

AN EXAMINATION OF CULTURAL VALUES AND INTIMATE PARTNER
VIOLENCE AMONG LATINA COLLEGE STUDENTS

A Thesis

Presented to the

Faculty of

California State University, Fullerton

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Science

in

Clinical Psychology

By

Emilee Peterman

Thesis Committee Approval:

Kristi Kanel, Department of Human Services, Chair
Christine D. Scher, Department of Psychology, Co-Chair
Susan R. Sy, Department of Psychology

Fall, 2017

ABSTRACT

This study examined relationships between non-physical and physical intimate partner violence (IPV) and five different Latino cultural constructs among 87 Latina college students. The cultural constructs under investigation included *machismo*, *caballerismo*, *marianismo*, *familismo*, and *fatalism*. Correlational analyses were used to investigate relationships among IPV and these cultural values. Results indicated no statistical relationship between IPV and the cultural beliefs. Participants reported high endorsement of several cultural beliefs (*caballerismo*, *familismo*, the *marianismo* subscale “Family Pillar,” and *fatalism*) and very little experience of IPV. Results from this study dispute previously held theories regarding a positive association between culture and intimate partner violence among Latinas (Bauer, Rodriguez, Quiroga, & Flores-Ortiz, 2000; Cuevas, Sabina, & Picard, 2010; Gonzalez-Guarda et al., 2013; Gonzalez-Guarda et al., 2010; Mattson & Ruiz, 2005). These findings have important implications for both future multicultural research and clinical work. For instance, future research might reconsider the assumption that Latino cultural beliefs influence whether or not a Latina experiences an abusive relationship. Additionally, while results did not support the hypothesized relationships, participants highly endorsed several cultural beliefs, which demonstrates that counselors, social workers, and other clinicians should not dismiss the importance of culture when working with this population.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iv
Chapter	
1. INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE.....	1
Intimate Partner Violence and College Students.....	2
Latinas and Intimate Partner Violence.....	4
Cultural Beliefs and Attitudes.....	7
2. THE CURRENT STUDY.....	14
3. METHOD	16
Participants.....	16
Measures	16
Demographics	16
Intimate Partner Violence	17
Cultural Beliefs and Attitudes.....	18
Procedure	21
4. RESULTS	22
Data Analysis.....	22
Hypotheses.....	23
Machismo.....	23
Caballerismo	23
Marianismo	24
Familismo	24
Fatalismo.....	24
5. DISCUSSION.....	25
REFERENCES	32
APPENDIX: TABLES.....	39

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am extremely grateful for all of the support I have gotten throughout this entire journey of completing my thesis. To my family, especially my parents, for the constant support and encouragement. To my friends, especially Nicole, for providing the much needed comic relief through this process. To my fiancé, Justin, for his unconditional support, for always reminding me what I am capable of accomplishing, and for always loving and encouraging me, even when I became frustrated during the course of this writing process. Finally, to my daughter, McKenna Ann, whose very existence brings infinite joy and adoration.

I also need to acknowledge the support my advisor, Dr. Kanel, has given throughout this process. I have greatly appreciated her input and invaluable knowledge concerning Latinas and intimate partner violence. Finally, to the rest of my committee, Dr. Sy and Dr. Scher: thank you for all your patience and for assisting me through countless drafts of this paper.

CHAPTER 1

INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

According to the 2010 National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey, one out of four women in the U.S. experienced severe physical intimate partner violence (IPV) (Center for Disease and Control and Prevention, 2010). IPV prevalence studies indicate that younger women, specifically 18-24 year olds, experience some of the highest rates of IPV (Nowotny & Graves, 2008; Sabina & Ho, 2014), with rates ranging from 9-65% (Ayala, Molleda, & Rodriguez-Franco, 2013). IPV affects multiple domains of an abused victim's life, including mental health, physical health, and psychosocial functioning (Jordan, Campbell, & Follingstad, 2010). These numerous adverse effects could drastically impact a young college student during her impressionable college years and subsequent dating behaviors throughout adulthood.

Additionally, the experiences of, and responses to, IPV cannot be considered outside of the cultural context in which they are situated (Kasturirangan, Krishnan, & Riger, 2004; Mechanic & Pole, 2012). The literature delineates that IPV is a significant issue for Latinas, with at least 53.2% of Latina women reporting having experienced physical violence in their lifetime, according to the National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS) (Brabeck & Guzman, 2009; Cuevas, Sabina, & Picard, 2010). Moreover, Latinas may be disproportionately affected by IPV and experience more severe consequences and forms of IPV (Cummings, Gonzalez-Guarda, & Sandoval, 2013;

Gonzalez-Guarda, et al.; 2013). Given the alarmingly high rates of IPV seen among young adults and Latinas, and the numerous maladaptive consequences associated with IPV, it is imperative to further explore possible correlates of experiencing IPV among Latinas.

Intimate Partner Violence and College Students

IPV occurs when an individual attempts to maintain power and control over his or her romantic or intimate partner through physical, sexual, or psychological/emotional abuse tactics that instill fear through actual or threatened harm (Dutton & Goodman, 2005; Jordan, Campbell, & Follingstad, 2010). Decreased education, young age, low socioeconomic status, and partner substance abuse are among the potential risk factors for experiencing IPV (Frias & Angel, 2012; Hazen & Soriano, 2008; Kaukinen & Powers, 2015; Nowotny & Graves, 2013; Ramos & Carlos, 2007; Vidales, 2010; Yoshioka, Gilbert, El-Bassel, & Baig-Amin, 2003). While the presence of risk factors increases the probability of IPV exposure, IPV can occur in any relationship, regardless of age, ethnicity, education, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, or gender (Mechanic & Pole, 2012). Although both males and females can be IPV victims, women are disproportionately affected by IPV, with 22.1% of women and 7.4% of men reporting the experience of physical IPV in their lifetime (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). Moreover, IPV against women, as compared to men, is associated with a higher risk of physical injury or even death (Lewandoski, McFarlane, Campell, Gary, & Barenski, 2004).

Young age is a potential risk factor, leaving college students a particularly vulnerable population for experiencing IPV (Frias & Angel, 2012; Hazen & Soriano, 2008; Ramos & Carlos, 2007; Vidales, 2010; Yoshioka, Gilbert, El-Bassel, & Baig-

Amin, 2003). Gover, Kaukinen, and Fox (2008) found that 22% of the college students ($n = 2,541$) in their study reported experiencing physical IPV within the past 12 months. Additionally, 52% reported being victims of psychological abuse within the past 12 months (Gover, Kaukinen, & Fox, 2008). Other researchers cite college student IPV rates as 9–65% (Ayala, Molleda, Rodriguez-Franco, et al., 2013), explaining the wide variation as a result of differences in measurement and operationalization of the term “violence” (Gover, Kaukinen, & Fox, 2008; Lewis & Fremouw, 2000). Overall, IPV appears to be a frequent and significant issue for college students.

There are several possible explanations for the high rates of IPV seen among college students. College and campus life offer a unique environment, in that there are many highly social individuals living in close communities. Many young men and women are in relationships during these years; for many it is one of their first relationships, and they may be unsure about what constitutes appropriate dating behaviors (Branch, Richards, & Dretsch, 2013; Gover, Kaukinen & Fox, 2000; Sabina & Ho, 2014). A lack of legal commitment such as marriage could result in jealousy and an increased risk of IPV (Gover, Kaukinen, & Fox, 2000; White & Koss, 1991). Additionally, substance use is commonplace among the college student population (Sahker, Acion, & Arndt, 2015) and research has consistently linked substance abuse to increased risk of IPV exposure (Gover, Kaukinen, & Fox, 2000; White & Koss, 1991). Besides jealousy and substance abuse, additional risk factors seen among, but not necessarily limited to, college students include child abuse, witnessing domestic violence, relationship dissatisfaction, parental divorce, low self-esteem, lack of social support, cohabitation, longer duration of the relationship, single parent household, patriarchal views about women, sexual risk taking, and stressful life events (Gover, Kaukinen, & Fox, 2000; Lewis & Fremouw, 2000).

IPV has been linked to a wide range of negative physical and mental health effects (Jordan, Campbell, & Follingstad, 2010). Physical health consequences include gynecological

issues, chronic headaches, higher rates of sexually transmitted infections, and stomachaches (Branch, Richards, & Dretsch, 2013; Chen, Rovi, Vega, Jacobs, & Johnson, 2009; Moreno, 2007). Short-term mental health effects include heightened stress, anxiety, fear, safety concerns, hopelessness, suicidal ideation, guilt, and shame (Jordan et al., 2010). Long-term mental health effects often reported are sleeping disorders, substance abuse, eating disorders, posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), anxiety disorders, depression, suicidality, and low self-esteem (Howard, Trevillion, & Agnew-Davies, 2010; Janoff-Bulman, 1995; Nowotny & Graves, 2013; Renner, 2009; Thompson et al., 1999). These adverse consequences could have a disastrous impact on a college student's education, social-emotional development, and overall life satisfaction. Moreover, dating behaviors learned in young adulthood can become the groundwork for patterns and ways of interacting in intimate relationships that may continue into adulthood and marriage (Baker & Stith, 2008; White & Koss, 1991). Therefore, it is essential to further examine correlates of IPV victimization among the college student population.

Latinas and Intimate Partner Violence

According to the 2011 U.S Census Bureau (US Department of Commerce, 2011), Latinos (i.e., Mexican, Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and South or Central American) made up 16.7% of the population, and are expected to increase to 25% by 2050 (Cummings, Gonzalez-Guarda, & Sandoval, 2013; Gonzalez-Guarda, Cummings, Becerra, Fernandez, & Mesa, 2013). The Latino population increased from 50.5 million in 2010 to 52.0 million in 2011, making Latinos the largest and fastest growing ethnic minority group in the United States (US Department of Commerce, 2011).

Extant data on the prevalence of IPV among Latinas has been inconclusive, with data indicating both comparable and slightly higher rates of IPV among Latinas compared to non-Latinas (Kyriakakis, Dawson, & Edmond, 2012). According to the 2010 National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (Centers for Disease Control and

Prevention, 2010), 37.1% of Latinas reported experiencing rape, physical violence, or stalking. The NVAWS found similar rates of physical and sexual IPV among Latinas and non-Latinas. Among Latinas ($n = 628$), 53.2% reported experiencing physical abuse. In a survey of 3,429 women, IPV exposure was assessed over different time periods: past year, five years, and lifetime. Results indicate comparable rates among Latinas (44.6%) and non-Latinas (44%) for lifetime experience of IPV (Bonomi, Anderson, Cannon, Slesnick, & Rodriguez, 2009). Prevalence rates for the past year (20.1% for Latinas and 14.5% for non-Latinas) and five years (11.5% for Latinas and 7.8% for non-Latinas) were not statistically significantly different from one another (Bonomi et al., 2009).

Some researchers suggest that Latinas may experience more negative consequences as a result of IPV victimization (Gonzalez-Guarda, Cummings, Becerra, Fernandez, & Mesa; 2013). For instance, Goldberg-Edelson, Hokoda, and Ramos-Lira (2007) found that despite experiencing similar IPV severity, Latinas reported significantly higher depressive symptoms and lower self-esteem in comparison with non-Latinas. In a survey of 3,429 Latina and non-Latina women, Latinas reported experiencing significantly worse mental health problems compared to non-Latinas, as measured by the Short Form 36 Health Survey (SF-36) (Bonomi, et al., 2009). Krishnan, Hilbert, and Vanleewen (2001) also found in their study that Latina participants reported higher rates of suicidal ideation than the non-Latina participants. Still other research has found similar rates of symptomology among Latinas and their non-Latina counterparts (Bonomi, Anderson, Cannon, Slesnick, & Rodriguez, 2009; Cuevas, Sabina, & Picard, 2010; Hazen, Connelly, Soriano, & Landsverk, 2008). Research has also found that Latinas are more likely to stay in an abusive relationship longer, return more frequently

to an abusive partner, and inaccurately identify abusive behaviors (Brabeck & Guzman, 2009). Moreover, Latinas are less likely to report abuse and less likely to seek formal help (Brabeck & Guzman, 2009; Edelson-Hokoda & Ramos-Lira, 2007). For Latinas, IPV is often considered a private family matter, as demonstrated by the saying, “La ropa sucia se lava en casa” (the dirty laundry is washed at home), and so will often not seek legal or medical assistance (Edelson-Hokoda & Ramos-Lira, 2007). These behaviors may prolong a Latina’s experience of abuse, leaving her susceptible to more severe consequences of IPV.

Researchers have speculated whether or not IPV prevalence, abuse related symptomology, and help-seeking behaviors differ for Latinas born in the U.S. compared to those who were born in another country. While a majority of the Latino population are U.S. born citizens (88.9%), according to the 2000 Census Bureau, 4.5% are foreign-born, U.S. citizens while 6.6% are foreign born and not U.S. citizens (US Department of Commerce, 2000). As defined by the U.S. Census Bureau (2014), generational status refers to an individual’s country of origin as well as his or her parent’s nativity. According to Rumbaut (2004), first generation refers to those individuals who are immigrants, or foreign born. Second generation refers to those who are U.S. born with at least one foreign born parent, while third generation refers those who are U.S. born and their parents were also born in the US (Rumbaut, 2004). Ahrens, Isas, Rios-Mandel, and Lopez’s (2010) study exemplifies how a Latina’s experience and perception of IPV may differ depending on place of birth. In this study, researchers conducted focus groups ($n = 65$) aimed at identifying cultural values influencing Latinas’ help-seeking behaviors after experiencing IPV (Ahrens et al., 2010). A constant theme seen among all participants was

the belief that those Latinas who lived in a foreign country held more traditional cultural beliefs (Ahrens et al., 2010). It is possible there may be some differences seen among generational cohorts regarding how strongly traditional Latino cultural values are endorsed. For instance, those individuals whose entire family was born in the U.S., parents and grandparents included, may not adhere to such traditional cultural values. The literature previously reported highlights the importance of continued IPV research among Latinas, and cultural beliefs are a vital aspect of a Latina's upbringing in need of further examination.

Cultural Beliefs and Attitudes

Several researchers have pointed to Latino cultural beliefs and attitudes to explain the presence and persistence of IPV among the Latino population. Cultural values are internalized aspects of the individual's culture that dictate how that person acts and what he or she believes (Brabeck & Guzman, 2009). In terms of IPV, cultural values are important because they shape whether or not an individual labels certain behaviors as normal or abusive (Brabeck & Guzman, 2009). In Gonzalez-Guarda, Cummings, Becerra, Fernandez, and Mesa's (2013) study, Latina participants ($n = 50$) described their culture as a "double-edged sword." On one hand, Latino cultural beliefs may leave Latinas more vulnerable or at-risk for both experiencing IPV and experiencing more distressing symptomology as a result of IPV (Cuevas, Sabina, & Picard, 2010). On the other hand, some of the cultural beliefs may be a protective factor, shielding Latinas from both IPV and the negative consequences that follow IPV (Cuevas, Sabina, & Picard, 2010). The cultural beliefs most commonly highlighted in the literature include *machismo*, *marianismo*, *familismo*, and *fatalism*.

Machismo is a set of cultural beliefs that dictate how Latino men should act. Negative connotations often associated with *machismo* include hypermasculinity, female subjugation, aggression, male supremacy, sexual prowess, and substance abuse (Edelson, Hokoda, & Ramos-Lira, 2007; Moreno, 2007; Sugihara & Warner, 2002; Valdovinos & Mechanic, 2006). In the empirical literature, these negative attributes of *machismo* are often linked with self-injurious behaviors, IPV perpetration, sexual risk taking, and HIV infection (Edelson, Hokoda, & Ramos-Lira, 2007; Kyriakakis, Dawson, & Edmond, 2012; Moreno, 2007; Sanderson, Coker, Roberts, Tortolero & Reininger, 2004). Several studies have utilized focus groups and interviews to acquire a deeper understanding about the role *machismo* plays in IPV (Gonzalez-Guarda, Cummings, Becerra, Fernandez & Mesa, 2013; Gonzalez-Guarda, Ortega, Vasquez, & De Santis, 2010; Mattson & Ruiz, 2005). Both male and female participants in these studies considered *machismo* as both normative for Latino culture and an IPV risk factor (Gonzalez-Guarda et al., 2013; Gonzalez-Guarda et al., 2010; Mattson & Ruiz, 2005). Participants also reported believing physical abuse was a tool for the man to remain in control of the relationship, as demonstrated by the following participant statement: “The only way to bring her back in line is to give her a little slap” (Mattson & Ruiz, 2005). While *machismo* describes a Latino male’s characteristics, a woman who endorses these qualities of *machismo* might believe her partner is entitled to IPV and so endure the abusive relationship (Vidales, 2010).

On the other hand, there are many other positive attributes associated with *machismo*. *Machismo* also dictates the man as a *caballero*, or gentleman (Moreno, 2007). While the man is the head of the household, he is also the protector who is caring and

nurturing (Valdovinos & Mechanic, 2006). Latinos highly value pride, courage, honor, loyalty, and responsibility to the family (Edelson, Hokoda, & Ramos-Lira, 2007; Sugihara & Warner, 2002; Valdovinos & Mechanic, 2006).

With these conflicting aspects of *machismo*, it is not surprising the IPV literature has produced inconsistent results. Cummings, Gonzalez-Guarda, and Sandoval (2013) reviewed twenty-nine articles on IPV risk and protective factors and discovered conflicting findings concerning *machismo* beliefs. Researchers suggested the negative qualities associated with *machismo* might put Latinos at risk for IPV, whereas the positive *caballero* qualities may in fact be a protective factor (Cummings, Gonzalez-Guarda & Sandoval, 2013). Latina participants ($n = 9$) interviewed in Marrs, Fuchsel, Murphy, and Dufresne's (2012) study viewed *machismo* as negative. However, they were uncertain as to whether or not these beliefs actually influenced IPV. Other researchers argue that traditional gender roles such as *machismo* might not be as influential as suspected (Champion, 1996; Klevens, 2007; Kantor, Jasinski, & Aldarondo; 1994). Klevens (2007) argued that the association between traditional gender roles and IPV is weak. More likely, the presence of IPV is due to stress from role change, such as the man being unable to find work and provide for the family (Klevens, 2007). Kantor et al. (1994) explained *machismo* might only be a stereotype and not realistically portray modern day Latino families. Researchers found instead that violence approval was significantly associated with IPV, as opposed to *machismo*. However, this risk factor was not specific to only Latinos, but applied universally to many other ethnic groups as well (Kantor, 1994). In another study examining dominance and IPV among 316 Mexican Americans, results indicated that both men and women reported high levels of dominance

(Sugihara & Warner, 2002). These latter findings suggest Latino relationships may be more egalitarian than the *machismo* dominated portrait often displayed (Sugihara & Warner, 2002).

Marianismo is a set of cultural beliefs that dictate how Latina women should act. Characteristics of *marianismo* that are often cited when discussing IPV are depictions of the Latina woman as submissive, self-sacrificing, and eager to please men (Goldberg-Edelson, Hokoda, & Ramos-Lira, 2007; Vidales, 2010;). Many Latinas idealize and aspire to be like the Virgin Mary, who experienced suffering, and so consider suffering to be a normal aspect of life (Mattson & Ruiz, 2005; Sanderson, Coker, Roberts, Tortolero, & Reininger, 2004). Additionally, the *marianista* values modesty, virginity, and is expected to have only one sexual partner (Cummings, Gonzalez-Guarda, & Sandoval, 2013; Moreno, 2007; Weidel, Provencio-Vasquez, Watson, & Gonzalez-Guarda, 2008). During interviews with nine Mexican immigrant women, some women explained one reason for staying with and later marrying an abusive boyfriend was because they already had sexual intercourse (Marrs Fuschel, Marrs, Murphy, & Dufresne, 2012). During Mattson and Ruiz's (2005) focus groups, Latino men and women cited *marianismo* as contributing to IPV, describing the lack of gender equality within the Latino culture.

Other positive or protective features of *marianismo* depict the Latina woman as devoted to the family, spiritually strong, loyal, and in control of her family (Sanderson, Coker, & Roberts et al., 2004; Vidales, 2010). Kantor, Jasinski, and Aldarondo (1994) also explained that many Latino men revere women, which would actually decrease the likelihood of IPV occurring. Male participants in Gonzalez-Guarda, Cummings, Becerra, Fernandez, and Mesa's (2013) study reported having a high level of respect for their

mothers, which then carried over to their intimate partner. This was demonstrated by one participant's statement, "I look at my woman as my, my mother. The only one that can give life . . . If I hit a woman [it] is like hitting my mother" (Gonzalez-Guard et al., 2013). Based on these studies it may be that Latino men who endorse *marianismo* are less likely to perpetrate IPV (Kantor, 1996).

Another belief significant in Latino culture is *familismo*, which places high importance on both the nuclear and extended family (Gonzalez-Guarda, Cummings, Becerra, Fernandez, & Mesa, 2013; Vidales, 2010). The family system can serve as a buffer against many contextual stressors such as poverty and oppression (Valdovinos & Mechanic, 2006). On the other hand, *familismo* may also prevent Latinas from leaving an abusive husband, as many Latina women strongly value keeping the family together despite the presence of IPV (Vidales, 2010). In Bauer, Rodriguez, Quiroga, and Flores-Ortiz' (2000) study, interviews of 28 Latino and Asian immigrant women revealed that this cultural ideal of *familismo*, or family unity, indeed can protect families from experiencing IPV, but can also prevent women from seeking help if they were to experience IPV. *Familismo* and IPV have typically been examined among married women, yet there are still several ways *familismo* can impact unmarried college women who may be experiencing IPV. Latina participants in Marrs, Fuchsel, Murphy, and Dufresne's (2012) study reported their family strongly influenced which men they chose to date. Since the traditional Latino family is a cohesive system, if one of the daughters enters into an abusive relationship, the family could be a strong support and encourage the daughter to leave the relationship. On the other hand, if the daughter has been in the relationship for a lengthy amount of time, the abusive partner could have become

attached to the family network, making it more difficult for the young woman to leave the relationship.

The last cultural construct under investigation is *fatalism*, which is the religious belief in predetermination. *Fatalism* depicts that everything in a person's life has already been decided and he or she has no power over changing life's circumstances (Vidales, 2010). A dicho, or saying, that clearly reflects the essence of fatalism is "Que sea lo que Dios quiera" ("Leave things to God's will") (Vidales, 2010). Moreno (2007) conducted focus groups and interviews to further explore IPV, HIV/AIDS, culture, and gender. One theme found throughout the focus groups and interviews was "la suerte" (luck), which is another example of *fatalism* (Moreno, 2007). Participants explained that people have either good or bad luck and are unable to change when they have bad luck (Moreno, 2007). As *fatalism* relates to IPV, a woman who believes in *fatalism* might feel powerless and accept the abuse as a part of life and a sign of bad luck. On the other hand, research has also found religion to be a protective factor. Religion, God, and clergy can be viewed as influential entities that have helped many women leave abusive relationships (Brabeck & Guzman, 2008). Results from Gonzalez-Guarda, Cummings, Becerra, Fernandez, and Mesa's (2013) study reflect the conflicting role of religion for a woman experiencing IPV. Participants explained that religion and religious leaders could inadvertently perpetuate IPV by promoting traditional gender roles (Gonzalez-Guarda et al., 2013). However, religion could also become a support system and provide valuable resources for IPV victims (Gonzalez-Guarda et al., 2013). Given that a majority of the research previously described involves qualitative studies or researchers' speculations, it is

essential to further explore quantitatively the relationship between cultural values and IPV.

CHAPTER 2

THE CURRENT STUDY

Overall, there is a shortage of research investigating specific cultural attitudes among Latina college students who have experienced IPV. Many of the studies that have examined Latina cultural variables have utilized samples including either exclusively immigrant women or participants widely ranging in age. Current empirical research has not addressed whether or not Latina college students endorse traditional cultural beliefs such as *machismo*, *caballerismo*, *marianismo*, *familismo*, and *fatalism*. Research has demonstrated that younger age and being unmarried are possible IPV risk factors, leaving college students a particularly vulnerable population (Brabeck & Guzman, 2009). The purpose of the present study is to further examine this potentially at-risk population and explore the relationship between IPV and cultural beliefs. The current study included the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1 – *Machismo* will be positively correlated with physical and non-physical IPV.

Hypothesis 2 – *Caballerismo* will be negatively correlated with physical and non-physical IPV.

Hypothesis 3 – *Marianismo* will be positively correlated with physical and non-physical IPV.

Hypothesis 4 – *Familism* will be negatively correlated with physical and non-physical IPV.

Hypothesis 5 – *Fatalism* will be positively correlated with physical and non-physical IPV.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

Participants

Eighty-seven female college students who self-identified as Hispanic or Latina were recruited from the Human Services Department at a southern California university. All participants were required to be in a current relationship or report having been in at least one relationship with a male intimate partner.

The sample for the current study ($N = 87$) was comprised mostly of second generation Latina students ($n = 68$; 78%), meaning that most participants were born in the United States with at least one parent who moved from another country. While the sample represented a wide range of parental socioeconomic status, a third of the participants ($n = 27$; 31%) reported a family income of under \$24,999 in one year. Most of the participants were young, with 68 participants (78.1%) 23 years old or younger. Table 1 displays additional descriptive data.

Measures

Demographics

Participants reported age, parents' socioeconomic status, and generational status (i.e., first generation, second generation, or third generation) on an investigator-generated form.

Intimate Partner Violence

The Index of Spouse Abuse (ISA) is a widely used self-report measure of IPV (Wrangle, Fisher, & Paranjape, 2008). The 30-item questionnaire assesses four domains of IPV: controlling behaviors, emotional abuse, physical abuse, and sexual abuse (Plazaola-Castano, Ruiz-Perez, Escriba-Aguir, Montero-Pinar, & Vives-Cases, 2011). The four domains make up two subscales, Physical (ISA-P) and Non-Physical (ISA-NP), with the ISA-P assessing physical acts of abuse (e.g., “Punches me with his fists”) and ISA-NP assessing non-physical abuse (e.g., “Tells me I am ugly and unattractive”) (Plazaola-Castano et al., 2011). In the original ISA (Hudson & McIntosh, 1981), participants were asked to rate frequency of the violent act in the past year. However, other researchers have modified the ISA to assess lifetime IPV. The current study assesses lifetime IPV rather than just assessing IPV experiences in the past year, as putting a one-year limitation on the assessment may exclude many Latinas who have experienced IPV. Items are ranked on a 4-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 0 (never) to 4 (always) (Wrangle, Fisher, & Paranjape, 2008). Each item is weighted based on severity of the violent act and summed to create a total score for each subscale (Plazaola-Castano et al., 2011; Wrangle, Fisher, & Paranjape, 2008). For the ISA-P, total scores greater than, or equal to, 10 are considered IPV positive (Wrangle, Fisher, & Paranjape, 2008). For the ISA-NP, total scores greater than, or equal to, 25 are considered IPV positive (Wrangle, Fisher, & Paranjape, 2008). The ISA has been validated among female college students, African American women, women who are incarcerated, and women from Spain and El Salvador (Plazaola-Castano et al., 2011; Plazaola-Castano, Ruiz-Perez, Escriba-Aguir, Jimenez-Martin, & Hernendez-Torres, 2009). Plazaola-Castano et al.

(2011) established internal consistency for the four domains of the ISA, with Cronbach's alphas of .82 for sexual abuse, .90 for physical abuse, .94 for emotional abuse, and .93 for controlling behaviors. Plazaola-Castano et al. (2011) established construct validity by finding statistically significant correlations between the ISA and self-perceived poor health, psychological distress, and low tangible support. Only two items on the ISA have language specific to married partners. Since the current study utilizes only college students and is not concerned about spouse relationships, these two items were omitted, leaving a 28-item measure used in the current study. Cronbach's alphas for this 28-item ISA are .92 for the Non-Physical Scale and .81 for the Physical Scale.

Cultural Beliefs and Attitudes

Cultural constructs were assessed using validated scales found in the research literature. Questionnaire items were rated on a 4-point Likert-type scale with strongly agree (1), agree (2), disagree (3), and strongly disagree (4) as response options. Mean scores > 2.5 indicate high endorsement of the cultural belief (Castillo, Perez, Castillo, & Ghosheh, 2010). Table 2 provides further details about scoring for each of the five cultural constructs.

Machismo. Cuellar, Arnold, and Gonzalez (1995) developed the Multiphasic Assessment of Cultural Constructs–Short Form (MACC-SF) to measure five different cultural values (Familism, Fatalism, Machismo, and Personalismo). The current study used the 17-item Machismo Scale from the MACC-SF. This machismo scale assesses male superiority, male gender role, female gender role, and male strength (Cuellar, Arnold, & Gonzalez, 1995). The authors demonstrated construct validity by finding a significant negative correlation ($p < .001$; $r = -.24$) between Machismo and an

acculturation scale (Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II (ARSMA-II); Cuellar, Arnold, & Gonzalez, 1995). The MACC-SF was validated using predominantly Mexican male and female college students (Cuellar, Arnold, & Gonzalez, 1995).

Additionally, acceptable reliability was determined for the Machismo scale, with a coefficient alpha of .78 (Ramos-Sanchez & Atkinson, 2009). Cronbach's alpha for the current study was .85.

Caballerismo. Arcienega, Anderson, Toya-Blank, and Tracey (2008) developed the Traditional Machismo and Caballerismo Scale that assesses both dimensions of *machismo*. The current study used the 10-item Caballerismo Scale, which focuses on emotional connectedness, honor, and nurture (Arcienega et al., 2008). Arcienega et al. (2008) established construct validity for the Caballerismo Scale, finding high correlations between factor loadings and expert ratings of the items ($r = .84$). Arcienega et al. (2008) also established internal consistency ($\alpha = .80$) for the Caballerismo Scale. The current study yielded acceptable reliability, with a Cronbach's alpha of .75.

Marianismo. The Marianismo Beliefs Scale (MBS) is a 24-item assessment used to measure the extent to which participants believe in a particular *marianismo* characteristic (Castillo, Perez, Castillo, & Ghosheh, 2010). The MBS contains five subscales, including Family Pillar, Virtuous and Chaste, Subordinate to Others, Silencing Self to Maintain Harmony, and Spiritual Pillar (Castillo et al., 2010). Castillo et al. (2010) established convergent validity through statistically significant correlations between the MBS and other measures associated with *marianismo* (Self-Construal Scale, Familism Scale of the Multiphasic Assessment of Cultural Constructs–Short Form, and Silencing the Self Scale) (Castillo et al., 2010). Discriminant validity was established by

finding no association between the Anglo Orientation Scale of the ARSMA-II (Castillo et al., 2010). The MBS was validated using Latina college student participants (Castillo et al., 2010). Castillo et al. (2010) established reliability for each of the subscales: Family Pillar ($\alpha = 0.77$), Virtuous and Chaste ($\alpha = 0.79$), Subordinate to Others ($\alpha = 0.76$), Self-silencing to Maintain Harmony ($\alpha = 0.78$), and Spiritual Pillar ($\alpha = 0.85$). Pina-Watson, Castillo, Ojeda, and Rodriguez (2013) established reliability for the MBS total scale ($\alpha = 0.85$). Cronbach's alphas for the subscales of the current study are as follows: Family Pillar ($\alpha = 0.75$), Virtuous and Chaste ($\alpha = 0.80$), Subordinate to Others ($\alpha = 0.77$), Self-silencing to Maintain Harmony ($\alpha = 0.86$), and Spiritual Pillar ($\alpha = 0.85$). In the current study the MBS total scale yielded a Cronbach's alpha of 0.90.

Familismo. The 14-item Familism Scale (FS) developed by Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Marin, and Perez-Stable (1987) measures the three *familismo* dimensions of familial obligations, perceived support from the family, and family as referents. In a confirmatory factor analysis of the FS, Losada, Knight, Marquez-Gonzalez, Montorio, Etxeberria, and Penacoba (2008) found the original model did not fit the data well and suggest using a reduced 9-item version of the FS. Losada et al. (2008) established acceptable reliability for the shortened FS ($\alpha = 0.75$). In Morcillo, Duarte, Shen, Blanco, Canino, and Bird's (2011) study, researchers determined the shortened version had face validity for use with their Latino participants. The current study also used the shorter, 9-item, version of the FS, which yielded a Cronbach's alpha of 0.68.

Fatalism. Esparza, Wiebe, and Quinones' (2014) Multidimensional Fatalism Measure assesses five dimensions of *fatalism*: fatalism, helplessness, internality, luck, and divine control. The current study used the 6-item fatalism subscale from the

Multidimensional Fatalism Measure. The authors suggest the fatalism subscale represents the essential characteristics of the fatalism construct, which is that a person has no power over changing life's circumstances (Esparza, Wiebe, & Quinones, 2014; Vidales, 2010). Esparza, Wiebe, and Quinones (2014) demonstrated acceptable internal consistency ($\alpha = 0.76$) and one week test re-test reliability ($r = 0.71$) for use of the scale with Latino university students. Esparza, Wiebe, and Quinones (2014) established discriminant validity for the *fatalism* subscale, by finding low correlations between *fatalism* and the Life Orientation Test, Attributional Style Questionnaire, the Belief in Good Luck Scale, the Patient Health Questionnaire, and the Duke Religion Index. Cronbach's alpha for the current study was 0.86.

Procedure

The primary investigator emailed ten Human Services professors, requesting class participation in the current study. Seven professors consented to the primary investigator visiting class to request study participation. The primary investigator administered the informed consent and questionnaires to these Human Services classes. Prior to questionnaire distribution, all students were informed about inclusion criteria for the study (i.e., female gender, age 18-27, self-identify as Latina, and must have been in at least one intimate relationship with a male partner). All women who met inclusion criteria and who agreed to participate in the study stayed in the classroom and completed the questionnaires. Names were not recorded on the survey or informed consent, thus protecting participant anonymity. Participation lasted approximately 10–20 minutes.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Data Analysis

IBM SPSS (Version 24) was used to analyze data. Prior to analysis, data screening revealed numerous univariate outliers and positively skewed distributions for both criterion variables (i.e., ISA-P and ISA-NP). Univariate outliers were treated in accord with the suggestions of Tabachnick and Fidell (2014). One outlier was deleted on both variables due to perceived measurement error while remaining outliers with z scores greater than 3.29 were modified to decrease their impact on analysis (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2014). These outliers were modified by assigning “a raw score on the offending variable that [was] one unit smaller than the next most extreme score in the distribution” (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2014). After deletion of these outliers, 86 cases remained for analysis. After addressing univariate outliers, both variables remained severely skewed. Thus, logarithm transformations were employed. The log transformation improved the distribution for the ISA-NP and brought it closer to normality. However, the distribution for the ISA-P had minimal improvement and remained positively skewed after transformation. Due to failure to meet the assumption of normality, nonparametric techniques were employed to test hypotheses. Variables were treated as ordinal, due to the Likert-type scaling for all variables, and a two-tailed Spearman’s rho correlation was used to test all hypotheses.

Hypotheses

Table 3 displays inter-correlations between all independent and dependent variables.

Machismo

Spearman's rho correlation was used to analyze the first hypothesis regarding the relationship between traditional male gender roles and experiencing physical and non-physical IPV. No significant correlation was found between *machismo* and non-physical IPV. Likewise, no significant correlation was found between *machismo* and physical IPV.

Caballerismo

Spearman's rho correlation was used to analyze the second hypothesis concerning the association between *caballerismo* and experiencing physical and non-physical IPV. No significant correlation was found between *caballerismo* and non-physical IPV. A small, yet statistically significant, positive correlation ($\rho(84) = .254, p = .018$) was found for the relationship between *caballerismo* and physical IPV. Due to high correlations between many of the independent variables, a simultaneous regression analysis was run in accord with the suggestions of Tabachnick and Fidell (2014). *Machismo*, *caballerismo*, *marianismo*, *familismo*, and *fatalism* were entered into the regression equation at one time (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2014). The regression was not statistically significantly different from zero, $F(5, 81) = .39, p = .854$. The cultural variables as a whole did not explain a statistically significant amount of variance in physical IPV. Results also indicated *caballerismo* was not significantly related to physical IPV, when accounting for the effects of all other cultural variables, $t(81) = -.17, p = .867$.

Marianismo

Spearman's rho correlation was used to analyze the hypothesis concerning the association between *marianismo* and IPV. No significant correlation was found between *marianismo* beliefs and non-physical IPV. No significant correlation was found between *marianismo* and reported experience of physical IPV. No significant correlations were found between any of the *marianismo* subscales, physical IPV, and non-physical IPV.

Familismo

Spearman's rho correlation was used to analyze the relationship between *familismo* and reported experience of abuse. No significant association was found between adherence to *familismo* beliefs and physical IPV. No significant association was found between *familismo* and non-physical abuse.

Fatalismo

Spearman's rho correlation was used to analyze the relationship between fatalismo and IPV. No significant correlation was found between *fatalismo* beliefs and physical IPV. No significant correlation was found between *familismo* and non-physical IPV.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The current study sought to further examine cultural beliefs and intimate partner violence among Latina college students. Previous investigations of the Latino cultural beliefs *machismo*, *caballerismo*, *marianismo*, *familismo*, and *fatalism* have been primarily theoretical or qualitative in nature. Thus, in order to fill gaps in the empirical literature, the current study pursued a quantitative approach. Additionally, the current study is one of the few to focus solely on young, female college students. Therefore, the primary goal of this study was to analyze whether or not there was a correlation between Latina college students' cultural beliefs and IPV.

While hypotheses were not supported by the results, there is one unique participant characteristic worth mentioning. In the current study, more participants reported experiencing physical abuse than non-physical abuse (11.5% vs. 6.9%). Both IPV empirical literature and anecdotal evidence suggest that non-physical IPV is more widespread and prevalent than physical IPV (Gover, Kaukinen, & Fox, 2008). Perhaps physical abuse is easier to detect, given that physical acts of violence are typically objective and discrete events that may be easier for the victim to identify their occurrence. Psychological and emotional abuse may be so subtle and ongoing that the victim may be unaware of the presence of this type of abuse. On the other hand, perhaps physical violence indeed is more prevalent within this college student population.

Perhaps the cycle of abuse looks a little different among these college students, with only random, discrete acts of physical violence, and very little ongoing experience of emotional abuse. As previously mentioned, substance use is commonplace among the college student population (Sahker, Acion, & Arndt, 2015). Shorey, Stuart, and Cornelius (2011) found a proximal relationship between alcohol use and physical aggression, meaning that a physical abuse incident is more likely to occur after an individual has consumed alcohol. Perhaps physical abuse is only occurring while partners are under the influence of alcohol and beyond these isolated incidences there may be either very minimal or very subtle emotional abuse occurring in the relationship.

Besides this one surprising finding, the current study has several strengths worth mentioning. First, as previously mentioned, it is one of the few quantitative studies to utilize solely Latina college students as the sample. Many previous studies on Latino cultural beliefs have focused on the male's beliefs and whether or not they are associated with male IPV perpetration. Researchers had not previously examined whether or not young Latinas also adhere to these stereotypical beliefs. While hypotheses were not supported by the data, the current study did find that a majority of participants strongly adhered to many of these cultural constructs (e.g., *caballerismo*, the Family Pillar subscale of the MBS, *familismo*, and *fatalism*). These findings are relevant for counselors, teachers, social workers, or any professional working with young Latinas. For example, a counselor working with a Latina college student client on setting boundaries and improving her interpersonal relationships must remember that *familismo* may be an influential cultural belief for this client. These results serve as a good reminder to not

discount possible cultural influences when providing any form of mental health, social welfare, criminal justice, or medical services with Latina clients.

Additionally, this study highlights the possibility that IPV may be a more universal issue with fewer cultural differences than previously assumed. Perhaps there are other variables that are more influential in predicting IPV. These variables may include, but are not limited to, gender power differential, generational cohort, substance abuse, or experience of IPV in family of origin. Indeed, IPV has been around since ancient times (Pike, 2005) and may be more universal than culturally specific.

While the current study serves to fill a void in the existing empirical literature, there are several limitations and possible explanations for non-significant findings. First, while all measurements used were psychometrically sound, perhaps another IPV scale, instead of the Index of Spouse Abuse (ISA), would have been more suitable given the current study's sample. The ISA was used since it was one of the only domestic violence scales found to be validated using both Latina and college student samples. However, wording on several statements on the ISA may have been either confusing or too archaic for this college student sample. For example, during testing, a handful of participants requested clarification regarding items such as, "My partner treats me like a dunce" and "My partner belittles me intellectually." While a number of students requested clarification for items such as these, there may have been a considerable number of additional participants who also needed assistance but did not ask, due to a fear of appearing ignorant, a desire to finish the survey quickly, or an indifference to accurate responding.

Socially desirable responding may have also impacted the validity of the ISA measurement and thus contributed to non-significant findings. Socially desirable responding suggests that participants answer questions in a manner that makes one appear more agreeable (Mortel, 2008). It has been demonstrated that this responding bias is most common in research involving socially sensitive topics, including intimate partner abuse (Mortel, 2008). Research has shown that socially desirable responding can account for 10–75% of the variance in responding by participants (Mortel, 2008). Indeed, prevalence data in this study was much lower than the rates found in the empirical literature review for both college students (22% for physical IPV and 52% for non-physical abuse; Gover, Kaukinen, & Fox, 2008) and for Latinas (20-50% for physical IPV; Bonomi, Anderson, Cannon, Slesnick, & Rodriguez, 2009). Therefore, it is conceivable that socially desirable responding may have impacted participants' reports of domestic violence. This may be especially true since Human Service majors receive continuous training about IPV that could create a sense of shame among students who stay in an IPV relationship despite knowing that it is not a mentally healthy thing to do.

Additionally, the current study used the shortened, nine-item version of the Familism Scale, which yielded a Cronbach's alpha of 0.68. This low reliability may have contributed to non-significant results found with the *familismo* variable. Perhaps the shortened FS did not reliably measure the *familism* construct. The abbreviated length of the FS is what may have resulted in low internal consistency. Perhaps a different, more expansive, *familismo* scale may have been more suitable to assess the *familismo* construct. The low internal consistency may also reflect Latina college students' internal struggle between upholding traditional cultural beliefs and gaining independence in

college. On one hand, the Latino culture emphasizes the importance of family unity and maintaining a cohesive family system. On the other hand, college is a time of independence for young adults - for many it is their first time away from home and away from parents' rules. This internal struggle may have resulted in inconsistent responding by the participants.

Finally, it is also conceivable that the proposed hypotheses in this study were simply wrong. It is possible that, in fact, there is no association among any of the variables under investigation. Perhaps the previous theoretical literature does not apply to Latina college students and the relationship between culture and IPV needs re-examination. The Latino culture is diverse and complex, not simply limited to the five cultural constructs investigated in this study. Thus, there may be other cultural correlates for dating behaviors and IPV. It is also possible that other variables not analyzed may be mediating or moderating variables for the relationship between IPV and cultural values. These variables may include witnessing IPV as a child, substance abuse, childhood abuse, differing levels of cultural belief endorsement between each partner, and generational cohort.

While this study did not find hypothesized significant links between IPV and Latina cultural beliefs, there are several ways future research can improve and re-examine these relationships. Since the majority of the participants were in the age range referred to as "millennials", this factor should be further studied. "Millennials" refers to the generation born between 1982 and 2002 (Much, Wagener, Breitreutz, & Hellenbrand, 2014), which comprises the entirety of the current sample. Some of the characteristics stereotypical of the millennial generation include a belief that it is "their

responsibility to make the world a better place” and “place a high value on helping others and on addressing social problems” (McGlone, Spain, & McGlone, 2011). Indeed, the 2006 Cone Millennial Cause Study found that 61% of Millennials adhere to a belief in social responsibility (McGlone, Spain, & McGlone, 2011). The idea of human rights for all and intolerance for interpersonal violence may be new factors that Millennials have accepted. IPV was previously considered taboo, a private family matter that was not discussed. However, there has been an increase in awareness and acknowledgement of IPV as a social problem through increased access to social media. Furthermore, it is possible that the many programs related to IPV in educational courses, on television, and on the Internet have played a significant role in changing the results seen in previous generations. This study might cause researchers and mental health professionals to reconsider the assumption that Latino cultural factors help explain IPV in Latino relationships, and encourage the continued exploration of IPV in this new millennial generation. Future IPV research should consider comparing Latinos from the millennial generation with older Latino participants as this may further illuminate this issue.

Lastly, it may be beneficial to examine multiple facets of cultural beliefs. For instance, the current study only used 6 items to measure *fatalism*. Only one subscale was used from the Multidimensional Fatalism Measure (Esparza, Wiebe, & Quinones, 2014) for the purpose of efficiency. However, there were still four dimensions of *fatalism* that were not utilized: helplessness, internality, luck, and divine control. Perhaps by using all five subscales of a single cultural construct, a more complete characterization of *fatalism* would be portrayed.

Despite finding no hypothesized significant relationships between dependent and independent variables, this study illuminates the need for future research involving Latina cultural beliefs and dating violence. Researchers should continue examining these variables since results from this quantitative study do not align with the qualitative research found in the empirical literature. Intimate partner violence is a continuing, worldwide threat that can destroy affected individuals' mental, emotional, and physical health. Both college students and Latinas are among the many impacted by IPV, and these populations warrant further investigation.

REFERENCES

- Ahrens, C.E., Isas, L. Rios-Mandel, L.C., & Carmen Lopez, M. (2010). Talking about interpersonal violence: Cultural influences on Latinas' identification and disclosure of sexual assault and intimate partner violence. *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy*, 2, 284-295.
- Arcienega, G.M., Anderson, T.C., Tovar-Blank, Z.G., & Tracey, T.J.G. (2008). Toward a fuller Conception of machismo: Development of a Traditional Machismo and Caballerismo Scale. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 55, 19-33.
- Ayala, M., Molleda, C.B., Rodriguez-Franco, L., Galaz, M.F., Ramiro-Sanchez, T., & Diaz, F.J.R. (2013). Unperceived dating violence among Mexican students. *International Journal of Clinical and Health Psychology*, 14, 39-47.
- Baker, C.R. & Stith, S.M. (2008). Factors predicting dating violence perpetration among male and female college students. *Journal Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma*, 17, 227-244. Systematic review and meta-analysis. *Social Science & Medicine*, 75, 959-975.
- Barry, J.W. (1999). Emics and etics: A symbiotic conception. *Culture & Psychology*, 5, 165-171.
- Bauer, H.M., Rodriguez, M.A., Quiroga, S.S. & Flores-Ortiz, Y.G. (2000) Barriers to health care for abused Latina and Asian immigrant women. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved*, 11, 33-44.
- Bonomi, A.E., Anderson, M.L., Cannon, E.A., Slesneck, N., & Rodriguez, M.A. (2009). Intimate partner violence in Latina and non-Latina women. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 36, 43-48.
- Brabeck, K.M. & Guzman, M.R. (2008). Frequency and perceived effectiveness of strategies to survive abuse employed by battered Mexican-origin women, 14, 1274-1294.
- Brabeck, K.M. & Guzman, M.R. (2009). Exploring Mexican origin intimate partner abuse survivors' help seeking within their sociocultural contexts. *Violence and Victims*, 24, 817-833.

- Branch, K.A., Richards, T.N. & Dretsch, E.C. (2013). An exploratory analysis of college students' response and reporting behavior regarding intimate partner victimization and perpetration among friends. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 28, 3386-3399.
- Capaldi, D.M., Knoble, N.B., Shortt, J.W., & Kim, H.K. (2010). A systematic review of risk factors for intimate partner violence. *Partner Abuse*, 3, 231-268.
- Castillo, L.G., Perez, F.V., Castillo, R., & Ghosheh, M.R. (2010). Construction and initial validation of the Marianismo Beliefs Scale. *Counseling Psychology Quarterly*, 23, 163-175.
- Champion, J.D. (1996). Woman abuse, assimilation, and self-concept in a rural Mexican American community. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 18, 508-522.
- Chen, P., Rovi, S., Vega, M., Jacobs, A., & Johnson, M.S. (2009). Relation of domestic violence to health status among Hispanic women. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved*, 20, 569-582.
- Cho, H., Velez-Ortiz, D., & Parra-Cardona, J.R. (2013). Prevalence of intimate partner violence and associated risk factors among Latinos/as: An exploratory study with three Latino subpopulations. *Violence Against Women*, 20, 1041-1058.
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. National Center for Injury Prevention and Control. (2010). *National Intimate Partner Sexual Violence Survey*. Atlanta, GA: Center for Disease Control and Prevention.
- Cuellar, I., Arnold, B., & Gonzalez, G. (1995). Cognitive referents of acculturation: Assessment of cultural constructs in Mexican Americans. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 23, 339-353.
- Cuevas, C.A., Sabina, C., & Picard, E.H. (2010). Interpersonal victimization patterns and psychopathology among Latino women: Results from the SALAS study. *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy*, 2, 296-306.
- Cummings, A.M., Gonzalez-Guarda, R.M., & Sandoval, M.F. (2013). Intimate partner violence among Hispanics: A review of the literature. *Journal of Family Violence*, 28, 153-171.
- Dutton, M.A., & Goodman, L.A. (2005). Coercive control: Towards a new conceptualization. *Sex Roles*, 52, 743-756.
- Enander, V. (2011). Leaving Jekyll and Hyde: Emotion work in the context of intimate partner violence. *Feminism & Psychology*, 21, 29-48.
- Esparza, O.A., Wiebe, J.S., & Quinones, J. (2014). Simultaneous development of a multidimensional Fatalism measure in English and Spanish. *Current Psychology*. doi: 10.1007/s12144-014-9272-z

- Frias, S.M. & Angel, R.J. (2012). Beyond borders: Comparative quantitative research on partner violence in the United States and Mexico. *Violence Against Women, 18*, 5-29.
- Frieze, I.H. & Chen, K.Y. (2010). *Intimate partner violence: perspectives from racial/ethnic groups in the United States*. New York, NY: Springer Publishing Co.
- Garcia, L., Hurwitz, E.L., & Kraus, J.F. (2005). Acculturation and reported intimate partner violence among Latinas in Los Angeles. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 20*, 569-590.
- Goldberg-Edelson, M.G., Hokoda, A., & Ramos-Lira, L. (2007). Differences in domestic violence between Latina and non-Latina women. *Journal of Family Violence, 22*, 1-10.
- Gonzalez-Guarda, R.M., Cummings, A.M., Becerra, M., Fernandez, M.C., & Mesa, I. (2013). Needs and preferences for the prevention of intimate partner violence among Hispanics: A community's perspective. *Journal of Primary Prevention, 34*, 221-235.
- Gonzalez-Guarda, R.M., Ortega, J., Vasquez, E.P., & De Santis, J. (2010). La mancha negra: Substance Abuse, violence, and sexual risks among Hispanic males. *Western Journal of Nursing Research, 32*, 128-148.
- Gover, A.R., Kaukinen, C., & Fox, K.A. (2008). The relationship between violence in the family of origin and dating violence among college students. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 23*, 1667-1693.
- Hazen, A.L. & Soriano, F.I. (2007). Experiences with intimate partner violence among Latina women. *Violence Against Women, 13*, 562-582.
- Hazen, A.L., Connelly, C.D., Soriano, F.I., Landsverk, J.A. (2008). Intimate partner violence and psychological functioning in Latina women. *Health Care for Women International, 29*, 282-299.
- Howard, L.M., Trevillion, K., Agnew-Davies, R. (2010). Domestic violence and mental health. *International Review of Psychiatry, 22*, 525-535.
- Janoff-Bulman, R. (1995). Victims of violence. In G.S. Everly & J.M. Lating (Eds.), *Psychotraumatology: Key papers and core concepts in post-traumatic stress*, (pp. 73-86). New York, NY: Plenum Press.
- Jordan, C.E., Campbell, R., & Follingstad, D. (2010). Violence and women's mental health: The impact of physical, sexual, and psychological aggression. *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology, 6*, 607-628.

- Kantor, G.K., Jasinski, J.L., & Aldarondo, E. (1994). Sociocultural status and incidence of marital violence in Hispanic families. *Violence and Victims, 9*, 207-223.
- Kaukinen, C.A. & Powers, R.A. (2015). The role of economic factors on women's risk for intimate partner violence: A cross-national comparison of Canada and the United States. *Violence Against Women, 21*, 229-248.
- Kelley, E.L., Edwards, K.M., Dardis, C.M., & Gidycz, C.A. (2015). Motives for physical dating violence among college students: A gendered analysis. *Psychology of Violence, 5*, 56-65.
- Klevens, J. (2007). An overview of intimate partner violence among Latinos. *Violence Against Women, 13*, 111-122.
- Krishnan, S.P., Hilber, J.C. & Vanleewen, D. (2001). Domestic violence and help-seeking behaviors among rural women: Results from a shelter-based study. *Family Community Health, 24*, 28-38.
- Kyriakakis, S., Dawson, B.A. & Edmond, T. (2012). Mexican immigrant survivors of intimate partner violence: Conceptualization and descriptions of abuse. *Violence and Victims, 27*, 548-562.
- Levitt, H.M., Swanger, R.T., & Butler, J.B. (2008). Male perpetrators' perspectives on intimate partner violence, religion, and masculinity. *Sex Roles, 58*, 435-448.
- Lewandowski, L.A., McFarlane, J., Campbell, J., Gary, F., Barenski, C. (2004). "He killed my mommy!" Murder or attempted murder of a child's mother. *Journal of Family Violence, 19*, 211-223.
- Lewis, S.F. & Fremouw, W. (2000). Dating violence: A critical review of the literature. *Clinical Psychology Review, 21*, 105-127.
- Losada, A., Knight, B.G., Marquez-Gonzalez, M., Montorio, I., Etxeberria, I., and Penacoba, C. (2008). Confirmatory factor analysis of the familism scale in a sample of dementia caregivers. *Aging and Mental Health, 12*, 504-508.
- Lown, E.A. & Vega, W.A. (2001). Prevalence and predictors of physical partner abuse among Mexican American women. *American Journal of Public Health, 91*, 441-445.
- Marrs Fuchsel, C.L., Murphy, S.B. & Dufresne, R. (2012). Domestic violence, culture, and relationship dynamics among immigrant women. *Journal of Women and Social Work, 27*, 263-274.
- Mattson, S. & Ruiz, E. (2005). Intimate partner violence in the Latino community and its effect on children. *Health Care for Women International, 26*, 523-529.

- Mechanic, M.B., & Pole, N. (2012, in press). Methodological Considerations in Conducting Ethnoculturally Sensitive Research on Intimate Partner Abuse and its Multidimensional Consequences. *Sex Roles*. Advance online publication. doi:10.1007/s11199-012-0246-z
- McGlone, T., Spain, J.W., & McGlone, V. (2011). Corporate social responsibility and the millennials. *Journal of Education for Business*, 86, 195–200.
- Morcillo, C., Duarte, C.S., Shen, S., Blanco, C., Canino, G., & Bird, H.R. (2011). Parental familism and antisocial behaviors: Development, gender, and potential mechanisms. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 50, 471-479.
- Moreno, C.L. (2007). The relationship between culture, gender, structural factors, abuse, trauma, and HIV/AIDS for Latinas. *Qualitative Health Research*, 17, 340-352.
- Much, K., Wagener, A.M., Bretkreutz, H.L., & Hellenbrand, M. (2014). Working with the millennial generation: Challenges facing 21st century students from the perspective of university staff. *Journal of College Counseling*, 17, 37–47.
- Neff, J.A. (2001). A confirmatory factor analysis of a measure of “machismo” among Anglo, African American, and Mexican American male drinkers. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 23, 171-188.
- Nowotny, K.M. & Graves, J.L. (2013). Substance use and intimate partner violence victimization among White, African American, and Latina women. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 28, 3301-3318.
- Pina-Watson, B., Castillo, L.G., Jung, E., Ojeda, L., & Castillo-Reyes, R. (2014). The Marianismo Beliefs Scale: Validation with Mexican American adolescent girls and boys. *Journal of Latina Psychology*, 2, 113-130.
- Pina-Watson, B., Castillo, L.G., Ojeda, L., & Rodriguez, K.M. (2013). Parent conflict as a mediator between marianismo beliefs and depressive symptoms for Mexican American college women. *Journal of American College Health*, 61, 491-496.
- Prospero, M. & Kim, M. (2009). Mutual partner violence: Mental health symptoms among female and male victims in four racial/ethnic groups. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 24, 2039-2056.
- Ramos, B.M., & Carlson, B.E. (2004). Lifetime abuse and mental health distress among English-speaking latinias. *Affilia*, 19, 239-256.
- Renner, L.M. (2009). Intimate partner violence victimization and parenting stress: Assessing the mediating role of depressive symptoms. *Violence Against Women*, 15, 1380-1401.

- Sabina, C., Cuevas, C.A. & Schally, J.L. (2013). The effect of immigration and acculturation on victimization among a national sample of Latino women. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 19*, 13-26.
- Sabina, C. & Ho, L.Y. (2014). Campus and college victim responses to sexual assault and dating violence: Disclosure, service utilization, and service provision. *Trauma, Violence, and Abuse, 15*, 201-226.
- Sabogal, F., Mari' n, G., Otero-Sabogal, R., Mari' n, B.V., & Perez-Stable, E.J. (1987). Hispanic familism and acculturation: What changes and what doesn't? *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 9*, 397-412.
- Sahker, E., Acion, L., & Arndt, S. (2015). National analysis of differences among substance abuse treatment outcomes: College student and nonstudent emerging adults. *Journal of American College Health, 63*, 118-124.
- Sanderson, M., Coker, A.L., Roberts, R.E., Tortolero, S.R., & Reininger, B.M. (2004). Acculturation, ethnic identity, and dating violence among Latino ninth grade students. *Preventive Medicine, 39*, 373-383.
- Shorey, R.C., Stuart, G.L., & Cornelius, T.L. (2011). Dating violence and substance use in college students: A review of the literature. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 16*, 541-550.
- Smokowski, P.R., David-Ferdon, C., & Stroupe, N. (2009). Acculturation and violence in minority adolescents: A review of the empirical literature. *Journal of Primary Prevention, 30*, 215-263.
- Steidel, A.G.L. & Contreras, J.M. (2003). A new familism scale for use with Latino population. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 25*, 312-330.
- Sugihara, Y. & Warner, J.A. (2002). Dominance and domestic abuse among Mexican Americans: Gender differences in the etiology of violence in intimate relationships. *Journal of Family Violence, 17*, 315-342.
- Testa, M., Hoffman, J.H., & Leonard, K.E. (2011). Female intimate partner violence perpetration:
Stability and predictors of mutual and nonmutual aggression across the first year of college.
Aggressive Behavior, 37, 362-273.
- Thompson, M.P., Kaslow, N.J., Kingree, J.B., Puett, R., Thompson, N.J., & Meadows, L. (1999). Partner abuse and posttraumatic stress disorder as risk factors for suicide attempts in a sample of low income, inner city women. *Journal of Traumatic Stress, 12*, 59-72.

- Torres, J.B., Solberg, S.H., & Carlstrom, A.H. (2002). The myth of sameness among Latino men and their machismo. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 72, 163-181.
- U.S. Department of Commerce. Economics and Statistics Administration. United States Census Bureau. (2000). *We the people: Hispanics in the United States: Census 2000 special reports* by R. Ramirez. Washington, DC: United States Census Bureau.
- U.S. Department of Commerce. United States Census Bureau. (2011). *State and county quickfacts*. Retrieved from <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/00000.html>.
- U.S. Department of Justice. Office of Justice Programs. National Institute of Justice. (2000). *Full report of the prevalence, incidence, and consequence of violence against women: Findings from the National Violence Against Women Survey* by P. Tjaden and N. Thoennes. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.
- Vidales, G.T. (2010). Arrested justice: The multifaceted plight of immigrant women who faced domestic violence. *Journal of Family Violence*, 25, 33-44.
- Weidel, J.J., Provencio-Vasquez, E., Watson, S.D., & Gonzalez-Guarda, R. (2008). Cultural considerations for intimate partner violence and HIV risk in Hispanics. *Journal of the Association of Nurses in AIDS Care*, 19, 247-251.
- White, J.W. & Koss, M.P. (1991). Courtship violence: Incidence in a national sample of higher education students. *Violence and Victims*, 6, 247-256.
- Valentine, S. & Mosley, G. (2000). Acculturation and sex-role attitude among Mexican American: A longitudinal analysis. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 22, 104-113.
- Yoshioka, M.R., Gilbert, L., El-Bassel, N., Baig-Amin, M. (2003). Social support and disclosure of abuse: Comparing South Asian, African American, and Hispanic battered women. *Journal of Family Violence*, 18, 171-180.

APPENDIX

TABLES

TABLE 1. Sample Characteristics

Characteristic	<i>N</i> = 87 n (%)
ISA-NP	
> = 25	6 (6.9)
< 25	80 (92)
ISA-P	
> = 10	10 (11.5)
< 10	76 (87.4)
Age (years)	
18–19	2 (2.3)
20–21	31 (35.6)
22–23	35 (40.2)
24–25	7 (8.0)
26–27	12 (13.8)
Parent's Socioeconomic Status (in one year)	
\$14,000 - \$24,999	27 (31.0)
\$25,000 - \$34,999	15 (17.2)
\$35,000 - \$44,999	17 (19.5)
\$45,000 - \$54,999	5 (5.7)
\$55,000 or higher	23 (26.4)
Generational Status	
1 st generation	16 (18.4)
2 nd generation	68 (78.2)
3 rd generation	3 (3.4)

ISA-NP, Index of Spouse Abuse–Non-Physical; ISA-P, Index of Spouse Abuse–Physical

TABLE 2. Cultural Beliefs

Constructs	<i>M</i>	<i>n</i> > 2.5 (% > 2.5)
Machismo	1.70	0 (0)
Caballerismo	3.40	87 (100)
Marianismo	2.09	11 (12.3)
Marianismo Subscales		
Family Pillar	3.01	78 (89.5)
Virtuous and Chaste	2.47	29 (48.2)
Subordinate to Others	1.57	2 (2.2)
Silencing Self	1.44	3 (3.3)
Spiritual Pillar	2.10	22 (25)
Familismo	2.63	(60.7)
Fatalismo	2.52	(61.2)

TABLE 3. Correlations Between Cultural Beliefs and Intimate Partner Violence

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. IPV-P	-											
2. IPV-NP	.692**	-										
3. Machismo	.132	.157	-									
4. Caballerismo	.254*	.125	.121	-								
5. Marianismo	.018	.031	.637**	.180	-							
6. Familism	.040	-.045	.327**	.328**	.400**	-						
7. Fatalism	.112	.210	.142	.275*	.194	.372**	-					
MBS Subscales												
8. FP	.090	-.024	.182	.388**	.485**	.462**	.371**	-				
9. VC	-.041	-.084	.560**	.268**	.760**	.392**	-.018	.298**	-			
10. SO	.031	.059	.541**	.037	.702**	.153	.038	.102	.400**	-		
11. SS	-.013	.071	.554**	-.073	.771**	.251*	.157	.130	.457**	.610**	-	
12. SP	.038	.044	.464**	.041	.814**	.215*	.082	.354**	.564**	.495**	.590**	-

IPV-P, Intimate Partner Violence–Physical; IPV-NP, Intimate Partner Violence–Non-Physical; MBS, Marianismo Beliefs Scale; FP, Family Pillar; VC, Virtuous and Chaste; SO, Subordinate to Others; SS, Silencing Self to Maintain Harmony; SP, Spiritual Pillar

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$