PREVENTING FAMILY VIOLENCE: INVESTIGATING THE THEORETICAL
ORIENTATIONS AND TECHNIQUES OF NEW ZEALAND MIGRANT COMMUNITIES

BY

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*It happens all the time in heaven,*
*And some day*

*It will begin to happen*
*Again on earth -*

*That men and women who are married,*
*And men and men who are*
*Lovers,*

*And women and women*
*Who give each other*
*Light,*

*Often will get down on their knees*

*And while so tenderly*
*Holding their lover's hand,*

*With tears in their eyes,*
*Will sincerely speak, saying,*

*"My dear,*
*How can I be more loving to you;*

*How can I be more kind?"*

— Ḥāfiẓ (2003)

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**Abstract**

While New Zealand legal and cultural sanctions against family violence are strong, representative surveys suggest that approximately 1 in 3 women has experienced physical violence from a partner in her lifetime, and every year approximately 14 women, 6 men, and 10 children die in New Zealand due to family violence. Evidence shows that family violence impacts members of all ethnic and cultural backgrounds, and migrant victims may suffer in silence more often than others due to social isolation and language or cultural barriers. Limited research is available on how the Duluth model, a popular feminist theoretical understanding of violence, is relevant to the experiences of migrants. This theory posits that patriarchal culture and men's psychological desire for power and control facilitate violence toward women. As government agencies and community organizations act to prevent family violence, research is needed on how this model is relevant to understandings of violence that are prevalent in migrant communities. We must also increase our limited knowledge about how prevention efforts can be more inclusive of these groups. Two qualitative studies were conducted to explore these questions.

In Study 1, I investigated the theoretical relevance of the Duluth model to New Zealand migrant communities, collecting data in partnership with two community groups that have organized informal family violence prevention initiatives. I conducted semi-structured interviews with community leaders and focus groups with community members. The findings suggest that participants viewed violence as caused either by desire for control (compatible with the Duluth model) or anger (incompatible). Participants articulated the need to balance rights (compatible) with responsibilities in interdependent, role-based family relationships (incompatible). Based on these findings, I suggest a two-pronged approach, where pre-violence prevention targets potential perpetrators by focusing on the responsibility to treat others well and post-violence intervention emphasizes victims' rights.

In Study 2, I analyzed the processes and strategies that community groups use to prevent violence. Data collection occurred during the same interviews and focus groups as the previous study, using a different set of questions and stimuli. My analysis indicated that participants used prevention strategies that validated and reduced ambivalence about the harmful nature of non-physical violence. Particularly in religious communities, leaders invoked aspirational cultural ideals that were intended to motivate positive behaviors and encourage healthy relationships. At the community level, participants identified opportunities to improve multilevel communication in order to enhance the benefits of cultural community

engagement. I suggest that in addition to thoroughly evaluating these approaches for efficacy in migrant communities, we should consider how these approaches might be beneficially employed in mainstream initiatives.

These findings suggest that nuanced understandings of family interdependence and responsibility can increase the relevance of family violence prevention campaigns to migrant communities. The findings and recommendations were synthesized into a framework for migrant community groups and their government partners. While research is needed to examine the effects of these strategies, they may increase the applicability of prevention initiatives to migrant communities and may also be explored as appropriate strategies for mainstream prevention campaigns.

*Keywords:* family violence, domestic violence, Duluth model, primary prevention, culture, immigrant communities

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## Culture and Family Violence in New Zealand: Defining the Problem

Sarwan Lata Singh migrated from her native Fiji to New Zealand in 1999 with her husband and son (Duff, 2013). She made Wellington home, connecting with other members of the Fijian Indian community and getting a job as a grocery checkout clerk (Duff, 2013). She enjoyed dressing up, wearing bright lipstick, and cooking for friends (Duff, 2013). She experienced some rough years in Wellington, too. Her only child died of illness at the age of 15, and in the same year she lost both her mother and her father (Gopal, 2013). Her husband was violent, so she filed for divorce and obtained a legal protection order against him (Gopal, 2013). In the face of these challenges, she persevered. Sarwan booked a trip to visit her sister in Australia and bought new saris in preparation for a birthday celebration (Duff, 2013). Unfortunately, she never got to make the trip. In November of 2013, her estranged husband came to her home in breach of the protection order; Sarwan dialed 111, but when the police arrived, Sarwan was dead in her driveway (Fuatai, 2013).

Legal safeguards like Sarwan's protection order are important. They provide avenues for safety and raise awareness about the seriousness of family violence (Boshier, 2012). Legal sanctions can also deter violence before it happens (Holder, 2001); however, legal protections are ultimately not enough to prevent family violence, and we must also address the societal norms and individual attitudes that condone violence within families (Boshier, 2012). This research explored both theory and practice in migrant community approaches to preventing family violence, a serious issue that impacts far too many families like Sarwan's.

### New Zealand's Family Violence Problem

New Zealand's legal definition of family violence is codified in the Domestic Violence Act of 1995. The law is gender-neutral with regard to perpetrators and victims and applies broadly beyond marital and parental relationships (New Zealand Ministry of Justice, 2007), prohibiting violence directed at a spouse, partner, extended family member, cohabitating individual, or other person with a close personal relationship (New Zealand Domestic Violence Act, 1995). The law protects against not just physical violence but also sexual, psychological, and emotional abuse (New Zealand Domestic Violence Act, 1995).

Unfortunately, family violence rates are high in New Zealand compared to other developed countries, with violence widespread and often severe. In a 2011 survey, New Zealand had the highest rates of family violence of 14 Organization for Economic Development and Cooperation (OECD) countries surveyed (UN Women National Committee

Aotearoa New Zealand, 2011). In the average year, family violence perpetrators are responsible for the deaths of 14 women, six men, and 10 children, and New Zealand Police are called to 200 family violence incidents each day (Stringer, 2010). Despite high numbers of recorded incidents, actual rates of violence are thought to be far worse, with the majority of family violence not reported to authorities (UN Women National Committee Aotearoa New Zealand, 2011). In a representative sample, a shocking 32% of Auckland and Waikato women reported experiencing physical violence from a partner at some point in their lives (55% when including psychological and sexual violence), and only 25% of victims had reported an incident to police (Fanslow & Robinson, 2010). Similar rates of violence were reported by participants in a United Nations survey, where 30% of New Zealand women reported experiencing violence from a partner between 2000 and 2010 (UN Women National Committee Aotearoa New Zealand, 2011). Underreporting makes it difficult to compare rates of violence between New Zealand and other countries. However, these shocking statistics make it clear that family violence (particularly violence against women) is a major problem in New Zealand.

While many New Zealand and international surveys focus on violence against women, there are male and female victims of all ages and ethnicities (Paulin & Edgar, 2013). Studies indicate that about 2,000 cases of elder abuse may occur in New Zealand every year, with approximately equal numbers of male and female victims (Fallon, 2006). Children are frequent victims as well; according to the Youth'07 survey, 17% of New Zealand secondary school students had witnessed an adult physically harming a child in their home during a one year period (Paulin & Edgar, 2013). And while men are stereotyped as perpetrators, they are also sometimes victims (and are perhaps less likely to report violence to authorities; Felson, Messner, Hoskin, & Deane, 2006)—men attacked by a partner comprise 7% of New Zealand assault hospitalizations (Paulin & Edgar, 2013).

Representative surveys and crime statistics suggest that the prevalence of partner violence differs by ethnicity, though different data sources suggest conflicting information about comparative prevalence rates. Police records do not explicitly label incidents as family violence, nor do they track migrant status, making it difficult to compare incidents by ethnicity or country of origin (New Zealand Family Violence Clearinghouse, 2013). Additionally, police estimate that only 18% of incidents are reported (Stringer, 2010), and underreporting differs systematically, with ethnic minorities reporting family violence less often than whites (Heckert & Gondolf, 2000). Further, ethnic inequalities in socioeconomic status make it difficult to make sense of any known differences in violence prevalence rates.

Despite the limitations of attempting to make demographic comparisons, it is useful to acknowledge statistical records that suggest widespread family violence problems in ethnic communities. Statistics show that Māori are disproportionately represented in all police and Child, Youth and Family measures of family violence (Paulin & Edgar, 2013). There are undeniable ethnic inequalities in family homicides, with Māori three times as likely to die from family violence compared to the average New Zealander, ethnic Pacific Islanders twice as likely, and ethnic Asians just slightly more likely than average (Paulin & Edgar, 2013). Pacific children are almost twice as likely to witness adult violence toward children in their home (Paulin & Edgar, 2013). Services designated specifically for migrant and ethnic women are heavily utilized; Shakti, a family violence intervention agency, responded to over 3,000 calls from migrant, refugee, and ethnic women on their crisis line in 2012 (Paulin & Edgar, 2013). Though firm group comparisons cannot be made with confidence, the statistics show that people of all ethnicities are deeply impacted by family violence. Because this problem is pervasive throughout New Zealand society, prevention initiatives must be inclusive of and applicable to all New Zealand ethnic groups and cultural communities.

**Migration, Culture, and Family Violence**

New Zealand is rapidly diversifying, with migrants born overseas now comprising over one quarter of the total population; while 22% of these migrants were born in England, the proportion of migrants from Asia is 32% and growing (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Ethnic diversity is also increasing among those born in New Zealand, with the Asian population rising from 6.6% in 2001 to 11.8% in 2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Ethno-cultural diversity will likely continue to grow; for example, Pacific Islanders will increase from 6% of the current population to about 12% by 2051 (Mauri Ora Associates, 2010). See Figure 1 for census data and projections of growing ethnic diversity in New Zealand.

With growing migration comes increased cultural diversity. Culture influences and helps to shape all aspects of social life within a society, including wide-ranging facets such as social taboos, birth and death rituals, gender and family roles, and attitudes toward family violence. There are debates within cross-cultural psychology over how to define culture and understand its underpinnings (for example, see Hwang & Yang, 2000). For the purposes of this research, such debates were of limited importance. Here I defined culture as a system of shared meanings, through which a group bounded by geography, ethnicity, or another affiliation tends to interpret situations in similar ways (Berry, 2000; Rohner, 1984; Triandis, 1994). While diverse views exist within any culture, there are some patterns of common values, beliefs, and behaviors that differentiate one cultural group from another.
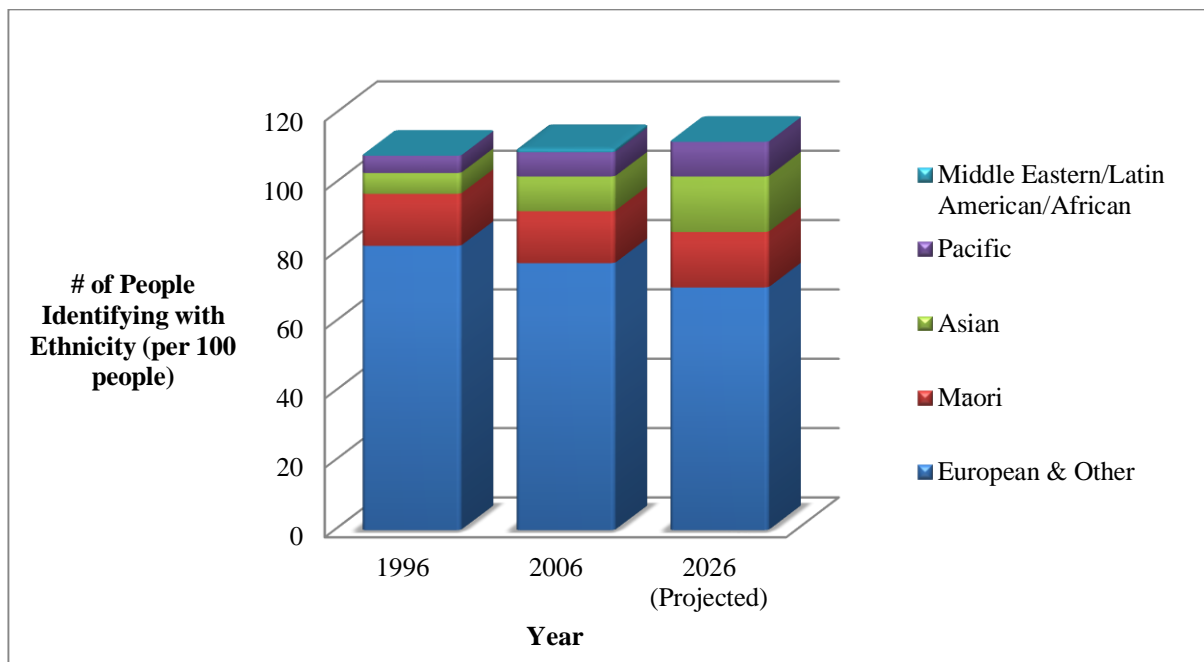
*Figure 1.* Census statistics and projections of growing ethnic diversity in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2006a, 2006b).

New Zealand's mainstream cultural and political ideology is largely based on British liberalism (James & Saville-Smith, 1994). Liberalism affords equal legal rights, though that does not guarantee equality in practice. For some migrants, New Zealand's legal sanctions against violence may be stronger than legal protections afforded by their country of birth (see Thomson Reuters Foundation, 2013). In countries of origin where such laws do exist, cultural norms about violence may not match legal definitions. Indeed, this could be the case to some extent even in New Zealand, where historically patriarchal norms may facilitate inequality and partially explain why high rates of violence continue to exist despite strong legal protection and egalitarian norms. Likewise, in China and India, substantial rates of violence persist despite legal sanctions. Laws in both countries protect married women from physical violence from partners (Bhatia, 2012; People's Republic of China Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2002), but in both countries it is widely accepted for men to physically punish their wives (Bentley & Celentano, 2003; C. Chan & Liu, 1999). In qualitative interviews in India, both women and men considered it normative for a husband to beat his wife, though there were gender differences in the level of severity that was perceived as acceptable (Bentley & Celentano, 2003). In interviews with Chinese women who were victims of partner abuse, participants shared "a common belief that beating is an acceptable act in marital life" and that "being beaten by a husband is considered a common event for any married couple" (C. Chan & Liu, 1999, p. 1477). In cultural contexts where partner violence is prevalent, a husband's

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physical discipline may not widely be considered abusive, or may be seen by some as acceptable or even expected. The first step toward developing relevant, culturally sensitive violence prevention programs is understanding the diversity of views about violence, including how different cultural groups define family violence and perceive its effects (Bent-Goodley, 2004). This is complex in diverse societies like New Zealand.

**Research on Culture and Violence**

The sensitivity of discussing uncomfortable topics like family violence can be more pronounced for minority groups, and limited research has been conducted on migration and family violence (though see Nam, Waldvogel, Stone, & Levine, 2011 for a thorough annotated bibliography of relevant New Zealand and international research). In particular, there is a need for more research on migration and family violence *prevention*, which must recognize migrants' unique issues regarding social isolation, limited English proficiency, and relative lack of knowledge about New Zealand laws and services (Levine & Benkert, 2011). Ethnic minority migrants may be less likely to access help through official channels due to low levels of cultural competence among service providers (Bent-Goodley, 2004). Furthermore, victims that belong to small cultural communities may stay silent about their struggles out of in-group loyalty, prioritizing community cohesion or image above their individual needs (Bent-Goodley, 2004).

Some academic researchers have been cautious about discussing family violence from a cultural perspective. Anthropologists, for example, were long reticent to report family violence to protect informants, to guard their own ability to engage in future fieldwork, to avoid imposing a political agenda, and to respect hospitality by emphasizing positive aspects of a society (Counts, 1992). Indeed, ethnocentrism from Western researchers can reduce the motivation of non-Westerners to participate in research on sensitive issues. For example, some scholars write of the need to liberate or 'save' people who are 'victims' of their culture without understanding the nuances of historical and cultural differences (Abu-Lughod, 2002). Such culture blaming overshadows the universality of family violence, which is all too prevalent in Western societies that purport to uphold egalitarian gender roles. In the United Kingdom, researchers found that pinning causality on region, culture, and religion was unsuccessful because family violence transcends one-dimensional explanations and occurs across overlapping, shared sets of values (Gill, 2013). Despite the risks and sensitivities, culturally competent academic research can help to address and prevent family violence in migrant communities, so research on culture and violence is crucial. The current research builds upon theoretical and applied knowledge about culture and violence prevention.

**Violence Prevention in Theory**

Strong theoretical understandings of family violence are a crucial component of effective prevention (Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, Zwi, & Lozano, 2002). Early, pre-1970s theories of family violence were simple cause and effect models focused on either the individual or society, with a single level of analysis that could not explain why some people with the identified causal traits became violent while others did not (Tolliver, Valle, Dopke, Dolz Serra, & Milner, 1998). Individual perspectives focused on perpetrator characteristics, including low self-control, a history of violent relationships, drug or alcohol use, and high levels of testosterone (Brown & Hendricks, 1998). These early models were primarily based on pathology, identifying perpetrators as deviants and providing few prospects for violence prevention outside of individual psychiatric treatment (Tracy & Crawford, 1992). Meanwhile, sociological models focused on cultural values and economic conditions at the societal level (Tolliver et al., 1998). These societal perspectives were based on social structures and identified stressors such as poverty, failed marriages, lack of social support, and emulation of behaviors as causes and exacerbating factors of family violence (Brown & Hendricks, 1998). Feminist perspectives incorporated factors such as gender-based power differentials, coercive control, and non-physical forms of abuse that reflected societal acceptance of male dominance (Brown & Hendricks, 1998; Straka & Montminy, 2008).

**Ecological Models of Violence**

In the 1970s, more sophisticated models grew in popularity, incorporating multiple levels of analysis and complex cause and effect relationships (Tolliver et al., 1998). Ecological models nest individual-level variables within broader levels, with individual-level indicators providing a more precise prediction of when particular persons will decide to engage in violence within facilitative environmental contexts (Dutton, 2006). See Figure 2 for a visualization of the nested nature of ecological models of violence.



**Society:** Widely shared cultural values and norms

**Community:** Local social networks (formal and informal)

**Relationship:** Interactions with family, friends, peers

**Individual:** Personal traits, development, experiences
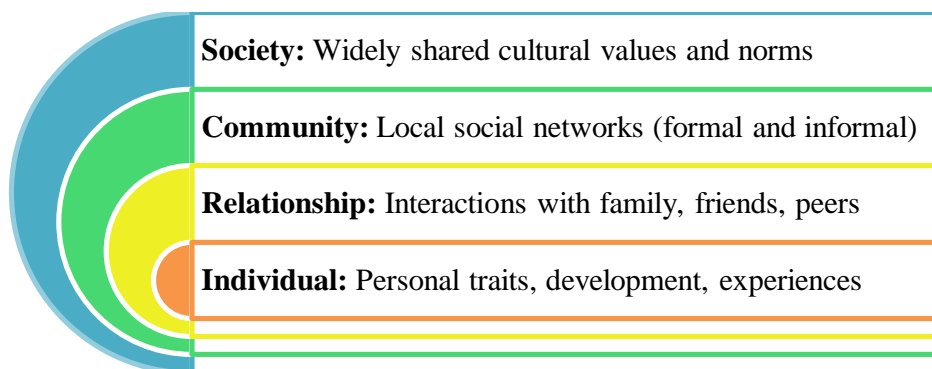
*Figure 2.* Nested ecological model of family violence (based on Dutton, 2006).

An effective program of prevention initiatives must address factors operating at each level (Morrison & Ellsberg, 2007), and research at and across all levels is necessary to understand, predict, and prevent family violence. Ecological models recognize that culture influences individual thoughts and behaviors, with interesting implications for migrants: Before migration, a family and individual operate within societal and community norms and systems of privilege that likely seem natural (Case, Iuzzini, & Hopkins, 2012). After migration, the family and individual must adapt to a new societal environment, where norms may differ from the familiar (Berry, 1997). Once resettled, migrants may maintain their culture of origin by participating in a social network made up of other migrants that operates as a subculture within the new society (Phillimore, 2011). The cultural values of the new society may complement and clash in various ways with values endorsed at other nested levels (Schiefer, Mollering, & Daniel, 2012). To consider such conflicts and complementarities, my research investigated the relevance of one ecological theory of family violence: the Duluth model of power and control.

**The Duluth Model of Power and Control**

The theories currently most respected by Western family violence experts incorporate perpetrators' use of power and control to dominate victims (Hyde-Nolan & Juliao, 2011). The Duluth model is based on practitioner observations, interviews, and research indicating that while the abusive nature of physical violence is easily recognizable, control and coercion are the most common and harmful forms of abuse and are highly predictive of homicide and severe injury (Stark, 2013). Developed by the Domestic Abuse Intervention Project in the 1980s, the Duluth model is an integrated community-level response to men's violence against women (Pence & Paymar, 1993). Its theoretical approach is gendered and frames violence as a predominantly male tactic to maintain power or control over another person through a pattern of emotional, psychological, and economic control strategies (Crichton-Hill, 2001; Domestic Abuse Intervention Programs, 2011; Hyde-Nolan & Juliao, 2011). The model differentiates between men who use low-level violence like slapping and those who use tactics of systematic control and abuse toward women (Pence, 1999). The framework identifies several motivations for violence, including personal desire for control at the individual level, social learning at the relational level, and norms of male privilege at the societal level (Wells, 2003). The Power and Control Wheel, shown in Figure 3, identifies common behavioral manifestations of these motivations for abuse (Domestic Abuse Intervention Programs, 2011).

*Figure 3*. Power and Control Wheel: A visualization of the most common violent tactics used by male perpetrators to control female victims (Domestic Abuse Intervention Programs, 2011).

**Gender in the Duluth model.** Gender is a subjective set of beliefs that serves to differentiate males and females beyond the biological differences of sex (Thompson & Armato, 2012). The centrality of gender distinguishes the Duluth model from many other theoretical understandings of family violence. In fact, Duluth model proponents and others that categorize themselves as feminist often take issue with "family violence" as a descriptive terminology, as this classification can underemphasize the disproportionate degree to which women and children are victims. In liberal cultures like New Zealand, women and men are considered equal under the law, yet widespread differences exist in informal family and workplace roles (Connell, 2002). Western societal models are rooted in ancient Greek formulations of society, where men dominate the 'noble' public sphere and women are largely restrained to the 'inferior' private sphere (McMaster, 2004). Though New Zealand law affords equal legal rights to men and women, actual inequality prevails in several areas, including business leadership and economic opportunity (New Zealand Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2010). For example, about 63% of women's work is unpaid, compared to 35% of men's work (New Zealand Ministry of Women's Affairs, n.d.). This reflects, in part, different family responsibilities and social expectations. Despite strong normative support for gender equality, some of New Zealand's historical traditions of patriarchy and male dominance still influence interactions in workplaces and interpersonal relationships (James & Saville-Smith,

1994). The Duluth model discerns legal inequality from such actual social inequality, the latter of which is often historical and informal (Kilmartin & Allison, 2007; Stark, 2007).

The Duluth model is a feminist framework that views violence as a manifestation of the structures and beliefs of a patriarchal society (Crichton-Hill, 2001; Straka & Montminy, 2008). Duluth-based interventions explicitly seek to adjust the power equilibrium between men and women (Pence & Paymar, 2003). Through psychoeducation, male abusers are challenged to question the belief systems that legitimize gendered power differentials and to orient their attitudes more toward the cultural ideal of universal equality (Mederos, 1999). Duluth model supporters and detractors debate the appropriateness of such gendered approaches; for example, Dutton and Corvo (2007) critiqued the Duluth model as a gender shaming intervention, while proponents have responded that any intervention that preferences certain behaviors over others is shaming by nature (Gondolf, 2007).

Opponents of the Duluth model also critique the implication that men and women differ in important ways, including psychological levels of need for power (Dutton & Corvo, 2007). Some studies suggest that women also use violence as an instrumental means of gaining power and control (Dennehy & Severs, 2003). Researchers such as Dutton and Corvo (2007) suggest that women and men are equally violent (see also Headey, Scott, & de Vaus, 1999). Much of the research suggesting gender symmetry in the perpetration of partner violence is based on surveys that use Straus et al.'s (1996) Conflict Tactics Scale (Straka & Montminy, 2008; Taft, Hegarty, & Flood, 2001). Duluth model proponents argue that studies showing gender symmetry do not account for psychological control tactics, which they view as absent from the Conflict Tactics Scale, and say that these studies also fail to measure the disproportionate severity and consequences of men's violence toward women (Dobash & Dobash, 2004; Gondolf, 2007; Taft et al., 2001).

**Anger in the Duluth model.** The Duluth model intentionally rejects anger as a potential cause of violence (Gondolf, 2007; Pence & Paymar, 1993); the developers opposed cycle-of-violence theories that depict family violence as isolated, anger-based episodes, instead using the Power and Control Wheel to demonstrate how abuse can be ongoing and systematic (Miller, 2010; Pence & Paymar, 1993). Duluth model interventions address the reasons that abusive men feel entitled to use anger as an excuse for coercion and violence toward a partner when they do not use these means in other situations (Pence, 1999). Meanwhile, Duluth model critics argue that anger is crucially overlooked (i.e., Dutton & Corvo, 2007). Empirical research shows that Duluth model interventions and cognitive-behavioral anger management programs show similar (modest) effect sizes (Babcock, Green,

& Robie, 2004), placing both amongst the most effective interventions currently available (Gondolf, 2007). However, some data suggest that cognitive-behavioral components of the Duluth model are responsible for the positive effects of Duluth-based interventions (E. Bowen, 2011). The debate over the role of anger management in family violence prevention is not yet settled, and supporters and detractors passionately argue opposite sides of the issue.

   **New Zealand culture and Duluth model cultural assumptions.** Hofstede (2001) developed one of the most respected theories of culture, identifying several underlying dimensions that differentiate cultures from one another. These dimensions can be used to understand the shared meanings and beliefs that characterize mainstream New Zealand culture and to assess how these may be compatible with the cultural assumptions inherent in the Duluth model. See Table 1 for a description of Hofstede's cultural dimensions, along with New Zealand's scores on these dimensions and my analysis of how these dimensions might relate to applications of the Duluth model.

Table 1

*New Zealand Scores on Hofstede's Dimensions of Culture*

| Dimension of culture | Definition of dimension | NZ score* | Relevance to Duluth model |
|---|---|---|---|
| Power distance | Acceptance of hierarchy and inequality | 22 | Low acceptance of hierarchy is compatible with the Duluth model's focus on equality and on rejecting male privilege |
| Individualism | Rights and well-being of individuals prioritized over those of groups | 79 | High individualism is compatible with Duluth model support for rights and well-being of women as individuals rather than families as interdependent units |
| Masculinity | Support for 'masculine' values (e.g., assertiveness, competitiveness, traditional roles) compared to 'feminine' values (e.g., modesty, care, flexibility) | 58 | Mild orientation toward masculinity reflects persistence of historically embedded gender roles, with men and women expected to behave somewhat differently |
| Uncertainty avoidance | Tolerance for ambiguity | 49 | Moderate tolerance for uncertainty suggests moderate willingness to explore diverse views and to try new approaches to addressing societal problems |

*Scores range from 0-100 and were obtained from http://geert-hofstede.com

Research suggests that these cultural dimensions may be related to family violence attitudes and behaviors. For example, Archer (2006) found that country-level power distance was negatively correlated with gender empowerment ($r(31) = -.62$, $p < .001$) and positively correlated with recent rates of male-perpetrated partner violence ($r(16) = .65$, $p < .01$); conversely, individualism was positively correlated with gender empowerment ($r(30) = .77$, $p < .001$) and negatively correlated with recent rates of male-perpetrated partner violence ($r(16) = -.80$, $p < .001$). Other cultural dimensions were uncorrelated with measures of gender empowerment and rates of violence (Archer, 2006). New Zealand's low score for power distance and high score for individualism suggest that we might expect high levels of gender empowerment (as evidenced by legislation and norms in favor of gender equality) and low levels of intimate partner violence (as contradicted by statistics showing high rates of perpetration).

Migrants are exposed to two different cultural climates—the culture of origin and New Zealand culture—and both may impact their views on issues such as gender empowerment. For example, migrants from common countries of origin such as India (power distance = 77, individualism = 48) and China (power distance = 80, individualism = 20; scores retrieved from http://geert-hofstede.com) may have had early exposure to settings where gender empowerment was not a culture-level priority. As migrants adapt to New Zealand culture through the process of acculturation, they make decisions about which traditions and attitudes to adopt from the new culture and which to maintain from the culture of origin (Berry, 1997). These cultural dimensions can help to contextualize migrants' discourses on alternative views about social issues, gender relations, and family relationships.

**Cross-cultural Duluth model applications.** Developed in a small city in the Midwestern United States, the Duluth model is also popular internationally, and it is the primary model used by New Zealand mainstream service providers (Balzer, 1999; Crichton-Hill, 2001; Wells, 2003). Its first implementation in New Zealand may have been in Hamilton in 1991, where separate Māori and Pākehā[1] committees first considered its cultural relevance (Balzer, 1999). The Pākehā committee recognized U.S. and New Zealand cultural roots as similar, both rooted in British traditions and values of individualism, power-seeking, and belief in natural hierarchy (Balzer, 1999). The model appealed to Māori activists because it acknowledged the disadvantaged position of women and Māori in New Zealand, as well as

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[1] This term is commonly used to refer to native-born New Zealanders of ethnically European ancestry.

the impact of colonization on the use of violence in intimate relationships between Māori men and women (Balzer, 1999). Despite these endorsements, there is some evidence that the model may not be relevant to all New Zealanders. For example, in one study, participants of various ethnicities recognized non-physical types of violence as abuse, but beliefs about the causes of violence differed by ethnicity: Pākehā participants emphasized power and control as bases for violence, while few Pacific participants mentioned power and control issues, and Māori participants viewed the roots of violence differently (McNeill, 1988).

While the Duluth model has been widely applied across cultures, the cultural assumptions and values associated with the model have been neglected in the academic literature. Evaluations suggest that there may be more empirical support for the cognitive-behavioral aspects of the model than its underlying cultural assumptions (E. Bowen, 2011), so it is vital to conduct further research on how these cultural assumptions impact the model's relevance to diverse groups living in New Zealand. Pence (1985) identified four cultural facilitators of partner violence: natural order, with men considered objectively superior; objectification of women; forced submission, supported by societal institutions; and overt coercion, with few consequences for violence. In New Zealand, Crichton-Hill (2001) critiqued the relevance of these cultural facilitators to ethnic Samoans, arguing that while Samoan culture endorses strong gender roles, these roles counter the assumption of natural order because men and women's roles are viewed as equally important. Additionally, gender-based familial roles such as brother-sister relationships may inhibit violence through fulfillment of cultural expectations about family responsibilities (Crichton-Hill, 2001). Surprisingly, I could not locate any other evaluation of Pence's cultural facilitators, despite the Duluth model's growing popularity and a fairly substantial literature on its development and implementation. Unfortunately, it appears that the model's cultural assumptions have faced little theoretical or empirical scrutiny, despite their centrality to the model's assertions.

Despite limited research on Pence's cultural facilitators, some research has questioned the Duluth model's applicability in collectivist cultures. While the Duluth model recognizes structural causes of violence and employs community-based responses, some cross-cultural and non-Western researchers view the Duluth model's approach to community as predominantly individualistic (e.g., Erwin, 2006). For example, community-based elements of Duluth interventions are based in the legal and criminal justice systems, with an aim to build links between police, criminal justice agencies, and front line service providers in order to increase legal accountability for perpetrators (see Pence & Paymar, 1993). Such legalistic approaches may be considered community-based in Western societies but are

largely considered individualistic and mechanistic in many societies outside of the United States (Erwin, 2006). Thus Duluth interventions applied in non-Western contexts may struggle for cultural 'fit,' particularly in their individualist orientation to legal accountability rather than relational accountability.

Further, while Duluth model psychoeducation groups for male perpetrators incorporate relational aspects, such programs prioritize gender inequality over other cross-cutting identities, such as ethnicity, socioeconomic class, or migration status, which are also relevant to understanding the structural forces that contribute to high rates of violence (Mankowski, Haaken, & Silvergleid, 2002). Techniques that prioritize one form of identity over others may be less readily adopted by those that value multiple identities or those who are impacted by intersecting inequalities (Verloo, 2013). The focus on categories that is common in Western society can be problematic in itself, as those from relational cultures affiliate less with categorical identities and more with their role in a social network (Cross, Bacon, & Morris, 2000). For example, Taiwanese social workers trained in Duluth interventions reported that Taiwanese cultural views on gender roles contradicted the model's Western feminist perspective, with conversations framed around gender inequality, power, control, and empowerment alienating to victims (C.-L. J. Liu & Regehr, 2008). In East Asian societies, hierarchical relationalism may promote elective participation in unequal relationships between men and women because of the functional, positive impacts of such inequality (J. H. Liu, 2014). Differentiated gender roles that accompany interdependence and reciprocal responsibilities are believed by many in Chinese society to promote healthy family interactions and perhaps inhibit violence. Furthermore, in Western countries, power and control may be viewed as masculine traits (Thompson & Armato, 2012), but while European-American activists renounce masculinity as harmful for men and families, other cultures recognize that it is possible to develop masculinities that are based on respect, love, and peaceful interactions (Mederos, 1999). It is possible to keep safety as the primary goal while working to develop alternative masculinities and healthy male personal and cultural identities (Tello, 2008). Further, while Judeo-Christian cultures view women as passive, other cultures (including Hindu and Islamic cultures) view women as strong (Dasgupta, 1999). Cultural differences in how men and women are perceived to hold and use power are centrally important to assessing the applicability of the Duluth model. The model negatively evaluates cultural norms that support or uphold differentiated gender roles (Crichton-Hill, 2001; Dutton & Corvo, 2007). However, while cultural norms can be used to justify male dominance and even violence, they can also be powerful deterrents against interpersonal and family violence

(see Krug et al., 2002). The theoretical implications of such protective functions require more attention from Western researchers evaluating family violence interventions.

**The Importance of Inclusive Theory**

Strong theory can improve prevention initiatives by providing cues about when to intervene, for how long, and with whom (Whitaker et al., 2006). Inclusive theory requires recognizing that "life experiences and their meanings are qualitatively different for different individuals due to general and idiosyncratic patterns shaped by social dimensions" (Bograd, 1999, p. 276). Before applying a theory to intervention in diverse cultural communities, the theory's relevance must be qualitatively examined. Critics of the Duluth model question its strongly gendered theoretical approach, its intentional omission of anger and emotion as causes of family violence, and its widespread (yet largely unevaluated) use outside of Western liberal cultures. This research therefore examined the role of gender, emotion, and culture in lay theoretical understandings of family violence held by New Zealand migrants.

<div align="center">

**Violence Prevention in Practice**

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Many government agencies and community organizations are acting to reduce New Zealand's alarming rates of family violence (Hassall & Fanslow, 2006). In addition to understanding the cross-cultural implications of theory, it is crucial to maximize the efficiency and effectiveness of interventions by understanding how cultural context influences community-based approaches to applied family violence prevention work (Krug et al., 2002). Prevention strategies take place at primary, secondary, and tertiary levels (see E. K. L. Chan, 2012; Krug et al., 2002). Primary-level interventions seek to prevent new instances and cases of violence (Spaulding & Balch, 1983) by changing the norms, attitudes, and societal structures underlying family violence (E. K. L. Chan, 2012). Secondary initiatives (aimed at early identification and amelioration) and tertiary initiatives (which treat victims or perpetrators) are post-violence interventions that typically target high-risk or symptomatic individuals (E. K. L. Chan, 2012). Strong criminal justice-oriented secondary and tertiary initiatives are important, but they have proven insufficient in reducing rates of violence (see Hassall & Fanslow, 2006), and cases like Sarwan's demonstrate the shortcomings of legal protections. All three levels of prevention make valuable, interdependent contributions to reductions in family violence, and primary prevention is particularly crucial to long-term change. Evidence shows that despite the worldwide pervasiveness of family violence, it *can* be prevented by taking steps to address individual risk factors, change norms about violence, and enhance community monitoring and responses (Krug et al., 2002).

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Primary prevention moves beyond education and awareness, aiming to change attitudes, beliefs, or behaviors (New Zealand Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2013). Early prevention efforts were aimed at teaching potential victims how to resist violence (Kilmartin & Allison, 2007). However, modern scientists view as preventive any efforts aimed toward personal development and life improvement, particularly with regard to mental and social issues (Spaulding & Balch, 1983). Rather than simply aiming to change 'problematic' individuals, it also encompasses efforts to change elements of the environmental context that facilitate social problems (Cohen & Chehimi, 2007). The Australian Domestic and Family Violence Clearinghouse classifies as primary prevention any program that promotes relationship equality, norms of non-violence, and access to support or resources (Walden, 2014). Such initiatives may deter violence by educating about risk factors of victimization, targeting the attitudes and behaviors of potential perpetrators, or both (Bachar & Koss, 2011). Primary prevention programs may utilize a range of approaches that help individuals build skills, enhance social competencies (including self-worth and belonging), and expand social support networks; programs may also aim to more widely impact social attitudes and norms (Albee & Gullotta, 1986). Common approaches include mass media and awareness campaigns, cognitive-behavioral interventions, and enactment of public policies that deter violence by punishing perpetrators and protecting victims (Krug et al., 2002).

Despite strong evidence that secondary and tertiary responses alone are insufficient, there are challenges to widespread enactment of primary prevention efforts. Firstly, primary prevention initiatives are harder to fund than short-term or crisis-driven interventions (Meade, 2010). Furthermore, empirical evidence in favor of primary prevention is not yet sufficiently robust. Academic research and practical knowledge about primary prevention are siloed (Staggs & Schewe, 2011), with very few published, systematic empirical evaluations of family violence primary prevention initiatives (Whitaker, Murphy, Eckhardt, Hodges, & Cowart, 2013). Change is slow, and it is difficult to demonstrate a program's long-term effectiveness in modifying attitudes and behaviors (Meade, 2010). In addition, by reducing stigma and raising awareness, effective primary prevention initiatives can actually lead to increases in reporting, which can give the appearance that rates of family violence are going up (Ramirez, Maty, & McBride, 2007).

While the literature on primary prevention is relatively thin, the evidence in its favor is promising (Walden, 2014; Whitaker et al., 2013). Research shows that primary prevention of violence is most efficient when targeted at high-risk populations, though general population campaigns can also be effective (Krug et al., 2002). The World Health

Organization prefers a gendered approach to violence prevention and recognizes the importance of nested ecological models in understanding multiple levels of influence (Krug et al., 2002). Comprehensive, coordinated initiatives are most effective and should include local entities (e.g., government, service providers, police, schools, caseworkers, task forces, and employers); national government agencies and religious organizations; and international non-governmental organizations and multilateral institutions (Krug et al., 2002). While there is a growing body of knowledge about primary prevention in New Zealand, further research is needed to incorporate the perspectives and primary prevention strategies of diverse groups, including migrant communities (New Zealand Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2013).

**New Zealand Primary Prevention Initiatives**

New Zealand's strategic approach to primary prevention is documented in the Te Rito Family Violence Prevention Strategy (Family Violence Focus Group, 2002), which outlines a plan to motivate, monitor, and measure efforts amongst 24 government programs and numerous private and voluntary prevention initiatives (Hassall & Fanslow, 2006). In discussions with key informants from the public and voluntary sector, I found a wide consensus that the New Zealand Police and Ministry of Social Development (MSD) are the leading agencies in governmental family violence prevention efforts, particularly in migrant communities. While police are generally associated with intervention, the New Zealand Police (2011) Prevention First National Operating Strategy highlights the importance of primary prevention of family violence. The Māori, Pacific and Ethnic Services Team partners closely with migrant community organizations, working to educate communities about the law and generate dialogue about key topics such as family violence. MSD's Settling In Program works to increase migrant well-being and integration, partnering with local community organizations to address social issues such as family violence (New Zealand Ministry of Social Development, n.d.).

Community organizations are highly involved in primary prevention efforts, and this involvement extends to agencies beyond the anti-violence sector (Family Violence Focus Group, 2002; Levine & Benkert, 2011). Particularly in migrant communities, not-for-profit organizations that are dedicated to broader social well-being and support are also leading partners in working to change norms and attitudes about family violence and healthy family relationships (Levine & Benkert, 2011). The work of these agencies often goes undocumented due to the budgetary and time constraints of voluntary organizations, yet their work plays an important role in strengthening anti-violence norms and raising migrant communities' awareness of the helping resources that are available.

**Leveraging Social Influence**

Community-based primary prevention initiatives are well positioned to change attitudes and behavior through processes of social influence. Social Cognitive Theory (SCT) posits that social and environmental contexts influence behavior through individual self-monitoring in comparison to personal and normative standards of behavior (Bandura, 1991, 2001). Primary prevention strategies may utilize social influence to change attitudes and behaviors by educating people about social norms and by leveraging community strengths or positive stereotypes about a group.

**Educating about social norms.** Research suggests that people overestimate the prevalence of undesirable or risky social behaviors (e.g., substance and alcohol abuse, risky sexual behaviors), especially if they are engaging in such behaviors themselves (Berkley-Patton, Prosser, McCluskey-Fawcett, & Towns, 2003; Lambert, Kahn, & Apple, 2003; Page et al., 2006). Likewise, studies show that people in general, and perpetrators in particular, overestimate the prevalence of family violence (Neighbors et al., 2010; Witte & Mulla, 2013). Such findings suggest an association between engaging in undesirable behaviors (such as family violence perpetration) and falsely perceiving social norms of acceptance for such behaviors (Neighbors et al., 2010). The 'social norms approach' to intervention seeks to reduce harmful behaviors by correcting individual misperceptions about the normative nature of such actions (H. W. Perkins & Berkowitz, 1986), often by providing accurate information about the prevalence of normal, healthy behaviors in a majority of the population (Burchell, Rettie, & Patel, 2013). Such interventions have been effective in reducing binge-drinking behaviors in college students (Neighbors, Larimer, & Lewis, 2004) and in reducing marijuana and cigarette use in adolescents (Hansen & Graham, 1991). Since family violence is perceived by both perpetrators and non-perpetrators as more common than it actually is, the social norms approach may be one way to change perceptions of norms and reduce perpetration of family violence (Witte & Mulla, 2013).

**Leveraging community strengths.** Social problem interventions are largely focused on risk factors and deficits, yet protective factors also play an important role in primary prevention (Maton, Schellenbach, Leadbeater, & Solarz, 2004). In fact, resilience research suggests that risk factors predict only 20-49% of outcomes for high-risk populations, while protective factors predict 50-80% of outcomes, demonstrating the importance of protective factors in violence prevention (Bernard, 2007). Academic researchers and government workers have called for more strengths-based approaches that build on cultural inhibitors of violence, particularly in migrant communities (Aisenberg & Herrenkohl, 2008; Levine &

Benkert, 2011; Maiter & Stalker, 2011; Sullivan, Bybee, & Allen, 2002). For example, strengths-based approaches might embrace healthy gender roles—which are valued and considered inhibitive of violence in some cultures—where men and women fulfill reciprocal obligations and protect one another in the context of familial roles such as those of brothers and sisters (Bent-Goodley, 2004; Crichton-Hill, 2001; Levine & Benkert, 2011; Turia, 2010). At the cultural level, community-based approaches can help to enhance group socioeconomic status (which is associated with lower levels of family violence) through capacity building and community empowerment (D. D. Perkins, Crim, Silberman, & Brown, 2004). Successful community-building efforts reduce environmental risks while also increasing a 'collective efficacy' to address problems such as family violence (Sabol, Coulton, & Korbin, 2004).

**The Importance of Analyzing Primary Prevention in Practice**

Research-based evaluations of primary prevention initiatives, while historically lacking, are becoming more prevalent in Australian academic and government research (Walden, 2014). Similarly, more New Zealand programs are implementing or aspiring to rigorous evaluation processes (for example, see Fergusson, Horwood, Ridder, & Grant, 2005; New Zealand State Services Commission, 2014). While the vast majority of New Zealand programs engage in some type of formal or informal process of evaluation, levels of rigor vary widely. Despite calls for more partnerships between academia and the community (e.g., Fine, 1989; Morrissey et al., 1997), there is still a divide between voluntary sector practices and academic research (Clancy & Cronin, 2005; Cottrell & Parpart, 2006; Eagle, Garson, Beller, & Sennett, 2003; Truman et al., 2000; Wandersman et al., 2008). As a result, researchers know little about the processes that migrant community organization leaders use in primary prevention work. As New Zealand rapidly diversifies, building a sound understanding of the relationships between culture, community leadership, and family violence is crucial to maximizing the effectiveness of prevention initiatives. Through applied research conducted in partnership with migrant community organizations, the present research began to explore, document, analyze, and contextualize the family violence prevention work that migrant communities are conducting in New Zealand.

**Researching Primary Prevention Theory and Practice in Migrant Communities**

In order to reach diverse groups, it is crucial that family violence prevention initiatives incorporate migrants' experiences and perspectives. This research sought to enhance both theoretical and practical understandings of primary prevention of family violence in migrant communities. Through two studies, the research aimed to answer the following questions:

- **Q1.** How is the Duluth model relevant to New Zealand migrant communities?
- **Q2.** What processes and strategies do New Zealand migrant communities employ in primary prevention of family violence?

**Methodology, Epistemology, and Overview**

The research questions investigated real-world interpretations of family violence and approaches to prevention in specific New Zealand communities. Qualitative approaches are instrumental in generating detailed, in-depth understandings of the meanings that people attribute to events and concepts (Patton, 2002). Research conducted in partnership with existing groups can contextualize knowledge (Flyvbjerg, 2011), and collecting data in such settings may be appropriate for examining research questions that interrogate processes and explanations (Yin, 2009). When using rigorous and transparent methodological procedures, applied research can be used to study real-world phenomena with reliability and validity (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012). Therefore, applied qualitative research was conducted in partnership with two migrant community organizations that have conducted informal work on family violence prevention. My epistemology is one of social constructionism, assuming multiple socially created and shaped realities that guide individuals' interpretations and interactions (Patton, 2002). I sought to embrace and respect cultural variation, yet in the interest of shared understanding, I attempted to draw upon cultural concepts that can help to integrate diverse views and achieve some degree of common ground and broader interpretability (Shi-xu, 2005).

In this introduction, I have presented an overview of the literature on family violence prevention theory and practice, demonstrating the need for research on how these manifest in migrant community violence prevention initiatives. In the next section I present the method, results, and discussion of Study 1 on the Duluth model's relevance to migrant communities. Then in the section on Study 2, I present my analysis of effective processes and strategies used by migrant communities in primary prevention initiatives. In the final section, I close with a general discussion of the findings and the implications for theory and practice.

## Study 1: Relevance of the Duluth Model

This study examined the ways in which the Duluth model can be considered relevant to New Zealand migrant communities. While the model's relevance has previously been examined for Māori and Pākehā New Zealanders (Balzer, 1999), no empirical investigation has been conducted regarding the model's relevance to migrants from non-Western countries, and Crichton-Hill's (2001) theoretical analysis suggested that the model may not be applicable to Samoan migrants in New Zealand. Limited international research also suggests that the Duluth model may contradict norms of interdependence that are commonly held in some non-Western cultures (for example, see C.-L. J. Liu & Regehr, 2008). Through qualitative research with several cultural groups, I explored how migrants from different cultural backgrounds perceive the relationship between violence and control. Working with migrant groups in New Zealand was a beneficial starting point to understanding the Duluth model's wider applicability in non-Western cultural contexts, as migrants bridging two cultures may be able to provide reflective insight into the differences between understandings of violence in their culture of origin and in New Zealand.

## Method

Culture is fluid, and individuals are influenced by different geographic, ethnic, linguistic, religious, and other influences. To facilitate the identification of shared cultural meanings, I conducted qualitative, semi-structured interviews with participants from specific, bounded migrant communities. To select the interview subjects, I utilized the networks of two community organizations, with the selected community groups serving as proxy for specific migrant cultural communities (see Yin, 2009). Identifying research partners from the wide range of organizations doing primary prevention work required strong criteria on eligibility for inclusion (see Flyvbjerg, 2011). Selection criteria was predetermined and included elements of maximum variation sampling (ethnic diversity; geographic diversity), typical case sampling (broader organizational mission, with cases as typical exemplars of community dialogue about violence rather than organizations specializing in family violence intervention), and criterion sampling (community ownership of the organization's primary prevention work, with independence from national-level campaigns in order to encompass new perspectives; sustained dialogue about family violence prevention across time; see Patton, 2002 for an overview of types of selection criteria).

Initial contact with organizations was made by email through two routes. Firstly, I made cold contact with some organizations after conducting online searches about family

violence prevention work. Secondly, some contacts were initiated based on warm leads facilitated by other researchers. In introductory emails to 13 organizations, I provided brief information about my research aims and methods. Seven of these organizations indicated some initial interest in participating in or learning more about the research; the remaining six organizations did not reply. Through email and phone correspondence (depending on the preference of my organizational contact), I answered questions about the research. Four organizations confirmed a willingness to assist with participant recruitment. One subsequently stopped returning phone calls and emails early in the proposal phase before data collection was scheduled, and no reason was given for withdrawal from the study. A second organization participated in ongoing contact for over a year but was unable to schedule data collection in a timeframe that aligned with my thesis submission deadline. This left two remaining partner organizations that helped to recruit participants. Implications of selective participation are presented in the general discussion.

**Research Partners**

My first partner was a volunteer-run, not-for-profit Hindu faith-based organization founded in the 1990s. Based on the North Island, they plan cultural celebrations, offer social services, and provide a social platform for local Hindus. The organization's guiding principles are based on the Hindu dharma (way of life), including the concept of *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam* (the whole world is one family). While demographic information of members is not officially recorded, its constituency is primarily comprised of Hindus of Indian and Fijian Indian descent. Their family violence prevention work includes a public, written anti-violence statement and an ongoing emphasis on living peacefully according to the Hindu dharma. Leaders have attended educational seminars about family violence and distributed educational information in various formats to the wider Hindu community.

My second partner was a South Island multicultural organization formed in the 1980s to provide a collaborative forum for representatives from various ethnic organizations. This network of leaders works to promote cultural celebrations, facilitate settlement in New Zealand, and address shared concerns about resettlement and equality. Members represent a range of Asian, European, African, and Middle Eastern ethnic communities and organizations. Part of a broader, nationwide network of multicultural organizations, this group supports ethnic events and coordinates topical projects that are of interest to local ethnic communities. Leaders plan a range of activities designed to increase well-being, and these by extension reduce risk factors that can lead to family violence. A women's interest group spearheaded a project on family violence, with a focus on primary prevention.

**Evaluating Research Partner Fit Against Inclusion Criteria**

Taken together, these two research partners closely met my desired criteria for inclusion; see Table 2 for an evaluation of fit against each benchmark. Due to the small number of research partners, it was not possible to achieve extensive geographic diversity. The North Island and South Island were both represented, and partner organizations were based in comparably sized cities with significant migrant populations. However, no rural organization participated, and more importantly Auckland was not represented, which is home to the largest population of migrants. Additionally, while ethnic diversity was strong, the Pacific Island cultural groups that make up a large proportion of New Zealand migrants were not represented. Findings may not be generalizable to these groups.

Table 2

*Evaluation of Criteria for Selecting Partners*

| Sampling criteria | Description of fulfillment |
|---|---|
| **Maximum variation** | |
| *Ethnic diversity* | One partner represented a specific ethnic community; another represented a multicultural community that comprises a range of ethnic backgrounds |
| *Geographic diversity* | North Island and South Island represented; Auckland and rural areas not represented |
| **Typical case sampling** | |
| *Broader mission* | Both organizations provide broad social services with a focus on social support and community engagement |
| **Criterion sampling** | |
| *Community ownership* | Partners engage with government and other community organizations but lead their own agendas; both have developed unique approaches to family violence prevention |
| *Sustained dialogue* | Multicultural organization has been involved in an ongoing family violence prevention initiative; Hindu organization's focus on peaceful living as it relates to the Hindu dharma has been incorporated into a range of ongoing initiatives |

**Design**

Ethics approval for this research was obtained from the Victoria University of Wellington School of Psychology Human Ethics Committee under delegated authority of the Human Ethics Committee. The partnership-based approach outlined above, where participants were recruited by specific migrant organizations, was used to delineate boundaries of existing networks and by extension to define cultural communities. Data collection consisted of interviews and focus groups. This approach facilitated a limited degree of triangulation by incorporating the perspectives of both organization leaders and participants, which may differ; consensus between the two may serve to corroborate the validity of findings (Gillham, 2000a).

**Participants**

Interview participants were people that held leadership roles in partner organizations. Potential interview participants were identified by my main contact at each organization and provided with the study information sheet and consent form prior to scheduling an interview. My contact at the Hindu organization then put me into direct contact with potential participants, and after answering questions I scheduled dates and locations for interviews. My contact at the multicultural organization coordinated scheduling of interviews due to the short time frame of my out-of-town visit, so I answered participant questions just prior to starting the interview. Informed consent was received. Interview participants were given a $20 grocery voucher and light refreshments to recognize their generosity in volunteering their time.

Focus group participants were members of the multicultural organization; some were also community leaders. Potential participants were identified and invited by my main contact at the multicultural organization and provided with the study information sheet and consent form. This mediated process was beneficial because it minimized disruption to the organization's normal communication processes. However, this limited my ability to control focus group composition or to answer questions in advance. On the day of the focus groups, I therefore spent extra time explaining the research, inviting and answering questions, and explaining ground rules before participants gave informed consent. Focus group participants were provided $20 grocery vouchers and light refreshments to thank them for their time.

The New Zealand community sector is small and tight-knit, and this is particularly true of ethnic community organizations. As a result, it is necessary to limit demographic

reporting to participants' genders and general regions of birth in order to protect confidentiality.[2] I interviewed a total of seven participants (four females, three males) and conducted two focus groups with a total of nine participants (six females, three males). Participant demographic information is presented in Table 3, organized according to research partner.

Table 3

*Participant Details Organized According to Partner Organization*

| Data type | Females | Males | Regions of birth |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hindu organization | | | |
| Interviews | 2 | - | Asia, Pacific Islands |
| Multicultural organization | | | |
| Interviews | 2 | 3 | Africa, Asia (4) |
| Focus Group 1 | 3 | - | Europe (2), New Zealand |
| Focus Group 2 | 3 | 3 | Africa, Asia (3), Europe (2) |

**Materials**

Qualitative data can provide rich, holistic information about the meanings that people attribute to experiences and ideas (Patton, 2002). I developed semi-structured guides for interviews and focus groups in order to invite the richness of open-ended data, while maintaining sufficient focus and control to ensure that I would be able to conduct a thorough analysis of my research questions. Due to the sensitive nature of the topic, I gave substantial attention to ethical considerations to minimize safety risks and participant discomfort. This included consultation with experienced academics, as well as key informants from government agencies, migrant and refugee-background community organizations, and family violence intervention agencies. For safety and to limit the risk of overdisclosure, participants were asked to speak generally about conflict and family violence and to avoid sharing specific personal or secondhand examples. I developed a thorough informed consent process in order to set expectations and build rapport, and the debriefing was designed to end the

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[2] Although more detailed information about participants' cultural backgrounds could have provided the reader with a more detailed context for understanding how specific cultures view violence and prevention efforts, protection of participant confidentiality was given top priority.

session on a positive note by reflecting on the organization's good work and contributions. For those experiencing discomfort or requiring support, at each interview and focus group I made available referral information (see Appendix A) for a range of community resources.

Interview questions were designed to elicit information about the partner organization's definition of family violence and about leaders' insights into community perceptions about family conflict and violence. See Appendix B for a sample interview guide. The semi-structured interview format helped me maintain a level of focus and consistency while allowing me the flexibility to maintain a natural, conversational style (Gillham, 2000b). Open-ended questions invited participants to express their viewpoints freely with limited prompting from me, which limited the risk of interviewer bias leading participants toward particular responses (Patton, 2002).

In focus groups, I asked questions about participants' understandings of power, control, and violence; about their participation in partner organization and cultural community events; and about their engagement with family violence prevention efforts. See Appendix C for a sample focus group guide. I facilitated two hands-on activities using a participatory visual elicitation approach (Prosser, 2011). Such participatory approaches promote democratic engagement by seeking and valuing every participant's perspective and expertise (Patton, 2002). Further, visual participatory activities create a focal point for discussion and provide an alternative platform from which quieter group members may express their views, which may potentially stimulate dialogue on those views (Lloyd-Evans, 2006). In one activity designed to elicit views on cultural ideals about healthy family roles, poster-sized silhouettes of an Indian man and woman were displayed; each participant was asked to imagine a silhouette that was appropriate for their own culture and to reflect on the qualities that their culture ascribed to a good man and, separately, a good woman. Using provided pens, participants wrote their reflections on small sticky notes and posted them onto the silhouettes. In the second activity, designed to elicit participant perspectives on cultural definitions of violence, I elicited conflict resolution strategies from the group. Each conflict resolution strategy was listed at the top of a size A4 sheet of paper to fulfill the question, "In your culture, do people think _____ is violent?" Below the question, a visual continuum was displayed, with endpoints labeled "almost **nobody** considers this violent" and "almost **everybody** considers this violent." Rating sheets were laid out in various parts of the room, and participants circulated with small stickers to mark their perceptions of whether or not each strategy was considered violent in their culture.

**Procedure**

Interviews were conducted one-on-one in English. Hindu organization participants were offered the opportunity to choose a private, comfortable location for interviews, with one interview conducted in the interviewee's home and the other in a private room that I rented at a library. Most of the multicultural organization interviews were conducted in a private room borrowed from a not-for-profit organization; one was conducted in an interviewee's home. With permission, interviews were audio recorded. I transcribed the recordings verbatim within one week of the interview, anonymizing and in some cases omitting any personally identifying information to ensure participant confidentiality. I then provided participants with an opportunity to review and amend the transcript; no participants requested amendments.

I conducted two focus groups. Focus group sizes were limited to seven participants, which allowed me to incorporate diverse perspectives while replicating the comfort and familiarity that accompanies informal small group conversation (Liamputtong, 2011). I suggested that one focus group should be held for women and another for men, but I deferred to the recommendations of the multicultural organization regarding the structure for each group, and as a result I hosted one single sex and one mixed sex focus group. The focus groups were conducted in a private room at a meeting space that was familiar to participants. With informed consent, focus groups were audio recorded and later transcribed verbatim, with identifying information anonymized.

All participants were offered the opportunity to receive the results of the study. Participants that requested feedback were provided with an executive summary (which included a draft of the results) several months prior to final thesis submission. I also sent these participants a full, near-final draft of the thesis prior to submission. I offered the opportunity to comment on the accuracy of my interpretations; some participants replied to acknowledge receipt, and as of submission, none suggested any reinterpretations or changes to my analysis.

**Data Analysis**

Thematic analysis is a popular, systematic approach to examining qualitative patterns of meaning across a set of data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In this study I employed elements of both inductive exploratory analysis and deductive analysis for theory-based investigation of a specific research question (Braun & Clarke, 2006). To facilitate analysis, transcripts (over 60,000 words in total) were imported into QSR Nvivo Version 10, where I

followed Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-step procedure for conducting thematic analysis as detailed in Table 4.

Table 4

*Thematic Analysis Procedure*

| Braun and Clarke's step | Analytical procedure |
| --- | --- |
| Data transcribing, reading, and re-reading; generating initial code ideas | After transcription, I read through each source of data at least three times and began informal coding of extracts based on my initial impressions and existing theoretical understandings. |
| Initial systematic coding of the entire data set | After reflecting on my initial codes, I systematically coded the data set for causal inferences, indicators of violence, and a priori codes, including the core underlying concepts of power and control (systematic patterns of abuser actions, isolation of the victim, gender roles that facilitate violence, and non-physical violence) and Pence's (1985) cultural facilitators (natural order, objectification of women, forced submission, and low punishment of overt coercion). |
| Organizing codes into potential themes | Based on several rounds of coding, I began identifying patterns. Initially, I identified three theory-focused themes: different views of violence; widespread awareness of physical and verbal abuse; and responsibilities. |
| Reviewing how themes relate to coded extracts and to the full data set | I re-read the entire data set in relation to each potential theme. During this process, I examined how themes were related to earlier codes and how themes were related to each other. |
| Refining and naming themes | I determined that the discourses about widespread awareness of physical and verbal abuse were more practice-focused, and therefore were more suitable for inclusion in Study 2. |
| Reporting themes and analyzing extracts | In the final analysis, I presented two themes: Two Views of Violence, and Rights Intertwined with Responsibilities. |

Next I conducted discourse analysis on coded extracts. Though discourse analysis can refer to a broad range of analytic strategies, I adopted Potter and Wetherell's (1987) social psychological approach to analysis of spoken or written interactions that occur in formal or informal settings, for the purpose of furthering our understanding of how such interactions reflect and shape our social world. This approach understands discourse not merely as an expression of how people understand the social world, but also an active way of constructing reality (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Such understandings of discourse as both a form of expression and a form of action are important to understanding cultural transmission of beliefs, including the ways that beliefs about family violence may be discursively

transmitted, integrated, propagated, undermined, and resisted by individuals as they negotiate their relationship with normative cultural views. Thus I used Potter and Wetherell's (1995) principles for examining language both as a form of action (or cultural transmission) and as a set of resources used to conduct social life.

Discourse analysis includes but goes beyond examining content as an expression of attitudes (Edwards & Potter, 1992; Potter & Wetherell, 1987), so I also evaluated how extracts might be used to defend ideologically driven constructions of reality (Billig, 1988) and to convey power (van Dijk, 1993). Procedurally, I printed out the set of extracts associated with each theme, then used color coding and handwritten notes in accordance with Gee's (2014) guidelines for conducting discourse analysis. I established color codes and notes that assessed how each discursive extract may have served to:

- Define the identity of the speaker and the identities of others (e.g., to position oneself as an authority figure, or to differentiate the identities of men and women);
- Recognize certain actions as more appropriate than others;
- Grant agency to certain actors and negate the agency of others; and
- Connect and disconnect certain acts or identities.

My analysis of the ways that participants used language as action and as a social resource is situated in the context of cross-cultural and social psychological theory. For readability, I made some grammatical corrections to the excerpts presented in the results, taking great care to retain the original meaning and discursive features of the text. When necessary, I added contextual words to excerpts using square brackets. The gender of the speaker is labeled at the end of each excerpt, using *[M]* for male or *[F]* for female.

**Findings**

Two themes were identified in this analysis, and the results are presented and discussed here simultaneously. The first theme related to two different views about the causes of violence, which were both prevalent among participants. Some participants viewed anger as the cause of violence, with human nature, personal issues, and institutional inequality triggering angry feelings. Alternatively, some participants viewed desire for control and dominance as the cause of family violence. Participants identified sources of confusion or tumultuousness that were particularly challenging for families, such as the influence of modern gender roles and the need to make adjustments to patterns of family interaction during the process of acculturation. Discourses affirming and negating each viewpoint on the causes of violence are explored in a detailed presentation of this theme.

The second theme involved perceptions of rights and responsibilities, which participants viewed as two sides of the same coin. Rather than framing family conflict in individualist, rights-based terms (compatible with the feminist framework of the Duluth model), participants viewed responsibilities as equally important to outcomes for individuals and families. Reciprocal, role-based responsibilities between husband and wife, as well as between parents and children, were seen to contribute to healthy family functioning. Some participants viewed role-based responsibilities as one way to prevent violence by targeting the behaviors of potential perpetrators, an important strategy that may be overlooked by more individualist frameworks.

**Theme 1: Two Views of Violence**

My analysis revealed two separate, prevalent discourses about the causes of violence: 1) anger and 2) desire for power and control. The analysis revealed both affirming and negating discourses for each viewpoint. Some participants articulated both views, but with the exception of one excerpt, discourses regarding anger and control were temporally distant and discrete. Here I present each view as a separate discourse, attempting to avoid positioning either as more correct while making critical comparisons between the two views in the context of the academic literature. I conclude by exploring opportunities to synthesize these viewpoints in primary prevention initiatives.

The anger-based view is demonstrated in this quote:

*If your son upsets you, cool down. Manage your anger. Have a glass of water. Sit down back. Don't talk to him. And, when you cool down, talk to him in a respectful way. As a human being. That solves half the issue. [M]*

Anger and violence are framed here as intrapersonal processes rather than interpersonal. Neidig and Friedman (1984) classified such intrapersonal causes as expressive violence, triggered by an inability to manage anger and other emotions. In this excerpt, the subject positions of parent and son are important to understanding the responsibilities and rights of each in the context of conflict situations (Willig, 2008). The parent is positioned as both reactive (in the initial emotional response to the son's offense) and powerful (in resolving the conflict, whereas the son is granted no control over when and how to engage). By suggesting that the potential perpetrator is reacting to some type of offense caused by the son (granting him agency as the cause of anger), this extract may implicitly suggest some level of victim blaming, as the potential victim's role in causing a violent reaction is explicit (E. Bowen, 2011; Pence & Paymar, 1993).

The alternative control-based view of violence is demonstrated in another excerpt:

> *It could be like, what you eat, what you have to wear, whom you are going to talk to, or don't go out, don't do this, or not giving them any money. Taking them shopping so that you always pay, and she never has got any money. [F]*

Here the patterned nature of control is prioritized over any specific action, with non-physical forms of violence recognized as harmful (Pence & Paymar, 1993; Stark, 2013). The extract reinforces the use of language as a form of power, as the abuser issues commands to elicit certain behaviors (van Dijk, 1996). Unlike the anger-based excerpt above, the offense is attributed to the abuser, and no potential solution immediately follows this discourse of power and control. The perceived clarity about how to prevent anger-based violence and the perceived difficulty of preventing control-based violence is visible in my continued analysis of the discourses affirming and negating each of these two viewpoints.

   **Affirmation of anger as a cause of violence.** The root causes of anger were attributed to three main sources: 1) human nature, 2) socioeconomic tensions and frustrations, and 3) personal issues or problems, such as mental illness. The following interview participant articulated the view that anger is an inherent part of the human experience when explaining how conflicts are addressed within families in his community:

> *If [violence] happens, we are all human beings. We make angry. We, we, we feel unhappy. We feel, you know, sometimes the mood. Sometimes, people, they get a mood. For nothing. We are only human beings. But we need to manage. [M]*

The participant demonstrates a belief that anger and the urge for violence are a natural part of social life, and violence is framed as an expression of failed emotional regulation rather than as a strategic, instrumental act (Neidig & Friedman, 1984). A Westerner could interpret this view as Hobbesian—that human nature is self-interested and animalistic (Hobbes, 1651/1996). However, this Muslim participant may instead be drawing on Islamic traditions, where conflict is considered "inevitable and a part of human nature, and, if managed properly, is [seen as] a positive force" (Randeree & El Faramawy, 2011, p. 26). The excerpt normalizes anger, and so too does it normalize the ability and imperative to manage anger effectively. While research shows that normalizing discourses may diffuse emotions or give people a sense of control over their own emotions and behaviors, such normalization can be precarious to maintain and may fail in particularly stressful situations (Ashforth & Kreiner, 2002). The agency of the potential victim is highlighted in another excerpt about anger:

> *Actually, if there is a conflict, it's just a saying in [our culture] that, the sensible person, um, if one, one, if one person is having a heated conversation, the sensible person just needs to be kind and listen at that time, and only comment when you feel the other person is ready to listen. [F]*

This discourse is compatible with Hindu and Buddhist teachings on releasing attachment, regulating emotion, and managing ego identity as a healthy manner of family practice (Bhawuk, 1999; Sahdra, Shaver, & Brown, 2010). The excerpt demonstrates how language can be used to reinforce desirable interactions and disengage from undesirable interactions— in this case by silently waiting out rather than responding to anger. While Western researchers sometimes critique such discourses for implicating victims of violence in mishandling the abuser and his or her anger (Worden & Carlson, 2005), a Hindu might interpret this discourse as successful ego management that facilitates family cohesiveness. By limiting responsiveness to expressions of anger (see Bhawuk, 1999), the listener may indirectly influence the other party to recognize their behavior as egoistically unregulated and undermining to the cohesiveness of the interdependent family (Singh, 2011).

An alternative anger-based view is articulated by an interview participant as she discusses the government's role in preventing family violence. She suggests that socioeconomic frustrations act on the family, leading to anger that is vented upon other family members:

> It's stress and frustration. These are the things that sort of lead to, it's not just personal things that people take home. And, um, it can be environmentally, anything, societies that people have to deal with, and then, who else would they take it out on, at times. Because you can only talk and say things to your own. [F]

Here, the speaker links frustration with passivity at the societal level, as it is implied that people cannot influence their broader environment and can only vent frustrations within interpersonal relationships. Migrants may be particularly at risk for experiencing objective socioeconomic frustrations and ongoing institutionalized disadvantage, and research demonstrates that these frustrations can lead to feelings of societal alienation (Bobo & Hutchings, 1996). This type of social disaffection may exacerbate the risk of family violence, particularly for migrants that are isolated from the local community and from family support systems (Menjívar & Salcido, 2002). The trickle-down influence of societal forces on individual lives is highlighted in another excerpt from a focus group, where participants were discussing the disadvantages that migrants face in New Zealand:

> Like, dissatisfaction, frustration, upset, can't get a job, can't provide, and also that loss of mana. A loss of respect, of being the head earner. Because both [the husband] and [the wife], I know them both, and both of them in their own right are really nice people. But in the end, the whole situation put too much pressure on the family. [F]

Here the speaker connects individual-level socioeconomic frustrations and loss of prestige with anger and family discord, framing conflict not as the husband's attempt to maintain control, but instead as an emotional reaction. This mirrors Adams, Towns, and Gavey's (1995) findings that discourses of anger commonly imply that family violence is caused by frustration that surpasses tolerable levels. As the excerpt implies selective venting of anger within the family context, this view may be countered by Western critiques of discourses that use 'uncontrollable' anger to justify inappropriate behaviors that the abuser chooses to control in other contexts (Klein, Campbell, Soler, & Ghez, 1997). However, the speaker hardly defends violence—she recognizes that socioeconomic insecurity can increase the risk of family conflict and violence, which is supported by research (Raj & Silverman, 2002).

Finally, personal issues were identified as a third cause of anger leading to violence:

*So now, as I mentioned, social events, religious events, you know, they all help. But still, these things don't work all the time. In our, of course we see that there are incidents. Of uh, uh, family violence or, family not happy. You know. Because of, I guess, personal things, personal problems. I think uh, I mean, you know, there's, well you know probably it's uh, mental health of a person. [M]*

Here, social connectedness is framed as a preventive technique that reduces frustration and the risk of family conflict for migrants (Levine & Benkert, 2011; Menjívar & Salcido, 2002). However, the speaker acknowledges that this technique does not work in all cases, as mental health issues may cause some perpetrators to engage in violence (Tracy & Crawford, 1992). This suggests that some violence may *not* be ameliorated through informal interventions, identifying boundary conditions of social connectedness as a protective factor.

These causes of anger-based violence touch on three levels in the ecological model. The mental health explanation represents the individual level, and socioeconomic explanations were framed around influences at the societal level. The human nature explanation is partly individual (anger is a normal internal state that individuals must manage) and partly interpersonal (anger occurs within relationships). Community influences, such as cultural norms that may condone violence for certain people in certain situations, were not mentioned amongst those affirming the anger-based view of violence. However, some participants indirectly recognized the selective nature of expression, where socioeconomic frustration is vented only within the family (see Klein et al., 1997; Pence & Paymar, 1993). This may reflect norms that restrict expression of negative emotions in public or professional settings (Fischer, Manstead, Evers, Timmers, & Valk, 2004). Participants identified anger management and alleviation of socioeconomic frustrations as potential strategies for reducing risk.

**Negation of anger as a cause of violence.** While more than half of participants articulated the anger-based view of violence, such discourses were low in overall frequency. I identified some negation of anger-based views in the discourses of a minority of multicultural organization participants. No negating discourses were identified in the interviews with Hindu organization participants. This may suggest that most participants viewed anger-based causes as legitimate, though the relatively low frequency of spontaneous discourses embracing anger-based causes may also explain the low overall prevalence of discourses negating it. Participants who simply did not mention anger-based views of violence may have embraced or negated such causes if prompted to reflect on them.

This excerpt negates anger as a legitimate cause of violence:

*Sometimes it's like, could be in denial, when it's going through like a long thing they say oh no, I have to save my marriage. No, he loves me. He just gets angry, then he does that. And this and th- that thing. That can happen. [F]*

Here the speaker uses language to construct a seemingly objective, alternative ideological position to the discursive position expressed by the victim (Billig, 1988). This participant frames anger-based explanations for violence as a form of denial. Her view is compatible with the Duluth model, which conceptualizes 'anger-based' violence not as expressive but as an instrumental excuse for maintaining control (Miller, 2010; Pence & Paymar, 1993). In this excerpt, the speaker rejects the victim's implied belief in cycles of violence, in which abusers are thought to alternate between angry, violent outbursts and loving periods of reconciliation (see Walker, 1977). The effectiveness of anger management training was also questioned:

*If the person goes and says oh I'm happy to do the anger management course, maybe that happens like one in a thousand. And then, the success rate remains quite low. [F]*

This excerpt is ambiguous as to whether anger management fails because the theoretical approach is unproductive or because abusers are reluctant to follow through with any type of intervention. Much clearer is the belief that anger management interventions are ineffective for family violence, implying other, more influential causes that are unaddressed by cognitive-behavioral anger management interventions.

**Affirmation of control as a cause of violence.** The negative effects of control and dominance were articulated by nearly all participants, male and female. These discourses reflected stereotypically gendered patterns of male domination and patriarchy:

> *So, um, it's mostly women giving in. I think that's with most of the cultures. Probably. Yeah. Unless I've heard of um, [one place] where in that country it's women dominating. So, men give in. That's what I've heard. I haven't seen it. <laughs> [F]*

The speaker perceives male dominance and female submission as normative in most cultural groups, a view that is compatible with cross-cultural research on gender across documented human history (Sanday, 1981) and with Duluth model interpretations of the role of male dominance in domestic violence (Straka & Montminy, 2008). The socially constructed nature of such roles is acknowledged through articulation of female dominance as a plausible alternative structure (Jabri, 1996; Sanday, 1981), though the speaker laughs when noting that the existence of this alternative reality is secondhand and unconfirmed. The speaker's acknowledgement of the widespread prevalence of male dominance implies social pressure for women to conform to normative submissive roles.

In an alternative formulation, individual measures for renegotiating dominance and power were acknowledged as a normative right:

> *Um, if you know the other person is saying something wrong, or he's or she's very possessive of that, then actually it's also a belief that you should stand up for your rights. [F]*

This excerpt identifies resistance strategies that the submissive party can use to challenge a dominant person within the context of interdependence, which has been documented as a form of agency used in the discourses of non-Western victims of violence (Chantler, 2006). The speaker's use of the imperative 'should' implies that potential victims have a responsibility to engage in self-protection by asserting their rights. By recognizing language as a form of resistance (e.g., Cameron, 1998; Meriläinen, Tienari, Thomas, & Davies, 2004; Terdiman, 1985), the speaker opens alternative avenues for power and social influence.

Participants recognized shifts toward gender equality in their own cultures and in New Zealand culture. Some participants acknowledged male frustration at loss of dominance:

> *I think that as these changes occurred, and there was the need for things to be equal, there were certain, amongst some, resentments from the male, part of the male losing his dominant role. [F]*

This excerpt identifies the tensions that can accompany role negotiation, which are well documented in the acculturation literature on adjusting to new societal norms regarding family roles and obligations (i.e., Archuleta & Teasley, 2013; Juang & Nguyen, 2009; Ward, Fox, Wilson, Stuart, & Kus, 2010). This excerpt, spoken in the context of changing gender role expectations within New Zealand, reveals the often obscured attitudes of entitlement that

may persist despite widely endorsed norms of equality (Connell, 2002). Participants also raised the risk that modernization may allow women to take on unhealthy, dominant roles:

> *I think before it was more the women who used to be the emotional sufferers and the silent sufferers, but now it's more <laughs> the men too. Not just the women. Because now the women are more outspoken, and they could know how to control things better and all those things so, there are many families where the women are actually becoming the emotional blackmailers and men getting the <starts laughing> suffering <stops laughing>.[3] [F]*

This speaker recognizes how changing norms of equality now allow both men and women to use language as a form of power and violence (van Dijk, 1996), with women beginning to exercise equal use of language to exert patterns of control (Neidig & Friedman, 1984). Emotional violence is framed as an instrumental and strategic violation of positive norms of family interdependence. This interpretation recognizes the harmful nature of control, yet conflicts with the Duluth model's gendered perspective that male dominance is particularly harmful due to its historical institutionalization (Straka & Montminy, 2008).

The extended family was acknowledged as a potential source of social support, but also as a potential source of social pressure that may reinforce an abuser's use of power and control in collectivist cultures:

> *It's collectivism within our culture, so. You know family involvement, I can't say whether it's healthy or not. Because sometimes, the family can push you to be within that relationship, they can kind of curse you, you know, that because of you we have to face this shame. [F]*

This excerpt demonstrates ambivalence toward collectivist families' potential role in buffering against violence, recognizing that family influence may compound pressure to tolerate abuse or unhealthy, controlling spousal relationships (Gill, 2004; C.-L. J. Liu & Regehr, 2008). While interdependence can facilitate better outcomes for the family as a whole (J. H. Liu, 2014), the speaker recognizes the risk that families may pursue honor over the safety and well-being of any individual (Koenig, Ahmed, & Hossain, 2003). Despite acknowledging potential risk factors associated with culture, however, participants expressed strong distaste for using cultural norms as an excuse for dominance and violence:

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[3] While laughter may seem misplaced when describing emotional violence and suffering, unilateral laughter can serve to reduce the tension when expressing subjective attitudes about uncomfortable topics (Adelswärd, 1989).

> *One thing I can't tolerate: don't use the culture as an excuse, especially for violence. Yeah, because I hear a lot of people [say], oh it's the culture that is [male] dominant. Never, never do that. There's no culture that allows people to beat up their wife and children. [M]*

The speaker acknowledges that cultural stereotypes about gender-based dominance structures can be distorted to justify control and violence (Peña et al., 2012; Zakiyah Munir, 2005). By connecting dominance and violence, and disconnecting dominance and culture, he uses discourse to undermine and negate claims that violence is culturally sanctioned (Billig, 1988). He constructs a moral cross-cultural universal (see Alexander, 2002), which helps to reinforce modern narratives that reject male dominance as a justification for violence.

The majority of participants recognized power and control as forms of dominance and violence. They articulated dominance as historically gendered, but shifting toward gender equality (or in some families, female dominance) as norms changed in their cultures of origin and in New Zealand. However, for most participants, the risk of excessive dominance leading to violence did not undermine the possibility of healthy interdependence in relationships. Healthy forms of interdependence were identified where partners are able to negotiate the balance of power, and unhealthy levels of dominance were viewed as a distortion of culture.

**Negation of control as a cause of violence.** For some participants, power and dominance were seen as positive forces that maintain traditional hierarchies and sustain predictability and harmony. This was particularly salient with regard to parent-child relations:

> *The children have to take the commands [from] the parents. If they are thirty years of age even, in our culture. That's why you don't see family violence. [M]*

In this excerpt, parents are positioned as powerful and children as submissive, with parental power and authority framed as healthy and protective. This discourse negates parental control as a source of violence, and the hierarchical relationship is legitimized through an axiomatic assertion that children's submission to obligation maintains family harmony (Adams et al., 1995). A Chinese study on adults' retrospective ratings of their parents' child-rearing behaviors undermines this position, with findings suggesting that perceived parental dominance and control are negatively correlated with perceived family harmony (Lau, Lew, Hau, Cheung, & Berndt, 1990). However, Chao (1994) suggested that researchers' conceptualizations of authoritarian parenting are ethnocentric, and that the Chinese parenting style labeled 'controlling' or 'authoritarian' is more accurately characterized as teaching, 'training,' or socializing good behaviors (see also Huang & Huang, 2002). In African societies, too, parents are granted full control over children but must lead by example and not

just by command (Moemeka, 1997). This excerpt describes how children may benefit from submitting to parental authority:

> *According to the Hindu dharma, um, it's believed that parents are always doing best for the children. So if parents are making decisions for the children, there is no place for the children to actually disagree to the decisions, because it's believed that the parents have seen more, and they know better for their children. [F]*

This discourse positions parents as authorities by right of wisdom (gained through personal experience) and creed (based on collective wisdom documented in scriptures). Such wisdom is traditionally passed down from older generations to younger ones within extended families (Kumari Bhat & Dhruvarajan, 2001), as guided by the Hindu dharma. As long as parents adhere to the path of dharma, parental authority is framed as a means of preserving family harmony and ensuring positive outcomes for children. Implied in this excerpt is that parental authority is justified by creed, and straying from the path of dharma would negate the parental right to hierarchical authority over children.

Hierarchical obligations may exist in other relationships as well, particularly in the context of historical male dominance in Western and other cultures (Sanday, 1981; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). However, in this study, participants did not directly negate the role of power and control in partner violence. This may reflect the pervasiveness of Duluth model ideologies, which permeate family violence prevention messaging in mainstream initiatives (Balzer, 1999; Wells, 2003). This may also reflect strong egalitarian norms in New Zealand (Connell, 2002). In fact, counter to discourses of male dominance, one participant articulated power as the quality of a good woman:

> *I suppose a good woman then in my culture would say that everybody listens to her. Yeah. And there would be obviously a kind of respect there. [M]*

The speaker frames female power as a positive form of influence and others' submission as a sign of respect, demonstrating that 'power' is not considered negative per se. This discourse demonstrates that women are perceived to exert positive control and influence through language, with the other party's responsiveness signifying successful use of language as action (see Potter & Wetherell, 1995). Articulating the positive aspects of female power may be more culturally acceptable in New Zealand than articulating the often unequal power dynamics in male-female relationships (Connell, 2002).

**Connecting pathways.** Although the discrete nature of discourses about anger and control may suggest that these are opposing understandings of violence, these views need not be considered mutually exclusive. Both are associated with valid, respected intervention

strategies, with Babcock et al.'s (2004) meta-analytic evaluation concluding that cognitive-behavioral therapy and Duluth model batterer education programs are equally effective. As research suggests that cognitive-behavioral and control-based treatments are both associated with modest effect sizes, it is prudent to consider the efficacy of both approaches while understanding that neither alone provides a comprehensive strategy for violence intervention.

Some participants did articulate both anger-based and control-based views of violence, demonstrating that at least some participants likely perceive these views as reconcilable (although they may not intuitively consider the two views to be linked). In this study the two views were only once mentioned in close proximity during dialogue:

> *Because the children, they are in the middle of the ocean. They are in the middle of two cultures. So, they go to the schools and they have that, and children have the culture of those [countries of origin]. And you want him to follow your culture. Now, cool down. Don't do that. Give him his freedom. And tell him, you know, tell him these stories about the culture. In an indirect way, that you are actually teaching the culture and the ways. Not actually to make violence, not to slash, not to, you know, take a knife and say 'no, if you don't do that I will do this'. [M]*

In this excerpt, the speaker identifies the parent's desire for control (wanting the child to follow the culture of origin), which is positioned as natural. When desire for control is unfulfilled, the participant links this to anger. Such a view is compatible with Bhawuk's (1999) model of the Indian conception of self, which suggests that anger occurs when one is unable to exert control over the social or material environment. The participant also identifies two potential techniques for prevention: anger management in the moment of tension, and use of discourse to exert healthy forms of social influence (e.g., through storytelling). These links may help us to understand the compatibilities between anger-based and control-based views of violence, as perpetrators and victims may perceive failed attempts at control as triggers for true anger, which may in turn be expressed through violence. Such links demonstrate the possibility of theoretical fusion or interrelatedness between these two discourses.

**Theme 2: Rights Intertwined with Responsibilities**

Feminist frameworks like the Duluth model, typically developed in Western liberal democratic cultural contexts, tend to be individualistic, legalistic, and rights-based (Erwin, 2006). Whereas feminist frameworks focus on the rights of women and children, participants emphasized the importance of relational responsibilities to others as the counterpart to rights:

> *I think that's where quite a bit of the, the problems have occurred too. Knowing about your rights, but not also the responsibilities that go with any rights. <general agreement from focus group participants> [F]*

This discourse serves to identify an aspect of relational balance that is overlooked by the rights-based frameworks popular in Western societies (Thomas, 2000), explicitly identifying responsibilities as a key component to family harmony. The excerpt positions interpersonal rights and responsibilities as equally important and suggests that they are inextricably interconnected. It implies the view reflected in the hotly debated (and subsequently discarded) Universal Declaration of Human Responsibilities that we need to "bring freedom and responsibility into balance and to promote a move from the freedom of indifference to the freedom of involvement" (InterAction Council, 1997). Those with interdependent (more collective) self-concepts may value relationships and relational accountability more than those with independent (more individualist) self-concepts (Gardner, Gabriel, & Lee, 1999), and such discourses imply that collectivists may view responsibilities as a means of expanding rights by incorporating morality and standards of behavior that facilitate individual and collective well-being (Etzioni, 1993). By contrast, individualist neoliberal discourses of responsibility focus on one's obligations to operate independently and satisfy one's own needs without depending on others (e.g., Cradock, 2007; Robertson & Dale, 2002).

No participant negated the importance of rights, and in fact one participant linked rights directly to the responsibility to protect oneself from violence:

> *If you feel like something is really going wrong, then it's good to stand up and say, if it's just allowing that person to be violent. So if a person is being violent, you are equally responsible because you did not stop it. And the quicker you stop it, the better it is. [F]*

Here, the participant connects the right to self-protection with the responsibility to stand up for oneself—suggesting that responsibilities can reinforce rights within interpersonal relationships. This excerpt suggests an orientation toward 'relational collectivism,' where the self is defined in relation to significant others, and social conflict and harmony are framed by the context of interpersonal relationships and interactions (Brewer & Chen, 2007). Responsibilities took several forms in this study (described in more detail below): disengagement was characterized as actively harmful; role fulfillment was framed as necessary to family harmony; and in parent-child relationships, teaching responsibility was acknowledged as a challenge for parents in New Zealand's rights-focused context. Duluth model interventions may overlook such relational, non-Western conceptions of rights, and intervention programs could be more cross-culturally relevant by emphasizing the responsibility that potential perpetrators have to treat others well and act non-violently.

**Disengagement as actively harmful.** Male participants in particular viewed lack of attention to responsibilities as harmful, sometimes even as a form of violence:

> *When you actually ignore your responsibilities, it's violent, because the family clashes, and they fight. [M]*

Here, the speaker assesses ignored responsibilities through the relational impact on other family members, with family discord arising from lack of commitment to fulfilling interdependent family roles. The use of the second-person pronoun *you* personalizes responsibilities and emphasizes individual accountability, while the family conflict that results from lack of role fulfillment is collectivized to the family unit with the third person pronoun *they*. Relational roles can promote mutual responsibility and care (Fishel & Rynerson, 1998), while ignorance of responsibilities may lead to disengagement and strained relationships. In the following excerpt, the speaker identifies disengaging behaviors as a form of dominance that is actively harmful to other family members:

> *Interviewer: What kinds of things would someone do that would be considered being too dominant?*
>
> *Participant: Oh right, um. <pause> I mean, a hypothetical situation maybe. Men, uh, [having] drinks with friends at home. The man invites friends at home for drinks. Or going out with men, male friends, you know, for drinking and for other social events on his own. So basically, ignoring his wife. You know. [M]*

In this excerpt, individualist behaviors that prioritize personal desires and priorities to the exclusion of relational well-being are framed as a form of harm. While Western researchers have sometimes framed group-based and interpersonal neglect as passive (for example, see Bird et al., 1998; Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007), neglecting one's role in the family may be viewed by relational collectivists as an active choice to disregard responsibilities. This conception of relational collectivism may be aligned with Brew's (2007) model of family conflict and harmony, where the engaged, 'ideal' approach emphasizes tolerance, compromise, and forgiveness. This 'ideal' approach runs counter to the 'instrumental', which is characterized by avoidance and passive non-compliance in the face of conflict (Brew, 2007). In both workplace and family situations, neglectful 'laissez-faire' attitudes toward leadership and interpersonal roles allow individuals more freedom, but also result in relational disconnection and conflict (Ferguson, Hagaman, Grice, & Peng, 2006; Skogstad, Einarsen, Torsheim, Aasland, & Hetland, 2007). Research suggests that laissez-faire styles in workplaces actively facilitate and create conflict (Skogstad et al., 2007); as a result, people may perceive failure to fulfill responsibilities as an active form of harm. In this study,

participant discourses suggested that laissez-faire attitudes might also be perceived as actively harmful in family situations.

Participants perceived disengagement as gendered. Men more commonly articulated disengagement as a form of harm, and these participants viewed men as more disengaged than women. Typical forms of male disengagement were seen to differ across generations:

> *Go back about forty odd years ago when the men in [New Zealand] culture here, the majority of them spent most of their time in the pub. But these [men] now don't go to the pub but are ordering [their family] around. [M]*

The speaker invokes pub culture as a prototypical historical form of New Zealand male disengagement, with men spending most of their time outside the home. The participant perceives modern men to be more physically present, but more emotionally disengaged as they exert their will by commanding other family members. Research suggests that socially disengaging emotions, which may be linked to competitive or dominant behavior, may reduce the well-being of collectivists but increase the well-being of Westerners (Kitayama, Mesquita, & Karasawa, 2006). Therefore, those from relational cultures may differ from Westerners in their views on disengagement, which relationalists may see as more inherently harmful. This speaker appears to value equitable emotional and physical investment in family well-being, while notably he does not condemn gender roles as harmful (Connell, 2002).

**Responsibilities gendered and positive.** The majority of participants articulated the importance of family roles and responsibilities in healthy family functioning:

> *A woman and man, once they are married and in a relationship, they are not just two different individuals. They're joined together. They hold their responsibilities. And they are just like a body part of each other, which can't be separated at any cost. So if you see this is God Ardhanarishvara. Ardhanarishvara means half man, and half women. They join together, they hold their responsibilities together. [F]*

Here, husbands and wives are framed as interdependent, with responsibilities non-prescriptively shared rather than rigidly divided. Such a flexible approach allows for adaptation as cultural norms change over time, while the value placed on the interdependence inherent in husband-wife relationships remains steady. This flexibility may assist in maintaining cultural norms regarding the sacredness of marriage despite cultural shifts; non-prescriptive family roles and responsibilities may be seen as compatible with modern and traditional forms of interdependence.

While individual rights are maximized and responsibilities minimized in liberal democratic societies, communitarian societies view rights and responsibilities as intertwined in ways that benefit the group (Janoski, 1998). Such linkages are reflected in this excerpt:

> *One thing I would like to make really very clear, which sometimes people don't understand, is that women have a very, very strong position in our Hindu families. <clears throat> And we have, you know, higher positions in the families, and we hold a lot of responsibilities when it comes to family, you know? [F]*

In Western feminist frameworks, gendered responsibilities are framed as harmful to women, as associating duty with power may justify and stabilize inequality (Jost, Stern, & Kalkstein, 2012). This excerpt demonstrates an opposing perspective whereby responsibilities strengthen the family and consequently elevate the woman's status and power. In communitarian or interdependent frameworks, interdependent responsibilities are seen not as burdensome but as mutually beneficial, consensual exchanges (Janoski, 1998; J. H. Liu, 2014). In its ideal form, this involves mutual compromise (Brew, 2007).

Some participants articulated the need to appreciate others' compromise, role fulfillment, and engagement, accepting mutuality as a source of happiness and satisfaction:

> *I think the problem can also start, these domestic uh, if I say, violence problems, can also start from the woman's side. Not feeling, you know, speculating too much. You know, that oh he doesn't love me, he doesn't care for me, he hasn't done anything for me or for my family. I've done everything, I raised the children. So that can hurt, uh, this mental torture of men. So women should also be reasonable. You know. Women should not always complain of not having achieved anything as an individual, but the family has achieved, you know, together. [M]*

The speaker prioritizes collective goals over individual goals, implying a relational collectivism where both husband and wife are oriented more toward the well-being of the family than their individual happiness (see Brewer & Chen, 2007). Such discourses differentiate eudaimonic contentment and hedonistic pleasure (Ryan & Deci, 2001), and here individualistic happiness is subjugated to collective goals that are framed as a more meaningful form of gratification.

Some participants articulated domain expertise as another strategy for dividing responsibilities fairly and maintaining harmony:

> *Actually, culturally the man has to work, bring the money into the house, and the woman's role is to, then the man's role is finished. The woman's role comes into it, to maintain the way she wants to run the house. [F]*

Here, the speaker identifies separate, complementary roles for men and women. This discursive formulation of men as earners and women as homemakers aligns with common Western and non-Western gender role stereotypes that position men in public domains of power while granting women power over private domains (Falicov, 2001; McMaster, 2004). When functioning properly, some cultures view these separate responsibilities as facilitative

of maintaining a balance of power (Falicov, 2001), with both parties holding some interdependent control over important aspects of family life. The ideal cultural roles of men and women are both positioned as powerful in certain domains, and dependent in others. Role flexibility was mentioned as one way of maintaining a form of balanced equality:

> *Lots of families are doing that. They both go out to work, and they will both come in and do the housework. But you still have some men who have changed to modernization in the negative way. Like, 'I don't need to go out and work. The woman can do it now. But at the same time, I don't need to do housework.' [F]*

The speaker recognizes the potential for modernization to bring about either positive or negative change, depending on how people choose to respond. For example, men may be flexible and embrace shifting sets of responsibilities, or they may use modernization as an excuse to eschew all responsibilities. As men are historically dominant in most societies, this discourse recognizes the risks posed by hierarchical relationalism if the dominant member in a relationship uses authority to invoke their will (J. H. Liu, 2014). This participant emphasizes the importance of engaging in mutual compromise and sacrifice (see Brew, 2007). Another participant articulated how violence violates any agreement of mutual exchange, and thus absolves the victim from continuing to sacrifice for the perpetrator:

> *So the idea is like, you know, sacredness associated with marriage, and you need to have a good family. People often feel like, rather than growing up kids in a broken healthy family environment, they feel like the abuser's family environment could be a better choice. But actually it's vice versa. [F]*

Here, it is acknowledged that victims of violence may feel normative or self-imposed pressure to respect the sacredness of marriage to maintain a 'healthy' family environment, despite the harmful atmosphere that abuse creates for children. Such perspectives reflect the risk that a focus on interdependent responsibilities (such as the responsibility to protect the sacredness of marriage) can limit the freedom of subordinate groups (such as women) while promoting the freedom of dominant groups (i.e., men; Howard, 1995). The speaker frames violent households as unhealthy, making it desirable for the victim to absolve the marriage to seek a healthier environment for children.

**Children's rights and responsibilities.** Participants, many of whom were parents, expressed the need for children to understand responsibilities, which were seen as particularly underemphasized for children in New Zealand mainstream culture:

> *They discover that they have rights, but nobody tells them, with every right comes a responsibility. You cannot have half of the thing without paying the price. [F]*

The speaker links rights and responsibilities, which she views as inseparable, and expresses concern that children are learning their rights to the exclusion of responsibilities. This tension between children's rights and responsibilities is a recognized public policy problem in Western societies, as children are granted many rights and little formal responsibility, yet they must somehow learn to fulfill all the expectations of responsible adults (Such & Walker, 2005). New Zealand anti-smacking laws make debates about parental authority and punishment particularly salient, as most migrants are unaccustomed to such a strong focus on children's rights. The potential for family conflict over rights was expressed here:

> *I mean children know their rights in school… And there's always an issue of, here you have your rights, but they still have to live together. So there will be a conflict there. [M]*

This discourse reflects the view that "rights-talk may well at times foster excessive individualism" (Freeman, 2000, p. 279), as focusing on rights can isolate an individual from his or her social context and the reciprocal rights of others. Here, rights without the counterbalance of responsibilities are seen as a possible source of conflict between children and other family members. Implied here is the necessity of compromise, demonstrating how rights must sometimes be subordinate to responsibilities in order to facilitate family interdependence and harmony (Brew, 2007; Brewer & Chen, 2007; J. H. Liu, 2014).

One participant articulated the frustration and anger that parents can feel due to perceived lack of control over children:

> *So the ethnic men find it very difficult to get the children to do the right thing. Because it just, you know, you can't show much dominance, and then the children sometimes don't obey. They say, 'No no, I don't want to study anymore. I want to have a break for one year.' [M]*

The speaker identifies rights as a barrier to influencing the behavior of children, possibly reflecting normative beliefs in New Zealand that children should have some control over their own decisions, particularly in young adulthood. The excerpt suggests that dominance or close guidance is a culturally accepted parenting style in some cultures of origin, and migrants must learn new strategies to influence children who are growing up in the New Zealand context (Renzaho, Green, Mellor, & Swinburn, 2011). Research in Western and non-Western cultures suggests that authoritative parenting (which combines high levels of control with high levels of love and affection) leads to positive outcomes throughout childhood and young adulthood (X. Chen, Dong, & Zhou, 1997; Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbusch, 1991; Liem, Lustig, & Cavell, 2010; Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts, & Dornbusch, 1994). Therefore, parental control is not inherently negative and may be adaptive when combined

with affection. Educating migrant parents on 'acceptable' forms of control may improve outcomes for children by providing a more nuanced perspective on how to influence children and provide rules and guidance without violating their rights. For example, it may be useful to identify alternative forms of social influence that can be employed in the context of changing power structures. One such form of influence is articulated here:

> *If you want to ask your child not to behave in a certain way, then you have to be a perfect role model. It's not like putting them into bed at six o'clock and then enjoying your privacy. [F]*

In this excerpt, role modeling of responsibilities is framed as a more powerful form of influence than exerting authority and demanding obedience. Such role modeling is an important part of mothering in non-Western cultures (Ochocka & Janzen, 2008), and this parenting style can be leveraged as a way of enhancing harmonious family functioning while exerting positive social influence. This approach places limits on parental authority, as parents must be willing to model expected behaviors in place of exerting unilateral control.

**Balancing rights and responsibilities.** These discourses suggest that migrant communities may invoke responsibilities to prevent violence by targeting potential perpetrators. Responsibilities place limits on negative behaviors and encourage healthy, respectful, balanced relationships. This more nuanced approach to rights and responsibilities may be useful in differentiating primary prevention techniques from rights-based intervention strategies. These implications are discussed more fully below.

Notably, participants did not openly discuss issues related to husband-wife dominance and obedience. This may be because male dominance is normatively unacceptable in 21st century New Zealand culture (Connell, 2002), though male dominance certainly still exists in mainstream culture (Connell, 2002; James & Saville-Smith, 1994) and is likely present in New Zealand migrant communities as well. Though unvoiced here, the frustration that men feel toward children may extend to their feelings about shifting attitudes toward dominance and rights in husband-wife relationships.

## Discussion

The main purpose of this exploration was to assess how migrant communities viewed the Duluth model. My findings suggest that migrants hold some attitudes and beliefs that are compatible with the Duluth model, while some migrants hold attitudes and beliefs that differ from Duluth model understandings in important ways. Specifically, my findings suggest that control-based explanations for violence are compatible with the views of most participants (though notably, power was not viewed as inherently negative). However, anger-

based explanations were also articulated by more than half of the participants in this study. Though primarily expressed in discrete discourses, anger-based views were not necessarily incompatible with control-based views of violence. To maximize the inclusiveness of primary prevention campaigns and interventions, we must consider the relative importance of focusing on lay understandings of the causes of violence versus theoretically derived 'true' causes. While we are far from reaching an academic consensus about the true causes of violence, control-based models are currently more respected than anger-based theories (Stark, 2013), and popular approaches in New Zealand seek to educate perpetrators and victims about control-based theories. Because coercive control is a particularly damaging and risky form of violence, I suggest that it is particularly important that we validate the control-based view for victims that are experiencing it. However, inflexible use of predetermined theoretical approaches can be alienating to those whose beliefs about and personal experiences with family violence suggest alternative understandings (C.-L. J. Liu & Regehr, 2008). Therefore, more research is needed to examine the prevalence of anger-based understandings of violence within migrant (and mainstream) communities, and we must examine the effectiveness of interventions that seek to impose particular understandings of violence. While this study did not aim to assess the accuracy of any particular theory, further exploration is also needed to determine how the anger-based view may complement the Duluth model by explaining some of the influences operating at broader levels in the ecological model. Empirical research is needed to test potential theoretical links between anger-based and control-based views of violence—it may be that for some individuals, unfulfilled desire for control at the societal or relationship level triggers true feelings of anger at the individual level. Such explorations may warrant a more nuanced revision of the Duluth model that can address Babcock, Canady, Graham, and Schart's (2006) critique that the model cannot explain why some men are violent in patriarchal cultures while others are not. If anger and desire for control are linked for some individuals, then primary prevention initiatives should incorporate elements of both anger-based and control-based understandings of violence, particularly in ways that connect with the views most prevalently held by potential perpetrators. Primary prevention initiatives may both seek to change norms about power and control in relationships and educate about anger management strategies that facilitate healthier forms of social influence. For relational collectivists, prevention initiatives may beneficially leverage cultural concepts such as emotional regulation, where egoistic anger must be controlled (see Bhawuk, 1999; Singh, 2011). Cultural scripts of emotional

control may facilitate family harmony and collective well-being in relational cultural contexts and should be further explored as a violence prevention strategy.

Further, while Duluth model approaches focus on victims' rights, participants articulated a balanced view of rights and responsibilities (see InterAction Council, 1997), invoking the responsibility to treat others well as an important theoretical component of violence prevention. The Duluth model is victim-focused (Miller, 2010), so naturally the focus on victims' rights outweighs the focus on perpetrator responsibilities. I suggest that the dichotomy between rights and responsibilities may facilitate a two-pronged approach to preventing family violence (see Figure 4). Specifically, primary prevention efforts may most fruitfully focus on *responsibilities*, emphasizing the responsibility that we all have to treat others with dignity and respect in order to target the beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors of potential perpetrators. This allows us to maintain the focus on victims' rights that is particularly important for intervention. I did not explore approaches to early identification in this study, but I suggest that we should examine the applicability of both rights and responsibilities to interventions targeting the stage of early identification.
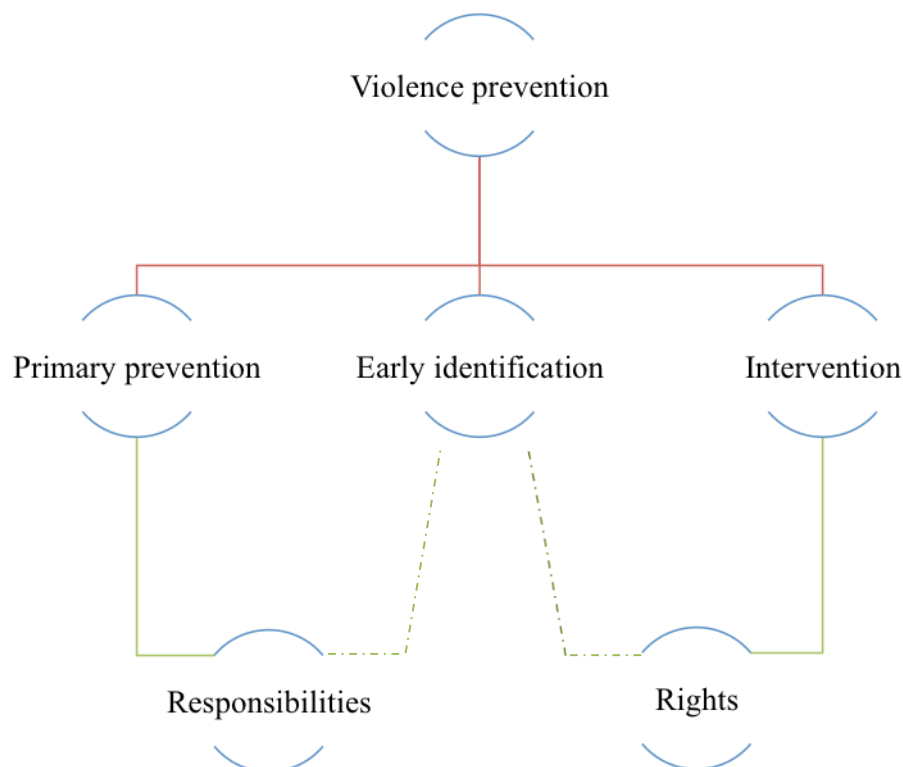


*Figure 4.* Two-pronged approach to violence prevention that balances rights and responsibilities.

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Both themes suggest that practitioners and academics must empirically examine the relationship between family violence theory and practice to determine which aspects of our theoretical stance are non-negotiable. For example, if male dominance and gender inequality are risk factors for family violence, must we completely denounce gender roles, or can we accommodate the functional and protective aspects of gender roles while emphatically rejecting the use of family roles as a justification for violence? My findings suggest that Pence's (1985) cultural facilitators of violence may not apply to all migrant communities. For example, some of the discourses suggested alternative attitudes toward natural order, with women sometimes seen as holding different forms of power than men. While gendered, participants viewed these forms of power through the lens of relational collectivism, with reciprocal responsibilities facilitating family cohesion and well-being. Pence's (1985) other cultural facilitators (objectification of women, forced submission, and overt coercion) were not prevalent in my conversations with participants, possibly due to forces of social desirability when speaking within the liberal, egalitarian New Zealand context on behalf of their cultural community. In New Zealand, gender roles are largely viewed as harmful (James & Saville-Smith, 1994), yet other cultural perspectives suggest that there are positive aspects to interdependence and balanced family roles. A more nuanced approach to family roles and interdependence has been embraced by some organizations that work with migrants; for example, a booklet put out by Shakti and Family Violence: It's Not OK (2014), called "Culture: No excuse for abuse," suggests that migrants can embrace and celebrate their cultural heritage in ways that are healthy for families. In line with my findings as well as Crichton-Hill's (2001) argument that family roles can serve protective functions, it may be possible to strengthen family violence prevention initiatives by embracing balanced, flexible understandings of family roles.

### Study 2: Violence Prevention Techniques and Principles

In this study, I investigated the processes and strategies that migrant communities use when planning and conducting their family violence prevention work. While governmental primary prevention campaigns are typically documented and evaluated, migrant organizations are often not-for-profit social groups that do not have the human or financial capital to engage in thorough documentation or analysis. By documenting migrant organizations' approaches to primary prevention and analyzing the underlying principles, including the features that are shared with mainstream campaigns and those that are unique to migrant communities, we may learn valuable information about how to diversify the techniques we use and increase the cross-cultural applicability of prevention campaigns. This analysis documented the primary prevention approaches of participating organizations and identified themes in the principles underlying lay theories of change.

### Method

To reduce the burden on community organizations and participants, I collected data simultaneously for both studies. As a result, the method used for Study 2 was largely identical to that used for Study 1. The research was conducted in conjunction with the same research partners, and data collection occurred in the same interviews and focus groups. Ethics approval for this research was obtained from the Victoria University of Wellington School of Psychology Human Ethics Committee under delegated authority of the Human Ethics Committee, under the same application as Study 1.

The participants and procedure for this study were identical to those for Study 1. Interview questions were designed to garner information about the details of the partner organization's family violence prevention work, about internal leadership processes, and about perceived impact (see Appendix B). Focus group questions focused on participant involvement in and perceptions of the partner organization, the cultural community, and family violence prevention efforts (see Appendix C).

### Data Analysis

First, I conducted a separate thematic analysis using Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-step procedure; as this analysis was not subject to theory-based hypotheses, I employed an exploratory, inductive approach. After reading the data set, I generated initial codes, which were related to specific family violence prevention techniques, the underlying principles that informed prevention efforts, and unique challenges for migrants, such as discrimination and isolation (Step 1). I systematically coded all excerpts that articulated techniques used to

prevent violence (Step 2). Using categorization and visual webs, I organized the codes into two initial practice-focused themes: aspirational approaches and raising awareness (Step 3). After reviewing the themes in relation to the full data set (Step 4), I decided that a theme previously categorized under Study 1 (widespread awareness of physical and verbal abuse) was more appropriately categorized under the existing awareness theme for Study 2. In Step 5, I conducted another round of analysis, in which I identified divergence between discourses about community engagement and the other discourses categorized under the awareness theme, and so I separated community engagement into its own theme. In the final analysis (Step 6), I presented three themes: Validating Non-Physical Violence to Reduce Ambivalence (awareness theme); Aspirational Values and Abstinence-Based Ideologies; and Tapped and Untapped Opportunities for Multilevel Leadership (newly designated community engagement theme).

Finally, I conducted discourse analysis on relevant extracts, again following the theoretical approaches and procedures of Potter and Wetherell (1995), Edwards and Potter (1992), Billig (1988), van Dijk (1993), and Gee (2014) to examine how discourses served to define identities, recognize specific forms of action, grant agency, and connect or disconnect actions and identities. My analysis of the ways that participants use language as a social resource draws upon public health research on primary prevention and incorporates the theoretical understandings of cross-cultural and social psychology.

## Findings

Three themes were identified in this analysis. The first theme related to reduction of ambivalent attitudes through validation that non-physical violence is wrong. Participants demonstrated widespread awareness of physical and verbal abuse, and most participants believed that there was a widespread consensus in their communities that these are forms of violence. A smaller subset of participants identified systematic patterns of non-physical control as a form of violence, and typically these participants believed that their wider community was unaware of dominance as a form of violence. Participants used discourses to reduce the resulting ambivalence, using disclaimers to defend their ideological positions and emphasizing affiliations with others that shared their views.

The second theme centered on the aspirational approach preferred by participants when enacting prevention initiatives in their communities. In Western cultures, the focus of prevention is on setting limits and identifying harmful behaviors that should be eliminated (including non-physical forms of abuse). In my data, participants articulated the need for limits on behaviors, but they also emphasized the importance of promoting cultural ideals of

healthy family relationships and of providing role models that can be emulated. These aspirational ideals were often justified by religious creed, but participants speaking from secular viewpoints also contributed to these discourses to a more limited extent.

The third theme highlighted the ways that engagement with the cultural community may contribute to primary prevention of violence. While governmental initiatives in Western countries often prioritize and dedicate most resources to institutional child welfare and criminal justice interventions (L. K. Bowen, Gwiasda, & Brown, 2004; Fullwood, 2002), my findings suggest that governments should also invest time and resources in building effective primary prevention partnerships with cultural communities. Participants believed that community engagement reduced risk factors like isolation, while also building well-being. Participants who were leaders in different communities had different views on the best role for organizations in preventing violence (either by providing a forum for open discussion of issues or by building trust that facilitated community members' direct use of mainstream resources), but leaders agreed that community engagement played an important role in well-being and in the reduction of family discord and violence. While it is natural that community leaders saw value in and advocated for community organizations, the discourses demonstrated that participants strongly valued their relationships with government leaders and suggested possible avenues by which to strengthen links between communities.

**Theme 1: Validating Non-Physical Violence to Reduce Ambivalence**

Like in mainstream campaigns, awareness was seen as an important prevention technique. In particular, participant discourses validated the harmful nature of non-physical forms of violence, which are considered abusive within the New Zealand context. Some types of violence were more widely recognized by participants than others; among participants that articulated broader definitions of violence, some perceived that members of their communities were unaware of these broader definitions. In such cases, discourses validated the harmful nature of non-physical violence:

> *You can't say oh, this is violence, because you can't see it. But at the same time, if someone is confined in a place, or sort of separated, I personally feel it is part of domestic or family violence. [F]*

This discourse reveals ambivalence between differing personal beliefs about and community understandings of violence. The speaker personally condemns non-physical forms of violence, yet also recognizes the normative minimizing that often occurs when violence is not visible or physical (Hydén & McCarthy, 1994). The participant uses phrases of juxtaposition (*but at the same time*) to articulate two competing ideas (Strauss, 2005)—both the view that

non-physical harm is not violent (which she attributes to others), and the view that isolation and non-physical control are violent (which she positions as her personal belief). Such 'disclaimers' can support ideological positions against an opposing viewpoint and protect the speaker's identity against alternative meanings and discourses that may emerge (Hewitt & Stokes, 1975). By immediately negating the view of the other (that isolation cannot be considered a form of violence), the participant articulates the uncertainty that exists within broader discourses while firmly establishing her own position. The same participant further defended her position in another discourse of ambivalence resulting from lack of awareness:

> It's not necessarily that you get beaten up, then only that's violence. There can be other forms.
>
> Interviewer: And in the wider community do you think people kind of think about violence in the same way, or do you think?
>
> Participant: Um. <pauses, shakes head no> Um, yes. Because people are not aware of it. And um, they think it's okay. [F]

The participant strongly articulates a broader definition of violence that encompasses non-physical forms, while contrasting her view against other normative understandings. Such ideologically defended yet contradictory discourses contrast the light and dark, the good and bad by juxtaposing the position of the insider (the self) with the view of the outsider or the other (Bauman, 1990). The participant displays her ambivalence toward the views of other community members, as she softens the non-verbal *no* with a verbal *yes* and defends their ideological differences as a lack of awareness. This suggests that the participant disagrees with other community members' views while still understanding their perspectives and reasoning (Mango, 2010). This view allows for conciliation between divergent views, implying that efforts that raise awareness may be a lever to change attitudes and enlighten others about the harm of non-physical forms of violence.

My data suggest that there is already widespread knowledge of certain types of violence—particularly physical and verbal abuse—though discourses suggested that not all forms were seen as equally prototypical. Verbal abuse was mentioned as a form of violence by every interview participant and was mentioned in every focus group:

> The two groups that I've got links with, there hasn't been a lot of evidence of family violence, of physical violence. Uh, verbal abuse is certainly very evident. [F]

Here, the participant first addresses the prevalence of physical abuse. In the next sentence she addresses verbal abuse separately, which may reflect the participant's use of distinct (but overlapping) categories for verbal abuse and physical violence (see Mango, 2010). Such

distinctions between physical and verbal abuse may reflect the relative ease of categorizing physical abuse and the relative difficulty that people face in determining when intervention is necessary in cases of verbal abuse, as a singular instance of verbal insult may not be considered violent, while ongoing and severe instances may normatively be considered abusive (Brezina, 1998). Several participants validated the lasting harm caused by verbal abuse, which some viewed as potentially more harmful than physical violence:

> *If you attack someone physically, and, suppose you have hurt them, that would, might go away one day. But if you have said, or you have done to your, <clears throat> I mean, just give me a second. Let me think what I'm trying to say. If you have said something harsh to someone, suppose if you have done something which is going to affect them mentally, you know. If you have said something, harsh word to someone, they are not going to forget that forever. [F]*

This excerpt frames physical abuse as healable in time, while non-physical abuse is positioned as longstanding and unforgettable. Before validating the harm caused by verbal abuse, the excerpt includes a long break in content-laden speech, with the participant using discourse markers that can alter meaning or indicate intention *(I mean)* and filled pauses that bridge gaps in content-laden speech with content-neutral phrases *(let me think what I'm going to say)*. While this filled pause may reflect the difficulty of expressing ideas in a non-native language, filled pauses can also be used to signal the upcoming expression of views that are non-normative or embarrassing (Watanabe, Hirose, Den, & Minematsu, 2008) or to qualify the participant's commitment to a statement (Fuller, 2003; Sharifian & Malcolm, 2003). This may function to prepare the listener for the participant's assertion that verbal abuse is more harmful than physical violence, as this ideological assertion may be opposed by other community members (see Billig, 1988).

Some participants were very knowledgeable about non-physical forms of violence, with a small number of participants specifically aware of the Duluth model. Deeper levels of knowledge and awareness were often a result of formal training or workshops:

> *So I was more than happy to go and do [a workshop], because I was like, this is something I'm very eager to do. I would be really happy to go attend a workshop and find out what is it all about, and what we can do to reach out to people. And actually the workshop was really helpful, because in my culture, a lot of violence is not named. It's there but it's not named. So attending that workshop gave me a better understanding and a label to the other forms of violence. [F]*

This discourse suggests that some people may intuitively view power and control as harmful, but not intuitively categorize these as systematic forms of violence in the absence of education initiatives about feminist theories of family violence. The excerpt demonstrates the

potency of discursive behavioral labels, which construct social or political understandings of behaviors that can be used to position them as appropriate or inappropriate (Moncrieffe & Eyben, 2007). As people may lack accessible discursive labels for non-physical abuse, participants who were educated about non-physical forms of violence strongly emphasized the need to validate victims' intuitions about these types of abuse. In particular, one participant emphasized the need for validation during post-violence intervention (bolding added for emphasis):

> **When they come to us, they have an idea that there's something wrong going on.** *But the point is, it's hard to, say for example, if your husband is emotionally abusing you, you know. You are sitting in front of her, and then kind of like, the husband brings a big knife and says oh, no matter how angry you are, you're never going to hit me. It's that kind of, like, indirect threat. But he's posing as he's the victim.* **Or like, you know you are this or you are that kind of thing, so women could be confused. I won't say all of them, but most of them are very confident, but they could be confused. So then, if they are there, it means yes. They know something [is wrong]. So it's like a journey from a to zed. So maybe when they are coming, maybe from a, they're on b. And then it's a long journey.** *So it takes counseling, power and control wheel, which makes it very easy for the community members, starting a little bit for them to understand. But then you say when you are there, they have an idea there's something going wrong.* **So it doesn't have to be like, he's going to, he's beating or something. They know something is wrong. That's why, you know, they come to you.** *[F]*

In this extract, the speaker outlines a victim's journey from uncertainty to clarity, starting with the vague notion that something is not right in the relationship to understanding how the abuser uses instrumental tactics of power and control. The Power and Control Wheel is positioned as a formal, documented ideological 'disclaimer' (Hewitt & Stokes, 1975), which can be leveraged to educate victims of violence about the subjective position that control is a form of instrumental non-physical violence. Here discourse is a form of action (Potter & Wetherell, 1995), used to change understandings of violence and reduce ambivalence by validating the intuitive sense that non-physical harm is a form of abuse.

Throughout these excerpts, participants identified the importance of validation and awareness, particularly regarding non-physical forms of violence that are less understood by members of the wider community. The importance of validation can pose a challenge to migrant community leaders, who may be unsure about the best way to achieve awareness:

> *In [our town] we have [a government program helping migrants]. They are also keen on working on this prevention side. Yeah. Um, it's not easy. <laughs> To take, to get the message to each family, you know? [M]*

The speaker recognizes that the government values primary prevention efforts, yet identifies the difficulty of communicating preventive messages to each and every family. The participant expresses confidence that family violence awareness initiatives are considered worthy by the government, yet recognizes the difficulty of enacting these efforts effectively to achieve complete saturation. While not explicitly spoken here, this excerpt implies the difficulty of defining success in primary prevention initiatives and in measuring impact (Meade, 2010). The speaker implies that a partnership exists between government agencies and community leaders, and that migrant community leaders are the ones working on the front lines to broadly disseminate the message in local communities.

The discourses in this theme revealed ambivalence within communities about non-physical forms of violence, with participants articulating differences between widely held community understandings and their own personal beliefs. Discursive disclaimers bolstered participants' broader definitions of violence, while qualifiers were used at times to soften statements. This reduced the salience of contradictions between personal views and community beliefs. Where incongruities were noted, these were attributed to lack of community awareness, which minimized ideological disagreement. Participant discourses suggested that primary prevention awareness efforts might serve to reduce ambivalence by generating community consensus about the harmful nature of non-physical violence.

**Theme 2: Aspirational Values and Abstinence-Based Ideologies**

Participants embraced cultural ideals, viewing the communication of aspirational cultural values as an important technique for overcoming the limits of problem-focused approaches. In Western societies, violence prevention is often focused on eradicating the *problem* of family violence, but research suggests that ethnic communities in New Zealand value strengths-based approaches that recognize and build on the existing assets of communities, families, and individuals (Levine & Benkert, 2011). In my data, aspirational discourses were underpinned by both religious creed and by secular cultural ideals. While participants did identify risk factors, most also articulated alternative discourses of cultural ideals regarding peaceful, harmonious family relationships:

> *In my culture, according to the Hindu dharma, if [a person] really follows Hindu dharma, then there's no space for violence. Because our main conduct of Hindu dharma is non-violence. Ahimsa parmo dharma, if I translate it in English, it just means, um, non-violence as your first duty. [F]*

Here the participant identifies non-violence as a core value of the Hindu dharma. Duty is central to relational collectivism (Brewer & Chen, 2007), and this discourse establishes non-

violence as an ideal to which Hindus must adhere as a matter of duty. Western research has suggested that victim-focused prevention discourses that require complete abstinence from violence are deficit-based, placing a burden on victims to prevent violence or leave relationships (Friend, Shlonsky, & Lambert, 2008). However, this excerpt emphasizes ideal behaviors according to the interdependent accountabilities of potential *perpetrators*, who have a duty to live according to positive values of non-violence.

In my data, ideal or model behaviors were typically (though not always) identified on the basis of religious creed. Thus aspirational, ideal behaviors were more prevalent in the data gathered in conversations with members of the Hindu organization, where the interview context was linked to religious affiliation. However, participants from the multicultural organization (interviewed in the context of their cultural affiliation) also raised such issues in relation to their personal religious beliefs or in secular discourses. Ideal behaviors were invoked both to inspire good behavior and to place limits on bad behavior:

> *So we have a fear, if I say a fear factor, you know. That we should not indulge in harming people, you know? And promoting love and, yeah. Both within the family but also with friends and others, communities. I'm sure this is prevalent in other religions as well. [M]*

This discourse recognizes the role of religion in regulating harmful interpersonal behaviors (framing such behaviors as indulgent) and in motivating positive, loving behaviors toward family, friends, and wider social groups. The two different strategies—reducing negative behaviors and increasing positive ones—respectively leverage deficit-based approaches that focus on risks and strengths-based approaches that focus on protective factors (see Maton et al., 2004). The balance between positive and negative, light and darkness, is discussed here:

> *Diwali is a festival of light. So, light means not only just light, light means light in the life of people, you know? And removing the darkness which is in the community, and which is in families or whatever. [Anything] negative that is going around has to be removed. [F]*

Here a religious holiday is invoked as a metaphor for and cultural exemplar (Quinn, 2005) of the juxtaposition of abstinence and aspiration. The discourse links aspirational concepts of harmony and happiness (*the spreading of light*) with abstaining from harm (*removing darkness*). Light and darkness, positive and negative are positioned as counterparts, yet they are connected. Similar ideas are present in the Chinese philosophy of yin (light) and yang (darkness; C.-Y. Chen, 2009). The metaphor of Diwali or yin and yang elegantly illustrates the approach to family violence prevention that I observed, which emphasized both eradicating the darkness associated with family conflict and striving for aspirational ideals of

family harmony. Popular Western approaches may typically emphasize the need to eradicate violence without emphasizing aspirational alternatives (see Levine & Benkert, 2011).

Aspirational models for behavior were often articulated in the context of interpersonal relationships, as in this excerpt:

> *[In our culture] the message is given that how families should live, like in the mother and father relationship, the husband-wife relationship, then brothers, how brothers should live in a family. [F]*

In this excerpt, relational ideals are based on religious texts and positioned as uncontested. Normative behaviors and morality are culture-specific (Shi-xu, 2005), and religious creed is a traditional means of establishing moral objectivity and consensus (Leeper, 1996). In my data, invoking religious creed was a typical formulation that justified within-culture prescription of aspirational behavior. This aspirational approach goes one step beyond traditional strengths-based approaches that build on existing strengths, as it promotes cultural-level ideals that may or may not currently be nascent or realized in any individual or family. While this objectivity is most easily achieved through religious justification (Leeper, 1996), culture was also used as a resource for identifying aspirational values and ideals:

> *[Violence] is to some degree, I would totally agree, is there in my culture. But it's just because, it's there because people have acquired the Western cultures—not Western cultures, but moving and assimilation and all those things. So they are actually losing their actual cultural values. If they follow their actual cultural values, then there's no place for that. [F]*

Here the speaker acknowledges the disparity between cultural ideals that should be followed, and actual lived experiences that are subject to negative influences and fallibility. The speaker initially adopts a contrastive structure (Shi-xu, 2005), formulating ingroup cultural values as peaceful and protective while outgroup (New Zealand) values are framed as potentially facilitative of harm or violence (van Dijk, 2006). She then shifts away from linking Western cultural ideals with risk for violence, instead linking the effects of physical migration and psychological adjustment to behaviors that conflict with one's *actual* values. This excerpt is ambiguous as to whether Western values are perceived to replace those of the culture of origin, or whether cultural values are simply lost after migration. This serves to position those who maintain their values as categorically abstinent from violence, in contrast to the potential perpetrators of violence who do not maintain their cultural values (see Gee, 2014).

Most participants articulated the need for integration (maintaining the culture of origin while also participating in New Zealand culture), which has been demonstrated to be the most adaptive strategy for migrants (Berry, 1997). The following excerpt identifies the importance of maintaining culture of origin values, while also embracing integration:

> *You can live in two worlds, but it's a lot of work. Especially if you have families and kids, and you want to keep up with that and be connected to your roots. It's very easy to let go of everything, and it's very hard to maintain it. If you believe it's important, which personally I feel, at the end of the day, it is. Because you have to sort of, within families you have to give your kids something, so there is a heritage there. And there are rules, sort of. Something to live by, and it all depends whether they want to live with it or not. It's their choice. But you can only show them the path. [F]*

This discourse embraces both the individualist value of personal choice and the relational values of interconnectedness and tradition (Elchardus, 1994). There is a prescribed path, but children can choose whether or not to follow it, so there is both rigidity in rules to live by and flexibility in choosing whether and when to adhere to them. Following the values of the culture of origin (including abstinence from violence) is one available path, while the individual is given agency to select other alternatives. Common among these excerpts is the sense that following the aspirational path is an effortful but rewarding alternative to fallibility, family conflict, and (in the worst cases) violence. These discourses were more prevalent among Hindu participants who, speaking from a religious perspective, referenced religious texts and used metaphors based on religious celebrations. However, aspirational and abstinence-based discourses were present among several participants speaking from secular viewpoints as well, on the basis of shared cultural ideals.

**Theme 3: Tapped and Untapped Opportunities for Multilevel Leadership**

Migrants are particularly vulnerable to the risks of social isolation due to language barriers, lower awareness of available resources, and physical distance from family and friends, so protective factors such as social support and connectedness may be particularly important for these groups (Levine & Benkert, 2011). Participants identified tapped and untapped opportunities for leadership and community engagement, with communication across different levels of formal and informal networks viewed as particularly important. Research suggests that cross-sector, multilevel networks are key to leveraging the benefits of community engagement, which include heightened awareness about family violence and access to resources for intervention (Mitchell-Clark & Autry, 2004). My data suggested that the importance of connectedness and cross-level communication starts at the interpersonal or family level, then builds to the cultural community level, and finally includes connections to

the societal level, particularly between local communities and government organizations. At the narrowest level, this participant identified important historical and cultural traditions whereby familial connectedness may serve protective functions:

> *Sometimes we are very lucky. The mother and the father, they actually you know, they live with the children, but then there's a lot of other relatives who take care of the children. Mother will never be alone with the children, because there you can see your auntie, your [community's] young women, your, you know, your relatives, all these are in the home. All women, and they are actually, you know, working in the home, helping you, and they raise the children. That's, we are very lucky. And here, you know, when people came here, it was the wife and the husband only. And they, now they face a lot of difficulty, you know. [M]*

This discourse acts to frame communal living as beneficial and functional, with communal childrearing positioned as a way of distributing responsibilities and reducing pressure on the husband and wife (in line with research findings suggesting that communalism reduces stress and facilitates coping; Gaylord-Harden, Burrow, & Cunningham, 2012). Women are framed as more active contributors to this communal childrearing system than men, and research suggests that gender differences do exist in communalism and relationalism, with women more likely to help others on the basis of the recipient's need rather than for personal benefit (Hobfoll, 1998; Kashima, Yamaguchi, Kim, & Choi, 1995). The support from extended family and from other members of the cultural community is perceived to ease pressure on parents, which may buffer against women's isolation and reduce the risk of violence (see Nam et al., 2011). These forms of familial support may be less available to migrants in New Zealand, though non-familial members of the cultural community sometimes do fill certain communal roles. In addition to relationship-level protective factors, however, most participants recognized the importance of contextualizing these buffers within ecological models (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2009; Staggs & Schewe, 2011). Here, a participant expresses the risks inherent in giving families full responsibility for protection:

> *Most of the conflicts are resolved within family members. But when you start talking in terms of family members, a lot of them get swept under the carpet. That is the issue I think most, over the next twenty years, that each culture will have to deal with it. [M]*

In relationally oriented families, collective outcomes may be prioritized over individual rights; this can be functional, but as articulated here, this strategy can pose risks if family conflict is ignored rather than addressed (Brew, 2007). Distorted relational ideologies can present dangers if perpetrators use collectivist principles to justify violence or dominance, or if abusers pressure victims to stay silent to protect face or family image (International

Organization for Migration, 2008; Keller & Brennan, 2007; Shakti & Family Violence: It's Not OK, 2014). This discourse frames intervention from the cultural group as a potential buffer against avoidant conflict resolution styles in relational families, implying that there are untapped opportunities for cultural communities to intervene in 'private' family issues.

The importance of multilevel networks, where individuals are connected to local and wider communities, is further mentioned in this excerpt:

> *In some places, the local communities are very good. Sort of very welcoming. But if you land within a bigger place and bigger community, people don't even know their neighbors, and it can be isolating. You are left on your own, unless you have those groups you can go to, and then it is just confined to that, so you don't integrate. [F]*

The speaker identifies isolation as a risk factor, with community-level connectedness positioned as a possible buffer against interpersonal isolation. At the same time, cultural separation (defined by engagement with the local migrant subculture, but isolation from wider New Zealand society) is framed as confining and less ideal than integration within both subcultural and 'mainstream' communities (Berry, 1997). This discourse recognizes the importance of multicultural ideologies that encourage integration into the local community and the broader society, rather than only within the cultural minority community (Vertovec, 1996). Opportunities are implied for building local communities and enhancing connections between them. Another participant identified the importance of different layers of community connectedness both within and across cultural groups:

> *We are with the communities. So, yes, we are a member of the [multicultural organization]. I believe that, you know, the [multicultural organization] is for everybody. We are a part of it, part of society, and that's good. [M]*

In this excerpt, the speaker positions himself as a member of his own cultural community, the multicultural community, and the wider society. The nested layers of community all function together to increase connectedness and well-being both within and across levels (e.g., Casey & Lindhorst, 2009). This discourse positions cultural communities as an integrated subset of the mainstream community rather than as separate, disconnected entities, and the same participant identified several avenues for identifying community problems through these interconnected channels:

*We start from the grassroots. From bottom to top, and again from top to bottom. I mean, we identify the issues and the problems of the communities from the grassroots. When we have identified issues from the communities, then we come to our table, and we discuss what we can do, how can we settle these issues. If we can settle it, get the idea settled, then we do it immediately. If we can't, we go to the government departments, immigration, MSD, you name it. We have direct connections with them. And then we ask them, we need a solution for that particular issue as soon as you could. When we get the solution then we go back to the communities and we say, this is the way we can solve the issue. If it's possible. If it failed, then we say okay, which other way? We would like to solve this issue. We identify the issues through forums, through consultations, and through community leaders. Sometimes, the community leaders, they don't know much about what is going on, on the grassroots. Then, to cover that, we call a meeting. And then, it's refugees to refugees. It's no government because the refugees have got a scenario that they came from an actual dictatorship government. If they see someone who is from the government, then they will never tell, even what they are feeling, you know. So, refugees to refugees. And, put on the ground, what we have it, and we try to get the solution. That's the way that we actually identify the issues. Either the forum, community consultations, community leaders. This is the way we identify the problems of the communities. [M]*

Here, the speaker articulates dual views of governmental authority; on the one hand, he recognizes a beneficial link between community leaders and government officials, while on the other hand, he suggests that refugees will more openly express their views at grassroots community meetings where government officials are not present. This reflects sensitivity to the attitudes that some migrants and refugees from authoritarian countries hold toward police and other authority figures (Easteal, 1996; Shim & Hwang, 2005), but also a recognition that government partnerships provide important resources that help communities address problems. Thus, a multilevel approach to engagement is framed as balancing community concerns for privacy with the benefits of governmental resources. Such approaches that engage community leaders as intermediaries may enhance the ability of government agencies and police to understand community needs and address the complexities of leadership in multicultural societies (Adelman, Erez, & Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2003). This theme reinforces the importance of and opportunities for prevention within and between each level of the ecological model. While the discourses provide evidence that some cross-level collaboration exists and is valued, there are untapped opportunities for communication across levels that may facilitate effective collaboration between government and cultural communities.

**Discussion**

Using Spaulding and Balch's (1983) broad definition of primary prevention, migrant community groups are making significant contributions to prevention by increasing well-being and raising awareness of risk factors and resources. Despite these important contributions, most participants did not view their efforts as comprehensive or strategic anti-violence programs; even those who were knowledgeable about theories of violence and who actively, extensively shared that knowledge with others were circumspect in identifying the positive contributions of their family violence prevention efforts. Yet my analysis revealed systematic approaches that participating community leaders used to prevent violence by reducing ambivalence toward non-physical violence, identifying aspirational cultural ideals, and building opportunities for better collaboration across levels of the ecological model.

Culturally cohesive community organizations may be uniquely placed for such approaches, which are facilitated by shared understandings of healthy family relationships. The broad-based, diverse reach of 'mainstream' initiatives, such as school-based programs and mass media campaigns, may limit their ability to incorporate cultural ideals in ways that are viewed as appropriate and accessible. Mainstream initiatives tend to rely on shared understandings of *incorrect* behaviors—those that are considered violent and harmful—but do not invoke shared understandings of *correct* or healthy behaviors. For example, the It's Not OK campaign builds 'no' into its name, identifying ways that people should not act. Perhaps this is less contentious in the individualist, rights-based New Zealand context, where anti-violence norms are strong. Identifying ideals about healthy families may be more controversial in part because ideals differ across cultural and religious groups. However, migrant community organizations bounded by shared cultural backgrounds appear to invoke such cultural ideals about positive behaviors to motivate change. Some mainstream New Zealand campaigns in other issue areas use similar aspirational approaches, such as the Drive Social campaign that "aims to fundamentally change the way New Zealanders think about the road and the people they share the road with" (New Zealand Transport Agency, 2013) and drink-driving awareness campaigns that encourage Kiwis to be a 'legend' by stopping a mate from driving drunk. Thorough testing is needed on the effectiveness of reframing approaches that invoke ideals, but on the surface it appears that these approaches make family violence prevention efforts broadly relevant, as even families that do not see themselves as high risk can connect with efforts to improve family relationships. It is possible that a focus on cultural or religious ideals would not be effective outside of minority communities like the self-selected groups that participated in my research. However, it would be interesting to test the

effectiveness of invoking widely shared, positive cultural ideals about healthy, harmonious families in broader 'mainstream' awareness campaigns.

Participants did not explicitly identify theories of change underlying their family violence prevention initiatives. In this study, participants emphasized social norms (either religious or cultural ideals) rather than skill-building approaches or initiatives that seek to change personal attitudes and beliefs. The themes identified in this analysis are compatible with the social norms approach (H. W. Perkins & Berkowitz, 1986) to primary prevention, which corrects misconceptions about the normative nature of positive and negative behaviors. Participants referred to aspirational ideals as *actual cultural values*, identifying a 'true' set of norms that can be overlooked or clouded by inaccurate conceptions of shared cultural values. The data suggest that awareness and validation were viewed as particularly important in establishing sanctions against non-physical forms of violence, which may be a first step in changing norms and individual attitudes toward verbal, emotional, or financial abuse.

Participating community organizations highly valued their relationships with government agencies (particularly New Zealand Police and MSD). They viewed government leaders as responsive to their communities' challenges and as true partners on difficult issues like family violence prevention. Since community members view well-connected community organizations as more trustworthy (Levine & Benkert, 2011), these valued multilevel collaborations should continue to be a priority. One important role for government is in helping low-budget organizations access resources that can help them document and assess their efforts, particularly for primary prevention work that is difficult to evaluate. Government leaders may also assist by building networks across community organizations and reinforcing the positive impact of community-based primary prevention work. Working together, community groups, government agencies, and academic researchers can strengthen understandings of primary prevention. This study suggests that migrant communities play important roles in establishing norms about non-physical violence, identifying aspirational behaviors, and building multilevel communication to facilitate trust and accessibility of resources.

**General Discussion**

Overall, this research addressed two main questions about family violence prevention in New Zealand migrant communities. In Study 1, I examined the relevance of the Duluth model to specific migrant communities, analyzing prevalent themes and discursive approaches to understanding the causes and indicators of violence. Using a social constructionist approach, I strove to understand participants' views on family violence without judging the 'correctness' of their views against any existing theoretical orientation. No hypotheses were made for this study, though based on the previous literature I explored potential themes about how gender roles relate to power, control, and violence in relationships. My analysis identified two main themes, one about causes of violence and the other about balancing (sometimes gendered) roles and responsibilities. Specifically, participants voiced two views on underlying causes of violence: desire for control and anger. The control-based view is highly compatible with the Duluth model and the anger-based view is not, yet a substantially large minority of study participants articulated both views. Though evidence of a connection between the two views was limited to a single discourse, I suggest that further research is needed to examine whether the two views can be theoretically linked, such that unfulfilled desire for control may trigger anger. More research is also required to explore the efficacy of interventions that actively build connections between the two views and that use flexible approaches in order to match participant views on the causes of violence. The second theme related to the balance between rights and responsibilities, with responsibilities invoked as a way of encouraging positive behavior toward others. A priori plans to explore gender roles revealed that responsibilities were often gendered. Contrary to mainstream views in New Zealand culture, gendered responsibilities were framed as positive, flexible, and important in the context of family interdependence. Discourses about responsibilities often aimed to change the behavior of potential perpetrators of violence, as opposed to rights-focused discourses that target victims. I suggested that we consider a two-pronged approach to violence prevention, with primary prevention focused on perpetrator responsibilities and intervention focused on victim's rights.

In Study 2, I examined the processes and strategies that New Zealand migrant communities employ in primary prevention of family violence. No hypotheses were derived, though I analyzed particularly closely those approaches and principles that were unique to migrant communities and the challenges they face. The findings suggest that migrant community initiatives reduce ambivalence by validating non-physical harm as a form of

violence. Participants took an approach that balanced identification of ideal, positive behaviors (justified by religious creed or cultural norms) with discourses of abstaining from violence. This suggested that compared to mainstream campaigns that tend to emphasize reduction of negative behaviors, migrant communities were more inclined to link anti-violence discourses with alternative behavioral ideals that buffer against conflict. Finally, participants emphasized the importance of multilevel community engagement in facilitating the identification of problems and access to government resources. Cultural community interventions were seen as more effective when combined with multilevel communication, which builds networks between individuals, local organizations, and government agencies.

My findings complement those of past research, which suggests that while the Duluth model is one important strategy for intervention, it may have some incompatibilities with non-Western cultural understandings of violence (and with Western theories outside of the feminist tradition). For example, McNeill (1988) found that different ethnic groups emphasized different causes of violence, with Pākehā viewing desire for power and control as one cause of violence, while Māori and Pacific participants emphasized other causes. My findings, based on data collected more than 25 years later with a different set of ethnic communities, suggest that there is still no lay consensus on the causes of violence. However, my results suggest that when theoretical views on the causes of violence become popular in academic and professional circles, these may trickle down to community members, as both control-based and anger-based understandings were prevalent amongst participants. While Duluth model proponents may reject anger-based views of violence as victim blaming or as undermining the cultural explanations for violence, my findings provide preliminary evidence that lack of power or control may be thought to trigger anger. Theoretical and empirical investigation is needed to examine the relationship between anger and control; in the meantime, prevention campaigns should incorporate a range of lay understandings about the causes of violence in order to connect effectively with people that hold a range of views.

In an intervention evaluation, C.-L. J. Liu and Regehr (2008) found that framing family relationships in terms of power and control was alienating to some victims of violence. Crichton-Hill (2001) suggested that gender roles were associated with interdependence and could be viewed as positive and protective. My findings suggest that participants viewed interdependence and family roles as healthy, embracing relational interdependence over individualist understandings of family relationships. While discourses about family roles were often gendered, most participants in my research seemed to view inflexible gender roles as negative, while flexible family roles were framed as positive and

healthy. Gendered responsibilities may be rejected by feminist scholars as reinforcing patriarchy and hierarchy, but a more nuanced examination of the discourses suggests that prevention campaigns and interventions based on the Duluth model may be more effective in reaching migrants from non-Western countries by emphasizing *role flexibility* and *female empowerment within adaptable interdependent roles* rather than negating gendered family roles altogether.

## Implications

This investigation has important theoretical implications for understanding the popular Duluth model's relevance in New Zealand migrant communities. The model is predicated on Western cultural understandings of family relationships, gender, and hierarchy. While some of these foundations are applicable cross-culturally, others are less relevant to certain migrant groups. In particular, the Duluth model recognizes the contradiction between egalitarian cultural norms and actual gender inequality (James & Saville-Smith, 1994; Pence & Shepard, 1999). However, the model's individualist conception of gender and family roles may be alienating to some. Theoretical approaches that allow for healthy interdependence may be more appropriate for use with people from some collectivist or relational cultures. Such an approach may maintain some compatibility with control-based understandings of the causes of violence by emphasizing the importance of flexibility. Asserting the importance of role flexibility reduces the risk that interdependence will be used as a justification for male dominance, instead framing interdependent roles as appropriate only when they facilitate the well-being of all family members.

The research also has practical implications for understanding how theories of change can be better incorporated into planning and rigorous evaluation of primary prevention initiatives. My findings suggest that migrant community organizations are not consciously incorporating particular theories of change, though their work intuitively incorporates social norms approaches through two avenues. Firstly, by validating the harm of non-physical violence, communities reduce ambivalence toward non-physical abuse and establish such actions as non-normative. Secondly, communities identify aspirational ideals for behavior, which develops normative ideas about healthy behaviors and family relationships. Strong primary prevention evaluations must therefore measure the impact of initiatives that increase positive behaviors and reduce the risk of negative behaviors. As the participating communities valued multilevel communication and relationships, government leaders may be particularly well positioned to help under-resourced communities build

knowledge about the social norms approach to change and about strategies for evaluating the effectiveness of primary prevention efforts.

## Applications

My findings suggested important preliminary ideas about how family violence prevention initiatives can be more applicable to migrant communities. Based on the themes identified in my analysis, I organized the most important ideas according to the four levels of the ecological model. This conceptualization encompasses the approaches that the participating migrant communities are currently using to prevent violence. The concepts may be useful for other community organizations dedicated to helping migrants, as well as to the government agencies that assist local community groups with primary prevention work. These ideas are summarized in Figure 5 and are described in more detail below.[4]
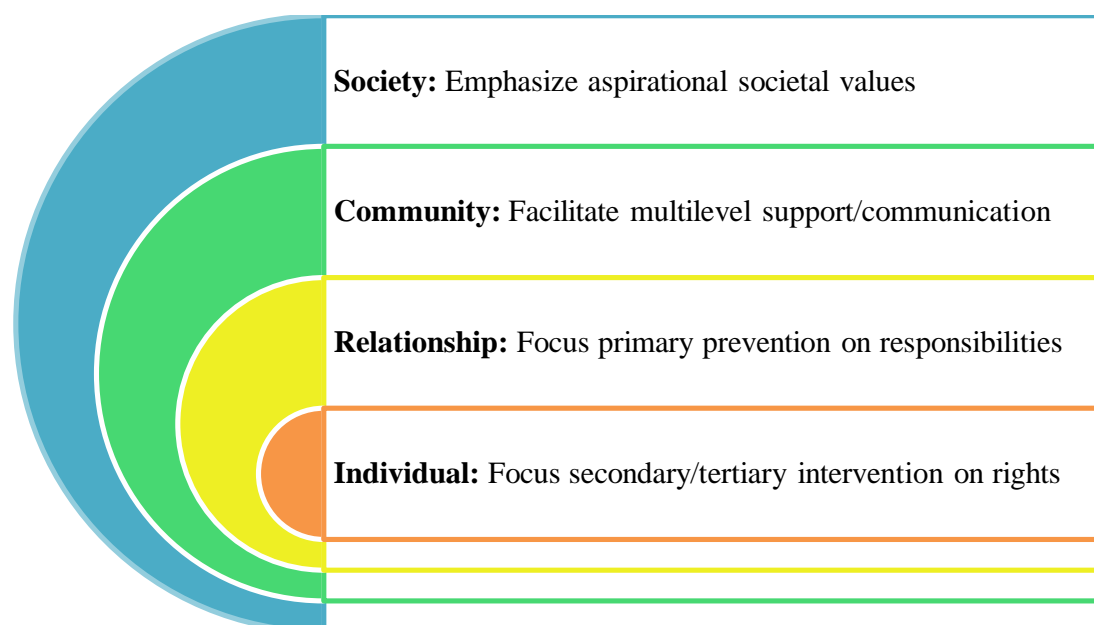


*Figure 5.* Proposed ecological framework for tailoring prevention campaigns to migrant communities.

At the societal level, primary prevention initiatives that emphasize aspirational values may be more widely appealing and help to connect with people that do not see themselves as high-risk individuals. Family violence prevention efforts in Western countries have largely been problem-focused, aiming to build cultural sanctions *against* violence and

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[4] This information was also synthesized into a framework that was presented to participating organizations and to the Ministry of Social Development and New Zealand Police; see Appendix D.

gender inequality. Focusing on aspirational ideals and norms may appeal to migrants as a more positive, strengths-based approach. While aspirational ideals are to some degree facilitated by shared religious or cultural views, it would be worthwhile to explore how this approach could be used in mainstream New Zealand prevention campaigns as well. Perhaps prevention initiatives that focus on developing nonspecific aspirational ideals of healthy, happy families might be broadly inclusive and appealing, allowing people to assign their own culturally appropriate understandings to healthy family relationships. Campaigns like Drive Social (which encourages broadly applicable cultural values like cooperation and patience; New Zealand Transport Authority, 2013) may provide a benchmark for approaching social issues based on widely shared ideals.

At the community level, violence prevention initiatives that focus on cultural community engagement and multilevel communication may be effective in facilitating access to resources, reducing isolation, and increasing well-being. It is difficult to measure the direct or indirect impact of these types of preventive measures, yet such initiatives are crucial to reducing risk and building up positive experiences and social networks that buffer against social problems. The community organizations participating in my research already understood community engagement and multilevel collaboration to be their main contribution to violence prevention, yet it is worth emphasizing that these activities do play an important role in reducing problems like family violence and that further work can be done to systematize these efforts. Government agencies may assist by educating and training community leaders on best practices for prevention and methodologically rigorous evaluations—areas that some communities currently navigate in a largely intuitive fashion. And while primary prevention initiatives can be inexpensive, some funding is necessary, particularly to facilitate systematic program planning and evaluation.

A key finding at the relationship level was that migrant organizations invoked the responsibility to treat others well as a method of preventing violence. This approach may be particularly appropriate for primary prevention. By drawing on culturally relevant relational concepts (like Confucian roles in Chinese culture, or scriptural role models of dutiful families in Hindu culture), cultural communities may be able to invoke the interdependent roles and responsibilities of potential perpetrators in non-threatening ways (see J. H. Liu, Li, & Yue, 2010; Yuki, 2003). Even those that view themselves as non-violent (and unlikely to be perpetrators or victims of violence) can reflect on how they treat others and strive to improve their relationships. Again, the impact of this approach is very difficult to measure, though it

may be particularly crucial for primary prevention as it targets potential future perpetrators of violence.

Complementary to the relational focus on responsibility, my findings suggest that at the individual level it may be more appropriate to focus secondary and tertiary intervention on victims' rights. The victims' rights approach of the Duluth model is an undoubtedly important component of empowerment and intervention. My findings suggest that this approach is particularly valued by migrant communities in dealing with already occurring instances of both physical and non-physical violence. Participants articulated the importance of validating the experiences of victims and of establishing sanctions against non-physical forms of abuse. This approach helps to normatively reinforce the wider definition of violence (inclusive of non-physical forms of abuse) that is compatible with the Duluth model.

Taken together, these multi-layered approaches provide a nuanced framework for addressing family violence prevention by drawing upon relational concepts and strengths-based approaches that are less common in mainstream New Zealand family violence prevention initiatives. From primary prevention to intervention, migrant community organizations are incorporating important intuitive strategies and theoretical concepts into their work. The strategies presented in this framework may increase the accessibility of efforts targeting particular cultural communities as well as mainstream prevention efforts aimed at broader New Zealand society. Investment in strategic planning and evaluation would be beneficial to developing these promising avenues for building up communities, increasing relevance, and targeting the behaviors of potential perpetrators.

## Limitations

Small-scale qualitative research limits the ability to draw conclusions about the prevalence of participants' views due to small, unrepresentative samples. In particular, my findings may have been impacted by the accessibility of particular groups through key informants and online channels. Participants represented diverse cultural (Asian, European, Pacific Islander, and African) and religious (Hindu, Muslim, and Christian) perspectives; however, Hindu participants were overrepresented in my sample, and their views may not be representative of other cultural communities. The organizations that share information about their family violence prevention work online or with government agencies may share more attitudes and beliefs with mainstream New Zealand service providers, or may align their self-presentation to mainstream views to some degree. As I am an English-speaking woman from a Western country, this may have influenced participants to shift frames and speak more prominently about views that were compatible with Western understandings. The qualitative

findings were also subject to my own perspectives and biases as a researcher, and as I am an outsider to the communities that were involved in the research, I was reliant on participant feedback to verify my interpretations. My techniques for identifying research partners and my positioning as a Western woman likely limited the accessibility of information about more insular community groups, as well as smaller groups with less developed community connections and fewer resources. These groups may differ from more connected organizations in their understandings of violence, and as a result I am unable to draw conclusions about the prevalence of particular understandings of violence or approaches to prevention.

My data relied on participant reports with limited availability of confirmatory archival records, which suggests a number of possible blind spots. Firstly, participants may be motivated to emphasize harmony and downplay conflict in their community on the basis of social desirability and protection of ingroup image. Participants did report very low instances of family violence in their communities, though another plausible explanation for this is limited knowledge about instances of violence amongst community members. Many participants were forthcoming about conflict in their own families (often qualified by explanations about the challenges that triggered people to engage in negative behaviors), suggesting that people were willing to share tempered negative information about those close to them. This tendency to both acknowledge and minimize violence is in line with previous research that demonstrated the ubiquity of ambivalence in discourses about sensitive issues in the culture of origin (i.e., Collie, Kindon, Liu, & Podsiadlowski, 2010). The tension between simultaneous minimization and acknowledgment may be an expression of multiple competing mental representations of their culture—one based on cultural ideals and traditions that encourage harmony and peace, and another based on the participant's awareness of conflicts and struggles. In this study, minimization at times seemed to result from these types of conflicted cultural identities; it may also stem from limited knowledge about the true prevalence of violence. While I did not ask participants about specific instances of violence, most participants spontaneously volunteered that they were aware of between zero and two definite or possible instances of family violence in their community over long periods of time, and no participants reported awareness of more than two instances. It is my belief that family violence is still quite a private issue, and people are hesitant to speculate about potential violence within other families.

Prior to beginning this research, I was concerned that participants might idealize the effectiveness of their community organization's work. I was surprised at the extent to which

organization leaders spoke as individuals rather than as representatives of their communities. While some participants confidently articulated their leadership, some participants doing inspiring and well-informed family violence prevention work seemed to view themselves very much as non-experts. Therefore most were reluctant to draw conclusions about the views of the wider community or about effective techniques for preventing violence. On the other hand, participants were generally very involved in their communities, and they may hold more positive views than others about the effectiveness of community organizations in general. To understand the true value of community organizations as effective agents of change, we must also consider empirical evidence of the positive effects of such work and the qualitative perspectives of outside experts such as government officials. These limitations restricted the depth of my analysis in Study 2 and highlighted the need for more emphasis on strategic planning and evaluation—areas where government resources and leadership may be particularly useful.

## Contributions

Despite the limitations, this study makes useful theoretical and practical contributions to family violence prevention in New Zealand. The research process increased the visibility of the important work that migrant organizations are doing to prevent family violence. These organizations make important contributions to building healthy families and preventing conflict and violence. The dedication of my partner organizations to building healthy, happy migrant families was admirable, and participants seemed to appreciate the opportunity to reflect on and articulate the positive effects of their efforts.

This study addressed an ongoing divide between family violence practice and academic theory, taking a step toward bridging that divide by conducting both theoretical and applied analyses on the family violence prevention work of New Zealand migrant communities. The research contributed a qualitative analysis of theoretical understandings in an area where limited academic research has been conducted, examining the relevance of the popular Duluth model to New Zealand migrant communities. In my findings, I identified some of the principles underlying the practical approaches that migrant communities use to prevent family violence, which has increased knowledge about how to evaluate the effectiveness of prevention work in these communities. The findings were compiled into a practical, visual framework for family violence prevention in migrant communities (see Appendix D), which was shared with partner organizations, the New Zealand Police, and the Ministry of Social Development to guide their future family violence prevention work.

Written summaries of my findings were also provided in concise, accessible formats, which may increase the likelihood that the results are used to enhance future work.

## Future Directions

The findings suggest interesting compatibilities and incompatibilities between Duluth model understandings of violence and the views of migrant communities. This study made some suppositions about the attitudes and beliefs of native New Zealanders, assuming that they would hold views that are largely compatible with the Duluth model. However, it is possible that people born in New Zealand hold diverse views about the causes of violence and techniques for prevention, some of which may be compatible with the alternative views that migrant participants expressed in this study. If people born in New Zealand held similar alternative views, this would indicate that the findings do not necessarily stem from cultural differences. Instead, it may be that the Duluth model reflects only one prevalent view (common across Western and non-Western cultures) on the causes of violence. Future research on the prevalent understandings of violence held by native born New Zealanders would clarify the relevance of the Duluth model to those that affiliate closely with mainstream New Zealand culture. Research by McNeill (1988) suggested that control-based views of violence were more prevalent among Pākehā New Zealanders than Pacific or Māori, but this study is now more than 25 years old. If views of violence are influenced by culture, then contemporary research is needed that will reflect contemporary cultural beliefs. Pursuing comparable forms of knowledge in contemporary Pākehā communities would allow for a more comparative analysis of the current findings. A mixed-methods approach may also be useful in establishing the extent to which diverse views of violence are generalizable to wider migrant and Pākehā populations.

Further research is also needed to examine the implications of using a theoretical approach to intervention that contradicts a victim or perpetrator's view about the causes of violence. While Duluth model interventions seek to educate perpetrators and victims about control-based views of violence, researchers have not fully investigated the efficacy of attempting to change intuitive understandings to align with Duluth model (or other) theoretical orientations. Strong articulation of unfamiliar understandings of violence may be alienating to victims (C.-L. J. Liu & Regehr, 2008), so researchers must examine when and how it is possible or desirable to attempt to change someone's understanding of violence. Empirical research is needed on the efficacy of approaches that explicitly attempt to change understandings about the underlying causes of violence, particularly in diverse societies and intercultural contexts. Further research may also explore the effectiveness of primary

prevention initiatives that leverage aspirational principles and validating approaches like the ones used by the communities that participated in this investigation.

## Final Comments

Now we return to where we started, with the story of Sarwan Singh, who built a good life in New Zealand only to lose it at the hands of her violent estranged husband. Sarwan leaned on the safeguards available to her in the New Zealand system, yet these were ultimately insufficient to protect her. Western media often focuses on 'exotic' cases of violence that occur in non-Western countries (like honor killings or dowry murders). However, cases like Sarwan's are all too common here in New Zealand, and legal protections are not enough to prevent violence. The shocking prevalence of family violence across New Zealand ethnic groups (including Pākehā) demonstrates that violence cannot be dismissed as an exotic problem—family violence is a problem that touches the majority of New Zealanders on a personal level or through people that we know. Developing effective primary prevention initiatives is crucial to addressing New Zealand's family violence problem, and government and community organizations like those involved in this research are doing important work in this area.

New Zealand's strong legal sanctions facilitate intervention in cases of family violence and are an important step toward prevention (Boshier, 2012). Cultural norms, both in mainstream New Zealand society and in the migrant communities that participated in my research, sanction the use of violence in family relationships, whether such violence is an expression of anger or an instrumental means of exerting power and control. However, modern sanctions against male dominance contradict New Zealand's history of hierarchical patriarchy. These historical norms may still reinforce and maintain inequalities between men and women, and between native-born Pākehā and migrant ethnic minorities. In different ways, New Zealand cultural norms both abhor violence and create the conditions that make it possible. Primary prevention initiatives seek to change those norms that facilitate violence, and as New Zealand's diversity grows, it is more and more important that these initiatives are inclusive of migrant women like Sarwan who actively participate in New Zealand society and in their cultural communities.

Migrant community organizations play a crucial role in helping migrants adjust to life in New Zealand. They reduce isolation, provide a social community, and increase well-being. These organizations help migrants find out about and access services, and leaders identify and help to address community problems. These organizations play a crucial role in raising awareness about challenging problems such as family violence, yet the importance of

their work is often invisible to those outside of their communities. In the course of conducting this research, I was inspired by the dedication displayed by community leaders. I hope that my analysis may prove useful to community organizations by documenting their approaches, disseminating this information to other community groups, and especially in recognizing the significance of their important and high-quality work.

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# Appendices

## Appendix A: Referral Information

Need to talk? There are many organizations in New Zealand where you can access free or low-cost information and assistance.

**Family Violence Information Line (0800 456 450)** provides self-help information and connects people to services. It is available seven days a week from 9am to 11pm.

**Shakti (0800 742 584)** runs a multilingual crisis line and shelters for women from migrant and refugee backgrounds.

**Women's Refuge (0800 733 843)** provides a crisis line with information, advice, and support. Visit womensrefuge.org.nz to find a local shelter.

**National Network of Stopping Violence (nnsvs.org.nz)** is a network of community organizations working to end violence across New Zealand. Visit http://nnsvs.org.nz to find help in your area.

**Shine 'Safe Homes in New Zealand Everyday' (0508 744 633)** provides a free helpline with information for victims of family violence and for those worried about a friend or family member.

**Child, Youth and Family (0508 326 459)** can assist if you are concerned about a child or young person.

**Relationship Services (0800 735 283)** provides counseling services and information on healthy relationships. Call during business hours to make a booking for counseling.

Visit the Family Services Directory at **www.familyservices.govt.nz/directory** for more options. Local services may be available in your area.

**Appendix B: Interview Guide, Hindu Community[5]**

## PART 1 – INTRODUCTION TO STUDY (5-10 MINUTES)
Welcome, state objective of the study, procedure of the interview, ground rules, questions from the participant regarding the research

## PART 2 – INTERVIEW (APPROX. 50-100 MINUTES)

**Warm up – Organizational history, goals, focus; factual descriptions of work on family violence; organizational definition of violence (10-20 minutes)**
1) Tell me about the Hindu community in New Zealand and how you came to work with the organization.
2) Please tell me a bit about the history of the organization.
   a) Why did the organization form? What sets it apart from other community organizations?
   b) What are the organization's goals? What is the main focus of your work?
3) [Wait for interviewee to mention work on family violence; it should come up naturally as the interviewee will know that this is the interview focus] What is your history as an organization of getting involved in conversations about family violence?
4) From the perspective of your organization, what is considered violence?
   a) Are there non-physical types of violence? [If yes] Please tell me a bit about other types of violence.
   b) What words are used in your language to describe these concepts, and what do they mean?
5) How do you go about this work? What types of events or meetings have you had related to violence prevention?
   a) Who has participated in your organization's events and conversations about family violence?
   b) Have you partnered with any organizations or agencies to do this work?
   c) Do you have any written materials, video recordings, or other materials that record the work you've done?

**Process of dialogue (10-20 minutes)**
6) What first prompted your organization to talk about family violence?
7) Tell me about the first time that you remember your organization raising the issue of family violence in your community.
8) How has your conversation about violence developed over time?
9) Have there been any conflicts within the organization as a result of starting this conversation?

**Results of dialogue/evidence of change (10-20 minutes)**
10) What has your organization found to be a particularly effective way of talking about family violence in your community?
    a) Was there a point when the organization began to feel or see the effects?
11) Have any of the strategies that you have tried as an organization been less effective?

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[5] Study 1 questions are in green; Study 2 questions are in purple.

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a) Can you tell me a bit about any struggles or challenges the organization faced in talking about family violence?
b) Did the organization make any changes based on the challenges? What impact did these changes have?
12) What changes have you seen as a result of this work? What has remained the same?

**Knowledge gained; community understandings of conflict and violence (25-30 minutes)**
13) What is the idea that people have of what it means to be a good Hindu man?
   a) How does the family interact when a man is being a good Hindu man?
   b) What does it mean to be a good Hindu woman?
   c) How does the family interact when a woman is being a good Hindu woman?
14) In your community, how do families resolve conflicts?
   a) How do men handle conflict with their partners?
      i) Why do men use these strategies?
   b) How do women handle conflict with their partners?
      i) Why do women use these strategies?
   c) How do parents and children handle conflicts with one another?
      i) Why do parents and children use these strategies?
15) In your culture, how do men exert control within the family?
   a) How about women?
   b) Is it the same for men and women, or are there differences?
   c) When violence is used, how does the victim react?
16) How have people reacted to discussions about family violence?
   a) How have men and women participated and reacted differently?
   b) Younger and older people?
   c) Recent migrants and those that have been here a while?
   d) Migrants and Kiwi-born?
17) From your organization's perspective, how do you think violence within the family can be prevented?

**Closing (5-10 minutes)**
18) Is there anything else you would like to tell me about your organization's work on family violence prevention?
19) [If supporting materials were used] I would also like to include written materials, video, etc in my research. Would you consider allowing me to include your materials in my study?

**PART 3 – POST INTERVIEW/POST DISCUSSION (5-10 MINUTES)**
Thank you for participating, reiteration of confidentiality, debriefing

**Appendix C: Focus Group Guide, Multicultural Community[6]**


**PART 1 – INTRODUCTION TO STUDY (10-15 MINUTES)**
Welcome, state objective of the study, procedure of the focus group, ground rules, questions from participants regarding the research


**PART 2 – FOCUS GROUP (APPROX. 75-110 MINUTES)**

**Warm up – Introductions, organizational involvement (10-15 minutes)**
1) Introductions – name, when you came to NZ, who lives in your household
2) Tell me about your community in New Zealand and how you came to be a part of this organization.
3) What are the reasons that people in your community get involved with this organization?

**Activity – ideas about good men and good women (15-20 minutes)**
4) [Silhouette of man and silhouette of woman posted on wall] Today we will be talking about families. In particular, we will be talking about migrant families in New Zealand. To start the conversation, I'd like you to think about the ideas that people have in your culture about what it means to be a good man. What is your idea of a good man? How does a good man act, talk, and dress? Please write down your ideas on post-it notes and stick them to the silhouette. I'd like you to also think about cultural ideas of what it means to be a good woman. Write down your ideas and post them up. I will give you some time and then we will discuss. [Wait] What ideas came to mind for you?
5) When a man is acting like that idea of a good man, what is happening in the family?
   a) What is happening when a woman is acting like that idea of a good woman?

**Understandings of power and control (15-20 minutes)**
6) Most families experience disagreements and conflict. In families from your culture, how are these conflicts resolved?
   a) How do men handle conflict with their partners?
      i) Why do men use these strategies?
   b) How do women handle conflict with their partners?
      i) Why do women use these strategies?
   c) How do parents and children handle conflicts with one another?
      i) Why do parents and children use these strategies?
7) How do men exert control within the family?
   a) How do women exert control within the family?
   b) Is it the same for men and women, or are there differences?

**Understandings of violence (15-20 minutes)**
8) [Wait for participants to raise the topic of violence, or probe for alternative or unpopular ways of handling conflict] In your culture, what is considered violence?
   a) In your culture, are there non-physical types of violence? [If yes] Please tell me a bit about other types of violence.

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[6] Study 1 questions are in green; Study 2 questions are in purple.

9)  [Activity – What is violence? Write down ideas of conflict resolution strategies from previous questions, with continuum ranging from 'almost **nobody** considers this violent' to 'almost **everybody** considers this violent'] I'd like you to think about all of these different ideas about how people resolve conflicts. People might have different opinions about whether or not these things should be considered violence. I've written down some of these ways of resolving conflicts on separate papers and will post them around the room. On each paper, use your stickers to show how many people in your culture think that type of conflict resolution strategy is considered violent.

10) How is this similar or different to how New Zealand law defines violence?
   a)  When there is a difference between how your culture defines violence and how NZ law defines violence, how do people from your culture negotiate that?
   b)  When violence is used in a migrant family in your cultural community in New Zealand, how does the victim react?
   c)  Have you seen the It's Not OK campaign or the White Ribbon Campaign? What do you think about these campaigns?

**Participation in and reactions to dialogue (10-15 minutes)**
11) Tell me about times that you remember this organization discussing the issue of family violence in your community.
   a)  How did people at these events view family violence?
   b)  Were these events comfortable for you personally? Why or why not?
   c)  In your opinion, what is the best way to make people in your community comfortable talking about family violence prevention?
12) How did other people react?
   a)  How did men and women participate and react differently?
   b)  Younger and older people?
   c)  Recent migrants and those that have been here a while?
   d)  Migrants and Kiwi-born?
13) Can you remember any conflicts or disagreements about how people talk about family violence within the community?

**Results of dialogue (5-10 minutes)**
14) What changes have you seen over time in the way that people in your community talk about violence?
15) What has remained the same?
16) How do you think that violence within the family can be prevented?

**Closing (5-10 minutes)**
17) Today we talked about some difficult topics, but we've also identified some positives and strengths that are helping families to be healthy and resilient. [Identify the strengths verbally] Would anyone like to share any other thoughts about the strengths that are helping to prevent violence?
18) Please share your thoughts about the conversation we've had today.


**PART 3 – POST FOCUS GROUP/POST DISCUSSION (5-10 MINUTES)**
Thank you, reiteration of confidentiality, availability of referral information, debriefing

**Appendix D: Migrant Community Family Violence - A Primary Prevention Framework**

This framework was developed based on an analysis of approaches to family violence prevention that are being used by some New Zealand migrant community leaders. These approaches, along with the action items identified below, may increase the effectiveness of partnerships with migrant community organizations working to prevent family violence.

**Society:** Emphasize aspirational values. Incorporate cultural, religious, or personal ideals about healthy, happy families and relationships. This can motivate positive attitudes and behaviors.

**Community:** Enhance community engagement to increase social connectedness, trust, and well-being; reduce risk factors like isolation; and help people learn about resources.

**Relationship:** In primary prevention, target the attitudes of potential perpetrators by invoking personal responsibilities. Emphasize the responsibility to treat close others respectfully and non-violently.

**Individual:** Focus early identification and intervention efforts on victims' rights. Validate the harm caused by all forms of violence, and emphasize the right to safety, security, and self-determination.

**Action Item #1: Acknowledge anger in theoretical models and interventions**
Acknowledging the role of anger in family violence may assist in identifying high-risk families and increase the relevance of interventions aimed at perpetrators. Anger-based views of violence have been criticized as excusing the actions of perpetrators who claim to lack self-control, yet selectively direct their anger at their partner or children. We can avoid excusing anger-based violence by examining anger toward family members as an *indicator of ecological risk* rather than as a cause of violence.

*Interventions:* Primary prevention efforts should aim to reduce frustrations for potential perpetrators and provide alternative behavioral options for the non-violent expression of frustration. Migrants may feel a lack of control over their external environment, so opportunities for positive leadership may reduce the feelings of powerlessness that are driven by such factors as unemployment, underemployment, or discrimination. Community leadership roles may be an alternative healthy outlet for bolstering status.

*Theoretical models:* The Duluth model describes domestic violence as a systematic pattern of abusive behavior. A prevention-oriented model must account for the risk factors that contribute to a perpetrator's decision to use violence. A prevention-oriented alternative to the Power and Control Wheel may be considered, with "risk factors contributing to perpetration of violence" in the center. Wedges of this wheel would identify emotions, attitudes, and circumstances that influence perpetrators. While specific components of a "risk factor" wheel would require empirical verification, components of the Duluth model may have counterparts in such a model. For example, exerting financial control may result from the risk factor of feeling financially unstable. Other Duluth model indicators, such as isolation, may co-occur as risk factors. Anger may be a risk factor itself or a side effect of risk factors.

**Action Item #2: Expand support for culturally competent government liaison officers and community-based initiatives**

Community engagement is an important component of violence prevention. For individuals, engagement increases social connectedness, trust, and well-being; reduces risk factors like isolation; and increases awareness of programs and resources. For government agencies and communities, engagement helps leaders identify problems and provide culturally appropriate responses.

Effective leaders are equipped with skills that meet the varied needs of different communities. Important skills for leaders that bridge different layers of government and community include:

- *Knowledgeable about cultural communities*
    - Knows how different groups use community networks to address problems
    - Understands who has the authority to disseminate important messages
    - Can speak the local language and/or draw upon culturally relevant English-language concepts
    - Knowledgeable about cultural definitions of key concepts, such as what types of behaviors constitute violence
    - Understands cultural protective factors and ideals about healthy family relationships

- *Knowledgeable about New Zealand culture*
    - Aware of programs and able to communicate about resources in a sensitive way
    - Able to facilitate connections across cultural groups and in the wider community

- *Skilled at building interpersonal relationships*
    - Able to build trust and to form relationships that can be relied upon in crisis
    - Understanding of need for privacy and confidentiality

**Action Item #3: Develop culture-specific conceptual frameworks for prevention**

A strengths-based, prevention-focused framework is instrumental, as it helps in identifying culturally relevant concepts that make conversations about family violence widely accessible. For example, an existing Pacific framework (*Nga vaka o kāiga tapu: A Pacific conceptual framework to address family violence in New Zealand*) identifies cultural ideals regarding healthy, happy family relationships in seven different Pacific cultures. Similar, culture-specific frameworks for New Zealand ethnic communities would assist community leaders in implementing culturally relevant strengths-based initiatives.

Culture-specific frameworks are best developed by members of the cultural community, in conjunction with researchers who are knowledgeable about the process of framework development. Developing a full framework is beyond the scope of this project, but we have identified some Hindu concepts that might be incorporated into such a framework: *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam* (the whole world is a family), *Ardhanarishvara* (unity of man and woman in half-male, half-female form), and *ahimsa parmo dharma* (non-violence as your first duty). These reflect positive cultural ideals that can be leveraged in violence prevention initiatives.