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Asian & Pacific Islander
Institute on Domestic Violence
APIA Health Forum

Engendering Change:
Transforming Gender Roles In
Asian & Pacific Islander Communities

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APIAHF ASIAN & PACIFIC ISLANDER AMERICAN HEALTH FORUM

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INTRODUCTION

The anti-domestic violence movement has been remarkably successful at increasing resources and recourses for battered women but it has not stopped men's violence. Its significant public policy gains have brought backlash and unintended consequences – the former fueled by opposition to notions of gender equity; the latter by institutional racism. Some activists assert that the successes associated with criminalizing domestic violence have contributed to the over-representation of people of color in the criminal justice and other systems.[1] Furthermore, poor, culturally and racially marginalized women have not benefited equally from reformed systems. Although Batterer Intervention Programs have proliferated, their successes are debatable: a recent study indicates no significant differences on re-offense rates or on attitudes to domestic violence.[2] Prevention has yet to change abusive men's attitudes or re-define gender roles.

Engendering Change: Transforming Gender Roles in Asian & Pacific Islander Communities is a project of the Asian & Pacific Islander Institute on Domestic Violence. This report grew out of a round-table discussion, convened by the API Institute, inviting battered women's advocates and providers of Batterer Intervention Programs (BIPs) with the following objectives: (1) To address the intersections of race, class and gender; (2) To articulate how advocates and providers can forge theory and practice about BIPs and men's work in ending violence against API women; and (3) To identify culturally contextualized principles and practices that can transform gender roles in API communities. Changing gender roles is an extensive, multi-disciplinary topic that includes sociology, anthropology, gender studies, etc., but that is not what we are trying to cover here. As Asian and Pacific Islander advocates, we came to the table formulate questions and issues we need to address and confront in our communities. This report marks the beginnings of many such conversations.

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[1] Ms. Foundation for Women (2003), *Safety & Justice For All: Examining the Relationship Between the Women's Anti-Violence Movement and the Criminal Legal System* New York: Author.

[2] National Institute of Justice (2003), *Batterer Intervention Programs*. Washington D.C. U.S. Department of Justice

I Maintaining Gender Roles: Socio-Structural Reinforcements

Gender roles are perpetuated and reinforced by cultural beliefs and norms based on the devaluation of women and legitimized by familial, social and institutional structures. In this section, we briefly analyze the social structures that maintain gender roles and some of the culturally relevant issues around domestic violence in Asian and Pacific Islander communities.

1. Systemic gender violence

Violence against women maintains the structures of gender oppression; be it carried out by individual actors in private and/or by institutional forces in public. Gender violence can be experienced in the context of additional oppressions based on race, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation, gender identity, type of labor being performed, level of education, class position, disability, or immigration/refugee status. Domestic violence is more than a series of private incidents; creating a climate of fear, effecting disempowerment and reinforcing male entitlement. The presence of domestic violence tells us about the presence of inequality in a relationship and the extent of the violence tells us about the extent of inequality in that relationship. All too often communities and social, legal and civic institutions covertly and overtly endorse gender inequality, not seeing it as problematic because women and men are expected to follow prescribed roles.

Lifetime Spiral of Gender Violence
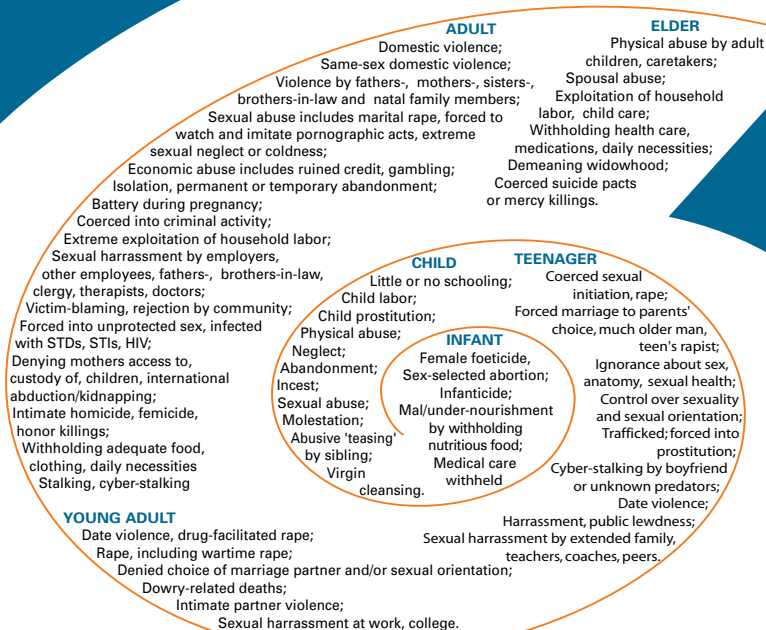
Gendered harms[3] describe a spectrum of violence that violates bodily integrity and personhood. The Lifetime Spiral of Gender Violence[4] describes the potential for violence across the female lifespan, confined to one or continuing into several stages in the life-cycle. Emphasizing the historical nature of violence over the lifetime demonstrates that it is not an unfortunate aberration, or a matter of bad judgment or bad luck, but a systematically entrenched structure of society. We constantly need to connect how changes in the landscape of violence affect gender roles because technologies of violence establish new forms of gender role enforcements. For example, violence against women in conflict/war zones includes forcing young girls to join armies to cook, clean and be sexually exploited by male combatants.

2. Culture

Culture is used to justify the status quo of gender inequality and violence against women. Tradition is evoked – cultural beliefs about how women should be treated and how they should behave justify family violence by individuals. The defense of the culture of a place, country, religion, etc., is in fact a defense of the culture of patriarchy in that country, religion, identity; and the culture of violence everywhere. Cultural explanations protect how patriarchy is expressed and reinforced in a particular space in order to justify gender inequity and violence. So, conventional notions of culture must be challenged in order to change its patriarchal traditions of misogyny.

In culturally specific Batterer Intervention Programs, although perpetrators ostensibly look for authentication of their cultural identity, they are actually looking for authentication of their patriarchal identity. So it becomes important that therapists, communities and advocates do not collude with gratifying this need by upholding culturally approved notions of gender hegemony.

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[3] Kathleen Daly, 2002. Sexual Assault and Restorative Justice, *Restorative Justice and Family Violence*, Cambridge University Press.

[4] Asian & Pacific Islander Institute on Domestic Violence, 2002, *Domestic Violence in API Communities: Summit Proceedings*. San Francisco: Author. http://www.apiahf.org/apidvinstitute/GenderViolence/analyze_a.htm

3. Patriarchy

Patriarchy is about the social relations of power between men and women, women and women, and men and men. It is a system for maintaining class, race and/or gender privilege and the status quo of power. It relies both on crude mechanisms like oppression and subtle ones like the law. Although patriarchy is mostly about oppressing women, it is also about controlling men. The 'rule of thumb' is a good example: it gave a man legal permission to batter his wife; but by stipulating that wife-beaters could only use a stick no thicker than their thumb, it served as a way of controlling the extent of men's violence.[5] So male violence was legitimized, yet controlled by the patriarchal structures of society. Patriarchy is thus an enforcer of traditional gender and class relations, and the most significant contributor to sexism and misogyny. Patriarchy has deep roots in almost all cultures, including American ones. What varies is the degree and rigidity with which patriarchy prescribes and then maintains gender roles. Finally, de-linking domestic violence from patriarchy and misogyny reduces it to individual pathology and minimizes the impact of institutionalized male domination over women and children.

4. Culturally relevant issues about violence against API women

The issues described below do not apply universally to all Asians and Pacific Islanders, or even to all members of one particular ethnic group but they occur with sufficient frequency to claim that violence against API women can have different dynamics.

Multiple Batterers In addition to an intimate, violence can be perpetrated by mothers-in-law, fathers-in-law, brothers-in law or sisters-in-law; ex-wives or new wives; adult siblings or children; and/or male and female members of a woman's natal family. The implications of having multiple batterers in the home include: greater or more severe injuries; family collusion and increased impunity; legal remedies requiring protection orders against several individuals; deeply internalized victim-blaming and devaluation by survivors; uncomprehending systems that respond inadequately; and diminished credibility afforded to battered women by systems, communities and families.

In-laws as Abusers and Batterers Extended families, in contrast to nuclear ones, obtain in many Asian cultures. A woman's marital home may include her husband's parents, his unmarried siblings, his brothers and their wives, and his sisters and their husbands. In-laws may live under the same roof or separately, in the U.S. or in the home country. The degree to which they have a hold on a couple is not only governed by geographical proximity but by expectations of filial duty and adherence to family customs and community norms. Extended families have multiple configurations of power. For instance, a batterer's father may retain overall power as the family patriarch. The batterer's mother, to reinforce her own authority and ward off any real or imagined displacement within the family hierarchy, may carry out verbal, mental or physical abuse on her incoming daughter-in-law or aid in her son's violence towards his wife. Brothers- and sisters-in-law may mistreat the batterer's wife to consolidate their own power in the household.

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[5]   Linda Gordon, 1988. *Heroes of Our Own Lives* Viking Press

Push & Pull Factors API battered women experience 'push' factors out of the relationship from their partners ("leave the house, I can always find another wife, I don't want you and these children around, etc.") more frequently than 'pull' factors ("come back to me, I won't do it again," etc.) back into the relationship. These factors affect how women's agency is understood: about decisions to stay or leave; how often, if at all, women go back; if they leave with or without their children; and how dangers connected to post-separation violence and the potential loss of children are assessed.

5. Masculinity

Masculinity is a broad area of scholarship so we limited our discussion to the following. Firstly, intimacy is grounded in a heterosexual model of relationships, where emotions exist only in the presence of women, and they are expected to gratify men's emotional needs entirely. Homophobia contributes by regarding as suspect emotional bonds and deep friendships between men. Gender socialization is also implicated because women and men are socialized differently to believe how intimate partners understand and fulfill their emotional needs.

Secondly, entitlement in intimate relationships for men is unsustainable because hyper-masculinity is fictional and male self-sufficiency is mythic. They combine to legitimize male superiority and men's expectations that women must gratify their demands and anticipate their needs.

Third, we reviewed Michael Kaufman's analysis about how male violence is inscribed in the 7 P's of: (i) patriarchal power (ii) privilege (iii) permission (iv) paradox of men's power (v) psychic armor of manhood (vi) masculinity as a psychic pressure cooker and (vii) past experiences. These 7 Ps are located in the triad of men's violence: (a) learning to selectively use violence for personal and collective gain; (b) redirecting a range of emotions into rage, resulting in violence against women, other men and self; (c) being rewarded with male power and privilege, which perpetuates and institutionalizes men's entitlement to use violence. Explained this way, violence serves as a compensatory mechanism used to assert masculinity against physically weaker, more vulnerable or marginalized peoples. Societal acceptance of men's need for this mechanism gives it credibility; men receive permission to express their masculinity this way. Need becomes a right; men feel entitled to use violent power and control. This entitlement becomes embedded in cultural practices, religious beliefs, social structures, and the law.[6]

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[6] Michael Kaufman, The Seven P's of Men's Violence. 1999. Toronto: Author. www.micahelkaufman.com

6. Gendered division of labor: Women's work in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd shifts

The first shift is the work done outside the home – traditionally men's work, but no longer so. The second shift is the work done in the home – traditionally women's work, but this is also changing. Second shift work is done by women and men although disproportionately by the former. The division of labor is generally traditional, with women doing chores inside the house and men doing chores pertaining to the outside of the house like gardening, car maintenance, home repairs, etc. Women's traditional second shift labor does not only include housework, laundry, cooking, etc., but duties connected to the care of children, pets, sick or elderly relatives living in the home or outside it. The third shift refers to the emotional labor invested in parenting, in the intimate relationship, in the family of both members of the couple, in friends of the couple, etc., which is still disproportionately done by women. These shifts are not formulaically applicable to all heterosexual or homosexual relationships.

Traditionally men worked the first shift and their spouse/partner was responsible for the second and third. Now women work in the first shift, but this does not exempt them from the second and third shifts. Gender roles are reinforced by the gendered division of labor which gives more value to men's work.

7. Intersections of gender, race and class

Analyses and strategies about preventing violence by minoritized[7] men against minoritized women display some inadequacies. First, historical oppression is seen as a contributing factor to men's violence; but this fails to address gender because women have the same histories of oppression, and do not turn to battering. Second, the data shows that poverty compromises women's safety, but why it compromises men's behavior is largely unanswered. Third, dynamics of abuse by multiple perpetrators that include male and female in-laws, are not integrated into intervention strategies or into the usual power and control analysis. Fourth, backlash, particularly from men's and father's rights movements denies these intersectionalities by claiming men as victims. Fifth, the deleterious effects of racism and anti-immigrant sentiments are sometimes used to explain or mitigate battering, but again women endure these very same stressors without using intimate violence for relief. Lastly, the role of the community in holding men accountable tends to be idealized, overlooking their preference for victim-blaming.

In conclusion, family, community, institutions and society act individually and in concert to reinforce gender roles. Intersectionalities of race, class and gender are complicated to adhere to, with the result that race and class are all too often privileged over gender. Holding these intersections together in order to transform gender roles is a big challenge for all of us.

[7] Khatidja Chantler. Wellesley International Research Conference (2004). Minoritized denotes identity intersections beyond color to include poor, LGBT and other identities. The process of minoritization includes exclusionary or oppressive practices beyond racism.

II Confronting Gender Roles & Gender Violence: Two Batterer Intervention Programs For Asian[8] Men

Batterer Intervention Programs (BIPs) address domestic violence by stopping the violent behavior that brought abusers into the criminal legal system and by changing attitudes that legitimize men's violence and justify inequality. BIPs are based on multiple frameworks, at the core of which is the notion of facilitating self-actualized rehabilitation where the aim is individual behavior change. The success of BIPs is typically measured by program completion and satisfactory compliance with program expectations and court mandates. Success measures linked to how much batterers have changed their thinking about male domination and the use of violence, how well they have internalized the concept of egalitarian relationships, or if there are attitudinal shifts regarding gender stereotypes, remain unclear. The variety of approaches and models are too lengthy to review here and that was not our intention anyway.

Neither are we engaged in a critique of BIPs but rather an appraisal of how they can address some of the culturally relevant issues in API communities. For instance, since the law only looks at the intimate partner as the batterer, BIPs are not required to address family structures where violence by multiple perpetrators is the norm. There are as yet, no models we know of that attempt working with multiple batterers who are all focused on a single victim. In addition, because BIPs cannot adequately address the overarching climate of patriarchy and misogyny that batterers are part of, there may be little or no external support for what attendees learn from them. For example, in an Asian home with multiple batterers, the family may sustain and fortify domestic violence and discourage the intimate battering partner from taking his participation in a BIP seriously. Community resistance to BIPs may influence how well and for how long a batterer retains and practices alternatives to violence; and again in the Asian example, deeply rooted structures of victim-blaming will be reinforced by multiple batterers.

How can Batter Intervention Programs change gender roles? To answer this question, two programs who work with Asian men stood out and are discussed in this section. Their approach to domestic violence intervention goes beyond the confines of intimate partner violence; their goals for batterer accountability are not limited to specific incidents but address processes that endorse gendered harms; and their work is grounded in cultural relevancy.

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[8]   Although we had invited a provider who runs a program for men in Hawai'i she could not attend, so we were not able to incorporate issues that affect Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander men – many of which are quite distinct from those affecting immigrant Asian men.

1. Divesting men of misogyny and sexism

The Institute for Family Services in Somerset, New Jersey uses the Cultural Context Model (CCM) to teach men to recognize misogyny in culture. It is premised on the idea that batterers (like the rest of us) learn patterns of inequality through interactions within their societal contexts i.e., race, gender, sexual orientation, immigrant status, and class. To disrupt these patterns, individuals must "embrace critical consciousness, empowerment and accountability as guiding principles". Executive Director, Rhea Almeida, points out that only with critical consciousness, is there authentic batterer accountability.[9]

The program provides individual and group therapy for court-mandated batterers and those who sign up voluntarily. Some notable features of the program are the use of trained sponsors, culture circles for batterers, separate culture circles for their abused partners, the work of writing accountability letters that address every named violation on the Power and Control Wheel, and letters of empowerment written by the women in their own culture circles. During intake, participants do a 20-minute genogram – a tool to look at intergenerational patterns of family life and family structure (persons in household, occupations and incomes, brief history of migration and loss). Offenders are also screened to assess potential lethality for homicide and/or suicide.

Culture Circles Most of the work is done in culture circles. Culture circles are heterogeneous helping communities that include members of families who seek counseling, with sponsors and volunteers from the community who work with the families, and a team of therapists. In the Cultural Context Model, the work focuses on developing critical consciousness and helping participants resist norms that maintain the hierarchies of power, privilege and oppression. To promote what is termed, "collective healing", victims attend a separate culture circle.[10]

Orientation for culture circles lasts eight weeks with each circle comprising therapists, sponsors and current clients. Culture circles are not defined by ethnicity. Members are from diverse cultures, classes, ages and occupations. The common goal is to look at the intersectionality of gender, culture, race, class and sexual orientation and how these relate to oppression of women, meanings of culture and the ways culture oppresses women. Issues pertaining to individual, family and work life are also addressed.

Using a process of enquiry, program staff discuss how forms of patriarchy are different for Jewish, African American, Latino and Asian men, but they all exercise it. For instance, if a South Asian man says, 'You don't understand our culture. We must have a dowry otherwise my in-laws will not respect me,' the men in the circle from other cultures will ask him to talk about his relationship with family, the relationship to money in his family, who handles the money, did his mother get a dowry, what were his father's expectations. Themes emerge around gender, money, dowry, male-female relationships, how men control the family, and how this relates to the demands around dowry. Program staff may ask him to bring in a film that he thinks really speaks to him about dowry and then challenge the film.

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[9]   Pilar Hernandez, Rhea Almeida, Ken Dolan-Del Vecchio (2005). Critical Consciousness, *Accountability and Empowerment:* Key Processes for Helping Families Heal, *Family Process*, Vol. 44:1.

[10]   Sixty to 70% of batterers' partners are in this program.Helping Families Heal, *Family Process*, Vol. 44:1.

Sponsors are pivotal to culture circles. Unlike the Alcoholics Anonymous model, participants are not assigned a single sponsor but numerous sponsors; this is different from the dyad-only connections and encourages diversity. Sponsors can be batterers who have graduated from the program, clients in a later stage of therapy, church or community leaders. They receive 40 hours of training over 12 weeks in critical consciousness, including on institutionalized racism, male dominance, homophobia, and class discrimination. Sponsors assist each family member's process of developing critical consciousness both within and outside the culture circle setting. They model alternative intimate and parenting relationships for current offenders.

Length of program In keeping with New Jersey state limits, batterers are required to attend for nine months. However, CCM practitioners estimate that, in reality, it takes up to 15 months for batterers to "get it." Many men choose to stay longer than the required nine months and become sponsors. Those who don't finish or fail to comply with the program's requirements may be ordered by the judge to stay in the program until they meet the compliance requirement.

Examining gender roles CCM addresses gender hegemony through the culture circles, where clients get support to implement new ideas, like positive parenting. Support and validation for batterers means not letting them continue their misogynist behavior but replacing inequality with equality in their relationships. Almeida clarifies, "Systems have placed the burden of vigilance on the victims and family members of batterers. But they have a sense of loyalty to the batterer. So we put a whole new community in place to be the ones who keep vigilant – members of the culture circle, people who are not loyal to the batterer or the victim."

Observations about immigrant & Asian clients The Institute for Family Services works with batterers who are first, second and third generation immigrants across different cultures. First generation immigrants feel they gave up a lot in the home country to come to the U.S., and when asked by the program to change how they treat their partners, they tend to resist because losing this entitlement will mean giving up even more of themselves. With second and third generation immigrants, there's an eclipsed idea of entitlement and less connection to the home country. One notable difference among Indian clients, Almeida notes, is that in contrast to working class men from African American, Latino and White communities, working class Indians with less education tend to hold on to their masculinity more tightly and are less open to the process of critical consciousness.

[11] Rhea Almeida. Conversation with Grace Poore, July 24, 2006.

2. Confronting traditional masculinity

Bata Starr Counseling Associates in San Jose, California addresses inequality in relationships and family as a way to help men reframe their masculinity and reshape intimacy with their partners. Program Manager, Kay Dhaliwal works mostly with first, second and third generation South Asian men. The program is designed for English, Hindi and Punjabi speaking men since she speaks all three languages fluently. Most clients are court mandated to attend a 52-week certified program. Santa Clara County closely monitors batterers in the criminal legal system with procedures that ensure compliance, e.g., three judges handle domestic violence cases and batterers are mandated to provide quarterly attendance and progress reports for their probation officer and the court. Clients have to acknowledge their actions before they begin the program and start taking responsibility by the eighth week, when the first progress report is due to their probation officer. Those who don't are assigned to intensive one-on-one therapy. If, by the next eight weeks, there is still no progress, they face termination from the program.

Some batterers come into the program voluntarily. What gets them in the door is the hope of reconciliation with their partner. They are persuaded by a family member who attended the program, they see how people can change and tend to stay. In contrast, court mandated batterers are resistant. "They are trying to prove they're not violent. Treatment is not their goal, it's someone else's goal – the judge or the probation officer. So they want to leave."[12]

Identifying culturally specific types of violence Dhaliwal uses the Power and Control Wheel to identify the different types of abuse but it poses limitations for the batterer population she works with because it looks only at male privilege and abuse by an intimate partner. It leaves out other forms of violence like forced marriage, forced abortion if the fetus is female, etc. When the Indian batterers she works with don't see their abusive actions on the Power and Control Wheel, they can dismiss what they've done as not abuse – for instance, not allowing their daughter to talk to boys, abusing the daughter when she starts dating, letting the in-laws abuse their wife. Because the Power and Control Wheel does not reference such types of abuse, the API Institute's Lifetime Spiral of Gender Violence is more relevant to this population group. On the issue of domestic violence perpetrated by in-laws, Dhaliwal notes, "Not everything is male privilege, there's also in-law privilege. The mother-in-law abuses the victim, the sister-in-law tells the victim what to do, there's her mother versus his mother."

Changing gender roles through changed alliances Couples learn how to join forces to stand up against the in-laws if they cannot get out of the extended family set-up. Men are coached to disrupt the power structure within their family to strengthen the husband-wife relationship. However, because the program has no leverage with his family members, the home environment can remain hostile to change. Dhaliwal states, "We can get him to agree to do second-shift work like housework and parenting but he can never do it in front of his parents or his friends because they'll say, 'You're being controlled by your wife'."

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[12] Kay Dhaliwal (August 27, 2006). Conversation with Grace Poore.

Observations about Asian clients At Bata Star Associates, Dhaliwal sees three kinds of South Asian clients. First generation immigrants tend to be older and speak either Hindi or Punjabi. They use language as a crutch, claiming their lack of education prohibits them from filling out forms or completing homework. Many of these men attribute their violence to being uneducated. Second generation (i.e. U.S. born) men tend to be younger, more assimilated into the mainstream and speak English, so they can be part of culturally diverse batterer groups, where men get to confront and challenge one another when culture is used to justify violence. The third group of clients are highly educated men with powerful social connections, exhibiting high degrees of entitlement and confident that things will go their way. For instance, if faced with termination from the program for lack of compliance, they may bring in family members to pressure or intimidate group facilitators.

3. Effects of intervention programs on batterers and their families

Some of the outcomes and benefits are described below. There are no long term follow-up studies at either program to measure these outcomes.

1   Batterers discovered greater intimacy with their family because they realized that using violence to get intimacy wasn't working.
2   Batterers developed new relationships in the culture circle, with men from other cultures and across class lines which they never imagined possible.
3   Batterers were given conflict resolution tools that helped them in their relationship with other family members.
4   Batterers experienced relief from not having to be in control all the time and not having to "deal with so much drama".
5   Fathers saw the potential for ending the cycle of violence so their children didn't become batterers or victims.
6   Batterers connected their violence to male privilege because the focus of the programs went beyond looking at anger and teaching the men to stop hitting.
7   Some Asian men who went through the BIPs faced backlash in the form of ridicule and community loss. Generally, API women are targets for family and community disapproval for involving outside interventions and "getting the men into trouble" with the system.
8   Family relations became strained when Asian men challenged practices that were in the family for generations. Relationships were sometimes cut off by the batterer's father or brothers.
9   Sometimes, friendships were lost as new gender roles and understandings of domestic violence were taken on by men. Couples who were friends with the husband and wife distanced themselves from them.
10 Attending a BIP kept most batterers out of jail which allowed them to keep their jobs, retain their immigration status, have contact with their children, and remain in the community.
11 BIPs took away the burden from women of changing their partner's violent behavior.

12   Battered women who decided to stay in their relationships were relieved when the men internalized what the BIPs taught them – not only because the hitting stopped but also because they didn't have to contend with moving to a shelter, go through a difficult break up and face child custody battles.

13   Couples who separated found they could go through a less acrimonious divorce, in other words, they could go from a bad marriage to a good divorce.

14   Forgiveness by the abused partner was a common expectation of batterers, followed by the hope of family reunification. This was not promised or encouraged because batterers want to forget their pain and don't want to be reminded of the harm they've caused. Almeida observes that some abused partners realize they don't want the relationship anymore and won't forgive; others just wanted the hitting to stop and were willing to forgive until they discovered in group therapy that so much more was wrong in the relationship. For some women, to forgive meant to forget and they couldn't stop remembering what they had been put through.

15   Men took on more second shift work sharing in household chores. Parenting felt more fulfilling to both as responsibilities were shared.

16   Women's natal families were relieved that their daughters were no longer forced to live with violent husbands. For instance, when Dhaliwal was invited to talk about her program on an Indian radio show, there were 400 telephone calls from Indian men and women who wanted to know how their son or son-in-law could get help from a Batterer Intervention Program.

4. Women as enforcers of gender conformity and violence

In this section on confronting gender roles and violence, we clearly recognized women's culpability in enforcing gender conformity and/or using violence. We touched briefly on the following issues, admitting that they need fuller review because they are beyond the scope of this project.

Women who engage in domestic violence victimize other women in the home

We want to be clear about a critical distinction in many Asian homes, that where women are battering, the victims are not men but other women in the extended family. Women are implicated in violence against teen or adult daughters, daughters-in-law or other non-conforming, non-intimate,[14] female family members. The kinds of violence they resorted to could include physical and emotional abuse of the daughter/sister-in-law, forced marriage of teenage or young adult daughters, consent to honor killings, abuse of female domestic workers, hyper-exploitation of a daughter-in-law's labor, inadequate nourishment, pressure for sex-selected abortion, etc. Holding family batterers who are not intimates accountable is an area demanding immediate study.

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[14]   The exception being in lesbian relationships

Battered women's use of violence Recognizing that battered women use violence in response to their abuser's violence, we realized that we did not know enough about how Asian women who face multiple batterers, react. Furthermore, fears of racist and/or anti-immigrant reactions from systems caution women and discourage them from turning to them for help. Multiple batterers in the home can more readily manipulate these systems and label the victim as the aggressor. This is an area needing further investigation within API cultural contexts.

Women who use violence against intimates Lesbian, bi-sexual and transgender women are abused by women. And as all the data confirms, only a small percentage of battering victims are men. We acknowledge that there are exceptions, where women's violence is directed at men, but whether that is always correctly defined as domestic violence is debatable. However, both issues are beyond the scope of this project.

Battered women's mistakes Backlash and victim-blaming from systems, men's groups and our own API communities make it difficult to discuss mistakes, bad judgments, abdication of responsibility, abandonment of children, repressive disciplinary methods, etc. As advocates we need more discussions on these issues, but fear that they will feed right into the community's victim-blaming views and/or that backlash will hijack our attempts to develop a deeper understanding and responses to these questions.

Women are crucial to shaping gender roles In Asian and Pacific Islander families, we confirmed that women and mothers are crucial to shaping gender roles. The devaluation of women is upheld by women. Tightly prescribed gender roles may be established by men and patriarchal structures, but women are eager enforcers. Double standards are applied to sons and daughters, and to women who are outside the family so even if one's own daughters are forgiven for gender role defiance, others are not.   In domestic violence situations, from the mother who encourages her son's violence and discourages his bonds to the wife she may have had a hand in selecting, to the mother who tells her daughter to "try harder" or exiles her from the natal home, much work needs to be done. None of this is to suggest that fathers or men in general are off the hook about shaping gender roles within the home. However, confronting women in their enforcement of gender roles and gender violence needs deeper examination. In our view, this analysis begins with understanding how women do in fact undermine gender roles; how they are empowered and powered, and how they negotiate victimization and agency (self-determination) with strategies of resistance.

III CHANGING GENDER ROLES: PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES

Below we outline the principles and attendant strategies that emerged in our roundtable discussions. These are often inter-connected and should be read as such. Many of these strategies have been developed by the two programs we discussed in the previous section, and accordingly we wish to acknowledge their innovation and theoretical depth. Again, a reminder that we hope this report will hopefully spark many further conversations.

1. Accountability

Accountability extends to any and all forms of abuse or control. Taking responsibility and making reparations for perpetrating domestic violence must be reinforced in ways that nurture equality, re-balance damaged relationships and facilitate healing.

- Examine legal, social and moral aspects of accountability.
- Batterers write accountability letters to their partners for every form of violence enumerated on the Power & Control Wheel, to be reviewed and edited repeatedly by sponsors and others in their culture circles. These letters are read out to his partner in the presence of her sponsors.
- Do not permit the limitations of the Power & Control Wheel – omissions of certain types of domestic violence in Asian families – to be used to let intimate and non-intimate batterers off the hook.
- Use the Lifetime Spiral of Gender Violence in BIPs to show the historical nature of men's violence against women.
- Use multiple sponsors who are program graduates, or in later stages of the BIPs program, church or community leaders to model alternative intimate and parenting relationships and hold batterers accountable.
- Expect batterers to be held accountable beyond compliance with the criminal justice system's mandates – i.e., beyond proof of attendance, homework completion, and cessation of physical violence.
- Reparations must be made for any and all levels of abuse. At the Institute for Family Services, batterers who use the entire spectrum of physical and sexual violence are surprised to learn that accountability extends equally to those exercising only coercive emotional control. They thus get a broader picture of oppressive masculinity. Almeida explains, "They'll say to the non-violent batterers, 'You only did that and you made reparations? I did all this and I just thought I'd write a letter of accountability, not do reparations'." Therefore, reparations are made by the man who controlled the family vacation based on only his preferences, the man who pushed and shoved frequently, and by the man who raped, beat and regularly humiliated his partner.
- Batterers must take ownership early on for the violence that brought them in so they don't blame alcohol, their wives, or her relatives. Only then can they be made to look at the other means they use to control the relationship, such as constant phone calls to track their partner, having children and relatives spy on her, using money and credit cards to control the relationship.

- Abusers have to acknowledge how their behavior cost the entire family unit – the number of sick days their wives had to take, the children acting out in school, the children's grades being affected, the abuse of elders, and how they've taught their children not to respect the weak.
- Abusers must acknowledge long-term harm,"…we want them to see the damage they've done, how they've influenced other people to be violent, and the role they're playing for perpetuating the violence 50 to 60 years down the road."[15]

2. Equality in the second shift

Equitable distribution of second shift work promotes changes in gender roles.

- Develop understandings of equality beyond a simplistic formula where each person does their 50%. A couple may divide certain responsibilities 60% - 40% for a month, followed by dividing them 35% - 65% the next month. Equality in the second shift is about the power to negotiate these percentages. Re-distributing gendered tasks is important in all relationships, but harder in abusive ones.
- Reparations must include second-shift work: taking on housework, parenting responsibilities, participating in family activities with the wife's family, and valuing their partners' work whether inside or outside the home. Batterers need to understand how they took away their partners' normalcy, how they can restore it, and how as a couple they can forge a new normalcy.
- When BIPs, culture circles, sponsors, relatives and role models require or model sharing the second shift, it removes the onus from the abused partner, validates her and teaches mutual respect for each other's responsibilities.
- Teach strategies for dividing second-shift work. One program exercise[16] requires household and parenting tasks to be written out on a deck of cards that are then dealt out by the couple; each person can trade up to 10 tasks with the other.
- In the extended family home, support a husband not to collude with his family's traditional expectations of second shift tasks and/or hyper-exploitation of his wife's labor in the home. Changing the balance of gendered tasks is extremely difficult in such situations hence the couple needs specific strategies to be united in their resistance.

3. Religious ideologies

Challenge religious ideologies and confront leaders who promote the status quo of traditional gender roles. Elevating men's authority by simultaneously devaluing women's power and autonomy tacitly condones domestic violence – issues commonly faced by communities be they Buddhists, Christians, Hindus, Jews, Muslims, Sikhs or from other religions.

- Demonstrate how fortifying traditional gender roles with religious and cultural explanations, colludes with male privilege and endorses batterer impunity.
- Train religious authorities about the historical root causes of violence against women so they do not see domestic violence as a private matter that has, at best, to be endured by women, or at worst, blamed on women.
- Recruit and train religious leaders to be sponsors for BIPs.

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[15] Kay Dhaliwal

[16] Designed by Kay Dhaliwal

- Organize all women in congregations to expose how instructing women to pray harder, endure more, drop legal remedies like restraining orders or divorce actions, directly contributes to battered women's increased endangerment.
- Religious organizations must support community-based domestic violence organizations, instead of portraying them as home-breakers, by encouraging congregational donations, tithing, *zakat*, etc., for domestic violence services.
- Religious leaders must hold batterers and communities accountable for domestic violence and hold themselves responsible for promoting gender inequality.

4. Masculinity

Divesting and de-linking masculinity from violence will be significant in transforming gender roles, taking into account cultural contexts and domestic violence dynamics for Asians, Native Hawaiians, Pacific Islanders, immigrants and refugees.

- Develop scholarship and examine theories that address men's violence and masculinity within various cultural contexts, without homogenizing all Asians, Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders.
- Articulate how histories of colonization and other oppressions affect women and how they cope and resist.
- Make transparent how the tactics used by batterers parallel those used by colonizers, such as, erasing identity, appropriating and withholding economic resources, claiming superiority, marginalizing the 'other', using multiple forms of abuse instead of only relying on physical violence, patrolling the boundaries of culture and gender roles and excluding certain groups from the exercise of power.[17]
- Address the connection between masculinity and men's emotional need for using violence as a right to "get your way."
- Link gender violence, patriarchy, sexism and misogyny so domestic violence is understood as structural, not merely individual, oppression.

5. Predatory Violence

Account for how systematic predatory violence affects women's safety and entrapment and how it enforces gender hegemony. Analyze how one predatory system props up another so even when women have new options to disrupt the abuse of power and adopt new gender roles, they become vulnerable in new ways.

- Evaluate how systems of predation will affect women's safety, particularly since predatory behaviors have increased in range and intensity and go beyond stalking.
- Assess vulnerabilities given a battered woman's cultural contexts. For instance, she may be vulnerable to rape by a landlord of her own ethnic community who considers a separated woman sexually available or easy prey because she is unprotected by a husband.
- Assess sexually predatory behavior and violence from family members. E.g., divorced women could be vulnerable to the predatory sexual harassment of an abusive brother-in-law and the target of jealous rage from the sister-in-law.

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[17] Val Kalei Kanuha describes Geraldine Moane's work on this issue in *Domestic Violence in API Communities, Summit Proceedings.* 2002. Published by API Institute on Domestic Violence, San Francisco.

6. Cultural relevancy in BIPs

Design Batterer Intervention Programs to be culturally relevant to the experiences of battered women and batterers in Asian and Pacific Islander communities and therefore integrate input from battered women's advocates into program design.

- Incorporate the dynamics of abuse and intra-familial configurations of power specific to API families into existing BIPs.
- Document ethnic-specific BIPs for Asian and Pacific Islander men.[18]
- Develop and document strategies that apply to and address the differences between various Asian and Pacific Islander ethnic groups.
- Theorize the use of violence by marital and natal family members against their daughters-in-law and daughters.
- Develop programs that intervene in domestic violence perpetrated by non-intimate batterers. We do not consider it appropriate to refer female in-laws to BIPs for women and male in-laws to BIPs for men.
- Involve API battered women's advocates in program design issues throughout so gender harms and gender privilege in various API contexts are well understood, and are in turn integrated into advocacy.
- Study and measure changes in community attitudes about gender roles.
- Conduct longitudinal studies to assess the effectiveness of BIPs and to measure how long they retain the gains made in these programs.
- Design strategies and exercises that couples can use even after an abuser has successfully concluded his attendance in a program.
- Have trained therapists/counselors who understand the connections between gender and culture. This makes a big difference because it interrupts current and historical patterns of thinking and behaving within and outside the therapy setting.
- Address ethnic-specific differences by bringing together advocates and BIPs providers from specific API communities and design strategies that are tailored to them, e.g., issues affecting Japanese men will differ from those affecting Hmong men.
- Emphasize intersectionality and simultaneously ensure that race does not get privileged over gender.
- Conduct longitudinal studies to assess the effectiveness of BIPs and to measure how long they retain the gains made in these programs.
- Provide parallel support for the partners of batterers that is also culturally relevant so they develop their own language and awareness for resistance and self-empowerment.

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[18] The API Institute's report on community engagement discusses in detail a program in Hawai'i for Pacific Islander men.

Conclusion

In our discussions on engendering change, we addressed gender roles played out in the context of domestic violence. Gender role transformation is of course critical in non-violent contexts too, but beyond our scope. However, we want to iterate that conversations about power and control beyond violent contexts must inform the work of the anti-violence field.

In Section I, we emphasized how gender roles and gender violence are linked and that it takes the power of many structural forces to keep reinforcing gender inequality. Indeed, without the tenacity and rigidity of patriarchy, masculinity, gender violence, culture, the gendered division of labor and the intersectionality of race, class and gender power; structural inequality would be significantly eroded.

In Section II, we pointed out that the success of Batterer Intervention Programs depends on confronting how patriarchy shapes heterosexual masculinity and how gender inequality is re-inscribed by batterers and their families; in order to divest men of misogyny and sexism and re-shape traditional masculinity. By drawing attention to the issue of domestic violence by multiple perpetrators, we pointed out the roles of women, non-intimates and non-state actors in enforcing patriarchal violence.

In Section III, *Engendering Change* surfaced principles and practices around accountability, equality in the second shift, religious ideologies, masculinity, structures of predation and culturally relevant Batterer Intervention Programs. Throughout, we raised the importance of cultural relevancy so the work pushes against the ways patriarchy is expressed in Asian cultures and is framed by the intersections of class, race and gender.

There are several issues that still need to be covered, at least three of which stand out. First, how communities, non-state actors and non-abusive men enforce cultures of patriarchy, but also how they transform them. Second, the roles systems and institutions, including economic ones, play to maintain and alter oppressive conditions and practices. Most importantly, we need to examine the ways women – abused and not abused, survivors and advocates – engage in resistance and change through radical or reformist agendas, through negotiation and subversion, within and without existing state and community institutions.

Although far more work awaits us all, as activists involved in many movements, we *have* engendered change.

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