

한국이민 여성의 가정폭력

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STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Since the 1970s, the United States has seen a sizeable overall expansion in immigration and a growing percent of foreign-born people from around the world. However, the largest increases are in immigrants from a variety of Asian nations(Kitano & Nakaoka, 2001). Korean immigrants constitute an Asian American minority; most immigrated to the United States since the 1960s. Korean immigrants comprise one of the fastest growing ethnic minority groups in the United States. Currently, Korean Americans represent the fifth largest group among Asian Americans group with 1,076,872 Korean Americans living in the U. S.(U. S. Bureau of the Census, 2000).

Domestic violence in intimate relationships is the most widespread form of interpersonal violence. After more than 25 years of effort by activists, scholars, and practitioners, the issues of domestic violence have gained enough public prominence that it now can be considered mainstream in the United States.

The precise incidence of domestic violence is difficult to determine due to under reporting or disagreement of the definition of domestic violence. Osofsky(1999) indicated that one study estimated that more than 3%(approximately 1.8 million) of women were severely assaulted by male partners, while other studies indicate the incidence of domestic violence ranges as high as 65%. The U.S. Department of Justice Bureau of Justice Statistics published a report in May, 2000. In their report they define domestic violence as violent crimes by current or former spouses, boyfriends, and girlfriends. From their data, women experienced at least 900,000 violent offences at the hands of an intimate partner(U.S. Department of Justice, 2000). The National Violence Against Women Survey(NVAWS) is a national telephone survey that includes 8,000 men and 8,000 women. From the data, it is estimated that 4.8 million women are victims of intimate partner assaults and rape each

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year. Overall, 25% of women report at least one incident of domestic violence(National Violence Against Women Survey, 2000).

The National Violence Against Women Survey(1999) state that Asian American women are the least likely to formally report any kind of physical abuse. However, very little has been written and few empirical studies have been conducted comparing rates of domestic violence in intimate relationships among different racial groups. Despite the known presence of these risk factors, investigations of domestic violence within the minority populations are relatively few(Yoshioka & Dang, 2000).

Although recent literature has broadened ethnic comparisons to cover other groups (Johnson & Ferraro, 2000), many studies have been conducted with Caucasian, African Americans, and Hispanics. Asian Americans have usually been excluded in studies regarding violence in intimate relationships. Consequently, empirical studies of domestic violence among Asian American communities are relatively sparse.

As minority members of the adopted new society, many Korean immigrants face occupational and economic stresses caused by manifold obstacles including language barriers, discrimination, and the inability to adjust to the majority culture(Kim & Sung, 2000). Within the traditional Korean family structure and socio-structural stressors resulting from adjustment to a new society, Korean immigrants are likely to have an increased risk of violence in intimate relationships.

Increased psychological distress induced by stressful events may explain violence in intimate relationships(Tein, Sandler, & Zautra, 2000). Several studies(Ben-David & Lavee, 1994; Short & Johnston, 1997) point out that immigration is a stressful process for immigrants in the adjustment process to a new society. Since immigration is a stressful and traumatic experience, it can be assumed that Korean immigrants are more likely to undergo higher levels of life stress. Taking into consideration these conditions, it is important to assess the effects of stressors encountered by Korean immigrants.

Historically, alcohol use by a male partner continues to be the most common variable concerned with violent behavior(Brecklin, 2002). Alcohol may be used as an excuse for violence occurring in intimate relationships, which allows the victim to forgive the abuser. Alcohol use has been associated with more than half of domestic violence incidents, and the majority of partnerabusers have been found to be under the influence of alcohol use at the time of violence(Bergman & Brismar, 1993; Collins & Messerschmidt, 1993).

Many studies(e.g., Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1998; Leonard & Quigley, 1999; Pernanen, 1991) indicate that male batterer alcohol use has been noted in approximately 6-85% of female partner assaults. In an analysis of 1992-93 National Crime Victimization Survey

(NCVS) data, Martin and Bachman(1997) state that 54% of domestic violence incidents, where the abuser was perceived as drinking, involved injury compared to 43% of assaults by sober abusers. The findings of Brecklin's study(2002) showed that abuser alcohol use was related to a greater likelihood of physical injury. Thus, the relationship between alcohol use and domestic violence is shown to be prevalent.

Although researchers are increasingly studying the drinking behavior and related problems among Asian Americans in the United States(Makimoto, 1998), research focusing on outcomes resulting from alcohol use among Korean immigrants has been largely neglected. Little attention has been paid to the alcohol-related problems of Korean immigrants, at least in part because of the somewhat smaller sizes of these groups. When considering the impact of cultural, social and structural factors, the need for research examining the effects of alcohol use of Korean immigrants is continually increasing.

Childhood exposure to violence is an explanation commonly cited regarding the etiology of violence in intimate relationships(Corvo & Carpenter, 2000). A number of empirical studies(Langhinrichsen-Rohling, Neidig, & Thorn, 1995; Whitfield, Anda, & Felitti, 2003) report that violence experienced in childhood was significantly correlated with current levels of domestic violence. While the link between childhood violence and men's later use of violence seems obvious, it also has been suggested that women also are at risk for becoming offenders as well as victims of partner violence(Holtzworth-Munroe, Smutzler, & Sandin, 1997). It appears that a child in a violent home learns to use violence and fails to learn other more constructive methods to resolve conflict in relationships (Holtzworth-Munroe, Bates, Smutzler, & Sandin, 1997). In other words, parental violence may interfere with the child's later ability to develop healthy adult relationships.

Several studies(Hong, 1993; Kim & Sung, 2000; Shin, 1995; Song, 1996; Yim, 1979) attempt to investigate the incidence of domestic violence among Korean immigrants; however, only one study includes violence experienced in childhood as one of the important factors to explain the occurrence of domestic violence in intimate relationships. Since Koreans are a relatively new immigrant group, there have been few empirical studies conducted on such a critical issue to Korean immigrants in the United States. Likewise, literature on outcomes of violence experienced in childhood among Korean immigrants in the United States is extremely limited.

In exploring the incidence of domestic violence among Korean immigrant women, this study focuses on examining predictive factors such as the life stress, alcohol use by a male partner, violence experienced as a child and demographics/cultural characteristics.

LITERATURE REVIEW

CHARACTERISTICS OF KOREAN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES

Korean Immigrant Women and Family Problems

Although domestic violence has been viewed as a social problem in the United States for over 30 years, it did not become a concern among Korean immigrants until the middle of the 1980s. Empirical research exploring domestic violence appeared in 1983(Shin, 1995). In spite of the increase in empirical research on domestic violence, this issue has not yet obtained community awareness among Korean immigrants.

Despite comprising a relatively small portion of the population of Asian immigrants, Korean immigrants are the majority of the violence victim cases in the Asian American battered women's shelter of Los Angeles. The court records in the Los Angeles criminal courts reveal a disproportional occurrence of domestic violence among Korean immigrants (Shin, 1995). In addition, in 1994, YMCA Asian Pacific Services of Los Angeles reported that 15% of the telephone counseling the agency provided to Koreans to address issues of domestic violence. The YMCA staff reported that domestic violence counseling requests by Korean immigrants have recently increased(Shin, 1995).

One major study investigating domestic violence among Korean immigrant women was published by Song in 1996. In addition, five dissertations over the last two decades have addressed this issue. Yim(1979) suggest that various stages of the family life cycle, unsatisfactory occupational status, discrepancy between educational achievement and occupation, length of residence, proficiency of language and extended family relations are all related to the incidents of violence in Korean immigrant community. Song(1986) indicated that violence is more likely to occur among those who have the following characteristics: rigid sex-roles, a decline in employment status after immigration, and more stress-evoking factors due to the adjustment process.

Hong(1993) found that all variables(Korean traditionalism, exposure to American media and food, exposure to Korean media and food) at the macro systemic level were correlated with the level of domestic violence. In addition, all microsystemic variables(gender role, marital happiness, marital cohesion, and marital adaptability) were correlated with domestic violence.

In addition, Shin(1995) reported that witnessing parental violence in childhood, attitudes toward domestic violence, and the level of marital satisfaction.

Recently, Kim(1998) found that the influences of socialization of patriarchy within the United States and Korea create a number of manifestations of the internalization of male domination. In addition, the patriarchal structure within the institutions of the police, the government, the health and legal system, and religious organizations contributed to sustaining and perpetuating partner violence.

Although Koreans had the highest rates of abstainers among various Asian immigrant groups, Koreans had the highest rates of heavy drinkers among those who did consume alcohol(Parrish, 1995). Meanwhile, Rhee(1997) indicates that alcohol-related violence is one of the most significant factors in separation and divorce among Korean immigrant families. According to the findings of Shin(1995)'s study, alcohol consumption of Korean immigrant men is significantly related to the level of stress and the level of marital satisfaction, regardless many Korean immigrant men abstain from alcohol. That is, as the alcohol use of a male partner increased, Korean immigrant men reported lower levels of marital satisfaction, consequently, increasing the incidence of domestic violence.

Recently, researchers have begun to assess life stress and adjustment processes as important factors contributing to drinking problems among Asian immigrants. Similarly, 45 percent of a sample of Cambodian refugee women acknowledged using alcohol for self-medication for life stress and pain(D'Avanzo et al. 1994).

Shin(1995) reported that Korean immigrants scored higher than other Asian immigrant groups in regard to the number of stressful life events and the prevalence of financial worries. For many Korean immigrant men having adjustment difficulties, drinking can be a means to cope with the stressful life situations(Rhee, 1997). By considering the fact that alcohol use of Korean immigrant men is one socially acceptable way to deal with life stressors, it can be hypothesized that Korean immigrant men may consume alcohol as an alternative means to cope with stressful environments faced in the process of adjustment to a major new society. Hence, there needs to be an examination of the effects stemming from alcohol use of Korean immigrant men in intimate relationships for Korean immigrants in the United States.

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Since the 1970s, domestic violence has been increasingly recognized as a crucial social problem. There is a great deal of historical evidence to show that female partners have always suffered violence from their male partners(Bible, Dasgupta, & Osthoff, 2003).

Despite the fact that the feminist movement revealed the significance of domestic violence, practical information on domestic violence, specifically for minority women in the United States, is not well known to the public.

There are many unofficial definitions of domestic violence. The lack of a formal definition is proving to be a barrier to finding resolutions to domestic violence. Consequently, different rates of domestic violence are considered depending on the benchmark the researchers apply.

There is increasing professional acknowledgment regarding emotional and sexual violence falling under the rubric of "domestic violence." This broader framework in the context of violence includes multi-dimensions of violent behavior that provokes considerable hurt for another(e.g., economic control or verbal assault). the broader definition of domestic violence is used in the current study in which the meaning of domestic violence contains multi-dimensions of violence; physical, emotional, and psychological violence.

Domestic Violence and Violence Experienced in Childhood

One of the most universally reported research findings regarding the etiology of domestic violence is that of childhood exposure to a violent family. Such ideas are based on social learning theories that propose that a child tends to emulate the behaviors of his parents as well as their attitudes(Corvo & Carpenter, 2000). From this perspective, it is assumed that a child in a violent home learns to use violence and fails to learn other more constructive methods of conflict resolution.

Whitfield, Anda, and Felitti(2003) found that witnessing violence between parents during childhood increased the probability of current domestic violence. It was also found that observing parental violence in childhood predicted an acceptance of domestic violence, which, in turn, predicted use of severe violence in the later intimate relationship. From comprehensive empirical literature reviews, both observation and experiences of parental abuse during childhood were more strongly predictive of the violent behavior in intimate relationships (Dunlap, Golub, Johnson, 2002; Holtzworth-Munroe & Stuart, 1994).

Compared to male batterers, relatively few ideas have been offered to describe how a woman learns to be vulnerability to violence from their violent experience in childhood. For example, women growing up in violent homes may come to believe that domestic violence is normal and acceptable, and, consequently, they may be more likely to tolerate such violence when it occurs in their own relationships. Some have theorized that women who have been victims of a violent family "may be provoking their own victimization in

their current families"(Cappell & Heiner, 1990, p. 130) to repeat violent behavioral patterns learned while growing up. However, as seen above, little research has been conducted with minority women growing up in violent families and their current violent situations.

Physical punishment imposed on children might be closely associated with domestic violence in a family(Doe, 2000).

According to Park's study(2001), Korean women reported physical punishment is an acceptable way to discipline children. That is, Korean immigrant women viewed physical punishment by parents as an acceptable discipline. They believe that physical punishment is one way parents show their love toward their children, which is consistent with Korean culture(Doe, 2000). There is a vital need for further comparative study to reveal the effects of violence experienced in childhood on Korean immigrant women experiencing violence in intimate relationships.

Domestic Violence and Alcohol Use by a Male Partner

One of the facts of domestic violence receiving attention has been the relationship of alcohol consumption to its occurrence. Excessive alcohol use is associated with a greater risk for domestic violence. Frequent alcohol use by the partner has been found to be the strongest predictor of domestic violence in couples seeking psychiatric therapy (Brecklin, 2002). Several studies(e.g., Brown et al., 1998 Holtaworth-Munroe et al., 1997) show that the degree of the relationship between alcohol use and domestic violence varies widely, with statistics ranging from as low as 25% to as high as 80%.

Alcohol use provides the individual with possible and/or acceptable coping strategies to deal with distress. This behavior may also represent a form of self-medication that functions to increase self-esteem and/or may act to decrease feelings of isolation and loneliness. In addition, alcohol use may provide an impermanent means to emotional and/or psychological escape from violent circumstances(Downs, Miller, & Testa, 1991 Harrison, Hoffmann, & Edwall, 1989). That is, alcohol use and domestic violence are related to each other in multifaceted ways(Collins, Kroutil, Roland, & Moore-Gurrera, 1997).

Surprisingly, few empirical studies have been conducted with different ethnic groups in assessing the effects of alcohol use on the incidence of domestic violence in intimate relationships. Some cultures may be more likely to accept alcohol use as well as violence in families, while others are more likely to inhibit these activities. In this way, these two factors and their relationships are very closely related to cultural aspects that each culture maintains as family values. That is, measuring alcohol use and domestic violence in terms

of ethnic cultural differences may be a key element in this field of study. Given the fact that domestic violence and alcohol use is prevalent throughout diverse ethnic societies, the empirical study with Korean immigrants investigating the association between alcohol use and domestic violence is greatly needed.

Domestic Violence and Stress

A number of theories have been offered to explain how life stress influences the likelihood of domestic violence. The more stressful situations experienced, the higher rate of violent behaviors between couples was reported(Felson,1996). The frustration-aggression hypothesis proposes that "frustrations generate aggressive inclinations to the degree that they arouse negative affect"(Berkowitz, 1989). Though those studies addressed how stress and violence in intimate relationships are related, most researchers believe that stress itself does not directly cause violence. Rather, violence is one of a number of possible responses in which an individual may engage when he or she encounters stressful events(Straus, 1990).

For Korean immigrants, it was found that life stress had significant negative effects on distress among Korean immigrant women. Immigration stress may be associated with a higher rate of domestic violence. According to the findings of Shin(1995)'s study, substantial dissimilarity in stress level was found between Korean immigrant men hitting female partners and those who did not. It was also found that batterers experienced higher level of stress than nonbatterers(Shin, 1995). Taking into account those facts, stress levels would be significantly relevant to the incidence of domestic violence among Korean immigrants. Hence, it is important to explore how stress plays a role in the domestic violence among Korean immigrant women.

METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the methodology of the current study. This research is an exploratory study to measure the incidence of domestic violence, the types of coping strategies, and related predictors for Korean immigrant women residing in Texas. The research questions and hypotheses are described. The specific research design, including sample, data collection procedure, instrumentation, measurement and data analysis, is illustrated.

Sample

One hundred and thirty six Korean immigrant women were recruited to participate in a survey from Austin and Dallas areas, which contain large Korean population in Texas. Because this study has a sample size of 136 with 19 independent variables, it does not satisfy the recommended ratio of 10:1 observations for each independent variable. This issue is discussed in detail in Chapter IV(p. 112). Korean immigrant women in this study included those aged 18 years or older, who are presently married, presently living as a male-female couple, or have been married.

All respondents resided in Austin and Dallas at time of participation. The sample was limited to those who are first generation immigrants who came to the U.S. after age sixteen. The rationale is that people who came to the U.S. before age 16 are likely to be "Americanized" so that their attitudes can not be assumed to be based on a Korean culture, as Noh and Avison(1996) indicate.

The rationale of collecting data from only Korean women is that there are few statistical figures measuring the incidence of domestic violence for Korean immigrant women for two reasons. First, due to cultural inhibitions, Korean immigrant women very rarely speak out and reveal such a shameful and private aspect of their lives. Second, research on domestic violence has not progressed enough to focus on data collection for specific ethnic groups, specifically Korean immigrant woman.

Data Collection Procedures

Data Collection

Several researchers(Kim & Hurh, 1984; Choy, 1979; Yoo, 1977) reported that it is difficult to obtain a study sample with regard to the Korean immigrant community. Therefore, respondents in the proposed study were recruited through purposive sampling. Steps were taken to explain the purpose of the study to the participants and to ascertain their willingness to participate in the study. This was done both individually and in groups. Because only Korean immigrant woman were targeted as a sample, places commonly most frequented by Korean women were a main source for the sample. The lists of sources are as follows: (a) Korean hair salons, (b) Korean nursery schools, (c)

Korean clothing stores, (d) Korean language schools, (e) Korean grocery stores, and (f) Korean private institutes.

Data was collected by means of a questionnaire. All questions were asked in Korean. All respondents were given a token to compensate them for their time to complete the survey. In the Korean culture, a gift is often used as a way of expressing appreciation. The respondents were given a consent form explaining the current study and asking for their consent to participate. The consent form explained that participation was voluntary, respondents can decide not to respond to any question asked, and their responses would be kept strictly confidential.

Variables

The following section shows the variables and the method of measurement used in the study. The questionnaire consists of the stress scale for Korean immigrants(Shin, 1995), The Alcohol Use Disorders Identification Test(AUDIT; Hodgson, Alwyn, John, Thom, & Smith, 2002), the Parent-Child Conflict Tactics Scales(CTSPC; Straus, 1999), the Revised Conflict Tactics Scales(CTS2; Straus, 1997), and demographic characteristics of the sample.

The researcher translated the questionnaire from English to Korean. The questionnaire was organized in a sequence beginning with stress, moving to sensitive areas of alcohol use of a male partner, violence experienced in childhood, and the incidence of domestic violence in intimate relationships, ending with demographic characteristics of the sample.

Data Analysis

Data analysis consisted of various descriptive and multivariate statistical techniques. The initial data analysis involved completing descriptive statistics relating to the characteristics of the sample. Descriptive statistics were used to describe demographic characteristics of respondents and to determine if there were any problems with the data set, including problems relating to assumptions needing to be met in order to complete higher order analyses. Multiple regression analysis was used to explore the relationship between the predictor variables on the levels of domestic violence.

RESULTS

Demographic Information

Among 142 cases, 6 cases were excluded from the analysis due to relatively high percentage of missing variables producing a total sample size of 136. The participants' age ranged from 21 to 63 years of age, with average age of 42.19 years($SD= 8.07$). The average length of residence participants lived in the U.S. ranged from 0 to 33 years, with an average of 13.39($SD=8.72$). In regard to their level of English proficiency, 84.5% of participants indicated that their English was "not fluent" or "poor". Most Korean immigrant women, 117 of 136(86%), indicated that they live with their husbands. The number of years of education the participants had completed ranged from 8 to 25 years, with a mean of 14.33 years($SD= 3.04$); 65.9% of participants reported that they had a college or higher degree. In terms of income, 60.3% of participants reported they earn more than \$4,000 in monthly household income. In regard to their religious involvement preference, 57.3% of participants reported that they were Protestant 34% of participants were Catholic.

Descriptive Statistics of the Independents Variables

Korean Immigrant Stress

Respondents' stress levels were measured by their immigrant status, including parenthood, culture/family, marital/work relationships, financial situation, immigration life. In terms of the parental stress, 87.5% of the respondents reported they experienced stress in child rearing, while 6.6% of respondents reported they did not experience any stress. When asked about the cultural/family value, 95.6% of the respondents indicated that they suffered from stress in the areas of cultural and family stress and 4.4% of the respondents reported that they never experienced any types of stress related to culture and family relations. In regard to marital/work stress, 86.8% of the respondents stated that they felt stress, while 9.6% of the respondents reported that they never felt any stress. Additionally, 81.6% of the respondents reported they experienced stress due to financial problems, while only 7.4% of them reported that they never faced any financial difficulties. Most respondents, 95.6%, showed that they experienced stress due to immigration life, 3.7% of

the respondents reported they did not experience immigration stress.

Alcohol Use by a Male Partner

Alcohol use of male partners reported by their female partners who participated in this study. In this study, 23.5% of respondents stated their male partners were abstainers, while 70.6% of respondents reported that their male partners consumed at least one glass of alcohol at least once a month. Approximately half, 51.5%, of the respondents reported that their male partners did not show any sign of alcohol dependence, but 41.2% of the respondents indicated they noticed their male partners had abnormal drinking behavior and alcohol dependence. In regard to alcohol-related problems, 63.2% of the respondents reported their male partners did not show drinking problems, whereas 30.9% of the respondents reported alcohol-related problem occurred by male partners.

Violence Experienced in Childhood

Most respondents, 72.8%, reported experience of physical assault in childhood, whereas 25.7% of the respondents never experience physical abuse as a child. When asked about psychological aggression, 73.5% of the respondents reported experiencing psychological aggression during their childhood; 23.5 % of the respondents did not experience psychological assault.

Descriptive Statistics of the Dependent Variables

Domestic Violence

Table 1 shows descriptive statistics of the dependent variables regarding the incidence of domestic violence and coping strategies. In this study, the dependent variables domestic violence were measured in four areas: physical assault, psychological aggression, negotiation skills, and injury. The respondents participating in the survey were asked whether they experienced violence in their intimate relationship. Table 1 provides Korean women' experiences related to violence experience.

The results show that 70.6% of Korean women reported no experience of physical assault in their intimate relationships. Approximately 30% of Korean women reported they

have experienced physical assault by their male partners in the past year. In regard to psychological aggression, the results revealed that 72.8% of Korean women experienced psychological aggression, while 27.2% of respondents reported no experience. Most Korean women, 91.9%, reported that they used some types of negotiation skills in conflict situation with their partners, while only 8.1% of the respondents reported they never used negotiations methods to deal with disagreement. In addition, 75% of Korean women reported that they never experienced any injury, while 25% of them experienced injury occurred by their male partners.

<Table 1>. Violence Experience

(N=136)

| Variable | Frequency | Percent | Valid percent | Cumulative percent |
|--------------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Physical Assault | | | | |
| No | 96 | 70.6 | 70.6 | 70.6 |
| Yes | 40 | 29.4 | 29.4 | 100 |
| Total | 136 | 100 | 100 | |
| Missing | 0 | 0 | | |
| Psychological Aggression | | | | |
| No | 37 | 27.2 | 27.2 | 27.2 |
| Yes | 99 | 72.8 | 72.8 | 100 |
| Total | 136 | 100 | 100 | |
| Missing | 0 | 0 | | |
| Negotiation Skills | | | | |
| No | 11 | 8.1 | 8.1 | 8.1 |
| Yes | 125 | 91.9 | 91.9 | 100 |
| Total | 136 | 100 | 100 | |
| Missing | 0 | 0 | | |
| Injury | | | | |
| No | 102 | 75.0 | 75.0 | 75.0 |
| Yes | 34 | 25.0 | 25.0 | 100 |
| Total | 136 | 100 | 100 | |
| Missing | 0 | 0 | | |

Multiple Regression

Domestic violence was assessed in four areas: physical assault, psychological aggression,

nonviolent skills, and injury. Each area was analyzed separately. To explore what variables affect each subcategory of domestic violence, initially, a hierarchical multiple regression approach was planned to assess the effects of individual characteristics on levels of domestic violence. However, a sample size of 136 with 19 independent variables could not be performed because it does not satisfy the ratio of 10:1. The ratio of 10:1 states that for each independent variable, there must be at least 10 subjects(Hair et al., 1995).

The alternative method to assess the effects of independent variables was to create five different models. The first model only assessed the effects of Demographics/Korean women's characteristics on domestic violence. Subsequent models, specifically model 2, 3, and 4, measured the effects of demographics/Korean women's characteristics and one of the other independent variables(i.e., stress, alcohol use of a male partner, and violence experienced in childhood) on domestic violence. The final model(Model 5) extracted the significant variables from Models 1-4 and these variables were then assessed in order to determine the predictors on domestic violence.

The five models are listed below:

- Model 1: Demographics/Korean women's characteristics(age, length of residence, English proficiency, education, income, religious involvement, gender role, and acculturation)
- Model 2: Demographics/Korean women's characteristics and Korean immigrant stress (parental, cultural/family, marital/work, financial, immigration stress)
- Model 3: Demographics/Korean women's characteristics and alcohol use of a male partner(alcohol consumption, alcohol dependence, and at risk drinking)
- Model 4: Demographics/Korean women's characteristics and violence experienced as a child(physical assault as a child, psychological aggression as a child, and nonviolent discipline as a child)
- Model 5: All significant independent variables were extracted and tested(income, religious involvement, acculturation, alcohol consumption, alcohol dependence, and physical assault as a child).

In Model 5, all statistically significant independent variables from the previous Models were entered into a multiple regression analysis. Model 5 included the following significant variables: education, income, religious involvement, gender role, acculturation, alcohol consumption, alcohol dependence, at-risk drinking, and physical assault as a child. Table 2 showed the results of this analysis. Overall, there was a strong relationship between all independent variables and levels of domestic violence. First of all, religious involvement, alcohol consumption, alcohol dependence, and physical assault as a child had statistically

significant relationships with physical assault($R^2 = .776$, $F=63.615$, $p<.000$), whereas demographic variables(i.e., education, income, gender role, and acculturation) did not have significant relationships with physical assault.

In addition, income, religious involvement, acculturation, alcohol consumption, alcohol dependence, and physical assault as a child had statistically significant relationships with psychological aggression($R^2 = .819$, $F=82.821$, $p<.000$), whereas education, gender role, and at-risk drinking did not have significant relationships with psychological aggression. Moreover, religious involvement, alcohol consumption, alcohol dependence, and physical assault as a child had statistically significant relationships with injury($R^2 = .751$, $F=55.185$, $p<.000$), whereas education, income, gender role, acculturation, and at-risk drinking did not significant relationships with injury.

<Table 2> Model 5: Statistically Significant Variables

| Variable | B | SE | Beta | Sig. | R2 | Adj. R2 |
|---------------------------------|--------|------|-------|-------|------|---------|
| <i>Physical Assault</i> | | | | | .766 | .745 |
| Religious involvement | 1.276 | .357 | .215 | .001* | | |
| Alcohol consumption | -1.238 | .306 | -.336 | .000* | | |
| Alcohol dependence | 1.270 | .576 | .285 | .030* | | |
| At-risk drinking | 1.207 | .569 | .265 | .036* | | |
| Physical assault | .501 | .062 | .472 | .000* | | |
| <i>Psychological Aggression</i> | | | | | .810 | .793 |
| Income | -.471 | .199 | -.113 | .020* | | |
| Religious involvement | 1.106 | .309 | .194 | .001* | | |
| Acculturation | -1.067 | .472 | -.117 | .026* | | |
| Alcohol consumption | -.847 | .265 | -.239 | .002* | | |
| Alcohol dependence | 2.752 | .498 | .643 | .000* | | |
| Physical assault | .471 | .054 | .462 | .000* | | |
| <i>Injury</i> | | | | | .763 | .742 |
| Religious involvement | 1.681 | .289 | .352 | .000* | | |
| Alcohol consumption | -.924 | .248 | -.311 | .000* | | |
| Alcohol dependence | .969 | .466 | .270 | .040* | | |
| Physical assault | .438 | .050 | .512 | .000* | | |

* $p < .05$

DISCUSSION

It is found that religious involvement and alcohol use by a male partner(i.e., alcohol consumption, alcohol dependence, and at-risk drinking) are significant predictors of physical assault. Income, acculturation, religious involvement, male partner's alcohol use, and physical assault in childhood are predictive factors of psychological aggression. Three factors, which include religious involvement, male partner's alcohol use, and physical assault in childhood, are predictors of injury.

Several studies have reported that religious attendance, devotion, or both are positively related to various indicators of marital quality and success(Dudley & Kosinski, 1990; Fiese & Tomcho, 2001). Religious commitment/ involvement may be inversely associated with the perpetration of domestic violence. In contrast, however, the results of this study demonstrate that religious affiliation and involvement is positively associated with the incidence of domestic violence among Korean immigrant women.

Within the present sample, as expected, a lower level of acculturation is associated with more psychological assault perpetrated by a male partner. Korean immigrant women in more traditional families experience more violence than Korean immigrant women in less traditional families. As previously discussed in the current study, Korean immigrants' own family traditions do not reduce the likelihood of domestic violence in intimate relationships. Several studies(Hong, 1993; Song, 1996) also point out the uniqueness of Korean cultural features that should be considered in social services for immigrants.

Unexpectedly, this study reveals that life stress is not directly related to the incidence of domestic violence as it has been hypothesized. These results are consistent with the findings of Hong's(1993) as well as Shin'(1995) studies. Stress may also arise uniquely from the process of acculturation. In general, one may expect acculturative stress to increase domestic violence. However, this study shows that life stress resulting from immigration process is not predictive of the probability of domestic violence in intimate relationships among Korean immigrant women. Considering this finding, we may assume that the life stresses resulting from immigrant's status could indirectly make it more difficult to deal with violent relationships.

In this study, Korean immigrant women report that 23.5% of male partners are abstainers, while 70.6% of them consumed alcohol in the past year. The results of this study are inconsistent with the results of previous studies. According to the findings of Shin(1995), approximately 43% of Korean immigrant men have abstained from alcohol use. Chi et al(1989) also reported that 44.5% of Korean immigrant men abstained from alcohol

use. An explanation for the inconsistency between this study and previous studies can be attributed to the use of different instruments to measure alcohol consumption. Since the previous studies employed a scale that detected alcoholism, the results of this study, which uses screening for a comprehensive assessment of alcohol use, are not consistent with their findings. Another possible reason for the discrepancy in the frequency of alcohol drinking by Korean men may be because Korean immigrant men under report how often they drink. This may be due to the fact that the respondents in this study are not Korean immigrant men but rather Korean immigrant women. In other words, Korean immigrant men who participate in previous studies may have attempted to minimize or under report their alcohol use.

This study shows that physical assault experienced in childhood is associated with domestic violence in later intimate relationships. The more Korean immigrant women experience physical assault in their childhood, the more they encounter domestic violence in adulthood. As social learning theory(Kalmuss, 1984) suggests, experiencing parental violence not only teaches violent behavior, but also leads to permissive attitudes towards violence. Because this is the only study to explore the relationship between violence experienced in childhood and later violence in intimate relationships among Korean immigrant women, there is no study to compare or to support the results of this study. Similarly, Shin(1995) reported that most Korean immigrant batterers(80.2%) were exposed to parental violence in their childhood; exposure to parental violence in childhood was one of predictors of the incidence of domestic violence among Korean immigrant batterers.

Previous studies(Doe, 2000; Park, 2001) have indicated that physical punishment is prevalent in Korean society. Physical punishment served as a disciplinary which has not been viewed as a problem because children are perceived as parental possessions. This is supported by this study's findings which show that 72.8% of Korean immigrant women experience physical assault perpetuated by their parents, while 73.5% of Korean women report psychological abuse perpetrated by their parents in their childhood.

Implications for Social Work

The objective of the study is intended to explore predictors influencing the incidence of domestic violence and coping strategies. This study suggests several important issues which can be incorporated into social work areas. If these issues can be addressed in further social work practice, research, and policy, then this will greatly contribute to the

knowledge base about Korean immigrant women, who were not focused on in previous studies.

Implications for Social Work Practice

This study emphasizes the importance of a multi-dimensional approach in identifying predictors of the incidence of domestic violence and the coping strategies among Korean immigrant women. Clinicians need to assess clients' cultural characteristics, life stress, alcohol use by a male partner, and childhood violent experiences, especially those including physical assault by parents in order to explain the causes of domestic violence and the unique coping behaviors used by Korean immigrant women.

Most of the problems the Asian immigrant women experienced were based on cultural differences. It is imperative for social service professionals to consider their level of acculturation. Huang(1997) proposes that practitioners conduct ethnocultural assessments focusing on specific sociocultural factors, as well as standard assessments, when working with culturally different women. Practical strategies with an ethnically/culturally sensitive approach must be developed for Korean immigrants, especially women, in order to increase the utilization of social services.

Societal views of Asians Americans as a model minority group influence their help-seeking behavior. The general misperception of the public is that Asian immigrants have no serious problems with violence or service needs, which may explain why Asian Americans are often excluded from, or overlooked by, social services(Chiu & Ring, 1998). Since Asian Americans typically tend to underutilize social services(Yamashiro & Matsuoka, 1997), Korean immigrant women rarely utilize professional/social service. This is mainly due to cultural factors such as cultural stigmas of losing face with emotional expression, a lack of familiarity or a misconception of traditional counseling, strong religious affiliation, and/or language barriers. In addition, improper Westernized social services, a dearth of culturally sensitive workers, and a lack of alternatives to the traditional service approach interfere with Korean immigrant women's access to social services(Yeh & Wang, 2000).

Korean churches may be an ideal site for social workers to reach more Korean immigrants and to provide preventive/educational programs for them. As Kim and Hurh(1993) indicated, approximately 70% of Korean immigrants are affiliated with Korean churches, although many of them were not church goers before the immigration to the United States. Korean immigrants are more likely to build their social networks through the churches and to receive various formal and informal services from Korean churches.

Korean immigrants may feel comfortable sharing their problems with the religious community, which they consider part of their family. This could be related to the fact that the church plays the role of extended family for many Korean immigrants(Kim, 1997).

Religious commitment also appears to significantly contribute to the client's willingness to seek help(Guinee & Tracey, 1997). Yeh and Wang(2000) reported that Korean American students were significantly more likely to report coping strategies for mental health problems that involve talking to a religious leader or engaging in religious activities (praying, going to church, attending a religious ceremony or activity). The religious community, including religious leaders, pastors, or clergy, may be viewed as an extension of the family for Korean immigrants. Talking with a pastor may be, therefore, a normalized and acceptable coping strategy since the pastor is respected within the Korean immigrant community. Given the results of the previous studies described above, religious commitment may be a critical factor in determining coping strategies among Korean immigrants.

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요약본

연구목적

1970년대 이후로 미국의 이민인구가 급증하였으며, 한인 이민자들은 가장 빠르게 증가하는 이민집단이다. 현재, 한국이민자들은 아시안계 미국인중 5번째로 큰 이민집단이다. 현재 미국에서는 1,076,872명의 한국이민자들이 거주하고 있다(U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000).

2000년도에 발간된 The U.S. Department of Justice Bureau of Justice Statistics에 의하면, 가정폭력은 현재 또는 이전 배우자, 남자친구 또는 여자친구에 의해 가해진 폭력범죄라고 정의하고 있다. 현재 미국에서 적어도 900,000명의 여성들이 배우자 폭력을 경험한다고 보고되고 있다(The U.S. Department of Justice, 2000). The National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS)에서 8,000명의 여성과 남성을 대상으로 전국적인 전화설문조사를 실시하였다. 그 결과 4.8백만의 여성들이 매년 배우자의 폭력과 강간의 희생자로 나타났다. 대략, 25%의 여성들은 가정폭력을 적어도 한번은 경험한 것으로 보고 되었다(National Violence Against Women Survey, 2000).

The National Violence Against Women Survey에 의하면, 아시안계 미국여성들은 어떤 종류의 신체적 폭력에 대해서도 공식적으로 거의 보고하는 않는 경향이 있다고 한다. 가정폭력의 위험요소에도 불구하고, 미국내 소수민족의 가정폭력에 관한 연구는 거의 이루어지지 않고 있다 (Yoshioka & Dang, 2000). 즉, 배우자의 폭력에 대해서 다양한 인종집단에 대한 실증적 비교연구는 거의 없는 실정이다.

스트레스상황에 의해 유도된 심리학적 스트레스의 증가는 배우자관계에서의 폭력을 설명하는 요인이라고 밝혀졌다(Tein, Sandler, & Zautra, 2000). 여러 선행연구들(Ben-David & Lavee, 1994; Short & Johnston, 1997)은 새로운 사회에 적응하는 과정에서 이민자들이 많은 스트레스를 경험한다고 지적하였다. 이민이 스트레스를 받고 상처받을 수 있는 경험이라는 것을 고려해 볼 때, 한국 이민자들이 높은 수준의 생활스트레스 속에 살고 있음을 추측해 볼 수 있다. 그러므로, 한국이민자들이 경험하는 스트레스를 조사해보는 것이 필요할 것이다.

남성배우자의 음주는 폭력적 행동에서 가장 보편적인 변인으로 간주되어왔다(Brecklin, 2002). 음주는 배우자의 폭력을 설명하는 한 이유가 되며, 용서를 구하는 원인이 되기도 한다. 음주는 절반이상의 가정폭력 사건과 관계가 있으며, 대다수의 가정폭력범이 음주를 했을 때 체포되었다(Bergman & Brismar, 1993; Collins & Messerschmidt, 1993). 많은 연구들이(e.g., Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1998; Leonard & Quigley, 1999; Pernanen, 1991) 음주를 하는 남성 가해자들이 대략 6-85%의 여성배우자 공격에 관련이 있다고 지적하였다. Brecklin(2002)의 연구결과를 보면, 학대자의 음주는 신체적 상해와 더 많은 관련이 있다고 보고되었다. 즉, 가정폭력과 음주와의 관계는 보편적이라고 볼 수 있다.

아동기 폭력경험은 배우자간의 폭력원인중의 가장 중요한 원인으로 널리 알려져 있다 (Corvo & Carpenter, 2000). 많은 실증적 연구들은(Langhinrichsen-Rohling, Neidig, & Thorn, 1995; Whitfield, Anda, & Felitti, 2003) 아동기의 폭력 경험이 가정폭력과 상당히 연관되어 있다고 보고하였다. 비록 남성가해자의 아동기 폭력경험과 이후 가정폭력과의 관계가 명확할지라도, 폭력을 경험한 여성들이 더 많이 가정폭력의 희생자가 될 것이라 것도 제안되어졌다 (Holtzworth-Munroe, Smutzler, & Sandin, 1997). 즉, 배우자 폭력은 아동이 성인기에 건강한 관계를 맺을 수 있는 능력을 발달시키는 것을 저해하는 원인이라 볼 수 있다.

여러 선행연구들이(Hong, 1993; Kim & Sung, 2000; Shin, 1995; Song, 1996; Yim, 1979) 한국이민자들의 가정폭력 발생빈도를 조사하려고 시도하였다. 그러나 오직 한 연구만이 아동기 폭력경험을 배우자관계의 가정폭력발생의 중요 원인으로 포함시켰다. 한국이민자들이 비교적 최근에 이주한 이민집단이므로, 미국에 거주하는 한국 이민자들에 대한 연구가 많지 않다. 따라서, 한국이민자들의 아동기 폭력경험에 관한 연구결과들은 상당히 제한적이다.

한인이민여성의 가정폭력 발생빈도를 연구하는데 있어, 본 연구는 생활스트레스, 남성배우자의 음주, 아동기폭력경험과 한인이민여성들의 인구통계학적/문화적 특징을 주요변인으로 설정하였다.

연구방법론

본 연구에서는 텍사스 오스틴과 달라스에 거주하는 136명의 한인여성이민자들이 참여하였다. 모든 연구대상자들은 연구 참여 시기에 텍사스 오스틴과 달라스에 거주하였다. 연구대상자들은 16세 이후에 미국에 이민 온 이민 1세대로 제한되었다. 연구대상을 제한한 이유는 Noh와 Avison(1996)이 지적한 것처럼, 16세 이전에 미국에 온 이민자들은 “미국화”된 태도를 가지고 있기 때문이다.

한인이민여성만을 연구대상으로 선정한 근거는 한인이민여성에 관한 가정폭력발생을 조사한 정확한 통계적 수치가 없다는 점이다. 이에 대한 이유는 첫 번째, 한인이민 여성들이 그들의 개인적인 생활문제에 대해서 거의 이야기를 하지 않을 뿐 아니라 외부에 공개되는 것을 수치라고 생각하기 때문이다. 두 번째로는, 가정폭력에 관한 연구는 한인 이민여성과 같은 특정한 인종집단에 관한 충분한 연구결과가 없기 때문이다.

자료조사절차

자료수집

선행연구(Kim & Hurh, 1984)에서 지적된 것처럼, 한인이민사회에서 연구 자료를 구하는 것은 매우 어렵다. 그리하여, 본 연구에서는 계획적인 샘플링 방법을 통하여 연구대상을 선정하였다. 첫 번째로 연구 참여자에게 연구목적을 설명한 자발적으로 연구 참여에 동의한 집단만을 연구대상으로 선정하였다. 이러한 선정단계는 개별적으로 또는 집단적으로 이루어졌다. 한인이민여성들만을 연구대상으로 선정하였으므로 한인여성들이 많이 이용하는 다음과 같은 장소에서 이루어졌다: 1) 한인 미용실; 2) 한인유아원; 3) 한인 한글학교; 4) 한인 마켓; 5) 한인 사설학원.

연구 자료는 설문지를 이용하여 수집되었다. 모든 질문지는 한글로 구성되었다. 모든 연구 참여자는 설문지조사후에 연구자로부터 감사의 선물을 받았다. 연구대상자는 본 연구대한 설명을 들은 다음에 연구참여 동의를 받았다. 연구참여 동의서는 연구대상자들이 자발적으로 연구에 참여하고 원하지 않는 질문에 응답하지 않을 수 있으며 연구참여에 관한 모든 것은 비밀보장이 이루어 진다는 것을 설명서가 첨부되었다.

측정도구

본 연구에 사용된 측정도구는 다음과 같다.

스트레스: Stress Scale for Korean Immigrants(Shin, 1995). 배우자의 음주: The Alcohol Use Disorders Identification Test(AUDIT; Hodgson, Alwyn, John, Thom, & Smith, 2002). 아동기의 학대경험 : The Parent-Child Conflict Tactics Scales (CTS2; Straus, 1999). 가정폭력: The Revised Conflict Tactics Scales(CTS2; Straus, 1997). 인구사회학적 조사

연구자는 모든 설문지를 영어에서 한글로 번역하였다. 본 설문지는 스트레스, 배우자의 음주, 아동기의 폭력경험, 가정폭력, 인구사회학적 조사의 순서로 구성되었다.

자료분석

본 연구 자료는 기술통계(descriptive statistics)와 중다회귀분석(multivariate statistics)을 이용하여 분석되었다.

인구사회학적 조사

본 연구대상자의 연령별 분포는 21-63세이었으며, 평균연령은 42.19세였다. 미국에 거주한

기간은 0-33년이었으며, 평균거주기간은 13.39년이었다. 영어구사능력수준은 연구대상자의 84.5%가 “유창하지 못함” 또는 “잘못함”으로 응답하였다. 86%의 한인여성들은 남편과 함께 거주한다고 보고하였다. 연구대상자들의 교육받은 기간은 8-25년이었으며, 평균교육기간은 14.33이였다. 소득수준을 살펴보면, 60.3%가 월평균 \$4,000이상이라고 보고하였다. 57.3%의 연구대상자들은 기독교인이었고 34%의 연구대상자들은 천주교인이었다.

한인이민여성의 스트레스 수준

스트레스는 부모역할, 문화/가족, 부부/직장 관계, 경제적 상황, 이민생활의 하위영역별로 측정되었다. 87.5%의 한인이민여성들은 아동양육에 관한 스트레스를 경험하였다고 보고하였다. 95.6%의 응답자들은 문화 또는 가족갈등으로 스트레스를 경험했으며, 86.8%는 부부/직장에서 관계 때문에 스트레스를 경험하였다. 81.6%는 경제적인 어려움 때문에, 95.6%는 이민생활 때문에 스트레스를 경험했다고 보고하였다.

배우자의 음주

23.5%의 한인이민여성들은 남성배우자가 음주를 전혀 하지 않는다고 응답하였다. 그러나, 70.6%의 응답자들은 남성배우자가 적어도 한달에 한번씩 한잔정도의 음주를 한다고 보고하였다. 51.5%의 응답자들은 남성배우자가 알콜의존의 증후를 보이지 않는다고 하였으나, 41.2%는 남성배우자가 알콜관련문제나 알콜의존증후를 보였다고 답하였다.

아동기의 폭력경험

72.8%의 한인여성들은 아동기에 부모로부터 신체적 학대를 경험하였으며, 73.5%는 아동기에 심리적 학대를 받았다고 보고하였다

가정폭력

29.4%의 한인여성들은 남성배우자로부터 신체적 폭력을 당하였다고 보고하였다. 72.8%의 한인여성들은 심리적 폭력을 경험하였다고 응답하였으며, 25%는 남성배우자로부터 폭력을 당하여 신체적 상해를 경험하였다.

중다회귀분석결과

본 연구에서는 연구대상 집단의 수와 독립변인수의 비율이 맞지 않는 관계로 인하여 중다회귀분석을 다음과 같은 방법으로 응용하여 적용하였다.

1단계: 인구사회학적 변인

2단계: 인구사회학적 변인 + 스트레스 하위변인

3단계: 인구사회학적 변인 + 남성배우자의 음주 하위변인

4단계: 인구사회학적 변인 + 아동기의 폭력경험 하위변인

5단계: 상위단계에서 나온 의미있는 독립변인

5단계 모델에서 설정된 독립변인은 다음과 같다: 교육, 수입, 종교적 참여, 성역할, 적응수준, 알콜소비량, 알콜 의존도, 위협수준의 알콜, 아동기의 신체적 학대. 종속변인 가정폭력은 다음과 같은 하위영역별로 측정되었다: 신체적 폭력, 심리적 폭력, 상해 중다회귀분석결과, 종교적 참여, 알콜소비, 알콜의존도, 아동기의 신체적 학대는 배우자와의 관계에서 신체적 폭력과 의미있는 관계가 있다고 나타났다. 그러나, 교육, 수입, 성역할, 적응수준은 남성배우자의 신체적 폭력과 관련이 없는 것으로 나타났다. 한인이민여성이 남성배우자로부터 받는 심리적 폭력과 관련이 있는 변인은 수입, 종교적 참여, 적응정도, 알콜소비량, 알콜의존도, 아동기의 심리적 학대인 것으로 나타났다. 한편, 교육, 성역할, 위협수준의 알콜은 한인여성이 배우자와의 관계에서 경험하는 심리적 폭력과 관련이 없는 것으로 나타났다. 종교적 참여, 알콜소비량, 알콜의존도, 아동기의 폭력경험은 한인이민여성들의 상해를 예측할 수 있는 변인으로 나타났으며, 교육, 수입, 성역할, 적응수준, 위협수준의 알콜은 관련이 없는 변인으로 나타났다.

결론 및 함의

본 연구결과에서 종교적 참여는 한인여성들의 가정폭력과 의미 있는 관계가 있는 요인으로 밝혀졌다. 선행연구(Dudley & Kosinski, 1990; Fiese & Tomcho, 2001)를 살펴보면, 종교적 참여는 가정폭력을 줄이는 요인이라고 보고 되었다. 즉 본연구결과는 선행연구결과와 일치하는 않는 분석결과를 보였다. 한편 이민생활의 스트레스는 가정폭력과 관련이 없는 요인으로 나타났는데, 이러한 본 연구결과는 Hong(1993)과 Shin(1995)의 연구결과와 일치하고 있다. 본 연구결과에서 나타난 남성배우자의 음주는 선행연구(Shin, 1995; Chi et al, 1989)와 상반된 결과를 보였는데, 이는 선행연구와 본 연구에서 다른 측정도구를 사용한 것으로 추측된다. 선행연구에서는 알콜중독을 측정하는 도구를 사용하였으며, 본 연구에서는 일상생활에서의 음주수준을 측정하는 도구를 사용하였다. 또한, 선행연구에서는 연구대상자들이 한인남성들이어서, 음주양이나 음주관련문제에 관한 보고를 줄여서 했을 가능성이 있었다. 그러나 본 연구에서는 여성배우자가 남성배우자의 음주행동에 대해서 보고를 했으므로 선행연구와 다른 결과를 보였다. 선행연구 (Doe, 2000; Park, 2001)에서 지적한 바와 같이, 많은 한인여성들이 아동기에 신체적 학대를 경험하였으며, 이러한 아동기 신체적 학대는 이후 가정폭력을 예측하는 변인으로 나타났다. 한인이민자들은 문화적으로 서비스기관을 이용하는 것을 많이 꺼리고 있다. 그러나 많은 한인이민자들이 한인교회를 가고 있다는 점을 고려해 볼 때 한인이민여성들의 가정폭력문제를 해결하기 위해 한인교회를 적극적으로 이용하는 것을 고려해볼 수 있다. 한인교

회가 종교적인 장소뿐 아니라 한인이민사회의 집합적 기관임을 적극활용하여 한인이민자들의 가정문제, 특히 가정폭력문제를 줄이는데 많은 공헌을 하도록 해야 할 것이다.