et al., 2003). Most researchers use this theory (Bandura, 1977, 1978, 1989) to predict risk factors associated with partner violence, specifically suggesting that social learning and similar theories best describe what influences youth's behaviors while also considering developmental factors (Arraiga & Foshee, 2004; Kinsfogel & Grych, 2004; Ulloa et al., 2004).

Intergenerational transmission theory (Ehrensaft, et al., 2003) is a social learning based theory (Bandura, 1965, 1973) and is commonly used in the literature to describe the consequences of children witnessing violence. It asserts that violence is learned by directly being abused or witnessing abuse through exposure to interparental violence

(Ehrensaft et al., 2003). Ultimately, this theory concludes that children raised in violent environments learn models of aggressive and negative conflict resolution from their parents, which is reinforced by the environment. Therefore, this theory purports that eventually children exposed to violence will come to develop self-perceptions and personal beliefs systems that condone violence and aggression, and thus, in turn have a higher likelihood of imitating such behaviors later in their adult relationships.

Another social learning based theory, proposed by Riggs and O'Leary (1989) is the comprehensive background-situational model of dating violence. Essentially, Riggs and O'Leary (1989) suggest that through observing and imitating others behaviors are acquired, which is perpetuated through differential reinforcement. Furthermore, they postulate that contextual and situational factors are linked to dating violence for young people. Contextual factors include: exposure to aggression in intimate relationships, experiencing parent-child aggression, believing aggression is an appropriate response to conflict, and former use of aggression. Situational factors are identified as substance use, intimate partner's use of aggression, ability to effectively problem-solve, and the duration of the relationship. Researchers have noted that heavily focusing on the influence of family omits additional social factors involved in the formation of self (O'Keefe, 1997; Villavicencio, 2008), such as gender and culture. For instance, gender socialization teaches gender-specific behaviors, therefore, the consequences of being exposed to violence may differ between boys and girls (O'Keefe, 1997). Additionally, such a strong focus on family violence fails to take into account the impact of community level and school violence (O'Keefe, 1997) as well as the influence that peers, the media, and the broader society (Villavicencio, 2008) has upon a child's learned aggressive behaviors.

Ecological, feminist, and multicultural frameworks may expand upon social learning theories conceptualizations of IPV/TDV (Perilla et al., 1994; O'Keefe, 1997; Villavicencio, 2008). Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model explores dynamics between the individual and across various environmental systems (macrosystem, exosystem, microsystem, and mesosystem). Broadly the exosystem (judicial system and law enforcement agencies), mesosystem (the interaction between microsystem and exosystem), macrosystem (culture, gender role beliefs, and social/cultural acceptance of partner violence), and microsystem (family, peers, and community) each interact to influence child development. Bronfenbrenner (2005) also emphasized the importance of biological factors in child development, which led to this framework being renamed the bioecological systems theory. This ecological framework was used by Almgren (2005) to examine interpersonal violence as a part of a larger study among inner city minority populations. Almgren (2005) concluded that the ecological model provided a framework for IPV in urban areas and proposed that IPV involves systems beyond the family and accordingly should be addressed at the mesosystem level.

Feminist and multicultural approaches have also been highlighted as frameworks that help to conceptualize Latinas' experience of IPV as they include aspects of race/ethnicity, class, and gender (Reid & Bing, 2000; Villavicencio, 2008). Reid and Bing's (2000) meta-analysis of domestic violence literature asserted that theoretical perspectives such as social learning theory do not examine unreinforced behavior, and when rationales are offered they are based on White middle-class standards. Therefore, researchers studying Latinas have recognized feminist and multicultural theories as providing more insight about IPV among Latinas (Flores-Ortiz, 1993; Perilla et al., 1994;

Villavicencio, 2008). As young Latinas are the population of emphasis for this study, it is important to consider theories that particularly address race-ethnicity, gender, and sociocultural factors.

The multicultural framework focuses on the cultural and sociopolitical context of gender role expectations, especially as it takes into account the history of oppression that specific racial/ethnic groups have endured at the hands of the dominant society (Volpp, 2005). More specifically, it takes into account the role of peers, parents, family, and the larger society in the sexual socialization of women of color, which includes a conflicting message of being hyper-sexual and virginal (Reid & Bing, 2000). Additionally, the multicultural framework accounts for prejudice and discrimination endured by Latina women based on their phenotypical features, language spoken, and/or economic standing (Volpp, 2005). Supplementing this, the feminist approach takes into consideration women of color's gender and racial/ethnic statuses (Comas-Diaz, 1991). Feminist theorists assert that partner violence is grounded in patriarchal systems (Luepnitz, 1988; McGoldrick & Carter, 1989) in which power is distributed unequally between males and females (Bograd, 1984). Comas-Diaz (1991) identified five feminist principles that are relevant specifically to women of color including: significance of women's context, differences do not equate deficiencies, empowerment, social advocacy, and equal power.

First, relevance of women's contexts refers to feminist psychology recognizing the influence of the sociocultural context in women's lived experiences. Essentially, women's experiences are viewed as a social construction that is devalued by society due to pervasive sexism, which is expressed in both explicit and subtle ways. Additionally,

feminist psychology acknowledges the influence of ethnic/racial and sociopolitical influences on women's experiences (Comas-Diaz, 1991).

Next, the principle of differences does not equal deficiencies, is based on the premise that most psychological theories neglect to consider the relevancy of cultural context to individuals, particularly those identified as ethnic/racial minorities.

Accordingly, feminism attempts to recognize and meet the unique needs of diverse groups. Therefore, differences are not inherently equated with psychopathology (Comas-Diaz, 1991).

The third feminist principle is the equalization of power, which attempts to reduce the power differentials between people in different social positions. Feminist psychologists contend that individuals possess unique skills and that within relationships there should be equalization or shared power. Feminists go a step further and emphasize that strategies must be developed to equalize power in relationships. Comas-Diaz (1991) asserts that this principle is especially important for women of color, who are doubly oppressed by the intersection of their twofold minority status as women and racial/ethnic minorities.

Empowerment is the next principle in feminist theory, which is asserted as particularly pertinent to women of color, since they are commonly in positions of economic disadvantage. Empowering women is described as including six important steps: (1) acknowledging the negative repercussions of racism, sexism, and classism; (2) dealing with negative feelings associated with their ethnic minority status; (3) viewing themselves as agents of change in solving their problems (4) understanding the exchange between the outer world and their internal realities; (5) perceiving opportunities to invoke

change in the larger society; and (6) successful negotiation of cultural adjustment (Comas-Diaz, 1991).

The last principle of feminist theory, social action, is a belief that women's problems are rooted in societal and individual contextual factors. This principle also recognizes the multifaceted realities of ethnic/racial minorities are "based on environmental, historical, societal, and personal contexts" (Comas-Diaz, 1991, p. 601). It is asserted that women of color can cope as well as transform their realities through social action, which can help them evoke change as well as obtain more control over their lives.

Perilla et al. (1994) also included feminist theory (Bograd, 1984) in their test of three different frameworks of abuse among immigrant women predominately from Mexico. The other two theories tested were learned helplessness theory (Seligman, 1975), and interpersonal formulation of IPV (Rounsaville, 1978; Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980). The theory of learned helplessness (Seligman, 1975) is described as apathy and lethargy, which may result in an individual feeling that they are unable to control negative life events. This theory has been used to explain the phenomenon of women staying in abusive relationships (Walker, 1979) and has been correlated to depression and low self-esteem (Rounsaville, 1978). It was important to examine learned helplessness theory, as helplessness experienced by abused immigrant women may be worsened by a Latinas' inexperience functioning in U.S. society (e.g., acculturation and self-esteem, Phinney, 1991; depression and lack of English proficiency, Salgado de Snyder, 1987). They also tested the theory of an interpersonal formulation of IPV, a model that conceptualizes abused women as primarily having intimacy-dependency relationships, which is described as interpersonal relationships comprised of intimacy issues and over

dependence on others. One striking characteristic of IPV relationships is the tenacity of both partners to remain committed to the relationship, despite the extent of abuse and hardships incurred by the abuse. More specifically, in IPV relationship, the woman tends to organize her life completely around the family unit, often foregoing support networks with the potential to ameliorate the abusive relationship (Rounsaville, 1978).

Perilla et al. (1994) did not find support for all of the theories they tested. The learned helplessness theory was partially supported as they found that among the participants, depression ($\beta = .40, p < .001$) and self-esteem ($\beta = .26, p < .05$) were significantly correlated, but acculturation ($\beta = .05, p = .67$) was not related to abuse. A regression analysis did not find support for the researcher's test of the interpersonal formulation of IPV, as dependency on the part of women did not predict abuse. Instead higher financial contribution on the part of women strongly predicted abuse ($\beta = .46, p < .001$). This finding is consistent with other results that will be discussed later that indicate shifts in traditional gender roles, specifically as women work more outside of the home it creates a higher propensity for partner abuse. The final theory, feminist theory (Comas-Diaz, 1991; Bograd, 1984) was partially supported in the Perilla et al. (1994) study. Results showed that belief in and adherence to traditional gender roles was not associated with partner abuse. However, high mutuality in relationships was significantly related to lower levels of abuse ($\beta = -.64, p < .001$). These results imply that learned helplessness, in particular depression and self-esteem correlate to partner abuse among Latinas as well as aspects of feminist theory, in particular mutuality in relationships. Understanding the contribution of learned helplessness and feminist theory is a beginning in explaining IPV among Latinas.

Resilience among female IPV survivors has received far less empirical attention in comparison to factors identified as deficits (Khaw & Hardesty, 2007; Jacobson & Gottman, 1998). However, there has been a growing body of literature theorizing that resilience possessed by female IPV survivors helps them exit abusive romantic relationships (Greene, 2002; Hamby & Gray-Little, 1997; Davis, 2002; Taylor, 2004). However, there are far fewer theoretical attempts towards explaining how such women navigate future romantic relationships after surviving abusive partnerships (Neustifter & Powell, 2015). Resilience is defined as an internal attribute that enables an individual to cope with emotions, exhibit flexibility and industriousness, and recover from life stressors, both major and minor (Howell, Graham-Bermann, Czyz, & Lilly, 2010; Kuiipers, van der Knapp, & Lodewijks, 2011), such as adolescent IPV. Similarly, resilience is being utilized as a framework positing that survivors of IPV possess and utilize internal strengths that empower them to recover from partner abuse (Greene, 2002; Hamby & Gray-Little, 1997; Davis, 2002; Taylor, 2004) through coping skills, seeking safe family connections, and interacting with positive peers (Fraser, 1997; Masten, 2001). However, searches for empirical data regarding resilience traits among Latina survivors of IPV approaching subsequent, new relationships yielded no literature.

As there has yet to be theory to guide research among Latina women, this is an area that needs continued research. It appears that aspects of the different theories discussed are important to incorporate into any framework of partner abuse aimed at Latinas. In particular, feminist and multicultural theory points to the need to understand cultural factors when investigating the impact of IPV on Latinas subsequent well-being

and dating relationships. Thus, the next section will consider the intersection of Latina/o cultural factors and IPV.

Consideration of Cultural Factors and Intimate Partner Violence

Culture is particularly important to how people interpret their experiences, identify problems, view abuse, and seek help (King et al., 1993; O'Keefe, 1994). Gender roles (Brabeck & Guzman, 2009; West et al., 1998; Perilla et al., 1994), immigration and acculturation (Pearlman et al., 2003; Kaufman Kantor et al., 1994), and *familismo* (Sorenson, 1996; Firestone et al., 1999) have been identified as critical factors that are related to IPV among Latinas. Scholars often conduct research in a manner that implies that non-White cultures are homogeneous, with shared values that do not need to be examined as separate unique cultures (Sharma, 2001). However, conceptualizations of partner violence do not universally apply to all cultures (Kasturirangan, Krishnan, & Riger, 2004). Latinas in the U.S. are very heterogeneous (Perilla, 1999), but there are core tenets of Latina/o culture that serve as an ecological framework for many Latinas and are especially important to consider when examining IPV among this population (Perilla et al., 1994; Mahoney, 1994; Sharma, 2001; Bograd, 2005). For example, researchers have suggested that *familismo*, gender roles, and acculturation are important in considering IPV among young Latinas (Sanderson et al., 2004; Barney et al., 2007; Villavicencio, 2008), yet, there are few research studies that include cultural factors in their examination of IPV among Latinas (Kasturirangan et al., 2004; Barney et al., 2007). Therefore, a consideration of cultural factors specific to IPV among Latinas will be used to provide an improved understanding of the role of culture in partner abuse for this population. Additionally, as much is yet to be examined regarding the relationship

between Latina/o culture and IPV the factors discussed in this section have not been identified as direct causal links to IPV, rather, such factors have been recognized as having an indirect relationship to IPV.

Gender Roles. Traditionally in Latina/o culture boys and girls are socialized into gender roles from early childhood. Theory and research suggests that gender roles may be very influential in the lives of abused Latinas (Bauer et al., 2000; Perilla, 1999; Vera, 2002) and researchers have hypothesized that adherence to traditional gender roles across cultures can promote IPV (Haj, 1992; Haj-Yahia, 1998, 2000; Perilla et al., 1994; Zambrano, 1985). *Machismo*, the traditional male gender role is characterized by men being dominant, protective of the family, and honorable (Gloria, Ruiz, & Castillo, 2004). The female role, referred to as *marianismo* and/or *buena mujer* (good woman; Gil & Vasquez, 1996) is characterized by subjugation of self to family, being a caretaker, maintaining virginity, and being obedient to men (Bourdeau, Thomas, & Long, 2008; Cauce & Domenech-Rodriguez, 2002; Gloria et al., 2004; Perilla, 1999) while still complying to men's sexual desires (Peragallo, DeForge, Khoury, Rivero, & Talashek, 2002). *Machismo* is often negatively construed as Latino men being more violent and sexually aggressive (Galanti, 2003; Mosher, 1991), thus leading to more partner abuse among Latina/o couples. Largely overlooked are the nurturing and caring qualities included in *machismo* (Mayo, 1997). The positive characteristics of *machismo* are similar to those described in *caballerismo*, which includes being respectful and chivalrous (Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, & Tracey, 2008).

Belief in and adherence to traditional gender roles have been noted as influential in Latinas/os experience of IPV, however, level of adherence to traditional Latina/o

gender roles differ across SES, country of origin (Marin & Marin, 1991; Sussman, Steinmetz, & Peterson, 1999), and level of acculturation (Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Marin, & Perez-Stable, 1987). Additionally, the previously mentioned cultural factors evolve in Latina/o families (Hawkes & Taylor, 1975; Perilla, 1999; Szapocnik & Hernandez, 1988). Latinas/os are often considered to hold more traditional views on the roles of women than White and African American ethnic groups (Lefley et al., 1993). Specifically, Mexican and Mexican Americans have been hypothesized as possibly having more rigid gender role expectations than other Latinas/os (Lira et al., 1999; Williams, 1984). This has been substantiated in research that found belief in certain gender roles was a strong predictor of violence-related beliefs (Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2003; Crossman, Smith, & Bender, 1990; Perilla et al., 1994) and behaviors specifically for men (Marin, Gomez, Tschann, & Gregorich, 1997; O'Neil & Egan, 1993; O'Neil, Good, & Holmes, 1995). Furthermore, traditional male gender role views were correlated to coercive sexual behavior (Goodyear, Newcomb, & Allison, 2000) and an adversarial view of relationships (Sinn, 1997).

Research has shown that Mexican American women who are victims of partner abuse hold more traditional views of gender roles (Champion, 1996), and such views have been correlated to Latinas decreased likelihood of leaving an abusive relationship (Vera, 2002). However, Perilla et al. (1994) found that among a group of mostly immigrant Mexican women (70%) that belief in and adherence to traditional gender roles was not associated with partner abuse.

Male-dominated relationships are common among Latina/o couples (West et al., 1998) and accordingly have been examined as predictor variables for help-seeking among

abused Latinas/os. A study by West et al. (1998) analyzed a national incidence survey and found that Latinas more commonly described their relationships as male-dominated, yet male dominance was not found to be related to help-seeking behaviors in the context of experiencing abuse. Consistent with this, Brabeck and Guzman's (2009) study among 75, adult, Mexican-origin women to examine help-seeking. They found no relationship between *machismo* in both formal and informal help-seeking among Mexican-origin women (Brabeck & Guzman, 2009), thus indicating this is not a variable related to IPV.

Gender roles have also proved to be influential among Latina/o youth's attitudes about dating violence. An ethnographic study among Puerto Rican youth found that these youths justified partner violence through gender roles, sexuality, and male dominance (Ascencio, 1999). Among the Latina adolescents included in this study, they found that a common theme for Latina girls staying in abusive relationships was to prove their love for their partner and not leave their partner for fear of a ruined reputation, specifically to avoid being labeled as a "slut" (Ascencio, 1999, p. 113). Additionally, both the boys and girls in this study considered sluts as deserving of IPV. This study shed light on the ways in which Puerto Rican adolescents justified when abuse was acceptable in a relationship, however, this study did not specifically examine how Latina adolescents who were personally victimized rationalized or understood their experiences of IPV. Additionally, the findings of this study relate back to the traditional Latina/o concept of *marianismo*, in which Latinas are expected to be sexually conservative likened to the Virgin Mary, while still acquiescing to the desires of men.

Denner and Dunbar (2004) explored how low-income, Mexican American adolescent girls negotiated gender roles in dating relationships. They conducted semi-structured interviews with the girls and found that they both critically analyzed and accepted differences in social and sexual expectations between boys and girls. The adolescent girls in this study explained that they negotiated their gender roles by acting in different roles in relation to others (i.e., caretaker, mediator, and advocate). In sum, the findings indicated that Latina girls negotiate social and cultural ideas about womanly qualities and power through their relationships rather than independently. This study provides a more positive view of *marianismo* as these girls were empowered in their ability to negotiate their roles as females while still honoring their culture. Gil and Vasquez (1996) assert that this is the goal of many interventions with Latinas, to help Latina adolescents negotiate or change their various roles at home, work, and in the larger society. Others have also noted the importance of empowering Latinas by integrating and honoring their cultural values (Comas-Diaz, 1991; Espin, 1995).

In the Villavicencio's (2008) study with young Latinas about family experiences, gender roles, and dating beliefs a main theme of conflicted emotions regarding dating and gender roles emerged. The girls held positive views of dating and negative views mainly about past and current male partners. Specifically, the participants expressed dissonant emotions about men, for instance stating that, "Men are dangerous and controlling, men as protectors and providers, desires to be free from an intimate relationship...and desire to be cared for, loved, and respected" (p. 66). The findings from this study may suggest that young Latinas regard men as exuding *machismo*, and although they desire aspects of *machismo* such as having a provider and protector they may also expect men to be

dangerous and controlling. Thus, aggressive behaviors might be perceived to a normalized part of dating relationships but unwanted.

Ulloa and colleagues (2004) conducted a study with Latina/o 9th graders from six different schools in the Los Angeles area examining personal characteristics (gender, acculturation, belief in gender stereotypes, and recent dating experiences) and attitudes as well as knowledge about dating violence. The participants included 65% Mexicans and/or Mexican Americans, 23% unspecified Latinas/os, 10% Central Americans, and 2% South Americans. More boys relative to girls held pro-violence attitudes, gender stereotypic views, and less knowledge regarding TDV and its consequences. This finding is consistent with other studies with smaller numbers of Latina/o participants (Avery-Leaf, Cascardi, O'Leary, & Cano, 1997; Foshee, 1996). This research implies that gender roles can be a significant factor in TDV among young Latinas/os. It is possible that more pro-violent beliefs, stereotypic views of gender roles, and little knowledge about TDV could lead to abusive behaviors on the part of young Latino males in dating relationships.

Acculturation. Acculturation is described as a process in which immigrants change their behaviors and attitudes towards those of the host society due to continuous exposure between two differing cultures (Rogler, Cotes, Malgady, 1991; Berry, Trimble, & Olmedo, 1986). *Assimilation* on the other hand is an expunging of one's culture of origin and adopting the dominant society's beliefs, values, and attitudes (Park & Burgess, 1969; Lara, Gamboa, Kaharamanian, Morales, Hayes Bautista, 2005). Acculturation is implicated as influential in experiencing IPV, although its role is not clear. For example, numerous abused Latina women are second generation immigrants or beyond (Kasturirangan et al., 2004) and it has been hypothesized that conflicts in the beliefs and

expectations of Latina/o and U.S. culture can be very taxing on Latina women. In response, Latina immigrants can potentially experience acculturative stress, which may in turn lead to depression and low self-esteem (Vazquez, 1994). Gil and Vazquez (1996) hypothesized that when Latinas are confronted with acculturative stress they may stand firm in traditional values familiar to them as a coping strategy, which may put them at heightened risk for low self-esteem and interpersonal disagreements. However, few studies have empirically investigated the relevance of acculturation to partner violence (Kaufman Kantor et al., 1994).

As previously mentioned, most studies show that birthplace and years spent in the U.S. are associated with IPV (Brown et al., 2003; Lown & Vega, 2001b; Sorenson & Telles, 1991). However, most of the studies that have examined acculturation in relation to IPV have assessed acculturation in terms of language proficiency and preference, as it has been indicated as accounting for the greatest proportion of variance in measures of acculturation (Cuellar, Harris, & Jasso, 1980; Olmedo & Padilla, 1978). It has been hypothesized that language is often used to measure acculturation because values and norms are more difficult to measure than language (Lara et al., 2005). However, critics of using language as a primary means to assess acculturation have argued that language does not accurately capture the intricacy of language use among bicultural individuals and such practices fail to account for the multifaceted nature of acculturation (e.g., sociodemographic factors; Marin, 1992). One such study that used language as well as birthplace to examine the relationship between acculturation and IPV is a study by Kaufman Kantor et al. (1994). Specifically, the researchers examined acculturation by using four adapted questions from Szapocznik, Scopetta, Kurtines, and Aranalde (1978)

and the National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (NHNES; National Center for Health Statistics 1985), which solely focused on language preference (Spanish versus English). Of their participants, Mexican-Americans ($m = 14.7$) had the highest mean acculturation out of all the Latina/o groups, followed by Puerto Ricans ($m = 12.2$), Mexicans ($m = 8.1$), and lastly Cubans ($m = 7.5$; between gender data was not provided). The authors noted that such differences between Latina/o subgroups could have been due to age, as the Cuban (52.4) participants in the study had the oldest median age compared to Puerto Ricans (44.0), Mexicans (35.0), and Mexican Americans (32.0). They did not find any relationship between level of acculturation and wife abuse, however, they found that being born in the U.S. was associated with an increased risk of wife abuse (Odds Ratio = 2.09). Although acculturation was not found to have a significant relationship to wife abuse, being born in the U.S. was significantly correlated with wife abuse. This may imply that acculturation in terms of language preference is not associated with wife abuse, but other aspects of acculturation, such as attitudes and values that were not measured. Birthplace was found to be significantly linked to wife abuse, which might have been related to other acculturation factors such as adopting mainstream American attitudes and beliefs, which therefore could have been influential to partner abuse.

A study by Pearlman et al. (2003) found supporting evidence that retention of traditional Latina/o culture (i.e., language) could be a protective factor against IPV. Pearlman et al.'s (2003) findings showed that block areas of monolingual households (Spanish speaking only) were associated with a substantial decrease of reported partner abuse. However, it should be noted that acculturation was not explicitly identified as a variable in this study. Level of acculturation as measured by language preference has also

commonly been identified as a barrier to assistance, as individuals who are not proficient in English have less accessibility to services (Altarriba & Santiago-Rivera, 1994; Woodward et al., 1992). Being such, Kanuha (1994) suggested that more acculturated second and third generation Latinas that are abused may be more knowledgeable about and accepting of mental health services and in turn may be more likely to seek out such assistance. However, Kanuha (1994) provided no empirical research to support her hypothesis.

The study by West et al. (1998) also assessed, partner abuse, and help-seeking, by using the four adapted items from an acculturative measure developed by Szapocznik et al. (1978) and NHNES (National Center for Health Statistics, 1985). Lower levels of acculturation were found among abused Mexican women in comparison to Mexican American and Puerto Rican women. All of the Latina participants reported similar male-dominated relationships and approval of husband-to-wife slapping within their respective relationships. Ultimately, acculturation was identified as a barrier to help-seeking, as greater preference for English was associated with greater odds of seeking help. Also, Mexican American (58%) women were more likely to seek out friends and family for support than Puerto Rican (47%) or Mexican (20%) abused women at a statistically significant level. Less acculturated Mexican women were more likely to seek out a clergy member, although this finding was not statistically significant. Additionally, White women were two times more likely to contact someone, such as family or friends and were five times more likely to see a psychologist compared to Latinas. Brabeck and Guzman (2009) also found among the Mexican-origin women in their study that women who spoke no English and were undocumented sought formal help less frequently than

those who spoke some English and/or were documented. The findings implicate that language preference acculturation may be influential to both informal and formal help-seeking behaviors among Latina women.

There is a paucity of literature that has examined acculturation and TDV among Latina/o youth. However, researchers have noted that the process of acculturation and forming a cultural identity are significant and often times difficult processes for Latina youth (Denner & Dunbar, 2004). Three studies were identified that specifically investigated acculturation and TDV among adolescent Latinas/os (Ulloa et al., 2004; Sanderson, et al., 2004; Hokoda, Glavin, Malcarne, Castaneda, and Ulloa, 2007). Sanderson and colleague's (2004) study among Latina/o ninth graders (mostly Mexican teenagers; 75%; 25% Latino Others) showed that acculturation and ethnic pride were negatively associated with dating violence. Specifically, for Latina adolescents' higher levels of acculturation and discrimination were associated with a greater likelihood of being victimized. Latina adolescents with lower levels of acculturation, such as parents born outside of the U.S. and a higher sense of ethnic pride were less likely to be victimized in a dating relationship. Sanderson and colleagues (2004) concluded that in contrast to adults, more acculturated Latina/o youth, especially Latinas, had greater odds of experiencing dating violence.

Ulloa et al.'s (2004) study among Latina/o youth (primarily Mexican; 75%; 25% Latino Others) showed correlations between Lack of English Proficiency (LEP), abuse knowledge, and belief in nonviolent dating standards (used seven items to assess acculturation from the Bidimensional Acculturation Scale for Hispanics; BAS; Marin & Gamba, 1996). Specifically, boys with more familiarity and/or ease with English had

more knowledge about abuse, subscribed to nonviolent dating standards, and were more supportive of negative sanctions against dating violence, however, no such relationship was found among girls.

An exploratory study by Hokoda et al. (2007) among 82 Mexican and Mexican American adolescents examined dating violence, acculturation, and acculturative stress. The Adolescent Acculturation Scale (AAS; Vega et al., 1994) was used to assess level of acculturation and acculturative stress. They found that moderately acculturated adolescents had less tolerant attitudes regarding male perpetrated psychological abuse than both the high and low acculturated Mexican adolescents combined; less tolerant attitudes regarding male perpetrated sexual abuse; less tolerant attitudes regarding male perpetrated psychological abuse; and less tolerant attitudes regarding female perpetrated psychological and sexual abuse. Additionally, acculturative stress (e.g., conflicted ethnic identity, and family acculturation conflict) was associated with more tolerant attitudes and higher perpetration rates of violence. For boys, more tolerant attitudes towards dating violence was positively correlated with family acculturation conflict, conflicted ethnic loyalty (specifically tolerance of physical and sexual dating violence), and *familismo* (specifically for tolerance of physical dating violence). Whereas, for girls the findings were as follows: tolerant attitudes towards psychological dating violence were associated with family acculturation conflict; tolerant attitudes towards physical violence were associated with ethnic awareness of prejudice; and tolerant attitudes towards sexual violence were associated with language-related conflict. Furthermore, it was found in this study that acculturative stressors, such as family acculturation conflict and conflicted

ethnic loyalty were correlated to the perpetration of dating violence among Mexican/Mexican American youth (Hokoda et al., 2007).

The findings from the Sanderson et al. (2004), Ulloa et al. (2009), and Hokoda et al. (2007) studies suggest that acculturation is an influential factor in TDV among Latina/o youth. Acculturative stressors also seem to influence the perpetration of dating violence among Mexican/Mexican American youth, such that less acculturated youth are less informed about and more accepting of dating violence behaviors (Sanderson et al., 2004; Ulloa et al., 2009; Ulloa et al., 2010). However, highly acculturated Latina youth may be more at risk for TDV victimization. Although not focusing on TDV among Latina adolescents, Montoya (1996) found in an opinion survey among Latinas/os, found that Latinas are more likely than their male counterparts to favor modern or very modern roles for women. It appears that Latinas may transition from traditional to modern values quicker than males, which in turn may place them at greater risk for victimization if their partner sustains more traditional roles. This was consistent among Latina adults in the Perilla et al.'s study (1994), as Latinas who were major breadwinners for the household reported more abuse.

Familism/*Familismo*. *Familismo* is viewed as a salient Latina/o cultural value (Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Marin, & Perez-Stable, 1987) and is perhaps one of the most important cultural values among Latinas/os (Santiago-Rivera, 2003). *Familismo* is described as the emphasis placed on relationships (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004), strong loyalty to family members (Triandis et al., 1982), and feeling close to and in cooperation with family members (Cauce & Domenech-Rodriguez, 2002). *Familismo* would appear to be a protective factor against IPV for Latina/o families, as it stresses interdependence

for economic and social supports in traditional Mexican (Becerra, 1988), Cuban (Szapocznik & Hernandez, 1988), and Puerto Rican families (Sanchez-Ayendez, 1988). The literature on *familismo* and IPV among Latina/o adults has been examined in regards to protection against IPV and help-seeking behaviors.

It is common for multiple generations of Latinas/os to live in one household which is suggested to be a protective factor as it can create an opportunity for others to intervene during incidences of IPV (Sorenson, 1996). Research has demonstrated that the presence of extended family members decreases spousal abuse among Latinas/os (Firestone et al., 1999). However, such a strong family presence also may be an obstacle to leaving an abusive relationship (Bauer, Rodriguez, Quiroga, & Flores-Ortiz, 2000; Dutton et al., 2000). *Familismo* could prevent women from seeking outside help, as expressing unhappiness with the relationship and discussing marital problems with others outside of the home could reflect poorly on the family and therefore be deterred (Perilla, 1999). Such stigmatization could also be associated with divorce as family problems are expected to stay within the family (Raj & Silverman, 2002).

Acevedo's (2000) qualitative study with 40 Mexican immigrant women, 19 to 47 years, showed that nearly half of the women (47.5%) considered their families when deciding to seek help and almost an equal number thought their families would be disapproving of them seeking help outside of the family (family included family of origin, through marriage, and extended family members). Another qualitative study with Latinas (from Mexico = 6; El Salvador = 3; Guatemala = 2; and Colombia = 3) and Asian immigrant women by Bauer et al. (2000) analyzed help-seeking behaviors and *familismo*. Many Latinas (exact number not provided) explained that their commitment to family

(i.e., children and marriage) weighed heavily on their decision to seek help. Brabeck and Guzman (2009) also investigated *familismo* in relation to help-seeking among Mexican-origin women and found that *familismo* was positively related to women's informal help-seeking, specifically from friends, religious officials, and community supports.

Familismo has been mentioned in the literature as possibly serving as a protective factor against dating violence among Latina/o adolescents (Sanderson et al., 1994; Yan, Howard, Beck, Shattuck, Hallmark-Kerr, 2009). Sanderson et al. (2004) specifically hypothesized that *familismo* may offer an extended support network for adolescents, which may protect Latina/o adolescents from experiencing partner abuse. However, no research was located that specifically examined *familismo* and dating violence among Latina/o adolescents. Obviously, this is an area that needs to be examined among young Latinas/os since the family system is important to Latinas/os and it might hold the ability to protect against IPV.

Consequences of Intimate Partner Violence

The consequences of interpersonal violence are significantly damaging and pervasive in nature, being felt by larger systems including families, communities, and the overall society (WHO, 2002). As previously stated, victims of IPV, most commonly women (CDC, 2003; Davis, 2008) have to endure both direct consequences including physical repercussions as well as more indirect outcomes such as psychological, and socioeconomic repercussions (Gelles, 1997; Kernic, Wolf, Holt, 2000; Rennison & Welchans, 2000). Records from the criminal justice system, hospitals, mental health and social service agencies, and survey data show that thousands of women experience direct

correlates of IPV in the form of physical injuries or are killed due to IPV (National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2003).

Also as previously mentioned, the outcomes associated with dating violence for adolescents are vast and include direct physical consequences and indirect psychological hardships (Dembo, Williams, Berry, & Getreu, 1990; Famularo, Kinscherff & Fenton, 1992; Fergusson & Lynskey, 1997; Garnefski & Diekstra, 1997; Sturkie & Flanzer, 1987). The indirect outcomes associated with IPV for adolescents include increased substance use, suicidality, risky sexual behaviors, unhealthy weight control practices, and pregnancy (Silverman et al., 2001; Waigandt, Wallace, Phelps, & Miller, 1990). The relationship of these outcomes also have been described in the literature as general factors related to abuse that may develop subsequent to or during abusive relationships. The distinction in this section is that the factors discussed here have been found to result from partner abuse. Therefore, this section will consider common direct consequences (e.g., physical injuries, illnesses, and deaths) as well as more indirect outcomes associated with IPV broadly among women and adolescents and more specifically for Latina women and adolescents. However, it should be noted that there is far less empirical data regarding the consequences of IPV among Latina women and adolescents, therefore literature will be provided in this section as it is available for each consequence.

Physical Health Outcomes. Research has revealed that women with abusive partners can be directly related to negative immediate and long-term health outcomes (Golding, 1996; Koss, Koss, & Woodruff, 1991; Lesserman et al., 1996). In addition to the direct effects of violence such as physical injury among adolescents, (Smith & Donnelly, 2001; Black, Noonan, Legg, Eaton, and Brieding, 2006; Rennison, 2001 &

2003) and psychological disturbances (McCauley et al., 1995), IPV can increase in severity (CDC, 2011) corresponding with the duration of abuse and can lead to specific medical conditions (McCauley et al., 1995; Golding, 1996; Koss, Koss, & Woodruff, 1991; Lesserman et al., 1996). Studies have shown that female victims of IPV who have experienced physical or sexual abuse more frequently have ill health and have a higher risk for gastrointestinal problems including irritable bowel syndrome, sleeping disturbances, chronic pain disorders, and a host of reproductive health issues (McCauley et al., 1995). Additionally, the NVAWS found that of the IPV victimizations of women 18 and older, 2.0 million result in physical injuries, with more than 550,000 needing medical attention. Even more disconcerting are the number of homicides that result from abusive relationships. According to the SHR by the FBI, in 2007 there were 2,340 IPV related deaths, of these the majority of the victims were females (70%) compared to males (30%; Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2011), which is consistent with prior studies in the U.S. that have shown 40% to 70% of women were killed by a male intimate partner (Bailey et al., 1997).

Financial Consequences. Great financial strains result in the use of medical services for each rape and physical assault that occurs each year among women. Of the rapes that occur each year among women, 36.2% of these rapes directly result in physical injuries and 31.0% require medical attention (National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2003). The estimated average cost for those that actually receive treatment is \$2,084 (National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2003). Of the annual IPV physical assaults 41.5% result in injuries with a mean medical care costs of \$2,665 for those who receive treatment (National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2003).

In addition to medical costs there are mental health care costs associated with the rapes, physical assaults, and stalking that occur each year to women. The NVAWS (National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2003) estimated that 33% of rapes lead to victims seeking out psychological, psychiatric, and/or other forms of mental health services. Each incident requires a total of 1.3 million mental health appointments per year and totaling \$978 per victim. Regarding physical assaults 26.4% lead to victims obtaining mental health services with 15.2 million visits annually and an average cost of \$1,017 per incident. Forty-three percent of stalking victims seek mental health services, with 2.1 million visits per year, resulting in a mean cost of \$690 per stalking incident. The combined cost of medical and mental health services has been estimated to be almost \$4.1 billion, with 89.7% attributed to physical assaults, 6.7% to rapes, and 3.7% to stalking.

Associated with direct outcomes of IPV (e.g. homicide and physical assaults) are lost time from regularly scheduled activities. IPV victims often lose time from their normal activities including employment and housework due to medical and mental health issues (McCauley et al., 1995). Data based of the NVAWS shows that financially IPV victims lose almost 8.0 million days of paid work, which is equivalent to 32,000 full-time jobs and roughly 5.6 million days of household productivity as a consequence of partner violence. The total lost in lifetime earnings by IPV homicide victims is estimated to be 0.9 billion. Physically assaulted women report time lost from paid work (17.5%) and lost time from housework (10.3%) ultimately resulting in 9.5 million days of lost activity per year. Of the women raped by a partner, 21.5% report losing time from paid work and 13.5% lose time from housework leading to an estimated 1.1 million days of lost activity

per year. Stalking also costs 35.3% of women time lost from work and 17.5% of women time lost from housework, resulting in 2.9 million day of lost productivity each year.

Additionally, there are associated costs related to the direct consequences of IPV. The economic costs for IPV-related medical and mental health care, police services, social services, and legal services are mostly unknown (Gelles & Straus, 1990; Straus, 1986; Straus & Gelles, 1987), however, previous estimates have ranged anywhere from 1.7 billion to 10 billion dollars annually (Straus, 1986; Gelles & Straus, 1990; Meyer, 1992). In 1995 costs related to rapes, physical assaults, and stalking was nearly 4.1 billion dollars and was estimated to cost 5.8 billion each year (National Center for Injury Prevention, 2003). The most substantial cost related to IPV is health care, which comprises more than 66% of the total costs associated with IPV (National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2003).

Sexual Health/Reproductive Health Consequences. Abusive relationships can also impact the sexual and reproductive health of women, as these women may struggle to protect themselves from unwanted pregnancy and/or sexual infections (WHO, 2002). Abusers can use coercive sex practices or directly tamper with birth control methods, causing unwanted pregnancies or sexually transmitted infections (STIs), including HIV/AIDS (Heise, Ellsberg, & Gottemoeller, 1999; Heise, Moore, & Toubia, 1995). Additionally, as previously mentioned IPV appears to affect the reproductive and sexual health of young women, however, the nature of this relationship in terms of direct and indirect correlations needs further investigation. What is known is that adolescent girls experiencing physical abuse in a relationship have been found three times more likely to become pregnant than non-abused girls (Roberts, Auinger, & Klein, 2005) and are more

likely to report unwanted pregnancies (Miller et al., 2007), which could be because abused young women are more likely to experience birth control sabotage than non-abused young women (Raphael, 2005; Miller et al., 2007). Similar consequences have been found among Latinas.

A study of California Latina/o couples ages 18 to 40 years showed that women who reported sexual abuse were younger by more than a year and a half when they first consented to sex and were more likely to report negative feelings about their first sexual experience than were non-abused women. Also, Latinas who were sexually victimized were more than twice as likely to have been diagnosed with an STI at some point in their lives and to perceive themselves at risk for HIV compared to non-victimized Latinas, however, the findings did not indicate that these girls experienced STIs directly as a result of being sexual victimized. Additionally, Latinas in this study who reported being abused were more likely to report having more sexual partners or that they had sex with a man who has sex with men, is an injection drug user, or a stranger (Brown et al., 2003). Thus, although there have not been direct links made between sexual health outcomes and IPV, it appears that Latinas that have abusive experiences are more likely to engage in risky sexual behaviors and have negative sexual health outcomes.

Research also shows that partner violence often happens during pregnancy among adult women (3-11%; Ballard et al., 1998; Newberger et al., 1992), which has been correlated to miscarriages, stillbirths, late initiation of prenatal care, early labor and delivery, fetal injury, and/or low birth-weight (Heise et al., 1999; Curry, Perin, & Wall, 1998). Gazamararian and colleagues (1995) found that partner violence during pregnancy was associated with: depression, substance abuse and smoking, amnesia, bleeding during

the first and second trimester, and reduced birth weight for the infants. Again, such findings were not directly correlated to the aforementioned harmful outcomes, yet, there seems to be a relationship between the factors that needs further investigation.

STI/HIV risks have also been significantly associated with IPV among adolescent girls although no direct causal relationships have been identified between these two factors. Decker, Silverman, and Raj (2005) analyzed data from the 1999 and 2001 Massachusetts YRBS. The participants included Latina (10.6%), African American (8.4%), and White (75%) high school girls. More than half of adolescent girls (51.6%) reporting TDV were diagnosed with a STI and/or HIV. In comparison to non-abused adolescent females, those experiencing physical and/or sexual violence in dating relationships were three times more likely to report a STI diagnosis. Although the Latinas in this study reported somewhat lower rates of TDV compared to White girls (27.2% vs. 33.1%), Latinas had comparatively higher rates of STI/HIV diagnoses to White girls (7.0% vs. 3.9%).

A mixed methods study by Miller et al. (2007) examined abusive dating and sexual relationships, pregnancy, and unwanted sex among African American (20.8%), Latina (37.7%), White (37.7%), Asian (1.9%), and Other racial-ethnic (1.9%) young girls 15 to 20 years old. Only females who reported being currently sexually active and experiencing a reoccurring combination of physical, sexual, or emotional abuse by a male partner were included in the analysis. An open-ended narrative interview strategy was used to examine dating and sexual relationships and experiences of violence or sexual assault within such relationships. The researchers also used surveys to yield demographic data, pregnancy and unwanted sex information, and characteristics of relationships in which abusive male

partners explicitly indicated their desire for a pregnancy. Over half of the participants had experienced a pregnancy (58.5%), with about a third of these females reporting a pregnancy occurring in an abusive relationship (32.1%), and 58.8% of those who became pregnant in an abusive relationship reported their pregnancies were unwanted. For these same females in the sample, a little more than a quarter (26.4%) reported they had experienced unwanted sex with a dating partner in the past 12 months. Out of all the participants, 26.4% reported that they believed their male partners were attempting to impregnate them (e.g., statements or sabotaging birth control methods – poking holes in condoms), of this cohort 35.7% reported they had become pregnant with an abusive partner at least once. The majority of this subsample also reported older male partners with a median age difference between the female and her male partner of four years. There were three primary behaviors described by the participants in which their partners attempted to get them pregnant. Most commonly the participants reported their male partners refused to use condoms (throwing condoms away), followed by condom manipulation (poking holes in condoms; removing condom during sex), and birth control sabotage (throwing away pills). This study did not highlight racial-ethnic differences in experiences of pregnancy, unwanted sex, and characteristics of relationships with abusive partners. It would have been beneficial to know if such differences exist as to inform future research and prevention programming.

Psychological Consequences. As a result of the estimated 5.3 million physical assaults, rapes, or stalking incidences per year, almost 1.5 million seek some form of mental health counseling (National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2003). A large body of work has correlated sexual abuse to depression, anxiety, poor self-

regulation, dysfunctional interpersonal relationship patterns, and elevated use of alcohol and drugs (Cohen et al., 2000; Cunningham et al., 1994; Hathaway et al., 2000; Klein & Chao, 1995). Psychological consequences such as Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), depression, and low self-esteem have been found among adolescents (Smith & Donnelly, 2001). Furthermore, young people involved in violent relationships in their adolescence have a higher likelihood of continuing to have abusive relationships in the future (O'Keefe, Brockopp, & Chew, 1986). However, the research on mental health outcomes and IPV does not purport that IPV directly causes these psychological issues. Therefore, for the purposes of this proposal psychological consequences associated with IPV will be considered as indirect outcomes related to IPV.

Depression is one of the most frequently found psychological consequences associated with IPV among adult women (Campbell, 2002) and also been identified as a predictor of abuse. High prevalence rates of depressive symptoms and low self-esteem are commonly found among abused women, which were shown to increase with the frequency and severity of partner violence (O'Leary, 2002). Abused Latinas appear to be more impacted by depression than women from other racial-ethnic backgrounds (Caetano & Cunradi, 2003). Caetano and Cunradi (2003) investigated the relationship between IPV and depression among African American, Latina, and White women and found that depression among women that experienced IPV was more prevalent for Latinas (38%) than African Americans (30%) and Whites (20%; however depression was not clearly distinguished as a result of partner abuse). Additionally, a shelter study found that more than half of Latinas reported suicidal ideation or suicide attempts compared to 35% of the other participants (Krishnan et al., 2001). Other psychological correlates among abused

adult Latinas include higher dissatisfaction in their intimate relationships, higher impulsivity, depression, and anxiety in comparison to non-abused women (Brown et al., 2003).

Research on psychological outcomes among adolescents has provided mixed results, specifically for depression and anxiety. One study found that girls involved in violent relationships exhibited PTSD symptoms, specifically, dissociation, but not depression (Callahan, Tolman, & Saunders, 2003). On the other hand, Boney-McCoy and Finkelhor (1996) found that the girls in their sample, who were between the ages of 10 to 16 years, had an increased risk for depression. Consistent with this, Kilpatrick and colleagues' (2003) results showed that TDV increased the risk for depressive as well as anxious symptoms for female adolescents. However, the last two studies included violence beyond relationship abuse, such as sexual victimization, physical victimization, or witnessed violence. Additionally, depression and anxiety increase with the onset of adolescence without the presence of TDV, with girls reporting more mental health consequences than boys, which coincides when teens usually begin dating and become at risk for TDV (Kessler, Avenoli, & Merikangas, 2001).

Consistently, research indicates that adolescent victims of partner violence are at an increased risk for suicidal behaviors. A study by Coker and colleagues (2000) showed that dating violence victimization among adolescents, including Latina/o adolescents was associated with suicide ideation and suicide attempts for both boys and girls. This is similar to the findings put forth by Ackard and Neumark-Sztainer (2002), which showed that adolescent victims, inclusive of Latina/o victims of dating violence had higher rates of suicidal behaviors with over 50% reporting suicide attempts. Ackard and Neumark-

Sztainer (2002) also found that victims of TDV were more likely to have eating disorders or display disordered eating behaviors. Additionally, Silverman et al.'s (2001) study of female high school students also found that dating violence was related to an increased risk of suicide and disordered eating for weight control amongst other consequences. It has been suggested that adolescents coping with abusive relationships and body changes may merge the two issues and as a result mistreat their bodies. Yet, there has not been a casual relationship established between eating disorders and IPV.

Other research that has included young Latina women (24.5%) has shown that young adults (20-21 years) reported more symptoms of depression than anxiety, whereas, adolescents (14-19 years) reported more anxiety symptoms (Leaman and Gee, 2006). However, in this same study (Leaman & Gee, 2006) depression was reported more frequently among the young adults (25%) compared to the adolescents (13%). However, the rates of IPV remained similar across both groups. Leaman and Gee (2006) hypothesized that the lack of depressive symptoms among the adolescent girls could be due to the acceptance they receive from their peers about being in a relationship (Smith & Donnelly, 2001), which is suggested to be a temporary protective factor. As these girls age the protective aspect of peer acceptance will likely fade as peer acceptance becomes less important and then depressive symptoms may emerge. Nevertheless, these findings imply that the psychological consequences of IPV can differ among adults and adolescents.

Subsequent Intimate Relationships Among Intimate Partner Violence Survivors

Most of the literature on IPV has ignored non-violent relationships subsequent to IPV relationships; it has focused on the time spent within and immediately following the

abusive relationship (Neustifter, 2009; Smith, 2003; Evans, 2007). Thus, the purpose of the proposed study is to expand upon this literature base in a way that is inclusive of the narratives of young Latinas' subsequent relationship experiences. As previously discussed, research indicates that Latina women have to grapple with the negative psychological, physical health, and social ramifications that can come as a result of partner abuse (FVPPF, 2010; Black et al., 2011; Caetano & Cunradi, 2003; Silverman et al., 2001). However, it is still unclear how Latinas proceed in their subsequent intimate relationships and how dating abuse experiences influences their dating beliefs and behaviors.

It is important to understand the overall well-being of survivors, particularly with respect to how they go on to function in intimate interpersonal relationships, since this is a significant aspect of life and well-being (Erikson, 1968; Furman & Flanagan, 1997; Connolly & Goldberg, 1999). Due to the lack of research, what is known specifically about the impact of IPV on the well-being of Latinas is limited to negative psychological effects such as depression, anxiety, suicidality and negative physical health outcomes including sexual health consequences in the form of STIs and pregnancy as previously mentioned in chapter one (Silverman et al., 2001; Silverman et al., 2004; Roberts et al., 2005; Campbell & Lewandoski, 1997; Black et al., 2011).

The consequences of IPV are not constrained to immediate mental and/or physical health repercussions; instead, IPV typically has a lingering impact on its survivors even long after the abuse has ended (Evans, 2007; Smith, 2003; Keys Young, 1998). Therefore, it is important to understand how IPV in the long-term may influence romantic relationships among young Latinas, since, IPV has the capacity to interfere with on-going

matters such as finances, family structure and dynamics, parenting, employment (Keys Young, 1998). Still, there is limited research that is directed at understanding how these long-term consequences can impact the ability of survivors' to participate in interpersonal relationships (Flasch, Murray, & Crowe, 2015; Neustifter & Powell, 2015; Neustifter, 2009; Taylor, 2004; Anderson, 1994; Weiss, 2004; NiCarthy, 1987; Herman, 1992). The limited research indicates that for IPV survivors' trauma can continue to manifest in their post-IPV relationships and they are not able to simply return to their former respective identities or approach relationships as they would prior to their IPV experience (Herman, 1992). Herman (1992) explained the complicated and often conflictual process among IPV survivors as a dilemma between shedding their former identity or including memories of the abuse within their reassembled identities. Herman (1992) compares IPV survivors with combat veterans who have served in a war. Likening the emblazoned images of combat left in soldier's minds to the lasting impressions that IPV survivors often experience years after the abuse has ended.

However, many IPV survivors are able to overcome the affects of an abusive relationship and have healthy future relationships (Evans, 2007). How this resilience is achieved, however, is not well-understood. The literature narrowly focuses on past and ongoing abuse with limited research focused on new relationships beyond the termination of the IPV relationship (Anderson & Saunders, 2003). For instance, studies focused on post-IPV experiences, specifically among Latinas, primarily focus patterns of help-seeking immediately following abusive incidences (e.g., Klevens et al., 2007; Avecedo, 2000; Ramos, Carlson, & Kulkarni, 2010). Such research indicates that Latinas often initially disclose abuse to a trusted member of the community (Ramos, Carlson, &

Kulkarni, 2010). Additionally, a qualitative study by Klevens and colleagues (2007) found that California Mexican immigrants of both genders and ranging in age from young to elderly thought that family would not want to become involved. Some of the survivors suggested that the victim should leave the perpetrator of abuse others thought that the police should be involved, while others were hesitant to involve the police due to potential language issues and problems for the Latina/o community. Survivors in this study identified friends as being the most supportive, whereas neighbors were described as ignoring or minimizing the situation. This study is one of few that have examined detailed experiences of Latinas and their responses to IPV relationships. However, no studies have been located to date that examine the subsequent dating experiences or relationship beliefs among Latinas that have experienced dating violence in adolescence (Flasch, Murray, & Crowe, 2015; Neustifter & Powell, 2015; Neustifter, 2009; Taylor, 2004; Anderson, 1994; Weiss, 2004; NiCarthy, 1987; Herman, 1992).

A few studies have examined the subsequent relationships of survivors of IPV. The small works on relationship experiences of IPV survivors is primarily found in feminist and qualitative publications. A meta-analysis by Anderson and Saunders (2003) of 28 qualitative studies found only 7 that considered a portion of time following an abusive relationship. However, most of these did not include an examination of new non-violent relationships. Additionally, most of the participant's narratives did not include aspirations to find or maintain a new relationship.

In a book, which described women's perspectives about relationships after experiencing IPV, those who were profiled made sentiments of finding a "successful" or "healthy" relationship (Taylor, 2004, p. 42). These women were not yet a part of a new

non-violent relationship, however, this provides some indication of their positive attitude towards future relationships. However, most of the African American women in this study admitted that a relationship was not their primary goal, instead their goals included reclaiming their identities as separate from their abusers, forgiveness of self, looking to the future with optimism, and participating in social activism (Taylor, 2004). In Anderson's (1997) photography and interview book among IPV survivors one woman adds a concluding sentiment expressing her view on men and relationships stating, "There are many good men out there who are capable of having healthy, loving relationships" (p. 46).

In Weiss' (2004) book comprised of 12 narratives from survivors one shared that she had gone on to marry and became a mother. Another of the interviewees shared that she learned to trust her boyfriend after becoming acquainted with his caring nature (Weiss, 2004). Similarly, NiCarthy (1987) compiled a book containing the narratives of 33 women who experienced IPV. Two survivors in particular shared accounts of non-violent relationships following their IPV relationships. One interviewee, Allie emphasized communication patterns enabled her and her partner to engage in positive conflict resolution. Additionally, Allie noted that with her partner she was able to retain parts of her life that she found enjoyable as a single person. Another interviewee, Dee stated that her partner was very supportive of her recovery process from her past IPV relationship and that as a couple they enjoy a calm partnership based on common appreciation for church, literature, and music (NiCarthy, 1987).

A dissertation study by Neustifter (2009) seeking to explore the long-term effects of IPV and later relationships of IPV survivors sought to understand how survivors

transitioned from violent relationships to new non-violent relationships. Using grounded theory methodology, Neustifter (2009) found six categories relating to IPV survivors transition to new non-IPV relationships which are: (1) increases in risks and strengths; (2) microsystemic conditions; (3) macrosystemic conditions; (4) transition from violent to non-violent relationship; (5) agency in preparation, termination, and singlehood; and (6) expressions of individual and survivor-couple resilience (survivor-couple is a term based on Walsh's family resilience perspective and describes nonviolent couples which has at least one member who survived IPV from a past partner; Neustifter, 2009). These six categories were found to be a part of a six part non-linear transition process that the interviewees engaged in consisting of individual and interpersonal relationship resilience.

All of the participants in Neustifter's (2009) study were able to establish long-term non-violent relationships and none of the participants reported more than one violent romantic relationship during their lives. Neustifter (2009) found that most of the participants described experiencing symptoms commonly associated with PTSD after their abusive relationship and some continued to experience persistent symptoms among other negative consequences. However, most interviewees stated these issues decreased over time in conjunction with support from current partners as well as family and friends. Furthermore, these issues did not prevent the participants from finding success in the intimate relationships with their new partners. A key finding in Neustifter's (2009) study was that the resilience of the participants was based on a description from Walsh's (2006) work "active process of endurance, self-righting, and growth in response to crisis and challenge" (p.4). This allows an understanding of how some individuals thrive in intimate relationships after experiencing IPV. Additionally, participants in Neustifter's (2009)

study identified strengths within their new relationships including: verbal communication; confidence in the future of the relationship; importance of humor; and sexual intimacy. Furthermore, the participants demonstrated the ability to effectively relieve and resolve ongoing trauma-related issues. For instance, early on in their relationships many of the participants resolved trust issues with their partners and over time other concerns (e.g., nightmares and financial worries) decreased with the passing of time and support from their partners.

Additionally, a study by Flasch (2015) found that among 123 female and male, heterosexual and homosexual IPV survivors found that they were hypervigilant as they approached new relationships. However, Flasch (2015) did not provide demographic data about the participants, thus, it is unclear how these findings might relate to Latina populations. Still, the findings from Flasch's study suggest that increased caution is utilized to avoid future partner abuse as survivors begin new romantic relationships.

Few empirical studies have focused on the time after terminating an abusive relationship and the narratives of women's experiences in subsequent non-violent relationships (Anderson & Saunders, 2003). The non-empirical literature that exists illustrates some of the experiences women have in post-IPV relationships, emphasizing resiliency and successful trusting relationships. Still, research has yet to examine the narrative accounts of relationship experiences among young Latinas after an abusive relationship. This is especially disconcerting provided that young Latinas are a growing segment of the U.S. population (Pew Hispanic Center, 2011), they are affected by IPV (Kaufman Kantor et al., 1994; Sorenson & Telles, 1991; Black et al., 2011), and they

experience harmful outcomes associated with IPV (Silverman et al., 2001; Silverman et al., 2004; Roberts et al., 2005; Campbell & Lewandoski, 1997).

Summary

This chapter reviewed dating relationships, definitions, prevalence rates, theories, cultural factors, consequences, and post-IPV relationships relevant to studying IPV among Latinas. The existing literature indicates that adolescence marks a time when dating relationships are initiated (Shulman, Davila, & Sachar-Shapira, 2011) and adolescent females are especially expected to participate in dating (Chung, 2007). Such romantic relationships are a critical part of development in that they can negatively or positively influence identity development and relationship patterns (Florsheim & Moore, 2008; Neeman, Hubbard, & Masten, 1995; Coates, 1999; Erikson, 1968; Furman & Flanagan, 1997). Thus, the types of dating experiences had in adolescence can greatly influence subsequent, new relationships and well-being throughout an individual's overall lifespan (Brown, Feiring, & Furman, 1999). Because of the potential power of adolescent relationships it is critical to understand the ways in which adolescent IPV influences subsequent, new dating experiences among Latinas.

Although IPV continues to be a significant issue there is a lack of consensus on the IPV terms and definitions used in the research. To attend to this issue the WHO (2002) and CDC (2010) have attempted to provide uniform terms and definitions for conducting research in this area. Using different terms and definitions might impact the type of data collected and thus the findings yielded. More specifically, the terminology and definitional issues might be responsible for the inconsistent prevalence estimates particularly evident in the reports of IPV among Latinas. However, majorly unconsidered

is the cultural appropriateness of using such terms and definitions among specific racial/ethnic groups such as Latinas/os.

Prevalence rates of IPV were considered in this chapter and elucidated that partner violence affects both adolescent and adult Latinas. However, the findings are inconsistent regarding the extent to which IPV impacts Latinas. Divergent prevalence estimates have been reported for IPV among Latinas with some results indicating higher (Black et al., 2011; Kaufman Kantor et al., 1994), lower (Sorenson, Upchurch, & Shen, 1996), and comparable (Rennison & Rand, 2003; Rennison, 2002) rates of IPV in comparison to non-Latina Whites. The most recent statistics gathered from the NISVS by the CDC indicate that Latina women (37.1%) experience partner violence at higher rates than non-Latina White women (34.6%) and lower than African American women (43.7%; Black et al., 2011). However, the NISVS did not indicate controlling for sociodemographic variables. Other studies that have controlled for sociodemographic variables (e.g., marital status, level of educational attainment, health insurance, language preference, length in the U.S., alcohol use, etc.) have yielded prevalence estimates for Latinas that are comparable (Catalano et al., 2009; Kantor et al., 1994; Sorenson & Telles, 1991; Straus & Smith, 1990; Caetano et al., 2000) and lower (Denham et al., 2007) in comparison to non-Latina White women. The findings from these studies appear to indicate some relationship between sociodemographic variables and the prevalence of IPV. However, it might be difficult to extrapolate such variables from race/ethnicity when sociodemographic factors are often tightly knitted to race/ethnicity (Brown, 2009). More uniform measures that assess agreed upon types of partner abuse could help clarify the prevalence rates of IPV. Similarly, as prevalence seems to be correlated to

sociodemographic factors, further research is needed to explain the relationship between such factors, race/ethnicity, and IPV specifically among Latinas.

Statistics on IPV among adolescent Latinas/os are more consistent in comparison to those for adult Latinas/os yet there is still variance in these prevalence estimates. The recent DAVILA (Sabina & Cuevas, 2013) indicated that 19.5% of Latino adolescents reported IPV in 2011. Additionally, the YRBSS by the CDC consistently indicates that Latina adolescents are disproportionately affected by IPV (CDC, 2011; CDC, 2010; CDC, 2008). Research also indicates that Latinas remain longer in abusive relationships, return more frequently to the abusive relationship, identify less behaviors as abusive, and are less likely to attempt to find resources to leave such relationships in comparison to non-Latina African American and/or White women (Dutton et al., 2000; Gondolf, Fisher, & McFerron, 1988; Torres, 1991; West, 1998; Brabeck & Guzman, 2008). Such findings have not explained why these differences exist between the beliefs and behaviors of Latinas in comparison to women of different races/ethnicities involved in IPV relationships. Thus, research in this area needs to examine why Latina women appear to have different perceptions and responses to IPV in comparison to women of other racial/ethnic backgrounds. Also, although race/ethnicity is included as a part of these studies, culture has been minimally included in such research efforts. Therefore, future research would do well to consider cultural factors in examining such differences.

Theories of IPV were also included in this chapter. There are several frameworks that have attempted to explain IPV including: social learning (Bandura, 1965; 1973), intergenerational transmission theory (Ehrensaft et al., 2003), as well as feminist and multicultural/intersection theories (Flores-Ortiz, 1993; Bograd, 1984). Although all of

these theories offer useful elements in conceptualizing IPV among Latinas, there is no guiding theory for IPV research and practice with Latinas. However, it seems that feminist and multicultural theories are unique frameworks in that they attend to important and often overlooked nuances of the sociocultural context of Latinas (e.g., sociodemographic factors that shape their experience and response to IPV). However, such feminist and multicultural theories do not wholly explain IPV among Latina populations. For instance, the influence of environmental factors are better accounted for through social learning theories such as Bronfenbrenner's (2005) bioecological framework. Furthermore, resilience theory has not been established as a framework to explain survivors' subsequent romantic experiences and such resiliency factors have not been explored among Latina adolescent IPV survivors. Thus, it is important to develop a comprehensive theory of IPV fitting for Latinas, and in order to do this it is important to first gain an in-depth understanding of their IPV experiences.

This chapter also discussed the paucity of research that has examined cultural factors and IPV among Latinas/os. The research that has been conducted has focused primarily on gender roles (Brabeck & Guzman, 2009; West et al., 1998; Perilla et al., 1994), acculturation (Pearlman et al., 2003; Kaufman Kantor et al., 1994), and *familismo* (Sorenson, 1996; Firestone et al., 1999). Additionally, much of the research has not shown direct relationships between the perpetration (or non-perpetration) of abuse but instead has shown correlations between cultural factors and beliefs and/or behaviors (Crossman, Smith, & Bender, 1990; Perilla et al., 1994; O'Neil & Egan, 1993). For instance, male adherence to traditional Latina/o gender roles was found to be a strong predictor of violence-related beliefs and was correlated to coercive sexual behaviors as

well as adversarial views of relationships (Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2003; Marin et al., 1997). Additional findings indicate that traditional views of gender roles were associated with partner abuse, which was associated with a decreased likelihood of women leaving an IPV relationship (Champion, 1996; Vera, 2002). However, Perilla et al.'s (1994) study among mostly immigrant Mexican women showed that adherence to traditional gender roles was not associated with partner abuse. Thus, there appears to be a relationship between gender roles and relationship beliefs and behaviors especially when men abide by traditional Latina/o gender roles but it is not clearly delineated. Additionally, Latinas' views and experiences of IPV and gender roles still needs to further be examined as their subjective experiences and perspectives are not included in much of the empirical literature in this area. One study showed that Latina women in male-dominated relationships approved of husband-to-wife slapping (Szapocznik, 1978), but beyond this finding little is known about the intersection of Latina/o gender roles and IPV. Additionally, the study by Szapocznik (1978) did not ask the Latina women in this study about the origins of their acceptant attitude towards husbands slapping their wives. In sum, many of the studies failed to include Latina's perspectives of their cultural identity, their perceived role within the relationship, and how that intersects with their experience of abuse and proceeding towards new relationships.

On the other hand, Latina adolescents seem to negotiate their gender roles within relationships and were empowered in their ability to negotiate their roles as females and still honor their culture (Denner & Dunbar, 2004). Additionally, Latina adolescents held both positive and negative gender role views about past and current male partners (Villavicencio, 2008). Furthermore, Latina adolescents were less likely to hold pro-

violence attitudes, gender stereotypic views, and were more knowledgeable about TDV and outcomes associated with dating abuse in comparison to their male counterparts (Ulloa et al., 2004; Avery-Leaf et al., 1997; Foshee, 1996). Yet, none of the literature examined how gender role beliefs and behaviors influenced subsequent dating beliefs and behaviors among Latinas.

Acculturation also appears to be related to IPV among Latinas/os (Brown et al., 2003); Lown & Vega, 2001b; Sorenson & Telles, 1991), however, this relationship is also unclear. The research indicates that more acculturated Latinas are abused than less acculturated Latinas (Kasturirangan et al., 2004; Pearlman et al., 2003). Additionally, acculturative stress is hypothesized as possibly influencing IPV among Latinas (Vasquez, 1994), however, no empirical evidence has been yielded to support this notion. Also, there have been mixed findings regarding acculturation and IPV among Latina/o adolescents. Among adolescent Latinas/os the research shows that Latinas with lower levels of acculturation had a high sense of ethnic pride and were less likely to be involved in IPV (Sanderson et al., 2004). Another study showed no relationship between acculturation and IPV among Latina girls (Ulloa et al., 2004). Yet, Hokoda et al.'s (2007) study showed more specific relationships between acculturation and dating violence beliefs. For the Latina girls in Hokoda et al.'s (2007) study family acculturation conflict was related to tolerant views regarding emotional abuse, language-related conflict was associated with tolerant views of physical abuse, and awareness of ethnic prejudice was related to tolerant views of physical abuse. Thus, it seems that conflict regarding acculturation, language, and awareness of ethnic prejudice related to these girls having acceptant attitudes towards IPV. Such findings possibly point to identity formation and

commitment to the group as serving as protective factors against IPV among adolescent Latinas, whereas, perceiving ethnic prejudice and family conflict regarding acculturation might be risk factors associated with IPV. Thus, continued research needs to further investigate the relationship between acculturation and IPV among young Latinas with specific attention to cultural identity formation, feeling a sense of belonging to their cultural group, as well as family related acculturative stress.

It should be noted that most studies measured acculturation by language preference and/or birthplace and years spent in the U.S., which can fail to account for other facets of acculturation. In particular, birthplace was significantly associated with wife abuse (Szapocznik et al., 1978). Although a feasibility rationale was offered for often using language and birthplace to measure acculturation (Lara et al., 2005), critics indicate that such practices overlook the multifaceted nature of acculturation (e.g., sociodemographic factors; Marin, 1992). More specifically, failing to account for sociodemographic factors leaves out substantial acculturative influences. As sociodemographic factors appear to be related, at the very least, to the prevalence of IPV among Latinas such variables should not be neglected in examinations of the influence of acculturation in studies of IPV among this population.

Familismo also seems to hold some significance in relation to IPV among Latinas. *Familismo* appears to decrease partner abuse among Latinas/os (Firestone et al., 1999), but, might also present an obstacle for women who want to leave an abusive relationship (Bauer et al., 2000; Dutton et al., 2000). The literature on *familismo* and IPV indicate that *familismo* might prevent women from seeking outside help or leaving an IPV relationship because of subjugating themselves to the family and feeling such actions would be

perceived as disloyalty to the family (Perilla, 1999). Despite the fact that the family unit seems to be an important part of Latina/o culture (Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Marin, & Perez-Stable, 1987; Santiago-Rivera, 2003), no research was located that examined *familismo* and IPV among Latina/o youth. Needless to say, empirical studies need to focus on the role of family and IPV among Latina/o adolescents. Also, more needs to be known about how the family influences (if at all) the dating beliefs and behaviors of Latina IPV survivors. Additionally, knowing more about the family unit might enhance the understanding of the relationship between acculturation conflicts between Latina/o adolescents and their families.

Also, considered in this chapter was the existing literature on the outcomes associated with IPV, which indicates both direct and indirect consequences. Direct consequences associated with IPV include physical injuries, illnesses, and death (Fagan & Browne, 1994; Boyle, Robinson, & Atkinson, 2004; Gelles & Straus, 1990). The more indirect outcomes that are related to IPV are mental health consequences, socioeconomic strains, inability to engage in regularly scheduled activities, increased demand of healthcare services, risky sexual behaviors, and negative sexual health outcomes (National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2003; Heise, Moore, & Toubia, 1995). Additionally, depression, suicidal ideation and suicide attempts have been specifically identified as harmful outcomes associated with IPV among adult Latinas (Caetano & Cunradi, 2003; Krishnan et al., 2001), however, relationships between such factors have not be found among Latina girls (Ackard & Neumark-Sztainer, 2000). More specifically, the research has shown among Latina/o adolescents indirect relationships between IPV and STIs, pregnancy, substance use, unhealthy weight control tactics, and

anxiety (Silverman et al., 2001; Roberts, Auinger, & Klein, 2005; Leaman & Gee, 2006). Overall, the direct and indirect relationships between IPV and consequences are not well articulated. Thus, it is helpful to have some general understanding of outcomes associated with partner abuse, yet, further research that delineates the specific nature of these correlations would be insightful.

This chapter also highlighted that although the immediate consequences associated with IPV have been explored little attention has been given to more long-term outcomes such as the influence IPV has upon subsequent relationship experiences (Neustifter, 2009; Smith, 2003; Evans, 2007). This gap is particularly evident in the IPV literature among Latinas as no studies were located that specifically offered Latinas perspectives of how an IPV experience in adolescence influences their subsequent dating beliefs and behaviors. However, most Latinas will go on to negotiate new dating relationships and such interactions have been identified as key to overall well-being (Erikson, 1968; Furman & Flanagan, 1997). The literature on the outcomes associated with IPV indicate that such abusive experiences have a lasting impact on survivors even far beyond when the abuse ends (Evans, 2007; Smith, 2003). However, it is largely unknown how the long-term consequences of IPV may influence subsequent, new relationships (Evans, 2007). Within the small body of literature that has examined subsequent, new relationships among IPV survivors findings have been mixed as some women desire to date or establish a new romantic relationship while others do not hold these aspirations (Anderson & Saunders, 2008; Taylor, 2004). Neustifter's (2009) dissertation highlighted six elements that women identified as being a part of their transition from IPV relationships to new non-violent relationships including: 1) increases

in risks and strengths; (2) microsystemic conditions; (3) macrosystemic conditions; (4) transition from a violent to a non-violent relationship; (5) agency in preparation, termination, and singlehood; and (6) expressions of individual and survivor-couple resilience.

Furthermore, women who have gone on to date and eventually engage in a committed relationship conveyed that trust, feeling cared for, communication, positive conflict resolution, and a calm partnership were key aspects of their new relationships following IPV (Weiss, 2004; NiCarthy, 1987). Neustifter's (2009) findings also highlighted the strengths that participant's identified in their respective new relationships after experiencing IPV, which included: verbal communication; confidence in the future of the relationship; importance of humor; and sexual intimacy. However, still largely unknown is how experiencing IPV during adolescence impacts dating perspectives and behaviors among Latinas as they approach new romantic relationships. Thus, the emphasis of this proposed study is to examine the impact of adolescent IPV upon subsequent, new dating experiences among Latinas.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of the proposed study is to expand upon the body of research on IPV among young Latinas by examining the perspectives about dating beliefs and behaviors among Latinas who have experienced IPV as a teen. The study will also seek to generate a substantive theory of young Latinas perspectives and approach to dating and/or romantic relationships after experiencing an abusive relationship.

Chapter III: Methods

Grounded Theory Methodology

The purpose of this study was to gain a better understanding of how IPV experiences during adolescence influenced future dating relationships among young Latinas. To achieve the goal of this study, a qualitative method, Grounded Theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Strauss & Corbin, 1998), was selected. A qualitative method was chosen because it enables researchers to understand (1) how individuals interpret their experiences, (2) how they create their worlds, and (3) the significance they attribute to their experiences (Merriam & Associates, 2002). Furthermore, grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) was identified as an appropriate methodology as it specifically focuses on arriving at an emergent theory based on the subjective experiences provided by the narratives of participants (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Grounded theory also allows for examination of an issue within the sociocultural context that participants experience the issue instead of imposing the perspectives of the researcher (Creswell, 1998; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Thus, grounded theory is a fitting methodology as it can initiate an understanding of the dating and romantic relationships of young Latinas following an IPV experience while accounting for important contextual factors. To investigate this topic, the principal researcher conducted in-depth, individual interviews among 11 English-speaking Latinas who experienced adolescent IPV. This chapter will present and discuss the methods employed to conduct this study.

Target Population

This study's target population was adult Latina females between the ages of 18 to 35 years who experienced adolescent intimate partner violence (IPV). Additional inclusion criteria were as follows: a) English-speaking, b) heterosexual, and c) not currently involved in an IPV relationship. The primary researcher utilized professional judgment to ensure participants were fluent in English as demonstrated by receptive and expressive language abilities.

The participant pool was open to adult, English-Speaking Latinas who experienced IPV as an adolescent. Snowball methods and solicitation via local Wisconsin community agencies (e.g., The Rainbow Project, Aurora Family Services, and Domestic Intervention and Abuse Services), email, and internet websites were utilized for participant recruitment. Particularly, social media sites (e.g., Facebook, Twitter, Call for Participants, and GooglePlus) specifically aimed at Latina female survivors of IPV were used for recruitment purposes.

Participants

Eleven participants' interviews were included as the final data from this study; 10 were recruited via social media sites on the internet and one was recruited from a community agency. Though 12 participants completed interviews, one participant's data was omitted due to an inaudible audiotape and was therefore not included in the total 11 interviews used for data analysis. All of the participants met the aforementioned inclusion criteria (i.e., adult, heterosexual, English-speaking Latina who self-reported experiencing IPV as an adolescent). Informed consent and brief demographic forms were sent via email to the participants, and interviews were completed via the telephone with the

primary researcher. At the time this study was conducted, 7 of the participants resided in the Midwest and 4 were located on the East coast. The age range of study participants was 21 to 35 years old with a mean age of 27.9 ($sd = 4.45$). The majority of participants (8 out of the 11 or 72%) were of Mexican descent with the remaining two identifying as Puerto Rican and Argentinean. Additionally, 9 of the 11 participants were bilingual and two participants were monolingual, English-only speaking. Participants had a range of educational experience: one had completed 8th grade, one had completed high school and attended some college, one was currently completing a bachelor's degree, three had completed bachelor's degrees, four had completed graduate degrees, and one had completed a bachelor's degree and was currently completing a medical degree.

Participants reported an average age of onset of IPV as 16.1 years ($sd = 2.12$; range 13-19 years). Five participants reported experiencing a combination of verbal and physical abuse perpetrated by their partner during adolescence. The second most common form of IPV reported by participants was only physical abuse (three), followed by only sexual abuse (two). One participant reported a combination of verbal and sexual abuse and none of the participants reported experiencing verbal abuse only. Additionally, all participants had exited their adolescent IPV relationship at the time of the interview. Many of the participants exited their adolescent IPV relationship through relocating, often times to attend college. Other participants ended their adolescent IPV relationship by breaking up with their partner and avoiding contact with them, including not responding to partners' attempts to contact them via phone. Information pertaining to post-IPV experiences will be discussed in the subsequent chapter that discusses the

findings of this study. A description of the participants' demographic, IPV, and post-IPV information is provided in Table 1.

Table 1

Research Participants' Demographic, IPV, and Post-IPV Information

Participant Pseudonym	Demographic Information	Adolescent IPV Information
Rosa	Age: 35 years	Age of IPV: 13 years
	Ethnicity: Mexican American	Type of Abuse: Verbal and Physical
	Education: Some College	Frequency of Abuse: Repeated
	Language: Semi-Bilingual	At Time of IPV Recognized/Identified as Abuse: No
Lizette	Age: 23 years	Exiting IPV Relationship: Ended Relationship Age of IPV: 14 years
	Ethnicity: Mexican American	Type of Abuse: Verbal and Physical
	Education: Bachelors	Frequency of Abuse: Repeated
	Language: Bilingual	At Time of IPV Recognized/Identified as Abuse: No
Annelleyse	Age: 34 years	Exiting IPV Relationship: Relocated Age of IPV: 17 years
	Ethnicity: Mexican	Type of Abuse: Physical
	Education: 8 th grade	Frequency of Abuse: Repeated

	Language: Bilingual	At Time of IPV Recognized/Identified as Abuse: Yes
Melissa	Age: 24 years	Exiting IPV Relationship: Relocated Age of IPV: 15 years
	Ethnicity: Second Generation Mexican American	Type of Abuse: Sexual
	Education: Bachelors	Frequency of Abuse: Single Incident
	Language: Bilingual	At Time of IPV Recognized/Identified as Abuse: No
Vanessa	Age: 26 years	Exiting IPV Relationship: Ended Relationship Age of IPV: 19 years
	Ethnicity: Mexican	Type of Abuse: Sexual
	Education: Bachelors	Frequency of Abuse: Single Incident
	Language: Bilingual	At Time of IPV Recognized/Identified as Abuse: No
Adrienne	Age: 31 years	Exiting IPV Relationship: Relocated Age of IPV: 14 years
	Ethnicity: Puerto Rican; Born in the	Type of Abuse: Verbal and

	United States	Physical
	Education: Bachelors; Currently Completing M.D.	Frequency of Abuse: Repeated
	Language: Bilingual	At Time of IPV Recognized/Identified as Abuse: No
Christina	Age: 31 years	Exiting IPV Relationship: Relocated Age of IPV: 19 years
	Ethnicity: Argentinean	Type of Abuse: Verbal and Physical
	Education: Graduate Degree	Frequency of Abuse: Verbal Abuse Repeated; Single Incident of Physical Abuse
	Language: Bilingual	At Time of IPV Recognized/Identified as Abuse: No
Sandra	Age: 28 years	Exiting IPV Relationship: Ended Relationship Age of IPV: 16 years
	Ethnicity: Mexican American	Type of Abuse: Physical
	Education: Masters Degree	Frequency of Abuse: Repeated
	Language: Bilingual	At Time of IPV Recognized/Identified as Abuse: No
		Exiting IPV Relationship:

Yvania	Age: 27 years	Relocated Age of IPV: 15 years
	Ethnicity: Mexican American	Type of Abuse: Verbal and Sexual
	Education: Masters Degree	Frequency of Abuse: Repeated Verbal Abuse; Single Incidence of Sexual Abuse
	Language: Bilingual	At Time of IPV Recognized/Identified as Abuse: No
Lauren	Age: 27 years	Exiting IPV Relationship: Ended Relationship Age of IPV: 19 years
	Ethnicity: Biracial of European and Cuban Descent	Type of Abuse: Physical
	Relationship Status: Cohabiting with Partner	Frequency of Abuse: Repeated
	Education: Masters Degree	At Time of IPV Recognized/Identified as Abuse: No
	Language: English	Exiting IPV Relationship: Relocated Age of IPV: 14.5 years
Alicia	Age: 21 years	Age of IPV: 14.5 years
	Ethnicity: Mexican American	Type of Abuse: Verbal and Physical
	Relationship Status: Single and Dating	Frequency of Abuse: Repeated
	Education: Completing Bachelors	At Time of IPV Recognized/Identified as Abuse:
	Language: English	

No

Exiting IPV Relationship: Ended
Relationship

The Research Team

A research team was formed to carry out data analysis. The primary researcher conducted participant recruitment, interviews, and transcription of the first eight interviews and three research team members completed the analysis of the remaining three interview transcriptions. Research team members assisted primarily with the data analysis, including initial and axial coding as well as selective coding and development of the theory. The research team was developed in order to increase objectivity and decrease researcher bias, which has been noted to be important in developing findings for a qualitative study (Marrow, 2005). Thus, the research team was integral to the three data analysis phases.

The research team consisted of the primary researcher and four undergraduate students with majors in the fields of psychology, social work, and/or Latina/o studies. All members were interviewed and selected based on their undergraduate majors, some familiarity with qualitative methods, commitment to being a part of the analytic team, and their interest in studying IPV as well as contextual factors, such as, race-ethnicity, SES, and culture.

At the time of data analysis, the primary researcher was a 30-year-old African American female counseling psychology doctoral candidate at Marquette University. The

primary researcher had personal and research interests and experience regarding issues affecting the overall health and well-being of Latinas/os. Additionally, the primary researcher had clinical experience treating survivors of IPV, including Latinas, while engaging in direct mental health practice in Milwaukee, Wisconsin and Madison, Wisconsin at outpatient agencies. Other research team members self-identified as: a 20-year old bi-ethnic (Arab/African) female; a 24-year old Caucasian female; a 22-year-old heterosexual Caucasian woman; and a 20-year-old Chicana/Latina female. All of the research team members had experience with qualitative methods and two had familiarity with grounded theory; however, none had previously utilized grounded theory methods.

Prior to engaging in data analysis, all team members reviewed literature on grounded theory methods, general IPV literature, and empirical studies specifically focused on IPV among young Latinas. Additionally, all research team members completed Marquette University's Institutional Review Board Protecting Human Participants training prior to data analysis. All research team members engaged in initial and axial coding and one team member was unable to engage in the final phase of coding (e.g., selective/theoretical coding). Thus, three of the four members engage in all three data analysis phases. The primary researcher was responsible for completing this study and training research team members, recruiting participants, and facilitating weekly team meetings including developing meeting agendas.

Positionality. To acknowledge *positionality* (Patton, 2002), or personal beliefs of the researchers, team members individually compiled a list of biases before and during data collection. At the outset of this study prior to participant recruitment, the primary researcher acknowledged the following beliefs: (a) traditional Latina/o values will likely

influence Latina participants' dating beliefs subsequent to an IPV experience; and (b) IPV experiences may cause Latinas to be more cautious in their romantic relationships. The following assumptions were identified for the research team: (a) participants will be affected by the gender roles in Latino/a culture; and (b) participants will use family as a support system to deal with stress.

Auditing. Additionally, external auditors were utilized for this study to promote increased objectivity with the findings. Hill et al. (2005) indicate that external auditors help ensure that a grounded theory is not unduly influenced or biased by research team members who might have formed a uni-dimensional analytical lens. Two auditors were included in this study and an expert panel (the primary researcher's dissertation committee) served as consultants for the methods. One auditor was the primary researcher's dissertation chair who is a faculty member in the Department of Counselor Education and Counseling Psychology at Marquette University with several years of experience conducting research among Latina/o populations and utilizing qualitative methods, including grounded theory. The second auditor was a recent graduate from a counseling psychology program with a completed grounded theory dissertation about African American inmates with mental health issues.

The auditors served as consultants to the primary researcher during this study. The dissertation chair conducted checks to ensure that procedures were properly adhered to during all phases of this study, including: participant recruitment, data collection, transcription, team member recruitment and retention, and procedures during the three grounded theory data analysis phases. Auditors reviewed the following documents: transcripts, documents providing support for saturation being achieved, coding lists, and

the emerging theory. To check for saturation, transcripts from interviews 8 and 9 were back-checked against interviews 1 and 2. Back-checking was performed again between transcripts 10 and 11 against transcripts from initial interviews. During data analysis auditors reviewed code lists, again to ensure saturation and appropriate implementation of grounded theory methods. Subsequent to the terminal data analysis phase, selective coding, the primary researcher continued with finalizing the grounded theory in consultation with her dissertation chair.

Instruments

Brief Demographic Form. A brief demographic form was completed by all participants in this study which included questions about ethnicity, age, and current relationship status (see Appendix B). This form was developed based on relevant literature and the questions were further revised based on feedback provided by the dissertation committee.

Interview Protocol. Interviewing is the preferred method of data collection in grounded theory, as it affords for the generation of a theory grounded in the experiences of individuals affected by the phenomenon of inquiry (Ward, 2005). The primary researcher developed an interview protocol based on the relevant literature (Caetano & Cunradi, 2003; Krishnan, Hilbert, & VanLeeuwen, 2001; Brown et al., 2003), which was subsequently revised after feedback from the dissertation committee. Questions included: “What do you look for when you date?”; “What have been your dating experiences since the abuse you experienced as a teenager?”; and, “How, if at all, has dating changed for you since your abusive experience as a teenager?” Once the protocol was developed one pilot interview was conducted with a 24-year-old, single, Latina female of Mexican

ethnicity who experienced partner violence at 16 years old. After the pilot interview, edits were made to the interview protocol and it was finalized. The final interview protocol consisted of 14 semi-structured questions (See Appendix C).

Data Collection Procedures

Participant Recruitment. Participants were recruited via snowball methods and solicitation via internet websites, including social media and community agencies. Prior to participant recruitment, this research study was approved by the MU-IRB and partnering agencies signed a letter of agreement for recruitment for this study. Recruitment efforts were made at the following local Wisconsin agencies: The Rainbow Project, Domestic Abuse Intervention Services, Aurora Family Services, The Healing Center, and The Madison Multicultural Center. Additionally, participants were recruited via advertisements through email with colleagues and using the following internet websites: Facebook, Twitter, Call For Participants, and GooglePlus. One participant was recruited from a Madison area agency and all other participants in the current study were recruited from Facebook webpostings. An invitation to participate in this study was posted on the aforementioned websites which included a brief overview of the study, criteria for participation, and compensation to be provided (See Appendix D). Individuals responded to these recruitment postings via email to the primary researcher.

The primary researcher screened the appropriateness of participants to be involved in this study by directly asking them if they met the aforementioned inclusion criteria (e.g., adult, heterosexual, English-speaking Latina between the ages of 18 to 35 years old, who experienced adolescent IPV). Affirmative responses resulted in participants being retained for this study and non-affirmative responses resulted in

participants being screened out. One potential participant was screened out as she did not meet the age requirement for this study. Participants who met the criteria for this study and expressed interest in participating were then scheduled as quickly as possible for an interview with the primary researcher. All interviews were conducted on the telephone.

Obtaining Informed Consent and Completing the Brief Demographic Form.

Before collecting demographic information and conducting interviews each participant was informed of information and procedures pertinent to this study. Although written informed consent for this study was waived by the MU-IRB, at the outset of gathering demographic data and interviewing participants, participants were informed of the following: the purpose and nature of the study; the use of audio recording later to be used for transcription; their ability to discontinue participation in this study at anytime without punitive actions or repercussions; that the information they provided would be kept safe, private, and anonymous through use of pseudonyms; and that upon completion of the interview they would be compensated via a \$25 Amazon gift. Each participant acknowledged written and oral receipt of informed consent (see Appendix A) and subsequently agreed to continue voluntarily with their participation in this study. Subsequently, demographic information was collected and the interview began.

Interviewing. Once participants provided oral/verbal consent and agreed to be a part of the study, the researcher then conducted the audiotaped interviews. All questions from the protocol were asked, and participants were encouraged to elaborate when possible. Interviews consisted of administering a semi-structured set of questions (see Appendix B) during individual phone meetings. Participants were interviewed with the primary researcher (Ward, 2005; Seal et al., 2004) who was in a private, quiet room to

maintain participant confidentiality. The primary researcher offered participants to individually create or be assigned a pseudonym to maintain anonymity. Completed interviews ranged from 31 to 67 minutes long.

Transcribing. Most interviews were transcribed by the primary researcher, in addition to three research team members who transcribed the final three interviews. Protocols were assigned a numeric code associated with each participant's pseudonym. Participant's actual names were not documented on any of the research materials nor disclosed to any of the team members or others by the primary investigator, who had sole knowledge of participant's actual names. The primary researcher reviewed the transcripts against the audiotapes to ensure accuracy before data analysis was initiated.

Data Analysis Procedures

The research team met on a weekly basis, excluding holidays (i.e., Thanksgiving), to analyze the data. Prior to each meeting, team members individually reviewed and analyzed each transcript (Schwartz, 2002). The research team individually and collectively engaged in the three phases of grounded theory as follows: Initial Coding; Axial Coding; and Selective Coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Additionally, in order to discover what emerged from the data and to remain as close to the raw data as possible, the Constant Comparative Method (CCM) was employed beginning with the open coding phase, which is a process of simultaneously coding and analyzing the data.

Constant comparative method. The purpose of the constant comparative method (CCM) is to systemically generate a theory “that is integrated, consistent, plausible, close to the data – and at the same time is in a form clear enough to be readily, if only partially, operationalized for testing in quantitative research” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 103).

Glaser (1965) outlines the constant comparative method as consisting of four stages: (1) comparing occurrences fitting each category; (2) integration of categories and categorical properties; (3) determining the theory; and (4) writing the theory. These stages broadly outline how CCM is to be conducted. Thus, data analysis in the current study began with open coding each response from an interviewee, examination to determine precisely what was said, and finally labeling with a code. Different parts of the interview were compared to examine the internal consistency of the interview. Also, if, for example, one segment of the interview was labeled 'emotionally guarded' the researcher examined the transcribed interview for other segments that should be ascribed the same code. If additional categories were given the same code they then were compared to determine if new data about this category was provided. The segments were further compared to determine commonalities and differences within the context in which the participant made the comments, as well as which facets of (in this case) emotionally guarded were emphasized. This process was repeated until the entire document was coded and categories were compared within the single interview. Similarly, a comparison of interviews between participants within the same group was completed (Boeije, 2002).

Open coding. The first phase of grounded theory data analysis is initial coding, which involves developing codes for each line within a transcript. First, each line was coded and then the Constant Comparative Method (CCM) was utilized as the codes were reviewed against the transcript and again reviewed across transcripts. The process of initial coding and CCM was initially conducted individually by team members and then discussed as a group. Each team member employed open coding to look at each passage from the interview line-by-line (Glaser, 1965; Glaser & Strauss, 1970), and then

individually labelled lines with a code or meaning unit (Giorgi, 1970; Fassinger, 2005). In utilizing CCM team members individually analyzed lines given the same code to determine if they could be developed into one code to cover the multiple lines within a transcript, which was also repeated between transcripts (Fassinger, 2005; Boeije, 2002). During individual coding each member generated an exhaustive list of as many initial codes as possible to help ensure similarities and differences of codes were not influenced by group-think.

After individual initial coding, the team analyzed segments of each transcript for similarities and differences, which was also repeated between the transcripts. During these initial coding analyses general categories were formed based on the initial codes. Next, the team analyzed the master code list of all the initial codes generated during individual initial coding and reached a consensus about which codes should be retained. Codes were retained based upon their centrality to the research question, frequency within and between transcripts, and explanatory dimensions and properties or “concept units,” which were utilized for the second phase of coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

After team consensus was achieved for initial coding, the primary researcher consulted with the study’s external auditors. Auditors provided feedback regarding which potential codes to omit and which needed further development with regards to dimensions and properties. After receiving feedback from the auditors, this information was presented to the research team for discussion and further revision of the initial codes.

Prior to consultation with the external auditors, the research team yielded 1,029 open codes. With integration of the external auditors’ feedback the original code list was refined to 747 initial codes. Some examples of the open codes developed included, “After

awhile she knew she did not want to remain in a relationship with her ex-boyfriend”; “Looking to date someone trustworthy who can provide a sense of security”; and “Cried a lot while she was in an abusive situation; did not respond, just cried.”

Axial coding. The second phase of data analysis in grounded theory is axial coding. Axial coding is employed to organize the codes developed during initial coding by putting the data back together again in a new way by identifying connections between the categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Accordingly, the research team reviewed independently and then again collaboratively the codes and categories derived from initial coding. This step also involved comparison between interviews and the formation of categories to explain the relationships between the initial codes. Codes and categories were then compared with each other for similarities and differences. Similar codes and categories were chunked together and dissimilar codes and categories were kept separate. This transcript comparison procedure continued in line with CCM and was conducted for the 11 transcripts.

Keeping with the purpose of this data phase, the research team members worked independently and then collaboratively to determine which codes chunked together formed categories and further explained the data. Initially, the team yielded a total of 127 categories, which through team analyses, and incorporation of the auditors’ feedback was finalized with 27 categories retained.

During this phase, some codes did not fit a pattern; in such instances the data had to be further analyzed to find patterns for combinations of codes or an explanation for such differences (Boeije, 2002). For instance, two participants endorsed sexual

promiscuity, however, the remaining nine participants endorsed being sexually abstinent or monogamous following adolescent IPV. However, through additional individual and collaborative analysis it was identified that participants' post-adolescent IPV approaches to sex, as a component of dating and relationships, were used as a tool for emotional distance and protection of self. Most participants avoided sex to guard against forming an emotional connection with a partner, however, after analyzing and reviewing within and across transcripts, it emerged that the two participants who endorsed sexual promiscuity used sex as tool to protect against forming an emotional connection with a partner. Thus, the pattern identified was emotional distancing to protect self and the two outliers were able to be integrated into this category.

The two aforementioned steps, initial and axial coding, was repeated until saturation was reached. Saturation occurs when no new data appears to expand upon the phenomenon of inquiry (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This was achieved by members individually and together by continuing to form initial codes and axial categories until no new data emerged (Fassinger, 2005). Additionally, interviews continued to be conducted during data analysis and the latter interviews were back-checked against the first two interviews to determine if any new data materialized, which did not occur. Once saturation was obtained, then the theory was delineated from the categories. Categorical connections from axial coding helped to form an integrative core category for this study, which organized the data and addressed the research question (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). By employing CCM, the theory was reviewed again by the primary researcher and team to determine if it maintained the integrity of the raw data.

Selective coding. This is the terminal stage in grounded theory data analysis, in which a substantive theory is developed (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Fassinger, 2005). This stage begins with the merging of all the other categories to arrive at a central category that explains the data as a whole (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Fassinger, 2005). From this a “core theme” is developed, which briefly describes the most salient elements of the data and explains the relationships of the other categories to the central narrative (Fassinger, 2005, p. 161). The research team developed the name “Focus on Self-Protection,” which contributes to the Latina participants’ approach to dating and relationships subsequent to adolescent IPV. Additionally, the “creation of a substantive theory” (Fassinger, 2005, p. 161) was developed in the form of a brief narrative, also referred to as the “story line” (Strauss & Corbin, 1994, p. 281; Fassinger, 2005). The story line for this study is: *Latinas who experienced adolescent IPV underwent changes that led to an increased focus on self-protection, which influenced subsequent partner/relationship expectations (e.g., less traditional gender roles, which also influenced other expectations including partnership; safe communication/self-expression; emotional support/space;), new behaviors in dating/relationships(e.g., period of being single; cautious, slower approach to dating/relationships), and relationship goals (e.g., a desire for an IPV-free relationship; companionship; monogamy).* This story line will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

In line with the previous phases of coding, during this phase the core story is continuously compared to the data to ensure it is reflective of the participants’ accounts (Fassinger, 2005). Additionally, Strauss and Corbin (1998) suggest that creating a diagram examining relationships between circumstances, behaviors, and consequences

can help explain the substantive theory, which was developed and is depicted in Chapter IV. Also, the story line and core category developed from selective coding and corresponding axial categories and initial codes are expanded upon in Chapter IV.

Qualitative Assurance Processes: Trustworthiness. A number of strategies were utilized to enhance the trustworthiness or reliability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Stiles, 1993) of this study's findings. Van Vliet (2008) offers that trustworthiness is achieved when the data reflects the factual accuracy and completeness of interpretation of the data, while maintaining participants' sentiments with minimized researcher bias; thus, arriving at categories that appropriately reflect relationships between ideas in the data, and a theory that can be applied beyond the research study.

One measure taken to ensure trustworthiness of the findings, as mentioned previously, was the transcripts were reviewed against audiotapes for accuracy performed by the primary researcher. Additionally, the research team members individually and as a group discussed their biases before and during data analysis (as previously discussed in the subsection positionality). These assumptions were discussed during team meetings. In line with this, the team maintained an audit trail (Guba & Lincoln, 1989), primarily through memo-writing, in which data analysis procedures and decision processes were documented, and reflectivity regarding the data was conducted. Also, the researchers maintained individual documents for team meeting notes and team trainings. Finally, auditing during protocol development, data collection and data analysis phases was conducted to increase the trustworthiness of the findings.

Chapter IV: Results

The purpose of the current study was to build an emergent theory of subsequent dating/relationship experiences among Latinas who experienced adolescent IPV. The primary research question guiding this study was, “How does adolescent intimate partner violence influence subsequent, new dating experiences among Latinas?” More specific research questions subsumed under this general research question included: (a) “What were Latinas’ dating/relationship expectations subsequent to adolescent IPV, including their views regarding gender roles?”; (b) “How were Latinas able to reinstate dating/relationships following adolescent IPV?”; (c) “What are Latinas’ dating/relationship experiences subsequent to undergoing adolescent IPV?; and, (d) “What are Latinas’ future relationship desires?”

This study explored how a specific demographic subset of women are impacted by adolescent IPV: Latinas between the ages of 18 to 35 years old. Eleven Latinas participated in individual interviews, during which they were asked to discuss their experience of adolescent IPV, the perceived impact that adolescent IPV had upon their subsequent dating/relationships, expectations for subsequent dating/relationships, and their relationship goals including their perspectives about how important it is to avoid future IPV. The purpose of this chapter is to present the findings that emerged from the interviews.

An overarching theoretical scheme (Strauss & Corbin, 2008) or story line (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) emerged from data analysis: *Latinas who experienced adolescent IPV underwent changes that led to an increased focus on self-protection, which influenced subsequent partner/relationship expectations (e.g., less traditional gender roles, which*

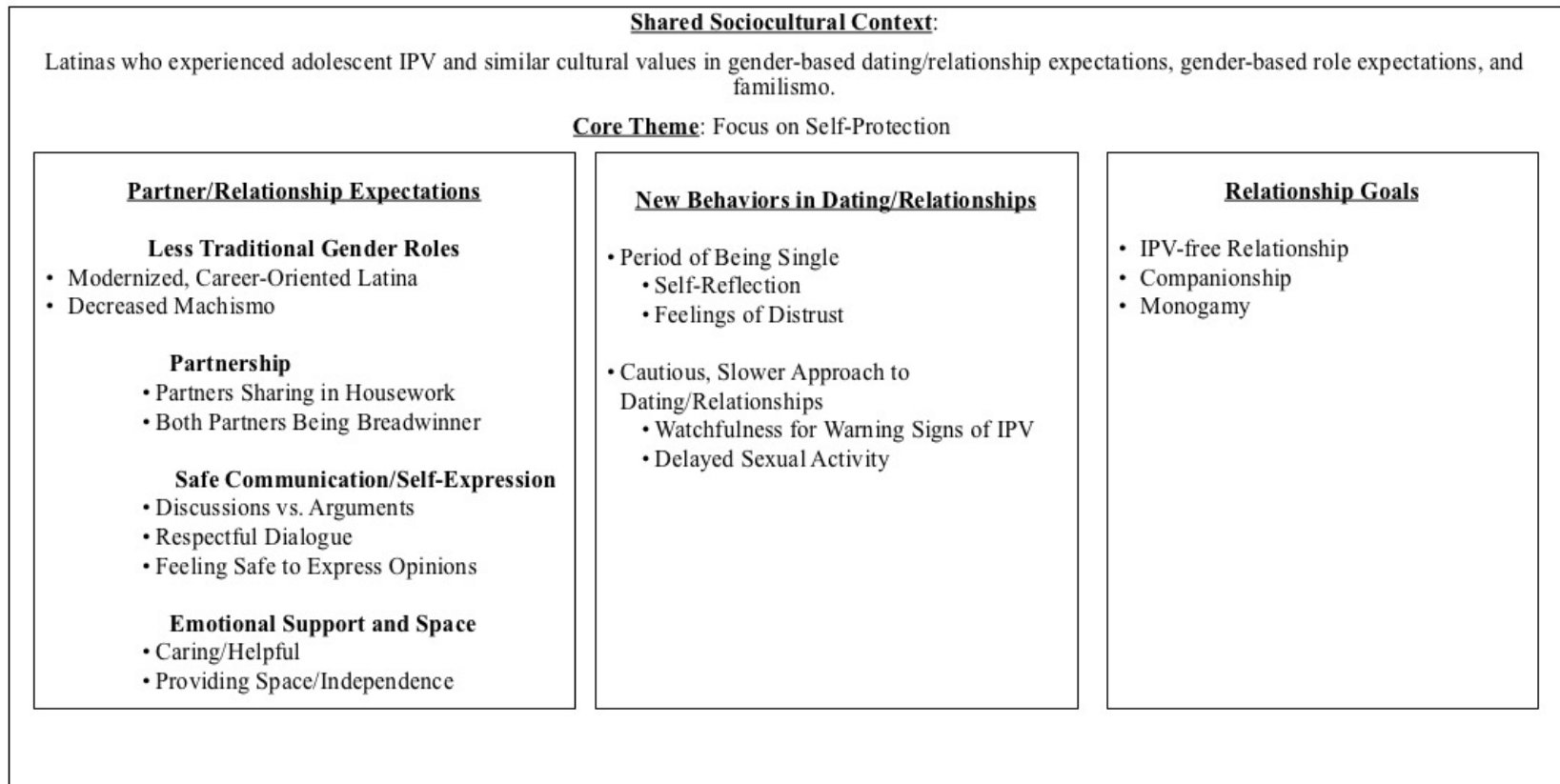
also influenced other expectations including partnership; safe communication/self-expression; emotional support/space), new behaviors in dating/relationships (e.g., period of being single; cautious, slower approach to dating/relationships), and relationship goals (e.g., a desire for an IPV-free relationship; companionship; monogamy). The central, core category that emerged from grounded theory coding procedures was “participants’ focus on self-protection.” Figure 1 illustrates a visual representation, or model, of the theoretical scheme and how the core category/core theme, categories/themes, and subcategories/subthemes are interconnected within these participants’ shared social context.

In the sections that follow, the overarching theoretical scheme and model that emerged from the study are presented in terms of findings related to the participants’ shared social context, the core category/core theme, the categories/themes, and the subcategories/subthemes. Based upon the wording consistently used in grounded theory studies (e.g., Timlin-Scalera et al., 2003) words and phrases were developed to denote the number of participants who endorsed themes and/or subthemes. The following words and phrases are used to note the number of participants who endorsed a particular theme or subtheme (at least 4 of the 11 participants had to comprise a category or subcategory in order for it to be considered a theme or subtheme): (a) *the participants, these women/Latinas, the majority, most, many, almost all, generally, and typically* are used when a participant response emerged in more than half (6 or more) of the interviews; (b) *several, some, a sizable number, half* (when N=5), *nearly half* (when N=4), and *sometimes* are used when a participant response emerged in 5-4 of the interviews; and (c) *a few* and *occasionally* are used when a participant response emerged in 2-3 of the

interviews. More specific wording (e.g., *all*, *one*) additionally is used to denote participants' responses that emerged in the interviews. Also, consistent with grounded theory methodology (Fassinger, 2005), participant quotes are used to illustrate the present findings

Figure 1

Story Line: Latinas who experienced adolescent IPV underwent changes that led to an increased focus on self-protection, which influenced subsequent partner/relationship expectations (e.g., less traditional gender roles, which also influenced other expectations including partnership; safe communication/self-expression; emotional support/space), new behaviors in dating/relationships (e.g., period of being single; cautious, slower approach to dating/relationships), and relationship goals (e.g., a desire for an IPV-free relationship; companionship; monogamy).



Participants' Shared Social Context

The present findings cannot be considered in isolation from the social context in which they were derived. The participants in this study shared a similar social context, in that they all were Latina adults who experienced adolescent IPV. All of the participants endorsed experiencing IPV between the ages of 14 to 19 years, however, each of the participants differed in the types of abuse (e.g., physical, sexual, and/or emotional) they encountered and the frequency of abuse (see Table 1 in Chapter III). Subsequent to adolescent IPV, all of the participants had either engaged in new dating and/or relationship experiences prior to or at the time of participation in the current study. More specifically, four participants reported being in a non-marital relationship, three participants reported being single and dating, two participants reported cohabitating with their partner, one participant reported being married, and one participant reported exclusively dating one partner. None of the participants disclosed current IPV at the time of this study; however, five of the 11 participants reported experiencing subsequent, new IPV, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Beyond having similarities in their experience of adolescent IPV, all of the participants shared cultural values, including gender-based double standards in dating/relationship expectations (e.g., women expected to date one person, marry, and have children; men permitted to casually date and accepted practice of infidelity), gender-based standards (e.g., *marianismo/una buena mujer* and *machismo/caballerismo*), and *familismo*. Furthermore, a majority of the participants provided similar characterizations of the aforementioned traditional Latina/o values. The participants' shared perspectives on *familismo* and the role of gender-based double standards are presented below.

Familism/*Familismo*. All of the participants noted family as important. When discussing the importance of family, the participants described family as being highly influential to them and they described maintaining close familial ties with extended family members. Furthermore, they identified the emphasis that they place upon family as differing from other non-Latinas/os. For instance, in discussing the impact of culture in her life, Lizette stated:

Probably the biggest being family and how close we are. I have a pretty big family. And when I say family, it's not just immediate, I mean extended family. And that's something in terms of other people I know their families aren't as close as mine are, in terms of extended family. So, I think that's really important.

In addition to being close to extended family, the participants also highlighted the importance of family including maintaining regular contact with family members. For example, Christina offered, "I put a lot of emphasis in the family...I talk on the phone with my mother everyday and everybody else finds that weird, but none of the Latinos find that weird." Added to this, many of the participants also included loyalty to family in their narratives of *una buena mujer*. Adrienne stated, "Being loyal to family and friends is very important to me as a criteria for being a good woman."

Furthermore, most of the participants discussed family, particularly their parent's acceptance as a guiding factor for the partners that they introduced to family. Lauren explains:

One big thing is just having the acceptance of my parents, it's really influential. I've been really hesitant to introduce certain people I've dated seriously to my parents because I don't think they would've approved. And I think that would've influenced my decision with the relationship.

Lauren's explanation of the importance of family, specifically having her parents' acceptance and withholding information about dating partners, might explain another

finding related to disclosure about IPV. Despite all of the participants indicating family as important, none of the participants disclosed regarding adolescent IPV to their families, neither during nor after the occurrence of IPV. This finding, although not directly related to the research question(s) was an interesting part of the participants' social context.

Lauren and two other participants offered a rationale for not disclosing adolescent IPV to their families. Lauren provided:

I just didn't want to share the information with my family. I definitely feel ashamed about it and...I didn't want to make myself look even weaker I guess by telling him that he's [former partner] also subjected me to physical violence. And since we were breaking up anyway, I just didn't feel it was necessary.

Alicia also explained, "I never talked to my dad about it because he was upset that I was dating, so, I never felt I could go to him and tell him." Building upon this theme of fear of approaching their parents about adolescent IPV, Yvania stated:

I think we choose to stay quiet because we tend to blame ourselves for their behavior and we just have this guilt and I don't know... it's also embarrassing the fact that I allowed someone to go that far and the fact that I wasn't able to control the situation. And again I tend to just bring it back to me. Why did I let this happen? Sometimes I find myself blaming myself.

Thus, the importance of family was a part of participants' shared social context, which included the importance of family, closeness to the nuclear and extended family, loyalty to family, and a strong desire for parental acceptance. While *familismo* was identified as important to the participants they did not disclose regarding the adolescent IPV to their families.

Gender-based double standards in dating/relationships. Another shared aspect of the participants' context was the role of gender-based double standards. Most of the participants discussed standards for women to marry, to not date several different partners, and to not be sexually promiscuous. Highlighted within their descriptions of

cultural dating/relationship expectations, the participants noted different standards for Latina/o men and women as well.

The participants described a cultural standard for women not to date multiple men. For instance, Adrienne stated, “If a young lady in the family is having multiple boyfriends or not with one person then that is frowned down upon.” Sandra also identified this standard was held by her Mexican relatives and stated, “They also feel like you don’t date a lot.” Conversely, regarding expectations for Latino men, Adrienne offered, “of course the guys could do whatever the hell they want.” Similarly, Sandra recognized the disparities in dating expectations between Latina/o men and women, and stated, “They’re [Latino men] allowed to do whatever they want.” Thus, the majority of the participants recognized there was a cultural expectation for them, as women, not to date multiple partners, yet there were gender-based differences in dating expectations, such that men were permitted greater dating liberties to date several women.

Within these participants’ descriptions of dating standards was also a theme of stigmatization, such as being labeled as sexually promiscuous if a Latina dated several partners. Melissa offered, “If you are a woman and dating a lot of men it’s ‘oh she’s a whore, she’s a slut, why is she seeing so many people at the exact same time?’” Vanessa, elaborated on this and stated, “I think it would translate into the idea of being a nice girl or a good girl. Don’t be promiscuous, don’t put yourself out there maybe sexually.” A majority of the participants offered that dating multiple partners would impose a negative label upon them as sexually promiscuous women.

Furthermore, contained within the participants’ descriptions of women not dating multiple partners was the ideal for women to get married and to remain sexually abstinent

until marriage. Most of the participants described a cultural expectation for women to date with the purpose of marrying. Vanessa stated, "Dating has a very straightforward purpose in the culture. You date to find your partner; the partner you're going to marry." In agreement with this, Sandra offered, "The person you finally decide to date is the person you marry." Additionally, the participants identified that traditional Latina/o values assert sex is for marriage. Sandra provided this example, "One of my cousins, she got married four years ago and he was her first boyfriend. That's who she married. And she waited until marriage."

Integrated within the cultural expectation to marry, these women also identified that marriage is considered the pathway to having children or beginning a family. Lauren offered, "Definitely in my family I would say dating comes before marriage, and marriage is the course of having children. Adrienne also stated, "Being married to one person, having children is the goal that everybody talks about."

Additionally, many of the participants noted that as women they encountered cultural pressures to get married. Yvania explained:

I think that we are all pressured to get married. But I think that because that women, as women, we feel the pressure even more. It depends if we wait longer to get married. Whereas, the men, will say 'when is it going to happen?' or 'you're not going to be able to have kids forever.'"

Christina also identified cultural pressures on women to marry and stated:

And you should get married as soon as possible so that you don't worry about, like getting married will solve all your problems...But it's not ok if the women doesn't have a husband and it's ok if the guy is single."

The women noted the cultural pressures they faced to be sexually modest and get married, which were different from the expectations for Latino men. All of the participants identified family as sharing these dating/relationship expectations.

Gender-based role expectations. When queried about gender role expectations, all of the participants identified two distinct roles, one for Latinas, and another for Latino men. The participants' description of gender-based expectations for Latinas was synonymous with *marianismo* or *una buena mujer*. Lizette explained, "I know the general idea of it is someone who can cook and clean and take care of the house and [is] very respectful. Things like that. Someone who would be a good mother." Coinciding with this, Adrienne described, "She's going to be cleaning the house, at least on a weekly basis. She will have housework to do. If she has kids, she's going to be the primary caretaker of those kids." Sandra also described the expectations for women as:

Someone technically that doesn't work and stays at home, raises children, cleans the house, does all what is it called, 'Betty Homemaker' type of ideal. That, according to my family, is what makes a good Latina woman, especially the cooking piece.

Also, while discussing gender-based expectations for women, a few noted that women were expected to attend to the needs of their male partners. Christina stated, "I think the older people in my family have a traditional view of the women is supposed to be taking care of the man." Expanding upon this, Melissa suggested, "[Being] willing to put your partner's and your children's needs ahead of your own is the number one thing as well. So, it's always what can you do to make them [partner and children] ok."

All of the participants also provided consistent descriptions of gender-based expectations for Latino men. Most frequently noted within the participants' portrayal of the traditional Latino male role was being the sole financial provider. Lauren stated that a man needed to be "a strong provider," and Rosa said, "Oh yeah, he's got to bring home the bacon." Expanding upon this, Adrienne explained expectations that a Latino male had to be as "definitely someone who has steady work and is bringing home money for his

family. I feel like that was the main criteria.” In addition to being the primary financial provider, most of the participants explained that Latino men are expected to be strong, stoic, and not engage in tasks traditionally regarded as exclusively in the domain of women’s responsibilities. Melissa explained:

This idea that you have to be an incredibly strong man, provide for your family, basically walk around deaf all the time, being stubborn, not going to doctors and not believing what other people believe. Seeing certain things as women’s work and refusing to engage in that and seeing other tasks as men’s work and being ok with that.

Two participants specifically used the word *machismo* when describing traditional Latina/o male gender roles. After using the term *machismo* and upon being queried, Annelleyse offered this as a definition: “When some men thinking the ladies, like myself, ‘cannot make decisions because she is my dependent, she can’t make decisions or pay for something and she needs my opinion first’.” Similar to Annelleyse’s description of Latino male roles, many of the participants described men as traditionally wielding decision-making power and control in relationships. Additionally, the participants described being affected by men holding power in relationships, as women traditionally needed to seek their male partner’s approval or permission prior to making decisions.

Two participants described traits coinciding with the traditional male gender role of *caballerismo*. Alicia offered this gender role expectation description for Latino men: “When they are dating they always have to pay. There are all these different things that coincide with being a gentleman.” Additionally, Sandra explained this expectation of Latino men: “[Someone] that is respectful from what I’ve been taught someone who opens the door for you at all times, lets you walk first, treats you like a queen, and spoils you. And does everything for you in different ways.” Taken together, the participants

mostly noted that Latino males were expected to be the primary financial provider, strong, and at times controlling. A few participants noted the characteristics of *caballerismo*, or being gallant and capable.

Core Category: Focus on Self-Protection

Data analysis yielded the identification of a core category shared by the participants in regards to subsequent dating/relationships after adolescent IPV: focus on self-protection. The Latinas who participated in the present study reported that they were impacted by adolescent IPV in ways that caused them emotional, physical, and/or sexual harm, which influenced their focus on self-protection as they moved forward in subsequent dating/relationships. All of the participants experienced one or more forms of adolescent IPV (i.e., emotional, physical, and/or sexual abuse) and they identified such abuse as having a sizable, negative impact upon them. With the impact of adolescent IPV, all of the participants described undergoing changes subsequent to adolescent IPV to ensure their emotional, physical, and sexual safety. More specifically, all of these Latinas described a shift in their partner/relationship expectations, new dating/relationship behaviors, and new dating/relationship goals subsequent to adolescent IPV to protect themselves from future relationship abuse. As such, “focus on self-protection” emerged as the core category of this study. Categories/themes and subcategories/subthemes that are encompassed within this core (e.g., partner/relationship expectations; new dating/relationship behaviors; and relationship goals) category are discussed in detail below.

Partner/Relationship Expectations

Each of the eleven participants described a change in partner and relationship expectations since experiencing adolescent IPV. Emphasized in all of the participants' narratives was an increased focus on self-protection in their partner/relationship expectations. The following subsections discuss the findings related to the participants' increased focus on self-protection as a salient theme within their partner expectations for relationships subsequent to adolescent IPV.

Less traditional gender roles. As previously discussed, all of the participants learned traditional Latina/o gender roles from their families. Although the participants acknowledged expectations for males and females to enact specific roles within romantic relationships, many of these women described holding less traditional gender beliefs after their IPV experience. Within the participants' narratives regarding shifted gender role expectations for partners, they initially discussed their own less traditional gender role beliefs and behaviors. Lauren described becoming more career-oriented, sharing "...and I know a couple decades ago maybe being a professional in the workplace wouldn't have been as a high of a priority, but now I definitely believe it evolved and we need it, any person needs it." Vanessa also stated, "But I think the focus has shifted more to career-oriented versus strictly housewife-oriented."

As the participants held less traditional ideas of Latina gender roles, they also communicated their expectations to potential partners. Alicia explained, "Even though my culture has raised me to be that way, now I have let that go and am a person of my own. I let the people that I am dating know what I want, my expectations." One of the partner/relationship expectations that the participants made known was a desire for

decreased *machismo*, or traditional male gender role behaviors and attitudes. Many of the participants identified strict adherence to *machismo* as causing relationship difficulties. Sandra explained, “It’s the *machismo* aspect of it that they’re not supposed to show their emotions, which then makes it hard.”

Additionally, many of the participants explained that their expectation for partners to hold less traditional gender role beliefs was based upon their adolescent IPV experience and the fact that their former partner adhered more closely to traditional gender roles. Annelleyse shared, “I don’t find the same stereotype and *machismo* and where he [current boyfriend] is making the rules. I find him very different from him [former abusive partner].” Thus, many of the participants expected and often entered into relationships with partners who held decreased *machismo* beliefs and behaviors to protect against relationship hardships and ultimately relationship abuse.

The participants described expecting their partners to believe and engage in less traditional gender roles in order to have strong, positive relationship dynamics. A majority of the participants described a desire for a male partner with greater fluidity in their gender role beliefs and practices. Melissa stated:

So, I think for now the optimal Latino man would be someone who is more open and understanding...who recognizes that gender is a spectrum and is ok with wearing a pink shirt or pink socks or into liking bats if they really like bats or animals. It’s not just a single thing and being ok with talking about their feelings and crying. Getting excited about things, it doesn’t have to be sports, what if you’re really excited about competitive kite flying or competitive cooking.

In sum, many of the participants expressed an expectation for partners to have less traditional gender role beliefs and behaviors. Participants explained this partner expectation would prevent repositioning them to be vulnerable to the abuse they endured previously with adolescent IPV.

Participants also highlighted specific other partner/relationship expectations that were subsumed by the core category self-protection but which followed from the less traditional gender roles: partnership, safe communication/self-expression, and emotional space and support. The next three sections will go into further detail about the participants' partner expectations subsequent to experiencing adolescent IPV.

Partnership. Participants described the changes that they experienced from adolescent IPV with respect to their desired qualities in a partner. Seven of the participants described partnership or teamwork as being an important partner trait. These participants described an expectation of partnership within a relationship in two distinct ways: shared contribution to housework and shared financial earning and contribution.

With respect to household responsibilities, Lizette stated, "I would definitely want someone who would do their share with the domestic work and child-rearing." In contrast to a distinct divide between women and men's work, the participants expected their partners to engage in domestic tasks. Annelleyse explained, "I think the man needs to work together in the house too, not just the lady." Expanding upon this idea of shared contribution to housework, Adrienne provided this example: "Someone who would, whether if we are staying at your place or staying at my place or we're moving in together you're going to share in the housework. I'm not going to be doing all of this by myself."

An additional aspect of the participants' narratives in expecting partners to contribute to housework was that it would afford these women the ability to engage in work outside of the home and have earning power within the relationship. Lizette stated, "I wouldn't expect my partner to be the sole breadwinner..." Participants explained that

they wanted to work so that they would not be overly dependent on male partners and resigned to a disempowered position in a romantic relationship. Lizette continued, "...because depending fully on a man is not going to get you anywhere."

A majority of the participants had observed female relatives that were financially dependent upon male partners and had a lack of independence. As Annelleyse described, "My aunts need to wait for the money... needs to wait for the man to go outside." Similarly, Sandra provided this example, "They [aunts] have to ask permission for things, and I, for me it's hard enough to let someone take care of me, let alone have to ask and let go of that control. I don't know if I could ever do that." As such, participants desired to retain financial independence in relationships and have the option to disengage from a partner/relationship if it ever became abusive. Melissa explained, "I have the luxury of having a college education and let's say things don't work out with my current partner... I have the ability to leave and to make a living by myself." Thus, participants' described partnership in the relationship as a safeguard to protect them against feeling trapped due to financial dependence in a relationship.

Safe communication/self-expression. Eight participants discussed an expectation for partners to be able to engage in safe communication and support the participants' self-expression. Christina summed it up as this: "I want a relationship where there is communication." Adrienne provided an example of her current marital relationship and stated, "We get to talk. Even if there's things that we don't agree with we discuss them instead of having arguments...it's discussions." Holding an expectation of safe communication was influenced by adolescent IPV, as many of the participants explained that their adolescent IPV experiences typically involved arguments with escalating

emotions. Yvania shared her partner expectation as such: “I look for someone who can communicate and you know, can talk without letting their emotions get the best of them.” Expecting partners to be able to engage in safe communication was used to avoid engaging with verbally aggressive partners who could be prone to verbal arguments and/or perpetrating verbal abuse.

Participants also wanted partners who would allow and value self-expression. Christina stated, “I would want something in which I feel safe; in terms of being able to say what I want to say.” This expectation was explained by participants as being informed by their adolescent IPV experience, such that those former partners usually did not allow or respect self-expression. Lauren explained how she sought a less controlling partner in contrast to her former abusive partner: “There was signs that I definitely missed I should have watched out for and somebody who’s more easygoing and understand and who listens to me more, values my opinion, allow me to have a voice...”

Additionally, the four of the participants described that if a future partner did not allow or respect self-expression that could be a potential sign of control and lead to future abuse. Vanessa offered, “I think that would be the first sign of trying to be abusive with me is not to let me express myself. And so that isolated experience taught me that if someone is doing that to you, that might be a bad sign.” The participants’ standards for partners to engage in safe communication and be receptive to self-expression both served as a protective measure to avoid arguments and/or verbal abuse. Additionally, the participants used partner’s receptiveness to self-expression as tools to gauge potentially controlling partners. Based upon their experiences of adolescent IPV, the participants

sought partners who portrayed qualities opposite of their abusers. In using this strategy, the participants were attempting to protect themselves from future IPV.

Emotional support and space. Nine of the participants also identified emotional support as an expectation for partners/relationships subsequent to adolescent IPV. These women described an expectation for partners to display emotional attunement as well as actively attend to the participants' emotional needs. Similar to safe communication and self-expression, this standard for partners was emphasized by the participants as a means to safeguard their emotional health and well-being.

The primary quality desired by participants with respect to support was emotional caretaking. Christina described her expectations as such: "It's the taking care of the full woman. Making sure she's happy, she's healthy...the emotional support more than anything else." Also, Yvania explained her expectation as this, "If they're there for me when I really need them, support. Emotional support and not just physical."

Within the participants' partner expectations of emotional support, they also discussed expecting partners to be supportive as they coped with emotional issues related to adolescent IPV. Melissa explained her current partner supported her with coping with the emotional repercussions from her adolescent IPV. She noted: "His ways of helping me with that are a little limited, but he's always like 'let me know what I can do or this is what I learned about this issue that you're going through.'" Additionally, Vanessa shared this about her current partner: "Instead of being frustrated with me he channeled in another way where he would do sweet things that he knew I liked and always made sure I felt comfortable and never felt pressured into anything." Keeping in line with the theme of partner patience as emotional support, Adrienne explained, "He [current partner] is

patient. I can get fired up easily and he's kind of more relaxed." In sum, the participants sought to protect themselves in future relationships by seeking out and engaging with partners concerned with their emotional well-being.

These women also explained that such partners would provide space and room for them to be independent. Annelleyse simply stated one way her current partner supports her: "He gives me my space." Additionally, Alicia explained, "I look for someone who respects me and respects my space." Added within the expectation of space, the participants wanted to safeguard against partners becoming possessive. Alicia continued, "...knowing that he has a separate life that is separate from me and I know that he isn't going to always going to want to be together and that he's not possessive." Therefore, as a safeguard these women were seeking partners that contrasted from their former abusive partners and were not controlling or possessive. Adrienne further described that space provided by her current partner helps her to feel safe, as she shared:

He respects that if I just need to be alone right now, don't touch me, don't talk to me. He won't take it personally or feel like there must be somebody else or why is she acting funny. Maybe I'm in a bad mood right now... You should have the freedom if you're in a relationship to still do the thing you enjoy doing when you weren't in the relationship.

Thus, partners' providing the participants with space for independence was important, as it allowed the participants to retain their own identities and interests. By participants expecting partners to be respectful of their emotional needs including the need for space and to engage in activities they enjoy, these women protected their emotional health and autonomy.

New Behaviors in Dating/Relationships

Subsequent to adolescent IPV, all of the participants reported engaging in new behaviors in dating/relationships. First, all participants reported intentionally being single for varying lengths of time subsequent to adolescent abuse. Secondly, most of the participants discussed engaging in self-reflection while single and being hesitant to reengage in dating/relationships due to feelings of distrust. Thirdly, all of the participants' narratives included taking a more cautious and slower approach to dating/relationships subsequent to adolescent IPV. The following subsections will discuss the participants' changed approach to dating/relationships after adolescent IPV including a period of being single (e.g., distrust and self-reflection) and a cautious, slower approach to dating/relationships (e.g. watchfulness for signs of IPV and delayed sexual activity).

Period of being single. When asked about how long it was until they dated or entered another relationship subsequent to adolescent IPV, all of the participants reported a period of being single. The participants described making a conscious, deliberate decision to be single following adolescent IPV. The participants' period of being single ranged from two months to six years, with one participant reporting an unspecified period of being single. Most frequently, the participants noted that while they were single they engaged in self-reflection. Also, the participants explained their rationale for intentionally being single was based upon significant distrust for potential male partners with a pervasive fear of the reoccurrence of IPV, which they described as resulting from adolescent IPV. The following two subsections will discuss how these Latinas felt unready to date due to significant feelings of distrust for potential male partners, and how they used their period of being single to engage in self-reflection.

Feelings of distrust. Five of the participants expressed feelings of distrust impacting their new dating/relationship behaviors. The participants expressed distrust of people in general and a fear of being hurt again as a result of their adolescent IPV. For instance, when discussing how adolescent IPV changed her approach to dating/relationships Rosa simply stated, “I don’t trust anybody.” Also, Lizette offered, “I had a lot of difficulty in trusting anyone else just because my ex-boyfriend was someone that I shared so much of myself with and opened up completely and then it didn’t work very well.” Also Vanessa stated, “I saw a lot of changes in myself. Before I used to be a lot more trusting of people and tried to see the good in them and everyone has a good as opposed to everyone is horrible.”

As a result of this distrust, most of the participants did not feel ready to reengage in dating. Yvania explained, “I was not ready [to date]. I would have trouble trusting for sure... Yeah, it was mainly trust issues.” Also Alicia shared, “I think it took me a while, like I went out with that one guy and then I realized that I was not ready.” Vanessa further explained:

I was scared of being fooled again the way I was with him. He was nice and he was great and treated me well until he didn’t. So, I didn’t want to put myself in a situation where I was fooled again into thinking that if someone was nice that they would always be nice.

The participants’ narratives described how the impact of adolescent IPV led to changes in their ability to trust. Feeling unready to date due to feelings of distrust for male partners and fear of being hurt again while dating or in a relationship was provided by the participants as a rationale for their period of intentionally being single. In sum, to protect themselves, these women intentionally chose to engage in a period of being single as they did not trust potential male partners to not hurt them.

Self-reflection. Five of the women who participated in this study described taking time, while single and after adolescent IPV, to engage in self-reflection. During this period of self-reflection, participants analyzed personal factors that could have contributed to the adolescent IPV. Alicia described some of her conclusions: “But I think now in retrospect I can see that it’s because you’re not fully developed mentally and you don’t even know yourself.” Also, Adrienne shared:

There was a time that I really didn’t like, I hated being single. I didn’t know how to be single. I didn’t want to be by myself. So, one relationship would end and shortly after there I would jump into a new relationship without even taking time to process everything that happened and why things went that way.

Christina further explained, “I think that overall that when I look back and I see why I let that happen it had a lot to do with self-esteem issues that I worked out throughout my life.” Self-reflection while being single was a key component to the participants’ thoughtful and careful analysis of personality traits and past relationship difficulties. Specifically, the participants used self-reflection to gain an improved understanding of factors in themselves and others that contributed to IPV and how to change such factors to avoid future IPV.

These participants also indicated that engaging in self-reflection helped them cope with emotional distress following adolescent IPV. Yvania shared how she coped with feelings of shame and embarrassment and stated, “So, I have done a lot of reflection and I’ve come a far way.” Also Sandra stated, “I can’t say I’ve fully dealt with my demons but I’ve worked on them and I’ve recognized them.” Another component within self-reflection that the participants described was learning to care for themselves and refine their life and relationship goals. Sandra continued:

I didn't really grow up and take care of myself until now... These past two and a half years I've been alone. And I really took time to rediscover myself, go to counseling, take care of myself, figure out what I wanted in life.

Adrienne also explained further what being single afforded her, "So, having that time really gave me perspective to know what I want and what I deserve as a woman and not settle for anything less than that." As self-reflection was utilized by the participants to gain a better understanding of adolescent IPV and refine their life goals, it also served to allow the women to develop more concrete partner/relationship goals. Thus, these women described self-reflection as a multi-purpose tool during their period of intentionally electing to be single.

Cautious, slower approach to dating/relationships. A majority of the participants reported taking a cautious, slower approach to dating/relationships following adolescent IPV. The participants described that with a focus on self-protection, they made conscious efforts to approach subsequent dating/relationship with increased caution. For instance, Lizette stated, "I kind of told myself that I would never let that happen again and I was going to take it very slowly with whoever I started dating."

These women recognized that previously in their adolescent IPV relationships they had often moved quickly and with minimal or no vigilance to protect themselves.

Vanessa explained:

Before I was a lot quicker to get into things I agreed to. Before I would have always agreed to go out with somebody or I would always have the 'Oh I'll give you a chance mentality.' And after the fact I was like no, I should maybe hold back a little bit, not let you get as close to me in every emotionally, physically category. Just because of that fear of going through a similar experience.

Additionally, Melissa shared:

When I was younger the moment that we kissed, it's official, now we're together. And now I've gotten older, I've had trial periods where we talk to each other, see

each other for maybe two to three weeks and see how that works out and then if it does we continue talking and if not we stop talking.

Thus, the participants were attempting to change their dating/relationship behaviors, to create a change in dating/relationship outcomes, and to ultimately result in protection of self. Correspondingly, most of the participants described taking additional precautions with dating/relationships then they did during the adolescent IPV. Additional participant examples of how these Latinas exercised cautiousness and a slower pace with regards to dating/relationships will be provided in subsections, “Watchfulness for warning signs of IPV” and “Delayed sexual activity”.

Watchfulness for warning signs of IPV. The participants described being more vigilant in watching for warning signs of IPV in dating/relationships subsequent to adolescent IPV. Melissa explained her increased caution while dating and stated, “I make sure that especially for first dates...being in a public space, letting people know where I am. I still feel scared about being physically hurt.” To avoid being hurt Melissa also explained using specific tactics, “I would also, again, test the waters and see how they would respond to certain things. I would, on purpose, get them angry to see if they would respond to me physically...and so I would test to see if they would lay a hand on me.”

Many of the participants, similar to Melissa, also employed specific strategies to protect themselves against future IPV. For instance, Vanessa shared, “I just didn’t want to put myself in a situation where I was fooled again into thinking that if someone was nice that they would always be nice.” As self-protection was a pervasive element of the participants’ new dating/relationship behaviors, their watchfulness for signs of IPV was utilized as a strategy to prevent reentry into a new abusive relationship. In order to avoid

succumbing to the false image of a nonviolent partner, participants attempted to check for potential partners' likelihood of acting abusively.

Additionally, to prevent encountering IPV the participants were more attuned to warning signs of abuse and considered verbal abuse as an indicator of a potentially abusive partner. Sandra explained, "It would... I think it would start from the very beginning with verbal abuse. That was pieces that I've never noticed until I went to counseling and knew what they were or know what they are." Also Rosa attended to signs of verbal abuse and physical aggression by potential partners and stated, "Calling me names, even just kidding. Or one guy was just beating the dog. The dog ran off down the street from him. That was a sign for me that this guy was abusive." In addition to verbal abuse, the participants were watchful for any signs of aggression by potential partners. Christina explained, "Well if I notice anything that is aggressive I quit the relationship." Christina also shared specific behaviors she watched for when beginning to date a new partner, "The language, the body language. I would pay really close attention to the guy when he is around his friends and I am there. You know, when they have to show that they are men. In that situation I would pay a lot of attention."

One participant noted jealousy by a potential partner as a warning sign. Lizette offered, "If he is like jealous for no reason and starts lashing out, I think that's a big warning sign." Another participant, Vanessa, discussed controlling behaviors as an indicator of an abusive partner:

When someone tries to take over your life in all kinds of aspects I think that's a sign when someone feels that they have the power to take over everything you think, everything you say, everything you do. When you're not allowed to be an individual or that's looked down upon I think that's when I would be able to tell. 'Cause that was part of the problem with that one relationship, that he was trying

to hold me back on some goals that I had and he didn't think I was doing the right thing. So, his way of letting me know he didn't agree was to take it out physically.

As a whole, the participants described that they were more attuned to warning signs of abusive partners in their dating/relationships subsequent to adolescent IPV. Driven by a focus on self-protection, these Latinas watched for signs by potential partners of verbal abuse, jealousy, being controlling, and acting aggressively. Moreover, the participants' ultimate goal of being watchful for signs of IPV was to protect themselves from reentering a new IPV relationship.

Delayed sexual activity. One aspect of the participants' new dating/relationships behaviors was delaying sexual activity with their partners. Five of the participants described delaying sexual activity as a protective measure to maintain an emotional distance while continuing to learn about their partners and gradually building an emotional connection. Melissa explained that she delayed sexual activity with partners to avoid any additional emotional distress since adolescent IPV and stated, "I'm pretty hesitant about getting into it [sex] with someone because I don't want it, for me to get triggered with that as well." Another participant impacted by sexual IPV, Vanessa, stated, "I didn't; even though some of the people that I dated wanted to be more physical. It made me feel ashamed, embarrassed. Even if they didn't know what happened to me I had this little, my own personal cloud over me all the time of shame." Thus, experiencing a history of experiencing sexual IPV in particular, as well as general IPV, factored into participants' decisions to delay sexual activity.

Two participants differed from the majority of the women, as they discussed engaging in sex without being in a committed relationship as a tool to avoid emotional intimacy. Rosa described, "I really don't [date]. I'm more of a one-night stand girl. I put

up my guard...If I was interested, then I probably wouldn't have sex with him...if I was looking for something long-term." A similar tactic was utilized by Sandra, who stated, "I was looking for something and sex was the only way that I felt comforted but I only wanted it for a short-term I didn't want a connection beyond that." However, Sandra, who was not a part of the five participants who delayed sex after adolescent IPV had changed her approach and at the time of this study. Sandra shared that she was delaying sexual activity with her current partner, "At this point we are not engaging in sexual intercourse at all. We're trying to wait until November."

Relationship Goals

It should be noted that relationship goals were described as different from partner/relationship expectations by the participants. The participants' narratives provided a distinction in that relationship goals were desired outcomes, whereas partner/relationship expectations were specific actions and roles to be carried out by partners and themselves during relationships.

The participants emphasized three relationship goals, including: an IPV-free relationship, companionship, and monogamy. All of the participants emphasized a desire for an IPV-free relationship. Also, a majority discussed companionship as a relationship goal, but how they envisioned this differed as some of the women aspired to marry and others did not. Lastly, monogamy was emphasized as a relationship goal by a sizeable number of the participants.

IPV-free relationship. All of the Latinas that participated in this study endorsed having an IPV-free relationship as being highly important. When asked how important it was to avoid future IPV, most of the participants provided brief responses affirming that

it was highly important to them; however, a few elaborated on the importance of avoiding future IPV. Christina simply stated, “It’s extremely important,” and Adrienne shared, “Oh yes, very very very important... That was extremely important to me to be in a relationship where I would not have to endure any emotional or physical abuse.”

Additionally, Sandra explained, “It’s really important to avoid it because I don’t want it. A lot of times they say it’s cyclical, so like if it happens to you or if it happened to your parents, it happens to you again and then you just fall in that cycle and I don’t want my future children to be in that cycle. So, that also motivates me to not fall back into it.”

Companionship. When asked about their ultimate relationship goals, all of the participants described a desire for some form of companionship. More specifically, some of the participants discussed marriage as their ultimate relationship goal, whereas others were more focused on spending time with their partner, and still others were focused on building a family with a partner. Yet, a consistent theme in the participants’ narratives was a desire to protect their interpersonal and emotional health. In particular, the participants’ described protecting their interpersonal health through seeking companionship in a satisfying relationship in which they could share their lives and experiences with romantic partners. For instance, Annelleyse stated in regards to her current partner, “I am going to marry him,” and similarly Melissa shared, “Ultimately, I’d like to get to marriage, that’s my ultimate goal.” Also, one participant desired to marry but was more focused on love rather the traditional expectation for a woman to marry. Yvania explained, “I definitely want to get married. But I think we should have, nowadays we should have a balance of both traditional and modern viewpoints. And focus it more around love and not just marriage.”

Still, other participants expressed desires for companionship and not to immediately marry. Lizette explained, “Someone who I can share part of my life with. I mean I’m not saying that I’m going to marry them right now. Just someone that I can enjoy the time I spend with them.” Similarly, Vanessa discussed companionship as a relationship goal and shared, “Someone to spend time with and enjoy our successes together and motivate each other.”

However, some participants were more focused on building a family and not necessarily aspiring to marry. Christina explained, “I’m hoping one day to have a family. Not sure if being married is the end-goal. I would love to have a family regardless if I am married or not. But I don’t want to be married, just to be married.” Additionally, Rosa discussed companionship without mentioning marriage: “Oh yeah prince charming... I would have him working really hard. Maybe wanting to have a baby, coming home after work.”

The 11 Latinas who participated in this study noted companionship as a relationship goal. Some of the participants aspired to marry, yet others were less focused on marriage than sharing their lives with a partner. Still, others desired a partner with whom they could build a family. Overall, companionship was a relationship goal for all of the participants. Despite individual differences in how they envisioned companionship, the participants’ described this as a relationship goal to protect their interpersonal relationship and emotional health.

Monogamy. Five of the participants emphasized monogamy as an important part of their relationship goals. Most of these participants had personally experienced infidelity by male partners. As Rosa stated: “All of my ex-boyfriends have cheated on

me, they're all Mexican." Also Lauren explained, "I was cheated on too in that relationship like I said, so I really want something that's monogamous." Thus, for some of the participants, infidelity coincided with their experience of adolescent IPV.

At least in part, these participants' past negative experiences with cheating and abusive partners led them to set a relationship goal of monogamy. Lauren commented that since dealing with a cheating partner, she "really want[ed] something that's monogamous." However, other participants who had not noted infidelity by past partners still longed for a monogamous relationship. For instance, Yvania stated, "I've always been in long-term relationships. So, I like someone who's committed and who is in a monogamous relationship." Additionally, even as a married person, Adrienne stated, "Now, it's with my husband, the expectation it's still fidelity of course. That's very important to me too." Therefore, although some of the participants had experienced cheating coinciding with adolescent abuse, some of these women had not had that experience. Yet, most of the participants desired monogamy as a goal for both marital and non-marital relationships.

General Findings Related to Participants' Subsequent Dating/Relationship Experiences

Additional findings beyond the participants' focus on self-protection emerged from the data regarding their dating/relationship experiences subsequent to adolescent IPV. These findings have not been discussed in this chapter thus far. All of the participants reported engaging in dating at some point after experiencing adolescent IPV, and they described both positive and negative dating experiences. Included in the participants' narratives of negative dating experiences were poor quality of conversation, feeling uncomfortable and/or rushed, and being fetishized. Within these Latinas'

descriptions of positive dating experiences were feeling comfortable and having meaningful conversations. Additionally, most of these women described entering satisfying, IPV-free relationships subsequent to adolescent IPV, which will also be discussed in this section.

Negative dating/relationship experiences. When asked to describe a bad date, most of the participants pointed to specific partner qualities, such as being boastful and bragging, rushing things, and/or feeling uncomfortable. Participants also pointed out being fetishized/sexualized as a negative dating experience. Lastly, pertaining to negative dating/relationship experiences, a sizeable number of the participants described entering new, subsequent IPV relationships following adolescent IPV.

Conversation quality was noted by most of the participants as being a significant element in making a date either a positive or negative experience. For instance, Sandra shared this example of a bad date, “The conversation, there was just no substance...” Additionally, Rosa explained, “If he was sitting there talking about how much money he has and bragging, that’s a bad date.” Similarly, Lauren noted “Somebody who just talks about themselves the whole time...”

The participants also noted a bad date is one in which they feel uncomfortable with their dating partner and noted several reasons such as, the date feels forced, feeling their dating partner is rushing things, and feeling pressured sexually. For instance, Vanessa noted, “A bad date, probably one where you don’t feel comfortable in your surrounding, in your setting. When it feels forced like you have to be there not because you want to be there.” An additional example was provided by Sandra who explained, “He was going too fast, he already needed me to help him with something on the first

date, and it was just, and there was no substance, so yeah it was a bad date.” Within feeling rushed or pressured, the participants also described a bad date as including sexual pressures from their dating partner. Yvania explained, “Someone who insinuates sexual desires, or who’s touchy, or wants to pressure me to do those things.” Alicia shared this sentiment and described this bad date:

I went to the movies with a guy and he talked previously about how he had made an inappropriate comment about wanting to make out at the movies and I was like, ‘Well no that’s not going to happen.’ Like it was a family movie. And that to me, I’m not comfortable with that. Umm as I think about it, I jokingly said ‘Well think about the kids.’ But I was being serious you know? And I guess he didn’t really take that to heart because when we got there his hands were not to themselves. I was trying to give him hints and I was trying to communicate like ‘Hey, slow down, wait, stop’ but umm he was still very touchy feely and that to me was very, very bad and I did not appreciate that at all.

A final negative dating experience that participants noted was encountering males who often sexualized or fetishized them as a Latina. As Melissa explained, “Sometimes as a Latina you’re fetishized and your thought of as being exotic or spicy or something like that.” Additionally, Adrienne stated, “I know there is [an idea of] Latinas being hot, or spicy, or that kind of thing, or exotic.” One participant described encountering such sexualized stereotypes while dating outside of her ethnicity. Yvania explained, “If they [dating partners] are not Hispanic or Latinos they probably mention that a lot and how they associate [Latina/o] culture with sex.” Additionally, Alicia shared:

There was this guy who was like ‘Oh yeah, you’re this and you speak Spanish?’ And I was like ‘Yeah.’ And he was making a reference like ‘Oh.’ I asked him to explain why speaking Spanish was something that interested him and was like ‘I don’t know. It just does it for me.’

In response to that encounter Alicia explained:

I think it is unfortunate that sometimes we are seen as like foreign or exotic people. I’m just human you know. I was born here. I was raised here. It doesn’t

make me any different because I have, well it does make us different, but that doesn't mean you can sexualize us more.

Reoccurrence of IPV. Despite the participants' focus on self-protection and the importance they placed on avoiding the reoccurrence of IPV, a sizable number of these women reported partner abuse following adolescent IPV. More specifically, five of the 11 participants discussed having subsequent, new IPV experiences after their adolescent IPV experience. This section focuses on the participants' narratives of subsequent, new IPV.

For two of the five participants that described new IPV in subsequent relationships, they discussed substance abuse by partners. In particular, these participants described alcohol abuse to the point of their partners becoming intoxicated and abusive.

Rosa explains:

I had a couple of relationships between then that were pretty intense. The guy would get really drunk and think I would be looking at another guy. When I got home he beat the crap out of me kicking me in my head.

Similarly, Adrienne shared regarding a new IPV relationships and stated:

So, the last relationship that I had before starting to date my present husband, that relationship ended up pretty badly. So, I have an active restraining order against that individual...Over time I noticed he seemed to be drinking a little bit too much and when he would drink he would just get into this mindset and become very angry like out of nowhere or in the way he would talk to me would be very aggressive and it wasn't until he put his hands on me that, that woke me up.

There were other participants who described IPV in a subsequent, new relationship without any mention of substance use. For instance, Melissa stated, "But I did also have another experience with physical violence and that's the one that still impacts me today because I'm not over it yet." Christina also stated that since adolescent IPV her "longest" relationship, which lasted "four years" included IPV. In response to her re-experiencing IPV in a new relationship Christina explained, "I cried a lot. I didn't

fight the guy. I would become really upset and not say anything and that I would start crying.”

Additionally, one participant discussed subsequent, new IPV involving combined physical and sexual abuse. Sandra shared:

So, we finally broke up and then shortly after I met a football player. He was an arena football player and the first African American man that I dated. And he was very aggressive. He was very nice at first before he was very aggressive and wanted control over everything like it was much easier because I left for college. But he would come to visit and only wanted me to spend time with him and if I didn't do what he wanted he would forcibly have sex with me when we were together, when he was visiting.

Thus, as the participants re-engaged in dating, they described sometimes being fetishized/sexualized. These Latinas regarded being fetishized/sexualized as a negative dating experience. This experience while dating was especially unique to the participants' cultural context, as these women described such sexualized stereotypes being made based upon their identities as Latinas.

Positive dating experiences. The participants explained that the most significant determining factor of a good date was meaningful conversation. Lizette explained, “I think overall just having a good time, good conversation. I think if I'm left with a feeling afterwards of wanting more or wanting to see that person again.”

Additionally, as many of the participants highlighted that the quality of conversation was a determinant of a negative dating experience, it was also used to measure a date as good. Sandra shared, “To be honest, I haven't experienced one until recently...but for the first time in 28 years I've finally experienced a good like actual date.” Sandra went on to explain the good date as such, “Just talked really, which isn't what I've done in the past.” Sandra, like many of the other participants pointed to having

good conversation made a date good. For instance, Melissa shared, “Having those great growing conversations, that’s what I really appreciate.” Yvania also explained, “And not just talk about what’s on like entertainment news, you know something more meaningful.” Regarding dating and conversation Alicia also offered:

I suppose I like to get into discussions where they are controversial and to have a nice conversation...I think a good first date would be someone who’s politically correct and doesn’t step on anybody’s toes and kind of feels the water out before doing all that. I don’t want someone who’s overbearing or very obnoxious.

Overall, subsequent to adolescent IPV the participants reported experiencing positive or good dating experiences. Based upon the participants’ narratives, they considered a date as good based upon the quality of conversation. Similarly, the participants used the same factors in determining if a date was bad as discussed in the previous negative dating experiences section.

Engaging in satisfying, IPV-free relationships. Most of the women in this study described going on to enter satisfying, abuse-free relationships with male partners. More specifically, eight of the participants reported being in a relationship at the time of this study. The participants described several different elements that contributed to feeling satisfied in their current relationship. One element mentioned by the participants was being friends with their partners. For instance, Yvania offered, “Well I think because my partner and I were friends for a number of years before we actually dated or started dating. I think he kind of knew the person that I am and the types of traits I would look for in a partner.” Similarly, Sandra shared, “So, at first in February we decided we were going to give it six months and we were going to see where this goes. We wanted to work on our friendship first.”

Aligned with their focus on self-protection following adolescent IPV, the participants also described trust, support, and partnership as factors contributing to their current satisfying, IPV-free relationships. Lizette explained:

It was really difficult but I think it was I found someone who made me feel like I didn't have to be so closed off and so hard around the edges. And once he started sharing more personal things with me it made me more comfortable and I was able to talk a little bit more about what I had gone through in order to help him understand.

Furthermore, Melissa shared, "Right now I'm seeing a psychologist and my partner has never known anything about mental health issues but that doesn't mean he's encouraged me to stop talking to them, or isn't there for me." Also regarding partnership, Adrienne stated, "This is definitely I feel the most equal relationship I've been in."

As a whole, the participants who reported being in satisfying, IPV-free relationships pointed to similar factors that they mentioned as a part of their increased focus on self-protection in partner/relationship expectations and new dating/relationship behaviors. First, these women described building friendship first with their partners. Secondly, the participants found partners who held qualities congruent to the participants' partner/relationship expectations, including partnership and support. Furthermore, as trust was an area that participants discussed as being difficult for them subsequent to adolescent IPV, they worked on developing trusting relationships with their partners.

Summary

To summarize the major findings, the overarching story line or theoretical scheme (Strauss & Corbin, 2008) that emerged from data analysis was: *Latinas who experienced adolescent IPV underwent changes that led to an increased focus on self-protection, which influenced subsequent partner/relationship expectations (e.g., less traditional*

gender roles, which also influenced other expectations including partnership; emotional support/space; safe communication/self-expression), new behaviors in dating/relationships(e.g., period of being single; cautious, slower approach to dating/relationships), and relationship goals (e.g., a desire for an IPV-free relationship; companionship; monogamy). The central, core category that emerged from grounded theory coding procedures was participants' "focus on self-protection." Results indicated that the impact of adolescent IPV led to an increased focus on self-protection among the participants, these women focused on partner/relationships expectations that would facilitate self-protection, and they developed new dating behaviors, including being more watchful for signs of IPV and delayed sexual activity to continue with a focus on self-protection. The findings also indicated positive and negative dating/relationship experiences for these women subsequent to adolescent IPV. Such experiences included the reoccurrence of IPV in new, subsequent dating/relationships and most of these women moved on to enter satisfying, IPV-free relationships.

Chapter V: Discussion

The purpose of this study was to develop an emergent theory of how IPV experiences during adolescence influence subsequent dating/relationships among young Latinas. The primary research question guiding this study was, “How does adolescent intimate partner violence influence subsequent, new dating experiences among Latinas?” To achieve a better understanding of the primary focus of inquiry, the following was explored: (a) “What were Latinas’ dating/relationship expectations subsequent to adolescent IPV, including their views regarding gender roles?” (b) “How were Latinas able to reinitiate dating/relationships following adolescent IPV?” (c) “What are Latinas’ partner/relationship experiences subsequent to undergoing adolescent IPV?” and (d) “What are Latinas’ future romantic relationship goals?”

This study examined how Latina adults reengage in dating/relationships subsequent to adolescent IPV. To explore this phenomenon, 11 Latina adults who experienced adolescent IPV were asked, during individual interviews, to discuss their subsequent dating and relationship expectations, behaviors, and experiences. Grounded Theory methodology (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Corbin & Strauss, 2008) was utilized to analyze the data yielded from the participants’ narratives. This chapter reviews and discusses the present study’s findings in context of the preexisting research on IPV, adolescent IPV, and Latina/o populations.

Summary of the study findings: How does adolescent intimate partner violence influence subsequent, new dating experiences among Latinas?

The women in this study described their expectations, behaviors, and relationship goals following adolescent IPV. The story line (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) that emerged from the analysis of the participants’ narratives was: *Latinas who experienced adolescent*

IPV underwent changes that led to an increased focus on self-protection, which influenced subsequent partner/relationship expectations (e.g., less traditional gender roles, which also influenced other expectations including partnership; emotional support/space; safe communication/self-expression), new behaviors in dating/relationships (e.g., period of being single; cautious, slower approach to dating/relationships), and relationship goals (e.g., a desire for an IPV-free relationship; companionship; monogamy). The core category that emerged from the data was participants' "focus on self-protection."

The Latinas in this study described how they focused on self-protection in developing partner/relationship expectations. More specifically, these women developed expectations focusing on protecting self in ways that would preserve their independence and emotional well-being, and afford them increased equity in relationships including earning power and financial resources if they needed to exit a relationship. Additionally, the participants described enacting a focus on self-protection by engaging in new dating/relationship behaviors following adolescent IPV. These participants' new behaviors included taking a slower approach by choosing to be single, engaging in self-reflection, and gradually reentering dating/relationships. Also, these women enacted more cautious behaviors in dating/relationships, as they were more watchful for signs of IPV (i.e., jealousy, verbal abuse, aggression, and controlling behaviors) with potential partners and did not readily trust or engage in sexual activity with partners (i.e., delayed sexual activity to focus on building relationship and getting to know partner). Furthermore, they shared relationship goals that reflected the theme of a focus on self-protection, as the women in this study desired companionship within a monogamous, IPV-free relationship.

Discussion of Study Findings

This section discusses the major findings of this study within the context of previous literature on IPV and subsequent dating/relationships. There is a large body of primarily quantitative research on general IPV which concentrates on prevalence rates, risk and protective factors, and outcomes associated with partner abuse. However, far less empirical attention has been given to subsequent dating/relationships among IPV survivors, particularly, survivors of adolescent IPV. Eight empirical and non-empirical works (i.e., interviews with survivors compiled into books) were identified that examined subsequent dating/relationships among IPV survivors (Flasch, Murray, & Crowe, 2015; Neustifter & Powell, 2015; Neustifter, 2009; Taylor, 2004; Anderson, 1994; Weiss, 2004; NiCarthy, 1987; Herman, 1992); however, these studies did not focus exclusively on dating/relationships among survivors of adolescent IPV or Latinas.

As no studies were located that examined subsequent dating/relationships among Latina survivors of adolescent IPV, the current study contributes to the preexisting body of research in two key ways. First, this study elucidates how survivors of adolescent IPV, navigate subsequent dating/relationships. More precisely, the current study explored how adolescent IPV survivors' expectations, behaviors, and goals are impacted by adolescent IPV. Second, this study sheds light upon how Latinas' experience of adolescent IPV influences their subsequent dating/relationships. Understanding the unique cultural context for Latinas with this experience is therefore an important contribution of this study.

This section will focus on a discussion of the findings yielded from this study including an overarching category of focus on self-protection with subcategories

including partner/relationship expectations, new dating behaviors, and relationship goals. Additionally, as it would be remiss to neglect the importance of the participants' shared cultural context while discussing the findings, an entire section is devoted to discussing the findings in relation to the participants' shared context in consideration of Latina/o Critical theory (LatCrit; Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado, and Crenshaw, 1993; Delgado Bernal, 2002; Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001). Following this section, this chapter will discuss the study's strengths, limitations, clinical implications, and areas for future research. Additionally, an overall study summary is provided.

Consideration of the importance of participants' unique context, findings, and Latina/o Critical theory. Considering the participants' unique context is integral to an accurate interpretation of the findings. The participants were a specific subset of the population affected by partner abuse: Latina adults who experienced adolescent IPV. Latina/o culture has specific and unique values and traditions (Brabeck & Guzman, 2009; Pearlman et al., 2003; Firestone et al., 1999) that have both nuanced and distinct differences from the White and African American female populations who have commonly been the focus of IPV studies. Additionally, researchers have asserted that examinations of IPV among Latinas/os must include cultural factors (Perilla et al., 1994; Mahoney, 1994; Sharma, 2001; Bograd, 2005), especially, as previous research has found relationships between cultural factors and IPV risk and protective factors as well as help-seeking behaviors (Sanderson et al., 2004; Villavicencio, 2008; Barney et al., 2007). The participants in this study also identified Latina/o cultural values as salient in their lives, particularly *familismo* and gender-based roles.

In considering the participants' unique context, it is equally important to discuss the present findings in context of a theoretical paradigm that accounts for their multidimensional identities as well as cultural complexities. Although there is no single unified theory for IPV, numerous paradigms have been developed and/or utilized to understand IPV, including social learning (Bandura, 1967), family systems (Riggs & O'Leary, 1989), intergenerational transmission (Ehrensaft et al., 2003), feminist (Bograd, 1984), multicultural/intersection (Comas-Diaz, 1991; Luepnitz, 1988; Flores-Ortiz, 1993), and resilience (Greene, 2002) theories. Moreover, there is no established theory to guide research among Latina women who experience and/or survive IPV. Yet, LatCrit (Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado, and Crenshaw, 1993; Delgado Bernal, 2002; Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001) offers a strong gender analysis that accounts for concerns of Latinas with attention to intrapersonal and interpersonal relationships while also acknowledging their history of being marginalized (Hernández-Truyol, 1997). Researchers have asserted that LatCrit offers an important lens, particularly for Latinas (Delgado Bernal, 2002) as they are multidimensional individuals that encounter complex experiences (Berens, 2011). As multicultural and feminist theories have been purported as appropriate frameworks to guide IPV research among Latinas, LatCrit theory (Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado, & Crenshaw, 1993; Delgado Bernal, 2002; Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001) appears to be the most fitting theory to discuss the results from the current study. Thus, this section will discuss the participants' unique cultural context, findings, and LatCrit theory.

Utilizing LatCrit theory, power and gender are identified as the two factors that perpetuate IPV. More specifically, this theoretical framework highlights the Latina/o

family structure commonly has a patriarchal hierarchy with social norms of men holding power over women, which maintains male dominance and a power imbalance in heterosexual romantic relationships (Edelson, Hokoda, & Ramos-Lira, 2007). The Latinas who participated in the present study highlighted such gender and power imbalances in their discussion of gender-based roles as well as their partner/relationship expectations and relationship goals. As mentioned previously, *marianismo* can be considered as divided between housework and child-rearing (Gil & Vasquez, 1996; Bourdeau, Thomas, & Long, 2008; Peragallo, DeForge, Khoury, Rivero, & Talashek, 2002). *Machismo* can be considered financial earning outside of the home that is usually held as a male role and responsibility (Gloria, Ruiz, & Castillo, 2004). The women in this study focused on increased self-protection and achieving greater power balance with partners in romantic relationship through retention, elimination, and modification of gender-based roles. Keeping with their theme of focus on self-protection, the participants described expectations for partners/relationships facilitative of their autonomy as well as egalitarianism (e.g., financial earning power; both partners sharing in domestic duties; ability to engage in safe self-expression; and, emotional support as well as space). For instance, the participants explained how they adapted gender-based roles to include them developing careers and working outside of the home. Additionally, these women included retention of gender-based cultural values. To illustrate, in the participants' descriptions of relationship goals, aspects of *marianismo* were retained, as a majority of the women described a desire for motherhood and child-rearing. This exemplifies the complexities of cultural factors and moves away from rigid categorical conceptions of culture as being either wholly "good" or "bad" and "positive" or "negative." Instead, offered within the

participants' narratives were the complexities within their multifaceted cultural heritage and identities as Latinas that cultural values, such as gender-based roles often act in multiple ways. In this case, gender-based roles had multiple influences on their perceptions of having more or less self-protection in dating/relationships after adolescent IPV.

Cultural values also appeared to intersect with self-protection in regards to the participants' new dating/relationship behaviors. For instance, the tenet of sexual discretion within *marianismo* appeared to be retained in some form by the participants. As the Latinas in the current study moved forward in dating/relationships after adolescent IPV they described sexual discretion as a tool for self-protection, in which they delayed sexual activity in their new dating/relationship experiences as a means of protecting themselves emotionally. Thus, and although, most of the participants did not adhere to remaining a virgin until marriage as outlined in strict adherence to *marianismo*, instead, they modified this cultural value to serve as an emotional safeguard.

Familismo was another cultural value that was shared among the participants in this study. More specifically, all of the participants described *familismo* as being one of the most pervasive cultural factors in their lives, which is consistent with preexisting findings among Latinas/os (Santiago-Rivera, 2003). The Latinas in this study described the importance of family as including close family ties, being the primary conduit for learning and continuing traditions, and a major support system. Based upon the participants' descriptions of the import and role of family, it might be surprising that these women did not disclose such a significant, negative relationship experience (i.e., adolescent IPV) to their relatives. This finding could lead to one to deduce that *familismo*,

perhaps, is not a protective factor as hypothesized in past research conducted among Latina/o youth (Sanderson et al., 1994; Yan, Howard, Beck, Shattuck, Hallmark-Kerr, 2009). Instead, the current findings might lead to the hypothesis that *familismo* increases Latinas risk for adolescent IPV to remain hidden and possibly perpetuated.

Illustrated in the participants' narratives was the multifaceted role of family and complexities surrounding their non-disclosure of adolescent IPV to their families. For instance, family was described as a support system, however, it was not utilized by these women during or after adolescent IPV, at least in direct connection to the IPV. LatCrit theory (Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado, and Crenshaw, 1993; Delgado Bernal, 2002; Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001) provides a framework attending to the multidimensional and complex role of family and how it possibly intersected with the participants' non-disclosure of adolescent IPV to their families. Utilizing a LatCrit lens, *familismo* can be understood as operating on a continuum in the participants' lives, ranging from oppressive to empowering forces. For example, *familismo* might have intersected with *marianismo* and influenced the participants' non-disclosure of adolescent IPV to their families due to components encouraging self-sacrifice and/or subjugation to the needs of the family. However, *marianismo* and *familismo* could be considered oppressive forces with regards to influencing non-disclosure of adolescent IPV, as this could have contributed to the perpetuation of the physical, emotional, and/or sexual partner abuse. Additionally, the participants' non-disclosure of adolescent IPV to their families might lack self-compassion be due to culturally-based beliefs that Latinas cause their own problems or it is God's will and they should accept such problems (Padilla, 2000).

A few of the participants directly pointed to feelings of shame/embarrassment as their reason for non-disclosure of adolescent IPV to their families. Shame has been suggested as an important factor to include in IPV research (Weiss et al., 2015), especially as several studies have found a relationship between shame, psychological IPV, and PTSD symptoms (Street & Arias, 2001; Beck et al., 2011; Sippel & Marshall, 2011). In particular, for women of color shame has been suggested as a possible factor for such survivors' unwillingness to disclose their IPV experience, as they do not want to bring dishonor to their families or communities (Kasturirangan et al., 2004; Vega, Gil, Warheit, Zimmerman, & Apospori, 1993). However, no studies were identified that examined shame among Latina survivors, particularly, as it relates to seeking out family for support in response to adolescent IPV. Perhaps corresponding to feelings of shame and embarrassment, participants in the current study might have decided against disclosing about the adolescent IPV to their families. Related to feelings of shame, it is possible that fear of bringing dishonor upon the family prevented the participants from disclosing about the adolescent IPV.

Non-disclosure of adolescent IPV to family, also could have been enacted by the participants as a protective measure not only for their families but also for self. It is plausible that these women wanted to prevent their families from experiencing emotional distress, shame, or other negative consequences corresponding to adolescent IPV, and thus, avoided discussing their experience of partner abuse with their families. Similarly, it could be hypothesized that they did not disclose about adolescent IPV to their families to also protect themselves from re-experiencing trauma and/or negative affective states, including shame/embarrassment associated with the adolescent IPV. The participants'

could have felt greater comfort engaging in the present study and talking about the abuse with a stranger with maintenance of confidentiality. In sum, non-disclosure of adolescent IPV to family might have been utilized as a coping tool by the Latinas in this study.

Despite the participants' non-disclosure of adolescent IPV to their families most described continuing in close, supportive relationships with their families during and after adolescent IPV. Research has indicated that avoiding isolation and maintaining interpersonal relationships has been noted as a critical piece of recovery among IPV survivors (Klevens et al., 2007). Additionally, the participants described *familismo* as an integral part of their identities and taught them important values such as self-respect. These women incorporated such values into their partner/relationship expectations and relationship goals, which is reflected in the participants' expectations for safe self-expression and relationship goal of companionship including having families.

The participants' shared context was integral to the emergent theory of subsequent dating/relationships among Latinas who experienced adolescent IPV. In particular, understanding the influence of gender-based roles provided an understanding of how these Latinas established expectations and goals following adolescent partner abuse. Additionally, it illuminated that despite highly endorsing *familismo*, adolescent IPV was not disclosed to family members and family was not utilized as a supportive resource. The women in the present study broke historically oppressive forces of gender-based roles by adopting what they termed the "modernized Latina." Within this new role, they described aspiring and enacting career development, financial power, and creating identities aside from stereotypical notions of domestic matriarchy. Still, as LatCrit describes the complexities of the multifaceted Latina identity, the participants in this

study retained aspect synonymous with *marianismo* and *familismo*, which they utilized as tools for increased self-protection in romantic relationships.

Focus on Self-Protection. The 11 Latinas who participated in this study reported that subsequent to adolescent IPV they were more focused on self-protection in the following ways: partner/relationship expectations; new dating/relationship behaviors; and relationship goals. More specifically, the participants described the impact of adolescent IPV prompted them to increase self-protection in regards to their physical, emotional, and sexual safety in future dating/relationships. To enact an increased focus on self-protection, most of the participants explained that they thoughtfully revised their partner/relationship goals to preserve their independence and emotional well-being, and afford them increased equity in relationships including earning power and financial resources if they needed to exit a relationship.

Additionally, these women described that since adolescent IPV they had increased self-protection in their behaviors in dating/relationship which they explained as engaging in more cautious behaviors in dating/relationships. The participants detailed accounts of their new dating/relationship behaviors included being more watchful for signs of IPV (i.e., jealousy, verbal abuse, aggression, and controlling behaviors) with potential partners and not easily trusting or quickly engaging in sexual activity with partners (i.e., delayed sexual activity to focus on building relationship and getting to know partner). Furthermore, these women explained that their relationship goals continued with the theme of a focus on self-protection, as they desired companionship within a monogamous, IPV-free relationship.

The desire for self-protection has been identified as relating to IPV in terms of being cited as a reason survivors engage in help-seeking behaviors (Dienemann, Glass, & Hyman, 2005), and cope with marital IPV (Foster et al., 2015). Additionally, it is most highly endorsed as the primary basis for violence perpetrated by abused females towards male partners (Bograd, 1988). The current study is one of the first to identify self-protection as a major theme in describing the manner in which survivors' approach new dating/relationships. Of the eight identified studies that focused on subsequent dating/relationship experiences among IPV survivors, none noted self-protection as a theme within their results (Flasch, Murray, & Crowe, 2015; Neustifter & Powell, 2015; Neustifter, 2009; Taylor, 2004; Anderson, 1994; Weiss, 2004; NiCarthy, 1987; Herman, 1992). Perhaps this finding is based on the demographic characteristics of the sample (i.e., mostly college-educated Latinas between the ages of 18 to 35 years old). Even though the participants explained that they had little to no formal IPV education and did not identify their experience as abusive at the time it took place, most of them noted that they subsequently gained increased knowledge about partner abuse through college courses, work experience, and/or counseling/mental health treatment. Therefore, it is possible that the increased education, which may have led to increased self-reflection and understanding about the risk factors of IPV influenced the participants to have an increased focus on self-protection.

Partner/Relationship Expectations. The present study findings on partner/relationship expectations were similar to previous qualitative data gathered among adult, female IPV survivors in that female survivors who noted expectations of effective, open communication (NiCarthy, 1987; Neustifter, 2009), reciprocal support

(Neustifter & Powell, 2015; NiCarthy, 1987; Neustifter, 2009), and retaining their independence in subsequent romantic relationships (NiCarthy, 1987). However, the present study expands upon these past findings by noting that financial independence, particularly in terms of having readily available financial resources in the event that they decided to exit a relationship, was described as an aspect of partnership. One possible explanation for this new finding, is that this particular sample is different from previous research in this area. The current participants noted that they had observed female relatives being financially dependent on male partners with negative results, which seemed to contribute to their emphasis on the expectation of financial independence. Thus, it seems that such observations contributed to the women in this study setting an expectation for financial independence to avoid negative outcomes in their romantic relationships. This, taken together with what the participants identified as cultural traditions of men being the sole breadwinner and controlling the finances appears to have contributed to financial earning power being an important aspect of partner/relationship expectations.

Additionally, the participants in this study coupled the expectation of emotional support with emotional space. More specifically, these women not only expected for their partners to demonstrate emotional support through taking an active interest in their emotional well-being and providing comfort, but they also desired their partners to provide emotional space, which they described as having a partner who is willing to respectfully allow for independent emotional processing and/or coping outside of the relationship. One hypothesis as to the participants' inclusion of emotional space in addition to emotional support could be related to their focus on modern conceptions of

romantic relationships. The participants all expressed a desire to avoid future IPV and described increased egalitarianism with partners in romantic relationships. Less traditional relationships tend to be characterized by a departure from men as the sole head-of-household to shared decision-making power, both male and female partners sharing in household chores, and women being employed (Amato et al., 2007; National Healthy Marriage Resource Center, 2009), so it is likely that these women are responding to these conceptions.

Taken together, the areas of financial independence and emotional space have not been noted in previous literature and provide a more detailed perspective of Latinas' dating/relationship expectations after adolescent IPV. Specifically, the participants discussed that they held less traditional gender role beliefs, and most identified as modernized Latinas, who were interested in going beyond the traditional domestic duties ascribed to Latinas' roles romantic relationships and building careers.

Another interesting finding was that all of the participants discussed less traditional gender roles as an aspect of their partner/relationship expectations. More specifically, the participants expressed an expectation for their male partners to similarly hold less traditional gender roles beliefs, as they explained holding common beliefs with their partners would be critical to self-protection and having a successful relationship. Overall, the participants explained their desire for romantic partners who held less traditional gender role beliefs as a way to protect themselves from being controlled in financial ways or limited in their ability to communicate openly within the relationship.

The finding of an expectation of less traditional gender roles has not been noted in investigations among Latina IPV survivors (e.g., Champion, 1996; Flasch, Murray, &

Crowe, 2015; Neustifter & Powell, 2015; Neustifter, 2009; Taylor, 2004; Anderson, 1994; Weiss, 2004; NiCarthy, 1987; Herman, 1992), with one exception. Champion's (1996) quantitative study of partner abuse, assimilation, and self-concept among Mexican American women found that abused Latinas were more likely to endorse traditional value regarding family structure and gender roles than their non-abused counterparts. Furthermore, having higher adherence to traditional values was correlated to lower levels of assimilation. While the current study did not compare participants who did and did not have experiences of abuse, it is interesting that the present findings revealed a change in traditional gender roles to be such a prominent theme.

The expectation of less traditional gender roles was such a significant thread that it pervaded throughout the participants' narratives of their overall changed expectations for subsequent partner/relationships following adolescent IPV. Participants were aware of traditional Latina/o roles for women and men described in the literature such as *marianismo* (e.g., Bourdeau, Thomas, & Long, 2008; Cauce & Domenech-Rodriguez, 2002; Gloria et al., 2004; Perilla, 1999) and *machismo* (Gloria, Ruiz, & Castillo, 2004); however, they described holding less traditional gender role beliefs and desiring partners with the same values. However, less surprising was that few of the participants noted traits synonymous with *caballerismo* (Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, & Tracey, 2008) within their descriptions of *machismo*. Arciniega et al. (2008) described *caballerismo* as positive traits included within the gender role of *machismo*, including chivalry and respect. Research focused on Latina/o populations has noted that often the traditional Latino male gender role of *machismo* neglects including the nurturing and affectionate qualities (Mayo, 1997). One hypothesis is that perhaps the participants were

exposed to machismo beliefs and practices with little to no emphasis on *caballerismo*. Thus, it could be that the women in this study had less exposure to *caballerismo* as it relates to *machismo*, and thus, it was not included in their conceptions of traditional Latino male gender roles.

New behaviors in dating/relationships. All of the participants described engaging in new dating/relationship behaviors subsequent to adolescent IPV. Additionally, this finding of new patterns of behaviors in dating/relationships was subsumed by the overarching theme of focus on self-protection. As noted above, participants described that since experiencing adolescent IPV, they engaged in more self-protective behaviors when approaching dating/relationships.

One new behavior that the participants described after adolescent IPV was intentionally engaging in a period of singlehood. While Neustifter and Powell (2015) found that most of the White, African American, and Native American participants in their study were also single after experiencing IPV, however, no details were provided regarding why or how these women were single. The findings of the present study described survivors' period of being single following adolescent IPV as a self-motivated, conscious decision driven by distrust of male partners and utilized as a time to engage in self-reflection. As such, the current study provided a more detailed, contextually-based understanding of the motivation and function of the participants' choice to be single following partner abuse.

Particularly interesting in the current study was the finding that distrust/trust was related to the participants' decision to be single for a period of time. Trust was a finding in two preexisting IPV studies that included women of various racial-ethnic backgrounds

(e.g., Flasch, Murray, & Crowe, 2015; Neustifter & Powell, 2015), however, this factor had yet to be related to Latina IPV survivors' decision to remain single for a period of time following the end of an abusive relationship. Instead, past findings indicated that IPV survivors generally noted trust as an important component in subsequent romantic endeavors (Flasch, Murray, & Crowe, 2015; Neustifter & Powell, 2015; Neustifter, 2009; Weiss, 2004). Therefore, it appears that trust can serve in multiple ways. Based upon the findings from the current study, distrust can result from experiencing adolescent IPV and can lead to engaging in a period of being single. Alternatively, past research (Flasch, Murray, & Crowe, 2015; Neustifter & Powell, 2015; Neustifter, 2009; Weiss, 2004) also indicates that trust can become a sought-after trait for future relationships.

Participants in the current study also described engaging in self-reflection during their period of singlehood. While previous research noted that IPV survivors found the time during singlehood had a healing impact (Neustifter & Powell, 2015), the current study is the first of its kind to provide insight into how such a period can be healing. The current participants described engaging in self-reflection about personal factors that could have contributed to the adolescent IPV, such as low self-esteem, immaturity, and a fear of being single (Slotter, Gardner, & Finkel, 2010; Leary, 2007). This type of reflection likely led to increased self-understanding, which may have been empowering or led to values clarification related to future relationships. For instance, engaging in self-reflection while single might have afforded participants the opportunity to refine their relationship expectations for self and partners as well as solidify goals for future relationships.

The participants in this study also described that they engaged in more cautious and slower approaches to dating/relationships after adolescent IPV. The participants further explained that they were more watchful for signs of IPV and took a slower approach to entering romantic relationships. These findings coincide with Flasch's (2015) study, which found that the 123 female and male, heterosexual and homosexual IPV survivors were hypervigilant as they approached new relationships. While the author of this study did not provide demographic information about the participants, their findings and the present study's results suggest that caution and hypervigilance are commonly utilized to avoid future partner abuse as survivors begin new romantic relationships.

IPV theories have noted that survivors hold and often utilize internal strengths to help them navigate and recover from partner abuse (Greene, 2002; Hamby & Gray-Little, 1997). In particular, resilience theory has highlighted that IPV survivors tap into internal resources to survive and cope with IPV (Davis, 2002; Taylor, 2004). Similarly, the participants in this study might have engaged in a period of singlehood and self-reflection as a coping skill in addition to increasing their focus on self-protection.

Finally, the participants in this study described their approach to dating/relationships had been transformed since enduring adolescent IPV. In the one study that examined subsequent relationships among IPV survivors, Herman (1992) found that survivors were unable to return to their previous romantic relationship patterns after enduring abuse, however, Herman did not note the reason for this change. Congruent with Herman's (1992) assertion, the participants in this study described their approach to dating/relationships having been transformed since enduring adolescent IPV. Although there are no existing theories or data that explain why this shift in

dating/relationship behaviors occurs, it is likely that this change in romantic interpersonal behaviors is related to the negative and substantive impact of adolescent IPV. It is also plausible that given the developmental phase in which adolescent IPV occurs that individuals who endure such abuse are able to engage in new behavioral patterns as they are still forming and solidifying their identities (Coates, 1999; Connolly & Goldberg, 1999; Erikson, 1968) as well as interpersonal styles with others (Erikson, 1968; Furman & Flanagan, 1997; Sullivan, 1953).

Relationship goals. All of women in the present study reported a desire for a future romantic relationship. Additionally, keeping in line with the core category of self-protection, the participants pointed to specific relationship goals including an IPV-free relationship, companionship, and monogamy. The relationship goal of avoiding future partner abuse is congruent with past findings in the literature regarding subsequent dating/relationships among IPV survivors (Flasch, Murray, & Crowe, 2015; Neustifter & Powell, 2015; Neustifter, 2009; Taylor, 2004; Anderson, 1994; Weiss, 2004; NiCarthy, 1987; Herman, 1992). The present study helped to further elucidate the reasons why a survivor might seek to avoid future IPV. For example, one participant in this study shared that she did not want her future children to follow a pattern of becoming involved in IPV. This was interesting as previous research has not pointed to survivors' fear of intergenerational transmission of IPV as a basis for aspiring to have an IPV-free relationship (Flasch, Murray, & Crowe, 2015; Neustifter & Powell, 2015; Neustifter, 2009; Taylor, 2004; Anderson, 1994; Weiss, 2004; NiCarthy, 1987; Herman, 1992).

Two additional findings from the current study about relationship goals, companionship and monogamy, have not emerged in previous research. This may be

because previous literature has focused on factors that promoted success in the participants' current relationships, such as trust, communication, and supported healing (Flasch, Murray, & Crowe, 2015; Neustifter & Powell, 2015; Neustifter, 2009; Weiss, 2004; NiCarthy, 1987; Herman, 1992), rather than desires for subsequent relationships. The women in this study expressed a desire for a relationship in which they could share their lives with their partners including having children, yet many differed in terms of their aspirations towards marriage.

With respect to the goal of monogamy in future relationships, participants described this goal as stemming from either personal experiences (e.g., past partners cheating, commonly during adolescent IPV) or observations of romantic partnerships in their families (e.g., witnessing female relatives involved with unfaithful male partners). Research among African American, Latina, and women of lower SES found that allowances were made for male infidelity as well as partner violence in order to maintain financial resources and family cohesion (McLellan-Leman et al., 2013). Thus, one hypothesis is that the participants in this study established the relationship goal of monogamy due to having witnessed allowances being made for male infidelity in others' relationships. Also, it is plausible that the participants' emphasis on monogamy within relationships developed from their personal experience of adolescent IPV. Findings from Raj et al. (2004) indicated that the abused women in their study were significantly more likely than non-abused women to endorse fears of partner infidelity, which was also shown to relate to relationship dynamics of greater power and control among the male partners in these heterosexual relationships. In light of the findings by Raj and colleagues (2004), perhaps the participants in this study emphasized monogamy as a relationship

goal to employ greater self-protection, avoid controlling male partners, and ultimately prevent the reoccurrence of IPV.

General Summary

IPV in general has received a considerable amount of empirical attention; however, as previously mentioned, past studies overwhelmingly have been quantitative and focused on factors surrounding abusive romantic relationships (e.g., Klevens, 2007; Cummings, Gonzalez-Guarda, & Sandoval, 2013). Furthermore, some researchers have suggested that IPV research has primarily taken a deficit-based approach, mainly examining factors related to partner abuse, with little attention to factors related to new healthy and successful relationships among IPV survivors (Anderson & Saunders, 2003; Crowell & Burgess, 1996). Coupled with this, although Latinas/os comprise one of the largest and fastest growing segments of the U.S. population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010) and racial/ethnic comparisons indicate that Latinas are affected by IPV at comparable (Rennison & Rand, 2003; Rennison, 2002) and higher rates (Caetano, Field, Ramisetty-Mikler, & McGrath, 2005; Tjanden & Theonnes, 2000) than Whites, there is a paucity of research specifically examining IPV among Latinas. Furthermore, no studies were located that have primarily focused on examining subsequent, new dating/relationships after adolescent IPV among Latinas (Cummings, Gonzalez-Guarda, & Sandoval, 2013). Thus, as previous studies have yet to explore this phenomenon, the present study contributes to the literature by being the first to specifically investigate this topic.

Additionally, this study attends to a gap noted in the literature (Sabina, Cuevas, & Bell, 2013; Cummings, Gonzalez-Guarda, & Sandoval, 2013) by providing an initial understanding of how Latina survivors of adolescent IPV move forward in subsequent,

new romantic relationships. More specifically, the current study identified self-protection as a core theme for Latinas dating/relationship beliefs and behaviors following adolescent IPV. This is a new and interesting finding, especially as the one preexisting study seeking to develop a theory regarding subsequent relationships among a group of IPV survivors of various racial/ethnic backgrounds did not indicate self-protection as a finding (e.g., Neustifter & Powell, 2015). Encompassed within self-protection the current study yielded additional contributions to past works on new relationships among IPV survivors.

Preexisting research identified communication, emotional support, trust, and independence as relationship expectations held by IPV survivors (NiCarthy, 1987; Neustifter, 2009; Neustifter & Powell, 2015). Results from the current study expand upon the findings about relationship expectations by describing how Latina survivors of adolescent IPV also hold expectations of retaining financial independence, being afforded emotional space, and having partners who will hold less traditional gender roles. Additionally, the present study builds upon preexisting research which found that a period of singlehood (Neustifter & Powell, 2015) and hypervigilance (Flasch, Murray, & Crowe, 2015) were behaviors engaged in by IPV survivors while approaching new dating/relationship experiences. In particular, the survivors who participated in the current study conveyed that feelings of distrust influenced their decision to be single for a period of time and engage in self-reflection. Also, the participants in this study explained in addition to enacting greater caution while dating they took a slower approach to dating/relationships, particularly by delaying sexual activity. Finally, consistent with past research participants identified an IPV-free relationship as one of their goals, yet a new

finding emerged, as the women in the current study also described companionship and monogamy as relationship goals.

Limitations

There are limitations in this study that should be acknowledged. One possible limitation of the present study might be related to the recruitment methods. Initially, it was difficult to obtain participants for this study. Participants were not retained until compensation was offered, the initial cutoff age requirement (18 to 25 years) was extended (18 to 35 years), and more efforts were put towards online recruitment. Such recruitment difficulties could have impacted the results, in such that the participants who choose to be a part of the study might have been more willing to participate due to wanting to discuss abuse (as none had disclosed the adolescent IPV to their family) and/or being in a relationship which they described as satisfying and free of IPV. It is possible that participant factors, such as a desire to share their narrative and/or about their current positive relationship experience could have influenced their responses and, thus, the study findings.

An additional limitation of this study is related to the methodology. Phone interviews were used for data collection, and although there are advantages with this approach, such as being able to have a sample drawn from different parts of the country, there are also drawbacks to not conducting in-person interviews. For instance, phone interviews might have affected rapport building, which might have impacted the depth of the participants' contribution. For some of the participants, conducting the interview via phone might have been less intrusive or viewed as maintaining more privacy as their physical appearance was not revealed to the primary investigator; however, for other

participants conducting phone interviews might have made them feel it was more impersonal and they might have been less willing to provide greater detail in their responses. Also, using the phone to conduct interviews did not allow for non-verbal cues to be noted which could have provided insights about emotional reactions or potential areas for further queries. For example, if certain non-verbal behaviors (e.g., averted eye-contact, tightened lips) were evident during questions about the role of family, this may have provided an opportunity to further probe about family support, stigma, and adolescent IPV disclosure.

Another methodological limitation is that the interviews were conducted once with each participant and member-checking (Lincoln & Guba, 2000) was not conducted. There has been much inconsistency in qualitative research regarding the number of interviews that should be conducted with each participant (Seal et al., 2004; Vliet et al., 2008), though many suggest that member-checking is another important way to assure trustworthiness of findings. It is possible that additional interviews or participant review of their transcripts would have afforded them to expand in greater detail about their subsequent adolescent IPV dating/relationship experiences, or to revise their earlier responses. It also would have been beneficial to have the participants' review emerging themes and codes as another measure to ensure the trustworthiness of the findings. While scheduling multiple interviews would have been challenging due to participants' time commitments, it may have yielded additional findings.

Also, although this study provided rich data about how Latinas proceeded from adolescent IPV into subsequent dating/relationship experiences, there were multiple themes that emerged from the study that were not explored in-depth. For instance, and as

previously mentioned, the participants described highly endorsing *familismo*, however, they did not disclose adolescent IPV to family members. Although the incongruence between family closeness and non-disclosure of IPV was noted, it was not thoroughly examined. Another example is that the participants discussed experiencing emotional distress subsequent to adolescent IPV, which has been noted in the literature as a significant, negative consequence associated with partner abuse. Although emotional distress was explored as it related to subsequent, new dating/relationships, it was not examined fully. Further exploration of emotional distress could have elucidated additional consequences and processes subsequent to adolescent IPV. It is highly likely that there are additional ways in which emotional factors contribute to Latinas subsequent, new dating/relationships in ways that were not explored in this study.

Finally, the current study provides initial insights into subsequent, new dating/relationships among Latinas; however, there are limitations with the generalizability of the findings. Most of the participants in this study were second-generation, Mexican American, college-educated women. However, Latinas are a heterogeneous group with nuanced cultural, socioeconomic, and community differences that were not fully accounted for within this study. As this study did not concentrate on a specific Latina population (e.g., geographical location, SES, and of same racial/ethnic background), the findings are not applicable to all Latina populations. Thus, significant and thoughtful consideration of Latina in-group differences should be taken when applying this study's result to the larger Latina population.

Clinical Implications

The results of this study hold clinical implications for the field. Data analysis revealed that the participants had an increased focus on self-protection subsequent to adolescent IPV, which was reflected in their partner/relationship expectations and new behaviors. Three clinical implications for professionals conducting IPV related interventions with Latinas were identified: (1) incorporation of cultural values into clinical work (e.g., *familismo* and gender roles); (2) facilitation of self-reflection, including exploration of partner/relationship expectations and relationship goals to promote self-protection; and (3) facilitation of exploration of behaviors that can increase self-protection.

Professionals engaging in adolescent IPV prevention and intervention work among Latinas should acknowledge cultural factors unique to this population. As evidenced from past research and the current study's findings, culture is important to consider in conducting IPV interventions among Latinas (Perilla et al., 1994; Mahoney, 1994; Sharma, 2001; Bograd, 2005). More specifically, participants in this study described transforming gender-based roles as a significant piece of their increased focus on self-protection with partners in new relationships. Thus, initiatives targeting IPV among Latinas should at least include exploration of gender-based expectations. Professionals can also inquire about the role and/or impact of culture in the lives of the Latinas they work with. Taking an active interest in clients/patients, students, and/or the Latinas they are working with can help professionals with rapport building and delivering culturally-relevant interventions (APA, 2003; Cardemil & Sarmiento, 2009).

More specifically, as past research (Barney et al., 2007; Villavicencio, 2008; Brabeck & Guzman, 2009; West, Kaufman Kantor, & Jasinski, 1998) and the current study identified *familismo* and gender roles (i.e., *marianismo* and *machismo*) as particularly important cultural factors among Latinas, these should likely be included in IPV intervention and prevention work. Thus, clinical professionals might choose to conceptualize such cases utilizing a family-systems orientation and employing corresponding interventions with such clients. For instance, this can include inquiring about the client's family from the outset of clinical treatments. Also, this could include exploration of the intersectionality between self-protection in dating/relationships and *familismo* (e.g., family dynamics, roles, and beliefs).

Also, as the current study found that the Latina participants held an expectation for less traditional gender role beliefs and practices for partners/relationships, this can be incorporated into interventions. More specifically, clinicians working with Latina IPV survivors can utilize the partner/relationship expectations and goals that were found in this study as a foundation for therapeutic work. For instance, clinicians could guide clients in solidifying partner/relationship expectations, especially to promote their financial independence, emotional well-being, as well as safe communication and self-expression. For example, professionals can encourage Latinas to consider how they might determine if potential partners hold similar values as them and are more egalitarian in their approach to dating/relationships. Also, rather than providing prescriptive ways for Latinas to assert themselves while dating and/or in relationships, professionals can engage these girls and women in an ongoing dialogue about how they might negotiate self-protection while maintaining cultural traditions personally important to them.

The last clinical implication is based upon the finding that greater self-protection was enacted by the Latina participants engaging in a more cautious and slower approach to dating/relationship behaviors. In light of this finding, prevention work among Latinas can help them to begin to explore dating/relationship behaviors and how such actions coincide with level of risk/protection in romantic relationships. For example, clinicians might talk with clients about whether or not a period of singlehood is necessary, and how such a time could be used best. Professionals could also provide guided exploration to assist clients in reflecting on how they might approach a new relationship with greater empowerment to negotiate their needs with a partner (e.g., deciding time to initiate sexual activity and/or pacing of relationship).

Directions for Future Research

There are a number of ways that future studies can build upon the findings from the current research study. Focus on self-protection was identified as a core theme in this study, however, several questions remain about this topic. For example, how a desire for increased self-protection develops over time is unknown. Studies utilizing additional methods (e.g., follow-up qualitative, longitudinal, and/or quantitative methods) could help further the understanding of the impact of adolescent IPV upon subsequent dating/relationship among Latinas in several ways. For instance, a longitudinal exploration among Latinas, starting with a series of interviews beginning immediately after adolescent IPV and into young adulthood would help determine more specifically when and how self-protection develops. Also, quantitative analyses could seek to further clarify relationships between the overarching factor in this study of self-protection and identified subthemes including partner/relationship expectations (i.e., less traditional

gender roles; partnership; safe communication and self-expression; emotional support and space) and new dating/relationship behaviors (i.e., period of being single; slower entry into dating/relationships; watchfulness for signs of IPV).

Second, adolescent IPV occurring between heterosexual couples involves both male and female partners, thus, more needs to be known about Latino males in terms of adolescent partner abuse. More specifically, it is important to understand Latino male perspectives as the Latinas in the present study indicated that they sought specific partner traits. Future studies should seek to determine if Latino males also have similar expectations as Latinas for self and relationships. Gaining such data is especially important as one past study indicated that Latinas are more likely than their male counterparts to endorse modern or very modern roles for women (Montoya, 1996). As Latinas identified expectations of less traditional gender roles, the ability to engage in safe communication and respect female partners' self-expression, and providing emotional support and space, these factors would be especially important to examine among Latino males.

Third, future studies building upon the present findings can also examine the impact of adolescent IPV within even more specific Latina populations (e.g., Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Argentinean, Cuban, etc.). Although the present study was able to identify a shared context among the participants, future studies should more closely examine differences among Latina IPV survivors, as the literature has noted Latinas/os as a heterogeneous group (González Burchard et al., 2005; Perilla, 1999; Falicov, 1998). These efforts could be directed at a larger and more heterogeneous sample of Latinas varying in ethnic backgrounds, ages, level of acculturation, and socioeconomic statuses to

broaden the generalizability of the findings and to conduct in-group comparative analyses. More specifically, by conducting future research among a wider group of Latinas it would allow for greater comparison of potential in-group differences and nuances among Latina adolescent IPV survivors and provide an improved understanding of the role of cultural factors. Additionally, a closer examination of in-group similarities and differences would strengthen the emergent theory yielded from the current study. Overall, the present study provides an initial understanding of how adolescent IPV impacts subsequent dating/relationships among Latinas; however, much more needs to be known about how particular Latina subgroups go on to develop an increased focus on self-protection after adolescent partner abuse.

Finally, findings from the present study indicated culture as a significant part of the Latina participants' social context and influential to their partner/relationship expectations. However, there is much more to be explored in regards to examining how cultural factors (e.g., gender-based roles and *familismo*) intersect with subsequent dating/relationships among Latina adolescent IPV survivors. The current study found that gender roles are an important factor in subsequent dating/relationship expectations among Latinas. Additionally, past research has indicated greater adherence to traditional gender-based roles can promote IPV (Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2003; Crossman, Smith, & Bender, 1990; Perilla et al., 1994). However, as mentioned before, most of these past studies have focused on *marianismo* and *machismo* with little consideration of how *caballerismo* might influence IPV. Thus, it would be beneficial for future research to explore in greater detail the facet of *caballerismo* within *machismo* as it relates to IPV

among Latina/o populations, and how, if at all, *caballerismo* relates to Latinas dating/relationship expectations subsequent to experiencing adolescent IPV.

The current study also found that *familismo* was an important part of the participants shared context. This finding is consistent with previous literature which has noted *familismo* as an important cultural value among Latinas/os and an area for continued research as it relates to IPV (Sorenson, 1996; Firestone, Lambert, & Vega, 1999; Sanderson et al., 2004; Barney et al., 2007; Villavicencio, 2008). Past literature has hypothesized *familismo* as a protective factor against adolescent IPV among Latina/o youth (Sanderson et al., 1994; Yan, Howard, Beck, Shattuck, Hallmark-Kerr, 2009), however, there is no empirical evidence as of yet to support this hypothesis and results from the current study indicated that while participants indicated a high adherence to *familismo*, they had not disclosed of adolescent IPV to family members. Also, there have been mixed findings regarding the role of *familismo* and IPV among Latina/o adults, as some evidence has indicated it increases the likelihood of help-seeking (Brabeck & Guzman, 2009), yet other studies found it to be a deterrent (Acevedo, 2000). Therefore, greater clarity is needed regarding the role of *familismo* and IPV among Latinas/os as it relates to help-seeking behaviors.

Overall Summary

In summary, the purpose of this study was to develop an emergent theory to explain subsequent dating/relationships among Latinas after adolescent IPV. Grounded theory methodology (e.g., Corbin & Strauss, 2008) was utilized to examine this topic. Eleven Latinas, between the age of 18 to 35 years old, who experienced adolescent IPV

participated in individual interviews discussing their dating/relationship expectations and behaviors following adolescent IPV.

Results revealed that: *Latinas who experienced adolescent IPV underwent changes that led to an increased focus on self-protection, which influenced subsequent partner/relationship expectations (e.g., less traditional gender roles, which also influenced other expectations including partnership; emotional support/space; safe communication/self-expression), new behaviors in dating/relationships (e.g., period of being single; cautious, slower approach to dating/relationships), and relationship goals (e.g., a desire for an IPV-free relationship; companionship; monogamy).* Results also indicated a core category: focus on self-protection. Results also indicated that these women established relationships goals including having companionship in an IPV-free, monogamous relationship. Additionally, the results reflected that many of the participants, at the time of this study were engaging in satisfying, IPV-free relationships. Results from this study also offered clinical implications and directions for future research.

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Appendix A
Informed Consent

Marquette University Agreement of Consent for Research Participants

When I sign this statement, I am giving consent to the following consideration: I understand that the purpose of this study titled, “The Impact of Teen Intimate Partner Violence on Subsequent Dating Experiences among Latinas,” is to gain an understanding of the personal experiences that dating abuse has upon the subsequent new dating experiences among Latina between the ages of 18 to 24 years.

I understand that the study involves 1 audiotaped in person interview, which will last 60-90 minutes. I also understand that there will be approximately 10-20 participants in this study. I understand that the interview involves a discussion of my personal dating experiences and the influence that my adolescent experience of abuse has influenced my personal dating experiences. I will also be asked to complete a brief demographic form. Furthermore, I understand that my audiotaped interview will be transcribed and that the tapes will be erased upon completion of the study.

I understand that all the information I share in this study will be kept confidential and data associated with me will be assigned a code number and/or pseudonym in place of using my name or any other identifying information. I understand I will not be identified by name when the study results are written. I recognize that data will be destroyed by paper shredding of documents and deleting electronic files five years after the completion of the study.

I acknowledge that the risks associated with participation in this study may include discomfort talking about my experiences of abuse and dating, however this is expected to be minimal. In the case that I become extremely uncomfortable I can let the interviewer know and discontinue participation at any time without facing penalty. In the even that I withdraw, I understand that all data collected prior to my terminating participation in the study will be destroyed.

All of my questions regarding this study have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that if I have questions at a later date concerning this study I can contact Lucia J. Stubbs, M.A. at (608)469-0625 (lucia.stubbs@marquette.edu) or Lisa M. Edwards, Ph.D. (Dissertation Advisor) at (414)288-1433 (lisa.edwards@marquette.edu). Additional information regarding my rights as a participant in this study can be obtained from Marquette University’s Office of Research Compliance at (414)288-1479.

_____ Date: _____
(signature of subject giving consent)

_____ Location: _____
(signature of researcher)

Appendix B
Demographic Form

Identification Number (to be completed by researcher): _____

Age: _____

Sex: _____

Race(s)/Ethnicity(ies): _____

Relationship Status:

Single_____ In Relationship_____ Cohabiting(Living with Partner)_____
Married_____

Level of Education:

What was the highest grade you completed? _____

Appendix C Interview Protocol

Thank you for your participation in this study about dating relationships among Latinas. The purpose of this study is to obtain a better understanding of the influence that dating an abusive boyfriend as a teenager has on new dating experiences.

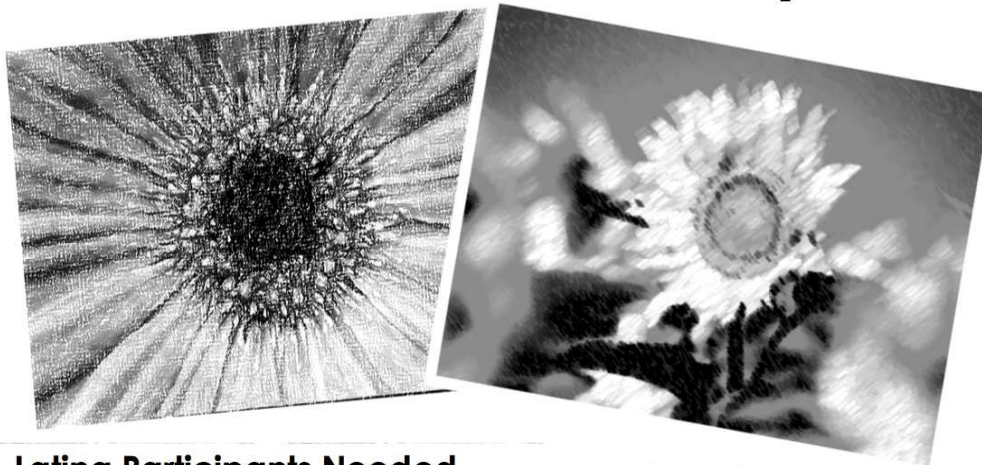
As a reminder participants must be between the ages of 18 to 24 years, experienced abuse by a boyfriend during their teenage years, and be a single Latina. Thus, participants for this study must meet these criteria to be included in the study. Again, all information in this study will be kept confidential and used solely for research purposes.

1. What do you look for when you date?
 - a. Describe the kind of men you are attracted to...
 - i. Physical features (e.g., short, tall, etc.), personality (funny, quiet, outgoing, etc.)
 - b. Hopes, desires, expectations (e.g., committed relationship, marriage, etc.)
2. What is a good date and what is a bad date?
3. Do older people in your family have different views about dating than younger people in your family?
 - a. Also, do the women and men in your family have different opinions about dating? Explain.
4. In what ways does your Latino background influence you?
5. What is your experience being a Latina woman and dating?
6. What does it mean to be a “good Latina woman” and a “good Latino man” when it comes to dating?
 - a. Are there things you are expected to do/not to do?
 - b. What should a Latino man do when dating? What should a Latina do when dating?
7. Can you give me a brief overview of the abuse you experienced as teenager while dating?
 - a. CONTEXT OF PREVIOUS IPV EXPERIENCE
 - i. How old
 - ii. Single incident vs. repeated occurrence
 - iii. Response to abuse
 - iv. Who knew/didn't know
8. How long was it since you started dating again after that experience?
9. How did you start dating (or begin thinking of dating) after experiencing that?
 - a. How, if at all, did that experience change how you date?
10. What have been your dating experiences since the abuse you experienced as a teenager? So can you tell me how many different people you have dated, for how long, and how serious (were these dating relationships)?
11. How, if at all, has dating changed for you since your abusive experience as a teenager?
 - a. Did it change anything with how you approach sex when dating?
12. What would you like your next committed relationship to be like?

- a. What about a relationship tells you that you're being abused?
 - b. How important is it for you to avoid abuse in future relationships?
13. What words do Latinas your age use when talking about abusive boyfriends and dating?
14. Is there anything else that you would like to share related to this topic of dating as a Latina after experiencing an abusive romantic relationship?

Appendix D
Recruitment Advertisement

Seeking Latinas' 18 -35 years for Research Study



Latina Participants Needed to Share Their Views

This study is about an important and understudied topic, Latina's views about dating and relationships. English-speaking Latinas who experienced abuse from a boyfriend as a teenager are invited to share opinions about new relationship experiences in a private individual interview.

- * One interview!
- * Remain anonymous!
- * Earn \$25 to \$45!

Call: 608-469-0625

Email: lc.stubbs@gmail.com

IRB approved

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